

• THE •  
HAJJ



THE MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE TO  
MECCA AND THE HOLY PLACES

F. E. Peters

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have been worshipping, nor will you worship what I worship. To you your religion and to me mine. (Quran 109:1-6)

This is Muhammad's break with Meccan paganism, announced after the beginning of his revelations and perhaps referring to his discontinuation of the practice of making the Hajj,<sup>125</sup> but not, it would appear from Sura 108, of the customary sacrifices at Mecca.<sup>126</sup>

### The Quraysh Rebuild the Ka'ba

In 605 C.E., when, if we follow the traditional chronology, Muhammad was thirty-five years old, a memorable event occurred in Mecca: the reconstruction of the Ka'ba, the only stone building in that town. We follow Ibn Ishaq's account:

The Quraysh decided to rebuild the Ka'ba when the Apostle was thirty-five years of age. . . . They were planning to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Ka'ba which used to be in a well in the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayk, a freedman of the Banu Mulayh ibn Amr of the Khuza'a. The Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk. . . .

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Jidda and became a total wreck. They took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Ka'ba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter, so everything they needed was ready at hand. Now a snake used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Ka'ba. It was an object of terror because whenever anyone came near it, it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was thus sunning itself one day, God sent a bird which seized it and flew off with it. Thereupon the Quraysh said, "Now we may hope that God is pleased with what we propose to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and God has rid us of the snake." . . .

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Walid ibn al-Mughira said, "I will begin the demolition." So he took a pick-axe and went up to it, saying the while, "O God, do not be afraid.<sup>127</sup> O God, we intend only what is best." Then he demolished the part at the two corners. That night the people watched, saying, "We will look out; if he is smitten, we will not destroy any more of it and we will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish (the rest of) it." In the morning al-Walid returned to the work of demolition and the peo-

ple worked with him, until they got down to the foundation of Abraham. They came upon green stones like camel's humps joined one to another. . . .

I was told the Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syriac. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: "I am Allah the Lord of Bakka. I created it on the day that I created heaven and earth and formed the sun and the moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. It will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water," and I was told that they found in "the place" (of Abraham) a writing, "Mecca is God's holy house; its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it." . . .

The tribes of the Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the Black Stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances and got ready for battle. The Banu Abd al-Dar brought a bowl full of blood, then they and the Banu Adi ibn Ka'b pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the "blood-lickers." Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and the Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abu Umayya ibn al-Mughira, who was at that time the oldest man of the Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpire in the matter of the dispute. They did so and the first one to come in was the Apostle of God. When they saw him they said, "This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Muhammad." When they came to him and informed him of the matter, he said "Give me a cloak," and when they brought it to him, he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it. (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 84-85)

Ibn Ishaq's is not the only version of the Ka'ba project.<sup>128</sup> According to al-Azraqi, Mecca's premier local historian, there was a particularly destructive flood in that year—not an implausible event, given the history of the town.<sup>129</sup>

Downpours were many, and Mecca had its share of torrential rains and floods. One of these flooded the Ka'ba and its walls were cracked to the point that the Quraysh were afraid on the one hand to use the place and on the other to destroy or rebuild it for fear that some evil would befall them. (Azraqi 1858: 107)

An Egyptian ship was wrecked near Shu'ayba, then the nearest port to Mecca on the Red Sea. One of the survivors was a Greek or Coptic carpenter, or perhaps more generally an artisan, named Baqum (Pachomios) who was capable of putting a new roof on the Ka'ba. The Quraysh, Muhammad among them, cooperated by collecting stones for the new edifice.

When it came time to tear down the remains of the old building, a certain anxiety arose, and it was done only by a divine sign—a bird flew over and removed the serpent that had protected the sanctuary and its treasure for more than 500 years. One of the older Quraysh, who explained he had nothing to lose, began the work, but the others held back until they saw that nothing had happened. Nothing, that is, until they reached the Abrahamic foundations. When they tried to remove these lightening struck and an earthquake shook Mecca. They left them alone. The four factions among the Quraysh each built its own side. It was on that occasion that the door, formerly on ground level, was raised. When it was time to replace the stone they had to summon "Amin," the trustworthy Muhammad, to adjudicate. He used his mantle as described by Ibn Ishaq and all were satisfied.

Baqum then built the roof and inside made pictures of the Prophets, including Abraham and Mary and the Child Jesus. The "golden gazelle" and treasures which were kept in the house of Abu Talha during the reconstruction and the idols, stored in the Zamzam, were returned to their accustomed places inside the Ka'ba.

Elsewhere Azraqi supplies some additional details on the representations inside the reconstructed Ka'ba, which now included "pictures of trees and pictures of angels."

There was a picture of Abraham as an old man and performing divination by the shaking of arrows, and a picture of Jesus son of Mary and his mother, and a picture of angels. On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet entered the House and he sent al-Fadl ibn al-Abbas to bring water from Zamzam. Then he asked for a cloth which he soaked in water, and ordered all the pictures to be erased, and this was done. . . . Then he looked at the picture of Abraham and said, "May God destroy them! They made him cast the divining arrows. What does Abraham have to do with divining arrows?"

Ata ibn Abi Rabah said that he saw in the House a decorated statue of Mary with a decorated Jesus sitting on her lap. The House contained six pillars . . . and the representation of Jesus was on the pillar next to the door. This was destroyed in the fire at the time of Ibn al-Jubayr. Ata said he was not sure that it was there in the time of the Prophet but he thought it was. (Azraqi 1858: 111)

### The Prophet at Medina

In the year 610 of the Christian era, when he was, according to the traditional chronology, forty years of age, Muhammad received his divine call to prophecy. After some hesitation he followed his supernatural vocation and began to preach the message of the Oneness of God and the certainty of a Final Judgment to his fellow Meccans. Revelation followed revelation—they were all finally collected in the Quran—but he enjoyed little success in his native place. Indeed, it is not unlikely that he would have been killed by his increasingly implacable enemies had he not won some following in Yathrib, an oasis some 270 miles to the north, and accepted an offer to migrate there in 622 C.E. At Yathrib, later called Medina, "The City (of the Prophet)," Muhammad enjoyed political success, and with it power, the power to enact policies regarding his new religious insights. One of the most striking and significant of these was his divinely inspired decision to change the direction of prayer. Earlier he had, like the Jews, faced Jerusalem in prayer; but shortly after his arrival in Yathrib-Medina, and probably in reaction to a Jewish refusal to accept his prophetic claims, he changed the prayer-direction (*qibla*) for all Muslims away from Jerusalem and toward the Ka'ba in Mecca.

#### THE UMRA FULFILLED

Did the change of the *qibla* betoken some modification of Muhammad's attitude toward the rituals at Mecca? We cannot know. Muhammad was cut off from both the city and its rituals for six years after his migration to Medina. Not until 628 C.E., amid growing signs of the success of his mission, did he take action: somewhat abruptly, he announced his intention of making the Umra that year. He did not, however. He was blocked at a place called Hudaibiyya, where the Quraysh finally agreed that he might freely return to the city the following year. Muhammad turned and equally abruptly led a successful raid on the Jewish oasis of Khaybar.

The point of Hudaibiyya was not forgotten, however, in the successful flush of Khaybar. Muhammad still intended to make the Umra.

When the Messenger returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Rabi' until Shawwal, sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhu al-Qa'da—the month in which the polytheists had prevented him from making the pilgrimage (in the preceding year)—he went out to make the "fulfilled pilgrimage" in place of the 'umra from which they had excluded him. Those Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in A.H. 7 [February 629 C.E.], and when the Meccans heard it, they got out of his way. The Quraysh said among themselves, "Muhammad and his companions are in destitution, want and privation."

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn Abbas said: "They gathered at the door of the Dar al-Nadwa to look at him and his companions, and when the Prophet entered the sanctuary he threw the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said, 'God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong.' Then he embraced and kissed the stone and went on trotting, as did his companions, until the point where the temple concealed him from them, and when he had embraced and had kissed the southern corner he walked to kiss the Black Stone. Then he trotted in the same fashion for three circuits and walked the rest."

If the somewhat tortured manner of expressing the ritual actually performed by the Prophet on the occasion of this Umra suggests that other considerations were later steering the passage, Ibn Ishaq immediately confirms the suspicion: early on, likely in the generation after Muhammad, there had been a debate about the ritual of circumambulation, or perhaps only the "embracing and kissing" (*istalama*) part of it.

Ibn Abbas used to say, "People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the Prophet only did it for this clan of the Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until the Farewell Pilgrimage, when he adhered to it and the sunna carried it on." (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 530–531)

The issue of the ritual of a Muslim Hajj was determined, then, at least according to Ibn Abbas's report, by Muhammad's "customary practice" (*sunna*), here defined by his ritual acts during the famous Farewell Pilgrimage in March 632 C.E., the only pilgrimage the Prophet ever led in person.

Circumambulation was not the only legal problem connected with the Umra of February 629. There is strong evidence that Muhammad offered the customary animal sacrifices on this occasion.<sup>130</sup> And more, he took another wife, an act that was, according to one report, consummated while the Prophet was in a state of *ihram* or ritual purity, when normally all sexual acts were forbidden.<sup>131</sup> Ibn Ishaq allows the reader to have it both ways.

The Messenger married Maymuna daughter of al-Harith on that journey when he was in a state of *ihram*. (His uncle) al-Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib gave her to him in marriage [and probably became a Muslim at the same time]. The Messenger remained three days in Mecca. Huwaytib ibn Abd al-Uzza with a few Quraysh came to him on the third day because the Quraysh had entrusted him with the duty of sending the Messenger out of Mecca. They said, "Your time is up, so get out from among us." The Messenger answered, "How would it harm you if you were to let

me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and prepared food and you came too?" They replied, "We don't need your food, so get out." So the Messenger went out and left Abu Rafi<sup>c</sup> his client in charge of Maymuna until he brought her to him in Sarif. (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 531)

### The Hajj of Year 9

The Apostle remained there [in Medina] for the rest of the month of Ramadan and Shawwal and Dhu al-Qa<sup>c</sup>da. Then he sent Abu Bakr in command of the Hajj in the year 9 (of the Hijra) to enable the Muslims to perform their Hajj while the polytheists were at their pilgrimage stations. Abu Bakr and the Muslims then duly departed. (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 617)

The rest of this chapter of Ibn Ishaq's *Life* is devoted to a lengthy explanation of another momentous change in the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, a change signaled, the tradition asserts, in the verses of Sura 9 revealed on this occasion. Which verses, however, and in what order is a highly complex and difficult question:<sup>132</sup>

A declaration of immunity from God and His Apostle is given to the pagans with whom you have contracted alliances.

Go about safely in the land for four months and know that you cannot frustrate God, and that God is about to humiliate unbelievers.

And a proclamation from God and His Apostle on the Day of the Great Pilgrimage—that God and His Apostle dissolve treaty obligations with the pagans.

Except those pagans with whom you made treaties and who have not afterward failed you in any regard and have not supported anyone against you. As for them, respect their treaty till the end of their term. God loves those who obey.

And when the sacred months are passed, kill the pagans wherever you find them, and take them and surround them and lie in wait for them in every spot. But if they repent, and observe the ritual prayers and pay the alms-tithe, then leave them alone. God is forgiving, compassionate. (Quran 9:1–5)

There was a final caution sounded in Sura 9. If the nonbelievers were excluded from the pilgrimage, would this not threaten the livelihood of the Muslims of Mecca?

It is not for the pagans to operate [or "visit"] the shrines of God while they witness against their own souls to disbelief. The works of such bear no fruit; they shall dwell in fire. The shrines of God shall be operated [or "visited"] by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish ritual

prayer, contribute the alms-tithe and fear God. It is they who are the truly guided. . . .

O believers, truly the pagans are unclean; so let them not approach the sacred shrine after this year (of grace) of theirs. And if you fear poverty (as a result), God will enrich, if He wills it, out of His own bounty. For God is all-knowing, all-wise. (Quran 9:17–18, 28)

These Quranic announcements were made, according to the traditional chronological sequence, upon Muhammad's return from Tabuk in 630 C.E., and they mark his final break with paganism. Previously, the Prophet had conducted political relations with the pagans, or "associators" (*mushrikun*), as he invariably calls them. He had concluded treaties with them, and non-Muslims had even taken part in his raids and shared the booty that came from them.<sup>133</sup> No longer. The pagans were to be granted a respite of four months; thereafter they would be killed wherever the Muslims encountered them.<sup>134</sup>

There was, of course, another option: they might convert and become part of the new, entirely Muslim political order. The community (*umma*) had been redefined, as we have just seen, to include only Muslims, and the terms of membership mandated the institution of liturgical prayer (*salat*) and the payment into the community treasury of the *zakat*, an alms-tithe to the Muslims but transparently a tax to those being threatened with conversion or extinction.

Later Muslims were somewhat uncertain about many elements of this tradition, including precisely who made the announcement.<sup>135</sup> Some traditionists said it was Abu Bakr or Abu Hurayra; others, as might be expected in a community where the division between Sunni and Shi'ite ran deep, maintained that it was Ali ibn Abi Talib:

Abu Bakr, during the pilgrimage which he conducted, before the Pilgrimage of Farewell, sent Abu Hurayra, among others, to announce on the day of the sacrifice that no polytheist would make the Hajj and that no naked person would perform the tawaf. (Bukhari, The Sound 5.212)

The consequence is set out in another tradition:

Abu Bakr broke the treaties of the peoples in that year, and in the year of the Pilgrimage of Farewell during which the Prophet made his pilgrimage, no pagan performed the Hajj. (Bukhari, The Sound 4.124)

And again, on the reputed testimony of Abu Hurayra, and in a manner calculated to save the Abu Bakr version and yet assert Ali's claim:

Abu Bakr sent me among the heralds which he sent during that pilgrimage, on the day of sacrifice to announce at Mina that no pagan would perform the Hajj after that year and that no naked person would perform

the circumambulation. Meanwhile the Prophet sent after us Ali ibn Abi Talib, ordering him to announce the temporary immunity. Ali announced with us the immunity to the people at Mina on the day of sacrifice and that no pagan would perform the Hajj after that year and that no naked man would perform the circumambulation. (Bukhari, The Sound 6.81)

And finally, according to Azraqi, it was on the occasion of his reentry into Mecca in 630 that Muhammad also reestablished the boundaries of the greater *haram* of Mecca, which went back to Abraham's day but had been tampered with by the Quraysh. They were set at one hour out on the Medina road; three hours on the Yemen road; five hours on the Ta'if road; three hours on the road to Iraq; and four hours on the Jir'ana road. These were renewed by Muhammad's second successor, Umar, and then once again by Umar's successor, Uthman.

### The Pilgrimage of Farewell

*The months for the Hajj are well known. If anyone undertakes that duty during them, let there be no obscenity, nor wickedness nor wrangling during the Hajj. And whatever good you do, God knows it.*

*Take provision with you for the journey, but the best of provisions is righteous conduct. So fear Me, you who are wise. (Quran 2:197)*

The Quran had thus simply commanded that the Hajj be made, "during the well-known months"; that it was "a duty men owe to God," everyone, that is, "who is able to afford the journey" (3:97). The command was, then, a plain and direct one, doubtless on the correct assumption that the parties addressed were well acquainted with this pre-Islamic ritual. But as we have seen, the rite was complex even at the beginning, and its complexities assured that a later generation of Muslims would have a host of questions on the subject. The Quran had already addressed some of them, the case of an interrupted pilgrimage, for example:

*Complete the Hajj or Umra in the service of God, but if you are prevented, send a sacrificial offering from what is available; do not, however, shave your heads [that is, signal the completion of the obligation] until the offering reaches the place of sacrifice. But if any of you becomes ill (after formally beginning the rites) or has a scalp ailment (requiring shaving), he should compensate by either fasting or feeding the poor. (Quran 2:196)*

As the verse itself reveals, the ritual complexities of the Hajj might be considerable (later they spawned an entire guild of guides to assist the pilgrim through them). As on other issues, the answers were sought

among the *hadith*, the reported utterances of the Prophet himself, and more particularly those that clustered around the so-called Farewell Pilgrimage in 632 C.E.

We know little of Muhammad's connection with Meccan rituals, including the Hajj, either before or after his call to prophethood, though it seems safe to assume that he took part in the rituals of his native city.<sup>136</sup> Once removed to Medina, he was obviously in no position to participate in any of the cultic observances in Mecca and its vicinity, not, at any rate, until the month of Dhu al-Qa<sup>c</sup>da (February) 629, when, as we have seen, he was permitted to perform the Umra as part of a general political settlement concluded at Hudaibiyya. Mecca fell in January 630. Although Muhammad performed the Umra in March of that year, he did not participate in the Hajj. In March 631 the Hajj was led by Abu Bakr, and Muhammad was once again absent. Thus it was not until Dhu al-Hijja (March) in 632 C.E., the year of his death, that Muhammad went on what was to be his first and final Hajj as a Muslim.<sup>137</sup>

Needless to say, the details of this pilgrimage were later lovingly recalled: they served as the foundation of all future performances of this ritual, which is a solemn obligation upon all Muslims.<sup>138</sup> But despite all this apparent attention, ambiguities remain. Various suras of the Quran, notably the second, third, and ninth, contain detailed prescriptions concerning both the Hajj and the Umra and their relationship; and there is a disagreement, as we shall see, among the traditionists on whether these were delivered in connection with Abu Bakr's Hajj of 631 or on the occasion of the Prophet's own Farewell Pilgrimage in 632.

What there is no disagreement about in the tradition is that the Prophet delivered a discourse on the occasion of his final pilgrimage and that it covered instruction on the performance of the pilgrimage as well as detailed prescriptions on a great variety of subjects. Ibn Ishaq preserved one version in his *Life of the Messenger of God*:

*In the beginning of Dhu al-Qa<sup>c</sup>da the Messenger prepared to make the pilgrimage and ordered his men to get ready. Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Qasim from his father, from Aisha, the Prophet's wife, told me that the Messenger went on pilgrimage on the 25th of Dhu al-Qa<sup>c</sup>da [20 February 632 C.E.]. (In its course) the Messenger showed men the rites and taught them the customs of the Hajj. (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 650)*

The pilgrimage was in fact a pre-Islamic custom of long standing, with its own rituals and customs. The Prophet took what he found, discarded some elements of the cult, reshaped others, and integrated whatever was suitable into a new, specifically Muslim Hajj. At the end of Muhammad's sermon, for example, Ibn Ishaq records a tradition that shows the Prophet clarifying and redefining the sacred territory, the "stations," connected with the pilgrimage.

Abdullah ibn Abi Najih told me that when the Apostle stood on Arafat he said: "This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all Arafat is a station." When he stood on Quza on the morning of Muzdalifa he said: "This is the station and all al-Muzdalifa is a station." Then when he had slaughtered in the slaughtering place in Mina he said, "This is the slaughtering place and all Mina is a slaughtering place."

Then Ibn Ishaq adds his own concluding summary, reprising what he had said at the outset:

*The Apostle completed the Hajj and showed men the rites and taught them what God had prescribed as to their Hajj, the "standing," the throwing of stones, the circumambulation of the temple and what He had permitted and forbidden. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of farewell because the Apostle did not go on pilgrimage after that. (Ibn Ishaq 1955: 652)*

If Ibn Ishaq chose not to include in his *Life* many details of how the Prophet "showed men the rites and taught them" the customs of the Hajj, the details of that instruction were preserved in the canonical collections of *hadith*, like these on the subject of *ihram*, the state of ritual purification:

*Ibn Umar said (on the authority of the Prophet), the months of the Hajj are Shawwal and Dhu al-Qa<sup>c</sup>da and the first ten days of Dhu al-Hijja. And Ibn Abbas said, it is the custom (of the Prophet) that a man shall not enter the state of ritual purity (ihram) except in the months of pilgrimage. (Bukhari, The Sound 25.34)*

The state of *ihram* is a highly complex one and raised many uncertainties, beginning with where precisely the taboo state should be entered:

*Ibn Abbas said that the Prophet—may God bestow peace and blessings upon him—appointed for the people of Medina [that is, people coming from Medina] Dhu al-Hulayfa as the place where they should enter the state of ihram; for the people of Syria, Juhfa; for the people of Najd, Qarn al-Manazil; and for the people of the Yemen, Yalamlam. These are for them and for those who come upon them from other places, for those who have taken a decision to perform the Hajj and Umra. And for whoever is on the nearer side of these points, the appointed place (for ihram) is where he starts, so that for the people of Mecca it is Mecca. (Bukhari, The Sound 25.7)*

*Ibn Umar reported about the Prophet—may God bestow peace and blessings upon him—that a man once asked him, what should a man wear in the state of ihram? He answered, "He shall not wear shirt, nor turban, nor trousers, nor headgear, nor any dyed cloth; and if he cannot*

find footwear, then let him wear leather stockings, but cut off so that they may be lower than the ankles.” (Bukhari, The Sound 3.53)

Ibn Abbas said, someone in a state of ihram may smell sweet-smelling plants, and look in a looking-glass, and use comestibles as medicines, like olive oil and butter; Ata said, he can wear a ring and carry a purse. When Ibn Umar made the circumambulation while in the state of ihram he girdled his middle with a cloth. Aisha’s opinion was that there was no harm in wearing underpants. (Bukhari, The Sound 25.18)

Ibn Umar reported that he heard the Prophet—may God bestow peace and blessings upon him—forbidding women in the state of ihram the wearing of gloves, a veil, and dyed garments, and (adding) that besides these they might wear whatever they liked of garments colored with safflower, or made of silk, or ornaments or trousers or shirt. (Abu Dawud, The Custom II.29)

Aisha said, we went out intending only the Hajj, and when we reached Sarif I began menstruating. The Messenger of God—may God bestow peace and blessings upon him—came to me and I was weeping. He said, “What is the matter with you? Are you menstruating?” I said I was. He said, “This is a matter that God has ordained for the daughters of Adam, so do what the (other) pilgrims do, except do not circumambulate the House.” (Abu Dawud, The Custom 6.1)

Although they cannot be dated with precision, the Quran too has verses that seem to offer clarification on ritual points of the pilgrimage. Sura 22, for example, presents extensive and detailed instruction on the sacrifices performed during the Hajj and specifically addresses the question—which remains, as often, unasked in the body of the Quran but unmistakably underlies the answer—as to whether it is permitted to eat the flesh of the animals offered for sacrifice:

You are permitted (to eat) the sacrificial animals, except those specified (as prohibited), but shun the abomination of idols and shun the word that is false.

In them [the sacrificial animals] you have benefits for a term appointed; in the end their place of sacrifice is near the Ancient House.<sup>139</sup> To every people did We appoint a place of sacrifice, that they might celebrate the name of God over the sustenance He gave them from animals. (Quran 22:33–34)

For your benefit We have made the sacrificial camels one of the signs from God; there is good for you in them. So pronounce the name of God over them as they line up (for sacrifice), and afterwards as they lie slain, eat of them and feed such as already have food and such as beg in

humility. Thus have We made animals subject to you, that you might be grateful.

It is not their meat or their blood that reaches God; it is your piety that reaches Him. He has thus made them subject to you, that you may glorify God for the Guidance He has given you.<sup>140</sup> (Quran 36–37)

#### HAJJ AND UMRA

Among the other consolidations attempted by the Prophet during his Pilgrimage of Farewell was the combination of the two previously independent rituals of the Umra and the Hajj, a topic already touched upon in the Quran. The verse in question seems to envision an interrupted Umra being attached to a Hajj:

And when you are in a state of security, if anyone wishes to resume (tamatta<sup>c</sup>) the Umra into the Hajj, he must make an offering such as he can afford; but if he cannot afford it, he should fast three days during the Hajj and seven days on his return, ten days in all. This is for those whose household is not in the Sacred Precinct. (Quran 2:196)

That would obviously never do as a general instruction, and the *hadith* attempted to fill out the picture, like this portmanteau specimen passed down by Ibn Umar and preserved by Bukhari:

On the Farewell Pilgrimage the Messenger of God—may God bestow peace and blessings upon him—profited by combining the Umra with the Hajj. . . . So he performed the circumambulation when he arrived in Mecca. The first thing he did was to kiss the corner (in which the stone was embedded), then he ran the first three turns around the Ka’ba and then walked the next four. When he had finished the circumambulation of the House, he said two “prostrations” of prayer near the Station of Abraham. Then he pronounced the taslim formula, and when he had finished he went to Safa and made the circumambulation of Safa and Marwa seven times, after which nothing that was forbidden to him in the state of ihram was lawful for him until he had completed the Hajj, had sacrificed his animal on the Day of Sacrifice, and returned and once again circumambulated the House: then everything that was forbidden to him in the state of ihram became lawful for him. (Bukhari, The Sound 25.104)

The Umra, we have seen, was primarily a Meccan feast that consisted chiefly in a ritual circumambulation of the Ka’ba and the sevenfold “running” between Safa and Marwa, and it was brought to a formal end by the sacrificing of animals at Marwa, whereafter the pilgrim shaved his head and left the purified state.<sup>141</sup> It was a solemn and independent ritual, or rather, complex of rituals, since the rites of the Ka’ba and those of Marwa and Safa might themselves once have been distinct. Whatever the case,

the rites of the Umra and the Hajj were distinct rituals in the eyes of Muhammad and of the early Muslims, and they were apparently celebrated by the Arabs at two different seasons of the year, the Umra in the fall and the Hajj in the spring,<sup>142</sup> as they were in the year Muhammad made his Farewell Pilgrimage.

#### ISLAMICIZING THE HAJJ

The process of converting the Umra and the Arafat festivals from a pagan into a Muslim ritual was not accomplished of a sudden at the pilgrimage of 632. The Medinese suras of the Quran are filled with instruction and remarks linking Abraham and Ishmael not merely with the Ka'ba but with the rituals of the Hajj as well. Attention has already been drawn to the following verses of Sura 22, which appear in the form of a command to Abraham after he had finished building the Ka'ba.

*Announce to the people the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel, coming from every deep and distant highway that they may witness the benefits and recollect the name of God in the well-known days (ayyam ma'lumat) over the sacrificial animals He has provided for them. Eat thereof and feed the poor in want. Then let them complete their rituals and perform their vows and circumambulate the Ancient House.*

*Such is it [the pilgrimage]. Whoever honors the sacred rites of God, for him is it good in the sight of his Lord. (Quran 22:27-30)*

The Quran merely suggests. The later Muslim tradition hastened, as we have already seen, to fill in the details explaining how Abraham, and indeed Adam before him, had initiated the Hajj.<sup>143</sup> Whatever modifications Muhammad undertook, the tradition asserted, represented a restoration of the original form of the Hajj.

The third verse of Sura 9 of the Quran, which has already been cited in connection with the Hajj of year 9 (630 C.E.) contains what it itself announces is a formal proclamation (*adhan*):

*And a proclamation from God and His Apostle on the Day of the Great Pilgrimage—that God and His Apostle dissolve treaty obligations with the pagans. If you repent, it is better for you. But if you turn your backs, then know that you cannot frustrate God. Inform those who disbelieve of a painful punishment.*

Although the surrounding verses might plausibly be assigned to the pilgrimage led by Abu Bakr in 631 C.E., this one appears to be the fulfillment of the prior warning that *thereafter* the pagans would be excluded from the Hajj. Here the pagans are informed of the ban. The presence of pagans at a Hajj during which Muhammad himself led the Muslim contin-

gent doubtless troubled many of the ancient authorities, who preferred to keep all forms of paganism distant from the Prophet. More disturbingly for the traditional assignment of this verse to the pilgrimage of the previous year, there is no very convincing reason for calling Abu Bakr's the "Great Hajj." The ancient commentators sensed the difficulty as well.