

## MAQĀM IBRĀHĪM

### A STONE WITH AN INSCRIPTION

The expression *maqām ibrahīm* occurs twice in the Qur'ān. Some interpretations of this expression will be surveyed in this paper.

A hitherto unpublished passage in an Arabic Ms.\* furnishes us with some important details about the *maqām ibrahīm*, the well-known sanctuary in the mosque of Mecca.

#### I

The clause *wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan*, « and take to yourselves Abraham's station for a place of prayer » (Sūra II, 125), was read in a different version *wa-ttakhadhū min ...* etc.<sup>1</sup>. The clause *wa-ttakhadhū* has to be rendered : « and they took to themselves ... » and is linked with the preceding clause : « And (remember) when We appointed the House ... and (when) they took to themselves... » etc.

The majority of the commentators preferred the reading *wa-ttakhidhū*. Some commentators connected the revelation of this clause with 'Umar : 'Umar approached the Prophet and asked him to establish the *maqām ibrahīm* as a place of worship. Some hours afterwards God revealed to the Prophet the *āya* : « and take to yourselves... ».

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<sup>1</sup> See al-Dēnī, *al-Taysīr*, ed. O. Pretzl, Istanbul 1930, p. 76; al-Farrā', *Ma'āni l-Qur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Najātī, Muḥ. 'Alī al-Najjār, Cairo 1955, I, 77; al-'Ukbarī, *Imlā'u mā manna bihi l-raḥmān min wujūhi l-'rābi wa-l-qirā'āti fī jamī'i l-qur'ān*, Cairo 1961, I, 62 : ... *wa-ttakhadhū yugra'u 'alā lafzi l-khabari, wa-l-ma'ūfu 'alayhi maḥdhūfun, taqdīruhu : fa-thābū wa-ttakhadhū ...*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥ. Shākir, Aḥmad Muḥ. Shākir, Cairo, n.d., III, 32; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān*, Beirut 1961, I, 457; al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Cairo 1967, II, 111; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Zād al-masīr fī 'ilmi l-tafsīr*, Cairo 1964, I, 142; al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1327 H, I, 473; al-Nawawī al-Jāwī, *Maraḥ labūd*, Cairo, n.d., I, 34; al-Wāḥidī, *al-Wajiz* (on margin of al-Nawawī al-Jāwī), ib.; al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty, n° 3668, I, 33a; Abū Ḥayyān, *Tafsīr al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328 H, I, 380-381; al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, n.d., I, 74.

This was considered as one of the virtues of 'Umar<sup>2</sup>. It is thus a parenthetic clause and it is evident that those addressed are the Faithful, the Muslim community<sup>3</sup>. The time of the revelation is said to have been the last pilgrimage of the Prophet<sup>4</sup>. Another interpretation of the clause, according to the reading *wa-ttakhidhū* connects the injunction with Sūra II, 122 : « Children of Israel remember My blessing wherewith I blessed you... ». Those addressed by the injunction are thus the Children of Israel<sup>5</sup>. Al-Ṭabarī records an interpretation linking this injunction with Sūra II, 122, but considering it as obligatory upon the Jews in the time of the Prophet<sup>6</sup>. Another interpretation connects the clause with the preceding sentence of Sūra II, 124 : « And when his Lord tested Abraham... He said... »<sup>7</sup>; the *maqām* is consequently one of the words by which Abraham was tested.

There was no unanimity among the scholars about the denotation

<sup>2</sup> Al-Thaurī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, Rampur 1965, p. 9 (and see the note of the editor); al-Samarqandī, *op. cit.*, f. 33a; al-Shaukānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, Cairo 1964, I, 140; Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Jāmi' al-laṭīf*, Cairo 1938, p. 33; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, 30-31; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1966, I, 296-300; al-Zamakhsarī, *Khaṣā'isu l-'asharati l-kirāmi l-barara*, ed. Bahīja Bāqir al-Ḥasanī, Baghdād 1968, p. 56; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbābi l-nuzūl*, Cairo 1954, 19-20; id., *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'*, ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1952, p. 122; id., *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo 1314 H, I, 118-119; Ibn al-Jauzī, *op. cit.*, I, 141-142; al-Nasafī, *op. cit.*, I, 74; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, n.d., VI, 24; al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Cairo 1347 H, I, 86; C. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880, p. 40, n. 2; al-Fākihī, *Ta'rikh Makka*, Ms. Leiden Or. 463, f. 329a, 330b.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 472, inf. : ... *anna hādha l-amra mina llāhi ta'ālā li-ummāti muḥammadīn ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama an yattakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan...*; Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl*, p. 20 : *wa-zāhiru hādha wa-mā qablahu anna l-āyata nazalat fī ḥajjati l-wadā'i*.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 472, 1.6 from bottom : ... *annahu 'atfun 'alā qawlihi dhkurū ni'mati llati an'amtu 'alaykum...*

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 31 (and see notes 2-3 of the editors).

<sup>7</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, 31; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 472, inf. (the explanation of al-Rāzī helps to solve the problem of the duration of the given injunction : ... *al-thānī : annahu 'atfun 'alā qawlihi* « innī jā'iluka li-l-nāsi imāman; *wa-l-mā'nā annahu lammā btalāhu bi-kalimātin wa-atammahu qāla lahu, jazā'an li-mā fa'alahu min dhālika : « innī jā'iluka li-l-nāsi imāman », wa-qāla : « wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan; wa-yajūzu an yakūna amara bi-hādha wuldahu, illā annahu ta'ālā aḍmara qawlahu... »); al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh al-umam wa-l-mulūk, Cairo 1939, I, 199 : ... 'an al-rabi'i fī qawlihi « wa-idhi btalā ibrahīma rabbuhu bi-kalimātin » qāla : al-kalimatu : « innī jā'iluka li-l-nāsi imāman », wa-qawluhu : wa-idh ja'alnā l-bayta mathābatan li-l-nāsi wa-annan », wa-qawluhu : « wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan » ... fa-dhālika kulluhu mina l-kalimāti llati btalā bihinna ibrahīma ».*

of the expression *maqām ibrahīm*. Some scholars maintained that *maqām ibrahīm* denoted the whole place of pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj kulluhu*), another group stated that 'Arafa, Muzdalifa and the Jimār are meant by it, a third group interpreted it as being the ḥaram of Mecca, a fourth group claimed that *maqām ibrahīm* denoted 'Arafa<sup>8</sup>. The prevalent opinion of the scholars was however that the *maqām ibrahīm* was the stone in the mosque of Mecca known as *maqām ibrahīm*<sup>9</sup> behind which the Prophet prayed when he performed his ṭawāf<sup>10</sup>. The sanctity of the *maqām ibrahīm* was accepted by the consensus of the Muslim community : no one ever cast any doubt on the sanctity of the *maqām ibrahīm*.

The sanctity of the stone was due to the imprints of the feet of Abraham<sup>11</sup>. There were different versions about the circumstances of the miracle of Abraham's footprints in the stone. One version says that when Abraham was building the Ka'ba and the walls became too high he mounted the *maqām* and Ishmael then handed him the

<sup>8</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, III, 33-34; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473; Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, I, 295-296, II, 76; Ibn al-Jawzī, *op. cit.*, I, 141; al-Ṭabarsī, *op. cit.*, I, 460; al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *op. cit.*, I, 86; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 329b.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, III, 37 : ... *wa-lā shakka anna l-ma'rūfa fī l-nāsi bi-maqāmi ibrahīma huwa l-muṣallā lladhī qāla llāhu ta'ālā dhikruhu « wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan »*; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 329b.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Shāfi'ī, *Kit. al-umm*, Cairo 1321 H, II, 145; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ḥajjat al-wadā'*, ed. Mamdūh Ḥaqqī, Beirut 1966, 83-84, 88; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1356 H, II, 274; al-Wāḥidī, *op. cit.*, I, 34; Ibn Zuhayra, *op. cit.*, p. 137; al-Shaukānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, I, 140; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut 1967, III, 239; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥ. Shākir, Cairo 1950, VI, n° 4641; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, III, 36; al-Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, II, 112; al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, II, 175 inf., 180, I, 104; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1323 H, 176-177; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Hyderabad 1352 H, V, 74, 1.1, 83, 90 inf., 91 sup., 94, 95; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1954, V, 89 (n° 710); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 118 inf., 120 inf.; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-aufār*, Cairo 1953, V, 56-57, 59; al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *op. cit.*, I, 85-86; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 332a.

<sup>11</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VII, 28 : « *fīhi āyatun bayyinatun* » (Sūra III, 97) : ... *'an Mujāhidin qāla : atharu qadamayhi fī l-maqāmi*; al-Nasafī, *op. cit.*, I, 171 : ... *maqāmu ibrahīma 'afu bayānin li-qawlihi āyatun bayyinatun wa-ṣaḥḥa bayānu l-jamā'ati bi-l-wāḥidī li-annahū waḥdahu bi-manzilati āyatīn kathīratīn li-zuhūri sha'nīhi wa-quwwati dalālatīhi 'alā qudrati llāhi ta'ālā wa-nubuwwati ibrahīma 'alayhi l-salāmu min ta'thīri qadamīhi fī-ḥajarin ṣāldin au li-shitīmālihi 'alā āyatīn li-anna athara l-qadami fī l-ṣakhrati l-ṣammā'i āyatun wa-gharuḥu fīhā ilā l-ka'bayni āyatun wa-ilānātu ba'ḍi l-ṣakhrati dūna ba'ḍin āyatun wa-ibqā'uhu dūna sā'iri āyāti l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimu l-salāmu āyatun li-ibrahīma khāṣṣatan*; cf. al-'Ajjāj (*Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Berlin 1903, p. 59) XXXV, 39-49; *L'A*, s.v. ṭ s m, q s m; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 330b, inf.

stones for the building<sup>12</sup>. According to another version the miracle occurred when the wife of Ishmael washed the head of Abraham<sup>13</sup>. A third tradition reports that Abraham mounted the *maqām* in order to summon the people to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca after he had finished the building of the Ka'ba<sup>14</sup>. A fourth tradition points out that Abraham took the stone as a *qibla* : he prayed at the stone turning his face to the door of the Ka'ba<sup>15</sup>.

The preposition « *min* » preceding the expression *maqām ibrahīm* was interpreted according to the interpretations quoted above. According to the interpretation that *maqām ibrahīm* denotes the whole *hajj*, or the *ḥaram*, or certain places within the *hajj*, — the preposition « *min* » was explained as a partitive one, or having the meaning of « *fī* »; the clause had thus to be rendered : « ... and take to yourselves a part of the area (of pilgrimage) of Abraham for a place of prayer » or « and take to yourselves *within* the area (of pilgrimage) of Abraham a place of prayer ». According to the interpretation that the *maqām ibrahīm* refers to the stone — the « *min* » was said to be a redundant one. Thus the clause had to be rendered : « and take to yourselves Abraham's station for a place of prayer »<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, II, 75 inf.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119; Ibn al-Jauzī, *op. cit.*, I, 142; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 30; al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-sājid bi-aḥkām al-masājid*, ed. Abū l-Wafā Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, Cairo 1385 H, p. 207; al-Fāsi, *Shifā'u l-gharām bi-akhbārī l-baladī l-ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, I, 202; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *op. cit.*, V, 357; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (reprint Beirut 1964), p. 274; G. E. von Grunbaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, New York 1951, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 181; al-Kalā'i, *al-Iktifā fi maghāzī l-muṣṭafā wa-l-thalāthai l-khulafā*, ed. H. Massé, Paris 1931, I, 112; al-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo, n. d., p. 107; al-Ṭabarsī, *op. cit.*, I, 461; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473; Ibn al-Jauzī, *op. cit.*, I, 142; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *op. cit.*, V, 356; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 30; al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 202; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran 1378 H, XII, 84-85, 111-112; al-Jazā'iri, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Najaf 1964, p. 140; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 273; al-Jaṣṣās, *op. cit.*, I, 86; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 330b.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 183; al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 202; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 inf., 273; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 30; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XII, 91, 116; al-Jazā'iri, *op. cit.*, p. 141, 147; al-Kalā'i, *op. cit.*, I, 115; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, repr. Cairo 1964, I, 308; Ibn Bābawayh, *'Ilal al-sharā'i'*, Najaf 1964, p. 419, 423; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, ff. 329a-b, 330a-b.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, I, 273; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 30; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XII, 94 (Jibril prayed at the stone two *rak'as* and instructed Abraham and Ishmael how to pray; and see al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, I, 308); al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, 329a.

<sup>16</sup> Al-'Ukbarī, *op. cit.*, I, 62; and see al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473 : ...*wa-man fassara maqāma ibrahīma bi-l-ḥajari kharraja qawlahu ' wa-ttakhidhū maqāma ibrahīma muṣallan ' alā majāzi qawli l-rajuli ' ittakhadhtu min fulānin ṣadiqan... wa-innamā tadkhulu ' min ' li-bayāni l-muttakhadhi l-maṣūfi wa-tumayyizuhu fī dhālika l-ma'nā min ghayrihi...*

According to the tradition that Abraham took the stone as *qibla* — the word *muṣallan* was interpreted as *qibla*<sup>17</sup>. *Muṣallan* was also interpreted as a place of supplication or as a place of prayer. Scholars were not in agreement on the question whether the prayer at the *maqām* is obligatory<sup>18</sup>. Shi'i tradition which makes the prayer at the *maqām ibrahīm* obligatory is based, of course, on the utterances of the Shi'i Imāms<sup>19</sup>.

Among the traditions of the *fadā'il* of Mecca there are some utterances devoted to the qualities of the *maqām ibrahīm*. « The *maqām* was sent down from Paradise », says 'Ā'isha<sup>20</sup>. « The *maqām* is one of the three stones of Paradise sent down to this world », says a Shi'i tradition<sup>21</sup>. The sanctity of the *maqām* was linked with that of the Black Stone. « The *rukṅ* and the *maqām* are two stones from Paradise »; « the *rukṅ* and the *maqām* are two sapphires from Paradise » — state the traditions. The light of these sapphires faded away; had the light remained — it would fill the whole world. Were it not for the hands of the unbelievers, who touched them, they would heal every

<sup>17</sup> Al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473, 11, 1, 30; Ibn Zuhayra, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473 inf.; Ibn al-'Arabi, *op. cit.*, I, 40 : ...*fa-man ḥamalahu 'alā l-'umūmi qāla : ma'nāhu — kamā qaddamnā — muṣallan ma'an, ay mauḍi'an li-l-du'a*'; *wa-man khaṣṣahu qāla : ma'nāhu mauḍi'an li-l-ṣalāti l-ma'hūdati, wa-huwa l-ṣaḥiḥ* ..... *fa-lammā qaḍā l-nabiyyu ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ṭawāfahu mashā ilā l-maqāmi l-ma'rūfi l-yauma wa-gara'a : « wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi ibrahīma muṣallan » wa-ṣallā fihī rak'atayni wa-bayyana bi-dhālika arba'ata umūrin : al-awwala, anna dhālika l-mauḍi'a l-maqāmu l-murādu fī l-āyati; al-thāniya : annahu bayyana l-ṣalāta wa-annahā l-mutaḍammīnātu li-l-rukū'i wa-l-sujūdi, lā mutlaqu l-du'a'i : al-thālitha : annahu 'arrafa waqta l-ṣalāti fihī wa-huwa 'aqiba l-ṭawāfi, wa-ghayruhu min al-awqāti ma'khūdhun min dalīlīn ākhara; al-rābi'a : annahu audaḥa anna rak'atay l-ṭawāfi wāji-batāni fa-man tarakahumā fa-'alayhi damun... ; al-ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, III, 38; al-Nawawī, *Kitāb al-iḍāḥ fī l-manāsik*, Cairo 1298 H, p. 39, 69; al-Shaukāni, *Nayl al-auṭār*, V, 57; al-Suyūṭī, *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik, sharḥ 'alā muwaḥḥa' mālik*, Cairo, n.d., I, 334 (*an hiṣhāmi bni 'urwata 'an abihī ... wa-lakinnahu kāna yuṣalli ba'da kullī sub'in rak'atayni fa-rubbamā ṣallā 'inda l-maqāmi au 'inda ghayrihi* ...).*

<sup>19</sup> Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūli al-Maḥallāti, Qumm 1380 H, I, 58-59 (n° 91-92); al-Ṭabarsī, *op. cit.*, I, 460-461 : (... *wa-hādḥā huwa l-marwiyyu 'an a'immatinā 'alayhimu l-salāmu, wa-stadalla aṣḥābunā bihi 'alā anna ṣalāta l-ṭawāfi farīdatun mithlu l-ṭawāfi*...). The role of 'Umar is, of course, not mentioned. Significant is the utterance about the Rock of Jerusalem : « How big is the lie of the people of Syria about God ! They claim that God put His foot on the Rock of Jerusalem when He ascended to Heaven. A servant of God did (no more than) put his foot on a stone (because of that only) God ordered him to take it as a place of prayer ». (al-'Ayyāshī, *op. cit.*, I, 59, n° 94).

<sup>20</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119.

<sup>21</sup> Al-'Ayyāshī, *op. cit.*, I, 59 (n° 93); al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XII, 84; al-Jazā'iri, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

man smitten by disease — state some traditions <sup>22</sup>. The *maqām* and the *rukn* will appear at the Day of Resurrection as big as the mountain of Abū Qubays; they will have eyes and lips and they will bear witness in favour of people who used to visit them <sup>23</sup>. The best place in the world is between the *rukn* and the *maqām* <sup>24</sup>. The Mahdī will receive the oath of allegiance between the *maqām* and the *rukn* <sup>25</sup>. Because of the sanctity of this spot people used to swear their oaths of innocence in important law suits in this place <sup>26</sup>. It is counted among the fifteen places in Mecca in which the supplications are answered <sup>27</sup>.

Tradition stressed the efficacy of the prayers and supplications at the *maqām*. He who performs the *ṭawāf* and prays at the *maqām* his sins will be forgiven <sup>28</sup>. He who prays four *rak'as* at the *maqām* reciting four prescribed *sūras* — God will send an angel who will inform him that God forgave him his sins <sup>29</sup>. He who performs the *ṭawāf* and prays two *rak'as* at the *maqām ibrahīm* is equal to (the Prophet) Muḥammad <sup>30</sup>. The *maqām* served as a place of supplications: 'Umar, 'Abdallah b. 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās, 'Abdallah b. Zubayr, Tamīm al-Dārī and other Companions used to pray at the *maqām*, asking God to forgive them and their relatives their

<sup>22</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 272; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, XIII, n° 1047-1050; al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, V, 75; al-Jazā'iri, *op. cit.*, p. 140; al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 168, 209; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1352 H, I, 456; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 33; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XII, 85; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *op. cit.*, XI, n° 7000, 7008; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119, 134 inf., 135; al-'Azizī, *al-Sirāj al-munīr*, Cairo 1957, II, 326; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 232; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 328b, 329b, 330a.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 209; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 38; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, I, 315, l. 16; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 230; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 329b.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 333b.

<sup>25</sup> *Ib.*, f. 333b-334a; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Jāmi' fi l-ḥadīth*, Ms. Feyzullah Ef. 541, f. 188b; Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-fitan*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 9449, f. 93b, 94 (The Mahdī will pray at the *maqām* two *rak'as*; his followers will pray behind him).

<sup>26</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 271; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 334b.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 121.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Ibn Ḥayyāra, *op. cit.*, p. 120, 122; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, V, n° 231; comp. al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 332b, inf. (... *inna bna-'umara raḍīya llāhu 'anhumā ṭāfa thumma ṣallā khalfā l-maqāmi rak'atayni thumma qāla : alā, kullu rak'atayni tukaffiru mā baynahumā au qāla qablahumā au kalimatan naḥwahā*); al-Jarrāhī, *Kaṣḥf al-khaḥfī wa-muzīl al-ilbās*, Cairo 1351 H (repr. Beirut, n.d.), II, 259 (n° 2525); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 120; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, I, 298.

<sup>29</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 333b and see *ib.*, f. 288b (*dhikru l-du'ā'i bayna l-ruknī wa-l-maqāmi*).

<sup>30</sup> Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *op. cit.*, V, n° 233.

sins<sup>31</sup>. People used to stroke the *maqām* and to kiss it; scholars denounced and forbade this practice<sup>32</sup>.

The sanctity of the *maqām* was linked with the person of the Prophet: the size of the feet of the Prophet corresponded exactly to the size of the footprints in the *maqām*<sup>33</sup>.

## II

The *maqām* is a stone of small dimensions: sixty cm. wide, ninety cm. high<sup>34</sup>. It is today placed in a special building covered by a cupola; it stands opposite the door of the Ka'ba.<sup>35</sup> Lengthy discussions are devoted to the question whether the present place of the *maqām* is the original one. According to some traditions the *maqām* was attached to the Ka'ba by Abraham, its place was changed in the time of the Jāhiliyya, it was swept away by a torrent in the times of 'Umar, who returned it to the place where it had been in the times of the Jāhiliyya<sup>36</sup>. The stone, encased in a wooden box, stood on a high platform in order to prevent its being swept away by a torrent<sup>37</sup>. In early times the cover of the box used to be lifted

<sup>31</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 332b-333a.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, I, 298; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Ibn Zuhayra, *op. cit.*, p. 32; al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, I, 210; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 119; Ibn Taymiyya, *Manāsik al-ḥajj, majmū'at al-rasā'il al-kubrā*, Cairo 1333 H, II, 371 inf.; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 331b.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1960, I, 118; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1964, I, 240.

<sup>34</sup> See Gaudefroy Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 103; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 278; al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, I, 205; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 336a-337a; Ibn Zuhayra, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>35</sup> See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 102; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, London 1935, s.v. Maqām Ibrāhīm; E. I., s.v. Ka'ba; J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentumes*, Berlin 1887, p. 72; H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, p. 150 (Le culte des bétyles = *Mashriq XXXVII* (1939), p. 229); al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, I, 204; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1949, VI, 258.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 275-277; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 299, II, 75 inf.; al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, I, 205-209; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 120; Ibn Zuhayra, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Ibn Bābawayh, *op. cit.*, p. 423, n° 1; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, ff. 331a-b (The stone was attached to the Ka'ba in the time of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib - al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 329a; in the time of the Prophet, *ib.*, f. 329a).

<sup>37</sup> Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, VI, 258 (...*wa-l-ḥajar mauḏū'un 'alā minbarin li'allā yamurra bihi l-saybu*).

during the prayer of the ruler or his deputy; at the end of the prayer the box was again locked <sup>38</sup>.

The *maqām* and its cover underwent repairs and changes during the time. When al-Mahdī performed the pilgrimage in 160 H he was approached by ‘Abdallah b. ‘Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥajabī who brought the *maqām* to him at his abode. Al-Mahdī rewarded him generously, stroked the *maqām*, poured on it water of Zamzam and drank the water with some of his relatives. In 161 H the *maqām* was lifted by some of its keepers, fell down and cracked. Al-Mahdī, when informed of this, sent a thousand dīnārs for the repair of the *maqām*. The cracks were braced with gold on the upper and lower parts of the *maqām*. In 236 H al-Mutawakkil added another layer of gold to the first <sup>39</sup>. In 241 H the guardians of the Ka‘ba informed al-Mutawakkil that the « chair » (*kursī*), in which the *maqām* was placed, was covered with sheets of lead and suggested to replace the lead with silver. The Caliph sent Ishāq b. Salama with more than thirty goldsmiths, marble-workers and other craftsmen; the lead was replaced with silver and a *qubba* of teakwood was put on the *maqām* <sup>40</sup>. In 251 H Ja‘far b. al-Faḍl <sup>41</sup> and Muḥammad b. Ḥātīm stripped the layer of gold put on by the order of al-Mutawakkil, but left the layer put on by al-Mahdī; they used the gold for the minting of dinars in order to pay the expenses of their war against Ismā‘il b. Yūsuf, the Shī‘ī rebel <sup>42</sup>.

A thorough restoration of the *maqām* was carried out in 256 H. Al-Fākihī witnessed the restoration. His detailed report is the one and only description of the stone given by an eye-witness. In 256 H ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan (al-Hāshimī) was appointed governor of Mecca <sup>43</sup>. In this year, reports al-Fākihī, some guardians of the Ka‘ba came to the governor and informed him that the stones of the *maqām*

<sup>38</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 336b; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 105-108; Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 3. That the stone was uncovered in the time of al-Ḥajjāj can be deduced from a story recorded by al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 331b: When al-Ḥajjāj prayed the *maqām* moved and al-Ḥajjāj tried to set up right the stone by his leg. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya stepped forward, covered it with a garment and put it right by his hand.

<sup>39</sup> See al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, 277-278; al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, I, 202-203; al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 334b-335a; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 104-106.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 334b-335a.

<sup>41</sup> See on him al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, II, 186.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 335a; on Ismā‘il see al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, II, 186.

<sup>43</sup> See on him al-Fāsi, *op. cit.*, II, 188 (quoted from al-Fākihī); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār, Cairo 1357 H. V, 351, 1. 7.



had become loose (*tasallalat*) and that they were anxious about this. « I was then present in his abode » ... remarks al-Fākīhī. The governor responded to their request to restore the *maqām* and to fasten the loose stones (i.e. the loose parts of the stone — K). In Muḥarram the work began. The governor summoned all the guardians and gave orders to strip the layers of gold and silver from the *maqām*. Those who were present saw that the stone was broken into seven pieces, which had been braced, but became loose because the amalgam which joined the pieces had disappeared. The seven pieces of the stone were then wrapped in a garment which was sealed with the seal of the governor. The governor called the goldsmiths and ordered them to prepare two golden bands which would brace the upper and the lower part of the *maqām*; a band of silver below the lower band was ordered in order to strengthen the golden band. Four silver rings (*ḥilaq*) were to support and raise the *maqām*. Above the upper golden band fifty nine nails of gold, called « the stars » (*al-nujūm*) were fixed. The upper band, made of solid gold, contained 1159 mithqāl of gold, the lower band 740 mithqāl, « the stars » 93 mithqāl; the total weight of gold was 1992 mithqāl. The silver band contained 1694 dirham. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, the governor, made a donation towards the expenses from his own purse. The goldsmiths worked during the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar. Monday, 1st Rabi' al-awwal, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan ordered the guardians to bring the *maqām* to the *dār al-imāra* in order to put the bands on the *maqām*. Learned men and Bishr al-Khādim (the *marūlā* of the Caliph, who was entrusted that year by the Caliph with the restoration of the mosques of Mecca and Medina) were present. The guardians brought the garment in which the *maqām* was wrapped and prepared the amalgam (*'alak*). Bishr al-Khādim joined the broken pieces of the stone with his own hand until they stuck together. People stroked the *maqām*, supplicated and praised God and His friend, Abraham. The bands of the *maqām*, however, did not fit. The *maqām* was returned to its place and the bands were widened. On Saturday, 6th Rabi' al-awwal the guardians again brought the *maqām* to the *dār al-imāra* and the lower band was put on the *maqām*. The people present in the house poured water of Zamzam on the *maqām*, drank the water and stored it in jugs and bottles; they stroked the *maqām*, supplicated God, praising Him and His friend, Abraham. On Sunday the upper band was set up on the *maqām*. On Monday, the 8th Rabi' al-awwal 256 H, the *maqām* was returned to its place and the people celebrated the event.

When the *maqām* was brought on the 1st Rabi' al-awwal to the

*dār al-imāra* and joined with the amalgam, people examined it closely. « I looked at it with them » — says al-Fākihī. He noticed on all the sides of the stone seven elongated lines running along the lower part of the stone and continuing on its sides. Al-Fākihī speaks of circles, triangles, squares and oblongs carved on the stone. « There is an inscription on the stone in Hebrew » — says al-Fākihī — « but some say it is in Ḥimyarī script. It is the inscription which Quraysh found in the time of the Jāhiliyya. I copied the inscription from the *maqām* on the order of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan with my hand. I copied it (exactly) as I saw it inscribed on the stone and I spared no effort. And this is what I copied ». Al-Fākihī gives three lines of the inscription. « A part of the inscription — adds al-Fākihī — was not clear to me, and therefore I did not copy it »<sup>44</sup>.

Al-Fākihī tried to understand the contents of the inscription and inquired about it. 'Alī b. Zayd al-Farā'iḍī<sup>45</sup> expressed to him his opinion that the inscription is a Ḥimyarī one<sup>46</sup>. Abū Zakariyyā al-Maghribī, a man who for many years studied the hieroglyphic inscriptions in Egypt, rendered the inscription as follows : « I am God, there is no deity except Me ». (first line); « a king who is unattainable » (second line); « *Iṣbāut* » (third line). Abū l-Ḥasan al-Farā'iḍī quoted from the *Tafsīr* of Sunayd<sup>47</sup> a passage for the elucidation of the meaning of *Iṣbāut* (*Ṣeba'ot* in Hebrew — K) as corresponding to « *al-ṣamad* », « the Eternal », in Arabic. When God asked Adam « Who am I » — Adam answered : « Thou art *Iṣbāut Adonāy* ». This has to be rendered : God the Eternal. Al-Fākihī records a tradition traced back to Ibn Abbās, stating that there is an inscription on the *maqām* saying : This is the House of God, He put it on the quadrangles of His throne, its sustenance will come from this and that (*min kadhā*), its people will be the first to suspend its sanctity<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, ff. 335a-b.

<sup>45</sup> Probably identical with 'Alī b. Zayd b. 'Abdallah 'l-Farā'iḍī mentioned by al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'riḫ Baghdad*, Cairo 1931, XI, 427, n° 6215; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, Hyderabad 1330 H, IV, 230, n° 611 (al-Farḍī — which seems to be an error).

<sup>46</sup> Al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, f. 336a.

<sup>47</sup> See on him Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1327 H, IV, 244-245; Ibn Abi Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, Hyderabad 1952, II, 326.

<sup>48</sup> See the different versions of this tradition in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, III, 61 (and see the notes of the Editor, ib.); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, II, 53; al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43; al-Kalā'i, *op. cit.*, I, 270; al-'Amilī, *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya fi l-aḥādīth al-qudsiyya*, Najaf 1964, p. 344; al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, I, 312; comp. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967, I, 339; and see a remarkable version of a combined tradition recorded in Abd al-Razzāq's *al-Jāmi' fi l-ḥadīth*, one of the earliest sources of *ḥadīth*, Ms. Feyzullah Ef. 541, f. 134a : ('Abd al-Razzāq — Ma'mar — al-Zuhri) : *balaghani*

The report of al-Fākihī seems to be of importance : it is the only account of an eye-witness who saw the *maqām* and the inscription. His report confirms the truth of the traditions about an inscription on the *maqām*, but the contents of the inscription remain as yet unknown. Al-Fākihī did his best to copy the inscription, but he could not read it. The stone was broken and al-Fākihī evidently had difficulties in copying it; some parts of the inscription remained unclear to him and these he did not copy. The unique copy of the Ms. of al-Fākihī in Leiden is of a late date (the 9th century of the Hijra) and the accuracy of the re-copying of the inscription is somewhat doubtful.

It is however clear that the inscription contains some letters of South Arabian type. This sheds a new light on the relations between Mecca and South Arabia in the time of the Jāhiliyya. It may corroborate certain reports about the *hajj* of Southern tribes to the Ka'ba. It also sheds light on the nature of the stones reported to have been in the Ka'ba in the time of the Jāhiliyya.

## APPENDIX

## THE REVELANT PASSAGE IN THE MS. AND ITS READING

... وبقي الذهب الذي عمله المهدي أمير المؤمنين فلم يزل عليه  
 حتى دخلت سنة ست وخمسين ومائتين . ثم ولي مكة علي بن الحسن  
 عامئذ<sup>1</sup> فدخل عليه قوم من الحجبة وأنا عنده فكلموه في المقام وقالوا  
 انه قد وهى وتسلفت أحجاره ونحن نخاف عليه فان رأيت أن تجدد  
 عمله وتضيبه حتى يشتد فأجابهم الى ما طلبوا من ذلك فأخذ في عمل  
 المقام في الحرم فأحضر علي بن الحسن عامة الحجبة فقلع الذهب والفضة  
 عن المقام وحلوه<sup>2</sup> عنه فاذا الحجر سيع قطع قد كانت ملصقة بعضها

335a  
line 10

*annahum wajadū fī maqāmi ibrahīma thalāthata šufūhin, fī kulli šafhin minhā kitābun; wa-fī l-šafhi l-arwālī : anā llāhu dhū bakkata šughthūhā yauma šughthu l-shamsa wa-ḥa-  
 faftuhā bi-sab'ati amlakīn ḥaffan (see Ṭabari, Tafsīr, III, 61, the note of the editor) wa-bāraktu li-ahlīhā fī l-laḥmi wa-l-labani; wa-fī l-šafhi l-thānī : anā llāhu dhū bakkata  
 khalaqtu l-raḥīma wa-shaqaqtu lahā sman minī smi fa-man wašalahā wašaltuhu wa-man qaṭa-*

<sup>1</sup> Ms : عام اذ

<sup>2</sup> Probably : وخلوه

'ahā nafaytuhu (?); wa-fi l-thāliṭhi : anā llāhu dhū bakkata khalaqtu l-khayra wa-l-sharra fa-tūbā man kāna l-khayru 'alā yadayhi wa-waylun li-man kāna l-sharru 'alā yadayhi.

الى بعض فزال عنها اللصاق فأخذت القطع فجعلت في ثوب وختم عليه بخاتم دعا الصاغة الى دار الامارة وأخذ في عمله وحضرته في ذلك نية فأمر أن يعمل له طوقان من ذهب ، طوق للاعلى وطوق للاسفل ، وتحت الطوق الاسفل طوق من فضة يشد الطوق الاعلى وهو قطعتان يدخل المقام في احدها ثم يلصق عليه الاخرى ، ثم يعلى عليها بالطوق الذهب من فوق الفضة ، ثم يضيب جوانبه بضباب من ذهب ، ثم يسمر بمسامير ذهب ، وجعل في الطوق كما يدور أربع حلق من فضة يرفع بها المقام وزاد فيها علي بن الحسن ما يصلحها من الذهب والفضة من عنده ، وذلك ان الفضة عجزت بهم ، فكان في الطوق الاسفل من الفضة ألف وستائة وأربعة وتسعون درهما وفي الطوق الذهب الذي فوقه سبعمائة وأربعون مثقالا. وجعل الطوق الاعلى أيضا قطعتين يدخل المقام في احدها ، ثم يلصق عليها الاخرى ، ثم يذاب عليها الرصاص ، ثم يضيب أركانها بضباب من ذهب ، ثم يسمر بعد ذلك. وجعل الطوق الاعلى ذهبا مصمتا<sup>3</sup> وحده ، فكل ما في الطوق من الذهب ألف دينار ومائة وتسعة وخمسون<sup>4</sup> مثقالا. وجعل على الطوق الاعلى نجوما ، وهي مسامير من ذهب كما يدور الطوق ، عدد النجوم ستون مسارا الا واحدا ، ووزنها ثلاثة وتسعون مثقالا ، يجتمع ما في الطوق الاعلى والاسفل / من الذهب بالنجوم ألفا مثقال الا ثمانية مثاقيل.<sup>335b</sup> وعمل على حس من الصناعة يقال له الالس<sup>5</sup>. فأقام الصاغة يعملونه بقية المحرم وصفر حتى اذا كان يوم الاثنين ، وذلك أول يوم من شهر ربيع

<sup>3</sup> Ms : مضمنا

<sup>4</sup> Ms : وخمسين

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps : على جنس من الصناعة يقال له الالس

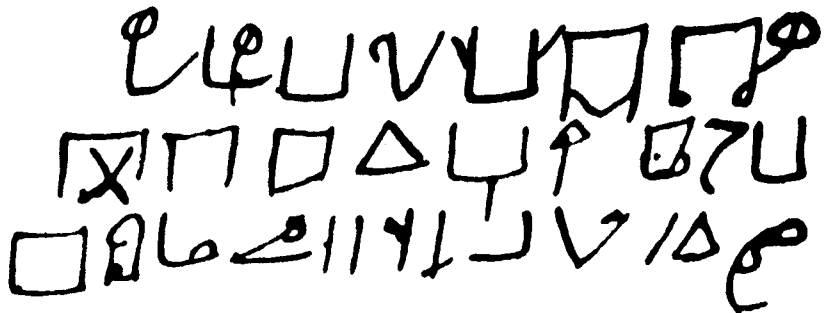
الاول ، أرسل علي بن الحسن الى الحجبة يأمرهم بحمل المقام الى دار الامارة ليركبوا عليه الطوقين اللذين عملا له ، على ما وصفنا ، ليكون أقل لزحام الناس . فأتوا به الى دار الامارة ، وأنا عنده ، وعنده جماعة من الناس من حملة العلم وغيرهم ، في ثوب يحملونه حتى وضعوه بين يديه . فجاء بشر الخادم ، مولى أمير المؤمنين ، وقد قدم في هذه السنة على عمارة المسجد الحرام ومسجد النبي عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام واصلاحها ، فأمر علي بن الحسن الفعلة أن يذيبوا العقاقير فأذابوها بالزئبق ثم أخرج المقام وما سقط منه من الحجارة فألصقها بشر بيده بذلك العلك حتى التأمت وأخذ بعضها بعضها وتمسح الناس بالمقام ، ودعوا الله تعالى وذكروه وذكروا خليله ابراهيم عليه الصلاة والسلام ، وقلوبه ونظروا ونظرت معهم فاذا في جوانب المقام كلها كما تدور خطوط<sup>6</sup> في طول الجوانب المستدق منه البارز عن الذهب سيع خطوط مستطيلة ثم ترجع<sup>7</sup> الخطوط في أسفله حتى ترجع الى الجانب الاخر حتى تستبين فيه من الجانب الاخر وذلك في الترابيع ستة خطوط وفيه حفر قياسه هذا الخط الذي أخطه وذلك في عرضه وفيه أيضا دواوير قياسها هذا الذي أخطه وفي وسطه نقطة<sup>8</sup> من الحجر ، وفيه أيضا دوايرة في عرضه من الجانب الاخر قياسها هذا الذي أخطه واذا فيه كتاب بالعبرانية ويقال بالحميرية وهو الكتاب الذي وجدته قريش في الجاهلية . فأخذت ذلك الكتاب من المقام بأمر علي بن الحسن بيدي وحكيته كما رأيته مخطوطا فيه ولم آل جهدى وهو الذي خططته الان فهذا ما استبان لي من الخطوط وقد بقيت منه بقية لم تستبين لي فلم أكتبها . ثم أتني بالطوقين فقدرا على المقام فضاقا عنه فأمر برد المقام

<sup>6</sup> Ms : خطوطا

<sup>7</sup> Ms : يرجع

<sup>8</sup> Ms : نكه

On page 489 between the lines 20-21 the following figure is omitted by mistake. It is here reproduced.



الى موضعه وأمرها أن يوسعا حتى يأتي ذلك على القدر. فأقام ثلاثة أيام. فلما كان يوم السبت وذلك لست ليال خلون من شهر ربيع الاول / أرسل علي بن الحسن الى الحجبة فأحضروا المقام وحضره أيضا 336a جماعة من الناس فمسحوا المقام وصبوا فيه من ماء زمزم فشربوا وأخذوا في القوارير والكيزان ودعوا الله تعالى وذكروه وذكروا خليله ابراهيم عليه السلام ثم ركب الطوق الاسفل فحضرت الصلاة فرد المقام الى موضعه حتى كان الغد من يوم الاحد فأمرهم باحضاره فأحضروه يوم الاحد فركب الطوق الاعلى عليه وحمل الى موضعه يوم الاثنين لثاني<sup>9</sup> ليال خلون من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ست وخمسين ومائتين وكانت فيه مجالس حسنة ومشاهد جميلة والحمد لله على كل حال. فحدثني أبو الحسن علي بن زيد الفرائضي وأخذ مني هذا الكتاب على المقام فقال حدثني أبو زكريا المغربي بمصر وقد أخذ مني هذه النسخة يعني نسخة هذا الكتاب فقرأتها عليه فقال لي أنا أعرف تفسير هذا ، أنا أطلب البرابي ، والبرابي كتاب في الحجارة بمصر من كتاب الاولين ، قال فأنا أطلبه منذ ثلاثين سنة وأنا أرى أى شيء هذا المكتوب في المقام. في السطر الاول : اني انا الله لا اله الا أنا. والسطر الثاني : ملك لا يرام. والسطر الثالث : اصباوت وهو اسم الله الاعظم وبه تستجاب الدعوات. قال لي ابو الحسن علي بن زيد الفرائضي وفي تفسير سنيد قال : لما خلق الله تبارك وتعالى آدم أقعده بين يديه فقال : من أنا يا آدم؟ فقال : أنت اصباوت ادناى. قال له الرب تبارك وتعالى : صدقت يا آدم ، يعني أنت الله الصمد ، يقول اصباوت الله الصمد. قال لي أبو الحسن علي بن زيد وزعم ان هذا الكتاب الذى في المقام بالخميرية. حدثنا أبو العباس الكديمي قال ثنا سهل

<sup>9</sup> ولثان : Ms

بن عتاب قال ثنا عيسى بن عبد الرحمن عن سالك بن حرب عن عكرمة  
 عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنها قال : ان في <sup>10</sup> مقام ابراهيم عليه  
 السلام لكتابا لو غسل عنه لقرئ : هذا بيت الله وضعه على ترايع  
 عرشه يأتيه رزقه من كذا وأول من يحله أهله.

Jerusalem,  
 The Hebrew University,  
 Institute of Asian and African Studies.

M. J. KISTER.