THE NAME ALLAH

by

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

It is a little more than ten years since I made my first acquaintance, quite unintentionally, with members of the Moslem Community in South Africa. Their deeply religious way of life, their meticulous observance of religious precepts, and their arduous study of their Holy Book in the Arabic language, made me take a profound interest in the Koran, the centre of their faith. This event changed the course of my life. Through a fortunate combination of circumstances I had at the same time the privilege to begin my university career under Professor Adrianus van Selms, which led to the fact that I studied Hebrew and Arabic as major subjects already for my first degree. The keen interest of Professor van Selms (who suggested the theme for this dissertation) in my studies, has always been an inspiration and a stimulation to mine still deeper for the rich treasures of the Semitic languages. From him did I not only receive all my knowledge of Arabic, but he also shared with me his honest and respectful approach to the Islam. I deem it a great honour to have been able to finish this work under his competent guidance. I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest appreciation towards him. It is my prayer that he will experience many years of good health in retirement to pursue his love for the Semitic languages.

I also remember dr. C.J. Labuschagne, presently of Groningen, who first introduced me to the grammar and literature of the Hebrew language. I wish to express my gratitude towards my friend and colleague Prof. W.C. van Wyk, for the interest he has taken in my work, for his many kindnesses and friendship and for his help to facilitate the completion of the present work, both as lecturer at the R.A.U. and as head of the Department of Semitic Languages at the University of Pretoria. I wish to thank my colleague Prof. H.S. Pelser, chairman of the Department of Semitic Languages at the Rand Afrikaans University, for his warm friendship and complaisance over the past

six years. During these years I have learnt that his modesty hides a sound scholarship which is still to be appreciated in its full merit.

I mention in appreciation the teaching staff of the Faculty of Theology of the "Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk" of the University of Pretoria; especially Prof. H.D.A. du Toit who taught Missionary Science at the time, and Prof. J.H. Kritzinger and later Prof. A.H. van Zyl of the Department of Old Testament Studies.

Again I wish to thank the Rand Afrikaans University and Messrs. R. Sagov and D. Susman for a generous bursary which enabled me to visit the Hebrew University in Jerusalem at the beginning of the year and gave me the opportunity to acquaint myself with sources and research inaccessible in South Africa. In this respect I also thank the staff of the library of the Rand Afrikaans University.

I take this opportunity to express my appreciation towards my friends, the ministers of the Indian Reformed Church, particularly the Reverend Dr. C. du P. le Roux and the Reverend G.J.A. Lubbe for their encouragement and scientific interest in Islam.

It is a heart-felt desire to thank my parents who made many sacrifices to give me the advantage of a university education. My deepest appreciation goes to my wife, for years of blissful marriage and love. I thank her for loving inspiration and invaluable help in typing the unreadable manuscripts so accurately. I thank my little daughter for much patience and understanding when we were both occupied with the preparation of this work.

Finally and above all: Praise and honour and worship be to God, our heavenly Father, for from his fullness have we all received, grace upon grace.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKM — Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ANET — J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament^2, 1959.

ARW — Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.

CIS — Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.

EI — The Encyclopaedia of Islam (old edition).

ERE — J. Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

IC — Islamic Culture.

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature.

JEOL — Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux.

JJS — Journal of Jewish Studies.

JNES — Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

JSS — Journal of Semitic Studies.

MW — The Muslim World.

OLZ — Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

PRU — J. Nougayrol etc., Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit, 1955ff.

ThW — G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.

TLZ — Theologische Literaturzeitung.

UF — Ugarit-Forschungen.

UM — C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, 1955.

UT — C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, 1965.

VT — Vetus Testamentum.

WM — H.W. Haussig, Wörterbuch der Mythologie, 1965.

WZKM — Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZA — Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

ZAW — Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

ZDMG — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZDPV — Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

CONCERNING THE TRANSCRIPTION

a. What is given here, is the transcription of the Arabic alphabet in the sequence of that alphabet. The transcription resembles that of the EI. The first letter of the alphabet is usually not indicated in vocalized words.

'	ḍ
b	ṭ
t̤	ẓ
th	c
dj	gh
ḥ	f
kh	q
d	k
dh	l
r	m
z	n
s	h
sh	w
ṣ	y

b. When ', w and y are used as matres lectionis they are not indicated apart from the transcription of the vowel. Similarly w and y are represented by vowels when they are used in diphthongs.

c. Vowels are transcribed as a, i, u. The matres lectionis (letters of elongation) are generally not indicated separately, but represented by a circumflex over the relevant vowels viz. â, î, and û. Where it was considered necessary to indicate a mater lectionis it is added one

space above the line, e.g. the y in Ismâ^{c}î^{y}l. No distinction is made between Alif maqsûra and Alif mamdûda.

d.   Hamzat al-Wasl is not indicated as such. The specialist will know where it must be applied in distinction from hamzat al-qat^c.

e.   A letter with Tashdîd is represented by writing that letter twice. The assimilation of the definite article to the so-called sun-letters is not indicated. In combination with the previous rule we transcribe thus, e.g. bait al-radjul.

f.   Final vowels and nunation (Tanwîn) are generally not indicated. When it is indicated it is written above the line, e.g. al-bait^u.

g.   The female ending of nouns is indicated with final -a (e.g. in kunya) in the absolute state, and with final -at if the word is in the construct state.

h.   Where it is suitable the same transcription is applied to the other Semitic languages. The expert reader will be able to determine the values of letters and vowels not contained in the list above by comparison with their untranscribed forms. This applies especially to vowels.

i.   In well-known words like Koran, Mohammed, etc., the common English spelling has been retained, instead of Qur'ân, Muhammad, etc. —— objectionable as it may be from the viewpoint of the Arabist.

AFRIKAANSE OPSOMMING

Titel: "The name Allah".

Outeur: Jacobus Adriaan Naudé.

Promotor: Professor A. van Selms.

Departement: Semitiese Tale.

Graad: D. Litt.

Allâh is die naam van die God van die Koran en die Islam. In die Semitiese idioom verteenwoordig die naam van God die wesenlike aard van sy lewende natuur en manifesteer die totaliteit van sy goddelike persoon. Daarom is 'n ondersoek van die naam Allâh 'n bestudering van sy ganse wese.

Die naam Allâh kan etimologies verklaar word as van suiwer Arabiese oorsprong naamlik 'n kombinasie van die bepaalde lidwoord <u>al</u> met <u>lâh</u>, of die variante vorm <u>ilâh</u>, wat beteken "god". Die naam word in Sinai gevind waar dit in Nabatese inskripsies uit die derde eeu v.C. gebruik is, maar waarskynlik kom die naam reeds voor in die Lihyâniese inskripsies wat terugdateer tot die vyfde eeu v.C. Die woord <u>Allâh</u> hou verband met die algemeen Semitiese <u>Il/El</u> met <u>'lh</u> as tussenvorm. <u>'lh</u> moet verklaar word volgens die verskynsel van die "zweigipflige Akzent" in ou Suid-Arabies.

Die Ugaritiese tekste en die Noord- en Suid-Arabiese materiaal is eenstemmig dat Il die belangrikste god in die onderskeie pantheons was maar dat hy, as gevolg van

sy ouderdom, vervang is deur ander gode. Die Arabiese
teofore name gee ook aandag aan die verhouding tussen god
en mens. Die Arabiese poësie weerspieël die uiterste
dekadensie van die heidendom kort voor die koms van die
Islam. Dit verbind Allâh met die Ka^{c}ba. Moslem outeurs het
vanouds suggereer dat die Nabatese Quraish Allâh uit die
Noorde na Mekka gebring het. Die gebruik van die naam Allâh
deur die Jode, Christene en Hanîfs het daaraan 'n uitsluit-
lik monoteïstiese konnotasie gegee, wat in die prediking van
Mohammed voortgesit sou word. Volgens die Koran het die
heidense Arabiere Allâh as 'n veraf ontoeganklike Oppergod
beskou. Daarom het hulle afgode as middelaars benodig.
Mohammed het daarop aanspraak gemaak dat hy net die Arabiese
godsdiens reformeer tot sy oorspronklike suiwer vorm.

Ooreenkomstig Joodse gebruik het Mohammed die
uitspraak van die eienaam van sy God aan die begin van sy
loopbaan vermy, in die besonder gedurende die eerste Mekkaanse
tydperk. Die Koran argumenteer nie om die bestaan van Allâh
te bewys nie. Die teenwoordigheid van die lewende God in
hierdie wêreld word konkreet uitgedruk in antropomorfe
taal. Dit doen nie afbreuk aan 'n verhewe geestelike verstaan
van die transendente God nie. Die Koran beklemtoon dat Allâh
verhewe is bo enige genealogiese bande. Mohammed het nooit
die benaming ab, vader, vir Allâh gebruik nie en in hierdie
opsig verskil sy prediking van die algemeen Semitiese begrip
van 'l, 'lh.

Die aanbidding van valse gode, wat in alle
opsigte die presies teenoorgesteldes van Allâh is, hou 'n

bedreiging vir die kosmiese wêreldorde in. Die engele is bloot die uitvoerders van God se handelinge met die mens. Satan verteenwoordig al die magte in opstand teen Allâh maar hy is volkome onderworpe aan Allâh wat die uiteindelike outeur van al die kwaad is.

In sy handele met die mens openbaar Allâh homself as heilig, genadig en regverdig. Hy het die gelowige lief maar sy toorn ontvlam teen die ondankbare ongelowige. Allâh se kennis is volmaak en hy gee die gelowige aandeel aan sy wysheid. Die spanning tussen die vrye wil van Allâh, wat alles bepaal, en die verantwoordelike vryheid van die menslike wil word in die Koran gehandhaaf. Allâh word dikwels beskrywe in terme van 'n aardse koning.

Allâh is nie absoluut transendent nie. Sy immanensie in hierdie wêreld word openbaar in sy skeppende handele en in sy handele met die mens. Die werklike instrument van die handele van Allâh is sy woord, waarvan die skepping die sigbare vormgewing en die Koran die kommunikatiewe aspek is. Die skepping getuig van die onontkombare mag en die onvergelyklikheid van Allâh. Die mens behoort hom in aanbidding tot Allâh te wend met dankbaarheid vir al die gawes van die skepping. Allâh het die mens as plaasvervanger op aarde aangestel, om hom te dien en prys. Vir die gelowige is Allâh kosbaarder as sy familie, sy besittings, en selfs sy lewe. Die mens moet die lesse van die geskiedenis leer want daarin word die handele van Allâh met die mens demonstreer. Die mens moet Allâh in 'n ritueel rein toestand aanbid deur

sy naam in die salât te vermeld en deur aalmoese te gee.
Allâh ontvang nie die vlees en bloed van offers nie, maar
die toewyding van die gelowige. Die sentrale plek van die
Ka^{c}ba, die "huis van Allâh", word in die Koran gehandhaaf.
Verdienstelike werke word aangeneem ter versoening van sondes,
maar die Koran beklemtoon die noodsaaklikheid van bekering.
Op die Oordeelsdag sal alle skepsele voor Allâh, die reg-
verdige regter, verskyn wat sal regeer in onbetwiste majesteit.

Daar is nie 'n evolusie in Mohammed se Gods-

begrip nie. In die latere kalâm van die Islam is die
Koraniese begrip van Allâh vereng om uiteindelik op te gaan
in die van 'n filosofiese Absolute Wese.

Allâh was besig om in die vergetelheid te
versink maar deur die prediking van Mohammed is sy posisie herstel.
Die Koraniese Godsbegrip is wesenlik dieselfde as dié van die
Ou Testament. Die geheelbeeld word nie deur die etiese leer
van God se streng geregtigheid bepaal nie, maar deur die
onontkombare, onbeperkte vrye mag van die Skepper met die
onafskeidbare en logiese komplement dat Allâh die enigste
God is —— tot hom moet die mens in dankbaarheid keer.

Title: The name Allah.

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Allâh is the name of the God of the Koran and of Islam. In Semitic idiom the name of God represents the essential nature of his living being and manifests the totality of his divine person. Therefore an investigation into the name Allâh is a study of his person.

The name Allâh can etymologically be explained as of pure Arabic origin viz. a combination of the definite article al with lâh, or its variant ilâh, meaning "god". The name is found on Sinai in Nabataean inscriptions from the third century B.C., but probably the name already occurs in the Lihyânic inscriptions dating back to the fifth century B.C. The word Allâh is related to the common Semitic Il/El of which the intermediate 'lh is an extension to be explained after the phenomenon of the "zweigipflige Akzent" in ancient South Arabian.

The Ugaritic texts and the North and South Arabian material agree that Il was the most important god in their pantheons but that, because of his age he came to be

replaced by other gods. The Arabian theoforic names also give attention to the relationship between god and man. Arabic poetry reflects the extreme decadence of paganism shortly before the advent of Islam. It connects Allâh with the Ka^{C}ba. Ancient Moslem authors suggest that the Nabataean Quraish introduced Allâh from the North into Mecca. Using the name Allâh, Jews, Christians and Hanîfs gave it an exclusive monotheistic connotation to be continued in the preaching of Mohammed. According to the Koran the pagan Arabs experienced Allâh as some distant unapproachable supreme God. Therefore they needed their idols as intercessors. Mohammed claimed that he was only restoring the Arab religion to its original pure form.

After the example of Jewish custom Mohammed avoided pronouncing the proper name of his God at the beginning of his career, particularly during the first Meccan period. The Koran does not argue to proof the existence of Allâh. The presence of the living God in this world is concretely expressed in anthropomorphic language. This does not impair a highly spiritual understanding of the transcendent God. The Koran emphasized that Allâh is exalted above any genealogical ties. Mohammed never applied the title ab, father, to Allâh and in this respect his preaching differs from the common designation of 'l, 'lh.

The worship of false gods, who are in all respects the exact opposites of Allâh, constitutes a threat to the cosmic order of the universe. The angels are merely

the enactors of God's dealings with man. Satan represents all powers in revolt against Allâh, but he is completely subjected to Allâh who is the ultimate author of all evil.

In his action towards man Allâh reveals himself as holy, merciful and just. He loves the believer but his wrath inflames against the ungrateful disbeliever. Allâh's knowledge is perfect and he shares his wisdom with the believer. The tension between the free will of Allâh that determines everything, and the responsible freedom of the human will, is preserved in the Koran. Allâh is often described in terms of an earthly king.

Allâh is not absolutely transcendent. His immanence in this world is revealed in his creative action and his dealings with man. The real instrument of Allâh's action is his word, of which the creation is the visual configuration and of which the Koran is the verbal aspect. Creation bears witness to Allâh's inescapable power and his incomparability. Man should turn in grateful worship to Allâh on account of the benefits of creation. Allâh appointed man as viceroy on earth to serve and praise him. The believer holds Allâh dearer than his family, his possessions, and even his life. Man should learn the lessons of history for in them Allâh's action towards man is demonstrated. Man should worship Allâh in a ritually pure state by mentioning his name in the salât and by giving alms. Allâh does not receive the flesh and blood of sacrifices, but the devotion of the

believer. The central position of the Ka^cba, the "house
of Allâh", is maintained in the Koran. Meritorious deeds
are accepted in expiation of sin but the Koran stresses the
necessity of repentance. On the Day of Judgement all creation
will appear before Allâh the just Judge who will rule in
unrivalled majesty.

There is no evolution in Mohammed's concept of
Allâh. In later Islamic <u>kalâm</u> the Koranic concept of Allâh
was narrowed to be finally lost in that of a philosophical
Absolute Being.

Allâh was sliding back into oblivion but was
restored by the preaching of Mohammed. His concept of God
is essentially that of the Old Testament. The total image
is dominated not by the ethical doctrine of God's stern
justice, but by the inescapable, unlimited free power of
the Creator, with the inseparable and logical complement
that Allâh is the only God —— to him man should turn in
thankfulness.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

قَالَ : وَيْلَكُمْ لَا تَفْتَرُوا عَلَى ٱللَّهِ كَذِبًا

فَيُسْحِتَكُمْ بِعَذَابٍ وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنِ ٱفْتَرَى .

A dark green is the favourite colour amongst
pious Moslems: One may find it used by the orchestra
marching through the streets during religious celebrations; it
is the background-colour of the crescent and the star on
Moslem flags; one may find it the colour of the domed roof
of the mosque, in beautiful contrast with its whitepainted
walls; and in the Old City of Jerusalem one may read the
name Allâh painted in green on the door of a house, to ward
off evil spirits. Green is said to be the colour of Allâh[1].
It is a visual reminder of the everlasting, all-embracing
presence of God. From the top of the minaret the name Allâh
reverberates five times a day in the ears of believer and
unbeliever alike and no other name is formed as frequently on
the lips of the Arab.

A. Historical perspective.

The aim of this study is to examine the
meaning and contents of this name as it is portrayed in the
Koran. Surprisingly little attention has been given to this

subject as yet. In 1779 one Haller wrote his <u>Lehre von Gott aus dem Koran gezogen</u> and it seems that a certain Dettinger dealt with the subject in his <u>Beiträge zu einer Theologie des Korans</u>, 1831. The beginning of the twentieth century saw the publication of <u>The Moslem Doctrine of God</u> (1905) by S.M. Zwemer and a booklet <u>The Muslim Idea of God</u> (1909) by W.H.T. Gairdner. Both works are extremely polemic and apologetic in character and the latter hardly deserves mentioning. Since then no monograph appeared on the subject to the best knowledge of the present writer. Its treatment is commonly restricted to haphazard articles in encyclopaedias where the focal point is the various interpretations of the <u>Kalâm</u>. Elsewhere it is hidden in a few pages of works introducing Moslem theology or in biographies of the prophet Mohammed. A scientific treatment from Moslem side is still to be written. In 1948 Nashwân ibn Sa'îd al-Himyarî published an Arabic work in rhymed prose on the uselessness of striving for a conception of the nature of God. Daud Rahbar, in his dissertation[2], was justified in his observation that no scientific answer has so far been given to the question concerning the Koran's conception of God. Originally intent on writing a history of the first nine centuries of Moslem Ethical Thought, Rahbar finally reverted to the Koran itself to search for the dominant note of the Koran's doctrine of Allâh. He found it to be the ethical doctrine of God's stern justice.

      H. Kraemer drew attention to a new way of

rethinking old values in modern Islam, brought about by its confrontation with the Western philosophy and way of life, teeming with inventivity and restless activity[3]. One line of thought frequently recurring is that the rigidity of the Islam is the result of a wrong interpretation of its basic principles and especially of the Koran. A correct reinterpretation of the Koran would show it the source of all modern ideals and thoughts[4]. Thus the Koran and its interpretation are again important instruments in the self-revision and reformulation of Islam. Exegesis on a scientific basis by a Moslem is encountered for the first time in Rahbar's work. Should it gain wide acceptance it holds much promise. It is our conviction that the gulf between the ahl al-kitâb and Moslems can best be bridged where later dogmatic judgments and prejudices are precluded. Christians can best understand the Koran and its significance where exegesis is nothing more than a reformulation, a translation of the meaning of the Koran in the idiom of our time, because the apostolic service of Mohammed existed only in the "tradition"[5] of the words and deeds of God, as clear or as indistinct as he received it himself.

B. The design of the study.

The purpose of this study is an honest attempt to listen to and to understand the text of the Koran, based on principles of sound exegesis. Since Allâh was the centre of the preaching of the Prophet, the theme of our study forced us inevitably and involuntarily in the direction of

presenting an <u>outline</u> of Koranic theology. (It should nevertheless be clearly understood that it has not been our intention to write a theology of the Koran; such an undertaking would exceed the proper limits of the present study.) We attempted to listen to the message of the Koran itself, searching for the meaning of an âya in the context, avoiding the traditional interpretations of the <u>tafsîr</u> on purpose[6]. Even the meanings of words were determined by their contextual usage and comparative Semitic philology, rather than by the dictionaries —— for the traditional interpretation exercised an influence on the subsequent meanings of words too often accepted at face value in the study of the Koran.

Furthermore the Koran is repeatedly interpreted against its Judaeo-Christian and pagan Arab background. We consider it wrong to doubt the genuineness of Mohammed's experience of his calling as a prophet. We also do not belong to those happy people who search endlessly for sources from which Mohammed could have copied his sayings and deny him all originality. In the course of our study we came under the impression of the close proximity in religious thought between the Koran and the Old Testament. (We take this opportunity to express our indebtedness to the results of the scientific study of the Old Testament.) The Koran itself claims to be a continuation of Jewish and Christian faith[7]. Consequently we quote biblical and other material only to gain a better understanding of the Koran. In fact we deem it rather difficult for somebody who has no knowledge of the religions which

existed at the time in Arabia to understand the full import Mohammed's preaching must have had on his hearers. For the Koran is only seemingly (and at that quite deceivingly) simple and boringly repetitious — systematic study turns it into a most fascinating document of faith. We may add that we had neither intentional bias nor polemic or apologetic purposes with the compilation of the present work.

This general introduction is followed by a phenomenological survey of the Semitic concept of a proper name and its significance. Special reference is made to Arab nomenclature. This chapter not only justifies the contents of this work to sail under the flag of its title, but it also illustrates that the name Allâh is never a meaningless instrument of reference. The mention of the name Allâh brings with it an immediate experience of his presence and his action in this world. The importance of the etymological meaning of names made such an investigation of the name Allâh necessary and showed the relationship between Allâh and the Semitic god Il/El. Since Mohammed clearly stated that Allâh was worshipped by other peoples long before his own mission to the Arabs, and that he was proclaiming the same message to his own people, we were compelled to review Allâh before the advent of the Islam; however meagre our information may be. Particularly regrettable is the political situation in Arabia, which never favoured a proper and unhindered scientific expedition to retrieve the wealth of inscription and other material buried in the

deserts[8]. Furthermore not all the available inscriptional material has been published as yet and much work remains to be done in the fields of interpretation and systematization. The present study is concluded by a few remarks on the concept of Allâh in early theological controversies and developments of the Islam. This is followed by a synopsis of the conclusions reached.

We do not pretend to have spoken the last word on the person of Allâh and more particularly the Koranic doctrine of Allâh. Man will never be able to catch the living God in fallible words or dogmas. In this respect we share the sentiments of Jerome: 'Remote as we are from perfect knowledge, we deem it less blameworthy to say too little rather than nothing at all'[9]. L. Gardet referred to the difficulty to classify and pick out the themes concerning God, without a risk of breaking the very rhythm of sûras and verses[10]. In addition it should be noted that the attributes of Allâh are revealed in his action towards man with the result that the distinctions made in chapter five should not be taken as separations or dissociations. Every subject should be read in the context of the whole.

It is our hope that this study may be a humble contribution to the renewed interest of Moslems in the Koran and Koranic interpretation. It is an interest we hope will also be shared by Christians who care for the salvation of these people.

C. The text of the Koran.

The only authentic source for a study of
Mohammed's concept of Allâh is the Koran[11]. Modern study
has not raised any serious question regarding the authenticity of
the Koran. It is clear that charges of mutilation by the
Shî[c]a, or other religious groups, are founded on dogmatic
assumptions. The text on which the present study is based,

is the textus receptus of the standard Egyptian edition.
Where the verse-numbering of Flügel's edition (which has
been generally used in the West until recently) differs from
it, Flügel's numbering is indicated in parenthesis.

As far as extra-[c]Uthmânic codices are concerned
our sources indicate that there were indeed variations in
reading. The variant readings chiefly affect the vowels and
punctuation due to initial deficiencies of the Arabic script;
but occasionally there is a different consonantal text[12].
It is imperative to understand that the value of the variant
readings to establish an original text of the Koran is
practically negligible[13]. Even a cursory perusal of the
material reveals that it is almost always of a secondary nature,
when tested by the rules of textual criticism. Thus it
consists of glosses, of attempts to remove theologically
unacceptable sayings, or of efforts to correct the grammar
or punctuation of the Koranic text. One relevant example
will suffice: In Sûra XXIX, 2(1)f. it is implied that God's
knowledge is imperfect since he has to test man "in order to

know" who are the liars. This was found objectionable and consequently the repeated $falaya^{c}lamanna$ was changed to $falayu^{c}limanna$ with the result that according to the variant reading Allâh will "make known" who is a liar and who not. It is therefore sound scholarship which induced Ignaz Goldziher to treat textual variants as the first step of Koranic exegesis in his study Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung[14]. With regard to the subject of the present study this writer is aware of only one instance where the

textus receptus seems to be secondary: The learned of Kûfa and also ^{c}Abdullâh ibn Mas^{c}ûd read $^{c}adjibtu$ instead of the $^{c}adjibta$ of the vulgate in Sûra XXXVI, 12. It would seem that the vulgate accepted the latter reading to avoid Allâh as the subject of a verb of amazement.

D. The orthography of the Koran.

The attentive reader would have noticed an incongruity between the spelling of the name Allâh on the cover and title-page, and its spelling in the corpus of this study. The spelling Allah (with a short a in the second syllable) in the title is our only concession to the pronunciation of the name in the mouth of the Prophet himself, just as he said qurân and not qur'ân^{un}. To understand the Koran philologically and, in some instances, to understand the rhyme, it is necessary to present here a short review of this matter.

Mohammed spoke a Meccan dialect which deviated in many forms from the poetic koinē. Whether the language of the Koran is the Meccan dialect, slightly adapted to the poetic idiom (Brockelmann), or the poetic koinē itself, with unconscious backsliding into the Meccan dialect[15], it is clear that the incongruities between the consonants on the one hand and the vowels and the other punctuation marks on the other, are due to dialectic differences[16].

The scholars of Kûfa and Basra conformed the fixed consonantal text of the Koran to the, in their opinion, perfect language of the poets by introducing special extra-consonantal signs. This was the only alternative since the consonantal text was considered as holy and could not be tampered with. The result was that this orthography which was invented especially for the Koran became a whole ortho-graphical system in which the dualism between the k^{e}tîb of the consonants and the q^{e}rê of the external signs was retained. After the example of the Koran it subsequently became the standard orthography for Arabic.

The position can be best explained by means of a few examples. The Meccan dialect apparently gave preference to forms which words were known to have in poetry only in the pausal[17] position. In this way the tâ' marbûta can be explained: In Mecca feminine words were pronounced with a final -t only in the construct state (as in Hebrew); in the absolute state the termination was -ah. In the language of the poets the t was retained in the absolute

state as well by an -atun ending (for un see below). To change the final Meccan -ah, written in the consonantal text of the Koran, into the t-sound demanded by the poetic language, the two diacritical dots of the third letter of the Arabic alphabet (the tâ') were added to the hâ', and pronounced as the tâ'[18]. Definite proof that the tâ' marbûta of the Koran was pronounced hâ' in the absolute state, is furnished by Sûra CIV, where we get a consistent assonance only if tâ' marbûta is pronounced as hâ'.

In the Meccan dialect the accent on words was different. Thus they said ilah, which was pronounced by the poets as ilâh, according to the metre of their verses. To adapt the consonantal text to the poetic koinē, the alif-of-elongation (which could not be inserted in the consonantal text) was externally added in reduced size to the lam: Meccan إِلَى became إِلٰى (for poetic إِلّٰىх)[19]. Flügel went one step further and inserted this external alif in the consonantal text of his edition of the text of the Koran, to establish a "correct" text. Similarly the Meccan Allah became Allâh in the textus receptus as a q^erê perpetuum.

Other important innovations to the Meccan consonantal text were the hamza and nunation, both of which had been eliminated in the Meccan dialect[20].

Please note:

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the notes to all chapters were put together in a separate volume. It is imperative to read the text in conjunction with the notes. A separate bibliography is not supplied, since it can be readily found in the notes. It has not been our intention to supply a complete bibliography on every subsection. As a general rule the author mentioned only works which he could obtain and to which he is indebted. Mention should here be made of G. Flügel's Concordantiae Corani Arabicae, 1842.

C H A P T E R   T W O

NAMES   IN   THE   SEMITIC   WORLD

A. The special importance attached to names in the Semitic world, with special reference to the Arabs.

1. The identity between name and substance:

Ancient man experienced a reality in the spoken word, which is unknown to the modern man accustomed to reason in abstract terminologies. To the Semite the spoken word and the object indicated by that word was identical[1], and still is to this day.

This identity between a name and the substance of the object indicated by it, is also true of proper names. In Egypt[2] and Mesopotamia the mere pronouncement of a new name was already an act of creation[3]. At Sakkara in Egypt the remains of clay figurines bearing the names of enemies were found. The common practice was to break these figurines into pieces in order to destroy the name of the enemy in a tangible way and thereby destroying the enemy himself[4]. Similarly the writer of the book of Proverbs, when he had to describe the end of the wicked, used the awe-inspiring expression: "The name of the wicked shall perish"[5]. The Old Testament evidence indicates that the eradication of a name is the strongest expression of annihilation since it implies complete annihilation. This is the main theme of the

fictitious complaint the woman from Tekoa laid before king David that her husband's family are intent to wipe his name and remnant from the face of the earth[6].

The Egyptian practice to destroy an enemy by destroying a clay figurine bearing his name has its equivalent in the Arab world: A mask of the enemy's face is made from gypsum, verses 30-33 of Sûra V is written on the face and the enemy's name on the back. Then a dagger is pierced into the head where the name is written, accompanied by the formula "Oh angels of Allâh, do the same to this person", and the enemy will drop dead[7]. (It is therefore dangerous if the enemy knows your name[8].) The same principle motivates the Jewish prohibition, which has its parallels in Moslem and Coptic customs, to destroy any piece of paper on which the name of God is written[9]. It is a matter of common knowledge that worn copies of the Koran that can no longer be used, are buried in the Moslem cemetery.

True to the common conviction the Arabs believe that a boy with the name "Little donkey" cannot be blamed if he acts as stupid as an ass[10]. In the hope that a change of name will also change the substance of the matter, the victim of a snake is called "the sound one", and a lion not by its real name but for example "Jackal" . The old Arabs loved to call their children after abominable animals and thorny, bitter plants. In this way they wanted to ensure that their child would not be hurt for: "Der schöne Name lockt an, der abschreckende feit den Träger und ist ihm ein Panzer; man

will lieber dornig sein, als von den Ziegen gefressen
werden"[11]. The Arabs do not love to receive flora like
the quince, jasmine or lily. Although in itself useful,
pretty and even harmless, they are "Dingen in deren ge-
schenkweiser Darbietung die Feinsinnigen ein böses Omen
sehen und die sie wegen der Hässlichkeit ihrer Namen nicht
mögen"[12]. On the other hand they love to receive pomegranates,
lotusfruit, roses, violets and peaches because they
discover in the names thereof favourable omens[13].

2. Names of repute and disrepute:

With the advent of Islam this special signifi-
cance attached to proper names was underlined. The names
of two rival prophets of Mohammed were changed into their
corresponding hypocoristic forms, to humiliate them and
make them despicable. Thus the names Maslama and Talha[14]
became Musailima and Tulaiha respectively. The hated uncle
and enemy of Mohammed is derisively called Abû Lahab, "father
of the fire of hell"[15] in the Koran and by Moslems. His
real name was ᶜAbd al-ᶜUzzâ ibn ᶜAbd al-Muttalib. According
to Sûra XLIX, 11 it is forbidden that believers should give
each other insulting nicknames. On the other hand Arabs of
all times considered it a token of friendship and estimation
to call a person by his kunya[16]. Both Caliphs Ma'mûn and
Al-Wâthiq used to call the singer Ishâq ibn Ibrâhîm al-Mausilî
by his kunya, Abû Muhammad, to honour him[17] —— he was of
Persian descent[18]. The exaltedness of Allâh is repeatedly
confirmed in the Koran by the diction that the most beautiful

names belong to him[19].

The prophet Mohammed exercised great influence on the Moslem nomenclature. He purified names which could imply the recognition of idols. Thus he renamed ^CAbd Amr ibn ^CAuf, one of his first adherents, to ^CAbd al-Rahmân ibn ^CAuf. Henceforth ^CAbd al-Rahmân no longer replied when he was called ^CAbd Amr[20]. His new name changed him into a new person[21].

In Al-Tibrîzî's collection of traditions, the Mishkât al-Masâbîh[22], the following sayings of Mohammed were written down: "Do not call your servant Yasâr (Wealth), Rabâh (Profit), Nadjîh (Prosperous) or Aflah (Success). For you may ask if he is there when he is not and receive the negative reply, suggesting that the prosperity implied by such names is absent.

Call yourselves after the names of the prophets. The names dearest to Allâh are ^CAbd Allâh (Servant of Allâh), ^CAbd al-Rahmân (Servant of al-Rahmân). The second best names are Hârith (Ploughman)[23] and Humâm (Noble). The worst names are Harb (Enemy) and Murra (Bitterness)".

According to Muslim, one of the six great compilers of the traditions of Islam, Mohammed prohibited the use of the title Rabb for a human being because it is a name of Allâh in the Koran. It is also inadmissible to call

a slave [c]Abd, because this word may only be used to express the relation of man towards Allâh[24]. From the advent of Islam onwards it is conspicuous that we always encounter the same names amongst Moslems, according to these principles stipulated by the Tradition[25]. All these data equivocally stress the particular value the Arabs[26] both before and after the advent of Islam attached to the name of a person, namely that the etymological or lexical meaning of a name is an important factor creating the character of the bearer of that name or determining the events of life. This principle reminds one of the Old Testament where the etymology of a name is often added in the text[27]. In the Babylonian creation epic the gods called out the fifty names of Marduk with an explanation of its meaning after each name[28].

3. Names of association:

Often the significance of a name is not its etymological or lexical contents, but the associations that name recalls, be it the circumstances at the birth[29] or the prestige given to the name by people who had it in the past. This is the reason why names like Ibrâhîm and Mohammed became popular only after the Islam. A kunya was also often inherited together with a name because the particular kunya used to be associated with that name. The kunya of an Ibrâhîm is usually Abû Ishâq and according to Tradition Mohammed explained the fact that Mary, the mother of Jesus, is called "sister of Hârûn" in the Koran (XIX, 28(29)) in a similar way[30].

Amongst the Arabs it was common practice to

identify a person by using in addition to his proper name also his <u>kunya</u> (usually formed with the name of his son), the name of his tribe and the name of his birthplace.

The tribal name originated with a forefather whose name was so great that it put its stamp on all the generations after him. The fame and esteem of an individual rest not so much in his own excellencies but in the nobility of his ancestors. The more famous members of his family tree he can name, the greater is his own prestige[31]. In his blood pulsates the virtues he physically inherited from his forefathers[32]. Even to the present day it is not uncommon that the Arab nomad can name his ancestors as far back as ten to fifteen generations (i.e. over a few hundred years) without being able to say how old he is[33]. Against this background it is clear why the genealogy of Mohammed[34] is traced back to Ishmael and Abraham. Ishmael is venerated in the Koran as apostle and prophet, as builder of the Ka^{c}ba and as the son who had an intimate relationship with his father Abraham. Abraham is praised in the Koran as the eminent prophet who (like Mohammed) came in revolt against the politheism of his people, who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, who called the believers Moslems and who was the friend of God[35].

4. <u>The name and death</u>:

Joh. Pedersen referred to the avidity with which Babylonian and Assyrian kings erected inscriptions to

promulgate their deeds: "They would make sure that their renown, their name in all its real greatness, should live and act for ever"[36]. In this context he also refers to the use of tombstones to perpetuate the name of the deceased and thereby to immortalize the dead person himself (compare Genesis 35:20). Although the prophet Mohammed was firmly against the veneration of the dead and the erection of tombstones[37], the latter custom especially gained wide acceptance amongst

Moslems. On such tombstones, which at times became an entire mausoleum, the name of the deceased was engraved together with verses from the Koran[38]. There is indirect evidence that the kunya played an important part at the burial ceremony, which was the task of the eldest son[39]. The purposeful application of the name to the tombstone or its use at the memorial[40] of the dead to ensure the continued existence of the deceased needs further investigation. However this may be, it is an ancient Hebrew custom to continue a strong element of the name of the father in the name of the son[41]. Especially a posthume son received the patronymic so that it lives on in him[42]. If a man died in Israel without having a son the perpetuation of his name was ensured by means of the Levirate marriage (Deuteronomy 25:6f.).

5. Names of places:

During the most important crisis of his career, the preparation for the battle of Badr, Mohammed was guided, just as on other occasions, by the names of places en route[43]. A place-name with an inauspicious meaning dis-

qualified the route on which it was situated.

In the conversion of heathen traditions after the advent of the Islam a number of pseudo-saints originated in the course of time as old sanctuaries did not disappear, but was linked with a fictitious person whose name resembled that of the sanctuary. Under the cloak of the grave of a saint the cult was then continued. Thus we find in ᶜAkka the tomb of the prophet ᶜAkk who was, according to tradition, the founder of the city[44]. This situation was possible only because of a certain identity in the eyes of the Semite between a country or place and a person or people of the same name. The South Arabian inscriptions furnished further examples of this identity[45]. This identity is also illustrated by the usage of names like Israel, Ephraim, Amalek, Edom, Moab and Ammon in the Old Testament[46] as well as in the indication of the place of origin contained in almost every Arab proper name. Some Arab authors are in fact known only by the name of their hometown or homecountry. This is the case with al-Bukhârî the great traditionist of the Islam. Caliph Umar complained that the Arabs of Iraq no longer name themselves after their ancestors, but after their towns[47]. This inextricable relationship between a place and a person is seemingly also the reason for the Koranic prohibition to demolish a building in which the name Allâh is often mentioned, XXII, 40(41).

6. Aspects of the Koranic usage of names:

We indicated that the name of a person can in

various ways determine his character. We read in the
Koran that the wife of [c]Imrân, when she gave against her
expectations birth to a daughter and not a boy, acknowledged
her feminity by giving her a woman's name, Maryam. Similarly
the disbelievers call the angels by names of women, indicating
that they believe the angels to be feminine in gender[48].
Mohammed challenged the idol-worshippers to mention the names
of their idols, in other words to prove the existence of
their gods[49].

Contrary to the determining function of names,
Mohammed taught that there can also be false names, empty
names without any reality. These names, which are nothing
more than mere names, are the names with which the idolaters
invoke their nonexistent gods. These names are false and
without contents because Allâh did not authorize them[50].
This new viewpoint of names without contents must be seen
as a later development in support of monotheism and the
negation of the false gods[51].

The Koranic verdict that Allâh has no namesake
(Sûra XIX, 65(66)) is nothing less than a proclamation that
there is no god of the same being as Allâh. In the post-
Koranic controversies we encounter the verdict: The written
name of Allâh is Allâh[52].

The overwhelming evidence[53] of the special
significance of names in the Semitic world, confirms the
expectation that also the names of gods are not merely a

means of distinction. It implies that every inquiry into the name Allâh is incomplete if it does not include an investigation into the nature of the God of the Koran.

B. The importance of knowing the name of the god.

1. The power of knowing a name:

In the Semitic world it was regarded as imperative to know the name of the god. A prayer can only be effective if the one who prays, knows the proper name of the god[54]. For this reason the remark of Genesis 4:26 that men began to call upon the name Yahwè in the time of Seth, is not incidental. To us the difference between "LORD" and "God" may be insignificant, but to men of antiquity the knowledge of the name was the first requirement for any true communication[55]. Knowledge of the proper name of the god gives the one who prays confidence[56] since knowledge of the name gives the knower a certain power over the one who is known. A good example of this can be found in the old Greek epic the Odyssey where Homer described how one of the Cyclops, Polyphemus, tried to gain a hold upon Odyssey by asking him his name. The hero was prudent enough to furnish the pseudonym, "Nobody". Thus he frustrated Polyphemus' murderous plans and saved his own life and that of his men[57].

The power conferred by the knowledge of a name is frequently encountered in the Old Testament. After Jacob's nocturnal struggle with the 'elōhîm he asked his

opponent's name to get a certain hold on him[58], "the numen was to be held fast, for if one knew its name one could summon it, one could obligate it (by sacrifice, for example), one could even arbitrarily gesture, i.e., conjure with the divine power of this name"[59]. This is certainly the clearest example, but the same idea is at the root of the analogous instance in Judges 13:17 and of Exodus 3:13 where Moses expects that the people will ask the name of the God who sent him. According to Psalm 91:14 Yahwè will protect the believer because he knows his Name[60]. The prayer knows the name of God and this knowledge becomes an instrument by which God can be prompted to help[61]. Israel's power is contained in his knowledge of the name of God. Others may trust in chariots and horses, but Israel is assured of a victory over his enemies because he knows and invokes the name of the LORD, Psalm 20:8. The power of the application of the proper name of God is very realistically illustrated in Psalm 118:10: "All nations surrounded me; it is with the name Yahwè I cut them off"[62]. In the Koran (LXXXVII, 14f.) prosperity and success are promised to him who mentions the name of God in prayer. The name Allâh ensured a safe journey for Noah's ark (XI, 41(43)). In popular belief the mention of the name Allâh can deter the Angel of Death[63].

When the believer enters into relationship with his god he starts by pronouncing his name[64], and this ancient usage is continued in the liturgy of the Christian church under the form of the invocation. According to the great systematic theologian of the Islam, Fakhr al-Dîn al-

Râzî, who died in 1209 A.D., the formal confession of the Moslem faith can take place only through the proper name of his God, Allâh[65]. Similarly when God takes the initiative of revealing himself he starts by uttering his name[66]. The name of the god should be given as clear and as correct as possible in the prayer[67] lest the prayer does not reach its destination, just as the pronunciation of the wrong name in a blessing causes a person for whom it was not destined to receive it. The prerequisite for every communication with the god is that man knows his name. If man does not know the name of the god he is exposed to an arcane will of which the limits are undefined. The conduct of this will is mysteriously incomprehensible and because he does not know its name he stands defenceless. If however he knows the name of the god, this god materializes in a person with whom he can come to an understanding, with whom he can traverse a history, and of whom he can even avail himself. The Israelites did not rest before they knew the proper name of their God. With him they traversed a history and from this history they could learn that he is Yahwè[68]. On the other hand the god of the German poet Goethe could not reveal himself since he had no name[69].

2. Multinomial gods:

Like all beings the gods need names for their existence. In addition they have a multitude of nicknames or epithets, and the more they have of them, the more forms of appearance and power they possess. The names make their

way prosperous[70]. It was also felt that one name can never comprise the full essence of the divinity. This is one reason why Moslems speak of ninety-nine names of God besides the name Allâh, each illuminating a different aspect of his character. It is interesting to note in this connection the special preference of the Koran to mention the divine attributes in pairs.

When a god wishes to prevent other gods, or men, from getting a hold on him, he keeps his most important name secret. A striking example comes from Egypt: The sungod Re had many names, but the big name which gave him power over men and gods was known only by himself. The goddess Isis planned to find out this name so that she may obtain the power for herself. She made a poisonous snake to bite him and Re could recover only if he reveals his secret name for "he whose name is mentioned, shall live"[71]. On occasion the Egyptian god Osiris was threatened that his name would be called out aloud in the harbour of Busiris if he did not grant a request[72]. In an Egyptian papyrus it was pointed out to the god Typhon that he was invoked by his correct names so that he could not refuse to hear the request[73]. According to Tradition Allâh possesses a secret exalted name known only to a few individuals[74]. All the wishes of him who invokes Allâh by this secret name will be fulfilled. Amongst the Egyptian Arabs the pronouncement of the exalted name of Allâh can kill the living, restore life to the dead and work many other miracles for him who knows this name[75].

Thus knowledge of the correct proper name of a god gives power —— even magical powers.

3. Anonymous gods:

It is clear that the name of the god is of the utmost importance in the Semitic cult. Nevertheless we find "unknown gods" mentioned over the whole Near East. Thus the mention of ilu sha idū ū sha lā idū is frequent in Accadian texts. From the library of Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) we have, for example, a prayer in a Sumerian dialect with an interlinear Accadian translation in which the worshipper invokes the god and goddess he does not know[76].

The invocation of the "god of N.N." and similar appellations, without mention of the real name of the god was common in Arabia[77]. In Palmyra the "unknown god" whose "name is blessed for ever" appears in inscriptions shortly after 100 A.D. This god is given the epithets "the kind one, the merciful, the rewarding one", and numerous altars are dedicated to him. He is the god who was approached in case of personal difficulties and his worship is rather different from that of the other cosmic and fertility gods whose cult beared a less individual character. Although this god later generally took the place of Ba^Calshamîn in a triad with ^CAglibōl and Malakbēl there are indications that the unknown god represents a certain spiritualising and monotheistic tendency (possibly under Jewish or Christian influence) in the religion of Palmyra[78]. The sungoddess Shams

was anonymous in the old South Arabian state Saba' where
she was merely indicated by the place of her first appearance
or display of power as dhât himaim and dhât ba[c]dân[79].

Also in Qatabân this practice was followed and Werner Caskel
regards such anonymity as a fundamental characteristic of
old Arabian religion[80]. Anonymity is found in South Arabia
as well as in North Arabia and from the fifth century B.C.
up to the advent of the Islam[81].

From the Ḥadîth we know the anonymous
appellatives dhû al-khalaṣa and dhû al-sharâ[82] indicative
of the gods of local sanctuaries. The latter was the most
important god of the Nabataeans and is known under the Greek
form of this anonymous name, Dusares. In Hellenistic times
Dusares was identified with the Greek god of wine Dionysus
but originally Dusares had nothing to do with wine[83]. The
proper name of the god referred to as Dusares remains unknown.

Although the names Il/El and Ba[c]al have been
used as proper names[84], they were at one stage employed as
anonymous appellatives of local gods, like dhû. This explains
names like Ba[c]al-P[ec]ôr, Ba[c]al-Melkart, Ba[c]al-B[e]rît, Ba[c]al-
Biq[c]â as well as the combination of Il/Ilâh with placenames
in Thamûdic[85] texts of a particular period[86]. Precisely
because both El and Ba[c]al became anonymous epithets, they
could replace one another. The same god, worshipped in
Sichem, could now be called ba[c]al-b[e]rît (Judges 9:4) and
then again êl-b[e]rît (Judges 9:46).

The best known example from Greek literature is Acts 17:23 where the reference of the apostle Paul to the altar in Athens dedicated to "the unknown god" is written down. This reference finds its equivalent in Greek authors like Pausanias, Philostratus and Diogenes Laërtes. The Romans likewise distinguished between di certi and di incerti[87] and in the Latin inscriptions we encounter the phrase sei deo sei deivae[88].

Wellhausen indicated that demons used to be anonymous in Arabian paganism, while names were most important to the gods since they were the foundation of the cult and a prerequisite for the dhikr, the tasbîh and tahlîl: "Der unbenamte Gott ist der unbekannte Gott, dem nicht gedient werden kann[89].

How can the common phenomenon of the unknown god then be explained? Babylonian magic texts bear witness that the success of a ritual was not only dependent upon the correct procedure and the correct offerings, but also upon the invocation of the proper name of the god concerned[90]. Unfortunately the priest did not always know which god (or demon) caused the misfortune or can relieve the distress of the stricken. The ingenious soon found a solution. By invoking a long list of gods he hoped to mention the correct name by chance so that the god concerned will be compelled to render help in accordance with the magic formula by which he is bound[91]. To make completely sure that no god was passed over, he turned in any case to the "unknown god" and

the "unknown goddess"[92]. The mention of the unknown god
in the literature therefore does not contradict the
importance of the knowledge of the proper name of the god.
It is a measure of emergency which underlines the necessity
of that knowledge.

It should be remembered that the "unknown god"
here does not refer to some or other god in general, but
to that specific god who is responsible for the particular
fate of the prayer. Therefore it is logical that the unknown
god in Palmyra bears an individual character and even received
epithets like "kind" and "merciful". The individual character
of gods who are indicated by combinations of dhû, dhât,
ba^{c}al or a form of ēl and a placename is selfevident. In
Hellenistic times the combination dhû al-sharâ became a proper
name in the form Dusares. El and Ba^{c}al were proper names of
individual gods over the whole Semitic world. It is interesting
that the initial anonymous appellation ēl shaddai[93], chiefly
used in Genesis, was later replaced with the proper name
Yahwè, according to Exodus 6:2. Here the proper name of
God became the possession of the people after further
revelation. The tendency and aspiration is always to move
from the unknown god to the known god. From the viewpoint
of the history of religions this must be the normal course
of events. This is probably the reason for the tendency in
Palmyra to identify the "unknown god" with Ba^{c}alshamîn. The
ideal was to replace the anonymous appellative of a god with
the proper name of the god for a knowledge of this name enables

communication with the god. This aim could be achieved by taking the anonymous appellative as the proper name; by replacing the anonymous appellative with a proper name; or by identifying the anonymous god with a known god. The latter process is analogous to the addition of the names of lesser gods in the form of epithets to another god. The name Allâh can be explained as an appellative (al-ilâh) which became a proper name.

4. Avoidance of the name of a god:

Out of fear for irreverent misuse and profanation of the proper name of the God of Israel it was more and more replaced by anonymous names. This was particularly the case with the pronunciation of this proper name which fell into desuetude to such an extent that it was later for centuries wrongly read as Y^{e}hōwâ until modern scholarship could establish the correct form Yahwè[94]. The written tradition shows the same trend. It is conspicuous that the Habakkuk-pēshèr from Qumran avoided the tetragrammaton by using ēl instead[95]. In the text of Habakkuk itself, as in various other texts from Qumran, the tetragrammaton was represented in the old Phoenician script[96]. In the first Isaiah scroll from Qumran ^{a}dōnai is used on occasion where the Masoretes read Yahwè and vice versa[97]. From this scholars inferred that YHWH, whether it was written in Phoenician or in the square script, became a mere ideogram for ^{a}dōnai[98]. In the fragments of Aquila and Symmachus

found in the Cairo Geniza the proper name Yahwè was represented in the old Phoenician script in the midst of the Greek text. According to Origin the tetragrammaton occurred in the best copies of the Septuagint in the Hebrew script[99]. Jerome informed us of the development as follows: "Quod quidam non intellegentes propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Graecis libris reppererint, ΠΙΠΙ legere consueverunt"[100]. Thus the proper name sank completely into oblivion[101].

The Koran warns against the abuse of the names of Allâh under threat of severe punishment, although it recommends the proper use of the most beautiful names of Allâh[102]. As we will indicate in a subsequent chapter Mohammed himself initially avoided the proper name of his God and it has been suggested that the Arabic translation of the word Rahmân, viz. al-Rahîm was introduced into the basmala to prevent abuse of the former[103]. The avoidance of the name Allâh is at the basis of the custom to cite the Koran, the ipsissima verba of Allâh, by the use of the verb qâla without any further ado[104]. In Islamic mysticism the pronoun huwa is employed instead of the proper name Allâh. Religious scruple may be a reason why the names of gods so rarely appear in pagan Arab poetry. It is apparently also the reason for the circumlocution in the heathen formula: "by the one by whom I swear"[105].

In deference to Allâh this name is not pronounced in a latrine where only the personal pronoun is used to implore protection against the demons[106]. In contrast the

pronunciation of the name Allâh at the hot springs of Tiberias
is prohibited lest the demons are angered and refuse to grant
healing of the illness[107].

5. <u>Prevalent use of the name of the god:</u>

Everyday life reflects no scruple or reserve
to use the name Allâh[108]. Musicians and singers of Egypt
are usually loudly applauded with repeated outcries of
"Allâh!"[109]. Frivolous and licentious gossip are often
accompanied by such outcries so that the uninformed will
think that they make fun of religion[110]. In many of their
indecent songs the name Allâh recurs many times and A. Fischer
could devote an article to offensive employment of the name
Allâh by Arabs[111].

The Arab will undertake no task without
feeling compelled to pronounce the name Allâh[112]. The Koran
itself sets the example by introducing every sûra (except IX)
by the formula: "In the name of[113] Allâh, the merciful,
the beneficent". Accordingly this formula is also pronounced
at the beginning of every meal although the Koran prescribes
it only when animals are eaten[114].

The name Allâh is mostly used in everyday life
in protection against the demons who try to harm man at every
opportunity. Already in the Koran we read that the mention
of the name Allâh calms the heart of man[115]. The mention of
the name Allâh is then recommended to the believer[116]. The

mention of the name Allâh renders the demons powerless.
When somebody opens a container in the kitchen, enters a
dark room or a bath, says something harmful, falls, spills
water, and so forth, the name Allâh is pronounced[117]. To
achieve the same results the names of God are worn on amulets
and applied to the doors of shops and private homes[118]. One
of the first obligations after the birth of a child in Egypt
is to whisper the adhân in the right ear of the baby[119]. Thus
it is ensured that the newly born will know the name Allâh
and is protected against the djinn.

Although the Semitic language groups have
much in common, the customs of one group are not necessarily
exactly the same as that of another group. Every Semitic
nation put his own stamp on the common heritage. This rule
also applies to the different groups within the nation.

Therefore the pious Moslem will disapprove of
some of the practices described in this chapter. Nevertheless
nobody will contest the importance of knowing the proper name
of God. Only a complete trust in and reliance upon the
beneficial and protecting power of the name peculiar to God
can explain its frequent use by Arabs. The knowledge of his
name puts the omnipotence of Allâh at the disposal of those who
surrendered to him. The ninety-nine "most beautiful names" had,
next to the name Allâh, great significance in the religious
life of Moslems through the ages to ennoble their lives and to
improve their relationship with God. The full significance the
name Allâh had for Mohammed will come to light in the course of
this study[120].

C H A P T E R   T H R E E

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD ALLÂH

A. The Arabic Side.

Gaining knowledge of the name of a god was for the Semite like passing from the darkness of misery and fear into the bright sunlight. The name identifies the character of his god. The etymology of the name Allâh could therefore be invaluable to determine the primitive conception of the god and possibly the place of origin of his cult. Unfortunately the etymology of the word Allâh is disputed[1].

1. The $fa^{cc}âl$ formation:

It is interesting to note that quite a number of names or attributes applied to Allâh are of the formation $fa^{cc}âl$ which carries the basic idea of intensiveness or of habit. Nouns which indicate professions and trades usually adopt this form[2]. In the Koran we have e.g. the roots fkhr, LV, 14(13); khlq, XV, 86; rzq, LI, 58; qhr, XII, 39; twb, II, 37(35); djbr, LIX, 23; ghfr, XXXVIII, 66; ^{c}lm, V, 109(108); etc., applied to Allâh in the $fa^{cc}âl$ formation. The list can be lengthened especially with the addition of extra-Koranic names for Allâh like al-dayyân etc. The tendency to make foreign names resemble Arabic formations is well-known and is noticeable in the changes which a great

number of biblical names have undergone in the Koran[3]. The
name Allâh can therefore be regarded as a $fa^{cc}\hat{a}l$-formation of
the root 'lh. In opposition to this solution it can be
pointed out that the root is not foreign, but common Semitic
(Ethiopic excluded) and that contrary to the previous examples
the noun from the root 'lh probably preceded the verb which
is denominative in this instance. Finally the Arabic ortho-
graphy of Allâh does not agree exactly with the $fa^{cc}\hat{a}l$
formation. We may rather suspect the reverse process viz.
that attributes of Allâh were readily used after the $fa^{cc}\hat{a}l$
pattern to resemble the name Allâh.

2. Allâh = al+ilâh:

Another solution, advocated by the school of
al-Kûfa, is that $All\hat{a}h^{u}$ is a contraction of the definite
article al- and the noun $il\hat{a}h^{un}$ commonly used in Arabic and
meaning "god". The original form would be $al-il\hat{a}h^{u}$. Then
the vowel of the hamza was transferred to the l before it and
the hamza was suppressed, so that $alil\hat{a}h^{u}$ remained, origin-
ally written with alif of elongation in the consonants but
henceforth indicating the long vowel externally by the per-
pendicular fatha resembling a small alif. The former l then
lost its vowel and assimilated to the other, resulting in
$All\hat{a}h^{u}$ [4].

Some support for this explanation can be found
in Herodotus III, 8 where the Greek historian identified
Urania with alilat[5]. It seems that Herodotus knew the name

of the goddess Allât in the form alilat which form equals
the Arabic al-ilât[6], meaning "the goddess". If Allât came
from al-ilât it is evident that Allâh could also be derived
from al-ilâh. Now the reading alilat in Herodotus III, 8 is
not indisputable. The variant readings aliat[7] and alital[8]
are attested and therefore demand caution in using alilat for
the etymology of Allâh, even if they are not accepted[9]. It
is generally accepted that there is another reference to Allât
in Herodotus I, 131 but the reading alilat here is a
"correction" of the alitta of the transmitted text to bring
this instance in agreement with Herodotus III, 8. The reading
alitta is then regarded as a corruption of alilat under the
influence of the preceding Mylitta. In his Life of St.
Hilarion, chapter 25, Jerome refers to a temple of Venus
at Elusa. F.V. Winnett[10] reasoned that Elusa[11] seems to be
a transcription of the Arabic al-^{C}Uzza, in this case a
shortened form of something like Bait al-^{C}Uzza. He then
arrives at the conclusion that al-^{C}Uzza must be identified
with Venus in her morningstar aspect, which is in accordance
with a statement of Theodolus, the son of Nilus, that the
Arabs of Sinai worshipped the morning star. Herodotus I, 105
attested the antiquity of the worship of Venus saying that
the temple of Aphrodite (i.e. Venus-Astarte) at Askelon was
the oldest temple of this goddess. Winnett concludes that
the alilat of Herodotus III, 8 is more likely "the goddess"
al-^{C}Uzza than Allât. The reading alitta in Herodotus I, 131
seems to support this interpretation for it "has a suspicious
resemblance to the sound of al-^{C}Uzza". Thus the evidence
from Herodotus is not reliable enough to settle the etymology

of __Allâh__.

Short inscriptions of the fifth century B.C.
found in a North-Arab shrine in Egypt, may provide evidence
for deriving __Allât__ from __al-ilât__. In these inscriptions,
which were engraved on silver vessels, __hn'lt__ (__han-'ilât__)
was used to indicate the deity to which the votive offerings
were directed. Of the three inscriptions published by I.
Rabinowitz[12] in 1956 the first contains only the word __han-__
__'ilât__. From their names in the remaining two inscriptions it
is clear that the donors were of Arab stock and probably have
been settled in the vicinity of the Tell el-Mas_kh_ûta[13] shrine
for at least a generation. Now __han-__ is a dialectical form of
the definite article[14] notably of the North-Arabian dialect
Lihyânite[15]. The word __han-'ilât__ can therefore be translated
as "the goddess". The language of these inscriptions however,
is Aramaic as can be deduced from the relative pronoun __zî__[y]
and the word __bar__. Rabinowitz argued that if an appellative
were intended, it would certainly be expressed by the Aramaic
__'lht'__, not by the Arabic, and therefore __han-'ilât__ must be
taken as a proper noun in these inscriptions, referring to
the goddess worshipped in all parts of the pre-Islamic North-
Arab world, viz. Allât. Against his assumption it may be
said that anonymous names always refer to a specific god.
Therefore this Arab tribe would be reluctant to change __han-__
__'ilât__ to Aramaic __'lht'__, especially in formulaic inscriptions
referring to a deity; even though they may have been fully
aware that it was not the proper name of the goddess, but
merely an appellation. To change the name from __han-ilât__ to

'lht' could imply that a different deity was invoked even
if both words were known to be merely different dialectical
forms of the same anonymous appellation meaning "the goddess".
Besides it is known that Arabs using Aramaic in writing
inscriptions were inclined to commit Arabisms. It is there-
fore not necessary to regard han-ilât as a proper name and
a dialectical variant of Allât in these instances[16]. If
ever a tribe had good reason to spell the name of the goddess
as han-Ilât, it was the Lihyânites. In about 400 inscriptions
the majority of which contain almost exclusively names,
including a few votive inscriptions, the word han-ilât is
absent, though han-^{c}Uzza is found[17]. When the name of
Allât does appear in Lihyânite it is already a proper name,
spelt defectively Lt[18]. To equate han-'ilât in these
inscriptions with Allât is in view of the above not to be
regarded as self-evident. Any other goddess may have been
invoked as "the goddess"[19].

D.B. Macdonald remarked that al-ilâh^u is not
used in the Koran[20]. He maintained that Allâh is used in
the sense of "the god" i.e. as a determined common noun
instead, e.g. in VI, 3 and XXVIII, 70. But Allâh as a
proper name fits both instances well and the translation "the
god" is not in demand[21]. On the contrary it seems that the
occasion to use al-ilâh simply did not present itself in the
Koran because it is used in poetry of roughly the same
period[22]. Although Mohammed himself used only the name
Allâh, it is interesting that he did not take offence when
a poet used al-ilâh in the sense of Allâh[23].

In later Islam, as well as among modern scholars it is generally accepted that Allâh was derived from al-ilâh. Wellhausen saw in the etymological development of al-ilâh into Allâh[u] not only the creation of a new word, but also of a new god. Every tribe referred to his particular god as "the god", Allâh[u], "alle sagten sie Allâh und jeder verstand seinen Gott"[24]. Thus the anonymous appellative Allâh at first referred to a number of different tribal gods.

But in intertribal relations the local ties faded until the word Allâh ultimately became the proper name of a new god worshipped by all the Arabs. The new god superseded the old tribal deities as a being sui generis. This in addition to the remarkable absence in the Arabic tongue of a plural "the gods" in the sense of the Greek hoi théoi or the Latin dii made Wellhausen refer, though cautiously, to the so-called monotheistic instinct of the Semites[25]. The exposition of Wellhausen is not exactly in agreement with the evidence of the Koran where it is frequently stated that Allâh is the head of the pantheon of the heathen[26].

In spite of our critical approach in the preceding pages there is in our opinion only one serious obstacle for this derivation of the name Allâh, namely the elision of the first consonant of ilâh, which is alif al-qat[c]. In Classical Arabic hamzat al-qat[c] cannot be elided[27]. Nevertheless there are examples of its elision in the Koran as well as in Arabic poetry. From the root l'k we have the noun mal'ak[28], 'messenger, angel', also known from Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, Ethiopic. But in the

Koran the hamza was suppressed and its vowel transferred to the preceding lâm so that malak remained. This furnishes a parallel to the elision of hamza after lâm with sukûn in Allâh. One more example will suffice: In modern (Palestinian) Arabic the same word exists in the form mar'a^{tun} side by side with mara^{tun}, with a small difference in meaning: The former means "woman" and the latter "wife"[29].

In North Arabian proper names[30] one may also find evidence of forms with alif existing side by side with forms where it was elided. Thus we encounter y'ws'l (Lihyân) next to y'wsl (Thamûd) or ^{c}ydhl (Lihyân). Similarly we find whblh for Wahaballâh as is evident from the Greek equivalent Ouaballas.

These considerations make it possible to accept, be it with caution, a contraction of al and ilâh as the etymology of Allâh. A confirmation of this etymology can be found in the predilection[31] of the poets to use al-ilâh for Allâh.

3. Allâh = al+lâh:

If it is correct to find the article al in the word Allâh, it can alternatively be explained to consist of al plus lâh. Traces of a form lâh may still be found in Arabic[32]. There is a very old Semitic word in Hebrew è nôsh, "man", with Arabic equivalents unâs and nâs[33]. Here we have a case where alif as a rootletter was retained in the one instance and dropped in

the other, both forms existing in Classical Arabic. If the latter form, the equivalent of a Hebrew word with the same vowels as the word for "god", is prefixed with the definite article, the resulting form annâs agree precisely with Allâh. This gives a perfect parallel of the existence of a form ilâh as well as the word Allâh resulting from al plus lâh[34]. In fact the school of Baṣra held that Allâh was from al-lâh but they erroneously regarded lâh as infinitive of the verb lyh[35].

An etymology al+ilâh or al+lâh would mean that the god Allâh originated amongst the Arabs themselves. It would also mean that the original or primitive understanding of Allâh can only be found in pre-Islamic Arab religion —— provided that it is taken into account that 'l (or 'lh) is a god common to all the Semites.

4. Time and place of origin of the name:

According to the theory that the word Allâh is a contraction of al-ilâh this deity, as well as the goddess Allât, must have received their proper names among a group of Arabs who spoke a dialect employing the article al. This then must have taken place well before the time of the Nabataeans[36] because the theoforic element in Nabataean names like whb'lh is undoubtedly Allâh as is proved by Greek transliterations[37]. In addition the appellative force or original meaning of Allât then seems to have been forgotten among the Nabataeans as can be seen from

combinations like 'lt 'lht' "Allât the goddess"[38] and 'lt 'lhthm "Allât their goddess"[39] in Nabataean inscriptions, though they could still understand Arabic well if they did not indeed speak Arabic.

       G. Ryckmans and D. Nielsen regarded the words 'lh, 'lt or lh, lt in Lihyânic etc. as Arabic common nouns without the article, raised to the dignity of proper names and vocalised accordingly Ilâh, Ilât, or Lâh and Lât[40]. If this is true, it seems clear that the contraction of al+ ilâh had not yet taken place in Lihyânite and Thamûdic and also not yet, if the reading alilat be accepted, at the time of Herodotus (died circa 430 B.C.). These data then would all point to a date between the Lihyânites and the Nabataeans i.e. between the fifth and (at the latest) the third century B.C. for the fixation of the name Allâh.

       Looking for a dialect employing al, where the word Allâh could have originated, we find that Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai show a remarkable number of proper names beginning with the article al while, according to Winnett, it is seldomly met with outside Sinai[41]. This could be taken as evidence that the names Allâh and Allât originated among the Arabs of Sinai and the evidence from Herodotus III, 8 would point to the same region for an article al.

       According to F.V. Winnett it is entirely at variance with the geographical distribution of the inscriptions

to look for the origin of the names Allâh and Allât in Simi[42]. Although numerous Nabataeans bear Allâh-names, Allâh is not invoked in any Nabataean inscription. The majority of the references to Allât are to be found in the Safâitic inscriptions from Syria while the majority of Allât-names occur further north in Palmyrene. To find the name Allâh (with doubled l) also in Lihyânic (at least where we have 'lh and not the shorter lh) and in Thamûdic[43] seems justified[44] by the fact that the element 'lh of Arabic names is represented by allas in Greek (e.g. Abdallas[45], even if the Greek transcriptions of these names may be of a somewhat later period.

Religion influences namegiving in that un-acceptable names are brought in line with the ruling faith. From his examination of the pre-Islamic inscriptions Winnett concluded that the occurrence of Allâh-names suggests that Lihyân (modern al-ᶜUlâ) was the first centre of Allâh worship in Arabia[46]. Invocations to Allâh occur in Lihyânite from the fifth century B.C.[47] onwards and in Thamûdic from a somewhat later date onwards. Thus both the Allâh-names and invocations of Allâh converge to suggest that it was the Lihyânites who introduced the worship of Allâh into Arabia[48].

5. Syriac origin:

The prosperity of the Lihyânites must have depen-ded on widespread trading relations, and these would inevita-bly have subjected them to foreign influences[49]. Winnett suggested that the real home of Allâh and Allât was in Syria.

"From Syria the cults of these two divinities spread down through the Hauran into Nabataea, Sinai and Lihyân, where the Southern Arabs made their acquaintance and carried Allât home to the Yemen"[50] These data would then turn our search for the origin of the word Allâh away from the Sinai region, (where al- was used as definite article) to investigate Syria as country of origin.

Winnett in agreement with other scholars[51] pointed out that the Syriac word for "God" is allāhâ, resembling Allâh closely in spelling. This striking similarity demands further investigation. The final -â of the Syriac word is the common Aramaic article of determination for which the Arabic case-ending would be substituted when the word is taken over into Arabic. Syriac writing does not indicate gemination though gemination can be inferred from the fact that Qushshāyā is indicated with the b[e]gadk[e]fat-letters. Nevertheless the second consonant, l, must be read as a geminated consonant in agreement with the common Aramaic rule that a short vowel, in an unstressed open syllable, is reduced to sh[e]wa quiescens (the Arabic sukûn) or to a sh[e]wa mobile. The preservation of the short vowel indicates that it is a closed syllable (it does not have the stress) which means that the l is doubled. Thus the Syriac word is the exact equivalent of the Arabic Allâh both in the consonants and in the vowels.

There is, however, one difference: In Syriac the alif has full consonantal value whereas it is

only <u>alif conjunctionis</u> i.e. with <u>hamzat al-wasl</u>, in Arabic. The deterioration of the consonant can be ascribed to careless pronunciation of this word, due especially to its frequent use in the language[52]. It even became (in connection with the vocative particle <u>yâ</u>) <u>yalah</u> (the <u>h</u> with sukûn) in the phrase <u>yalah aghfir lî</u> "O God forgive me", but this is disapproved of by Arab purists[53]. This process of weakening the <u>alif</u> must then have been facilitated by the outward similarity between the first syllable of Allâh and the definite article <u>al-</u> which has <u>alif conjunctionis</u>[54]. Some traces of an original alif al-qat^c can be found in the well-attested vocative <u>yâ allâh</u>^{u} where the <u>hamza</u> in Allâh is <u>hamzat al-qat^c</u>, as well as in the elliptical phrase <u>a-fa-allâhi la-taf^{c}alanna</u> meaning "Then, by God, wilt thou indeed do (such a thing)?"[55]. Since even the <u>hamza</u> of the article can become <u>hamzat al-qat^c</u> under particular circumstances, this point should however not be stressed[56].

Etymologically and geographically nothing can be said against the equation of the Arabic <u>Allâh</u> with the Syriac <u>allāhā</u>. There is however, a third requirement which must be satisfied: It must be historically possible. We found beyond doubt that the name Allâh was already well established amongst the Nabataeans in the third century B.C. and perhaps even earlier. If it is accepted that the name Allâh occurs in Lihyânic and <u>Thamûdic</u>, the use of that name is carried back to a date beyond the 5th century B.C., which is the date given to the oldest inscriptions from Lihyân (according

to Albright[57]) and Thamûd.

We have references in Syriac literature
taking us back to the beginning of the second century B.C.,
but the oldest preserved Syriac inscription dates back to
the year 73 A.D. It is to be found on the grave of a
descendant of the Arabic dynasty who ruled in Edessa (Urhai)
since about 125 B.C.[58]. Syriac arrived on the scene too
late to be the source of the Arabic word Allâh. The same
applies to Mandaic, another Aramaic dialect with the same
spelling for the word "god". Winnett also referred to Nabataean
and Palmyrene as Aramaic dialects with probably an identical
spelling[59]. But it should be kept in mind that the
Nabataeans were Arabs, though they used Aramaic for
writing purposes, and their writing reflects Arabisms[60].
It is also not clear how the word under discussion was
pronounced in Palmyra. What is lacking is irrefutable
evidence of a pronunciation allāhā from Aramaic of the fifth
century B.C., or older. The common Aramaic spelling of the
word for "God" must have been ᵉlāhâ, as it is in Biblical
Aramaic[61]. In the present state of affairs it can as well
be concluded that those Aramaic dialects which have a spelling
similar to Allâh, possibly borrowed it from the Arabic[62].

Our investigation led neither to an indisputable
solution of the etymology of the word Allâh, nor to the
exact sphere and place where it originated. The Moslem
believer will not share our embarrassment. To him it will
be indicative of the fact that man cannot grasp God with his

mind. In fact most of the formulators of the Moslem fundamentals (al-usûlîyûn) held that the proper name Allâh had no derivation[63]. In view of the evidence at our disposal we can only say that it can at best be derived from al plus ilâh (or lâh) and that it was already a proper name in the fifth century B.C., among northern dialectical groups, for the Lihyânites and the people of Thamûd in all probability used it as such, and certainly the Nabataeans in the third century B.C.

B. The Ultimate Origin of the Word.

Every worthy theory on the origin of the name Allâh brings it into relation with the root 'lh, which is also found in the Arabic word for "god" namely ilâh[64]. In current Arabic versions of the Bible the word "God" ('l, 'l^{W}h and 'lh^{Y}m) is uniformly translated by Allâh[65] and according to Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî some Moslems held that the word Allâh was of Syriac or Hebrew origin[66]. The translation of the Bible versions and the last mentioned theory are legitimate in as far as they are pointing to the fact that the name Allâh is an Arabic form of the common Semitic noun 'l(h).

The erudition of many great scholars was applied in search of the original meaning of the common Semitic word for "God" and to arrive at the basic concept of the root, but no one succeeded to formulate an etymology that attained the merit of general acceptance[67]. We present

here what to us seems to be a sound approach to the whole
problem.

1. The relationship il : ilâh:

     A. Fischer saw in ilâh the original Semitic
word for God. Il is an abbreviation of this word which
figured in this short form in theoforic proper names already
in Proto-Semitic times. Later the shortened form gained
independent existence and even largely replaced the original
ilâh[68]. Murtonen objected that the Accadians did not know
the longer form and that it also played an insignificant
role amongst the Canaanites[69].

     We believe that the opposite development
took place. N. Rhodokanakis drew attention to a phenomenon
in the South Arabian inscriptions he called the "zweigipflige
Akzent"[70]. In the South Arabian inscriptionsonly consonants
were expressed, but it can be taken for granted that the
feminine plural ending was -ât. In a good number of cases
this was expressed by -ht which means that the long vowel â
was often pronounced á-á to result in a form ahat. Thus a
long vowel may be dissolved into two homogeneous vowels
separated by h. To this phenomenon may be compared: The
Dutch and Afrikaans word: dag (literally "day" but generally
used as a greeting like: "Good day!") which sounds like dahag
when it is called out; Hebrew [a]rāsôt and Mandaic arqahata;
Hebrew abôt-"fathers" and Syriac abāhâtâ[71]; Hebrew immôt
and Ugaritic umht; the North-Israelitic form of the inter-

rogative particle 'ĕhî^y in Hos. 13:10, 14 and the usual
Hebrew interrogative particle 'ê^y; Ugaritic plural ilm
and the more occasional form ilhm; and Arabic âl and ahl ——
both meaning "family". In an inscription from Safâ we find the
proper name bsh and from two other inscriptions containing the same
genealogy it is clear that the name of the same person was
also written bhsh[72]. In the same way we can conceive a
development ilâ ≻ ilâh^u. For the intermediate form ilâ one
may perhaps compare abâ a form of ab used by some Arabs in
all three cases[73].

The present writer is convinced that scholars
who saw in ilâh a vocative form of il were on the right
track[74]. In view of the above their theory must be slightly
modified: It is true that the h can best be understood as
resulting from the long vowel a when a word is called out,
but it seems to be a widespread phenomenon that the originally
long vowel[75] showed a tendency to be pronounced "zweigipflig"
and as such to be represented by two vowels, not necessarily
of the same length, separated by h. This phenomenon must
also be as old as the language itself and might well have
been representative in some cases of regional pronunciation[76].

2. The etymology of il:

If ilâh is an extension of il, we will have
to investigate the etymology of il[77], though this word is
not used in Arabic except as a theoforic element in proper
names[78]. Frank Zimmerman produced evidence that il is

derived from the Arabic ill^{un} [79]. This word is used in the particular sense of a) relationship (cf. the Koran IX, 8), b) a covenant between two parties by which either is bound to protect the other, c) lordship[80]. Others derived it from the root ꞌly which has the meaning "goal, direction" (compare the Hebrew preposition êl, Arabic ilâ^y), or the meaning "to be strong"[81]. Jean Starcky followed Nöldeke who explained the word from the root ꞌwl "to be in front, first"[82].

As Murtonen already pointed out, all the suggested etymologies have the common weakness that they can explain only part of the essential meaning of the word il[83]. Ugaritic words like g-"voice" and d-"hand" (only in combinations) confirmed the theory that many, if not all, Semitic words can be traced back to originally biconsonantal or even monoconsonantal roots, and these words prove that the hypothesis is not relating to a prehistoric period but constitutes a historical reality[84]. Therefore all these theories that endeavoured to explain the etymology of il were based on the wrong presumption that it had to be derived from a triconsonantal root. All these roots have on the contrary been derived from the word il and consequently reflect different shades of the meaning of this word[85]. Their existence must be seen as an attempt to adapt the biconsonantal word to the normalized triconsonantal system which became characteristic of the Semitic languages. Il is in fact a very old word; the oldest Semitic word for "god".

In South Arabia the deity was often brought

into family or tribal relationship with his worshippers.
He is father, brother, uncle, etc.[86], of the members
of the tribe who are his offspring, his priests, his
companions, his servants, etc. These ideas were not
altogether foreign to the North-Western Semites either[87].
In certain Biblical passages like Ex. 15:15 and Ezek. 17:13;
31:11, the word êlîm signifies the tribal leaders[88].
Furthermore the Arabic word âl is exclusively used for an
illustrious clan in contrast with the word ahl. These facts
inter alia and the meaning of the (in our opinion derived)
root 'wl meaning "to be in front" led J. Starcky[89] to the
following conclusion: "Les premiers Sémites, qui étaient
des nomades, ont certainement conçu la divinité comme une
puissance tutélaire qui les entourait de sa sollicitude, à
l'instar du groupe ethnique dont ils étaient membres, et du
'cheikh' qui les dirigeait. Ils l'ont donc désignée par
ha-'êl ou ilum, et ce mot prit bientôt le sens de 'dieu',
ce qui suppose que la divinité ainsi nommée était la seule
vénérée dans le groupe ethnique"[90]. If this hypothesis is
correct we are here supplied with the origin of the concept
il. This view is confirmed by the South Arabian inscriptions
where theoforic names imply that Il belonged to the clan as
the head of it and where his function was that of a guardian
defending the rights of the members of the clan[91].

On the other hand the word il may be analysed
still further and traced back to the Proto-Semitic mono-
consonantal root l, for alif is commonly used to extend a
root in the formation of nouns[92]. The root l then had

the basic meaning of: That which is far away; that which
is powerful[93] —— because it is capable to exercise its
influence over such a distance[94]. In the biblical phrase
yèsh-l[e],ēl yâdî the word ēl means "power" according to
W. Baumgartner[95] while the element of distance may be found
in the l used as a deictic element e.g. in the Arabic de-
monstrative pronoun. The concept of power would be in
agreement with the proclitic emphasizing particle la/lû
found in Arabic, Ugaritic and Hebrew (e.g. Gen. 30:34). The
idea of distance would be reflected in the Hebrew particle
lû expressing a wish and the negative al (Ugaritic, Hebrew),
lâ (Arabic) —— that which is far away and therefore not
known. In Ugaritic the negatives al and bl are in fact also
used with positive force in the sense of: "surely"[96],
showing that opposite meanings could be conveyed using the
same word. Thence also the derived verb l'h (Hebrew), la
(Ugaritic), etc., meaning "to be weak", can be explained.
The Arabic interrogative particle hal[97] reflects the un-
certainty about that which is distant. In this context it
is interesting to note that according to some grammarians
hal was originally equivalent in meaning to the particle
qad[98]. Can it be accidental that of the Ugaritic words for
"lo, behold" hn is used to indicate what is nearby in text
77:45, 46: hn bpy sprhn, whereas hl indicates what is
further off in [c]nt II:17 : whln. [c]nt. tmgyn? However this
may be, it is important to note to the contrary that Ugaritic,
Hebrew, and Arabic hlm means "here, hither".

3. Conclusion:

In conclusion we may repeat that the name Allâh as well as the word ilâh have their ultimate origin in the word il. The etymology of il in turn is complex. It is one of the few words that belong to the common stock of all the Semitic peoples[99] and because of its antiquity[100] it is unlikely that its etymology will ever be established beyond all doubt. We may accept that primitive Semitic thought associated the conceptions of distance and especially of power with the root 'l. Consequently this root was not only used to indicate the powerful and respected leader of the tribe, but also constituted an appropriate name for "God".

Many scholars are of the opinion that Il was at first the name of a particular god, the most eminent representative who gave his name to the whole class of gods[101]. As to the place of origin of this god Il, it has been said that the evidence points to the Northwest Semitic region where the god figured prominently in the Ugaritic mythological texts as well as in theoforic names. In fact Otto Eissfeldt claimed that "El is the particular contribution of Canaan to the world"[102]. This statement must be approached with caution for I.J. Gelb concluded from his investigation of Accadian texts that Il was a most important god amongst the Mesopotamian Semites of the pre-Sargonic period, i.e. a thousand years before the Ugaritic texts[103]. The name Il was in addition found in North and Central Arabia —— exclusively in theoforic names —— and also in South Arabia,

where it was mainly used in personal names[104]. M. Höfner concluded "dass es sich hier um eine sehr urtümliche Göttergestalt handelt; man möchte an einen gemeinsemit. Nomadischen Himmelsgott denken, der später hinter den verschiedenen Einzelgöttern, Stammesgöttern u. dgl. zurücktritt"[105].

Thus Il can be seen as the god who was originally the prime divinity of the Semites[106]. Because Il was the god par excellence and the embodiment of the idea of the divine, the word il came to be applied to any god to indicate him as a god[107]. When the Semites entered Mesopotamia they absorbed the religion they found there, at the cost of their own, with the result that Il fell into oblivion[108]. If it is correct to find the ultimate origin of the name Allâh in the word il and to find in 'l the proper name of a god, the god Il also disappeared from the Arab religion but revived among the Northern Arabs with a new name: Allâh.

CHAPTER FOUR

ALLÂH BEFORE THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

Our knowledge of pre-Islamic religion in
Arabia is still very deficient in spite of the pioneer work
of great scholars initiated by Wellhausen and Nielsen and
in spite of the decipherment of the numerous inscriptions
which have been collected —— often in peril of life. Allâh
does not figure in Les Religions Arabes Préislamiques (1951)
of G. Ryckmans and only a few lines are devoted to il/ilâh/
lâh. As far as our present subject is concerned René Dussaud
had in fact good reason to remark that "nos sources sont
muettes sur le rôle d'Allâh avant Mahomet"[1]. Consequently
the investigator is forced to resort to the most diverse
sources in order to form some picture of the image and emotions
the name Allâh invoked in the hearts and minds of the people
of Arabia at a time when the name Mohammed did not yet bear
any exceptional significance.

It is beyond doubt that the word Allâh is
philologically related to the god Il of the Ugaritic texts
and of the South-Arabian inscriptions. The roots of a
conception of Allâh can therefore in the first place be found
in the Ugaritic material[2] —— taking the necessary precautions
into consideration when a synthesis is made.

A. Il of Ugarit:

As we have mentioned in our study of the origin
of the word Allâh, the word il originally signified a dynamic

strength which is the primitive and fundamental characteristic of the leading God of the Semitic pantheon. The Ugaritic myths revealed that _Il_ was the proper name of the greatest god of the original Canaanite pantheon[3]. _Il_ is father[4] of the gods and creator of the creatures, _bny bnwt_[5]. He is also the father of mankind, _ab adm_[6] and creator of the earth[7]. Il is described as king[8] and the expression, _mlk ab shnm_[9], possibly designates him as "the king, the father of the luminaries"[10]. Because of his creative powers Il is symbolized with the epithet "bull", _thr_[11], but the texts represent him as already senile[12] and sexually[13] and physically[14] weakened. The texts give the impression that when the bulk of them was constructed Il was becoming a _deus otiosus_ substituted by other gods notably Ba^{c}al, Mōt and Yamm. Although Il still has to give his consent in important matters, e.g. the building of a palace for Ba^{c}al[15], he is not always treated with due respect[16]. In fact he is rather humanly pictured as highly emotional with outbursts ranging from the depths of sorrow to the heights of joy and pleasure[17]. The aged Il is singled out among the Ugaritic gods for the epithet "(the) wise", _hkm_[18]. He is called "holy", _qdsh_[19], and "beneficent Il benign", _ltpn il dpid_[20]. He does not appear to be a violent god.

Though Il once ruled in heaven[21] the Ugaritic myths represent him as being in the netherworld whither he had been presumably banished by Ba^{c}al[22]. But even under these circumstances Il's original position as head of the pantheon is reflected[23]: When Ba^{c}al has died the gods in their crisis automatically resort to Il who appoints ^{c}Athtr

as successor[24].

B. The evidence from South Arabia:

It has been established beyond any doubt
that the pre-Islamic North Arabian tribes of Lihyân, Thamûd
and Safâ, amongst whom we found the first traces of the name
Allâh, had close contacts with South Arabia. In form the
writing of the Lihyânic inscriptions closely resembles the
South Arabian alphabet[25] and the writing used in the
Thamûdic and Safâitic inscriptions has likewise been derived
from the South Arabian[26]. The South Arabians became famous
as tradesmen of Eastern commodities and more particularly as
incense traders introducing the products[27] of India and
South Arabia to the West. In pursuit of this occupation they
not only travelled widely, but also established trade
colonies to facilitate their commerce and to look after their
interests. In fact modern al-ᶜUlâ, an oasis in the northern
Hidjâz, situated in the region where most of the Lihyânic
inscriptions have been found, has been identified[28] with
Dedan, the old Minaean trade colony[29]. In this context
it is interesting to note that Wadd, mentioned in the Koran
LXXI, 23 as one of the gods of Noah's contemporaries, was
worshipped by Lihyân in Dedan where he had a temple[30]. Wadd
was the official name of the moongod in Maᶜîn where he was
the national god of the Minaeans[31]. René Dussaud even found
justification to refer to the Lihyânites, Thamûdeans and
Safâites as the South Arabians in Syria[32]. The prophet
Mohammed had great respect for South Arabian culture and
tradition attributes to him the saying: "The faith is of
Yemen, the wisdom is of Yemen and the Islam is of Yemen"[33].

It is very interesting to find the theoforic element 'lh or lh[34] already at this early date, in South Arabian names like 'lhtb^c (Saba'), s^{c}dlh (Saba') and ^{c}bdlh (Mina).

Il[35] is only rarely mentioned in the South Arabian inscriptions as an individual god and our main source of information is the many South Arabian personal names containing 'il as theoforic element[36].

As in Ugarit, Il was originally the prime god in the official religion and as such he was called 'l t^{c}ly[37], Il the most high[38]. The same Il is meant when in a Sabaean inscription the lord of heaven and earth is invoked[39]. In a Qatabanian inscription Il carries the epithet fkhr which probably signifies him as the Creator and means "the potter"[40]. An investigation of the South Arabian personal names reveals that 'l was the only theophoric element used in the oldest time[41] and that these names belong mainly to the Minaean and oldest Sabaean inscriptions[42]. These names describe Il as the first[43], and the exalted[44]. He is the knowing[45] king[46] and righteous[47] judge[48] who severely punishes[49] iniquity. He was also known for his great love[50]. Il is addressed as father[51]. Children[52], agricultural fertility[53] and prosperity[54] come from him who is always prepared to listen[55] to the needs of his creatures when they call upon his name[56]. They find him willing to pardon their sin[57] and to bless them with health and a long life[58]. He pastures them like sheep[59]. Il is the trustworthy[60] guard of his people who has the strength[61] to protect[62] them and act as their saviour[63]. Il leads his people in war and gives

them victory[64] over their enemies[65]. These names by which Il is variously known, reveal a very high and noble concept of his person, uniting simple trust with reverence for his holiness and righteousness[66].

Minaean inscriptions from circa 450 B.C. prove that Il was still the most important god in South Arabian religion in this period[67]. But according to a Qatabanian inscription, where he is listed last of the gods mentioned, Il lost all real significance towards the end of the second century B.C.[68]. He is rarely mentioned in later inscriptions although the oldest proper names revealed a stage where Il was the prime god, probably when the dynasty was founded[69]. Il was replaced by ᶜAṯhtar, the Morningstar, a war and fertility god[70]. How completely this replacement was, is difficult to say. Il is still mentioned and we may believe that in difficult times people would still take their refuge in him.

Since Ditlef Nielsen[71] identified Il in South Arabian religion with the moongod and reduced the gods of the South Arabian pantheon to an exclusive triad consisting of the moongod, the sungoddess and their child Venus, this theory met with severe criticism[72]. The important place of the mentioned triad of gods in South Arabian religion can not be disputed[73]. To state that all the names of gods in that pantheon represent these three gods under different names is, however, not proved by the texts[74] and seems to be an oversimplification. The identity of Il with the moongod remains a widely rejected theory. Nevertheless it is

interesting that at the end of official inscriptions the gods are mentioned in the sequence ^{c}Athtar (Venus), Moon, Sun[75]. This sequence is remarkable since one would expect the national god, the moon, to occupy the first position. It is the more remarkable because it implies that the moongod had been surpassed by ^{c}Athtar[76], reminding us of our previous conclusion that it was Il who was replaced by ^{c}Athtar. Furthermore the moon shares with Il a number of epithets, notably thaur[77], ab[78], samî^{c} [79]. In addition the official name of the moongod in Saba' was 'lmqh, translated by Jamme "Il is mighty" (Ilumquh^{u})[80]. However we may vocalize this word, it is clear that it contains the name Il[81]. It has been suggested that the moongod took over some of the qualities of Il when ^{c}Athtar overcame him[82]. But the points to which we have just referred as well as the traces of a moon centred cult found in the Israelitic and Islamic religions[83] seem to point to some connection of the Il-cult with the moon. Possibly there was a stage when Il was worshipped in Arabia in the image of the moon[84]. The views of Nielsen were exaggerated but his overstatements should not prejudice what is sound in them.

C. The evidence from North Arabia:

It is among the Northern dialectical groups that the name Allâh was already current in the fifth century B.C. In Lihyânic, Thamûdic and Safâitic theoforic names the element il[85] is used predominantly. The element 'lh, lh representing the name Allâh is also met with[86], markedly

in alternation with il[87]. This confirms our conclusion in the previous chapter that Il and Allâh are identical.

The theoforic proper names of the Northern Arabs of the pre-Islamic era reveal that Il was the most important god in their pantheon. Accordingly he was known as the most High[88]. He is the living one[89], the manifest[90] creator[91]. Many epitheta put Il in a tribal relationship with his people: He is father[92] and the people are his children[93]. He is father-in-law[94], uncle[95], he is the leader of the tribe[96] and its members are his partisans[97], he is their friend[98]. Il is near[99] to his people, guiding them by tangible laws[100]. Il is jealous[101] of his people who are the objects of his love[102]. Il is as strong[103] as a lion[104]. He protects[105] his clients[106]. In wartime Il gives victory[107]. He humbles[108] the enemy, he crushes[109] him, lays waste[110] his land, and reduces him to slavery[111]. He rejoices at the defeat of the enemy[112]. Il is brave[113] and makes brave[114] those who seek refuge with him[115]. He saves[116] his people from their distress and gives them assistance[117]. Individuals are chosen as his favourites[118] and some are consecrated[119] to him by special vows.

The tender care of Il for his people is expressed by the metaphor of the shepherd[120]. When they cry out[121] in his name[122] he listens[123]. Il is also likened to a king[124]. He is lord[125] and the people are his servants[126]. In fact their position is that of slaves towards their master[127]. They are dependant on the wish of Allâh[128]. But he is good[129]. He knows[130] them and their

fears and he causes them to smile[131]. He rewards their good deeds[132]. He is benevolent giving grace[133] and he is willing to pardon[134] their sins. He cures[135] their illnesses. The gifts of children and wealth are from Il[136], provided by his creative word[137]. Il gives abundantly[138]. Indeed, Il is great[139], he is the one who deserves praise[140]. He disposes over life to lengthen it[141], and when the mother dies at childbirth it is Il who takes her away[142]. Il is pure and guiltless[143]. Il is calm[144] and contented[145] of nature.

Other theoforic names imply that Il was becoming a _deus otiosus_[146]. It was felt that Il became distant[147] and even hostile[148]. He became slow[149], repenting[150] and emotional[151]. He is no longer described in terms of his former dignity[152].

Some theoforic names identify Il with the moon —— that is to say if they are taken at face value. Names of particular importance in this context are such as bdrl (Safâ), dhrh'l (Liḥyân) and ᶜrb'l (Safâ). The root bdr[153] is the word in Classical Arabic to signify the moon when it has become full and round. The word dhrh describes Il as a shining luminary[154] and in the Old Testament it is used to describe the rising sun[155]. The name ᶜrb'l pictures the setting of Il in the West for ᶜrb is likewise used of the sun in the South Arabian inscriptions[156]. Alternatively one could take the element il in these and other names like nhr'l, nr'l, sn'l, ᶜm'l, shhr'l as an appellative and

translate accordingly "Nahar is god, Sin is god", etc. The latter solution is however not as selfevident as one tends to believe. This is demonstrated by a name like [C]mhrdw where the element [C]m is clearly not the official name of the national moongod in Qatabân, but simply the word for "(paternal) uncle"[157]. Moreover a name like "[C]Amm is god"[158] could only be sensible in the context of a polemical exclusivism, unknown in the politheistic setting of the time[159]. Unless the name conveys the sense of "[C]Amm is my god"[160], expressing the relation of the worshipper to a particular god. On the other hand it is clear that Nahar, [C]Amm, etc., were used as proper names of gods in theoforic names like nhrwhb (Safâ) and [C]mr'y (Lihyân)[161].

In the inscriptions of the Northern Arabs and, as far as the people of Safâ is concerned more particularly in drawings, the chief Safâitic deity, Allât was represented as the sungoddess[162]. This leads to the conclusion that her male counterpart Allâh, rarely mentioned in Safâitic inscriptions, was associated with the moon. More often than of Allâh the Safâitic inscriptions make mention of Rudâ written rdw and rdy. This deity was identified with Venus both in the planet's appearance as a morning and as an evening star. Probably rdw represents his appearance as god while rdy refers to the female appearance as the evening star[163]. Also in Thamûdic inscriptions Rudâ is one of the gods invoked most frequently. Though under a different name, Venus overshadowed Il/Allâh amongst the Northern Arab tribes as well.

63.

According to the inscriptions it is Allâh who grants his servant a long life and good luck. He guides them and gives them peace and prosperity[164].

One word used in a number of Thamûdic inscriptions deserves special attention in our quest for the pre-Islamic concept of Allâh. We give an example of such an inscription using the word 'btr. It reads: h'lh 'btr bk hsrr[165]. E. Littmann translated "O Gott, durch dich ist die Freude verheissen". Because of the position of the word 'btr in this inscription Littmann thinks it should be a verb of the root btr "to cut" rather than an epithet of Allâh. In Classical Arabic the verb batara means "to cut off the tail of an animal". The word abtar is applied to a person having no offspring or progeny[166]. In the Koran CVIII, 3 abtar is used as a threat against Mohammed's enemies. It is said that Mohammed himself had been mocked because he had no surviving sons, giving occasion to this verse of the Koran. Thus we could translate "O Allâh who has no progeny, happiness originates with you". If this is correct the word abtar contains a confession of monotheism which would later become characteristic of Islam, and represents an early example of the convictions of the Hanîfs. The interpretation of the word 'btr remains, however, a matter of uncertainty[167].

D. Allâh according to pagan poetry:

The name Allâh occurs quite frequently in pre-Islamic poetry. Taken at face value this poetry could

present the most reliable and informative data on the
concept of Allâh before the era of Mohammed[168]. This
poetry remained the object for a study of pure Arabic for
the grammarians of Kûfa and Basra. It was generally
considered to be the starting point of linguistic work and
the model of a perfect usage of the language. In fact the
poetry had its influence on the orthography of the Koran for
its dialect was adapted to the "high Arabic" of the poets.
Unfortunately the pagan poetry of Northern Arabia hardly
contains any religious sentiment. A large number of the
references to Allâh are oath formulae and the overall
impression is that the pagan poetry is religiously indifferent[169].
It is also beyond any doubt that many of the instances where
the name Allâh is used, are not authentic. The Arabs were
masters of the art of poetry and it is known that a Râwiya
could imitate the style of his master so well that nobody
could discern his own improvisations from the work of his
master ─── in spite of the strict schematism and the
complicated construction of Arabic poetry[170]. We have
evidence that offensive words were replaced in Islamic times
by others of the same metrical value[171]. The names of
pagan gods were often replaced in Islamic times by the name
of Allâh to wipe out the traces of paganism of a relation
or a heroic poet[172] ─── in the same way as the theoforic
element in proper names was changed to Allâh[173]. Arabian
poetry was written down only in the Islamic era when the
well-known collections were compiled. Naturally many
(probably most) instances of the use of the name Allâh in
pagan poetry are authentic. But apart from the question of
authenticity the possibility and often probability of Jewish

or Christian influence casts a shadow of doubt over the legitimate use of pagan poetry as a portrayal of the Allâh of pre-Islamic Arab religion. These considerations clearly indicate that poems of pagan origin present no secure basis to build up the Arab concept of Allâh. Subject to this reservation we now proceed to present information on the use of <u>Allâh</u> by pagan poets[174].

The name Allâh is frequently invoked in oaths[175] with the implication that he acts as witness to the truth of the statement. Oaths are taken by the life of Allâh for he alone is not subjected to death[176]. Allâh determines the destiny of man[177]. He decrees the good and the bad[178]. Allâh punishes the thief when night covers him with darkness[179]. He requites every person according to his deeds[180]. His decree is fulfilled[181]. Allâh knows everything; he knows what is hidden[182]; therefore he can be called upon as witness. Man is his servant[183]. Man should fear Allâh for to do so is greater than to have booty or treasures or earthly friendships[184]. He can trust Allâh to defend him[185] for Allâh is faithful[186]. Beyond Allâh man has no recourse[187]. Allâh creates him in the womb of his mother[188] and everybody is on his way to meet Allâh in death[189]. Nevertheless Allâh does not desire the death of man[190]. The mercy of Allâh[191] is a source of comfort for his people. Allâh is the patron of guests[192]. Allâh does not allow his people to be disloyal to friends[193], to be treacherous[194], or to do evil[195]. It is Allâh who provides the rain, the heavy downpours as well as the continuous drizzle[196]. Praise should be given to Allâh[197]. Qais ibn al-<u>Khatîm</u>[198] a

Medinan poet, referred to Allâh as the creator and as lord of the building i.e. of the Ka^Cba in Mecca. He states that Allâh will only what he will (11, 8). Interesting is a verse of the pagan poet Aus ibn Hadjar al-Tamîmî: "By Allât and al-^CUzzâ and their worshippers, and by Allâh, and he is certainly greater than they are"[199].

The pagan poetry pictures Allâh along the same lines as the other sources discussed above. It is interesting that a poet of the beginning of the Islamic era warns his people not to consider Allâh ignorant and forgetful[200]. The necessity of such a remark shows that Allâh faded into the background of religious concern but that he was making a come-back.

E. The pre-Islamic Allâh according to the Koran:

The Koran is another important source of information concerning pre-Islamic religion. According to Sûra XXI, 51(52) - 70 father Abraham already warned his people to dispose of their idols and to serve Allâh the only true god. This anecdote, however, implies a connection with the Jewish religion to which we will return at a later stage in our discussion[201]. The Koran testifies that in difficult times the heathen Arabs turned to Allâh, their only god in distress[202]. In times of comfort they slid back into polytheism. They regarded Allâh as the supreme god who possesses the earth and everything on it, who sits as lord on his heavenly throne and rules the Universe as king[203]. They swore solemn oaths by Allâh[204]. Above all

they recognized him as the creator[205] and the giver of
rain[206]. They believed that the life of every individual
was determined by the will of Allâh[207]. Their great sin
in the eyes of Mohammed was that they acknowledged other gods
beside Allâh[208], more particularly the three goddesses
Manât, Allât and al-^{c}Uzzâ, the so-called daughters of
Allâh[209]. Furthermore the pagan Meccans derived the
authority to do things described by the Koran as an abomination
from Allâh, claiming that it was the custom of their
ancestors and the command of Allâh[210], In their turn the
Meccans took offence in Mohammed's doctrine of the re -
surrection and maintained that he is inventing lies against
Allâh[211].

The polemic of the Koran implies that the
pre-Islamic Arabs often experienced Allâh as some distant
unapproachable god. Their idols then served the practical
purpose of being intercessors through whom they could
communicate with him[212]. This was in fact their justification
for the worship of the partners of Allâh[213]. One may even
find allusions to the celestial character of Allâh in the
Koran[214].

It is however extremely important to realise
that the unity of God, polytheism or the final judgement
was not the subject of the very oldest sûras of the Koran[215].
In fact these sûras[216] reflect Mohammed as a member of his
tribe whose interests he shares and whose religion he
naturally follows. Thus Mohammed advises his tribe in the
Sûrat Quraish to worship the lord of the Ka^{c}ba[217] in order

to ensure the security of their trade caravans; Sûra CVI contains no trace of his future breach with the Quraish. There is nothing to indicate that Mohammed is in opposition with the religion of his countrymen or that he intends to found a new religion[218]. In this context the original form of Sûra LIII, 19 - 25, acknowledging the pagan goddesses Allât, al-[C]Uzzâ and Manât, finds its natural setting. Later when the relation between Mohammed and the Meccans was severed[219] and when monotheism became a central theme of his preaching these verses were changed and the goddesses described as "naught but names"[220]. In spite of the hostilities between Mohammed and the Meccans, he insisted that he was continuing the religion of the ancestors of the Arabs in its original pure form[221]. His object was to remove the partners[222] given to Allâh by the pagans. This monotheistic trend was developed in no small measure before Mohammed and finds its concrete expression in the term hanîf. It is therefore to be expected that there will be no great or essential difference between the Islamic and the pre-Islamic concept of Allâh[223].

F. Hubal and Allâh:

The reference of Mohammed to the "lord of the Ka[C]ba"[224] at the beginning of his career and even the later reference to the only god Mohammed worships, the "lord of the territory of Mecca"[225], could signify to the Meccans only one god viz. Hubal. Hubal was the god of first importance in the Ka[C]ba of Mecca which contained a statue depicting him in human form[226]. Wellhausen pointed

out the remarkable fact that the Koran contains no polemic against Hubal whereas Mohammed as well as his opponents acknowledged Allâh as lord of the Ka^{C}ba[227]. He suggested that Hubal was the original proper name and Allâh originally the appellative of the lord of the Ka^{C}ba. Consecutively the name Allâh replaced the name Hubal completely[228].

This identification is, however, not yet proved by the available facts. Our knowledge of Hubal[229] is too scanty and the lack of any polemics by Mohammed against him may purely have been for the same tactical reason he associated Allâh with the Ka^{C}ba. Furthermore a severe criticism of the statued Hubal can be pointed out at a later stage of the prophet's career. No Meccan could fail to understand the implications of the story how Abraham ridiculed and rejected the idols of his people. This story and other similar outright rejections of idolatry occur frequently in later parts of the Koran[230]. During the ill-fated encounter at Uhud, Mohammed had the courage to call out 'Allâh is most high' in reply to Abû Sufyân's exclamation: 'High Hubal'[231].

G. Moslem authors and Allâh before Islam:

The prejudiced account of pre-Islamic religion by Moslem writers, stemming from a period when the memory of the Djâhilîya was no longer clear in the mind[232], is of little use for our present purpose. The most impressive work of this kind is the Kitâb al-Asnâm of Ibn al-Kalbî, the well-known historian of the second century A.H.[233]. From

this source we can only add a report about the Khaulân, a tribe of the Yemen. They used to divide their crops and cattle between the god [C]Umyânis / [C]Amm'anas and Allâh, favouring the former in the division[234].

The Quraish were the dominant tribe in Mecca in the sixth century after they secured political supremacy over the ruling Khuzâ[C]a when they abandoned their nomadic life in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.[235]. The prehistory of the Quraish is hidden in obscurity. D. S. Margoliouth[236] collected references to them from Moslem writers which are of interest for our subject. According to them [C]Alî, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, declared that the Quraish were Nabataeans from Kûthâ in Mesopotamia. Secondly it was said that Kûthâ, the name of a town on the Euphrates was also the name of Mecca, or part of it. Furthermore the Quraish were known in Arabia as the family of Allâh. It seems possible that Allâh, the male deity of which Allât was the female, was the tribal god of the Quraish. According to ancient custom to worship the local territorial god(s), the Quraish, when they became supreme, gave their deity a place beside the deities of older tribes, such as Al-[C]Uzzâ, Al-Lât and Manât. Mohammed rejected this "associating" (shirk) of Allâh with other gods and identified him with the object of monotheistic adoration. In our previous chapter it was pointed out that Nabataean names containing the theoforic element Allâh are in abundance. If the evidence collected by Margoliouth can be accepted[237], the Nabataean Quraish introduced Allâh from the North into Mecca.

H. Pre-Islamic use of the name Allâh by Christians:

       Christianity spread to the Arabs at an early date[238] while the Arabian deserts also provided anathemized sectarian groups with safe shelter against orthodox persecution. Although it is not possible to identify all the different types of teaching representing Christianity in Arabia before the Islam, the general impression is that a strong Judaistic tendency was prevalent[239]. In the sixth century the most important Christian groups in Arabia were Monophysite and Nestorian. Both these groups used Syriac as the language of the Church. It is only natural that the Syriac word for "God" viz. allāhâ would be presented in Arabic by allâh. This led to the identification of Allâh with the God of the Bible, an identification which was in a way accidental[240]. Thus it is not surprising to encounter the name Allâh in the poetry of Christians like the renowned ᶜAdî ibn Zaid[241]. In fact the Koran itself accepts a priori that the Christians worship Allâh[242]. This confluence of the Syriac and Arabic words facilitated the spread of monotheistic ideas and the association of such ideas with Allâh.

I. Pre-Islamic use of the name Allâh by Jews in Arabia:

       In the introduction to his Jewish Wars, written during the last quarter of the first century A.D., the Jewish historiographer Flavius Josephus[243] refers to Arabs interested in the history of the Jewish revolt. This evidence points to the presence of a more or less substantial

number of Jews among the Arabs. The loyalty of Samau'al ibn
^{c}Ādiyâ a Jewish poet from Taima, to the north of Madîna,
became proverbial in Arabic, while the Koran LXXXV, 4ff.
commentates on the persecution of the Christians by the
Jewish king Dhû Nuwâs. In fact the name Madîna is an
Aramaic loanword[244] which became the regular name of Yathrib
due to the strong Jewish element in the town[245]. Evidence
of Jewish presence in Arabia can be multiplied. In this
context it is interesting to add only that the Sifre on

Deuteronomy, a Tannaitic Midrash dating from the second or
third century A.D., in its commentary on Deutr. 32:2 states
that God revealed Himself by giving the Torah in four
languages viz. Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Aramaic[246].

Rahmân, the name used instead of the proper
name of God in the Babilonian Talmud, was according to the
South Arabian inscriptions also the name used by the Jews in
Arabia[247]. In Arabic poetry of Jewish origin the name Allâh
is used without any restriction causing one to think that
they did not equal it with the proper name Yahwè but rather
identified it with the Hebrew hā'elōhîm[248]. The Koran leaves
no doubt that Allâh was also the name of the God of the
Jews[249]. Mohammed was well aware of the use of the name
Rahmân by the Jews —— as a matter of fact he himself
used this name at one stage of his career[250]. He
explained that believers may use either the name Allâh or
the name Rahmân for they are both most beautiful names of the
same God[251]. Without any doubt the Jewish idea of God was
already present in Arabia in pre-Islamic times and associated
with the name Allâh.

J. The Hanîfs:

Under the term Hanîf we understand people who repudiated idolatry and held the same religious convictions Mohammed was later to propagate. Though they were generally neither Jews nor Christians, they were certainly influenced by these monotheists. One of the most important Hanîfs was Umaîya ibn Abî al-Salt. His verses express his belief in the only god, Allâh, creator and lord of the world, while his terminology is the same as that of the Koran. He believed in the resurrection, in the final judgement, in Paradise and in Hell. In addition to unmistakeable heathen concepts, the Biblical narrative found an important place in his poetry. He was never converted to Islam but his teachings are so close to the Koran that many scholars believe that at least a great deal is forgery[252].

Similarly Zaid ibn [c]Amr ibn Nufail rejected the gods of his people in favour of Allâh, following the religion of Abraham. Zaid proclaimed that Allâh requites man according to his deeds and nothing can be hidden from him. There is no god beside Allâh. By implication Zaid named him as creator. He died before the advent of Islam but Mohammed acknowledged him as a forerunner by allowing prayers to be said on his behalf[253].

One more Hanîf worthy of mention is Waraqa ibn Naufal, a man well versed in the Torah and the Gospel. He

called himself a warner from Allâh, the creator of man and lord of the throne. Allâh is the sovereign of all that is under the heavens who will remain when everything else has perished. He was related to the Prophet and as such exercised an important influence on Mohammed[254].

In the preceding pages we traced the character of Allâh from sources of diverse background. In a following and concluding chapter we will have the opportunity to present a synthesis of the evidence. It should however be realised that a synthesis of all the details of the mentioned sources into a single concept will give an artificial and even untrue picture of Allâh before the Islam. In other words: The name Allâh had more than one connotation in pre-Islamic Arabia, the exact meaning depending on the context of its use. Nevertheless the observant reader will have noticed a remarkable recurrence of the same basic conception of Il / Allâh, despite the diversity of the sources and whatever their particular differentiating views may have been. In fact a synthesis was begun by the Hanîfs and consummated by Mohammed. Thus as far as the name Allâh is concerned Islam was the necessary outcome of the situation in Arabia around 600 A.D.

C H A P T E R   F I V E

ALLÂH   IN   THE   KORAN

Allâh is the God[1] of the Koran and the Islam,
to which he owes his survival and his triumph over the
pantheon of Arab paganism. To this day Allâh is of vital
significance for millions of people by virtue of his position
in the Koran. Nevertheless the Koran does not present us
with a systematic doctrine of God nor with a theoretic
speculation about his being. The Koran is not a philosophical
or theological treatise. It serves the practical purpose of
being God's message to mankind. In fact it is the ipsissima
verba of God[2]. In addition the Koran presupposes a certain
knowledge of religious terminology and background with its
hearers which is not explained. Keeping these facts in mind,
our primary task is to reconstruct systematically the Koranic
doctrine of Allâh.

A. Allâh as a name for the Koranic God.

A distinction between Meccan and Medinan sûras
has long been recognized by Moslem tradition. One of the
most fortunate achievements of modern Koran scholarship was
the further division of its material, on a chronological
basis, into three Meccan periods and one Medinan period.
These periods coincide with the development of Mohammed's
public career and although an absolute division is im-
possible the results of Th. Nöldeke in his Geschichte des
Qorans (reprinted 1961) have gained wide acceptance[3].

An investigation into the names of God in the Koran[4] revealed that the name Allâh is used not more than twenty-six times in sûras of the first Meccan period as against about 2,662 times in the rest of the Koran —— following the arrangement of J.H. Kramers[5]. According to the grouping of Nöldeke, who classified more sûras with the first Meccan period, the name Allâh is used about 40 times in the first period as against about 2648 times in the remaining 66 sûras. In 28 of the 48 sûras Nöldeke classified with the first Meccan sûras the name Allâh does not occur at all[6]. The sûras of the first Meccan period are very short and consequently statistics may be misleading. But on the other hand it should be kept in mind that the later sûras are more concerned with communal discipline while they are less, what may be called, theologically orientated. Moreover Nöldeke himself declared the verses, which contain at least 22 (out of the 40) occurrences of the name Allâh in sûras of the first Meccan period, to be of a date later than the sûras in which they appear, viz. XCVI, 14; LXXXV, 8, 9; LXXIV, 33, 34, 55; LXXIII, 20 (seven times); LXX, 3; LIII, 23, 27, 32; LII, 43 (two times) and LI, 50, 51, 58. Furthermore he arranged Sûra I, 1 as the last in the first Meccan period —— Kramers arranged it in the second Meccan period. In LXIX, 33 and LXXXV, 20 the rhyme is different from that of the context implying that these verses could well be foreign to their present context. Kramers also dated the latter reference in the second Meccan period. The majority of the remaining fifteen instances have also been subjected by some or other scholar to a later dating[7]. Under these circumstances we

may well doubt whether it is legitimate to classify any âya containing the name Allâh as of the first Meccan period.

It is clear that Mohammed refrained from the use of the name Allâh at the beginning of his career. This state of affairs is confirmed by the fact that Moslem poets of the early Islam also rarely used the name Allâh[8]. Although pagan poets used the name Allâh soon after the Hidjra as a specific Islamic term it is encountered in the poetry of Medinan Moslems only, during the first four years of the Hidjra[9]. This leads to the conclusion that the initial[10] avoidance of the name Allâh by Mohammed made a deep impression on the early Moslems because it symbolised to them a separation from the current Allâh-worship in Mecca. Therefore they were reluctant to use the name and it is only the Medinans who had the most intimate contact with the prophet who dared to use the name after his example. Outside Medina Allâh was referred to as the "God of the heavens" to distinguish him from the Meccan Allâh[11]. The avoidance of the name Allâh must however be seen against a wider background.

The absence of the name Allâh in the first Meccan period raises the question which name Mohammed then did use instead. The Koran mentions al-Rahmân[12] as an alternative proper name of God[13]. While the cult of Allâh was connected with the worship of secondary divinities by the pre-Islamic Meccans, the name al-Rahmân always signified the one unique God besides whom there is no other god. The

name al-Rahmân is encountered in inscriptions of Jewish, Christian and Sabaean origin[14]. It was not only used by rivals of Mohammed like Musailima of Yamâma, alias al-Rahmân[15], but also Zaid ibn [c]Amr ibn Nufail, one of the Hanîfs, employed the name al-Rahmân[16]. The Meccans consistently rejected the reference to God as al-Rahmân and demanded that this name be deleted from the armistice agreement at Ḥudaibiya[17]. **They obviously saw in al-Rahmân** a deity distinct from Allâh[18].

In the Koranic preaching of al-Rahmân there are no special religious ideas used in distinction from the preaching of Allâh[19]. Everything said of al-Rahmân is elsewhere said of Allâh. Although the name al-Rahmân is explained and reinforced by al-Rahîm in the Basmala[20], it is significant that it is not necessarily used in a context where the mercy of God is emphasized. In fact a secret fear for al-Rahmân is referred to[21], while he is connected with the trumpet announcing the Last Judgement in XXXVI, 51-52. When al-Rahmân wishes to harm or punish, there is no protection against him[22].

A scrutiny of the references to al-Rahmân reveals the remarkable fact that this name was also not used by Mohammed at the beginning of his career. The name al-Rahmân appears almost exclusively in sûras of the second

Meccan period[23] which was also the period when the prophet was closer to the Jews than at any other time.

This means that we are left with the name Rabb as the name Mohammed initially used for his God. It is used very frequently in the sûras of the first Meccan period but gradually lost ground to the name Allâh in subsequent periods[24]. An investigation into the use of Rabb in the Koran shows however that it is never used as a proper name but always as an anonymous appellative[25] meaning "Lord". This observation corresponds with Mohammed's pre-dilection to introduce his God anonymously as "the Creator"[26]. There can only be one conclusion namely that Mohammed was initially in doubt concerning the proper name of his God and avoided the issue until it was clear in his mind. Probably he had not yet settled in his mind his position in relation to the Meccans, Jews, Christians and Hanîfs as far as religion was concerned. In the previous chapter we have pointed out that in the very oldest sûras Mohammed still identified himself with the religious practices of his tribe.

Nevertheless it is most important to note that a number of âyât from about the middle of the first Meccan period clearly implies that Mohammed did have a proper name for his God right from the beginning[27]. In these verses the Moslems are invited to praise the name of God e.g.:

> Praise the name of your Lord, the Most High, oh Mohammed,...
> he prospers who purifies himself and mentions the name
> of his Lord when he performs the ritual prayer[28].

We are forced to conclude that Mohammed did have a name for his God but felt a certain hesitation at the beginning of his career to pronounce that name. It is a wellknown notion amongst Semitic peoples to avoid the name of a god for fear of abuse or profanation as we had the opportunity to point out in the second chapter.

Is it then possible to determine which name Mohammed had in mind? In the Hebrew literature some indication may be found where the Hebrew proper name of God, Yahwè, was supplied with the vowels of the Aramaic word which was pronounced instead of Yahwè for fear of abusing the name of God, viz. sh^{e}mâ, "the name"[29]. In the Ism-verses of the Koran we may then detect strong Jewish influence which subsequently led to the tentative application of the name al-Rahmân during the second Meccan period and which would mean Mohammed had in mind the Jewish God Yahwè/hā-^{e}lōhîm of which Allâh is the Arabic equivalent.

On the other hand the phrase "the name of your Lord" in the Ism-verses may simply have been a stylistic variant for "your Lord"[30]. Then these verses present no problem to the thesis that Mohammed had at first no particular name for God[31].

However this may be it is clear that the word Rabb was never used in the Koran with the intention of a proper name of God[32]. Moreover the statistics show that Mohammed never intended to replace the name Allâh by al-Rahmân,

but that he merely wished to stress the unique oneness of his God with a name that was already exclusively in use to express this concept. The Meccans rejected this name as an unnecessary foreign novelty and when Mohammed realised that the Jews were not going to hail him as a continuer of their faith he had no objections to drop it. Being one of the first names of God used in the Koran the name Allâh finally became the only proper name of God[33]. It had the additional benefit of serving the political implications of the prophet's career to facilitate the consolidation of the Arab tribes as a word of pure Arabic origin. We may at this stage remark that there is no original specific name created for God in the Koran. The Koran used known names although the contents of these names may have been renovated.

B. Characteristic aspects of the God of the Koran.

1. Allâh is the living God:

In the Koran revelation and faith are centred in Allâh. Its contents spell out the name of Allâh so that a presentation of the Koranic doctrine of Allâh amounts in a sense to a theology of the Koran. In agreement with our conclusions in the previous paragraph we shall not restrict ourselves to those passages containing the name Allâh. The mentioned considerations justify the use of the whole Koran as a source.

The existence of Allâh is never questioned in

the Koran. In the controversy with his people the prophet
frequently pointed out that they themselves acknowledge Allâh.
Those passages which have been invoked[34] as cosmological or
teleological proofs of the existence of Allâh were meant to
stress certain aspects of the Koranic view of God which will
be discussed later on. The reality of God imposed itself on
Moslem and non-Moslem alike with an evidence beyond all
demonstration.

        The Koran most emphatically denies that Allâh
ever had an origin or evolution. He is the eternal[35], he
has always existed and will always exist. He was not begotten[36],
he is the first and the last[37]. Everything on earth will
pass away but the countenance of God will remain[38].

        The eternity of Allâh was not experienced as
a quality of the philosophical Absolute. In the Koran the
idea of God's eternity is coupled with the premise that he
is the living God[39], he is eternal because he is living.
His living is without any initial or terminal limit, therefore
he knows all that happens before and after them who will appear
before him on the Day of Judgement, while they cannot embrace
him with a complete knowledge[40]. As the living God Allâh is
also the source of life. He gives and he takes life[41]. This
is also recognized by the pagan Arabs[42] but they fail to
draw the consequence that he will also return them to life on
the Day of the Resurrection[43]. For the believer the fact of
the Living God, who does not die, constitutes a constant
comfort, for it is to him the affirmation of victory over

death — including his own death[44].

Life is what differentiates Allâh from other gods[45]. The feebleness of the idols is ridiculed in the story of Abraham who smashed the idols of his people to pieces[46]. They admit that the idols can neither hear nor speak or profit man in any way. Thereupon Abraham admonishes them to worship Allâh, the creator who disposes over life and death. The divinities of the polytheists are dead, not living[47].

That Allâh is the living God implies his continuous presence in the world with the result that he has complete knowledge of world affairs, more particularly of the sins of his creatures[48]. The presence of the living God in this world is concretely expressed by the use of anthropo- morphic language: Allâh comes[49], speaks[50], hears[51], sees[52], while reference is also made to some of the organs suited to these functions: He has eyes[53], hands[54], feet and ears[55], and a face[56]. God built the heaven with his own hands[57]. Allâh is localized in the Ka^{c}ba at Mecca[58]. Elsewhere Allâh is located on his tremendous throne on which he sat down after the creation[59]. At the final Judgement believers and unbelievers will meet face to face with Allâh[60].

A figure reminiscent of military language is Al-Qahhâr, "the Conquerer"[61]. Other human activities which provided terms of comparison are that of a guide[62], witness[63], king[64], master[65], heir[66], judge[67], and a rich man[68].

The anthropomorphisms are accompanied by anthropopatisms: Allâh is described as helpful[69], merciful[70], mild-tempered[71], grateful[72], loving[73], revengeful[74], forgetful[75], repenting[76], and even as wily[77], scheming[78], angry[79], and haughty[80]. In many Koranic verses the impression of a certain arbitrariness is created. Thus we read:

"You cannot wish to do anything, unless Allâh wills it.
To him indeed belongs the knowledge and the wisdom.

He makes whom he will enter his mercy,
but for the iniquitous he prepared a painful punishment"[81].

Theriomorphism is avoided in the Koran, instigated by the widespread use of various animals as symbols of the pagan gods in the plastic arts of Arabia[82]. There is only one trace of it in the Koran in a story describing the Israelites' lapse into idolatry when they made God in the image of a golden calf, while Moses was absent to receive his Scripture[83].

Though primitive believers doubtless visualized Allâh as a respectable old[84] patriarch, it must be noted that the Koranic description of Allâh in terms of human qualities does not reflect a primitive concept or way of speaking of Allâh. It is harmonized with a highly spiritual understanding of the transcendent God in recognition of the fundamental difference between God and man[85]. Although Allâh is presented as male[86] his transcendence of sex is emphasized by the incessant affirmation of the Koran that Allâh has neither consort nor child[87]. The reaction against idolatry in the Koran is so violent (it is even directed

against Judaism and Christianity) that the creation of any visual likeness of God is completely unthinkable[88]. Allâh cannot be imprisoned in the confinement of an idolatrous image, for he is the living God. The absence of such images of Allâh abolishes a primitive anthropomorphic conception of Allâh. There is no other means to express God's qualities than by human analogies, consequently the use of anthropomorfic language is inevitable.

2. The attributes of Allâh:

The Koranic conception of God has often been described in terms of ninety-nine epithets. This number is in agreement with the ninety-nine beads of the subha —— excluding the bead reserved for the mention of the name Allâh. These epithets are believed[89] to constitute the most beautiful names referred to in the Koran[90], although the Koranic phrase specifies no definite number. Comparing lists of "the ninety-nine names of God" J.W. Redhouse found upwards of five hundred such names. Consequently the use of "the ninety-nine names" as a basis for the Koranic doctrine of Allâh is rather haphazard[91]. On the other hand it stands without reason that the epitheta of Allâh form an integral part of Mohammed's understanding of his God and can as such not be left out of account. In fact Mohammed himself used these epithets when he wanted to promulgate his God[92].

It is a feature of the style of the Koran that assonance at the end of verses was intended and deliberately sought for. In sûras in which the verses are long, special

turns of phrase are employed in order to produce the assonance[93]. In the long sûras with their long verses, statements regarding Allâh occur frequently at the end of the verses[94]. These statements serve the purpose of supplying a rhyme-phrase, not necessarily undetachable from the context or indispensable for the argument.

In our present context we are first of all interested in the favourite twin epithets of Allâh, often occurring at the end of verses in later sûras. They are relatively frequent and are sometimes in the form of the active participle stressing the continuous intervention of the living God in the course of history. Occurring at the end of verses they serve at once to press home a truth by repetition and to clinch the authority of what is laid down[95].

These twin epithets can be contrasted pairs: The First and the Last[96], the Outward and the Inward[97], the first merism signifying in the Semitic idiom the eternity and the latter the ubiquity of God. This same desire to leave nothing and nobody outside the authority of Allâh can be detected in statements that he is the author of good fortune as well as of affliction[98], that he guides whom he wishes[99] but also leads astray[100], that he is both the Creator[101] and the Destroyer[102].

While contrasted pairs are rare, twin synonymous epithets are more often met with: Allâh is re-penting, compassionate[103]; knowing, cognizant[104];

tremendous, exalted[105]; the lord of the throne, the glorious[106]; the compassionate, the forgiving[107]; compassionate, loving[108]; merciful, compassionate[109]; the great, the most high[110]; mighty, powerful[111]; exalted, great[112]. In LIX, 24 three synonyms are used to describe God as the Creator.

The synonymous attributes amplify each other in contents. This function is frequently supplemented in the style, not only by means of vocal and consonantal assonance but also by means of alliteration of the twin epithets! Thus we find ^{c}afûw ghafûr denoting the forgivingness[113], hakîm ^{c}alîm[114] or its reverse[115] denoting the wisdom, hamîd madjîd denoting the praiseworthiness[116], al-rahmân al-rahîm denoting the mercy[117] of God. Further examples are ^{c}alîm halîm[118], hakîm khabîr[119] of which the latter signifies God's wisdom whereas the first pair combines his wisdom with his gentleness. In a few instances synonyms are linked in pronunciation due to the phenomenon that the second epithet begins with the same consonant that constitutes the final consonant of the first epithet e.g. ghafûr rahîm[120], al-barr al-rahîm[121]. These stylistic devises, applied to combine synonymous epithets, illustrate the Semitic feature to express the contents also externally in the style[122].

Sometimes the connection between the twin epithets is logical. As creator of everything Allâh knows everything[123]. He sees and hears everything[124]. As the

one who hears all he knows all[125]. If he hears all he must be near[126]. Sometimes there are in themselves no apparent reason for the combination of two attributes. The choice of a particular attribute seems to be determined by the context or by the assonance between verses[127] and between the two epithets themselves[128]. The artificial application of twin epithets to stylistic effects is most apparent in Sûra XXVI, where the refrain "your lord is indeed the mighty, the compassionate", grouping off the different stories of the former prophets, is rather loosely connected with the contents[129].

Epithets are used in the genitive to express an inherent quality of God: He is swift at reckoning[130], swift in punishment[131], severe in punishment[132], severe in cunning[133], an excellent patron and an excellent helper[134], an excellent guardian[135]. Stylistic considerations again contributed to the use of the superlative. Where the singular of the epithet would not fit the rhyme, the plural is conveniently applied by means of the superlative: Allâh is the best creator[136], the best judge[137], the best provider[138], the best forgiver[139], the best separator[140], the best schemer[141], the best pilot[142], the best helper[143], the best inheritor[144], the most compassionate[145]. Since they are only employed as a stylistic device, Allâh is, notwithstanding these plurals, the only creator, forgiver, etc.

Most prominent amongst the attributes are those that have to do with God's strength, majesty and greatness though his mercy, his knowledge and his action as judge is also stressed[146].

3. Allâh and the other gods:

The shahâda contains the central theme of the Moslem profession of faith: "There is no god but Allâh". Though this phrase occurs repeatedly in the Koran its strict monotheistic interpretation is of a more recent date[147].

The Koran acknowledges the existence of other gods besides Allâh. They inspire the believers with awe[148] and on the Day of Judgment they will quarrel with their followers[149]. They will be the fuel of Hell[150] after their condemnation[151]. Prudence towards such gods is demanded but it is only in order to prevent blasphemy of Allâh in retaliation[152]. The names of several idols are mentioned: Wadd, Suwâ[c], Yaghûth, Ya[c]ûq, Nasr[153], al-Lât, al-[c]Uzzâ, Manât[154]. Others invoked as gods besides Allâh are Jesus, Mary, Ezra, Pharao, angels and djinn[155].

The disbelievers, following the example of their ancestors[156], worship the gods[157] which means that they provide them with a portion of the produce of the land and the cattle[158] and battle for the cause of the idols[159]. In obedience to their gods they kill their children[160]. They refuse to abandon them[161] so that they may gain prestige[162] by their gods. Contrary to their expectations the false gods are leading them out of light into darkness[163]. They expect their gods to act as mediators on their behalf on the Day of Judgement[164] although the gods have no authority to do so[165]. It is only to man's further disadvantage that he calls on

these gods[166].

As far as their relationship with Allâh is concerned there are indications that the gods were regarded as competing with Allâh[167]. In reality, says the Koran, those invoked besides Allâh are themselves longing to become part of the inner circle of the servants of Allâh[168].

The problem of idolatry was from the beginning substantially connected with the worship of Allâh in as far as the history of the Islam is the history of Allâh's victory over the gods. As such the Koranic description of the false gods is the obverse of its conception of the true god, be it in a summarised form[169]. Basic to the qualities of the gods is that they are stones[170] taken from the earth[171], shaped by the very hands of those who worship them[172]. They have no hands, feet, eyes or ears, consequently they can neither help nor see or hear[173]. Their names are empty sounds and without any contents[174]. In its criticism of the false gods the Koran stresses the female and thus inferior character of the so-called daughters of Allâh[175]. The powerless idols have no rule, not even over a date-pellicle or an atom's weight[176]. They are compared to a slave that is so remote from possessing anything that he himself is in the possession of somebody else[177]. They do not dispose over life and death[178]. They have no partnership in the heavens[179].

The idols are void of works. They cannot create anything[180] not even a fly[181]. In fact they are

themselves manmade creatures[182]. They can provide no
sustenance[183]. They can neither benefit nor harm their
followers[184]. They cannot nullify calamity or mercy given
by Allâh[185]. The idol-worshippers can produce no revelation
on which their worship is founded[186]. The idols have no
gratitude for the worship of the idolators, but will on the
contrary betray them[187]. In their turn the idolators will
leave the false gods in the lurch[188]. The idols cannot
achieve the resurrection, in short they can do nothing of
what Allâh can do[189]. Was it not for the decree of the
judgement, Allâh would already have obliterated the partners
ascribed to him[190]. The technical term employed in the Koran
to name the false gods conveys the ideas of "overstepping the
proper bounds, being tyrannical and a seducer"[191].

The claim to the exclusivism of Allâh is
based on his all-embracing power and unlimited authority as
creator[192]. Since genuine atheism is foreign to the Koran,
man does not choose between Allâh and atheism, but between
Allâh and the gods as real authority over life and death.
For this reason believers are defined as those who do not
believe in the gods[193] while disbelievers are those who
believe in the gods[194]. The decision between Allâh and the
gods is not merely a matter of reason and as such the result
of superstition or stupidity, it is an existential decision
determining the whole life of man including his future life.
Idolatry is a foolishness[195] instigated by Satan[196] in times
of prosperity[197]. Therefore the Koran not only forbids the
worship of other gods[198], but refers to giving him partners

as the one deadly sin Allâh will never forgive[199]. Indeed, idolatry is a most dangerous occupation: Allâh is the creator and sustainer of the universe. Consequently there is a direct relationship between his existence and that of the cosmos. Was it for one moment true that there were other gods besides Allâh, the whole universe would collapse[200].

Apart from the denial of the power of the gods several other means of their dethronement may be detected in the Koran; a) They are simply ignored by making no mention of their names[201]; b) they are translated to the ancient past[202]; c) their qualities, and in isolated cases probably also their names, became epithets of Allâh[203]; d) they are relegated to the sphere of the angels and djinn[204].

The classical example of a professor of monotheism who ridiculed the false gods of his people is furnished by the stories of Abraham in the Koran[205]. On the question of Joseph to his fellow-prisoners whether diverse lords are better, the Koran joins in his answer that Allâh is One[206], meaning that he is the one and only God. Since then the confession of the unity of God is the pride of Moslems and the term Tauhîd even became the name for their theological science or Dogmatics[207].

4. Angels and other powers divine or demonic.

As early as the days of the ancient Sumerians

people in the Near East believed in supernatural beings besides God, exercising a potent influence on both the life of the universe and the life of man. The distinction between these beings and Allâh was at times rather vague and confused so that they were mistakenly worshipped in his stead[208]. This makes it necessary to define the Koranic view of them.

The angels form the celestial court of Allâh[209] depicted as the heavenly king. It is with this court Allâh disputed over the creation of man[210]. The Koran categorically denies any genealogical relationship between Allâh and the angels[211]. The angels are creatures of Allâh[212]. They were provided with two, three and four pairs of wings[213], but they appear in human form when they enter into contact with man[214]. To be an angel is for man something to covet[215]. In physical appearance they are beautiful in the extreme, and the references to their beauty specifically concerns their "sex appeal"[216]. The Koran is not explicit over their sex. It seems, however, that they are generally considered as masculine[217]. They are sinless although some of them may fall into sin[218]. They do not need food, therefore it was only when they did not accept the food Abraham prepared for them that he recognized their supernatural character[219].

The Koran accentuates the absolute submission and obedience of the angels to Allâh: They praise him incessantly[220], they prostrate themselves before Allâh, void of any haughtiness[221] and serve him as slaves[222],

standing in rows around his throne[223]. They do not
anticipate him in speech[224], they act only by his
command; he knows them completely and they can intercede
only for those he favours; in fear of him they are
apprehensive[225]. These angels carry the throne of Allâh
and while they praise God they also intercede for the be-
lievers[226]. Allâh uses the angels to guard the heavens
against the djinn[227].

The angels are the enactors of God's dealings
with man[228] and as such they form a bridge between the
transcendent God and man. This function is already contained
in the Arabic designation malak, messenger[229]. Allâh sends
them down from heaven to carry a message which is always a
revelation on his part and generally constitutes a warning
and a promise[230]. The angel Gabriel served as medium of
the revelation of the Koran to Mohammed[231]. Everybody has
two guardian angels, the one to record his good and the
other his evil deeds[232]. These angels also supervise the
work of the prophets and report back to Allâh[233]. Together
with Allâh they bless the believers and Mohammed[234]. The
angels fight on the side of the believers when they go to
war[235]; they call in the life of man at his death[236] and
have an important function in the process on the Day of
Judgement[237]. Finally the angels welcome the believers in
Paradise[238], while nineteen of them guard the unbelievers
in Hell[239].

Whereas the proper place of the angels is
heaven from where they descend and whither they return, the

djinn are invisible[240] inhabitants of the earth. The nearest they come to heaven is when they try to eavesdrop on the proceedings of the heavenly council[241]. They are not at all partners or relatives of Allâh[242], they are his creatures[243]. The purpose of their creation was that they should serve Allâh[244] to whom they are completely subjugated[245]. They are also objects of the Revelation: They listen intently to it[246] and those who reject it will be punished in Hell[247]. The evil in their hearts are instigated by Satan as it is in the case of man[248]. The believers amongst the djinn also refrain from giving Allâh partners[249]. Only a fool of the djinn will infringe himself against Allâh[250]. A remainder of the belief of the super-natural powers of the djinn is contained in the repeated accusation that Mohammed is a madjnûn[251] i.e. having the demonic inspiration that assists men to special knowledge.

A certain dualism is represented in the person of the Satan or, as he is called in the context of the creation, Iblîs[252]. Satan unites in his person all the powers in revolt against Allâh[253] and the Koran stamps him as anti-God when it refers to him as an object of idol-worship[254]. He causes men to commit sin[255] and then presents everything they do in a favourable light to them[256]. He adjures them to commit evil and abomination and speak irresponsibly of Allâh[257]. He prompts them to disbelief[258] and idolatry[259]. It is Satan that causes man to sin against his neighbour[260]. It is Satan who caused the ejection of man from Paradise and who is trying to prevent his re-entry

in the future[261].   He is the enemy because he wants
to separate man from Allâh[262]. Satan even attempted to
interfere with the Revelation Allâh gave to the prophets[263]
just as he ventured to make Mohammed forget[264]. Thus Satan
is the answer to the problem of the author of the evil.

              Nevertheless there is no complete dualism.
In accordance with Mohammed's strict monotheistic convictions
Satan is totally subjected to Allâh[265]. Allâh is not only
the author of good but he is also the ultimate author of all
ill. For this reason it can be said that Satan led astray
many people while elsewhere the very same action is ascribed
to Allâh[266]. In fact Satan himself acknowledges the
superiority of Allâh[267]. Thus Satan is powerful, but his
is a limited authority[268].

              The relation of Satan/Iblîs to the angels on
the one hand and to the djinn and the satans on the other
hand, has always been a problem to students of the Koran.
By nature Satan belonged, as one of the angels, to the
celestial court of Allâh[269]. When he was ejected from
Paradise Satan lost all the qualities of an angel. Since the
angels, djinn and Satan are described, named and known
almost exclusively in terms of their functions it is obvious
that Satan could no longer be classified as an angel i.e.
messenger of Allâh. For this reason Mohammed could con-
veniently group Satan with the djinn[270] who were guarded off
from heaven, did not have an intimate relationship with
Allâh, and were also liable to sin against Allâh. Eventually

the name of Satan was applied as a generic name to all
adversaries of Allâh i.e. to the followers of Satan amongst
the ranks of man, the djinn, and perhaps also the angels[271].
In the Semitic idiom this does not imply a physical or
genealogical relationship between Satan, the djinn and man[272]
but only a common purpose and aspiration[273].

5. Manifestations of Allâh.

Allâh is invisible to the human eye[274]. The
privilege to perceive Allâh with the eyes is reserved for
those who will meet their God with joy on the day of the
resurrection[275]. This presentation forms the natural
conclusion to the concept of Allâh as heavenly king. There
are nevertheless pericopes in the Koran to the effect that
Allâh could deliver his revelation in person to his servants.
Particularly interesting is the account of the meetings
between Moses and Allâh contained in Sûra XX. First Allâh
appeared to Moses in a fire, introducing himself as "Your
Lord, Allâh"[276]. On this occasion Moses received his
calling as a prophet and the firm assurance of Allâh's
assistance. When Moses visited Allâh on Sinai they conversed
freely without any intermediaries[277]. In a subsequent re-
interpretation these verses were brought in line with the
precept that man dare not see Allâh[278].

Strictly read Sûra LIII, 1-12 and 13-18 refer
to two different occasions when Mohammed had a vision of
Allâh[279], appearing to him in human form. In LXXXI, 15-29
the vision is however reinterpreted as a vision of the angel

used by Allâh to deliver the Revelation. Eventually both the visible appearance of Allâh and the immediate hearing of his voice were excluded[280].

Although man cannot see Allâh, everybody can experience his real presence in this world in the forces of nature. He is the light of the universe[281]. Both the normal phenomena of nature and the catastrophic forces are revelatory of his character[282]. Other less prominent manifestations of the presence of Allâh on the earth are:

a) The angels who are not always clearly distinguished from God of whom they are the representatives. On the contrary there is often a certain identification between Allâh and the angels as was already indicated. b) The face of God, an anthropomorphism with its origin in the worship of images, which reflects the most personal presence of Allâh, not only in the sanctuaries, but all over the earth[283]. c) The name of God which ensures his presence when it is mentioned in prayer or otherwise[284]. d) The sakîna of Sûra II, 248(249) which clearly represents the Hebrew Sh^{e}kîna, the post-Biblical Jewish concept of the visual presence of God on the earth[285].

6. The Holiness of Allâh:

Holiness is a distinctive quality of the deity in the Semitic world[286] that separates[287] him from the profane. As an epithet of Allâh it occurs only twice in the Koran[288]. The angels treat Allâh as holy, in their opinion

in contrast with man, who, they fear, will bring corruption and shed blood[289]. Since all three references to a holy territory[290] concern narratives of Moses firmly based in Old Testament tradition it is unwise to speculate on the communicative nature of the holiness of Allâh in the Koranic understanding. The sacred character of the Ka^{c}ba and other cult affairs does not concern us in the present context.

7. The Righteousness of Allâh:

S.M. Zwemer stated that Allâh does not appear bound by any standard of justice[291]. Daud Rahbar in his quest for the dominant note of the Koran's doctrine of Allâh discovered this dominant note to be the ethical doctrine of God's strict justice[292]. Both scholars were however mainly concerned with the relation between the predestination of man's actions by Allâh and the free will of man. We postpone our treatment of this burning topic to a following paragraph to devote ourselves to the direct statements of the Koran on the justice of Allâh.

Justice is a juridical term. It implies that right be done. It carries the idea of reward of virtue and punishment of vice in conformity to a given norm. In consequence the judge has to be unimpeachable. Because of the irreproachable character of Allâh he will suffice as witness[293] although normally at least two witnesses and in some cases at least four witnesses are required[294]. The use of the name of Allâh in an oath is a guarantee of its truth[295]

The justice of Allâh is revealed in his
action as judge[296]. On the Day of the Final Judgment be-
lievers as well as unbelievers will be met with justice[297].
Allâh will requite each according to his own deeds[298] and
no wrong will be done to anybody[299]. Sometimes hyperbole
is used: The believer will be rewarded only for his most
beautiful deeds[300], effacing his bad deeds[301], in fact
Allâh will double their reward[302]. The disbeliever on the
other hand will be punished according to his worst deeds[303],
but even then no wrong will be done[304]. The strict justice
Allâh exercises in his judgement is pictured in the image of
the just balance on which nobody will be wronged —— even
though it be the weight of a grain of mustard seed, Allâh
will have it registered[305]. In his judgement he is completely
free[306]. Allâh abhores injustice[307]. In summarized form
it may be said: Allâh is the best of judges[308].

In fact all judgement rests with Allâh[309]. As
such Allâh is also the source of the judgement of the affairs
of this world. To ensure justice in these affairs he sent
down his revelation which is perfectly reliable and just and
contains his law[310]. According to this law justice should
be administered, even to disbelievers[311]. If Allâh
punished man according to his iniquity, not a living creature
would be left on earth; but he is prepared to delay his
judgement until the Day of the Resurrection in order to give
man every possible opportunity[312] to conform with the law
of God i.e. to become a partaker of the Islâm[313]. As final
evidence of the justice of Allâh it should be pointed out

that he sent down his law not only to foreigners in the
Torah and the Gospel, but also to the Arabs in the Koran,
in a language they can understand[314].

The evidence proves Allâh to be a just God[315]
who will reward the upright abundantly and who will go to
great lenghts to give the wicked every opportunity of abso-
lution before he is finally doomed in agreement with his
deeds.

8. The Faithfulness of Allâh:

The Koran does not contain direct statements
on the faithfulness of God. The idea is nonetheless not
foreign. It is for example the presupposition of his
continuous sustenance of creation and the guarantee of the
future requital of man's conduct. The idea is also contained
in two epithets of Allâh contiguous to one another in the
catalogue of epithets in LIX, 23, viz. al-mu'min al-
muhaimin[316].

9. The Love of Allâh:

The Koran speaks freely of the love of God.
Love is an expression of affectionate devotion in an
interpersonal relationship. In the Koran the attribute
describing Allâh as the loving one implies, according to
the context, his benevolent, merciful and especially
forgiving attitude towards man[317]. In their turn the objects

of his love have an anxious desire to please Allâh[318].
They love their neighbours[319], follow his prophet[320],
do the good[321], do justice[322], purify themselves
ritually[323]; they are true to his covenant in fear of
him[324], trust in him[325], are patient[326], go to battle
on his behalf[327]. Their love for Allâh surpasses all
family ties[328], the fierce love of man for his possessions[329],
and the love of idolators for their gods[330]. Man experiences
the love of God in this world when God comes to his rescue[331].
Allâh does not love the unjust, the haughty sinner, him who
exceeds the proper bounds, etc.[332].

Allâh is the source of interhuman love[333].
Those who found their love on idols will discover that it is
impermanent[334]. On the other hand Allâh prepares love for
those who believe and do good works[335].

10. The Wrath of Allâh:

Less reference is made to the wrath of God
than to his love in the Koran. As is the case with his
love, the wrath of Allâh forms part of his action with
The root ghdb employed in the Koran to denote the
h of Allâh, is metonymically borrowed from an observation
the physiological expression of anger viz. a red-flushed
ce[336].

The Koranic concept of the wrath of Allâh is
sober. It contains nothing of the envious attitude towards

man encountered in the Babylonian pantheon[337]. It is the
action of God against sin, against the transgressors of his
precepts for proper conduct. As such the wrath of Allâh is
related to his action as judge. Thus the wrath of Allâh
inflames against those who exceed the proper bounds in
connection with acceptable food[338], against intentional
and unrighteous killing[339], against those who turn round
in the Djihâd[340], against those who commit perjury[341]. In
particular the wrath of Allâh is directed against the un-
grateful disbeliever who argues about him, refuses to accept
his signs in nature and Scripture and ascribes partners to him
or worships idols[342]. This reflects a holy concern for the
exclusiveness of the divine person of Allâh. The wrath of
Allâh amounts to nothing less than punishment by him;
consequently the two concepts occur synonymous in the Koran[343].
Finally it is interesting to note that the Koran prescribes
forgivingness in case of human wrath[344].

11. The Wisdom of Allâh:

For the Moslem all problems end in, or are
lost in, a reference to the knowledge of God, as Kenneth
Cragg rightly observed[345]. Already in the Koran unknown
facts are rested in and referred to the unfailing knowledge
of Allâh[346]. The numerous references in the Koran to Allâh's
knowledge are not restricted to this usage. Mohammed pro-
claimed the perfect permeating knowledge[347] of Allâh from
whom nothing is concealed in the earth nor in the heaven.
Everything which plunges man into mystery —— the contents of

the mother's womb[348], the growth of living beings[349],
knowledge of the future[350] — is comprehended by his
knowledge in the most complete manner.

There are diverse factors which give occasion
to the knowledge of Allâh: a) He knows everything because
he created everything[351]. b) Allâh is graphically de-
scribed as observing everything. He sits on his throne,
hearing and seeing all that takes place in the universe[352].
c) Allâh knows everything on the strength of the heavenly
Book in which everything is written down[353]. This Book is
unchangeable and it can only be interpreted and explained by
Allâh[354]. It is called the "mother of Scripture", that is
to say, it is the source of the Jewish, Christian and
Moslem Scripture[355]. This knowledge belongs only to Allâh
but he did not keep it to himself, he communicated it to
man by means of his Revelation which he sent down from
heaven[356]. By his revelation Allâh taught man the proper
conduct in moral, religious and related issues[357]. He even
instructed him how to put his natural environment into
practical use to the advantage of mankind[358]. The Koran is
the revealed wisdom of God[359]. While the believers share
in this wisdom[360], ignorance and stupidity is synonymous
with unbelief[361].

The phrase ya^{c}lamu Allâh (God knows) is used
in Arabic as a form of asseveration. This parallels a Koranic
application of the knowledge of God viz. to act as insurance
for the fulfilment of an oath[362], to act as proof of the

genuiness of the message of the prophets[363] and to act as guarantee for just forensic conduct[364]. Man lives under the threat of the knowledge of Allâh: He will be brought on trial before God on the Day of Judgement to account for all his actions, including his innermost secrets; nothing can be hidden from God[365]. On the other hand the knowledge of Allâh can be to man's advantage when it means his sympathetic, benevolent and forgiving understanding of human weaknesses[366].

Finally there are a number of texts which postulate that there are things which lay outside the knowledge of Allâh: He has to put man to the test to determine who fears him in the secret[367]; he sends two guards to accompany his messengers so that he may know that they have indeed conveyed the messages of their Lord[368]. Since it has never been the purpose of the Koran to supply a closed system of dogmatical doctrines it would be a gross mistake to find in the evidence of this paragraph an implacable contradiction to the Koran's categorical assertions concerning the all-comprising knowledge of Allâh.

12. The will of Allâh.

In line with Islamic theology a bilingual (Arabic - Afrikaans) catechism written towards the end of the 19th century for use in South Africa, describes Allâh as "the willing one"[369]. Indeed the free and unlimited will of Allâh constituted an essential part of Mohammed's

preaching according to the Koran. Thus we read that Allâh creates whatever he wishes[370] and that he can replace this creation at any time with a new one, should he care to do so[371]. Even man's destiny in the hereafter, i.e. his reward in the Garden or his punishment in Gehenna, is held in suspense of the will of Allâh[372]. His free will implies that no restrictions, not even moral restrictions, can be applied to God[373].

The free will of Allâh has as inevitable complement his all-embracing power[374]. Consequently his will constitutes at the same time the reality, the existence of what he wills. When he wishes something he merely says: Be, and it is[375]. Thus not only everything that exists, but also the contingent is object of the will of Allâh and exists only by virtue of his will. Even the changing length of the shadows and the movements of the winds are objects of his will[376]. This inescapability of the will of God contains in itself the kernel of determinism. Accordingly the Koran states that man can bring about for himself neither benefit nor harm outside the will of Allâh[377]; in fact also the will of man is dependant on the will of Allâh[378]. The adversaries of Mohammed, quick to realise the implications of this doctrine, took advantage of it: If Allâh did not wish them to ascribe partners to him neither they nor their ancestors could do so, since the actions of man is dependant on the will of God. Considering that they are ascribing partners to Allâh it can not be against his will[379]. Following the same line of reasoning the disbelievers also

refused to contribute to the support of poor Moslems: "Shall we feed those whom Allâh, if He willed, would feed?"[380].

Mohammed quoted these fatalistic conclusions of the unbelievers to claim that they are invalid, erroneous and wild guesses. In spite of them he preserved the tension between the limitless authority of Allâh, determining man's every action, on the one hand, and the freedom of the human will on the other hand which makes man unescapably responsible for every deed[381]. Both these aspects are contained in Sûra XIII, 27: "Allâh sends astray whom he will, but he leads unto him whosoever turns repentantly unto him"[382]. Allâh permits the disbelievers for the time being to ascribe partners to him, but should he so wish, he would have guided them all right and they would not be able to give him partners[383].

It is true that Allâh wishes no good in the Hereafter for those inclined to disbelief. Nevertheless the Koran maintains that the will of Allâh is motivated by an attitude of good-will towards man[384]. It is noteworthy in this context that the phrase Deo volente (in shâ'a Allâh) always implies in its Koranic employment that God will facilitate and make successful the intended actions of man[385]. Accordingly the present writer came across the use of the words in shâ'a Allâh on an amulet, apparently utilised to ease the way of the bearer through life.

13. Allâh as king:

The word mlk is a designation of divinity or the equivalent of a divine proper name throughout the ancient Semitic world[386]. The concept and name "king" naturally had its origin in a pure mundane context. Since the king occupied the position of highest authority in society on earth the concept of king was a most suitable metaphor to apply to God.

As we already had occasion to mention Allâh is described in the Koran as a mighty king sitting on a tremendous throne in the midst of his heavenly court. This court consists of angels standing in rows around the throne. Allâh takes counsel with them and uses them as messengers, while they in turn worship him reverently, serving him as earthly slaves would wait upon their king[387]. Here we wish to single out some additional aspects of the presentation of Allâh as king.

The absolute kingship of Allâh has as a result that earthly kings rule only by his grace[388] and that nothing escapes his final authority[389]. Here we have the Koranic basis of the theocratic state in which the head of the state rules in the name of Allâh. Furthermore the kingship of Allâh implies in the Koran that everything belongs to Allâh, that he possesses the universe[390]. Finally Allâh exercises his kingly authority when he acts as judge on the Day of the Final Judgement[391].

C. <u>The Action of Allâh according to the Koran.</u>

The Koran is interested less in the nature of
Allâh than in his work. It is not interested in speculations
about his existence. It is concerned with his living presence
in this world, revealed in his creative action in nature and
in his dealings with man.

1. <u>The instruments of God's Action</u>:

In several places the Koran pictures a most
personal intervention of Allâh in his creation. In anthropo-
morphic language it is described how Allâh built the heaven
with his own hands and how he formed man like a potter[392].
Such similes and metaphors do not detract from Allâh's trans-
cendence which is maintained throughout the Koran. The gap be-
tween a transcendent God and his creation can be bridged in
several ways. We already referred to the angels as intermedia-
ries between Allâh and man. Now we have to consider the Spirit
and the Word as representative of God's immanence in his work
of creation.

a) <u>The Spirit</u>:

The Koranic data on the Spirit are little and of
a divergent character. But also to the hearers of Mohammed the role
of the Spirit was unintelligible. We read in Sûra XVII, 85(87):

They keep on asking you, Mohammed, about the Spirit.
Tell them this: The Spirit belongs to the rule[393] of my
Lord and you are given only a little knowledge about it.

Allâh blew of his Spirit into Adam when he created the first man[394]. The virgin birth of Jesus was also effected when Allâh blew of his Spirit into Mary[395]. This personal intervention of Allâh at the birth of Jesus, for which after Adam only he was singled out, placed Jesus in the same category as the first Adam[396]. It also justified the application of the epithet "spirit of Allâh" to Jesus in a context where Mohammed had to grapple with the Christian doctrine of the trinity[397].

Allâh used the holy Spirit[398] to support Jesus just as he uses his Spirit to the support of every believer[399]. The Spirit is also the conveyer of the Revelation[400]. In this context the Spirit is associated with the angels and seemingly to be identified with Gabriel[401]. Thus the Spirit appeared to Mary in the likeness of a handsome man[402] and on the Day of Judgement the Spirit will stand with the angels before Allâh[403]. Five times the Spirit is connected with the amr[404] of Allâh.

b) The Word:

The whole process of God's action with the world and in the world is concentrated in the Koranic concept of his word. To begin with it is necessary to refer again to the fundamental idea of Semitic thought, of which the Koran is part, that a word, once spoken, already constitutes the reality of its contents. As such the word has a certain independant existence: The good word ascends[405] to Allâh;

it is likened to a tree; if the Koran descends upon a mountain it will be rent asunder[406]. Also of the creative command of Allâh we read that it descends through the seven heavens and the seven earths, and that it returns to him[407].

This dual character of the word viz. a verbal nature on the one hand and a material on the other hand comprises Allâh's dealing with the universe. First of all the word is the creative instrument of Allâh by which everything that exists came to be; Allâh merely says: Be! and it is[408]. Since this formula is explicitly used of Jesus, he may be called a (corporeal) word from Allâh[409]. Not only the material world, but also the events of history are the fulfilment of the word of Allâh[410] just as his command determines the order of nature[411]. Though man's whole life is subjected to the word of Allâh, it is often mentioned in an eschatological context in the Koran: It is because of the word of Allâh that the division between believers and disbelievers is postponed to the Day of Judgement[412]; it is in agreement with this word that some will fill Djahannam[413] whereas it is good news in both this and the coming world for the believer[414]. The Day of Judgement itself may simply be called the amr Allâh[i] [415].

The verbal aspect of God's word is above all contained in the directions he gave man by means of his apostles i.e. in his Revelation as it is written down in Scripture[416]. Since nature and Scripture are two aspects of the same word of God, the term âyât "signs" could be

applied to both[417]. For man can read his demands in nature
as well as in Scripture.

Allâh is then understood to have spoken[418].
Mohammed believed in God and his word[419]. The action of
the word distinguishes Allâh from the idols[420]. The golden
calf of the Israelites could even low, but it could not
speak[421]. The human word is not comparable to the word of
Allâh for his word carries the highest authority[422]. Nobody
can change or replace his word[423]. He alone determines
reality through his word which is without bound or limit,
indeterminable in extent[424]. Thus everything begins,
exists and ends in dependence on the eternal word of Allâh.

2. Allâh, the creator of the world:

The action which is first and foremost
assigned to Allâh in the Koran is his action as creator[425].
Allâh is the only cause of everything[426], but his own
existence is exalted above a creative or generative process
of origination: He did not beget nor was he begotten[427].
There is no theogony and the cosmogony is completely sub-
jected to the free and transcendent will of Allâh. The only
elements of conflict concerning the creation are contained in
the narratives about the objection of the angels, under
leadership of Iblîs, against the creation of man. But the
context clearly states that this episode did not encroach
upon the authority of Allâh[428]. The existence of the
universe is not centred in itself, but in Allâh who

determines time and space. In the Koran creation is not
a matter pertaining to the natural sciences. It is an
affair of the history of man, part of the action of God
with him.

In the prophetic preaching of the Koran the
creative deeds are a grandiose witness to the inescapable
power and the incomparability of Allâh[429]. Awareness of the
creation should lead man to realise humbly his creaturely status
before Allâh who can easily replace him by somebody else[430].
The creation should convince him of the reality of the
resurrection[431]. Allâh created the sun and the moon, the
heavens and the earth, there is no limit to his power[432].
Mohammed rejected the Jewish blasphemy that God was in need
of rest after the creation[433]. Allâh creates with ease[434].
The inability of the idols, and the partners ascribed to
Allâh, to create the smallest creature, even in combined
effort, illustrates their powerlessness and the incom-
parability of Allâh[435]. It is absurd to think of another
creator next to Allâh[436].

The creation was not the result of the
passionate, arbitrary despotism of God or the product of
an incalculable inane game. Allâh created man in esteem[437],
he gave him a most beautiful harmonious form[438]. He endowed
man with the gifts of sight and hearing[439] and he created
the human couple[440]. Nature was arranged in accordance with
the needs of man to secure his existence: It is Allâh who
causes the green pasturage to sprout out and grow[441], which

is a phenomenon of particular importance for people who
essentially rely on the rearing of grazing livestock
(sheep, camels, cattle, goats, donkeys and horses) for
a living. Allâh created these animals and subjected them
to man, and they supply him with transport, clothing, food
and drink[442]. It is again Allâh who created fruit
trees, such as date-palms, and corn[443]. Most
important of all, God presented man with the gift of water[444].
The creation is a mirror by which the wise providence of
the almighty God is reflected. All these kindnesses demon-
strate that Allâh has disposed the earth for mankind. Even
the sun and the moon are created on behalf of man, to be a
light on his path and to enable him to calculate the number
of years[445].

The Koran is outspoken that Allâh carefully
planned the universe and gave man a central place in it. It
is the duty of man to observe the creation and to read God's
intentions from it. He should realise that his creator has
a claim on him to be obeyed and thanked [446]. It should
prove to him the benefacting and irrefutable truth of the
verbal âyât of God, revealed by his messenger Mohammed[447].
It should convince him of the unity and omnipotence of the
only God, Allâh[448]. In breathless admiration of the
miraculous creation man should join in the creaturely choir
of praise and worship of Allâh[449]. Allâh placed man in
this world to put him to the test[450]. Thus the creation
is for man a matter of the utmost seriousness. Its existence
is the prelude to and the proof of God's new and coming

creation when man will go on trial for all his deeds before
the God of Judgement[451].

3. Allâh and man:

In the Koran man is described in his relation
to Allâh. There is hardly a more prominent theme in the
Koran than the preaching of the coming judgement of the
righteous God over obstinate mankind, coupled with a call
to penitence and conversion. Consequently the Koranic
portrayal of man is rather grim: He trespasses the command-
ments of God, he is disobedient, he forgot the covenant
with Allâh, tells lies about Allâh, associates with the
djinn against Allâh[452]. Men have hearts but they think
not, eyes but they see not, ears but they hear not ---
they are worse than straying cattle[453]. When they are in
distress they invoke Allâh but in prosperity they forget
about him[454]. Man is avaricious with what he received from
Allâh, quarrelsome about the Revelation and hardened against
Allâh[455]. Allâh gives man everything he asks for, his
bounty cannot be calculated but man is a wrong-doer, an
ingrate[456]. Man's misfortunes are the result of his own
handiwork[457]. In his mercy Allâh nevertheless elected man,
he turned again towards him and guides him by means of the
Revelation[458]. Over those who remain ungrateful disbelievers
the sentence of death is pronounced[459].

Man may try to escape from the regions of
heaven and earth in order to escape from Allâh but Allâh is

always close to him, closer than his jugular vein[460]. Man
remains ever dependent on Allâh even for his weak creaturely
existence[461]. The proper attitude and place of man before
Allâh is that of a servant or slave, ^{c}abd, before his
master, Rabb[462]. It is in fact for this purpose that man
was created, viz. to be the obedient ^{c}abd of God[463]. This
word ^{c}abd is therefore commonly used in the sense of "believer"
in the Koran[464], and its meaning of servile submission has
the same contents as the word muslim. It is expressly denied
that a human being can be called "child of Allâh"[465], and
the epithet ab, father, is carefully avoided in connection
with Allâh. A genealogical relationship between Allâh and
man is completely unthinkable. The relationship between
Allâh and the believer can be described in terms of love, as
was indicated above, while the unfaithful are objects of his
wrath. It remains to be added here that the believer often
experiences his attitude towards Allâh as one of fear or
religious awe[466].

Man is part of creation and at that not
even the most impressive creative product of Allâh, for the
creation of the heavens and the earth is more grandiose[467].
Nevertheless Allâh put man in a position of unrelated[468]
superiority over the whole of creation. Allâh subordinated
it to his rule[469]. Even the angels had to kneel down before
the first man[470]. Moreover, Allâh appointed man to be
his viceroy, or deputy[471] on this earth. Hence the central
position of man in the plan of God and his responsibility[472]
towards God.

Allâh created man within the framework of a
community or society formed with fellow men, interrelated
by genealogical ties[473]. The institution of the family,
even the larger family or tribe (consisting of members of the
same blood and name) which existed in pre-Islamic Arabia
was upheld by the "Book of Allâh"[474]. Nevertheless the
believers find themselves to be members of a new family
circle of which Mohammed is the father and his wives the
mothers[475]. A member of this new family circle will neglect
his former ties when they are not in accord with his love for
Allâh and his prophet[476]. In this new community man gives
freely of his possessions to the poor, he is even prepared
to sacrifice his life in battle for the cause of Allâh[477].
Allâh is of more importance than life or possessions. The
things of this world fade away in view of man's reward in
the life to come when he will have his heart's desire. In
the ritual prayer he humbles himself before Allâh and mentions
the name of his God to praise him[478].

4. Allâh and History:

The cyclic course of nature, the sequence of
night and day and the regular return of the seasons, is one
of the first things of nature man observes. The poly-
theist believed that his life and history moved with the
powers of nature in their never-ending cycle. The basic
religious literature of the polytheist was therefore not
primarily concerned with history or with the life of man on
earth, but with the life of the gods, which is the life

of nature. The myths, the stories of the loves and wars
of the gods, as told, for example, in the Babylonian
creation epic, explained to a particular society the way
of the universe to which it must adjust[479].

Just as in the Old Testament, Allâh is not
part of the personified nature. As the creator Allâh has
complete authority over his creation and nothing happens
unless he wishes it. There is no place for dualism or
coincidence. He initiated the creation and to this day he
brings about everything by his creative intervention[480].
Time began on the day of the creation and thus also history[481].
The Koran describes history as the action of Allâh with the
different peoples, the Jews, the Christians, the Sabaeans,
the peoples of ^{c}Âd, Thamûd and of Shu^{c}aib. Now Allâh also
sent Mohammed to his people with an Arabic message. The
dealings of Allâh with these peoples are exemplary of his
future action with the Arabs. In his narration of the
stories of these peoples, Mohammed was not concerned with
the virtues or vices of figures from the past, but with the
deeds of God. Thus Allâh is not only the initiator of events,
but he also binds himself to historical events to make them
the manifestation of his purpose. In passing it is interesting
to point out in this context that the holy place of pre-
Islamic worship was brought within Islamic tradition by
presenting the venerable Ka^{c}ba as founded by the ancestor
of the Moslems, father Abraham[482].

Allâh created man, but he is mortal. His life is terminated[483). At his death he returns to the earth until the new creation when Allâh will rouse him to go on trial. The moment of this Judgement is known only to Allâh[484). On this occasion the believers will be rewarded with the unthinkable pleasures of Paradise, while the disbeliever will be severely punished in Hell[485). The two main events of history are the act of creation at the beginning and the Judgement at the end. Between these two events every man lives and by these events his life is determined. In view of the coming Judgement Mohammed preaches conversion to Allâh, who as the creator has every claim on man. Mohammed substantiates his preaching with reference to Allâh's former dealings with the peoples mentioned above. In accordance with the purpose of Mohammed's preaching these references mostly have the character of punishment-stories.

History is not repristinated in an eternal cycle. It takes a linear course, following the plan of Allâh. History also proves the truth of the word of Allâh. It shows that he is faithful to act out his word, as it was conveyed by his servants, the prophets.

5. Allâh and the Religious Institutions[486).

a) The ministry:

Allâh created man to represent him on earth.

To guarantee his rule on earth Allâh has made use of kings in the past[487]. Amongst the Arabs[488] this function of ruler was combined in the person of Mohammed with that of the prophet or apostle, who expressed by his message God's action in history[489]. The important position of Mohammed is reflected in the Koran: Obedience to Allâh and his apostle is prescribed[490], he is to receive of the spoils of war[491]. One should act in a becoming manner towards the Prophet and not cause annoyance to him[492]; resistance against him will be severely punished[493]. One should not speak loudly in the presence of Mohammed[494]. Belief in Allâh is reflected in one's attitude towards his representative, Mohammed.

Some verses imply that Mohammed came to be regarded as superhuman or endowed with supernatural powers[495]. Mohammed denied these assertions. He emphasized that he was only a mortal human[496]. He was a prophet, a messenger of God, but his task and responsibility was merely that of a warner[497]. He was not different from previous prophets or apostles. They were made liars, derided and killed by their enemies[498]. To such humiliations and dangers Mohammed was also subjected[499]. Mohammed maintained that his every action and whatever authority he might have, rested in Allâh[500]. He was a mere instrument in the hand of God. Thus he judged between the people on the basis of what God had shown him[501]. And thus even his most personal life up to small domestic matters was regulated by direct revelations from Allâh[502]. This aspect is underlined in the saying of ^{c}Â'isha to the

Prophet: "Your Lord seems to be very quick in fulfilling your wishes"[503]. True to his office as a prophet Mohammed stood in unceasing relationship with Allâh, dependent on him not only in important matters, but also in numerous daily trivialities. He was seized in his totality by his God. His task was to confront man with Allâh and to bring man in the correct relationship with him.

b) The Cult:

Those who resigned themselves to the will of God serve him. The private as well as the official worship of Allâh consists, first of all, of the regular performance of the ritual prayer, the salâ[504], also referred to as the mention, dhikr[505], or the invocation, du^{c}â[506], of Allâh. The character and purpose of the salât is however better described by still another name for it, viz. the praise or glorification of Allâh[507]. In fact the word salâ has no Arabic etymology, but is an Aramaic loanword, used by Jews as well as Christians in the meaning of (ritual) prayer. The Aramaic root means 'to bend, to incline', thence 'to prostrate'. Indeed the prostration represents the most striking bodily posture of the salât in which the worshipper touches the floor with his forehead in humble adoration of Allâh, seeking his grace and approval[508].

Since Allâh is holy, it is becoming that man approach him only in a state of ritual purity to ensure the

fulness of his grace[509]. Ritual purity is coupled with repentance[510]. Allâh will not purify the hearts of those who refuse to accept Mohammed's message[511]. In addition to the ritual ablusions the believer is to abstain from wine-drinking and the eating of certain animals[512]. In passing it is most interesting that Allâh himself purified the little Moslem army on its way to Badr with rain from heaven[513].

The worship of Allâh must be pure[514], which means that no partners should be ascribed to him[515] and that his Prophet be obeyed[516]. In referring to the worship of Allâh the Koran often combines the giving of alms with the salât[517]. Thus the worship of Allâh attained an ethical standard of beneficence, exercised between man and fellow-man, of love towards the neighbour[518].

The heathen Arabs carried out certain religious ceremonies with respect to their cattle and reserved the use of some animals and fruits of the earth for their gods[519]. These practices implied recognition of the gods and were abolished by the Koran. Allâh himself does not need any sustenance or food from man[520]. Allâh does demand the abstention of the eating of certain unclean things[521] and blood[522] but in cases of emergency this need not be observed[523]. Meat should also be rendered fit for eating by the pronouncement of the name Allâh at the slaughtering[524].

Sacrifices were never part of the regular

public worship of Allâh and the Koran always mentions them in connection with the pilgrimage to the Ka^{c}ba in Mecca, without an exposition of its purpose[525]. It is a modified continuation of pagan customs and references to it date from the Medinic period[526]. The meat was eaten and devided between the poor[527]. This verse (XII, 36(37), in which an eucharistic element may be detected, calls on the gratitude of man. It is expressly mentioned that Allâh does not receive the flesh and blood; Allâh accepts the devotion of man[528].

Fasting is imposed as a penance for ritual transgressions and sins[529]. The fast of Ramaḍân may be characterized as a thank-offering for Allâh's guidance and deliverance of the Arabs by means of the Koran[530].

An important part of the pagan ritual was the istiqsâm, their oracular medium for which purpose divination-arrows or wooden sticks had been used. Since Allâh revealed his will in the Koran, such a practice is no longer necessary, and it is forbidden to use the Koran itself for such purposes[531].

c) The sacred place:

In one of the oldest sûras, dating from the beginning of Mohammed's public preaching, he already associated his God with the Ka^{c}ba[532]. After a long silence, following Mohammed's breach with the religion of his countrymen, the Prophet reverted to this ancient Arab sanctuary

when he changed the qibla of the salât to Mecca in the Medinan period[533]. The Ka[c]ba with its surrounding harâm area is a typical example of the Semitic sanctuary. Originally considered as the dwellingplace[534] of God, the believers still regard the Ka[c]ba as a place where Allâh's presence is as real as if he were physically present, even though there is no fashioned image of him and even though the venerated Black Stone is not revered as his idol[535]. The Ka[c]ba was the first sanctuary founded on earth[536]. Allâh prescribed the pilgrimage to the Ka[c]ba[537].

The Ka[c]ba is also called the Sacred Mosque[538]. The need for local places of worship led to the establishment of additional mosques already during the lifetime of the Prophet[539]. One of the first of these mosques was built by Mohammed himself[540]. The central position of the Ka[c]ba was nevertheless maintained since all mosques are constructed in such a way that the worshippers face the Ka[c]ba in prayer. By the mentioning of the name of Allâh in these mosques, his presence is secured[541]. Moslems always considered it more meritorious to do the salât in the mosque than to perform it at home and it is obligatory to go to the mosque for the Friday salât[542].

6. Some eschatological Aspects:

Mohammed was not unacquainted with the idea of sin as revolt against God[543]. Accordingly the Koran repeatedly announces the punishment of those who do evil by the

fires of Hell [544]. In his mercy, however, Allâh never punishes unless he first sent his messengers, the prophets, to warn their peoples[545]. The Final Judgement is already made partially real in each of the judgements which took place in the unfolding of history. Therefore Allâh's action with previous peoples has educational value[546]. This educational purpose is also served when the hand of a thief is cut off in the Moslem community as an exemplary punishment from Allâh[547].

The principle of the lex talionis is accepted in interhuman relationships, particularly in case of murder[548]. Similarly the punishment by Allâh may be seen as an application of this principle[549]. As indicated above, Allâh does not accept sacrifices in expiation of sin. The allowance of substitutory offerings when the prescriptions concerning the pilgrimage and the fast could not be observed, has no significance in this context[550]. But there are certain meritorious deeds to the value of the expiation of sin[551]: Restraint from retaliation[552]; the giving of alms[553]; the salât[554]; to be killed in the Djihâd[555]. The pilgrimage is not mentioned by the Koran in this context[556].

Above all the Koran stresses that man should turn in repentance to Allâh[557]. Allâh will return in repentance from his wrath (yatûbu) to those who repent their sins (yatûbûna)[558]; Allâh will change their sins into good deeds, he is forgiving and merciful[559].

Sin[560] is in the Koran more a token of man's

weakness[561], than it is of his revolt against Allâh.
Allâh created man weak, therefore his intention is not
to make things too difficult for man[562]. Unintentional
sins and sins due to circumstances of emergency will be
forgiven by Allâh for he is merciful[563]. For the believer
it means that nothing can part him from the graceful mercy
of God. Therefore the Day of Judgement can also be described
in conjunction with Allâh's mercy[564]. Only those who persist
in serious sins, particularly the ascribing of partners to
Allâh, will receive no mercy[565]. Allâh saves in his free
grace whomsoever he wishes but those who are doomed to Hell
receive their rightful punishment for their disbelief and
evil deeds according to the justice of God. For the believer
his salvation on the Day of Judgement is the triumph of the
grace of Allâh just as the creation of man resulted from his
will and benevolence.

Only Allâh knows when the hour of the Judgement
has come[566]. Allâh postpones the Judgement so that the
unbelievers can increase in sin, though it also means that
there is still opportunity for conversion[567]. Nevertheless
the postponement is only for a fixed period[568]. The Last
Day is called the "Day of Resurrection" of the dead by Allâh;
the "Day of the Gathering" of men to the presence of God; the
"Day of the Meeting" of men with Allâh; the "Day of Distinc-
tion" when the believers are separated from the disbelievers[569].
The sudden dawn of the Last Day is attended with a cosmic
upheaval, described most picturesquely in order to under-
line the overwhelming omnipotence of Allâh and to inspire man

with a salutary awe for the hour of exposure. Everything will perish, save the face of Allâh[570]. The rule and the command will belong to Allâh alone[571].

The Judgement itself is described as a lawsuit scene. Everybody will appear individually before Allâh, the Judge[572]. Then the books will be opened. The angels will hand the record of every man's deeds to him. The righteous will hold his account in his right hand and the bad man will hide his behind his back or keep it in his left hand[573]. Subsequently man's deeds will be weighed on the balance[574] and no injustice will be done: Whosoever did an atom's weight of good will see it then, and whosoever did an atom's weight of evil will see it then[575]. Wealth or powerful kinsmen will not influence Allâh[576]. Even a man's tongue, hands and feet will witness against him[577]. Then the verdict is pronounced resulting in either everlasting bliss or everlasting torment.

The believer will praise and serve Allâh[578] as it should be, together with the angels. No single power of opposition to Allâh will any longer be at work. In the fires of Hell Satan and the ungrateful, disobedient unbelievers will regret and repent eternally. In the end Allâh sits in exalted majesty on his throne, as it was in the beginning.

C H A P T E R   S I X

ALLÂH   IN   THE   EARLY   MOSLEM   THEOLOGY

In the previous chapter we had reason to
suspect that Mohammed later reinterpreted certain Koranic
passages to bring it in line with the precept that   mortal,
earthbound man dare not see Allâh. The visio dei would later
become one of the focal points of dogmatic dispute when it
was interpreted as implying anthropomorphism. The stimulation
and need of a doctrinal formulation of faith were however due
to external factors as is already suggested by its essentially
apologetic character.

During the seventh century the Moslem Arabs
conquered Persia and a large part of the Byzantine empire.
The conquerors appropriated the mixed culture of Roman law,
Greek wisdom and religious speculation they encountered in
these countries. But more particularly the ^{c}ilm al-kalâm[1)]
was influenced by discussions between Moslems and Christians
like John of Damascus, the last great theologian of the Greek
Orthodox Church (died about 748 A.D.), whose grandfather and
father, and for a short period he himself, occupied the
position of financial administrator of Damascus, the new
capital of the Umayyad empire.

A. The first formal schism of Moslems.

The first formal doctrinal split was never-

theless sparked off by internal political schism. It coin-
cided with the battle of Siffîn (657 A.D.) when the Umayyad
dynasty began with Mu^{C}âwiya while the followers of ^{C}Alî were
divided into the loyal Shî^{C}ites and the alienated, hostile
Khâridjites. All these parties claimed to be Moslems. Most
of them also claimed that they were the only true Moslems and
that the others were unbelievers.

The issue was basically the political question
of the legitimate succession to the leadership of the state.
Since Mohammed instituted the idea of the theocratic state,
religious involvement could not be avoided and the worldliness
of the Umayyads made a religious verdict urgent: It became
necessary to describe the terms "believer, sinner, unbeliever".
Since ^{C}Alî was of the family of the Prophet, the Shî^{C}ites
believed that the Caliphate belonged to ^{C}Alî and his descendants
by Divine right. In the course of time ^{C}Alî became deified,
comparable to the incarnate Logos.

Like the Shî^{C}ites, the Khâridjites considered
the Umayyads to be godless heathen who professed Islam.
According to their conception ^{C}Alî had committed a mortal sin
by not defending to the end a sacred leadership which by the
will of Allâh had been entrusted to him. They rejected the
doctrine of justification by faith without works. According
to them anyone who is guilty of a grave sin is no longer a
Moslem. Their ideal was to establish the Kingdom of God
upon earth.

B. The precursors of the kalâm.

Soon a dilemma which was much debated in the Eastern Christian Church gave occasion to much controversy in Islamic circles viz. the omnipotence of God and the free action of man. In other words the basic problem was the contradiction between man's consciousness of freedom and responsibility, on the one hand, and the absolute rule and predestination of Allâh, on the other. The Qadarites, one of the most early purely religious sects, held that man possesses power (qadar) over his actions and thus continued the thought of a minority group of the Khâridjites, which would later be developed by the Mu^{c}tazilites[2]. In direct opposition to the Qadarites, the Djabarites denied the freedom of the will. On this point they made no distinction between man and inanimate nature for both are subordinate to the compulsion of Allâh so that in reality only Allâh acts.

Another sect of the early Islam, the Murdji'ites, were of the opinion that a Moslem does not cease to be a Moslem through sins so that works became rather irrelevant to faith. In direct contrast with the Khâridjites they held that a political leader who was guilty of mortal sins did not cease to be a Moslem. Consequently they could still support the Umayyads without homologating all their actions. They believed that faith alone saves man and that a believer in Allâh and his Prophet will not remain in Hell. They did not judge a Moslem who sinned but left it to Allâh on the Day of Judgement.

C. The Mu^Ctazilites.

These debates inaugurated rationalism in the
Islam. Human reason (^Caql) was given a central place in
Moslem theology by the Mu^Ctazilites. Nevertheless they
remained in the first place theologians, motivated by what
they regarded as a need for theodicy. They had political
connections with the Shî^Cites and later with the ^CAbbâsids
but their theological origin is ascribed to Wâsil ibn ^CAtâ
(died 748 A.D.). In opposition to orthodox fatalism they
regarded it unthinkable that Allâh should punish man for
actions not in his control. The freedom of the human will
is an a priori certainty, man possesses qadar over his own
actions. Allâh is the God of justice who will requite every-
body only according to his deeds. It is also unthinkable that
Allâh could do evil. Therefore evil and wickedness originates
either from the devil or from the free will of man who are
both responsible for their acts. In fact Allâh has to do
the best (al-aslah) and he cannot act otherwise. He created
the best of worlds and he acts continually to the advantage
of his servants.

During the eighth and ninth centuries when
Baghdâd was the ^CAbbâsid capital, Platonic thought and Aris-
totelean ideas in neoplatonic garb entered Islam. After
the example of discussions in the Eastern Christian Church
on the persons in the Christian Trinity which some explained
as hypostatized qualities, the being of Allâh, his names and
his qualities received the attention of speculative theology.

The Mu[c]tazilites interpreted all anthropomorphisms away from the Koran. The existence of the attributes of God implies either a certain dualism in the person of Allâh or the existence of the attributes beside him both of which are unthinkable since they would destroy his unity[3]. Therefore they reduced the attributes to knowledge and power and did not distinguish e.g. knowledge as a separate attribute to Allâh, but described it as identical with his being or essence: Allâh is knowledge. The result was that the attributes were hardly more than nominal distinctions in their system. They preferred to describe Allâh by the via negationis. In this way they sought to prevent any possible pluriformity in the being of Allâh. They rejected the idea of an eternal uncreated Koran. According to them it was possible to know Allâh and distinguish good from evil without any Revelation at all. Their doctrines regarding Allâh can be aptly summarized in the name they gave themselves: ahl al-tauhîd wa-al-[c]adl, the people who maintain the divine unity and the justice of Allâh in connection with the requital of human actions.

This rationalistic but puritanic movement never succeeded to stir the imagination of the people and its proclamation as religion of the state under the [c]Abbâsid Caliph al-Ma'mûn (813-833 A.D.) and his institution of inquisitional measures only served to provoke the hostility of the masses. Nevertheless the Mu[c]tazilites rendered Islam an invaluable service to make it acceptable to the educated non-Arabs, especially in the newly-conquered territories.

D. The Ash^Carites.

In 848 A.D. Caliph al-Mutawakkil restored orthodoxy to the detriment of Mu^Ctazilism. The reasoning of the Mu^Ctazilites surpassed the comprehension of many ordinary believers while the orthodox rejected it as a depletion, a kenosis of the being of God. The orthodox reaction centred in al-Ash^Carî (died 935 A.D.) who has been a Mu^Ctazilite himself, but deserted to the orthodox. He employed the tools of reason to combat the Mu^Ctazilites in their own terminology. As such he was the founder of orthodox scholasticism. In his school the system was formulated which to this day is the basis of the orthodox position.

In the bitter dispute whether the Koran was created by Allâh, or uncreated, he held that it was eternal in Allâh but that its expression in words was created in time. The Ash^Carites rejected the Mu^Ctazilite doctrine of al-aslah and held that Allâh is under no such constraint. He is free to do good or evil as he chooses. What Allâh does is the best, not because he is so obliged, but because he does it[4]. Al-Ash^Carî contented himself with the position that the anthropomorphisms and the attributes were to be taken bi-lâ kaif wa-lâ tashbîh, i.e. without inquiring persistently into the nature and possibility of such things in God as the Mu^Ctazilites used to do and without comparing these things in Allâh to the corresponding things in men like the Karrâmites.

As to the vexed question of predestination and free-will he struck a middle path between the old orthodox fatalism and the Mu^{c}tazilite principle of justice: Allâh is the only creator; man cannot be a second creator, i.e. create his own actions. The action of man is created by Allâh as to initiative and as to production; but it is acquired by the creature. By acquisition (kasb) is meant that the action corresponds to the creature's power and choice, previously created in him, without his having had the slightest effect on the action. Man is only the subject of the action. With regard to the attributes of Allâh the verdict of the later Ash^{c}arites was that the attributes subsist in the divine essence. They are not God and are nothing other than he.

After al-Ash^{c}arî the scholastic attempts to reconcile religious doctrine with Greek thought became the supreme feature of Moslem intellectual life. We give an example[5)] of the scholastic reasoning from the ontology of the Ash^{c}arite system, the final form of which was credited to al-Bâqillânî (died 1013 A.D.). He defined knowledge as cognition of a thing as it is in itself. To reach the "thing in itself" they examined the Aristotelian categories and determined that all the categories, quantity, place, time and the rest, were mere relationships existing subjectively in the mind of the knower, that they were subjective non-entities. The only two exceptions were the categories of substance and quality. Matter, then, could not have the possibility of suffering the impress of form. A possibility

is neither an entity nor a non-entity, but a subjectivity
purely. Thus active form and all causes had to go since they
were mere subjectivities. Qualities became mere accidents,
in reality there was no such a thing as a quality. When,
then, the qualities fall out of existence, the substances
themselves must also cease to exist. Substance as well as
quality is fleeting, has only a moment's duration.

The Ash^carites became atomists, the atoms
consisting of space as well as of time. The basis of every
manifestation in place and time in this world is a multitude
of monads. These monads have position but no extension in
space or time. They have no nature in themselves, no
possibility of development along certain lines. These monads
are, and again are not; all change and action in the world
are produced by their entering into existence and dropping
out again, not by any change in themselves. Leibnitz (died
1716), who held similar views, was compelled to fall back
on a pre-established harmony to bring his monads into orderly
relations with one another. The Moslem theologians fell back
upon Allâh and found in his will the ground of the harmonious
existence of all things. Thus their philosophy, the essence
of which is scepticism, destroyed the possibility of a
rational philosophical explanation in order to drive man back
to Allâh and his revelation and compel man to see in him the
one grand fact of the universe.

Thus their ontology became an argument for the
necessity of God, the cause of the harmonious existence of

the universe. Secondary causes are excluded, a knife e.g.
does not cut, Allâh produces the act as well as the ultimate
appearance of effect. This scheme is of course not without
its problems, particularly ethical difficulties. Mercifully
these deeper mysteries were hidden from the multitude and its
public discussion regarded as a breach of professional
etiquette.

E. Final Remarks.

        Apart from the most important contribution of
al-Ghazzâlî (died 1111 A.D.), who regenerated the orthodox
position by introducing elements of Sûfism[6], there was no
significant or essential renewal of the Ash[c]arite formulation
of faith up to the twentieth century to take its place. Where
the initial theological thought had some contact with the
Koranic teaching of Allâh —— be it only with singular aspects
like predestination and anthropomorphism —— the connection
in the course of time became purely formal under the influence
of Greek philosophy.

        We do not share the opinions of inter alia
T.J. de Boer and D.B. Macdonald that Mohammed's concept of
Allâh was naive, that he simply thought of God as an
absolute despot, that inherent defects and inconsistencies
of the Koranic portrayal of Allâh necessitated the subsequent
reinterpretations and reformulations of the kalâm. On the
contrary the Koranic concept of Allâh was impoverished into
a meagre philosophical concept of the Absolute Being in the
early Islam. This holds true of both the Ash[c]arite and the
Mu[c]tazilite systems.

R É S U M É

قال رسول الله صلعم : إنما الأعمال
بالنيات ، وإنما لامرئ ما نوى .

In the preceding pages we endeavoured to
spell out the name Allâh in order to understand something
of the rich contents its mentioning calls to the mind of the
pious Moslem. The frequent usage of this name is not thought-
less as it may appear, it is uttered in an awareness of man's
complete dependence on his God.

An investigation into the origin of the name
shows that it can grammatically be explained as either a
combination of the definite article al and lâh or a combination
of the article with the common noun ilâh, the word for "god"
in Arabic. There are furthermore indications that the name
Allâh originated amongst the Arabs of Sinai in the proximity
of, or in association with, the Nabataeans. Since the name
Allâh certainly occurs in the third century B.C. in Nabataea
and most probably already in Lihyânite inscriptions of the
fifth century B.C. it is historically unacceptable that the
Arabs inherited the name Allâh from the Syriac-speaking tribes.
On the contrary the deviation in the Syriac word for "god"
from the common Aramaic spelling betrays Arabic influence.
This is also the case with Mandaic. The evidence suggests that
it was the Lihyânites who introduced the worship of Allâh

into Arabia and that modern al-^{C}Ulâ was the first centre of Allâh-worship on Arabian soil.

The word Allâh is related to the common Semitic Il/El with 'lh as intermediary form. The form 'lh can best be explained as a secondary form of 'l after a phenomenon established by N. Rhodokanakis in ancient South Arabian viz. that long vowels tend to be dissolved into two short vowels with an intermediate h. The word 'l should not be derived from a triconsonantal root like 'lh, 'll or 'wl. The etymology of 'l will probably never be established indisputably, but it seems that the conceptions of distance and especially of power was associated with the root in primitive Semitic thought. Our information indicates that the proper name 'l was common to the Eastern, North-Western and South-Western Semitic groups. Originally the proper name of the most important deity, it ultimately became a generic name, while the god 'l lost ground to other gods. The god Il also disappeared from Arab religion, but revived amongst the NorthernArabs with a new form of the same name: Allâh.

Since Il belonged to the common religious wealth of the Semites and the relationship between Il and Allâh has been established, it is interesting to use the many religious texts from Ugarit as reference-material for a pre-Islamic concept of Allâh. In spite of difficulties of interpretation for example to determine in which instances 'l is used as a proper name, the South Arabian and North Arabian inscription material and nomenclature could not be

left out of account. Our most important source remains
the Koran itself since pagan poetry is rather a-religious
and subject to suspicions of unauthenticity, while Moslem
writers were biased and often even ignorant about pre-
Islamic religion.

The Ugaritic texts and the North and South
Arabian material agree that Il was the most important god
in their pantheons but that, because of his age, he came
to be replaced by other gods. Other common characteristics
are the knowledge of Il, his description as creator, that
he is likened to a king. In the Arabian theoforic names
attention is also given to the relationship between god and
man: his tender care is expressed by the metaphor of the
shepherd; he is addressed as father and many epitheta put
him into a tribal relationship with his people; he gives
children, fertility and prosperity; he leads his people in
war and gives them victory over their enemies; he is the
righteous judge who rewards good deeds; the people are his
servants (slaves), he disposes over life and death. It is
uncertain whether <u>Tha</u>mûdic inscriptions describe Allâh as
having no progeny since their interpretation is insecure.

The absence of religious contents in Arabic
poetry mirrors the extreme decadence of the old heathenism of
the time. The comparatively few references in pagan poetry
connect Allâh with the Ka^{C}ba in Mecca and picture him in the
same lines as the Arabian inscriptions and nomenclature and
to a lesser extent the Ugaritic texts. Moslem authors suggest

that the Nabataean Quraish introduced Allâh from the North
into Mecca. Using the name Allâh, Jews, Christians and
Hanîfs gave it an exclusive monotheistic connotation to be
continued in the preaching of Mohammed. According to the
Koran the pagan Arabs experienced Allâh as some distant unap-
proachable supreme god. They needed their idols as interces-
sors through which they could communicate with Allâh. They
denied Mohammed's claim that he was continuing the religion
of the ancestors of the Arabs in its original pure form and
accused him of inventing lies against Allâh. The relationship
between Hubal and Allâh is indistinct. In spite of his out-
right rejection of idolworship Mohammed was prudent enough to
have no confrontation with the statued Hubal by name. Perhaps
the deliberate avoidance of the name Hubal by Mohammed should
be interpreted as a purposeful step to escape recognition of
this idol[1].

It is remarkable that Mohammed at the beginning
of his career was most hesitant to refer to God by means of
a proper name. Instead he gave preference to appellatives
like "creator" or "lord". That Mohammed did have a proper
name for his God right from the beginning is implied by a
number of verses from the first Meccan period referring to
the use of God's name in public worship. His initial avoidance
of this proper name can be explained as fear of abuse or
profanation —— towards the end of the Prophet's stay in
Mecca it was necessary to warn expressly against the wrong
use of the names of God[2]. This attitude found an example
in the Jewish sh^c mâ, pronounced instead of the name Yahwè.

Allâh is the central theme of the Koran.
The Koran does not argue to prove the existence of Allâh.
Allâh is the living God as against the lifeless idols, pre-
pared by the hands of man. The presence of the living God in
this world is concretely expressed in anthropomorphic language.
This does not impair a highly spiritual understanding of the
transcendent God and the Koran expressly forbids a visual
presentation of Allâh[3]. Although Allâh is presented as male,
the Koran emphasizes that God is transcendent of sex, i.e.
exalted above any genealogical ties. In this one respect
Mohammed's preaching of Allâh differs from the pre-Islamic
conception namely that he never applied the title ab, father,
to Allâh. Manifold attributes of Allâh occur in the later
sûras, where twin epithets or the superlative often appear
at the end of âyât to facilitate the rhyme although they may
be rather loosely connected with the contents. The Koranic
description of the false gods is a summary of its conception
of the true God in the obverse: They are lifeless, made by
man, powerless, they do not dispose over life and death,
they are void of works, they sent no revelation, they cannot
achieve the resurrection. That Allâh is the only god has
cosmic significance: Was it for one moment true that there
are other gods, the whole universe would collapse. The
angels are not to be worshipped; they are merely the enactors
of God's dealings with man. Despite the fact that Satan
represents all the powers in revolt against Allâh Mohammed's
strict monotheistic convictions prevented a complete dualism.
Satan is completely subjected to Allâh, who is not only the

author of good but who is also the ultimate author of all evil.

Man cannot see Allâh, but he can experience his presence in the forces of nature. This view does not turn Allâh into a storm or nature god. In his action with man Allâh reveals himself as the holy one, as the merciful but righteous judge. Allâh loves the believer but his wrath inflames against the ungrateful disbeliever in punishment. Since Allâh created everything, observes everything from his throne, and possesses the heavenly Book, his knowledge is perfect. He revealed his wisdom in the Koran and in this wisdom the believers share. He also instructed man how to put his natural environment into practical use. On the Day of Judgement man will have to answer before the knowledge of Allâh. The free will of Allâh determines everything: The movements of the winds and even the will of man. Nevertheless it would be erroneous to think that this precludes the freedom of the human will. Reference to the will of Allâh in the Koran always implies its application to the advantage of man. Although kingship was not usual amongst the Arabs, Mohammed frequently described Allâh in terms borrowed from the royal court. The kingship of Allâh is the basis of the theocratic state.

It is incorrect to think that God in Islam is absolutely transcendent. His immanence in this world is made manifest by his action as creator and his dealings with man. Allâh used the Spirit in the creation of Adam and Jesus and

to convey his Revelation. Allâh supports the believer by means of his Spirit. The real instrument of God's action is, however, his word: by his word Allâh creates the universe and its contents, determines the events of history and performs the Judgement. The verbal aspect of his word is contained in the Koran, supplemented by the âyât of nature.

The Koran most frequently refers to Allâh's creative action. It is witness to his knowledge, his inescapable power and his incomparability. Allâh arranged the creation in accordance with the needs of man and in order to secure his existence. Man should be grateful and join in the creaturely choir of praise and worship of Allâh. Creation should be proof to him of the resurrection and judgement. Allâh appointed man as his viceroy or deputy on this earth. Man should serve Allâh, but his disobedience often makes the fears expressed by the angels at the creation of Adam come true, resulting in punishment. Allâh does not abolish family ties, but to the believer Allâh is dearer than his family, his possessions and even his life. He expects his reward from Allâh in the Hereafter. Humbly he bows in prayer with the name Allâh on his lips, to bring all his praise to the only God. History is terminated by Allâh's creative action at the beginning and the recreation at the end. Allâh is the God of the Past, Present and Future. Man should learn the lessons of history for in them God's action with man is demonstrated.

Amongst men the prophet of Allâh occupied a

special position to provide the authoritative word of God.
Since Allâh is holy, man should worship him in a ritually
pure state. Man should worship Allâh by mentioning his name
in the salât and by giving alms. Sacrifices are restricted
to the pilgrimage and should be an expression of devotion and
gratitude towards Allâh; it is expressly stated that Allâh
does not receive the flesh and blood —— he need not be fed.
Also in the Islam the Ka^{c}ba was considered to be the house
of Allâh and, although practical needs led to local places
of worship, its central position was maintained.

Certain meritorious deeds are accepted in
expiation of sin but the Koran stresses that man should
turn in repentance to Allâh.

On the Last Day everything will perish save
the face of Allâh. After the resurrection all mankind will
appear before Allâh, the just Judge. Allâh will again rule
in unrivalled majesty.

Mohammed painted the picture of Allâh in more
detail in the course of time, but we did not discover a
marked evolution in his concept of Allâh in the later sûras
of the Koran. Unfortunately the richness and depth of the
Koranic concept of Allâh was lost in dogmatic disputes in
the later Islam.

Allâh determines by his will what is right and
what is wrong and it is true that he demands a high standard
of ethical conduct from mankind[4]. The virtuous conduct of
man is motivated by the fear of God's justice on the Judge-
ment Day. Nevertheless in the writer's opinion the

conclusion of Daud Rahbar that God's stern justice is the most essential side of the Koranic doctrine of Allâh[5] does not answer to the total image. The total image is dominated by the inescapable and unlimited free power of the Creator, with the inseparable and logical complement that Allâh is the only God.

In general Mohammed complied with the pre-Islamic (as far as it can be determined) conception of Il/Allâh, though he added his own accents in conjunction with the Judaeo-Christian antecedents. The evidence indicates that Allâh was sliding back into oblivion. Because of Mohammed's preaching he regained his central position.

If we judge Mohammed's doctrine of Allâh according to his saying used as a superscript for this chapter, viz. that a man's deeds are to be judged only by his intentions and that one shall have only what he intended, both Jew and Christian are to accept the words of Mohammed in the Koran: Your God and our God is the same God[6]. One can also admit the truth of the observation of Th. Nöldeke that Mohammed's idea of God is essentially that of the Old Testament. The Christian would regret the less than elementary knowledge about Christ reflected in the pages of the Koran, though he will appreciate the high regard and respect Mohammed had for the Messiah. Nevertheless he will remember that Arab Christians to this day use the name Allâh for God, in the Bible and in worship. He will find in his approach to the Islam much more justification of a common ground in Allâh than Paul could find

in the unknown God of the Greeks[7]. He will strive to lead the Moslem from a legalistic worship of God, also represented in the early Christian church by the 'Judaists', to the fullness of the freedom and love of God in Christ Jesus, the Lord.

THE NAME ALLAH

by

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I. NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1) Compare Sûra II, 138(132); sibgha means "colour" and
   the root is common Semitic. Since it refers to the
   practice of colouring by immersion in dye, a secondary
   meaning, 'to baptize', developed in Arabic. This
   meaning is used in Arabic literature in connection with
   Christians and Jews, according to Lane, Arabic-
   English Lexicon, reprinted 1968, s.v. Amongst the
   "people of the Book" the Koran mentions in three places
   (II, 62(59); V, 69(73); XXII, 17) the al-sâbi'îna.
   J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischenHeidentums, reprinted
   1961, p. 237 (followed by B. Carra de Vaux, EI, s.v.)
   equalled the root sb' to sb^c using the Hebrew script and
   understood the name Sâbians (not to be confused with the
   Sabaeans of South Arabia, cf. XXVII, 22) to mean the
   Baptists. On this basis they were identified with the
   Mandaeans (or Elkesaites) and the baptismal rites of
   these sects compared to the Islamic ablutions before the
   ritual prayers. It was also pointed out that the Moslems
   were at first known as the Sâbians, according to the
   tradition. Admittedly the guttural and other emphatic
   sounds show a marked tendency to smooth out in Mandaic,
   so that Mandaic sba means 'to baptize'. Nevertheless it
   should be kept in mind that sb^c is the form of the word
   in Syriac, the other Aramaic dialects and Hebrew. It
   should also be remembered that this ^{c} is nothing else
   than the representation of gh in the defective Hebrew
   script (compare e.g. the transliterations of the ^{c} in
   Hebrew names by the Septuagint). Remembering that the
   Koran uses the roots sb' and sbgh distinctly the present
   writer is convinced that it is not justified to identify
   the Mandaeans with the Sâbians, or at least, in his
   opinion the Arabs did not understand the name al-sâbi'îna
   to mean 'the Baptizers'. The Mandaeans did not call them-
   selves subba, and, as a matter of interest, present-
   day Mandaeans do not want to be the Sâbians of the

Koran. It is significant that Arabic sources never associate the Sâbians with immersion in water. The only connection remains the (doubtful!) etymology. We refer only to the comprehensive treatment of K. Rudolph, Die Mandäer, 1960, I, pp. 36-41 who thinks that the term was used ambigiously from the beginning and soon lost its connection with baptizers (Mandaeans) completely.

2) God of Justice, 1960, p. 8.

3) Een nieuw geluid op het gebied der Koranexegese, 1962, pp. 5f.

4) This train of thought has been forcefully expressed by Sir Muhammad Iqbâl, The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, 1934.

5) We think here of the use of the verb paradidoomi used in malem partem in Mark 7:8 (cf. Matthew 26:15) in contrast with its use in II Thessalonians 2:15.

6) The nature of the Hadîth, apart from questions of genuineness, prevents an optimistic approach to this material as a source for Mohammed's understanding of his God. According to S.M. Zwemer, op. cit., p. 30, Mohammed did not express himself on the nature and being of Allâh outside the Koran. He continued: "The great Imams are agreed regarding the danger and impiety of studying or discussing the nature of the being of God."

7) E.g. XXIX, 46(45); XLI, 43; XLVI, 12(11); X, 94. Since we do not know who the Sâbians were, they were left out of account.

8) Compare e.g. F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia, 1970, p. ix. We take this opportunity to refer to the most interesting reconstruction of the pre-Islamic history of Allâh by J. Chelhod, Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes, 1964, pp. 93ff. The limited data, apart from the fact that they are scattered and liable to different interpretations, cause Chelhod's views to be hardly anything more than his personal reconstruction.

9) We take the quotation in translation from R.H. Pfeiffer's Introduction to the Old Testament, 1966.

10) EI, (new edition), s.v. Allāh.

11) This point of view is not exactly the same as that of R. Blachère, who based his study of the life of the Prophet, Le Problème de Mahomet, 1952, on the premise that the Koran is the only reliable source.

12) Convenient collections of textual variants can be found in the contribution of G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl to Th. Nöldeke's Geschichte des Qurans, reprinted 1961, i.e. volume III, and A. Jeffery, On the materials for the textual criticism of the Qur'ân, 1937.

13) For this reason the textual criticism of the Koran is not exactly comparable to that of the Old or New Testament.

14) Reprinted 1970, pp. 1-54.

15) This is the view of H. Fleisch, R. Blachère and C. Rabin. We refer only to C. Rabin, The beginnings of Classical Arabic, Studia Islamica, 4/1955, pp. 19-37; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt, 1964, II, pp. 357-369 and IV, pp. 1-14; and to the contrary views of P. Kahle, The Arabic Readers of the Koran, JNES, 8/2, 1949, pp. 65-71 restating the views of Karl Vollers.

16) It is not our intention to give a treatment of the thorny problem of the origins of written Arabic. What is given here, is our understanding of the problematic orthography of the Koran.

17) On the forms of words at the end of a verse cf. W. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language, reprinted 1967, II, pp. 368ff.

18) Compare e.g. q^erê: hî for k^etîb: hû in Genesis 3:20.

19) We do not share the opinion of C. Rabin, EI (new edition), s.v. ^{c}Arabiyya, that this phenomenon is due to a pure spelling archaism.

20) Compare Nöldeke, op. cit., III, pp. 26ff. for further details.

II. NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1) Hebrew dābār means "word" as well as what is represented by the word viz "matter, thing". This identity is best illustrated by the pronunciation of a curse or blessing. Since a curse once pronounced inevitably materializes and the satire of the shā^{c}ir had such crushing effect on hostile tribes, the birth of a poet was regarded the greatest stroke of luck. Compare also Sûra III, 61(54). This connection between word and reality is the basis of the pronunciation of formulae in the Semitic world e.g. for divorce in Islam (cf. Hosea 2:4); for marriage (Tobit 7:11); adoption (II Samuel 7:14) etc. Instead of certain foods presented to the dead in Egypt , only the names (bread, meat) were written on the stelae in later times, to take their place.

2) The use of Egyptian material is justified since a) Egyptian forms part of the larger complex of languages called Hamito-Semitic; b) I. Lichtenstadter recently indicated a narrower relationship between Egyptian and Arabian thought than has generally been accepted. I. Lichtenstadter, Origin and Interpretation of some Koranic Symbols, Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb, 1965, pp. 433-436.

3) See H. Frankfort etc., Before Philosophy, 1967, pp. 62f., for Egypt and for Mesopotamia the Accadian creation epic of which a translation can be found in ANET, pp. 60-72. The Babylonian expression malā shuma nabū (literally) means: "that which exists". To indicate that heaven and earth do not exist the Babylonian epic of creation says that they were not yet mentioned by name, ANET, pp. 60f.

4) Cf. J.B. Pritchard, Archaeology and the Old Testament, 1958, pp. 66-68. Frankfort rightly warned against a symbolic interpretation of this action: "The Egyptians felt that real harm was done to the enemies by the destruction of their names", op. cit., pp. 21f.

5) Chapter 10:7. Compare the many places in Psalms where

Yahwè is equalled to his name in the synonymous
parallelism, e.g. Ps. 20:2; the godless to their
name Ps. 9:6, cf. Ps. 41:6, etc. This identity be-
tween Yahwè and his name made it possible for later
Judaïsm to refer to God as ha - shēm.

6) II Samuel 14:7. Cf. J. Pedersen, Israel its Life and
   Culture, 1954, I, pp. 255f.

7) B.A. Donaldson, The Koran as Magic, MW 27, 1937,
   p. 261.

8) According to tradition Moslems owe it to one another to
   reveal their full names. Amongst the Arabs it was an old
   custom to keep their names secret as far as possible
   when strangers meet, in fear of possible bloodfeud.
   I. Goldziher, Verheimlichung des Namens, Islam 17,
   1928, pp. 1-3.

9) S.D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions,
   1966, p. 279.

10) Ibn Hishâm, Sîrat al-Rasûl, ed. Wüstenfeld, reprinted
    1961, p. 902.

11) J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, reprinted
    1961, pp. 199f. Compare also the Israelitic name
    Nabal as a name to protect a child against the powers
    of evil. Compare however J. Barr, The Symbolism of
    Names in the Old Testament, Bulletin of the John Rylands
    Library 52, 1969, pp. 11-29 especially in connection
    with the last name. Barr also remarks that the explanation:
    "As some one is called, so he is," will not suit all
    instances. W.R. Smith's combination of tribal names like
    Banû al-Kalb with totemism is no longer accepted. Cf.
    J. Henninger, Über das Problem des Totemismus bei den
    Semiten, Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen 10 (NF 5)
    1962, pp. 1-16. The Banû al-Kalb can rather be connected
    with the god Nergal called "the dog" by the people of
    Hatra who were of Arabic descent. Cf. J. Hoftijzer,
    Religio Aramaica, 1968, pp. 53, 59n. 54, 60.

12) A. Fischer, Das omen des Namens bei den Arabern, ZDMG

65, 1911, p. 53.

13) Ibid., pp. 53f. Fischer indicates on p. 55 that this
belief influenced even grammatical terminology.

14) EI, s.v. Musailima and s.v. Tulaiha. Similarly Old
Testament names like Eshbaal, Jerubbaal, Meribbaal,
were changed into Ishbosheth, Jerubbesheth, and
Mephibosheth. The diminutive can also be used in
endearment in names like Sulaimân, Shu^{c}aib, etc.

15) Sûra CXI, which consists of a curse against Abû Lahab.
The real awe-inspiring effect of these words is experien-
ced to this day, to such an extent that an Arab acquain-
tance of the present writer refuses to recite this sûra
aloud. It has to be mentioned here that Mohammed main-
tained a conspicuous anonymity in references to people of
his own time. In this respect the Koran corresponds
with apocalyptic works. The name Lahab occurs in the
Safâ inscriptions, probably as a shortened form of
lhb'l, G. Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres Sud-Sémitiques,
1934, I, p. 118. The interpretation of the name in
malem partem then seems to have originated with Mohammed.
For another view see EI (new edition), s.v. Abû Lahab.

16) The kunya is a name of honour (compare Isaiah 45:4) given
later to a person, usually when a son is born. It
consists then of Abû followed by the name of the eldest
son. The kunya nevertheless did not necessarily indicate
blood-relationship. Cf. EI, s.v. kunya and A. Spitaler,
Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kunya-Namengebung, Festschrift
Werner Caskel, 1968, pp. 336-350. With reference to
the root kny the material can be extended with examples
of its use in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Phoenician it
means "to appoint" and in the meaning "to appoint (as
king)" it probably also occurs in Ugaritic, cf. A.
van Selms, Yammu's dethronement by Baal, UF 2, 1970,
p. 263, n. 27.

17) raf^{c}an lahu, al-Isbahânî, Kitâb al-Aghânî, V, pp. 50.
For reasons of chronology the Caliph could only be
Ma'mûn and not Hârûn al-Rashîd.

18) During the first two centuries of Islam some mawâli
(freed slaves and their descendants or free-born non-
Arabs who became Moslems) arabized their foreign names
and adopted long genealogies. Thus they wiped out every
distinction from pure Arabs —— perhaps to express their
identification with their new relationships, but most
probably to escape discrimination by the aristocratic
Arabs against them. Cf. I. Goldziher, Muhammedanische
Studien, reprinted 1961, I, p. 133. Later the
Shu^Cûbîya-movement (2nd and 3rd centuries H.) took pride
in the fact that its members were not of Arab descent.

19) VII, 180(179); XVII, 110; XX, 8(7); LIX, 24. For this
reason Allâh has no namesake XIX, 65(66). Compare the
New Testament Philippians 2:9; Hebrews 1:4.

20) Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 448. Similar changes of name
are known from the Bible e.g. in II Kings 23:34 and
24:17 where it indicates both the power of the conqueror
over the vasalking, and that the latter was changed into
a new person. Compare further Genesis 17:5, 32:28;
Revelation 2:17.

21) According to the Babylonian Talmud Rôsh ha-shânâ 16 b
a change of name is one of the four ways in which a man
can escape the judgement of God over him. Up to the
twentieth century the name of a sick person was changed
in case of serious illness.

22) Chapter 8, book XXV. It is difficult to determine the
authenticity of a tradition and since the pioneer work of
I. Goldziher a tradition is regarded as false until the
opposite is proved. Cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, The authenticity
of the Tradition Literature, 1969.

23) This name is also mentioned in the New Testament, II
Corinthians 11:32. It is conspicuous that Arabic proper
names since the advent of Islam is usually composed of
substantival composites, cf. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 1.

24) Muslim, Sahih, V, p. 70.

25) Names of the members of Mohammed's family, his prominen-

companions and famous people from the Bible are very
popular. Naturally proper names could also refer to
the place of origin, animals, occupation or bodily
defects. Moslems did not always comply with these rules.

26) In agreement with the subject of our study, special
attention is given to Arabic nomenclature. A comprehensive
monograph on Arabic nomenclature is still to be written.

27) A striking example is Ruth 1:20.

28) ANET, pp. 69-72.

29) Compare Isaiah 8:3 and perhaps Arabic names like <u>ukhaiy</u>
(a little brother) and ya^c<u>îsh</u> (may he live) to Genesis
35:18. R. de Vaux told of a case amongst the modern
Arabs where a woman, who had only daughters, called her
fourth zâ^{c}ûla (irritation) and the eighth <u>tamâm</u> (this is
now the last one!). A father whose daughter was born
on a dewy morning, called her <u>andiya</u> (moist with dew).
<u>Hoe het Oude Israel Leefde</u>, 1961, I, p. 89.

30) D.S. Margoliouth, <u>Names (Arabic)</u>, ERE, 9, p. 137.

31) According to al-Baidâwî, <u>Anwâr al-tanzîl wa-asrâr al-</u>
<u>ta'wîl</u>, ed. H.O. Fleischer, reprinted 1968, I, p. 110
the pilgrims abided in the valley of Minâ to recall the
deeds of their ancestors. It is said that Mohammed refers
to this custom in II, 200(196): "And when you have
completed your pilgrimage, remember Allâh just as you
remember your ancestors or even more".

32) For this reason it is felt as a great personal insult
when one's parents are insulted; for examples see A.Fischer,
<u>Anstossiger Gebrauch des Namens Allâh unter den Arabern</u>,
Islamica I, 1925, p. 549. If he does not have famous
ancestors he links himself artificially with the genealogy
of famous people. Cf. I. Goldziher, <u>Das arabische</u>
<u>Stämmewesen und der Islam</u>, Muhammedanische Studien, I,
pp. 40ff. For biblical references to genealogies see I
Samuel 1:1; 9:1; Matthew 1:1-17; Luke 3:23-38 and
Proverbs 17:6. A person is also honoured when his
progeny is honoured, I Kings 1:47. Aramaic kings were

even put in genealogical relationship with the gods as
is apparent from their names, e.g. Bar-rkb, Benhadad.
This is also found in Ugarit and elsewhere.

33) C.H. Gordon, Geschichtliche Grundlagen des Alten
Testaments, 1961, p. 111; W. Phillips, Qataban and
Sheba, 1955, p. 82. In the Safâ inscriptions the
ancestors are often mentioned as far back as to the tenth
generation, and even to the fourteenth generation, E.
Littmann, Thamûd und Safâ, AKM XXV, 1, 1940, p. 98.

34) For the genealogical relationship between Abraham,
Ishmael and Mohammed see Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., pp 3f.

35) For Ishmael see Sûra XIX, 54(55); II, 125(119), 127(121);
and for Abraham: VI, 74-83; XIX, 41(42)-48(49); III,
67(60); XXII, 78(77); IV, 125(124).

36) J. Pedersen, op. cit., I, pp. 250-252. Pedersen
regards the n^{e}sibîm of II Samuel 8:6, 14 and I Samuel
10:5, 13:3 as such "name-pillars". In Babylon the
ideogram mu means "name" as well as "person" and the
name is often used instead of the person. Thus Nebu-
chadnezzar prayed that Marduk guides his name. H. Obbink,
De godsdienst in zijn verschijningsvormen, p. 169.

37) Tombstones are called inter alia ansâb, etymologically
and in meaning the same as the massêbâ of Genesis 35:20.
The Arabs used to erect such memorial stones over the
graves of their heroes to pay them tribute. I. Goldziher,
op. cit., I, p. 232; compare Sûra V, 90(92).

38) See the description by E.W. Lane, Arabian Nights, I,
p. 433. The ancient Arabs ascribed to the deceased the
same qualities and virtues he possessed during his life.
Goldziher, op. cit., I, pp. 234f. Concerning the
ancient South Arabians, W. Kensdale wrote: "The burial
customs reveal some concern for the after-life.
Libations were performed to ease the thirst of the dead ...
The dead were buried with the things they had required
in life ... statuettes and stelae bearing their names

were often placed beside them", The religious beliefs
and practices of the ancient South Arabians, 1955,
p. 5. For a description and translation of such a stele
see ANET, p. 507. In the Moslem world the grave of a
saint (walî) is a place of pilgrimage where the saint
is asked to act as intercessor ── against Koranic
doctrine.

39) A.J. Wensinck, Some Semitic rites of mourning and
religion, Verh. Ak. Wet., Amsterdam, 17/1, pp. 26ff.

40) Compare note 31 above. With "memorial" we have in mind
the mentioning of the name expressed by the root dhkr
in Sûra II, 200(196).

41) Cf. Antipas and Antipater; Tobit and Tobias.

42) See S. Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie, reprinted 1966,
II, p. 13.

43) Al-Wâqidî, Kitâb al-Maghâzî, ed. M. Jones, 1966, II,
pp. 639f., p. 657. According to D.S. Margoliouth,
Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, 1905, p. 455, compare
p. 211, Mohammed sometimes changed the names of places
to bear a favourable meaning.

44) I. Goldziher, op. cit., II, pp. 353-355. Cf. Wellhausen,
op. cit., p. 184.

45) G. Ryckmans, Heaven and Earth in the South Arabian
Inscriptions, JSS 3/3, 1958, p. 234.

46) Cf. Jeremiah 25:20ff.; 27:3; 40:11 and the name Uz e.g.
in Genesis 10:23 and Job 1:1. It is often difficult to
determine whether the name bears geographical or political
significance and often the two coincide. Cf. W.C. van Wyk,
Typen geographischer Poesie im Alten Testament, ZDMG 1969,
Supplementa I, Vorträge 1, p. 298.

47) R. de Vaux, op. cit., I, p. 35. Cf. II Samuel 12:28.
Medina in all probability got its name from the Jews and
not because it became the city of the prophet Mohammed,
cf. EI, s.v. In Babylonian and Greek mythology there
is a genealogical relationship between the earth and
the gods.

48) III, 36(31) and LIII, 27(28) respectively. The latter reference also implies that the angels were considered as the daughters of Allâh by the disbelievers. Cf. e.g. XXXVII, 149f.

49) XIII, 33.

50) VII, 71(69); XII, 40; LIII, 19-23. The necessity of authorization by Allâh is one of the reasons the same names are used over and over by Moslems. It is interesting to note that Allâh himself announced the name "Jesus Christ, son of Mary" III, 45(40) and the name "John" XIX, 7. Compare for the name Ahmad (Mohammed) LXI, 6.

51) In its original form the oldest sûra in this connection, LIII, 19-23, acknowledged the existence of the goddesses.

52) A.S Tritton, Muslim Theology, 1947, p. 105.

53) The data can easily be multiplied.

54) Cf. Ps. 44:21 and J.W. Wevers, Form criticism of the individual complaint Psalms, VT VI, 1956, p. 86.

55) A. van Selms, Genesis, 1967, I, p.89.

56) Cf. Psalm 9:11.

57) Odyssey, book IX, lines 347-535 but especially up to line 414 according to the edition of W.B. Stanford, 1955, pp. 142-148. The intention with this example is not to imply an identity between the Semitic and the ancient Greek world without any further ado. C.H. Gordon worked in this direction e.g. the essay Homer und der Alte Orient, op. cit., pp. 97-107. Cf. also M.A. Astour, Helleno-Semitica, 1967.

58) Genesis 32:30. See A. van Selms, op. cit., II, p. 141. The axiom: "There are no universals behind proper names", is of application. Cf. R.S. Aaron, The Theory of Universals, 1967.

59) G. von Rad, Genesis, 1961, p. 317.

60) Compare Proverbs 18:10.

61) J.W. Wevers, op. cit., p. 86.

62) Compare Psalm 44:6, Wevers, op. cit., p. 85.

63) EI, s.v. ^cIzrâ'îl.

64) Even the inadvertent mentioning of the formula lâ ilâh illâ Allâh has been regarded by some Moslems to have the effect of being converted to Islam.

65) See his Mafâtîh al-ghaib, Cairo 1307, I, 83ff., on the name Allâh.

66) E. Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, 1964, p. 43. Cf. Genesis 35:11; Exodus 6:2; 33:18ff.; Sûra XCVI, 1.

67) It is not accidental that Moslem formal prayers have to be in Arabic and that the God of the Koran is invoked by his Arabic name over the whole world. As a matter of fact Moslems object against translation of the name Allâh.

68) Compare Exodus 7:17; Isaiah 45:3, etc.

69) G. van der Leeuw, Phänomenologie der Religion, 1956, p. 158.

70) B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, 1925, II, p. 119.

71) For a translation of the text see ANET, pp. 12-14. Something of this concealment of the name of God is also contained in Exodus 3:13f.

72) J.G. Frazer, Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, 1966, p. 390.

73) Ibid.

74) Al-Tibrîzî, op. cit., book X, chapter 1.

75) E.W. Lane, Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 1963, p. 273.

76) For a translation see ANET, p. 391.

77) M. Höfner, WM, p. 425.

78) For a more detailed discussion of this god see J. Hoftijzer, Religio Aramaica, 1968, pp. 38-40.

79) W. Caskel, Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien, in S. Moscati, Le antiche divinita Semitiche, 1958,

p. 108.

80) Ibid., p. 109.

81) Caskel connected it with zê sinai Judges 5:5 as an Old
Testament parallel, op. cit., p. 109. Compare Psalm
68:9 and the critical views of H. Birkeland, Hebrew zae
and Arabic dhu, Studia Theologica II, 1948, pp. 210f.

82) J. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 48.

83) M. Höfner, WM, p. 434. According to Strabo (XVI, 4,
26) Dusares was the sungod worshipped by the Nabataeans,
El, s.v.

84) Il as a proper name is very old; it is without doubt
used already in the Ugaritic texts as such.

85) The name Thamûd is taken from the Koran. It is
artificially applied to inscriptions of the same lin-
guistic group from Central and Northwest Arabia.

86) W. Caskel, op. cit., p. 115. Compare Old Testament
names like ēl-abrāhām; ^{a}bîr-ya^{ca}qōb, èbèn-yiśrā'ēl,
Genesis 31:42, 53; 49:24. The article in Old Testament
words like hā-'^{è}lōhîm, God; ha-shātān, Satan; ha-nāhār,
the Euphrat; ha-ba^{c}al, Baal; etc.; (compare ho
Christos in the New Testament) indicates that they were
in reality anonymous appellatives which later became
proper names. So completely some of these words became
proper names that they could be used in the same sense
without the article, e.g. shātān, Satan. For the names
Allâh and Allât see the following chapter. Probably the
word slm "image" is also used as an anonymous reference
to gods so that the "slm of hgm" and the "slm of mhrm" are
two different gods. For a different explanation and
references to the texts see J. Hoftijzer, op. cit.,
p. 22.

87) For references to the sources see E. Norden, Agnostos
Theos, 1913 who wrongly regards the Areopagus-speech
of Paul as unauthentic. See also A. Deissmann, Paul,

1957, pp. 287-291, and R. Bultmann, ThW, s.v. agnoostos. The latter's views are too philosophical.

88) J.E. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy, 1969, p. 89.

89) op. cit., p. 213.

90) J.W. Wevers, op. cit., p. 83 note 1.

91) Ibid.

92) B. Meissner, op. cit., II, p. 49.

93) The name is here taken as originally the name of the God of a local sanctuary. See A. van Selms, op. cit., I, p. 231f.

94) It hardly needs mentioning that the Jews, from before the birth of Christ to this day, do not pronounce the proper name of God.

95) Since Rabbinic times Jews avoided the use of ^{e}lōhîm as well by using ^{e}lōqîm instead, and in Jewish publications in English it is written G-d.

96) In some scrolls ēl is also written in this script. In the Targums abbreviations like jjj or jwj are used instead of the tetragrammaton.

97) Cf. E. Würthwein, The text of the Old Testament, 1957, p. 104.

98) Ibid. Other words were also used to refer to God. Especially in the Talmudic literature we encounter words like "the name" (Sanhedrin VII, 5, etc.), "the place" (ha-māqôm, e.g. Niddā 49^{b}; cf. Esther 4:14) and "the heaven" (e.g. b. Metzia 37a). The latter expression is usual in I Maccabees (compare 2:21, 3:18 etc.). Compare also Matthew 13:11 with Mark 4:11 and Luke 8:10.

99) Also in Babylonian exorcist texts preference was given to the oldest ideographic script for the names of gods.

100) Quoted from Würthwein, op. cit., p. 132.

101) In the first Isaiah scroll from Qumran there are, in a later addition to Isaiah 1:7, four dots instead of the proper name Yahwé. But as Würthwein, op. cit., p. 100

rightly observed, it should rather be explained as an
indication where the name of God was to be filled in in
archaic script.

102) VII, 180(179).

103) ERE, s.v. God (Arabian, pre-Islamic), VI, p. 247.

104) Compare the same usage in I QpHab column III, line 2
and from the New Testament Romans 15:10; Ephesians 4:8;
5:14. The third person plural of the verb is also used
in rabbinic literature when God is the supposed subject
e.g. in tractate Shabbath 151a of the Mishna.

105) Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 218.

106) Lane, Manners and Customs.., p. 229.

107) L. Einszler, Der Name Gottes und die bösen Geister im
Aberglauben der Araber Palästina's, ZDPV, 10, 1887,
p. 179.

108) The Koran even commands the use of the name of God in
Sûra LXXIII, 8 in the first Meccan period already where
the root dhkr is used in the same sense as in XXI, 60(61);
LXXXVII, 15 —— compare the Accadian zakāru, to call,
mention.

109) Lane, Manners and Customs.., p. 360. Lane pointed out
that in such instances the last syllable are usually
stretched thus: "Alláuh" (sic! He must have meant
Allâhhû which can be explained as a combination of
Allâh with the pronoun huwa). The vocative yâ Allâh is
used in the sense of: "Come, let us go!" said e.g. to
the driver of a taxi.

110) Lane, Manners and Customs.., p. 350.

111) One example in Latin translation: "Impleat Deus os
tuum merda!" See A. Fischer, Anstössiger Gebrauch des
Namens Allâh unter den Arabern, Islamica I, 1925,
pp. 548-549.

112) L. Einszler, op. cit., p. 180.

113) This expression means, "on behalf of, on the authority

of ". Since the name of Allâh cannot be separated from
his being, he is personally present when this formula
is pronounced —— there can thus be acted in his strength.

114) VI, 118f.; cf. II, 172(167), 173(168) and XVI, 115(116).
When animals are killed, at the beginning of a war, etc.,
the attributes "the merciful, the benificent" in the
formula are replaced by the word al-akbar "the greatest".

115) XIII, 28.

116) Cf. LXXIII, 8; LXXVI, 25.

117) For many examples see L. Einszler, op. cit., pp. 160-
181 as well as Lane, Manners and Customs.., pp. 229,
230, 256.

118) Lane, Manners and Customs.., pp. 253f., 259f.

119) Ibid., p. 53.

120) It is interesting that the Meccan negotiator at Hudaibiya
refused to make a treaty before Mohammed changed the
name Allâh in the formula "In the name of Allâh, the
merciful, the benificent," into Allâhumma. See
F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammeds, 1961, p. 288.

III. NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1) We do not intend to discuss all suggested etymologies. Only theories which seem likely will be considered. The significance of the etymology of the word Allâh is stressed by the fact that Moslem scholars of all times concerned themselves with it. Their diverse solutions illustrate the difficulty to give a satisfactory explanation of the word. Moslem writers also commonly mention the popular etymology of the name of a god when they describe pre-Islamic religion.

2) Cf. W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language[3], reprinted 1967, Vol. I, p. 137.

3) See J. Horovitz, Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran, reprinted 1964, p. 13.

4) See E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, reprinted 1968, Part I, p. 83.

5) See for the text H. Stein, Herodotus, 1963, Bd II, Bk. III, p. 11. In his commentary ad loc Stein refers to Isaiah 14:12 where, according to him, the masculine form of the name alilat is used with the addition "son of Dawn". The traditional vocalization is hêlēl, translated as "Morningstar". The Vulgate translated with Lucifer and Jerome, Tertullian and other fathers of the church saw in this verse a reference to the fall of Satan. Lately scholars prefer to vocalize hêlāl the "new moon", e.g. D. Winton Thomas who prepared the text of Isaiah (1968) of the new Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia ad loc. The latter word is also known in Arabic in the form hilâl (see Lane, op. cit., p. 82) and in Ugaritic in the expression bnt hll (see A. van Selms, Marriage and family life in Ugaritic literature, 1954, p. 85) in the same meaning, and the same word is also found in the Thamûdic inscriptions as the name of a deity, M. Höfner, MM, p. 447. It may be attractive to identify hêlēl or hêlāl with Allâh; but linguistically this identification is highly improbable if not impossible. Nevertheless

there may be some support for this reasoning in Jerome's
reference to "Lucifer to whom the Saracen nation is
devoted" in chapter 25 of his Life of St. Hilarion,
quoted by F.V. Winnett, The Daughters of Allâh, MW XXX,
1940, p. 122.

6) In fact the Greek alilat can be seen as representing the
middle stage of the development al-ilât > alilât > allât.

7) T. Gaisford, Herodotus, 1830, Vol. I, p.329 ad loc.

8) E. Merkel, s.v. Urania, WM, p. 473.

9) F. Buhl called Herodotus III, 8 "a very doubtful passage"
in his article Alilat in the EI. See this article for
further considerations on Herodotus III, 8 and I, 131.

10) Op. cit., pp. 122-123. See this article also for the
rest of the paragraph.

11) Situated west of the Southern part of the Dead Sea, Elusa
was one of the most important cities in the Negeb in
post-biblical times. For a description of the city's
importance see N. Glueck, Rivieren in de wildernis,
1962, pp. 209ff.

12) Aramaic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C.E. from a
North-Arab Shrine in Egypt, JNES, XV, 1, Jan. 1956,
pp. 1-9.

13) To be identified with the biblical Succoth of Ex. 12:37,
13:20 and Num. 33:5, 6.

14) Rabinowitz found in the present inscriptions a confirma-
tion of Ungnad's suggestion that han- was the original
form of the definite article in Hebrew, op. cit., p. 3
n. 15. Already in 1931 A.J. Wensinck investigated The
Article of Determination in Arabic which appeared as
Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen,
Afd. Letterkunde, 71, A, 3. He pointed out that the
article in the Lihyânite inscriptions is ha-reinforcement
but before the gutturals which are not liable to rein-
forcement, it is han-. (That n can be inserted to
dissolve reinforcement or gemination is well-known, e.g.
in Biblical Aramaic cf. F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of

Biblical Aramaic, 1961, pp. 16f.) The relations between
n and l are so close, that Arab philologists have coined
the expression: "nûn and lam are sisters". Furthermore,
in the Lihyânite inscriptions themselves the form hl is
found which is the missing link between h, hn and later
Arabic 'l. As to the mutation of h into ' Wensinck
referred inter alia to the Phoenician article which is
found in these two forms and to inscriptions found in
Northern Arabia where ' as an article of determination
appears in some rare instances side by side with h.
Wensinck suggested that the Aramaic group, being the
only without a prefixed article probably detached them-
selves from the common stock of Semites when the question
of the article had not yet been settled. Thus the
article could appear as ha + gemination, han or hal
(where l and n is used to dissolve gemination) and as
al. In Hebrew gemination is dissolved by lengthening of
the vowel of the article. In continuation of Wensinck's
research E. Ullendorf in his article The form of the
definite article in Arabic and other Semitic languages,
Arabic and Islamic studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb,
1965, pp. 636f., summarized his findings in the follow-
ing words, "the basic feature of definiteness in early
Hebrew (and Canaanite) and early Arabic consisted of the
apportionment of stress or prominence, additional length
or intensity, to the first consonant of the noun to be
defined. As a contextual phenomenon, prosthetic or
glide vowels were inextricably allied to this process,
but only later on did these vowel elements combine with
dissimilatory consonantal inserts to establish a new
definite particle". This is a more suitable explanation.

15) The Geshem of the third inscription is probably the same
person who is mentioned as the opponent of Nehemiah in
the Bible (e.g. Neh. 2:19) and a direct link with the
Lihyânites is furnished by the mention of the same person
in a Lihyânite inscription found at al-ᶜUlâ. See
Rabinowitz, op. cit., pp. 6f.

16) For another example of a votive inscription in which the

actual name of the deity was not used and can only be
conjectured see the Palmyrene inscription No. 135 in
G.A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions,
1903, p. 297. Compare also "the triad of the unnamed
god" in J. Hoftijzer, Religio Aramaica, 1968, pp. 38-40.

17) F.V. Winnett, op. cit., p. 120.

18) Ibid.

19) The article then has the function of a vocative.

20) EI, s.v. Ilāh. Compare for this paragraph also note
34 below.

21) We do find the proper name used, however, to express the
superlative sense in Arabic, e.g. in the expression
lillâh^i al-qâ'il^u. Compare Hebre lêlohîm in Jonah 3:3
and D. Winton Thomas, A consideration of some unusual
ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew, VT III,
1953, pp. 209-244.

22) See e.g. Th. Noeldeke, Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabi-
corum, 1961, p. 52, line 3. Cf. also e.g. al-Buhturî,
Kitâb al-Hamâsa edited by P.L. Cheikho, 1910, p. 53,
line 20; p. 160, line 3, Al-Isfahânî, kitâb al-aghânî,
vol. XII, p. 125, line 14.

23) See e.g. Ibn Hishâm, Sîrat rasûl Allâh (ed. Wüstenfeld),
1859, p. 706, line 2.

24) J. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 218.

25) Ibid., p. 219. Compare, however, Sûra XXXVIII, 5(4), Ibn
Hishâm, op. cit., p. 183, line 11 for the plural of ilâh.

26) M. Höfner, op. cit., p. 421. For the rejection of
Wellhausen's theory see also F. Buhl, Das Leben
Muhammeds, reprinted 1961, p. 94. See also the criti-
cism of J. Starcky in Histoire des Religions, Vol. III,
1956, p. 205; C. Brockelmann, Allâh und die Götzen,
ARW, XXI, pp. 103f.

27) Consider on this issue also C. Rabin, Ancient West-
Arabian, 1951, pp. 130ff.

28) This form is acknowledged in Arabic, see e.g. the

lisân al-^{c}arab of Ibn Mukarram ibn Manzûr, s.v.

29) For examples from poetry see Th. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik
     des classischen Arabisch, ed. A. Spitaler, 1963, pp.
     5f. Other examples can be found in the consonantal text
     of the Koran of which we mention only consonantal
     yasalûna for yas'alûna II, 273(274). See also Karl
     Vollers, Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten
     Arabien, 1906, pp. 83-97, and J. Blau, A Grammar of
     Christian Arabic, 1966, I, pp. 102f. Blau indicated
     that the initial glottal stop after the article is elided
     especially if the second consonant of the noun is lâm and
     that in many of these instances the vowel after the
     glottal stop is omitted as well. Examples: 'llwf, the
     thousands (al-lûf for al-ulûf); 'llw'h, the tablets,
     against indetermined 'lw'h (alwâh).

30) The examples are taken from the lists of names in G.
     Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres Sud-Sémitiques, 1934, I.

31) Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, p. 16.

32) Baidâwî, ed. H.O. Fleischer, reprinted 1968, vol. 1,
     p. 4, line 25. See Lane, op. cit., Part I, p. 83
     and also Part 8, p. 3015, s.v. lyh as well as Wright,
     op. cit., Vol ii, p. 380. Wright remarks that lâh^i and
     lâhumm^a are shortened forms of lillâhi and allâhumm^a
     metri causa. D.S. Margoliouth, ERE, s.v. God (Arabian,
     pre-Islamic), p. 248, attempted another explanation of
     the poetic lâh.

33) For a discussion of the "irregular" words unâs and ilâh
     see Th. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, pp. 15-16.

34) It is remarkable that the word unâs (occuring only five
     times) is never used with the definite article in the
     Koran whereas nâs (occuring twohundred and thirty seven
     times) is only used preceded by the article. In poetry
     unâs with the article is very rare but nâs without the
     article occurs in a few instances. On the contrary poets
     often use al-ilâh for Allâh. Cf. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik,
     p. 16.

35) Cf. EI, s.v. Ilāh.

36) First mention of the Nabataeans is made in the year
312 B.C. and most of the texts stem from ca. 50 B.C. to
ca. 100 A.D. See J. Hoftijzer, op. cit., pp. 16f.

37) See F.V. Winnett, op. cit., p. 247 and M. Höfner, op.
cit., p. 422. Compare also the Koranic epithet of
Allâh, al-Wahhâb, III, 8(6). For the Nabataean name
Tym'lhy, Greek Themallou the equivalent of Arabic Taim
allâh⁻ see G.A. Cooke, op. cit., pp. 227, 228. It is
interesting that the people of Medina are scoffingly
called "Nabataeans of Yathrib" in an old verse,
Al - Isfahânî, op. cit., vol. XIII, p. 120,
line 6 .   Similarly the Quraish were called
Nabataeans from Kûthâ in Mesopotamia. See D.S. Margoliouth,
Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, 1905, p. 10.

38) See I. Rabinowitz, op. cit., p. 3 n. 16.

39) G.A. Cooke, op. cit., p. 252, No. 99, line 1.

40) F.V. Winnett, op. cit., p. 122 n. 29. This is seeming-
ly also the opinion of W. Caskel, cf. pp. 114-117 of his
essay in S. Moscati, Le antiche divinità semitiche, 1958.

41) F.V. Winnett, op. cit., p. 121.

42) Ibid, p. 122. This is of course an argumentum e silentio.
The same applies to the limitation of the article al to
the Sinai peninsula.

43) The name also occurs in Safâitic inscriptions as 'lh but
they are of a later date.

44) This against the vocalization Ilâh of Nielsen and Ryckmans.
In this connection it is important to note that certain
theoforic names like the name Wahballâh, Greek Ouaballas,
(Whblh) —— compare p. 40 of the text —— are common to
all the ancient Arabic dialects. See e.g. G.L. Harding,
E. Littmann, Some Thamûdic inscriptions from the
Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan, 1952, pp. 12f.

45) M. Höfner, op. cit., p. 422. The Nabataeans came into
contact with Greeks quite early, about the second

century B.C. E. Littmann, <u>Nabataean inscriptions</u>,
Section A of the <u>Semitic Inscriptions</u>, Division IV,
of Syria, 1914, p. XVII.

46) <u>Allâh before Islam</u>, MW, 1938, p. 245. The overwhel-
ming majority of names constructed with the element <u>'lh/</u>
<u>lh</u> are of Lihyânic origin.

47) This date is confirmed by W.F. Albright who dates the
Lihyânic inscriptions from 440 B.C. onwards. According
to W. Caskel the early Lihyânite empire began ca. 115
B.C. For a table of the chronology see M. Höfner, op.
cit., pp. 414f. Compare also F.V. Winnett, <u>A study of
the Lihyânite and Thamûdic inscriptions</u>, 1937, p. 51.

48) Winnett, <u>Allâh before Islam</u>, p. 246.

49) Ibid.

50) <u>The Daughters of Allâh</u>, p. 122. C.H. Gordon found evi-
dence in the Ugaritic texts to confirm Winnett's thesis
of a northern origin of the daughters of Allâh. Though
the names of the triads do not tally, both Ba^{c}al and Allâh
have three daughters. Traditions regarding Ba^{c}al have then
been attached to Allâh by pre-Islamic Arabs. C.H. Gordon,
<u>The Daughters of Baal and Allâh</u>, MW 33, 1943, pp. 50-51.

51) Winnett, <u>Allâh before Islam</u>, pp. 246-248; EI, s.v.
<u>Ilāh</u>; A. Jeffery, <u>The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān</u>,
1938, p. 66.

52) The form <u>lh</u> may point to <u>alif conjunctionis</u> already in
Lihyânite. It should be noted that Mohammed himself
pronounced the name as <u>Allah</u> and not <u>Allâh</u>. The pro-
nunciation <u>Allah</u>, which is unlike the Syriac in its
vocalization, is suggested by the Arabic orthography of
the word which does not represent an alif of elongation.
The external notation of the long <u>a</u> vowel gives the
impression of a later compromise between two different
pronunciations. Compare, however, W. Wright, op.
cit., pp. 9f. for a different explanation.

53) See E.W. Lane, op. cit., p. 83.

54) We also have other examples: In the Hebrew name
'^{e}lîsha^{-c} the first two consonants were taken to be the
definite article so that the first letter became <u>alif</u>
<u>conjunctionis</u>. Thus we find the prophet's name in the
Koran as <u>al-yasa</u>^{c}. In the same process the resulting
<u>al</u> was even dropped in the name <u>âzar</u> which is the Koranic
form of the biblical '^{e}lî^{c}èzèr. Surprisingly the same
did not happen with the biblical 'ēlîyâhu of which <u>ilyâs</u>
(in Sûra XXXVII, 130 <u>il yâsîn</u> (two words!) the addition
is due to the rhyme) is the Koranic equivalent. See
J. Horovitz, op. cit., pp. 13, 27, who suggested
that the latter form was with the intention to prevent
the name of the prophet from being confused with the
name of a heathen <u>al-ya's</u>, son of <u>Mudar</u>. But there may
be a philological reason: It is noteworthy that the
first three words '^{e}lôah, '^{e}lîsha^c and '^{e}lî^{c}èzèr all
begin with <u>ālèf</u> with the rapidly pronounced, short
hâtēf-s^{e}gôl. The exception 'ēlîyâhu begins with the
full vowel <u>sērê</u> under the first consonant. The form
<u>ilyâs</u> shows that this name came via its New Testament
Greek form into the Koran.

55) E.W. Lane, op. cit., p. 83^b; Th. Nöldeke, <u>Zur Gram-</u>
<u>matik</u>, p. 9 n. 5.

56) E.g. after the interrogative particle <u>a</u>-, Th. Nöldeke,
<u>Zur Grammatik</u>, pp. 7f.

57) See W.F. Albright, <u>Dedan</u>, 1953, more particularly p.
5 n. 4.

58) See C. Brockelmann and A. Baumstark in <u>Handbuch der</u>
<u>Orientalistik</u>, 1964, I Abt., II Band, pp. 152f. and
p. 170.

59) <u>Allâh before Islam</u>, p. 246.

60) Cf. C. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 148.

61) See E. Littmann, <u>Syriac Inscriptions</u>, Section B of the
<u>Semitic Inscriptions</u> Division IV of Syria, 1934, pp.
X f. It is of interest to repeat in this context the

old inference that Syriac/Aramaic is borrowed from
Canaanite. Cf. C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, 1967,
p. 30 n. 2.

62) Cf. E. Littmann, Syriac Iscriptions, p. X, who is of the
same opinion: "As it seems to me, this pronunciation was
introduced into Edessene Syriac by the Arabs who founded
the kingdom of Edessa". Some scholars wish to derive the
Syriac word from the name of an Accadian deity Alla, e.g.
Johns, Zimmern,Tallqvist as quoted by A. Murtonen, A
Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament
Divine Names, 1952, p. 26. Murtonen rejects the theory
in face of the rare appearance of this deity, especially
in later times. Whereas the evidence referred to in this
chapter and Arab tradition refers to a Northern origin of
Allâh, the present writer is not aware of any relation-
ship between the Accadian goddess of the underworld Al-la-
tum and the Arabian sky-goddess Allât or Allâh.

63) EI, s.v. Ilāh.

64) A number of codici reads Allâh instead of Ilâh in Sûra
XLIII, 84. See A. Jeffery, On the materials for the
textual criticism of the Qur'ân, 1937, ad. loc.

65) Except in the combination Yhw^h 'lh^ym which is translated
by al-Rabb al-Ilâh e.g. in I Chron. 17:16. It is
interesting that many names containing the element 'il
was changed to names with the element Allâh in Islamic
times. Cf. M. Höfner, op. cit., p. 435.

66) Cf. EI, s.v. Ilâh.

67) See the summaries in A. Murtonen, op. cit., pp. 24-42
and M.H. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, 1955, pp.
16-21.

68) A. Fischer, Die Semitischen Gottesnamen 'il, 'ēl, etc.
ZDMG 71, 1917, p. 445.

69) Op. cit., p. 36.

70) N. Rhodokanakis, Der zweigipflige Akzent im Minäo-
Sabäischen, Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik,
1915, Heft I, pp. 12-56. For this reference the

writer is indebted to Prof. A. van Selms.

71) The Aramaic $\bar{a}$ is the equivalent of the Hebrew $\hat{o}$. Compare
e.g. Aramaic sh^{e}lām with Hebrew shalôm. In instances
like the one mentioned in the text the expected $\bar{a}$ of the
Syriac was represented by āhā. The Hebrew long o
represents an original long a vowel.

72) E. Littmann, Thamûd und Safâ, 1940, Inscription 30
pp. 130f.

73) Wright, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 249.

74) Cf. A. Murtonen, op. cit., pp. 39-41. Cf. also Bauer/
Leander, Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, reprinted
1969, pp. 189, 317. In view of the present explanation
we cannot accept the view of J. Starcky, Le nom divin El,
Archiv Orientalni, 17, No. 2, 1949, p. 385, who ex-
plained 'lh as the nomen unitatis of 'l.

75) Not necessarily an a vowel.

76) This could explain the fact that out of the sixty
occurrences of the word ^{e}lôah in the Old Testament,
fourty-six belong to the book of Job. According to
W. Baumgartner Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum
Alten Testament, 1967, s.v. It should be noted that
ēl occurs forty-eight times in Job 5:8 - 40:19.

77) We are not concerned with the etymology of the Hebrew
^{e}lōhîm and the Arabic allâhumma. Predicate and apposi-
tion to these names are singular, therefore D. Nielsen
saw in 'lhm the word 'lh supplied with mimation which
is very usual in Old Arabic and not unknown in Hebrew.
Later the m became incomprehensible with the result that
it was taken in Hebrew to be a plural ending and vocalized
accordingly, Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde,
1927, I, p. 221 n. 2. This theory seems plausible but in
view of the Accadian plural ilâni, our explanation of
'lh and the alternative Ugaritic plural 'lhm, the Hebrew
^{e}lōhîm must be taken as the plural of ēl. This plural is
commonly regarded as a pluralis majestatis or better, in the
terminology of van Selms, a pluralis amplitudinis. The Arabic word

was not yet explained satisfactorily. It has been
suggested that it is a foreign loanword used as a
vocative in Arabic. D.S. Margoliouth, ERE, s.v. <u>God</u>
(Arabian, pre-Islamic). Compare also A. Jeffery, op.
cit., s.v.

78) J. Wellhausen, op. cit., pp. 5f., M. Höfner, op. cit.,
pp. 435, 511. In the Koran we have the word in this form
only in the name <u>Ilyâs</u>. It is difficult to say whether
its full significance was still understood in Koranic
names containing the element <u>el/il</u> e.g. <u>Isrâ'î^{y}l</u>,
<u>Ismâ^{c}î^{y}l</u> (compare <u>Indjî^{y}l</u>). In South Arabian inscriptions
however, <u>'il</u> does occur as the name of a god, but even
there it is by comparison not very frequent.

79) <u>'El and Adonai</u>, VT, XII, 2, 1962, pp. 190-194.

80) Ibid., p. 190. In fact <u>ill^{un}</u> is used in Arabic to
signify "God" like Hebrew <u>ēl</u>, Lane, op. cit., I, p.
75^b. It seems that Hebrew ^{e}lîl used of false gods and
Ugaritic <u>'ll</u> (UT 67: V: 16, 17; Cf. 1014:3; 2022:19;
1035:13) can best be related to this Arabic word.

81) A. Murtonen, op. cit., pp. 34f.

82) Op. cit., p. 383. Compare Hebrew <u>ēl</u> with ^{c}ēd "witness"
from the root ^{c}wd. This concrete meaning also implies
the more abstract meaning of "to be (the most) powerful"
because the strong one is also the first. U. Oldenburg,
<u>The conflict between El and Ba^{c}al in Canaanite Religion</u>,
1969, p. 164 n. 2, refers to Matthew 26:64, Mark 14:62
where Jesus calls Yahwè "Power" (<u>dunamis</u>) perhaps
expressing the real meaning of the name <u>El</u>.

83) Op. cit., p. 37.

84) For a discussion of the "Proto-Semitic root" see S. Moscati,
<u>An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic</u>
<u>Languages</u>, 1964, pp. 72-75 and also the critical views
of Werner Vycichl in his review of this book in Biblio-
theca Orientalis, Vol. XXV, No. 1/2, 1968, pp. 26-44,
and M. Fraenkel, <u>Zur Theorie der ^{c}Ajin-Waw und der</u>
<u>^{c}Ajin-Jud-Stämme</u>, 1970.

85) Cf. Murtonen, op. cit., pp. 37-39, Pope, op. cit., p. 19.

86) For the terms 'b, ^cm, khl, dd and 'kh applied to Il in South Arabia, see U. Oldenburg, Above the Stars of El, ZAW 82/2, 1970, p. 193.

87) Compare names like Hebrew Abîhû; Aramaic Bar-RKB, Barhadad, etc.

88) In Arabic theoforic names the word "god" is also repre-sented in the form î^yl. Compare note 78 above. According to Th. Nöldeke El occurs in Arabic in the plural form Iyâl once in an ancient verse and also in the form Uwâl, ERE, s.v. Arabs (Ancient), p. 664. In Ezek. 32:21 ēlîm is also used in this meaning without the y as mater lectionis. The textual confusion in this verse arose from an attempt to distinguish this word from the word for "God". Compare also Is. 9:5, Job 41:17 and perhaps Ps. 29:1. For the latter compare however F.C. Fensham, Psalm 29 and Ugarit, Studies on the Psalms, OTWSA, pp. 87f. Compare also the use of the longer form 'lhm in Ex. 4:16.

89) Op. cit., pp. 383-386. See this article for this whole paragraph. Starcky is of the opinion that the root 'wl/ 'yl properly speaking does not express the idea of "priority" but rather that of "group" and of "first of the group".

90) Op. cit., p. 386, W. Eichrodt, Theologie des Alten Testaments[8], 1968, pp. 111f. also stressed that the old Semitic usage of the word ēl reveals strong ties between the deity and the social life of the community, e.g. in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis. According to W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity[2], 1957, p. 248 the word pahad in Gen. 31:42, 53 must be translated: "Kinsman" (of Isaac), but A. van Selms, Genesis, 1967, II, p. 126, pointed out that this interpretation is etymologically unsound. The Old Testament prophets, particularly the pre-exilic prophets,

used the word ēl to stress the distance between God and
man, according to C.J. Labuschagne, Die gebruik van
die Godsaanduidinge 'el en 'elōhîm in die geskrifte van
die profete, Hervormde Teologiese Studies, XIV, pp.
67-68. The Quraish were known as the family of Allâh in
Arabia. D.S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of
Islam, 1905, p. 19. Compare also the polemic of the
Koran, e.g. VI, 100, 101.

91) U. Oldenburg, Above the stars..., p. 196.

92) Cf. Moscati, op. cit., pp. 76, 80. In fact the theo-
foric element 'l is in North Arabic inscriptions often re-
presented in the orthography by l alone. Compare names
like the Lihyânic ᶜtnl and Safâtenic 'wsl.

93) See A. van Selms, op. cit., I, p. 21.

94) Compare Jeremiah 23:23 : Am I ēl at hand, says the LORD,
and not ēl afar off?

95) Op. cit., s.v. ēl IV. It should however be kept in
mind that yād alone could mean "power" e.g. in Job 8:4,
Jos. 8:20. The word ēl may then have superlative
significance in the phrase under discussion as in Ps.
80:11.

96) UM, I, pp. 61, 85; III, pp. 236, 246. Cf. C.J.
Labuschagne, Ugaritic BLT and BILTÎ in Is. X:4, VT
XIV, 1, 1964, pp. 97-99.

97) The form al also occurs. W. Wright, op. cit., i,
p. 288.

98) W. Wright, op. cit., ii, p. 309.

99) In Ethiopic it is retained only in proper names.

100) It is interesting that Landsberger regarded the ' and the
l to be among the most primitive letters of the Semitic
alphabet, quoted by Murtonen, op. cit., p. 38. M.J.
Mulder, Kanaänitische Goden in het Oude Testament,
1965, p. 24, remarked that ēl also presents an archaic
element in Hebrew because it is used predominantly in

poetry. ^{e}lôah appears almost exclusively in poetry as well.

101) See M. Noth, Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der Gemeinsemitischen Namengebung, reprinted 1966, p. 94 who rejected this view. For this view see A. Murtonen, op. cit., p. 30, J. Bottéro, Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie, in S. Moscati ed., Le antiche divinità semitiche, 1958, p. 38. This representation was especially favoured by the texts from Ugarit where Il is most definitely a proper name, see e.g. U. Oldenburg, The conflict..., pp. 1-2, 15-16, 164-165.

102) El and Yahwè, JSS, I, 1956, p. 37.

103) As quoted by M.J. Dahood, Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine, in S. Moscati ed., Le antiche divinità semitiche, 1958, pp. 74, 75.

104) M. Höfner, op. cit., pp. 435, 511. For Il as proper name in South Arabia see D. Nielsen, op. cit., p. 218.

105) M. Höfner, op. cit., p. 436.

106) U. Oldenburg, The conflict..., p. 166.

107) J. Starcky, Palmyréniens, Nabatéens et Arabes du Nord avant l'Islam, Histoire des Religions, III, 1956, pp. 203ff.

108) Cf. U. Oldenburg, The conflict..., p.166.

IV. NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1) <u>La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam</u>,
   1955, p. 143.

2) That the use of the Ugaritic material is justified is
   proved by evidence pointing to a certain correspondence
   between the Ugaritic and Arabic material. We mention
   here a few examples which may be multiplied: Il and
   Allâh share epitheta like Beneficent, Ug. ltpn, cf.
   e.g. Koran VI, 103; XII, 100(101); King, <u>mlk</u>;
   Creator, <u>bny</u> used in the Koran as verb with Allâh as
   subject e.g. LXXVIII, 12. The Koran reveals that Allâh
   became a <u>deus otiosus</u> like Il in the Ugaritic texts.
   Prof. van Selms pointed out in a personal communication
   that we find the first evidence of the <u>qibla</u> in Ugarit:
   It is used of humans paying respect to the king, PRU V,
   No. 8, lines 4 - 7; UT 89:6 - 11, cf. UT 95:5 - 7.
   It is interesting that the beauty and attractiveness of
   the Ugaritic goddess ^{c}<u>thtrt</u> as well as that of the
   heavenly houris of the Koran are described in terms of
   their beautiful eyes, (cf. UM Krt I: 146-149 and Koran
   LV:72, XLIV:54, etc.) and their permanent virginity
   (UM 128: II: 27 (<u>btlt</u>), Koran LVI:36(35) (<u>abkâr</u>) ——
   in neither case the word needs to be understood in the
   strict English sense of the <u>virgo intacta</u>). Apart from
   many similarities in grammatical and word structure there
   are remarkable points of contact in vocabulary. Compare
   e.g. in an Ugaritic register of land-grants UT 2031:7 the
   phrase <u>shd</u> b^{c}ly "fertile land" with the Arabic ba^{c}l "land
   thriving on natural water supply", both words being
   derived from the name of the Ugaritic rain and fertility
   god <u>Ba^{c}al</u>. Naturally this origin of the Arabic word was
   no longer recognized. G. Garbini even maintains that
   Classical Arabic developed from a North-West Semitic
   language transplanted into a South Semitic environment.
   Cf. most recently G. Garbini, <u>La lingua degli Ammoniti</u>,
   Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, NS 20, 1970,
   pp. 249 - 257. For further points of agreement between
   the Ugaritic and Arabic material cf. W.F. Albright, <u>Islam</u>

and the Religions of the Ancient Orient, JAOS 60,
1940, pp. 296ff. M.H. Pope, op. cit., p. 65 n. 11,
compared UM ^{C}nt: pl. vi: V: 19 - 20 with the seven gates
of the netherworld in Koran XV, 44. Cf. also C.H.Gordon,
The daughters of Baal and Allâh, MW 33, 1943, pp. 50-51.

3) The position of Il in Ugarit has been the subject of
several studies. We refer to O. Eissfeldt, El im
Ugaritischen Pantheon, 1951; M.H. Pope, El in the
Ugaritic Texts, 1955; U. Oldenburg, The Conflict
between El and Ba^{C}al in Canaanite Religion, 1969 as well
as the article "El" by M.H. Pope, WM, pp. 279 - 283.
In 1937 a sandstone relief was found in Ugarit picturing
a majestic bearded god wearing a horned crown and
sitting on a throne. This figure is probably the god
Il receiving an offering from the king of Ugarit and
giving the latter his blessing with his raised left hand.
Above these two figures the winged solar disc is
hovering. Cf. M.H. Pope, WM, p. 283 and for a picture
of the relief ibid., table VII following p. 312.

4) Although it is not explicitly mentioned Athrt, called
ilt in UM 49: I: 12, is the consort of Il and Mother of
the gods, cf. UM 107:5. Their marriage is described by
A. van Selms, Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic
Literature, 1954, pp. 63 - 69, as a "Muntfrei" marriage
in which the bridegroom does not acquire legal power over
his bride. In UM 128, III, 17 - 19 the gods are
referred to as the family of Il, dr 'l.

5) E.g. UM 51, II, 11; II Aqht I, 25. In UM 51, III,
28 - 32 this phrase is parallel to 'creatress of the gods',
qnyt. ilm, said of Athrt. Cf. van Selms, op. cit.,
p. 63. It should be noted that both bny and qny may
merely signify the physical begetting of children,
comparing the usage of these words in Gen. 4:1 and 16:2.

6) UM Krt: 37, 151. Cf. Luke 3:38. For adm in the sense
of "people" cf.UM ^{C}nt, II, 8.

7) The title qn ars is not applied to Il in the Ugaritic

texts though the word qny is used of Il in UM 76: III:
5 - 7 with the verb kwn (in the L conjugation) as its
counterpart in the parallellism. The title qn 'rs
applied to Il is nevertheless attested in a Phoenician
inscription from Karatepe dated ca. 720 B.C. as well as
in a neo-Punic inscription from the second century A.D.
found at Leptis. See H. Donner, W. Röllig,
Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, 1966, I,
Inscriptions 26 A III, 18 and 129, 1. H. Otten wishes
to find this title already in a Canaanite myth from
Boghazkoy in the Hittite El-ku-ni-ir-sha and dating from
roughly the same period as the Ugaritic texts. We can
not share Della Vida's view in his study of El ^{C}Elyon in
Genesis 14:18-20, JBL 63, 1944, pp. 1 - 9, that qny
does not mean "to create" but indicates "lordship", cf.
A. van Selms, Genesis, 1967, I, p. 79. For a
detailed discussion of El as Creator see M.H. Pope,
op. cit., pp. 49 - 54.

8) E.g. UM 51: IV: 38, 48.

9) UM 49: I: 8; 51: IV: 24; 2 Aqht: VI: 49.

10) Ugaritic shnm is then considered a masculine plural noun
from a root corresponding to Arabic sny meaning "to
gleam, shine (of fire, lightning, etc.)". See U.
Oldenburg, op. cit., pp. 17f. who confirms this
explanation of the phrase ab shnm with reference to the
patèr toon phootoon of James 1:17; to the broken Ugaritic
text UM 76: I: 3 - 5 reading ...bn 'il / ...p]khr kkbm /
...dr dt shmm and to Job 38:7. Serious consideration
should however be given to the view of A. Jirku, shnm
(Schunama), der Sohn des Gottes 'Il, ZAW 82 / 2, 1970,
p. 278f. that shnm in the title 'il ab shnm is the
already known god shnm. See also A. van Selms, CTA 32:
A prophetic liturgy, to be published in UF III, Oct./Nov.,
1971.

11) E.g. UM 49: IV: 34, VI: 26 - 27; 51: III: 31. Cf. note
77 below.

12) His old age which is also a token of his seniority is
    implied by the references to his grey hair and his
    grey beard cf. UM 51: V: 66; ^{c}nt: pl. vi: V: 10, 33.
    Cf. Dan. 7:13.

13) The measures taken to repair Il's impotency is described
    in text 52:30-65.

14) Cf. UM 49: III: 15-19 and Il's behaviour towards Yamm
    in UM 137.

15) UM 51: IV: 40 - V: 103. Compare also UM 49: VI: 26-32.

16) UM 137: 14, 15, 30, 31 and ^{c}nt: pl. vi: IV: 7 - V: 12.

17) UM 67: VI: 9 - 25; 51: IV: 25 - 39.

18) UM 51: IV: 41, V: 65; 126: IV: 3; ^{c}nt: V: 38.

19) In the phrase ltpn.wqdsh UM 125: 11, 21-22.

20) E.g. UM 49: I: 21 - 22, III: 10, 14.

21) The epithet mlk ab shnm is inter alia a remnant from
    this stage.

22) M.H. Pope, op. cit., p. 104.

23) U. Oldenburg, op. cit., p. 20.

24) UM 49: I: 4 - 31.

25) M. Höfner, Altsüdarabische Grammatik, 1943, p. 7.

26) Cf. E. Littmann, Thamûd und Safâ, 1940, pp. 8ff.,
    p. 97.

27) For an extensive list of these products see R. Dussaud,
    op. cit., p. 125.

28) Already by Eduard Glaser in 1890 and confirmed by
    Jaussen and Savignac in 1910 and 1914. See W.F. Albright,
    Dedan, 1953, p. 1.

29) The sequence of the settlements in Dedan is still a
    matter of dispute. J.H. Mordtmann, F. Hommel,
    E. Littmann and W. Caskel accept that the Minaeans
    preceded the Lihyânites, whereas F.V. Winnett (formerly!)
    and W.F. Albright believe the opposite. Cf. A. Grohmann,
    Arabien, 1963, pp. 44 - 48; 273 - 274.

30) M. Höfner, WM, p. 477.

31) Ibid. Apart from the completely unknown Suwâ[c] the other
     gods mentioned in the Koran LXXI, 23 viz. Yaghûth,
     Ya[c]ûq and Nasr are also related to the South Arabians.
     See M. Höfner, WM, s.v. The position of Wadd amongst
     the Minaeans as well as the position of the moongod
     amongst the other South Arabian tribes seem to imply
     that the Lihyânites took over this god from the
     Minaeans and not vice versa. If this is true the
     Minaeans preceded the Lihyânites in Dedan.

32) R. Dussaud, op. cit., pp. 119ff.

33) Al-Bukhârî, Sahîh, V, p. 174, quoted by A. Grohmann,
     op. cit., p. 252. According to I. Goldziher, A Short
     History of Classical Arabic Literature, p. 25 Yathrib
     was a city influenced by South Arabian civilization.
     The Greek geographer Ptolemy seems to have known Mecca
     under the name Macoraba. This name is thought to be
     derived from the Sabaean mukarrib. See H. Lammens,
     Islam, Beliefs and Institutions, 1968, p. 13.
     H. Grimme, Mohammed, 1904, pp. 48-50 saw in
     Mohammed's concept of God a reflex of South Arabian
     monotheism and spoke of a certain dependence of old-
     Islam on South Arabia.

34) To be read ilâh and not Allâh in view of the form with
     determination, 'lhn (= ilâhan), occurring in these
     inscriptions.

35) It is probably more correct to supply 'l with a long
     vowel viz. 'îl in agreement with the spelling in Koranic
     names containing this theoforic element. On the vowel
     signs, or rather, lack of vowel signs in South Arabic,
     see Höfner, Grammatik, pp. 9 - 12.

36) We agree with Ulf Oldenburg, Above the Stars of El (El
     in Ancient South Arabic Religion), ZAW 82 / 2, 1970,
     pp. 187, 191, q.v., that the element 'îl in these names
     is the proper name of a god and not a mere appellative
     meaning simply "god". These names and their epitheta
     were collected by G. Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres Sud-

Sémitiques, 1934, more particularly, I, pp. 217 - 252. In our present summary we also make use of the conclusions of Oldenburg in his quoted article. On the justification of using theoforic personal names to determine the character of a god, see A. Murtonen, A Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament Divine Names 1952, p. 32 who prefers this method to the use of epitheta as a source. He found that the use of epitheta yields very unsatisfactory results.

37) Cf. the Allâh ta^{c}âlâ^y (the latter word is a verb thus the phrase is to be translated: Allâh, He is exalted) of the Koran e.g. XXVII, 63(64) and the epithet al-'a^{c}lâ^y Sûra LXXXVII, 1 with ēl ^{c}élyôn "the Creator of heaven and earth" in Gen. 14:19. Mention should here be made of Y. Moubarac, Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leurs correspondants dans l'épigraphie sud-sémitique, Le Muséon 68, 1955, pp. 93 - 135.

38) "Most High" is the common translation but it is more correct to translate: "the one who is High, eminent, exalted".

39) 'lhn b^{c}l smyn w'rdn, "O God, lord of the heaven and the earth". Cf. D. Nielsen, op. cit., p. 219 n. 2; G. Ryckmans, Heaven and earth in the South Arabian inscriptions, JSS 3 / 3, 1958, p. 231.

40) This is clearly the sense of the word al-fakhkhâr applied by the way of comparison to Allâh in Sûra LV, 14(13). Neither gemination nor vowels are indicated in South Arabic. Oldenburg, Above the stars, p. 190, translated 'l fkhr by "El of the (divine) Assembly". His trans - lation violates the rule that in the Semitic languages a proper name cannot be in the construct state. G. Ryckmans, op. cit., I, pp. 1 - 2 translated fkhr with "force, puissance". Compare also the name 'lbr' denoting El as creator.

41) Oldenburg, Above the stars, p. 193.

42) Ibid.

43) 'lqdm, yqdm'l (Saba'), "Il goes before, leads the way".

44) 'lyf^c (Mina), 'lrm (Saba').

45) yd^c'l (Qatabân, Saba').

46) 'lmlk (Qatabân).

47) ysdq'l (Qatabân, Saba'), sdq'l (Saba').

48) dn'l (Saba').

49) thb'l (Saba'), thwb'l (Mina).

50) wd'l (Qatabân), wdd'l (Mina, Saba').

51) We do not have the combination ab'l in South Arabian
names (see the Corrigenda to Ryckmans, op. cit., I,
p. 218) but 'b does occur in combinations where it
certainly refers to Il e.g. 'b^{c}ly.

52) 'ws'l (Mina, Saba'), 'l'ws (Mina), whb'l (Mina,
Qatabân, Saba'), bn'l (Hadramaut, Saba'), 'lwhb
(Mina, Saba').

53) 'ldhr^c (Mina, Saba'). Oldenburg also refers to nbt'l
(Mina, Saba') and 'lmnbt (Saba').

54) 'lbdhl (Saba'), zyd'l (Mina, Qatabân, Saba').

55) 'lsm^c (Hadramaut, Mina, Qatabân, Saba'), ysm^c'l
(Mina, Saba').

56) smhsm^c.

57) 'lfdy (Saba') "Il has redeemed", hbrr'l "Il has purified".

58) hqm'l (Saba'). 'lkrb (Mina, Saba'), krb'l (Saba').
'ls^{c}d (Qatabân, Saba') and s^{c}d'l (Qatabân, Saba') has
been translated by Oldenburg "El has made happy" but
since the causative form of s^{c}d is not used in this
instance it is more likely that a quality of Il is
described and that the former translation of Ryckmans
"Il est heureux" is more correct. We prefer to translate
"Il supports, sustains", comparing the similar Hebrew
root (occurring with sâmèk) with these meanings.

59) Cf. yr^c'l (Saba').

60) $\underline{\text{'l'mn}}$ (Saba').

61) $\underline{\text{'l}^{c}\underline{z}}$ (Mina, Saba'), $\underline{^{c}\underline{z}\text{'l}}$ (Saba').

62) $\underline{\text{hmy'l}}$ (Hadramaut, Mina, Saba'), $\underline{\text{dhmr'l}}$ (Saba').

63) $\underline{\text{hys}^{c}\text{'l}}$ (Hadramaut), $\underline{\text{hyt}^{c}\text{'l}}$ (Mina, Saba').

64) $\underline{\text{nsr'l}}$ (Saba').

65) Cf. also $\underline{\text{wqm'l}}$ (Mina, Saba') and $\underline{\text{wrw'l}}$ (Qatabân, Saba').

66) U. Oldenburg, Above the stars, p. 197. This statement
    will probably need some modification in view of allusions
    to a more humane temperament in names like $\underline{\text{'ls}^{c}\underline{d}}$, $\underline{\text{mt}^{c}\text{'l}}$
    (Mina —— translated by Ryckmans " 'Il est rusé" to
    which one may compare the craftiness of Il in Ugaritic
    texts like UM 75) and $\underline{\text{'lwtr}}$ (Saba' —— if the translation
    of Ryckmans " 'Il est jaloux" is correct).

67) Ibid., p. 187.

68) Ibid., p. 191.

69) Ibid., p. 198.

70) Ibid., pp. 202 - 208. Oldenburg found evidence of the
    myth of ^{c}Athtar's revolt against Il in Isaiah 14:12-15.
    Cf. also W. Herrmann, A$\underline{\text{sh}}$tart, Mitteilungen des
    Instituts für Orientforschung, 15/1, 1969, pp. 6-52.

71) See e.g. D. Nielsen, Handbuch der altarabischen Alter-
    tumskunde, 1927, Chapter V.

72) See e.g. Th. Nöldeke, ERE, I, p. 673[a]; A. Jamme,
    La Religion Sud-Arabe Préislamique, in M. Brillant and
    L.Aigrain, Histoir des Religions, 1956, IV, pp.
    257 - 260.

73) The sun-goddess S$\underline{\text{h}}$ams is indeed called 'Umm $^{c}\underline{\text{athtar}}$
    while the name Wadd'ab implies the position of the moon-
    god as father in the divine family. See G. Ryckmans,
    De Maangod in de voorislamietische Zuidarabische Godsdienst
    1948, p. 11. Since Sûra CXII dates from the beginning
    of the public career of Mohammed, when he did not yet
    cross swords with Christianity, it must have been

directed against the mentioned divine family as
Ryckmans pointed out. Compare however the references
to the daughters of Allâh in e.g. LIII, 19 - 21.

74) M. Höfner, s.v. Göttertrias, WM, p. 507; A. Jamme,
op. cit., p. 259.

75) M. Höfner, Göttertrias, 'Almaqah(ū), WM, pp. 492,
507.

76) It is most remarkable that we find the sequence a star,
the moon and then the sun in Sûra VI:74-79.

77) In the same way as the half-circled horns of the ibex,
the bull with its curved horns served as a symbol of
the moongod. As we know from Ugarit the bull signified
Il as fertility god. Cf. M. Höfner, 'Almaqah(ū), WM,
p. 493. The bull later became a symbol of [c]Athtar as
well. See M. Höfner, WM, pp. 499, 541. This may be
due to the replacement of the moongod by [c]Athtar.

78) Cf. e.g. wd'b (Saba'). A name like wd'l (Qatabân) could
be translated "Wadd is Il" but probably it simply means
"Wadd is god".

79) Cf. M. Höfner, WM, p. 528. In this connection one
may also refer to proper names like 'ldhrḥ (Saba')

"Il shines forth".

80) The conventional pronunciation was Almaqah. Other
suggested readings are Îlmaqah (CIS IV), Ilmuqah
(Nielsen), Îlmâqahû (Boneschi). See M. Höfner, WM,
p. 492.

81) Cf. R. Dussaud, op. cit., pp. 127, 128.

82) U. Oldenburg, Above the stars, p. 203. J. Chelhod
suggested that the rising god Allâh (in his turn!)
dethroned the celestial moongod who passed his powers
on to him, Les Structures du sacré chez les Arabes,
1964, p. 100.

83) D. Nielsen, op. cit., pp. 216 - 224, 241 - 250 and
G. Ryckmans, Het Oude Arabië en de Bybel, JEOL 14,
1955/56, pp. 79f. We accept the shorter chronology
for South Arabia. Consequently the religious similarities

between South Arabia and Israel are not considered to
be South Arabian influence on Israel but due to a
common Semitic origin.

84) According to the Koran there will be no sun in Paradise
LXXVI, 13. Both sun and moon are subjected to Allâh
XXII, 18. Against Nielsen, op. cit., p. 223 we
have to point out that the feminine of Il/Ilâh is not
only used of the sun (in Classical Arabic) but also of
the moon (hilâl). See Lane, op. cit., s.v. 'lh. It
is interesting to note the most important place of the
moon in the religion of the Rwala bedouins, said to be
the only true remaining bedouin tribe in North Arabia.
They believe that their life is regulated by the
friendly moon whose female counterpart is the destroying
sun. The moon provides rain, safety and refreshing
sleep. If they sight the new moon, they show him to
each other and raise their hands to him, crying out a
welcome to their lord, their powerful benefactor who
saves them. Alois Musil, The Manners and Customs of
the Rwala Bedouins, 1928, pp. 1 - 3. Compare also
Job 31:27; Sûra XXVII, 22-25; XLI, 37 and T. Canaan,
Gott im Glauben der palästinischen Araber, ZDPV 78,
1962, pp. 16f.

85) Though the element Il may be an appellative in some
instances e.g. in names like nhr'l, sn'l, etc., it
is commonly used as a proper name in agreement with its
use amongst the related South Arabians.

86) In comparison with the use of the element Il the element
'lh, lh is rarely used —— about 22 times against
about 181 times. Our source is the cited work of
G. Ryckmans, Les Noms.

87) Thus we find e.g. bn'lh next to bn'l, zdlh next to
zyd'l.

88) 'l^{c}l (Thamûd), ^{c}l'l (Lihyân, Thamûd), s^{c}d'l (Safâ),
rm'l (Safâ), cf. shm'l (Lihyân).

89) hy'l (Safâ), hy'ln (Lihyân), hyw'l (Thamûd).
Also said of Allâh, hylh (Safâ).

90) 'lshrḥ (Lihyân); zhr'l (Safâ).

91) ^cs'l (Lihyân), 'lbny (Lihyân), dhwb'l (Safâ), wq^cl
      (Safâ), yfth'l (Safâ). The latter word need not be
      restricted in meaning as a reference to the opening of
      the womb of the mother at the birth of the child.
      Compare Mandaic Ptahil, name of the creator of the world
      in Mandaic literature (cf. Ginza iamina 241:2ff.) as well
      as Yiftah-el and Nèftôah respectively the names of a wâdî
      and a fountain in Israel. In the Koran XXXIV, 26(25)
      al-fattâh is traditionally translated: "The Judge" in
      view of the context, cf. VII, 89(87).

92) 'b'l (Safâ). Also said of Allâh, 'lh'b (Lihyân). Other
      gods with the epithet ab are Wadd, Hilâl and ^cAmm ——
      in fact these are different names of the moongod. Hilâl
      signifies "the new moon" whereas Wadd and ^cAmm are
      official names of the national- and moongod in Ma^cîn
      and Qatabân. In view of the Ugaritic ad "father" UM
      52:32, 43 and the Accadian adda "father, daddy" as in
      the Mari letters (cf. UM vol. III, p. 232, No. 42) the
      Thamûdic 'l'dd probably also signifies Il as father.

93) bn'l (Safâ, Thamûd). Also said of Allâh, bn'lh (Safâ).
      Cf. also bnhrb (Safâ), bn^cl (Safâ). The Safaitic bhlh
      which G. Ryckmans translated "par ha-Allâh" could be
      "son of ha-Allâh" (b = "son" in Thamûdic inscriptions as
      well as in the Babylonian Talmud and Hebrew seals) on
      itself; the context of this name is however unknown to
      the present author. The word dr'l (Safâ) designates the
      people as the offspring of Il.

94) hm'l (Lihyân).

95) khl'l (Safâ); ^cm'l (Safâ) —— more probably than ^cAmm
      is god. Compare ^cmhrdw (Safâ) correctly translated by
      G. Ryckmans "Rudâ est son oncle" (more probably than
      "^cAmm gives satisfaction").

96) qdm'l (Safâ) "Il goes before, leads the way".

97) sh^c'l (Safâ).

98) 'lkhlm (Thamûd); h^{c}d'l, ^{c}d'l (Safâ).

99) 'lwlyw (Thamûd); wl'l (Lihyân).

100) hrmlh (Lihyân). There is the possibility that this may
be the name of a god in view of the god's name hrmbyt'l
to be found in an Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine. See
A. Cowley, Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.,
reprinted 1967, p. 20 l. 7. See also note 164 below.

101) zn'l (Safâ).

102) 'lhbb, hbb'l (Thamûd); hb'l (Safâ); dd'l (Thamûd).

103) ^{c}z'l (Lihyân), ^{c}zl (Thamûd); ^{c}tnl (Lihyân).

104) sb^c'l (Safâ).

105) wq'l (Lihyân, Thamûd), yhm'l (Lihyân), 'lmn^c (Thamûd),
tmhm'l (Lihyân), smr'l (Safâ), nzr'l (Safâ), gn'l?
(Safâ); also said of Allâh, 'lhlf^c (Lihyân).

106) grl (Safâ).

107) nsr'l (Safâ).

108) wqm'l (Safâ).

109) rhs'l (Safâ), grm'l (Safâ), hrs'l (Thamûd), cf. wr'l
(Lihyân, Thamûd).

110) whsh'l (Safâ).

111) yqn'l, qn'l (Safâ).

112) shmt'l (Lihyân, Safâ). Compare Classical Arabic shmt
in Lane, op. cit., s.v.

113) dn'l (Safâ).

114) mb's'l (Safâ).

115) y^{c}dh'l (Safâ), ^{c}wdh'l (Safâ), ^{c}ydhl (Lihyân).

116) 'lyth^c (Lihyân); mslm'l (Safâ) also said of Allâh slmlh

(Safâ); fd'l (Safâ); flt'l (Safâ) which can only be
classified here if it is equal to the Classical Arabic
flt.

117) ,^{c}n'l, ^{c}n'l (Safâ); ghth'l (Safâ), ghthlhy (Thamûd).

118) ymn'l (Safâ).

119) ndhr'l (Safâ).

120) r^c'l (Thamûd), r^{c}y'l (Safâ).

121) ,^{c}l'l (Safâ).

122) bsm'l (Safâ), sm'l (Safâ).

123) ysm^{c}l (Safâ).

124) mlk'l (Safâ).

125) mr''l (Thamûd), also said of Allâh, mr'lh (Lihyân);
'lrb (Safâ).

126) ^{c}bd'l (Safâ, Thamûd); hn'lh (Lihyân), hn'^{c}ly (Lihyân).

127) tm'l (Safâ), also said of Allâh (Lihyân).

128) rdlh (Thamûd), mrm'lh (Lihyân).

129) 'ln^{c}m (Thamûd).

130) wd^{c}l (Safâ), wd^{c}lh (Lihyân), yd^c'l (Thamûd).

131) 'lyhbsm (Thamûd).

132) shkr'l (Safâ).

133) hn'l, hnn'l (Safâ).

134) kfr'l (Thamûd); y^{c}dhrl (Thamûd), ^{c}dhr'l (Lihyân,
Safâ, Thamûd).

135) 'lrf', rf''l, rf'l (Safâ).

136) 'ws'l, 'wsl and variant forms (Safâ, Thamûd, Lihyân)
also said of Allâh 'slh (Thamûd); 'lwhb (Safâ), also
said of Allâh (Lihyân, Safâ); ws'l (Safâ); zbd'l

(Safâ); zd'l (Safâ); zyd'l (Lihyân) also said of Allâh
zdlh (Lihyân); mn'l (Safâ); ^{c}tlh (Lihyân); qsm'l
(Lihyân); cf. n^c'l (Safâ); ylk'l (Thamûd).

137) 'mr'l (Safâ), cf. M. Noth, <u>Die israelitischen</u>
    <u>Personennamen</u>, Reprinted 1966, p. 173.

138) fmn'l (Lihyân).

139) ws^c'l (Thamûd); kbr'l (Lihyân). In Classical Arabic
    the root kbr used of human beings means "to be old".
    smd'l (Safâ), 'lsmw (Thamûd).

140) msbh'l (Safâ), mhmd'l (Safâ).

141) ns'lh (Lihyân). Cf. Lane, op. cit., s.v. ns'. See
    also the early Lihyânite inscription JS 8 in F.V. Winnett,
    <u>Allâh before Islâm</u>, MW 1938, pp. 241f.

142) ymsk'l (Safâ); nsh^c'l (Safâ).

143) 'lbr (Lihyân).

144) 'n'l (Safâ).

145) 'lbgl (Thamûd).

146) Cf. ghyr'l, ghr'l (Safâ).

147) b^cd'l (Safâ).

148) 'lhbn (Safâ). Cf. khn'l (Safâ), 'lkhbṣ (Thamûd).
    Cf. sd'l (from the root sdd, "to turn away" in
    Classical Arabic).

149) rth'l (Safâ).

150) ndml (Safâ).

151) skhr'l (Safâ), s^cdlh and variant forms in Lihyân,
    Safâ and Thamûd.

152) mt^c'l (Lihyân) Il is crafty; 'l^clf (Safâ) Il is
    greedy.

153) Lane, op. cit., s.v.

154) Nielsen, op. cit., p. 223. Nielsen also refers to the
    Safâitic names Zhr-il "Il erscheint", ^cbr-il "Il geht
    vorüber", Smr-il "Il ist das Mondlicht".

155) E.g. Genesis 32:32.

156) One would expect the spelling ghrb'l but G. Ryckmans,
Les Noms, I, p. 244, pointed out that Classical
Arabic mghrb was written m^{c}rb in South Arabia.

157) See note 95 above. Another solution is to see in the
relation of ^{c}m to ^{c}mh the same relation we established
in the previous chapter between 'l and 'lh.

158) G. Ryckmans, Les Noms, I, s.v. ^{c}m'l wisely gave first
the translation with Il as proper name, but also
mentioned the other possibility viz. ^{c}Amm is god.

159) The title 'Umm ^{c}athtar of Shams e.g. rules out the
possibility of such an exclusivism. Cf. note 73 above.
The polemical situation of I Kings 18:21 is not comparable
since the dominant position of the divine triad excludes
henotheism or monolatry amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs.

160) Cf. abbâ in the Babylonian Talmud which is commonly used
in the sense of "my father".

161) Nahar gave, ^{c}Amm saw.

162) E. Littmann, Thamûd und Safâ, 1940, p. 39 (Thamûd)
and p. 106 (Safâ).

163) Ibid., pp. 106, 107. Cf. also p. 119.

164) See F.V. Winnett, op. cit., pp. 241 - 244. In Safâitic
inscriptions Allâh is frequently mentioned together
with the most prominent Safâitic deity, Allât.

165) E. Littmann, op. cit., pp. 81f. The word 'btr also
occurs in a number of other inscriptions from Thamûd.
According to F.V. Winnett, op. cit., p. 244, abtar
is not applied to any other god in the North Arabian
inscriptions.

166) Grimme was the first to suggest that abtar means "having
no children". Winnett at first advocated the translation
"father of fatness" but later abandoned it in favour of
the meaning "childless". Cf. F.V. Winnett, op. cit.,
pp. 241, 243, 244, 248. Winnett refers to Sûra CXII
as a commentary on the use of the term as applied to

Allâh —— possibly a bit of pre-Islamic theology about
Allâh.

167) One thinks of the use of the root btr "to cut" in
connection with a covenant in Genesis 15:10, Jeremiah
34:18f.; 'btr as first person singular Impf. VIII of
a root brr to mean "I devote myself to God" or the same
form of a root br' or bry as alternative explanations.

168) We do not possess any documents of pagan Arabic prose
and, as is well-known, it was in poetry that the pagan
Arab mind had manifested itself.

169) Man is the central figure in Arabic poetry, while
everything else is subordinate to him. Cf. I.
Lichtenstaedter, A Modern Analysis of Arabic Poetry,
IC 15, 1941, p. 432; I. Goldziher, op. cit., p. 25.

170) Cf. Abû al-Faradj al-Isbahânî, Kitâb al-Aghânî, Bûlâq
edition 1285 A.H., V, p. 172, 11. 16-22.

171) See I. Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, 1961, I,
p. 2, n. 2; A. Bloch, Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen,
1946, p. 3, n. 5; Th. Nöldeke, ERE, I, p. 659a,
n. 3. In a few cases a verse has been transmitted both
in its original and in its altered form.

172) Compare the saying, "Poetry is the public register of
the Arabs"; thereby genealogies are kept in mind and
famous actions are made familiar, R. A. Nicholson,
A Literary History of the Arabs, 1962, p. 31. Compare
also, in addition to the references in the previous foot-
note   F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammeds, 1961, p. 95;
W.R. Smith, The Religion of the Semites, 1959, p. 49.

173) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, op. cit., IV, p. 3, 11. 2f.;
J. Wellhausen, Reste Arabischen Heidentums³, 1961, p. 9.

174) Although we endeavoured to restrict ourselves to poetry
definitely pre-Islamic, some references quoted may well
be ascribed to the Islamic era. After all the Islam did
not present a rift or radical change in the poetry of
the Arab people. Thus even poets of the Umayyad period
(like the celebrated Al-Akhtal) were direct continuers
of pagan Arab poetry. We can find no reason to ascribe

the name Allâh in all ancient Arabic poetry to
Christian influence as was done by L. Cheikho.

175) Cf. Th. Noeldeke, <u>Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum</u>,
   1961, p. 30 l. 5; p. 35 l. 12; p. 74 l. 3; p. 106
   l. 1. Al-Buḥturî, <u>Kitâb al-Hamâsa</u>, edited by

   P.L. Cheikho 1910, p. 49 l. 8, p. 61 l. 16; p. 141
   l. 11 (Jewish); p. 208 l. 14; p. 234 ll. 2, 3;
   p. 240 l. 5; p. 257 l. 12; p. 258 l. 10; p. 268 l. 20;
   "by the house of Allâh" p. 21 l. 7; p. 156 l. 2. For
   a list of references to the literature we refer to the
   invaluable concordance in preparation at the Institute
   of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University
   of Jerusalem. Prof. M. Plessner was so kind to supply
   me with the necessary material before the publication
   of this work.

176) Cf. Al-Buḥturî, p. 22 l. 10; p. 65 l. 15.

177) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, XIV, p. 99 l. 21; XV, p. 75 l. 30;
   Al-Buḥturî, p. 257 l. 5; p. 160 l. 5. The Arabs also
   used to blame and revile <u>al-Dahr</u> ("time" but in this
   sense it means "Fortune" or "Fate") for the eventualities
   of their life. Cf. Sûra XLV, 24(23) and Al-Isbahânî,
   XVII, p. 58 l. 2. According to tradition Mohammed
   forbade this practice: <u>Lâ tasubbû al-Dahr fa-'inna al-</u>
   <u>Dahr huwa Allâh</u>. See E.W. Lane, op. cit., Part 3,
   p. 923c.

178) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, XIII, p. 138 l. 13; <u>Delectus</u>, p. 3
   l. 11; Al-Buḥturî, p. 36 l. 7; p. 158 l. 6 (Jewish).

179) <u>Delectus</u>, p. 37 l. 6; cf. Al-Buḥturî, p. 114 l. 10.

180) Al-Buḥturî, p. 80 l. 22; p. 82 l. 6; p. 67 l. 14;
   p. 242 l. 17; p. 139 l. 16. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, <u>Sîrat</u>
   <u>rasûl Allâh</u> (ed. Wüstenfeld), 1858, p. 145 ll. 11ff.;
   p. 853 ll. 2f.

181) Al-Tibrizî, Kitâb <u>Sharh al-Qasâ'id al-^cAshr</u>, ed.

   C.J. Lyall, reprinted 1965, p. 138 l. 3. For the
   phrase <u>amr Allâh</u> compare its Koranic use in the sense
   of "the threatened punishment of God" (Cf. X, 24(25);
   XI, 40(42); XVI, 1).

182) Cf. Delectus, p. 44 l. 3; Al-Buhturî, p. 33 l. 17; p. 40 l. 17; p. 52 l. 1; p. 63 l. 4; p. 81 l. 13; p. 253 l. 10. C.J.Lyall, op. cit., p. 59 l. 27; cf. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 146 l. 3.

183) Al-Buhturî, p. 32 l. 4, Cf. Delectus, p. 32 l. 4, p. 72 l. 13; Al-Isbahânî, XV, p. 76 l. 12. Compare also the name of Mohammed's father, [c]Abdullâh.

184) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 159 l. 17, 20; p. 160 ll. 3, 5, 12, 19, 20; p. 161 ll. 3, 6; p. 227 l. 2; p. 232 l. 21; p. 241 l. 16.

185) Cf. Delectus, p. 34 l. 5.

186) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 74 l. 1.

187) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, X, p. 18 l. 23, Delectus, p.97 l. 2. In this instance al-Nâbigha may have been inspired by Christian ideas for his poem is directed to a Christian king. Cf. note 241 below. Compare to the other references the verse of Al-Tufail ibn [c]Amr in Al-Buhturî, op.cit., p. 32 l. 4 where the word hatm appears in the same sense it was used by Umaiya ibn Abî al-Salt viz. judicial decree or sentence (of God). See E.W. Lane, op. cit., s.v. hatm.

188) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 276 l. 9.

189) Cf. Ibid., p. 270 l. 12.

190) Cf. Ibid., p. 36 l. 9; p. 270 l. 14.

191) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 177 l. 13; Delectus, p. 49 l. 6; p. 83 l. 9.

192) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, X, p. 66 l. 10. Compare the expression Djâr Allâh[i] and Al-Buhturî, p. 107 l. 9.

193) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 73 l. 6 (Christian).

194) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, XII, p. 125 l. 14; p. 126 l. 15.

195) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 244 l. 8. Al-Isbahânî, XX, p. 146 l. 29; p.147 l. 6.

196) Cf. Delectus, p. 35 l. 3; Al-Isbahânî, XIX, p. 156 l. 29; Al-Buhturî, p. 274 l. 20.

197) Cf. the phrase bihamd Allâh, Al-Buhturî, p. 40 1. 3
and hamidtu ilâhî, Al-Isbahânî, XXI, p. 43 1. 25.

198) EI, s.v. al-Madīna. The reference to Allâh as creator
is in itself insufficient to prove Jewish or Christian
influence contrary to the opinion of F. Buhl. The
paganism of this poet is proved by his rejection of a
life after death.

199) R. Geyer, Gedichte und Fragmente des Aus b. Hadjar,
1892, p. 11 1. 2. Even more remarkable is the saying
of ^{C}Abîd ibn al-Abras: "Allâh has no partnership
(shirk)", Lyall, op. cit., p. 161 1. 8, but it may
have been inspired by Christianity for ^{C}Abîd lived at
the Nestorian court of Al-Hîra. Aus ibn Hadjar also
visited this court.

200) Al-Buhturî, p. 227 1. 20.

201) In the terminology of the Koran Abraham was neither a
Jew nor a Christian but a Hanîf II, 135(129); III,
67(60).

202) Sûra X, 22(23); XXIX, 65; XXXI, 32(31) —— these
instances refer to the dangers of a journey by sea;
XXX, 33(32); XXXIX, 8(11), 49(50). According to
C. Brockelmann, Allâh und die Götzen, ARW XI, p. 117,
it is not of requital after death but of death as the
punishment God inflicts upon the sinner that the Arabs
thought when they remembered their religious duties in
times of distress or fear of death.

203) XXIII, 84(86) - 89(91).

204) VI, 109; XVI, 38(40); XXXV, 42(40).

205) XXIX, 61; XXXI, 25(24); XXXIX, 38(39); XLIII, 87.
Cf. XXXII, 4(3).

206) XXIX, 63.

207) VI, 148(149); XVI, 35(37).

208) VI, 100; XXXIX, 45(46).

209) LIII, 19f; XVI, 57(59), 62(64); XVII, 40(42); LII, 39.

210) VII, 28(27).

211) XXIV, 7f.; XLII, 24(23); cf. XXIII, 38(40).

212) X, 18(19); VI, 94; XXX, 13(12). Cf. LXXIV, 48(49).
The root shf^c appears to be a $Shaf^c il$ form related to
the root nf^c.

213) XXXIX, 3(3-5).

214) LIII, 49(50); Cf. XXVI, 28(27); LXXIII, 9.

215) Cf. W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, 1965,
pp. 60-64.

216) H. Birkeland, Das Problem der Entstehung des Islams,
Die Welt als Geschichte, Vol.18, 1958, pp. 218-220,
also mentions Sûras CVIII, CV, XCIII and XCIV. In
Sûra CVIII the root nhr, a hapax legomenon in the Koran,
refers to the pre-Islamic sacrificial rites. Sûras
XCII and XCIV reflects the changed position of the
prophet as a result of his marriage with Khadidya and
must have been revealed soon after this occasion.

217) The phrase "lord of this house" is also found in
Nabataean inscriptions. See Th. Nöldeke, Der Gott
mr' byt' und die $Ka^c ba$, ZA 23, 1909, pp. 184-186.

218) H. Birkeland, op. cit., pp. 218-220. It is interesting
that even in the third Meccan period the believers are
commanded to have the same respect for the heathen gods
they expect to be shown towards Allâh, VI, 109(108).

219) Cf. CIX, containing a formal proclamation of the breach.

220) The original version was later ascribed to influence of
Satan (cf. XXII, 52(51)) and in a separate revelation
their alteration to what we now read in Sûrat al-nadjm
was justified (cf. XVI, 101(103)). See the account
of Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 239 and compare also
al-Baidâwî and al-Tabarî ad loc.

221) It is important to note that Mohammed had no need to
supply a religious background for his preaching and it
would be an interesting study to investigate the scope
of that presupposed background. Mohammed loved to use

the belief of the Arabs in Allâh as creator as a starting point of his reasoning. One of the early converts to Islam said of Mohammed: "He reformed the mainstays of Islam after they had been broken and strengthened them ...", presenting him not as the founder but as the renovator of the Islam. Al-Isbahânî, XIII, p. 66 l. 8. In an important essay "On the spiritual background of early Islam ...", Muséon 64, 1951, pp. 317-365, M.M. Bravmann produced evidence that the sharp contrast generally accepted between the spiritual and ethical foundations of pre-Islamic Arab life and the religion founded by Mohammed does not exist at all.

222) The Koranic term shirk was found in a monotheistic Sabaean inscription already by J.H. Mordtmann and D.H. Müller, Eine monotheistische sabäische Inschrift, WZKM X, 1896, p. 291. In the Koran (XXXI, 13(12)) the term is also put into the mouth of Luqmân, an Arabian savant of pre-Islamic times.

223) This is one of the reasons for the easiness with which the different tribes were converted in corpore to the Islam.

224) rabb hâdhâ al-bait, Sûra CVI, 3.

225) Sûra XXVII, 91(93).

226) Cf. G. Ryckmans, Les Religions Arabes Préislamiques, p. 14, and for a description of Hubal, Ibn al-Kalbî, op. cit.,pp. 17f. Cf. also Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 94. To represent a god in human form was strange to the ancient Arabs and implies foreign origin. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 821 relates that on the day of his victory Mohammed entered the Ka^{c}ba and found amongst others Abraham portrayed (musawwar) with divining arrows in his hand. It appears obvious that Abraham is here a pseudonym for Hubal.

227) J. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 75. Cf. al-^{c}umra li-Allâh, II, 196(192) for which several codices read al-^{c}umra li-al-bait or al^{c}umra ilâ al-bait. See

A. Jeffery, On the materials for the textual criticism of the Qur'ân, 1937, ad. loc. Here Allâh is identified with the Ka^{c}ba.

228) Ibid. Cf. p. 221 n. 2 where Wellhausen remarks: "Lehrreich ist der innere Widerspruch im Ḥadith, dass Abdalmuttalib dem Allâh das Opfer bei der Ka^{c}ba bringen will, aber den Hubal befragt, welches Opfer er haben will". Cf. also al-Tabarî, Akhbâr al-rusul wa-al-mulûk, p. 999 for a similar story.

229) The indications are that Hubal is of foreign origin. Pococke and Dozy connected the word with Hebrew habba^{c}al (Cf. EI s.v.) but it has also been related to Aramaic h^{a}bal. There is some evidence that Hubal came to Mecca from the North, according to Ibn Hishâm from Moab. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, Der Gott mr' byt' ... , p. 185, ERE I pp. 663f.; Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 51; R. Dussaud, op. cit., p. 143f. Hubal (hblw) is mentioned between Dusares and Manāt in a Nabataean inscription (CIS II, 198) and is the theoforic element in the Nabataean proper name bn-hbl, cf. Höfner, WM, pp. 447f. Could there be a pun on Hubal in the word h^{a}bālîm used by e.g. Jeremiah in Jer. 2:5 to indicate the idols?

230) Since divination by means of arrows was associated with Hubal according to Ibn al-Kalbî, loc. cit., the damnation of Sûra V, 90(92) (cf. vs. 3(4)) could have been directed against him.

231) Ibn al-Kalbî, loc. cit. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 94.

232) Cf. D.S. Margoliouth, ERE, VI, p. 247. For a summary of the relevant literary sources see Y. Moubarac, Les études d'épigraphie sud-sémitique et la naissance de l'Islam, Paris 1957, pp. 17ff.; R. Klinke-Rosenberger, Das Götzenbuch Kitâb Al-Asnâm des Ibn al-Kalbî, 1941, pp. 22f.

233) This book formerly only known from the geographical dictionary of Yâqût was found and edited by Ahmed Zekî Pascha in 1913.

234) Ibn al-Kalbî, Kitâb al-Asnâm (ed. R. Klinke-Rosenberger),
pp. 27f. Cf. Sûra VI, 136(137) and Ibn Hishâm, op.
cit., p. 53.

235) EI s.v. Kuraish.

236) D.S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, 1905,
pp. 10, 19f. Compare for this paragraph also note 37
of our previous chapter as well as T. Fahd, Le panthéon
de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire, 1968,
pp. 215-217.

237) The present author was regrettably not in a position
to check all the references given by Margoliouth from
the originals.

238) Arabes (possibly of Jewish descent) are already mentioned
at the beginning of the Church in Acts 2:11, but cf.
O. Eissfeldt, Kreter und Araber, TLZ, 1947, pp. 207f.

239) Accordingly the Koran understands the Gospel as something
to be "observed" like the Torah, V, 66(70). Compare
also E. Ullendorf, JSS, I, 1956, pp. 216-236.

240) Cf. D.S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of Islam,
1905, p. 79. In the previous chapter we suggested
that the Syriac pronunciation was influenced by the Arabic
Allâh because Allâh is a very old and pure Arabic form.

241) From a verse in which ^{C}Adî swears wa-rabb makka wa-al-
salîb "by the Lord of Mecca and of the cross", Al-Isbahânî,
book 2, page 24 line 31, it has been deduced that he
equalled Christ with the lord of the Ka^{C}ba or Allâh.
This deduction is not justified. Mohammed sweared by
the sun, moon, day, night, heaven, earth, soul
(XCI, 1-7) as well as by Him who created male and
female (XCII, 3) —— mâ used in the sense of man in the
latter reference, cf. H. Reckendorff, Die Syntaktischen
Verhältnisse des Arabischen, reprinted 1967, pp. 610f.
Yet nobody would infer from this evidence that Mohammed
acknowledged the sun, moon etc. as gods like the pre-
Islamic Arabs. The same applies to Jewish poets
swearing by the bait Allâh, cf. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit.,

p. 550 l. 13. The poet al-Nâbigha also used the word Allâh in a Christian sense in poems extolling the Christian kings who were his benefactors, Dîwân al-Nâbighah, Beirut, 1953, pp. 16, 88, Delectus, p. 96 l.3f.

242) Cf. V, 17(19); XXII, 40(41); LXI, 6.

243) I, 1, 3 and 6 ; possibly it is the Arabs of Mesopotamia that are referred to.

244) Cf. S. Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, reprinted 1962, pp. 280f.

245) For a list of the Jewish tribes see A.J. Wensinck, Mohammed en de Joden te Medina, 1908, pp. 33ff.

246) In all probability the reference is to oral translation with the purpose of explaining the original and not to an Arabic version committed to writing. This procedure is presupposed by Sûra 41:44. Cf. S.D. Goitein, Muhammad's Inspiration by Judaism, JJS9, 1958, pp. 149-162.

247) It should however be noted that the first place in the trinitarian formula of Christian inscriptions is also assigned to Rahmân. See G. Ryckmans, Les Religions ..., pp. 47f. The use of the name Rahmân in the inscriptions implies a monotheistic connotation.

248) This is also the case in the Bible versions.

249) Compare e.g. II, 79(73); LXII, 6; IX, 30. The God of the Old Testament "prophets" figured in the Koran is Allâh, as is the case with the legendary prophet Hûd, VII, 65(63). Elsewhere the word Hûd signifies the Jews e.g. II, 111(105); cf. IV, 46(48) and both names are seemingly derived from the word Yahûd, in the popular etymology understood to be the vocative particle Yâ combined with Hûd. Cf. EI, s.v. R.B. Sergeant, Hûd and other Pre-Islamic Prophets of Hadramaut, Muséon, 67, 1954, pp. 166-171 published traditions that Hûd had a son, or grandson with the Jewish name Daniel. This also suggests that Hûd was

an early Jewish preacher of monotheism in Arabia.

250) In 1896 Mordtmann and Müller published a monotheistic
Sabaean inscription using the name Rahmân and reflecting
the doctrines of forgiveness of sins, acceptance of
sacrifice, a near and distant world, op. cit., pp.
285-292. It ascribes both good and evil to Rahmân and
rejects polytheism, using the Koranic term shirk.
This inscription constitutes a remarkable parallel to
the teachings later introduced by Mohammed into North
Arabia. It proves that such doctrines were current at
least in South Arabia during the Djâhilîya. Probably
this inscription is of Jewish origin since the word
qorbān is used for "sacrifice".

251) Sûra XVII, 110. This verse presupposes some confusion
concerning the proper name of God.

252) J. Frank-Kamenetzky, Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis
der dem Umajja b. Abi-s-Salt zugeschrieben Gedichte zum
Qorān, 1911, concluded: "Lässt sich auf Grund dieser
Untersuchung auch nicht eine direkte Benutzung des
Qorāns durch Umajja beweisen, so steht doch fest, dass
er der Religion Muhammeds ausserordentlich nahe gestanden
hat".

253) Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., pp. 143ff; cf. notes 180 and
182 above.

254) Ibid., pp. 153, 154. Since the completion of this
chapter the following relevant works reached the
present writer: W.M. Watt, Belief in a "High God" in
pre-Islamic Mecca, JSS XVI, 1, 1971, pp. 35-40; F.V.
Winnett and W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North
Arabia, 1970.

V. NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1) As a token of respect and because of the accepted use of the name Allâh in the Arabic version of the Bible we decided to write the word God with an initial capital letter also when it refers to Allâh in the Koran ── without the intention of any theological implications.

2) This is best illustrated by the imperative qul, directed towards Mohammed (Cf. VIII, 1; CIX, 1; CXII, 1; CXIV, 1) to which may be compared the Hebrew imperative ^{e}mōr (e.g. Jer. 13:18) and the messenger's formula also underlying many Old Testament prophecies (cf. Gen. 32:5, Jer. 13:1). Compare for this formula also XIX, 9(10).

3) We do not accept the chronological sequence of the sûras as arranged by Nöldeke as will be clear from this and the preceding chapter. Nevertheless we followed it as a general guideline.

4) Our first investigation is contained in an unpublished M.A. thesis Skeppingsvoorstellinge in die Koran, 1967, pp. 65f. R.D. Wilson, The use of the terms "Allâh" and "Rabb" in the Koran, MW 10, 1920, pp. 176-183 argued that every kind of variation in the use of the designations of the Deity that is met with in the Pentateuch is also contained in the Koran. In the case of the Koran the unity of authorship is undeniable. Why then, asks Wilson, should the variation of names in the Pentateuch indicate diversity of authorship! To the present writer Wilson's representation seems to be an oversimplification of the issue without consideration for differences between the Koran and the Pentateuch in structure and background. Even the use of the designations of the Deity in the two sources is not in our opinion comparable.

5) J.H. Kramers, De Koran^2, 1965.

6) The basmala is left out of account since it occurs for the first time in the second Meccan period in the text of the Koran (XXVII, 30) although it was regarded by

tradition as part of the oldest revelations. It is
unknown when it became the superscript of all the
individual sûras and it is uncertain whether Mohammed
regarded it as part of the revelation. Sûra XCVI, 1
bears no witness to this issue. If the mysterious
letters heading a number of sûras belong to the collection
and redaction of the Koran it indicates that the basmala
preceeding them did not form part of the composition of
the text. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, op. cit., I, pp. 116f.;
II, pp. 79f. and R. Bell, Introduction to the Qur'ān,
1963, pp. 53f. According to XXVII, 30 the basmala was
regarded as part of the praescriptum of a letter. It
may be compared with the Laus Deo (+) used at the
beginning of letters and documents in the Middle Ages.

7)   According to Nöldeke CXII, 1, 2; CIV, 6; XCV, 8;
     LXXXVIII, 24; LXXXVII, 7 were dated Medinic from
     Moslem side while Muir classified also LXXIX, 25 under
     a later period. See Nöldeke ad loc. Kramers as well as
     R. Blachère, Le Coran, 1949-1951, dated also XCI, 13
     bis later.

8)   In about 10,000 verses of some 400 poets of this period
     the name Allâh (in all the forms ilâh, al-ilâh, allâh
     and allâhumma) occurs hardly more than 400 times accor-
     ding to O.A. Farrukh, Das Bild des Frühislam in der
     Arabischen Dichtung, 1937, p. 12.

9)   O.A. Farrukh, op. cit., p. 13.

10) According to the counting of J. Chelhod, Note sur
     l'emploi du mot Rabb dans le Coran, Arabica 5, 1958,
     pp. 161-163, the word Allâh occurs 143 times in the
     second Meccan period, 794 times in the third Meccan
     period and 1,644 times in the Medinan period.

11) O.A. Farrukh, op. cit., p. 15.

12) While al-rahîm is good Arabic, al-rahmân looks like an
     Aramaic loanword. For a detailed analysis of the name
     and its use in the Koran see J. Jomier, Le nom divin
     "Al-Rahmān" dans le Coran, in Mélanges Louis Massignon,
     1957, II, pp. 361-381. Cf. also J. Horovitz, Jewish

proper names and derivatives in the Koran, 1964, pp. 57-59, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Sur quelques noms d'Allah dans le Coran, 1929, pp. 6-10. The root rhm also signifies "womb, uterus" which is the original meaning of the word, the concrete concept usually preceding the abstract in Semitic languages. In the Koran the root is also used in the sense of "relatives" e.g. in VIII, 75(76). Cf. also G. Schmuttermayr, RHM-Eine lexikalische studie, Biblica 51, 4, 1970, pp. 499-532.

13) XVII, 110, second (or third?) Meccan period. In contrast with rahîm (IX, 128(129)), al-Rahmân is used only of God and always with the definite article.

14) See the references in the previous chapter. In the Koran Al-Rahmân is connected with the Old Testament prophets (XIX, 58(59) cf. XX, 90(92)) while the virgin Mary made use of this same name (XIX, 18, 26(27)).

15) EI, s.v. Musailima. He started his career before Mohammed but it is unjustified to derive the word "Moslem" from the name Musailima. Mohammed's enemies reproached him with having obtained his wisdom from a man called al-Rahmân of Yamâma, Ibn Hishâm (ed. Wüstenfeld), Sîrat rasûl Allâh, I, p. 200. Musailima was of the tribe Banû Hanîfa in Yamâma and it is not without interest that it was a very ancient Arab tribe, partly pagan and partly Christian. EI (new edition), s.v. Hanîfa b. Ludjaym. See also EI, s.v. Al-Aswad, the Rahmân of Yemen.

16) Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 145.

17) Cf. Sûra XXV, 60(61); Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I/2, p. 747; and Tabarî, Tafsîr ad XIII, 30(29).

18) Cf. XVII, 110.

19) But cf. F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammeds, 1961, pp. 165f.

20) Cf. also XIX, 96.

21) XXXVI, 11(10); L, 33(32) where khashiya may however

simply mean "to respect, to believe in".

22) XXXVI, 23(22); XIX, 45(46). Cf. XXI, 42(43).

23) The statistics are 1st Meccan period 4 times; 2nd
57 times; 3rd 2 times and in the Medinan period also
2 times.

24) Using the statistics of J. Chelhod, op. cit., for
Allâh and Rabb we have the following survey:

Period	Allâh	Rabb	Rahmân
1st Meccan	40	115	4
2nd Meccan	143	260	57
3rd Meccan	794	412	2
Medinan	1644	138	2
Total	2621	925	65

25) Rabb is used only twice in the absolute state (VI, 164;
XXXVI, 58). Elsewhere it is either determined by a
pronominal suffix e.g. your Lord (XCVI, 1, 3) or by a
combination in the construct state e.g. the Lord of the
East and the West (LXX, 40). It is also used of humans
in the Koran e.g. in XII, 41, 42 and of false gods e.g.
III, 80(74). Cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit.,
pp. 4-6. As appellative it is to be compared with the
Hebrew ^{a}dōnai.

26) Cf. J.A. Naudé, op. cit., pp. 62-72.

27) Cf. J. Chelhod, op. cit., p. 165.

28) LXXXVII, 1, 14 and 15; LVI, 74(73), 96; LXIX, 52;
LXXIII, 8; LXXVI, 25 (second Meccan period). Cf. also
XCVI, 1; XI, 5, 78; XIX, 65(66) (second Meccan period).

29) In the Hebrew Bible the phrase "the name of Yahwè" is
used out of theological conciderations and does not
refer to another name but simply means "Yahwè" for all
practical purposes. Cf. e.g. Isaiah 30:27, Deuteronomy
28:58. In our present context it would mean that the
name concerned in the Ism-verses of the Koran is Rabb
but the Koran states in a number of verses: Our Rabb
is Allâh cf. XXII, 40; XL, 28(29); XXXVII, 126, etc.

30) Cf. e.g. Job 1:21 where "the name of the Lord" is a stylistic variant of "the Lord".

31) Moreover a number of the Ism-verses appear in sûras containing the name Allâh, suggesting both that they belong to a somewhat later date and that Allâh is the name referred to. They are LXXXVII; LXIX; LXXVI; cf. XIX. The verse in LXXIII containing the name Allâh belongs to a later period than its context so that we are left with LXXIII, LVI, cf. XCVI, LV as proper Ism-verses.

32) See again note 25 above.

33) It is most unlikely that the constant use of the name Allâh from the beginning onwards can be ascribed to editorial revision when the Koran was committed to writing.

34) Thus III, 190(187)f. speaks of creation as a miraculous sign for men of understanding to realise its destiny in connection with the coming Judgement, contra Al-Baiḍâwî, Anwâr al-tanzîl wa-asrâr al-ta'wîl, ad loc. Similarly God's act of creation is used to demonstrate that He is the only God and should be worshipped as such, e.g. II, 163(158)-165(160); XLI, 37 or to demonstrate his omnipotence e.g. XXX, 17(16)-27(26), contra H. Stieglecker, Die Glaubenslehren des Islam, 1962, pp. 26ff.

35) Al-ṣamad CXII, 2 a hapax legomenon which may also be translated "the Everlasting Refuge".

36) CXII, 3.

37) LVII, 3.

38) LV, 26-27. The name Allâh is not used in this sûra but it does occur in XX, 73(75) where the root bqy is applied to Allâh. Cf. also XXVIII, 88.

39) II, 255(256); III, 2(1); XX, 111(110).

40) XX, 110(109)f.

41) III, 27(26); VI, 95.

42) X, 31(32).

43)   XXX, 19(18).

44)   XXV, 58(60). Cf. II, 154(149); III, 169(163). To
      these verses may also be compared T. O'Shaughnessy,
      Muhammed's thoughts on death, 1969, especially pp.
      45ff.

45)   II, 255(256); III, 2(1); XL, 65(67); XXVIII, 88.

46)   XXI, 51(52)-70; XXVI, 69-87.

47)   XVI, 21.

48)   XXV, 58(60).

49)   LXXXIX, 22(23).

50)   XLII, 51(50); XIX, 9(10), 21.

51)   XVII, 1; XLIII, 80; XXII, 61(60), 75(74); XLII,11(9);
      XL, 20(21), 56(58); IV, 58(61), 134(133); XXXI, 28(27);
      LVIII, 1; LXXVI, 2.

52)   XVII, 1; XXII, 61(60), 75(74); LVII, 4; XLII, 11(9);
      XL, 20(21), 56(58); IV, 58(61), 134(133); XXXI, 28(27);
      LVIII, 1; LXXVI, 2.

53)   XX, 39(40); XI, 37(39); LII, 48; LIV, 14(13).

54)   XLVIII, 10; III, 73(66); XXXVI, 71; XXXVIII, 75;
      LI, 47; LVII, 29; XXXIX, 67 refers to the right hand
      of Allâh and V, 64(69) to both his hands which are
      unfettered.

55)   By implication in VII, 195(194).

56)   LV, 27; II, 115(109), 272(274); XIII, 22; XXX, 38(37)f.;
      LXXVI, 9; XCII, 20. Often the "face of God" is a
      synonym for "paradise".

57)   LI, 47.

58)   II, 144(139). Compare from the Old Testament Ps. 28:2.
      Cf. also CVI, 3.

59)   VII, 54(52); X, 3; XIII, 2; XXV, 59; XXXII, 4(3);
      LVII, 4. Prior to the creation the throne of Allâh
      rested on the primaeval water (cf. the Hebrew $t^e h\bar{o}m$ and
      Assyrian tiāmat as well as A.J. Wensinck, The Ocean

in the literature of the Western Semites, reprinted
1968) XI, 7(9); cf. Ps. 29:3, 10. On the Day of the
Judgement eight angels will be carrying the throne
LXIX, 17; XL, 7. It may be of some interest to mention
here that al-kursî has been taken as the footstool of
which al-^{c}arsh is the throne. In the Koran the two words
are used as synonyms. Since al-kursî is doubtless a
chair, it is more plausible that al-^{c}arsh originally
signified the Baldachin over the throne. In Classical
Arabic ^{c}arsh means "a booth, or shed, or thing
constructed for shade", E.W. Lane, Arabic-English
Lexicon, reprinted 1968, s.v., and in II, 259(261)
and XXII, 45(44) the word is used of houses having
fallen down upon their roofs. The preposition ^{c}alâ^y in
e.g. VII, 54(52) should not be taken too literally. Cf. Is. 4:5

60) Cf. II, 272(274); XIII, 22; LXXVI, 9; XCII, 20. The
image is taken from the judgement before an earthly
ruler. Cf. Jeremiah 34:3.

61) The word may also be translated "the Oppressor" in view
of the root's use in XCIII, 9; but compare also VII,
127(124).

62) E.g. XXII, 54(53).

63) V, 117; XXII, 17; XXXIV, 47(46); XLI, 53; XXIX,
52(51).

64) E.g. LIX, 23; XX, 114(113).

65) He is the master of whom man is the slave. Compare e.g.
III, 15(13); LXXXIX, 28f. with XII, 42.

66) XIX, 40(41).

67) VII, 89(87); X, 109; XII, 80.

68) II, 267(270); XLVII, 38(40).

69) IV, 45(47); VIII, 40(41); XXII, 78; III, 150(143).

70) Rahim, e.g. II, 143(138), used of Mohammed in IX,
128(129).

71) II, 225; XVII, 44(46); XXXV, 41(39), used of Shu^{c}aib

in XI, 8, 89).

72) XXXV, 30(27), 34(31); XLII, 23(22); LXIV, 17 etc., used of human beings in XXXIV, 13(12).

73) XI, 90(92); LXXXV, 14; III, 31(29).

74) XXX, 47(46); XLIII, 25(24), 55.

75) XXXII, 14; XLV, 34(33).

76) II, 37(35), 54(51), 128(122), 160(155); IX, 104(105), 118(119); CX, 3.

77) VII, 183(182); LXVIII, 45; LXXXVI, 16.

78) E.g. III, 54(47).

79) E.g. VIII, 16.

80) LIX, 23. That Allâh can be ashamed is implied in XXXIII, 53.

81) LXXVI, 30f.; cf. LXXXI, 29; II, 213(209).

82) On the other hand the representation of a god in human form like Hubal in the Ka^{c}ba of Mecca were foreign to the Arabs and due to foreign influence.

83) II, 51(48), 92(86)f.; VII, 148(146)-152(151); XX, 88(90)f. The terms "your God; the God of Moses" elsewhere used of Allâh and included in the list of the ninety-nine most comely names of Allâh is applied to the golden calf in XX, 88(90).

84) al-kabîr is applied to Allâh about six times in the Koran e.g. in XIII, 9(10).

85) This may account for the fact that Allâh speaks to man only by means of intermediaries, but in the ancient Near East it was customary to use intermediaries between a high authority and commoners. Cf. XLII, 51(50).

86) This is only natural in view of the social position of the male in a semitic society. When Syrian Moslems refer to the phallus of Allâh it may be an attempt to form a visual picture of Allâh, but probably it merely serves to stress his power.

87) E.g. CXII, 3; LXXII, 3.

88) It is prohibited in XVI, 74(76).

89) E.g. by the Tafsîr al-Djalâlain ad VII, 180(179).

90) VII, 180(179); XVII, 110; XX, 8(7); LIX, 24.

91) For a criticism of this practice see D. Rahbar, God of Justice, 1960, pp. 8ff.

92) Cf. LIX, 22-24 for an example.

93) R. Bell, op. cit., p. 69.

94) Ibid., pp. 69f.

95) Ibid., p. 70.

96) LVII, 3.

97) LVII, 3.

98) VI, 17; X, 107.

99) II, 272(274); VI, 39.

100) VI, 39; IV, 143(142).

101) VI, 102; XV, 86; LIX, 24.

102) VII, 164.

103) IV, 16(20), 64(67); XLIX, 12; A. Ben-Shemesh, Some suggestions to Qur'ân translators, Arabica, XVI, 1, 1969, p. 81f. thinks that rahîm should be translated "beloved".

104) ^{c}alîm khabîr, XXXI, 34; XLIX, 13; cf. LXVI, 3; hakîm ^{c}alîm VI, 84(83), 128, 140; XV, 25; XXVII, 6; XLIII, 84; LI, 30; ^{c}alîm hakîm, IV, 24(28).

105) II, 255(256).

106) LXXXV, 15.

107) XXXIV, 2.

108) XI, 90(92).

109) ra'ûf rahîm, II, 143(138); XVI, 7, 47(49); XXII, 65(64); LVII, 9; also IX, 117(118); XXIV, 20; LIX, 10.

110) XIII, 9(10).

111) LIV, 42.

112) IV, 34(38); XXII, 62(61); XXXI, 30(29); XXXIV,
     23(22); XL, 12.

113) IV, 43(46), 99(100); XXII, 60(59); LVIII, 2(3).

114) VI, 84(83), 129(128), 140; XV, 25; XXVII, 6;
     XLIII, 84; LI, 30.

115) II, 32(30); IV, 11(12).

116) XI, 73(76).

117) Apart from the use in the Basmala also used in II, 163
     (158).

118) IV, 12(16); XXII, 59(58); XXXIII, 51.

119) VI, 18, 74(73); XXXIV, 1.

120) XLIX, 14; XVI, 18.

121) Pronounced al-barr^{u}-rrahîm^{u}, LII, 28.

122) Another example is the qînâ-metre especially used for
     the dirge in Hebrew. It is this relation between style
     and contents which justify Mohammed's reference to the
     style of the Koran to prove its authenticity, cf. XI,
     13(16)f.; LII, 34; XVII, 88(90)f., etc.

123) XV, 86; XXXVI, 81.

124) IV, 58(61), 134(133); XVII, 1; XXII, 61(60), 75(74);
     XXXI, 28(27); XL, 20(21), 56(58); XLII, 11(9);
     LVIII, 1; LXXVI, 2.

125) II, 127(121), 137(131) and about thirty times more.

126) XXXIV, 50(49).

127) The one, the conquerer XII, 39; XXXVIII, 65;
     XXXIX, 4(6); repenting, wise XXIV, 10; the mighty,
     the forgiving XXXVIII, 66; XXXIX, 5(7); XL, 42(45);
     LXVII, 2; the mighty, the giver XXXVIII, 9(8);
     forgiving, powerful IV, 149(148).

128) ^{c}alîm qadîr knowing, powerful, XVI, 70(72);

XXX, 54(53); XXXV, 44(43); XLII, 50(49); al-^{C}azîz
al-hakîm the mighty, the wise II, 129(123); XIV, 4;

XXVII, 9; XXXIV, 27(26); XLII, 3(1); hakîm hamîd wise,

praiseworthy XLI, 42; al-^{C}azîz al-hamîd, the mighty,

the praiseworthy, XIV, 1; XXXIV, 6; LXXXV, 8;
al-^{C}azîz al-rahîm, the mighty, the compassionate,

XXX, 5(4); XXXII, 6(5); al-^{C}azîz al-^{C}alîm, the mighty,
the knowing, VI, 97(96); XXVII, 78(80); XXXVI, 38;
XL, 2(1); XLI, 12(11); XLIII, 9(8).

129) Cf. vss. 9(8), 68, 104, 122, 140, 159, 175, 191.

130) II, 202(198); III, 19(17) and at least six times more.

131) VI, 166(165); VII, 167(166).

132) II, 196(192), 211(207); VIII,48(50); XIII, 6(7).

133) XIII, 13(14); al-mihâl is a hapax legomenon in the
Koran, consequently its exact meaning is difficult to
determine. The context is of little help since the
phrase may merely have been utilized to serve the rhyme.
The root may perhaps also convey the meaning of "power".

134) VIII, 40(41).

135) ni^{C}m al-wakîl, III, 173(167).

136) Literally "the best of creators", XXIII, 14. Allâh is
exclusively the subject of khlq in the Koran.

137) khair al-hâkimîn, X, 109; XII, 80; VII, 89(87);
ahkam al-hâkimîn XI, 45(47).

138) khair al-râziqîn, V, 114; XXII, 58(57); XXIII, 72(74);
XXXIV, 39(38); LXII, 11.

139) khair al-ghâfirîn, VII, 155(154).

140) khair al-fâsilîn, VI, 57 i.e. between believers and
unbelievers.

141) khair al-mâkirîn, III, 54(47); VIII, 30; cf.
X, 21(22).

142) <u>kh</u>air al-munzilîn, XXIII, 29(30).

143) <u>kh</u>air al-nâsirîn, III, 150(143).

144) <u>kh</u>air al-wârithîn, XXI, 89.

145) arham al-râhimîn, XII, 64, 92; XXI, 83.

146) An exhaustive and comprehensive presentation of the
attributes of Allâh with the proper reference to their
context requires a separate monograph.

147) For the origin of this formula see A. Baumstark,
<u>Zur Herkunft der monotheistischen Bekenntnisformeln im</u>
<u>Koran</u>, Oriens Christianus 37, 1953, pp. 6-22. For
its influence on the Targum Jonathan see S.H. Levey,
<u>The date of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets</u>, VT 21/2,
April 1971, pp. 192f.

148) XXXIX, 36(37).

149) X, 28(29).

150) XXI, 98 but cf. 99; II, 24(22); LXVI, 6.

151) XXXVII, 20-32.

152) VI, 109(108).

153) LXXI, 23(22f.), male deities.

154) LIII, 19f., female deities.

155) Jesus and Mary, V, 116; Ezra, IX, 30; Pharaoh,
XXVIII, 38; angels, XLIII, 19(18)f.; <u>dj</u>inn, VI, 100,
XXXIV, 41(40), LXXII, 6. Theologically there is no
difference in the Koran between the worship of these
figures and the worship of images. We include therefore
<u>shirk</u> in the term idolatry in these paragraphs. Mohammed
also had understanding of the fact that a man's passions
can become his god (cf. XLV, 23(22); XXV, 43(45)),
but it plays no significant role in the Koran.

156) E.g. II, 170(165); V, 104(103).

157) Cf. CIX; V, 60(65).

158) VI, 137; XVI, 56(58).

159) IV, 76(78).

160) VI, 137(138).

161) XXXVII, 36(35);   XXV, 42(44).

162) ^{c}izz,   XIX, 81(84).

163) II, 257(259).

164) X, 18(19);   XXXIX, 43(44).

165) XLIII, 86;   XXX, 13(12).   Cf. e.g. II, 255(256);
     LIII, 26.

166) XI, 101(103).

167) XVII, 42(44).

168) XVII, 57(59).

169) Most references to the false gods in the Koran are in a
     context contrasting them with Allâh.

170) II, 24(22);   LXVI, 6.

171) XXI, 21.

172) XXXVII, 95(93);   cf. VII, 138(134).

173) VII, 195(194);   II, 171(166);   XLVI, 5(4);   XL, 43(46);
     XXXV, 14(15)   and XVI, 76(78).

174) VII, 71(69);   XII, 40;   LIII, 23;   cf. XXXI, 30(29) and
     the use of al-haqq as an epithet of Allâh elsewhere.

175) IV, 117;   XXXIX, 38(39).

176) XXXV, 13(14);   XXXIV, 22(21) cf. the contrast with
     XXXIV, 3.

177) XVI, 75(77).

178) XXV, 3(4).

179) XXXV, 40(38);   XLVI, 4(3).

180) VII, 191.

181) XXII, 73(72).

182) XVI, 17, 20;   XXV, 3;   II, 165(160).

183) XVI, 73(75).

184) XXII, 12; XXV, 3(4), 55(57).

185) XXXIX, 38(39); XXXVI, 23(22).

186) XXXV, 40(38).

187) XIX, 82(85); VII, 37(35); X, 28(29)-30(31); XXXV,
     14(15); XI, 21(23); VI, 94.

188) XL, 74, 84; XLI, 47.

189) XXX, 40(39); X, 34(35).

190) wa-lau-lâ kalimat al-fasl la-qudiya bainahum XLII, 21(20).

191) taghût, e.g. II, 256(257). The root is also applied
     to humans e.g. man, XCVI, 6; Pharaoh XX, 24(25), the
     waters of the deluge LXIX, 11, etc.

192) J.A. Naudé, op. cit., pp. 55-61.

193) II, 256(257); XXXIX, 17(19).

194) IV, 51(54) cf. V, 60(65).

195) Cf. LXXII, 4.

196) XIX, 83(86); XXVII, 24.

197) XXXIX, 8(11).

198) E.g. X, 106; VI, 151(152).

199) IV, 48(51), 116; compare also IX, 5.

200) XXI, 22; XIX, 88(91)-91(93).

201) As examples may be mentioned Hubal and, if A.F.L.
     Beeston, The men of the Tanglewood in the Qur'an, JSS
     13, 2, 1968, pp. 253-255 is correct in his interpre-
     tation of ashâb al-aika,also Dusares / Dhû al-Sharâ.

202) Cf. LXXI, 23(22, 23).

203) As examples may be mentioned the epithets wadûd e.g.
     XI, 90(92) in comparison with the god Wadd, malik
     e.g. CXIV, 2, used as the name of a god in Thamûdic
     inscriptions (cf. the old Arabic name ^{c}Abd al-Malik),
     and similarly the epithet al-^{c}azîz. For an annexation
     of pagan holy places compare e.g. II, 158(153).

204) Cf. XLIII, 16(15)-19(18); with LIII, 19-21; VI, 100; XXXIV, 40(39)f.; LXXII, 6; XXI, 29(30); cf. also III, 45(40) where Jesus is called a _muqarrab_ which is a technical term for a group of angels. Compare note 223 below.

205) VI, 74-83, the heavenly bodies; XXI, 51(52)-70, the images.

206) XII, 39; al-wâhid (XIV, 48(49); XL, 16) as well as ahad (CXII, 1) is used of Allâh. Although it is an article with a very general scope, reference may here be made to T.B. Irving, God's Oneness, Studies in Islam I, 1964, pp. 61-70. For the antecedents of "the One" in the ancient Near East it is interesting to compare C.H. Gordon, His name is "One", JNES 29, 3, 1970, pp. 198f.

207) Next to Kalâm and Usûl al-dîn. Another phrase stressing the superiority of God over the false gods is Allâh ta^{c}âlâ, always employed in a polemical context in the Koran.

208) E.g. XLIII, 16(15)-19(18); VI, 100; XXXIV, 40(39)f.; XXXVII, 158. It is interesting to note a certain ambiguity also in the Koran. It is clear that the subject of the "We" passages is not always Allâh (used as a pluralis amplitudinis). In passages like XIX, 64(65)f.; XXXVII, 164-166, it is obvious that the subject is the angels. It is not always easy to distinguish between the two and R. Bell, op. cit., p. 61 rightly asks whether VI, 99 for example, have been somewhat hurriedly revised, or have the angels, in Mohammed's ideas, assumed other functions of Providence, besides the communication of revelations? Compare also XXI, 94 with LXXXII, 10f.

209) Cf. XXXVII, 8; XXXVIII, 69.

210) Cf. II, 30(28); XXXVIII, 69 in combination with 71.

211) XVII, 40(42); XLIII, 16(15), 19(18). It is noteworthy that the goddesses related to Allâh in the heathen

pantheon became angels, closer to him than the djinn, which is the highest position other gods could achieve in Islam.

212) Cf. XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 150; XLIII, 19(18); VII, 12(11).

213) XXXV, 1.

214) Cf. XI, 69(72), 81(83); XV, 62; LI, 24-37. Nevertheless the context in XXXV, 1 suggests that the wings are to be employed in their function as messenger.

215) VII, 20(19). In spite of the fact that they did not know the names of things II, 31(29)f., and bowed before Adam (II, 34(32)).

216) XI, 77(79)-80(82); XV, 67-72; cf. XII, 31.

217) Cf. LIII, 27(28)f. Mohammed himself then in our opinion represented the worship of goddesses as worship of supposed female angels.

218) Cf. VII, 11(10)ff. ; II, 102(96). If al-mutahharûn in LVI, 79(78) refers to angels it need not imply that they were formerly impure, but the passive participle could merely express a quality of the angels. This verse is sometimes written on the cover of the Koran to ensure that those who intend to handle it will purify themselves bodily (and spiritually!).

219) XI, 70(73); LI, 26ff. According to al-Baidâwî, Gabriel revived the calf prepared for the meal.

220) XIII, 13(14); XXXVII, 166; XXI, 20; XLI, 38.

221) XVI, 49(51); XXI, 19.

222) XXI, 26; IV, 172(170); ᶜibâd is also the Koranic word for "slaves" e.g. XXIV, 32.

223) XXXVII, 164-166. In IV, 172(170) these angels are referred to as al-muqarrabûn (cf. al-Baidâwî ad loc). Elsewhere the term is applied to the believers in Paradise LVI, 11, but its Sitz im Leben is found in VII, 114(111) and XXVI, 42(41) where it indicates an important position at the court of Pharaoh.

224) For a similar custom at a royal court compare in the Bible Esther 4:11; 5:2, 3.

225) XXI, 27-29.

226) XL, 7.

227) LXXII, 9.

228) Cf. LXXIX, 5; XIX, 64(65); LI, 4.

229) The word which is a dialectical variant of mal'ak
     usually occurs in the plural. Its synonym rasûl
     applied to Mohammed and some other individuals, is
     also used for angels in the Koran, cf. XXII, 75(74).

230) Cf. LXXVII, 1-6; XI, 69(72)-81(83); XXIX, 33(32)f.

231) II, 97(91); LIII, 5f.; LXXXI, 19, 23. It may be
     understood from LXXX, 15 that the angels first wrote
     down their messages of revelation in heaven.

232) L, 17(16)f.; XIII, 11(12); VI, 61; X, 21(22).

233) LXXII, 27f.

234) XXXIII, 43(42), 56.

235) III, 124(120)f.; VIII, 9, 12; XXXIII, 9. The angel
     Michael mentioned in II, 98(92) is, according to the
     Dead Sea Scrolls (I QM 9:15f.; 17:5ff.) and the New
     Testament (Revelation 12:7ff.), the commander of the
     hosts of angels warring against Satan.

236) IV, 97(99); VI, 61; etc. According to XXXII, 11
     it is the task of the Angel of death.

237) XXV, 22(24); LXXVIII, 38; IV, 97(99); XLII, 5(3);
     L, 21(20), etc.

238) XLI, 30.

239) LXXIV, 30; XCVI, 18. According to the accepted
     vocalization the name of the one of them, Mâlik, is
     mentioned in XLIII, 77 but one wonders whether it
     should not simply be read malak, angel, since this is
     the only angelic name in the Koran foreign to the Bible.
     In contrast with my Arabic edition of the Koran it
     appears that Flügel's eclectic text prevents the
     reading malak, due to his "correction" of the consonantal text.

240) A revelation was necessary to inform Mohammed of their

presence, LXXII, 1. The root <u>djinn</u> means "to cover, hide, conceal". Sûra XXVII, 10 and XXVIII, 31 refer only to the movement of the <u>djinn</u> but may imply some identification with the serpent, compare XX, 20(21).

241) LXXII, 8f.; cf. XV, 16-18.

242) VI, 100; XXXVII, 158.

243) XV, 27; LV, 15(14).

244) The verb ^{c}<u>bd</u> is used, LI, 56.

245) Cf. XLI, 25(24); XLVI, 18(17); LV, 33.

246) Cf. XLVI, 29(28)f.; LXXII, 1.

247) Cf. XI, 119(120); XXXII, 13; VII, 179(178); LXXII, 11, 14f.

248) CXIV, 4-6.

249) LXXII, 2; cf. XLVI, 29(28)-32(31).

250) LXXII, 4.

251) See e.g. XLIV, 14(13); XV, 6; XXXVII, 36(35) (!).

252) Probably an Arabic form of the Greek <u>diabolos</u> (via Aramaic —— hence the elision of the <u>d</u>, regarded as the relative pronoun added to a root <u>bls</u> meaning "to mix indiscriminately, to spoil") implying Christian origin of the story of his ejection from Heaven. Their identity in Mohammed's thought is clear from the fact that the deception of Saba' is ascribed once to Iblîs XXXIV, 20(19), and once to Satan XXVII, 24.

253) Cf. XIX, 44(45); IV, 118f.

254) IV, 117. For Satan as anti-God compare also XX, 120(118) with III, 26(25).

255) E.g. XXXV, 5f.; III, 155(149).

256) VI, 43; VIII, 48(50); XVI, 63(65).

257) II, 169(164).

258) LIX, 16.

259) Cf. XXVII, 24.

260) Cf. XII, 42, 100(101); XXVIII, 15(14).

261) Cf. II, 36(34); VII, 20(19), 27(26); XVII, 64(66);
     XX, 120(118).

262) E.g. XII, 5; XXXVI, 60; XLIII, 62; V, 91(93).

263) XXII, 52(51). The occasion that gave rise to this
     verse was Mohammed's temporary acknowledgement of the
     so-called daughters of Allâh in the original version of
     LIII, 19ff. and its intention was to comfort the prophet,
     cf. Al-Baidâwî ad loc, and XVI, 101(103).

264) VI, 68(67).

265) For this reason the greatest care should be exercised
     when Iranian influence is considered.

266) The verb adalla is used with Satan as subject in

     XXXVI, 62, and with Allâh as subject in e.g. XXX,
     29(28).

267) Cf. LIX, 16; VII, 14(13).

268) Cf. XVI, 99(101); XVII, 65(67).

269) Cf. II, 34(32); VII, 11(10)f.; XVII, 61(63)f.;
     XX, 116(115)f.

270) XVIII, 50(48).

271) Cf. VI, 112; VII, 18(17).

272) Cf. XVII, 27(29).

273) Compare now XXXVII, 158.

274) VI, 104(103). In XXV, 21(23) the desire to view Allâh
     or the angels is considered a great sin, cf. II, 55(52);
     IV, 153(152), and perhaps L, 16(15).

275) LXXV, 23. He welcomes them with a salâm, XXXVI, 58.
     Contrast LXXXIII, 15 and compare also LXXXIX, 21(22)-
     30.

276) Verses 12, 14. That this was a proper theophany seems
     confirmed by the ensuing verses describing how al-Sâmirî
     produced from the fire a golden calf of which it is
     purposely mentioned that it had a body and could low,
     serving as a substitute for Allâh, cf. IV, 153(152).
     Cf. also XXVII, 7ff.; XXVIII, 29ff. It may be of

interest to add here to the various explanations which
have been given of the name al-sâmirî. Prof. van Selms
drew my attention to the Hebrew shâmîr (in e.g. Jeremiah
17:1), originally a thorn, then, adamant or flint,
used to cut diamonds. In legend shâmîr became a worm
that cuts stones and according to a Jewish Midrash, the
ten commandments were cut on the stone tables by means of
this worm. Our present context is a further development
of the shâmîr that cuts stone. Cf. M. Jastrow, Dic-
tionary of Talmud, Midrash and Targumim, 1950, s.v.

277) XX, 83(85)ff.

278) VII, 143(139), probably under Jewish influence, for
    compare the similarity with Exodus 33:18-23.

279) This was also rightly pointed out by R. Bell, op. cit.,
    pp. 31ff. Against the interpretation of J.H. Kramers,
    op. cit., ad loc, it must be stated that the word ^{c}abd,
    LIII, 10, describes man's relation to Allâh and not to
    an angel.

280) XLII, 51(50)ff.

281) XXIV, 35. The parable in this verse seems to serve
    the purpose of enhancing the glory of God. W.M. Watt,
    Companion to the Qur'ān, 1967, ad loc, thinks that
    it may describe the lights at the altar in a Christian
    church. Compare however Zechariah 4:2, 14. We deem
    it illegitimate to find in this verse an allusion to
    the dependence on or indebtedness of Allâh to something
    outside himself, as suggested by S.M. Zwemer, The
    Moslem Doctrine of God, 1905, p. 63.

282) E.g. LV, 1-13(12); XXX, 20(19)-27(26) and for the
    catastrophic forces: E.g. XVII, 68(70) storm; IV,
    153(152) thunderbolt; XXIX, 36(35)f. earthquake, etc.
    It does not seem justified to conclude from XVII, 68(70);
    LXVII, 17; IV, 153(152); XIII, 12(13)f.; XXIV, 43;
    XXX, 24(23), 48(47); etc., in connection with X, 22(23);
    XXIX, 65; XXXI, 32(31) that the original character of
    Allâh was that of a storm god. Compare also II, 17(16)-
    20(19).

283) Cf. II, 115(109), 144(139); LV, 26f.; VI, 52;
XIII, 22. Consider also J.M.S. Baljon, "To seek the
face of God" in Koran and Hadith, Acta Orientalia 21,
1950-53, pp. 254-266. Important in this context is
also VI, 76(75)-80(79).

284) Cf. LXXIII, 8.

285) In the five other places in the Koran where sakîna is
used it means "calmness, tranquillity". Concerning
our text many Koran exegetes attempt descriptions of the
visual appearance of the sakîna. Cf. I. Goldziher,
Über den Ausdruck "sakîna", in: Abhandlungen zur
arabischen Philologie, 1896, I, pp. 177-204.
J. Horovitz, op. cit., p. 82 conjectured that waqâr
occurring only in LXXI, 13(12) may have been influenced
by the Targumic y^eqārâ representing God. The amr of
Allâh will be discussed in a following paragraph. Compare
to this paragraph also note 359) of this chapter.

286) In Ugaritic literature the root qdsh occurs to designate
a god (UT 51: IV: 16 cf. 137:21, 38; 2Aqht: I: 4, 9,
14) or goddess (UT 1004: 17).

287) The original meaning of the root seems contained in the
Babylonian qadâshu "to shine" rather than in the
hypothetical meaning "to cut off", cf. A. van Selms,
Genesis I, p. 41, following O. Procksch.

288) LIX, 23; LXII, 1. In both instances it follows on
the designation of Allâh as king but it occurs every
time in a cluster of attributes, consequently it is
not possible to determine the particular Koranic concept
of al-quddûs.

289) II, 30(28).

290) XX, 12; LXXIX, 16; V, 21(24).

291) Op. cit., p. 54.

292) Op. cit., pp. XIIIf.

293) XXIX, 52(51); XXIV, 6f.; IV, 166(164).

294) Cf. II, 282; IV, 15(19); XXIV, 4, 13.

295) Cf. XII, 73, 85; XVI, 56(58); VI, 23, etc. Allāh
     curses the liar, XXIV, 7.

296) Cf. VII, 89(87); X, 109; XII, 80; XXXIV, 26(25);
     XXI, 112. The tortuous judgement of the Djāhilîya is
     something to be threatened with, V, 50(55). In view
     of the function of the king as judge in the Ancient
     Near East it is interesting that the same combination
     is applied to Allāh in XXII, 56(55). For king David
     as just judge compare XXXVIII, 22(21). The spontaneous
     association of judicature with the deity is illustrated
     by a verse like IV, 60(63).

297) X, 4; VII, 147(145). Compare XXI, 112.

298) XXXIV, 33(32).

299) X, 54(55); XLV, 21(20)f.; VI, 160(161); XXXIX, 69;
     cf. VIII, 53(55); IX, 115(116).

300) IX, 121(122); XXIV, 38; XVI, 97(99).

301) XXXIX, 35(36); XXIX, 7(6).

302) XXXIV, 37(36).

303) XLI, 27; his punishment may already begin in this
     world, e.g. V, 33(37).

304) Cf. XLII, 40(38). In XLVI, 20(19) it is pointed out
     that the disbelievers have had also their pleasure and
     enjoyment, viz. in this world.

305) XXI, 47(48); cf. VII, 7(6)-9(8); XXXI, 16(15). This
     image was also used in Egypt as can be seen on a
     drawing in the papyrus of Hunefer in the British Museum,
     London. Compare in addition Daniel 5:27.

306) Cf. V, 1.

307) E.g. IV, 148(147).

308) VII, 87(85); X, 109; XII, 80; XI, 45(47); XCV, 8;
     VI, 57. Compare however the stylistic considerations
     mentioned earlier.

309) VI, 57. The Prophet used to settle legal questions in

his mosque (though not exclusively) and the practice
was continued by later qâḍî's, EI, s.v. Masḏjid.
Compare also XVIII, 26(25); XIII, 41.

310) E.g. V, 44(48), 48(52); XL, 78; VI, 114, 115;
III, 18(16); VII, 29(28); IV, 105(106). In LVII, 25
and XLII, 17(16) the Scripture is joined with the
Balance. On the stele with the law-Codex of Hammurapi,
king of Babylonia (c. 1728-1686 B.C.) the god Shamash
gives the insignia of kingship to Hammurapi and not the
book of law as has been thought.

311) Cf. XVI, 90(92); XLIX, 9; IV, 3, 127(126), 135(134);
etc.; LX, 8; V, 42(46).

312) Most remarkable in this context is XLI, 17(16), where
it is said of Thamûd that Allâh guided them on the
right way and in spite of his guidance they chose
blindness and subsequent doom.

313) XVI, 61(63); cf. II Peter 3:9. The root slm can also
imply judicial harmony, and Islâm, conformance with
the law of God, cf. E.W. Lane, op. cit., s.v. slm.

314) XIII, 37; XII, 2; XVI, 103(105); XX, 113(112);
XLI, 3(2); LXII, 2; etc., and XIV, 4. For the
Torah compare e.g. V, 43(47) and for its relation to
the Koran XLVI, 12(11). For the Gospel compare V, 46(50).

315) The perfect judicial harmony of Allâh's nature is
reflected in the epithet Al-Salâm, applied to him in
LIX, 23 and also in V, 16(18) as becomes clear from
parallel expressions of subul al-salâm in e.g. IV, 74(76)
where al-salâm is replaced by the name Allâh.

316) Al-muhaimin also occurs in V, 48(52) where it stamps
the Koran as a reliable representation of the Jewish
and Christian Scriptures. This word is the exact
equivalent of the Aramaic word used by the Targum to
translate the Hebrew hannè'ĕmān in Deuteronomy 7:9
(cf. 32:4) where it is used as an epithet of God,
meaning "faithful". The word has neither an Arabic
nor an Aramaic etymology, but is derived (in both
Arabic and Aramaic) from Hebrew hè'ĕmîn, pronounced

hêmîn (cf. lêlōhîm). Its use in LIX, 23 served the
purpose of a gloss to explain the meaning of al-mu'min
as applied to God. For elsewhere in the Koran this
latter word occurs frequently, but always in the
meaning "believer" and always applied to man. In
addition these twin epithets comply to a favourite
stylistic feature of the Koran discussed in section
B 2 of this chapter.

317) XI, 90(92); LXXXV, 14.

318) Cf. LX, 1.

319) fî al-qurbā^y, XLII, 23(22).

320) III, 31(29).

321) II, 195(191); III, 134(128), 148(141); V, 13(16),
93(94).

322) V, 42(46); XLIX, 9; LX, 8.

323) II, 222; IX, 108(109).

324) III, 76(70); IX, 4, 7.

325) III, 159(153).

326) III, 146(140).

327) LXI, 4.

328) Cf. LVIII, 22. "To love Allāh" can simply mean "to be
a believer", cf. III, 31f.; V, 18(21), 54(59).

329) Compare LXXVI, 8; IX, 24; II, 177(172) with LXXXIX,
20(21); XXXVIII, 32(31)ff.

330) II, 165(160).

331) XX, 39f.

332) III, 57(50); V, 64(69); XVI, 23(25); IV, 107, 148(147);
VII, 55(53); VIII, 58(60); XXX, 45(44) etc.

333) XXX, 21(20); cf. LIX, 9; LX, 7.

334) XXIX, 25(24); cf. III, 14(12); VI, 76.

335) XIV, 96; cf. V, 18(21).

336) The root ghdb describes an intense redness and is also

used in connection with the hides of different animals
like the bull, camel, fish and the skin of man
infected with small-pox. See Lane, op. cit., s.v.

337) Compare the attitude of the angels in the Koran II,
30(28)-34(32).

338) XX, 81(83).

339) IV, 93(95); II, 61(58); III, 112(108).

340) VIII, 16.

341) LVIII, 14(15); XXIV, 6-9. In this latter instance
as in LVIII, 7(8) and XVIII, 22(21), we have an
example of the Semitic figure of speech for which
Prof. van Selms coined the Afrikaans name: "Getalle-
trap-spreuk". It consists of a numerical saying in
which successive numbers are employed, frequently to
the effect of an ominous threat. Van Selms in his
essay "Die Getalle-trap-spreuk: 'n Semitiese stylfiguur",
1946, pp. 16f. found the original context of this
figure of speech to be the oath formula as it was used
in Ugarit. To this observation XXIV, 6-9 forms an
interesting parallel. In the other two references the
threat of God's omniscience is contained.

342) Cf. V, 60(65); XLVIII, 6; XVI, 106(108); XLII, 16(15);
II, 61(58), 90(84); III, 112(108); VII, 71(69).

343) Compare VII, 71(69), 152(151); XVI, 106(108);
XX, 86(89); XLII, 16(15); LX, 13.

344) XLII, 37(35).

345) The Call of the Minaret, 1956, p. 41. In the Koran
the knowledge of Allāh is of a practical rather than
of a philosophical or theoretical nature.

346) E.g. XVIII, 22(21), 26(25); LXXIV, 23; VIII, 60(62).

347) The predominant Koranic word for this concept is of
the root ^{c}lm which also has the concrete meanings of
"impression, footstep, track, trace" and is employed
in the Koran in the sense of "landmark" XLII, 32(31);
LV, 24 and "sign" XLIII, 61. To these concrete meanings

may also be compared a place-name in Joshua 21:18.

348) XIII, 8(9); XXXI, 34.

349) XXII, 5; XXIII, 12-14; XL, 67(69).

350) XXXI, 34.

351) LXVII, 14; L, 16(15); XXXIX, 46(47); VI, 101;
XVI, 70(72); XXXVI, 79.

352) LVII, 4; LXIV, 2-4; II, 29(27); XLII, 11(9).
In II, 115(109) God's omnipresence is coupled with
his knowledge.

353) L, 4; XI, 6(8); XXII, 70(69); VI, 59; XX, 52(54);
XXXV, 11(12). Should LXXVIII, 29 refer to this book
it states that Allâh is the author of it; cf. VI, 38.

354) XVIII, 27(26); III, 7(5).

355) Cf. XIII, 39; XLIII, 4(3).

356) XLVI, 23(22); XI, 14(17); VII, 52(50); XXIV, 18(17).;
XXV, 6(7); XII, 68; cf. LXVI, 3.

357) Cf. II, 216(213), 234f.; IX, 60; XXIV, 32; XVI,
91(93); V, 4(6), 97(98); XVIII, 65(64); XIII, 33;
etc. Quite remarkable in this context is VIII, 42(43)-
44(46) narrating an occasion of an intentionally wrong
revelation which had the purpose of comforting the
Moslem fighters.

358) Cf. II, 282; XXI, 80; XXXIV, 10-13(12); and
Isaiah 28:26.

359) The concepts of Scripture and revelation are coupled
in II, 129(123), 151(146), 231; XVII, 39(41); XXXIII,
34; XLIV, 1-6, etc. It is only natural that the
illiterate natives of Arabia would identify knowledge
and wisdom with a book. Thus Allâh in his wisdom was
also understood to have a book, the prototype of the
earthly revelation, with him. This Book then constitutes
a certain visual manifestation of the wisdom of Allâh;
consequently it is easy to understand how Islam could
accept the doctrine of an uncreated heavenly Koran in
spite of its strict monotheism. In the Koran itself

"the Wisdom" figures in a number of instances as a
separate independent entity next to the Koran, the
Torah and the Gospel, cf. III, 48(43); V, 110;
cf. LXII, 2.

360) Cf. II, 269(272); XXXI, 12(11); XXXVIII, 20(19).

361) Cf. VI, 111, 140(141); VII, 138(134) and XXII, 8;
XXX, 29(28); XXXI, 6(5).

362) Cf. XVI, 91(93); II, 224.

363) Cf. XXIX, 52; XXXVI, 16(15); XLVI, 8(7).

364) II, 282f.; IV, 12(16), 176(175).

365) E.g. XXIV, 41; VI, 60; IX, 16; LXIV, 4; XL, 19(20);
C, 11; II, 246(247); etc.

366) LXXIII, 20; VIII, 66(67); cf. XXXIII, 50.

367) V, 94(95). Cf. III, 140(134), 166f.(160); XXIX, 3(2);
XLVII, 31(33); II, 143(138); XVIII, 12(11); XXXIV,
21(20); LXVII, 2.

368) LXXII, 28. Cf. LVII, 25.

369) See A. van Selms, Arabies-Afrikaanse Studies I,
Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van
Wetenschappen, Nieuwe Reeks, 14/1, 1951, pp. 57,
59, 81f.

370) V, 17(20); III, 47(42); XXIV, 45(44); XXVIII, 68;
XXX, 54(53); XXXV, 1.

371) XXXV, 16(17); XIV, 19(22); IV, 132(131).

372) XXXIII, 24; XI, 109(107); VI, 128; XI, 107(109);
XXII, 14; XI, 108(110); XXV, 10(11).

373) Cf. II, 253(254); LXXXV, 16; III, 40(35); XIV,
27(32); XXII, 18(19) and the attributes of Allâh listed
in section B 1 of this chapter.

374) Cf. LIX, 6; XLII, 29(28); XVIII, 39(37).

375) XXXVI, 82; XVI, 40(42).

376) XXV, 45(47); XLII, 33(31).

377) VII, 188; X, 49(50); XVI, 93(95); cf. XI, 34(36).

378) LXXVI, 30; LXXXI, 29.

379) VI, 148(149); XLIII, 20(19); XVI, 35(37). This
proves that our reasoning in this paragraph is not
as superficial and speculative as it may appear to
be. It is interesting that Mohammed himself used this
same argument to prove the authenticity of the Koran
in X, 16(17), cf. LXXXVII, 7.

380) XXXVI, 47.

381) Cf. XVIII, 29(28); LXXIII, 19; LXXVI, 29; LXXVIII,
39; LXXX, 12; XLII, 48(47); LIII, 39(40). Here we
inadvertently stumble upon the question of predestination
and free will. This matter, which demands also a study
of Koranic terms like qadar, has already been the
subject of numerous studies of which we mention only
A. de Vlieger, Kitâb al-Qadr, 1902; W.M. Watt,
Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam, 1948;
D. Rahbar, God of Justice, 1960, with its criticism
by R. Paret, Der Koran und die Prädestination, OLZ,
1963, 58, pp. 117-121 and by H. Kraemer, Een nieuw
geluid op het gebied der Koranexegese, Mededelingen
der koninklijke Nederlandse akademie van Wetenschappen,
25, 1, 1962; M.A. Rauf, The Qur'ān and Free Will,
MW 60/3, 1970, pp. 205-217, continued in the
subsequent number pp. 289-299.

382) Compare also XIII, 11(12).

383) See VI, 149(150); VI, 107, 112, 137(138).

384) Cf. V, 6(9); XXXIII, 33; III, 108(104); IV, 26(31)-
28(32); XL, 31(33).

385) XII, 99(100); XLVIII, 27; XVIII, 69(68); XXVIII, 27;
XXXVII, 102.

386) In Ethiopic the word il was displaced by the word
'amlak.

387) Technical terms of the cult like sadjada "to worship
God, to prostrate oneself before God" and salā^W "salāt
or ritual prayer" (cf. Aramaic sl' to incline, bend)

find their Sitz im Leben in the courtesy and homage
paid to an earthly king. Compare also LXIV, 1. In
note 2 of the previous chapter it was pointed out that
the qibla finds its original setting in the paying of
respect to the king. It is most interesting that the
Koran uses the word mihrâb (indicative of the direction
of prayer in a mosque) to denote the part of the palace
where the king can be found, XXXVIII, 21(20).

388) Cf. III, 26(25); V, 20(23); XXXVIII, 35(34).

389) Cf. V, 17(19); X, 31(32); XVI, 73(75); LXXII, 21;
XXIII, 116(117); LIX, 23.

390) E.g. LXVII, 1. The verb malaka is used in the
meaning "to possess" in the Koran, e.g. in IV, 3;
LXX, 30.

391) Compare e.g. the phrase dîn al-malik used of an earthly
king with a similar phrase applied to Allâh in I, 4(3).

392) Cf. LI, 47; XXXVIII, 75; LV, 14(13).

393) Amr. If al-amr in LXV, 12 refers to the creative
command of Allâh an alternative translation is: The
Spirit was created by command of my Lord, but it is improbable.

394) XV, 29; XXXVIII, 72; XXXII, 9(8); he is not mentioned
by name.

395) XXI, 91; LXVI, 12.

396) Cf. III, 59(52). Sûra XXXII, 9(8) refers to the creation
of the first man.

397) IV, 171(169).

398) rûh al-qudus, II, 87(81), 253(254); V, 110(109).
Although this is also a Christian term for the Holy
Spirit in Arabic, Mohammed had little awareness of
Christian teaching about the Spirit.

399) LVIII, 22.

400) Cf. XL, 15; XLII, 52; XVI, 102(104).

401) XCVII, 4; XVI, 2; XXVI, 193; cf. LXX, 4. Also in Qumran
the "holy spirit" is an angel.

402) XIX, 17.

403) LXXVIII, 38.

404) XVII, 85(87); XCVII, 4; XVI, 2; XLII, 52; XL, 15.

405) Compare the use of the verb in VI, 126(125).

406) XXXV, 10(11); XIV, 24(29), 26(31); LIX, 21; cf.
     XIII, 31(30).

407) LXV, 12; XXXII, 5(4); cf. VIII, 44(46) and its
     parallels. Contrary to the views of e.g. H. Speyer,
     Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran, 1971, pp. 24f.
     the present writer agrees with J.M.S. Baljon, The 'Amr
     of God' in the Koran, Acta Orientalia 23, 1958, pp.
     7-18 that the connection of the Koranic amr with the
     Targumic mêmrâ as a hypostasis or designation of God
     is extremely doubtful. In view of the fact that the
     interpretations of Scripture contained in the Targums
     were well known in Arabia the avoidance of the mêmrâ-
     concept in the Koran is significant.

408) XL, 68(70); XVI, 40(42); XXXVI, 82; VI, 73(72);
     II, 117(111). Cf. Ps. 33:9.

409) Cf. III, 47(42), 59(52) and III, 39(34) sic, 45(40);
     IV, 171(169).

410) VII, 137(133); VIII, 44(46); cf. also II, 37(35),
     124(118); LXVI, 12; XLVIII, 26; XI, 73(76); XXI, 27.

411) Cf. VII, 54(52); X, 31(32)-33(34); XXX, 25(24); XXII,
     65(64). In the execution of his commanding word Allâh
     may make use of angels, cf. LXXIX, 5; LI, 4; XIII,
     11(12).

412) X, 19(20); XI, 110(112); XX, 129; XLI, 45; XLII, 14
     (13), 21(20).

413) Cf. XI, 119(120); XXXIX, 19(20), 71; XL, 6; VIII, 7;
     X, 96; XIX, 39(40); XVI, 33(35); XL, 78. In XLI,
     25(24) and XLVI, 18(17) the formula of damnation called
     al-qaul (the word) is given: "Behold they are the losers".

414) X, 64(65); cf. LXV, 5; XVIII, 88(87); XI, 58(61),
     66(69).

415) Cf. X, 24(25); LIV, 50; XVI, 1, 77(79); XV, 66 (the

reading of Ibn Mas^{C}ûd's text tempers the harshness of
the _amr_ somewhat); XI, 40(42).

416) XVIII, 27(26); II, 75(70); VII, 144(141); IX,6;
XXI, 73; XLV, 17(16)f.

417) E.g. II, 154(159); XVII, 12(13) for nature, and LXII,
2; XLI, 3(2); XI, 1 for Scripture. For the former
compare also the story of Abraham VI, 74-79.

418) Cf. II, 253(254); IV, 164(162); XLII, 51(50). The
Koran uses it as a threat that Allâh will refuse to
speak to the unfaithful II, 174(169); III, 77(71).

419) VII, 158.

420) XXI, 63(64)-66(67).

421) VII, 148(146).

422) IX, 40.

423) VI, 34, 115; X, 64(65); XVIII, 27(26). For IV, 46(48);
V, 41(45) compare V, 13(16).

424) XLII, 24(23); X, 82; XVIII, 109; XXXI, 27(26) cf.
John 21:25. The latter Koranic reference does not
justify a belief in the existence of seven seas sur-
rounding the earth.

425) Also in the Old Testament one of the oldest confessions
of faith in _El_ noted him as Creator, Gen. 14:19.
Compare also the previous chapter. The subject has
been more extensively dealt with in the writer's _Skep-
pingsvoorstellinge in die Koran_, 1967.

426) As proper subject of creative action only Allâh is
mentioned in the Koran. Jesus could create only by
permission of Allâh V, 110; III, 49(43). See J.A. Naudé,
op. cit., pp. 44, 76-78.

427) CXII, 3; cf. VII, 191; XVI, 20.

428) Cf. XXXVIII, 71-82(83); XV, 28-42.

429) J.A. Naudé, op. cit., pp. 45-61.

430) Cf. LXXVI, 28; XXXVI, 77f.; XIV, 19(22).

431) E.g. XIII, 2; XLVI, 33(32); X, 4; LVI, 41-57;

XXIX, 20(19).

432) Cf. LXVII, 1-5; XXXV, 1; XXXIX, 5(7); XXIX, 61.

433) L, 38(37); cf. Genesis 2:2.

434) XIX, 9(10); XXIX, 19(18); LVII, 22.

435) E.g. XXV, 2f.; XXII, 73(72); XLVI, 3(2)f.; cf. XLII, 11(9).

436) XXIII, 91(93).

437) kabad, XC, 4. In our translation of kabad we deviated from its traditional meaning in Arabic because of the context and the meaning of the word in the other Semitic languages.

438) E.g. XCV, 4; LXXXII, 7.

439) LXXVI, 2; XVI, 78(80); XXXII, 9(8); XXXIII, 78(80).

440) LXXVIII, 8; LXXV, 39.

441) LXXXVII, 4f.; LVI, 64f.

442) XVI, 5-8; XXXVI, 71-73; XLIII, 12(11)f.

443) LV, 11(10)f.; LXXVIII, 15; L, 7; XXXVI, 33ff.

444) LVI, 68(67)ff.; LXXVIII, 14; XLIII, 11(10).

445) X, 5; VI, 97(96); IX, 36 (months).

446) LI, 56f.; XXXVI, 35, 73; LXVII, 23; XXIII, 78(80); XXXV, 12(13). See also G. Wagner, Le rappel des bienfaits d'Allâh et ses conséquences, Arabica XVI/1, Feb. 1969, pp. 1-14.

447) Cf. VI, 102; LVI, 57; LV, 13(12); LXXIV, 16; XXXVI, 33; XX, 4(3), 54(56); XL, 63(65).

448) XXVII, 60(61)-64(65); XXV, 2f.; XLII, 11(9); XXXV, 1.

449) LVI, 58-74(73); XXXV, 1; XXXI, 25(24); XXIX, 63; III, 191(188).

450) Cf. LXXVI, 2; XI, 7(9).

451) E.g. LXXXVI, 5-10.

452) XX, 115(114), 121(119); LXXII, 5; VI, 112, 128. It is important to realise that the idea of the corporate

XXIX, 20(19).

432) Cf. LXVII, 1-5; XXXV, 1; XXXIX, 5(7); XXIX, 61.

433) L, 38(37); cf. Genesis 2:2.

434) XIX, 9(10); XXIX, 19(18); LVII, 22.

435) E.g. XXV, 2f.; XXII, 73(72); XLVI, 3(2)f.; cf. XLII, 11(9).

436) XXIII, 91(93).

437) kabad, XC, 4. In our translation of kabad we deviated from its traditional meaning in Arabic because of the context and the meaning of the word in the other Semitic languages.

438) E.g. XCV, 4; LXXXII, 7.

439) LXXVI, 2; XVI, 78(80); XXXII, 9(8); XXXIII, 78(80).

440) LXXVIII, 8; LXXV, 39.

441) LXXXVII, 4f.; LVI, 64f.

442) XVI, 5-8; XXXVI, 71-73; XLIII, 12(11)f.

443) LV, 11(10)f.; LXXVIII, 15; L, 7; XXXVI, 33ff.

444) LVI, 68(67)ff.; LXXVIII, 14; XLIII, 11(10).

445) X, 5; VI, 97(96); IX, 36 (months).

446) LI, 56f.; XXXVI, 35, 73; LXVII, 23; XXIII, 78(80); XXXV, 12(13). See also G. Wagner, Le rappel des bienfaits d'Allâh et ses conséquences, Arabica XVI/1, Feb. 1969, pp. 1-14.

447) Cf. VI, 102; LVI, 57; LV, 13(12); LXXIV, 16; XXXVI, 33; XX, 4(3), 54(56); XL, 63(65).

448) XXVII, 60(61)-64(65); XXV, 2f.; XLII, 11(9); XXXV, 1.

449) LVI, 58-74(73); XXXV, 1; XXXI, 25(24); XXIX, 63; III, 191(188).

450) Cf. LXXVI, 2; XI, 7(9).

451) E.g. LXXXVI, 5-10.

452) XX, 115(114), 121(119); LXXII, 5; VI, 112, 128. It is important to realise that the idea of the corporate

personality is of application also to Koranic thought:
The progeny of Adam shared in the deeds of Adam so that
e.g. the sin of Adam is the sin of every man. Compare
now VII, 172(171). D. Bakker wrote a dissertation
entitled Man in the Qur'ân, 1965.

453) VII, 179(178).

454) XVII, 67(69); X, 12(13); XXXIX, 8(11), 49(50);
XLII, 48(47).

455) XVII, 100(102); XVIII, 54(52); LXXXIX, 15(14)-20(21);
C, 6.

456) XIV, 34(37).

457) XLII, 48(47); LIII, 39(40).

458) XX, 122(120)f.; II, 37(35)f. Cf. VII, 23(22) and
for the association of the divine guidance with Scripture
XI, 17(20); XLVI, 12(11).

459) LXXX, 17(16).

460) LV, 33; LXXV, 5; L, 16(15).

461) Cf. IV, 28(32).

462) On the lowly status of the slaves cf. XVI, 75(77). Cf.
also XIX, 30(31), 93(94); LXXII, 19 and the love of
the name ^{c}Abdullâh amongst Moslems.

463) LI, 56; cf. XXXVI, 22(21); VI, 102. Compare also the
use of the root ^{c}bd in the sense of "to worship" in
Sûra CIX. The slavish character of the ^{c}abd should not
be overemphasized since it may merely indicate the
relation of a person towards his superior. The obser-
vation of J.R. Smith that compounds with ^{c}abd, like other
theophoric names, seem to have been originally most
common in royal priestly families, whose members claimed
a special interest in religion and a constant nearness to
the god, is of importance in this context. In later
times the term ^{c}abd served to specify the cult to which
a man was particularly attached, and as such it is used
in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the Koran.
Cf. J.R. Smith, The Religion of the Semites, reprinted

1969, p. 69.

464) E.g. XCVI, 10; LXXVI, 6; XXXIX, 10(13).

465) E.g. XIX, 92(93); XXI, 26; IV, 171(169).

466) Cf. V, 93(94); LIII, 32(33); XLVIII, 26; VII, 35(33); XI, 49(51); passim.

467) XL, 57(59).

468) Although man was created from earth (e.g. LV, 14(13); XXIII, 12; XXXVIII, 76(77)), he is never considered to be in a genealogical relationship with nature.

469) Cf. II, 31(29), 33(31). The angels did not possess this "knowledge of the names of everything".

470) E.g. II, 34(32).

471) khalīfa, used by Allâh when he announced his intention to create man in II, 30(28); of David in XXXVIII, 26(25); and in VI, 165; VII, 69(67), 74(72); XXIV, 55(54); XXVII, 62(63).

472) Compare the difficult verse, Sûra XXXIII, 72.

473) XXV, 54(56); cf. XVI, 72(74); XXX, 21(20); cf. XLII, 49(48)f.

474) VIII, 75(76) (contrast 72(73)); XXXIII, 6; cf. XXXIII, 5 and Sûra IV where this principle forms the basis of hereditary and other rights.

475) XXXIII, 6. The words wa-huwa ab la-hum is a (secondary) addition in Ibn Mas^c ûd's text of the Koran to round off the verse, cf. Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorans, 1961, III, p. 71. Contrast XXXIII, 40. Sûra XXXIII, 6 may also be interpreted as a prohibition of marriage to widows of Mohammed, cf. verse 53.

476) IX, 24.

477) E.g. IX, 24; LXX, 24f.; LVII, 18(17) and II, 216(212)f.; IX, 41; LXI, 4. M.M. Bravmann, On the Spiritual Background of Early Islam, Muséon 64, 1951, pp. 324-343 argued, not without reason, that aslama, whence Islâm, Muslim, etc., meant "to defy death".

478) Compare respectively XXXIII, 2; XX, 130; LXII, 9.

479) G.E. Wright, An Introduction to Biblical Archaeology,
     1960, p. 3. See for this paragraph J.A. Naudé, op. cit.,
     particularly pp. 138-141.

480) The continued existence of everything is due to its
     continuous creation by Allâh. Miracles are not regarded
     as exceptional. Mohammed regarded the usual deeds of
     creation and the verses of the Koran to be just as
     wonderful. Therefore the word âya could be used in the
     Koran for a miracle of Jesus (III, 49(43)), for nature
     (II, 164(159)), and for a verse of the Koran (II, 151
     (146)). For the intervention of Allâh in history
     compare verses like VIII, 17, 66(67); LXIV, 11; III,
     152(154).

481) Cf. IX, 36.

482) II, 125(119), 127(121).

483) XL, 67(69).

484) XXVII, 65(66).

485) LXIX, 13-37.

486) It should be noted that the religious was not clearly
     distinguished from the other spheres of life. The
     concept of an a-religious profane is not Semitic.

487) Cf. XXIII, 116(117); III, 26(25); II, 247(248) Saul;
     II, 251(252) David; XXXVIII, 35(34) Solomon.

488) Absolute rulership or despotism was not characteristic
     of the Arabs as may be inferred from an ancient poem
     which describes the interdependence of the leaders and
     the people by comparing them to the poles and the pegs
     of a tent. T. Nöldeke, Delectus Veterum Carminum
     Arabicorum, 1961, p. 4, ll. 8-10.

489) It is clear that Mohammed's career had political
     implications from the very beginning (cf. LXXXVIII, 22),
     and after his death his successors, the Caliphs,
     occupied little more than the position of head of state.
     It is also interesting that the most prominent political
     leaders of Israel, Moses (cf. Deuteronomy 34:10), David

(cf. Acts 2:30) and Solomon are mentioned amongst the prophets, in the Koran, cf. XIX, 51(52) and IV, 163 (161). Naturally the position of Mohammed as chief of his people became established only later in Medina.

490) III, 132(126); IV, 59(62)-64(67).

491) VIII, 1, 41(42).

492) XXXIII, 53.

493) XXIV, 63.

494) XLIX, 2-5.

495) XVIII, 110; VII, 188; X, 49(50) (cf. XXV, 3(4) of the gods); III, 144(138). Compare also III, 79(73)f. and Acts 14:11. Perhaps XXXIII, 46(45) should also be compared with XXIV, 35.

496) III, 144(138).

497) VII, 184(183); XI, 12(15).

498) VI, 34; XXII, 42(43); XLIII, 7(6); XIII, 32; III, 21(20); VI, 112.

499) VIII, 30; IX, 65(66); XXXVIII, 4(3).

500) Cf. LXXXVII, 6, 7; XIV, 1; XXXV, 32(29); III, 26(25).

501) IV, 105(106).

502) E.g. XXXIII, 37, 50(49); Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 736, cf. p. 657.

503) Sahîh al-Bukhârî, 1306 H., III, p. 423.

504) Cf. CVIII, 2; CVII, 4f.; XCVI, 10; XCVIII, 5(4); XI, 87(89); XX, 14.

505) LXXVI, 25; LXII, 9f.; VIII, 45(47).

506) VI, 52; XVIII, 28(27).

507) XXX, 17(16)f.; cf. XX, 130; XXIV, 41; and especially also LXII, 1.

508) XLVIII, 29; XXII, 77(76); XXIII, 2. Cf. Isaiah 44:15; 46:6 and for Christian worship A.J. Wensinck, Mohammed en de Joden te Medina, 1908, pp. 104f. and in the Koran

X, 87 (Israel); XIX, 31(32). The _Sitz im Leben_ is
depicted and described on the Black Obelisk portraying
the submission of king Jehu of Israel before Shalmaneser
III of Assyria.

509) Cf. V, 6(8f.); IV, 43(46); IX, 108(109).

510) II, 222; cf. IX, 102(103)f.; IV, 43(46).

511) V, 41(45); contrast V, 6(9).

512) IV, 43(46); II, 173(168); V, 3(4); VI, 145(146);
XVI, 115(116).

513) VIII, 11. Cf. I Samuel 21:5f. and II Samuel 11:11.

514) XCVIII, 5(4); XXXIX, 2; CXII.

515) VII, 59(57); XI, 84(85); XVI, 36(38); XXII, 26(27);
XXIV, 54(55). Comparing the latter two instances, it
is interesting that the Jew Gaon Sa^{c}adya (892-942 A.D.)
used _shai'aini_ to indicate the Son and the Holy Spirit

of the Christian Trinity, _kitâb al-amânât wa-al-i^{c}tiqâdât_,
II, p. 86, l. 10.

516) Cf. LXXI, 3.

517) XCVIII, 5(4); II, 83(77); IV, 36(40); IX, 5.

518) Cf. also XVII, 23(24); XXII, 77(76); especially II,
177(172); IV, 36(40).

519) V, 103(102); VI, 138(139). For a discussion of gifts
and offerings in the heathen cult cf. J. Wellhausen,
Reste Arabischen Heidentums, 1961, pp. 112ff. and
also J. Chelhod, _Le sacrifice chez les Arabes_, 1955.

520) VI, 14; LI, 57; cf. XXII, 37(38).

521) Carrion (cf. Leviticus 17:10-12), swineflesh (cf.
Leviticus 11:7, Deuteronomy 14:8), that which had been
immolated to the mention of the gods (cf. Acts 15:29),
II, 173(168). Cf. V, 3(4)f., 96(97); VI, 145(146);
XVI, 115(116).

522) Cf. Genesis 9:4; Acts 21:25. The blood contains the
power of life over which only Allâh exercises authority.

523) II, 173(168); XVI, 115(116).

524) Implied by II, 173(168); V, 3(4); VI, 145(146);
XVI, 115(116).

525) Cf. XXII, 28(29)-37(38); V, 97(98); II, 196(192).

526) For CVIII, 2 see the previous chapter note 216.

527) XXII, 36(37).

528) XXII, 37(38). Cf. I Samuel 15:22. The sacrifice by
Mohammed at Medina before the conquest of Mecca had the
purpose of the expiation of sin, comparable to the
Jewish Day of Atonement, according to A.J. Wensinck,
op. cit., p. 139. The Meccan sacrifice is not connected
with expiation in the Koran. Compare however V, 95(96).

529) II, 196(192); IV, 92(94); V, 89(91), 95(96); LVIII,
3(4).

530) II, 185(181). This is the conclusion of K. Wagtendonk,
Fasting in the Koran, 1968.

531) XV, 90f. For this untraditional (cf. e.g. Lane, op. cit.,
s.v. ^{c}dw) interpretation compare Wellhausen, op. cit.,
pp. 132f. Compare to III, 44(39), describing the
Jewish priests as guilty of such practices, XI, 49(51)
and XII, 101(102).

532) CVI, 3.

533) II, 149(144). The present cubicle building is an ex-
tension of the Black Stone (a meteorite?) and astral
elements can be traced. In the religion of the ancient
Arabs stone-worship was frequent. Nevertheless it is in-
teresting that the idol of Allât in Tâ'if was a white
granite stone, WM, s.v. Allât. Hubal came to be associated
with the Ka^{c}ba at a later stage and though the Black Stone
was retained, his statue was removed in Islamic times.
There is an old belief that the Black Stone was originally
white but it was turned black by the sin of man.

534) Compare bait in CVI, 3; V, 97(98); XXII, 29(30), 33(34);
VIII, 35.

535) This does not exclude the dwelling of Allâh in his
heavenly abode.

536) III, 96(90). It was incorporated in Islam by connecting
     it with Abraham and Ishmael, II, 124(118)ff.

537) XXII, 27(28).

538) E.g. II, 144(139). The word mosque is derived from
     sadjada 'to prostrate'.

539) XXIV, 36 (buyût!); II, 187(183); even an opposition
     mosque IX, 107(108)f. Cf. XVII, 1. In XVIII, 21(20)
     a tomb mosque is mentioned.

540) Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., pp. 335ff.

541) XXIV, 36.

542) EI, Masdjid, C, 2.

543) XVIII, 50(48). "Rebel, revolt against" is clearly the
     meaning of fasaqa in this verse. Since q can be heard
     in the colloquial of Lower Egypt and certain parts of
     the Levant as a "hamza", it does not seem completely
     unjustified to bring this word in connection with
     Hebrew psh^c. Though tempting this is however too risky.

544) E.g. XXXII, 20.

545) XXXV, 24(22), 37(34); XLVI, 21(20).

546) XLVI, 21(20)-25(24); VII, 73(71)-79(77); XI, 84(85)-
     95(98); passim.

547) V, 38(42). Cf. XXIV, 2.

548) II, 178(173)f., 194(190); XLII, 40(38).

549) Compare e.g. XL, 60(62).

550) E.g. II, 184(180)f. and similarly instances like IV,
     92(94); V, 89(91); LVIII, 3(4), where the word
     kaffâra is used, but where the principle is the repair
     of the former situation by presenting offerings of a
     value equal to the damage done.

551) For the principle compare LVII, 15.

552) V, 45(49) interpreted in view of XVI, 126(127).

553) IX, 103(104)f.; V, 12(15).

554) V, 12(15).

555) XLVII, 4-6(7). Cf. IV, 74(76); II, 154(149); III,
169(153)-171(165).

556) This is not explicitly stated in the Koran but in the
Hadîth on the authority of both Muslim and al-Bukhârî.
Cf. al-Tibrîzî, Mishkât al-Masâbîh, book XI, chapter 1.

557) IX, 5, 11; IV, 15(19)-18(22); XIX, 60(61); XXV, 70f.,
passim.

558) IV, 17(21). Cf. XX, 73(75) and XXVI, 51. According to
II, 58(55); VII, 161 repentance is effected by pro-
nouncing the word hitta.

559) XXV, 70.

560) For short summaries of the Koranic concept of sin see
VI, 151(152); XVI, 90(92) and contrast XIII, 19-22.

561) Cf. IV, 27f.(32).

562) II, 286.

563) XXXIII, 5; VI, 145(146); V, 3(5); II, 173(168).

564) XLII, 5(3). Cf. XLV, 30(29); LXXVI, 31; XXI, 103.

565) IV, 48(51), 116; cf. XXXIX, 65; IX, 80(81).

566) XXXI, 34; XXXIII, 63. See also D.S. Attema. De
Mohammedaansche opvattingen omtrent het tijdstip van
den jongste dag en zijn voortekenen, 1942.

567) Cf. III, 178(172); XIII, 32; XIV, 10(11).

568) XI, 104(106); XVI, 61(63).

569) Respectively II, 85(79); XLII, 7(5); XL, 15;
XXXVII, 21.

570) XXVIII, 88.

571) LXXXII, 19.

572) XXXVII, 20ff.; passim. Cf. LXXV, 22ff. The visio dei
is not restricted to believers.

573) LXXXIV, 7-12; LXIX, 19-32.

574) CI, 6-9; VII, 8(7)f.

575) XCIX, 7f.

576) LXXXII, 19; cf. XXXI, 33(32); LIII, 38(39).

577) XXIV, 24.

578) Cf. XCVIII, 8(7f.).

1) There were naturally different strands of thought within each religious group or system. Since our only purpose with this chapter is to present a general survey of the different tendencies of the post-Koranic theology (a subject which has repeatedly been treated in monographs), we did not e.g. discuss the system of the Mâturidites in addition to that of the Ash^{C}arites —— both systems representing orthodox reaction to the Mu^{C}tazilites. We refer to A.J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, 1932; A.S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, 1947; D.B. Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, reprinted 1964; M. Houtsma, De strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op El-Ash^{C}arî, 1875; T.J. de Boer, Die Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung im Islam, Die Geisteswissenschaften, 1/9, 1913/14, pp. 228ff.; L. Gardet and M.N. Anawati, Introduction à la théologie musulmane, 1948; EI (old and new edition), s.v. Allâh; for this chapter. With early Moslem theology we have in mind the development up to al-Ash^{C}arî. For the purposes of this chapter we restrict the concept theology to kalâm.

2) Their influence can be judged from the fact that two Umayyad caliphs, Mu^{C}âwiya II and Yazîd III, were Qadarites.

3) The presupposition of this argument is that the essence of the concept of God is eternal being.

4) Compare the reasoning of Plato in his Euthyphro.

5) We take this example from D.B. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 201ff., in an abbreviated form.

6) Sûfism, of which Hasan of Basra (died 728 A.D.) was an early representative, was a religious practice and rule of life rather than a speculative system although it did develop into a more or less outspoken pantheism.

VII. NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1) Compare the reference to "the two great lights" in Genesis 1:16, without special mentioning of the names of Sun and Moon.

2) VII, 180(179).

3) XVI, 74(76).

4) VII, 33(31); cf. II, 177(172); III, 104(100), 110(106); IV, 36(40).

5) God of Justice, 1960, p. 215. The remark of C. Torrey, The commercial-theological terms in the Koran, 1892, p. 15, that Mohammed's idea of God is in its main features a somewhat magnified and idealized picture of a Meccan merchant is obviously a subjective oversimplification which does not do justice to the Koranic data.

6) XXIX, 46(45).

7) Acts 17.