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

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

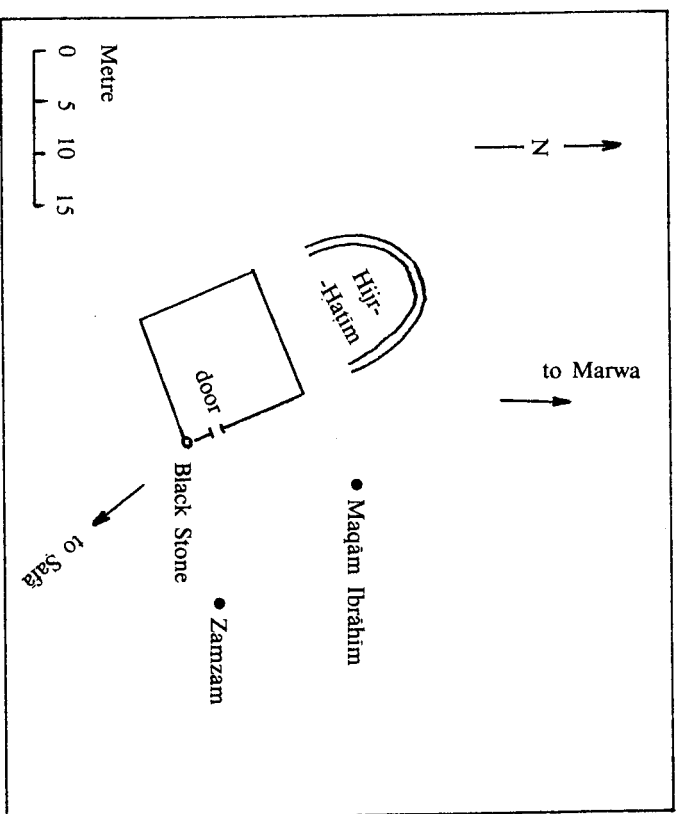


Fig.1: The Ka'ba and its surroundings

(Fig. 1 and fig. 2 have been prepared according to the groundplan of the Haram in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, tr. by J.H. Monahan, 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 'arish into which cattle could burst, and it remained in this condition till Quraysh built the Ka'ba, 15 years before Muhammad's first revelation.² The

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-Qurashi, 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 Safa 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 Safa 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 Musā 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 Mughulāy 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 Khargushi, 201^b. These dimensions are identical with the dimensions of the Tabernacle as recorded in Thā'labi 208. The 'arish of Moses served as the model for the mosque of the prophet in al-Madina. See 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 154; Bayhaqi, 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.; Halabi, I, 173; 'Adawī, 78^b ff.; Welhausen, 73; Von Grunchebaum, 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 (*ḥayma*). See e.g., Azraqi, 8, 357-358; Khargushi, 192^b; Shāmī, I, 233-234; Qirā, 653; Halabi, I, 149 ff.; Von Grunchebaum, 19.

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

⁶ Azraqi, 275.

⁷ See Shāmī, I, 192; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 53-54; Suhayli, I, 128; 'Adawī, 76^b. And cf. Azraqi, 48; *Aghāni*, XIII, 109; Ibn Hishām, I, 109; Ya'qubi, I, 204.

⁸ Bayhaqi I, 331; Kalā'ī, I, 267; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 51-52; Zurqānī, I, 203; Halabi, 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 Mughul-tāy 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. Judān, "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-hajari*, 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-maqami wa-bayna l-rukni wa-l-hajari*).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 Mughul-tāy, 54^b: *wa-'inda Ibn Mākulā: "sumnu 'l-ladara' li-annahum banaw l-Hijra wa-huwa mina l-bayt."*

¹⁰ It follows that there is not much ground to Lüling'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 Hābib, *Munammīq*, 173.

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

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

¹⁴ *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 350; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102. See also Halaḥī, I, 159; Zurqānī, I, 205; 'Adawī, 60^e. And cf. further 'ġasāmī, I, 167; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Bayhaqī, I, 328; Tabarī, *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 *'arish* 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 Jeddah.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 traders.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; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 98, 103; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 351; Mughul-tāy, 97^a; Ibn Hishām, I, 204; Nahravālī, 52; Halaḥī, 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 (Mughul-tāy, 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 Qusayy. See Shāmī, I, 192; Nahravālī, 43-44; 'Adawī, 76^e; 'ġasāmī, I, 162; Zurqānī, I, 206; Halaḥī, I, 162. In some early verses it is stated that Jurhum participated with Quraysh in the building of the Ka'ba. See Zubayr, *Mu'allaqa*, 16; Aṣḥā Maymūn, *Diwān*, ed. M.M. Husayn, Beirut n.d., p. 161 (XV, 44)). One tradition reports that 'Abd al-Murfaḥ 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 *"Bāṣṣayyā Abī Talīb"* ('Adawī, 81b).

¹⁷ Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Sa'ad, I, 145; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102; Azraqī, 104-105, 107; Zurqānī, I, 204; Suhaylī, I, 225. See further *EI*⁷, s.v. "Ka'ba"; Lüling, 145.

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

¹⁹ 'Adawī, 61^a.

Byzantium for the restoration of a church in Abyssinia, which had been burnt by the Persians.²⁰ A unique report recorded by Ibn Hajar 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" (*'alā 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 'Alī b. Abī Rabāh (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 Hujr, 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 Hujr as a section of the Ka'ba.²⁶

The next stage in the history of the Ka'ba was in the days of 'Abdallāh 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 "Hijr" is situated.²⁷ In so doing, he relied

upon a tradition of the prophet favouring such a proceeding. This section was later demolished by al-Hajjāj (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 "Hijr". The application of this term to that area was the result of some ritual functions which this area shared with the area originally called Hujr, 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, Muhammad's first *qibla* during the Meccan period. After the Hijra to Medina, however, when Muhammad abandoned the temporary *qibla* of Jerusalem,²⁹ and

Ka'ba when the Umayyads attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, which means that the Hijr had been part of the Ka'ba before that event. But as a matter of fact, Luling mistrads the Arabic text of al-Azraqi which actually has "*al-hajar*", and not "*al-hijr*". This passage merely describes the stoning of the Ka'ba by the *manṭanīq* 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-hajara yamruu fa-yahwu l-dharru 'alā alhariri* (not "*alhariri*", as rendered by Luling). Luling (p. 157) similarly mistrads "*al-hijr*" instead of the correct "*al-hajar*" in Azraqi, 151, where the passage evidently deals with the Black Stone (*al-hajar*) which was cracked (*inḡalalaq*), and blackened (*iswadada*), in the fire in Ibn al-Zubayr's days.

²⁸ E.g., 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 104, 124-132; Azraqi, 114-115, 138-154, 218-221; Khargush, 175a ff.; 'Adawi, 67a ff.; Shāmi, I, 192-196; Nahravali, 80-85; *Dirā*, 508-513; Suhayli, I, 221-222; ṡsāmi, I, 167 ff.; Ibn Kathir, I, 165-166; Halaḡi, I, 169 ff.; *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 354 ff.; *Et?*, s.v. "Ka'ba". Cf. Luling, 149 ff., an implausible assessment of these reports.

²⁹ According to some reports, Muhammad started to pray towards Jerusalem right after the Hijra, in order to please the Jews of al-Madina. See Tabari, *Taḡrīr*, II, 4, 13; Razī, IV, 104. See also *Faḡh al-barī*, I, 88, 90; Razī, IV, 110. According to other reports, however, Muhammad had started praying towards Jerusalem already before the Hijra. According to Halaḡi, I, 264, he had done so since the *isrā'*. According to others, Jerusalem became Muhammad's *qibla* 18 months before the Hijra (*Faḡh al-barī*, I, 90, from Ibn Māja). Still others maintained that Muhammad prayed towards Jerusalem since his first revelation. See 'Adawi, 151a (in *Hira'*); *Faḡh al-barī*, I, 88. The latter opinion seems to be secondary, its aim being to suppress the fact that Muhammad, 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

²⁰ Halaḡi, I, 143; Nahravali, 50.

²¹ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, I, 266. See also Zurgāni, I, 203; Halaḡi, I, 144.

²² Azraqi, 114; Luling, 145.

²³ Azraqi, 110-111; ṡsāmi, I, 166; 'Adawi, 64b.

²⁴ Azraqi, 113: "...*fa-amara rasūlu llāhi (s) an yamhu tilka l-suwara illa mā kāna min sirati 'Isā wa-Maryam*". See also 'Adawi, 64b-65a.

²⁵ Azraqi, 111-112. Luling (p. 130) states that the images of Jesus and Maria were erased by Muhammad'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-Azraqi.

²⁶ 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 104, 129, 131; Kalaḡi, I, 115; 'Adawi, 63a; Nahravali, 82; Azraqi, 105, 109, 115, 142; Halaḡi, I, 144.

²⁷ Luling's postulate is that the Hijr 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 Azraqi 137, in which he believes to find a statement that the ancient Hijr was destroyed together with the rest of the

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 Manaf was, reportedly, situated opposite the Black Stone,³⁴ and the statues of Isaf and Nā'ila were located near Zamzam.³⁵ It is reported that the area surrounding Isaf

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 Hijr, where their statues were situated.

The actual worship of the idols in the Hijr 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 (*asnām*) of Quraysh, which had intestines (*farth*) upon their heads.⁴⁰ The actual slaughter was performed near special stones called *ansāb* (sing. *nusub*). This is indicated in further reports stating that Zamzam was located near the "red sacrificial stones" (*al-ansāb al-humr*).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 Hijr belonged to the tribe of Khuzā'a. This is indicated in some additional reports stating that Zamzam was situated near the

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; Halabī, 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-kiṭāb* as a setback toward the *dīn* of his fellow tribesmen. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 148; Rāzī, IV, 91. See also 'Askarī, I, 332.

³¹ Fakihī, 329e: "...fa-kāna (s) yusallī ilā l-mi'zāb wa-huwa dh-l-madīna... See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119-120.

³² Khargūshī, 168e; Fāst, I, 218. On the *qibla* of the *mi'zāb* see further Azraqī, 249; Tabart, *Tajīd*, II, 14; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 147.

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

³⁴ Yaqtū, IV, 185; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 39.

³⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 84-85; Ibn al-Kalbī, 29; Azraqī, 75; Fāst, II, 53. Other reports maintain that Isaf and Nā'ila were situated opposite the Black Ruḳn and the southern Ruḳn. See Yaqtūbi, I, 254; Muqāṭil, II, 210b; Kister, "Labayka", 57.

³⁶ Azraqī, 75. This prohibition is already mentioned in an early verse dealing with Isaf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, 29; Azraqī, 75. The same verse is also recorded in relation to Manaf. See Welhausen, 56-57; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 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, *Pantheon*, 108, n. 2.

⁴⁰ Fakihī, 338b (Sa'id b. Jubayr).

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

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

⁴³ E.g., Tabart, *Tajīd*, VI, 48 (Ibn Jurayj).

⁴⁴ See Bayhaqī, I, 385.

nusub 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 *ansāb*, 300 of which were in the territory of Khuzā'a.⁴⁸

The statues of Isāf and Nā'ila which were situated in the Hijr functioned as *ansāb*. 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-Muttalib once intended to slaughter 'Abdallāh, his son, between Isāf and Nā'ila, or near Isāf.⁵²

The term "Hijr" itself⁵³ has a profound ritual significance which is connected with sacrificial slaughter. This term means "invincible", "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 Hijr next to the Ka'ba, as '*arish*' made of *ardk* 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 Hijr, or the area between the ancient *jidār* and the Ka'ba, served as a pen, or fold for

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 *Bahira*, the *Sa'iba* and the *Hāmir*.⁵⁶ These animals were eventually slaughtered, and it is reported that the *Bahira* 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 *qalāmīs*) 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. Haritha 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.

⁴⁵ Fakih, 338^a; Ibn Habīb, *Muḥammad*, 415.

⁴⁶ Fakih, 338^a.

⁴⁷ Ibn Sa'd, I, 84.

⁴⁸ Tabari, *Ta'isir*, VI, 48.

⁴⁹ Wāqidī, II, 795; Wellhausen, 77.

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

⁵¹ Rāzi, 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; Nahravālī, 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^a; Fāsi, I, 211; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI,

289. Cf. also Lüling, 372 n. 47.

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; 'Isāmī, I, 181; 'Adawī, 29^a.

⁵⁹ Ibn Habīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156-157.

⁶⁰ Baladhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 469.

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

Some traditions indicate that the prophet used to pray in the Hijr 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 Hijr continued to function as a place for public prayers. Some traditions indicate that in the first decades after Muḥammad's death the Juḥu'a service was held in the Hijr, 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 Hijr 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 (*rawdā*) of Paradise, and whoever prayed in

⁶² Bukhārī, I, 58; Khargashī, 107^b; Halaḥī, I, 332; Fasi, I, 220.

⁶³ Halaḥī, I, 264 (from *Imṭā' al-asmā'*); ... *wa-kāna salātuhu (s) nuḥwa l-Ka'ba wa-istapbala l-hajara l-aswada*... For Muḥammad's prayer towards the Black Stone see further Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 139.

⁶⁴ Tabarī, *Taḡṣīr*, XXX, 164, 165; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 369; Muqāṭil, II, 26^c.

⁶⁵ Other traditions as well imply that since his first revelation Muḥammad used to pray towards the Ka'ba. See Bayḥaqī, I, 401; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, I, 233-234. And see Tabarī, *Taḡṣīr*, II, 4: *qāla Ibn Jurayj: salāḥ rasūlu llāhi (s) awwala mā šalla 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 *sādana* of the *dīn*, and as *umamā'* of the *qibla* (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 182; Kister, "Mecca and Tammim", 146).

⁶⁶ Fasi, I, 219, 222; *Qirā'*, 349; Halaḥī, III, 87. See also Wāḡidī, 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^c; *Qirā'*, 342. Adam as well is said to have prayed in the direction of the door of the Ka'ba. See Halaḥī, I, 152. In some early verses of the *ḥanīf Zayd* b. 'Amr b. Nuḥayl it is stated, likewise, that Abraham prayed towards the *qibla* of the Ka'ba. See Ibn Hiṣṣām, I, 245; Zubayr b. Bakkar, fol. 166^c.

⁶⁷ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 176, 178;

⁶⁸ Fakihī, 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-Rahmān b. Mahdī was the most trustworthy traditionist.⁷¹ According to some reports the Mahdī 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-ard*.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 Hijr 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 Hijr, 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 Hijr. '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.*, 333^b. See also Fasi, I, 197; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷¹ Ibn Hibbān, I, 52.

⁷² Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷³ 'Adawī, 65^b.

⁷⁴ E.g., Kalāfī, I, 124; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 40.

⁷⁵ Azraqī, 271; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

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

⁷⁷ Wāḡidī, II, 859. On Ibn Khatal see also Zubayr b. Bakkar, 200^a.

⁷⁸ See *Et*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; Fasi, I, 198, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arif*, 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 Hījir, opposite the Black Rukn".⁸¹ According to al-Kalāṭī, Ishmael was buried "inside the Hījir, next to the door of the Kaʿba".⁸² According to al-Shāmī, Ishmael's tomb was located "in al-Hajūn (!), next to the door of the Kaʿba".⁸³ The reason why the Hījir 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-Muttalib, Muhammad'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/11ff.). It seems that this connection between Zamzam

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

The term "Hījir" 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 Sālih. Consequently, the Hījir of the Kaʿba was, too, associated with the Quranic prophets who had been rejected by Thamūd, as well as by ʿĀd and other *umam khālīya*. The Meccan Hījir 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, Sālih, and Ishmael.⁸⁷ Another tradition which is traced back to the prophet states that the graves of Nūh, Hūd, Shuʿayb, Sālih, 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 Safā.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 Sālih had been constantly preoccupied with their peoples till they died, so that they had never made the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁹²

Not only the Hījir 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 Hadrāmawt, as a cursed one.⁹³ Alī reportedly stated that the best well upon earth

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

⁸⁰ Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 48: ... *hīyāla l-mawḍiʿi l-ladhi fihī l-Hajjar l-Aswad*. See also Fāstī, I, 218 (from al-Masʿūdī); Halaḥī, I, 154, 170.

⁸¹ Fākihī, 357^a: ... *Ja-qabru Ismāʿīl fī l-Hījir, muqābila l-Rukn l-Aswad*.

⁸² Kalāṭī, I, 119: ... *dakhila l-Hījir minnā yalī bab al-Kaʿba*.

⁸³ Shāmī, I, 187.

⁸⁴ See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116; Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 177, 178-179, 180; Bukhārī, IV, 173 ff.; Azraqī, 23, 280 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Liḥab*, 38-39; Thaḥabī, 72; Bayhaqī, I, 323; Shāmī, I, 175; Fāstī, I, 247 ff.; Hawtūng, "Zamzam", 44 ff. According to some verses attributed to Khuwaylid b. Asad (Khadja's father), Zamzam existed since the days of Adam. See e.g., Kalāṭī, I, 222; *Nahj*, III, 468-469; Muḡhulāy, 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; Halaḥī, I, 32; ʿAdawī, 91^b; Azraqī, 52; Khargūshī, 194^a; Zurqānī, I, 92. See also Hawtūng, "Zamzam", 45-46. It may be noted that in some earlier versions about the digging of Zamzam there is not yet an allusion to the relation between this well and Ishmael. See Fākihī, 338^a, the traditions of Yikrima, Saʿd b. al-Musayyab and Saʿd b. Jubayr.

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

⁸⁷ Azraqī, 39. See also Fāstī, I, 197.

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

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

⁹⁰ Ibn Shaḥrāshūb, I, 188.

⁹¹ Fākihī, 357^a.

⁹² Azraqī, 38; Halaḥī, I, 154.

⁹³ On Barahūt see G. Renz, "Barahūt", *EtZ*. "Barahūt" appears also as the name of an idol. See *Nawādir al-maḥṭūʿāt*, I, 288.

was Zamzam, and Barahūt was the worst; it was well in Barahūt where the spirits (*arwāḥ*) 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 Ḥadramawt.⁹⁷ As indicated by Goldziner,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 Hījr 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 Hījr. It is related that Kināna heard a voice while sleeping in Hījr, telling him about his future.¹⁰¹ Al-Nadr 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 Hījr 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

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

4. The Ḥaṭīm

The area of the Hījr is often referred to in Muslim sources as "al-Ḥaṭīm".¹⁰⁹ This term, like "Hījr", 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, Maḡām Ibrāhīm, and Zamzam.¹¹⁰ The Black Rukn itself was known as "Rukn al-Ḥaṭīm".¹¹¹

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

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

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

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

⁹⁶ Mundhirī, III, 45-46.

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

⁹⁸ Goldziner, II, 313.

⁹⁹ E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Fakihī, 340^a ff.; ʿAdawī, 99^b ff.; Khargushī, 196^a ff.; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 221 ff.; Azraqi, 289 ff.; *Qirā*, 488; Fāsī, I, 252 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-364. And see, on the other hand, Fāsī, I, 219 (concerning the Hījr): *wa-yarbaḡhi tawāqif l-nawm fihī*. And see also Azraqi, 306, a tradition favouring this practice.

¹⁰¹ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 35: *wa-rāʾa Kināna wa-huwa nāʾimun* (printed: "qā'im") *fī l-Hījr*, *qāʾilan yuqūl*...

¹⁰² Khargushī, 12^a-12^b.

¹⁰³ Khargushī, 17^b-18^a; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 104; Zurgānī, I, 90-91; Suyūṭī, *Khasāʾis*, I, 98-99.

¹⁰⁴ Khargushī, 13^b. See also ʿṢāmī, I, 226; Zurgānī, I, 81-82 (from al-Khargushī); Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 101.

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

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammag*, 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 Hījr 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.ṭ.m.", Fāsī, I, 197; *Faḥ al-barī*, VI, 268-269; *Qirā*, 314. On the Ḥaṭīm see further, Hawting, "Origins", 34 ff.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Yāqūt, II, 273; Azraqi, 267; *Qirā*, 314; Fāsī, I, 197; *Faḥ al-barī*, VI, 268; Khargushī, 189^a; ʿAdawī, 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.

"h.t.m." means a crush, or crowding,¹¹³ and it was explained that the term "Ḥatīm" 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 Ḥatīm 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 Ḥatīm. This state of affairs lasted until the emergence of Islam.¹¹⁵ The Ḥatīm 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 Ḥatīm. Ibn Mujaam, for example, vowed in the Ḥatīm to execute 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.¹¹⁷

The term "Ḥatīm" 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 *lawāf* 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 "Ḥatīm" because the clothes remained there till they crumbled (*ḥutima*).¹¹⁹

Another explanation also takes the term "Ḥatīm" in the sense of a place where the broken remains of various objects of cultic significance accumulated. Ibn 'Abbās said that the Ḥatīm 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 "*ḥatmat al-nās*", i.e., the crush of the people (during the ceremonies of the *ḥajj*), Bukhārī, II, 203; Wāqidī, III, 1106. And cf. also Azraqī, 58.

¹¹⁴ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.t.m."; ... *aw bayna l-rukn l-aswad illā l-bāb illā l-maqām, haythu yataḥattimu l-nās li-l-duʿā, ay yataḥattimu, ja-yatḥattimu ba-ḥatḥum ba-ḥatīm*. See also Azraqī, 267; *Qirāʾ*, 314; *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 268; 'Adawī, 123^a. Dozy's attempt (p. 182) to explain the term "Ḥatīm" according to the Hebrew "*ḥatā'im*" is not convincing.

¹¹⁵ Azraqī, 267; *Qirāʾ*, 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; *Qirāʾ*, 314; *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 268.

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

In a further explanation, the term "Ḥatīm" is again connected with the casting of objects, this time, in relation to the worship of Isāf and Nā'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-Ḥatīm". This report, which confirms that the area called "Ḥatīm" 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 Hījr, or to the Ka'ba itself. The nature of the votive gifts which were laid in the Ḥatīm 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, Kīsrā Qubadh (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 (*ghīzāl*) 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 Grunnebaum, 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., Fakihī, 486^{9ff}; Azraqī, 68-70, 436ff.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 61; Hamdani, II, 33-34; Kalafī, I, 223; Halaḥi, I, 35. It is interesting to note that a well called Zamzam existed in al-Madīna as well. See Samhūdī, II, 254; Nahravālī, 34-35.

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

¹²⁴ Fakihī, 339⁹.

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

¹²⁶ Fakihī, 338^a-338^b. Cf. also Ibn Habbīb, *Muṣannaf*, 415-416.

zelle was hung inside.¹²⁷ According to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94H/713), ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib excavated a golden gazelle, a sword and jewellery which were all consecrated to the Kaʿba.¹²⁸ According to al-Zuhri (d. 124H/742), the treasure contained some swords which were donated to the Kaʿba.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 ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have been Persian. In a unique report quoted by Muḡhullāy 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 (*daḡana*) some swords and jewellery "in the place of the well of Zamzam" (*ʿfī mawḍiʿi bīr Zamzam*). These objects were excavated later on by ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd 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

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. Bābāk 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 Kaʿba there was a pit which had a similar function. It served as a treasury (*khizāna*) in which votive gifts donated to the Kaʿba were placed.¹³⁷ In a way, this pit was parallel to the Ḥaṭīm outside the Kaʿba, 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 Kaʿba,¹³⁹ which probably means that they were deposited in the indoor *khizāna*.¹⁴⁰ Various precious objects which were donated to

¹²⁷ Fākih, 338^b-339^a.

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

¹²⁹ ʿAbd al-Razzaq, V, 315-316; Azraqi, 282-283; Bayhaqi, I, 72; Khargushī, 194^a-194^b; Suyuti, *Durr*, III, 219ff.; Yaʿqubī, I, 246; ʿAdawī, 93^b.

¹³⁰ A Muslim legend relates that five rams (*al-buḥsh*) testified to Dhū l-Qarnayn, who came to Mecca, that Abraham and Ishmael built the Kaʿba according to a divine decree (e.g., Ibn Kathīr, I, 165; ʿAdawī, 14^b). Commenting on this tradition, al-Fākih suggests that these rams were actually stone statues. See *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 271 (from al-Fākih): "... wa-ʿaẓimnu l-akbusha l-madhkurata ḥijāran... See also Ḥalabī, I, 159.

¹³¹ Muḡhullāy, 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 mushrikī Quraysh kātabū Farisa ʿala l-Rum wa-kātabūhūm Farisu* (Tabari, *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-kānā awliyādhūm fī l-jāhiliyya*).

¹³³ Hawting ("Zamzam", 46) holds that the objects discovered by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were of fundamental importance for the Kaʿba, 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 Kaʿba may have been, these objects were originally votive gifts.

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

¹³⁵ Cf. Fāhīd, *Pantheon*, 40.

¹³⁶ Maʿṣūdī, *Murūj*, I, 242.

¹³⁷ Azraqi, 73, 169-170; ʿAdawī, 76^{af}. See also ʿAbd al-Razzaq, V, 99; Wellhausen, 75. For the history of the treasure of the Kaʿba see Azraqi, 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 bīru l-Kaʿba liṭī kāna yulḡa fīhā mā yuḥḍā fī l-bayt*.

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

¹⁴⁰ It is related further that these objects were later on taken out from the Kaʿba 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-Fakihī¹⁴⁵:

... '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-Safir". They kept the white one till they built the Ka'ba, and then placed it in it. This is the Black Rukn.'

al-Muttaḥib 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; Tabarī, *Tarikh*, I, 38; Shāmī, I, 217; Muḥṣibī, 58^b; Ḥalabī, I, 32; Kalāṭī, 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-Muttaḥib 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., Tabarī, *Tarikh*, II, 37, 39; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Sa'd, I, 145; Ḥassān b. Thābit, I, 135, 370, 213, II, 115ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥammad*, 54-67; 'Askarī, I, 64-66; Ḥalabī, I, 34-35.

¹⁴¹ Azraqī, 156ff.

¹⁴² Azraqī, 156; *Et* 2 s.v. "Ka'ba". See further ḡṣamī, 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 Fakihī, 276^a.

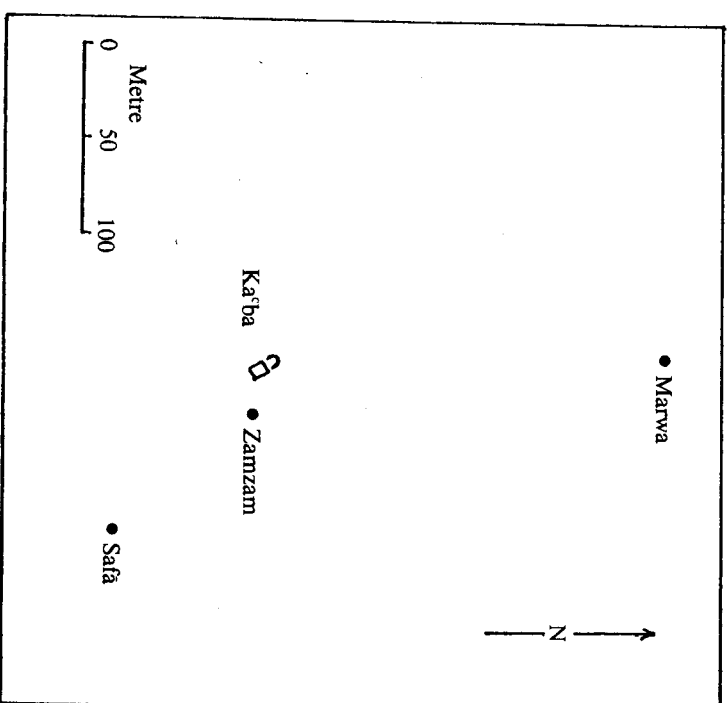


fig. 2. The Safā and the Marwa

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 Muhammad. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 209ff.; Ḥalabī, I, 145; *Faḥḥ al-bārī*, VII, 111; Bayhaqī, I, 333ff. According to Ma'mar b. Rashid, 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. Mudar 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; Muḡallī, *Kiṣṣat mi'a*, 81; *Qira*, 294; Nahravālī, 30; Kalāṭī, I, 114-115; Khargushī, 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 *Mushrikun* 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 *ansāb*.

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 'Ād prayed for rain on this mountain.¹⁵¹ The people of Quraysh headed by 'Abd al-Muttalib, 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

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

¹⁴⁷ And see also 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 40; *kāna al-Rukn yūda'u 'alā Abi Qubays fa-tud'u l-qaryatu min nurihi 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 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 38-39; Ibn Qutayba, *Tawil*, 287ff.

¹⁴⁸ Fākihī, 277e; *qāla Mujāhid: innamā swadda mā zahara minhu li-anna l-mushrikun* (sic) *kānu yallakihūna bi-l-damī fi-l-jāhiliyya*.

¹⁴⁹ Fākihī, 276b: ... *wā-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya iḥānā naharū laḥakihū bi-l-farth*. Others explained that this stone became black because of fire in the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

See Fākihī, 282b; 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 38; Azraqī, 153.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Hishām, I, 208; Azraqī, 43; Kalāṭī, I, 270; Hālābī, I, 142.

¹⁵¹ Nahravālī, 442 (from al-Fākihī).

¹⁵² Baladhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 82-83; Bayhaqī, I, 300ff.; Ibn Sa'd, I, 89-90; Ibn Hābiḥ, *Munam-ma*, 166ff.; Ibn Abi l-Dunayā, 7ff.; Suyūṭī, *Khawāṣṣ*, I, 198-200; Suhaylī, II, 28-29.

¹⁵³ *Mustadrak*, II, 512; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 306; 'Adawī, 5^a, 142^b; Nahravālī, 443; Azraqī, 478; Hālābī, I, 146.

¹⁵⁴ Khargūshī, 174^b.

¹⁵⁵ Nahravālī, 442-443; 'Adawī, 20^a, 142^b-143^a; Tabarī, *Tarikh*, I, 109, 110; 'Iṣmī, I, 74; Mas'ūdī, *Iḥḥā*, 17.

¹⁵⁶ Hālābī, I, 153; *Faḥ 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 Hālābī, I, 153, 159; Azraqī, 7, 30; *Faḥ al-bārī*, VI, 289-290; Suhaylī, I, 223; 'Adawī, 14^a; *EF*, "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 Wāḥb 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 Safā. 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 Safā, and, in this respect, it seems to be authentic.

"Al-Safā" 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'ayqī'an.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 Wāḥb indicates that Maqām Ibrāhīm remained upon the Safā till it was transferred to the Ka'ba, together with the Black Stone.

Upon being transferred to the Ka'ba, the Maqām was placed close to its front wall. Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya declared that in the days of 'Abd al-Muttalib he saw the Maqām adjacent (*muljaq*) to the Ka'ba, shining like a diamond (*mahār*).¹⁶¹ In Muḥammad's days, the Maqām is reported to have been situated close to the Ka'ba, 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'ba.¹⁶³ Only in the days of 'Umar was the Maqām put in its present place, some metres away from the door of the Ka'ba.¹⁶⁴ In later days, however, the Maqām was placed

inside the Ka'ba for short periods of time. When al-Khargushī (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 *maṣmūm*, 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 Safā 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. "Safā" 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 Talīb, reference is made to images (*ṣūra*) and statues (*ṭamāḥil*) situated in the vicinity of the Safā and the Marwa.¹⁶⁹ In another verse, ascribed to 'Abd al-Muttalib, he refers to his camels which were grazing between the Safā and the Marwa, and the "black ritual stones" (*al-marwālayni wa-l-mushā'iri* l-

¹⁵⁸ Umar are not clear. According to Ibn Jurayj, 'Umar wished to secure the Maqām from the damage of the crowds (during the *ṭawāf*). See Fakhri, 331^a. According to Mujaḥid, 'Umar wanted to protect the Maqām from the torrents. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 47-48.

¹⁵⁹ 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; Azraqi, 275, 276; 'Adawī, 86b-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 Suyuti, *Durr*, I, 119 (Ibn Abi Dawūd); *Faḥḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Mardawayhi); cf. Halabi, 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 Fakhri, 331^a, 331^b; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 48; Azraqi, 277; *Qirā'*, 345. Some traditions relate, accordingly, that the Maqām was attached to the Ka'ba by no other than Abraham himself. See *Faḥḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 ('Abd al-Razzāq), VI, 289; Mas'ūdī, *Muruj*, II, 49; Shāmī, I, 182; Kalāṣī, I, 115; Halabi, I, 161; Ibn Kathir, 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 *Faḥḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Abi Ḥatīm).

¹⁶⁰ For further data on this matter see M.J. Kister, "Maqām Ibrāhīm", *EJ* 2.

¹⁶¹ Khargushī, 190^a.

¹⁶² See Dozy, 155ff.; Kister, "Maqām", 486ff.

¹⁶³ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ṣ.ḥ.w."

¹⁶⁴ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "m.r.w."

¹⁶⁵ Ibn Hishām, I, 292.

30ff.

¹⁵⁹ Fakhri, 277^a.

¹⁶⁰ On the location of the Safā at the foot of Abū Qubays see Muḥṣilī, II, 21^b, *idem*, *Khams mi'a*, 82; Fasi (Wustenfild), 84; 'Adawī, 142^a; Azraqi, 477; Halabi, I, 142; G. Renz, "Abū Qubays", *EJ* 2. On the Marwa being at the foot of Qu'ayqī'an see Fasi (Wustenfild), 95. On the Safā and the Marwa in general, see Wellhausen, 76ff.; Fahd, *Panthéon* 105; D.B. Joel, "al-Safā", *EJ* 1; Gaudefoy-Demombynes, "Sa'y", *EJ* 1.

¹⁶¹ Fakhri, 329^a. Cf. 'Adawī, 86^a.

¹⁶² Fakhri, 331^a. ... *kāna bayna l-maqām wa-bayna l-ka'ba manāḥira l-ʿanza*.

¹⁶³ Wāḥidī, II, 832.

¹⁶⁴ See Bayhaqi, I, 335; Suyuti, *Durr*, I, 120 (from al-Bayhaqi). See also *Faḥḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129; Wellhausen, 76. The reasons for the removal of the Maqām from the Ka'ba by

ṣūf).¹⁷⁰ A report recorded by al-Fākihī relates that when Muḥammad conquered Mecca, there were in it 36 (!) idols; one was upon the Saḡā, 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 Saḡā and the Marwa in pre-Islamic times – Isāf and Nā'ila. The one who set them there is said to have been 'Amr b. Luhayy from Khuḡā'a.¹⁷² This means that Isāf and Nā'ila, like the Black Stone and Maqām Ibrāhīm, had been worshipped in the area of the Saḡā and the Marwa, before Quraysh transferred them to the vicinity of the Ka'ba, i.e., to the Hījir.

The removal of Isāf and Nā'ila from the Saḡā and the Marwa is ascribed to Qusayy, 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 Saḡā 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 Saḡā and the Marwa.¹⁷⁶ The *ṭawāf* itself was performed by running,¹⁷⁷ but only during one of its stages, upon crossing

¹⁷⁰ Muḡātil, II, 251^b. See also Muḡbulayy, 26^a (from Muḡātil).

¹⁷¹ Fākihī, 380^a.

¹⁷² E.g., Azraqī, 74-75; 49-50. And see also, Fākihī, 380^a, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḡabbar*, 311; Yaḡūt, I, 170; Wahidī, 25. And see further, Wellhausen, 77-78; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 103ff.; Luling, 172-173. According to some reports, Isāf and Nā'ila were made of copper (*Faḡh al-bārī*, III, 400). Some reports say that the idols upon the Saḡā and the Marwa were named Muḡāwīd al-Rih and Muḡ'im al-Tayr. See Fākihī, 380^a; Yaḡūbī, I, 254; Azraqī, 78; 'Adawī, 42^c. Cf. Wellhausen, 78; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 106ff. In a peculiar tradition recorded by Muslim (IV, 68), "Isāf and Nā'ila" are mentioned as a pair of idols at the seashore.

¹⁷³ See Kister "Khuḡā'a", 77ff.

¹⁷⁴ Azraqī, 74-75. See also, *ibid.*, 49-50; 'Adawī, 41^b. And cf. Halaḡī, I, 12, where the transfer of these idols to the place of Zamzam is attributed to 'Amr b. Luhayy. 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 Saḡā and the Marwa. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammag*, 344-345.

¹⁷⁵ *Faḡh al-bārī*, III, 400 (Nasā'ī).

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

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

the valley between the Saḡā 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 Saḡā 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 Hums, 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 Hums to the Ka'ba is indicated clearly in the explanation that the term "Hums" was derived from "al-Hamsā", being one of the names of the Ka'ba, referring to the grey colour of its stones.¹⁷⁹ The objection of the Hums to the *ṭawāf* between the Saḡā and the Marwa is demonstrated in the following report of Muḡātil b. Sulaymān:

The Hums – they were Quraysh, Kināna, Khuḡā'a and 'Āmir b. Sa'sa'a – said: 'the Saḡā and the Marwa do not belong in the sacred sites (*ṣha'ā'ir*) of Allah'. In the Jāhiliyya there was on the Saḡā an idol named Nā'ila (!), and on the Marwa there was an idol named Isāf (!). They (i.e., the Hums) 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 Hums did not make the *ṭawāf* between the Saḡā and the Marwa, which contradicts the information recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb,¹⁸¹ is mentioned by al-Marzūqī as well.¹⁸² It indicates that the Hums wished to confine the Meccan rituals to the area of the Ka'ba, which, according to the view of the Hums, was to become the only appropriate place for

¹⁷⁸ Bukhārī, V, 55-56: *la yujizu l-baḡhā illā shaddan*. See also *Qirā*, 369.

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

¹⁸⁰ Muḡātil, I, 25^b. See also *idem*, *Khamis mi'a*, 90.

¹⁸¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḡabbar*, 180.

¹⁸² Marzūqī, II, 237: *wa-kānat al-Hums tada'u 'Arāfaḡa taḡāwunān biḡā wa-ikhṡāṭān, wa-tada'u l-Saḡā wa-l-Marwa*.

the performance of the *ṭawāf*.¹⁸³ In fact, since the transfer of Isāf and Nā'ila from the Safā 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 Hums 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 Hums, but also by tribes belonging to the organization of the Hilla, for some of whom there was no point in avoiding the ceremonies at the Safā and the Marwa. It seems that certain idols continued to be worshipped by the latter at the Safā and the Marwa, even after the removal of Isāf and Nā'ila from this area. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar (d. 256H/870) reports that those people of the Hilla who kept on coming to the Safā and the Marwa belonged to Kindif.¹⁸⁵

With the advent of Islam, the last hopes for maintaining the leading position of the Ka'ba were lost. Muhammad, although one of the Hums, attended the rites of the Safā and the Marwa during each pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁸⁶ His first 'Umra from al-Madina was '*umra al-qadīya*' (7H/629), and during this 'Umra Muhammad not only made the *ṭawāf* between the Safā 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 Safā and the Marwa during this 'Umra, while the pre-Islamic idols were still situated upon these hills.¹⁸⁸ The *ṭawāf* between the Safā and the Marwa was eventually provi-

ded with a proper Quranic rehabilitation.¹⁸⁹

The practice of running during some parts of the *ṭawāf* between the Safā 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 *ṭawāf* between the Safā and the Marwa, Muhammad'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 Hums. With this object in mind, the prophet took some measures which were designed to break the old ritual restrictions of the Hums, and, consequently, he rehabilitated the *ṭawāf* between the Safā 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, Muhammad took another measure which had a considerable effect on the position of Mecca as a whole. The Hums, 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.

¹⁸³ The Aws and the Khazraj from al-Madina, too, refrained from performing the *ṭawāf* between the Safā and the Marwa because they adhered to the worship of Manāt in Qudayd. See Muslim, IV, 68ff.; Bukhari, II, 193-194; Tabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 29; Suyuti, *Durr*, I, 159; Azraqi, 78-79; *Qirā*, 361; Abu Dawūd, I, 438-439; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 398ff.; *Musṭadrak*, II, 270. Cf. also Wellhausen 28.

¹⁸⁴ Azraqi, 75, 121; 'Adawī, 41b.

¹⁸⁵ Fasi, II, 42 (from al-Zubayr b. Bakkar).

¹⁸⁶ E.g., Wāqidi, III, 959 ('Umra al-jirāna), 1098-1099 (Hajjat al-Wada'); Ibn Sa'd, II, 122; *Qirā*, 620; Wellhausen, 77.

¹⁸⁷ Wāqidi, II, 736; *ḥādīth l-manḥara wa-kullu fiji* *Makka manḥar*. See also Ibn Sa'd, 173 (Hajjat al-wada').

¹⁸⁸ Tabari, II, 45; *fa-kāna l-nās ya'sawna wa-l-asnānu 'ala ḥālīhā*. The pre-Islamic idols, including Isāf and Nā'ila, were demolished only after the conquest of Mecca (8H/630).

¹⁸⁹ See Azraqi, 75, 77; Wāqidi, II, 841-842; Suyuti, *Durr*, IV, 199.

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

¹⁹⁰ E.g., *Qirā*, 369 (Nasā'i). But running during the *ṭawāf* between the Safā 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 Bukhari, II, 195; Tirmidhi, IV, 96ff.

¹⁹¹ *El* s.v. "Sa'y", Von Grunebaum, 30-31. It is related that Moses, too, performed the *sa'i* between the Safā and the Marwa. See Fakhi, 377b; Azraqi, 34-35, 37, 38. Cf. 349.

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

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