THE GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF MUHAMMAD: SOME NOTES ON SŪRA IX

Uri Rubin
UNIVERSITY OF TEL AVIV

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

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

Verse 3 of Sūra IX reads:

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


2 JRAS (1927), 233-44.

3 Ibid., 241.

GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF MUHAMMAD: SURA IX

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

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

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

5 H. Grimme, Muḥammad, Münster 1892, 1, 128.
6 Bell, art. cit., 235. But curiously enough, the year of the conquest of Mecca is really said to have been labelled by Muḥammad as ‘ām al-hajj al-akbar. See al-Suyūṭī, Durr, III, 211 (from al-Ṭabarānī).
8 Bell, art. cit., 239.
our particular al-hajj al-akbar. The fact that this phrase is quite unique, appearing only once in the Qurʾān, in contrast to the more current al-hajj, indicates that the former must have an altogether different meaning, other than just hajj proper.

The clue to the true meaning of al-hajj al-akbar seems to have been preserved in a most instructive tradition, recorded by al-Ṭabarî on the authority of Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/789), who had it from ‘Ali b. Zayd b. Judān (d. 131/748), who had it from Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal (d. 84/702). He said: “the day of al-hajj al-akbar was the farewell pilgrimage (ḥajjat al-wada’), during which the hajj of the Muslims coincided with the hajj of the Christians and the Jews”. A further tradition, quoted from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/729) by his disciple Abdallāh b. ‘Awn (d. 151/766), says that yawm al-hajj al-akbar was a day in which the hajj of the apostle of Allāh occurred simultaneously with the hajj of the Bedouins. Ibn Mardawayh recorded a further tradition on the authority of the ṣahābī Samura b. Jundab according to which yawm al-hajj al-akbar was in the year during which the Muslims and the mushrikin made the hajj during (the same) three days, and also the Jews and the Christians made the hajj during (the same) three days, and thus the hajj of these four communities coincided during six (successive) days.

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

10 See on him al-Dhahabī, Mīzān al-iʾtīdāl, ed. al-Bījāwī, Cairo 1963, 1, 390 ff.
11 Ibid., iii, 127 ff.
14 F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Leiden 1967, 1, 663.
15 Ibn Sa’d, Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kubrā, Beirut 1960, viii, 268.
16 al-Ṭabarî, Tafsīr, x, 51-2: kāna yawman wāfâqa fībī ḥajju rasūli l-lāhī (i) wa-bajju ahlī l-ṣubāri.
17 al-Suyūṭī, Durr, iii, 211.
18 Ibn Hishām, iv, 248 ff.; al-Waqīdī, iii, 1088 ff., Ibn Sa’d, ii, 172 ff.;
GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF MUHAMMAD: SŪRA IX

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

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

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


19 ZDMG x (1856), 28-9.


21 Muḥibb al-Dīn, Qirā‘, 155-6.


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

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

24 For these markets see e.g. Ibn Hajar, Fath al-bârî, iii, 472 ff.
26 For the different Muslim accounts, see Sprenger, art. cit., 145 ff., and further A. Moberg, EI s.v. "Nasi'."
27 E.g., Dozy, 126 ff.; J. B. Segal, "The Hebrew festivals and the calendar", JSS vi (1961), 81 ff. See also Moberg, art. cit.: "As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesah to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the hajj and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca".
28 E.g., al-Râzî, xvi, 50.
29 Fath al-bârî, iv, 215.
30 For fasting in Rajab, the original month of the 'umra, see Wagten-donck, 116 ff.; Kister, "Rajab is the month of God..." IOS 1 (1971), 199 ff.
31 Thus also in Islam. Mu'âwiya used to renew the kiswa on yawm al-'âshûrâ' and at the end of Ramadân. Al-Ma'mûn used to do it on yawm al-tarwîja, at the beginning of Rajab, and on 27 Ramadân. See Muhibb al-Dîn, Qirâ', 516-7, 518-9.
year. Therefore they (i.e. Quraysh) used to come to a certain Jew, who would calculate for them [the proper date]. When he died, they used to come to Zayd b. Thabit and ask him [for the same].

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

It remains now to elucidate the meaning of the term *yawm* in the Qur'ānic phrase *yawma l-hajji l-akbari*. The correct meaning of this term seems to have been preserved in a tradition which is again recorded on the authority of Mujahid. This tradition says that *yawm al-hajji al-akbar* stands for “the time of the *hajj*, that is to say, all the days of the pilgrimage”. A further tradition containing Mujahid’s interpretation says that “*al-hajji al-akbar* are the days of Minā as a whole and the gatherings of the *mushrikūn*, when they were at [the markets of] Dhū l-Majāz, ‘Ukāz and Majinna”.

32 Zayd b. Thabit knew Hebrew as well as Syriac. See al-‘Asqalānī, Isāba, ii, 593-4. The report of al-Tabarānī indicates that the *‘asbūra* was observed in Mecca already before Muhammad’s *hijra*, contrary to the opinion advanced by Wensinck (*EI* 3, s.v. “Ashūra”). Cf. also S.D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic history and institutions, Leiden 1966, 96.


34 al-Tabarī, Taṣfīr, x, 93 (from Ibn Abī Najīh and Ibn Jurayj). See also Mujahid, Taṣfīr, Islamabad n.d., 1, 272-3.

35 al-Tabarī, *loc. cit.*

36 Sezgin, GAS, i, 518.
considered the phrase *yawm al-hajj al-akbar* as signifying the whole time of the *hajj*. He said that this expression was like *yawm al-jamāl* and *yawm Ṣifin*, i.e. its period as a whole.37

II

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

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

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

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

The wording of this verse, which according to Qatāda (d. 118/736)41 was delivered during *hajjat al-wadā‘*,42 is reflected in the

37 al-Ṭabarî, loc. cit.
38 E.g. Ibn Sa’d, 1, 170: *wa-dhimmatu Muḥammadin bārūn minā l-mushrikīn*. See also Qur’ān viii, 48.
39 See e.g. Wellhausen, 87: “Wer wollte aus jedem Stämme, könte kommen; auch Christen waren nicht ausgeschlossen”.
40 See e.g. Mujāhid, Taṣfīr, 1, 276: *fa-badhibi l-‘ayatu ma’a awwāl bārā‘ fi-l-qarā‘a, wa-ma‘a akhirīhā fi-l-‘a‘wili*, and also al-Ṭabarî, Taṣfīr, x, 76; al-Suyūṭī, Durr, iii, 227.
41 Sezgin, G-AŚ, 1, 51.
42 al-Qurtubī, viii, 106; Abū Ḥayyān, v, 28. See also al-Bayḍāwī, Anwār
announcement said to have been made by Muhammad. The Sahabî Abû Sa‘îd al-Khûdî related that Muhammad had proclaimed that “No-one will enter paradise except a Muslim, and no naked man will perform the tawîf, and no mushrik will approach the sacred mosque, when this year is over. Whoever has been given a respite 43 by the Prophet, his respite [shall be fulfilled] to [the end of] his allotted period”. According to another version, related on the authority of the Sahâbî Jâbir b. ‘Abbâlâh, the Prophet declared that “No mushrik will ever enter the sacred mosque after this year of mine, except for those who have treaties and your slaves”.45

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

17. It is not for mushrikûn to dwell in the mosques of Allâh while they bear witness against themselves to their own disbelief...
18. He only shall dwell in the mosques of Allâh who believes in Allâh and in the Last Day, and performs the salât and gives the zakât...

The mushrikûn who are mentioned in verse 17 are said to be Christians, Jews, Sâbi‘ûn and Arab polytheists. Traditions to this effect are recorded by al-Ṭabarî on the authority of al-Suddî.46

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

---

43 See verses 2 and 4 in our sura.
44 al-Suyûtî, Durr, iii, 227 (from Ibn Mardawayhi): ... là yadkhulu l-ṣâmitta illâ naṣîm muslimatun, wa-lâ yaṣîṣu bi-l-bayt ‘îrjānun wa-lâ yagrabu l-masjidâ l-barâmâ mushrikun ba‘da ‘îmhîm bâdîhâ, wa-man kâna baγnabu wa-bayna rasûli llâhi (f) ajalun, fa-ajalubu muddatubu.
46 al-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, x, 66. For Jews and Christians being labelled as mushrikûn, see further al-Wâqîdî, 1, 215 (Jews); al-Bukhârî, Sahîh, Cairo 1958, iii, 242 (baγî l-asfari, i.e. Byzantines).
47 al-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, vi, 40 (on v, 2). See also al-Suyûtî, Durr, ii, 254; Ibn Kathîr, Tafsîr, ii, 5.
48 Already before the proclamation of the aḥbân, Muḥammad himself had stopped observing the sacredness of the holy months. He reportedly attacked
A further verse in our sura, which is said to have abrogated the sacredness of the holy months, is 36b:

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

According to Sufyān al-Thawrī, Qatāda, 'Atā' al-Khurāsānī (d. 135/753) and al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), this verse means the abolition of the sacred months, and makes it lawful to shed the blood of non-believers at any time.

That on the hajjat al-wada' the mushrikūn were prohibited from entering the Meccan haram is suggested also in some traditions concerning a passage outside our sura and which is said to have been revealed on the same occasion. Sura V, 3 reads:

Today I have perfected your din for you and fulfilled my favour upon you, and I am satisfied with Islam as your din.

According to Qatāda, this verse was revealed on the day of 'Arafa, when Allāh expelled the mushrikūn from the sacred mosque and purified for the Muslims their hajj. According to Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714), this verse denotes the accomplishment of the hajj and the expulsion of the mushrikūn from the House (i.e. the Ka'ba). This verse, which is said to have been revealed on yawm al-hajj al-akbar, is considered as the last deliverance of Muhammad regarding halāl and harām.

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

the Hawāzīn at Hunayn and besieged al-Ṭā'if during Shawwāl and Dhū l-Qa'da. See, for instance, al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, ii, 206 (on ii, 217), and also al-Khāzīn, ii, 264; Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, ii, 335-6; al-Bayḍāwī, i, 197; al-Qurtubī, vii, 134. Some problems regarding the observation of the sacred months had risen already in 2/624 in connection with the incident of Nakhlā. For this affair, see for instance F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammeds, tr. H. H. Schaeder, Heidelberg 1961, 236ff., and also Sprenger, art. cit., 143f.

40 Sezgin, G.A.S., i, 33.
41 Ibid., i, 280.
42 al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, ii, 206 (on ii, 217). Cf. ibid., vi, 40 (on v, 2). See also al-Khāzīn, ii, 264; al-Suyūṭī, Durr, i, 232.
43 al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, vi, 52: ... bi'nā nafā līlābi l-mushrikāna 'āni l-masjidi l-ḥārāmi wa-akhlala li-l-muslimīna ḥajjābum.
44 Sezgin, G.A.S., i, 28.
45 al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, vi, 52: tamāmu l-hajji wa-nafyu l-mushrikāna 'āni l-bayt. See also al-Suyūṭī, Durr, ii, 258.
47 For the development of this idea, see e.g. E. Tyan, El2, s.v. "Djihād".

249
non-Muslims should be fought just because of their disbelief, irrespective of time, territory or their actual attitude towards the Muslims. The fact that this principle of total war was established by Muhammad during the hajjat al-wadā’ is reaffirmed by al-Wāqidl, who reports that Muhammad, during that pilgrimage, made the following statement:

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

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

The principles put forward by the adhān for the attitude towards non-Muslims were received by certain scholars of early Islam with some reserve. ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāh (d. 114/732), for instance, held that the sacredness of the holy months was never abrogated by the Qur’ān. Likewise, it was contended that the prohibition of non-Muslims from approaching the Meccan sanctuary had never been a total one. Some scholars like Abū Ḥanīfa held that Jews and Christians may be allowed into Muslim mosques, and even into the one at Mecca. The idea of total war against all non-Muslims was modified already in the Qur’ān itself; verse 29 of our Sūra, a well-known one, grants the ahl al-Aītāb, i.e. Jews, Christians as well as Persians, the choice of paying the jiyya.

In the same manner, the above proclamation of Muhammad about combatting the people till they professed...
the faith could be applied to polytheists only, to the exclusion of Jews, Christians, and especially those Arabs who had embraced Islam but refrained from paying zakāt during the ridda.63

III

The proceedings taken by Muḥammad during the hajjat al-wadd64 were designed not only to expel all non-Muslims from the system of the hajj and the sacred months but also to cut off all relations which the hajj had had with Judaeo-Christian feasts; Muḥammad strove to establish a new coherent system for the hajj, in fact, a new hajj akbar.

The most decisive step taken for that object was the abolition of the nasi'. Verse 37 of our sūra reads:
The nasi' is just an addition in disbelief...
The direct effect of the abolition of the nasi', for which western scholars have tried to give various explanations,65 was that the hajj no longer adhered to Passover and Easter. In fact, some traditions claim that Muḥammad's farewell pilgrimage was the only hajj which coincided with feasts of Jews and Christians; "this had neither happened before, since the creation of the world, nor afterwards, till the day of resurrection".66 After the hajjat al-wadd, the pilgrimage was to occur always in Dhū l-Ḥijja,

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

64 Sprenger (art. cit., 144) suggested that Muḥammad intended to separate the hajj and the sacred months from the season of trade in order to turn the tradesmen into a nation of warriors who would live on the jizya. W. M. Watt (Muḥammad at Medina, Oxford 1916, 300), says that "As reason for the prohibition of intercalation, there are two main possibilities. The method of settling when a month was to be intercalated may have been connected with paganism in some way of which we are not aware; it was certainly linked with the observance of the sacred months. Or else there may have been a risk that the uncertainty about which months were sacred would cause disputes and endanger the Pax Islamica". See further Buhl, 350-1; Bell, art. cit., 244, and cf. J. Wansbrough, The sectarian milieu, Oxford 1978, 47-8.

65 al-Suyūṭī, Durr, iii, 211. Cf. also al-Zamakhshārī, ii, 173; Abū Ḥāyyān, v, 7; al-Khāzīn, ii, 241.
irrespective of the season. As public security was based on Islam instead of on ihram, merchants could proceed to the seasonal markets even without the protection of the hajj time. once the nas' was abolished and the hajj affixed to Dhū l-Hijja, the doubts as to when the pilgrimage was to be celebrated were removed, and the Muslims could thus dispense with the assistance of Jews in calculating their calendar. It is most instructive that about this same time, Muḥammad also changed the date of the Ṭuḥra'a, which had been fixed according to the Jewish calendar (see above). According to Ibn Ḥajar,Muḥammad used to follow the abl al-kitāb in everything for which he had not received a special decree from Allāh, and especially when this was opposed to the practices of the polytheists. When Mecca was conquered and Islam became widespread,Muḥammad wished to oppose the abl al-kitāb as well; he therefore ordered a change in the time of the Ṭuḥra'a fasting.

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

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

66 See e.g. al-Zamakhshari, ii, 188: wa-raja’i l-ashhuru ilā mā kānat ‘aṣaybi wa-‘ahda l-hajja fi dbi l-ḥijja wa-batula l-nas’u ilādbi kāna fi l-jāhilyya.
68 Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-bārî, iv, 212-3.
69 See M. Sharon, “Passover or Easter, a study of an Arabic inscription from Ramla”, Arabic and Islamic studies ii (Ramat Gan 1978), pp. xxxi ff.
70 See especially Dozy, Israëliten, 113 ff. For the feasts of Tabernacles in various regions and times, see Wagendörpck, 116; and further G. E. Von Grunebaum, Muhammadan festivals, repr. London 1976, 29.
(nahr), at Marwa, near the Ka'ba. In order to separate the 'umra from autumn and to incorporate it into the hajj (cf. Qur'an II, 196), Muḥammad ordered his companions during the hajjat al-wadd' to perform the ṭawāf and the ṣa'ī (running between Ṣafā and Marwa), and then to terminate their ḫārām, thus accomplishing the 'umra. This was to be followed by a resumption of ḫārām for the rest of the hajj. This order was quite revolutionary, and Muḥammad's companions hesitated to respond. The reason for their hesitation was that in pre-Islamic times performance of the 'umra during the time of the hajj had been considered a grave sin.

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

71 Muslim jurists could not reach agreement on the question whether Muḥammad was performing tamāmat or qirān; or perhaps he was in a state of ifrād, to the exclusion of his companions who performed either tamāmat or qirān. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, iv, 248-9; al-Usuqqi, iii, 1092; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 173, 174-6, 187-8; Mālik, al-Muwātta', in al-Suyūṭī's Tawūr al-bawā'īk, shahr 'alā muwātta' Mālik, repr. Beirut 1973, i, 310 ff.; al-Bukhārī, ii, 174 ff.; Muslim, iv, 27 ff., 47 ff.; Abu ʿAbd Allāh, Sunan, Cairo 1952, 1, 411 ff.; al-Tirmidhī, al-Jāmi' al-sahih, in Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī's Aṣridat al-nabwadī bi-shahr saḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī, iv, 36 ff.; al-Khārjūḥī, Sharaf al-Mustafā, sors. 164b-165a; Ibn Sayyid al-Nāṣir, ii, 273, 274-5; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyāt, v, 120 ff.; Ibn Hajr, Fath al-bāri, iii, 150 ff.; al-Halābī, iii, 158 ff.; 265 ff.; Muḥibb al-Dīn, Qirā', 106 ff., 589 ff.; al-Rāzī, v, 141 ff.; and also R. Pare, EI1, "'Umra".

72 See al-Bukhārī, ii, 175: ... kānū yarawna anna l-'umrata ʾan asthuri l-hajj min aṭfara l-ṣuḥūrī ʾan ʿardī ... and also Wellhausen, Reste, 34. See further Muslim, iv, 36; al-Suyūṭī, Durr, i, 214; al-Azraqī, 132; al-Khārjūḥī, fol. 164b; Muḥibb al-Dīn, Qirā', 145, 624, and cf. al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, ii, 151 ff.

73 al-Azraqī, 132.
Indeed, Muslim sources inform us that Muhammad combined the hajj and the 'umra precisely in order to do away with old convictions. Thus it is related that Muhammad ordered 'A'isha to perform the 'umra in Dhū l-Hijja only in order to suspend the custom of the polytheists. Likewise, al-Khargaşı says that "Allāh wished that the habits to which they (i.e. the Muslims) had become accustomed should be removed from their hearts, and that the 'umra would not cease the year through". Ibn Ḥajar explains as well that Muḥammad performed the 'umra in the course of the hajjat al-wadā' in order to do away with the conviction of Quraysh that 'umra should not be allowed during the months of the hajj. The beginning of this was at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Their iḥrām for the 'umra was in Dhū l-Qa‘da (6/628), which belongs in the months of the hajj. They were in a state of fear lest a battle should start between them and the mushrikiin, as the latter had stopped them from approaching the House. Therefore they broke their iḥrām [outside Mecca], and this was the first 'umra which occurred during the months of the hajj. Later on, 'umrat al-qadiyya took place, again in Dhū l-Qa‘da (7/629), and then the Prophet wished to confirm it by overdoing it, so that he ordered them (sc. in the hajjat al-wadā’) to insert the 'umra into the hajj. The affiliation of the 'umra to the rites of the pilgrimage provided the phrase al-hajj al-akbar with a new meaning, a purely Islamic one. According to Mujāhid, hajj akbar signified qirān (i.e. the combined performance of hajj and 'umra), as opposed to hajj asghar which signified ifrād (i.e. hajj by itself, without 'umra). The combination of hajj and 'umra, as prescribed by Muḥammad, did not become an accepted sunna. How could Muslims accept light-heartedly the breaking of iḥrām before completing the rites of the hajj? Several prominent Muslims

74 Abū Dāwūd, 1, 418; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-bārî, III, 337; Muḥibb al-Dīn, Qirā, 624.
75 al-Khargaşı, loc. cit.: fa-arada llahu subhāna hu an yeqţa 'an gulābihim mà ta'ammadahu wa-alīsīahu wa-an lā tangatî ị l-umratu fi kulli waqt.
76 Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-bārî, III, 337. A further 'umra was performed by Muḥammad in 8/630 from al-Ji‘irrāna, again in Dhū l-Qa‘da. On the other hand, some claimed that one or more of Muḥammad’s ‘umras occurred in Shawwāl or Rajab, both sacred. For the lists of Muḥammad’s ‘umras and their dates, see Mālik, 1, 316; Ibn Sa‘d, II, 170-2; al-Wāqidi, III, 1088; al-Azraq, 450; al-Khargaşı, fol. 166b; Sprenger, art. cit., 131 ff.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Le pèlerinage à la Mecca, Paris 1923, 199.
77 al-Ṭabarî, Taṣfîr, X, 14.
reportedly rejected this practice, or at least preferred to combine the rites without putting off *ihram* after the *sa' y*. Rather, they thought it appropriate to perform the *'umra* during Rajab, much in accordance with the ancient Jāhili practice. Others preferred to do it during Ramaḍān. The majority of Muslim scholars claimed that the combination of these rites had been just a special prerogative (*khāṣṣa* or *rukhsha*), for those who were with Muḥammad in his farewell pilgrimage.

In the course of the *ḥajjat al-wada‘*, Muḥammad also affiliated to the pilgrimage the rites of Ārafa (cf. Qur‘ān II, 199), which had been excluded by Quraysh and the *ḥums* from the worship. The centre of the *ḥajj* for the *ḥums* had been Minā and Muzdalifā (Jam‘), which, unlike Ārafa, were considered part of the *ḥaram*. In pre-Islamic times, there were frequent quarrels between the *ḥums* at Minā and the rest of the Arabs at Ārafa, both claiming their own rites to be the perfect *ḥajj*. The affiliation of the rites of Ārafa to the ceremonials of the Muslim *ḥajj* was intended to

---

78 The main opponents of the combination of *ḥajj* and *'umra* were 'Umar (Mālik, 1, 317; al-Tirmidhī, iv, 39; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 135; but contrast Abū Dāwūd, 1, 418), Uthmān, who was disputed in this matter by 'All (Mālik, 1, 312; al-Bukhārī, ii, 175; Muslim, iv, 46) and Muḥāwīya (Abū Dāwūd, 1, 416; al-Tirmidhī, iv, 58). Tradition ascribes to Muḥammad himself the prohibition of combining the *ḥajj* and the *'umra* (Abū Dāwūd, 1, 416; Muḥībb al-Dīn, *Qira*, 624). Likewise, it was reported that the Prophet, during the *ḥajjat al-wada‘*, performed the *ḥajj* only (al-Tirmidhī, iv, 367; al-Halābī, iii, 253; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 121). Those who were opposed to the combination of *'umra* and *ḥajj* had to cope with the utterance of the prophet *dakbalaii l-'umratu ft l-hajji ildyawmi l-qiyamati* (al-Tirmidhī, iv, 163). They explained it as though performance of *ḥajj* dispenses with *'umra*. Cf. Muḥībb al-Dīn, *Qira*, 145.

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

80 E.g. Mālik, 1, 199; Abū Dāwūd, 1, 419-60; al-Tirmidhī, iv, 167; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 193 ff.; Paret, *art. cit. ‘Umra during Ramaḍān was even named al-ḥajj al-asghar*. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 54; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, iii, 212.

81 Muslim, iv, 46; Abū Dāwūd, 1, 420; al-Ḥalābī, iii, 263; Muḥībb al-Dīn, *Qira*, 191, 192; al-Suyūṭī, iv, 427.


83 al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 199; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 2, 238; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, i, 220. It is related that in pre-Islamic times Muḥammad himself used to participate in the rites of Ārafa, despite his being one of the *ḥums*. See e.g. al-Wāqidī, iii, 1102; Muḥībb al-Dīn, *Qira*, 148; Kister, *loc. cit.*
suppress the 'Arafa-Mina debate. But here again reality proved stronger. In the Islamic version of this contest, the Qur'anic honourable title, yawm al-hajj al-akbar, has become the main focus. This phrase was dissociated from its original context, and was applied by each party to its own specific rites. Partisans of 'Arafa produced traditions ascribing to the Prophet himself the declaration that the day of 'Arafa was yawm al-hajj al-akbar, whilst partisans of the Minā rites did the same for yawm al-nabr.

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

IV

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

84 E.g. al-Ṭabarī, Taṣfīr, x, 49-50; Ibn Hishâm, iv, 252; al-Suyūtî, Durr, 1, 222.
85 Ibn Sa'd, ii, 183-4; al-Ṭabarī, Taṣfīr, x, 53; al-Bukhārī, ii, 217; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, al-Mustadrâk 'alâ l-tahahayn, Hyderabad 1342/1923, ii, 351. It was explained that this day was called akbar because both the buqs and the billa used to perform the wuqâf on that day and in the same spot, at al-Muzdalifa (Jam'). See Abû Ḥayyān, v, 7; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-bârî, viii, 242. It was also related that on yawm al-nabr the hajj coincided with the Judaeo-Christian feasts. See Ibn Kathîr, Taṣfīr, ii, 354.

256
more in accordance with the view about Muḥammad's isma, i.e. his aversion from idolatry owing to Allāh's guidance.86

Traditions of this new kind are initially found in some further interpretations concerning the verse al-yawma akmaltu lakum dīnakum which is said to have been revealed during the ḥajjat al-wādāʾ (see above). According to al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721 87), this verse was revealed at ‘Arafa, "when all emblems of the Jāhiliyya had been demolished, and idolatry had vanished, and in that year no mushrik performed the ḥaqq [with the Muslims]".88 Accordingly, early Muslim scholars held that Muḥammad’s ḥaqq should always be called ḥajjat al-Īṣlām.89 Traditions to the effect that Muḥammad had taken part in the ḥaqq in previous occasions as well, i.e. before its purification, were rejected by some scholars of early Islam, who contended that the ḥajjat al-wādāʾ had been Muḥammad's one and only pilgrimage since his first revelation.90

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

86 For the development of the concept of Muḥammad's 'isma, see e.g. T. Andrea, Die Person Mubammeds, Upsala 1917, passim; H. Birkeland, The Lord guideth, Upsala 1916, passim.
87 Sezgin, GAS, 1, 277.
88 al-Ṭabarī, Tafsir, vi, 52: ḥaqqhu hudima manārūn l-jāhiliyyati wa-shahidul la-praksu wa-lam yahiji ma'ahum fi al-qāma l-tamī mushrikum. See also Ibn Sa'd, ii, 188; al-Suyūṭī, Durr, ii, 258. Several modern scholars as well have adopted the view that the ĥaqq of Muḥammad did not include any mushrik at all. See especially W. Muir, The life of Muḥammad, ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1923, 468 ff.; Buhl, 340 ff., and also M. Hamidullah, Le prophète de l'Islam, Paris 1919, 179 ff.; Wensinck, EI 2, "Ḥadīdī".
89 al-Waqídī, iii, 1089; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 173, 188-9.
90 al-Bukhārī, v, 223-4; Muḥibb al-Dīn, Qirā', 160; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Maḥāqīq al Ābī Tāhīb, Najaf 1916, 1, 152; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath al-bārī, v, 82; al-Khargūšī, fol. 163a-163b; al-Zurqānī, iii, 103-6; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, v, 109, 110; al-Halabi, iii, 256.
91 al-Waqídí, iii, 1089; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 173, 189. Cf. al-Zurqānī, iii, 105; Sprenger, art. cit., 150, and see further al-Suhaylī, iv, 77.
92 For Abū Bakr's ĥaqq, see Ibn Hishām, iv, 188 ff.; al-Waqídī, iii, 1076 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 169-9; al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, ii, 382-3; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya, v, 36 ff.; al-Zurqānī, iii, 89 ff. Sometimes it was related that the prohibition of mushrikūn from approaching Mecca had been proclaimed by Muḥammad even earlier, as soon as Mecca was conquered (8/630). See al-Suyūṭī, Durr, iii, 227: ḥaqqahu l-masjīdah l-ḥarāmah mushrikūn wa-lā yu'addī mutālāna jayyadātan".

257
GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF MUHAMMAD: SŪRA IX

which coincided with the feasts of the Jews and the Christians,\(^93\) and that it occurred in Dhū l-Ḥijja.\(^94\) The person who reportedly undertook the proclamation of the ḥadīn during Abū Bakr’s ḥajj was Abū Hurayra. The following tradition was recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim: “Abū Bakr, during the pilgrimage which he conducted, before the ḥajjat al-wudū‘, sent Abū Hurayra, among others, to announce on yawm al-nahr that no mushrik would make the ḥajj after that year and that no naked person would perform the tawāf...”.\(^95\) An additional passage of the same tradition, as recorded by al-Bukhārī, reads: “Abū Bakr broke the treaties of the people in that year, and in the year of the ḥajjat al-wudū‘ during which the prophet made his pilgrimage, no mushrik performed the ḥajj!”\(^96\)

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

\(^93\) al-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, x, 14 (from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣîrī); al-Suyūṭî, Durr, iii, 211-2.
\(^94\) Ibn Hajar, Fath al-bari, viii, 242; al-Suyūṭî, Durr, iii, 236; al-Zurqâni, iii, 89.
\(^95\) al-Bukhārī, v, 212; Muslim, iv, 106-7; Abū Dāwūd, i, 411; al-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, x, 12.
\(^96\) al-Bukhārī, iv, 124: fa-nabadha Abī Bakrin ilâ l-nāsi fi dhâlika l-‘āmi, fa-lam yahijja ‘ama ḥajjati l-wudū‘i liḍābi ḥajja fihū l-nabīyyu (1) mushrikun. See also Ibn Hajar, Fath al-bārî, viii, 241; Ibn Kathîr, Bidâyâ, v, 37-8; al-Suyūṭî, Durr, iii, 211; al-Zurqâni, iii, 92.
\(^97\) Some Shi‘is claimed that Muhammad originally assigned the proclamation to Abū Bakr, then discharged him and also dismissed him from the leadership of the ḥajj and appointed ‘Alī instead. Abū Bakr’s partisans held that he was not dismissed because the proclamation had been assigned to ‘Alī from the outset, the leadership of the ḥajj remaining always with Abū Bakr. It was further maintained that ‘Alī’s appointment did not signify his special virtue, as this was only the result of the old Arab practice according to which treaties had to be denounced by the person involved or by one of his blood relations. For a detailed discussion of these matters, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥāḍirî, Shahr nāhî al-balâgha, Cairo 1329/1911, repr. Beirut n.d. iv, 180 ff. For the various traditions, see also Ibn Bābawayhi, ‘Ualî, 189-90. It may also be noted that, according to some traditions, the Prophet sent ‘Alī to proclaim the
Hurayra is said to have related: “Abū Bakr sent me among heralds which he sent during that pilgrimage, on yāwmi al-nahr, to announce at Minā that no mushrik would perform the hajj after that year and that no naked person would perform the tawāf. Meanwhile, the Prophet sent after us ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, ordering him to announce the barā’a. ‘Alī announced with us to the people at Minā, on yāwmi al-nahr, the barā’a, and that no mushrik would perform the hajj after that year and that no naked person would perform the tawāf. ‘Alī’s proclamation of the adhān and the barā’a is related in numerous additional traditions; but the study of these traditions must be left for a separate article dealing solely with the announcement of the barā’a.

SUMMARY

1. In some remarkable traditions, which seem to have preserved a great deal of historical truth, it is related that the Qur’ānic unique phrase yāwmi al-hajj al-akbar stands for Muhammad’s farewell pilgrimage (10/632), which coincided with the hajj of the Jews and the Christians.

2. The hajj of the Jews and the Christians can only be Passover and Easter, due to the fact that the hajj, in Muhammad’s days, occurred in spring.

3. The hajj akbar is therefore a series of combined spring feasts, performed jointly by various communities.

4. The adhān which was due to be proclaimed during the hajj akbar of 10/632 was designed to announce the end of the jāhili sacredness of the holy months and to expel all mushrikūn from the hajj. This observation is based on the following facts:
   (a) The phrase barā’un min denotes withdrawal of protection.
   (b) In numerous traditions, the proclamation of the adhān is associated with the prohibition of all mushrikūn from taking part in the hajj.
   (c) Various verses in Sūra IX itself permit access to the Meccan haram to Muslim pilgrims only.

5. During the farewell pilgrimage, Muhammad also tried to create a new kind of hajj akbar which would be totally separate from foreign feasts. For this object, the following steps were taken:
   (a) Muhammad abolished the nasi’ (intercalation), which was the reason why the hajj, in Muhammad’s days, and also for at least barā’a, not during Abū Bakr’s hajj but rather during ‘Alī’s own journey to al-Yaman, which took place shortly afterwards. See al-Suyūṭī, Durr, iii, 210. 98 al-Bukhārī, vi, 81.
two hundred years before, occurred in spring. Due to the suspension of the *nasi*’, the *hajj* was detached from spring and therefore was no longer due to coincide with Passover and Easter.

(b) The *‘umra*, which was performed during autumn, was combined with the *hajj*, and this gave a new, purely Islamic meaning to the term *hajj akbar*. The rites of ‘Arafa were also incorporated into the *hajj*; this gave rise to some further traditions identifying these rites with the Qur'ānic *yawm al-hajj al-akbar*. In other traditions, it is related that *yawm al-hajj al-akbar* stands for *yawm al-nahr*.

6. The concept of the *‘isma*, which gradually developed in early Islam, gave rise to new secondary traditions in which the proclamation of the *adhdān* was shifted from Muḥammad’s to Abū Bakr’s *hajj* (9/631). It could thereby be maintained that when Muḥammad consented to coming to the *hajj*, it was already purely Islamic.