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

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The history of the Kaᶜba 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 Kaᶜba. 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 Kaᶜba.

The present study is based upon the assumption that much of the inconsistency in the information about the Kaᶜba, 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 Kaᶜba 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 Kaᶜba
2. The ritual functions of the Ḥijr
3. The sacredness of the Ḥijr in Islam
4. The Ḥaṭīm
5. The position of the Kaᶜba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca.

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

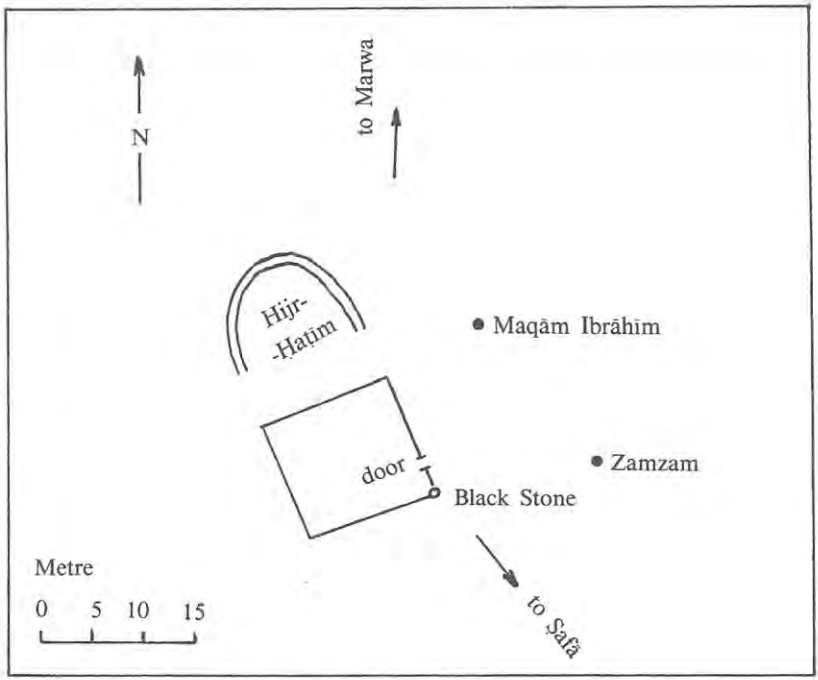

Fig.1: The Kaᶜba and its surroundings
(Fig. 1 and fig. 2 have been prepared according to the groundplan of the Ḥaram in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, tr. by J.H. Monaham, Leiden 1970. Scale in metres was calculated according to map in *National Geographic Magazine* vol. 154, 1978, pp. 584-585).

1. The structure of the Kaᶜba

Some Muslim sources contain instructive information concerning the original state of the Kaᶜba 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 Kaᶜba was originally an *ᶜarīsh* into which cattle could burst, and it remained in this condition till Quraysh built the Kaᶜba, 15 years before Muḥammad's first revelation.[2] The

[2] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 98.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[6] Azraqī, 275.

[7] See Shāmī, I, 192; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 53–54; Suhaylī, I, 128; ʿAdawī, 76[b]. And cf. Azraqī, 48; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109; Ibn Hishām, I, 109; Yaʿqūbī, I, 204.

[8] Bayhaqī I, 331; Kalāʿī, I, 267; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 51–52; Zurqānī, I, 203; Ḥalabī, I, 141.

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

Another instructive report concerning the original structure of the Kaʿba has been recorded on the authority of Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154H/770). It runs as follows:[14]

[9] Mughultāy, 54[b]: *wa-ʿinda Ibn Mākūlā: "summū 'l-Jadara' li-annahum banaw l-Ḥijra wa-huwa mina l-bayt.*

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

[11] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 173.

[12] E.g., *Aghānī*, XVI, 65; Kalāʿī, I, 146; Khargūshī, 183[a]; ʿIṣāmī, I, 190; Suhaylī, I, 156; *Nahj*, III, 472; Ibn Kathīr, II, 291.

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

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

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

This report seems to provide a further indication that the enclosure between the *jidār* and the Kaʿba, i.e., the semi-circular Ḥijr, was an integral part of the sanctuary, so that both the Ḥijr and the Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba was only a few years before Muḥammad's first revelation, when the ancient *ʿarīsh* was turned into a permanent roofed structure.[15] The exact date of the foundation of this structure is not clear,[16] but, at any rate, it is related that the timber for it was taken from the ship of a Byzantine merchant named Bāqūm which had been cast ashore near Jedda.[17] According to al-Fākihī, Bāqūm agreed to deliver the timber to Quraysh on condition that they transported his merchandise to Syria with their trade caravan.[18] Another tradition relates that Quraysh agreed that the people of the ship would sell their merchandise in Mecca itself, without paying the usual taxes which Quraysh used to collect from Byzantine tradesmen.[19] Other reports maintain that the ship was carrying marble, timber and iron from

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

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

[17] Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Saʿd, I, 145; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 102; Azraqī, 104-105, 107; Zurqānī, I, 204; Suhaylī, I, 225. See further *EI*², s.v. "Kaʿba"; Lüling, 145.

[18] *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 351 (from al-Fākihī).

[19] ʿAdawī, 61ᵃ.

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

These reports indicate that the new building of the Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba was decorated with the images of some prophets, angels, and trees,[23] as well as with the images of Jesus and Maria. On the conquest of Mecca, the prophet himself ordered to leave the images of Jesus and Maria untouched,[24] and in the days of ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114H/732) these images were still in existence.[25] The roofed building of the Kaʿba as constructed by Quraysh seems to have been of a square shape, not including the semi-circular space called Ḥijr, which was left out, opposite the façade of the new building. In fact, it is related that Quraysh were unable to finance the construction of the Ḥijr as a section of the Kaʿba.[26]

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

[20] Ḥalabī, I, 143; Nahrawālī, 50.

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

[22] Azraqī, 114; Lüling, 145.

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

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

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

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

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

upon a tradition of the prophet favouring such a proceeding. This section was later demolished by al-Ḥajjāj (74H/693), who restored the Kaʿba to its pre-Zubayrī dimensions.[28] The inclusion of the area north-west of the Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba, dating back to the times of Abraham. They were accordingly named *qawāʿid Ibrāhīm*, i.e., the foundations of Abraham. Wishing to restore the Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba was already known as "Ḥijr". The application of this term to that area was the result of some ritual functions which this area shared with the area originally called Ḥijr, which lay opposite the façade of the Kaʿba. As will be seen below, the latter area functioned as a place of prayer, the front wall of the Kaʿba being, in fact, Muḥammad's first *qibla* during the Meccan period. After the Hijra to Medina, however, when Muḥammad abandoned the temporary *qibla* of Jerusalem,[29] and

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

[28] E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 104, 124-132; Azraqī, 114-115, 138-154, 218-221; Khargūshī, 175ª ff.; ʿAdawī, 67ª ff.; Shāmī, I, 192-196; Nahrawālī, 80-85; *Qirā*, 508-513; Suhaylī, I, 221-222; ʿIṣāmī, I, 167 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, I, 165-166; Ḥalabī, I , 169 ff.; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 354 ff.; *EI*², s.v. "Kaʿba". Cf. Lüling, 149 ff., an implausible assessment of these reports.

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

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

2. The ritual functions of the Ḥijr

As seen above, the Kaʿba was originally an open air enclosure, including the section known as Ḥijr, which was situated opposite the façade of the Kaʿba itself. It seems that the main function of the entire enclosure containing the Kaʿba and the Ḥijr 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 Ḥijr. This observation is derived from numerous reports locating several Meccan idols opposite the façade of the Kaʿba, 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 Kaʿba, next to its door.[33] The statue of the idol Manāf was, reportedly, situated opposite the Black Stone,[34] and the statues of Isāf and Nāʾila were located near Zamzam.[35] It is reported that the area surrounding Isāf

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

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

[31] Fākihī, 329ᵃ: *...fa-kāna (ṣ) yuṣallī ilā l-miʾzāb wa-huwa bt-l-madīna...* See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119-120.

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

[33] Wāqidī, II, 832: *wa-huwa wujāha l-kaʿba ʿalā bābihā.* This report contradicts the usual accounts locating Hubal inside the Kaʿba.

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

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

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

It seems that in the Kaʿba itself there were no statues at all. This may seem strange at first sight, but one must take into consideration the fact that the Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba, in the area of the Ḥijr, where their statues were situated.

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

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

[37] E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 154, 84.

[38] Ibn Hishām, I, 154.

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

[40] Fākihī, 338[b] (Saʿīd b. Jubayr).

[41] Fākihī, 338[b]; ʿAdawī, 93[a]; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 314; Azraqī, 282; Bayhaqī, I, 73; Khargūshī, 194[a]..

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

[43] E.g., Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48 (Ibn Jurayj).

[44] See Bayhaqī, I, 385.

nuṣub of Khuzāᶜa,[45] or near the *mawḍiᶜ* of Khuzāᶜa,[46] or near their *majlis*.[47] In fact, it is reported that there were in Mecca 360 *anṣāb*, 300 of which were in the territory of Khuzāᶜa.[48]

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

The term "Ḥijr" itself [53] has a profound ritual significance which is connected with sacrificial slaughter. This term means "inviolable", "sacrosanct", and the basic function of the area to which this term was applied is elucidated in a Muslim tradition relating that Abraham built the Ḥijr next to the Kaᶜba, as *ᶜarīsh* made of *arāk* trees, into which goats could burst. It served as a pen *(zarb)* for Ishmael's sheep.[54] This legend seems to reflect an authentic reality, namely, that the Ḥijr, or the area between the ancient *jidār* and the Kaᶜba, served as a pen, or fold for

[45] Fākihī, 338ᵃ; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 415.

[46] Fākihī, 338ᵃ.

[47] Ibn Saᶜd, I, 84.

[48] Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48.

[49] Wāqidī, II, 795; Wellhausen, 77.

[50] Muqātil, *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 Hishām, I, 162; Bayhaqī, I, 82; Kalāᶜī, I, 224; Ḥalabī, I, 36; Nahrawālī, 48. see also Wellhausen, 115-116.

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

[54] Azraqī, 31; Kalāᶜī, I, 114; Shāmī, I, 181; ᶜAdawī, 15ᵇ; Fāsī, I, 211; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 289. Cf. also Lüling, 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 "Ḥijr" 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 "Ḥijr", i.e., sacrosanct. In view of this, one may conclude that "Ḥijr" signifies a fold for sacred animals which were regarded as belonging to the idols. Such a fold was situated opposite the façade of the Kaʿba, where the animals consecrated to this sanctuary were kept. Various kinds of consecrated animals are mentioned in Quran V/103 which refers to the *Baḥīra*, the *Sā'iba* and the *Ḥāmī*.[56] These animals were eventually slaughtered, and it is reported that the *Baḥīra* was slaughtered next to the Kaʿba, near Isāf and Nā'ila.[57] These sacrificial ceremonies could be seen from the mountain of Abū Qubays. It is related that a leader of the tribe of Jurhum ascended this mountain and watched the camels being slaughtered and eaten in the valley.[58] It seems that he was actually watching the sacrificial rites in the Ḥijr.

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

3. The sacredness of the Ḥijr in Islam

In Islamic times, the Ḥijr continued to function as a place of worship which henceforth was devoted exclusively to the Lord of the Kaʿba, 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] Fāsī, II, 54.

[58] Azraqī, 56; ʿIṣāmī, I, 181; ʿAdawī, 29ª.

[59] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156-157.

[60] Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 469.

[61] E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 309-310; Wāqidī, I, 120, 125; Ibn Saʿd, IV, 199-201.

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

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

[62] Bukhārī, I, 58; Khargūshī, 107[b]; Ḥalabī, I, 332; Fāsī, I, 220.

[63] Ḥalabī, I, 264 (from *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*); *...wa-kānat ṣalātuhu (ṣ) naḥwa l-Kaʿba wa-istaqbala l-ḥajara l-aswada...* For Muḥammad's prayer towards the Black Stone see further Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 139.

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

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

[66] Fāsī, I, 219, 222; *Qirā*, 349; Ḥalabī, III, 87. See also Wāqidī, II, 832. It is related that already Abraham used the Maqām as a *qibla*, when he prayed towards the door of the Kaʿba. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119; ʿAdawī, 86[a]; *Qirā*, 342. Adam as well is said to have prayed in the direction of the door of the Kaʿba. See Ḥalabī, I, 152. In some early verses of the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl it is stated, likewise, that Abraham prayed towards the *qibla* of the Kaʿba. See Ibn Hishām, I, 245; Zubayr b. Bakkār, fol. 166[b].

[67] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, III, 176, 178;

[68] Fākihī, 414[b].

[69] *Ibid.*, 415[a]

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

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

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

[71] Ibn Ḥibbān, I, 52.

[72] Kister, "Maqām", 482.

[73] ʿAdawī, 65[b].

[74] E.g., Kalāʿī, I, 124; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 40.

[75] Azraqī, 271; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

[76] *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 13 (from *Kitāb Makka* of ʿUmar b. Shabba).

[77] Wāqidī, II, 859. On Ibn Khaṭal see also Zubayr b. Bakkār, 200[a].

[78] See *EI*[2], s.v. "Kaʿba". This location dates back to the days of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr who reportedly "discovered" in this area the tombs of Hagar and Ishmael. See Azraqī, 220, 142-143, 149; Shāmī, I, 194-195; for the graves of prophets in this area see further Azraqī, 39; *Qirā*, 654-655; Fāsī, I, 198, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif*, 14; Ibn Saʿd, I, 52.

the Maqām.[79] Al-Masʿūdī reports that Ishmael was buried "opposite the place of the Black Stone".[80] According to a tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās as recorded by al-Fākihī, Ishmael's burial place was "in the Ḥijr, opposite the Black Rukn".[81] According to al-Kalāʿī, Ishmael was buried "inside the Ḥijr, next to the door of the Kaʿba".[82] According to al-Shāmī, Ishmael's tomb was located "in al-Ḥajūn (!), next to the door of the Kaʿba".[83] The reason why the Ḥijr was chosen by Muslim tradition to be 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 ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's grandfather, are based upon the assumption that he merely re-discovered this supposedly ancient well, after it had disappeared, for one reason or another.[85] It is believed, in fact, that Zamzam was mentioned in the Bible,[86] being evidently identified with the well of Lahai Roi, where Hagar had a vision about the forthcoming birth of Ishmael (*Gen.* XVI/11ff.). It seems that this connection between Zamzam

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

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

[81] Fākihī, 357[a] *...fa-qabru Ismāʿīl fi l-Ḥijr, muqābila l-Rukn l-Aswad.*

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

[83] Shāmī, I, 187.

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

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

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

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

The term "Ḥijr" is identical with the name of a place in northern Ḥijāz, which is mentioned also in Quran XV/80 as the abode of an ancient sinful people who rejected the prophets. This people is identified in Muslim *tafsīr* with the people of Thamūd who rejected Ṣāliḥ. Consequently, the Ḥijr of the Kaʿba was, too, associated with the Quranic prophets who had been rejected by Thamūd, as well as by ʿĀd and other *umam khāliya*. The Meccan Ḥijr was made the asylum and burial place of these prophets. A tradition of Muqātil says that between Zamzam and the Rukn there were buried 70 prophets, including Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Ishmael.[87] Another tradition which is traced back to the prophet states that the graves of Nūḥ, Hūd, Shuʿayb, Ṣāliḥ, and Ishmael were located between Zamzam and the Maqām.[88] In a further tradition, the number of prophets buried between the Rukn, the Maqām, and Zamzam is said to have been 77 or 99.[89] Another tradition speaks of 70 prophets buried between the Rukn and the Ṣafā.[90] These large numbers were considered exaggerated by some Muslim scholars who seem to have been responsible for such traditions as the one recorded by al-Fākihī to the effect that in the "Sacred Mosque" there were only two tombs – those of Ishmael and Shuʿayb.[91] Moreover, it was claimed that Hūd and Ṣāliḥ had been constantly preoccupied with their peoples till they died, so that they had never made the pilgrimage to Mecca.[92]

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

[87] Azraqī, 39. See also Fāsī, I, 197.

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

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

[90] Ibn Shahrāshūb, I, 188.

[91] Fākihī, 357[a].

[92] Azraqī, 38; Ḥalabī, I, 154.

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

was Zamzam, and Barahūt was the worst; it was well in Barahūt where the spirits *(arwāḥ)* of the unbelievers used to assemble.[94] A similar statement is recorded on the authority of Ibn Jurayj,[95] and another version is traced back to the prophet himself.[96] This comparison is probably designed to imply that unlike Barahūt which was inhabited by evil spirits, Zamzam was the home of the spirits of the righteous. In this context it must be noted that Barahūt is contrasted with other places as well, which are explicitly presented as the home of virtuous spirits. For instance, a tradition traced back to Ibn ᶜAbbās says that the spirits of the believers are at al-Jābiya, in al-Shām, whereas the spirits of the unbelievers are at Barahūt, in Ḥaḍramawt.[97] As indicated by Goldziher,[98] dead heroes were regarded as a source of blessing for nearby springs and wells, so that one may suppose that the famous curative effects of Zamzam [99] were also ascribed to the spirits which resided in it, or in its vicinity.

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

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

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

[96] Mundhirī, III, 45-46.

[97] Yāqūt, I, 406. See also Muqātil, II, 224ᵇ.

[98] Goldziher, II, 313.

[99] E.g., ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Fākihī, 340ᵃ ff.; ᶜAdawī, 99ᵇ ff.; Khargūshī, 196ᵃ ff.; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 221 ff.; Azraqī, 289ff.; *Qirā*, 488; Fāsī, I, 252 ff.

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

[101] Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 35: *wa-ra'ā Kināna wa-huwa nā'imun* (printed: *"qā'im"*) *fī l-Ḥijr, qā'ilan yaqūl:* ...

[102] Khargūshī, 12ᵃ-12ᵇ.

[103] Khargūshī, 17ᵇ-18ᵃ; Masᶜūdī, *Ithbāt*, 104; Zurqānī, I, 90-91; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, I, 98-99.

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

4. The Ḥaṭīm

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

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

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

[104] Khargūshī, 13[b]. See also ʿIṣāmī, I, 226; Zurqānī, I, 81-82 (from al-Khargūshī); Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 101.

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

[106] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 422.

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

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

[109] It is reported that when Quraysh erected the stone building of the Kaʿba, the area of the Ḥijr was left outside the new building, and henceforth it was allegedly known as "Ḥaṭīm", i.e., wrecked, unrestored. See *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.ṭ.m"; Fāsī, I, 197; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268-269; *Qirā*, 314. On the Ḥaṭīm see further, Hawting, "Origins", 34ff.

[110] E.g., Yāqūt, II, 273; Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; Fāsī, I, 197; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; Khargūshī, 189[a]; ʿAdawī, 122[b]-123[a].

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

[112] Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 202, lines 19-20.

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

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

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

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

[114] *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.ṭ.m": *...aw bayna l-rukn l-aswad ilā l-bāb ilā l-maqām, ḥaythu yataḥaṭṭamu l-nāsu li-l-duᶜā', ay yazdaḥimūna, fa-yaḥṭimu baᶜḍuhum baᶜḍan.* See also Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; ᶜAdawī, 123ª. Dozy's attempt (p. 182) to explain the term "Ḥaṭīm" according to the Hebrew *"ḥaṭṭā'īm"* is not convincing.

[115] Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; ᶜAdawī, 123ª.

[116] ᶜAdawī, 122ᵇ-123ª.

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

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

[119] *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*, VIII, 251; *Qirā*, 314; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268.

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

In a further explanation, the term "Ḥaṭīm" is again connected with the casting of objects, this time, in relation to the worship of Isāf and Nā'ila, which were situated near Zamzam. Al-Azraqī[121] reports that the people used to cast between the statues of these idols the votive gifts which were donated to the Kaʿba, and this place was named "al-Ḥaṭīm". This report, which confirms that the area called "Ḥaṭīm" was situated opposite the façade of the Kaʿba, implies that the ground of this area functioned as a treasury for the votive gifts which were donated either to the idols of the Ḥijr, or to the Kaʿba itself. The nature of the votive gifts which were laid in the Ḥaṭīm is illuminated by the reports concerning the digging of the well of Zamzam by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[122] He reportedly dug this well in the days of the Sāsānī ruler, Kisrā Qubādh (488-531).[123] ʿAbd 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] ʿIkrima (d. 105H/723) relates that the treasure contained a golden image of a gazelle (*ghazāl*) decorated with a pair of earrings, as well as jewellery of gold and silver, and some swords wrapped up in garments. ʿAbd 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 Kaʿba, the swords had to be granted to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and the gazelle – to Quraysh.[126] According to Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95H/713), the treasure contained some swords and a golden gazelle. The swords were attached to the door of the Kaʿba, and the ga-

[121] Azraqī, 75.

[122] On Zamzam see e.g., Wellhausen, 76; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 210ff. According to Wellhausen, 76, n. 2, Zamzam was "die einzige Quelle von Mekka und also wahrscheinlich der Ursprung sowohl des Heiligtums als der Stadt." This observation which has been shared by other scholars as well (e.g., Snouck Hurgronje, as quoted by Wensinck in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v., "Kaʿba". 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., Fākihī, 486^{b}ff.; Azraqī, 68-70, 436ff.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 61; Hamdānī, II, 33-34; Kalāʿī, I, 223; Ḥalabī, I, 35. It is interesting to note that a well called Zamzam existed in al-Madīna as well. See Samhūdī, II, 254; Nahrawālī, 34-35.

[123] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 127. Some Qurashī rivals of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, especially from Nawfal, objected to the digging. See Balādhurī, *Ansab*, I, 78; Ḥalabī, I, 35.

[124] Fākihī, 339^{a}.

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

[126] Fākihī, 338^{a}-338^{b}. Cf. also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 415-416.

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

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

[127] Fākihī, 338b-339a.

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

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

[130] A Muslim legend relates that five rams (*akbush*) testified to Dhū l-Qarnayni, who came to Mecca, that Abraham and Ishmael built the Ka'ba according to a divine decree (e.g., Ibn Kathīr, I, 165; 'Adawī, 14b). Commenting on this tradition, al-Fākihī suggests that these rams were actually stone statues. See *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VI, 271 (from al-Fākihī): ...*wa-aẓunnu l-akbusha l-madhkūrata ḥijāratan*... See also Ḥalabī, 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 mushrikī Quraysh kātabū Fārisa 'alā l-Rūm wa-kātabathum Fārisu* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 13). In the same context it is stated that the Persians and the Meccans were allies in pre-Islamic times (*ibid.*, 12: *wa-kānat awliyā'ahum fī l-jāhiliyya*).

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

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

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

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

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

[135] Cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 40.

[136] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 242.

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

[138] *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VII, 120: *al-Ḥaṭīm huwa bi'ru l-Kaʿba llatī kāna yulqā fihā mā yuhdā li-l-bayt*.

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

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

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

5. The position of the Kaʿba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca

The Kaʿba 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[143]), for instance, which, according to Wellhausen,[144] was the first kernel of the Kaʿba, 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-Fākihī[145]:

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

al-Muṭṭalib excavated them. See Azraqī, 52-53; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109. Other traditions maintain that the leader of Jurhum buried the objects, including the Black Rukn, inside Zamzam (e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 120, 154; Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, I, 38; Shāmī, I, 217; Mughulṭāy, 58[b]; Ḥalabī, I, 32; Kalāʿī, 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 Kaʿba seem to be based on a Jewish model, as indicated by Hawting ("Zamzam", 47ff.). ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib himself, reportedly, placed the gazelle in the Kaʿba again, and it was later on stolen and demolished by Abū Lahab and others. See e.g., Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, II, 37, 39; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Saʿd, I, 145; Ḥassān b. Thābit, I, 135, 370, 213, II, 115ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 54-67; ʿAskarī, I, 64-66; Ḥalabī, I, 34-35.

[141] Azraqī, 156ff.

[142] Azraqī, 156; *EI*[2] s.v. "Kaʿba". See further ʿIṣāmī, I, 165. Others maintained that the horns belonged to the ram which was sacrificed by Abel. See Ḥalabī, I, 168.

[143] Cf. Hawting, "Origins", 38ff.

[144] Wellhausen, 74.

[145] Fākihī, 276[a].

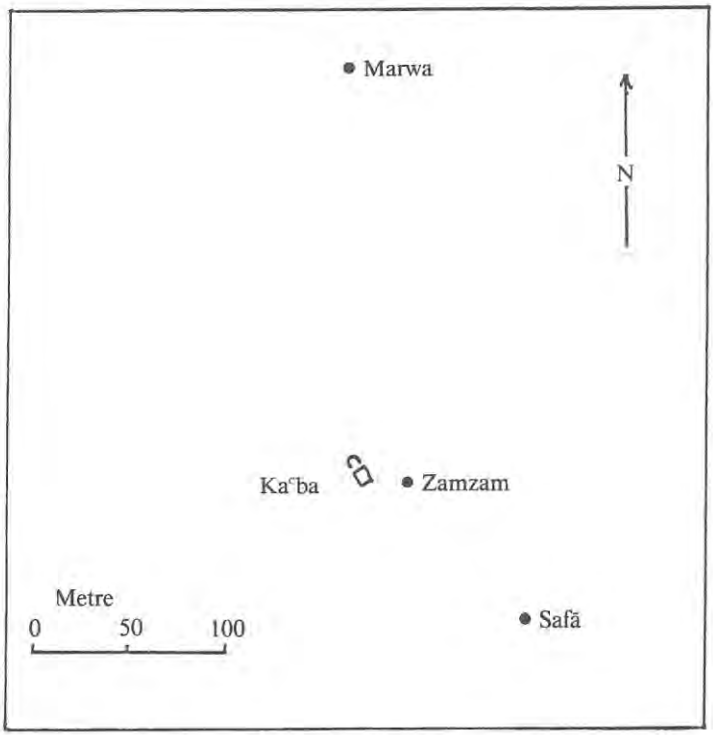

fig. 2. The Ṣafā and the Marwa

This passage indicates clearly that the Black Stone was originally located on the mountain of Abū Qubays, where it became an object of veneration thanks to its unusual brightness, which was explained by its alleged celestial origin. Ibn Saᶜd[146] as well, relates that the Black Stone was origi-

[146] Ibn Saᶜd, 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 Kaᶜba. The main role in this act is played by young Muḥammad. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 209ff.; Ḥalabī, I, 145; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VII, 111; Bayhaqī, I, 333ff. According to Maᶜmar b. Rāshid, the stone was in the Kaᶜba already before its building by Quraysh, being situated upon one of its unroofed walls. See ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 102. One tradition relates that it was already al-Yaᶜs b. Muḍar who placed the Rukn in the corner of the Kaᶜba. See Ḥalabī, I, 158 (but see *ibid.*, 17, where the same tradition refers to Maqām Ibrāhīm); Abū l-Baqāʾ, 56. Later legendary traditions say that the Black Stone was removed from Abū Qubays already in the days of Abraham and Ishmael. See ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 96, 112; Azraqī, 32, 477-78; Suhaylī, I, 223-224; ᶜAdawī, 14ᵇ; Muqātil, *Khams miʾa*, 81; *Qirā*, 294; Nahrawālī, 30; Kalāᶜī, I, 114-115; Khargūshī, 172ᵇ; Ḥalabī, I, 158; *EI*[1], "Kaᶜba".

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

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

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

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

[147] And see also ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 40; *kāna al-Rukn yūḍaᶜu ᶜalā Abī Qubays fa-tuḍi'u l-qaryatu min nūrihi kullahā*. Later Muslim traditions reflect the view that the Black Stone actually descended from heaven, but these traditions were refuted by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya who stressed that the stone had been of an earthly origin. See ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, V, 38-39; Ibn Qutayba, *Tāwīl*, 287ff.

[148] Fākihī, 277ᵃ: *qāla Mujāhid: innamā swadda mā ẓahara minhu li-anna l-mushrikūn* (sic.) *kānū yalṭakhūnahu bi-l-dami fī-l jāhiliyya.*

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

[150] Ibn Hishām, I, 208; Azraqī, 43; Kalāᶜī, I, 270; Ḥalabī, I, 142.

[151] Nahrawālī, 442 (from al-Fākihī).

[152] Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 82-83; Bayhaqī, I, 300ff.; Ibn Saᶜd, I, 89-90; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 166ff.; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, 7ff.; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, I, 198-200; Suhaylī, II, 28-29.

[153] *Mustadrak*, II, 512; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 306; ᶜAdawī, 5ᵃ, 142ᵇ; Nahrawālī, 443; Azraqī, 478; Ḥalabī, 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 Kaʿba. Jabal al-Bukā', which remained outside that area, has been weeping ever since.[154]

Abū Qubays is also believed to be the sepulchre of some noble dead. Muslim tradition refers to Adam, Eve and Sheth as being buried in a cave there.[155] It follows that not only the area of the Kaʿba, 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 Kaʿba, so that, at a certain stage, Quraysh undertook to establish the position of the Kaʿba as the leading place of worship in Mecca. For this purpose, they decided, first of all, to turn the Kaʿba into a permanent stone building. For the construction of the building, they reportedly used stones taken from various mountains, including Abū Qubays.[156] But apart from the actual building of the sanctuary, Quraysh apparently decided to affiliate into its cult all objects of veneration which had been worshipped at other places in Mecca, for instance, on Abū Qubays. This seems to have been the reason for the removal of the Black Stone from this mountain to the new building of the Kaʿba. 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 Kaʿba.[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 Kaʿba when it was built by Quraysh, was the sacred stone known in Islam as

[154] Khargūshī, 174[b].

[155] Nahrawālī, 442-443; ʿAdawī, 20[a], 142[b]-143[a]; Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, I, 109, 110; ʿIṣamī, I, 74; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 17.

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

[157] In later days the Black Stone was removed more than once from its place in the Kaʿba, and was even taken out of Mecca. For details see ʿAdawī, 128[b]ff.

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

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

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

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

[159] Fākihī, 277ᵃ.

[160] On the location of the Ṣafā at the foot of Abū Qubays see Muqātil, II, 21ᵇ; *idem*., *Khams mi'a*, 82; Fāsī (Wüstenfeld), 84; ᶜAdawī, 142ᵃ; Azraqī, 477; Ḥalabī, I, 142; G. Rentz, "Abu Ḳubays", *EI*². On the Marwa being at the foot of Quᶜayqiᶜān see Fāsī (Wüstenfeld), 95. On the Safā and the Marwa in general, see Wellhausen, 76ff.; Fahd, *Panthéon* 105; D.B. Joel, "al-Ṣafā", *EI*¹; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Saᶜy", *EI*¹.

[161] Fākihī, 329ᵃ. Cf. ᶜAdawī, 86ᵃ.

[162] Fākihī, 331ᵃ: ...*kāna bayna l-maqām wa-bayna l-kaᶜba mamarru l-ᶜanza.*

[163] Wāqidī, II, 832.

[164] See Bayhaqī, I, 335; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 120 (from al-Bayhaqī). See also *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129; Wellhausen, 76. The reasons for the removal of the Maqām from the Kaᶜba by

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

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

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

ʿUmar are not clear. According to Ibn Jurayj, ʿUmar wished to secure the Maqām from the damage of the crowds (during the *tawāf*). See Fākihī, 331ª. According to Mujāhid, ʿUmar wanted to protect the Maqām from the torrents. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 47-48.
Whatever the reason, the removal of the Maqām from the Kaʿba had to be legitimatized, and appropriate traditions were introduced in due course, claiming that ʿUmar merely restored the Maqām to its original place after it had been washed away by a torrent. This was the place of the Maqām since Abraham's days. See *Qirā*, 345-346; 344-345; Azraqī, 275, 276; ʿAdawī, 86ᵇ-87ª. One tradition relates that it was already Muḥammad himself who placed the Maqām in its present place, following the advice of ʿUmar. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119 (Ibn Abī Dāwūd); *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Mardawayhi); cf. Ḥalabī, I, 161. Some scholars, however, objected to the removal of the Maqām from the Kaʿba, claiming that its original place was rather close to the Kaʿba. See Fākihī, 331ª, 331ᵇ; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 48; Azraqī, 277; *Qirā*, 345. Some traditions relate, accordingly, that the Maqām was attached to the Kaʿba by no other than Abraham himself. See *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (ʿAbd al-Razzāq), VI, 289; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 49; Shāmī, I, 182; Kalāʿī, I, 115; Ḥalabī, I, 161; Ibn Kathīr, I, 164. A harmonizing tradition holds that the Maqām was adjacent to the Kaʿba since the days of Muḥammad, then was transferred by ʿUmar to its present place, then it was swept away by a flood towards the Kaʿba, and then ʿUmar put it again in its previous place. See *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Abī Ḥātim). For further data on this matter see M.J. Kister, "Maḳām Ibrāhīm", *EI*².

[165] Khargūshī, 190ª.

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

[167] *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *"ṣ.f.w."*.

[168] *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *"m.r.w."*.

[169] Ibn Hishām, I, 292.

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

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

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

[170] Muqātil, II, 251[b]. See also Mughulṭāy, 26[a] (from Muqātil).

[171] Fākihī, 380[a].

[172] E.ġ., Azraqī, 74-75; 49-50. And see also, Fākihī, 380[a]; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 311; Yāqūt, I, 170; Wāḥidī, 25. And see further, Wellhausen, 77-78; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 103ff.; Lüling, 172-173. According to some reports, Isāf and Nā'ila were made of copper (*Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 400). Some reports say that the idols upon the Ṣafā and the Marwa were named Mujāwid al-Riḥ and Muṭᶜim al-Ṭayr. See Fākihī, 380[a]; Yaᶜqūbī, I, 254; Azraqī, 78; ᶜAdawī, 42[b]. Cf. Wellhausen, 78; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 106ff. In a peculiar tradition recorded by Muslim (IV, 68), "Isāf and Nā'ila" are mentioned as a pair of idols at the seashore.

[173] See Kister "Khuzāᶜa", 77ff.

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

[175] *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 400 (Nasā'ī).

[176] Fākihī, 380[a]. the verse was: *al-yawma qarrī ᶜaynan/bi-qarᶜi l-marwataynā* (!).

[177] Fākihī, 380[a]: *...fa-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya yasᶜawna baynahumā*. See also *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 400; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 160; Wellhausen, 76.

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

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

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

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

[178] Bukhārī, V, 55-56: *lā nujīzu l-baṭḥā'a illā shaddan*. See also *Qirā*, 369.

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

[180] Muqātil, I, 25[b]. See also idem., *Khams miʾa*, 90.

[181] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 180.

[182] Marzūqī, II, 237: *wa-kānat al-Ḥums tadaʿu ʿArafāt tahāwunan bihā wa-ikhlālan, wa-tadaʿu l-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwa.*

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

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

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

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

[184] Azraqī, 75, 121; ᶜAdawī, 41ᵇ.

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

[186] E.g., Wāqidī, III, 959 (ᶜUmrat al-Jiᶜrāna), 1098-1099 (Ḥajjat al-Wadāᶜ); Ibn Saᶜd, II, 173 (Ḥajjat al-wadāᶜ).

[187] Wāqidī, II, 736: *hādha l-manḥaru wa-kullu fijāj Makka manḥar*. See also Ibn Saᶜd, II, 122; *Qirā*, 620; Wellhausen, 77.

[188] Ṭabarsī, II, 45: *fa-kāna l-nāsu yasᶜawna wa-l-aṣnāmu ᶜalā ḥālihā*. The pre-Islamic idols, including Isāf and Nā'ila, were demolished only after the conquest of Mecca (8H/630). See Azraqī, 75, 77; Wāqidī, II, 841-842; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 199.

ded with a proper Quranic rehabilitation.[189]

The practice of running during some parts of the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was adopted intact by Islam, and the pre-Islamic saying about this practice (see above) was eventually circulated as a *ḥadīth* of the prophet.[190] In order to 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.[191] In adopting the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, Muḥammad's chief aim seems to have been to turn Islam into a religion which would be acceptable to all the Arabs, and not just to Quraysh and the Ḥums. With this object in mind, the prophet took some measures which were designed to break the old ritual restrictions of the Ḥums, and, consequently, he rehabilitated the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. The result of this was that the rites near the Kaʿba were reduced to merely one stage in the whole process of the pilgrimage, and the Kaʿba thus lost much of its exclusive status.

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

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

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

[191] *EI*[1] s.v. "Saʿy"; Von Grunebaum, 30-31. It is related that Moses, too, performed the *saʿi* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. See Fākihī, 377[b]; Azraqī, 34-35, 37, 38. Cf. 349.

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

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