LABBAYKA, ALLĀHUMMA, LABBAYKA . . .

On a monotheistic aspect of a Jahiliyya practice

In memory of Dr. Isaiah Shachar

In his article *Talbiyat al-Jahiliyya*¹ S.M. Husain recorded twenty-five formulae of ritual invocation, *talbiyat*, uttered by the tribes in the period of the Jahiliyya during their pilgrimage to Mecca. He mentions that Abū l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī had given in his *Risālat al-ghufrān* seven such formulae of tribal *talbiyat*, classifying them by prosody and metre. Husain supposes that the *labbayka allāhumma labbayka* “was probably adopted from the first responders to the call of Abraham,”² and emphasizes that the Prophet changed the Jahili formula: *labbayka allāhumma labbayka, lā sharīka laka illā sharīkun huwa laka, tamliktuhu wa-mā malaka* (“Here I am, O God, here I am; Thou hast no partner except such partner as Thou hast; Thou possessest him and all that is his”)³ into the Muslim one: *labbayka allāhumma labbayka, lā sharīka laka; inna l-Jamda wa-l-ni'mata laka wa-l-mulka, lā sharīka laka* (“Here I am, O God, here I am, Thou hast no partner; the praise and

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the grace are Thine and the empire; Thou hast no partner.”

Husain points out that the tribes performing the pilgrimage acknowledged in their talbiyāt a supreme God who was the Master of their gods, giving Him such names as al-Raḥmān, al-Maʿbūd, al-Dayyān, al-Mustajīb, al-Qaḥhār, al-Samād, and emphasizes the Muslim character of some of the utterances of the talbiya. The Prophet used in his prayer the utterance: *in taghfir allāhumma taghfir jammā, wa-ayyuʿ abdin laka lā alammā*, a phrase which, according to Husain, occurs in the talbiya of the Ashʿārīyyūn. This idea of the presence of an all-powerful and all-pervading Divinity, concludes Husain, was working amongst the Arabs preparing the field for the propagation of the sublime monotheism as preached by Muḥammad.

Husain, although he carefully collected and edited the valuable text of the talbiyāt, did not, however, record the sources from which he derived his material. It may be of some importance to trace the sources of the talbiyāt and to examine more closely their content and purport. The talbiyāt of certain tribes are given in al-Yaʿqūbī’s (d. 248 H) *Taʿrkh*.

Al-Yaʿqūbī’s account of the talbiyāt is preceded by a short account of the gods and idols worshipped by the Arabs. More detailed is the account of talbiyāt in Muḥammad b. Ḥabbār’s (d. 145 H) *al-Muhābbar*,

The complete text of several talbiyāt is given in the commentary to the phrase: *wa-jtanibī qaula l-zūrī* (Sūra XXII, 31) in Muqātil b. Sulayrān’s (d. 150 H) *Tafsīr*.

See the various forms of the Muslim talbiya:


Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-364; text no. 3.


Ilse Lichtenstädter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, pp. 311-315; the list of the idols *tibd* ibid. pp. 315-318.

Ms. Ahmet III, 74/II, fols. 22a-24a; the list of the idols is given on fol. 24a, inf.-24b.
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rendered by Muqātil by kadhib, lie, and identified with the falsehood inherent in the Jāhili talbiyāt, that associate gods and idols with God. Zūr is thus defined as al-shirku fi l-talbiya, attribution of a partner to God in the talbiya.

Muqātil’s list, in which fifty six forms of talbiya are recorded, is however a composite affair. Several of the talbiyāt are in fact duplicates with certain variations. The first eight talbiyāt give the utterances of the tribes without referring to the names of the gods. The ninth relates the utterances of the women who perform the circumambulation of the Ka'ba while naked. The tenth gives the talbiya of Adam. The following twenty talbiyāt (nos. 11-31) are listed by the names of the gods worshipped by the different tribes, without however giving the names of the tribes. This series of talbiya is preceded by the heading: taḥliyatu l-ʿarabi fi l-jāhilīyya and ends with the phrase: wa-hiidhihi ruʿusu ṭawāghītitihim ... The forms of talbiya which constitute this series correspond to those which occur in the report of Muhammad b. Ḥabīb. The close relation between the text of Muqātil and that of Ibn Ḥabīb is evident. In the talbiya of the tribes worshipping Saʿlūd (no. 23) the last line of the talbiya breaks the chain of saf-i-rhymes: miyyāḥa and raqāḥa are followed by jaʿa. This same wording is recorded in Ibn Ḥabīb’s al-Muḥabbār, where however a marginal gloss in the Ms. of al-Muḥabbār replaces the last word by al-naṣāḥa.10 The lacuna in the talbiya of the worshippers of al-Muntaqib (Muqātil, no. 19) can clearly be seen in the Ms., indicating that some phrases of the utterance are missing; the text is identical with that given in al-Muḥabbār (p. 313, 1.1), but the printed edition of al-Muḥabbār has no note about a lacuna in the Ms. The heading missing in the talbiya no. 25 (Muqātil, fol. 23a sup.): wa-kānūn talbiyata man nasaka li-yaḥūthā can be supplied from the account of al-Muḥabbār (p. 314, 1.1). Furthermore Ibn Ḥabīb’s account of the idols worshipped by the Arabs also shows close similarity with that of Muqātil, though it is more detailed.11

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

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

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9 Muqātil, op. cit., fol. 22a, sup.
10 Al-Muḥabbār, p. 313, note 5.
11 See Muqātil, op. cit., fol. 24b; and see another short account ibid., fol. 210b.
talbiyāt. One may venture to say that some parts of the account were inserted by the transmitter of the Tafsīr, al-Hudhayl b. Ḥabīb al-Dandānī.\(^{12}\)

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

The well known Jahili talbiya associating a partner with God\(^ {13}\) is recorded in Muqātil’s account as the talbiya of Quraysh, who were worshippers of Isāf.\(^ {14}\) This very talbiya is however recorded as the ritual invocation of the Ḥums, a group of tribes including Quraysh, Khuzā’ī, Kināna and ‘Amīr b. Ṣa’ṣa’a, as stated in this report.\(^ {15}\) In another form of the talbiya of the Hums they invoke God, addressing Him as the Lord of Sirius (rabbu l-shīrā) and ask His aid against the offenders. They address Him as the Lord of Manāt,\(^ {16}\) al-ʿLāt and al-ʿUzza and as the Lord of the sanctuary of the Kaʾba (rabbu l-kaʾba bati l-harām). They came to Him riding on lean camels — having evidently made an arduous journey — and left the idols forsaken and desolate, (khilwan sifran), as they say in their invocation.\(^ {17}\)

It is, of course, of some importance to find the talbiya of the Hums, a group closely connected by ties of loyalty and allegiance with the Kaʾba, observing distinctive ritual practices during the Ḥajj and enjoying a special privileged position in Mecca. While the Jahili talbiya with regard to associating a partner is usually attributed to Quraysh, or to Quraysh and Kināna,\(^ {18}\) the latter talbiya attributed to the Hums seems to be congruous with their religious ideas and their duties during the Ḥajj. The talbiya expounds clearly their belief in the authority of Allah over the principal Arab deities al-ʿLāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt. God is the Lord of the Kaʾba and the idols of the gods had been left behind void and insignificant. This may be quite a faithful exposition of their belief. Moreover, the arduous journey fits in well with the fact that they exercised exertions in worship during the Ḥajj.

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\(^{12}\) See Sezgin GAS, I, 37 (‘‘Dieser fügte an manchem Stellen dem Text von Muqātil Überlieferungen von anderen hinzu’’). On the transmission of the Tafsīr see al-Khatīb al-Baghdādt, Taʾrīkh Baghdādī, VII, 143, no. 3591, IX, 426, no. 5039; and see Muqātil, op. cit., fol. 33a.

\(^{13}\) See above, note 3.


\(^{15}\) Muqātil, op. cit., fol. 22a (no. 1); a following comment says that the partner attached by the Hums to God referred to the angels worshipped by them; this is the xihr, the falsehood (mentioned in the verse of the Qurʿān).

\(^{16}\) The phrase in the text: rabbu l-thalithati l-ukhra denotes, of course, Manāt.

\(^{17}\) Muqātil op. cit., fol. 23b (no. 45).

\(^{18}\) See the talbiya uttered by Quraysh and Kināna on the Day of ‘Arafa, containing the declaration of the associate partner: Muqātil, op. cit., fol. 23a (no. 32).
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Their invocation of God to aid them against those who transgress seems to point to these tribal groups who did not observe the sanctity of the Ka‘ba and violated the peace of the holy months of the ḥajj. No clear answer can be given why their talbiya stressed that Allah was the Lord of Sirius. This very expression occurs in the Qurʾān only once (Sūra LIII, 49). Early commentators attribute the worship of Sirius to the tribe of Ḥimyar, or to some ancestor of the Prophet or to the tribe of Kuṭa‘a. This could explain the naming of God as the Lord of Sirius, as Kuṭa‘a were a part of the Hums. But the expression “the Lord of Sirius . . . the Lord of al-Lāt and al-‘Uzza” recurs as well in the talbiya of Madhhij.19

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

Another version of the talbiya of Rabī‘a (the worshippers of Muḥarriq22) reflects sincere devotion and servitude and expresses the request that the pilgrimage be correct and sound: labbayka ḥajjān ḥaqqān tāḥabbudan wa-riqqān.23 A third relation has some additional phrases describing the race of the pilgrims towards Mecca so that they may shave their heads.24 A fourth version shows some divergence: the Bakr b. Wā’il stress in their talbiya on behalf of Rabī‘a their obedience to the Lord who is not worshipped in a church or in a synagogue. Their idols, they say, they have left protected and safe.25 A fifth report adds to the concise form of the devotion and servitude a phrase stating the Rabī‘a did not come to Mecca to ask for gifts nor for reasons of trade.26

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

20 Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 54).
21 Ibn Hishām, Kitāb al-ta‘līm, Hyderabad 1347, p. 219; and see on qash‘am as the sobriquet of Rabī‘a L‘A, s.v. q sh‘m.
23 Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., fol. 22b (no. 17); Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 312; Abū l-‘Alā‘ al-Ma‘arrī, op. cit., p. 536.
24 Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., for 23b (no. 38).
25 Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 50).
26 Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., fol 22a (no. 4); cf. L‘A, s.v. r q h: some people used to utter in their talbiya in the period of the Jähiliyya: fi‘nāka il-l-nasāha wa-lam na‘il il-l-raqāha.
27 See e.g. Muqāṭṭil, op. cit., fol. 22b (no. 23), fol. 23b (nos. 36, 39, 44); Ibn Ḥabīb, op. cit., p. 313.
th revelation (Sūra II, 198) which gave Muslims permission to carry out business transactions during the ḥajj.28

The description of the hardship of travel during the pilgrimage, the lean camels, the race to reach Mecca, the exertion of performing the ḥajj by foot as exposed in the talbiyyāt29 — all these features are in agreement with the reports about the pilgrimage in the period of the Jāhiliyya and with the stories about exertions during the ḥajj in Islamic times.

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

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28 See e.g. Muqāṭil, op. cit., I, 31b; Ibn al-Arabi, Aḥkām al-qur’ān, Cairo 1387/1967, I, 135 inf., 136; al-Ṭabarī, Taḥṣīl, ed. Shākir, IV, 164-168, nos. 3763, 3771, 3775, 3777, 3781 (noteworthy is the expression of the commentator: fa-rukhkhisa lahum ... “and they were granted concession”) 3787 (and see another version of the verse: no. 3766); al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr an-manthur, I, 222; al-Rāghib al-Īsfahānī, Muḥādārat al-udābā‘. Beirut 1961, II, 465; and see JESHO XV (1972) 76, note 4.

29 See e.g. Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 22a (nos. 3, 7), 23a (no. 34), 23b (no. 44), 24a (no. 49).

30 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 53); al-Ya‘qūbī, op. cit., I, 297, 11. 4-5.

31 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 52); comp. the fragmentary talbiyya in al-Ya‘qūbī, op. cit., I, 297.

32 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 56).

33 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 23a (no. 33); comp. al-Ya‘qūbī, op. cit., I, 296.

34 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 23b (no. 37); and comp. the talbiyya of ‘Akk and the Ash‘arīyyān (ib. no. 40): ḥajjīn li-l-rāḥmān, dhallat lahu l-asnām.

35 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 24a (no. 48).

36 Muqāṭil, op. cit., fol. 23a (no. 35).

37 Sūra CXII, 2.

38 See e.g. Abū Mishāl, Kitāb al-nawādir, ed. Izzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1380/1961, pp. 122-123 (and see the references of the editor, ib., note “35”); L’A s.v. s.m.d; Ahmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, al-Zūna, ed. Husayn al-Ḥamdānī, Cairo 1958, II, 43-45; and comp. Ḥirān al-ʿAud,
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are however other explanations and some of them seem to have been introduced together with the later ideas about the attributes of God.

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

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

This meaning proposed for islām by Baneth, is indeed confirmed by the definition given by Muqatil in his Tafsir: muslim is consistently interpreted by mukhlīṣun bi-l-tauhīdī (or: bi-tauhīdī llaḥī);41 Islām and ikhliṣ are here given as identical in connotation. H. Ringgren, analyzing the meaning of ikhliṣ and mukhlīṣ states that “the context indicates that making one's religion khāliṣ to God is contrary to choosing patrons apart from Him,”42 and finds fit Bell’s translation: “making Him the exclusive object of religion.”43 One may venture to assume

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39 Muqāṭīl, op. cit., fol. 23b (no. 43).


41 See e.g. Muqāṭīl, op. cit., I, 51a (aslamtu ya'nt akhlaṣtu), I, 57a (kuntum muslimtna ya'nt mukhliṣtna lahu bi-l-tauḥīdī), II, 58b, ult.-59a, 1. 1 (qablə an yarțant muslimtna, ya'nt mukhliṣtna bi-l-tauḥīdī), II, 59b, 1. 3 (wa-kunna muslimtna ya'nt mukhliṣtna bi-l-tauḥīdī min qabliha) II, 61b, 1. 4 from bottom, II, 62a, 1. 5 from bottom, II, 73b, II, 83a, b, 1. 2, II, 123a, II, 211a, 1. 6.


43 Ibid., p. 94 inf.
that *islām* here denotes the idea ascribed to it in the Qurān. This may change to some extent the accepted views about the beliefs of the people of the Jāhiliyya and provide a clue for an evaluation as to how monotheistic ideas were adopted and transmitted from the Jāhiliyya period to Islam.

The talbiya of Jurhum⁴⁴ is of an altogether different content and purport. This tribe was already extinct by the advent of Islam, and traditions as to their origin and ancestors were shrouded in a web of miracles and legend. The talbiya of Jurhum is thus merely a reminiscence of an early talbiya of an ancient tribe perpetuated in the invocation of the worshippers of Dhū l-Kaffayn,⁴⁵ this idol was worshipped by Daus⁴⁶ and Khuza‘a.⁴⁷ Muqātil records two versions of the talbiya of Jurhum: a short one, the talbiya of the worshippers of Dhū l-Kaffayn, who utter the invocation of Jurhum, and a longer one referred to above (note 44), recorded as the talbiya of Jurhum. They invoke God, stating that they are his servants; that people are (like) newly acquired property, while they are (like) the hereditary property of God; that they have dwelt in God’s land and caused it to flourish and that to be remote from God is something which one cannot stand. Further they say in their invocation that they are the first to come to God’s meeting place; they will oppose anyone who shows hostility towards God until they set the faith straight in His valley.⁴⁸

The first three hemistichs of this rajaz are often quoted in the sources and attributed to ‘Arnr b. al-Harith (or ḤAmr b. al-Harith) b. Muqād,⁴⁹ they became incorporated into the talbiya. The concept of man assisting God against His enemies is of considerable antiquity in Islam, recurring as it does in the Qurān and in early Islamic literature. The contrasting pair of notions “ṭīf” (or *ṭurf*) and “ṭilād”, current in ancient Arabic poetry is here interpreted as pointing to the heavenly origin of Jurhum, “ṭilāduka”, “Thy hereditary property”; their ancestor is said to have been an angel who, having sinned, was sent down to earth.⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that al-Ṭabarî, (Ṭabarî), Ta’rīkh, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Muṣṭafī ʿAlī Frāh, Cairo 1961, II, 285; al-Fāṣi, Shīfā’ al-gharām, Cairo 1956, I, 357, 374; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simt al-nustām al-muwall, Cairo 1380, I, 174; al-Masʿūdī, Aʿlām al-mubuwat, Cairo 1319, p. 120; Abū l-Baqā’, al-Mamāqīṣib al-mazyadīyya, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 296, fol. 79b.

⁴⁴ See on this tribe *Et*, s.v. Djurhum (W.M. Watt).
⁴⁵ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 23a (no. 30).
⁵⁰ Al-ʿIṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 174 inf. – 175.
The phrase “wa-humu l-awwallūna ʿalā mīʿādika” deserves attention. Although the word mīʿād occurs several times in the Qurʾān, the use of the word with the preposition ʿalā is not attested in the Qurʾān. It occurs however with the preposition ʿalā in the famous poem of al-Aswād b. Yāʿfur. In the talbiya of Jurhum the word seems to denote an appointed time or an appointed place of meeting; in this case it is the time of the ḥajj as established by God or the place appointed by God for the pilgrimage, Mecca.

To the sphere of Jāhilī custom also belongs the invocation by women who used to perform the circumambulation naked. To the usually recorded rajaz — verse Muqāṭīl adds three rajaz hemistichs about the spectators who watch the corpulent women. The body-features mentioned in the last hemistic resemble the details provided about Dubāʿa when she circumambulated the Kaʿba in the nude.

Abū I-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī remarks, classifying the different forms of the talbiyāt, that there is no talbiya (scil. from the period fo the Jāhilīyya — K) cast in one of the qaṣida — metres. He remarks with caution that talbiyāt may have perhaps been uttered in one of the qaṣida metres, but they were not recorded by the transmitters. Most of them are utterances cast in sajʿ or rajaz form. Goldziher analyzed thoroughly the role of sajʿ and rajaz and their occurrence in invocations, curses, wisdom sayings and in oracular utterances.

AbulʿAlāʾ, op. cit., p. 537.

J. Goldziher, Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, Leiden 1896.
lished style of religious discourse in the period of the Jāhiliyya. Tradition stresses the efficacy of *saj* invocations uttered in the *haram* of Mecca in the period of the Jāhiliyya and directed against wrong-doers and oppressors. The *Sīra* of Ibn Iṣḥaq in the transmission of Yūnus b. Bukayr has a special chapter recording cases of this kind. In early Islam *saj* and *rajaz* were considered a product of the Bedouin mind and it was deemed especially odious to link the Qurʿān with *rajaz/61*

The Prophet is said to have prohibited the use of *saj* in invocations.

Some *saj* invocations of the Jāhiliyya period were indeed utterly forgotten. According to the report of al-Ḥākīm the people performing the *tawāf* between al-Ṣafā and al-Maʿrūnah in the period of the Jāhiliyya used to utter the following short invocation:

*al-yauma qirri 'aynd: bi-qari l-marwatayn*63

This invocation is never encountered again in the Islamic period. Some of the invocations of the *talbiya* in their *saj* or *rajaz* forms did, however, survive and were adopted by the Prophet; he used to utter them during his pilgrimage. The invocation *labbaya haajan haqqa: ta'abbudan wa-riqqā* mentioned above64 was uttered by the Prophet in his *talbiya*.65

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

**Tāhummā hādhā khāmisun in tammā:**

**atammahū llāhu wa-qad atammā.**

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64 Note 22.


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in taghfiri llähumma tagfir jammā:
wa-ayyu 'abdīn laka lā alammā.66

Al-Ṭabarî who reports on the authority of Mujāhid that the people used to circumambulate the Ka'ba uttering the second verse in taghfiri llähumma...67 records however another tradition saying that the Prophet recited this verse.68 According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Manzūr the second verse (in taghfir...) was composed by Umayya b. abī l-Ṣalt.69 The verse is indeed ascribed to Umayya b. abī l-Ṣalt in the Kitāb al-Aghānī and two versions are related about the circumstances in which Umayya composed the verse: according to al-Zuhri he uttered it during the miraculous opening of his breast; according to Thābit b. al-Zubayr he recited it before his death.70 According to a tradition reported by Ibn al-Kalbî the verse was uttered by al-Dayyān (the ancestor of the Banū l-Dayyān)71 during his prayer.72 These verses (with the variant: allähumma hādhā wāhidun in tamām...) are recorded by Husain as the talbiya of the Ash'arīyyūn.73 Muqatīl records a talk between ʿUmar and Abī Muṣā al-Ash'ārī in which he asked him about the talbiya of the Ash'arīyyūn. Abū Burda quoted the following form of their Jāhili talbiya: allähumma hādhā wāhidun innamā:74 athamahu llāhu wa-qad athimā: in taghfiri llähumma...75 It is thus a divergent version with a different intent: God knows the sins of the men who commit them (and will certainly punish them — K); if God forgives He will forgive them all together, as there is no believer who has not sinned.

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

66 L'A s.v. 1 m m; al-Suyūṭī, Sharḥ shawāhid al-mughnī, ed. al-Shanqīṭī, rev. Ahmad Zāfir Kujān, Damascus 1386/1966, p. 625, no. 388 (with the variant in the first hemistich: hādhā rābiʿun); Ahmad b. Hamdān al-Ražī, op. cit., II, 15.
67 Al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr (Bulaq) XXVII, 40; al-Suyūṭī, Sharḥ shawāhid, p. 625.
69 L'A, s.v. 1 m m.
70 Aghānt (Bulaq) III, 190-191; al-Dāmırrī, Hayāt al-hayawān, Cairo 1383/1963, II, 402-403; al-Jumāhī, Ṭabaqät fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ, ed. Mahmūd Shākir, Cairo 1952, pp. 223-224 (and see the references of the editor, p. 224, note 3); and see Sadr al-Dīn al-Baṣrī, al-Ḥamāsā al-baṣrīyya, ed. Mukhtar al-Dīn Ahmad, Hyderabad 1383/1964, II, 431, no. 53 (and see the references recorded by the editor); ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baġhdādī, Khızānat al-adāb, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1388/1968, II, 295-296 (and see the references given by the editor); Ibn Ḥajar, al-Isāba, I, 252.
72 Aghānt, X, 146, penult.
73 Husain, op cit., p. 365, no. 3.
74 The metre here is defective. Perhaps: lāhumma has to be read.
75 Muqatīl, op. cit., 24a (no. 51).
75a Cf. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baġhdādī, op. cit., II, 295.
The two last hemistichs were adopted by the Prophet and uttered by him in his invocation. This is another instance for the way in which Jahil'ī pious ideas tainted by a shade of monotheism were taken up by Islam.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ilayka ta'dū qaliqan waṣfatuhā}; \\
\text{mu'taridan fi bātirāh jānīnuhā}; \\
\text{mukhālifan dīna l-naṣārā dīnuhā.}
\end{align*}
\]

Several traditions report that 'Umar recited these verses when driving his riding beast swiftly through the Wādī Muḥassir during his ḥajj. \(^{77}\) Another tradition relates that the Prophet uttered these verses when on his ifṣāḍa from 'Arafa. \(^{78}\)

It is quite significant that these rajaz verses, marked as a piece of Yamani poetry, are recorded as the talbiya of the Asad and Ghatafān. \(^{79}\) These rajaz-verses are yet another case of the absorption of Jahil'ī material, whereby it was transformed into a part of the Muslim ritual invocation.

According to current tradition the tribal talbiyāt were prohibited and were substituted by a Muslim formula. This is clearly reflected in the story of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkārīb, reported on the authority of Sharqī b. Qūtāmī: the old tribal talbiya, telling about the strenuous efforts of the journey and about the idols left void behind them, was replaced by the prescribed Muslim talbiya. \(^{80}\) The case of the talbiya of Zubayd, as recorded by Muqātil, is however different. The Jahilī talbiya mentioned above was replaced by a new one in which God is addressed as “the Lord of the lords” (rabbu l-arbāb) and “the Subduer of every idol and graven image in the land” (qāhiru kulli waṣāmin waṣanāmin fi l-bilād). \(^{81}\) It is the only

\(^{76}\) Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 357; Ibn Ḥajar, al-Isāba, V, 586, no. 7403; al-Kalāt, al-Iktīfā, I, 259.


\(^{78}\) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya, s.v. ṭdn; L'A, s.v. ṭdn; Muhibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., p. 414; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythami, op. cit., III, 156.

\(^{79}\) Muqātil, op. cit., 22a (no. 8).


\(^{81}\) Muqātil, op. cit., 24a (no.49).
On a monotheistic aspect of a Jāhiliyya practice

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

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

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

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

82 Muqatil, op. cit., fol. 22a (no. 5), 22b (no. 22, given as the talbiya of the worshippers of Manat; and so Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muhabbar p. 313); see Abī l-'Āla', op. cit., p. 536 (recorded as the talbiya of Tamīm).
83 Muqatil, op. cit., fol. 23a (no. 27); Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muhabbar, p. 314.
84 See e.g. al-Zurqānī, Sharh al-mawahib al-laduniyya, Cairo 1327, IV, 13-14; Ibn Kathīr, al-Šarṭ al-nabawīyya, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1385/1966, IV, 88; 'Alī b. Burḥān al-Dīn, Inṣān al-ʿuṭayn (= al-Šarṭ al-halabiyya), Cairo, 1382/1962, III, 251. The animosity between Tamīm and Rabī‘a was reflected in certain hajj-practices: the tribes used to rally in al-Muḥassab and would leave according to an established order, to avoid clashes among them. Ibn 'Abbās remarked that Tamīm and Rabī‘a used to fear each other (kanat banu tamtimm wa-rabī‘atu takhafu ba‘dātun ba‘dan). See al-Fākiḥī, op. cit., p. 481b.
85 Muqatil, op. cit., fol. 22b (no. 10).
87 Al-Īṣārānī, Zubdatu l-a‘mal, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 3034, fol. 35a (or 40 times as Ibid., fol. 36a); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., p. 48 sup.; al-Ṣaḥīḥ, op. cit., I, 242-243; and see al-Daylamī, Firdaus, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 117a, inf.: qad atū ādamū khaḍhā l-baytā alfa uthaytā minā l-hindi‘ ala riyaḥi, lam yarkāb ṣāḥīna min dhālika thalāthi mi‘ātī ḥaḍātīn wa-sab‘a mi‘ātī umratān, wa-awwalu ḥaḍātīn ḥaḍātā ādamū wa-huwa waqīfūn bi‘-rāfātān atāhū jibrīl fa-qāla ya‘ādamu burra nuskuša, amā inna qad ʿufnā bi-haḍhā l-baytī qabrā an tukhlaga bi-khamstīna alfa saḥānīn.

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

III

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

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


91 Al-Ḥarbī, *op. cit.*, p. 429: ... wa-kayfāma shāʾaʾi muḥrimu an yulabbīya labbā.

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

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

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

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

IV

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

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

The *talbiyāt* expose a remarkably rich religious vocabulary and terminology. The attributes of God are well attested in the two monotheistic faiths preceding Islam and are recurring in the Qurʾān. It is the merit of Brockelmann, who in his study of the religious terms in the extant compilations of ancient Arabic poetry, adduced an abundant body of references to Allāh and Raḥmān in the Jāhiliyya poetry. Brockelmann also pointed out the various expressions pertaining to the conception of Allāh in the Jāhiliyya: God the Creator, the Lord of the creatures, the Omnipotent; God punishes and grants rewards; this is why He ought to be feared, revered, and praised. Brockelmann shows that expressions like *hamd*, *khashya*, *huda*, *taqwā* occurring in the Jāhiliyya poetry suggest a kind of religious perception of a High God akin to that of *El-ʿOlam* and *El-ʿElyon*. Admitting that some details of the Genesis-story of creation might have reached Arabia, Brockelmann refutes definitely the assumption that the concept of Allāh might have been borrowed from one of the religions of Revelation or originated from animism.

Gibb, starting from a quite different point and using different material arrives at a rather similar conclusion, stressing the original Arabian concepts of monotheism which developed in the Arab peninsula and denying the hypothesis of a Jewish or Christian source for the Qurʾān. In another article Gibb analyses the process of the rededication of the Jāhiliyya religious symbolism and the re-interpretation of the religious terms of the Jāhiliyya into the monotheistic, Muslim ones. They are moulded in the genuine old Arabic forms of *safʿ* and *rajaz* and expose the belief in the supreme God of the Kaʿba, Allāh, associated with tribal gods; this was an indigenous religious tradition, developed in the Arabian peninsula,

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99 See W. Montgomery Watt, “Belief in a ‘High God’ in Pre-Islamic Mecca,” *JSS* 16(1971) pp. 35-40; the assumption on p. 40 about the pre-nomadic agriculture times in which the deities represented the neutral forces, thus forming “a vigorous paganism” in contradistinction to the Bedouin for whom “it was not incongruous that Allāh rather than the pagan deities should send rain and supply man with his *rizq* or provision,” seems, however, not to be based on solid textual evidence.
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and reflecting the peculiar setting of co-operation between the tribes and Mecca. It was against the people who recited these *talbiyāt*, the *mushrikiin*, that Muḥammad preached his exclusive monotheistic ideas. It is thus not surprising that some of the expressions and terms in these *talbiyāt* found their way into the Qur‘ān. Re-interpreted and transformed they coalesced with other elements to form the body of ideas represented by the religious literature of Islam.

Addenda


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


[Aj 2:22] [واحتجاوا قول الزور]، يقول: احتجوا باللزوم، وهو الشرك. [حدثنا أبو محمد]
قال حدثني أبي قال حدثني المهدي عن مقاتل عن محمد بن علي في قوله تعالى:
واحتجاوا قول الزور قال: الكذب وقد هو الشرك في التلبية.
(1) [والذى أن الحسن، قريش وخزاعة] كتابة وعامر بن صعصعة، في
الجاهلية كانوا يقولون في التلبية: لبيك لبيك، لبيك لبيك، لا شريك
الشيء هو ذلك كله تملك وما ملك، اعنى الملاكهة التي تعود، هذا قول الزور
لقولهم: إلا شريك هو ذلك.
(2) [وكان اهل اليمن في الجاهلية يقولون في التلبية: نحن غرابا،
علاقه، على الله 2 عانه عباده اليمانيين، كما نحن الثانيه، على السقايا
الناجيه.
(3) [وكان تنصم 1 يقول: لبيك ما سأهما بجرا، ادلاجه وبرده وراء،
لاستغف شيتا 2 واصلا، حكم ليرت مستقيم يرحل،
(4) [وكان ربيعة يقول: لبيك اللهم حمدا حقا، تعبدا ورقا، لم نأتك
للسماحه، 1 ولا حياة 2 للرحيم.
(5) [وكان تنصم: ليس عبانا نقول: لبيك لولا أن بكدا دونا، 1 بن غفار
وهم بلبونك 1 بيرك الناس وعافكم 1، وجاول مما سما عيجب 4 يانوتكا 1.
(6) [وكان جزهم يقول: لبيك إن جبرنا عبادك، والناس طرف وهم
نحلاك، 1 وهم لعمر عمروا بلادنا، لايطلق رسأ يعادك، وهم الأولون على
ميعداك، فان (إ) يعادوا 5 كل من يعادك، حتى يقيموا الدين في وادك.

البروفيسور:

= Saray, Ahmet III, 741-11
أج = Köprülu
ك = Hamidiyya 58
ج = H. Hüsnü 17
حس = امح

(3) 1 في لدوج: وكانت سم 2 في لدوج: مما ولا بر.
(4) 1 في ك: لسماحه 2000 للرحيمه: وبدوان السا الصريح
قاز حسن رقم 2005.244 وروحس: ولحا.

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(1) And in the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(2) And in the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(3) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(4) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(5) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(6) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(7) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(8) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(9) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(10) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(11) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(12) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(13) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(14) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(15) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(16) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(17) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

(18) In the case of a bequest to the one who performs the act of worship, and the one who is given (as a reward), it is not accepted.

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(15) وكانت تلبية من نسك لسواك: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك أبنانا.
(16) وكانت تلبية من نسك للشمس: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك ما نهارنا.
(17) وكانت تلبية من نسك لحرم: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك حجّاً.
(18) وكانت تلبية من نسك لود: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك معدرة الديك.
(19) لا هو واجب الديك.
(20) وكانت تلبية من نسك لمنطق: لبيك الله لبيك.
(21) وكانت تلبية عك، إذا بلغوا مكة يبعثون غلامين يسيران على جمل ممدوكة قد جردا عوا، فلما يزيدان على أن يقول: نحن غايًا، فلما نادي الغلامان ذلك صاح من خلفهما كما عق الديك عانيه، عبادك اليمانيه.
(22) كمتاحج للناس على العلاقة 3 الاجاية.
(23) وكانت تلبية من نسك منشأ: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك لولا أن بكر دونها، بين غطافهم وهم يبوكون 1 شرّك الناس ويفجرونها 2 ما زال ممسا بعجيًا 3 يتونها، أنت على عددتهم 4 من دونها.
(24) كنت تلبية من نسك لعبد: لبيك الله لبيك، لبيك لا تملك للسماح 2 ولا طلب الرباح 2 ولكن جتناك للطاعه 3.

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(15) 1 في المحرص 312: أبدا، 2 في المحرص 9.
(16) 1 في هامش اح ملاحظة الناصح: "بمجرد من كلامه الاني ان الناس هنا وقان، ليس تحري mij الكاتب " 2 في المحرص 312: حجا لرب مستقيم.
(17) 3 في المحرص 312: إذا الخلقية 3 في المحرص: بما هو.
(18) 1 في المحرص ص 1313: 1: 000 لبيك، 1 في المحرص ص 312: 312: 000 قد جردا عبا، 2 في اح وس وحن: عبا، 3 في المحرص: على السيداد 4 راجع تلبية عك: ابن الالكي، الاصنم ص 7.
(19) 0 في المحرص ص 312: 000 لبيك.
(20) 1 في المحرص ص 312: 312: 000 فلما جردا عبا، 2 في المحرص: على السيداد 4 راجع تلبية عك: ابن الالكي، الاصنم ص 7.
(21) 1 في المحرص ص 312: 312: 000 فلما جردا عبا، 2 في المحرص: على السيداد 4 راجع تلبية عك: ابن الالكي، الاصنم ص 7.
(22) 1 في المحرص ص 312: 312: 000 في اح وس وحن: للمبيحة.
(23) 1 في المحرص ص 312: لسعود: 200 في اح وس وحن: للمبيحة
(24) 1 في المحرص ص 312: 312: 000 في اح وس وحن: للمبيحة.

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он моноеистической аспекта д Яхилиyya практики

(24) \( \text{و} \), поскольку لل/> (25) 

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(31) 

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(38)
قال ابن اسحق: وكانت تلبية تميم واسد وفيدة وممزقة، فكانت تميم تقول: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك عن تميم قد تراها قد خُلفت أوانها وارها، وأخلصت لربيّها دمياها، قد افترض حج (1) لمن براها، قد فاز بالقدرة وابتناها، بركة للرب ومن براها...

قال ابن اسحق: وكانت خندف، تميم واسد وفيدة وممزقة، يعثرون هيل ويلغرون: لبيك اللهم لبيك، ما نهارا نجزه، ادلاجه وبرده وصره، لا ينبي...

قال وقال الشمسي: كانت تلبية بني اسد اذا حجوا: لبيك اللهم لبيك، العيون تتلون بالتلوث وتهز خيرا وصها، واللون والملوء، واشت ورب المطرعينو والبلد، الواحد القهر والرقب الصد...

ما تعد الأوان مع من قد عيد 1.

قال ابن اسحق: كانت هديلا 2/32 [تُعَظِّمُونَ، ودعاهو ورثاهو، واتبئها بالقدرة مستقيم برز...

وقال: لبيك عيد، حجّاً الركاب كالسيل، نسيم النوار والليل، لم نات للمباهة، 1

وحثًا للمباحة 3/20.

(27) كانت قيس عيان تعظيم الله. وكانت تلبتيهم اذ اهلو: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك الرحمان، أتتك قيس عيان، راجلها والركنان 1 وشيخها والولدان، ذليلة للرحمان جميعها والأوان 2/40.

(28) وكانت تلبية ربيعة بن نزار: لبيك حجّا حقًا، تعبدا ورشا، تركب الرب طفلا، مستغفِسًا سيفًا، لحلق روس حلقة.

(29) قال وقال الشمسي: كانت تلبية علّة: لاحظي النجومك، نسالك ونستغيث بك، ففق غيتا ربنا سكنا، وراد ركنا، لم نات للرفاحه، واوجيننا النصاحه.

(30) قال، كانت تلبية علّة والأشعري: اذا حجوا البيت: لبيك اللهم لبيك، حجّ للرحمان، ذات له الأصام، فاغفر واحببنا ما عدداً.

(31) وكانت تلبية مذحج في الجاهلية، وكادوا يعذرون بفوت ويثبون لله: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك ربّ الشمس، ربّ السوات العلي، ربّ اللات والعزى...

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(33) قال ابن اسحق، تاريخ ص 292، تلبية بني تميم 0

(34) انظر رقم 13 علاه.

(35) قال ابن اسحق، تاريخ ص 292، تلبية بني اسد، وانظر حسن، تلبيات ص 325 رقم 2.

(36) في أح، حس وبس: للنبيها، 2 تعزوي، تاريخ ص 292 وحسن، تلبيات ص 328 رقم 23.

(37) انظر هنا في تاريخ تعزوي ص 292، 2 في مقالة حسن، تلبيات رقم 17: 000 شيخها والولدان، مقدمة للديبان.

(38) إذا حس وبس: ولله منك.

(39) في أح وحس: بالعرون.

(40) في أح وحس: بالمصرع.

(41) في أح وحس: 000 الشعراء...علا...العراء...
On a monotheistic aspect of a Jahiliyya practice

(42) تلبیة همدان 1 وخوان: وكانت همدان 1 تلميذه: لبیک رب الی بیان، هذا حمیج همدان، قد اناک رکان، ترید رت
غفران، قد أوجیت النصاحه.

(43) تلبیة حمیر: وكانت تعمد نسرا: لبیک اللهم لبیک عن الملوك والقواوی، ذلک السبیل والامیر. وإمداد الرحمة، لم يقربوا للانام، تنزیها
وسلام، ذلک لرب الامام ۳ دانوا له في اعام، أوانانا والاسلام.

(44) وكانت تلبیتهم أيضًا: لبیک اللهم، لبیک حمیر عباد
الیمانیه، قد انتت شمیع عانیه، على قلاص ناجیه، كيما تتح الثانیه، لم نأت
للرباح، وأوجیت النصاحه.

(45) وكانت تلبیة الحمیس: لبیک اللهم لبیک، لبیک انت رث الشرعی فا[نصرهم من تعدی، رث القائدة الأخرى، ورب اللات والعزی، والکعبة الحرام
وحيث تدعوا، جهانک على طريق من خشی، تهدی بنا المضرورات تتمدید، قد
خلفو الانواذ لخوا صفر.

(46) تلبیة كلم (1)بی: وربة، وكانت تعمد ودا، وتلمیذه: وتلبیتهم وتلبیة قضاء;
لبیک رث الجدل والارام، اغفر خطاباً بعید وآم، انول بنمیا على الاقدام.

(47) كانت تلبیة قضاء ([و ۱۴۴] خاصة: لبیک اللهم لبیک، لبیک من
قضاءه، دتها لعب الساعه، سما له طاهه، يقیموا وداهه.

(48) كانت تلبیة تقبیف في الجاهلیة: لبیک اللهم لبیک، هذه ایاد
قد انوک، قد عطیوا ۳ المال وقد رجوك ۳ والات والعزی في بیدك، ۴ دانت
لک الاسرام تعظیما الیک، قد اذمنت بسلما الیک، فاغیر لنا ۵ فطال ما
عفوت.

(49) قال، وكان عمرو بن معدیکرب في الاسلام يقول: لقد اشتی قبل الإسلام
وحنن اذا حججنا نقول: لبیک تعظیما الیک عدارذ، هذه زید قد اتکى فضأ، تعدو ا
بهما مضرورات شریا، يقطعن خیتا وجبال وعرا، قد خلقو الادان خلوا صفر;
وحنن، والحمد لله، يقول اليوم: لبیک اللهم لبیک، طلبه صدق، لبیک
اللموم لبیک، رث الارام، تعدو بنا سرر غلاب، لبیک مخلصة الجواب، العمیر
والدام، والاسب، فاکل كل وتصله في النور،

(50) تلبیة بقر (ب) وبک: لبیک اللهم لبیک، لبیک عن ربیعه، ساوعة
مطیعه، لرب ما ایعد في كنسیة ویبهع، قد خلفت اوتانها في عصمة ضیعه

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(42) ۱ الفوروسی: همدان.

(43) ۱ في تلبیات لحسین رقم ۱۰، والقواوی ۰ حسین: لاگربون.
۳ حسین: كرام ۴ "دناوا ۸ روؤد، والاسلام" لم برد في نع تلبیات
حسین.

(48) ۱ البیعوبی ص ۲۹۶: أن تفیعا قد انوک ۲ البیعوبی: وخلقو
المال؛ حسین رقم ۸، وقد عطیوا المال ۳ ای هنا في نع البیعوبی.
۴ حسین: غراهم والات في بیدك، ۵ حسین: لیاه ۶ حسین: غفر.

(49) ۱ طیب: عیدوا.

(50) ۱_gap: حسین تلبیات رقم ۱۲ البیعوبی ص ۲۹۶.
وقال عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه لابن بريدة بن أبي موسى:

"بأدي كيف كانت تنية قومك في الجاهلية؟ قال: كانوا يقولون: اللهم هذا وأحنا، اللهم هذا وأحنا، وأي وعفر الله، وأي عبد لله لا إله.

(52) وكذلك تنية جماعة: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك عن جامع ذوي الأيدي والأحذية، نبي الملوك العظام.. هم الفروع والأعمال.. واتوا اله الأصحاب، مشاتها والركبان، تعظیما للرحمون.

(53) تنية كندة وحضرموت والسكون: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك لا شريك لك، لا شريك تملك، لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك عن ملكوك، فاتب قومنا

(54) تنية خان: لبيك اللهم لبيك، لبيك عن ملكوك، فاتب قومنا

لك النداء، وعجبنا، وحجنا

(55) تنية بجيلة: لبيك اللهم لبيك عن جيله، فاتب قومنا

حتى ترى طاقة بكعبة جليلة، قد خلفت أنوثاتها في واسط الغيله

(56) تنية دوس: لبيك اللهم لبيك رب الأصحاب.. مشتاقها والركبان، انتك دوس سنة مطعية.. ورب وكل وصل وظهر فيه

وتنها، وتنها، نتمم وتنها، نتمم.. في نتمم

كانت الإسلام كلها في بلاد العرب، وكانت العزى شجرة بخلة عندها وتنها، وتنها، نتمم وتنها، نتمم.. في نتمم

فظيلة خالد بن الوليد رضي الله عندها، وكانت العزبة لما تلقيت فيه في كعبة صلى الله عليه وسلم، أي اعباء ورباعية، هي شعبية فيها، وكانت جهار لهواك، بتكافئة، وكانت سواح بنعمان، تعيد (1) كانية وهذيل ومزينة وجه من قيس عيلان، وكانت شمس لبني تميم، وكانت لبيح، وكانت عمة (1) بنو 3 ود كله ونصوص، وقده وعقول

وثر وعلق، وكان وتر لبني وبه وكان موسمه بدونة الجندل، وكان الفليس بجد.

تعبدته طي، وكان قريبا من قرد.. كانت الأصرار وأشر شوية، وغيرهم من الأزر، يعودون السناء وكان (1)، بس يعمر (1) UI. وكانت سعد هذين (3) وسائر قضاة، إلا بني وجره، يعودون السعادة ومنه، وكانت الأزر يعودون السعادة، وكان ذو الختمة، لله، يعادب جملة وحات، وحات بن كعب، ويهدب وغوث من مراد، وبو هلال، ابن عمارة، وكان يغوت لمجح.. وكان يغوت لهولان، وهمدان، وكان نسر 5 لحمر

(51) (52) في أج وس وحسن، قوم: وعليه هاشم أح: قوص 2 حسن رصم: هذا واحد أن نا، أنههل وفق أننا

(53) في أج وس وحسن، قارن البعوضي ص: 297

(54) في أج وس وحسن، قارن البعوضي ص: 297

(55) في أج وس وحسن، قام البعوضي ص: 297

(56) في أج وس وحسن، قارن البعوضي ص: 537
وكان في دار قصر باليمن، وكان ذو ٦ لبا لعبد القيس، وكان المحرق بسلمان
لبكر بن وايل وسائر ربيعة. وكان لكندة ذريح بالنجير ٨ باليمن نحو حضموت.
وكان للسلف ولكل الاعترافين المنطبق وكان صنعا ٩ منска يتكلمون من حوء
بكلام لم يسمع بهته. وكان يسافر وناثلة للريش والاحبيش. وكان هيل لبني
بكر وملك وسائر كانة، وكانت فريش تعبد صاحب كانة وكانت كانة
تعبد صاحب قريش.

III 
ف ٢٦٠ [٢٦٠] و ١٠١ [١٠١] وما انساء الاهية فاما ود وتك مدة الجندل واما سواع
ف الزلس حال البحر. واما يغوت قلبي غطي وهم حي من مراد. واما يعوق
فلههمان. واما نسر لحمير لذي كلاع من حمير. فكانا الاهية يبعدها قوم نوح
حتى أعيدتها العرب بعد ذلك. واما الالات فلتقن واما الزيق فلسم وغطاف وحشم.
ونصر بن معاوية وسعود بن بكر. وابن آدم كانت قبدي ٢ منزل بين مكة والمدينة. واما
يسافر وناثلة وهيل لاهل مكة. فكان يسافر حيال الحجر الصوم، وناثلة حيال الركن
اليماني. وهيل في جوف الكعبة. وكان طوله ثمانية عشر ذراعا 

٢٠٠ [٢٠٠]

(٦) في أف ووس ومحس: ذا. (٧) في أف ووس ومحس: يسما. 
(٨) في أف ووس ومحس: بالحر. (٩) في أف ووس ومحس: صم.

III 
١ (١) في أف ووس ومحس. (٢) في أف علديد. (٣) راع: البترى. انس: (بلاك) ٤٧٤٢-٣٦٣؛ 
السيوطي. الأدر الأدنى ج ٢ ص ١٢٧-١٢٨ ; (٢) راع: البترى. انس: (بلاك) ٤٧٤٢-٣٦٣.
السيوطي. الأدر الأدنى ج ٢ ص ١٢٧-١٢٨ ; (٢) راع: البترى. انس: (بلاك) ٤٧٤٢-٣٦٣.
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