

THE NAME ALLAH

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR LITTERARUM

December 1971.

In the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy,

University of Pretoria,

Pretoria.

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-şâbi'îna. J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, 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 Mandaean (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 şba 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 Mandaean with the Sâbians, or at least, in his opinion the Arabs did not understand the name al-şâbi'îna to mean 'the Baptizers'. The Mandaean did not call themselves subba, and, as a matter of interest, present-day Mandaean 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 ambiguously 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. ^cArabiyya, 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^cir 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 between Yahwè and his name made it possible for later Judaism 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^caib, etc.
- 15) Sûra CXI, which consists of a curse against Abû Lahab. The real awe-inspiring effect of these words is experienced to this day, to such an extent that an Arab acquaintance of the present writer refuses to recite this sûra aloud. It has to be mentioned here that Mohammed maintained 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'1, G. Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres Sud-Sémitiques, 1934, I, p. 118. The interpretation of the name in malum 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^can lahu, al-Isbahânî, Kitâb al-Aghânî, V, pp. 50^c. 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 mawālī (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^cûbīya-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 vasal king, 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-shānâ 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 prominent

- 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 ukhaiy (a little brother) and ya^cîsh (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^cûla (irritation) and the eighth tamâm (this is now the last one!). A father whose daughter was born on a dewy morning, called her andiya (moist with dew). Hoe het Oude Israel Leefde, 1961, I, p. 89.
- 30) D.S. Margoliouth, Names (Arabic), ERE, 9, p. 137.
- 31) According to al-Baidâwî, Anwâr al-tanzîl wa-asrâr al-ta'wîl, 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, Anstossiger Gebrauch des Namens Allâh unter den Arabern, 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, Das arabische Stämmewesen und der Islam, 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^esibîm 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 Nebuchadnezzar 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 (wali) 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. ʿIzrâʿîl.
- 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. Hoffmeier, Religio Aramaica, 1968, pp. 38-40.
- 79) W. Caskel, Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien, in S. Moscati, Le antiche divinità Semitiche, 1958,

- p. 108.
- 80) Ibid., p. 109.
- 81) Caskel connected it with zè 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, EI, 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 linguistic group from Central and Northwest Arabia.
- 86) W. Caskel, op. cit., p. 115. Compare Old Testament names like ēl-abrāhām, abīr-ya^{ca}qōb, ēbēn-yisrā'ēl, Genesis 31:42, 53; 49:24. The article in Old Testament words like hā-'ēlōhīm, God; ha-shātān, Satan; ha-nāhār, the Euphrat; ha-ba^cal, 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 Allāh and Allāt 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 ēlōhîm as well by using ēlōaîm 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 Alláhhû 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. 160.
- 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 beneficent" 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 beneficent," 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 Language³, reprinted 1967, Vol. I, p. 137.
- 3) See J. Horowitz, 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 hêlêl, 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 hêlâl 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. 86) 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 hêlêl or hêlâl 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 confirmation 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 reinforcement, 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 themselves 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 following 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 lillāhⁱ al-gā'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, VI III, 1953, pp. 209-244.
- 22) See e.g. Th. Noeldeke, Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum, 1961, p. 52, line 3. Cf. also e.g. al-Buhturî, Kitāb al-Hamāsa edited by P.L. Cheikho, 1910, p. 53, line 20; p. 160, line 3, Al-Isfahānî, kitāb al-aghānî, vol. XII, p. 125, line 14.
- 23) See e.g. Ibn Hishām, Sīrat rasūl Allāh (ed. Wüstenfeld), 1859, p. 706, line 2.
- 24) J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 219. Compare, however, Sūra XXXVIII, 5(4), Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 183, line 11 for the plural of ilāh.
- 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 criticism of J. Starcky in Histoire des Religions, Vol. III, 1956, p. 205; C. Brockelmann, Allāh 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-^carab 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 lâhⁱ and lâhum^a are shortened forms of lillâhi and allâhum^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 (occurring only five times) is never used with the definite article in the Koran whereas nâs (occurring 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. Ilâh.
- 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'lyh, 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 seemingly 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 Şafâitic 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, Nabataean inscriptions, Section A of the Semitic Inscriptions, Division IV, of Syria, 1914, p. XVII.
- 46) Allâh before Islam, MW, 1938, p. 245. The overwhelming majority of names constructed with the element 'lh/ lh 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, A study of the Lihyânite and Thamûdic inscriptions, 1937, p. 51.
- 48) Winnett, Allâh before Islam, p. 246.
- 49) Ibid.
- 50) The Daughters of Allâh, p. 122. C.H. Gordon found evidence 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^cal and Allâh have three daughters. Traditions regarding Ba^cal have then been attached to Allâh by pre-Islamic Arabs. C.H. Gordon, The Daughters of Baal and Allâh, MW 33, 1943, pp. 50-51.
- 51) Winnett, Allâh before Islam, pp. 246-248; EI, s.v. Ilâh; A. Jeffery, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ân, 1938, p. 66.
- 52) The form lh may point to alif conjunctionis already in Lihyânite. It should be noted that Mohammed himself pronounced the name as Allah and not Allâh. The pronunciation Allah, 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 a 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 'èlîshā^c the first two consonants were taken to be the definite article so that the first letter became alif conjunctionis. Thus we find the prophet's name in the Koran as al-yasa^c. In the same process the resulting al was even dropped in the name âzar which is the Koranic form of the biblical 'èlî^cèzèr. Surprisingly the same did not happen with the biblical 'èlîyâhu of which ilyâs (in Sûra XXXVII, 130 il yâsîn (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 al-ya's, son of Mudar. But there may be a philological reason: It is noteworthy that the first three words 'èlôah, 'èlîshā^c and 'èlî^cèzèr all begin with âlêf with the rapidly pronounced, short hâtêf-s^egôl. The exception 'èlîyâhu begins with the full vowel sêrê under the first consonant. The form ilyâs 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, Zur Grammatik, p. 9 n. 5.
- 56) E.g. after the interrogative particle a-, Th. Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, pp. 7f.
- 57) See W.F. Albright, Dedan, 1953, more particularly p. 5 n. 4.
- 58) See C. Brockelmann and A. Baumstark in Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1964, I Abt., II Band, pp. 152f. and p. 170.
- 59) Allâh before Islam, p. 246.
- 60) Cf. C. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
- 61) See E. Littmann, Syriac Inscriptions, Section B of the Semitic Inscriptions 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 Inscriptions, 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 relationship between the Accadian goddess of the underworld Al-latum and the Arabian sky-goddess Allât or Allâh.
- 63) EI, s.v. Ilâh.
- 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, EI 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 ā is the equivalent of the Hebrew ō. Compare e.g. Aramaic sh^elām with Hebrew shalōm. In instances like the one mentioned in the text the expected ā of the Syriac was represented by āhā. The Hebrew long o represents an original long a vowel.
- 72) E. Littmann, Thamūd und Safā, 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 1959, 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 explained '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 ēlōah in the Old Testament, forty-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 ēlōhîm and the Arabic allāhumma. Predicate and apposition 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 ilāni, our explanation of 'lh and the alternative Ugaritic plural 'lhm, the Hebrew ēlōhîm 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. God (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 Ilyās. It is difficult to say whether its full significance was still understood in Koranic names containing the element el/il e.g. Isrâ'î^yl, Ismâ^cî^yl (compare Indjî^yl). In South Arabian inscriptions however, 'il does occur as the name of a god, but even there it is by comparison not very frequent.
- 79) 'El and Adonai, *VT*, XII, 2, 1962, pp. 190-194.
- 80) *Ibid.*, p. 190. In fact ill^{un} is used in Arabic to signify "God" like Hebrew ēl, Lane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75^b. It seems that Hebrew ēlîl used of false gods and Ugaritic 'll (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 ēl with ēd "witness" from the root 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, The conflict between El and Ba^cal in Canaanite Religion, 1969, p. 164 n. 2, refers to Matthew 26:64, Mark 14:62 where Jesus calls Yahwē "Power" (dunamis) perhaps expressing the real meaning of the name El.
- 83) *Op. cit.*, p. 37.
- 84) For a discussion of the "Proto-Semitic root" see S. Moscati, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, 1964, pp. 72-75 and also the critical views of Werner Vycichl in his review of this book in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. XXV, No. 1/2, 1968, pp. 26-44, and M. Fraenkel, Zur Theorie der ^cAjin-Waw und der ^cAjin-Jud-Stämme, 1970.

- 85) Cf. Murtonen, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39, Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 86) For the terms 'b, c_m, kh_l, dd and 'kh applied to El 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 represented 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 êlîm 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 Testaments⁸, 1968, pp. 111f. also stressed that the old Semitic usage of the word êl 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 Christianity², 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 'elōhīm in die geskifte van die profete, Hervormde Teologiese Studies, XIV, pp. 67-68. The Quraish were known as the family of Allāh 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 theoric element 'l is in North Arabic inscriptions often represented in the orthography by l alone. Compare names like the Lihyānic ᶜtnl and Šafātenic '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 BILTĪ 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. ēlôah 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) La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam, 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, mlk; Creator, bny used in the Koran as verb with Allâh as subject e.g. LXXVIII, 12. The Koran reveals that Allâh became a deus otiosus like Il in the Ugaritic texts. Prof. van Selms pointed out in a personal communication that we find the first evidence of the qibla 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 cthrtrt 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 IV:72, XLIV:54, etc.) and their permanent virginity (UM 128: II: 27 (btlt), Koran LVI:36(35) (abkâr) — in neither case the word needs to be understood in the strict English sense of the virgo intacta). 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 shd b^cly "fertile land" with the Arabic ba^cl "land thriving on natural water supply", both words being derived from the name of the Ugaritic rain and fertility god Ba^cal. 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, La lingua degli Ammoniti, 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, Islam

- and the Religions of the Ancient Orient, JAOS 60, 1940, pp. 296ff. M.H. Pope, op. cit., p. 65 n. 11, compared UM^cnt: 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^cal 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^cnt, 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-sa 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; ^cnt: 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 ^cnt: 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; ^cnt: 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 Şafâ, 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^Cûq 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^câlâ^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^clâ^y Sûra LXXXVII, 1 with ēl^célyôn "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^cl 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 fkh^r by "El of the (divine) Assembly". His translation 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 fkh^r 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^cly.
- 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^cd (Qatabân, Saba') and s^cd'l (Qatabân, Saba') has been translated by Oldenburg "El has made happy" but since the causative form of s^cd 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) 'l'mn (Saba').
- 61) 'l^c_z (Mina, Saba'), ^c_z'l (Saba').
- 62) hmy'l (Ḥadramaut, Mina, Saba'), dhmr'l (Saba').
- 63) hys^c'l (Ḥadramaut), hyt^c'l (Mina, Saba').
- 64) nsr'l (Saba').
- 65) Cf. also wqm'l (Mina, Saba') and 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 'ls^c_d, mt^c'l (Mina — translated by Ryckmans " 'Il est rusé" to which one may compare the craftiness of Il in Ugaritic texts like UM 75) and '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 ^cAthtar's revolt against Il in Isaiah 14:12-15. Cf. also W. Herrmann, Ashtart, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, 15/1, 1969, pp. 6-52.
- 71) See e.g. D. Nielsen, Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde, 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, Histoire des Religions, 1956, IV, pp. 257 - 260.
- 73) The sun-goddess Shams is indeed called 'Umm ^cathtar 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 ^cAthtar as well. See M. Höfner, WM, pp. 499, 541. This may be due to the replacement of the moongod by ^cAthtar.
- 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 'ldhrh (Saba') "Il shines forth".
- 80) The conventional pronunciation was Almaqah. Other suggested readings are Īlmaqah (CIS IV), Ilmuqah (Nielsen), Īlmâqahû (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 nh'r'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^cl (Thamûd), ^cl'l (Lihyân, Thamûd), ^sd'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) 'lshrh (Liḥyân); zhr'1 (Ṣafâ).
- 91) °s'1 (Liḥyân), '1bny (Liḥyân), dhwb'1 (Ṣafâ), wq°1 (Ṣafâ), yfth'1 (Ṣafâ). 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'1 (Ṣafâ). Also said of Allâh, 'lh'b (Liḥyân). Other gods with the epithet ab are Wadd, Hilâl and °Amm — in fact these are different names of the moongod. Hilâl signifies "the new moon" whereas Wadd and °Amm are official names of the national- and moongod in Ma°în 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 '1'dd probably also signifies Il as father.
- 93) bn'1 (Ṣafâ, Thamûd). Also said of Allâh, bn'lh (Ṣafâ). Cf. also bnhrb (Ṣafâ), bn°1 (Ṣafâ). 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'1 (Ṣafâ) designates the people as the offspring of Il.
- 94) hm'1 (Liḥyân).
- 95) khl'1 (Ṣafâ); °m'1 (Ṣafâ) — more probably than °Amm is god. Compare °mhrdw (Ṣafâ) correctly translated by G. Ryckmans "Rudâ est son oncle" (more probably than "°Amm gives satisfaction").
- 96) qdm'1 (Ṣafâ) "Il goes before, leads the way".
- 97) sh°1 (Ṣafâ).

- 98) 'lkhlm (Thamûd); h^cd'l, ^cd'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) ^cz'l (Lihyân), ^czl (Thamûd); ^ctnl (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^cdh'l (Safâ), ^cwdh'l (Safâ), ^cydhl (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^cy'l (Safâ).
- 121) 'c'l'l (Safâ).
- 122) bsm'l (Safâ), sm'l (Safâ).
- 123) ysm^cl (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'^cly (Lihyân).
- 127) tm'l (Safâ), also said of Allâh (Lihyân).
- 128) rdlh (Thamûd), mrml'lh (Lihyân).
- 129) 'ln^cm (Thamûd).
- 130) wd^cl (Safâ), wd^clh (Lihyân), yd^c'l (Thamûd).
- 131) 'lyhbsm (Thamûd).
- 132) shkr'l (Safâ).
- 133) hn'l, hnn'l (Safâ).
- 134) kfr'l (Thamûd); y^cdhr'l (Thamûd), c^cdhr'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^ctlh (Lihyân); qsm'l (Lihyân); cf. n^c'l (Safâ); ylk'l (Thamûd).

- 137) 'mr'1 (Safâ), cf. M. Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen, Reprinted 1966, p. 173.
- 138) fmn'1 (Liḥyân).
- 139) ws^c'1 (Thamûd); kbr'1 (Liḥyân). In Classical Arabic the root kbr used of human beings means "to be old".
smd'1 (Safâ), 'lsmw (Thamûd).
- 140) msbh'1 (Safâ), mḥmd'1 (Safâ).
- 141) ns'lh (Liḥyân). Cf. Lane, op. cit., s.v. ns'. See also the early Liḥyânite inscription JS 8 in F.V. Winnett, Allâh before Islâm, MW 1938, pp. 241f.
- 142) ymsk'1 (Safâ); nsh^c'1 (Safâ).
- 143) 'lbr (Liḥyân).
- 144) 'n'1 (Safâ).
- 145) 'lbg1 (Thamûd).
- 146) Cf. ghyr'1, ghr'1 (Safâ).
- 147) b^cd'1 (Safâ).
- 148) 'lḥbn (Safâ). Cf. khn'1 (Safâ), 'lkhbs (Thamûd).
Cf. sd'1 (from the root sdd, "to turn away" in Classical Arabic).
- 149) rth'1 (Safâ).
- 150) ndml (Safâ).
- 151) skhr'1 (Safâ), s^cdlh and variant forms in Liḥyân, Safâ and Thamûd.
- 152) mt^c'1 (Liḥyân) 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^crb 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. ^cAmm 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, ^cAmm 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, ll. 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 footnote 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, ll. 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, Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum, 1961, p. 30 l. 5; p. 35 l. 12; p. 74 l. 3; p. 106 l. 1. Al-Buhturî, Kitâb al-Hamâsa, 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-Buhturî, p. 22 l. 10; p. 65 l. 15.
- 177) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, XIV, p. 99 l. 21; XV, p. 75 l. 30; Al-Buhturî, p. 257 l. 5; p. 160 l. 5. The Arabs also used to blame and revile al-Dahr ("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: Lâ tasubbû al-Dahr fa-'inna al-Dahr huwa Allâh. See E.W. Lane, op. cit., Part 3, p. 923c.
- 178) Cf. Al-Isbahânî, XIII, p. 138 l. 13; Delectus, p. 3 l. 11; Al-Buhturî, p. 36 l. 7; p. 158 l. 6 (Jewish).
- 179) Delectus, p. 37 l. 6; cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 114 l. 10.
- 180) Al-Buhturî, p. 80 l. 22; p. 82 l. 6; p. 67 l. 14; p. 242 l. 17; p. 139 l. 16. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, Sîrat rasûl Allâh (ed. Wüstenfeld), 1858, p. 145 ll. 11ff.; p. 853 ll. 2f.
- 181) Al-Tibrizî, Kitâb Sharh al-Qaşâ'id al-^cAshr, ed. C.J. Lyall, reprinted 1965, p. 138 l. 3. For the phrase amr Allâh 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-Işbahânî, XV, p. 76 l. 12. Compare also the name of Mohammed's father, ^cAbdullâh.
- 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-Işbahânî, 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 ^cAmr in Al-Buhturî, op.cit., p. 32 l. 4 where the word hatm appears in the same sense it was used by Umaiya ibn Âbî 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-Işbahânî, X, p. 66 l. 10. Compare the expression Djâr Allâhⁱ and Al-Buhturî, p. 107 l. 9.
- 193) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 73 l. 6 (Christian).
- 194) Cf. Al-Işbahânî, XII, p. 125 l. 14; p. 126 l. 15.
- 195) Cf. Al-Buhturî, p. 244 l. 8. Al-Işbahânî, XX, p. 146 l. 29; p. 147 l. 6.
- 196) Cf. Delectus, p. 35 l. 3; Al-Işbahânî, XIX, p. 156 l. 29; Al-Buhturî, p. 274 l. 20.

- 197) Cf. the phrase biḥamd Allāh, Al-Buhturī, p. 40 l. 3 and ḥamīdu ilāhī, Al-Isbahānī, XXI, p. 43 l. 25.
- 198) EI, s.v. al-Madīna. The reference to Allāh 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. Ḥadjar, 1892, p. 11 l. 2. Even more remarkable is the saying of ^cAbīd ibn al-Abras: "Allāh has no partnership (shirk)", Lyall, op. cit., p. 161 l. 8, but it may have been inspired by Christianity for ^cAbīd lived at the Nestorian court of Al-Ḥīra. Aus ibn Ḥadjar also visited this court.
- 200) Al-Buhturī, p. 227 l. 20.
- 201) In the terminology of the Koran Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but a Ḥanīf II, 135(129); III, 67(60).
- 202) Sūra 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, Allāh 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^Cil 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 nh, 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^Cba, 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 Allāh 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-Isbahānī, 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 Sabaeen 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 Luqmān, 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 hādhā al-bait, Sūra CVI, 3.
- 225) Sūra XXVII, 91(93).
- 226) Cf. G. Ryckmans, Les Religions Arabes Préislamiques, p. 14, and for a description of Hubal, Ibn al-Kalbī, op. cit., pp. 17f. Cf. also Ibn Hishām, op. cit., p. 94. To represent a god in human form was strange to the ancient Arabs and implies foreign origin. Ibn Hishām, op. cit., p. 821 relates that on the day of his victory Mohammed entered the Ka^cba and found amongst others Abraham portrayed (muṣawwar) 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-^cumra li-Allāh, II, 196(192) for which several codices read al-^cumra li-al-bait or al-^cumra ilā 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^Cba.
- 228) Ibid. Cf. p. 221 n. 2 where Wellhausen remarks:
"Lehrreich ist der innere Widerspruch im Hadith, dass Abdalmuttalib dem Allâh das Opfer bei der Ka^Cba bringen will, aber den Hubal befragt, welches Opfer er haben will". Cf. also al-Tabarî, Akhhbâr 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^Cal (Cf. EI s.v.) but it has also been related to Aramaic h^abal. 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 Manât 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^abâlîm 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-Aṣnâm 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-Kalbī, 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) Arabs (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 ^CAdī swears wa-rabb makka wa-al-salīb "by the Lord of Mecca and of the cross", Al-Isbahānī, book 2, page 24 line 31, it has been deduced that he equalled Christ with the lord of the Ka^Cba or Allâh. This deduction is not justified. Mohammed swore 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-Nābigha also used the word Allāh in a Christian sense in poems extolling the Christian kings who were his benefactors, Dīwān al-Nābighah, 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 Sūra 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 Rahmān. See G. Ryckmans, Les Religions ..., pp. 47f. The use of the name Rahmān 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 Allāh, as is the case with the legendary prophet Hūd, VII, 65(63). Elsewhere the word Hūd signifies the Jews e.g. II, 111(105); cf. IV, 46(48) and both names are seemingly derived from the word Yahūd, in the popular etymology understood to be the vocative particle Yā combined with Hūd. Cf. EI, s.v. R.B. Sergeant, Hūd and other Pre-Islamic Prophets of Hadramaut, Muséon, 67, 1954, pp. 166-171 published traditions that Hūd had a son, or grandson with the Jewish name Daniel. This also suggests that Hūd was

an early Jewish preacher of monotheism in Arabia.

- 250) In 1896 Mordtmann and Müller published a monotheistic Sabaeen 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 Djâhiliya. Probably this inscription is of Jewish origin since the word qorbân 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 Qorân, 1911, concluded: "Lässt sich auf Grund dieser Untersuchung auch nicht eine direkte Benutzung des Qorâns 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.