

## LABBAYKA, ALLĀHUMMA, LABBAYKA . . .

### On a monotheistic aspect of a Jāhiliyya practice

In memory of Dr. Isaiah Shachar

In his article *Talbiyāt al-Jāhiliyya*<sup>1</sup> S.M. Ḥusain recorded twenty five formulae of ritual invocation, *talbiyāt*, uttered by the tribes in the period of the Jāhiliyya during their pilgrimage to Mecca. He mentions that Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī had given in his *Risālat al-ghufrān* seven such formulae of tribal *talbiyāt*, classifying them by prosody and metre. Ḥusain supposes that the *labbayka allāhumma labbayka* “was probably adopted from the first responders to the call of Abraham,”<sup>2</sup> and emphasizes that the Prophet changed the Jāhili formula: *labbayka allāhumma labbayka, lā sharīka laka illā sharīkun huwa laka, tamlikuhu wa-mā malaka* (“Here I am, O God, here I am; Thou hast no partner except such partner as Thou hast; Thou possessest him and all that is his”)<sup>3</sup> into the Muslim one: *labbayka allāhumma labbayka, lā sharīka laka; inna l-ḥamda wa-l-niʿmata laka wa-l-mulka, lā sharīka laka* (“Here I am, O God, here I am, Thou hast no partner; the praise and

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the 9th All India Or. Conference*, 1937, pp. 361-369.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> See this Jāhili *talbiya* e.g.: Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣṇām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1343/1924, p. 7; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 134; al-Kalāʾī, *al-Iktifāʾ fī maghāzī rasūli llāhi wa-l-thalāthati l-khulafāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1387/1968, I, 94; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākīr, Cairo 1969, XVI, 289, no. 19973; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, IV, 40, 359; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Hyderabad 1352, V, 45 inf.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ḥajjat al-waḍʿ*, ed. Mamduḥ Ḥaqqī, Beirut 1966, pp. 349 inf. –350; al-Naysābūrī, *Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwaḍ, Cairo 1384/1965, XVII, 96; al-Khazīn, *Lubāb al-taʾwīl*, Cairo 1381, III, 261, V, 13; al-Baghawī, *Maʾālim al-tanzīl* (on margin of *Lubāb al-taʾwīl*), *ibid.*; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milāl wa-l-nihāl*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī, Cairo 1387/1967, II, 238, 247; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkhī jāhiliyyati l-ʿArab*, Ms. Tübingen I, fol. 194, inf.; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, III, 223; Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-ghufrān*, ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Cairo 1382/1963, p. 535 (with an additional hemistich: *abū bandīn bi-fadak*; it is explained by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ as pointing to the idols that were in that time in Fadak); Ibn al-Athīr, *Jamīʿ al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiqī, Cairo 1368/1949, III, 444, no. 1377; ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Mausilī, *Kitāb al-wasīla*, Hyderabad 1392/1973, III, 196; A. Guthrie, The Significance of Abraham, *MW*, 1955, p. 116.

the grace are Thine and the empire; Thou hast no partner.”)<sup>4</sup> Ḥusain points out that the tribes performing the pilgrimage acknowledged in their *talbiyāt* a supreme God who was the Master of their gods, giving Him such names as al-Raḥmān, al-Ma‘būd, al-Dayyān, al-Mustajīb, al-Qaḥḥār, al-Ṣamad, and emphasizes the Muslim character of some of the utterances of the *talbiya*. The Prophet used in his prayer the utterance: *in taghfir allāhumma taghfir jammā, wa-ayyu ‘abdin laka lā alammā*, a phrase which, according to Ḥusain, occurs in the *talbiya* of the Ash‘ariyyūn.<sup>5</sup> This idea of the presence of an all-powerful and all-pervading Divinity, concludes Ḥusain, was working amongst the Arabs preparing the field for the propagation of the sublime monotheism as preached by Muḥammad.

Husain, although he carefully collected and edited the valuable text of the *talbiyāt*, did not, however, record the sources from which he derived his material. It may be of some importance to trace the sources of the *talbiyāt* and to examine more closely their content and purport. The *talbiyāt* of certain tribes are given in al-Ya‘qūbī’s (d. 248 H) *Ta’rīkh*.<sup>6</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī’s account of the *talbiyāt* is preceded by a short account of the gods and idols worshipped by the Arabs. More detailed is the account of *talbiyāt* in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb’s (d. 145 H) *al-Muḥabbar*,<sup>7</sup> followed by a list of idols worshipped by the different tribes. The complete text of several *talbiyāt* is given in the commentary to the phrase: . . . *wa-jtanibū qaula l-zūri* (Sūra XXII, 31) in Muqātil b. Sulaymān’s (d. 150 H) *Tafsīr*.<sup>8</sup> and this is followed by a list of idols worshipped by the various tribes. *Zūr* is

<sup>4</sup> See the various forms of the Muslim *talbiya*: Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb al-aṭhar*, ed. Abū l-Wafā, Cairo 1355, nos. 456-458; al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Umm*, Cairo 1321 (reprint 1388/1968) II, 132-133; al-Tayālīsī, *Musnad*, Hyderabad 1321, p. 232, no. 1668; Ibn Hazm, *Hajjat al-wada’*, p. 350; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 222-223; al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma‘anī l-āthar*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri l-Najjār, Cairo 1388/1968 II, 124-125; Ibn al-Athīr, *Jamī‘ al-uṣūl*, III, 438-443, nos. 1371-1375; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwatta’a*, ed. Ibrāhīm ‘Atwa ‘Awad, Cairo 1381/1961, III, 34; Amīn Maḥmūd Khattāb, *Fathu l-maliki l-ma‘būd, takmilatu l-manḥali l-adhbī l-maurūd, sharḥ sunan abī dāwūd*, Cairo 1394/1974, I, 109-111; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, V, 44-45; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1349/1931, V, 55; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qasidi ummi l-qura*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā, Cairo 1390/1970, pp. 173-175, 415; al-Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, Cairo 1348, IX, 172-174; al-Qastallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1323, III, 114-115; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, Cairo 1300, III, 324-326; al-Ḥarībī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, al-Riyāḍ 1389/1969, p. 429; ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Mauṣilī, *op. cit.*, III<sub>II</sub>, 193-195; IV<sub>I</sub>, 183; Ibn Bābūyah al-Qummi, *‘Ilal al-sharā‘i’*, Najaf 1385/1966, pp. 416-418; Muḥammad b. abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī, *Bisharat al-muṣṭafā li-shī‘at al-murtaḍa*, Najaf 1383/1963, pp. 213-214; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1388, XLIX, 92, 93, 183, 339; Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ asrar ihyā’ ‘ulūmi l-dīn*, Cairo 1311, IV, 336; Muḥammad Naṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Hajjat al-nabī*, Damascus 1387, p. 60, nos. 14-15; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, New York 1951, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-364; text no. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, I, 296-297.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, pp. 311-315; the list of the idols *ibid.* pp. 315-318.

<sup>8</sup> Ms. Ahmet III, 74/II, fols. 22a-24a; the list of the idols is given on fol. 24a, inf.-24b.

rendered by Muqātil by *kadhib*, lie, and identified with the falsehood inherent in the Jāhili *talbiyāt*, that associate gods and idols with God. *Zūr* is thus defined as *al-shirku fī l-talbiya*,<sup>9</sup> attribution of a partner to God in the *talbiya*.

Muqātil's list, in which fifty six forms of *talbiya* are recorded, is however a composite affair. Several of the *talbiyāt* are in fact duplicates with certain variations. The first eight *talbiyāt* give the utterances of the tribes without referring to the names of the gods. The ninth relates the utterances of the women who perform the circumambulation of the Kā'ba while naked. The tenth gives the *talbiya* of Adam. The following twenty *talbiyāt* (nos. 11-31) are listed by the names of the gods worshipped by the different tribes, without however giving the names of the tribes. This series of *talbiyāt* is preceded by the heading: *talbiyatu l-ʿarabi fī l-jāhiliyyati* and ends with the phrase: *wa-hādhihi ruʿūsū ʿawāghītihim* . . . The forms of *talbiya* which constitute this series correspond to those which occur in the report of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. The close relation between the text of Muqātil and that of Ibn Ḥabīb is evident. In the *talbiya* of the tribes worshipping Saʿīda (no. 23) the last line of the *talbiya* breaks the chain of *saʿī*-rhymes: *miyāha* and *raqāha* are followed by *ṭāʿa*. This same wording is recorded in Ibn Ḥabīb's *al-Muḥabbar*, where however a marginal gloss in the Ms. of *al-Muḥabbar* replaces the last word by *al-naṣāha*.<sup>10</sup> The lacuna in the *talbiya* of the worshippers of al-Munṭabiq (Muqātil, no. 19) can clearly be seen in the Mss., indicating that some phrases of the utterance are missing; the text is identical with that given in *al-Muḥabbar* (p. 313, 1.1), but the printed edition of *al-Muḥabbar* has no note about a lacuna in the Ms. The heading missing in the *talbiya* no. 25 (Muqātil, fol. 23a sup.): *wa-kānat talbiyata man nasaka li-yaghūtha* can be supplied from the account of *al-Muḥabbar* (p. 314, 1.1). Furthermore Ibn Ḥabīb's account of the idols worshipped by the Arabs also shows close similarity with that of Muqātil, though it is more detailed.<sup>11</sup>

In another series of *talbiyāt* (nos. 32-56) only the name of the tribe in which the invocation was used is given, or else both the name of the tribe and that of the idol of the tribe are specified. Three of the *talbiya* invocations in this series (nos. 33, 34, 36) are reported on the authority of Ibn Ishāq (d. 150 H); one *talbiya* (no. 35) is recorded on the authority of al-Shāʿbī (d. 109 H).

The divergent versions of the *talbiyāt* as recorded in the chapter of Muqātil's *Tafsīr*, the variously formulated utterances, the three traditions on the authority of Ibn Ishāq and the one of al-Shāʿbī — all this seems to indicate that the chapter was put together by the combination of several sources. This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that two out of the five consulted Mss. (Köprülü 143, fols. 175b penult.-176a; Hamīdiyya 58, fol. 255a.-255b) contain only the first ten

<sup>9</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a, sup.

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Muḥabbar*, p. 313, note 5.

<sup>11</sup> See Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24b; and see another short account *ibid.*, fol. 210b.

*talbiyāt*. One may venture to say that some parts of the account were inserted by the transmitter of the *Tafsīr*, al-Hudhayl b. Ḥabīb al-Dandānī.<sup>12</sup>

An examination of the *talbiyāt* mentioned above together with a few more from other sources may shed some light on certain significant aspects of these ritual invocations.

# I

The well known Jāhilī *talbiya* associating a partner with God<sup>13</sup> is recorded in Muqātil's account as the *talbiya* of Quraysh, who were worshippers of Isāf.<sup>14</sup> This very *talbiya* is however recorded as the ritual invocation of the Ḥums, a group of tribes including Quraysh, Khuzā'a, Kināna and 'Amīr b. Ṣaṣa'a, as stated in this report.<sup>15</sup> In another form of the *talbiya* of the Ḥums they invoke God, addressing Him as the Lord of Sirius (*rabbu l-shi'rā*) and ask His aid against the offenders. They address Him as the Lord of Manāt,<sup>16</sup> al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and as the Lord of the sanctuary of the Ka'ba (*rabbu l-ka'batī l-ḥarām*). They came to Him riding on lean camels — having evidently made an arduous journey — and left the idols forsaken and desolate, (*khilwan ṣifran*), as they say in their invocation.<sup>17</sup>

It is, of course, of some importance to find the *talbiya* of the Ḥums, a group closely connected by ties of loyalty and allegiance with the Ka'ba, observing distinctive ritual practices during the *hajj* and enjoying a special privileged position in Mecca. While the Jāhilī *talbiya* with regard to associating a partner is usually attributed to Quraysh, or to Quraysh and Kināna,<sup>18</sup> the latter *talbiya* attributed to the Ḥums seems to be congruous with their religious ideas and their duties during the *hajj*. The *talbiya* expounds clearly their belief in the authority of Allah over the principal Arab deities al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt. God is the Lord of the Ka'ba and the idols of the gods had been left behind void and insignificant. This may be quite a faithful exposition of their belief. Moreover, the arduous journey fits in well with the fact that they exercised exertions in worship during the *hajj*.

<sup>12</sup> See Sezgin *GAS*, I, 37 ( . . . "Dieser fügte an manchem Stellen dem Text von Muqātil Überlieferungen von anderen hinzu"). On the transmission of the *Tafsīr* see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdadī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdad*, VII, 143, no. 3591, IX, 426, no. 5039; and see Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 33a.

<sup>13</sup> See above, note 3.

<sup>14</sup> Muqātil *op. cit.*, fol. 22b (no. 11); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 311; al-Ya'qūbī, *op. cit.* I, 296; Ḥusain, *op. cit.* p. 367, no. 15 (with the addition: *aba l-banāt bi-fadak*, like in *Abū l-'Ala'*'s *Risalat al-ghufrān*, p. 535).

<sup>15</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (no. 1); a following comment says that the partner attached by the Ḥums to God referred to the angels worshipped by them; this is the *ẓar*, the falsehood (mentioned in the verse of the Qur'ān).

<sup>16</sup> The phrase in the text: *rabbu l-thalīthati l-ukhrā* denotes, of course, Manāt.

<sup>17</sup> Muqātil *op. cit.*, fol. 23b (no. 45).

<sup>18</sup> See the *talbiya* uttered by Quraysh and Kināna on the Day of 'Arafa, containing the declaration of the associate partner: Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 32).

Their invocation of God to aid them against those who transgress seems to point to these tribal groups who did not observe the sanctity of the Ka'ba and violated the peace of the holy months of the *hajj*. No clear answer can be given why their *talbiya* stressed that Allah was the Lord of Sirius. This very expression occurs in the Qur'an only once (Sūra LIII, 49). Early commentators attribute the worship of Sirius to the tribe of Himyar, or to some ancestor of the Prophet or to the tribe of Khuzā'a. This could explain the naming of God as the Lord of Sirius, as Khuzā'a were a part of the Hums. But the expression "the Lord of Sirius . . . the Lord of al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā" recurs as well in the *talbiya* of Madhhij.<sup>19</sup>

Quite different was the *talbiya* of Ghassān. They invoke God on behalf of their kings, addressing Him as the Lord of their people.<sup>20</sup> In the same vein is cast the very short *talbiya* of Rabī'a. They uttered their invocation, addressing God as the Lord of Rabī'at al-Qashām.<sup>21</sup> In both forms of the *talbiya* God is perceived as the Lord of the tribe.

Another version of the *talbiya* of Rabī'a (the worshippers of Muḥarriq<sup>22</sup>) reflects sincere devotion and servitude and expresses the request that the pilgrimage be correct and sound: *labbayka ḥajjan ḥaqqa ta'abbudan wa-riqqan*.<sup>23</sup> A third relation has some additional phrases describing the race of the pilgrims towards Mecca so that they may shave their heads.<sup>24</sup> A fourth version shows some divergence: the Bakr b. Wā'il stress in their *talbiya* on behalf of Rabī'a their obedience to the Lord who is not worshipped in a church or in a synagogue. Their idols, they say, they have left protected and safe.<sup>25</sup> A fifth report adds to the concise form of the devotion and servitude a phrase stating the Rabī'a did not come to Mecca to ask for gifts nor for reasons of trade.<sup>26</sup>

This expression, stating that the pilgrims did not come for trade or profit, recurs in the *talbiyāt* of other tribes.<sup>27</sup> It confirms the early traditions that the tribes refrained from trade activities during their pilgrimage. This was changed by

<sup>19</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b (no. 41); al-Ya'qūbī, *op. cit.*, I, 297; and comp. H.A.R. Gibb, "Pre-Islamic Monotheism in Arabia," *Harvard Theological Review*, 1962, pp. 275 inf. -276.

<sup>20</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 54).

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-riḥān*, Hyderabad 1347, p. 219; and see on *qash'am* as the sobriquet of Rabī'a L'A, s.v. q sh 'm.

<sup>22</sup> See Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24b: *wa-kāna al-muḥarriq bi-salmāna li-bakri bni wā'ilin wa-sā'iri rabī'ata*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

<sup>23</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22b (no. 17); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 312; Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

<sup>24</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, for 23b (no. 38).

<sup>25</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 50).

<sup>26</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (no. 4); cf. L'A, s.v. r q h: some people used to utter in their *talbiya* in the period of the Jāhiliyya: *ji'nāka li-l-naṣāḥa wa-lam na'ti li-l-raḡāḥa*.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22b (no. 23), fol. 23b (nos. 36, 39, 44); Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

th revelation (Sūra II, 198) which gave Muslims permission to carry out business transactions during the *hajj*.<sup>28</sup>

The description of the hardship of travel during the pilgrimage, the lean camels, the race to reach Mecca, the exertion of performing the *hajj* by foot as exposed in the *talbiyāt*<sup>29</sup> – all these features are in agreement with the reports about the pilgrimage in the period of the Jāhiliyya and with the stories about exertions during the *hajj* in Islamic times.

The *talbiyāt* reflect the ideas of the tribes about the supreme God as well as their perception of the relation between the lesser gods and the supreme God. The idea that the gods are inferior and dependent upon God is expressed in the *talbiya* of Kinda, Ḥadramaut and Sakūn. To the Jāhilī *talbiya* of association (above note 3) they added: . . . “Thou possessest him (i.e. the partner – K) whether Thou destroyest or leavest him; Thou art the Forbearing (*al-ḥalīm*), therefore leave him.”<sup>30</sup> Judhām prided themselves in their *talbiya* of their royal descentance, of their forbearing minds and addressed God as “the God of the idols” (*ilāhu l-aṣṇāmi*), naming Him al-Raḥmān.<sup>31</sup> In the *talbiya* of Daus God is named “the Lord of the idols” (*rabbu l-aṣṇāmi*).<sup>32</sup> Tamīm mentioned in their *talbiya* God the Creator; it is He whom they singled out by their invocation (*wa-akhḥaṣat li-rabbiḥa du‘āḥā*).<sup>33</sup> Qays ‘Aylān describe themselves as being together with their idols, in humble submission to al-Raḥmān.<sup>34</sup> Thaḳīf, asking for forgiveness of their sins, stated that their goddesses, al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā, were in the hands of God and that the idols yielded obediently to Him.<sup>35</sup> Asad named God “the One,” “the Subduer” and asserted that they did not worship the idols;<sup>36</sup> they also mentioned Him in the *talbiya* as “*al-rabbu l-ṣamad*.” The meaning of the word *al-ṣamad*, which occurs only once in the Qur’ān,<sup>37</sup> as one of God’s attributes is usually explained as “the Lord to whom people direct themselves in their needs;”<sup>38</sup> there

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Muqātil, *op. cit.*, I, 31b; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Aḥkām al-qur’ān*, Cairo 1387/1967, I, 135 inf. -136; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, IV, 164-168, nos. 3763, 3771, 3775, 3777, 3781 (noteworthy is the expression of the commentator: *fa-rukḥkhisa lahum* . . . “and they were granted concession”) 3787 (and see another version of the verse: no. 3766); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr an-manthūr*, I, 222; al-Raghib al-Isfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, Beirut 1961, II, 465; and see *JESHO XV* (1972) 76, note 4.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (nos. 3,7), 23a (no. 34), 23b (no. 44), 24a (no. 49).

<sup>30</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 53); al-Ya‘qūbī, *op. cit.*, I, 297, 11. 4-5.

<sup>31</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 52); comp. the fragmentary *talbiya* in al-Ya‘qūbī, *op. cit.*, I, 297.

<sup>32</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 56).

<sup>33</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 33); comp. al-Ya‘qūbī, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

<sup>34</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b (no. 37); and comp. the *talbiya* of ‘Akk and the Ash‘ariyyūn (ib. no. 40): *ḥajjun li-l-raḥmān, dhallat lahu l-aṣṇām*.

<sup>35</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a (no. 48).

<sup>36</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 35).

<sup>37</sup> Sūra CXII, 2.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Abū Miṣḥāl, *Kiṭāb al-nawādir*, ed. ‘Izzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1380/1961, pp. 122-123 (and see the references of the editor, *ib.*, note “35”); *L’A s.v. ṣ m d*; Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, Cairo 1958, II, 43-45; and comp. Jirān al-‘Aud,

are however other explanations and some of them seem to have been introduced together with the later ideas about the attributes of God.

The *talbiya* of Ḥimyar is significant. They stress in their invocation that they address God on behalf of the kings and the petty rulers (*ʿani l-mulūki wa-l-aqwāl*) [of people — K] of prudence and forbearing minds, who practise piety towards their kinsmen, staying away from sins by self-withdrawal (from shame — k) and out of Islam (*tanazzuhan wa-islām*). They declare that they humbly submit to the Lord of mankind, yielding to Him on every elevated place [they and their — K] idols and gods.<sup>39</sup> The word *islām* and its meaning need elucidation. It occurs only once in the *talbiyāt*, in the quoted invocation of Ḥimyar; it is preceded by the phrase of eschewing sins, coupled with the word *tanazzuh* denoting keeping aloof from shameful and wicked deeds, and followed by the statement of obedience to the God of mankind. It is apparent that the word *islām* placed between a word which denotes abstention from sin and another one, which talks of submission to God, both terms bearing as they do a religio-ethical connotation, also belongs to the same semantic field. It probably denotes the idea of exclusive devotion to one God, as assumed by the late D.Z. Baneth. In his illuminating discussion of the social and religious background of the Prophet's activity, Baneth made the following observation:

... The fundamental change required by Muḥammad was the abandonment of polytheism, to serve one god only, the same god which they had already previously known under the name of Allah. Does not the idea suggest itself to seek this very meaning of adopting monotheism in the words *aslama*, *islām*?<sup>40</sup>

This meaning proposed for *islām* by Baneth, is indeed confirmed by the definition given by Muqātil in his *Tafsīr*: *muslim* is consistently interpreted by *mukhlisun bi-l-tauḥīdi* (or: *bi-tauḥīdi llāhi*);<sup>41</sup> *Islām* and *ikhḷās* are here given as identical in connotation. H. Ringgren, analyzing the meaning of *ikhḷās* and *mukhlis* states that "the context indicates that making one's religion *khālīs* to God is contrary to choosing patrons apart from Him,"<sup>42</sup> and finds fit Bell's translation: "making Him the exclusive object of religion."<sup>43</sup> One may venture to assume

*Diwān*, ed. Aḥmad Nāṣim, Cairo 1350/1931, p. 39, l. 12; Ibn Muqbil, *Diwān*, ed. 'Izzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1381/ 1962, p. 51, l. 3; al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharrīb al-qurʾān*, Cairo 1324, p. 288.

<sup>39</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b (no. 43).

<sup>40</sup> D.Z.H. Baneth, "What did Muhammad mean when he called his religion *Islām*? The original meaning of *Aslama* and its derivatives," *Israel Oriental Studies* I (1971) 184.

<sup>41</sup> See e.g. Muqātil, *op. cit.*, I, 51a (*aslamtū ya'nī akhlastū*), I, 57a (*kuntum muslimīna ya'nī mukhlisīna lahu bi-l-tauḥīdi*), II, 58b, ult.-59a, l. 1 (*qabla an ya'tant muslimīna, ya'nī mukhlisīna bi-l-tauḥīdi*), II, 59b, l. 3 (*wa-kunna muslimīna ya'nī mukhlisīna bi-l-tauḥīdi min qabliḥā*) II, 61b, l. 4 from bottom, II, 62a, l. 5 from bottom, II, 73b, II, 83a, b, l. 2, II, 123a, II, 211a, l. 6.

<sup>42</sup> H. Ringgren, "The Pure Religion," *Oriens* XV (1962), 93-96.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94 inf.

that *islām* here denotes the idea ascribed to it in the Qurʾān. This may change to some extent the accepted views about the beliefs of the people of the Jāhiliyya and provide a clue for an evaluation as to how monotheistic ideas were adopted and transmitted from the Jāhiliyya period to Islam.

The *talbiya* of Jurhum<sup>44</sup> is of an altogether different content and purport. This tribe was already extinct by the advent of Islam, and traditions as to their origin and ancestors were shrouded in a web of miracles and legend. The *talbiya* of Jurhum is thus merely a reminiscence of an early *talbiya* of an ancient tribe perpetuated in the invocation of the worshippers of Dhū l-Kaffayn;<sup>45</sup> this idol was worshipped by Daus<sup>46</sup> and Khuzāʿa.<sup>47</sup> Muqātil records two versions of the *talbiya* of Jurhum: a short one, the *talbiya* of the worshippers of Dhū l-Kaffayn, who utter the invocation of Jurhum, and a longer one referred to above (note 44), recorded as the *talbiya* of Jurhum. They invoke God, stating that they are his servants; that people are (like) newly acquired property, while they are (like) the hereditary property of God; that they have dwelt in God's land and caused it to flourish and that to be remote from God is something which one cannot stand. Further they say in their invocation that they are the first to come to God's meeting place; they will oppose anyone who shows hostility towards God until they set the faith straight in His valley.<sup>48</sup>

The first three hemistichs of this *rajaz* are often quoted in the sources and attributed to ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith (or ʿĀmīr b. al-Ḥārith) b. Muqād;<sup>49</sup> they became incorporated into the *talbiya*. The concept of man assisting God against His enemies is of considerable antiquity in Islam, recurring as it does in the Qurʾān and in early Islamic literature. The contrasting pair of notions “*tirf*” (or *turf*) and “*tilād*”, current in ancient Arabic poetry is here interpreted as pointing to the heavenly origin of Jurhum, “*tilāduka*”, “Thy hereditary property”; their ancestor is said to have been an angel who, having sinned, was sent down to earth.<sup>50</sup> It is noteworthy that al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dausī pulling down the idol of Dhū l-Kaffayn uttered his denunciation of the pagan worship of the idol in the same metre, *rajaz*, and with the same rhyme.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See on this tribe *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djurhum (W.M. Watt).

<sup>45</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 30).

<sup>46</sup> Al-Yaʿqubī, *op. cit.*, I, 296; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab* (ed. Balaq), III, 246 sup.

<sup>47</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>48</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (no. 6); comp. Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1961, II, 285; al-Fāsi, *Shiʿaʾ al-gharam*, Cairo 1956, I, 357, 374; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujam al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, I, 174; al-Māwardī, *ʿĀlam al-nubuwwa*, Cairo 1319, p. 120; Abū l-Baqʿa, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 296, fol. 79b.

<sup>50</sup> Al-ʿIṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 174 inf. – 175.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, II, 25; al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣṇam*, p. 37; Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 318 (with the variant in the first hemistich: *ya dha l-kaffayni lastu min tilādika*): al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghazī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, p. 923; Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijawī, Cairo 1392/1972, III, 521; al-Dimyātī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī sirati sayyidi l-bashar*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 106b.



The phrase “*wa-humu l-awwalūna ‘alā mī‘ādika*” deserves attention. Although the word *mī‘ād* occurs several times in the Qurʾān, the use of the word with the preposition ‘*alā*’ is not attested in the Qurʾān. It occurs however with the preposition ‘*alā*’ in the famous poem of al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur.<sup>52</sup> In the *talbiya* of Jurhum the word seems to denote an appointed time or an appointed place of meeting; in this case it is the time of the *hajj* as established by God or the place appointed by God for the pilgrimage, Mecca.<sup>53</sup>

To the sphere of Jāhilī custom also belongs the invocation by women who used to perform the circumambulation naked. To the usually recorded *rajaz* – verse<sup>54</sup> Muqātil adds three *rajaz* hemistichs about the spectators who watch the corpulent women.<sup>55</sup> The body-features mentioned in the last hemistich resemble the details provided about Ḍubāʿa when she circumambulated the Kaʿba in the nude.<sup>56</sup>

## II

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī remarks, classifying the different forms of the *talbiyāt*, that there is no *talbiya* (scil. from the period fo the Jāhiliyya – K) cast in one of the *qaṣīda* – metres. He remarks with caution that *talbiyāt* may have perhaps been uttered in one of the *qaṣīda* metres, but they were not recorded by the transmitters. Most of them are utterances cast in *saʿī* or *rajaz* form.<sup>57</sup> Goldziher analyzed thoroughly the role of *saʿī* and *rajaz* and their occurrence in invocations, curses, wisdom sayings and in oracular utterances.<sup>58</sup> Gibb succinctly referred to *saʿī* and *rajaz* in connection with the style of the Qurʾān, assuming that there was an estab-

<sup>52</sup> Al-Dabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, XCIV, 11, rendered by Lyall: “Now sweep the winds over all their dwellings: empty they lie, as though their lords had been set a time and no more to be”; al-Aʿshā, *Diwān*, ed. Geyer (Aʿshā Nahshal XVII, 11) p. 296 (and see the references of the editor).

<sup>53</sup> My son, Menahem Kister, provided me with the following note: “The word *moʿed* in Hebrew has, in addition to its current meanings in the Scriptures, two other denotations: (1) a holy place, a sanctuary (see e.g. Ps. LXXIV, 4, 8, Lam. II, 6; cf. *ohel moʿed* in this sense; and cf. *phr mʿd* in the Ugaritic myths indicating the place of the meeting of the gods); (2) a festival, a holiday (see e.g. Lev. XXIII, 37). One of these two meanings suits perhaps the phrase here. The expression *bāʿey moʿed* (Lam. I, 4) which seems to denote “pilgrims” is probably derived from one of these 2 meanings (see the commentary of Ibn Ezra on this verse)”. I have failed to trace this meaning in the Arabic sources.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125; al-ʿIṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 219; cf. the story of Ḍubāʿa bint ʿĀmir: Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, ed. Khursheed Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad 1964, p. 272.

<sup>55</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (no. 9); cf. Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, Ms. Leiden Or. 370, fol. 100a.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 153 inf.; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VIII, 6; Mughultāy, *op. cit.*, fols. 99b-100a; al-Wahidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>57</sup> Abū l-ʿAlāʾ, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

<sup>58</sup> J. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896.

lished style of religious discourse in the period of the Jāhiliyya.<sup>59</sup> Tradition stresses the efficacy of *sajʿ* invocations uttered in the *ḥaram* of Mecca in the period of the Jāhiliyya and directed against wrong-doers and oppressors. The *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq in the transmission of Yūnus b. Bukayr has a special chapter recording cases of this kind.<sup>60</sup> In early Islam *sajʿ* and *rajaz* were considered a product of the Bedouin mind and it was deemed especially odious to link the Qurʾān with *rajaz*.<sup>61</sup> The Prophet is said to have prohibited the use of *sajʿ* in invocations.<sup>62</sup>

Some *sajʿ* invocations of the Jāhiliyya period were indeed utterly forgotten. According to the report of al-Fākihī the people performing the *ṭawāf* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in the period of the Jāhiliyya used to utter the following short invocation:

*al-yauma qirri ʿaynā: bi-qarʿi l-marwataynā*<sup>63</sup>

This invocation is never encountered again in the Islamic period. Some of the invocations of the *talbiya* in their *sajʿ* or *rajaz* forms did, however, survive and were adopted by the Prophet; he used to utter them during his pilgrimage. The invocation *labbayka ḥajjan haqqā: taʿabbudan wa-riqqā* mentioned above<sup>64</sup> was uttered by the Prophet in his *talbiya*.<sup>65</sup>

Ibn Manẓūr records the verses uttered by Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī during running (*saʿ y*) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa:

*lāhumma hādha khāmisun in tammā:  
atammahu llāhu wa-qad atammā:*

<sup>59</sup> H.A.K. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, Oxford 1963, pp. 14-15, 34-35; *idem*, "Pre Islamic Monotheism in Arabia," *Harvard Theological Review*, 1962, pp. 278-279.

<sup>60</sup> A. Guillaume, "New Light on the Life of Muḥammad," *JSS*, Monograph No. 1, Manchester n.d., pp. 15-18 ("The Potency of Invocations Pronounced in Sajʿ"). Guillaume remarked that he had been unable to find this passage elsewhere. The stories of this passage can, however, be traced in al-Kalāʾī's *al-Iktifāʾ*, I, 66-69; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Būlāq 1280, III, 150-151; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, IV, 752-753; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Kitāb mujābī l-daʿwa*, Bombay 1389/1969, pp. 10-14, no. 5; Abū l-Baqāʾ Muḥammad b. al-Diyāʾ al-Makkī al-ʿAdawī, *Aḥwāl makka wa-l-madīna*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 11865, fols. 119b-121a; Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Jāmiʿ al-laṭīf fī fadli makkata wa-ahliḥā wa-bināʾi l-bayti l-sharīf*, Cairo 1357/1938, p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms. fol. 1211b: . . . *ʿani l-ṣalti bni dīnarin qāla: sami-tu l-ḥajjāja ʿalā minbari wāsiṭin yaqūlu: qātala llāhu ʿabda hudhaylin, wa-llāhi mā qaraʿa mimma anzala llāhu ʿalā muḥammadin ḥarfan, wa-mā huwa illā rajazu l-ʿarabi, wa-llāhi lau adraktuhu la-saqaytu l-arḍa min damihī; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-Ishraf fī manāzil al-ashraf*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 62b (al-Ḥajjāj refers to the version of the Qurʾān of Ibn Masʿūd).

<sup>62</sup> See *LʿA*, s.v.s j ʿa: ʿAlī al-Qārī, *al-Asrār al-marfūʿa fī l-akhbār al-mawḍūʿa*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1391/1971, p. 140, no. 109 (see the comments of the editor); cf. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *al-Taʾrīkh*. Ms. Bodleian, Marsh. 288, p. 167, l. 17. ( . . . *qālū; aqbalnā min al-fajji l-ʿamīq naʿummu l-bayta l-ʿattīq; fa qāla ʿumarū: qad waqaʿa fī ḥadhā, yaʿnī sajʿa l-kalām wa-taḥstnahu*.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh makka*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 463, fol. 380a, ll. 2-3.

<sup>64</sup> Note 22.

<sup>65</sup> Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣūṭī, *Juzʿ*, Leiden, Or. 2465, fols. 7a-b, 8b; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, II, 223; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *Kanz al-ummāl*, Hyderabad 1374/1954, V, 16, 77-78, nos. 138, 634-635; Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *op. cit.*, IV 337 inf.

in taghfiri llāhumma tagfir jammā:  
wa-ayyu 'abdin laka lā alammā.<sup>66</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī who reports on the authority of Mujāhid that the people used to circumambulate the Ka'ba uttering the second verse: *in taghfiri llāhumma* . . .<sup>67</sup> records however another tradition saying that the Prophet recited this verse.<sup>68</sup> According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Manẓūr the second verse (*in taghfir* . . .) was composed by Umayya b. abī l-Ṣalt.<sup>69</sup> The verse is indeed ascribed to Umayya b. abī l-Ṣalt in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and two versions are related about the circumstances in which Umayya composed the verse: according to al-Zuhri he uttered it during the miraculous opening of his breast; according to Thābit b. al-Zubayr he recited it before his death.<sup>70</sup> According to a tradition reported by Ibn al-Kalbī the verse was uttered by al-Dayyān (the ancestor of the Banū l-Dayyān)<sup>71</sup> during his prayer.<sup>72</sup> These verses (with the variant: *allāhumma hādihā wāhidun in tammā* . . .) are recorded by Ḥusain as the *talbiya* of the Ash'ariyyūn.<sup>73</sup> Muqātil records a talk between 'Umar and Abū Burda (the son of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī) in which he asked him about the *talbiya* of the Ash'ariyyūn. Abū Burda quoted the following form of their Jāhilī *talbiya*: *allāhumma hādihā wāhidun innamā*:<sup>74</sup> *athamahu llāhu wa-qad athimā: in taghfiri llāhumma* . . .<sup>75</sup> It is thus a divergent version with a different intent: God knows the sins of the men who commit them (and will certainly punish them – K); if God forgives He will forgive them all together, as there is no believer who has not sinned.

The four hemistichs seem to have been a widely current popular invocation and their authorship was, as usually in such cases, ascribed to different poets, or recorded as a ritual invocation of individuals or groups.<sup>75a</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *L'A* s.v. l m m; al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ shawāhid al-mughnī*, ed. al-Shanqīṭī, rev. Aḥmad Zāfir Kujān, Damascus 1386/1966, p. 625, no. 388 (with the variant in the first hemistich: *hādihā rābi'un*); Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafṣīr* (Bulāq) XXVII, 40; al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ shawāhid*, p. 625.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafṣīr*, XXVII, 39; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafṣīr*, XVII, 107; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 127 inf.; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, Cairo 1391/1972, III, 28, no. 2662; cf. *L'A*, s.v. jmm.

<sup>69</sup> *L'A*, s.v. l m m.

<sup>70</sup> *Aghānī* (Bulāq) III, 190-191; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1383/1963, II, 402-403; al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākīr, Cairo 1952, pp. 223-224 (and see the references of the editor, p. 224, note 3); and see Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya*, ed. Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad, Hyderabad 1383/1964, II, 431, no. 53 (and see the references recorded by the editor); 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1388/1968, II, 295-296 (and see the references given by the editor); Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 252.

<sup>71</sup> See on him Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1962, p. 416.

<sup>72</sup> *Aghānī*, X, 146, penult.

<sup>73</sup> Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, p. 365, no. 3.

<sup>74</sup> The metre here is defective. Perhaps: *lāhumma* has to be read.

<sup>75</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, 24a (no. 51).

<sup>75a</sup> Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, II, 295.

The two last hemistichs were adopted by the Prophet and uttered by him in his invocation. This is another instance for the way in which Jāhilī pious ideas tainted by a shade of monotheism were taken up by Islam.

The delegation of Najrān, who journeyed to Medina to meet the Prophet, was preceded by Kurz b. 'Alqama who uttered the following *rajaz* verses:

*ilayka ta'dū qaliqan waḍīnuhā:  
mu'tariḍan fī baṭnihā janīnuhā:  
mukhālīfan dīna l-naṣārā dīnuhā*<sup>76</sup>

Several traditions report that 'Umar recited these verses when driving his riding beast swiftly through the Wādī Muḥassir during his *hajj*.<sup>77</sup> Another tradition relates that the Prophet uttered these verses when on his *ifāda* from 'Arafa.<sup>78</sup>

It is quite significant that these *rajaz* verses, marked as a piece of Yamanī poetry, are recorded as the *talbiya* of the Asad and Ghaṭafān.<sup>79</sup> These *rajaz*-verses are yet another case of the absorption of Jāhilī material, whereby it was transformed into a part of the Muslim ritual invocation.

According to current tradition the tribal *talbiyāt* were prohibited and were substituted by a Muslim formula. This is clearly reflected in the story of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib, reported on the authority of Sharqī b. Quṭāmī: the old tribal *talbiya*, telling about the strenuous efforts of the journey and about the idols left void behind them, was replaced by the prescribed Muslim *talbiya*.<sup>80</sup> The case of the *talbiya* of Zubayd, as recorded by Muqātil, is however different. The Jāhilī *talbiya* mentioned above was replaced by a new one in which God is addressed as "the Lord of the lords" (*rabbu l-arbāb*) and "the Subduer of every idol and graven image in the land" (*qāhiru kulli wathanin wa-ṣanamin fī l-bilād*).<sup>81</sup> It is the only

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, I, 357; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, V, 586, no. 7403; al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā*, I, 259.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, V, 126; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqā, Cairo 1368/1949, pp. 1191 inf. – 1192; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Afghānī, Hyderabad 1386/1966, IV, 81; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 256; *L'A*, s.v. wḍn; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, V, 116, no. 866, 111, no. 837 (with the hemistich: *wa-ayyu 'abdin laka la alammā*, added); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 414; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, s.v. wḍn; cf. al-Fakihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 531a; and see Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-Qur'an*, ed. F. Sezgin, Cairo, 1381/1962, II, 249, no. 898, Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *op. cit.*, IV, 386.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, s.v. wḍn; *L'A*, s.v. wḍn; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 414; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 156.

<sup>79</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, 22a (no. 8).

<sup>80</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-ṣaḡhīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Uthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, I, 59; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 111; al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-āthār*, II, 124-125; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 690; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijawī, Cairo 1380/1960, p. 1203; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdaḍī, *Ta'rikh*, V, 282.

<sup>81</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, 24a (no. 49).

case in which a separate *talbiya* of a tribe is mentioned in the period of Islam. It is interesting to note that this *talbiya* stresses the struggle of God against the gods and the idols and His subjugation of them, thus giving a clear idea how Islam was conceived by the tribes in its nascent period.

The animosities between the tribes are reflected in the *talbiyāt* of 'Abd al-Qays and Qays 'Aylān. The Qays 'Aylān in their *talbiya* make the complaint that Bakr (scil. b. Wā'il) interpose between them and God; people obey God, while Bakr disbelieve Him. Were it not for Bakr b. Wā'il people would set out in crowds for the pilgrimage.<sup>82</sup> The worshippers of Dhū l-Lība (i.e. the 'Abd al-Qays) invoke God that He may turn Muḍar away from them, make the journey safe and relieve them from the lords of Hajar.<sup>83</sup>

The complaint of the 'Abd al-Qays recurs in fact in another setting: when the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays came to the Prophet they complained that they were unable to reach Medina, save during the holy months, because the Muḍar-tribes stood in their way.<sup>84</sup>

Different in content and in setting is the *talbiya* of Adam. Adam mentions that God created him with His own hand, bestowed on him graces and attests that God is the Lord of the House (i.e. the Ka'ba).<sup>85</sup> It is apparent that this *talbiya*, in contradistinction to the other Jāhili ones, is rooted in the Muslim concept of the role of Adam and of other prophets in establishing the *hajj* and its rites. Adam built the Ka'ba,<sup>86</sup> he is said to have performed the *hajj* from India seventy times.<sup>87</sup> Prophets

<sup>82</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22a (no. 5), 22b (no. 22, given as the *talbiya* of the worshippers of Manāt; and so Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* p. 313); see Abū l-'Ala', *op. cit.*, p. 536 (recorded as the *talbiya* of Tamīm).

<sup>83</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 27); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 314.

<sup>84</sup> See e.g. al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1327, IV, 13-14; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wahid, Cairo 1385/1966, IV, 88; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *Insān al-uyūn* (= *al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo, 1382/1962, III, 251. The animosity between Tamīm and Rabi'a was reflected in certain *hajj*-practices: the tribes used to rally in al-Muḥaṣṣab and would leave according to an established order, to avoid clashes among them. Ibn 'Abbās remarked that Tamīm and Rabi'a used to fear each other (*kānat banū tamīmīn wa-rabi'ātu takhafu ba'duḥa ba'dan*). See al-Fākihī, *op. cit.*, fol. 481b.

<sup>85</sup> Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 22b (no. 10).

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 47 inf.; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-huda wa-l-rashad*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wahid I, 167 (1.4 from bottom) I, 167, 168 (1.3 from bottom), 168, (1.3 from bottom), 171-172; al-Khuwārizmī, *Ithāratu l-targhib wa-l-tashwīq ila l-masājidi l-thalāthati wa-ilā l-bayti l-'arīq*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 4584, fol. 17a, 1.4; cf. Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *op. cit.*, IV, 356 sup.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Isfara'īnī, *Zubdatu l-a'māl*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3034, fol. 35a (or 40 times as *Ibid.*, fol. 36a); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 48 sup.; al-Ṣāliḥī, *op. cit.*, I, 242-243; and see al-Daylamī, *Firdaus*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 117a, inf.: *qad ata adamu hadha l-bayta alfa utyatin mina l-hindi 'ala rijlayhi, lam yarkab fihinna min dhalika thalātha mi'ati ḥajjatin wa-sab'a mi'ati 'umratin, wa-awwalu ḥajjatin ḥajjahā adamu wa-huwa wāqifun bi-'arafātīn atāhu jibrīlu fa-qala ya adamu burra nuskuka, amā innā qad tuḥna bi-hadhā l-bayti qabla an tukhlāqa bi-khamstina alfa sanatin*.

and saints used since then to perform the pilgrimage, mostly walking, and used to utter the *talbiya* in various forms.<sup>88</sup> It is evident that the Muslim *talbiya* is, according to Muslim concepts, an adequate extension of the *talbiyāt* uttered by the prophets while performing their *hajj* to the Ka'ba in Mecca.

### III

Muslim scholars differ in their assessment of the position of the *talbiya*: whether it has to be considered a *sunna*, an obligatory practice (*wājib*), a recommended practice (*mandūb*), or an essential part of the *ihrām*.<sup>89</sup> Neither are they unanimous concerning the form of the *talbiya*: some of them approve of an addition to the widely circulated *talbiya* of the Prophet and adduce various versions of the *talbiya*, others recommend to adhere to the accepted wording of the *talbiya*.<sup>90</sup> A rather liberal opinion is given by al-Ḥarbī: the *muḥrim* utters his *talbiya* in whatever way he likes.<sup>91</sup>

According to a widely current tradition the Prophet was ordered by the angel Jibrīl to enjoin his Companions to utter the *talbiya* in a loud voice; the best pilgrimage was considered to be one which combined the loud cry of the *talbiya* with the slaughter of the sacrifice (*afḍalu l-hajj al-ʿajj wa-l-thajj*). The Companions used to recite it in such a loud voice that they would become hoarse.<sup>92</sup> There

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-zuhd*, Beirut 1396/1976, pp. 58, 74, 87; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubra*, V, 42; al-Ṣāliḥī, *op. cit.*, I, 243-247; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-56; al-Mundhirī, *al-Tarḥīb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1380/1961, III, 20-22, nos. 1657-1662; al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *op. cit.*, V, 78, no. 636; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, III, 115; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 220-222; al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, IX, 173; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo n.d. I, 309-310; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XCIX, 44, no. 33; Ibn Babūyah, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, pp. 418-419.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwāṭṭaʾ*, III, 44, al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-auṭār*, Cairo 1380/1961, IV, 359 ult. — 360; Amīn Maḥmūd Khattāb, *op. cit.*, I, 111-112 sup.; al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, IX, 171 inf.; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *op. cit.*, III, 113; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, III, 326 inf. — 327.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Shāfiʿī, *op. cit.*, II, 132-133, 186; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwāṭṭaʾ*, III, 34-37; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 222; al-Shaukānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 359; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174 (and see pp. 424, 430); Amīn Maḥmūd Khattāb, *op. cit.*, I, 109, 112-113; al-ʿAynī, *op. cit.*, IX, 173; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, III, 325-326; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *op. cit.*, III, 114-115.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Ḥarbī, *op. cit.*, p. 429: . . . *wa-kayfama shāʾa l-muḥrimu an yulabbīya labba*.

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. Abū Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, p. 95, no. 459; al-Shāfiʿī, *op. cit.*, II, 133; al-Ḥarbī, *op. cit.*, p. 429; al-Shaukānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 360 inf. — 361; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172; Amīn Maḥmūd al-Khattāb, *op. cit.*, I, 114-115; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwāṭṭaʾ*, III, 44-45; al-Mundhirī, *op. cit.*, III, 23 (no. 1663), 25 (nos. 1667-1668, 1670); al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, I, 450-451; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, II, 31, no. 1248; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn*, Beirut 1973, IV, 299; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, s.v. ʿajj; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, III, 324; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *op. cit.*, III, 113; *LʿA*, s.v. th j j, ʿa j j; Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *op. cit.*, IV, 338; cf. Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥa*, Damascus 1392/1972, p. 504, no. 830; and see Gaudefroy Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

were, however, other traditions, mitigating ones, which warned of too loud cries which might cause harm to the pilgrims.

It was recommended that the pilgrim utter the *talbiya* at every spot and in various positions: riding, alighting, lying, ascending a hill or a mountain, descending into a valley, at meeting of caravans, in markets and in mosques; some scholars however tried to confine the permission to utter the *talbiya* to certain mosques in Mecca. It is advisable, according to some, that the *talbiya* be followed by an invocation for the Prophet (*al-ṣalāt 'alā l-nabiyyi, ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*).<sup>93</sup> It was permitted to utter the *talbiya* in foreign languages too, even by a person with a good knowledge of Arabic.<sup>94</sup>

Scholars were not unanimous with regard to the place where the Prophet commenced the utterance of the *talbiya* nor about the time and the place where he concluded it.<sup>95</sup>

The divergencies of scholarly opinions about the various practices of the *talbiya* bear evidence that the mandatory forms of the *talbiya* had not been established by the end of the second century of the *hijra*, as already pointed out by Gaudefroy Demombynes.<sup>96</sup> The *talbiya* was however incorporated in the rites of the pilgrimage by the unanimous opinion of Muslim scholars, and its merits and rewards were recorded in the compilations of *ḥadīth*.<sup>97</sup>

#### IV

The chapter of the *talbiyāt* in Muqātil's *Tafsīr* gives us a clue for a better understanding of the religious ideas of the tribes during the period of the Jāhiliyya. The tribes of course had their gods and the places of worship of these gods were usually shared by other tribes allied with them or living in their neighbourhood. They believed however in a supreme God, who had His House in Mecca. On their pilgrimage to Mecca they directed themselves to this God, who held supremacy over their tribal gods. The relation between God and their gods, as perceived by the tribes, is reflected in the report of al-Ya'qūbī: when intending to perform the

<sup>93</sup> Al-Shāfi'ī, *op. cit.*, II, 133-134, 186; al-Zurqānī, *Sharh al-muwatta'*, III, 46; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-180; al-Ḥarabī, *op. cit.*, p. 429; Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *op. cit.*, I, 111, 115; and see Gaudefroy Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 181, 183-184; Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī, *op. cit.*, IV, 339.

<sup>94</sup> Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *op. cit.*, I, 111; Gaudefroy Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>95</sup> See e.g. Ibn Hajar, *Fath*, III, 317 inf. -318; al-'Aynī, *op. cit.*, IX, 159-160; al-Zurqānī, *Sharh al-muwatta'*, III, 37-38, 43; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 221; al-Ṭahawī, *Sharh ma'ānī l-athār*, II, 120-123; al-Shaukānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 360-361; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-184 (and see pp. 415-416); Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *op. cit.*, I, 31-35, 116-121; Gaudefroy Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-183.

<sup>96</sup> Gaudefroy Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>97</sup> See e.g. al-Mundhirī, *op. cit.*, III, 24-26, nos. 1665-1666, 1669, 1671; al-Ḥakīm, *op. cit.*, I, 451; al-Tibrizī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, Karachi 1350, p. 223 inf.; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, III, 223 ult.; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 70; see al-Daylamī, *Firdaus*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 157b: *man labba sab'īna marratan fī iḥramihi ashhada llāhu 'azza wa-jalla sab'īna alfa malakin lahu bi-barā'atin min al-nāri wa-barā'atin min al-nifaqi*.

pilgrimage to the Sanctuary at Mecca every tribe would come to ( the abode of) their idol and pray there; then they would set out uttering the *talbiya* (on their journey — K) until they reached Mecca.<sup>98</sup> This report demonstrates to what extent there prevailed harmonious co-existence and co-operation between the tribal deities and the supreme God of Mecca. The Jāhiliyya tribes cannot be said to have been straightforward polytheists; they were *mushrikūn*, i.e. while accepting and admitting the existence and supreme authority of God, they associated other deities with Him.

The *talbiyāt* expose a remarkably rich religious vocabulary and terminology. The attributes of God are well attested in the two monotheistic faiths preceding Islam and are recurring in the Qurʾān.<sup>99</sup> It is the merit of Brockelmann, who in his study of the religious terms in the extant compilations of ancient Arabic poetry, adduced an abundant body of references to Allāh and Raḥmān in the Jāhili poetry. Brockelmann also pointed out the various expressions pertaining to the conception of Allāh in the Jāhiliyya: God the Creator, the Lord of the creatures, the Omnipotent; God punishes and grants rewards; this is why He ought to be feared, revered, and praised. Brockelmann shows that expressions like *ḥamd*, *khāshya*, *ḥudā*, *taqwā* occurring in the Jāhili poetry suggest a kind of religious perception of a High God akin to that of *El-ʿOlam* and *El-ʿElyon*. Admitting that some details of the Genesis-story of creation might have reached Arabia, Brockelmann refutes definitely the assumption that the concept of Allāh might have been borrowed from one of the religions of Revelation or originated from animism.<sup>100</sup> Gibb, starting from a quite different point and using different material arrives at a rather similar conclusion, stressing the original Arabian concepts of monotheism which developed in the Arab peninsula and denying the hypothesis of a Jewish or Christian source for the Qurʾān.<sup>101</sup> In another article Gibb analyses the process of the rededication of the Jāhili religious symbolism and the re-interpretation of the religious terms of the Jāhiliyya into the monotheistic, Muslim ones.<sup>102</sup> They are moulded in the genuine old Arabic forms of *saʿī* and *rajaʿ* and expose the belief in the supreme God of the Kaʿba, Allāh, associated with tribal gods; this was an indigenous religious tradition, developed in the Arabian peninsula,

<sup>98</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

<sup>99</sup> See W. Montgomery Watt, "Belief in a 'High God' in Pre-Islamic Mecca," *JSS* 16(1971) pp. 35-40; the assumption on p. 40 about the pre-nomadic agriculture times in which the deities represented the neutral forces, thus forming "a vigorous paganism" in contradistinction to the Bedouin for whom "it was not incongruous that Allah rather than the pagan deities should send rain and supply man with his *rizq* or provision," seems, however, not to be based on solid textual evidence.

<sup>100</sup> C. Brockelmann, "Allah und die Götzen, der Ursprung des islamischen Monotheismus," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 21 (1922) 99-121.

<sup>101</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, "Pre-Islamic Monotheism in Arabia", pp.269, 271, 277 inf.-278; and see *idem*, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. S.J. Shaw and W.R. Polk, Boston 1962, p. 192; Cf. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, New York 1933, pp. 54-56; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, pp. 158-161.

<sup>102</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, pp. 176-192.



and reflecting the peculiar setting of co-operation between the tribes and Mecca. It was against the people who recited these *talbiyāt*, the *mushrikūn*, that Muhammad preached his exclusive monotheistic ideas. It is thus not surprising that some of the expressions and terms in these *talbiyāt* found their way into the Qurʾān. Re-interpreted and transformed they coalesced with other elements to form the body of ideas represented by the religious literature of Islam.

#### Addenda

Note 3: See: al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3668/II, fol. 37a; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Ahmet III, 74/II, fol. 78a; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiqī, Cairo 1358/1939, II, 210, 245.

Note 4: See Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Badāʾiʿ al-fawāʾid*, Beirut, n.d. (repr.) II, 214–215; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1343, I, nos. 842, 843, 876, 888; al-Nawawī, *al-Adhkār*, Cairo 1324, p. 87; Ghulām Thaʿlab, *Juzʿ*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3495 (*majmūʿa*), fol. 96b; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-auliyaʾ*, IX, 28; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, XIII, 512, No. 16000; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaḡhīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, al-Madīna al-munawwara 1388/1968, I, 87.

Note 38: See F. Rosenthal, “Some Minor Problems in the Qurʾān”, *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, pp. 72–83; Rudi Paret, “Der Ausdruck *ṣamad* in Sure 112,2,” *Der Islam* 1979, pp. 294–295.

Note 55: Cf. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashrāf*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 43a: . . . *kānat imraʾatun jāhiliyyatun taṭūfu bi-l-bayti wa-lahā sittatu banīna yasturūnahā min al-nāsi wa-hiya taqūlu fī ṭawāfiḥā . . .*

Note 76: Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, V, 586, No. 7403.

Note 80: See Ibn Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, 133.

[ج ٢، و ١٢٢] واجتنبوا قول الزور ، يقول : اتقوا الكذب ، وهو الشرك . حدثنا ابو محمد قال حدثني أبي قال حدثنا الهذيل عن مقاتل عن محمد بن علي في قوله تعالى واجتنبوا قول الزور قال : الكذب وهو الشرك في التلبية .

( ١ ) وذلك أن الحمس ، قريشا وخزاعة وكنانة وعامر بن صعصعة ، في الجاهلية كانوا يقولون في التلبية : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك لا شريك لــــك الا شريكا هو لك تملكه وما ملك ؛ يعنون الملائكة التي تعبد ؛ هذا قول الزور لقولهم : الا شريك هو لك .

( ٢ ) وكان اهل اليمن في الجاهلية يقولون في التلبية : نحن غرابا ١ عك ، عك اليك ٢ عانيه عبادك اليمانيه ، كيما نحج الثانيه ، على السقلاص الناجيه .

( ٣ ) وكانت تميم ١ تقول : لبيك ما نهارنا نجره ، ادلاجه وبرده وحره ، لانقي شيئا ٢ ولانصره ، حجا لرب مستقيم بره .

( ٤ ) وكانت ربيعة تقول : لبيك اللهم حجا حقا ، تعبدا ورقا ، لم نأتك للمناحه ، ١ ولا حيا ٢ للرباحه .

( ٥ ) وكانت قيس عيلان تقول : لبيك لولا أن بكرادونكا ، ١ بنو غفار ٢ وهم يلوكن ، ٣ يبرك الناس ويفجرونكا ، مازال مسا عجيج ٤ يأتونكا .

( ٦ ) وكانت جرهم تقول : لبيك ان جرهما عبادك ، والناس طرف وهم تلادك ، ١ وهم لعمرى عمرو بلادك ، لا يطاق ربنا عبادك ، وهم الاءولون على ميعادك ، فان (١) يعادوا ٢ كل من يعادك ، حتى يقيموا الدين في وادك ٣ .

الرموز:

أح = Saray, Ahmet III, 74-11

ك = Köprülü<sup>143</sup>

ح = Hamṭiyya 58

حس = H. Hüsnü 17

[I] ( ١ ) قارن ابن الكلبي ، الاصنام ص ٧ .

( ٢ ) كوح : نحن ام عكا : س وحس واح : نحن ابا عك ؛ والص

الذي اورده هو عن المحبر ص ٣١٣ . ٢ اليك - محذوف في ك وح .

( ٣ ) ١ في كوح : وكانت تيم ٢ في كوح : سا ولا يضره .

( ٤ ) ١ في كوح : للمناحه . . . . . للرفاحه ؛ ويدوان الص الصحيح

هو الذي ورد في المحبر ص ٣١٣ ، السطر الاخير : للمياحه . . . . . للرفاحه .

قارن حسين رقم ٢٥٠٦٠٤ . ٢ أح وسوحس : ولاجا .

( ٥ ) ١ الى هنا في أح وحس وس ؛ والزيادة في الص الذي اورده من كوح

٢ كذا في كوح ؛ وقارن رقم ١٢٢ اداه : سي غطفان . ٣ في كوح : يلوكن .

٤ في كوح : على عجيجا ؛ في المحبر : حج ، عثج ؛ في رسالة الغفران : عثج ؛ واسطر لسان العرب : عثج .

( ٦ ) ١ في كوح : وهم عبادك وهم الدين سل (٤) وادك ٢ .

في كوح : وهم يعادوا كل من عاداك . ٣ في كح : في فادك ولا يطاق رسا عبادك .

( ٧ ) وكانت قضاة تقول : لبيك ربّ الحلّ والاحرام ، ارحم مقام اعيد ١  
 وآم ، أتوك يمشون على الاقدام .  
 ( ٨ ) وكانت أسد وغطفان تقول في احرامها بشعر اليمن ١ : لبيك اليك ٢  
 تعدو قلعا وضينها ، معترضا في بطنها جنينها ، ٣ مخالفا لدين ٤ النصرى دينها .  
 ( ٩ ) وكثّ النساء يطفن بالبيت ١ عراة ، تأخذ احداهن حاشية برد تستتر  
 به وتقول : اليوم يبدو بعضه أو كله ، وما ٢ بدا منه فلا احله ، كم من ٣ لبيب  
 عقله بضله ، وناظر ٤ ينظر فما يمله ، ضخّم من الجثم ٥ عظيم ظلّه .  
 [و ٢٢ ب] ( ١٠ ) وكانت تلبية آدم عليه السلام ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عبدا  
 خلقته بيدك ، كرمت فأعطيت ، قربت فأدنيت ، تباركت وتعاليت ، أنت ربّ  
 البيت .  
 فأزل الله تعالى : واجتنبوا قول الزور حين قالوا : لا شريك لك الا شريكا هو  
 لك ، تملكه وما ملك ٢٠ .

• تلبية العرب في الجاهلية .  
 ( ١١ ) وكانت قريش تنسك لاساف ، وكانت تلبيتها : لبيك اللهم لبيك ،  
 لبيك لا شريك لك ، الا شريك هو لك ، تملكه وما ملك .  
 ( ١٢ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك للعزى : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك ١  
 وسعديك ، لبيك ما أحبنا اليك .  
 ( ١٣ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك للات ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، كفى ٢ بيتنا  
 بنيه ، ليس بمهجور ولا يلية ، لكنه من تربة زكيه ، أربابه من أصلح ٣ البريه .  
 ( ١٤ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لجهار : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، ١ اجعل ذنوبنا  
 جبارا ، واهدنا لاصلح المنارا ٢ ، وامتعنا وملنا جهارا ٣٠ .

( ٧ ) ١ في أحوس : عند . وفي كوح : أعبد : قارن أدناه رقم ٤٦ .  
 ( ٨ ) ١ بشعر اليمن محذوف في كوح . ٢ اليك حذف في أحوس وحس .  
 ٣ في كوح : في بطنها معترضا جنينها . ٤ في أحوس وحس : لذي النصرى ؛  
 في كوح : مخالفا دين النصرى دينها .  
 ( ٩ ) ١ في كوح : بالبيت بالليل . ٢ في كوح : فما . ٣ "من" حذف في  
 كوح . ٤ في كوح : أو ناظر ٥٠ في أحوس وحس : من الحثم : كوح من الحد (١) .  
 ( ١٠ ) في كوح : آدم صلى الله عليه وسلم . ٢ في كوح : فأزل الله :  
 واجتنبوا قول الزور، وهو الشرك في التلبية ؛ حدّثنا عبد الله قال : حدّثنا أبي قال :  
 حدّثنا الهذيل عن مقاتل عن الضحاك في قول الله عز وجل : واجتنبوا قول الزور قال :  
 يقال هو اعياد المشركين ، الشعائين ( في السنن : السعائين ) وغيره ؛ فذلك قول  
 الله للحسن : اجتنبوا قول الزور حين قالوا : الا شريكا هو لك ؛ وانظر مقاتل  
 ١ ح و ٢ ب .

( ١٢ ) ١ لبيك حذف في أحوس وحس ؛ والزيادة عن المحبر ص ٣١١ .  
 ( ١٣ ) ١ في أحوس وحس : للاب . ٢ في أحوس وحس : كفا . ٣ في  
 المحبر ص ٣١٢ : من صالحه .  
 ( ١٤ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٢ : ٠٠٠ لبيك ، لبيك اجعل ٢٠ في المحبر :  
 جبار ، واهدنا لاوضح المنار . ٣ في المحبر : وملنا بجهار .

- ( ١٥ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لسواع : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك أنبتنا<sup>١</sup> اليك ، ان سواعا طليق ٢ اليك .
- ( ١٦ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك للشمس ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك ما نهارنا نجره ، ادلاجه وحره وقره ، لا نتقي شيئا ولا نضره ، حجا مستقيما بره ٢٠
- ( ١٧ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لمحرق : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك حجا حقا ، تعيدا ورقا .
- ( ١٨ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لود : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك معذرة اليك .
- ( ١٩ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لذي الخلصة ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك لما هو واجب اليك ٢ .
- ( ٢٠ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لمنطبق : لبيك اللهم لبيك ١٠
- ( ٢١ ) وكانت تلبية عك اذا بلغوا مكة يبعثون غلامين يسيران على جمل مملوكين قد جردا عرايا ، ١ فلا يزيدان على ان يقولوا : نحن غرابا ٢ عك ، فاذا نادى الغلامان ذلك صاح من خلفهما من عك : عك اليك عانيه ، عبادك اليمانيه ، كيما نحج الثانيه ، على القلاص ٣ الناجيه ٤ .
- ( ٢٢ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك مناة : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك لولا ان بكرا دونكا ، بني غطفان وهم يلونكا ، ١ تبرك الناس ويفجرونكا ، ٢ ما زال منا عجيجا ٣ يأتونكا ، انا على عدوتهم ٤ من دونكا .
- ( ٢٣ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لسعيد ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لم تأتكم للمياحه ٢ ، ولا لطلب الرياحه ، ٢ ولكن جئناك للطاعه ٣ .

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( ١٥ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٢ : اينا ٢٠ في المحبر : طلين .  
 ( ١٦ ) ١ في هامش ا ح ملاحظة الناسخ : " يوخذ من كلامه الاتي ان الشمس هنا وثن وكان لبني تميم . الكاتب " ٢٠ في المحبر ص ٣١٢ : حجا لرب مستقيم بره .

( ١٩ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٢ : ذا الخلصة ٢٠ في المحبر : بما هو احب اليك .

( ٢٠ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٣ س ١ : ٠٠٠ لبيك ، لبيك .  
 ( ٢١ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٣ : ٠٠٠ قد جردا فهما عربانان ٢ في ا ح و س وحس : عرايا . ٣ في المحبر : على الشداد ٤٠ راجع تلبية عك : ابن الكلبي ، الاصنام ص ٧ .

( ٢٢ ) ١ " بني غطفان وهم يلونكا " محذوف في نص المحبر ص ٣١٣ .  
 ٢ في المحبر : وبهجرونك ٣٠ في المحبر : ما زال حج عثج : وانظر ملاحظة محمد حميد الله رقم ٣٠٣ ٤ في المحبر : على عدوائهم : وفارن رسالة الغفران ص ٥٣٦ .

( ٢٣ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٣ : لسعيدة ٢٠ في ا ح و س وحس : للنياحه ؛ في المحبر : للمياحه ولا طلبا للرفاحه ؛ ويبدو ان هذا النص هو الاصح ٣٠ انظر ملاحظة رقم ٥ لمحمد حميد الله .

- ( ٢٤ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك ليعوق : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك بقض الينا الشر، وحبب الينا الخير ، ولا ينظر ١ فأنشر ٢٠ .
- ( ٢٥ ) [١٢٣] [وكانت تلبية من نسك ليعوق] ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، احببنا لديك ، ٢ فنحن عبادك قد صرنا اليك .
- ( ٢٦ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لنسر : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك اننا عبيد ، وكلتنا ميسر ١ عتيد ، ٢ وأنت ربنا الحميد ، ارددنا ٣ الينا ملكنا والصيد .
- ( ٢٧ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك ذا اللبا : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، رباً صرفت عنا مضر ، وسلم ١ لنا هذا السفر ، وارعنا فيهما المزدجر ، ٢ ثم اكفنا ٣ اللهم ارباب هجر .
- ( ٢٨ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لمرحب : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، اننا لديك ، لبيك حببنا اليك .
- ( ٢٩ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك لذريح : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك كلنا كنود ، وكلنا لنعمة جحود ، فاكفنا كل حية رصود .
- ( ٣٠ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك ذا الكفين : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك ان جرهما عبادك ، والناس طرف وهم تلادك، ونحن أولى بولاك ١٠ .
- ( ٣١ ) وكانت تلبية من نسك هبل : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك اثنا لقاح، حرمتنا [على] ١ أسنة الرماح ، يحسدنا ٢ الناس على النجاج .
- فهذه رؤوس طواغيتهم التي كانوا يقصدون ٣ اليها من حجههم ولا يأتون بيوتهم حتى يمرؤا بها فيعظمونها ويتقربون اليها وينسكوا ٤ ( ١ ) لها ، يعني يسجدون لها .
- ( ٣٢ ) وكانت تلبية كنانة وقريش : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك يوم التعريف ويوم الدعاء والوقوف ، ١ لبيك لا شريك لك الا شريكا هو لك ، تملكه وما ملك .

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( ٢٤ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٤ : ولا تبطننا . ٢ في المحبر جملة زائدة : ولا تفدحنا بعثار .

( ٢٥ ) ١ [ محذوف في أح ، س : حس ؛ والزيادة من نص المحبر ص ٣١٤ .

٢ في المحبر : احبنا بما لديك .

( ٢٦ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٤ : ميسرة ؛ في أح : وس وحس : عبيد ؛ في المحبر : عتيد . ٣ في المحبر : اردد الينا .

( ٢٧ ) ١ في المحبر ص ٣١٤ : رب فاصرفنا مضر وسلمنا . ٢ في المحبر : ان عما فيهم لمزدجر . ٣ في المحبر : واكفنا .

( ٣٠ ) ١ في أح وس وحس : ونحن أولا بهم اولاك ؛ والنص الذي اوردناه مأخوذ من المحبر ص ٣١٤ ، السطر الاخير - ص ٣١٥ س ١ .

( ٣١ ) ١ [على] ؛ الزيادة عن المحبر ص ٣١٥ في أح وحس وس : لحسدتنا .

٣ قارن المحبر ص ٣١٩ س ٢ : يصدرون اليها . ٤ في المحبر : فيعظموها ويتقربوا اليها وينسكوا لها ؛ " يعني يسجدون لها " لم يرد في المحبر .

( ٣٢ ) ١ قارن اليعقوبي ، تاريخ ج ١ ص ٢٩٦ .

( ٣٣ ) وقال ابن اسحق : وكانت تلبية تميم وأسد وضبة ومزينة ، فكانت تميم تقول : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عن تميم قد تراها قد خلعت أوثانها وراها ، وأخلصت لربها دعاها ، قد افردت حج (١) لمن يراها ، قد فاز بالقدرة وابتناها ، مكة للرب ومن يراها ١٠

( ٣٤ ) قال ابن اسحق : وكانت خندف ، تميم وأسد وضبة ومزينة ، يعظمون هبل ويقولون : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، ما نهارنا نجره ، ادلاجه وبرده وصره ، لايتقي شيئا ولايضره ، حجاً لرب مستقيم به ١٠

( ٣٥ ) قال وقال الشعبي : كانت تلبية بني اسد اذا حجوا : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، اليك رب اقبلت بنو اسد ، اهل العوالي والوفاء والجلد ، والمال فينا والبنون والممدد ، وانت رب المشعرين والبلد ، الواحد القهار والرب الصمد ، ما نعبد الاوثان مع من قد عبد ١٠

(٣٦) قال ابن اسحق : كانت هذيل [و ٢٣ ب]تعظم سواعا وكانت تلبيتهم : لبيك عبادك هذيل ، حج اليك كالسيل ، نسير النهار والليل ، لم نأت للمياحه ، ١ وجئنا للنصاحه ٢٠

( ٣٧ ) وكانت قيس عيلان تعظم الالهة، وكانت تلبيتهم اذا اهلوا : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك انت الرحمن ، أئتتك قيس عيلان ، راجلها والركبان وشيخها والولدان ، ذليلة للرحمن جميعها والاوثنان ٢٠

( ٣٨ ) وكانت تلبية ربيعة بن نزار : لبيك حجاً حقاً ، تعبدا ورقاً ، نركب اليك طرقاً ، مستبقين سيقاً ، لخلق رؤوس حلقاً .

( ٣٩ ) قال ، وكانت تلبية عك : لاجح الاحجك ، نسألك ونستغيث بك ، فاسق غيثاً ربنا ضكاً ، ١ وزاد زكاً ، لم نأت للرقاحه. واوجينا النصاحه .

(٤٠) قال ، وكانت تلبية عك والاشعريين ١ ، اذا حجوا البيت : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، حج للرحمن ، ذلت له الاصنام ، فاعفر ما أحصيت منا عددا .

( ٤١ ) وكانت تلبية مذحج في الجاهلية ، وكانوا يعظمون يغوث ويهلون له : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك رب الشعري ، رب السموات العلى ، رب اللات والعزى ١٠

(٣٣) ١ قارن البيهقي ، تاريخ ص ٢٩٦ ، تلبية بني تميم .

(٣٤) ١ انظر رقم ١٣ اعلاه .

(٣٥) ١ قارن البيهقي ، تاريخ ص ٢٩٦ ، تلبية بني اسد ؛ وانظر حسين ، تلبيات ص ٣٦٥ رقم ٢ .

(٣٦) ١ في أح ، حس وس : للنصاحه . ٢ قارن البيهقي ، تاريخ ص ٢٩٦ وحسين ، تلبيات ص ٣٦٨ رقم ٢٣ .

(٣٧) ١ الى هنا في تاريخ البيهقي ص ٢٩٦ . ٢ في مقالة حسين ، تلبيات رقم ١٧ : ... شيخها والولدان ، مذلة للديان .

(٣٩) ١ كذا أح وس وحس ؛ ولعله : منكاً .

(٤٠) ١ في أح وس وحس ؛ والاشعريون .

(٤١) ١ في أح وس وحس : الشعرا ... العلا ... والعزى .

- ( ٤٢ ) تلبية همدان ١ وخولان ؛ وكانت همدان ١ تعظم يعوق ، وكانت تلبيتهم : لبيك رب البنيان ، هذا حجيج همدان ، قد أتاك ركبان ، تريد رب غفران ، قد أوجبت النصاحه .
- ( ٤٣ ) تلبية حمير ، وكانت تعبد نسرا : لبيك اللهم لبيك عن الملوك والاقوال ١ ذوي النهى والاحلام ، والواصلين الارحام ، لم يقربوا ٢ للانام ، تنزها واسلام ، ذلوا الرب الانام ، ٣ دانوا له في اعلام ، أوثانها والاصنام ٤٠
- ( ٤٤ ) وكانت تلبيتهم أيضا : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك حمير عبادك اليمانيه ، قد أتتك شعثا غانیه ، على قلاص ناجيه ، كيما تحج الثانيه ، لم نأت للرباحه، وأوجبت النصاحه .
- ( ٤٥ ) وكانت تلبية الحمس : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك انت رب الشعري فأنصرهم ممن تعدى ، رب الثالثة الاخرى ، ورب اللات والعزى ، والكعبة الحرام وحيث تدعا ، جئناك على طريق من يخشى ، تهدي بنا المضمرات تتماذى ، قد خلفوا الاوثان خلوا صفرا .
- ( ٤٦ ) تلبية كعب(١) بن وبرة ، وكانت تعبد ودا ، وتلبيتهم وتلبية قضاة : لبيك رب الحل والحرام ، اغفر خطايا اعبد وآم ، أتوك يمشون على الاقدام .
- ( ٤٧ ) وكانت تلبية قضاة [ و ١٢٤ ] خاصة : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عن قضاة ، ذلت لرب الساعه ، سعا له وطاعه ، يقدمها وداعه .
- ( ٤٨ ) وكانت تلبية ثقيف في الجاهلية : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، هذه ايام ١ قد أتوك ، قد عطلوا ٢ المال وقد رجوك ، ٣ واللات والعزى في يديك ، ٤ دانت لك الاصنام تعظيما اليك ، قد اذعنت بسلمها اليك ، فاغفر لنا ٥ فطال ما عفوت. ٦
- ( ٤٩ ) قال ، وكان عمرو بن معديكرب في الاسلام يقول : لقد رأيتنا قبل الاسلام ونحن اذا حججنا نقول : لبيك تعظيما اليك عذرا، هذه زبيد قد اتتك قصرا ، تعدو ١ بها مضمرات شزرا ، يقطعن خبتا وجبالا وعرا ، قد خلفوا الانداد خلوا صفرا؛ ونحن ، والحمد لله ، نقول اليوم : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، تلبية صدق ، لبيك اللهم لبيك ، رب الارباب ، تعدو بنا سرر غلاب ، لبيك مخلصه الجواب ، العجيج والدماء والاسباب ، قاهر كل وثن وصنم في البلاد .
- ( ٥٠ ) تلبية بكر بن وائل : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عن ربيعه ، سامعة مطيعه ، لرب ما يعبد في كنيسة وبيعه ، قد خلفت أوثانها في عصمة منيعه ١٠

( ٤٢ ) ١ أحوسوحس : همدان .

( ٤٣ ) ١ في تلبيات لحسين رقم ١٠ : والاقبال . ٢ حسين : لايقربون .

٣ حسين : كرام ٤ " دانوا ..... والاصنام " - لم يرد في نص تلبيات حسين .

( ٤٨ ) ١ اليعقوبي ص ٢٩٦ : ان ثقيفا قد أتوك . ٢ اليعقوبي : وأخلفوا

المال : حسين رقم ٨ : وقد عظموا المال . ٣ الى هنا في نص اليعقوبي . ٤

حسين : عزاهم واللات في يديك . ٥ حسين : لها . ٦ حسين : غفرت .

( ٤٩ ) ١ في أح : تعدوا .

( ٥٠ ) ١ فارن : حسين ، تلبيات رقم ١٢ واليعقوبي ص ٢٩٦ .

( ٥١ ) وقال عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه لابي بردة بن ابي موسى : أتدري كيف كانت تلبية قومك ١ في الجاهلية ؟ قال : كانوا يقولون : اللهم هذا واحد انما ، أشمه الله وقد أشما ، ٢ ان تغفر اللهم تغفر جمًا وأى عبد لك لا ألقا . ( ٥٢ ) وكانت تلبية جذام : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عن جذام ذوي ١ النهى والاحلام ، بني الملوك العظام ، هم الفروع والاعلام ، واتوا اله الاصنام، مشاتها والركبان ، تعظيما للرحمن ٢٠

( ٥٣ ) تلبية كندة وحضرموت والسكون ١ : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك لا شريك لك ، الا شريكا تملكه ، ٢ ان تهلكه أو تتركه ، أنت الحليم ١ فاتركه . ( ٥٤ ) تلبية غسان : لبيك اللهم لبيك ، لبيك عن ملوكنا، فأنت رب قومنا، لك النداء وعجنًا وشحنًا وحجنًا .

( ٥٥ ) تلبية بجيلة : لبيك اللهم لبيك عن بجيلة ، فانها لنعمت القبيلة ١، حتى ترى طائفة بكعبة جليله ، قد خلفت أوثانها في واسط القبيلة ٢٠

( ٥٦ ) تلبية دوس : لبيك اللهم لبيك رب الاصنام ، مشاتها والركبان ، أتتك دوس سامعة مطيعه ، ورب كل واصل ومظهر قطيعه .

II وكانت الاصنام كلها في بلاد العرب ؛ وكانت العزى شجرة بنخلة عندها وثن تعبدها غطفان وكانت غني وباهلة تعبدها معهم [و] ٢٤ وكان عندها وثن فقطعها خالد بن الوليد رحمه الله . وكانت اللات بالطائف لثقيف فبعث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أبا سفيان والمغيرة بن شعبة فهدهماها . وكانت جهار لهوازن بعكاظ . وكانت سواع بنعمان ١ تعبد ( ١ ) كنانة وهذيل ومزينة وحي من قيس عيلان . وكانت شمس لبني تميم وكانت لها بيت ، وكانت تعبد ( ١ ) بنو ٣ ود كلها وضية وتميم وغني وثور وعكل . وكان ود لبني وبرة وكان موضعه بدومة الجندل . وكان الفليس بنجد تعبد طي، وكان قريبا من فيد . وكانت الانصار وأزد شنوءة وغيرهم من الازد يعبدون المناة وكان ( ١ ) بسيف ٤ البحرين ( ١ ) . وكانت سعد هذيم ٤ وسائر قضاة ، الا بني وبرة ، يعبدون السعيدة ومناة ، وكانت الازد يعبدون السعيدة . وكان ذو الخلصة له بيت يعبد به بجيلة وخثعم وحارث بن كعب وجرم وزبيد وغوث من مراد وبنو هلال ابن عمارة . وكان يغوث لمذحج . وكان يعوق لخولان وهمدان . وكان نسر ٥ لحمير

( ٥١ ) ١ في أح وس وحس : قوم ؛ وعلى هامش أح : قومي . ٢ حسن رقم ٣ : هذا واحد ان تما ، أتمه الله وقد أشما .

( ٥٢ ) ١ في أح وحس : دي . ٢ قارن اليعقوبي ص ٢٩٧ .

( ٥٣ ) ١ اليعقوبي ص ٢٩٧ : كندة وحضرموت . ٢ اليعقوبي : لا شريك لك تملكه أو تهلكه . ٣ حكيم .

( ٥٤ ) ١ قارن اليعقوبي ص ٢٩٧ : لبيك عن بجيلة في بارق ومخيلة .

٢ قارن حسين ، تليبات رقم ٥ ورسالة الغفران ص ٥٣٦ .

II ( ١ ) أح وس وحس : لنعمان . ( ٢ ) في أح وس وحس : بليت ( ١ ) .  
( ٣ ) في أح وس وحس : بني . ( ٤ ) في أح وس وحس : لسيف .  
( ٤ ) في أح وس وحس : سعد وهذيم . ( ٥ ) في أح وس وحس : نسرا



وكان في دار قصر باليمن . وكان ذو ٦ لبا لعبد القيس . وكان المحرق بسلطان ٧  
لبكر بن وائل وسائر ربيعة . وكان لكندة ذريح بالنجير ٨ باليمن نحو حضرموت .  
وكان للسلف ولعلك والاشعريين المنطبق وكان صنما ٩ من نحاس يتكلمون من جوفه  
بكلام لم يسمع بمثله . وكان يساف ونائلة لقريش والاحابيش . وكان هبل لبني  
بكر وملك وملكان وسائر كنانة ، وكانت قريش تعبد صاحب كنانة وكانت كنانة  
تعبد صاحب قريش .

III [ ج ٢ و ٢١٠ ب ] وأما أسماء الالهة فأما ودّ فلقلب بدومة الجندل وأما سواع  
فلهذيل بساحل البحر ، وأما يغوث فلبنى غطيف وهم حي من مراد ، وأما يعوق  
فلهمدان ، وأما نسر فلحمير لذي كلاع من حمير ، فكانت هذه الالهة يعبدها قوم نوح  
حتى عبدتها العرب بعد ذلك ؛ وأما اللات فلتقيف وأما العزى فليسليم وغطفان وجشم ١  
ونصر بن معاوية وسعد بن بكر . وأما مناة فكانت بقديد ٢ منزل بين مكة والمدينة . وأما  
يساف ونائلة وهبل لاهل مكة ؛ فكان يساف حيال الحجر الاسود ، ونائلة حيال الركن  
اليمني ، وهبل في جوف الكعبة ، وكان طوله ثمانية عشر ذراعا ٣ .

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(٦) في أح وس وحس : ذا . (٧) في أح وس وحس : بسمان .  
(٨) في أح وس وحس : بالحر . (٩) في أح وس وحس : صنم .

III (١) في أح : وغشم : وانظر : الفاسي ، شفاء الغرام ج ٢ ص ٢٨٢-٥٥ .  
(٢) في أح : لقديد . (٣) راجع : الطبري ، تفسير (بوقاق) ج ٢٧ ص ٣٤-٣٦ :  
السيوطي ، الدر المنثور ج ٦ ص ١٢٦-١٢٧ : الزرقاني ، شرح المواهب اللدنية  
(القاهرة ١٣٢٥) ج ٢ ص ٣٤٧-٣٤٩ ، ج ٣ ص ٢٧ ، ٥٢-٥٤ : الصالح ، سيل  
الهدى والرشاد في سيرة خير العباد ، ج ٢ ص ٢٤٢-٢٤٤ ؛ ابن أبي الحديد ، شرح  
نهج البلاغة ، (تحقيق محمد أبو الفضل إبراهيم ، القاهرة ١٣٨٥ / ١٩٦٥) ج ١  
ص ١١٩-١٢٠ : القرطبي ، تفسير ج ١٨ ص ٣٠٧-٣١٠ .