

THE "DAUGHTERS" OF ALLAH IDENTIFIED

By Keith Massey and Kevin Massey

'afara'aytumu	'llata	Have you seen Allat and
wa'l'uzza		al-Uzza
wamanata		and Manat the third, the
'ththalithata	'l'ukhra	last? ¹

These verses from the Quran, 18-19 of Sura an-Najm, "the Star, (53)" introduce the daughters of Allah—Allat, Uzza, and Manat. Putting aside the issue of text history and the so-called "Satanic Verses" which may have been deleted from this section, nothing out of the ordinary follows. Typical of the Prophet's mission, we see polytheism condemned and any security based on "intercession" denied. The goddesses themselves, however, have been the focus of considerable debate. Scholars have long disputed the identifications of these deities of pre-Islamic Arabia, usually settling on astral bodies such as the Sun, Moon, and Stars. In this article we will not revisit the issue of who Allat or Uzza or Manat were individually to their respective devotees. Instead, we will examine who Allat, Uzza, *and* Manat were as the formal grouping we see in Sura 53. We will argue

¹ To clarify to all our many muslim friends, this article seeks to explain some curious verses in the Quran. We do not believe that Allah has daughters, but simply seek to uncover the reason that some people in Ancient Arabia apparently did believe that.

that a fundamentally different concept of these goddesses is presented in Sura 53 than any we would have suspected based solely on historical evidence from the Arabian peninsula.

In the full polemic against the "daughters," the Prophet condemns the worship and request for intercession of these three particular deities. He portrays the people's belief that Allah even has *daughters* as ridiculous, given their own desire to have *sons*. He concludes that the people have incorrectly named angels with female names. Furthermore, the angels have no independent power of intercession anyway:

Have you seen Allat and al-Uzza

and Manat the third, the last?

To you the males and to Him the females?

This, then, is an unjust division.

They are nothing but names which you and your fathers named them. Allah did not reveal them with authority. They follow (nothing) but fancy and what (their) soul desires. And guidance had (even) come to them from their Lord

Or shall Humans have what they wish

while the hereafter and the beginning are Allah's?

And how many of the Angels are there whose intercession does not profit a thing except after Allah has given permission to whom he wills and pleases?

Indeed those who do not believe in the hereafter name the Angels with feminine names (vv. 19-27).

It is generally held that Allat is a syncopated form of *al-ilat*; i.e., the goddess. As such Allat seems to have been a female version of Allah, whether as a consort or even in substitution.² Identifications range from the Moon³ to the Sun.⁴ Manat, whose name probably means "destiny," should likely be connected with the concept of Fate. Uzza (strong one) has been connected with the planet Venus.⁵

The problem with trying to connect the inscriptional evidence concerning these deities with the Quranic passage in which they appear is that nowhere else are the three deities presented as forming any type of group, still less to be "daughters" of Allah. These deities tended to be located at major cult shrines in which they enjoyed a position of *primacy*. Thus Allat had a shrine at Ta'if, Uzza in Naklah, while Manat had a sanctuary in Qudayd. It is clear that these goddesses were independent deities, with separate cults. In some areas Allat was worshipped to the apparent exclusion of Allah. A similar situation may have existed with the Nabatean deity Rldy. The two forms of the name, Rldw and Rldy, may represent male and female forms under which the one deity was worshipped.⁶ If this is the case with Allah and Allat, the description of Allat as a "daughter" of Allah is inexplicable. In short, apart from Sura 53:19-27, we would not have

² Vid. Winnett, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (1970) where Allah and Allat seem interchangeable in the Jawf area (pp. 77-78). Allah does not appear as a deity in Nabatean inscriptions, while Allat does (p. 148).

³ P. 78, Winnett (1970).

⁴ P. 61 Hitti *History of the Arabs*, (1963).

⁵ P. 127, Winnett (1970); P. 99 Hitti (1963).

⁶ Vid. p. 75, Winnet (1970) for a full treatment of this issue.

had any reason to believe that Allah had daughters in the popular religion, much less that Allat, Manat, and Uzza were those daughters. Nevertheless, scholars of pre-Islamic religion seem to accept the Quranic description without any question. Winnett, in an article which attempts to grapple with these same problems, repeatedly calls these three deities "daughters of Allah," assuming *de facto* the accuracy of the Quran in this area.⁷

A New Solution

We propose that Sura 53 reflects a development in North Arabian religion which was accurate within a very limited scope, but which was a departure from the traditional and wider understanding of the three deities. The Quran is reflecting a development in which three Arabian goddesses have been secondarily fit into the roles of a formal group of goddesses which had been imported into the area from outside.

In 1929 cuneiform tablets were discovered at Rash-Shamra in Northern Syria which gave scholarship the literature and records of a Semitic speaking culture dating to the 15th century BCE. This city, Ugarit, left behind a wealth of mythological material which has been revolutionary for biblical studies. Vocabulary and grammatical usages which had been poorly understood could suddenly be compared with a newly found body of literature in a cognate language. In some cases words were fully understood for the first time.

⁷ "The Daughters of Allah" in *The Moslim World* (1940). Vid. eg., p. 117, "In the Nabatean inscriptions Allah does not appear, although numerous Nabateans bear *Allah* names. Allah's daughters, however, appear several times.

One of the many interesting figures found in the mythological texts is a wise king named Daniel.⁸ Daniel needs a son and heir. After praying fervently for assistance, he is assured that his prayer will be answered and that he will have the son he seeks. The prayer, however, is not immediately granted. Instead, a group of female deities called the Kotharat⁹ appear at Daniel's house. Daniel properly supplies them with food and drink for several days, after which they leave. Apparently it is the Kotharat who have actually granted the request for conception, because they are the ones who have this expertise (24-37).

Daniel proceeded to his house

Daniel betook himself to his palace

There did enter into his house the Kotharat

the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon. Then Daniel

man of Rapiu, thereat the hero man of

He-of-Harnam slaughtered an ox for the Koth-

arat. He fed the Kotharat and

gave drink to the swallow-like daughters of crescent moon.

Behold!, a day and a second he fed

the Kotharat and gave drink to the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon.

a third, a fourth day he

fed the Kotharat and gave drink

⁸ The Daniel of the Ugaritic literature is the most likely candidate for the individual linked with Noah and Job in Ezekiel 14:14,20 as intercessors *par excellence*.

⁹ The Ugaritic materials are unvocalized, making reconstruction of the pronunciation of this title problematic. The Ugaritians would likely have pronounced it Kaathiraat, with the same pattern as a feminine plural participle in Arabic. Some reconstructions use a long o vowel as if the term had undergone the Canaanite shift seen in Hebrew.

to the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon, A fifth
a sixth day he fed the Kotharat
and he gave drink to the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon,
Then on the seventh day the Kotharat did depart from his house.
the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon
those [artful] in pleasure(s) of the bed of conception,
delight(s) of the bed of childbirth.
Daniel sat down (and) [counted] her months
A month [(passed)]
a third, a fourth[(month)]
month passed¹⁰

The passages treating the Kotharat are unclear both from textual decay and difficulty in interpretation. The vocabulary used is repeated constantly. The standard description of the Kotharat, then, is:

Ktrt bnt hll snnt

Gibson translates this phrase as "the Kotharat, the swallow-like daughters of the crescent moon."¹¹ The root (hll) is problematic because several different meanings are current in the various Semitic languages. The most common meaning, and the one used above, is based on a derivation from the Arabic word *hilal*, 'crescent moon', the most likely meaning in light of the hymn "Nikkal and the Kotharat" where the Moon god Yarikh figures prominently and a parallel term (*gamlu*, 'sickle') is used. The link between these lunar deities and fertility is probably to be found in the monthly cycle of menstruation.

¹⁰ Aqhat 17 ii:24-46. All translations and textual reconstructions of Ugaritic texts are from Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (1977), unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ P. 106, (1977)

The same phenomenon is in Greek religion where Artemis, the Moon goddess, is closely linked to fertility and childbirth. Nevertheless, interpretations based on the Hebrew root (hll) either meaning of 'to shine' or 'to praise' could be posited. The final term (snnt) has presented the most difficulty. The translation "Swallow" is based on Assyrian *sinuntu*. Alternatively, the root (snn) can be linked to a meaning of "to shine" in both Aramaic and Arabic. Without further, more specific, texts these issues will not be definitively solved.

The Aqhat passage itself, however, tells us much about the actual function of the Kotharat. This group of deities appear to have been the custodians of conception and childbirth such that Daniel wished to placate them to succeed in his desire to have a son. The means he used is repeated several times—eating and drinking. After their departure it seems certain (albeit in a highly fragmentary text) that Daniel's wife was pregnant. Daniel proceeds to count the months of the pregnancy. When the story resumes Daniel's son Aqhat has already grown up. Another text from Ugarit shows this "vocation" of the Kotharat as well:

I sing (of) Nikkal-and-Ib
(and of) Khirhib king of summer, Khirhib
king of [AGZT] At the going down of the sun
Yarikh was inflamed (and) embraced her who
would give birth, the daughter
[O] Kotharat, o [swallow-like] daughters of the crescent moon,
behold! a maiden shall bear a son
[(May)] their eye[]For her use may they get sustenance
for her flesh blood

and wine; for the betrothed one
Hear, goddesses the Kotharat

O Kotharat, swallow-like <daughters> of the crescent moon
Yarikh, lamp of heaven, sent (word)

[I sing (of) the goddesses the Kotharat]
swallow-like [daughters] of the crescent moon, daughters of
the crescent moon, lord of the sickle that come down with
[RGZM] with [GBZT DM¹²]
Surely my victory is with Latipan
kindly god! Look! in my mouth is their incantation,
on my lips their formula
Her dowry and her wedding gift(s) will be
¹³ in her presence with shouting.

In the presence of *Prbht*
let the good young Kotharat applaud!¹⁴

The final lines of this poem have received considerable attention among the commentators regarding the number of the Kotharat. Given the lack of any enumeration in the stock references for the Kotharat, it is difficult to know whether or not the people of Ugarit themselves would have known their number. Perhaps the Kotharat were simply an

¹² Gibson (p. 129 (1977)) does not put forth an interpretation of these words, saying only that they are "apparently drugs or potions for use at childbirth; the first appears in the hippiatric text CTA 161 10 and the second was perhaps an agent to prevent haemorrhage (cp. the element *dm*)."

¹³ Gibson does not offer an interpretation of the word *yttqt*.

¹⁴ Nikkal and the Kotharat lines 1-11, 15-16, 40-50 from Gibson (1977) pp. 128-129.

undefined group of goddesses. The plural number suggests a number larger than two. If the Kotharat had been simply a pair, we might have expected them to be a pair of names, such as Kothar-wa-Khassis (who seem later to have even collapsed into one deity). The picture in the story of Aqhat of Daniel preparing food and drink for them for several days does seem to suggest that the number was not too unmanageable for him to support. Several scholars, however, have used the final lines of this poem to put forth various views on the number of the Kotharat. Lines 45-50, as reconstructed and translated by Gibson read as follows:

Look! in my mouth is their incantation,
on my lips their formula
Her dowry and her wedding gift(s) will be
. in her presence with shouting.
In the presence of *Prbht*
let the good young Kotharat applaud!

Any translation of these lines will be open to criticism because the words used are otherwise unknown. One solution to this was put forward by Johannes De Moor, who interprets most of the last four lines as a list of the names of the Kotharat:

Look! Their list is in my mouth, their enumeration on my lips:
Thillukhuha and Mulugu-hiya, Thatiqatu, with her Baqi'atu,

Taqi'atu, with Perubakhthi, Damiqtu, the youngest of the Kathiratu.¹⁵

De Moor comments that "[I]ike their Babylonian counterparts the Shassuratu, the number of the Kathiratu was seven."¹⁶ Gibson, however, does not see the names or number of the Kotharat coming into play in this passage in the least (see above). One problem with Gibson's translation is that it introduces a characteristic (youth) into the discussion of the Kotharat that is otherwise not present and is certainly not found in the stock epithets. For this reason we favor the way De Moor has rendered the final two words in the passage (lsg◊rt k̄rt, youngest of the Kotharat). A grammatical parallel to this form is found in 2 Chronicles 21:17 where we read about "Jehoahaz, youngest of his sons." We do not, however, think that all of the terms can be interpreted as names, least of all so as to arrive at the same number as a Babylonian grouping of goddesses, the *Shassuratu*, marriage goddesses.

Frede Løkkegaard has proposed another reconstruction which charts a middle road through this issue:

Their counting is not in my mouth, nor their numbering on my lips. The teats of Hawa (desire) suckled him, he sought (20) his

¹⁵ P. 145, De Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (1987).

¹⁶ P. 145, De Moor (1987).

sustenance with Habqa‘at, famine-dispelling food at the breast-pore of Miqat, the youngest of the Amiable.¹⁷

Løkkegaard has emended the first word of this section (hn) to (in), which accounts for his use of the negation in the first line. This move is quite unnecessary and even contrary to the rest of the passage. In Løkkegaard's interpretation some of the words are rendered as names and others as gifts or body parts of the Kotharat. Løkkegaard, as with all of the scholars interpreting this passage, relies heavily on Arabic. Little else will help to interpret this difficult passage. In Løkkegaard's favor is the fact that, for the most part, the non-name words, (tlh, mlg, yttqt, tq‘t, prbh), which he uses Arabic to elucidate can be connected with productive, relatively common words and not rare words culled out of the largest of dictionaries.¹⁸

For these reasons we support the enumeration of three in this passage. The enumeration of seven, we feel, may be overly motivated by the desire to link the Kotharat more strongly with the Babylonian Shassuratu, marriage goddesses, while Gibson's rendering does not do justice to the most obvious interpretation of the final line in this poem.

The "Daughters" of Allah

¹⁷ Løkkegaard, p. 56, "The Canaanite Divine Wetnurses" in *Studia Theologica* 10 (1956).

¹⁸ Cf. malaj, 'to suck (milk)', qut, 'to feed, nourish', and barbah, 'duct, channel.' See also Song of Songs 4:13, šelah, for tlh.

We argue that the three pre-Islamic goddesses, Allat, Manat, and alUzza, have been secondarily fit into the roles of the Kotharat, on the basis of the following:

- 1) The Quran conceives of the three "daughters" as a specific, exclusive grouping. Manat is specifically referred to as the "third, the last." Other female deities were current in Arabia at the time of Muhammad. If the Prophet were simply condemning polytheism or the "naming of angels with female names" there should have been no reason to group these three in such an exclusive sense as to imply that there are no more than these three. Obviously Muhammad is condemning these three together in the capacity of a group which would have been intelligible to his audience.
- 2) The cause for which the intercession of the "three daughters" was requested seems to have been the procreation of children, in particular, sons. This fact is inherent in Muhammad's argument against the very concept of these female goddesses, for he mocks the people saying, "To you the males and to Him the females?" Following an explanation of how angels have been misnamed, Muhammad asks "Or shall Humans have what they wish?" Finally, the intercession of angels is condemned as ineffectual: "And how many of the Angels are there whose intercession does not profit a thing except after Allah has given permission to whom he wills and pleases?"
- 3) There is possibly a polemical reference to the Kotharat in Sura 108, where Allah seems to assure his believers of posterity

because he has given them a fountain named *Kawthar*:¹⁹

Surely We have given you the 'Kawthar'
So pray to your Lord and make sacrifice
Surely your enemy—he is the one cut off (from
progeny).

Peculiar in the name of the fountain is the (aw) diphthong within the regular root k_{tr}. This could be an attempt to represent the long (o) vowel of a language which had, unlike Arabic, undergone the Canaanite shift. In this case Allah assures his people that they will not lack for posterity because they forsake the Kotharat—he has given them the "Kawthar" instead.

- 4) The transplantation of the Moabite or Mesopotamian Moon god Hubal to Mecca likely brought with it ancient traditions about the Moon god, which could have included respect for the intercessory powers of his daughters. This produced the need to fill in these roles with indigenous deities. If the arguments numbering the Kotharat at three are correct, a remarkable parallel can be demonstrated between dmqt sgrt k_{tr}t (dmqt, "youngest of the Kotharat) and *wamanata italitata l'uhra* (and Manat the third, the last).
- 5) Muhammad's connecting of the three "daughters" with Allah is no where actually stated, so the phrase the "daughters of Allah" is properly "un-quranic." They are equated with the chief deity,

¹⁹ This Sura of the Quran is quoted by both Segert (p. 190 (1984)) and Gordon (p. 425 (1965)) as a possible connection with the deity Kothar-wa-Khassis. No connection with the Kotharat, however, seems to have been yet forwarded.

who for Muhammad, was Allah. For others, especially those associated with the Ka'ba, the chief deity was probably Hubal, the moon god. The moon god had been the head of the pre-Islamic Arabian pantheons since the time of the ancient south Arabian Kingdoms. These cults appear to have survived until the time of Muhammad, as shown by a condemnation of their worship along with other deities in Sura 71:

Don't you see how Allah has created the seven
heavens one on top of another
and made the moon as a light²⁰ in them and the
sun as a lamp?
(vv. 15-16)

In this Sura the Prophet affirms Allah's creation of heaven, including the celestial bodies which the people were worshipping. The people, however, are reported to have insisted on maintaining their polytheism:

And they say, "Don't leave your gods. Leave neither
Wadd, nor Suwa, nor Yaghuth and Yauq and Nasr
(v. 23).

If this theory is correct, the picture of these three deities presented

²⁰ Note the strong parallel between this phrase and the description of the Moon in the Nikkal hymn, line 16: yrh ny[r] šmm, "Yarikh, lamp of heaven"

in Sura 53 should not be harmonized with the still scanty evidence we have from pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions. On one level the goddesses were separate entities enjoying supremacy in their individual cults. On another, secondarily contrived, level, they were the three daughters of the Moon god, renowned for their intercessory powers on behalf of those who sought children or a safe delivery. By separating this aspect from the rest of the evidence, further research can explore solutions leading to a better understanding of this still shadowy period of Arabian religion.

APPENDIX TO DAUGHTERS: IDENTIFYING THE KATHIRAT

As stated above, among the many deities of the Ugaritic Pantheon are the Kathirat, a group of fertility goddesses. Owing to the fragmentary nature of some of the texts that treat them, several aspects of the Kathirat are hotly contested. We believe, however, that a close examination of the evidence will reveal what the people at Ugarit believed the Kathirat represented astronomically—the three stars in the handle of the Big Dipper.

The Kathirat seem to have been a group of female deities, perhaps three or seven in number, who were connected with conception, certainly, and possibly with childbirth and nursing as well. This connection is likely from the firm connection between the Kathirat and the "bed (rš)" in the Hymn of Nikkal and Ib and the success Daniel finds in having a child following his entertaining of the Kathirat. We may be able to surmise from the Daniel story that food and drink offerings played an important part in seeking their help. The stable epithet used for them, "daughters of the New Moon (bnt hll)" further suggests a connection with one of Ugarit's celestial deities. Apart from that, little else can be said with any certainty about them.

THE KATHIRAT AND URSA MAJOR

The identification of the Kathirat as daughters of Hilal, the Crescent Moon, provides the tantalizing possibility that these goddesses were as well features of the night sky. Since the figures of

Moon (Yarikh) and Sun (Shapash) are well known, the astronomical basis for the Kathirat may be in the figure of stars, perhaps even a constellation.²¹

One of the descriptions of the Kathirat in the Aqhat story, coupled with astronomical traditions from other Semitic cultures provides a hint at a specific constellation. These goddesses are said to have been "[y]d[']t.n'my. 'rš.h[r]m ysmsmt. 'rš.hlln (lit, knowledgeable in the pleasures of the bed of conception, delight(s) of the bed of childbirth)." The word for bed used here, 'rš, is, in fact, the name for both the constellations Ursa²² Major and Ursa Minor (the Big and Little Dippers) in Syriac sources.²³ Another name for the constellations, na'aš, is also found in Arabic sources, though the meaning is essentially the same, "bed, bier."²⁴ In each language, the four stars which constitute the "square" of the constellations are called the "bed" proper. The three accompanying stars, however, are called the "daughters of the Bed" (Arab. banat an-Na'aš; Syr. banath 'arsa). It is unlikely that the "Bed" is the actual "father." Rather, the daughters

²¹ The two newly born deities, Shachar and Shalim have been identified with the Gemini constellation. See Gibson (1977) 29.

²² The word Ursa could be a chance similarity to the Semitic root 'rš. The Latin word means 'bear'. Interestingly, when the Arabs borrowed the constellation from Europeans they translated it into Arabic dubb. If the Romans borrowed the Semitic name for the constellation, they could have reinterpreted it into ursa. Given the prominence of the Kathirat at Ugarit, as evidenced by their appearance in sacrifice lists and diverse mythology. We will argue that they were identified with the larger of the two Dippers. My argument, however, will serve equally for both constellations.

²³ See R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus Vol. 2. (1801) 2994; Drower and Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary (1963) 38.

²⁴ Lane, (1863 [1955]) 2816.

must have some other relationship to the bed. A Bedouin legend describing the "Banat an-Na'š'" as celestial entities confirms this.²⁵ In the story, seven daughters carry their dead father on the bier (an-Na'aš), hence their name. Here, all seven stars making up the constellation are daughters.²⁶ In other Arabic sources and in the Syriac, only the three tail stars are the daughters. While the Bedouin myth portrays the bed in terms of death, *árš* in the Kathirat myths has a sexual connotation. A similar origin for the name could be suggested on the basis of the Nikkal hymn. In that hymn, Yarikh (the same deity as Hilal) seeks marriage and offspring. As in the Bedouin legend, then, the Kathirat have become identified with the celestial *árš* via their father's exploits. Being goddesses of conception, they are figured in the sky as standing beside the bed, ensuring its fertility. Either enumeration of the Kathirat, whether three or seven, could be incorporated into this view, given the discrepancy in the Arabic sources.

Another aspect of the Nikkal hymn may further confirm this identification. At the beginning of the hymn, reference is made to *hrhb.mlk qz hrhb mlk agzt*, Khrkhb king of summer—Khrkhb king of agzt." Gibson leaves the term untranslated but adds, "Possibly 'the raiding season', i.e. autumn."²⁷ Certainly the term is somehow

²⁵ Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (1983) 200-201.

²⁶ In Arabic, the reference for a singular star of a constellation is *ibn*, 'son'. Since Arabic reckons non-human plurals as feminine, the use of *banat*, 'daughters' could be purely grammatical. The Bedouin myth, however, shows that on a popular level the daughters were understood as female entities. In this case, it is the use of singular *ibn* which is purely grammatical.

²⁷ Gibson, (1977) 128 no. 2. See de Moor, p. 142, however, for a very different

synonymous with summer. Raiding, however, was not conducted only in the fall such that 'raiding season' can stand for 'autumn'. In Judges 6:3ff, the Midianites and Amalekites seem to come raiding on the Israelites in the spring, when the yebul of the land is vulnerable and there is harvested wheat for Gideon to try to hide from them. An Old South Arabian text (Ry 506:2-3) also attest spring raiding: kgzyw M'dm gzwtn rb'tn, "when (the tribe) Ma'addum carried out spring raids."²⁸ If raiding were synonymous with autumn, there might be need to define spring raiding in this fashion. However, this would also be the way to refer to spring raiding which was, so to speak, an institution. Consider, for instance, the phrase in English "Spring Cleaning."

This may be important to an identification of the Kathirat as Ursa Major because from the Palestinian vantage point, Ursa Major is only fully visible in the Spring and Summer. There, the constellation spends only half the day above the horizon. In the Fall and Winter that time falls during daylight, so the constellation can not be seen.²⁹ In the Spring and Summer, though, the constellation is above the horizon throughout the night. It is interesting, then, that the hymn which describes the Kathirat's exploits seems to refer to these two seasons.

The identification of the Kathirat as stars suggests that "shining

interpretation.

²⁸ G. Ryckmans, Le Muséon 66 (1953) 278. He explains, "Il s'agit de la razzia de printemps...c'est la saison à laquelle les rois se metent en campagne" (ibid, 280).

²⁹ Thanks are due to Prof. Glenn Cooper of the Department of Astronomy at the University of Wisconsin-Madison for help in calculating the positions of this constellation.

ones" will prove to be a better rendering of snnt. We might now translate Ktrt bnt hll snnt as "The Kathirat, Daughters of the New Moon, Shining ones." Whether or not the Kathirat were actually identified with the stars of Ursa Major or if the constellation was associated with them in a sense similar to that of Greco-Roman use can not be known for certain. Stars in the Hebrew Bible are several places described in mythological terms that would imply agency. In Judges 5:20 they are said to have helped fight against Sisera, "From Heaven the Stars fought. From their courses they fought against Sisera." Also Job 38:7, "When the Stars of the Morning sang together and all the Sons of God shouted." This latter reference identifies the Stars as minor deities of the pantheon. The constellation as a figure could also have been simply linked to the Kathirat because of their association with the Bed. Their relation to the New Moon perhaps weighs in favor of a celestial understanding of the goddesses. In the future, more evidence may illuminate the issue further.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y for Daughters/Katirat

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