

# The Book of Idols

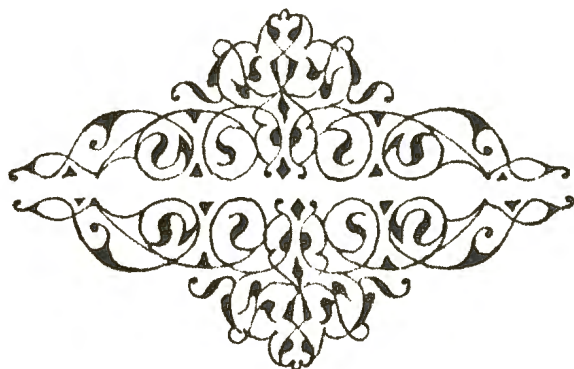
BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC

OF THE *ḲITĀB AL-AṢNĀM*

BY HISHĀM IBN-AL-KALBI

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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*To the memory of my father*

AMIN FARIS

## P R E F A C E

**A**bu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Sā'ib ibn-Bishr al-Kalbi, better known as ibn-al-Kalbi (d. A.H. 206 / A.D. 821-822),<sup>1</sup> was a member of a distinguished family of scholars residing in al-Kūfah, then one of the two intellectual capitals of the Muslim world. Like his father, abu-al-Naḍr Muḥammad,<sup>2</sup> he addressed himself almost exclusively to historical and philosophical research in an age where the *ḥadīth* was the science par excellence. Not only Muslim interest in the life and usage of the Prophet, but also the desire of official Islam to stamp out all that belonged to the pagan days of Arabia, discouraged learned men from the pursuit of studies which related to the so-called Jāhiliyah days. According to the traditionists who were then in full control of the intellectual life of the community, Muḥammad once said, "Islam destroys all that preceded it."<sup>3</sup> The Prophet, undoubtedly, had in mind the pagan religions of his country; but his followers, in their zeal to establish the new faith, set out to eradicate everything which had its roots in the old order. Consequently, the historians (*akhbārīyūn*), whose work was to record the past and preserve its glories, were

<sup>1</sup> Al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871-1872, pp. 95-98; ibn-Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, ed. Eduard Sachau and others, Leyden, 1905-1921, vol. vi, p. 250; ibn-Qutaybah, *Kitāb al-Ma'rif*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850, pp. 266-267; al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Cairo, 1931, vol. xiv, pp. 45-46; ibn-Khallikān, *W'afayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, Cairo, 1299, vol. iii, pp. 134-136; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Udahā'*, Lithog. Cairo, 1294, pp. 116-118; al-Sam'āni, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1912, folios 485b-486a; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1907-1926, vol. vii, pp. 250-254; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Hyderabad, 1333-1334, vol. i, p. 313. See also Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889-1890, vol. i, pp. 185-187; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. i, Weimar, 1898, pp. 138-140; *Supplement*, vol. i, Leyden, 1937, pp. 211-212.

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 94; ibn-Sa'd, vol. vi, pp. 249-250, ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 301-302.

<sup>3</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, Imān: 53.

without honor in the Muslim community, particularly during the early period of Islam. The great Arab historians flourished during a later period. These, too, placed their emphasis on the Muslim era, and treated the pre-Islamic days in a cursory manner. What is more, the word historian (*akh-bārī*) acquired a bad meaning and became an epithet of near-contempt. It was applied to ibn-al-Kalbi<sup>4</sup> as well as to any learned man who dared dwell upon Arab history before the 'Ām al-Fil.<sup>5</sup> But no historian was attacked more virulently than ibn-al-Kalbi, probably because he addressed himself to the study of those things which Islam was determined to obliterate, namely the pagan religions and practices of Arabia. Thus al-Baghdādī<sup>6</sup> preserves a saying current among the students of the *ḥadīth* concerning ibn-al-Kalbi's alleged lack of veracity. To them he was but an amateur genealogist and a story-teller whose word no one would either accept or quote. Al-Iṣfahānī, too, despite his dependence upon ibn-al-Kalbi, attacks him in at least two places,<sup>7</sup> and asserts that everything which he had quoted on his authority was false. Al-Sam'ānī is still more outspoken. In his *Ansāb*<sup>8</sup> he dismisses ibn-al-Kalbi with the following sentence, "He . . . used to relate odd and strange things, and events none of which had any foundation." Another Muslim writer who disparages ibn-al-Kalbi is al-Dhahabi. Besides calling him a *rāfiḍī*,<sup>9</sup> he says,

<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol. I, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> cf. *Irshād*, vol. VII, pp. 261 *seq.* The 'Ām al-Fil (the year of the elephant) is identified with A.D. 570 or 571, and is supposed to be the year in which Muḥammad was born. It is so called after the elephant which is said to have accompanied Abrahah, the Aksumite viceroy of Yemen from A.D. 525-571, who marched against Mecca in that year, but was, according to Muslim tradition, miraculously turned back.

<sup>6</sup> *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vol. XIV, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāq, 1285, vols. IX, p. 19, XVIII, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> folio 486a.

<sup>9</sup> Only al-Dhahabi (d. A.H. 748 / A.D. 1348) accuses ibn-al-Kalbi of being a Rāfiḍite, while ibn-al-'Imād al-Hanbali (d. A.H. 1089 / A.D. 1679), in his *Shajarāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār Man Dhahab*, Cairo, 1350, vol. II, p. 13, says that he had Rāfiḍite leanings. But both these are late, and the early sources are completely silent on this point. There is, how-

"He was not reliable . . . but merely an historian (*akhbārī*)."<sup>10</sup> Ahmad ibn-Hanbal deemed it necessary to say of him, "I do not think anyone would quote him as an authority."<sup>11</sup>

All these attacks were undoubtedly motivated by fanaticism on the part of the traditionists and the Koran readers. For his part, ibn-al-Kalbi had little respect for them and for their studies, and did not commit the Koran to memory except under the pressure of criticism.<sup>12</sup>

But ibn-al-Kalbi was not without his stout champions. Foremost among those were al-Mas'ūdi and Yāqūt. The former lists him among the best authorities and acknowledges his indebtedness to him.<sup>13</sup> The latter actually defends him against the vilifications of the traditionists. Discussing a controversial point in which ibn-al-Kalbi was pitted against the other authorities, Yāqūt accepts his report and says, "This, therefore, confirms the statement of abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi. Bless his soul! Never have the learned men disagreed on any point without finding his word the final authority. Yet despite all that, he is unjustly treated and greatly maligned."<sup>14</sup>

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ever, evidence that his grandfather and great-grandfather were active partisans of 'Ali, having fought on his side in both the battles of al-Jamal and Ṣiffin (*Ma'ārif*, p. 266). His father is supposed to have fought with 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn-al-Ash'ath during the latter's rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf in A.H. 82 / A.D. 701 at Dayr al-Jamājim (*Ma'ārif*, p. 266; cf. al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul w-al-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje and others, Leyden, 1879-1901, vol. II, pp. 1074-1076). Beyond that there is nothing to indicate that he was a Rāfiḍite, either in the strict sense of the term or in its loose application to the Shī'ites in general. He might have been an 'Ali admirer, but hardly anything more. For the Rāfiḍites as a distinct sect, see al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1931, pp. 53-55; al-Baghdādī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, ed. P. K. Hitti, Cairo, 1924, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol. I, p. 313. <sup>11</sup> *Irshād*, vol. VII, p. 250.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 251; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vol. XIV, p. 46. The intent of the incident is, of course, to show the prodigious memory of ibn-al-Kalbi. It also shows a tendency towards independence at a very early age.

<sup>13</sup> *Murāj al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-1877, vol. I, pp. 10, 216.

<sup>14</sup> *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870, vol. II, p. 158; see also p. 652.

But his vindication has come from modern scientific research and archeology, which have confirmed the greater part of his statements and supported him against the fanatical criticism of his co-religionists.

*His works.* Ibn-al-Kalbi was one of the most prolific scientific writers of early Islam. Al-Nadīm<sup>18</sup> lists no fewer than one hundred and forty titles of his, while Yāqūt<sup>19</sup> says that they exceeded one hundred and fifty titles. Of these he enumerates one hundred and eighteen on the authority of al-Nadīm and adds three on his own, making the list one hundred and twenty-one. Unfortunately, however, nothing has survived except the *Jamharat al-Nasab*,<sup>17</sup> the *Nasab Fuḥūl al-Khayl fi al-Jāhilīyah w-al-Islām*,<sup>18</sup> the *Kitāb al-Mathālib*,<sup>19</sup> and the present work, namely the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*. It is, nevertheless, possible to reconstruct a considerable part of his works from quotations in other sources related on his authority. In fact, this is exactly what Wellhausen did in the case of the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*.<sup>20</sup> Lyall did the same in the case of "The First Day of the Kulāb."<sup>21</sup>

*The Kitāb al-Aṣnām.* This work has come down to us in a unique manuscript in the Khizānah al-Zakīyah, the private

<sup>18</sup> *Fihrist*, pp. 95-98.

<sup>19</sup> *Irshād*, vol. vii, pp. 250-254.

<sup>17</sup> Fragmentary manuscript copies of this work survive in the Escorial Library (no. 1693), the British Museum (no. 1202), and in an alleged copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 2047). The Rev. Paul Sabat announced in *al-Muqattam*, April 7, 1925, the discovery of a complete copy of the *Jamharah*. See *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 507-508. See also Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Progetto di un' edizione della 'Jamharat al-Nasab' di Ibn al-Kalbi," in *Atti del IV.° Congresso Internazionale di Orientalisti*, Leyden, 1932, pp. 236-237. The alleged copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale has nothing to do with the *Jamharah*.

<sup>18</sup> Published by Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Leyden, 1928.

<sup>19</sup> A copy of this work is in the possession of F. Krenkow.

<sup>20</sup> See below, p. xi.

<sup>21</sup> See C. J. Lyall, "Ibn al-Kalbi's account of the First Day of al-Kulāb," in *Festschrift Theodor Nöldeke*, ed. C. Bezold, Gieszen, 1906, pp. 127-154. Lyall reconstructed the narrative from the pages of al-Anbārī's commentary on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*.



library of the late Aḥmad Zaki Pasha of Cairo, Egypt. This manuscript, which was published by its learned owner first in 1914 and again in 1924,<sup>22</sup> has one of the most interesting and excellent pedigrees of any known manuscript. It was transcribed from a copy made by the well-known scholar abu-Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Khiḍr al-Jawālīqī,<sup>23</sup> in A.H. 529 / A.D. 1135, from another which he himself had copied in A.H. 494 / A.D. 1100 from a manuscript in the handwriting of abu-al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-al-‘Abbās ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Furāt,<sup>24</sup> whose excellent penmanship won him the unanimous applause of the scholars of his time. Of him it was said, “His writing is the final word in correctness and accuracy.”<sup>25</sup> Of the first copy which al-Jawālīqī made in A.H. 494 nothing is known beyond the fact that Yāqūt had access to it and used it freely in preparing his geographical dictionary, the *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*.<sup>26</sup> He even reproduced, with the omission of one link, the same chain of authorities which prefaces the present recension.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, most of the text of the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* has been quoted by Yāqūt, although it was broken up in order to conform to the alphabetical arrangement of his *Mu‘jam*. These quotations gave Wellhausen the material for his great *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*.<sup>28</sup>

The contents of the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* must have been known,

<sup>22</sup> The only difference between the two editions is that the former was done on special paper bearing, in the watermark, the monogram of ‘Abbās Ḥilmi II, the last Khedive of Egypt, to whom it was dedicated, and the date A.H. 1329, the year of his accession.

<sup>23</sup> d. A.H. 539 / A.D. 1144; see *Irshād*, vol. VII, pp. 197-199; ibn-Khalikān, vol. III, pp. 35-37.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Qazzāz according to ibn-al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Ta’rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867-1874, vol. IX, p. 74. He died in A.H. 384 / A.D. 994. See also *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. III, pp. 122-123; *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, vol. III, pp. 205-206.

<sup>25</sup> *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. III, p. 123, line 5.

<sup>26</sup> Ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870, vols. I, p. 897, III, pp. 911-912.

<sup>27</sup> *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 912; cf. below, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> First published in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. III, 1887, and again in an independent edition in 1897.

not only to the great Arab historians and geographers who followed in the wake of ibn-al-Kalbi and who drew freely on his works, but also to more recent writers, two of whom have preserved for us abridgments of the material contained therein. The first writer was Jamāl-al-Dīn abu-al-Faraj ‘Abd-al-Rahmān ibn-abi-al-Ḥasan . . . ibn-al-Jawzi<sup>29</sup> (d. A.H. 597 / A.D. 1200), who abridged the work in his *Naqd al-‘Ilm w-al-‘Ulamā’*.<sup>30</sup> The second was ‘Abd-al-Qādir ibn-‘Umar al-Bagh-dādī<sup>31</sup> (d. A.H. 1093 / A.D. 1682), who reproduced its main contents in his *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-‘Arab*.<sup>32</sup>

Except for the text contained in the *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* and the abridgments preserved in these two works, the learned world saw the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* for the first time in the edition of Aḥmad Zaki Pasha discussed above.<sup>33</sup> The present translation is based on that edition as well as on the material preserved in the *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, reference to which has been made in every case. An attempt has been made to identify every name whether of person or place. A few, however, resisted all such attempts, in which case the fact has been indicated in the footnotes. Historical, geographical, and linguistic notes have been added in order to elucidate the text, which in several instances has also been emended, as an examination of the notes will show. Subheadings to indicate the organization have been supplied by the translator but, for the sake of typographic appearance, have not been enclosed in brackets.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn-Khallikān, vol. 1, pp. 500-501.

<sup>30</sup> Also known as *Talbis Iblis*; Cairo, 1340, pp. 56-63; English translation of this book by D. S. Margoliouth under the title, "The Devil's Delusion," appeared in *Islamic Culture*, vols. ix, x, xi, xii, 1935-1938; the section in which the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* is abridged may be found in vol. x, pp. 189-196.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Muḥibbi, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fi A‘yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar*, Cairo, 1284, vol. II, pp. 451-454.

<sup>32</sup> Būlāq, 1299, vol. III, pp. 242-246.

<sup>33</sup> A partial translation, in French, by Fr. M. S. Marmardji, O.P., appeared in *Revue Biblique*, vol. xxxv, 1926, pp. 397-420. It was based on the first (1914) edition of Aḥmad Zaki Pasha. In it Marmardji rearranges the deities into groups according to their importance and rank. A German translation was made by Rosa K. Rosenberger, Leipzig, 1941.



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THE BOOK OF IDOLS



## INTRODUCTION

### THE CHAIN OF AUTHORITIES FOR THE PRESENT RECENSION

IN the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I<sup>1</sup> was told by al-Shaykh abu-al-Ḥusayn al-Mubārak ibn-‘Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Aḥmad al-Ṣayrafī,<sup>2</sup> from whom I received the recension, that, in the year [of the Hijrah] 463,<sup>3</sup> abu-Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Muslimah<sup>4</sup> related to him that he was told by abu-‘Ubayd-Allah Muḥammad ibn-‘Imrān ibn-Mūsa al-Marzubānī,<sup>5</sup> with the permission to teach, that abu-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Abdullāh al-Jawhari<sup>6</sup> had related to him on the authority of abu-‘Ali al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Ulayl al-‘Anazī<sup>7</sup> that abu-al-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ ibn-al-Furāt<sup>8</sup> said that in the year [of the Hijrah] 201,<sup>9</sup> while studying at the feet of Hishām ibn-al-Kalbi, he received the following:

<sup>1</sup> The speaker is abu-Manṣūr Mawhūb ibn-Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī; see above, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> d. A.H. 500 / A.D. 1106-1107; see ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 305-306.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1070-1071.

<sup>4</sup> d. A.H. 465 / A.D. 1072-1073; see al-Dhahabī, *al-Dhayl al-Tāmm bi-Duwal al-Islām* (Hyderabad, 1337), vol. i, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> d. A.H. 384 / A.D. 994; *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. III, pp. 135-136.

<sup>6</sup> Died after A.H. 333 / A.D. 944-945; see *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. v, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> d. A.H. 290 / A.D. 902-903; see *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. VII, pp. 398-399.

<sup>8</sup> d. A.H. 262 / A.D. 875-876; see *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, vol. XI, pp. 439-440.

<sup>9</sup> A.D. 816-817.

Hishām ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi said: I was informed by my father<sup>10</sup> and others, and I personally checked and ascertained their report, that when Ishmael, the son of Abraham, settled in Mecca, he begot many children. [Their descendants] multiplied so much that they crowded the city and supplanted its original inhabitants, the Amalekites. Later on Mecca became overcrowded with them, and dissension and strife arose among them, causing them to fight among themselves and consequently be dispersed throughout the land where they roamed seeking a livelihood.

The reason which led them to the worship of images and stones was the following: No one left Mecca without carrying away with him a stone from the stones of the Sacred House (al-Haram) as a token of reverence to it, and as a sign of deep affection to Mecca. Wherever he settled he would erect that stone and circumambulate it in the same manner he used to circumambulate the Ka'bah [before his departure from Mecca], seeking thereby its blessing and affirming his deep affection for the Sacred House. In fact, the Arabs still venerate the Ka'bah and Mecca and journey to them in order to perform the pilgrimage and visitation, conforming thereby to the time-honored custom which they inherited from Abraham and Ishmael.

In time this led them to the worship of whatever took their fancy, and caused them to forget their former worship. They exchanged the religion of Abraham and Ishmael for another. Consequently they took to the worship of images, becoming like the nations before them. They sought and determined what the people of Noah had worshipped of these images and adopted the worship of those which were still remembered ~~among them. Among these deistical practices were some~~ which came down from the time of Abraham and Ishmael, such as the veneration of the House<sup>11</sup> and its circumambulation,

<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad ibn-al-Sā'ib al-Kalbi, d. A.H. 146 / A.D. 763; *al-Fihrist*, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> The Ka'bah.

the pilgrimage, the visitation or the lesser pilgrimage (*al-'umrah*), the vigil (*al-wuqūf*) on 'Arafah<sup>12</sup> and [al-]Muzdalifah,<sup>13</sup> sacrificing she-camels, and raising the voice in the acclamation of the name of the deity (*tahlīl*)<sup>14</sup> at the pilgrimage and the visitation, introducing thereinto things not belonging to it. / Thus whenever the Nizār<sup>15</sup> raised their voice in [ 7 ] the *tahlīl*, they were wont to say:

"Here we are O Lord! Here we are! Here we are!

Thou hast no associate save one who is thine.

Thou hast dominion over him and over what he possesseth."<sup>16</sup>

They would thus declare His unity through the *talbiyah*,<sup>17</sup> and at the same time associate their gods with Him, placing their affairs in His hands. Consequently, God said to His Prophet, "And most of them believe not in God, without also associating other deities with Him."<sup>18</sup> In other words, they would not declare His unity through the knowledge of His rightful dues, without associating with Him some of His own creatures.

The *talbiyah* of the 'Akk,<sup>19</sup> whenever they set out on pilgrimage, was as follows: They would place at the head of the caravan two of their black slaves who would lead the procession and say,

"We are the two ravens of the 'Akk!"

Thereupon the 'Akk would say in response,

<sup>12</sup> *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 645-648.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 519-520. Both 'Arafah and al-Muzdalifah are places in the vicinity of Mecca connected with the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

<sup>14</sup> The normal formula of the *tahlīl* is: *la iālāha illa 'allah* (there is no God but Allah); cf. hallelujah.

<sup>15</sup> The main group of the North-Arabian tribes; see ibn-Durayd al-Azdi, *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1854, p. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Ar. *labbayka allāhumma labbayka labbayka labbayka la sharīka lak illa sharīkun huwa lak tamlikuhu wa-ma malak.*

<sup>17</sup> For the most common formula of the *talbiyah*, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ḥajj :26. It is an old formula of salutation to the deity.

<sup>18</sup> *Sūrah XII*: 106.

<sup>19</sup> A large South Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiqāq*, p. 287.



"The 'Akk humble themselves before thee;  
Thy Yamanite servants are we.  
[We are come] to perform another pilgrimage."

Whenever the Rabī'ah<sup>20</sup> performed the pilgrimage, observed the sacred rites and ceremonies, and carried out the vigils at the appointed places, they were wont to start back with the first returning group and not wait until the *ayyām al-tashrīq*.<sup>21</sup>

- [8] / The first to change the religion of Ishmael, set up images for worship, institute the practices of the *sā'ibah*,<sup>22</sup> the *waṣīlah*,<sup>23</sup> the *baḥīrah*,<sup>24</sup> the *ḥāmiyah*,<sup>25</sup> was 'Amr ibn-Rabī'ah, who is Luḥayy ibn-Ḥārithah ibn-'Amr ibn-'Āmir al-Azdi,<sup>26</sup> the father of the Khuzā'ah<sup>27</sup> [tribe].

<sup>20</sup> A large North Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> These are the days next after the day of sacrifice which is the tenth day of dhu-al-Ḥijjah. They are now days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four days. Evidently they had pre-Islamic antecedents. The *tashrīq* may either mean turning eastward in worship, or drying up the blood of the sacrifice in the torrid sun of Mecca. It may also mean sunrise prayer, to which meaning I incline. Cf. *Sūrah* 11: 199.

<sup>22</sup> The liberation of a certain animal in honor of idols was prevalent in pre-Islamic Arabia. In *Sūrah* v: 103, the practice is vehemently condemned. The *sā'ibah* signifies any beast left to pasture without attention. According to some, it is the mother of the *baḥīrah*, or a she-camel which, having brought forth females at ten successive births, was set at liberty to pasture where it would, and was not ridden nor its milk taken.

<sup>23</sup> A she-goat which brought forth twins, a male and a female; when the male was brought forth alone, it was slaughtered to the idols, the female alone being kept; but in case of the male and the female being born twins, the male was considered joined to the female, and was not, therefore, sacrificed.

<sup>24</sup> A she-camel having its ears slit. When a she-camel, or a she-goat, had brought forth five, or seven, or ten, young ones, the last of these, if a male, was slaughtered; but if a female, its ears were slit. According to others, it was the mother; it being also exempt from slaughter and from carrying burdens.

<sup>25</sup> A stallion-camel left at liberty, the offspring of which in the second degree of descent has been fertile.

<sup>26</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 276; ibn-Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858-1859, pp. 50ff.

<sup>27</sup> A South Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 276.

The mother of 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy was Fuhayrah,<sup>28</sup> the daughter of 'Amr ibn-al-Ḥārith.<sup>29</sup> It is also said that she was Qam'ah,<sup>30</sup> the daughter of Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī.<sup>31</sup>

It was al-Ḥārith<sup>32</sup> who used to be the custodian of the Ka'bah. But when 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy came [to Mecca] he disputed his right to its custody, and with the aid of the children of Ishmael, fought the Jurhumites,<sup>33</sup> defeated them, and cleared them out of the Ka'bah; he then drove them out of Mecca, and took over the custody of the Sacred House (al-Bayt) after them.

He then became very sick, and was told, "There is a hot spring in al-Balqā',<sup>34</sup> in Syria (al-Sha'm); if you would go there, you would be cured."<sup>35</sup> So he went to the hot spring, bathed therein, and was cured. During his stay there, he noticed that the inhabitants of the place worshipped idols. He, therefore, queried them saying, "What are these things?" To which they replied, "To them we pray for rain, and from them we seek victory over the enemy." Thereupon he asked them to give him [a few of those idols], and they did. He took them back with him to Mecca and erected them around the Ka'bah.

<sup>28</sup> cf. Ṭabari, vol. 1, p. 1132, where the name is mentioned as the daughter of 'Āmir ibn-al-Ḥārith; also ibn-Durayd, "Jamharat al-Nasab" (Escorial MS), f. 150<sup>v</sup>; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, entry *māḍ*.

<sup>29</sup> Also 'Āmir; Ṭabari, vol. 1, pp. 1131-1133; Wahb ibn-Munabbih, *Kitāb al-Tījān* (Hyderabad, 1347), pp. 211-212.

<sup>30</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>31</sup> Ṭabari, vol. 1, p. 1031.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 675; *Kitāb al-Tījān*, pp. 179ff.

<sup>33</sup> For a list of the Jurhumite kings, see abu-al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar Ta'riḫ al-Bashar* (Constantinople, 1286), vol. 1, p. 77; *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. III, p. 103.

<sup>34</sup> *Buldān*, vol. 1, pp. 728-729.

<sup>35</sup> cf. the story of Naaman the Syrian, II Kings: 5.

## Isāf and Nā'ilah

- [9] / Abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad said: Al-Kalbi<sup>1</sup> related on the authority of abu-Ṣālih<sup>2</sup> who, in turn, related on the authority of ibn-'Abbās,<sup>3</sup> that Isāf and Nā'ilah (a man from the Jurhum called Isāf ibn-Ya'la and [a woman called] Nā'ilah, the daughter of Zayd, another Jurhumite) [were two lovers]. Isāf was courting Nā'ilah in the land of Yemen. They set out to perform the pilgrimage. Upon their arrival in Mecca they entered the Ka'bah. Taking advantage of the absence of anyone else and of the privacy of the Sacred House, Isāf committed adultery with her in the sanctuary. Thereupon they were transformed into stone, becoming two *miskhs*. They were then taken out and placed in their respective places. Later on, the Khuzā'ah and the Quraysh, as well as everyone who came on pilgrimage to the Sacred House, worshipped them.

The first among the Children of Ishmael, and among other people besides, to adopt such idols and give them individual names, in accordance with the traditions which persisted concerning them when the people departed from the religion of Ishmael, were the Hudhayl ibn-Mudrikah.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad ibn-al-Sā'ib, the father of the author.

<sup>2</sup> Dhakwān al-Sammān, d. A.H. 101 / A.D. 719-720; *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol. I, p. 83; ibn-Sa'd, vol. v, p. 222, vol. vi, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abdullah, cousin of the Prophet, d. A.H. 69 / A.D. 688-689; abu-Nu'aym al-Iṣfahani, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, vol. I, Cairo, 1351, pp. 314-329; al-Nawawi, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842-1847, pp. 351-354.

<sup>4</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 108.

## Suwā'

- The Hudhayl adopted Suwā'<sup>1</sup> [as their god] and placed it [10] in Ruhāt<sup>2</sup> in the vicinity of Yanbu',<sup>3</sup> one of the villages / of Medina. The custodians [of its temple] were the banu-Liḥyān.<sup>4</sup> However. I have not heard any mention of it in the poems of

the Hudhalites.<sup>5</sup> I did, however, hear of it in a poem by a certain man from Yemen.

<sup>1</sup> G. Ryckmans, *Les Nom Propres Sud-Semitiqes*, Louvain, 1934, vol. I, p. 23; Wellhausen, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 878.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 1038-1039.

<sup>4</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> A part of the Hudhalites' poems was published by I. C. L. Kosegarten under the title *The Hudsailian Poems*, London, 1854; the remaining part was published by J. Wellhausen in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. I, Berlin, 1884.

## Wadd

The Kalb<sup>1</sup> adopted Wadd<sup>2</sup> [as their god. That was] in Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 10; *Buldān*, vol. IV, pp. 912-916; Wellhausen, pp. 14-18.

<sup>3</sup> Also Dawmat al-Jandal; *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 625-629.

## Yaghūth

The Madhḥij<sup>1</sup> as well as the people of Jurash<sup>2</sup> adopted Yaghūth<sup>3</sup> [as their god]. Said the poet:

"May Wadd keep thee and bless thee!  
For to us it is unlawful  
With women to dally and wanton;  
Thus our faith hath resolved."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Said another:

"Yaghūth led us unto the Murād,<sup>2</sup>  
And we vanquished them before the morning."

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 59-61.

<sup>3</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 16; Wellhausen, pp. 19-22.

<sup>4</sup> The verse is by al-Nābighah al-Dhubyāni; cf. *Le Diwan de Nabigha Dhubyani*, ed. and tr. Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris, 1869; also C. A. Nalino "Il verso d'an-Nabighah sul dio Wadd," in *Rendiconto della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. V, vol. XXIX (1920), pp. 283-290.

<sup>5</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 238; Nashwān ibn-Sa'id al-Himyari, *Muntakhabāt fi Akhbār al-Yaman min Kitāb Shams al-'Ulūm wa-Dawā' Kalām al-'Arab min al-Kulūm*, ed. 'Aḥimuddīn Aḥmad, Leyden, 1916, p. 97.

## Ya'ūq

The Khaywān<sup>1</sup> adopted Ya'ūq<sup>2</sup> as their god. It was placed in a village of theirs called Khaywān,<sup>3</sup> at a distance of two nights' journey towards Mecca. I have not heard of the Hamdān,<sup>4</sup> or of any other tribe among the Arabs, naming any of their members after Ya'ūq [i.e. calling any individual 'Abd-Ya'ūq]. Nor have I ever heard of any mention of Ya'ūq in their poetry. I think this is because they were situated close to Ṣan'ā',<sup>5</sup> and consequently mixed with the Ḥimyar<sup>6</sup> and embraced Judaism with them at the same time when dhu-Nuwās<sup>7</sup> accepted the religion of Israel and converted his followers to it.

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, pp. 22-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 512.

<sup>4</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Hamdāni, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden, 1884-1891, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 918ff.; Ḥamzah ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahāni, *Ta'riḥh Sini Mulūk al-Arḍ w-al-Anbiyā'*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 133-134.

## Nasr

- [11] / The Ḥimyar adopted Nasr<sup>1</sup> as their god, and worshipped it in a place called Balkha'.<sup>2</sup> I have not, however, heard of the Ḥimyar naming any of their members after Nasr [i.e. 'Abd-Nasr]. Nor have I heard of any mention of Nasr in the poetry of the Arabs. I think this is because the Ḥimyar relinquished idolatry and embraced Judaism during the reign of Tubba'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 23; Wellhausen, pp. 22-24.

<sup>2</sup> *Buldān*, vol. I, p. 714, vol. IV, pp. 780-781.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tubba' is the royal title of the kings of the second Himyarite kingdom (ca. A.D. 300-525, interrupted only by the first Abyssinian period, A.D. 340-378). D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, vol. I. *Die altarabische Kultur*, Copenhagen, 1927, p. 105.

## Ri'ām

The Ḥimyar had also another temple (*bayt*) in Ṣan'ā'. It was called Ri'ām;<sup>1</sup> the people venerated it and offered in it



sacrifices. / According to one report, they used to receive com- [ 12 ]  
 munications from an oracle therein. When the Tubba' re-  
 turned from the expedition to al-'Irāq, the two rabbis (al-  
 ḥabrān) who accompanied him to Medina came along with  
 him to destroy Ri'ām. He told them, "Do with it whatever  
 you wish." Thereupon they demolished it, and the Tubba',  
 together with the people of Yemen, embraced Judaism.<sup>2</sup> Hence-  
 forth I never heard of any mention of Ri'ām and Nasr either  
 in poetry or in proper names. Furthermore, the Arabs pre-  
 served nothing of its poetry except those poems which be-  
 longed to the period immediately preceding Islam.

/ Hishām abu-al-Mundhir said: I have not heard a single [ 13 ]  
 verse of poetry in description of Ri'ām.<sup>3</sup> I have, however,  
 heard some in description of the others.

These, then, are the five idols which the people of Noah  
 used to worship. For this reason God mentioned them in His  
 Book, which He revealed to His Prophet, "Said Noah, 'O Lord!  
 they rebel against me, and they follow those whose riches and  
 children do but aggravate their ruin.' And they plotted a great  
 plot; and they said, 'Forsake not your gods; Forsake not  
 Wadd and Suwā', nor Yaghūth and Ya'ūq and Nasr.' And  
 they caused many to err; and thou, too, shalt be the means of  
 increasing only error in the wicked."<sup>4</sup>

When, therefore, 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy [brought the idols from  
 al-Balqā'], they accepted and worshipped them.

<sup>1</sup> *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 882-883; *Ṣifah*, p. 203; cf. al-Hamdāni, *al-Iklīl (al-Juz' al-Thāmin)*, ed. Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton, 1940, pp. 66-67; tr. N. A. Faris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 46-48; *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 906; Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> cf. al-Iṣfahāni, p. 131; *Kitāb al-Tījān*, pp. 294-297; Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 903-906; *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 882.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *al-Iklīl*, p. 66; *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Sūrah LXXI: 20-24.*

## Manāh

The most ancient of all these idols was Manāh.<sup>1</sup> The Arabs used to name [their children] 'Abd-Manāh<sup>2</sup> and Zayd-Manāh.<sup>3</sup> Manāh was erected on the seashore in the vicinity of al-Mushallal<sup>4</sup> in Qudayd,<sup>5</sup> between Medina and Mecca. All the Arabs used to venerate her and sacrifice before her. [In particular] the Aws<sup>6</sup> and the Khazraj,<sup>7</sup> as well as the inhabitants of Medina and Mecca and their vicinities, used to venerate Manāh, sacrifice before her, and bring unto her their offerings.

The children of the Ma'add<sup>8</sup> were followers of a faith which still preserved a little of the religion of Ishmael. The Rabī'ah<sup>9</sup> and the Muḍar,<sup>10</sup> too, were followers of a similar faith. But none venerated her more than the Aws and the Khazraj.

- [14] / Abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad said: I was told by a man from the Quraysh, on the authority of abu-'Ubaydah 'Abdullāh<sup>11</sup> ibn-abi-'Ubaydah ibn-'Ammār ibn-Yāsir who was the best informed man on the subject of the Aws and the Khazraj, that the Aws and the Khazraj, as well as those Arabs among the people of Yathrib<sup>12</sup> and other places who took to their way of life, were wont to go on pilgrimage and observe the vigil at all the appointed places, but not shave their heads. At the end of the pilgrimage, however, when they were about to return home, they would set out to the place

<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah* LIII: 20; Ryckmans, vol. 1, pp. 18-19; Wellhausen, pp. 25-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, pp. 105, 144.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 133, 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣifah*, p. 214; *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣifah*, pp. 120, 185, 218; *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> One of the main groups of South Arabian tribes. *Ishtiḳāq*, pp. 83, 259.

<sup>7</sup> One of the main groups of South Arabian tribes. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 259.

<sup>8</sup> One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> "ibn-'Abdullāh" in text. Cf. al-Ṭabari, vol. II, 863, 868; *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 653.

<sup>12</sup> The old name of Medina; *Ṣifah*, pp. 2, 124; *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 1009-1010, 458-468.

where Manāh stood, shave their heads, and stay there a while. They did not consider their pilgrimage completed until they visited Manāh. Because of this veneration of Manāh by the Aws and the Khazraj, 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Wadī'ah al-Muzani, or some other Arab, said:

"An oath, truthful and just, I swore  
By Manāh, at the sacred place of the Khazraj."

During the Jāhiliyah days, the Arabs were wont to call both the Aws and the Khazraj by the single generic name, al-Khazraj. For this reason the poet said, "at the sacred place of the Khazraj."

This Manāh is that which God mentioned when He said, "And Manāh, the third idol besides."<sup>13</sup> She was the [goddess] of the Hudhayl<sup>14</sup> and the Khuzā'ah.<sup>15</sup>

/The Quraysh as well as the rest of the Arabs continued to [ 15 ] venerate Manāh until the Apostle of God set out from Medina in the eighth year of the Hijrah,<sup>16</sup> the year in which God accorded him the victory.<sup>17</sup> When he was at a distance of four or five nights from Medina, he dispatched 'Ali to destroy her. 'Ali demolished her, took away all her [treasures], and carried them back to the Prophet. Among the treasures which 'Ali carried away were two swords which had been presented to [Manāh] by al-Hārith ibn-abi-Shamir al-Ghassāni, the king of Ghassān.<sup>18</sup> The one sword was called Mikhdham and the other Rasūb. They are the two swords of al-Hārith which 'Alqamah mentions in one of his poems. He said:

"Wearing two coats of mail as well as  
Two studded swords, Mikhdham and Rasūb."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Sūrah* LIII: 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 108-110.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>16</sup> A.D. 629-630.

<sup>17</sup> i.e. the capture of Mecca.

<sup>18</sup> The same as al-Hārith ibn-Jabalah. See Theodore Noldeke, *The Princes of Ghassān from the House of Gafna*, Ar. tr. Pendali Jouse and Costi K. Zurayk, Beirut, 1933, pp. 22, 58-60.

<sup>19</sup> W. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, London, 1870, p. 107 ['Alqamah, 2:27].

The Prophet gave these two swords to 'Ali. It is, therefore, said that dhu-al-Faqār, the sword of 'Ali, was one of them.<sup>20</sup>

It is also said that 'Ali found these two swords in [the temple of] al-Fals,<sup>21</sup> the idol of the Ṭayyi', whither the Prophet had sent him, and which he also destroyed.

<sup>20</sup> cf. al-Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1706-1710.

<sup>21</sup> cf. Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 179; *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 911-913.

## Allāt

[16] / They then adopted Allāt<sup>1</sup> as their goddess. Allāt stood in al-Ṭā'if,<sup>2</sup> and was more recent than Manāh. She was a cubic<sup>3</sup> rock beside which a certain Jew used to prepare his barley porridge (*sawīq*). Her custody was in the hands of the banu-'Attāb ibn-Mālik<sup>4</sup> of the Thaqīf,<sup>5</sup> who had built an edifice over her. The Quraysh, as well as all the Arabs, were wont to venerate Allāt. They also used to name their children after her, calling them Zayd-Allāt<sup>6</sup> and Taym-Allāt.<sup>7</sup>

She stood in the place of the left-hand side minaret of the present-day mosque of al-Ṭā'if. She is the idol which God mentioned when He said, "Have you seen Allāt and al-'Uzza?"<sup>8</sup> It was this same Allāt which 'Amr ibn-al-Ju'ayd<sup>9</sup> had in mind when he said:

"In forswearing wine I am like him who hath abjured Allāt, although he had been at one time her devotee."

Likewise it was the same idol to which al-Mutalammis<sup>10</sup> alluded in his satire of 'Amr ibn-al-Mundhir'<sup>11</sup> when he said:

<sup>1</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 3; Wellhausen, pp. 29-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣifāt*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>3</sup> "Square" in text.

<sup>4</sup> cf. "Jamharah" (Br. Mus. MS), p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> *Ḥikmah*, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>8</sup> *Sūrah* LIII: 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. xv, pp. 75-77, vol. XXI (ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leyden, 1888), p. 186.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn-Qutaybah, *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1902-1904, pp. 85-88; *al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, pp. 185-210.

<sup>11</sup> King of Lakhm, better known as 'Amr ibn-Hind. See *al-Isfahāni*, pp. 109-110.

"Thou hast banished me for fear of lampoon and satire.  
No! By Allāt and all the sacred baetyls (anṣāb),<sup>12</sup> thou  
shalt not escape."<sup>13</sup>

/ Allāt continued to be venerated until the Thaḳīf embraced [ 17 ]  
Islam,<sup>14</sup> when the Apostle of God dispatched al-Mughīrah ibn-  
Shu'bah,<sup>15</sup> who destroyed her and burnt her [temple] to the  
ground.<sup>16</sup>

In this connection, when Allāt was destroyed and burnt to  
the ground, Shaddād ibn-ʿArid al-Jushami<sup>17</sup> said warning the  
Thaḳīf not to return to her worship nor attempt to avenge her  
destruction:

"Come not to Allāt, for God hath doomed her to destruction;  
How can you stand by one which doth not triumph?  
Verily that which, when set on fire, resisted not the flames,  
Nor saved her stones, is inglorious and worthless.  
Hence when the Apostle in your place shall arrive  
And then leave, not one of her votaries shall be left."<sup>18</sup>

Aws ibn-Hajar,<sup>19</sup> swearing by Allāt, said:

"By Allāt and al-ʿUzza and those who in them believe,  
And by Allah, verily He is greater than both."

<sup>12</sup> Heb. *maṣṣēbhāh*, usually translated "pillars." See Gen. xxxv: 20; 11 Sam. xviii: 18; cf. Gen. xxviii: 18, 22, xxxi: 13, 45, xxxv: 14; Josh. xxiv: 27; George A. Barton, "Poles and Posts" in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1908-1927; D. M. Kay "Maṣṣēbhāh" in *ibid.*; George A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 150ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. xxi, p. 207; *Die Gedichte des Mutalammis*, ed. R. Vollers, Leipzig, 1903, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> A.H. 9 / A.D. 630-631. See *Sīrah*, pp. 914-917.

<sup>15</sup> Later became the governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah; d. A.H. 50 / A.D. 670; *al-Maʿārif*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>16</sup> cf. *Sīrah*, pp. 917-919.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, p. 871.

<sup>18</sup> *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp. 337-338; cf. *Sīrah*, p. 871.

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. x, pp. 6-8; *al-Shiʿr w-al-Shuʿarāʾ*, pp. 99-102. Also Rudolf Geyer, "Gedichte und Fragmente des ʿAus ibn Hajar" in *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 126, Vienna, 1892, pt. XIII, sec. XI, line 2.



## Al-'Uzza

They then adopted al-'Uzza<sup>1</sup> as their goddess. She is, in point of time, more recent than either Allāt or Manāh, since I have heard that the Arabs named their children after the [18] latter two before they named them after al-'Uzza. / Thus I have found that Tamīm ibn-Murr<sup>2</sup> had called his son[s] Zayd-Manāh ibn-Tamīm ibn-Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Ṭābikhah<sup>3</sup> and 'Abd-Manāh ibn-Udd.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Tha'labah ibn-'Ukābah<sup>5</sup> named his son after Allāt, calling him Taym-Allāt.<sup>6</sup> [Others were]: Taym-Allāt ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr, Zayd-Allāt ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr ibn-Wabarah ibn-Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Ṭābikhah, Taym-Allāt ibn-al-Namir ibn-Qāsiṭ, and 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Ka'b ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd-Manāh ibn-Tamīm.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore more recent than the first two. 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Ka'b is among the earliest compounded names the Arabs used in conjunction with al-'Uzza.

The person who introduced al-'Uzza was Zālim ibn-As'ad.<sup>8</sup> Her idol was situated in a valley in Nakhlat al-Sha'mīyah<sup>9</sup> called Hurād,<sup>10</sup> alongside al-Ghumayr<sup>11</sup> to the right of the road from Mecca to al-'Irāq, above Dhāt-'Irq<sup>12</sup> and nine miles from al-Bustān.<sup>13</sup> Over her [Zālim] built a house called Buss<sup>14</sup> in which the people used to receive oracular communications. The Arabs as well as the Quraysh were wont to name their children 'Abd-al-'Uzza. Furthermore al-'Uzza was the greatest idol among the Quraysh. They used to journey to her, offer gifts unto her, and seek her favours through sacrifice.

[19] / We have been told that the Apostle of God once men-

<sup>1</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 26; Wellhausen, pp. 34-45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> *Buldān*, vol. IV, p. 769.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 229.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 816.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 651-652.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 611-612.

<sup>14</sup> *Buldān*, vol. I, pp. 622-623; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, entries *bss* and *'zz*.

tioned al-'Uzza saying, "I have offered a white sheep to al-'Uzza, while I was a follower of the religion of my people."

The Quraysh were wont to circumambulate the Ka'bah and say:

"By Allât and al-'Uzza,  
And Manâh, the third idol besides.  
Verily they are the most exalted females<sup>15</sup>  
Whose intercession is to be sought."<sup>16</sup>

These were also called "the Daughters of Allah,"<sup>17</sup> and were supposed to intercede before God. When the Apostle of God was sent, God revealed unto him [concerning them] the following:

"Have you seen Allât and al-'Uzza, and Manâh the third idol besides? What? Shall ye have male progeny and God female? This indeed were an unfair partition! These are mere names: ye and your fathers named them thus: God hath not sent down any warranty in their regard."<sup>18</sup>

The Quraysh had dedicated to it, in the valley of Ḥurād, a ravine (*shî'b*) called Suqām<sup>19</sup> and were wont to vie there with the Sacred Territory of the Ka'bah. Abu-Jundub al-Hudhali<sup>20</sup> (also al-Qirdi), describing a woman with whom he was in love, composed the following verses and mentioned in them a vow which she made to him swearing by al-'Uzza:

"She swore an earnest and solemn oath  
By her to whom the vales of Suqām were dedicated:

<sup>15</sup> Ar. *ghardniq*, lit. Numidian cranes.

<sup>16</sup> Said to be one of the "abrogated" verses of the Koran; cf. Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1192-1195.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Ṭabari, *Ann al-Bayân fi Tafsîr al-Qur'ân*. Cairo, 1323-1330, vol. xxvii, pp. 34-36. Also F. V. Winnett, "The Daughters of Allah," in *The Moslem World*, vol. xxx (1940), pp. 113-130.

<sup>18</sup> *Sûrah* LIII: 19-20. For Muhammad's compromise with these deities and his subsequent repentance, see Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1192-1196; cf. also *Sûrah* xvii: 75-76.

<sup>19</sup> *Buldân*, vol. III, p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> Kosegarten, *Ash'ar al-Hudhalîyîn*, pp. 79-99.

'If thou wouldst not return my clothes, go,  
For the rest of my life I would hate thee.'  
Since it was hard for him to part with umm-Huwayrith,  
He became eager to fulfil her desire."<sup>21</sup>

Dirham ibn-Zayd al-Awsi<sup>22</sup> also said:

"By the Lord of al-'Uzza, the propitious,  
And by God betwixt whose House [and Suqām] Sarif<sup>23</sup>  
stands."<sup>24</sup>

[20] / She also had a place of sacrifice called al-Ghabghab<sup>25</sup>  
where they offered their oblations. Al-Hudhali<sup>26</sup> speaks of it  
in a satire which he composed against a certain man who had  
married a beautiful woman whose name was Asmā'. He said:

"Asmā' was married to the jawbone of a little cow  
Which one of the banu-Ghanm<sup>27</sup> had offered for sacrifice.  
As he led it to the Ghabghab of al-'Uzza,  
He noticed some defects in its eyes;  
And when the cow was offered upon the altar,  
And its flesh divided, his portion was foul."

It was customary to divide the flesh of the sacrifice among  
those who had offered it and among those present at the cere-  
mony.

[21] / Nuhaykah al-Fazāri,<sup>28</sup> addressing 'Āmir ibn-al-Ṭufayl,<sup>29</sup>  
speaks of al-Ghabghab saying:

<sup>21</sup> cf. *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 100. The verses are not mentioned in Kosegarten's edition.

<sup>22</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. II, pp. 166, 168.

<sup>23</sup> *Ṣifah*, p. 120; *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 77-78.

<sup>24</sup> *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 665; cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. II, p. 168, line 4.

<sup>25</sup> cf. *Ṣifah*, p. 177; *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 772-773.

<sup>26</sup> Abu-Khirāsh Khuwaylid ibn-Murrah; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, p. 48; *al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, pp. 54-70.

<sup>27</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 87, line 15.

<sup>28</sup> 'Nuhaykah' in *Ṣifah al-Fazāri* (see *al-Aghāni* vol. IV, p. 164, where his name is Nuhaykah ibn-al-Hārith al-Māzini of the Fazārah tribe.

<sup>29</sup> d. A.H. 10 / A.D. 631-632. Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1443-1448, 1745-1747; *al-Aghāni*, vol. XV, p. 52; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 191-192.



"O 'Āmir! If we had but overtaken thee with our spears,  
By the stars that [watch over] Mina<sup>80</sup> and al-Ghabghab!  
Thou wouldst have avoided the thrust of a bold warrior  
by turning thy hind part,  
Or thou wouldst have taken thy resting place with neither  
honor nor shroud."<sup>81</sup>

Qays ibn-Munqidh ibn-'Ubayd ibn-Ḍāṭir<sup>82</sup> ibn-Ḥubshīyah<sup>83</sup>  
ibn-Salūl al-Khuzā'i (born to a woman of the banu-Ḥudād  
of the Kinānah while others hold that she was of the [banu-]  
Ḥudād of the Muḥārib) who is [the same as] Qays ibn-  
Ḥudādiyah,<sup>84</sup> speaking of it, said:

"We swore first by the House of God,  
And failing that, by the baetyls which in al-Ghabghab  
stand."

The Quraysh were wont to venerate her above all other  
idols. For this reason Zayd ibn-'Amr ibn-Nufayl,<sup>85</sup> who, dur-  
ing the Jāhilīyah days, had turned to the worship of God  
and renounced that of al-'Uzza and of the other idols, said:

/ "I have renounced both Allāt and al-'Uzza, [ 22 ]  
For thus would the brave and the robust do.  
No more do I worship al-'Uzza and her two daughters,  
Or visit the two idols<sup>86</sup> of the banu-Ghanm;  
Nor do I journey to Hubal<sup>87</sup> and adore it,  
Although it was our lord when I was young."<sup>88</sup>

The custody of al-'Uzza was in the hands of the banu-  
Shaybān ibn-Jābir ibn-Murrah ibn-'Abs ibn-Rifā'ah ibn-al-  
Ḥārith ibn-'Utbah ibn-Sulaym ibn-Manṣūr of the banu-

<sup>80</sup> *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 642-643.

<sup>81</sup> cf. *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 773.

<sup>82</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. XIII, p. 2, where it is Ḍayāṭir.

<sup>83</sup> *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 276.

<sup>84</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. XIII, pp. 2-8.

<sup>85</sup> One of four men who are supposed to have renounced idolatry dur-  
ing the Jāhilīyah days. See *Sīrah*, pp. 143-149. Muḥammad is said to  
have declared him one of the ten promised Paradise. See *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 29.

<sup>86</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>87</sup> Ryckmāns, vol. I, pp. 9, 71.

<sup>88</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. III, pp. 15-16.

Sulaym.<sup>39</sup> The last of them to hold its custody was Dubayyah ibn-Ḥarami al-Sulami.<sup>40</sup> In connection with a visit to Dubayyah, in which he was given a good pair of shoes, abu-Khirāsh said:

"When my old shoes went to pieces,  
Dubayyah gave me a new pair. The best friend is he.  
Carefully and evenly made of the hide of a full-grown ox,  
Truly they are a worthy present to give.  
How excellent is the place where his guests rest,  
While the refreshing north winds lash their tents.  
Their hunger he satisfies with cakes  
Steeped in butter, tasty and sweet."<sup>41</sup>

- [23] / Al-'Uzza continued to be venerated until God sent His Prophet who ridiculed her together with the other idols and forbade her worship. At the same time a revelation concerning her came down in the Koran.<sup>42</sup> This proved very hard upon the Quraysh. Then abu-Uḥayḥah (Sa'īd ibn-al-'Āṣ ibn-Umayyah ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manāf)<sup>43</sup> was taken sick by what proved to be his last and fatal sickness. As he lay on his deathbed, abu-Lahab<sup>44</sup> came to visit and found him weeping. Thereupon abu-Lahab asked, "What makes you weep, O abu-Uḥayḥah? Is it death which is inevitable?" Abu-Uḥayḥah replied, "No. But I fear that al-'Uzza will not be worshipped after I depart." Abu-Lahab answered and said, "By God! Al-'Uzza was not worshipped during your lifetime for your sake, and her worship will not be discontinued after you depart because of your death." Abu-Uḥayḥah then said, "Now I know that I have a successor," and was well pleased with abu-Lahab's intense loyalty to al-'Uzza.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, p. 57.

<sup>41</sup> cf. *ibid.*, vol. XXI, pp. 57-58.

<sup>42</sup> *Sūrah* LIII: 19.

<sup>43</sup> *al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, pp. 57-58; *Ishtiqāq*, p. 19; *Tabari*, vol. I, p. 1261.

<sup>44</sup> cf. *Sūrah* LIII: 19; *al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, pp. 57-58; *Ishtiqāq*, p. 19; *Tabari*, vol. I, p. 1261.

<sup>45</sup> *al-Ma'arif*, pp. 665-666.

<sup>46</sup> cf. *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 665-666.



/In the year of the victory ('*ām al-fath*'),<sup>46</sup> the Prophet summoned Khālīd ibn-al-Walīd<sup>47</sup> and said unto him, "Go unto a tree in the valley of Nakhlah<sup>48</sup> and cut it down." Khālīd went thereto, captured Dubayyah, who was the custodian of al-'Uzza, and killed him. Abu-Khirāsh al-Hudhali said lamenting Dubayyah:

"What is wrong with Dubayyah? For days I have not seen him  
Amid the wine-bibbers; he drew not nigh, he did not appear.  
If he were living he would have come with a cup  
Of the banu-Haṭif<sup>49</sup> make, filled with Bacchus oil.  
Generous and noble is he; no sooner his wine cups  
Are filled than they become empty, like an old tank full of  
holes in the midst of winter.  
Suqām<sup>50</sup> has become desolate, deserted by all of its friends,  
Except the wild beasts and the wind which blows through  
its empty chambers."<sup>51</sup>

(Said abu-al-Mundhir: Al-Haṭif is a clan of the banu-'Amr ibn-Asad.)<sup>52</sup> . . . .<sup>53</sup>

/ Abu-al-Mundhir said: Sa'īd ibn-al-'Āṣ abu-Uḥayḥah was [ 25 ]  
wont to don a turban while in Mecca. Whenever he donned  
his turban no one ever dared don another of the same color.

We were told by al-'Anazi abu-'Alī that 'Alī ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ had told him that he himself was informed by abu-al-Mundhir, who reported that his father had related to him on the authority of abu-Ṣāliḥ that ibn-'Abbās said: Al-'Uzza was a she-devil which used to frequent three trees in the valley of Nakhlah. When the Prophet captured Mecca, he dispatched Khālīd ibn-al-Walīd saying, "Go to the valley of Nakhlah; there you

<sup>46</sup> A.H. 8 / A.D. 629-630, the year Mecca was captured.

<sup>47</sup> The greatest Muslim general; d. A.H. 21 / A.D. 642; see ibn-Sa'd, vol. iv, pt. 2, pp. 1-2, vol. vii, pt. 2, pp. 118-121; *al-Ma'arif*, p. 136.

<sup>48</sup> *Ṣifah*, p. 127, line 1; *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 769-770.

<sup>49</sup> *Tāj al-'Arūs*, entry *ḥṭf*. A sub-tribe of the Kinānah.

<sup>50</sup> *Buldān*, vol. iii, p. 100.

<sup>51</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. xxi, p. 58.

<sup>52</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 110.

<sup>53</sup> Linguistic notes precede and follow this sentence.

will find three trees. Cut down the first one." Khālid went and cut it down. On his return to report, the Prophet asked him saying, "Have you seen anything there?" Khālid replied and said, "No." The Prophet ordered him to return and cut down the second tree. He went and cut it down. On his return to report the Prophet asked him a second time, "Have you seen anything there?" Khālid answered, "No." Thereupon the Prophet ordered him to go back and cut down the third tree. When Khālid arrived on the scene he found an Abyssinian woman with dishevelled hair and her hands placed on her shoulder[s], gnashing and grating her teeth. Behind her stood Dubayyah al-Sulami who was then the custodian of al-'Uzza. When Dubayyah saw Khālid approaching, he said:

[26] / "O thou al-'Uzza! Remove thy veil and tuck up thy sleeves;

Summon up thy strength and deal Khālid an unmistakable blow.

For unless thou killest him this very day,  
Thou shalt be doomed to ignominy and shame."

Thereupon Khālid replied:

"O al-'Uzza! May thou be blasphemed, not exalted!  
Verily I see that God hath abased thee."

Turning to the woman, he dealt her a blow which severed her head in twain, and lo, she crumbled into ashes. He then cut down the tree and killed Dubayyah the custodian, after which he returned to the Prophet and reported to him his exploit. Thereupon the Prophet said, "That was al-'Uzza. But she is no more. The Arabs shall have none after her. Verily she shall  
[27] never be worshipped again." / Consequently abu-Khirāsh composed the preceding verses in lamentation of Dubayyah.

Abu-al-Mundhir said: The Quraysh as well as the other Arabs who inhabited Mecca did not offer to any of the idols anything similar to their veneration of al-'Uzza. The next in order of veneration was Allāt and then Manāh. Al-'Uzza,

however, received from the Quraysh the exclusive honor of visitation and sacrifice. This, I believe, was because of her close proximity. The Thaqīf, on the other hand, were wont to offer Manāh the exclusive honor [of visitation and sacrifice], in the same way the Quraysh offered it to al-'Uzza, while the Aws and the Khazraj favored Manāh therewith. All of them, though, venerated al-'Uzza. They did not, however, hold the same regard, or anything approaching it, for the five idols which were introduced by 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy. These are the five idols which God mentioned in the glorious Koran when He said, "Forsake not Wadd nor Suwā', nor Yaghūth and Ya'ūq and Nasr."<sup>64</sup> This, I believe, was because of their distance from them.

The Quraysh were wont to venerate [al-'Uzza]. The Ghani<sup>65</sup> and the Bāhilah,<sup>66</sup> too, joined the Quraysh in her worship. The Prophet, therefore, dispatched Khālid ibn-al-Walid, who cut down the trees, destroyed the house, and demolished the idol.<sup>67</sup>

The Quraysh had also several idols in and around the Ka'bah. The greatest of these was Hubal.<sup>68</sup> / It was, as I [ 28 ] was told, of red agate, in the form of a man with the right hand broken off. It came into the possession of the Quraysh in this condition, and they, therefore, made for it a hand of gold. The first to set it up [for worship] was Khuzaymah ibn-Mudrikah ibn-al-Ya's<sup>69</sup> ibn-Muḍar.<sup>70</sup> Consequently it used to be called Khuzaymah's Hubal.

It stood inside the Ka'bah. In front of it were seven divination arrows (sing. *qidh*, pl. *qidāh* or *aqduh*). On one of these arrows was written "pure" (*ṣarīh*), and on another "consociated alien" (*mulṣaq*). Whenever the lineage of a new-born was doubted, they would offer a sacrifice to it [Hubal] and then shuffle the arrows and throw them. If the arrows showed

<sup>64</sup> *Sūrah LXXI*: 22-23.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 19.

<sup>67</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>68</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 164.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn-Sa'd, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 105.

<sup>70</sup> Also Alyās; cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 20.

the word "pure," the child would be declared legitimate and the tribe would accept him. If, however, the arrows showed the words "consociated alien," the child would be declared illegitimate and the tribe would reject him. The third arrow was for divination concerning the dead, while the fourth was for divination concerning marriage. The purpose of the three remaining arrows has not been explained. Whenever they disagreed concerning something, or purposed to embark upon a journey, or undertake some project, they would proceed to it [Hubal] and shuffle the divination arrows before it. Whatever result they obtained they would follow and do accordingly.

It was before [Hubal] that 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib<sup>61</sup> shuffled the divination arrows [in order to find out which of his ten children he should sacrifice in fulfilment of a vow he had sworn], and the arrows pointed to his son 'Abdullāh, the father of the Prophet.<sup>62</sup> Hubal was also the same idol which abu-Sufyān ibn-Ḥarb<sup>63</sup> addressed when he emerged victorious after the battle of Uḥud,<sup>64</sup> saying:

"Hubal, be thou exalted" (i.e. may thy religion triumph);

To which the Prophet replied:

"Allāh is more exalted and more majestic."<sup>65</sup>

[29] / Among their idols, the Quraysh also had Isāf and Nā'ilah.<sup>66</sup> On being transformed into petrified form, they were placed by the Ka'bah in order that people might see them and be warned. Finally, as their origin became remote and, therefore, forgotten, and idol worship came into vogue, they were worshipped with the other idols. One of them stood close to the

<sup>61</sup> Grandfather of the Prophet. <sup>62</sup> For details, see *Sīrah*, pp. 91-100.

<sup>63</sup> One of "those whose hearts are reconciled" to Islam (*al-mu'allafah qulūbuhum*), namely Arab chiefs with whom the Prophet made terms after the battle of Hunayn, A.H. 8 / A.D. 629, in order to secure their aid. *Sīrah*, pp. 880-883; cf. *Sūrah* ix: 60. His son, Mu'āwiyah, who later founded the Umayyad dynasty, was another.

<sup>64</sup> *Sīrah*, pp. 555-592. In this battle, A.H. 3 / A.D. 625, Muḥammad himself was wounded. See also Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1383-1431.

<sup>65</sup> cf. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 316.

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 8.

Ka'bah while the other was placed by Zamzam.<sup>67</sup> Later, the Quraysh moved the one which stood close to the Ka'bah to the side of the other by Zamzam where they sacrificed to both.

Of them abu-Ṭālib<sup>68</sup> said, swearing by them when the Quraysh united against the banu-Hāshim<sup>69</sup> in connection with the rise of the Prophet:

"Unto the House [of God] I brought my men and my kin,  
And held fast to the veils of its curtains;  
Yea, where the banu-al-Ash'ar halt I brought them all,  
Where the valleys meet and Isāf and Nā'ilah stand."<sup>70</sup>

Bishr ibn-Khāzim al-Asadi,<sup>71</sup> speaking of Isāf, says:

"Full of awe, they draw not nigh unto it,  
But stand afar off like the menstruating women before  
Isāf."

/The Arabs were wont to use other names in conjunction [30] with 'Abd; yet I do not know whether they were after names of idols or not. Among these names were: 'Abd-Yālil,<sup>72</sup> 'Abd-Ghanm,<sup>73</sup> 'Abd-Kulāl,<sup>74</sup> and 'Abd-Ruḍa.<sup>75</sup>

Some of the traditionists related that Ruḍa<sup>76</sup> was a temple which belonged to the banu-Rabī'ah ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd ibn-Manāh.<sup>77</sup> It was destroyed by al-Mustawghir [whose real name] was 'Amr ibn-Rabī'ah ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd ibn-Manāh

<sup>67</sup> The sacred well within the precincts of the Sacred Mosque, supposed to be identical with the well from which Hagar and Ishmael drank while in the wilderness. *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 941-944; cf. Gen. xvi: 4.

<sup>68</sup> The uncle and guardian of Muḥammad. *Sīrah*, pp. 114-117.

<sup>69</sup> The family of the Prophet.

<sup>70</sup> *Sīrah*, pp. 172-177. The banu-al-Ash'ar (al-Ash'arūn in the text) were a South Arabian tribe. See *Lisān al-'Arab*, entry *sh'r*. They were also known as al-Ashā'ir; see *Shams al-'Ulūm*, p. 56.

<sup>71</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 145-147. See also Gustav von Grünebaum, "Bishr b. abī Khāzim: Collection of Fragments," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1939), pp. 533-567. For the verse see no. xxvi, on p. 558.

<sup>72</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 267.

<sup>74</sup> *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 789.

<sup>75</sup> cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 175.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 154.



ibn-Tamīm.<sup>78</sup> He was called al-Mustawghir (irascible, choleric) because he once said the following:

“The water gurgles in the water-skins  
Like the gurgling (*waghīr*) of the milk when the hot  
stone is in it thrown.”

When, in the early days of Islam, al-Mustawghir destroyed Ruḍa, he said:

“I marched against Ruḍa and burnt it down,  
And left it a heap of ashes, charred and black.  
I called upon ‘Abdullāh’s aid for its destruction;  
Verily it is one like ‘Abdullāh who would dare unlawful  
things to do.”<sup>79</sup>

Ibn-Adham,<sup>80</sup> a man of the banu-‘Āmir ibn-‘Awf of the Kalb [tribe], said:

“When one day thou met some of our knights,  
They cornered thee, but thou slipped out of their hands  
As a locust once slipped out of al-‘Ayyār’s [toothless  
mouth].  
Henceforth when thou seest their place thou hiest away,  
As the pig fleeth the boiling water.”<sup>81</sup>

[31] / (Al-‘Ayyār was a man of the Kalb [tribe] who came upon some locusts and sat down to eat a few of them. Being, however, toothless, one locust slipped out of his mouth. Thereupon he cried out saying, “By God, it is alive!” In other words the locust did not die, but slipped out.)

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> cf. *Ṣifāh*, p. 56; *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 789.

<sup>80</sup> In al-Maydāni, *Majma’ al-Amthāl*, Cairo, 1310, the poet is Masrūh al-Kalbi and in *Tāj al-Arūs*, entry *ghnz*, he is Masrūh ibn-Adham al-Na’āmi (a sub-tribe of the Kalb), and the verses are said against Jarīr.

<sup>81</sup> In *Lisān al-Arab*, entry “*ghnz*,” these verses are ascribed to Jarīr; entry ‘*yr*, al-‘Ayyār is supposed to be a horse, and the verses are ascribed to abu-‘Ubayd, perhaps ibn-abi-Wajzah; cf. also *Tāj al-Arūs*, entries *jrd* and ‘*yr*. In the “Jamharah” (Escorial MS), folio 215<sup>r</sup>, the verses are said against al-Nābighah al-Dhubayāni.



When, on the day he conquered Mecca, the Apostle of God appeared before the Ka'bah, he found the idols arrayed around it. Thereupon he started to pierce their eyes with the point of his arrow saying, "Truth is come and falsehood is vanished. Verily, falsehood is a thing that vanisheth."<sup>82</sup> He then ordered that they be knocked down, after which they were taken out and burned.

In this connection, Rāshid ibn-'Abdullāh al-Sulami<sup>83</sup> said:

"She asked me to speak, but I said, 'No.

Neither God nor Islam would approve our speech.

Hast thou not seen Muḥammad and his men

On the day of victory, when the idols were demolished?

Then the light of God shone with all its brilliance,

And polytheism was submerged in a sea of darkness.'"<sup>84</sup>

/ Said [abu-al-Mundhir: The Quraysh] had another idol [ 32 ] [called] Manāf.<sup>85</sup> They were wont to call their children 'Abd-Manāf,<sup>86</sup> after it. I do not, however, know where it stood, or who erected it. The menstruating women were not allowed to come near the idols or to touch them. Rather, they stood far off. In this connection, Bal'ā' ibn-Qays ibn-'Abdullāh ibn-Ya'mar<sup>87</sup> (Ya'mar is al-Shuddākh<sup>88</sup> al-Laythi), who was afflicted with alphasia<sup>89</sup> (Hishām ibn-Muḥammad abu-al-Mundhir related that Khālīd ibn-Sa'īd ibn-al-'Āṣ<sup>90</sup> had told him on the authority of his father<sup>91</sup> that Bal'ā' was once asked

<sup>82</sup> *Sūrah* xvii: 83.

<sup>83</sup> cf. ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni, *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Cairo, 1327, vol. II, p. 185.

<sup>84</sup> cf. *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 950.

<sup>85</sup> Ryckmans, vol. I, pp. 18, 129.

<sup>86</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 10.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>88</sup> Also al-Shaddākh; see *Ishtiqāq*, p. 106; *Lisān al-'Arab*, entry *shdkh*; Ṭabari, vol. I, p. 1097.

<sup>89</sup> Ar. *abras*, which literally means a leper. But the malady was probably the very common *baḥaq* which resulted in the loss of pigment.

<sup>90</sup> d. A.H. 14 / A.D. 635; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866, p. 119; cf. *al-Ma'arif*, p. 151; *Ishtiqāq*, p. 49. Since ibn-al-Kalbi flourished almost two centuries later, there must be a lacuna in the chain of transmission.

<sup>91</sup> Abu-Uḥayḥah; see above, p. 20.

about his affliction and replied, "The sword of God has been polished.") said:

"A matchless peer. I no longer augur at its shrine,  
But stay away as the menstruating women stand afar off  
from Manāf."

[Abu-al-Mundhir] also said: Every family in Mecca had at home an idol which they worshipped. Whenever one of them purposed to set out on a journey, his last act before leaving the house would be to touch the idol in hope of an auspicious journey; and on his return, the first thing he would do was to touch it again in gratitude for a propitious return.

33] / When God sent His Prophet, who came preaching the Unity of God and calling for His worship alone without any associate, [the Arabs] said, "Maketh he the god to be but one god? A strange thing forsooth is this."<sup>22</sup> They had in mind the idols.

The Arabs were passionately fond of worshipping idols. Some of them took unto themselves a temple around which they centered their worship, while others adopted an idol to which they offered their adoration. The person who was unable to build himself a temple or adopt an idol would erect a stone in front of the Sacred House or in front of any other temple which he might prefer, and then circumambulate it in the same manner in which he would circumambulate the Sacred House. The Arabs called these stones *baetyls* (*anṣāb*). Whenever these stones resembled a living form they called them idols (*aṣnām*) and images (*awthān*). The act of circumambulating them they called circumrotation (*dawār*).

Whenever a traveler stopped at a place or station [in order to rest or spend the night] he would select for himself four stones, pick out the finest among them and adopt it as his god, and use the remaining three as supports for his cooking-pot.

<sup>22</sup> *Sūrah xxxviii: 4.*

On his departure he would leave them behind, and would do the same on his other stops.<sup>93</sup>

The Arabs were wont to offer sacrifices before all these idols, baetyls, and stones. Nevertheless they were aware of the excellence and superiority of the Ka'bah, to which they went on pilgrimage and visitation. What they did on their travels was a perpetuation of what they did at the Ka'bah, because of their devotion to it.

/ The sheep which they offered and slaughtered before their [ 34 ] idols and baetyls were called sacrifices ('atā'ir, sing. 'atīrah); the place on which they slaughtered and offered the sacrifice was called an altar ('itr). In this connection Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma<sup>94</sup> said:

"He moved therefrom and reached a mountain top,

Like a high altar sprinkled with the blood of sacrifice."

The banu-Mulayh<sup>95</sup> of the Khuzā'ah [tribe] (they are the kindreds of Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalahāt<sup>96</sup> [or al-Ṭalhāt]) were wont to worship the jinn. In reference to them the following verse was revealed: "Truly they whom ye call on besides God, are, like yourselves, His servants."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> This recalls to one's mind the stone which Jacob set up and anointed at Bethel. See Gen. xxviii: 18-22.

<sup>94</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 57-67; *al-Aghāni*, vol. ix, pp. 146-158.

<sup>95</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 276, 280.

<sup>96</sup> His real name was Ṭalhah ibn-'Abdullāh ('Ubayd-Allāh in *Lisān al-'Arab*, entry ṭlh) ibn-Khalaf al-Khuzā'i. See *al-Ma'drif*, p. 214; *Ishtiqaq*, p. 280.

<sup>97</sup> *Sūrah vii*: 193.

## Dhu-al-Khalaṣah

Among those idols, too, was dhu-al-Khalaṣah.<sup>1</sup> It was a carved piece of white quartz with something in the form of a crown upon its head. It stood in Tabālah,<sup>2</sup> between Mecca

<sup>1</sup> cf. Ryckmans, vol. i, p. 104; *Buldān*, vol. ii, pp. 461-463; Wellhausen, pp. 45-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣifah*, p. 127; cf. *Buldān*, vol. i, pp. 816-817.

and Ṣan'ā,<sup>8</sup> at a distance of seven nights' journey from Mecca. Its custody was in the hands of the banu-Umāmah<sup>4</sup> of the Bāhilah ibn-A'ṣur.<sup>5</sup> / The Khath'am,<sup>6</sup> the Bajilah,<sup>7</sup> and the Azd<sup>8</sup> of al-Sarāh,<sup>9</sup> as well as those Arab sub-tribes of the Hawāzin<sup>10</sup> who lived in their vicinity and those Arabs residing in Tabālah, were wont to venerate it and come to it with sacrifice.

A certain man said:

"If thou, O dhu-al-Khalaṣah, wert the one wronged,  
Thy father the one murdered and buried,  
Thou wouldst not have forbidden the killing of the  
enemy."

This he said when his father was murdered, and he sought to avenge him. He, therefore, went to dhu-al-Khalaṣah and shuffled the divination arrows, but they resulted in a negative message forbidding him to seek revenge. Thereupon he said those verses. Some people, however, ascribe the incident to Imru'-al-Qays ibn-Ḥujr al-Kindi.<sup>11</sup>

Khidāsh ibn-Zuhayr al-'Āmiri<sup>12</sup> refers to dhu-al-Khalaṣah in verses which he addressed to 'Ath'ath ibn-Waḥshi al-Khath'ami<sup>13</sup> concerning a covenant contracted between them but violated by the latter. He said:

"I reminded him of the covenant that existed between  
us twain,

And of the age-long friendship which both of us shared;

<sup>8</sup> Text, "al-Yaman."

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>8</sup> Better known as the Asd; see *Shams al-'Ulūm*, p. 3; *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 283; *Ṣifah*, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> The range of mountains stretching from the extreme limit of Yemen north to Hejaz; see *Ṣifah*, pp. 67-71.

<sup>10</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 177.

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. VIII, p. 70. For the life of Imru'-al-Qays, see *ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 62-76; *al-Shi'r al-Sak'ar*, pp. 37-56.

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Shi'r al-Sak'ar*, pp. 409-412.

<sup>13</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 305.

That our witness was God and the White Quartz Idol<sup>14</sup>  
of Tabālah,  
And the oath of al-Nu'mān<sup>15</sup> when he embraced the  
faith of Christ."

When the Apostle of God captured Mecca and the Arabs embraced Islam, among the delegates who came to pay their homage was Jarīr ibn-'Abdullāh.<sup>16</sup> He came to the Apostle and embraced Islam before him. Thereupon the Apostle addressed him saying, "O Jarīr! Wilt thou not rid me of dhu-al-Khalaṣah?" / Jarīr replied, "Yea." So the Apostle dispatched [ 36 ] him to destroy it. He set out until he got to the banu-Aḥmas<sup>17</sup> of the Bajīlah [tribe] and with them he proceeded to dhu-al-Khalaṣah. There he was met by the Khath'am and the Bāhilah, who resisted him and attempted to defend dhu-al-Khalaṣah. He, therefore, fought them and killed a hundred men of the Bāhilah, its custodians, and many of the Khath'am; while of the banu-Quḥāfah ibn-'Āmir ibn-Khath'am<sup>18</sup> he killed two hundred. Having defeated them and forced them into flight, he demolished the building which stood over dhu-al-Khalaṣah and set it on fire. A certain woman of the banu-Khath'am thereupon said:

"The banu-Umāmah, each wielding his spear,  
Were slaughtered at al-Waliyah,<sup>19</sup> their abode;  
They came to defend their shrine, only to find  
Lions with brandished swords clamouring for blood.  
The women of the Khath'am were, then, humiliated  
By the men of the Aḥmas, and abased."

At the present time dhu-al-Khalaṣah constitutes the threshold of the gate of the mosque at Tabālah.

<sup>14</sup> Dhu-al-Khalaṣah.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Nu'mān III, son of al-Mundhir, ca. A.D. 580-602, nicknamed abu-Qābūs; see al-Iṣfahāni, p. 111; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1949, pp. 83-84.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Bajali, d. A.H. 54 / A.D. 674; *Ṣirah*, p. 56; *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 149.

<sup>17</sup> *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 304.

<sup>18</sup> cf. *ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>19</sup> *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 941.

We have been told that the Apostle of God once said, "This world shall not pass away until the buttocks of the women of Daws<sup>20</sup> wiggle [again] around dhu-al-Khalaṣah and they worship it as they were wont to do [before Islam]." <sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 291.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Fitan : 24.

## Sa'd

[177] / The Mālik<sup>1</sup> and the Milkān,<sup>2</sup> the two sons of Kinānah,<sup>3</sup> had at the coast of Juddah<sup>4</sup> [or somewhere] in that region,<sup>5</sup> an idol called Sa'd.<sup>6</sup> It was a long rock. Once upon a time a certain man [belonging to one of these tribes]<sup>7</sup> came to it with his flock of camels in order to make them stand on it and thereby obtain its blessing. But as he led them near the rock they shied away from it because it was covered with blood, and they scattered in every direction. Thereupon the man became furious, and picked up a stone and threw it at the rock saying, "Accursed god! Thou hast caused my camels to shy." He then went after them until he gathered them, and returned home saying:

"We came to Sa'd in hope he would unite our ranks,  
But he broke them up. We will have none of him.  
Is he not but a rock in a barren land,  
Deaf to both evil and to good?"

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 17; Ṭabari, vol. I, p. 1105.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabari, vol. I, p. 1105.

<sup>3</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, pp. 18, 104-105.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣifāḥ*, p. 47; *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Text, "and that region"; cf. *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 92, line 8, where it is, "and in that region."

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, pp. 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> Text, "a certain man of them."

## Dhu-al-Kaffayn

The Daws, more specifically the banu-Munhib ibn-Daws,<sup>1</sup> had an idol called dhu-al-Kaffayn<sup>2</sup> (he of the two palms). When [the banu-Munhib ibn-Daws] embraced Islam, the



Prophet sent al-Ṭufayl ibn-ʿAmr al-Dawsi<sup>1</sup> to destroy it. Al-Ṭufayl set the idol on fire and said:

"O dhu-al-Kaffayn, I am not one of thy servants.

Our birth is nobler than thine.

I have stuffed thy head with fire and burnt thy shrine."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>2</sup> *Sīrah*, p. 254; Wellhausen, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 252-255; cf. *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Sīrah*, p. 254, lines 10-11.

## Dhu-al-Shara

/ The banu-al-Ḥārith ibn-Yashkur ibn-Mubashshir<sup>1</sup> of the [ 38 ]  
Azd [tribe] had an idol called dhu-al-Shara<sup>2</sup> (Dusares). One  
of the Ghaṭārīf,<sup>3</sup> referring to it, said:

"We would descend upon the region surrounding dhu-  
al-Shara,

And our mighty army would, then, smite the foe."

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 300, where Yashkur is the brother of Mubashshir.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ryckmans, vol. 1, p. 212. This was the chief god of the Nabataeans. Its chief sanctuary was in Petra, where a large, black, quadrangular unhewn stone was dedicated to it in a splendid temple. See Fr. Buhl, "Dhu 'l-Sharā" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*; Alexander B. W. Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, London, 1925, pp. 35, 41, 57, 73, 76, 77; Wellhausen, pp. 48-51.

<sup>3</sup> The name under which the banu-ʿĀmir ibn-Mubashshir were known.

## Al-Uqaysir

The Quḏāʿah,<sup>1</sup> the Lakhm,<sup>2</sup> the Judhām,<sup>3</sup> the ʿĀmilah,<sup>4</sup> and  
the Ghaṭafān<sup>5</sup> had, in the hills of Syria, an idol called al-  
Uqaysir.<sup>6</sup> Of it Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma says:

"I swore by the baetyls of al-Uqaysir a solemn oath,  
Where the foreparts of the heads and the lice are shaven."

/ Of it also Rabīʿ ibn-Ḍabʿ al-Fazārī<sup>7</sup> said:

[ 39 ]

"By him to whom the melodies of mankind rise,  
And round al-Uqaysir men sing his praise and glory."

Of it, too, al-Shanfara al-Azdi,<sup>8</sup> the confederate (*ḥalīf*) of the banu-Fahm,<sup>9</sup> said:

"By the [honored] garments of al-Uqayṣir!

One who hath come to the aid of 'Amr and his friends reproacheth me."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 129, 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, pp. 164, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Wellhausen, pp. 62-64. See also G. L. Della Vida, "al-Ukaisir," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. viii, p. 72, vol. xix, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, vol. xxi, pp. 134-143.

<sup>9</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. xxi, p. 141, line 18.

## Nuhm

The Muzaynah<sup>1</sup> had an idol called Nuhm.<sup>2</sup> They used to name their children 'Abd-Nuhm, after it. The custodian of Nuhm was called Khuzā'i ibn-'Abd-Nuhm of the Muzaynah, [40] and more specifically of the banu-'Ida.<sup>3</sup> / When he heard of the Prophet, he sped to the spot, destroyed the idol, and said:

"I went to Nuhm in order to offer unto it

A sacrifice of devotion, as I was wont to do.

But on second thought I said to myself,

'This is but a mute god, dumb and void of wit,'

And refused to sacrifice; from this day my faith is that of Muḥammad,

[Servant of] the great God of Heaven, the Excellent [Lord]."

He then followed the Prophet, embraced Islam, and guaranteed to him the conversion of his tribe, the Muzaynah.

Of Nuhm, too, Umayyah ibn-al-Askar<sup>4</sup> says:

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Ryckmans, vol. i, p. 137; Wellhausen, pp. 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> Text, "'Addā'"; "'Adā'" in Wellhausen, p. 58, line 1. See *Lisān al-'Arab*, entry 'dy.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. xviii, pp. 156-163.

"When thou meetest two black shepherds with their sheep,  
Solemnly swearing by Nuhm,  
With shreds of flesh between them divided,  
Go thy way; let not thy gluttony prevail."

### 'Ā'im

The Azd of al-Sarāh had an idol called 'Ā'im.<sup>1</sup> Of it Zayd al-Khayr, who is the same as Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā'i,<sup>2</sup> says:

"Thou wouldst tell those whom thou wouldst meet that I  
have defeated them,  
Though thou wouldst not know their mark, nay, by 'Ā'im."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 35; cf. Ryckmans, vol. 1, p. 160; Wellhausen, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 156-158; *Sīrah*, pp. 946-947; *al-Aghāni*, vol. xvi, pp. 47-62.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. xvi, p. 57, line 31, where the last word of the second hemistich reads *w-al-'amā'imu* instead of *la wa-'ā'imu*, consequently changing the meaning to "nor turbans."

### Su'ayr

/ The 'Anazah<sup>1</sup> had an idol called Su'ayr.<sup>2</sup> Ja'far ibn-abi- [41]  
Khallās al-Kalbi<sup>3</sup> set out one day on his camel and happened  
upon Su'ayr. As he passed by the idol, the camel shied, because  
the 'Anazah had recently offered a sacrifice before it [and  
the blood was still fresh upon the altar]. Thereupon he said:

"My young camels were startled by the blood of sacrifice  
Offered around Su'ayr whither Yaqdum<sup>4</sup> and Yadhkur<sup>5</sup> go  
On pilgrimage, and stand before it in fear and awe,  
Motionless and silent, awaiting its oracular voice."

/ Abu-al-Mundhir said that Yaqdum and Yadhkur were [42]

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Ryckmans, vol. 1, p. 153. *Lisān al-'Arab* has Sa'ir, while *Tāj al-'Arūs* has Su'ayr. Wellhausen, p. 61.

In *Bulḡār* III, 1, 94, the name is given as Sa'ir. In the *Ishtihāq* the name is given as Ja'far ibn-abi-al-Jallās.

<sup>4</sup> *Ishtiḡāq*, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣifah*, p. 172.

the two sons of 'Anazah. Ja'far saw some of their descendants circumambulating Su'ayr.

The Arabs also had relic stones [which they obtained from ancient ruins] and erected. They were wont to circumambulate them and offer sacrifices before them. These stones were called baetyls (*anṣāb*), and the circumambulation thereof was called circumrotation (*dawār*).

In this connection, 'Āmir ibn-al-Ṭufayl (who had, one day, come upon the Ghani ibn-A'ṣur<sup>6</sup> circumambulating some of their baetyls, and seeing their maidens in the procession, was impressed by their beauty) said:

"O that my mother's kin, the Ghani,  
Would circumrotate their baetyls every evening!"<sup>7</sup>

In this connection, too, 'Amr ibn-Jābir al-Hārithi,<sup>8</sup> later al-Ka'bi, said:

"The Ghuṭayf vowed not to frighten their flock,  
And I vowed by the baetyls not to scare them."

Al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdi<sup>9</sup> refers to such baetyls in an ode which he addressed to 'Amr ibn-Hind. He said:

"Young lads circumambulate their baetyls,  
Until their hair<sup>10</sup> becomes almost grey."

Al-Fazāri,<sup>11</sup> having done something which incurred the wrath of the Quraysh, who consequently forbade him to enter Mecca, said:

"I lead my she-camels and carry my baetyls behind me;  
Would that I have my people's god beside me!"

<sup>6</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> See Charles Lyall, *The Diwans of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras, of Asad, and of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl, of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah*, Leyden, 1913, text, p. 155, tr., p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 233-235.

<sup>10</sup> Lit., "eyebrows."

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Nuhaykah; see above, p. 18.

/Referring to the same practice, one of the banu-Ḍamrah<sup>12</sup> [ 43 ]  
aid, while discussing a war which his tribe had fought:

"And I swore by the baetyls and the curtains."

Referring to the same thing, al-Mutalammis al-Ḍuba'i, addressing 'Amr ibn-Hind and reminding him of what he had done to him and to Ṭarafah ibn-al-'Abd,<sup>13</sup> says:

"Thou hast banished me for fear of lampoon and satire.

No! By Allāt and all the sacred baetyls, thou shalt not escape!"<sup>14</sup>

Recalling a war in which he had fought, 'Āmir ibn-Wāthilah abu-al-Ṭufayl<sup>15</sup> said during [the early days of Islam]:

"Thou hast not heard of a raid which, like a flock of grouse,  
went on and on;

While I and my horse, Ward, were like baetyls smeared  
with the blood of sacrifice."

<sup>12</sup> *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 88-96.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Ma'ārif*, pp. 173-174; *al-Aghāni*, vol. xiii, pp. 166-170.

### 'Amm-Anas

The Khawlān<sup>1</sup> had in the land of Khawlān<sup>2</sup> an idol called 'Amm-Anas.<sup>3</sup> / They were wont to set apart a portion of their [ 44 ]  
livestock property and land products and give one part to it and the other to God. Whatever portion of the part allotted to 'Amm-Anas made its way to the part set aside for God they would restore to the idol; but whatever portion of the part consecrated to God made its way to the part allotted to the idol they would leave to the idol.

<sup>1</sup> *Fuṣṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Text "Umyānus." See Ryckmans, vol. i, p. 220; *Ṣirāṭ*, p. 53; cf. *Buldān*, vol. iii, p. 731.



They were a clan of the Khawlān called al-Adīm<sup>4</sup> who are al-Usūm.<sup>5</sup> Concerning them the following verse was revealed, "Moreover they set apart a portion of the fruits and cattle which he hath produced, and say, 'This for God'—so deem they—'And these for our associates.' But that which is for these associates of theirs, cometh not to God; yet that which is for God, cometh to their associates. Ill do they judge."<sup>6</sup>

Hassān ibn-Thābit,<sup>7</sup> addressing al-'Uzza which was in Meca, said:

"Through the grace of God I testified that Muḥammad  
Is the Apostle of Him who reigneth above the Heavens;  
And that Zacharias and his son John<sup>8</sup>  
Have worshipped Him with acceptable and meritorious  
works;<sup>9</sup>  
And that which standeth by the dam in the valley of  
Nakhlah<sup>10</sup>  
And those who worship her are removed from truth, hope-  
lessly lost."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Text "al-Udūm"; *Ṣifāh*, p. 114, line 21 and *Sīrah*, p. 53, line 7, "al-Adīm"; in *Buldān*, vol. III, p. 731, line 8, "al-Adhūm."

<sup>5</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>6</sup> *Sūrah* VI: 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 170-173; *al-Aghāni*, vol. IV, pp. 2-17.

<sup>8</sup> Text "And that both the father of John and John."

<sup>9</sup> cf. *Sūrah* III: 32-36, VI: 85, XIX: 1-15, XXI: 89-90.

<sup>10</sup> Namely al-'Uzza; see above, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> cf. *al-Aghāni*, vol. IV, p. 10; *Dīwān Hassān ibn-Thābit*, ed. Hartwig Hirschfeld, Leyden and London, 1910, pp. 44-45.

## The Ka'bah of Najrān

The banu-al-Hārith ibn-Ka'b<sup>1</sup> had in Najrān<sup>2</sup> a Ka'bah<sup>3</sup> [45] which they venerated. / It is the one which al-A'sha<sup>4</sup> mentions

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiqaq*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 83-86; *Buldān*, vol. IV, pp. 751-759.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 127; *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 703-704.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 135-143; *al-Aghāni*, vol. VIII, pp. 77-87.



in one of his odes.<sup>5</sup> It has been claimed that it was not a Ka'bah for worship, but merely a hall for those people whom the poet mentioned.<sup>6</sup> In my opinion, this is very likely the case, since I have not heard of the banu-al-Ḥārith ever mentioning it in their poetry.

<sup>5</sup> See *Dīwān al-A'sha*, ed. Rudolf Geyer, London, 1928, p. 122, line 6, where the poet says, "[To visit] the Ka'bah of Najrān is an ordinance incumbent upon you; [you would not be released therefrom] until you dismount in front of its gates."

<sup>6</sup> In the following verse (*Dīwān al-A'sha*, p. 122, line 7) where he says, "There we would visit Yazīd, 'Abd-Manāh, and Qays—in truth they are the best of its lords."

## The Ka'bah of Sindād

The Iyād<sup>1</sup> had another Ka'bah in Sindād,<sup>2</sup> [located] in a region between al-Kūfah<sup>3</sup> and al-Baṣrah.<sup>4</sup> It is the one which al-Aswad ibn-Ya'fur<sup>5</sup> mentions [in one of his odes].<sup>6</sup> I have, however, heard that this house was not a place of worship. Rather it was a celebrated edifice; consequently al-Aswad mentioned it.

A certain man of the Juhaynah' named 'Abd-al-Dār ibn-Ḥudayb<sup>7</sup> once said to his people, "Come let us build a house (to be located in a spot in their territory called al-Ḥawrā')<sup>8</sup> with which we would rival the Ka'bah,<sup>10</sup> thereby attracting [unto us] many of the Arabs." They deemed the suggestion very grave and refused to heed his behest. Thereupon he said:

"I had wished that a house be raised,

Free of iniquity and removed from sin.

But those who, when called upon to face a crisis,

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 176; *Buldān*, vol. III, pp. 164-165.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 8, 45; *Buldān*, vol. IV, pp. 322-327.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 45ff.; *Buldān*, vol. I, pp. 636-653.

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 134; *Ṣifāh*, pp. 171, 231.

<sup>7</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 319-320.

<sup>8</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>9</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> Of Mecca.

Steal away and hide in the outskirts of Qawdam,<sup>11</sup>

41] / Have demurred and refused my request.

They clamour and cry, and insist that no one should give them orders,

And when entreated they turn away—some withdraw like the mute and the dumb.

They withhold their charity and conceal every insult

Among their kin, as the mark of the brand [on the mule] is hid."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 196-197.      <sup>12</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

## Al-Qalīs

Abraham al-Ashram<sup>1</sup> had built in Ṣan'ā,<sup>2</sup> a church which he called al-Qalīs.<sup>3</sup> He built it of marble and employed in the construction the best of gilded wood. Having completed the building of the church, he wrote to the king of Abyssinia saying, "I have built to you a church / the like of which no one has ever built. I shall not let the Arabs alone until I divert their pilgrimage away from the house to which they go and turn its course to this church." The news reached one of those on whose authority an intercalation is undertaken (*nasa'at al-shuhūr*),<sup>4</sup> who dispatched two of his followers, ordering them

47]

<sup>1</sup> The famous Aksumite viceroy in Yemen from A.D. 525 to 571. He owes his fame in Moslem history to his expedition against Mecca in the so-called 'Ām al-Fil, A.D. 570. See Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 927-946, 950-952.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 55; *Buldān*, vol. iii, pp. 420-426.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 240; *Sīrah*, p. 29; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 934-936. The exact pronunciation cannot be determined. Yāqūt (*Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 170-172) gives al-Qulays, but mentions also al-Qullays and al-Qalīs as possible variations. *Lisān al-'Arab* (entry *qls*) gives al-Qullays. The word comes from Gr. ἐκκλησία, church.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the practice of postponing the observance of the sacred months, thus allowing an ordinary month to be observed as sacred and a sacred month to go unobserved. See *Sīrah*, pp. 29-30; cf. *Sūrah* ix: 37; *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, vol. x, pp. 90-92. See also Axel Moberg, "An-Nasī' in der Islamischen Tradition" in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* (Nova Series), vol. 27 (1931), pp. 1-54.

not to return until they had defecated within the church. The two men went and did what they were ordered.

When the news reached Abrahah he became angry, and asked, "Who is it who dared do such a thing?" He was told, "Some of the people of the Ka'bah did that." Thereupon he became furious and set out [against the Ka'bah on the head of his] Abyssinian [hordes] and elephants. The story of his expedition is well-known.<sup>8</sup>

I was told by al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ulayl<sup>9</sup> on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Ṣabbāh<sup>10</sup> that abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad said that abu-Miskīn<sup>11</sup> had related to him on the authority of his father<sup>12</sup> the following: When Imru'-al-Qays ibn-Ḥujr set out to raid the banu-Asad he passed by dhu-al-Khalaṣah. (This was an idol which stood in Tabālah and which all the Arabs venerated.) It had three divination arrows: "the enjoiner" (*al-āmir*), "the forbiddler" (*al-nāhi*), and "the vigilant" (*al-mutarabbiṣ*). As Imru'-al-Qays stood before the idol, he shuffled the arrows three times and three times he drew "the forbiddler." Thereupon he broke the arrows and hurled them at the idol exclaiming, "Go bite thy father's penis! Had it been thy father who was murdered, thou wouldst not have forbidden me avenging him."<sup>13</sup> He then raided the banu-Asad and defeated them. Consequently no more sortilege was practiced before dhu-al-Khalaṣah until the advent of Islam [when it was destroyed]. Imru'-al-Qays was thus the first to denounce and renounce it.

/ We were told by al-'Anazi that 'Ali ibn-al-Ṣabbāh had related to him that Hishām ibn-Muḥammad once said that a certain man, nicknamed abu-Bishr and whose real name was

<sup>8</sup> See Ṭabari, vol. 1, pp. 927-946, 950-952; *Sīrah*, pp. 29-41; *Sūrah* cv; *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, vol. xxx, pp. 193-197.

<sup>9</sup> Al-'Anazi: see above, p. 3; also al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabāh fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*, ed. P. de Jong, Leyden, 1881, p. 371.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 3.

Unidentified

<sup>11</sup> cf. ibn-Sa'd, vol. vi, p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> See above p. 20

‘Āmir ibn-Shibl,<sup>11</sup> of the Jarm<sup>12</sup> tribe, reported to him the following: The Quḏā‘ah, the Lakhm, and the Judhām, as well as the people of Syria, had an idol called al-Uqaysir to which they were wont to go on pilgrimage and at the [shrine] of which they used to shave their heads. Whenever one of them shaved his head, he would mix the hair with wheat, for every single hair a handful of wheat.<sup>13</sup> During this time the Hawāzin were wont to frequent the place, and, if they arrived before the pilgrim had mixed the wheat with the hair, they would say, “Give it unto us, we are poor men from the Hawāzin.” But if they should arrive too late, they would take the whole thing, wheat, hair, and lice, [knead it into dough], bake and eat it.<sup>14</sup>

Once upon a time the Jarm and the banu-Ja‘dah<sup>15</sup> quarrelled over a water well called al-‘Aqīq,<sup>16</sup> and came to the Prophet seeking his decision. He decided in favor of the Jarm. Thereupon Mu‘āwīya ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Uzza ibn-Dhirā‘ al-Jarmi<sup>17</sup> said:

- [49] /“When the crowds before the Prophet assemble,  
I am the brother of the Jarm, as ye well know.  
If ye are not satisfied with the judgment of the Prophet,  
I am, and with his words and verdict I am well content.  
Have ye not seen that the Jarm have prevailed,  
While your father is squatting amid the lice in al-Uqaysir’s  
vale?  
And when a gift of wheat is offered he would say,

<sup>11</sup> ‘Āmir ibn-Shulla in the “Jamharah” (Escorial MS), folio 252<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 314.

<sup>13</sup> This was a part of the ritual, the wheat serving as an oblation. The poor used to take the wheat, remove from it the impurities of hair and lice, and use it for their bread.

<sup>14</sup> cf. al-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Bukhalā’*, ed. G. Van Vloten, Leyden, 1900, p. 237; do. *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1323-1325, vol. v, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, pp. 181, 279.

<sup>16</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 123, 151; *Buldān*, vol. i, pp. 340-341, vol. iii, p. 701.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalāni, *al-Isābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. vi, Cairo, 1325, p. 112, where the poet’s name is Mu‘āwīyah ibn-abi-Rabī‘ah al-Jarmi.

'Give it unto me, without the lice, and be rewarded therewith;

For I am one of the poor men of the Hawāzin tribe.'

Ye are not of these people; yea!

Ye are not the lowest nor the least.

But ye are like the two small fingers of the hand,

Which have been excelled in length by the other fingers."<sup>18</sup>

Abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad said: In this connection al-Sharqī<sup>19</sup> recited to me [a few verses] by Surāqah ibn-Mālik ibn-Ju'sham al-Mudliji<sup>20</sup> of the banu-Kinānah.<sup>21</sup> He recited: / "Have not the Judhām and the Lakhm who show [ 50 themselves on [our] festivals, as well as every Quḍā'ite<sup>22</sup> present, with dishes as big as tanks, stand in Raḍwa,<sup>23</sup> abject and abased; waiting for the food of shame, prevented you from cursing us, ye bastards? The one hath no honor to feel the sting; the other hath no valor to give and feed."

I was told by abu-'Ali al-'Anazi on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ that abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Sā'ib al-Kalbi related to him that his father once told him that what had given rise to the worship of idols was the following:

When Adam died the children of Seth (Shīth),<sup>24</sup> the son of Adam, buried him in a cave in the mountain whereon Adam alighted [when he was sent] to the land of India. (The name of the mountain is Nawdh,<sup>25</sup> and it is the most fertile mountain in all the world. Hence the saying, "More fertile than Nawdh and more arid than Barahūt."<sup>26</sup> Barahūt is a valley in Ḥadra-

<sup>18</sup> cf. *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, vol. v, p. 114; *Buldān*, vol. i, p. 341.

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Fihrist*, p. 90; *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 268.

<sup>20</sup> Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1296; *al-Aghāni*, vol. iv, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 316. The Kinānah were a North Arabian tribe.

<sup>22</sup> The Judhām, the Lakhm, and the Quḍā'ah were South Arabian tribes.

<sup>23</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 125, 126, 130, 171; *Buldān*, vol. ii, pp. 790-791.

<sup>24</sup> cf. Gen. iv: 25-26, v: 6. <sup>25</sup> *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 822.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 598-599; *Ṣifāh*, pp. 128, 201, 203; al-Qazwīni, *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1849, p. 198.



[51] mawt,<sup>27</sup> in [the vicinity of] a village called /Tin'ah.<sup>28</sup> Al-'Anazi related to me on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Šabbāḥ that abu-al-Mundhir once said: I was told by my father, on the authority of abu-Šāliḥ who in turn was quoting ibn-'Abbās, that the souls of the believers were buried in al-Jābiyah<sup>29</sup> in Syria, while those of the polytheists were interred in Barahūt.)

I was told by abu-'Ali al-'Anazi on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Šabbāḥ that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father, who in turn was quoting abu-Šāliḥ on the authority of ibn-'Abbās that the children of Seth were wont to visit the body of Adam in the cave in order to pay their respect to his [memory] and offer their prayers for his [soul]. Thereupon one of the children of Cain (Qābīl),<sup>30</sup> the son of Adam, [addressing his brethren], said, "O children of Cain! Verily the children of Seth have a circuit (*darwār*) which they circumrotate in veneration, but ye have none." Consequently he carved for them an idol, and was, therefore, the first to make [graven images for worship].

I was told by al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ulayl on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Šabbāḥ that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father the following:

Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Nasr were righteous people who died within one month of one another, and their relatives were grief-stricken over them. Then one of the children of Cain addressed their relatives saying, "O ye who are bereaved! Shall I make unto you five statues after the image of your departed relatives? I can readily do that, although I cannot impart life to them." Thereupon he carved unto them five statues after the image of [their departed relatives], and erected them [over their graves].

[52] / Then it came to pass that a relative would visit [the grave of] his brother, uncle, or cousin, whatever the case might be, pay his respect to it, and walk around the statue for a while.

<sup>27</sup> *Šifah*, pp. 85ff.; *Buldān*, vol. II, pp. 284-287.

<sup>28</sup> *Buldān*, vol. I, p. 879.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> cf. *Sūrah* V: 30.



This practice lasted throughout the first century [following the death of those five persons]. The statues were made during the time of Jared (Yārid)<sup>31</sup> the son of Mahaleel (Mahlā'il)<sup>32</sup> the son of Cainan (Qīnān)<sup>33</sup> the son of Enos (Anūsh)<sup>34</sup> the son of Seth the son of Adam.<sup>35</sup>

Another century followed during which people venerated and respected those statues more than they did during the first century. Then a third century followed, and the people said, "Our forefathers venerated these statues for no other reason than the desire to enjoy their intercession before God." Consequently they worshipped them, and became far gone in disbelief. Thereupon God sent unto them the prophet Idrīs, who is Enoch (Akhnūkh)<sup>36</sup> the son of Jared the son of Mahaleel the son of Cainan. Idriīs called upon the people to repent and warned them, but they believed him not and hearkened not unto his voice. Therefore God "uplifted him to a place on high."<sup>37</sup>

/ The position which these statues, [now become idols], [ 53] occupied in the worship of the people, as ibn-al-Kalbi<sup>38</sup> had related on the authority of abu-Šālih, who in turn had related on the authority of ibn-'Abbās, continued to wax strong until the time of Noah (Nūḥ),<sup>39</sup> the son of Lamech (Lāmak)<sup>40</sup> the son of Methuselah (Matūshālah)<sup>41</sup> the son of Enoch, whom God sent as a prophet. He was, then, four hundred and eighty years old. For a period of one hundred and twenty years [he went about] calling the people back to God, but they disobeyed him and believed him not. Thereupon God commanded him to build the ark. Noah completed the ark and entered

<sup>31</sup> Text, "Yardi"; cf. Gen. v: 15-20.

<sup>32</sup> cf. Gen. v: 13-17.

<sup>33</sup> Text, "Qaynān"; cf. Gen. v: 10-14.

<sup>34</sup> cf. Gen. v: 7-11.

<sup>35</sup> cf. Ṭabari, vol. 1, pp. 155-166.

<sup>36</sup> Text, "Ahnūkh"; cf. Gen. v: 18-24; *Sūrah* xix: 57, xxi: 85; Ṭabari, vol. 1, pp. 173-177; *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, vol. xvi, pp. 72-73, vol. xvii, pp. 58-60; al-Tha'labi, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo, 1297, pp. 46-47.

<sup>37</sup> *Sūrah* xix: 58; cf. Gen. v: 24.

<sup>38</sup> Muḥammad ibn-al-Sā'ib, the father of the author.

<sup>39</sup> Gen. v: 28-32.

<sup>40</sup> Text, "Lamk"; Gen. v: 25-31.

<sup>41</sup> Gen. v: 21-27.

therein when he was six hundred years old. And the flood prevailed upon, and covered, the whole earth, and all, [except Noah and those who were in the ark with him], were drowned and perished. And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.<sup>42</sup> Two thousand and two hundred years intervened between Adam and Noah. The flood washed down these idols from the top of Mount Nawdh to the land below; and as the waters raged and the billows swelled, the idols were tossed here and there until at last they were cast by the waves on the land of Juddah. When finally the waters receded, the idols were left on the coast [of the city]. In time they were covered by the sands which the winds blew over from the shore.

I was told by al-Ḥasan ibn-ʿUlayl, who was quoting ʿAli ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ, that abu-al-Mundhir Hishām ibn-Muḥammad once said unto the latter: If a statue were made of wood, or gold, or silver, after a human form, it would be an idol (*ṣanam*); but if it were made of stone it would be an image (*wathan*).<sup>43</sup>

[54] / I was told by al-ʿAnazi on the authority of ʿAli ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ who related that abu-al-Mundhir, quoting his father, once said that abu-Ṣāliḥ related on the authority of ibn-ʿAbbās that the last to remain of the waters of the flood was in Ḥisma<sup>44</sup> in the land of the Judhām. It remained forty years and then receded.

I was told by abu-ʿAli al-ʿAnazi on the authority of ʿAli ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father al-Kalbi the following:

ʿAmr ibn-Luḥayy, who is Rabīʿah ibn-Ḥārithah ibn-ʿAmr ibn-ʿĀmir ibn-Ḥārithah ibn-Thaʿlabah ibn-Imruʿ-al-Qays ibn-Māzin ibn-al-Azd, the father of the Khuzāʿah (his mother was Fuhayrah, the daughter of al-Ḥārith, but others say she was the daughter of al-Ḥārith ibn-Mudād al-Jurhumi),<sup>45</sup> was a

<sup>42</sup> Gen. ix 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Ṣifak*, pp. 129, 179.

<sup>43</sup> *cf. above*, p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> *cf. above*, p. 6.

humites out of the city, and took over the custody of the House.) He had an oracle of the jinn whose nickname was abu-Thumāmah. One day the oracle addressed 'Amr saying:

"Make haste, get thee out of Tihāmah  
Accompanied by peace and luck."

'Amr replied:

"Aye, aye, there shall be no delay,  
Nothing shall hold me back."

Thereupon the oracle rejoined:

"To the shores of Juddah make thy way;  
There thou shalt find idols in fine array;  
With thee to Tihāmah take them back,  
Let nought alarm thee, fear no attack;  
Then bid the Arabs worship them, one and all,  
They will hear thy voice and heed thy call."

'Amr proceeded to the shores of Juddah, dug the idols out of the sand, carried them to Tihāmah, and erected them there. When the time for the pilgrimage arrived, he summoned all the Arabs to their worship. / 'Awf ibn-'Udhrah ibn-Zayd- [ 55 ] Allāt ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr ibn-Kalb ibn-Wabarah ibn-Taghlib ibn-Hulwān ibn-'Imrān ibn-al-Ḥāf<sup>48</sup> ibn-Qudā'ah<sup>49</sup> answered his call. 'Amr, therefore, gave him Wadd<sup>50</sup> which 'Awf carried to Wādi al-Qura and erected it in Dūmat al-Jandal. He also named his son 'Abd-Wadd,<sup>50</sup> who was the first to be so called, while 'Awf was the first to give one of his children such a name. Henceforth the Arabs named their children after Wadd.

'Awf made his son 'Āmir, who was called 'Āmir al-Ajdār,<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> ~~Yam~~ "Ḥāf" cf. *Ishtiqāq* i 213.

<sup>49</sup> cf. *Ṭabarī*, vol. i, p. 851, vol. ii, p. 479.

<sup>50</sup> *Ishtiqāq*, p. 317.

its custodian. His descendants continued to hold the office until the advent of Islam.

Abu-al-Mundhir related that [his father] al-Kalbi once said: I was told by Mālik ibn-Ḥārithah al-Ajdārī that he himself had seen Wadd, and that his father was wont to send him to it with some milk saying, "Offer it unto thy god to drink." Mālik added, "I used to drink the milk myself." He also said, "I also saw it after Khālīd ibn-al-Walīd had destroyed it and smashed it into pieces." For the Apostle of God had, after the battle of Tabūk,<sup>51</sup> sent Khālīd ibn-al-Walīd to destroy it. But the banu-'Abd-Wadd and the banu-'Āmir al-Ajdār resisted Khālīd and attempted to defend the idol. Khālīd, therefore, fought and defeated them, and then destroyed [the shrine] and demolished the idol. Among those killed in battle on that day was a man of the banu-'Abd-Wadd whose name was Qaṭan ibn-Shurayḥ.<sup>52</sup> His mother happened upon him dead and thereupon cried out saying:

[ 56 ]           / "Verily friendship doth never last,  
                       Nor do the blissful times 'er endure;  
                       A mother's love doth not save a son  
                       From misfortune, nor his life insure."

She then said:

                  "O thou the centre of my love,  
                   The source of all my joy and mirth!  
                   Would that thy mother were never born,  
                   Nor e'er to thee hath given birth."

After which she fell over his body sobbing and died.

Ḥassān ibn-Maṣād,<sup>53</sup> the cousin of al-Ukaydir<sup>54</sup> the ruler

<sup>51</sup> A.H. 9 / A.D. 630; *Sīrah*, pp. 893-913; Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 1692-1705; al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzi*, ed. Alfred von Kremer, Calcutta, 1856, pp. 425-432; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin, 1882, pp. 390-416; ibn-Sa'd, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 118-121.

<sup>52</sup> Unidentified. This story as well as the following verses are quoted by al-Qālī in his *Dhayl al-Amālī w-al-Nawādir*, Cairo, 1926, p. 41.

<sup>53</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>54</sup> King of Dūmat al-Jandal at the time of Muḥammad; see Ṭabari, vol. I, pp. 2065-2068; al-Balādhuri, pp. 61-63.

of Dūmat al-Jandal, was also killed. [In short] it was Khālīd who destroyed [Wadd].

Al-Kalbi<sup>55</sup> continued: I then requested Mālīk ibn-Hārithah saying, "Describe to me Wadd in such a way which would make it appear vividly before me." Mālīk replied, "It was the statue of a huge man, as big as the largest of human beings, covered with two robes, clothed with the one and cloaked with the other, carrying a sword on his waist and a bow on his shoulder, and holding in [one] hand a spear to which was attached a standard, and [in the other] a quiver full of arrows."

/ To go back to 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy. The Muḍar ibn-Nizār [ 57 ] answered his call, and he, therefore, gave Suwā' to a certain man of the Hudhayl, whose name was al-Hārith ibn-Tamīm ibn-Sa'd ibn-Hudhayl ibn-al-Ya's ibn-Muḍar.<sup>56</sup> It was [erected] in a place called Ruhāt in the valley of Nakhlah where it was worshipped by the neighboring Muḍar. One of the Arabs said:

"Ye see them swarming around their king,  
As the Hudhayl surround their Suwā';  
And fill its courts with sacrifice,  
Picked from among the choicest flocks."

The Madhḥij also answered his call, and he, therefore, gave Yaghūth to An'am ibn-'Amr al-Murādi.<sup>57</sup> It was placed on a hill in Yemen called Madhḥij<sup>58</sup> where it was worshipped by the Madhḥij and the neighboring tribes.

The Hamdān also answered 'Amr's call, and he gave Ya'ūq to Mālīk ibn-Marṭhad ibn-Jusham ibn-Hāshid ibn-Jusham ibn-Khayrān<sup>59</sup> ibn-Nawf ibn-Hamdān.<sup>60</sup> It was placed in a

<sup>55</sup> The father.

<sup>56</sup> cf. above, p. 23.

<sup>57</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>58</sup> Ṭabari, vol. III, pp. 2361-2362; *Shams al-'Ulūm*, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> cf. *Ishtiqāq*, p. 252, where Ya'ūq is given to Khaywān; also *Buldān*, vol. IV, p. 1023.

<sup>60</sup> cf. *Ishtiqāq*, p. 250.

village called Khaywān,<sup>61</sup> where it was worshipped by the Hamdān and the neighboring tribes of Yemen.

The Ḥimyar responded to 'Amr's call too, and he delivered Nasr to a man from dhu-Ru'ayn<sup>62</sup> whose name was Ma'di-  
[ 58 ] Karib.<sup>63</sup> / It was [erected] in a place in the land of Saba' called Balkha',<sup>64</sup> where it was worshipped by the Ḥimyar and the neighboring tribes. They continued to worship it until dhu-Nuwās converted them to Judaism.<sup>65</sup> All these idols continued to be worshipped until God sent the Prophet who ordered that they be destroyed.

Hishām said: I was told by al-Kalbi [my father] on the authority of abu-Ṣāliḥ that ibn-'Abbās related that the Prophet once said, "One day I beheld Hell from afar off, and saw therein 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy, a short man of red [complexion] and blue eyes, dragging his guts [behind him] in the midst of the dancing flames. Thereupon I asked, 'Who is this man?', and was told, 'He is 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy, the first to institute the *baḥīrah*, the *waṣīlah*, the *sā'ibah*, the *ḥāmi*[yah], change the religion of Ishmael,<sup>66</sup> and summon the Arabs to worship of images.'"<sup>67</sup> The Prophet added, "The one among his descendants who resembleth him the most is Qaṭan ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza."<sup>68</sup> Thereupon Qaṭan sprang to his feet and said, "O Apostle of God, doth the fact that I resemble him in looks do me any harm?" The Apostle replied, "Thou art a Moslem, but he was an unbeliever."<sup>69</sup>

[At another time] the Apostle of God said, "Once upon a time I was shown the anti-Christ (al-Dajjāl), and, behold, he

<sup>61</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 66, 112, 124, 203; *Buldān*, vol. II, p. 512.

<sup>62</sup> *Ṣifāh*, p. 101.

<sup>63</sup> Unidentified; cf. Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 265.

<sup>64</sup> *Buldān*, vol. I, p. 714, vol. IV, pp. 780-781.

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> So in MS, though the editor accepted Yāqūt's reading (*Buldān*, vol. IV, p. 915), Abraham, in order to conform to the Koranic tradition that the true faith was that of Abraham. Cf. *Sirah*, p. 51, lines 6, 18.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>69</sup> cf. Muslim, *Imān*: 274-275, 277.



was a one-eyed man, of brown complexion / and curly hair. [ 59 ]  
 The one among the banu-'Amr who resembleth him the most is Aktham ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza."<sup>70</sup> Thereupon Aktham sprang to his feet and said, "O Apostle of God, doth the fact that I resemble him in looks do me any harm?" The Apostle replied, "No. Thou art a Moslem, but he was an unbeliever."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iv, pt. 2, p. 29; ibn-al-Athīr, *Usud al-Ghābah*, Cairo, 1280, vol. i, p. 123.

<sup>71</sup> cf. al-Bukhārī, Ta'bīr: 33, Fitan: 26.

## Al-Fals

I was told by al-'Anazi abu-'Ali on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ that Hishām ibn-Muḥammad abu-al-Mundhir once related: I was told by abu-Bāsil al-Ṭā'i,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of his uncle 'Antarah ibn-al-Akhras,<sup>2</sup> that the Ṭayyi' had an idol called [al-]Fals.<sup>3</sup> It was a red [rock], in the form of a man,<sup>4</sup> projecting in the center of their mountain, Aja'<sup>5</sup> which was black. They were wont to worship [this rock], present their offerings unto it, and slaughter their sacrifices before its [ascent]. No man who was afraid and was seeking refuge would come to it without finding safety, and no stray beast would enter its confines without finding protection. The beast would also become the property of the idol, sacred and taboo.

/ Its custody was in the hands of the banu-Bawlān,<sup>6</sup> while [ 60 ]  
 Bawlān himself was the first to institute its worship. The last of the banu-Bawlān to hold its custody was one called Ṣayfi.<sup>7</sup> One day he caught a milch-camel which belonged to a certain woman of the banu-'Ulaym<sup>8</sup> of the Kalb [tribe], a neighbor of a nobleman, Mālik ibn-Kulthūm al-Shamajī,<sup>9</sup> and drove it

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Aghāni*, vol. x, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, vol. x, p. 155; abu-Tammām, *Ash'ār al-Ḥamāsah*, ed. G. G. Freytag, Bonn, 1828, pp. 108, 784; *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen, pp. 51-53.

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Buldān*, vol. iii, p. 912, line 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣifāh*, pp. 125, 126, 137, 144; *Buldān*, vol. i, pp. 122-130.

<sup>6</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> cf. *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 237, line 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 316.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. 235.

along until he brought it to the confines of al-Fals. Thereupon the neighbor of Mālik called upon him and told him how [Ṣayfi] had taken away her milch-camel. On hearing her story he jumped upon the bare back of an unsaddled horse, took his spear, and followed after Ṣayfi. He overtook him by al-Fals and found the milch-camel tied within its enclosure. Addressing [Ṣayfi], he said, "Let go the milch-camel of my neighbor." [Ṣayfi] replied, "But it is the property of thy Lord!" [Mālik] again said, "Let it go." [Ṣayfi] replied, "Wilt thou violate the sanctity of thy Lord?" Exasperated, Mālik threatened Ṣayfi by pointing his spear against him. Thereupon, the latter untied the camel and set it free. Mālik took it back and delivered it to the woman, his neighbor. Then the custodian approached al-Fals and, pointing to Mālik, addressed it saying:

[61] /"O Lord, Mālik ibn-Kulthūm hath this day  
Violated the sanctity of thy shrine;  
But yesterday, thou wert inviolate."

Ṣayfi said this in an attempt to incite the idol against Mālik so that it might vent its wrath upon him. It so happened that 'Adi ibn-Ḥātim<sup>10</sup> had, at that same day, offered a sacrifice before al-Fals, and saw what Mālik had done. As he sat with a few companions discussing the incident, he trembled with fear and said, "Watch what will befall Mālik this day." But several days passed and nothing happened to Mālik. Consequently [ʿAdi] renounced the worship of al-Fals as well as that of the other idols and embraced Christianity, a devotee of which he remained until the advent of Islam, when he became a Muslim.

[ʿAdi] was, therefore, the first to violate the sanctity of al-Fals. Henceforth whenever the custodian took in a stray beast [he was not allowed to keep it as the property of the idol]; on the contrary, it was taken away from him. Al-Fals continued to be worshipped until the advent of the Prophet,

<sup>10</sup> cf. *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 160; *Sīrah*, pp. 947-950.

at which time 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib was dispatched to destroy it. 'Ali destroyed the idol and carried away therefrom two swords, called Mikhdham and Rasūb (the same two swords which 'Alqamah ibn-'Abadah<sup>11</sup> had mentioned in his poetry), which al-Hārith ibn-abi-Shamir, king of Ghassān, had presented to al-Fals.<sup>12</sup> / 'Ali brought them to the Prophet who wore one of [ 62 ] them and gave it back to him. It was the sword which 'Ali was always wont to wear.

Here ends The Book of Idols.

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ard'*, pp. 107-110; *al-Aghāni*, vol. XXI, pp. 171-175; see above, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> cf. above, p. 51.

# S U P P L E M E N T

## Al-Ya'būb

/Al-Ya'būb<sup>1</sup> is the idol of the Jadilah<sup>2</sup> of the Ṭayyi'. Previously they had a different idol; but the banu-Asad<sup>3</sup> took it away from them. Consequently they adopted al-Ya'būb in its stead. Said 'Abīd:<sup>4</sup>

"They adopted al-Ya'būb in the place of their former god;  
Be still, therefore, O Jadī[lah], and abstain from food  
and drink."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unidentified; cf. *Lisān al-'Arab* and *Tāj al-'Arūs*, entry 'bb; *al-Ḥamāsah*, p. 158. Both lexicons and the anthology agree that the word signifies a fleet horse as well as the name of a particular horse.

<sup>2</sup> *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> 'Abīd ibn-al-Abrāṣ; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, pp. 143-145; *al-Aghāni*, vol. xix, pp. 84-90.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Diwāns of 'Abīd ibn Al-Abrāṣ, of Asad, and 'Āmir ibn Aṭ-Ṭufail, of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, Leyden and London, 1913, p. 13, line 14.

## Bājar

According to ibn-Durayd<sup>1</sup> Bājar<sup>2</sup> was an idol which the Azd as well as such neighboring tribes of the Ṭayyi' and the Quḍā'ah [worshipped] during the Jāhiliyah days. It is also pronounced Bājir.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Durayd al-Azdi, A.H. 223-321 / A.D. 838-933; see *al-Fihrist*, pp. 61-62; ibn-Khallikān, vol. II, pp. 308-313.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lisān al-'Arab*, entry bjr; ibn-al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth w-al-Aṭhar*, Cairo, 1322, vol. I, p. 73; cf. al-Bakri, *Kitāb Mu'jam Ma lsta'jam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1877, p. 207, lines 12, 14. According to ibn-al-Athīr it is sometimes called Bāḥar, with a ḥā' instead of a jīm.

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