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FROM JÄHILIYYA TO ISLAM

Part II
THE KA'BA
Aspects of its ritual functions and position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times

Uri Rubin

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

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

² Abd 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. 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.

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). In fact, it is reported that the water used to flow down the area of Bab Bani Shayba which is situated opposite the façade of the Ka’ba. In order to protect the Ka’ba from the damage of these floods, a barrier (jidár) 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 Jidár 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 jidár were called “al-Jadara”.

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.

A further report concerning the builders of the jidár, 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 Khargushi, 201b. These dimensions are identical with the dimensions of the Tabernacle as recorded in Tha’labi 208. The ‘arish of Moses served as the model for the mosque of the prophet in al-Madina. See ‘Abd al-Razzáq, 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; ‘Adawa, 78b 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., Azraqi, 8, 357–358; Khargushi, 192b; Shámi, I, 233–234; Qirā, 653; Halabi, I, 149 ff.; Von Grunebaum, 19.

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

6 Azraqi, 275.


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-tay 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 ibrāhim 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 ‘Abdallah b. Jud‘an, “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 Zubaydi ascended the mountain of Abu 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-maqāmi wa-bayna l-rukni wa-l-ḥajar).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

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; Kalāt, I, 146; Khargushi, 183; Ṣāmī, I, 190; Suyayli, I, 156; Nahj, III, 472; Ibn Kathir, II, 291.
13 Aghānī, XVI, 64, 1. 4 from bottom.
14 Fath al-bari, III, 350; ‘Abd al-Razzaq, V, 102. See also Halabi, I, 159; Zurqānī, I, 205; ‘Adawi, 60. And cf. further Ṣāmī, I, 167; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Bayhaqi, I, 328; Tabari, Tārikh, II, 37; Azraa, 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 (thiyab, 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 Muhammad's first revelation, when the ancient ārīṣh was turned into a permanent roofed structure. The exact date of the foundation of this structure is not clear, 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. According to al-Fākīhī, Bāqūm agreed to deliver the timber to Quraysh on condition that they transported his merchandise to Syria with their trade caravan. 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. Other reports maintain that the ship was carrying marble, timber and iron from

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15 Luling (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 Muhammad's first revelation. Muhammad's age is said to have been 15, 25, 30 or 35. See Bayhaqi, I, 334; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 98, 103; Fath al-bārī, III, 351; Mughīltāy, 97a; Ibn Hishām, I, 204; Nahrawālī, 52; Halabi, I, 141; Zurqānī, I, 203. According to al-Bayhaqi (I, 331), the Ka'ba was built 15 years after the Fījār. It is also reported that the building of the Ka'ba took place 25 years after the Year of the Elephant (Mughīltāy, 97a). According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (fol. 129b), 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 Shāmlī, I, 192; Nahrawālī, 43-44; 'Adawi, 76b; Isāmī, I, 162; Zurqānī, I, 206; Halabi, I, 162. In some early verses it is stated that Jurhum participated with Quraysh in the building of the Ka'ba. See Zuhayr, Mu'allaga, 16; A'shā Maymūn, Diwan, ed. M.M. Husayn, Beirut n.d., p. 161 (XV, 44)). One tradition reports that 'Abd 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 "baniyyat Abī Tālib" ('Adawi, 81b).

17 Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Sa'd, I, 145; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102; Azraqī, 104-105, 107; Zurqānī, I, 204; Suhaylī, I, 225. See further EI², s.v. "Ka'ba"; Luling, 145.

18 Fath al-bārī, III, 351 (from al-Fākīhī).

19 'Adawi, 61a.
Byzantium for the restoration of a church in Abyssinia, which had been burnt by the Persians. A unique report recorded by Ibn Hajar relates that Quraysh asked Bâqum (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‘īs). According to another version, they asked him to build the Ka’ba on the Syrian model (bunyān al-Shām).

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, 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, and in the days of ‘Atâ’ b. Abî Rabâḥ (d. 114H/732) these images were still in existence. 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 Hijr, 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 Hijr as a section of the Ka’ba.

The next stage in the history of the Ka’ba was in the days of ‘Abdallâh 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. In so doing, he relied

20 Halabi, I, 143; Nahrawâlî, 50.
21 Ibn Hajar, Isâba, I, 266. See also Zurqâni, I, 203; Halabi, I, 144.
22 Azraqî, 114; Luling, 145.
23 Azraqî, 110-111; ʿIßâmi, I, 166; ʿAdawi, 64b.
24 Azraqî, 113: ʿṣa’amara rasululu llâhi (s) aq yamhu tilka l-ṣuwara illa mà kâna min ʿuraita ʿIsâ wa-Maryam. See also ʿAdawi, 64b-65b.
25 Azraqî, 111-112. Luling (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-Azraqî.
26 ʿAbd al-Razzâq, V, 104, 129, 131; Kalâqûi, I, 115; ʿAdawi, 63a; Nahrawâlî, 82; Azraqî, 105, 109, 115, 142; Halabi, 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 Azraqî 137, in which he believes to find a statement that the ancient Hijr 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-Hajjaj (74H/693), who restored the Ka'ba to its pre-Zubayri dimensions.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 Hijr, 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 \textit{qibla} during the Meccan period. After the Hijra to Medina, however, when Muhammad abandoned the temporary \textit{qibla} of Jerusalem,\textsuperscript{29} and


\textsuperscript{29} According to some reports, Muhammad started to pray towards Jerusalem right after the Hijra, in order to please the Jews of al-Madīna. See Tābirī, \textit{Tafsīr}, II, 4, 13; Rāzī, IV, 104. See also \textit{Fath al-bārī}, I, 88; Rāzī, IV, 110. According to other reports, however, Muḥammad had started praying towards Jerusalem already before the Hijra. According to Halābī, I, 264, he had done so since the \textit{isrā'}. According to others, Jerusalem became Muḥammad's \textit{qibla} 18 months before the Hijra (\textit{Fath al-bārī}, I, 90, from Ibn Mājah). Still others maintained that Muḥammad prayed towards Jerusalem since his first revelation. See 'Adawi, 151a (in Hīrā'); \textit{Fath 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 \textit{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, 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'zâb) located in this wall. Some traditions actually recount the virtues of prayers held opposite the mi'zâb. 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. The statue of the idol Manaf was, reportedly, situated opposite the Black Stone, and the statues of Isaf and Nala were located near Zamzam. It is reported that the area surrounding Isaf

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 Hisham, I, 319, 372; Bayhaqi, I, 439; Suyuti, Durr, III, 183; Halabi, I, 264, 332, 414; Ibn Sa'd, I, 243.

30 Muhammed's return to the qibla of the Ka'ba was criticised by ahl al-kitab as a setback toward the din of his fellow tribesmen. See Suyuti, Durr, I, 148; Razi, IV, 91. See also Askari, I, 332.

31 Fakihi, 329: fa-kâna (s)yusalli ita l-mi'zâb wa-huwa bt-l-madina... See also Suyuti, Durr, I, 119-120.

32 Khargushi, 168; Fasi, I, 218. On the qibla of the mi'zâb see further Azraqi, 249; Tabari, Tafsir, II, 14; Suyuti, Durr, I, 147.

33 Waqidi, II, 832: wa-huwa wa'ajha l-ka'ba 'ala babiha. This report contradicts the usual accounts locating Hubal inside the Ka'ba.

34 Yaqut, IV, 185; Fahd, Panthéon, 39.

35 E.g., Ibn Hisham, I, 84-85; Ibn al-Kalbi, 29; Azraqi, 75; Fasi, II, 53. Other reports maintain that Isaf and Nala were situated opposite the Black Rukn and the southern Rukn. See Ya'qubi, I, 254; Muqattal, II, 210b; Kister, "Labbayka", 57.
and Na‘ila was considered pure, so that menstruating women were not allowed to enter it.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{37} Zamzam is also said to have been situated “\textit{bayna l-farth wa-l-dam}”,\textsuperscript{38} i.e., between the intestines and the blood (of sacrificial animals).\textsuperscript{39} In one report it is stated that Zamzam was located near the idols (\textit{asnām}) of Quraysh, which had intestines (\textit{farth}) upon their heads.\textsuperscript{40} The actual slaughter was performed near special stones called \textit{ansāb} (sing. \textit{nusub}). This is indicated in further reports stating that Zamzam was located near the “red sacrificial stones” (\textit{al-ansāb al-\textit{humr}}).\textsuperscript{41} The red colour of the stones implies that the blood of the sacrificial animals was shed or smeared upon them.\textsuperscript{42} Further reports indicate that the sacrificial meat was sliced and also laid upon the stones,\textsuperscript{43} but some of it was cooked and eaten by the worshippers in a communion feast.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{36} Azraqi, 75. This prohibition is already mentioned in an early verse dealing with Isāf. See Ibn al-Kalbi, 29; Azraqi, 75. The same verse is also recorded in relation to Manāf. See Wellhausen, 56-57; Fahd, \textit{Panthéon}, 122.

\textsuperscript{37} E.g., Ibn Hisham, I, 154, 84.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibn Hisham, I, 154.

\textsuperscript{39} For the ritual significance of this phrase see also Dozy, 181-182; Fahd, \textit{Panthéon}, 108, n. 2.

\textsuperscript{40} Fakihi, 338\textsuperscript{b} (Sa‘īd b. Jubayr).

\textsuperscript{41} Fakihi, 338\textsuperscript{b}; ‘Adawi, 93; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, V, 314; Azraqi, 282; Bayhaqi, I, 73; Khargushi, 194\textsuperscript{a}.

\textsuperscript{42} On the implication of blood and the red colour see e.g., I. Lichtenstädtcher, “A note on the \textit{gharānīq}”. \textit{IOS (Israel Oriental Studies)}, V, 1975, 59, n. 20.

\textsuperscript{43} E.g., Tabari, \textit{Tafsīr}, VI, 48 (Ibn Jurayj).

\textsuperscript{44} See Bayhaqi, I, 385.
nusub of Khuzā’a,45 or near the mawdī 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‘īla 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‘īla 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. Muqāṭil 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 ʿAbd al-Muttalib once intended to slaughter ʿAbdallāh, his son, between Isāf and Nā‘īla, or near Isāf.52

The term “Hijr” 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 Hijr next to the Ka‘ba, as ʿarisā 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 Hijr, or the area between the ancient jīdār and the Ka‘ba, served as a pen, or fold for

45 Fakiḥi, 338a; Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, 415.
46 Fakiḥi, 338a.
47 Ibn Saʿd, I, 84.
48 Taḥqīf, Tafsīr, VI, 48.
49 Wāqidī, II, 795; Wellhausen, 77.
50 Muqāṭil, Khams mi’a, 95-96. See also idem., II, 25b.
51 Rāzī, XXIII, 37. And see further, Suyūṭī, Durr, IV, 363.
52 E.g., Ibn Ḥishām, I, 162; Bayhaqī, I, 82; Kalāqī, I, 224; Ḥalabī, I, 36; Nahrāwālī, 48. See also Wellhausen, 115-116.
54 Azraqī, 31; Kalāqī, I, 114; Shāmī, I, 181; ʿAdawi, 15b; Ḥāfīz, I, 211; Fath al-bāri, VI, 289. Cf. also Lūling, 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 Bahira, the Sā'ība and the Ḥāmi.\(^{56}\) These animals were eventually slaughtered, and it is reported that the Bahira was slaughtered next to the Ka'ba, near Isaf 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 qalamīsa) 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. Ḥarīthah 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.

\(^{57}\) Fāṣī, II, 54.

\(^{58}\) Azraqi, 56; Ḥīṣāni, I, 181; Ḥādīl, 294.

\(^{59}\) Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbah, 156-157.

\(^{60}\) Baldhūri, Ansāb, I, 469.

\(^{61}\) E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 309-310; Wāqīḍi, I, 120, 125; Ibn Sa'īd, IV, 199-201.
Some traditions indicate that the prophet used to pray in the Hijr during the early Meccan period. According to some more specific traditions he used to pray opposite the Black Stone, which served as his first qibla. Other reports, however, imply that in the early Meccan period, Muhammad prayed opposite Maqam Ibrâhim. In any case, it is clear that the façade of the Ka'ba was his first qibla. Later on, when Mecca was conquered, Muhammad again prayed near the Maqâm, and even declared that this was to become the official Muslim qibla. In later days, the Hijr continued to function as a place for public prayers. Some traditions indicate that in the first decades after Muhammad's death the Jumu'a service was held in the Hijr, and this was also the place of the minbar. Already Muhammad himself, reportedly, delivered the ceremonial khutba "between the House and Zamzam", and some further traditions indicate that the minbar was set close to the Rukn (= the Black Stone).

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

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62 Bukhari, I, 58; Khargushi, 107º; Halabi, I, 332; Fasi, I, 220.
63 Halabi, I, 264 (from Imtâc al-asma'; ...wa-kânat şalâtuhu (s) nahwa l-Ka'ba wa-istaqâba l-hajar al-aswada... For Muhammad's prayer towards the Black Stone see further Suyuti, Durr, VI, 369; Muqatil, II, 26º.
64 Tabari, Taširâ, XXX, 164, 165; Suyuti, Durr, VI, 369; Muqatil, II, 26º.
65 Other traditions as well imply that since his first revelation Muhammad used to pray towards the Ka'ba. See Bayhaqi, I, 401; Suyuti, Khašâ'is, I, 233-234. And see Tabari, Taširâ, II, 4: qala lbn Jurayj: šallâ rasûlu llâhi (s) awwa lâlû ilâ l-Ka'ba... Luling (p. 136-140) maintains that the pre-Islamic Meccans (including Muhammad) 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 Muhammad 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 umânâ of the qibla (Ibn Habib, Muhabbar, 182; Kister, "Mecca and Tamim", 146).
66 Fasi, I, 219, 222; Qirâ, 349; Halabi, III, 87. See also Wâqidi, II, 832. It is related that already Abraham used the Maqâm as a qibla, when he prayed towards the door of the Ka'ba. See Suyuti, Durr, I, 119; 'Adawi, 86º; Qirâ, 342. Adam as well is said to have prayed in the direction of the door of the Ka'ba. See Halabi, I, 152. In some early verses of the hajîf Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl it is stated, likewise, that Abraham prayed towards the qibla of the Ka'ba. See Ibn Hishâm, I, 245; Zubayr b. Bakkâr, fol. 166º.
67 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 176, 178;
68 Fâkihi, 414º.
69 Ibid., 415º.
that place was pardoned by God.\footnote{Ibid., 333. See also Fāsi, I, 197; Kister, “Maqām”, 482.}

Several traditions indicate that this area functioned as a place for oaths. \textsuperscript{70} Ali b. Abdallāh declared that if he had to swear between the Rukn and the Maqām, he would have sworn that \textquoteright{}Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī was the most trustworthy traditionist.\footnote{Ibn Hibbān, I, 52.} According to some reports the Mahdī himself was to receive his pledge of allegiance between the Maqām and the Rukn.\footnote{Kister, \textquotedblleft Maqām\textquotedblright, 482.} Another eschatological event which would take place between the Rukn and the Maqām was the emergence of the mythical \textit{dabbat al-ard}.\footnote{\textsuperscript{72} Kister, \textquotedblleft Maqām\textquotedblright, 482.} Invocations against evil-doers were, likewise, held between the Rukn and the Maqām.\footnote{\textsuperscript{73} Adawi, 65.} The same vicinity was in fact the place where oaths connected with all kinds of criminal issues were taken.\footnote{Azraqī, 271; Kister, \textquotedblleft Maqām\textquotedblright, 482.} Executions were carried out in the same area. On the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad executed one of the Meccans (\textquoteright{}Abdallāh b. Khatal) between Zamzam and the Maqām.\footnote{Azraqī, 271; Kister, \textquotedblleft Maqām\textquotedblright, 482.} According to another report, he was executed between the Rukn and the Maqām.\footnote{Fath al-bāri, VIII, 13 (from Kitāb Makka of \textsuperscript{74} Umar b. Shabba).}

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,\footnote{Waqādī, II, 859. On Ibn Khatal see also Zubayr b. Bakkār, 200.} 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. \textsuperscript{75} Abū Zakariyā b. 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

\footnote{See \textit{EI²}, s.v. “Ka'ba”. This location dates back to the days of \textquoteright{}Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr who reportedly "discovered" in this area the tombs of Hagar and Ishmael. See Azraqī, 220, 142-143, 149; Shami, I, 194-195; for the graves of prophets in this area see further Azraqī, 39; \textit{Qirā}, 654-655; Fāsi, I, 198, 218; Ibn Qutayba, \textit{Ma'ārif}, 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-Fākīhī, Ishmael’s burial place was “in the Ḥijr, opposite the Black Rukn”.61 According to al-Kalāṭ, Ishmael was buried “inside the Hijr, next to the door of the Kaʿba”.82 According to al-Shāmī, Ishmael’s tomb was located “in al-Hājūn (!), next to the door of the Kaʿba”.83 The reason why the Hijr was chosen by Muslim tradition to be Ishamel’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 ʿAbb al-Muṭṭalib, 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

80 Masʿūdī, Murūj, II, 48: ...ḥiyāla l-mawdiʾi ʿllahdi fihi l-Ḥajar l-Aswad. See also Fāsī, I, 218 (from al-Masʿūdī); Halabī, I, 154, 170.
81 Fākīhī, 3578 ...fa-qabrba Ismāʿīl fi l-Ḥijr, muqābila l-Rukn l-Aswad.
82 Kalāṭī, I, 119: ...dākhila l-Ḥijr mimma yali bāb al-Kaʿba.
83 Shāmī, I, 187.
84 See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116; Tabarī, Tārikh, I, 177, 178-179, 180; Bukhārī, IV, 173 ff.; ʿAzaqī, 23, 280 ff.; Masʿūdī, Ithbāt, 38-39; Thālabī, 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., Kalāṭī, I, 222; Nahj, III, 468-469; Mughūlṭāy, 578.
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; Halabī, I, 32; ʿAdawī, 91b; ʿAzaqī, 52; Khargūshī, 1944; Zurqānū, 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 Fākīhī, 338a, the traditions of ʿIkrima, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Saʿīd b. Jubayr.
86 E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115ff.; ʿAzaqī, 289-290, 292-293; Khargūshī, 196a, 197a; Qirā, 487; Suyūṭī, Durr, III, 222.
The Ka'ba

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

The term “Hijr” 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 Śāliḥ. Consequently, the Hijr of the Ka'ba was, too, associated with the Quranic prophets who had been rejected by Thamūd, as well as by Ād and other umam khāliya. The Meccan Hijr 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, Śāliḥ, and Ishmael. Another tradition which is traced back to the prophet states that the graves of Nūḥ, Hūd, Shu'ayb, Śāliḥ, and Ishmael were located between Zamzam and the Maqām. In a further tradition, the number of prophets buried between the Rukn, the Maqām, and Zamzam is said to have been 77 or 99. Another tradition speaks of 70 prophets buried between the Rukn and the Ṣafā. 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-Fākīhī to the effect that in the “Sacred Mosque” there were only two tombs – those of Ishmael and Shu'ayb. Moreover, it was claimed that Hūd and Śāliḥ had been constantly preoccupied with their peoples till they died, so that they had never made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Not only the Hijr 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. ʿAlī reportedly stated that the best well upon earth

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87 Azraql, 39. See also Fāsī, I, 197.
88 Khargūshi, 167b. 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-Aswād there were buried 70 prophets. See Khargūshi, 167b; Halabi, I, 154.
90 Ibn Shahrāshub, I, 188.
91 Fākīhī, 357a.
92 Azraql, 38; Ḥalabi, I, 154.
93 On Barahūt see G. Rentz, “Barhūt”, EI². “Barahūt” appears also as the name of an idol. See Nawādir al-makhtūtāt, I, 288.
was Zamzam, and Barahut was the worst; it was well in Barahut where the spirits (arwāḥ) of the unbelievers used to assemble.\textsuperscript{94} A similar statement is recorded on the authority of Ibn Jurayj,\textsuperscript{95} and another version is traced back to the prophet himself.\textsuperscript{96} This comparison is probably designed to imply that unlike Barahut which was inhabited by evil spirits, Zamzam was the home of the spirits of the righteous. In this context it must be noted that Barahut 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 ʿAbbas says that the spirits of the believers are at al-Jābiya, in al-Shām, whereas the spirits of the unbelievers are at Barahut, in Hadramawt.\textsuperscript{97} As indicated by Goldziher,\textsuperscript{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 Zamzam\textsuperscript{99} were also ascribed to the spirits which resided in it, or in its vicinity.

Believed to be the home of blessed dead, the Hijr features in Muslim tradition as a place where divine inspiration could be obtained through incubation dreams.\textsuperscript{100} Various persons are reported to have been guided by such dreams while sleeping in the Hijr. It is related that Kināna heard a voice while sleeping in Hijr, telling him about his future.\textsuperscript{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 Muhammad.\textsuperscript{102} ʿAbd al-Muttalib dreamt in the Hijr that a cosmic chain grew out of his body and turned into a green tree.\textsuperscript{103} He also dreamt there that he was dressed in a beautiful

\textsuperscript{94} ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116; Azraqi, 290; Khargūshi, 196; Suyūṭi, Durr, III, 222; Qirā, 488-489.
\textsuperscript{95} ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116-117; Azraqi, 292; Suyūṭi, Durr, III, 222; Qirā, 489.
\textsuperscript{96} Mundhūrī, III, 45-46.
\textsuperscript{97} Yaquṭ, I, 406. See also Muqāṭil, II, 224\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{98} Goldziher, II, 313.
\textsuperscript{99} E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Fākhi, 340\textsuperscript{a} ff.; ʿAdawi, 99\textsuperscript{b} ff.; Khargūshi, 196\textsuperscript{a} ff.; Suyūṭi, Durr, III, 221 ff.; Azraqi, 289ff.; Qirā, 488; Fāsi, I, 252 ff.
\textsuperscript{100} Cf. Fahd, Divination, 363-364. And see, on the other hand, Fāsi, I, 219 (concerning the Hijr): wa-yanbaghi tawaqqi l-nawmi filih. And see also Azraqi, 306, a tradition favouring this practice.
\textsuperscript{101} Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 35: wa-raʾā Kināna wa-huwa naʿīmūn (printed: "qāʾīm") fi l-Hijr. qāʾīlan yaqūd: ... 
\textsuperscript{102} Khargūshi, 12\textsuperscript{a}-12\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{103} Khargūshi, 17\textsuperscript{b}-18\textsuperscript{a}; Masūdi, Ithbāt, 104; Zurqānī, I, 90-91; Suyūṭi, Khasāʾīs, I, 98-99.
robe which meant that it was time for him to marry. In the same place, 'Abd al-Mu'ttalisib was also inspired by a series of dreams to dig Zamzam. Amina, Mu'hammad's mother, dreamt in the Hijr that she was about to give birth to "Ahmad", the lord of mankind. The prophet himself received the vision of the isrā' while sleeping in the Hijr, or, according to another version – in the Ḥatîm.

4. The Ḥatîm

The area of the Hijr is often referred to in Muslim sources as "al-Ḥatîm". This term, like "Hijr", is applied nowadays to the semicircular 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 Ḥatîm was situated between the Black Rukn, the door of the Ka'ba, Maqām Ibrāhīm, and Zamzam. The Black Rukn itself was known as "Rukn al-Ḥatîm".

The term "Ḥatîm", like "Hijr", 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-Ḥatîm, al-Hathma and al-Hajûn.

The term "Ḥatîm" seems to have been applied to the area of the Hijr as a reflection of some ritual ceremonials performed in it. The root
“ḥ.t.m.” means a crush, or crowding, 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. 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. The Ḥaṭīm was, in fact, the place where the pre-Islamic Arabs used to practice the *qasāma*. In Islamic times as well people continued to take oaths in the Ḥaṭīm. Ibn Muljam, for example, vowed in the Ḥaṭīm to execute ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb.

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‘īla, at the end of the *tawāf* around the Kaʿba. 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. Muslim philologists explained, accordingly, that this place was named “Ḥaṭīm” because the clothes remained there till they crumbled (*ḥuṭima*).

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 Jahiliyya used to take oaths there, while casting their whips or their shoes or their bows (as a token of sincerity).

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113 See for example, the phrase “ḥatmat al-nās”, i.e., the crush of the people (during the ceremonies of the *hajj*), Bukhari, II, 203; Waqidi, III, 1106. And cf. also Azraqi, 58.
114 Tāj al-ʿarūs, s.v. “ḥ.t.m”: ...*aw bayna l-rukhn l-aswad ilā l-bāb ilā l-maqām. ḥaythu yataḥhāṭamu l-nāsu li-l-durā; ay yazdahimūna, fa-yāhītmu baʿdhuhrum baʿd-dan.* See also Azraqi, 267; Qira, 314; Fath al-bārī, VI, 268; “Adawi, 123a. Dozy’s attempt (p. 182) to explain the term “Ḥaṭīm” according to the Hebrew “ḥattāʾim” is not convincing.
115 Azraqi, 267; Qira, 314; “Adawi, 123a.
116 “Adawi, 122b-123a.
117 Wellhausen, 74 n. 1; Lammens, 148, n. 4.
118 Azraqi, 121. For the practice of *laqan* see further ibid., 118ff.; Ibn Hisham, I, 215ff.
119 Tāj al-ʿarūs, VIII, 251; Qira, 314; Fath al-bārī, VI, 268.
120 Bukhari, V, 56. See also Wellhausen, 74, n. 1. Cf. further Fath al-bārī, VII, 120-121.
In a further explanation, the term “Haťım” is again connected with the casting of objects, this time, in relation to the worship of Isâf and Nâ'îla, which were situated near Zamzam. Al-Azraqî\(^{121}\) 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-Haťım”. This report, which confirms that the area called “Haťım” 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 Hijr, or to the Ka‘ba itself. The nature of the votive gifts which were laid in the Haťım 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 Sâsânî ruler, Kisrâ Qubâdh (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. 1058/723) 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. 95/713), the treasure contained some swords and a golden gazelle. The swords were attached to the door of the Ka‘ba, and the ga-

\(^{121}\) Azraqî, 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, 486ff.; Azraqî, 68-70, 436ff.; Baladhuri, Futüh, 61; Hamdâni, II, 33-34; Kałâvi, I, 223; Halabi, I, 35. It is interesting to note that a well called Zamzam existed in al-Madina as well. See Samhâdî, II, 254; Nahrawâlî, 34-35.

\(^ {123}\) Mas‘ūdî, Murāj, II, 127. Some Qurashi rivals of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, especially from Nâwfał, objected to the digging. See Baladhuri, Ansâb, I, 78; Halabi, I, 35.

\(^ {124}\) Fākihi, 339n.


\(^ {126}\) Fākihi, 338n-338b. Cf. also Ibn Ḥabîb, Munammaq, 415-416.
According to Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (d. 94H/713), 'Abd al-Muttalib excavated a golden gazelle, a sword and jewellery which were all consecrated to the Ka'ba. According to al-Zuhri (d. 124H/742), the treasure contained some swords which were donated to the Ka'ba. These objects seem to have been part of the votive gifts which used to be cast in the Ḥatîm. 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.

The origin of the objects which were excavated by 'Abd al-Muttalib 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 (dafa'ana) some swords and jewellery "in the place of the well of Zamzam" (fi mawdi'i bi'r Zamzam). These objects were excavated later on by 'Abd al-Muttalib. This tradition which alludes to a certain involvement of the Persians in the Meccan cult in pre-Islamic times, indicates clearly that the objects which were discovered by 'Abd al-Muttalib were, indeed, votive gifts which had been buried in the Ḥatîm, or more accurately, in the "place of Zamzam" i.e., at the site where this well was to be dug later on. The custom of burying votive gifts, as was done by the Persians, was a common practice in pre-Islamic times.

These objects were excavated by 'Abd al-Muttalib and later, they were found to be of Persian origin. 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 (dafa'ana) some swords and jewellery "in the place of the well of Zamzam" (fi mawdi'i bi'r Zamzam). These objects were excavated later on by 'Abd al-Muttalib. This tradition which alludes to a certain involvement of the Persians in the Meccan cult in pre-Islamic times, indicates clearly that the objects which were discovered by 'Abd al-Muttalib were, indeed, votive gifts which had been buried in the Ḥatîm, or more accurately, in the "place of Zamzam" i.e., at the site where this well was to be dug later on. The custom of burying votive gifts, as was done by the Persians, was a common practice in pre-Islamic times.

127 Fakihī, 338b-339a.
128 Ibid., 338, See also Nahj, III, 469.
129 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 315-316; Aẓraiqī, 282-283; Bayhaqī, I, 72; Khargūshī, 194a-194b; Suyūṭī, Durr, III, 219f.; Yaqūqī, I, 246; ʿAdawī, 93a.
130 A Muslim legend relates that five rams (akbūš) testified to Dhu l-Qarnayn, who came to Mecca, that Abraham and Ishmael built the Ka'ba according to a divine decree (e.g., Ibn Kathīr, I, 165; ʿAdawī, 14b). Commenting on this tradition, al-Fakihī suggests that these rams were actually stone statues. See Fath al-bārī, VI, 271 (from al-Fakihī): ...wa-azunnu l-akbūsha l-madhkūrata hijāratan... See also Halabi, I, 159.
131 Mughulṭāy, 57a.
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 kātabu Fārisa ʿalā l-Rum wa-kātabathum Fārisu (Tabarī, 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-kānāt awwaliyā'ahum fi l-jahiliyya).
133 Hawting ("Zamzam", 46) holds that the objects discovered by 'Abd al-Muttalib 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. The existence of a similar practice in the vicinity of the Ḥatīm 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 ḡabghab. 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. This version is based upon the assumption that votive gifts of pilgrims were not only buried in the ground of the Ḥatīm, but also cast into Zamzam. In reality, this could have been done only since the digging of the well by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

The Ḥatīm 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. In a way, this pit was parallel to the Ḥatīm outside the Kaʿba, and this is illustrated most clearly by the fact that this indoor pit is sometimes called “Ḥatīm”. 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, which probably means that they were deposited in the indoor khizāna. Various precious objects which were donated to

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135 Cf. Fahd, Panthéon, 40.
137 Azraqi, 73, 169-170; ʿAdawi, 76f; See also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, 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 Fath al-bāri, VII, 120: al-Ḥatīm huwa biʿru l-Kaʿba llai kāna yulqā fihā mā yuhdā li-l-bayt.
139 Ḥalabi, I, 32; Suhayli, I, 166; ʿAdawi, 92. See also ʿAskari, 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-Azraqî. 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 'Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr.

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 Rukn), for instance, which, according to Wellhausen, 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-Fâkihi:

... 'Atâ' b. Abî Rabâh from Ibn 'Abbâs. He said: 'Quraysh discovered in the first period of their Jâhiliyya two stones on the summit of Abû 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-Mutâlib excavated them. See Azraqî, 52-53; Aghâni, XIII, 109. Other traditions maintain that the leader of Jurhum buried the objects, including the Black Rukn, inside Zamzam (e.g., Ibn Hisham, I, 120, 154; Tabari, Târikh, I, 38; Shâmi, I, 217; Mughulay, 58; Halabi, I, 32; Kalâfi, 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-Mutâlib himself, reportedly, placed the gazelle in the Ka'ba again, and it was later on stolen and demolished by Abû Lahab and others. See e.g., Tabari, Târikh, II, 37, 39; Ibn Hisham, I, 205; Ibn Sa'd, I, 145; Hassân b. Thâbit, I, 135, 370, 213, II, 115ff.; Ibn Habib, Munamaq, 54-67; 'Askari, I, 64-66; Halabi, I, 34-35.

141 Azraqî, 156ff.
142 Azraqî, 156; El² s.v. "Ka'ba". See further Ḥusnî, I, 165. Others maintained that the horns belonged to the ram which was sacrificed by Abel. See Halabi, I, 168.
144 Wellhausen, 74.
145 Fâkihi, 276a.
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'd\footnote{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.; Halabi, I, 145; 
\textit{Fath al-bari}, VII, 111; Bayhaqi, I, 333ff. According to Ma'mar b. Râshid, the stone was in the Ka'ba already before its building by Quraysh, being situated upon one of its unroofed walls. See \textit{Abd al-Razzâq}, 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 \textit{Halabi}, I, 158 (but see \textit{ibid.}, 17, where the same tradition refers to Maqām Ibrāhîm); Abû l-Baqî', 56. Later legendary traditions say that the Black Stone was removed from Abû Qubays already in the days of Abraham and Ishmael. See \textit{Abd al-Razzâq}, V, 96, 112; Azaqî, 32, 477-78; Suhayli, I, 223-224; \textit{Adawi}, 14b; Muqâtil, \textit{Kums mi'a}, 81; \textit{Qirà}, 294; Nahrawâli, 30; Kâlû, I, 114-115; Khargûshi, 172b; Halabi, I, 158; \textit{EI}, “Ka'ba”} as well, relates that the Black Stone was origi-
nally located on Abu Qubays; the people used to ascend the mountain in order to stroke that stone, till it blackened. Quraysh removed it from Abu Qubays four years before Muhammad’s first revelation.147

The real reason why the “Black Stone” lost its original brightness seems to have been preserved in the explanation of Mujähid (d. 104H/722) as recorded by al-Fākhi. Mujähid says that the stone became black because the Mushrikūn used to stain it with blood.148 Others explained that the people of the Jahiliyya 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 ansâb.

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 Abu 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-Fākhi says that people from the ancient tribe of ‘Ād prayed for rain on this mountain.151 The people of Quraysh headed by ‘Abd al-Muţṭalib, reportedly climbed the same mountain and prayed for rain upon its summit. They were answered immediately.152 The elevated position of Abu 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 Allah upon earth.153 Some traditions stress the superiority of Abu Qubays over

147 And see also ‘Abd al-Razzaq, V, 40; kâna al-Rukan yûda’u ‘alâ Abi Qubays sa-tudi’u l-qaryatu min nārīhi kullaha. Later Muslim traditions reflect the view that the Black Stone actually descended from heaven, but these traditions were refuted by Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya who stressed that the stone had been of an earthly origin. See ‘Abd al-Razzaq, V, 38-39; Ibn Qutayba, Tawîl, 287ff.
148 Fākhi, 277; qala Mujähid: innama swadda mà zahara minhu li-anna l-mushrikūn (sic.) kanu yaltakhunahu bi-l-dami fi-l jahiliyya.
149 Fākhi, 276; ...wa-kâna ahu l-jahiliyya idhâ naharu latakhühu bi-l-farth. Others explained that this stone became black because of fire in the days of ‘Abdallâh b. al-Zubayr. See Fâkhi, 282b; ‘Abd al-Razzaq, V, 38; Azraqi, 153.
150 Ibn Hishâm, I, 208; Azraqi, 43; Kalâ‘î, I, 270; Ḥalabi, I, 142.
151 Nahrawâlî, 442 (from al-Fâkhi).
152 Balâdhuq, Ansâb, I, 82-83; Bayhaqi, I, 300ff.; Ibn Sa‘d, I, 89-90; Ibn Habib, Munammâq, 166ff.; Ibn Abi l-Dunyâ, 7ff.; Suyûtî, Khasa‘îs, I, 198-200; Suhayli, II, 28-29.
153 Mustadrak, II, 512; Suyûtî, Durr, VI, 306; ‘Adawi, 5*, 142b; Nahrawâlî, 443; Azraqi, 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.\(^\text{154}\)

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.\(^\text{155}\) 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.\(^\text{156}\) 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.\(^\text{157}\) 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, 174b.

\(^{155}\) Nahrawali, 442-443; cAdawi, 20a, 142b-143a; Ῥ̃ber, Tārikh, I, 109, 110; ِsami, I, 74; Masūdi, Ithbāt, 17.

\(^{156}\) Halabi, I, 153; Fath al-bārī, VI, 290. For the origin of the stones which Quraysh used for the building of the Ka'ba see further Azraqi, 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 ِHalabi, I, 153, 159; Azraqi, 7, 30; Fath al-bārī, VI, 289-290; Suhayli, I, 223; ِAdawi, 14a; E12, "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 ِAdawi, 128bff.
“Maqâm Ibrâhîm.” 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 Maqâm were two sapphires which descended from heaven and were placed by Allah upon the Šafâ. Later on, Allah took away their brightness, and set them in their present place. This tradition is unique in indicating that the stone of Maqâm Ibrâhîm was originally situated upon the Šafâ, and, in this respect, it seems to be authentic.

“Al-Safâ” is the name of a well known sacred hill. In fact, it is the foothill of Mount Abû Qubays, and it is usually mentioned in the sources alongside another sacred hill – the Marwa. The latter is the foothill of Mount Qu’ayq’ân. It follows that Maqâm Ibrâhîm remained upon the Šafâ till it was transferred to the Ka’ba, together with the Black Stone.

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

158 On Maqâm Ibrâhîm see e.g., Wellhausen 76; Kister “Maqâm”; Hawting, “Origins”, 30ff.
159 Fakihi, 277a.
160 On the location of the Šafâ at the foot of Abû Qubays see Muqâtil, II, 21b; idem., Khams mi’a, 82; Fâṣi (Wüstenfeld), 84; ādawi, 144a; Azraqi, 477; Halabi, I, 142; G. Rentz, “Abu Kubays”, ET. On the Marwa being at the foot of Qu’ayq’ân see Fâṣi (Wüstenfeld), 95. On the Šafâ and theMarwa in general, see Wellhausen, 76ff.; Fahd, Panthéon 105; D.B. Joel, “al-Šafâ”, ET1; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, “Saṣy”, ET1.
162 Fakihi, 331b: ... kâna bayna l-maqâm wa-bayna l-ka’ba mamarru l-canza.
163 Waqidi, II, 832.
164 See Bayhaqi, I, 335; Suyūṭī, Durr, I, 120 (from al-Bayhaqi). See also Fath al-bâri, VIII, 129; Wellhausen, 76. The reasons for the removal of the Maqâm from the Ka’ba by
inside the Ka'ba for short periods of time. When al-Khargushi (d. 406H/1015) visited Mecca, he saw the Maqâm 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 Maqâm inside the Ka'ba during each mawṣim, in order to protect it. Like the Black Stone, Maqâm Ibrahim also carried an ancient inscription.

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. "Safâ" means broad smooth stones, and "Marwa" means a bright glittering stone which may produce fire. 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 Tālib, reference is made to images (ṣūra) and statues (tamāthil) situated in the vicinity of the Safā and the Marwa. In another verse, ascribed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he refers to his camels which were grazing between the Safā and the Marwa, and the "black ritual stones" ("al-marwatayni wa-l-masha'iri l-

165 Khargushi, 190a.
167 Ṭāj al-ʿarâs, s.v. "s.f.w."
168 Ṭāj al-ʿarâs, s.v. "m.r.w."
169 Ibn Hishām, I, 292.
A report recorded by al-Fākhi relates that when Muḥammad conquered Mecca, there were in it 36 (!) idols; one was upon the Ṣafā, one upon the Marwā, and the rest covered the area between them. Some reports mention the names of two idols which were upon the Ṣafā and the Marwā in pre-Islamic times – Isāf and Nā‘īla. The one who set them there is said to have been ʿAmr b. Luhayy from Khuzāʿa. This means that Isāf and Nā‘īla, like the Black Stone and Maqām Ibrāhīm, had been worshipped in the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwā, before Quraysh transferred them to the vicinity of the Ka‘ba, i.e., to the Hijr.

The removal of Isāf and Nā‘īla from the Ṣafā and the Marwā is ascribed to Qusayy, the one who established Quraysh as the leading power in Mecca. 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.

The worship of the idols at the Ṣafā and the Marwā 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. 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 Marwā. The ṭawāf itself was performed by running, but only during one of its stages, upon crossing

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170 Muqṭāil, II, 251b. See also Mughūltay, 26a (from Muqṭāil).
171 Fākhi, 380a.
172 E.g., Azraqā, 74-75; 49-50. And see also, Fākhi, 380b; Ibn Ḥabīb, Muhabbār, 311; Yaqūt, I, 170; Wahīdī, 25. And see further, Wellhausen, 77-78; Fahd, Panthéon, 103ff.; Luling, 172-173. According to some reports, Isāf and Nā‘īla were made of copper (Fath al-bārī, III, 400). Some reports say that the idols upon the Ṣafā and the Marwā were named Mujawid al-Rih and Mut‘im al-Tayr. See Fākhi, 380b; Ya‘qūbī, I, 254; Azraqā, 78; ʿAdawī, 42b. Cf. Wellhausen, 78; Fahd, Panthéon, 106ff. In a peculiar tradition recorded by Muslim (IV, 68), “Isāf and Nā‘īla” are mentioned as a pair of idols at the seashore.
173 See Kister “Khuzāʿa”, 77ff.
174 Azraqā, 74-75. See also, ibid., 49-50; ʿAdawī, 41b. And cf. Halabi, I, 12, where the transfer of these idols to the place of Zamzam is attributed to ʿAmr b. Luhayy. A divergent report relates that Isāf and Nā‘īla were originally near the Ka‘ba, and only later on were transferred by Quraysh to the Ṣafā and the Marwā. See Ibn Ḥabīb, Munammaq, 344-345.
175 Fath al-bārī, III, 400 (Nasāʿī).
176 Fākhi, 380a. the verse was: al-yawma qarri ʿaynan bi-qarī l-marwataynā (!).
177 Fākhi, 380b: … fa-kāna aḥlu l-jāhilyya yaṣʾawma baynahumā. Se also Fath al-bārī, III, 400; Suyūtī, Durr, I, 160; Wellhausen, 76.
the valley between the Safa and the Marwa. Al-Bukhari has recorded a tradition to the effect that the people of the Jahiliyya 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 tawaf between the Safa 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-Hamsa”, 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 tawaf between the Safa and the Marwa is demonstrated in the following report of Muqatil b. Sulayman:

The Hums – they were Quraysh, Kinana, Khuzâ'a and 'Amir b. Sa'âda – said: ‘the Safa and the Marwa do not belong in the sacred sites (sha'â'ir) of Allah’. In the Jahiliyya there was on the Safa an idol named Na'ila (!), and on the Marwa there was an idol named Isâf (!). They (i.e., the Hums) said: ‘it is improper for us to make the tawaf between them’, and therefore they did not make the tawaf between them...180

The report that the Hums did not make the tawaf between the Safa and the Marwa, which contradicts the information recorded by Ibn Habîb,181 is mentioned by al-Marzûqi 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 Bukhari, V, 55-56: lâ mâtiz l-bathâ'a illâ shaddan. See also Qirât, 369.
179 Fasi, II, 41, 43; Qirât, 381; Fath al-bâri, 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-Hamsa”.
180 Muqatil, I, 25b. See also idem., Khams mi'a, 90.
181 Ibn Habîb, Muhabbar, 180.
the performance of the *tawāf*. In fact, since the transfer of Isāf and Naʿila from the ʿSafā and the Marwā, their worship was affiliated into the cult of the Kaʿba, and the *tawāf* around them became part of the *tawāf* around this sanctuary. It is reported that when the Arabs made the *tawāf* around the Kaʿba, they started near Isāf, whom they used to touch, and concluded it near Naʿila, whom they, likewise, stroked.

The attempts of the Ḥums to turn the Kaʿba 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 Hilla, for some of whom there was no point in avoiding the ceremonies at the ʿSafā and the Marwā. It seems that certain idols continued to be worshipped by the latter at the ʿSafā and the Marwā, even after the removal of Isāf and Naʿila from this area. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256H/870) reports that those people of the Hilla who kept on coming to the ʿSafā and the Marwā belonged to Khīndif.

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

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183 The Aws and the Khazraj from al-Madīna, too, refrained from performing the *tawāf* between the ʿSafā and the Marwā 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; Qira, 361; Abu Dawūd, I, 438-439; Fath al-bārī, III, 398ff.; Mustadrak, II, 270. Cf. also Wellhausen 28.

184 Azraqī, 75, 121; ʿAdawi, 41b.

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

186 E.g., Waqīdī, III, 959 (ʿUmrat al-Jīrāna), 1098-1099 (Ḥajjat al-Wadāʾ); Ibn Saʿd, II, 173 (Ḥajjat al-wadāʾ).

187 Waqīdī, II, 736: ḥādha l-manharu wā-kullu fījāḥ Makka manhar. See also Ibn Saʿd, II, 122; Qira, 620; Wellhausen, 77.

188 Ṭabarī, II, 45: fa-kāna l-nāṣu waṣʿawna wa-l-āṣmānu ʿalā hālihā. The pre-Islamic idols, including Isāf and Naʿila, were demolished only after the conquest of Mecca (8H/630). See Azraqī, 75, 77; Waqīdī, II, 841-842; Suyūṭī, Durr, IV, 199.
ded with a proper Quranic rehabilitation.  

The practice of running during some parts of the tawaf 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 hadith of the prophet. In order to legitimatize 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. In adopting the tawaf 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 tawaf between the Safā and the Marwa. The result of this was that the rites near the Kaʻba were reduced to merely one stage in the whole process of the pilgrimage, and the Kaʻba 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 haram of Mecca, never went out of it for ritual purposes, and avoided the ceremonies of ʻArafa which lay outside the Meccan haram. The prophet, however, attended these rites, 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 tawaf between the Safā and the Marwa was not obligatory. See Qirā, 363-364. The majority of the scholars, however, defined this practice as rukā, whereas others labeled it merely as wājib, or sunna, or mustahabb. See Fath al-bari, III, 398; Qirā, 362; Tirmidhi, IV, 95.

190 E.g., Qirā, 369 (Nasā‘). But running during the tawaf 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 E.g., Qirā, 369 (Sā‘y); Von Grunebaum, 30-31. It is related that Moses, too, performed the sa‘i between the Safā and the Marwa. See Fākiht, 377b; Azraqi, 34-35, 37, 38. Cf. 349.

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

Abū Dāwūd — Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, Cairo 1952.
Bukhārī — al-Bukhārī, Sahīḥ, Cairo 1958.
Fākıḥ — al-Fākıḥī, Tārīkh Makka, MS Leiden, Or. 463
Khargūshī — al-Khargūshī, Sharaf al-nābi, MS Br. Lib., Or. 3014.
Kister, “Khuzā‘a” — M.J. Kister, “Khuzā‘a” EI²
Marzūqī — al-Marzuqī, al-Azmina wa-l-amkina, Qatar 1968.
Mughultáy — Mughultáy, al-Zahr al-básim, MS Leiden, Or. 370.
Muslim — Muslim, Sahih, Cairo 1334H/1915.
Samhúdí — al-Samhúdí, Wafá' al-Wafá bi-akhbár dár al-mustáfa, Cairo 1326H/1908.
——, Tárikh — al-Tabári, Tárikh al-umam wa-l-mulúk, Cairo 1939.
Thálabí — al-Thálabí, Qišáṣ al-anbiyá', repr. Beirut n.d.


