

# The Book of Idols (*Kitab Al-Asnam*) by Hisham Ibn Al-Kalbi

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## THE BOOK OF IDOLS

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM  
THE ARABIC

OF THE *KITAB AL-ASNAM*

BY HISHAM IBN-AL-KALBI

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION  
AND NOTES BY

NABIH AMIN FARIS

1952.

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**PREFACE**

Abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Sa'ib ibn-Bishr al-Kalbi, better known as ibn-al-Kalbi (d. A.H. 206/ A.D. 821-822)[1], was a member of a distinguished family of scholars residing in al-Kufah, then one of the two intellectual capitals of the Muslim world. Like his father, abu-al-Nadr Muhammad[2], he addressed himself almost exclusively to historical and philosophical research in an age where the *hadith* 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 Jahiliyah days. According to the traditionists who were then in full control of the intellectual life of the community, Muhammad once said, "Islam destroys all that preceded it[3]". The Prophet, undoubtedly, had in mind the pagan religious 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 (*akhbariyun*), whose work was to record the past and preserve its glories, were 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 (*akhbari*) acquired a bad meaning and became an epithet of near-contempt. It was applied to ibn-al-Kalbi[4] as well as to any learned man who dared dwell upon Arab history before the 'Am al-Fil[5]. 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-Baghdadi[6] preserves a saying current among the students of the *hadith* 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-Isfahani, too, despite his dependence upon ibn-al-Kalbi, attacks him in at least two places[7], and asserts that everything which he had quoted in his authority was false. Al-Sam'ani is still more outspoken. In his *Ansab*[8] 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 *rafidi*[9], he says, "He was not reliable ... but merely an historian (*akhbari*)[10]". Ahmad ibn-Hanbal deemed it necessary to say of him, "I do not think anyone would quote him as an authority[11]".

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[12].

But ibn-al-Kalbi was not without his stout champions. Foremost among those were al-Mas'udi and Yaqut. The former lists him among the best authorities and acknowledges his indebtedness to him[13]. 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, Yaqut accepts his report and says, "This, therefore, confirms the statement of abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad 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[14]."

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-Nadim[15] lists no fewer than one hundred and forty titles of his, while Yaqut[16] says that they exceeded one hundred and fifty titles. Of these he enumerates one hundred and eighteen on the authority of al-Nadim and adds three on his own, making the list one hundred and twenty-one. Unfortunately, however, nothing has survived except the *Jamharat at-Nasab*[17], the *Nasab Fhul al-Khayl fi al-Jahiliyah w-al-Islam*[18], the *Kitab al-Mathalib*[19], and the present work, namely the *Kitab al-Asnam*. 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 *Kitab al-Asnam*[20]." Lyall did the same in the case of "The First Day of the Kulab[21]."

The *Kitab al-Asnam*. This work has come down to us in a unique manuscript in the Khizanah al-Zakiyah, the private library of the late Ahmad Zaki Pasha of Cairo, Egypt. This manuscript, which was published by its learned owner first in 1914 and again in 1924[22], 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-Mansur Mawhub ibn-Ahmad ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Khidr al-Jawiliqi[23], 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-Hasan Muhammad ibn-al-'Abbas ibn-Ali ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Furit[24], 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[25]." Of the first copy which al-Jawaliqi made in A.H. 494 nothing is known beyond the fact that Yaqut had access to it and used it freely in preparing his geographical dictionary, the *Mu'jam al-Buldan*[26]." He even reproduced, with the omission of one link, the same chain of authorities which prefaces the present recension[27]. Furthermore, most of the text of the *Kitab al-Asnam* has been quoted by Yaqut, 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*[28].

The contents of the *Kitab al-Asnam* must have been known, 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 there in. The first writer was Jamal-al-Din abu-al-Faraj 'Abd-al-Rahmin ibn-abi-al-Hasan....ibn-al-Jawzi[29] (d. A.H. 597 / A.D. 1200), who abridged the work in his *Naqd al-'Ilm w-al-Ulama*[30]. The second was 'Abd-al-Qadir ibn-Umar al-Baghdidi[31] (d. A.11. 1093 / A.D. 168:), who reproduced its main contents in his *Khizanat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubab Lesan al-'Arab*[32].

Except for the text contained in the *Mu'jam al-Buldan* and the abridgments preserved in these two works, the learned world saw the *Kitab al-Asnam* for the first time in the edition of Ahmad Zaki Pasha discussed above[33]. The present translation is based on that edition as well as on the material preserved in the *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, 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.

## FOOTNOTES.

1. Al-Nadim, *Kitab at-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flugel, Leipzig, 1871-1872, pp. 95-98; ibn-Sa'd, *Kitab at-Tabaqat at-Kabra*, ed. Eduard Sachau and others, Leyden, 1905-1921, vol. vi, p. 250; ibn-Qutaybah, *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, ed. F. Wustenfeld, Gottingen, 1850, pp. 266-267; al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, Cairo, 1931, vol. xiv, pp. 45-46, ibn-Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan wa-Anba' Anba' al-Zaman*, Cairo, 1299, vol. iii, pp.134-136; al-Anbari, *Nu'zhat al-Alibba Tabaqat al-Udaba'*, Lithog. Cairo, 1294, pp. 116-118; al-Sam'ani, *Kitab al-Adib*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1912, folios 485b-486a; Yaqut, *Irshad at-Arib ila-Ma'rifat al-Adib* ed. D.S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1907-1926, vol. VII, pp.250-254; al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat at-Huffaz*, Hyderabad, 1333-1334, vol. i, p.313. See also Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889-1890, vol.1, pp. 185-187; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. I, Weimar, 1898, pp. 138-140; *Supplement*, vol. I, Leyden, 1937, pp.211-212.

2. *Fihrist*, p.94; ibn-Sa'd, vol. vi, pp.249-250, ibn-Khallikan, vol.II, pp. 301-302.

3. Muslim *Sahih* Iman: 53.

4. *Tadhkirat at-Huffaz*, vol.I, p.313.

5. cf. *Irshad*, vol. vii, pp.261 *seq.* The 'Am al-Fil (the year of the elephant) is identified with A.D. 570 or 571, and is supposed to be the year in which Muhammad 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.

6. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vol. xiv, p.46.

7. *Kitab al-Aghani*, Bulaq, 1285, vols. ix, p.19, XVIII, p. 161.

8. folio 486a.

9. Only al-Dhahabi (d. AH. 748/AD. 1348) accuses ibn-al-Kalbi of being a Rafidite, while ibn-al-'Imad al-Hanbali (d. A.H. 1089 / A.D. 1679), in his *Shajarat al-Dhahab fi Akabar Man Dhahab*, Cairo, 1350, vol.II, p.13, says that he had Rafidite leanings. But both these are late, and the early sources are completely silent on this point. There is, however, 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 Siffin (*Ma'arif*, p. 266). His father is supposed to have fought with 'Abd-al-Rahmin ibn-al-Ash'ath during the latter's rebellion against al-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf in A.H. 82/ A.D. 701 at Dayr al-Jamajim (*Ma'arif*, p.266 cf. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rasul w-al-Muluk*, 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 Rafidite, either in the strict sense of the term or in its loose application to the Shi'ites in general. He might have been an 'Ali admirer, but hardly anything more. For the Rafidites as a distinct sect, see al-

Nawbakhti, *Firaq al-Shi'ah*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1933, pp.53-55; al-Baghdadi, *Mukhtasar at-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, ed. P. K. Hitti, Cairo, 1924, p.22.

10. *Tadhkirat al-Huffaz*, vol. I, p. 313.

11. *Irshad*, vol. vii, p.250.

12. *Ibid.*, p.251; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, 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.

13. *'Muraj al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Vavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-1877, vol. I, pp. 10, 216.

14. *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, ed. F. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870, vol.II, p.158; see also p.652.

15. *Fihrist*, pp.95-98.

16. *Irshad*, vol. vii, pp. 250-254.

17. 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 Bibliotheque Nationale (no. 2047). The Rev. Paul Sabat announced in *al-Muqqattam*, 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 'Gamharat al-Ansab di Ibn al-Kalbi," in *Actes du XVIII Congres International des Orientalistes*, Leyden, 1932, pp.236-237. The alleged copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale has nothing to do with the *Jamharah*.

18. Published by Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Leyden, 1928.

19. A copy of this work is in the possession of F. Krenkow.

20. See below, p. xi.

21. See C. Lyall, "Ibn al-Kalbi's account of the First Day of al-Kulab," in *Festschrift Theodor Noldeke*, ed C. Bezold, Gieszen, 1906, pp. 127-154. Lyall reconstructed the narrative from the pages of al-Anbari's commentary on *al-Mufaddaliyat*.

22. The only difference between the two editions is that the former was done on special paper bearing, in the watermark, the monogram of 'Abbas Hilmi II, the last Khedive of Egypt, to whom it was dedicated, and the date A.H.1329, the year of his accession.

23. d A.H., 539/A.D. 1144; see *Irashad*, vol. vii, pp.197-199; ibn.Khalliken, vol.III, pp.35-37.

24. Al-Qazzar according to ibn-al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* ed.

25. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867-1874, vol. ix, p. 74. He died in A.H. 34/AD. 994. See also *Tarikh Baghdad*, vol. iii, pp 122-123; *Tadhirat al-Haffaz*, vol. xii, pp. 205-206.

26. *Tarikh Baghdad*, vol. iii, p.123, line 5.

27. Ed. F. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870, vols.I, p. 897, iii, pp. 911-912.

28. *Buldan*, vol. III, p.912; cf. below, p.3.

29. First published in *Skizzen send Vorarbeiten*, vol. iii, 1887, and again in an independent edition in 1897.

30. Ibn-Khallikan, vol.I, pp. 500-501.

31. Also known as *Tablis 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 *Kitab al-Asnam* is abridged may be found in vol. x, pp.189-196.

32. Al-Muhibbi, *Khuldsat al-Athar fi A'yan al-Qarn al Hudi 'Ashar*, Cairo, 1284, vol.11, pp.451-454.

33. Bulaq, 1299, vol. III, pp. 242-246.

34. A partial translation, in French, by Fr. M. S. Marmardji, O.P., appeared a *Revue Biblique*, vol. xxxv, 1926, pp.397-420. It was based on the first (1914) edition of Ahmad 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.

## INTRODUCTION

### THE CHAIN OF AUTHORITIES FOR THE PRESENT RECENSION

IN the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I[1] was told by al-Shaykh abu-al-Husayn al-Muburak ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbar ibn-Ahmad al-Sayrafi[2], from whom I received the recension, that, in the year [of the Hijrah] 463[3], abu-Ja'far Muhammad ibn-Ahmad ibn-al-Muslimah[4] related to him that he was told by abu-Ubayd-Allah Muhammad ibn-'Imran ibn-Musa al-Marzubani[5], with the permission to teach, that abu-Bakr Ahmad ibn-Muhammad ibn-'Abdullah al-Jawhari[6] had related to him on the authority of abu-'Ali al-Hasan ibn-'Ulayl al-Anazi[7] that abu-al-Hasan 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah ibn-Furat[8] said that in the year [of the Hijrah] 201[9], while studying at the feet of Hisham ibn-al-Kalbi, he received the following:

Hisham ihn-Muhammad al-Kalbi said: I was informed by my father[10] 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 worshiped of these images and adopted the worship of those which were still remembered among them. Among these devotional practices were some which came down from the time of Abraham and Ishmael, such as the veneration of the House[11] and its circumambulation,

the pilgrimage, the visitation or the lesser (*al-umrah*), the vigil (al-wuqul) on 'Arafah [12] and [al-] Muzdalifah[13] sacrificing she-camels, and raising acclamation of the name of the deity (*tahlil*)[14] age and the visitation, introducing there into belonging to it. Thus whenever the Nizar[15] raised their voice[7] the *tahlil*, 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[16]. "

They would thus declare His unity through the *talbiyah*[17] and at the same tune associate their gods with Him placing their affairs in His hands. Consequently, God said to His Prophet, "And most of them believe not in associating other deities with Him[18]." 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[19], whenever they set out on a pilgrimage, was as follows: They would place at the head of the caravan two of their black slave who would lead the procession and say,

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

Thereupon the 'Akk would say in response, The 'Akk humble themselves

before thee; Thy Yamanite servants are we.  
[We are come] to perform another pilgrimage."

Whenever the Rahi'ah[20] 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 *al tashriq*[21].

The first to change the religion of Ishmael, set up images for worship, institute the practices of *thesa'ibah*[22], the *wasilah*[23], the *bairah*[24], the *hamiyah*[25], was 'Amr ibn-Rabi'ah, who is Luhayy ibn-Harithah ibn-Amr ibn-'Amir al-Azdi[26], the father of the Khuz'ah[27] [tribe].

The mother of 'Amr ibn-Lubayy was Fuhayrah[28], the daughter of 'Amr ibn-al-Harith[29]. It is also said that she was Qam'ah[30], the daughter of Mudad al-Jurhumi[31].

It was al-Harith[32] who used to be the custodian of the Ka'bah. But when 'Amr ibn-Luhayy came [to Mecca] he disputed his right to its custody, and with the aid of the children of Ishmael, fought the Jurhumites[33], 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-Balqa[34], in Syria (al-Sha'm); if you would go there, you would be cured[35]." 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.

## FOOTNOTES

1. The speaker is abu-Mansur Mawhub ibn-Ahmad al-Jawaliqi; see above, p. xi.
2. d. A.H. 500/A.D. 1106-1107; see ibn-al-Athir, vol. x, pp.305-306.
3. A.D. 1070-1071.
4. d. A.H. 465 / A.D. 1072-1073; see *al-Dhahabi, al-Dhayl al-Tamm bi-Duwal al-Islam* (Hyderabad, 1337), vol. 1, p.212.
5. d. A.H. 384 / AD. 994; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vol. III, pp.135-136.
6. Died after A.H. 333/ A.D. 944-945; see *Ta'rikh Baghdad* vol. v, p. 44.
7. d. A.H. 290/ A.D. 902-903; see *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vol. VII, pp. 398-399.
8. d. A.H. 262/ A.D. 875-876; see *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vol. xi, pp 439-440
9. A.D. 816-817.

10. Muhammad ibn-al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi, d. A.H. 146 / A.D. 763; *al-Fihrist*, p.95.
11. The Ka'bah.
12. *Buldan*, vol. iii, pp. 645-648.
13. *ibid.*, vol. iv, pp. 519-520. Both 'Arafah and places in the vicinity of Meets connected with the pilgrimage.
14. The normal formula of the *tahlil* is: *la ialaha illa allah* (There is no God but Allah); cf. hallelujah.
15. The main group of the North-Arabian tribes; see ibn-Durayd al Azdi, *Kitab al-Ishtiqaq*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1854, p. 20.
16. Ar. *labbayka allahumma labbayka labbayka lak illa sharikun husa lak tamlikuhu wa.ma malak*
17. For the most common formula of the *talbiyah*, see al-Bukhari *Sahih*, Hajj:26. It is an old formula of salutation to the diety.
18. *Surah XII*: 106.
19. A large South Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiqaq*, p.287.
20. A large North Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiqaq*, p. 189.
21. These are the days next after the day of sacrifice which is the tenth day of dhu-al-Hujjah. They are now days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four days. Evidently they had pre-Islamic antecedents. The *tashriq* 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. *Surah II* : 199.
22. The liberation of a certain animal in honor of idols was prevalent in pre-Islamic Arabia. in *Surah v*:103, the practice is vehemently condemned. The *sa'ibah* signifies any beast left to pasture without attention. According to some, it is the mother of the *bahirah*, or a she-camel which, having brought forth females at ten successive births, was act at liberty to pasture where it would, and was not ridden nor its milk taken.
23. A she-goat which browgnt 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.
24. A she-camel hiving 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.

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

26. *Ishtiqaq* p. 276; ibn-Hisham *Sirat Rausl Allah*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858-9, p. 50ff.

27. A south Arabian tribe. See *Ishtiqaq* p. 276.

28. cf. Tabari, vol. i, p. 1132, where the name is mentioned as the daughter of 'Amir ilin-al-Harith; also ihn-Durayd, "Jamharat al-Nasab" (Escorial MS), f. 150-; *Taj al-Arus*, entry *mdd*.

29. Also 'Amir; Tabari, vol. i, pp. 1131-1133; Wahb ibn-Munabbih, *Kitab al-Tijan* (Hyderabad, 1347), pp.211-212.

30. Unidentified.

31. Tabari, vol. I, p. 1031.

32. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 675; *Kitab al-Tijan*, pp. 179ff.

33. For a list of the Jurhumite kings, see abu-al-Fida', *Mukhtasar Ta'rikh al-Bashar* (Constantinople, 1286), vol. 1, p. 77; *Muruj al-Dhahab*, vol. xii, p.103.

34. *Buldan*, vol. 1, pp.728-729.

35. cf. the story of Naaman the Syrian, II Kings 5.

### **Isaf and Na'ilah**

Abu-al-Mundhir Hishim ibn-Muhammad said: Al-Kalbi<sup>[1]</sup> related on the authority of ahu-Sahlih<sup>[2]</sup> who, in turn, related on the authority of ibn-'Abbas<sup>[3]</sup>, that Isif and Ni'ilah (a man from the Jurhum called Isif ibn-Ya'la and [a woman called] Ni'ilah, the daughter of Zayd, another Jurhumite) [were two lovers]. Isif was courting Na'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, Isaf 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 Khuza'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>

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. Muhammad ibn-al-Sa'ib, the father of the author.
2. Dhakwan al-Samman, d. A.H. 101 / A.D. 719-720; *Tadhkirat al-Huffaz*, vol. 1. p. 83; ibn-Sa'd, vol. v, p.222, vol. vi, p.158.
3. Abdullah, cousin of the Prophet, d. A.H. 69 / A.D. 688-689; abu-Nu'aym al-Isfahani, *Hilyat al-Awliya wa-Tabaqat al-Asfiya'*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1351, pp.334-329; al-Nawawi, *Tahdhib al-Asma'*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842-1847, pp.351-354.
4. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 108

### **Suwa'**

The Hudhayl adopted Suwa[1] [as their god] and placed it in Ruhat[2] in the vicinity of Yanbu'[3], one of the villages of Medina. The custodians [of its temple] were the banu-Lihyan[4]. However, I have not heard any mention of it in the poems of the Hudhalites[5]. I did, however, hear of it in a poem by a certain man from Yemen.

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. G. Ryckmans, *Les Nom Profres Sud-Semitiques*, Louvain, 1934, vol. 1, p.23; Wellhausen, pp.18-19.
2. *Buldan*, vol. ii, p. 878.
3. *ibid.*, vol. iv, pp.1038-1039.
4. *Ishtiqaq*, p.109.
5. A part of the Hudhalites' poems was published by J. C. L. Kosegarten under the title *The Hudsailian Poems*, London, 1854; the remaining part was published by J. Wellhausen in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol.1, Berlin, 1884.

### **Wadd**

The Kaib[1] adopted Wadd[2] [as their god. That was] in Dimat al-Jandal[3].

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 13.
2. Ryckmans, vol. i, p.10; *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp. 912-916; Wellhausen, pp.14-18.
3. Also Dawmat al-Jandal ; *Buldan*, vol.ii, pp. 625-629.

## Yaghuth

The Madhhij[1] as well as the people of Jurash[2] adopted Yaghuth[3] (as their god). Said the poet:

"May Wadd keep thee and bless thee!  
For to us it is unlawful  
With women to daily and wanton;  
Thus our faith hath resolved[4]."

Said another:

"Yaghuth led us unto the Murad[5],  
And we vanquished them before the morning."

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq* p 237.
2. *Buldan* vol ii pp 55-66.
3. Ryckmans vol. i, p. 16; Wellhausen, pp 19-22.
4. The verse is by al-Nabighah al-Dhnbyani cf *Le Dinan de Nabiga Dhobyani* ed and tr. Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris 1869 also C. A. Nallino *Il verso d'an-Naligah sul dio Wadd,* in *Rendironte della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. v, vol. XXIX (1920) pp 283 290.
5. *Ishtiqaq* p 238; Nashwan ibn-Said al Himyari *Muntakhabat fi Akhbar al-Yaman min Kitab Shams al-Ulum wa-Dama Kalam al-'Arab min at Kulum* ed. 'Azimuddin Ahmad, Leyden, 1916 p 97.

## Ya'uq

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

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.252.

2. Wellhausen, pp.22-24.
3. *Buldan*, Vol.II, p. 512.
4. *Ishtiqaq*, p.250.
5. Al-Hamdani, *Sifat Jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Muller, Leyden, 1884-1891, p.55.
6. *Ishtiqaq*, p.217.
7. Tabari, vol. i, pp. 918ff.; Hamzah ibn-al-Hasan al-Isfahini *Ta'rikh Sini Muluk al-Ard.w-al-Anbiya'*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt, Leipzig, 1884, pp.133-134.

### **Nasr**

The Himyar adopted Nasr[1] as their god, and worshipped it in a place called Balkha[2]. I have not, however, heard of the Himyar 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 Himyar relinquished idolatry and embraced Judaism during the reign of Tubba[3].

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. Ryckmans, vol. i, p.23; Wellhausen, pp.22-24.
2. *Buldan*, vol.1, p. 714, vol. iv, pp.780-781.
3. Tubba' is the royal title of the kings of the second Himyarite kingdom (ca. A.D. 300-325, 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'am**

The Himyar had also another temple (*bayt*) in San'a'. It was called Ri'am [1]; the people venerated it and offered in it

sacrifices. According to one report, they used to receive communications from an oracle therein. When the Tubba' returned from the expedition to al-'Iraq, the two rabbis (al-habran) who accompanied him to Medina came along with him to destroy Ri'am. He told them, "Do with it whatever you wish." Thereupon they demolished it, and the Tubba', together with the people of Yemen, embraced Judaism [2]. Henceforth I never heard of any mention of Ri'am and Nasr either in poetry or in proper names. Furthermore, the Arabs preserved nothing of its poetry except those poems which belonged to the period immediately preceding Islam.

Hisham abu-al-Mundhir said: I have not heard a single verse of poetry in description of Ri'am[3]. 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 Suwa, nor Yaghuth and Ya'uq and Nasr.' And they caused many to err; and thou, too, shalt be the means of increasing only error in the wicked[4]."

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

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Buldan*, vol. ii, pp.882-883; *Sifah*, p.203; cf. al-Hamdani, *al-Iklil (al-Juz al-Thamin)*, ed. Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton, 1940, pp. 66-67; tr. N. A. Faris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton, 1938, pp.46-48;*Buldan*, vol.ii, p.906; Ryckmans, vol. i, p 35.

2. cf. al-Isfahani, p.131; *Kitab al-Tijan*, pp.294-297; Tabari, vol. I, pp 903-906; *Buldan*, vol. ii, p.882.

3. cf. *a1-Iklil*, p. 66; *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, p.47

4. *Surah LXXI* 20-24.

## Manah

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

The children of the Ma'add[8] were followers of a faith which still preserved a little of the religion of Ishmael. The Rabi'ah[9] and the Mudar[10], too, were followers of a similar faith. But none venerated her more than the Aws and the Khazraj.

Abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad said: I was told by a man from the Quraysh on the authority of abu-'Ubaydab 'Abdullab[11] ibn-abi-'Ubaydah ibn-'Ammar ibn-Yasir 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[12] 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 where Manah stood, shave their heads, and stay there a while. They did not consider their pilgrimage completed until they visited Manah. Because of this veneration of Manah by the Awa and the Khazraj, 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Wadi'ah al-Muzani, or some other Arab, said:

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

During the Jahiliyah days, the Arabs were wont to call both the Aws and the Khazraj by the single generic name, al-Khazraj. For this reason the part said, "at the sacred place of the Khazraj." This Manah is that which God mentioned when He said, "And Manah, the third idol besides[13]." She was the [goddess] of the Hudhayl[14] and the Khuza'ah[15].

The Quraysh as well as the rest of the Arabs continued to venerate Manah until the Apostle of God set out from Medina in the eighth year of the Hijrah[16], the year in which God accorded him the victory[17]. 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 [Manah] by al-Harith ibn-abi-Shamir al-Ghassani, the king of Ghassan[18]. The one sword was called Mikhdham and the other Rasub. They are the two swords of al-Harith which 'Alqamah mentions in one of his poems. He said:

"Wearing two coats of mail as well as  
Two studded swords, Mikhdham and Rasub [19]."

The Prophet gave these two swords to 'Ali. It is, therefore, said that dhu-al-Faqar, the sword of 'Ali, was one of them[20].

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

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Surah liii*, 20; Ryckmans, vol.i, pp 18-19; Wellhausen, pp.25-29.
2. *Ishtiqaq*. pp. ; 105, 144.
3. *ibid.*, pp.133, 284.
4. *Sifah*, p 214; *Buldan*, vol. iv, p.543.
5. *Sifah*, pp.120, 185, 218; *Buldan*, vol. iv, p.42.
6. One of the main groups of South Arabian tribes. *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 83, 259.
7. One of the main groups of South Arabian tribes. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 259.
8. One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiqaq*, p.20.
9. One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiqaq*, p.20.

10. One of the main groups of North Arabian tribes. *Ishtiqaq*, p.20.
11. *ibn-Abdullah*" in text. Cf. al-Tabari, vol. ii, 863, 868; *Buldan*, vol. iv, p. 653.
12. The old name of Medina: *Sifah*, pp.2, 124; *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp. 1009-1010, 458-468.
13. *Surah liii*: 20.
14. *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 108-110.
15. *ibid.*, p. 276.
16. A.D.629-630.
17. i.e. the capture of Mecca.
18. The same as al-Harith ibn-Jabalah. See Theodore Noldeke, *The Princes of Ghassan from the House of Gafna*, Ar. tr. Pendali Jouse and Costi K. Zurayk, Beirut, 1933, pp.22, 58-60.
19. W. Ahlwardt, < i>The Diwans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets, London. 1870, p. 107 ['Alqamah, 2:27].
20. cf. al-Tabari, vol. i, pp. 1706-1710.
21. cf. Ryckmans, vol.i, p.179; *Buldan*, vol. iii, pp.911-913.

### **Allat**

They then adopted Allat[1] as their goddess. Allat stood in al-Ta'if[2], and was more recent than Manah. She was a cubic[3] rock beside which a certain Jew used to prepare his barley porridge (*sawiq*). Her custody was in the hands of the banu-'Attab ibn-Malik[4] of the Thaqif[5], who had built an edifice over her. The Quraysh, as well as all the Arabs, were wont to venerate Allat. They also used to name their children after her, calling them Zayd-Allat[6] and Taym-Allat[7].

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

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

Likewise it was the same idol to which al-Mutalammis[10] alluded in his satire of 'Amr ibn-al-Mundhirt[11] when he said: "Thou hast banished me for fear of lampoon and satire.

No! By Allat and all the sacred baetyls (ansab)[12],  
thou shalt not escape[13]."

Allat continued to be venerated until the Thaqif embraced Islam[14], when the Apostle of God dispatched al-Mughirah ibn-Shu'bab[15], who destroyed her and burnt her [temple] to the ground[16].

In this connection, when Allat was destroyed and burnt to the ground, Shaddid ibn-'Arid al-Jushami'[17]said warning the Thaqif not to return to her worship nor attempt to avenge her destruction:

"Come not to Allat, 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." [18]

Aws ibn-Hajar[19], swearing by Allat, said:

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

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ryckmans. vol. I, p. 3; Wellhausen, pp.29-34.
2. *Sifah*, pp. 120-121.
3. "Square" in text.
4. cf. "Jambarab" (Br. Mus. MS), p. 154.
5. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 183.
6. *ibid.*, p.315.
7. *ibid.*, p. 315.
8. *Surah* LII: 19.
9. *Al-Aghani*, vol. xv, pp.75-77, vol. xxi (ed. It. S. Brunnow, Leyden, 1888), p. 186.
10. Ibn-Qutaybah, *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1902-1904, pp. 85-88; *al-Aghani*, vol. xxi, pp. 185-210.
11. King of Lakhm, better known as 'Amr ibn-Hind. See al-Isfahini, pp 109-110.
12. Heb. *massebhah*, 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 "Massebhah" in *ibid.*: George A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, Philadelphia, 1934 pp 150ff.

13. *Al-Aghani* vol xxi p.207; *Die Gedichte des Mutalammis*, ed. R. Vollers, Leipzig, 1903, p.23.
14. AH. 9/A.D. 630-631 See *Sirah*, pp.914-917.
15. Later became the governor of al-Basrah and al-Kufah; d. A.H. 50 / AD. 670; *al-Ma'arif* pp 150-151.
16. cf. *Sirah* pp 917-919.
17. *ibid.*, p.871.
18. *Buldan* vol iv pp 337-338; cf. *Sirah*, p.871.
19. *Al-Aghani* vol x pp. 6-8; *al-Shi'r w-al-Sh'ara'*, pp.99-102. Also Rudolf Geyer, *Gedichte und Fragmente des "Aus ibn Hajar"* in *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol.126, Vienna, 1892, Pt. xiii, see. xi, line 2.

### **Al-Uzza**

They then adopted al-'Uzza[1] as their goddess. She is, in point of time, more recent than either Allat or Manah, since I have heard that the Arabs named their children after the latter two before they named them after al-'Uzza. Thus I have found that Tamim ibn-Murr[2] had called his son[s] Zayd-Manah ibn-Tamim ibn-Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Tabikhah'[3] and 'Abd-Manah ibn-Udd[4]. Similarly Tha'labah ibn-'Ukabah[5] named his son after Allat, calling him Taym-Allat[6]. [Others were] : Taym-Allat ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr, Zayd-Allat ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr ibn-Wabarah ibn-Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Tabikhah. Taym-Allat ibn-al-Namir ibn-Qasit, and 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Ka'b ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd-Manah ibn-Tamim[7]. 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 Zilim ibn-As'ad[8]. Her idol was situated in a valley in Nakhlat al-Sha'miyah[9] called Hurad[10], alongside al-Ghumayr'[11] to the right of the road from Mecca to al-'Iraq, above Dhat-Irq[12] and nine miles from al-Bustin[13]. Over her [Zalim] built a house called Buss[14] 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.

We have been told that the Apostle of God once mentioned 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 Allat and al-'Uzza,  
And Manah, the third idol besides.

Verily they are the most exalted females[15]  
Whose intercession is to be sought[16]."

These were also called "the Daughters of Allah[17]," 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 Allat and al-'Uzza, and Manah 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[18]."

The Quraysh had dedicated to it, in the valley of Hurad, a ravine (*shi'b*) called Suqam[19] and were wont to vie there with the Sacred Territory of the Ka'bah. Abu-Jundub al-Hudhali[20] (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 Suqam were dedicated: f 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[20]."

Dirham ibn-Zayd al-Awsi[21] also said:

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

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

"Asmi' was married to the jawbone of a little cow  
Which one of the banu-Ghanm'[27] 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 ceremony.

Nuhaykah al-Fazari[28], addressing 'Amir ibn-al-Tufayl[29], speaks of al-Ghabghab saying:

"O 'Amir! If we had but overtaken thee with our spears,  
By the stars that [watch over] Mina[30] 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[31]."

Qays ibn-Munqidh ibn-'Ubayd ibn-Datir[32] ibn-Hubshiyah[33] ibn-Salul al-Khuza'i (born to a woman of the banu-Hudad of the Kinanah while others hold that she was of the [banu-] Hudad of the Mubarib) who is [the same as] Qays ibn-Hudadiyah[34], 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[35], who, during the Jahiliyah days, had turned to the worship of God and renounced that of al-'Uzza and of the other idols, said:

"I have renounced both Allat and al-'Uzza,  
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[36] of the banu-Ghanm;  
Nor do I journey to Hubal[37] and adore it,  
Although it was our lord when I was young[38]."

The custody of al-'Uzza was in the hands of the banu-Shayban ibn-Jabir ibn-Murrah ibn-'Abs ibn-Rifa'ah ibn-al-Harith ibn-'Utbah ibn-Sulaym ibn-Mansur of the banu-

Sulaym[39]. The last of them to hold its custody was Dubayyah ibn-Harami al-Sulami[40]. In connection with a visit to Dubayyah, in which he was given a good pair of shoes, abu-Khirash 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[41]."

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[42]. This proved very hard upon the Quraysh. Then abu-Uhayhah (Sa'id ibn-al-'As ibn-Umayyah ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manaf)[43] was taken sick by what proved to be his last and fatal sickness. As he lay on his deathbed, abu-Lahab[44] came to visit and found him weeping. Thereupon abu-Lahab asked, "What makes you weep O abu-Uhayhah? Is it death which is inevitable?" Abu-Uhayhah 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-Uhayhah then said, "Now

I know that I have a successor," and was well pleased with abu-Lahab's intense loyalty to al-'Uzza[45]. In the year of the victory (*'am al-fath*)[46], the Prophet summoned Khalid ibn-al-Walid[47] and said unto him, "Go unto a tree in the valley of Nakhlah[48] and cut it down." Khalid went thereto, captured Dubayyah, who was the custodian of al-'Uzza, and killed him. Abu-Khirash 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 I would have come with a cup  
Of the banu-Hatif[49] 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.  
Suqam[50] has become desolate, deserted by  
all of its friends, except the wild beasts and the wind which  
blows through its empty chambers[52]."

(Said abu-al-Mundhir: Al-Hatif is a clan of the banu-'Amr ibn-Asad.)" - . . . [53]

Abu-al-Mundhir said: Sa'id ibn-al-'As abu-Uhayhah was 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-'Ali that 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah 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-Salih that ibn-'Abbas 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 Khalid ibn-al-Walid saying, "Go to the valley of Nakhlah; there you

will find three trees. Cut down the first one." Khalid went and cut it down. On his return to report, the Prophet asked him saying, "Have you seen anything there?" Khalid 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?" Khalid answered, "No." Thereupon the Prophet ordered him to go back and cut down the third tree. When Khalid 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 Khalid approaching, he said:

"O thou al-'Uzza! Remove thy veil and tuck up thy sleeves;  
Summon up thy strength and deal Khalid an unmistakable blow.  
For unless thou killest him this very day,  
Thou shalt be doomed to ignominy and shame."

Thereupon Khalid 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 never be worshipped again." Consequently abu-Khirash 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 Allat and then Manah. Al-'Uzza, however, received from the Quraysh the exclusive honor of visitation and sacrifice. This, I believe, was because of her close proximity. The Thaqif, on the other hand, were wont to offer Manah 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 Manah 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-Luhayy. These are the five idols which God mentioned in the glorious Koran when He said, "Forsake not Wadd nor Suwa', nor Yaghuth and Ya'us and Nasr[54]." This, I believe, was because of their distance from them.

The Quraysh were wont to venerate [al-'Uzza]. The Ghani[55] and the Bihilah[56], too, joined the Quraysh in her worship. The Prophet, therefore, dispatched Khalid ibn-al-Walid, who cut down the trees, destroyed the house, and demolished the idol[57].

The Quraysh had also several idols in and around the Ka'bah. The greatest of these was Hubal[58]. It was, as I 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' [59] ibn-Mudar[60]. 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. *qidah* or *aqduh*). On one of these arrows was written "pure" (*sarih*), and on another "consociated alien" (*mulsag*). 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 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-Muttalib[61] 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 'Abdullah, the father of the Prophet[62]. Hubal was also the same idol which abu-Sufyan ibn-Harb[63]addressed when he emerged victorious after the battle of Uhud[64], saying:

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

To which the Prophet replied:

"Allah is more exalted and more majestic[65]."

Among their idols, the Quraysh also had Isif and Na'ilah[66]. 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 Ka'bah while the other was placed by Zamzam[67]. 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-Talib[68] said, swearing by them when the Quraysh united against the banu-Hishim[69] 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 Isaf and Na'ilah stand[70]."

Bishr ibn-Khazim al-Asadi[71], speaking of Isaf, says:

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

The Arabs were wont to use other names in conjunction ibn-Tamim[78]. He was called al-Mustawghir (irascible, choleric) because he once said the following:

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

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

I marched against Ruda and burnt it down,  
And left it a heap of ashes, charred and black.  
I called upon 'Abdullah's aid for its destruction;  
Verily if is one like 'Abdullah who would dare unlawful  
things to do[79]."

Ibn-Adh'am[80], a man of the banu-'Amir 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-'Ayyar's [toothless mouth].  
Henceforth when thou seest their place thou hiest away,  
As the pig fleeth the boiling water[81]."

Al-'Ayyar 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.)

with 'Abd; yet I do not know whether they were after names of idols or not. Among these names were: 'Abd-Yalil[72], 'Abd-Ghanm[73], 'Abd-Kulal[74], and 'Abd-Ruda[75].

Some of the traditionists related that Ruda[76] was a temple which belonged to the banu-Rabi'ah ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd ibn-Manih[77]. It was destroyed by al-Mustawghir [whose real name] was 'Amr ibn-Rabi'ah ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zayd ibn-Manah

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." He then ordered that they be knocked down, after which they were taken out and burned.

In this connection, Rashid ibn-'Abdullah al-Sulami[83] said:

"She asked me to speak, hut I said, 'No.  
Neither God nor Islam would approve our speech.  
Hast thou not seen Muhammad 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.'" [84]

Said [abu-al-Mundhir: The Quraysh] had another idol [called] Manaf[85]. They were wont to call their children 'Abd-Manaf[86], 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'a' ibn-Qays ibn-'Abdullah ibn-Ya'mar'[87] (Yamar is al-Shuddakh[88] al-Laythi), who was afflicted with alphasia[89] (Hisham ibn-Muhammad abu-al-Mundhir related that Khalid ibn-Sa'id ibn-al-'As[90] had told him on the authority of his father[91] that Bal'a' was once asked

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 Manaf."

[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.

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[92]." They had in mind the idol.

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 (*ansab*). Whenever these stones resembled a living form they called them' idols (*asnam*) and images (*awthan*). The act of circumambulating them they called circumrotation (*dawar*).

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-On his departure he would leave them behind, and would do the same on his other stops.[93]

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 (*ata'ir*, sing. *atirah*); the place on which they slaughtered and offered the sacrifice was called an altar, (*'itr*). In this connection Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma[94] said:

"He moved therefrom and reached a mountain top,  
Like a high altar sprinkled with the blood of sacrifice."

The banu-Mulayh[95] of the Khuza'ah [tribe] (they are the kindreds of Talhat a-Talahat[96] [or al-Talhat]) were wont to worship the jinn. In reference to them the following verse was revealed: "Truly they worship ye call on besides God, are, like yourselves, his servants[97]."

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ryckmans. vol 1, p. 26; Wellhausen, pp.34-45.

2. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 123.
3. *ibid.*, p.133.
4. *ibid.*, p. 144.
5. Unidentified.
6. *Ishtiqaq*, p.315.
7. The last four names unidentified.
8. *Taj al-'Arus*, entries *bss* and *zz*.
9. *Buldan*, vol. iv, p.769.
10. *ibid.*, vol. ii, p.229.
11. *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 816.
12. *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 651-652.
13. *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 611-612.
14. *Buldan*, vol. i, pp. 622-623; *Taj al-'Arus*, entries *bss* and *zz*.
15. *Ar. ghardniq*, lit. Numidian cranes,
16. Said to be one of the "abrogated" verses of the Koran; cf. Tabari, vol.1, pp. 1192-1196.
17. Al-Tabari, *Jami' al-Bay'dn fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, 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.
18. *Surah* LIII: 19-20. For Muhammad's compromise with these deities and his subsequent repentance, see Tabari, vol. i, pp. 1192-1196; cf. also *Surah* xvii: 75-76.
19. *Buldan*, vol. III. p.100.
20. Kosegarten, *Ash'ar al-Hudhaliyin*, pp. 79-99.
21. cf. *Buldan*, vol. iii, p. 100. The verses are not mentioned in Kosegarten's edition.
22. cf. *al-Aghani*, vol. ii, pp. 166, 168.
23. *Sifah*, p.120; *Buldan*, vol. III, pp. 77-78.
24. *Buldan*, vol. iii, p.665; cf. *al-Aghani'*, vol.II p. 168, line 4.

25. cf. *Sifah*, p.177; *Buldan*, vol. iii, pp.772-773.
26. Abu-Khirash Khuwaylid ihn-Murrah; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara'* p.48; *al-Aghani*, vol. xxi, pp.54-70.
27. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 87, line 15.
28. Nahik in *Lisan al-'Arab*, entry *hsb* See *Khizanat al-Adab*, vol. iv, p. 164, where his name is Nuhaykah ibn-al-Harith al-Mizini of the Fararah tribe.
29. d. A.H. 10 / A.D. 631-632. Tabari, vol.1, pp. 1443-1448, 1745-1747; *al-Aghani*. vol. xv, p.52; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara'*; pp.191-192.
30. *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp.642-643.
31. cf. *Buldan*, vol.III, p.773.
32. cf. *al-Aghani*, vol. xiii, p. 2, where it is Dayatir.
33. *Ishtiqaq*, p.276.
34. *Al-Aghani*, vol: xiii, pp. 2-8.
35. One of four men who are supposed to have renounced idolatry during the Jahiliyah days. See Surah, pp. 143-149. Muhammad is said to have declared him one of the ten promised Paradise. See *al-Ma'arif*, p. 29.
36. Unidentified.
37. Ryckmans, vol.I, pp.9, 71.
38. cf. *al-Aghani*, vol.III, pp.15-16.
39. *Ishtiqaq*, p 187.
40. *Al-Aghani*, vol. xxi, p.57.
41. cf. *ibid.*, vol. xxi, pp.57-58.
42. *Surah* LIII: 19.
43. d. A.H. 1/ A.D. 622-623; *Ishtiqaq*, p.49; Tabari, vol.I, p.1261.
44. cf. *Surah* cxi; *Sirah*, pp. 231, 233, 276; Tabari, vol.I, pp. 1170-1172; al-Marif, pp. 60-61.
45. cf. *Buldan*, vol.III, pp. 665-666.
46. A.H. 8 / A.D. 629-630, the year Mecca was captured.

47. 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; *aI-Ma'drif*, p.136.
48. *Sifah*, p.127, line 1; *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp.769-770.
49. *Taj al-'Arus*, entry *htf*. A sub-tribe of the Kinanah.
50. *Buldan*, vol.III, p. 100.
51. cf. *al-Aghani*; vol. xxi, p. 58.
52. *Ishtiqaq*, p.110.
53. Linguistic notes precede and follow this sentence.
54. *Surah LXXI*: 22-23.
55. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 164.
56. *ibid.*, p. 164.
57. Ibn-Sa'd, vol. ii, pt 1, p.105.
58. See above, p.19.
59. Also Alyas; cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p.20.
60. *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 19-20.
61. Grandfather of the Prophet.
62. For details, see *Sirah*, pp. 91-100.
63. One of "those whose hearts are reconciled" to Islam (*al-mu'allafah qulubuhum*), 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. *Sirah*, pp. 880-883; cf. *Sirah* ix: 60. His son, Mu'awiyah, who later founded the Umayyad dynasty. was another.
64. *Sirah*, pp. 555-592. In this battle, A.H. 3 / A.D. 625, Muhammad himself was wounded. See also Tabari, vol.I, pp. 1383-1431.
65. cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 316.
66. See above, p. 8.
67. 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. *Buldan*, vol.II, pp. 941-944; cf. Gen. xvi: 4.
68. The uncle and guardian of Muhammad. *Sirah*, pp. 114-117.

69. The family of the Prophet.

70. *Sirah*, pp. 172-177. The banu-al-Ash'ar (al-Ash'arun in the text) were a South Arabian tribe, See *Lisan al-'Arab*, entry *sh'r*. They were also known as al-Ashair; see *Shams al-Ulam*, p. 56. 71. *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara*, pp. 145-147. See also Gustav von Grunebaum, *Bishr b. abi Khazim: Collection of Fragments*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1939), pp. 533-567. For the verse see no. xxvi, on p. 558.

72. Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 111.

73. *ibid.*, vol.I, p. 175.

74. *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 267.

75. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 32.

76. *Buldan*, vol. II, p. 789.

77. *Ishtiqdq*, p. 154.

78. *ibid*, p. 154.

79. cf *Sifah* p. 56; *Buldan*, vol. ii, p. 789.

80. In al Maydini, *Majma' al-Amthal*, Cairo, 1310, the poet is Masruh al Kalbi and in *Taj al-'Aras*, entry *ghnz*, he is Masruh ibn-Adham al-Na'ami (a sub-tribe of the KaIb), and the verses are said against Jarir.

81. In *Lisan al-'Arab*, entry *ghnz*," these verses are ascribed to Jarir; entry *yr* at Ayy'ar is supposed to be a horse, and the verses are ascribed to abu 'Ubayd, perhaps ibn-abi-Wajzab; cf. also *Taj al-'Aras*, entries *jrdand yr*. In the "Jambarah" (Escorial MS), folio 215, the verses are said against al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani.

82. *Surah* xvii 83.

83. cf. ibn-Hajar al-'Asqalani, *al-Isabah fi Tamyiz al-Sahabah*, Cairo, 1327, vol. ii, p. 185.

84. cf. *Buldan*, vol. iv, p. 950.

85. Ryckmans, vol.1, pp. 18, 129.

86. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 10.

87. *ibid.*, p. 106.

88. Also al-Shaddakh; see *Ishtiqaq*, p 106; *Lisan al-Arab*, entry *shdkh*; Tabari vol. i, p.1097.

89. Ar. *abras*, which literally means a leper. But the malady was probably the very common *bahaq* which resulted in the loss of pigment.

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

91. Abu-Uhayhab; see above, p. 20.

92. *Surah xxxviii*: 4.

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

94. *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara*, pp. 57-67; *al-Aghani*, vol. ix, pp. 146-158.

95. *Ishtiqaaq*, pp. 276, 280.

96. His real name was Talhah ibn-'Abdullah ('Ubayd-Allah in *Lisan al-'Arab*, entry *thl*) ibn-Khalaf al-Khuza'i. See *al-Ma'arif*, p. 214; *Ishtiqaaq*, p.280.

97. *Surah vii*: 193.

### **Dhu-al-Khalasah**

Among those idols, too, was dhu-al-Khalasah[1]. It was a carved niece of white quartz with something in the form of a crown upon its head. It stood in Tahalah[2], between Mecca

and San'a[3], at a distance of seven nights' journey from Mecca. Its custody was in the hands of the banu-Umamah[4] of the Bahilah inhn-A'sur[5]. The Khath'am[6], the Bajilah[7], and the Azd[8] of al-Sarah[9], as well as those Arab sub-tribes of the Hawazin[10] who lived in their vicinity and those Arabs residing in Tabalah, were wont to venerate it and come to it with sacrifice.

A certain man said:

"O dhu-al-Khalasah, 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-Khalasah 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-Hujr al-Kindi[11].

Khidash ibn-Zuhayr al-'Amiri[12] refers to dhu-al-Khalasah in verses which he addressed to 'Ath'ath ibn-Wahshi al-Khatli'ami[13] 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;  
That our witness was God and the White Quartz Idol[14] of Tabalah,  
And the oath of al-Nu'man[15] 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 Jarir ibn-'Abdullah[16]. He came to the Apostle and embraced Islam before him. Thereupon the Apostle addressed him saying, "O Jarir! Wilt thou not rid me of dhu-al-Khalasah?" Jarir replied, "Yea." So the Apostle dispatched him to destroy it. He set out until he got to the banu-Abmas[17] of the Bajilah [tribe] and with them he proceeded to dhu-al-Khalasah. There he was met by the Khath'am and the Bahilah, who resisted him and attempted to defend dhu-al-Khalasah. He, therefore, fought them and killed a hundred men of the Bahilah, its custodians, and many of the Khath'am[15]; while of the banu-Qubafah ibn-'Amir ibn-Khath'am[18] he killed two hundred. Having defeated them and forced them into flight, he demolished the building which stood over dhu-al-Khalasah and set it on fire. A certain woman of the banu-Khath'am thereupon said:

"The banu-Umamah, each wielding his spear,  
Were slaughtered at al-Wahyab[19], their abode;  
They came to defend their shrine, only to find  
Lions with brandished swords clamoring for blood.  
The women of the Khath'am were, then, humiliated  
By the men of the Abmas, and abased."

At the present time dhu-al-Khalasah constitutes the threshold of the gate of the mosque at Tabalah. 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[20] wiggle [again] around dhu-al-Khalasah and they worship it as they were wont to do [before Islam] [21]."

## FOOTNOTES

1. cf. Ryckmans, vol.1, p. 104; Buldan, vol.11, pp.461-463; Wellhausen, pp.45-48.
2. *Sifah*, p.127; cf. *Buldan*, vol.I, pp.816-817.
3. Text, "al-Yaman."
4. cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p.165.
5. *ibid.*, p.164.
6. *ibid.*, p.304.
7. *ibid.*, p.302.

8. Better known as the Asd; see *Shams al-'Ulum*, p.3; *Ishtiqaq*, p.283; *Sirah*, p.70.
9. The range of mountains stretching from the extreme limit of Yemen north to Hejar; see *Sifah*, pp.67-71.
10. *Ishtiqaq*, p.177.
11. *Al-Aghani*. vol. viii, p.70. For the life of Imru'-al-Qays, see *ibid.*, vol, viii pp.62-76; *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara'*, pp.37-56.
12. *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara'*, pp.409-410.
13. *Ishtiqaq*, p.306.
14. Dhu-al-Khalasah.
15. Al-Nu'man III, son of al-Mundhir, ca. A.D. 580-602, nicknamed abu-Qabuss; see al-Isfahani, p. iii; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1949, pp.83-84.
16. A1-Bajali, d. A.H. 54/ A.D. 674; *Sirah*, p. 56; *al-Ma'arif*, p.149.
17. *Ishtiqaq*, p.304.
18. Cf. *ibid.*, p.305.
19. *Buldan*, vol. iv, p.941.
20. *Ishtiqaq*, p.291.
21. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, Fitan: 24.

### **Sa'd**

The Malik[1] and the Milkan[2], the two sons of Kinanah[3], had at the coast of Juddah[4] [or somewhere] in that region[5], an idol called Sa'd[6]. It was a long rock. Once upon a time a certain man [belonging to one of these tribes][7] 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?"

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.17; Tabari, vol. I, p. 1105.
2. Tabari, vol. i, p.1505.
3. *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 18, 104-105.
4. *Sifah*, p.47; *Buldan*, vol.II, p.41.
5. Text, "and that region"; cf. *Buldan*, vol.III, p.92, line 8, where it is, "and in that region."
6. Wellhausen, pp.59-60.
7. Text, "a certain man of them."

### **Dhu-al-Kaffayn**

The Daws, more specifically the banu-Munhib ibn-Daws[1], had an idol called dhu-al-Kaffayn[2] (he of the two palms). When [the banu-Munhib ibn-Daws] embraced Islam, the Prophet sent al-Tufayl ibn-'Amr al-Dawsi[3] to destroy it. Al-Tufayl 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[4]."

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. Unidentified.
2. *Sirah*, p.254; Wellhausen, p. 65.
3. *ibid.*, pp.252-255; cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p.296.
4. cf. *Sirah*, p.254, lines 10-11.,

### **Dhu-al-Shara**

The banu-al-Hairith ibn-Yashkur ibn-Mubashshir[1] of the Azd [tribe] had an idol called dhu-al-Shara[2](Dusares). One of the Ghatarif[3], referring to it, said:

"We would descend upon the region surrounding dhu-al-Shara,  
And our mighty army would, then, smite the foe."

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p.300, where Yashkur is the brother of Mubashshir.

2. cf. Ryckmans, vol.5, p.212. This was the chief god of the Nabataeans. Its chief sanctuary was in Ettra, where a large, black, quadrangular unhewn stone was dedicated to it in a splendid temple. See Fr. Buhl, "Dhu '1-Shara" in The Encyclopaedia of Islam; Alexander B. W Kennedy, Petra, Its History and Monuments, London, 1925, pp 35, 41, 57, 73, 76,77; Wellhausen, pp. 48-51.

3. The name under which the banu-'Amir ibn-Mubashshir were known.

### **Al-Uqaysir**

The Qudi'ah[1], the Lakhm[2], the Judham[3], the 'Amilah[4], and the Ghatafan[5] had, in the hills of Syria, an idol called al-Uqaysir[6]. Of it Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma says:

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

Of it also Rabi' ibn-Dab' al-Fazari[7] said:

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

Of it, too, al-Shanfara al-Azdi[8] the confederate (*halif*) of the banu-Fahm[9], said:

"By the [honored] garments of al-Uqaysir! One who hath  
Come to the aid of 'Amr and his friends reproacheth me[10]."

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.313.

2 *ibid.*, p.225.

3 *ibid.*, p.225.

4 *Sifah*, pp.129, 132.

5 *Ishtiqaq*, pp.164, 167.

6 Wellhausen, pp.62-64. Set also G. L. Della Vida, "al-Ukaisir," in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

7 *Al-Aghani*, vol. viii, p.72, vol. XIX, p.99.

8 *ibid.*, vol. xxi, Pp.134-143.

9 *Ishtiqaq* p.162.

10 cf. *al-Aghani*, vol. xxi, p.141, line 18.

## Nuhm

The Muzaynah[1] had an idol called Nuhm[2]. They used to name their children 'Abd-Nuhm, after it. The custodian of Nuhm was called Khuza'i ibn-'Abd-Nuhm of the Muzaynah, and more specifically of the banu-'Ida[3]. 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 Muhammad,  
[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[4] says:

"When thou meetest two black shepherds with their sheep,  
Solemnly swearing by Nuhm,  
With shreds of flesh between them divided,

### FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 111.
2. cf. Ryckmans, vol. i, p.137; Wellhausen, pp.57-58.
3. Text, Adda; Ada in Wellhausen, p. 58, line 1. See *Lisan al-'Arab*, entry 'dy.
4. *Al-Aghani*, vol. XVIII, pp 156-163.

Go thy way; let not thy gluttony prevail."

## A'im

The Azd of al-Sarah had an idol called 'A'im[1]. Of it Zayd al-Khayr, who is the same as Zayd al-Khayl al-Tai[2] says:

"Thou wouldst tell those whom thou wouldst meet that I have defeated them,  
Though thou wouldst not know their mark, nay, by 'A'im[3]."

### FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.35; cf. Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 160; Wellhausen, p.66.
2. *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara*, pp. 156-158; *Sirah*, pp. 946-47; *al-Aghani*, vol. xvi, pp.47-62.

3. Cf. *al-Aghani*, vol. XVI, p.57, line 31, where the last word of the second hemistich reads *wa al-ama'imu* instead of *la wa-a'imu* consequently changing the meaning to "nor turbans."

### Su'ayr

The 'Anazah[1] had an idol called Su'ayr.' Ja'far ibn-abi- Khallis al-Kalbi[2] 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[3] and  
Yadhkur[4] 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 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 (*ansab*), and the circumambulation thereof was called circumrotation (*dawar*).

In this connection, 'Amir ibn-a Tufayl (who had, one day, come upon the Ghani ihn-A'sur[5] 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[6]!"

In this connection, too, 'Amr ibn-Jabir al-Harithi[7], later al-Ka'bi, said:

"The Ghutayf vowed nor to frighten their flock,  
And I vowed by the baetyls not to scare them."

Al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdi[8] refers to such baetyls in an ode which he addressed to 'Amr ibn-Hind. He said:

"Young lads circumambulate their baetyls,  
Until their hair[9] becomes almost grey."

Al-Fazari,[10], 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!"

Referring to the same practice, one of the banu-Damrah[10] said, 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-Duba'i, addressing 'Amr ibn-Hind and reminding him of what he had done to him and to Tarafah ibn-al-'Ahd[11], says:

"Thou hast banished me for fear of lampoon arid satire.  
No! By Allat and all the sacred baetyls, thou shalt not escape[12]!"

Recalling a war in which he had fought, 'Amir ibn-Withilah abu-al-Tufayl[13] 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."

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.194.
2. cf. Ryckman's., vol I, p. 153, *Lisan al-Arab* has Sa'ir, while *Taj al-Aras has Su'ayr*, Wellhausen, p 61.
3. In *Buldan*, vol.III, p.94, the name is given as Ja'far ibn-Khallas al-Kalbi; in the "Jamharah" (Escorial MS), folio 210r-v, it is given as Ja'far ibn-abi-al-Jallas.
4. *Ishtiqaq*, p.194.
5. *Sifah*, p.172.
6. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 164.
7. See Charles Lyall, *The Diwans of 'Abid ibn al-Abra, or Asad and of 'Amir ibn at-Tufail, or 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah*, Leyden, 1913, text, p. 155, tr., p 122.
8. Unidentified.
9. *Al-Shi'r w-al Shu'ara'*, pp.233-235.
10. Lit. "eyebrows".
11. Perhaps Nuhaykah; see above, p. 18.
12. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 105.
13. *Al-Shi'r w-al Shu'ara'*, pp.88-96.

The Khawlin[1] had in the land of Khawlan[2] an idol called 'Amm-Anas[3]. They were wont to set apart a portion of their 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.

They were a clan of the Khawlan called al-Adim[4] who are al-Usum[5]. 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[6].

Hassan ibn-Thabit[7], addressing al-'Uzza which was in Mecca, said:

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

#### FOOTNOTE

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.227.
2. *Buldan*, vol.II, p.499.
3. Text "'Umyanus." See Ryckmans, vol. i, p.220, *Sirah*, P.53; cf. *Buldan*, vol.III, p.731.
4. Text "al-Udum"; *Sifah*, p.114, line 21 and *Sirah*, p.53, line 7 "al-Adim"; in *Buldan*, vol.III, p.731, line 8, "al-Adhum."
5. Unidentified.
6. Surah vi: 137.
7. *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu' ara*, pp.170-173; *al-Aghani*, vol. IV, pp.2-17.
8. Text "And that both the father of John and John."
9. Cf. Surahs iii: 32-36, vi: 85, xix: 1-15, xxi: 89-90.
10. "Namely al-'Uzza; see above, p. 16.
11. cf. *al-Aghani*, vol. iv, p. 10; *Diwan Hassan ibn-Thabit*, ed. Hartwig Hirschfeld, Leyden and London, 1910, pp.44-45.

## The Ka'bah of Najran

The banu-al-Harith ibn-Ka'b[1] had in Najran[2] a Ka'bah[3] which they venerated. It is the one which al-A'sha[4] mentions

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

### FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.155.
2. *Sifah*, pp.83-86; *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp.751-759.
3. *Sifah* p.127; *Buldan*, vol.II, pp.703-704.
4. *Al-Shir w-al-Shu'ara*, pp.135-143; *al-Aghani*, vol. viii, pp.77-87.
5. See *Diwan al-A'sha*, ed. Rudolf Geyer, London, 1928, p.122, line 6, where the poet says, "[To visit] the Ka'bah of Najran is an ordinance incumbent upon you; [you would not be released therefrom] until you dismount in front of its gates."
6. In the following verse (*Diwan al-A'sha*, p.122, line 7) where he says, "There we would visit Yazid, 'Abd-Manah, and Qays - in truth they are the best of its lords."

## The Ka'bah of Sindad

The Iyid[1] had another Ka'bah in Sindad[2], [located] in a region between al-Kufah[3] and al-Basrah[4]. It is the one which al-Aswad ibn-Ya'fur[5] mentions [in one of his odes][6]. 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[7] named 'Ahd-al-Dar ibn-Hudayb[8] once said to his people, "Come let us build a house (to be located in a spot in their territory called al-Hawra')[9] with which we would rival the Ka'bah[10], 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, Steal away and tild in rite outskirts of Qawdam[11], Have demurred and refused my request. They clamor 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[12]."

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Ishtiqaq*, p.285.
2. *Sifah* p 176; *Buldan* vol. iii, pp. 164-165.
3. *Sifah* pp. 8, 45; *Buldan* vol. iv, pp. 322-327.
4. *Sifah* p 45ff; *Buldan* vol. i, pp. 636-653.
5. *Al Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara*, pp. 134-135.
6. *ibid.* p. 134; *Sifah* pp 171, 231.
7. *Ishtiqaq*, pp.319-320.
8. Unidentified.
9. *Sifah* p 171.
10. Of Mecca.
11. *Buldan*, vol. iv, pp.196-197.
12. cf. *ibid.*, pp 196-197.

## Al-Qalis

Abraham al-Ashram[1] had built in San'a[2], a church which he called al-Qalis[3]. He built it of marble and employed in the construction the best of gold and 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-shukur*)[4], who dispatched two of his followers, ordering them not to return until they had defecated within the church. The two men went and did what they were ordered.

When the news reached Abraham 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 or the head of his] Abyssinian [hordes] and elephants. The story of his expedition is well-known[5].

I was told by al-Hasan ibn-'Ulayl[6], on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbih[7] that abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad said that abu-Miskin[8] had related to him on the authority of his father[9] the following: When Imru'-al-Qays ibn-Hujr set out to raid the banu-Asad he passed by dhul-al-Khalash (This was an idol which stood in Tabalah and which all the Arabs venerated.) It had three divination arrows: "the

enjoiner" (al-amir), "the forbiddler" (al-nahi), and "the vigilant" (al-mutarabbis). As Imru'-al-Qays stood before the idol, he shuffled the arrows three times and three times he drew "the forbidden". 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[10]." He then raided the banu-Asad and defeated them. Consequently no more sortilege was practiced before dhu-al-Kahlasah 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-Sabbih had related to him that Hishim ibn-Muhammad once said that a certain man, nicknamed abu-Bishr and whose real name was 'Amir ibn-Shibl[11], of the Jarm[12] tribe, reported to him the following: The Quda'ah, the Lakhm, and the Judham, 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 use 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[13]. During this time the Hawazin 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 Hawazin. 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[14].

Once upon a time the Jarm and the banu-Ja'dah[15] quarrelled over a water well called al-'Aqiq[16] and came to the Prophet seeking his decision. He decided in favor of the Jarm. There upon Mu'awiya ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Dhira' al-Jarmi[17] said:

"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, 'Give it unto me, without the lice, and be rewarded there-with; For I am one of the poor men of the Hawazin tribe.' Ye are trot 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." [18]

Abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad said: In this connection al-Sharqi[19] recited to me [a few verses by Suraqab ibn-Malik ibn-Ju'sham al-Mudlijji[20] of the banu-Kinanah[21]. He recited: "Have not the Judham and the Lakhm who show themselves on [our] festivals, as well as every Quda'ite[22] present, with dishes as big as tanks, stand in Ratiwa[23] 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-Sabbah that abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Sa'ih 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 (Shith)[24], the son of Adam, buried him in a cave in the whereon Adam alighted (when he was sent) to the land of India. (The name of the mountain is Nawdh[25], and it is the most fertile mountain in all the world. Hence the saying, "More fertile than Nawdh and more arid than Barahut[26]. Barahut is a valley in Hadra-

mawt[27], in [the Vicinity of] a village called Tin'ah[28]. Al-'Anazi related to me on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah that abu-al-Mundhir once said: I Was told by my father, on the authority of abu-Salih who in turn was quoting ibn-'Abbas, that the souls of the believers were buried in al-Jabiyah[29] in Syria, while those of the polytheists were interred in Barahut.)

I was told by abu-'Ali al-'Anazi on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father, who in turn was quoting abu-Salih on the authority of ibn-'Abbas 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 (Qabil)[30], the son of Adam, [addressing his brethren], said, "O children of Cain! Verily the children of Seth have a circuit (*dawar*) 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-Hasan ibn-'Ulayl on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father the following:

Wadd, Suwaf, Yaghuth, Ya'uq, 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, 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].

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.

This practice lasted throughout the first century [following the death of those five persons]. The statues were made during the time of Jared (Yarid)[31] the son of Malialcel (Malila'il)[32] the son of Cainan (Qinan)[33] the son of Enos (Anush)[34] the son of Seth the son of Adam[35].

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 Idris, who is Enoch (Akhnukh)[36] the son of Jared the son of Mahaleel the son of Cainan. Idris 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[37]."

The position which these statues, [now become idols], occupied in the worship of the people, as ibn-al-Kalbi[38] had related on the authority of ibn-Salih, who in turn had related on the authority of ibn-'Abbas continued to wax strong until the time of Noah (Nuh)[39], 'O the son of Lamech (Lamak)[40] the son of Methuselah (Matushalab)[41] 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 I lie 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 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[42]. 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, tile 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-Hasan ibn-'Ulayl, who was quoting 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah, that abu-al-Mundhir Hisham ibn-Muhammad 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 (*sanam*) but if it were made of stone it would be an image (*wathan*)[44].

I was told by al-'Anazi on the authority of 'Ah ibn-al-Sabbab who related that abu-al-Mundhir, quoting his father, once said that abu-Salih related on the authority of ibn-'Abbas that the last to remain of the waters of the flood was in Hisma" in the land of the Judham. It remained forty years and then receded.

I was told by abu-'Ali al-'Anazi on rite authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah that abu-al-Mundhir related on the authority of his father al-Kalbi the following:

'Amr ibn-Luhayy, who is Rabi'ah ibn-Harithah ibn-'Amr ibn-'Amir ibn-Harithah ibn-Tha'labah ibn-Imru'-al-Qays ibn-Mazin ibn-al-Azd, the father of the Khuza'ah (his mother was Fuhayrah, the daughter of al-Harith, but others say she was the daughter of al-Harith ibn-Mudad al-Jurhumi)[45], was a priest (*kahin*). (He had conquered Mecca, drove the

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

"Make haste, get thee out of Tihamah 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 Tihamah 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 Tihamah, and erected them there. When the time for the pilgrimage arrived, he summoned all the Arabs to their worship. 'Awf ibn-'Udhrah ibn-Zayd -- Allat ibn-Rufaydah ibn-Thawr ibn-Kalb ibn-Wabarah ibn-Taghlih ibn-Hulwan ibn-'Imran ibn-al-

Haf[46] ibn-Qudaah[47] answered his call. 'Amr, therefore, gave him Wadd[48] which 'Awf carried to Widi al-Qura and erected it in Dumat al-Jandal. He also named his son 'Abd-Wadd[49], 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 'Amir, who was called 'Amir al-Ajdar[50],

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

Abu-al-Mundbir related that [his father] al-Kalbi once said: I was told by Malik ibn-Harithah al-Ajdari 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." Malik added, "I used to drink the milk myself." He also said, "I also saw it after Khalid ibn-al-Walid had destroyed it and smashed it into pieces." For the Apostle of God had, after the battle of Tabuk[51], sent Khalid ibn-al-Walid to destroy it. But the banu-'Abd-Wadd and the banu-'Amir al-Ajdar resisted Khalid and attempted to defend the idol. Khalid, 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 Qatan ibn-Shurayb[52]. His mother happened upon him dead and thereupon cried out saying:

"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. Hassan ibn-Masad[53], the cousin of al-Ukaydir[54] the ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, was also killed. [In short] it was Khalid who destroyed [Wadd].

Al-Kalbi[55] continued: I then requested Malik ibn-Harithah saying, "Describe to me Wadd in such a way which would make it appear vividly before me." Malik 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] and a spear to which was attached a standard, and [in the other] a quiver full of arrows."

To go back to 'Amr ibn-Luhayy. The Mudar ibn-Nizar answered his call, and he, therefore, gave Suwa' to a certain man of the Hudhayl, whose name was al-Harith ibn-Tamim ibn-Sa'd ibn-Hudhayl ibn-al-Ya's ibn-Mudar[56]. It was [erected] in a place called Ruhat in the valley of Naklah where it was worshipped by the neighboring Mudar. One of the Arabs said:

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

The Madhhij also answered his call, and he, therefore, gave Yaghuth to An'am ibn-'Amr al-Muradi[57] it was placed on a hill in Yemen called Madhhij[58] where it was worshipped by the Madhlij and the neighboring tribes.

The Hamdan also answered 'Amr's call, and he gave Ya'uq to Malik ibn-Marthad ihn-Jusham ibn-Hashid ibn-Jusham ibn-Khayran[59] ibn-Nawf ibn-Hamdin[60]. It was placed in a village called Khaywan[61], where it was worshipped by the Hamdan and the neighboring tribes of Yemen.

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

Hisham said: I was told by al-Kalbi [my father] on the authority of abu-Salih that ibn-'Abbas related that the Prophet Once said, "One day I beheld Hell from afar off, and saw therein 'Amr ibn-Luhayy, a short titan of red [complexion] and blue eyes, dragging his guts [behind hint] in the midst of the dancing flames. Whereupon I asked, 'Who is this man', and was told, 'he is 'Amr ibn-Luhayy, the first to institute the *bahirah*, the *wasilah*, the *sa'ibah*, the *hami(yah)*, change the religion of Ishmael[66], and summon the Arabs to worship of images[67]. The Prophet added, 'The one among his descendants who resembleth him the most is Qatan ibn-'Abdal'Uzza[68]." Thereupon Qatan 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[69]."

[At another time] the Apostle of God said, "Once upon a time I was shown the anti-Christ (al-Dajjal), and, behold, he was a one-eyed man, of brown complexion and curly hair. The one among the banu-'Amr who resembleth him the most is Aktham ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza[70]. 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[71]."

## FOOTNOTES

1. 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 'Am ai-Fil, A.D. 570. See Tabari, vol. I, pp.927-946, 950-952.
2. *Sifah*, p.55; *Buldan*, vol.III, pp.420-426.
3. *Sifah*, p. 40; *Sirah*, p.29; Tabari, vol. 5, pp.934-936. The exact pronunciation cannot be determined. Yaqut (*Buldan*, vol. iv, pp. 170-172) gives al-Qulays, but mentions also al-Qullays and al-Qalis as possible variations. Lisan al-'Arab (entry qls)

gives al-Qullays. The word comes from Gr.

ἐκκλησία, church.

4. 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 *Sirah*, pp. 29-30; cf. Surah ix: 37; *Jami' al-Bayan*, vol. x, pp 90-92. See also Axel Moberg, "Al-Nasi' in der Islamischen Tradition" in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* (Nova Series), vol.27 (1931), pp. 1-54.
5. See Tabari, vol. i, pp.927-946, 950-952; *Sirah*, pp.29-41; *Surah cv*; *Jami' al-Bayan*, vol. xxx, pp. 193-197.
6. 'Al-'Anazi; see above, p.3; also al-Dhahabi, *al-Mustabah fi Asma al-Rijal*, ed. P. de Jong, Leyden, 1881, p.371.
7. See above, p.3,
8. cf. ibn-Sa'd, vol. vi, p.238.
9. Unidentified.
10. See above, p. 30.
11. Amir ibn-Shulla in the "Jamharah" (Escorial MS), folio 252 r.v.
12. *Ishtiqaq*, p.314.
13. 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.
14. cf. al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Bukhala*, ed. C. Van Vloten, Leyden, 1900, p.237; *do Kitab al-Hayawan*, Cairo, 1323-1325, vol. V, p. 114.
15. *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 181, 279.
16. *Sifah*, pp.123, 151; *Buldan*, vol. 1, pp. 340-341, vol. xxi, p.701.
17. Ibn-Hajar al-'Asqalani, *aI-Isabah fi Tarn yiz al-Sababah*, Vol. vi, Cairo, 1325, p. 112, where the poet's name is Mu'a-wiyah ibn-abi-Rab'ah.
18. cf. *Kitab al-Hayawin*, vol. v, p.114; *Buldan*, vol. I, p.341.
19. *Al-Fihrist*, p.90; *al-Ma'arif*, p.268.
20. Tabari, vol. 1, p. 1296; *al-Aghani*, vol. iv, p.19.
21. *Ishtiqaq*, p.316. The Kinanah were a North Arabian tribe.
22. The Judham, the Lakhmr, and the Quda'ah were South Arabian tribes.
23. *Sifah* pp. 125, 126, 130, 171; *Buldan*, vol. II, pp. 790~791.

24. cf. Gen. xv: 25-26, V: 6.
25. *Buldan*, vol. IV, p. 822.
26. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp.598-599; *Sifah*, pp. 138, 201, 203; al-Qazwini, *'Aja'ib al-Makhuqat wa-Ghara'ib al-Mawjadat*, ed. F. Wüsttenfeld, Göttingen, 1849, p. 198.
27. *Sifah*, pp. 85ff.; *Buldan*, vol.II, pp.284-287.
28. *Buldan*, vol. I, p.879.
29. *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 3-4.
30. cf. *Surah* v: 30.
31. Text, "Yardi; Gen. v: 15-20.
32. Cf.. Gen. v: 13-17.
33. Text, "Qaynan cf. Gen. V: 10-14.
34. Cf. Gen. V: 7-11
35. cf. Tabari, vol. I, pp. 155-166.
36. Text, "Ahnukh vi Gen. V: 18-24; Surah XIX:: 57, XXX: 85; Tabari, vol.1, pp 173-177; Jami' al-Baydn, vol. xvi, pp. 71-73, vol. XVII, pp.58-60; al-Tha labi, *Qisas al-Anbiya'*, Cairo, 1297, pp. 46-47.
37. Surah XIX 58 cf. Gen. V: 24.
38. Muhammad ibn al Sa ib, the father of the author.
39. Gen. v: 28-32
40. Text, "Lamk"; Gen V: 25-31.
41. Gen. V: 21 27
42. Gen. ix: 28.
43. cf. above, p.28.
46. *Sifah*, pp.129, 179. 46
45. cf. above, p.6.
46. Text, ilhaf; cf *Ishtiqaq*, p.313.

47. Unidentified; cf. *Ishtiqaq*, pp.313-315.
48. cf. *Buldam*, vol. iv, pp.912-916.
49. cf. Tabari, vol.1, p.851, vol. ii, p.479
50. *Ishtiqaq*, p.317.
51. A.H. 9/A.D. 630; *Sirah*, pp. 893-913; Tabari, vol. I, pp. 1692-1705. al-Waqidi, *Kitab al-Maghazi*, ed. Alfred von Kremer, Calcutta, 1856, pp. 421-432; Wellhausen, *Muhammed an Medana*, Berlin, 1882, pp.390-416; ibn-Sa'd, vol. II,, Pt. 1, pp. 118-123.
52. Unidentified. This story as well as the following verses are quoted by al-Qali in his *Dhayl al-A mali w-al-Nawadir*, Cairo, 1926, P.41.
53. Unidentified.
54. King of Dumat al-Jandal at the time of Muhammad; see Tabari, vol. I, pp 2065-2068; al-Baladhuri, pp. 61-63.
55. The father.
56. Cf. above, p.23.
57. Unidentified.
58. Tabari, vol. III, pp.2361-2362; *Shams al-'UIum*, p.38.
59. cf. *Ishaqaq*, p.252, where Ya'uq is given to Khaywan; also *Buldan*, vol. IV, p.1023.
60. Cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p.250.
61. *Sifah*, pp.66, 112, 124,203; *Buldan*, vol.II P. 512.
62. *Sifah*, p.101.
63. Unidentified; cf. Ryckmans, vol. I, p. 265.
64. *Buldan*, vol. I, p. 714, vol. iv, pp 780-781.
65. See above, p.10.
66. So in MS, though the editor accepted Yaqut's reading (*Buldan*, 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.
67. See above, p.6.

68. Unidentified.

69. cf. Muslim, Iman: 274-275, 277.

70. Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iv, pt. 2, p.29; ibn-al-Athir, *Usud al-Ghabah*, Cairo, 1280, vol. I, p. 123.

71. cf. al-Bukhari, Ta'bir : 33, Fitan: 26.

### **Al-Fals**

I was told by al-'Anazi abu-'Ali on the authority of 'Ali ibn-al-Sabbah that Hisham ibn-Muhammad abu-al-Mundhir once related: I was told by abu-Basil al Ta'i,' on the authority of his uncle 'Antarah ibn-al-Akhras[1], that the Tayyi' had an idol called al-Fals[2]. It was a red [rock], in the form of a man[3], projecting in the center of their mountain, Aja[4] 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 banu-Bawlan[5] while Bawlan himself was the first to institute its worship. The last of the banu-Bawlan to hold its custody was one called Sayfi[6]. One day he caught a milch-camel which belonged to a certain woman of the banu-'Ulaym[7] of the Kalb [tribe] a neighbor of a nobleman, Malik ibn-Kulthum al-Shamaji[8], and drove it

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

"O Lord, Malik ibn-Kulthum hath this day  
Violated the sanctity of thy shrine;  
But yesterday, thou wert inviolate."

Sayfi said this in an attempt to incite the idol against Malik so that it might vent its wrath upon him. It so happened that 'Adi ibn-Hatim[9] had, at that same day, offered a sacrifice before al-Fals, and saw what Malik had done. As he sat with a few companions discussing the incident, he trembled with fear and said, "Watch what will befall Malik this day." But several days passed and nothing happened to Malik. Consequently ['Adi] 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.

['Adi] 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, at which time 'Ali ibn-abi-Talib was dispatched to destroy it. 'Ali destroyed the idol and carried away therefrom two swords called Mikhdham and Rasub (the same two swords which 'Alqamah ibn-'Abadah[10] had mentioned in his poetry), which al-Harith ibn-abi-Shamir, king of Ghassan, had presented al-Fals[11]. 'Ali brought them to the Prophet who wore one of them and gave it back to him. It was the sword which 'Ali was always wont to wear.

Here ends The Book of Idols.

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Al-Afghani*, vol. x, p. 155.
2. *ibid.*, vol. x, p.155; abu-Tammam, *Ash'ar al-Hamasah*, ed. G.G. Freytag, Bonn, 1828, pp. 108, 784; *Ishtiqaq*, p 232.
3. Wellhausen, pp. 51-53.
4. cf. *Buldan*, vol, III, p. 912, line 12.
5. *Sifah*, pp.125, 126, t37, 144; *Buldan*, vol. I, pp. 122-130.
6. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 237.
7. cf. *Ishtiqaq*, p. 237, line 5.
8. *Ishtiqaq*, p.316.
9. *ibid.*, p. 235.
10. cf. *al-Maarif*, p.160; *Sirah*, pp. 947-950.
11. *Al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'ara*, pp. 107-110; *al-Aghani*, vol. xxi, pp. 171-175; see above, p. 13.
12. cf. above, p. 51.

## Al-Ya'bub

Al-Ya'bub[1] is the idol of the Jadilah[2] of the Tayyi'. Previously they had a different idol; but the banu-Asad[3] took it away from them. Consequently they adopted al-Ya'bub in its stead. Said 'Abid[4]:

"They adopted al-Ya'bub in the place of their former god;  
Be still, therefore, O Jadi[lah], and abstain from food and drink[5]."

## FOOTNOTES

1. Unidentified; cf. *Lisan al-'Arab* and *Taj al-'Arus*, entry 'bb ; al-Hamasah, p. 158. Both lexicons and the anthology agree that the word signifies a fleet horse as well as the name of a particular horse.

2. *Ishtiqaq*, p.228.

3. *ibid.*, p.110.

4. 'Abid ibn-al-Abras; *al-Shi'r w-a/-Shu'ara'*, pp.143-145; *al-Aghani*, vol. XIX, pp.84-90.

5. See *The Diwans of 'Abid ibn Al-Abras, of Asad, and 'Amir ibn Al-Tufail, of 'Amir ibn Sa' sa'ah*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, Leyden and London, 1913, p. 13, line 14.

## Bajar

According to ibn-Durayd[1], Bajar[2] was an idol which the Azd as well as such neighboring tribes of the Tayyi' and the Quda'ah [worshipped] during the Jahillyah days. It is also pronounced Bajir.

## FOOTNOTES

1. 'Abu-Bakr Muhammad ibn-al-Hasan ibn-Durayd al-Azdi, A.H. 223-321 / A.D. 838-933; see *al-Fihrist*, pp.61-62; ibn-Khallikan, vol. II, pp.308-313.

2. See *Lisan al-Arab*, entry *bjr*; ibn-al-Athir, *al-Nihayah fi Gharib al-Hadith w-al-Athar*, Cairo, 1322, vol. i, p.73; cf. al-Bakri, *Kitab Mu' jam Ma Ista' jam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1877, p.207, lines 12, 14. According to ibn-al-Athir it is sometimes called Bahar, with a *ha* instead of a *jinn*.



