BRILL

Numen 57 (2010) 341–388

NVMEN
brill.nl/nu

Gift of the Body in Islam: The Prophet Muhammad's Camel Sacrifice and Distribution of Hair and Nails at his Farewell Pilgrimage

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Abstract
The following pages examine the relationship between the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice of the camels and the distribution of his hair at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage just before his death. A study of the accounts of the Prophet's camel sacrifice shows that it prefigures the annual rites of the Ḥajj using the biblical model of Abraham's sacrifice to align other pre-Islamic practices, including those associated with the cult at Mecca, with the origins of a specifically Islamic civilization. The prophet Muhammad's distribution of his hair, detached from his body at the time of his desacralization from the Ḥajj delineates the Meccan sanctuary as the place of origination from which was spread both the physical and textual corpus of the Prophet's life. Whether by design or not, the traditional Islamic descriptions of this episode from the life of the prophet Muhammad are not unlike narratives found in Buddhist, Iranian, Christian and other traditions in which the body of a primal being is dismembered to create a new social order. Through the gift of the sacrificial camels and parts of his own body, the prophet Muhammad is portrayed, in this episode, as making a figurative and literal offering of himself at the origins of Islamic civilization.

Keywords
pilgrimage, sacrifice, hair, territory, Bible, Mecca

In a description of the farewell pilgrimage of the prophet Muhammad, an event which is said to have taken place in the year of his death, the seventeenth-century Egyptian scholar Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī

DOI: 10.1163/156852710X501342

(1567–1635) cites a remarkable practice. The account is given on the authority of the well-known ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAbbās (619–86).

> Ibn ʿAbbās said: The apostle of God led to the sacrifice on his farewell pilgrimage 100 camels [*badanah*], and he immolated thirty of them. Then he ordered ʿAlī to sacrifice the ones that remained. He said: "Distribute the meat, the skin, and the coverings among the people, but the butcher does not get any of it. Take for us from each camel a piece of meat and put it in a single pot, so that we might eat the meat and drink from the broth." And he did it.
>
> He [apostle of God] related that all of Minā is a place of sacrifice, all the valley of Mecca is a place of sacrifice. Then the apostle of God shaved his head, that is Muʿamar b. ʿAbdallāh shaved it, and he [apostle of God] said to him: "Here" and he pointed his hand to the right side. So he began with the right side and shaved it, and then the left side. He [apostle of God] distributed his hair. He gave half of it to Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī — that is, the hair of the left side of his head — and after that said: "Here, Abū Ṭalḥāh." And it is said that he gave it to Umm Sulaym the wife of Abū Ṭalḥah. And it is said, by Abū Kurayb, that he gave the other half of it — that is, the hair of the right side — to the people, one or two hairs at a time. (Ḥalabī n.d.:3:323)

Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī cites other accounts in which the prophet Muhammad sacrificed sixty-three camels with his own hand, because he was sixty-three years old on that day. He cooked pieces of meat from each camel in a soup, and served the meat and its broth, before ordering ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to sacrifice the remainder of the 100 camels (Ḥalabī n.d.:3:327–8). Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bustī (d. 965) reports that the prophet Muhammad sacrificed sixty-three camels, gave the rest to ʿAlī to sacrifice, and then he and ʿAlī ate the meat and drank the broth together before riding back to the Kaʿbah and drinking from the water of Zamzam (Bustī 1997:397). In his collection of traditions about the prophet Muhammad, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064) states that the prophet Muhammad gave something like a third of the 100 camels to ʿAlī to sacrifice (Ibn Ḥazm 1986:206).

These traditions, and others, could indicate that the sharing of the sacrifice with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib be understood as a sign of the Prophet's deputizing and designation of ʿAlī as his successor (Bell 1937:233–44; Rubin 1982:241–60). Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 1374), for example, is specific, using the dual verb forms, that only

the prophet Muhammad and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib partook of the special meal made from the meat and broth of the many camels sacrificed.

> Then he [prophet Muhammad] went to the place of sacrifice and immolated sixty-three camels. He gave to ʿAlī and he sacrificed what remained and thanked him for his leading of the animals. Then he ordered that a piece be taken from each of the camels and put into a pot, and cooked. The two of them ate [*akalā*] the meat and the two of them drank [*sharabā*] the broth. (Dhahabī 1996:2:292)

The close connection between the account of the camel sacrifice and the distribution of the Prophet's hair, here and in al-Ḥalabī's text, suggests a larger mythological context surrounding these last acts of the farewell pilgrimage. According to the account attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, the prophet Muhammad ordered ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib to distribute the meat and other produce of the camel sacrifice to the other people present. The scale of the sacrifice itself is remarkable as is the number of hairs distributed. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (780–855) preserves a report, on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, that the companions of the prophet Muḥammad encircled him so as not to allow a single hair to fall from his head onto the ground (Ibn Ḥanbal 4:42). The same report is repeated in the *al-Fuṣūl fī sīrah al-rusūl* of Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr (d. 1372) along with the report that the hairs from the left side of the Prophet's head were given out to his companions one or two at a time (Ibn Kathīr 1999:212–9). The distribution of the hairs one or two at a time, mentioned by al-Ḥalabī and reported in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim on the authority of Abū Bakr, seems to indicate that a large number of people were present for this distribution (Muslim 15:56).

In his recension of the biography of the prophet Muhammad, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn Hishām (d. 828) follows the report of the farewell pilgrimage with an account of the Prophet sending messengers to the various Arab and non-Arab kings, including the Negus of Ethiopia, Khosraw of Sasanian Iran, and Heraclius of Rome through Muqawqis in Alexandria. He makes an explicit comparison between this event and Jesus' sending of his disciples throughout the world as is described in the New Testament Acts of the Apostles 2:1–13 (Ibn Hishām n.d.:970–2; Guillaume 1967:652–9). The specification that the Prophet's sacrifice produced both food and drink for his followers might be understood as a reflection of Jesus' offering of bread and wine

as his flesh and blood in the Last Supper just before his death. Of course, in Christian theology the Last Supper is thought to prefigure the substitute of Jesus as a sacrifice for the usual animal victim, while the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice is supposed to recall Abraham's substitution of an animal for his son. In Buddhism, as well as other religious traditions, the gift of one's body is often tied to and understood as a sacrifice in which a death of the leader creates or renews the established social order.

The following pages examine the relationship between the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice of the camels and the distribution of his hair at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage just before his death. A study of the accounts of the Prophet's camel sacrifice shows that it prefigures the annual rites of the Ḥajj using the biblical model of Abraham's sacrifice to align other pre-Islamic practices, including those associated with the cult at Mecca, with the origins of a specifically Islamic civilization. The prophet Muhammad's distribution of his hair, detached from his body at the time of his desacralization from the Ḥajj, delineates the Meccan sanctuary as the place of origination from which was spread both the physical and textual corpus of the Prophet's life. Whether by design or not, the traditional Islamic descriptions of this episode from the life of the prophet Muhammad are not unlike narratives found in Buddhist, Iranian, Christian and other traditions in which the body of a primal being is dismembered to create a new social order. Through the gift of the sacrificial camels and parts of his own body, the prophet Muhammad is portrayed, in this episode, as making a figurative and literal offering of himself as the origins of Islamic civilization.

Camel Sacrifice

The farewell pilgrimage is generally understood by later Muslim scholars as the primary instance by which the prophet Muhammad established the correct performance of the rituals associated with the obligatory Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca. Ibn Hishām preserves an account given by ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ.

> ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najiḥ told me that when the apostle of God stood at ʿArafah he said: "This is the place of standing, to the mountain around which it sits, all of

> ʿArafah is a place of standing." When he stood at Quzaḥ on the morning of al-Muzdalifah, he said: "This place of standing and all of al-Muzdalifah is a place of standing." Then when he sacrificed at the place of sacrifice at Minā he said: "This is the place of sacrifice and all Minā is a place of sacrifice." The apostle of God completed the Ḥajj and showed them their rituals, he taught them what God made obligatory for them from their Ḥajj: the place of standing, the throwing of the stones, the circumambulation of the temple, what he had allowed for them from their Ḥajj and what he had forbidden for them. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the farewell pilgrimage because the apostle of God did not perform the Ḥajj after that. (Ibn Hishām n.d.:970; Guillaume 1967:652)

In other accounts the prophet Muhammad delivers a sermon [*khuṭbah*] in which he states that God prohibits usury, abolishes pre-Islamic wergilds, establishes four of twelve months as being sacred, and discusses relations between men and women which might reflect Q 8:27 and 33:72 (Ibn Hishām n.d.:968–9; Guillaume 1967:650–1). ʿUmar b. Musʿab al-Wahīḥ relates that when the prophet Muhammad cleared the idols from the Kaʿbah he also made a speech in which he abolished pre-Islamic claims to property and wergild (Ibn Hishām n.d.:821; Guillaume 1967:552–3; Ṭabarī 1879–1901:1641). In his exegesis of Q 110, Abū ʿAlī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1153) writes that the prophet Muhammad established the rules protecting the animals and trees of the Meccan sanctuary at the time he cleared the idols from the Kaʿbah. Writing about the same time Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Ibn ʿAṭīyah (d. 1148) cites a tradition attributed to Ibn ʿUmar that Q 110 was revealed at the time of the prophet Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage at the time he would have performed his sacrifice. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) states that Q 110 was revealed to the Prophet at Minā.

Some scholars conclude, on the basis of pre-Islamic pilgrimage practices, that the "'Umrah" and the "Ḥajj" were originally separate practices. Muslim sources describing pre-Islamic practices indicate that the "*ḥajj*" was centered on ʿArafāt and places removed from Mecca, and the "'*umrah*" was focused on the Kaʿbah in Mecca. Annual markets, and fairs associated with the date harvest, in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿdah in Ukāẓ and Majannah, and the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in Dhū al-Majāz, seem to have preceded a ritual visit to ʿArafāt (Afghānī 1937, passim). The Christian heresiographer Epiphanius (d. 403) mentions a "Aggathalbaeith" which could be a reference to a "*ḥajjat al-bayt*" as a pilgrimage or other rituals associated with a "temple" [*bayt*]

or other sanctuary in the northern Ḥijāz or in Syria. According to Snouck Hurgronje, the prophet Muhammad's statement, in his farewell pilgrimage, regarding the practice of "standing" [*wuqūf*] at ʿArafāt and the sacrifice at Minā was intended to replace discrete pre-Islamic practices with a unified series of rituals centered on the Kaʿbah in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje 1880:esp. 68–124; Wensinck 1954–2008: 3:31–3; Houtsma 1904:185–7).

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), in his commentary on Q 2:158, claims that it was Abraham who first instituted the rituals of the Ḥajj that included the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah and the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah. In his exegesis of Q 2:158, however, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) preserves a report given on the authority of the Kufan ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ʿAbd al-Shaʿbī that associates al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah with pre-Islamic pagan practices:

> The idol at al-Ṣafā was called Isāf and the idol at al-Marwah was called Nāʾilah. In pre-Islamic times the people used to circumambulate the temple [*al-bayt*] and run between the two locations, rubbing the two idols.

In another report, given on the authority of Qatādah, it is stated that in pre-Islamic times the people of the Tihāmah used to run circuits between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, and Mujāhid reports that the running between the two rocks at al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah was a practice of people in the pre-Islamic period (Suyūṭī 2000 on Q 2:158). Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 819) reports that the idols Isāf and Nāʾilah were the location of sacrifices in pre-Islamic times, although some reports place the idols in Mecca or at the bottom of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah (Fahd 1968:passim; Fahd 1954–2008:4:91–2). The early legal debates over the necessity of including the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, and the sacrifice, may be evidence of the process by which the various pre-Islamic elements were subsumed into the obligatory Islamic pilgrimage (Hawting 2004:4:91–99; Batanūnī 1911:passim; Firestone 1990:esp. 63–71).

The variable status of the sacrifice to be performed as part of the Islamic pilgrimage, as defined by Muslim jurists, might also reflect some aspects of how different historical practices were included in the

example of the prophet Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage. According to Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (1126–1198), Muslim jurists agree that a sacrifice is required for the concurrent performance of the ʿUmrah and Ḥajj [*tamattuʿ*] and some jurists maintain that a sacrifice is required for conjoining the performance of the ʿUmrah and Ḥajj [*qirān*] (Ibn Rushd 1996:3:396). The sacrifice is not required for a separate performance of the ʿUmrah or Ḥajj, although a number of "crimes" or ritual mistakes, when done by the pilgrim, make the sacrifice mandatory as an expiation. These crimes requiring a redemptive blood sacrifice [*fidyah dam*] include killing wild animals, sexual relations, and the premature cutting of the hair and nails. The person making the sacrifice must distribute its meat to the poor people who live in the Meccan sanctuary or who are residing there as pilgrims, but according to some jurists only the meat of the sacrifices offered for the concurrent [*tamattuʿ*] and conjoined [*qirān*] pilgrimages may be eaten by the pilgrim making the offering. Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Khayr al-ʿUmrānī (d. 1163) states that a person performing the concurrent [*tamattuʿ*] pilgrimages can delay the sacrifice until when he dies (ʿUmrānī 2002:4:393). On the basis of Q 5:95 some jurists restrict the location of the sacrifice and the distribtution of its meat to the Meccan sanctuary (Ibn Rushd 1996:3:402–3). The Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Qudāmah (1147–1223) states that if a person vows to make a sacrifice, and does not specify the location, then he is required to deliver it to the poor people of the Meccan sanctuary based on Q 22:33 (Ibn Qudāmah 1992:5:452–3).

Although in the context of the Islamic pilgrimage the sacrifice appears to be obligatory only to expiate for certain ritual mistakes, a number of the regulations prescribed by the jurists indicate that the pre-Islamic practice of the sacrifice was the central reason for the visit to the Kaʿbah. Ibn Qudāmah cites the centrality of the sacrifice as the cause for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's requirement of distributing the meat inside the sanctuary, even if the sacrifice itself took place elsewhere (Ibn Qudāmah 1992:5:451). In the tenth-century redaction of the *Akhbār Makkah*, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 822) is cited as reporting that in pre-Islamic times the people used to perform sacrifices and shave their heads at the site of the idols of Isāf and Nāʾilah (Azraqī n.d.:2:234). It is also reported that people used to shave their

heads at the site of the cult object representing Manāt after performing sacrifices at Minā (Azraqī n.d.:1:73; Ibn Hishām n.d.:55; Guillaume 1967:39). Ibn Qudāmah, based on the practice of the prophet Muhammad, states that sacrifices are to be performed at the same location as the ritual shaving of the head is performed (Ibn Qudāmah 1992:5:450; Bukhārī 3:12–4; Muslim 2:860–1; Abū Dāʾūd 1:430–431; Tirmidhī on Q 2:196; Ibn Ḥanbal 4:240–4; ʿUmrānī 2002:4:392). According to Ibn Hishām, the grandfather of the prophet Muhammad made a sacrifice at the idols of Isāf and Nāʾilah where the Meccans performed their sacrifices (Ibn Hishām n.d.:97–100; Guillaume 1967:66–68). Ibn Saʿd reports that sacrifices were offered to the "Rabb" of the sanctuary at Mecca, a title that is found in Q 106:3 [*rabb hādha al-bayt*] and attributed to other deities such as al-Lāt at al-Ṭāʾif (Ibn Saʿd 1:92; Chelhod 1954–2008:3:53–54; Wensinck and Fahd 1954–2008:8:330; Watt 1979:205–11; Hawting 1999:esp. 20–44). The *Akhbār Makkah* preserves a report that there were seven idols [*aṣnām*] set up in Minā by ʿAmr b. Laḥī, the location where the prophet Muhammad later made his camel sacrifice (Azraqī n.d.:2:176).

In part, these practices are based on accounts of the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice of camels at al-Ḥudaybīyah when he and his followers were stopped from entering the Meccan sanctuary. Muslim scholars link this incident to the revelation of Q 2:196 and 48:25, suggesting that the sacrifice itself was more important than the actual visitation of the Kaʿbah.

> Q 48:25. They are the ones who disbelieve and kept you from the *al-masjid al-ḥarām*, and the sacrificial animals were detained from reaching the place of sacrifice...

According to al-Suyūṭī this verse refers to a time when the Prophet and a large group of his followers came to Dhū al-Ḥulayfah on the outskirts of Medina where they marked [*qalada, shaʿara*] a sacrificial animal [*hadī*] and sanctified it for the ʿUmrah [*aḥrama bi-ʿumrah*] (Suyūṭī 2000 on Q 48:25). Although these are the standard terms found in Islamic legal descriptions of the pilgrimage sacrifice, the marking of the camel with a sandal around its neck [*qalada*] and the marking of

its body by piercing its hump [*shaʿara*] were the terms used for preparing the sacrifice, specifically a camel, to be sent to the Kaʿbah in pre-Islamic times. That the animals were sanctified for the ʿUmrah while still on the outskirts of Medina may be related to the sacrifice as the primary purpose of the pre-Islamic ʿUmrah. There is no specific information that the prophet Muhammad and his followers sent sacrifices to the Kaʿbah before the conquest of Mecca but the locations of the sacrifice were the same for the pagan Meccans. According to Ibn Hishām, the Prophet brought seventy camels, one for every ten of his followers with him (Ibn Hishām n.d.:740; Guillaume 1967:499–500). Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1149) explains that the Prophet's sacrifice of camels at al-Ḥudaybīyah, rather than in the sanctuary at Mecca, was an exception made by the revelation of Q 48:25. The Meccans did not allow the animals to be brought to the Kaʿbah although Q 2:158 evinced that such a practice seems to have been established.[1] The fact that the Prophet and his followers shaved their heads following the sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybīyah, despite the fact that they did not enter the precincts of the sanctuary and circumambulate the Kaʿbah, illustrates the connection between the sacrifice and the removal of hair.

In both pre-Islamic and Islamic times, it is clear that the camel was the preferred sacrificial victim for the Meccan sanctuary. Following the example set by the prophet Muhammad at Dhū al-Ḥulayfah, Islamic law recommends that the animal be marked by the piercing of its left or right side [*ishʿār*], a practice that originates in the piercing of the camel's hump (Ibn Rushd 1996:3:398). Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd Ibn Mājah (d. 899) cites a report in which Ibn ʿAbbās describes the prophet Muhammad piercing the sacrificial animal on the right side of its hump, causing blood to be drawn (Ibn Mājah 25:96). In his commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa*" of Mālik b. Anas, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Yūsuf al-Zurqānī (d. 1710) explains that according to Mālik the left side of the camel's hump is to be pierced although al-Shāfiʿī

[1] According to Yāqūt, the location of the sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybīyah is only part within the boundaries of the sanctuary but is not within the circuit of the pilgrimage. The distance between al-Ḥudaybīyah and the Kaʿbah is more than a day leading camels.

and Abū Ḥanīfah hold that the right side is to be pierced (Zurqānī 1990:2:433–4). The use of other domesticated animals as a substitute for camels appears to be related to the exegesis of Q 5:95 where the animal to be sacrificed in expiation for killing a wild animal in the Meccan sanctuary is said to be taken from domesticated herd animals [*naʿam*] (Dussaud 1921:esp. 134–75). Jurists have to rely on practice of the followers of the prophet Muhammad to establish the type of domesticated animal that is to be sacrificed for each type of wild animals, which had the result of increasing differentiations based on the appearance and market value of the animals.

> ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled that [the sacrificial animal for] a hyena [ḍabʿ] is a ram [kabsh], for a ghazelle is a goat [ʿanz], for a rabbit [arnab] is a she-goat [ʿanāq], for a jerboa is a lamb that is just weaned [jafrah]. (Ibn Rushd 1996:3:361–77)

In all cases, camels are assigned a value higher than that of the other herd animals, and certain ritual violations, such as circumambulating the Kaʿbah while menstruating or having sex during the pilgrimage, can only be expiated with the sacrifice of a camel (Ibn Rushd 1996: 3:373–95).

Islamic sources refer to specific cult officials in charge of sacrifices performed at Mecca and at other cult sites in Arabia, many of whom are said to be related to the prophet Muhammad or his followers (Abū Dāʾūd 1:195; Ibn al-Athīr n.d.:5:17, 1.4; Haldar 1945:162–3). Ibn Hishām relates that the Banū Muʿattib were responsible for the offices of the *ḥijābah* and *sadānah* of al-Lāt in al-Ṭāʾif, and Abū al-Faraj ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967) mentions special female officials holding the office of *sadanah* at ʿUkāẓ (Ibn Hishām n.d.:55; Guillaume 1967:38; Azraqi n.d.:1:125–129; Iṣfahānī 1285:79; Lammens 1928: 101; Haldar 1945:107). The offices of *sadānah* and *ḥijābah* are said to have been established by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the first king of the Khuzāʿa, who established the pagan cult in Mecca, were inherited by Quṣayy after uniting the tribes of the Quraysh, and passed down to his four sons including ʿAbd Manāf the great, great grandfather of the prophet Muhammad (Ibn al-Kalbī 1969:8; Ibn Hishām n.d.:50). The key to the Kaʿbah was given to Quṣayy by Ḥulayl whose daughter Ḥubbā, according to al-Ṭabarī, was one of the female *sādinah* of Mecca (Ṭabarī

1879–1901:1094). These offices were responsible for maintaining the cult objects and providing for the pilgrims arriving to make sacrifices at the location. The cult objects representing the deities Hubal and Manāf are reported to have been set up near the Kaʿbah, and the idols Isāf and Nāʾilah were the site of sacrifices (Wāqidī 1966:2:832; Yāqūt 1979:4:185; Fahd 1968:39; Azraqī n.d.:75; Ibn al-Kalbī 1969:29; Rubin 1986:106). There is evidence that these officials were in charge of special tents that housed cult implements such as the "tabernacle" of al-Lāt under the custodianship of Masʿūd b. Muʿattib and his wife Subaiʿa bt. ʿAbd Shams (Lammens 1928:103–7; Haldar 1945:165).

In addition to the *ḥijābah* and *sadānah*, other offices were assigned to cult officials in Mecca tied directly to practices associated with priestly classes at other Near Eastern cult centers. Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the *ṣāḥib al-qidāḥ* who is in charge of divination by the casting of arrows for the cult of Hubal in Mecca, and Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) refers to a number of figures including the *ʿarrāf, ḥāzī, matbūʿ*, and the *kāhin*, all of whom are attached to the cult at Mecca (Ibn al-Kalbī 1969:8; Jāḥiẓ 1955:140; Fahd 1966:430; Haldar 1945:171–3). Both the *kāhin* and the *afkāl*, terms which are attributed to cult officials in Mecca and appear to be interchangeable at times, are reported to have performed the cultic functions linked with officials of the same titles in other parts of the Arabian peninsula and Syria, focused on maintaining the sanctuary and performing sacrifices. Other epigraphic evidence attests to sacrifices in the sanctuaries of Manāt al-Lāt (Lammens 1928:108; Fahd 1954–2008:4:421; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:1:95–96; Qudrah 1993:72; Theeb 2000:33–4) and al-ʿUzzā (Derenbourg 1905:passim; Henninger 1975:196). Frank Moore Cross and others have highlighted the close connections between the cultic practices of ancient Israel and the evidence of practices from pre-Islamic Arabia (Cross 1973:passim; Margoliouth 1937:passim; Haldar 1945:161–98; Halpern 1992:4:17–22). A Nabataean inscription refers to the *kāhin* of Lat and Allat [*khn ʾltw ʾlhtʾ*], and North Arabic inscriptions attest to the role of the *afkal* and *kāhin* as consecrating cult objects and performing sacrifices (Savignac 1932:591–3, no. 2; Jaussen and Savignac 1914:49, 64; Winnett 1937:17). The relationship between divination and sacrifice in the pre-Islamic cult is described by Ibn Qutaybah (Beeston 1949:207–28;

Muss-Arnolt 1899–1900:193–224; Cryer 1994, passim; Robertson Smith 1885:113–28), and Yāqūt mentions the link between a sacrifice to al-Jalsad and the receipt of the oracle (Yāqūt 1979:2:100; Wellhausen 1897:53).

Pilgrimages and the establishment of cult objects for the purpose of offering sacrifices are attested in other locations throughout the Arabian peninsula. Safaitic inscriptions from the basalt desert refer to sacrifices [*ẓbḥ*] to different deities including Baʿal-Shamin, Lāt, Ilāt, and Ruḍā, some of them offered on behalf of relatives or tribes (Ryckmans 1950–1:431–3; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* 875, 852, 3946, 4359, 1658; Littman 1940:649). One Safaitic inscription specifies that the sacrifice consisted of "two camels for Ilāt and Ruḍaʾ [*ḥgmln qyn lʾlt w rḍw*] (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* 1658; Dussaud and Macler 1901:388). The Greek historian Herodotus (3.8–9) describes an oath between Arabs involving the smearing of blood on seven stones while invoking the names of deities, and the *Shifāʾ al-ghirām* of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī (d. 1429) states that the sanctuary in Mecca was marked off by a series of standing stones [*anṣāb*] erected on all sides except for the direction of Ḥaddah, Juddah, and al-Jiʿrānah (Makkī 2000:1:72). Places of sacrifice were often stationed at the outskirts of the sanctuary proper, as attested at Hatra and Palmyra (Van Buren 1952:76–92). In the Negev and Sinai standing stones arranged in lines and clusters were commonly used to demarcate special areas near settlements of the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE, and earlier examples can be found at Catal Hüyük in Anatolia (Avner 1984:115–31; Worschech 2000:193–200). Yāqūt mentions the erection of markers [*akhlīyah*] to show the boundaries of a sanctuary [*ḥimā*] in the Arabian peninsula (Yāqūt 1979:3:790; Wellhausen 1897:102; Robertson Smith 1894:140–63). A long South Arabic inscription at Itwat describes a series of rules to be followed by those visiting the sanctuary to take part in the sacrifice of first fruits and animals (Ghul 1984:33–9).

The relationship between the cult site where sacrifices are to be performed and the visitation of the dead is widespread. In the Sinai and elsewhere cairns and tombs in rock shelters are adjacent to special areas marked off with standing stones (Sartre 1983:83–99; Avner 1984:97–122; Yosef 1983:52–60; Zarins 1984:9–42, esp. 31; Gilmore,

al-Ibrahim and Murad 1982:9–24). According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, the tomb of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl was regarded as a sanctuary marked by the erection of standing stones [*anṣāb*] in a one-mile circumference (Isfahānī 1285:15:139; Wellhausen 1897:163; Goldziher 1884:332–59). Ibn Hishām reports that the Daws tribe had a special *ḥimā* dedicated to Dhū al-Sharā, and there are reports in the early Islamic period of people setting up tents and seeking refuge at grave sites (Ibn Hishām n.d.:276; Guillaume 1967:253; Krehl 1863:83; Goldziher 1884:334). Cult centers at al-Dur, Hatra, Petra, and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ appear to have been tied to funerary rites, and the rituals performed when visiting the sites closely parallel death and mourning rituals (Lecomte 1993:195–217; Safar and Mustafa 1974:passim). The most obvious example is the circumambulation of the tomb, both by the corpse prepared for burial and by people coming to visit the deceased at the tomb (Robertson Smith 1895:392; Haldar 1945: 183–5; Ibn Jubayr 1907:194–95). Of the plants growing in the pre-Islamic Arabian sanctuaries, only those used for the purification of temples or the building of tombs were allowed to be cut (Wellhausen 1897:102; Robertson Smith 1894:142–43n1). Many of the terms used for "tomb" may also be used to refer to cult objects, sanctuaries, and temples. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have turned the tomb of one of his followers into a mosque, and a number of mosques are built on the site of tombs of prophets or famous Muslims (Ibn al-Athīr n.d.:5:150).

That Mecca itself was considered to be a graveyard, at least in early Islamic and perhaps pre-Islamic times, is attested by the traditions regarding burials there and the rituals performed as part of the cult. There are reports that corpses were carried around the Kaʿbah, and there exist several different traditions concerning the various prophets and others buried around the Kaʿbah in the Meccan sanctuary (Lammens 1928:203; Muqatil b. Sulayman 1979 on Q 2:125; Azraqī n.d.:39; Fāsī 1:197; Ḥalabī n.d.:14; Ibn Qutaybah 1924:14; Ibn Saʿd 1:52; Suyūṭī 2000 on Q 2:125; Rubin 1986:110–1). According to Muqātil b. Sulaymān there are seventy prophets, including Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Ishmael buried near the Kaʿbah in Mecca, and al-Ḥalabī mentions 300 prophets buried in the Meccan sanctuary. There exist a number of Kaʿbah-like structures in both Petra and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, both of which,

like other sites in the Arabian peninsula such as ʿAin Jawān, Thāj, al-Kharj, and Aflāq, were known as necropolises. The archaeological record appears to show that all the major late antique cult centers of the peninsula and the deserts of Iraq and Syria were tied to funerary rites. Ibn al-Kalbī and others mention that people visited Kaʿbah's at other locations in the Ḥijāz and elsewhere within the Arabian peninsula. Arent Jan Wensinck details a number of practices that evince clear comparisons between rites of mourning and rituals specific to the pre-Islamic and Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca including prostrations and standings, circumambulation of tombs, special clothing, and neglect of appearance (Wensinck 1917). Perhaps the most common ritual performed as a part of funerary rites, both in Arabia and elsewhere in the ancient world, was sacrifice.

Specifically connecting the sacrifice of camels with the location and visitation of tombs are reports of the pre-Islamic practice of killing mounts and other domesticated animals for the deceased. The "balīyah" is said to have been a camel, or horse, tied to the grave of its master or hamstrung and allowed to starve to death. It is reported that, in some cases, the animals were burnt or were sacrificed and stuffed with a special grass [*thumām*] (Shahrastānī 2:439; Wellhausen 1897:180; Lammens 1928:176, 341; Chelhod 1955:117). In some cases it appears that the slaughtered animal provided the meal for the funeral feast [*waḍīmah*]. Richard Burton observed cairns and rock-pile tombs on which were inscribed the camel brands [*wusūm*] of the tribe (Burton 1879:321). According to Jawād ʿAlī, some Muslims believe that the sacrifice of a riding animal at the time of their death will provide them with a mount on which to ride on the Day of Resurrection, and al-Ghazālī reports that some people believe God creates a special camel for them, after resurrection, out of the good works they did while alive (Smith and Haddad 2002:232–33; Wellhausen 1897:180). It is also reported that visitors to the tomb perform camel sacrifices as a tribute to those interred at the cult site, or as a substitute for the lack of an original sacrifice at the time of death. According to al-Jāḥiẓ, 300 camels were sacrificed at the grave of a martyr, and the son of Jaʿfar b. ʿUlba is said to have sacrificed all the available young camels and sheep (Yāqūt 1979:349; Goldziher 1884:340–42). Abū ʿUbaydah is reported to have sacrified a camel near the *anṣāb* of Tawbah b. Ḥumayyir when

visiting his tomb, and Majnūn al-ʿĀmirī sacrificed a camel at the grave of his father (Isfahānī 1285:1:168; Goldziher 1884:340–42).

That such practices pre-dated these reports in Islamic sources is demonstrated by archaeological evidence primarily from the Arabian peninsula (Corbett 2009, passim; Vogt 1984:279–90). A burial inscription from Wādī Ram in southern Jordan, found nearby to a cairn-type tomb, refers to a camel sacrifice.

> This is the [grave] tumulus and the [camel] burial
> which ʾtmw [son of] ʿh[n]t has build for ʿh[n]t [his] father. (Hayajneh 2006:104–5)

This Nabataean inscription is dated to the first-century CE, and may be related to other burials near the Nabataean necropolis at Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, the tumuli graves near Taymāʾ or the rock-pile graves in Wādī Tirba. A text from Wādī Ghabr in the Ḥaḍramawt, marks the tomb of a person in which a camel was also buried (Frantsouzoff 2003:251–65). At Mleiha, located in the modern emirate of Sharjah at the foot of the Hajar mountains, is a burial complex dating sometime from the first centuries CE, consisting of twenty-six tombs, twelve of which contain the skeletons of camels and horses. The camels are buried in a sacrificial position, seated with their heads pulled back, and appear to have been slaughtered before being buried (Jasim 1999:69–101; Mouton 1999:passim). Other camel burials have been excavated in al-Dur, Jabal al-Buhais, Jabal Emalah, Hafit, Baat, Beles, and Raybun (Boucharlat and others 1989:5–72; Sedov 1988:61–66; Ibrahim 1982:passim; Frifelt 1985:89–105; Zarins 1984:25–55; Bibby 1954:116–141). The articulated animal skeletons at these locations also indicate that the animals were made to kneel in their graves and then slaughtered before being buried. That only the single horse found at Mleiha was buried with a full harness made of ornamented gold might suggest that its slaughter had special significance, perhaps related to the belief, attested in literary sources, of providing its master with a mount in the afterlife (Uerpmann 1999:102–18; Mashkour 1997:725–36). There is little to indicate the purpose of the camel burials but it is possible that such burials were related to the function of sacrifice, whether expiatory, as tribute or otherwise, in the more urban settings of religious fairs and

market cities in the Hijāz and the capital cities of southern Arabia (Hayajneh 2006:112–113; Robin 1978:103–28).

Distribution of Hair

In his commentary on the ḥadīth collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim (d. 1345) remarks on several reports regarding the distribution of hair at the conclusion of the prophet Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage.

> Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd reported that his father witnessed the Prophet at the place of sacrifice, he and a man from the Anṣār. The apostle of God shaved his head into his cloth and gave it, apportioning it to the men. And he cut his nails and gave them to his companion.
>
> They [the people transmitting this report] said: It [viz., the hair] is with us now dyed with henna and *katam*. (Ḥākim 1990:1:647, no. 136/1744)

He also cites another report given on the authority of Anas b. Mālik that identifies the companion of the Prophet as being Abū Ṭalḥah and explains that the hair was shaved one side at a time, but the report does not mention the nails being cut and distributed (Hākim 1990:1:646, no. 135/1743). Other reports and the comments on them appear to deflect attention from the unusual act of the Prophet distributing his hair and nails by focusing on the details of the different accounts. In his commentary on the reports in Muslim's collection, Yaḥyāʾ b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1279) does mention that it is allowed for people to consider the hairs of the Prophet as a blessing [*barakah*] but also states that the report establishes the preferred practice of pilgrims starting with the right side when shaving their heads at the conclusion of the pilgrimage rituals (Nawawī 2000:2:45 on Muslim 15:56). Along with al-Nawawī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qasṭallānī (d. 1517) comments on the disagreement over the name of the barber (Qasṭallānī 4:33). In his commentary on the reports in the collection of al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449) discusses the disagreement regarding the hair of which side of the Prophet's head was given to Abū Ṭalḥah, his wife Umm Sulaym and the other followers present at the time of the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:11:59–60 on Bukhārī 56:761).

Muslim jurists explain that the cutting of hair and nails after the sacrifice is intended to mark the pilgrim's transition from a sacralized to non-sacralized state. That the shaving of the head and paring of the nails is specifically tied to the sacrifice is evident in the obligation to send a sacrifice to Mecca before desacralization when constrained from visiting the Kaʿbah, and in the strict prohibition against shaving before performing the sacrifice (Muslim 15:113, 130, 141–143, 147, 175–179; Ibn Mājah 20:36; Bukhārī 25:32, 34, 107, 109, 126; 47:15; 64:77; 94:3; Abū Dāʾūd 11:24; Nasāʾī 24:45, 48, 76, 186). Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq cites reports in which it is stated that in Baṣrah and Kūfah people practiced a "standing" [*taʿrīf*] parallel with the "standing" [*wuqūf*] at ʿArafah at the time of the Ḥajj (ʿAbd al-Razzāq 1983: 4:376–78; Hawting 2006:58–73, esp. 62n14). According to al-Wāqidī, the prophet Muhammad refrained from cutting his nails or shaving his head until he performed his sacrifice [*ḍaḥīyah*] in Medina on the day the sacrifice was taking place in Minā (Wāqidī 1966:1088; Hawting 2006:60). Among Arabs and other Semites in different areas hair was shaved or cut at particular cult centers and offered to the local deity. Yāqūt cites Ibn Hishām's description of the pilgrimage [*ḥajj*] to al-Uqayṣir where the pilgrims would shave their heads and mix the hair into bread offerings that they would then eat (Yāqūt, s.v.; Robertson Smith 1894:223–224; Wellhausen 1897:58; Henninger 1981:301). Hair is reported to have been offered to Atargatis in Hieropolis, as part of the prostitution cult in Mylitta, and to patron deities in Rome (Henninger 1981:300). Hair is also used in divination rites (Fleming 1992:passim; Leach 1959:147–64; Fahd 1966:255n2). In some cases, the offering of hair is seen as a rite of passage, such as the cutting of girls' hair before marriage, or at the conclusion of fulfilling a vow, as in the case of the biblical Nazirite (Herodotus 4:34; Pausanius 1:43; Chepey 2005:passim). According to Ibn Ḥanbal, it is recommended that converts to Islam shave their heads, and the Khawārij are reported to have shaved their heads to distinguish themselves from other Muslims.[2] In pre-Islamic times, the people of al-Ṭāʾif are said to have

[2] See the references in Ibn Ḥanbal 3:415 and 3:244. Also see the overview in Hallpike 3738–3741. There are a number of reports that Muslims should dye their hair to distinguish themselves from Jews and Christians. See Bukhārī 60:50, 77:67; Muslim 37:80; Abū Dāʾūd 32:18; Tirmidhī 22:10; Nasāʾī 48:14; Ibn Mājah 32:32.

shaved their heads at the local cult center after returning from a journey, and Diodorus (1:18) mentions that Egyptian travelers did not cut their hair until they completed their journeys (Wāqidī 1966:381; Robertson Smith 1894:331; Sikes and Gray 1913:6:474–77).

The ritual cutting of hair and nails is tied, in particular, to funerary rites and mourning for the dead. After the death of Khālid b. al-Walīd, the women of the Banū Mughīrah are reported to have shaved their heads and put the hair on his tomb (Iṣfahānī 1285:5:12; Goldziher 1886:49–52; Goldziher 1884:332–59). ʿAbd al-Mālik is said to have cut his and his children's hair when he heard about the death of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr (Balādhurī 74; Goldziher 1884:348). Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd (d. 933) reports that the Khawārij shaved their heads at the grave of their leader Ṣāliḥ b. al-Musarriḥ, and ethnographic reports from Jordan document the practice among Bedouin women (Merrill 1881:511; Granqvist 1965:106–107, 256; Ebers 1872:204; Palmer 1892:483; Goldziher 1884:348–50). The removal of hair for the dead is attested in the Bible (e.g., Jeremiah 7:29, Ezra 9:3, Micah 1:16), and the association of hair offerings with visitation of the dead appears to have been widespread in the ancient world (Olyan 1998:611–22; Schmidt 1996:passim). Herodotus (9:24) mentions that the Persians shaved their heads and cut the hair of their horses after the death of Masistius, and Orestes is said to have offered hair at the tomb of his father (Henninger 1981:476). Deuteronomy 21:12–13 specifies that captive women to be taken as wives by the Israelites are to have their heads shaved and nails cut while mourning for her parents for a month before marriage (Olyan 1998:617). Numbers 6:9–12 stipulates that the Nazirite is to shave his head after coming into contact with a corpse, and some modern scholars speculate that the Islamic rite of shaving at the conclusion of the Ḥajj originates from a funerary ritual (Knohl 1995:passim; Roberts 1996:1005; Botterweck 1974:3.5–20; Fishbane 1950–88:8:326–334; Feldman 1977:79–89; Goldziher 1884:348–50). In pre-Islamic Syria, both men and women are reported to have practiced the cutting of their hair and placing it in caskets inside temples, and pilgrims to the festivals at Byblus and Bamyce deposited their cut hair for sacrifice at the altars there (Lucian 1913:60, 6; Robertson Smith 1894:323–25, 331; Krehl 1863:33; Goldziher 1886:1:248).

From a number of different reports and traditions, it is evident that the hair and nails of the prophet Muhammad, presumably originating from the shaving of his farewell pilgrimage, were distributed and preserved by his followers. In part, this might be related to the many reports of the miracles performed by the Prophet, especially those associated with the unusual nature of his body (Mez 1905:235–38). Ibn Kathīr preserves a report in which Anas b. Mālik comments on the skin of the prophet Muhammad.

> Anas b. Mālik said: I have never touched silk brocade or silk finer than the hand of the apostle of God. I have never smelled anything more pleasant than the odor of the apostle of God. (Ibn Kathīr 1999:263–64)

Other reports are preserved in the *Dalā'il al-nubūwah* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1066), a work that details descriptions of the Prophet's special body including his head, his hair, and his odor (Bayhaqī 1985:1:216–58).

> Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā' said: I heard Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Aswād report that his father said: I came to the apostle of God while he was at Minā and I said to him: Apostle of God, give me your hand. It was whiter than snow and more pleasant smelling than musk. (Ibn Kathīr 1999:263–64)

The water used by the prophet Muhammad to wash his hands was used by his followers as medicine, he used his spit to heal a person, and the Sufi master 'Ad al-Qādir Jilānī had a vision in which the prophet Muhammad put spit on his tongue allowing him to preach (Schimmel 1985:76; Andrae 1918:48; Braune 1933:14). Numerous reports demonstrate that the hairs of the prophet were kept by his followers and passed down to later generations, and 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl al-Nābulsī (d. 1731) reports a claim that, in India, the hairs of the Prophet grow and increase on their own (Nābulsī 1990:344; Goldziher 1886:329–31; Schimmel 1985:43; Ibn Sa'd 1:139–140).

Many of the reports regarding the special nature of the prophet Muhammad's body are directly linked to his performance of sacrifices. The comment, by the father of Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Aswād, concerning the Prophet's white pleasant-smelling hand, was made when he was

at Minā, where the sacrifices were performed at the cult center of pre-Islamic Mecca. There are reports that, at the time of the Prophet's special sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybīyah, his body produced water for his followers.

> Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh said that on the day of al-Ḥudaybīyah the people were thirsty and the apostle of God had a water vessel from which he performed the ablution. The people came to him and said they had no water to perform ablution or drink except what was in that vessel. So the Prophet put his hand into the vessel and water poured from between his fingers like springs. Jābir said they drank and performed ablutions, and when he was asked how many people there were he replied that if they had been a hundred thousand the water would have been sufficient for them, adding that there were fifteen hundred.
>
> al-Bara' b. ʿAzib said: On the day of al-Ḥudaybīyah we were with the apostle of God, about fourteen hundred of us. At al-Ḥudaybīyah was a well which we used up not leaving a drop in it. When the Prophet heard this he came to it and sat down beside it. He called for a vessel of water and performed his ablutions, rinsed his mouth, and made supplication. Then he poured the water into the well and told them to leave it for awhile. Later, they drew water sufficient for themselves and their animals until the time when they left. (Bukhārī 54:15; 64:35; Ibn Saʿd 1:144; Qazi 1979:16–17)

Ibn Saʿd preserves a report in which the hair cut from the prophet Muhammad and his followers after their sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybīyah was blown by a special wind to the sanctuary at Mecca (Ibn Saʿd 1:75). In these and other reports, the special abilities of the Prophet's body allow his followers to complete their ritual obligations.

There are numerous reports that the Prophet's sweat was collected and preserved by his followers after his death (Thurkill 2007:133–144). It is remarkable that all of these reports seem to be focused on Umm Sulaym, the wife of Abū Ṭalḥah, who received a portion of the prophet Muhammad's hair at the farewell pilgrimage.

> Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet came to us and talked to us, and he used to sweat. My mother [Umm Sulaym] brought a long-necked bottle [*qārūrah*] and put in it the sweat. The Prophet woke up and said: "Umm Sulaym what is this you are doing?" She said: "This is sweat we keep it for our perfume." It was the best of perfume. (Muslim 43:22)
>
> Anas b. Mālik related, on the authority of Umm Sulaym, that the Prophet used to come and take a nap with her. She would spread out a leather mat and he

> would nap on it. There was a lot of sweat, so she used to collect his sweat and use it as perfume and *qawārīr*. The Prophet said: "Umm Sulaym, what is this?" She said: "Your sweat. I mix it with my perfume." (Muslim 43:22)

Ibn Ḥajar mentions reports in which she mixes the Prophet's hair with his sweat, and claims that these reports confuse the role of Umm Sulaym in the distribution of the hair at the time of the farewell pilgrimage with her collection of the Prophet's sweat (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:11:59–60; Bukhārī 56:761). He also mentions another report in which the Prophet took a nap and sweated not on a leather mat but in the bed of Umm Sulaym (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:11:59–60; Bukhārī 56:761). Ibn Sa'd cites a report, given on the authority of al-Barā' b. Zayd from Anas b. Mālik, in which Umm Sulaym wipes the spit or "backwash" [su'r] of the prophet Muhammad onto her body.

These reports evince that Umm Sulaym had an unusual relationship with the prophet Muhammad, especially with his physical body. In addition to being the recipient of the Prophet's hair, collecting his sweat and wiping his spit on her body, Umm Sulaym is reported to have participated with the Prophet in the special production of food for his followers. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim preserve reports in which Umm Sulaym and the prophet Muhammad produce food for eighty people from a single loaf of bread (Bukhārī 70:5; Muslim 23:15; Qazi 1979:21). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Prophet lodged with Umm Sulaym two women who had been sent to him by the Christian Patriarch of Alexandria.

> In this year [year 7] Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah came back from al-Muqawqis bringing Māriyah and her sister Sīrīn, his female mule Duldul, his donkey Ya'fūr, and sets of garments. With the two women al-Muqawqis had sent a eunuch, and the latter stayed with them. Ḥāṭib had invited them to become Muslims before he arrived with them, and Māriyah and her sister did so. The messenger of God lodged them with Umm Sulaym bt. Milḥān. Māriyah was beautiful. The prophet sent her sister Sīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān. (Ṭabarī 1879–1901:1591; Fishbane 1950–88:131)

It was Umm Sulaym who dedicated her son Anas b. Mālik, when he was ten years old, to be the servant of the prophet Muhammad. Anas b. Mālik was the son of Umm Sulaym's first husband, Mālik b. al-Naḍr, who left her when she made an oath to follow and fight beside the

prophet Muhammad at Ubar (Ibn Saʿd 8:312–319; Bayhaqī 1985: 5:150; Ibn Ḥajar 1995:8:408–410, 2:502–504). She is responsible for convincing Abū Ṭalḥah, who is reported to have been the richest man in Medina, to follow and donate his wealth to the cause of the prophet Muhammad.[3] The night following the death of her first son with Abū Ṭalḥah, Umm Sulaym is said to have visited the prophet Muhammad and was told that she would give birth to a special son whom the Prophet would name ʿAbdallāh (Bayhaqī 1985:6:198–200; Bukhārī 23:41, 71:1; Ibn Ḥajar 1988:3:169; Muslim 38:5).

Some parallels between the depiction of Umm Sulaym and the characterization of Mary Magdalene in Christian sources highlight the role played by Umm Sulaym vis-à-vis the body of the prophet Muhammad. Not unike Umm Sulaym, Mary Magdalane seems to have had a unique relationship with Jesus as one of the small group of named female disciples (Mark 15:40–41, 47, 16:1, Matt 27:55–56, 61, 28:1, Luke 8:1–3, 24:10, Gospel of Peter 12:50–51; Manichaean Psalmbook 192:21–11 and 194:19; King 2003, passim). She supported Jesus with her wealth (Luke 8:3), is one of three disciples to receive special instructions from Jesus (Dialogue of the Savior, NHC III:139; Sophia of Jesus Chirst, NHC III,4; Gospel of Mary, BG 8502,4 in Robinson; Marjanen 1996:passim), and is often conflated with other female figures linked to the body of Jesus such as the woman who kisses and washes the feet of Jesus with her hair in Luke 7:36–50 (Ricci 1994:passim; Malvern 1975:passim). Mary Magdalene is said to be the most beloved of Jesus' disciples, the one whom Jesus kissed on the lips (Gospel of Philip 63:33–64:9 in Robinson 131–151). She is portrayed as the bride of Jesus in the allegorical exegesis of the Song of Songs by Hippolytus, and is said, by certain groups considered to be heretical, to have had sex with Jesus and consumed his bodily emissions (Epiphanius II:8,1–3; 2,5; 21,1; 27,1; Marjanen 1996:194–199; Goehring 1988:329–344; Benko 1967:103–119; Dummer 1965:191–219). Mary Magdalene is specifically linked with the dead and resurrected body of Jesus. She is present at the Crucifixion, leads a group of women to annoint the corpse of Jesus (Matt 28:1, Mark 16:2,

[3] See Ibn al-Jawzī on Q 3:92; Ṭabarī 1992 on Q 3:92. According to al-Suyūṭī on Q 3:92, Abū Ṭalḥah offered his wealth to the prophet Muhammad who ordered him to give it to his relatives, so he gave it to Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ubayy b. Kaʿb.

Luke 24:1, John 20:1; Milburn 1988:58–63), touches Jesus' body out of love rather than disbelief (Matt 28:9), and is the main disciple who speaks in the post-resurrection dialogues with Jesus.

Umm Sulaym, and other members of her family, are also associated with the detached or "dead" body of the prophet Muhammad through his saliva, sweat, and hair (Gril 2006:37–57). According to Anas b. Mālik, it is Abū Ṭalḥah alone who is able to descend into the tomb of the Prophet's daughter Umm Kulthūm, and Ibn Hishām reports that Abū Ṭalḥah was the one in charge of digging the tomb for the prophet Muhammad (Ṭabarī 1879–1901:2302; Ibn Hishām n.d.:1021). Ibn Sa'd reports that Muḥammad b. Sīrīn had sweat collected from the Prophet by Umm Sulaym the mother of his patron and former slave-master Anas b. Mālik.

> Muḥammad b. Sīrīn reported that Umm Sulaym said: "The apostle of God used to take a nap in my house. I would spread out for him a leather mat and he would nap on it. He would sweat and I would take *sukk* [type of perfume] and knead it with his sweat." Muḥammad said: This *sukk* was requested from Umm Sulaym, and she gave me some of it. Ayyūb said: I requested some of this *sukk* from Muhammad and he gave me some of it, and I have it now. When Muhammad died he was embalmed with this *sukk*. He used to knead it so that his corpse could be embalmed with it. (Ibn Sa'd 1:314)

According to a report mentioned in al-Bukhārī, Anas b. Mālik is also said to have been embalmed in *sukk* made from the sweat and hair of the prophet Muhammad.

> Anas reported that Umm Sulaym used to spread out a leather mat for the Prophet and he would take a nap at her place on that mat. He said that when the Prophet was sleeping she would take his sweat and hair and collect it in a bottle and knead it with *sukk*. When Anas b. Mālik was about to die he requested that he should be embalmed in that *sukk*, so he was embalmed in it. (Bukhārī 56:761; Ibn Ḥajar 1988:11:59–60)

Burial with the hair and nails of the prophet Muhammad is attested for other people as well, such as the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiyah buried in Damascus and Sidī Ṣāḥib Abū Zam'ah al-Balawī buried in Qairouan.[4]

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[4] On these various traditions, see al-Ṭabarī 3:262; Ḥawrānī 46–47; Meri 2001:35;

It is perhaps significant that the sweat from the prophet Muhammad was collected while he was asleep, just as during his farewell pilgrimage he is in a sacralized state removed from regular life.

> ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar reported from ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr from ʿAbd al-Karīm from al-Barāʾ b. Zayd that the Prophet took a nap in the house of Umm Sulaym on a mat and he sweated. The apostle of God woke up and Umm Sulaym was wiping his sweat. He said: "Umm Sulaym what are you doing?" She said: "I am taking this *barakah* which is coming from you." (Bukhārī 56:761; Ibn Ḥajar 1988: 11:59–60)

The sweat of the Prophet is described as a "blessing" [*barakah*], the term used to designate the hairs distributed from the prophet at the end of his farewell pilgrimage. That the sacralized state of the pilgrim [*iḥram*] represents and is linked with death is evident from the restrictions placed on the pilgrim and the rituals performed during the visit to the sanctuary, which is itself considered a graveyard. The body of the pilgrim is not to be tended so that the hair and nails grow, and the specific clothes worn by the pilgrim not only resemble but are used as a burial shroud (Bukhārī 34:31, 23:78, 65:115; 23:20–22; Abū Dāʾūd 20:78; Nasāʾī 21:41, 24:46, 96–98; Dārimī 8:35; Ibn Ḥanbal 1:220, 266). The body of the prophet Muhammad is described as being white as snow and smelling of musk, as a dead body annointed for burial, when he is at Minā the place of sacrifice. When entering into the sacralized state required for the pilgrimage, the pilgrim is literally "made sacred" or "sacrificed" so that the body is effectively dead until the desacralization [*iḥlāl*] when the burial shroud and the hair and nails are removed, and a domesticated animal is slaughtered as a substitute for the life of the pilgrim. Only when the domesticated animal is sacrificed does the body of the pilgrim return to its normal, living state. In this sense, the hair and nails distributed at the farewell pilgrimage could be understood as being removed from a body of the Prophet that has been redeemed by his sacrifice of the camels.

Margoliouth 1937:20–27; Dabbāgh 1968, no. 609, 1:97. For Biographical info on Balawī, see Ibn Ḥajar 1995:7:129; Ibn al-Athīr n.d., no. 5915; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr n.d., no. 3009. On the Tomb of Muʿāwiyah, see Ḥasanī 1944:434–441.

Gift of the Body

The comparison of the Islamic accounts of the prophet Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage with a broader range of cultural models suggests that sacrifice and the distribution of hair and nails is linked to cosmogonic myths. In the ancient Near East the creation of the world and the construction of civilization is often described as a battle in which a primordial king slaughters and dismembers a wild creature usually thought to signify chaos and disorder. The Enuma Elish recounts how the first king Marduk constructed the heavens and the earth with the corpse of Tiamat (Gunkel:passim). That Tiamat is a personification of the "Sea" is evident from the Akkadian word for "sea" [ti'amtum, tāmtum] and from the mingling of Tiamat with the sweet waters of Apsu at the beginning of the story (Jacobsen 1968:104–108). Ugaritic texts depict the primeval battle between Ba'al Haddu and the "Sea" [Yam], "River" [Nahr], or the seven-headed serpent Lotan (Dietrich and others 1976, passim; Bordreuil and Pardee 1993:63–70). Psalm 74:13–14 refers to the cosmogonic battle of Yahweh with the "Sea" [Yam], crushing the heads of the "Serpent" [*tannînîm*] and the Leviathan. Yahweh defeats the "Serpent" and the "Sea" in Psalm 68:22–23 and defeats the serpent "Rahab" in an act of creation in Psalm 89:10–11 (Oden 1992:1:1162–1170; Loewenstamm 1969:96–101; Lincoln 1975:42–65; Ivanov and Toporov 1968:1180–1206).

In a number of these accounts it is the king's body itself that is being offered for the origins of civilization. The Yashts (19.30–39) relate how the royal "glory" [*khvarneh*] of the first Iranian king Yima was divided to make the three primary social classes: king, warriors, and others (Darmesteter 1987:2:292–293; Lincoln 1975:121–145, esp. 131; Greppin 1973:232–242; Hidding 1959, passim; Christensen 1934, vol. 2; Benveniste 1938:534–35). In the ancient Near East the king was identified with fertility, his body, its adornments, and the symbols he carried representing the tree and water of life from which society received its sustenance (Widengren 1951:esp. 42–58). The list of the royal acts of Hammurabi includes his construction of temples for the gods, walls for protection, and the building of canals for irrigation (ANET 269–270; Ungnad 1928:11, 178–182). In ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was deified as a personification of the Nile, the sun, the animals, and the earth itself which provided the means for society to

exist (Frankfort 1948:esp. 148–214). The Hawaiian king is supposed to sacrifice a human victim as a substitute for his own body which is the source of the natural and social order of Hawaiian society (Valeri, passim). Daniel 4:7–9 describes Nebuchadnezzar as a great tree from the flesh of which all creatures feed. Ovid's Metamorphoses (4.655–662) describes how Atlas is made into a mountain, and 2 Enoch 30:8 relates the creation of Adam's body from the different material components of creation (Fletcher-Louis 2002:esp. 88–135; Widengren 1980:297–312).

The Vedic fire sacrifice commemorates the cosmic battle at the origins of the world in which the body of the primal man [*puruṣa*] was dismembered for the creation of the natural world and the construction of society (Heesterman 1993:esp. 45–85; Levi 1898:passim; Oldenberg 1919:passim; Grottanelli 1980:207–235; Mayrhofer-Passler 1953:182–205; Lincoln 1986:esp. 142). Some scholars have interpreted Yama as a first-king figure, related etymologically to the Iranian Yima and the Latin Remus, comparing the offering of his body in death, as described in Ṛg Veda 10.13, with the sacrifice of the primal man in Ṛg Veda 10.90 (Inden 1998:41–91; Mus 1968:539–563; Dandekar 1945:1:194–209; Lincoln 1985:132–133; Heras 1958, volume 2; Karmarkar 1967:7–10; Frenkian 1943:118–131; Puhvel 1975:146–157; Kretschmer 1909:288–303). The Karunāpuṇḍarika Sūtra relates the story of a king who offers his body as a "mountain" of flesh that feeds beings for thousands of years (Ohnuma 2007:246). A Tibetan text describes how, as King Shibi in a former life, the Buddha offered his body to save the life of a dove and provide justice in his kingdom (Parlier 1991:131–60; Sivaramamurti 1942:228; Ohnuma 2007:244–245). In the Jātakas, the Buddha as King Maitribala offers lumps of his flesh from his body to feed visitors, and King Manicuda gives pieces of his flesh and blood to a hungry visitor (Bendall 1957:158–159; Vaidya 1959:46–49; Ohnuma 2007:228–229; Granoff 1990:225–239). As Prince Mahāsattva, the Buddha throws his body off of a cliff to feed a family of hungry tigers (Durt 1998:57–83, esp. 57). In his description of the Zalmoxis cult among the Getae of the Black Sea, Herodotus (4.94–96) explains how the messenger representing the people is sacrificed for the welfare and fertility of the people. (Eliade 1971:passim). From ancient China there are reports of emperors and government

officials who exposed their bodies to the sun or lit themselves on fire in order to bring rain to their people (Schafer 1957:130–84; Cohen 1978:244–65; Benn 1998:295–322).

It is not uncommon, not only in cosmogonic myths but in practice, for people to offer parts of their living bodies as gifts tied to the origins of society. Not unlike the case of the Buddha as King Shibi and King Maitribala offering living pieces of his body, Buddhist monks detach parts of their bodies, making relics of "dead" body parts, often as a symbol for a renunciation of the whole living body (Shukla 2008, passim). Numerous examples from medieval China report on individual monks cutting off and offering fingers and other body parts. Monks are reported to burn off limbs and fingers, and burn incense and brand parts of their bodies as partial versions of the practice of autocremation or renouncing their bodies through an act of self-sacrifice (Benn 1998:295–322; Durt 1998:57–83; Chong 1990, passim; Cooper and Sivin 1973:203–72). The distribution of one's own body parts as relics for the sake of the life of others is a significant tenet of Buddhism but is also found in the Mediterranean and Middle East (Strong 1979:221–237; Yün-hua 1965:243–268; Brekke 1998:287–320; Ohnuma 1998: 323–359). Herodotus (4.71) reports that the Gerrhoi cut off their ears, shave their hair, cut their arms, foreheads, and noses, and poke arrows through their hands as sacrifices of their bodies to the tombs of their kings (Lincoln 1991:188–197). Shaving, in particular, is considered to be a sign of offering oneself as a gift, as evidenced from the description of the Nazirite vow in Judges 13:6 and the Levites in Numbers 8:8 (Olyan 1998, esp. 615–617; Knohl 1995:passim). In 1 Kings 18:28 the priests of Baʿal gash themselves with swords and spears to make their offering more acceptable, and the worship of the Syrian goddess at Mabbog included people shaving their heads and opening gashes in their arms (Lucian 6; Robertson Smith 1894:321). Israelite law specifically forbade such practices (Lev 19:28, 21:5, Deut 14:1) but such practices are widely attested among Arabs and the Greeks (Wellhausen 1897:160; Robertson Smith 1894:323). Not unlike the Buddhist practice of removing limbs and fingers, Pausanius and other ancient authorities intepret removing hair and opening wounds as substitutes for human sacrifice (Pausanias 3.16.10; Robertson Smith, 1894:321; Krehl 1863:33; Goldziher 1886:1:248).

The Islamic and pre-Islamic ritual of the *ʿAqīqah* links shaving, sacrifice, and the gift of one's body to the sustenance of society through the birth of male and female heirs. That the *ʿAqīqah* is linked to lineage and kinship ties is indicated by the reports that the prophet Muhammad required two sheep for a boy and one for a girl, and that the modern practice can be restricted only to the birth of boys (ʿUmrānī 2002:4:439–440; Abū Dā'ūd 16:4; Ibn al-Jārūd 1987:911–912; Ṭaḥāwī 1:457; Morgenstern 1966:esp. 36–47). The *ʿAqīqah* includes shaving the newborn's head, sacrificing a domesticated animal, and giving the weight of the hair in silver or gold to buy food for the poor (ʿUmrānī 2002:4:441–442; Mālik b. Anas 26:2; Tirmidhī 4:99; Hākim al-Nīsābūrī 4:237; Bukhārī 77:276; Muslim 37:13). There are reports, however, that the prophet Muhammad practiced other rituals associated with the birth of his and others' children such as the placing of a chewed date in the mouth of the infant (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:9:484; Bukhārī 71:1). Reports of other practices, including burial of the hair in the ground, offering the shorn hair to deities, and evidence of the practice among Christians as well as Muslims, indicate that the *ʿAqīqah* was a continution of pre-Islamic sacrifices (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:9:484; Bukhārī 71:1; Abela 1884, no. 27, 79–118). Some scholars have suggested that the *ʿAqīqah* is a continuation of the pre-Islamic practice of sacrificing first-products, including produce, animals, and children, to God (Chelhod 1955:esp. 99–100; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich 1960–62:1:31–52; Aubaile-Sallenave 1999:125–160).

The description of the *ʿAqīqah* in Muslim jurisprudence and the practice of the prophet Muhammad shows that the practice was understood and intended as a ransom for the infant or the father. Muslim jurists relate that the prophet Muhammad allowed people to continue the pre-Islamic custom of wetting the head of the child with the blood of the sacrifice, and that using saffron as a substitute for the blood is allowed (ʿUmrānī 2002:4:443–444; Ibn Mājah 27:16). The prophet Muhammad is said to have performed the *ʿAqīqah* on his grandsons for the purpose of removing their sins.

> It is sunnah that this [*ʿAqīqah*] be performed on the seventh day because the prophet Muhammad did this for al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn on the seventh day, then he named them and ordered that the wrongs [*al-adhī*] be removed from

their heads. (ʿUmrānī 2002:4:440; Hākim al-Nīsābūrī 1990:4:237; Bayhaqī 1985:9:299–300)

In another report the prophet Muhammad is said to have rubbed a chewed date on the palate of the newborn son of Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr and the people were pleased because they had been told that the Jews had used sorcerey to make them barren. It is related that ʿĀʾishah said the prophet Muhammad came to her son, rubbed his palate and washed him after he urinated on him (Ibn Ḥajar 1988:9:484; Bukhārī 71:1). In the Egyptian town of Ismailiyah the *ʿAqīqah* sacrifice is made to the local saint who is bound to protect and redeem the child (Curtiss and Ward 1902:158, 202).

The *ʿAqīqah* sacrifice and hair cutting is accompanied by a prayer uttered by the father or the child's guardian representing the father. In Egypt the prayer includes the father's statement that the domesticated animal is to redeem his son.

God, this *ʿAqīqah* is a ransom for my son — its blood for his blood, its flesh for his flesh, its bone for his bone, its skin for his skin, its hair for his hair. God, make it a ransom for my son from hell fire. (Lane 1890:191; Henninger 1981:311–318; Westermark 1926:393–402)

In an *ʿAqīqah* prayer recorded in India, the life and body of a goat is offered in the place of the son.

Almighty God, I offer in the stead of my own offspring, life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, skin for skin, in the name of God do I sacrifice this he-goat. (Sharīf 1921:30; Henninger 1981:312)

Note that in both of these prayers it is the homology between the body parts of the child and the domesticated animal, not unlike the correspondences found in Indo-European sacrifices tied to cosmogonies, that is stated to justify the use of the substitute in the sacrifice (Koppers 1936:320–25). The correspondence is also between the child and the father. According to reports preserved in the *Lisān al-ʿarab* of Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1312), the prophet Muhammad said that the cutting of the child's hair and the sacrifice of the sheep is required to make the son be of intercessory value for the

life of the father (Ibn Manẓūr 1990, s.v. ʿQQ, 10:255–261; Jaussen 1927:39n14; Morgenstern 1966:37–39). The practice of a man vowing to "sacrifice an animal so as not to be deprived of his old age" is attested from a village in Jordan (Granqvist 1965:22; Wilken 1886–7:225, 345).

Substituting the son for the father, and a domesticated animal for the son is a prominent theme in pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. In his poetry, Jarwal b. Aws al-Ḥuṭay'ah (d. ca. 650–668) tells of a son who offers his body as food to a traveling stranger to save his empty-handed father from shame (Ḥuṭay'ah 1987:336–338; Stetkevych 2000a:89–120; Goldziher 1892–93). The son is redeemed by a fattened onager but the offering of his body fulfills the obligation to offer that which is most valuable to the guest.[5] It is evident, in some cases, that the sacrifice of the child is a requirement for the father, based on a vow he has made or as expiation (Hooke 1952:2–17; Smith and Doniger 1989:189–224; Coomaraswamy 1941:359). The exegesis of Q 37: 101–107 relates that Abraham's son instructed his father to take precautions when preparing to kill him so that he would not allow his compassion for his son to cause him to fail in fulfilling his obligation (Calder 1988:esp. 379, 382, 384; Firestone 1990:esp. 107–110; Khan 1999:50–64). In an episode closely resembling the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice, Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī describe how Muhammad's father ʿAbdallāh was ransomed from being sacrificed by his father ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib by the substitution of 100 camels sacrificed at Mecca, the meat of which fed all the people there (Ibn Hishām n.d.:97–100; Ṭabarī 1879–1901:1075–1077; Haldar 1945:161–98; Drijvers 1995: 109–119; Gawlikowski 1977:253–274; Tubach 1995:121–135). The redemption of children by the sacrifice of animals is not unattested in the Bible and the ancient Near East, and the requirement to sacrifice children appears, in Leviticus 26:29 and Ezekiel 20:26, to be a punishment for the sins of the parents (Levenson 1993:esp. 3–54; Mosca 1975:passim; Heider 1985:passim; Eissfeldt 1935:passim; Henninger 1981:passim; Dussaud 1910:77–109:passim).

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[5] Compare the story of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 19:6700–6705; Stetkevych 1994:104–105; Stetkevych 2000b:79–130; Huizinga 1955:esp. 58; Mauss 1967:esp. 102.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, as in other contexts, the sacrifice of a domesticated bull was understood as redeeming the heads of families to ensure the continued fertility of the region on which the community was dependent (Dostal 1983:196–213; Ryckmans 1975:365–373; Ryckmans 1973:327–334). It is evident from the pre-sacrificial treatment of the animal that the bull represents both the community and the fertility of the land, allowing the sacrifice to serve as a symbolic commemoration of the agricultural accomplishments of the society (Dostal 1983:esp. 197–199; Evans-Pritchard 1953:181–198). What allows for an animal to redeem a person seems to be the dependence of society upon certain domesticated animals for its continued existence. The Nuer, for example, cannot live without their cattle for they depend upon them for milk, tools, ornaments, sleeping-hides, fuel, and commerce (Evans-Pritchard 1956:passim; de Heusch 1985: passim). Likewise, in pre-Islamic Arabia, the domesticated camel is an essential source of milk, transportation, and commerce but more significantly it is "the" example of a domesticated animal because it allowed for the existence of society in the desert (Robertson Smith 1894:300–309; Bulliet 1975:passim; Chelhod 1955:passim). As such, the domesticated camel epitomized a certain level of social development that was necessary for its breeding and upkeep.

The sacrifice of domesticated camels is tied to the significance of the camel as an epitome of domesticated animals (J. Z. Smith 1987:191–205; Rose 1954:213–227). In Islamic law, the camel is the sacrifice par exellence and all camels are to be treated as though they were domesticated (Bukhārī 45:2–4, 9, 11, 78:75; Muslim 31:1–6; Abū Dā'ūd 10:4; Ibn Ḥanbal 3:473, 4:175; Ibn Rushd 1996:3:361–403). The exegesis of Q 88:17 extols the virtues of the camel [*ibl*] as a wonder of creation compared with the heavens. According to the exegesis of Q 5:27, the first sacrifice, performed by Abel, was the sacrifice of a camel and was performed at Minā, suggesting that animals were domesticated for the purpose of being sacrificed since they were not eaten until the time of Noah (Bork-Qaysieh 1993, passim; Stillman 1974:231–239). Exegesis of the fall of Adam and Eve in Q 2:34–126 and elsewhere explains that God instructed Adam to establish the sanctuary at Mecca as an earthly substitute for the lost garden of Eden. The initial rites, before the time of Abraham, would not have included

the running between al-Ṣafā and Marwah nor the visit to ʿArafat, and the sacrifice of Abel at Minā would have been the first ritual act at the sanctuary. Restrictions on pilgrims at Mecca, including the prohibition on sexual relations, killing wild animals, cutting hair and nails, and wearing sewn clothing, seem to be reminders of a pre-fall existence in Eden. It is also at Mecca that Adam and Eve first had sex, cultivated food, and developed the arts of civilization (Wheeler 2006:85–87). The first sacrifice at Minā was only possible, and necessary, once Adam had founded the Meccan sanctuary and his son had domesticated animals.

It would seem that the significance of the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice at Mecca is "sociogonic" rather than cosmogonic in character. The sacrifice does not recall the origins of the world insomuch as it remembers the fall from Eden that necessitated the Meccan sanctuary as a place to perform sacrifices. This is consistent with the account of the mahāpuruṣa or Prajāpati whose dismembered body parts correspond to the different social classes (Lincoln 1986:esp. 45; Heesterman 1993:esp. 83–85). The sacrifice of horses in the ancient Near East and India are linked to the origins of kingship.[6] Indo-European conceptions of cattle, in raids and sacrifices, appear to reflect a pastoral nomadism tied to initiation rites among the warrior class (Brenneman 1989:340–354; Arabagian 1984:107–142; Sayers 1985:30–56; Sauvé 1970:173–191). That biblical and Islamic sacrificial practices, especially the act and significance of substitution, function to establish patrilineal ties is demonstrated from a wide range of social contexts in which animal sacrifices are attested (Jay 1992:passim; Combs-Schilling 1989:passim). The Ayādgār-i Jāmāspīg (4.39–41) tells how territory and social classes were divided among the three sons of the primordial king Frēdōn (Lincoln 1986:146; Lincoln 1985:esp. 77–79). King Aśoka redistributes the relics of the Buddha to delineate the boundaries of the Buddha-world which would constitute his kingdom (Strong 1983:passim; Reynolds 1977:374–389; de La Vallée Poussin 1913:257–90; Chizen 1922:1–29; Gadjin 1973:25–53). The link between body distribution, sacrifice, and territorial spread is also found

[6] See kings of Judah (2 Kings 23:11), Rhodes (Pausanius 3:20.4); Doniger 1980:esp. 149–282; Koppers 1936:279–411; Le Roux 1963:123–137.

in the early Christian accounts of the Last Supper of Jesus (Grottanelli 1988:3–53; Detienne and Vernant 1979:passim; Henninger 1981: 1–16). The hair and nails of the prophet Muhammad, along with his footprints preserved in stone, the episodes of his life preserved in ḥadīth reports, and other implements from his daily life, were dispersed among his followers to become markers of status and authority in mosques, madrasahs, and mausoleums throughout the world.

The camel sacrifice and distribution of hair signify the origins of Islamic civilization. Sacrifice and hair cutting are linked with death, and the rituals associated with the Ḥajj and ʿUmrah are connected to funerary practices at the Meccan sanctuary. As practices marking a transition from the "dead" or pre-fall state of the pilgrim, both sacrifice and hair removal are redemptive in the sense that the offering of one's body and a substitute animal provide for the pilgrim's entry into civilized life. In this sense, the pilgrimage is a kind of "rite of passage" in which a domesticated animal, whose existence recalls the origins of the society, is offered in the place of the individual who, by virtue of making the sacrifice, offers himself to perpetuate the social order. The prophet Muhammad's sacrifice and distribution of the camels' bodies, as food and as articles of culture, initiate his followers into his group just as the *ʿAqīqah* establishes lineage from father to son.[7] The Prophet's distribution of his hair and nails as relics are not best understood to be magical links to his living presence. As dead pieces of his body, his hair and nails are reminders of his sacrifice — the sacrifice commemorating the origins of Islamic civilization, and the primal sacrifice it imitates, performed by Adam's children as the original ritual at the future cult center in Mecca established as the earthly substitute for the lost Eden at the origins of human civilization.

It is not necessary to take this episode from the life of the prophet Muhammad as an accurate record of his actions, but rather as an attempt to generate a retelling of Islamic origins that was meaningful for the milieu in which it was related.

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[7] Compare the sacrifice at the funeral of the Egyptian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in imitation of earlier Umayyad practices with the Safavid camel sacrifices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centures. See Lane 1883:261 and Lane 1890:1:268; Rahimi 2004:451–478.

> The generations that worked at the biography of the Prophet were too far removed from his time to have true data or notions; and, moreover, it was not their aim to know the past as it was, but to construct a picture of it as it ought to have been according to their opinion. (Snouck Hurgronje 1880:32)

The accounts of the Prophet's sacrifice and distribution, and the complex of ties among the different cosmogonic myths with which these accounts overlap and share concepts, are to be understood as the genesis of Muslim conceptions of the civilization he founded.

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