

A Muslim Scholar of the Bible

Prooftexts from Genesis and Matthew in the Qur'an Commentary of Ibn Barrajān of Seville (d. 536/1141)

Yousef Casewit

HUMANITIES RESEARCH FELLOW, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY ABU DHABI

General Introduction: From Jerome's Latin Vulgate to the Mozarab Arabic Bible¹

In 382 CE, Pope Damasus I commissioned the acclaimed Latin Christian priest Jerome (d. 420) to translate the Bible into Latin. Jerome's translation was preceded by a number of inconsistent and often unreliable Latin versions that had been in circulation in Africa and Europe since the second century CE. These older Latin translations were undertaken by a variety of known and unknown authors and they varied in their degrees of quality. Moreover, the Old Testament books of these early Latin texts were rendered into Latin via the Greek Septuagint, not directly from the Hebrew. Jerome's first task was to revise the translations of the four Gospels on the basis of the most reliable Greek textual sources at his disposal. Then, from 390 to 405 CE, he undertook a new translation of the 39 books of the Hebrew Bible directly from the Hebrew Tanakh.² Jerome's masterful translation steadily gained recognition in the provinces of the Roman Catholic Church and was soon adopted as *the* definitive Latin translation of the Bible, superseding the older Latin versions. By the thirteenth century CE, Jerome's translation came to be known simply as the *versio vulgata*, or the 'commonly used version'.

Jerome's translation was widely available among the indigenous Arabic-speaking Christians of al-Andalus, known as the Mozarabs (from *musta'rabūn*, meaning 'Arabicised'). As far as we can ascertain, Latin continued to be the primary liturgical language of the Mozarabic church, despite the fact that Mozarabs were thoroughly Arabicised by the fifth/eleventh century. Since the Latin Vulgate was not readily accessible to the average Mozarab, it is safe to assume that passages from the Bible, and in particular the Gospels, Pauline Epistles, and the Psalms, were being read out before Mozarab congregations in Arabic no later than the fifth/eleventh century.³

The emergence of local Andalusī Arabic translations of the Bible had already begun by the late third/ninth century, and by the fourth/tenth century various segments of the Arabic Bible were probably available to the Jews, Christians, and Muslims of al-Andalus.⁴ It is apparently on the basis of Jerome's *Vulgata* that the brilliant third/ninth-century Andalusī scholar Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī (d. 276/889) rendered

the Psalms into Arabic *rajaz* verse. This task, which he completed in 275/889, is often viewed as the watershed moment for the production of Christian-Arabic Mozarab literature in al-Andalus.⁵ Nonetheless, al-Qūṭī's popular versified translation appears to have been preceded by earlier local renderings that we have no knowledge of, since the author expresses his disapproval of the hyperliteralism of a previous, and currently unknown, prose rendition of the Psalms in his introduction. Taking his lead from Ḥafs, Ishāq b. Balashk al-Qurṭubī translated the Gospels on the basis of *Biblia Hispana* or the pre-Jerome *Vetus Latina* in the mid fourth/tenth century. In addition to Ibn Balashk's translation another independent translation seems to have existed, the dating and authorship of which are unknown, but which was based on the Hebrew-to-Latin translation of Heironym known as the *Biblia Vulgata (Iuxta Hebraicam Veritatem)*. This anonymous translation had a smaller circulation in al-Andalus, although sometimes it was compared against passages of Ibn Balashk's Arabic version for purposes of revision and correction.⁶

Regrettably, our knowledge of the Andalusī Arabic Bible(s) is limited since the full translations of these works have not survived. The paucity of the surviving Mozarab literary sources is in contrast to the abundance of materials we have from the Christians of the Mashriq, and this disproportion mirrors the historical ups and downs of the Mozarab Christian community itself. This dearth of surviving Mozarab literature is not historically surprising given that the community as a whole was scattered, on account of either migrations to the northern Christian territories beginning in the fifth/eleventh century or forced deportation to North Africa in the sixth/twelfth century. Nor did it help that Catholic bishops of the northern kingdoms of Iberia deplored the Toledan Church for its Mozarabic liturgy and doctrine and for 'submitting' to Muslim rule. In fact, the very term 'Mozarab' (*musta'rib*)⁷ is an anachronistic label of opprobrium that harks back to fifth/eleventh-century Christian texts and was employed pejoratively against Toledan Christians.⁸ Ironically, therefore, the extinct Christian-Arabic tradition of Muslim Spain in general, and the Arabic Biblical texts in particular, is more likely to be excavated from indirect medieval Muslim and Jewish sources than from original Christian texts.

One such Muslim source that gives us a window into the Mozarab Arabic Biblical tradition is the written corpus of the Sevillan mystic and Qur'an commentator Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141). In sharp contrast to the general tendency of post-fourth/tenth-century Qur'anic exegetes in both the East and West (excepting in the modern period), this author seems to be the first Qur'anic exegete to seriously engage with the Bible non-polemically and through actual extended quotations. He freely incorporated Biblical materials into his works in order to explain the Qur'an and fill gaps in his understanding of Biblical figures and narratives. That is, Ibn

Barrajān probed into the Bible to further his understanding of the divine Word, whereas his medieval predecessors' Biblical engagement was generally polemical and characterised by a desire (i) to claim that the Jews and Christians had corrupted their scriptures either textually or by way of errant interpretation; (ii) to find proof of Muḥammad's prophecy in the Bible; and/or (iii) to correct Biblical narratives that did not align with Qur'anic ones.⁹ When pooled together, the Biblical passages in Ibn Barrajān's extant works occupy approximately 20 full pages in modern print and are almost certainly taken from a Latin-to-Arabic Andalusī translation. Ibn Barrajān's works are therefore of interest to scholars of both Qur'anic exegesis and Arabic Biblical literature.

This paper assesses Ibn Barrajān's mode of engagement with the Bible in his extant body of writings. In it I demonstrate the different interpretive strategies marshalled by Ibn Barrajān to resolve perceived incongruities between narratives of the Qur'an and the Bible. I argue that the Bible enjoys the same degree of interpretive authority in his works as Prophetic reports (*ḥadīth*) and that there are instances where the Bible is not only allowed to complement but also challenge his understanding of the Qur'an. Ibn Barrajān's openness to the Bible rests on his hermeneutical principle of 'Qur'anic hegemony'; that is to say, his reasoning that the Qur'an, being God's final and untampered divine revelation, enjoys epistemological supremacy and can serve as the ultimate litmus test by which all other scriptural passages, including the Bible, are to be judged and mined for wisdom. The Qur'an proclaims itself to be the conclusive revealed book of God which confirms, clarifies, safeguards, and, according to many, abrogates previous revelations. Taking these teachings to heart, Ibn Barrajān substantiates his approach to Biblical scholarship by means of the Qur'an. Pushing the premises of this principle as far as they will go, he argues that Biblical materials and *ḥadīth* reports are to be assessed solely on the basis of their alignment with the Qur'an. I propose that Ibn Barrajān's far-reaching hermeneutical principle of Qur'anic hegemony may have been in part inspired by the scripturalist tendencies that are articulated in the writings of the Zāhirī scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).

This paper includes an exhaustive appendix and translation of the Latin-to-Arabic Biblical passages in Ibn Barrajān's works. This compilation of scattered and heretofore unexamined Arabic Biblical materials demonstrates the parallels and occasional divergences between Ibn Barrajān's Bible and its original Latin Vulgate equivalents, which confirm a Latin basis for the Arabic beyond reasonable doubt.

The Life and Works of Ibn Barrajān

ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Barrajān had already acquired the epithet 'al-Ghazālī of al-Andalus' during his own lifetime. Indeed, in the words of his biographer Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308), he was:¹⁰

One of the greatest men of the Maghrib, a leading scholar (*imām*) in theology, the Arabic language (*luḡha*)¹¹ and literature (*adab*);¹² a knower (*ʿārif*) of both esoteric (*taʿwīl*) and exoteric (*tafsīr*) interpretation of the Qurʾan; a skilled, critical (*naqqād*), and outstanding grammarian; a leading scholar in everything he spoke of, and without peer. He was proficient in arithmetic (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*), geometry (*handasa*), and so on. He possessed the greater part of every discipline (*akhadha min kull ʿilm bi-awfar ḥazz*) and freely applied it to Ṣūfism and esoteric science (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*).

Born probably in Ifrīqiyya (present-day Tunisia) in the mid fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Barraḡān's family moved to Seville during a period of political instability in North Africa. He was one of the top pupils of the Sevillian *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Manẓūr (d. 469/1077) with whom he studied the *ḥadīth* collection of al-Bukhārī. Ibn Barraḡān went on to train a number of students in Seville and attract seekers of knowledge from around the Peninsula. He was a recluse who shunned fame and celebrity,¹³ and he chose to spend much of his adult life in a remote village west of Seville in al-Jarafe's greater province (*iqḷīm al-Sharaf*). Ibn Barraḡān's life ended in obscure and tragic circumstances. He was summoned along with two other prominent mystically inclined scholars (Ibn al-ʿArīf and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḡī) by the Almoravid emir to the capital of Marrakesh for a mock trial before an examining committee of jurists and died a few months thereafter in prison. One of his later biographers, al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), claims that he was arrested after scheming jurists falsely accused him of being *imām*, or political-spiritual leader, of 130 Andalusī villages. While al-Shaʿrānī's claims are hard to verify, it is certain that Ibn Barraḡān was perceived as a political threat. He was accused of unwarranted religious innovation (*bidʿa*) and his body was cast into the town's garbage heap without due funeral rites. Owing to the intercession of Fez's prominent Ghazālīan Ṣūfī, ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim (d. 557/1162), however, he was given a proper funeral, and his tomb in Marrakesh still stands.

Over the course of his long and prolific career Ibn Barraḡān authored four sizeable works. The titles and sequence of these works are often confused in primary and secondary sources, but an accurate chronology of his corpus can be established on the basis of a close reading of his own internal references.¹⁴ His first work, *al-Irshād ilā subul al-rashād* ('The Guidebook to the Pathways of Guidance'), is devoted to demonstrating that each Prophetic report found in the collection of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*) is in total harmony with the Qurʾan. He probably penned the *Irshād* between 480/1087 and 490/1096, that is, when he was in his thirties, having completed his *ḥadīth* studies under Ibn Manẓūr and while teaching *ḥadīth* in Seville. Although the *Irshād* is lost, it was quite influential among Qurʾan exegetes, *ḥadīth* experts, and legal theorists (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), especially in the Mamlūk era, and key

passages from its introductory preface and first chapter have been preserved in the writings of the prolific Māmlūk scholar Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī's (d. 794/1391) *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* ('Demonstration of the Sciences of the Qur'an').¹⁵ Ibn Barraġān's second work is his celebrated *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* ('Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God'), which is available in two recent critical editions that span approximately 700 pages.¹⁶ In the *Sharḥ*, he discusses the philological (*istikhraj lughawī*), doctrinal (*i'tibār*), and devotional (*ta'abbud*) significance of 137 divine names. As I argue elsewhere, the *Sharḥ* does not bear the mark of al-Ghazālī's works, and was therefore probably written prior to 495/1102, the year Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī introduced the works of al-Ghazālī into al-Andalus.¹⁷

Ibn Barraġān then authored his major Qur'an commentary, which bears the lengthy title *Tanbīh al-afhām ilā tadabbūr al-kitāb al-ḥakīm wa-ta'arruf al-āyāt wa'l-naba' al-'azīm* ('Alerting Intellectuals to Meditation on the Wise Book and Recognition of Symbols and the Tremendous Tidings [of Judgment Day]'). The *Tanbīh* has recently been made available in print in five volumes.¹⁸ The *Tanbīh* gained lasting fame primarily on account of a passage in which Ibn Barraġān accurately predicted the Muslim recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 583/1187—specifically the victory of the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn—based on an astrological analysis of the opening verses of Q. 30 (*Sūrat al-Rūm*). It was probably written between the years of 515/1121 and 525/1130, when he was 65 to 75 years of age, and the *Īdāh* was presumably written thereafter.¹⁹ Shortly after finishing the *Tanbīh*, Ibn Barraġān authored his minor Qur'an commentary entitled *Īdāh al-ḥikma bi-ahkām al-'ibra* ('Deciphering Wisdom According to the Principles of the Cross-Over'). This work, which was a transcription of his lectures, is 'minor' in comparison with the slightly more lengthy *Tanbīh*. It spans approximately 600 manuscript folios, or 835 pages in the recent printed edition.²⁰ Ibn Barraġān intended the *Īdāh* as a supplement to the *Tanbīh*, and dictated his last work probably over the course of three or four years, that is, between 526/1131 and 530/1135, when he was between 76 and 80 years of age. It may be that the two *tafsīrs* were originally bound together and studied as one unit.²¹ The Biblical passages in this article are culled from his last three works, namely the *Sharḥ*, *Tanbīh*, and *Īdāh*.

Ibn Barraġān and the Arabic Bible

To my knowledge, Ibn Barraġān is the earliest Qur'an exegete in Islamic history to employ the Bible extensively and for non-polemical purposes in his quest to understand the divine Word. His interest in the Bible can be detected already in his early commentary on the divine names. However, the influence of the Bible on his thought becomes progressively more pronounced in his major Qur'an commentary (*Tanbīh al-afhām*), and even more so in the later minor Qur'an commentary (*Īdāh al-ḥikma*).

Ibn Barraġān was not the only exception to the medieval tendency to engage the Bible narrowly and polemically. The anonymous mystico-philosophical group of the fourth/tenth century, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' ('Brethren of Purity') quoted the Bible quite liberally in their *Rasā'il*.²² During the same period, the Ismā'īlī philosopher Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020) made use of quotations from Jewish-Christian sources in his works.²³ Since Ibn Barraġān was influenced by certain cosmological doctrines found in the Ikhwān's *Rasā'il* as well as Ismā'īlī sources, he may have taken an interest in the Bible as proof-text for mystical teachings after reading these works.²⁴

The only other Qur'an exegete of the sixth/twelfth-century to employ the Bible as an interpretive source of *tafsīr* was the near-contemporaneous eastern Ṣūfī author, Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī (d. c. 593/1197), who cited passages from the Hebrew Bible in Arabic script. These Biblical citations seem to have been included in order to corroborate his interpretations of Qur'anic passages such as Q. 42:11, Q. 2:30, and Q. 24:35.²⁵ But Ibn Barraġān goes much further than al-Daylamī, both hermeneutically and quantitatively. Three centuries later the Mamlūk scholar of Egypt al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480) extensively employed Jewish and Christian scriptures for similar exegetical purposes.²⁶ But while al-Biqā'ī's sympathies with the Bible aroused controversy in Mamlūk Egypt, it is remarkable that Ibn Barraġān, who wrote during the height of the Crusades and the Reconquista, was not criticised by his scholarly peers for his inquiries into the Bible. This may be explained by the fact that he couched his works so thoroughly in the Qur'an. Moreover, the late Almoravid rulers and their state-sponsored judges (*qāḍīs*) felt threatened not by Muslim Biblical studies but by the increasingly politicized epistemological claims of Ṣūfism, which posed a threat to the established political and religious structures of authority of the day. Curiously, the only hint of discomfort from a Muslim with Ibn Barraġān's Biblical engagement appears on the cover of one manuscript of the *Sharḥ*, in which an anonymous scribe accuses him of being *masīḥī* ('a Christian').²⁷ This accusation is certainly false, but it does carry perhaps a suggestion of truth, for Ibn Barraġān's third most important source of inspiration in his quest to understand of the divine Word is none other than the Bible—the first and second being respectively Qur'an and *ḥadīth* reports. Ibn Barraġān freely incorporates Arabic Biblical material alongside *ḥadīth* to present his interpretations of Qur'anic verses, which differ markedly from most mainline Sunnī exegetical interpretations.

Ibn Barraġān's Access to the Books of the Bible

Ibn Barraġān quotes extensively from the Hebrew Bible, especially Genesis (chapters 1, 2, 3, 15, 18, 19, 22), and paraphrases a handful of passages from Exodus.²⁸ Interestingly, the Torah (and especially Genesis) is cited more frequently than any other book of the Bible. In contrast to the Ikhwān who stress the Gospels

in their *Rasā'il*, Ibn Barrajān never tires of reminding his reader that the Torah enjoys a special status among revealed scriptures mentioned in the Qur'an. He notes that the Torah is Qur'anically described as a discernment or 'differentiation' (*tafṣīl*) of all things: *And We wrote for him [Moses] on the Tablets of everything an admonition, and a differentiation of all things* (Q. 7:145).²⁹ Ibn Barrajān takes this verse to mean that the Torah not only issues from God's all-embracing knowledge, but also that it fleshes out or unpacks God's undifferentiated (*mujmal*) knowledge as inscribed upon the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*).³⁰ The Torah thus contains all knowledge of past, present, and future, and like the Qur'an it also contains predictions about what is to come. The Torah, in other words, is an important source of mystical inspiration and corresponds precisely to the 'core' of the Qur'anic revelation.³²

It is very likely that Ibn Barrajān came across commentaries upon the Torah in Arabic, specifically commentaries on Genesis and Exodus, since he claims to have consulted 'commentaries upon some of the previously revealed Books' in his discussion of Exodus (3:21–2).³³ The extent to which these works were available in Arabic at the time does remain an open question. However, it is not unreasonable to assume that Ibn Barrajān had access to written or oral eastern commentaries authored by Jewish exegetes, like that of Sa'adiya Gaon (d. 331/942),³⁴ or the 'Irāqī Christian commentator Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043),³⁵ or even local Biblical commentaries such as those produced by the contemporary, though younger, Jewish scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. c. 563/1167).

Ibn Barrajān demonstrates a broad, albeit vague, familiarity with the Books of Prophets (*kutub al-nubuwwāt*), which he clearly distinguishes from the Torah. For instance, he points out that the *kutub al-nubuwwāt* frequently employ the metaphor of a 'cup' to denote good or evil.³⁶ What is hermeneutically significant is that Ibn Barrajān accords the status of divine revelation (*waḥy*) to the *kutub al-nubuwwāt*, which are not explicitly listed as revelatory in the Qur'an. Furthermore, Ibn Barrajān cites the *kutub al-nubuwwāt* to deepen his knowledge of the Qur'an and, in at least one instance, to correct a conventional interpretation accorded to Q. 2:243 by Sunnī exegetes (see his discussion of Ezekiel 37:1–10 in appendix). In the following passage, Ibn Barrajān quotes Ezekiel 1:10 from memory, and possibly through a secondary Islamic source, to expound upon the angelic carriers of the divine throne:³⁸

The Qur'an commentators have related that according to the earliest books, the throne has four angels—peace be upon them—and they also mention that one of them resembles a human, the second an eagle, the third an ox, and the fourth a lion. This is what has been related in the prophecies of some of the prophets—peace be upon them all—describing their night journeys. Likewise, it has

been related that the carriers of the mighty throne are Mīkā'il, Isrā'īl, and two others whose names have slipped my mind.⁴⁰ And God knows best.

Before we turn to the New Testament, it is curious to note that Ibn Barrajān only occasionally cites *Isrā'īliyyāt* accounts to drive home a point in his *tafsīr*. These *Isrā'īliyyāt* sometimes include *ḥadīth* literature in which Muḥammad relates anecdotes about Jewish prophets.⁴² *Isrā'īliyyāt* did not seem to have attracted much of his attention and therefore occur with much less frequency than Biblical citations. However, Qur'ānically validated *Isrā'īliyyāt* enjoy more or less the same level of authority in his writings as *ḥadīth* and Biblical material.

In terms of the New Testament, Ibn Barrajān quotes only from the Gospel of Matthew (chapters 4, 11, 13, 20, and 24).⁴³ He does not evince any knowledge of the existence of Mark, Luke, and John (*al-anājīl al-arba'*) and, similarly, there are no indications that he had access to an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron, such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib's so-called Arabic Gospel Harmony. He equates the Gospel (*injīl*) with Matthew, and emphasises that the Qur'an acclaims it as a source of *guidance, light, and admonition* (*And We sent, following in their footsteps, Jesus son of Mary, confirming the Torah before him and We gave to him the Gospel, wherein is guidance and light, and confirming the Torah before it, as a guidance and an admonition unto the godfearing*. Q. 5:46), terms which the Qur'an ascribes to itself (Q. 10:57; Q. 4:174). The implication for Ibn Barrajān is evident: that one must seek the channels of guidance, light, and admonition in both the Qur'an and the Gospel.⁴⁴ However, it is noteworthy that Ibn Barrajān does not accord the same status to the Gospels as he does to the Torah. While the Christian revelation is certainly a channel of guidance and light, it does not stand as a differentiation of the Preserved Tablet in the same way as the Qur'ānically affirmed status of the Torah. To some extent, therefore, the Torah enjoys more interpretive weight in his writings than the Gospels.

Three points are worth mentioning with regard to Ibn Barrajān's interaction with the Gospel of Matthew. First, Ibn Barrajān sometimes describes the Gospels not as the word of God, as understood in the Qur'anic context, but as a collection of statements made by Jesus.⁴⁵ Second, he was well aware of the fact that certain *ḥadīth* reports had direct parallels in the Gospels. For instance, he quotes a famous *ḥadīth qudsī*, or statement attributed to God outside of the Qur'an, from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, in which God addresses humanity: 'Oh son of Adam, I was ill and you did not visit me; I was hungry and you did not feed me; I was thirsty and you did not give me to drink! The Son of Adam responds: Oh Lord, when were You hungry, so that you could be fed? Or naked, so that you can be clothed? God—may He be glorified—answers: had you done that for my servant, you would have done that for Me.'⁴⁶ For Ibn Barrajān, such parallels confirm the veracity and ultimately divine origin of both statements.

Second, the Christian theological doctrine of original sin, which developed in the Latin theology of Augustine during the late fourth/early fifth century CE, left a faint trace in Ibn Barrajān's thought and especially his narrative of the fall of man. For instance, in a report about Muḥammad's nocturnal ascent to heaven narrated by al-Bukhārī and others, the father of mankind, Adam, is described as sitting among his descendants in the heavens.⁴⁷ He looks at those who are to his right and smiles; and then looks at those who are to his left and cries. Ibn Barrajān explains that Adam cries on behalf of those who, like himself, were beguiled by Satan. Their being beguiled, he explains, 'was in them [i.e., in their nature] like an inheritance' (*kānat fihim ka'l-wirātha*).⁴⁸ Ibn Barrajān's explanation of man's 'inherited sin,' which is passed down trans-generationally, appears to be influenced by the Christian theological doctrine of original sin, which he may have received orally.⁴⁹ Further, original sin dovetails with Ibn Barrajān's soteriological pessimism since, in his eyes, heaven and hell are decreed by God in pre-eternity.⁵⁰

Of all Biblical books, the Psalms, which Ibn Barrajān usually equates with the *zabūr*, inform his writings the least. It is not certain whether he had access to an Arabic translation of the Psalms or if he ever read them in their entirety. In any case, the Psalms do not deal with narrative Biblical material and supply few prooftexts for his purposes. Ibn Barrajān describes in several of his passages how the Psalms contain the oft-repeated refrain 'Oh David, hear what I say, and the truth I say, be such and such; Oh David, heard what I say, and the truth I say, do not do such and such.' However, this recurring refrain can be found in early Muslim sources, and so there is no proof that Ibn Barrajān used the Arabic *rajaz* rendering of the Vulgate Psalms by Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī.⁵¹ Our author's understanding of the Psalms comes across in his statement:⁵²

God said [in the Qur'an]: *For We have written in the Zabūr, after the Remembrance, 'The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants'* (Q. 21:205). The *zabūr* could mean all [divinely revealed] books, or it could mean [the Psalms], which were sent down to David; and this [latter meaning] is more probable.

The Epistemological Hegemony of the Qur'an

Ibn Barrajān affirms that the Qur'an is superior to previously revealed scriptures since it is the last of these scriptures and therefore both embraces and 'guards' (*muhaymin*) all preceding revelations from error. He counsels his reader:⁵³

Whenever you desire to read the Torah, the Gospel, the Scrolls of Abraham, Moses, Noah, Ṣāliḥ, or any prophet or messenger, then read the Qur'an [instead]. For it is God's straight path to which all previously sent [messengers] were guided.

At the same time, Ibn Barrajan applies the oft-recurring polysemic Qur'anic word *al-kitāb* (e.g. Q. 5:48) to all revealed scriptures, including 'the Torah, the Gospel, the Psalms, and all divinely revealed scriptures'.⁵⁴ Moreover, the utility of previous scriptures lies in the fact that they elucidate or 'differentiate' (*tafṣīl*) God's all-embracing knowledge inscribed in the Preserved Tablet, which he occasionally refers to as 'the Mother of the Book' (*umm al-kitāb*). In the following passage, Ibn Barrajan promotes an engagement with non-Qur'anic sources of revelation, including the Torah, Gospels, Psalms, and 'all other scriptures' as a means of guidance and of deepening one's understanding of the contents of God's essential, undifferentiated knowledge inscribed upon the Mother of the Book:⁵⁵

God says: *And those [godfearing] who believe in what has been sent down to thee and what has been sent down before thee* (Q. 2:4). Our Qur'an, and the previous Books including the Torah, Gospels, Psalms, and all other scriptures are together a guidance for those who have certainty, since they give report of God's good pleasure, and on the whole they alert to what was inscribed upon the Mother of the Book.

In other passages, Ibn Barrajan clearly states that the Qur'an is the most reliable revealed source. He argues that it serves as a litmus test against which the veracity of previous revelations and especially Biblical material can be gauged. Standing on firm Qur'anic grounds, Ibn Barrajan advocates the usage of all revealed books without exception, books which he describes as 'scrolls ennobled by the exalted revelation' (*al-ṣuḥuf al-mukarrama bi'l-waḥy al-'alī*).⁵⁶ Notably, the tone of Ibn Barrajan's justification for the use of the Bible is not defensive but matter of fact. He affirms that any Biblical passage should be accepted as authentic if it is confirmed by the Qur'an (*miṣdāquhu min al-Qur'ān*). His selection of Biblical material is thus dictated primarily by the Qur'an. That is, Ibn Barrajan assimilates biblical materials into his writings as long as (i) they accord with his understanding of the Qur'an text, and (ii) they complete and/or elaborate upon narratives that the Qur'an does not fully develop. It is notable, for instance, that he does not pick material from the story of Joseph, which is already sufficiently detailed for his purposes in the Qur'an. Similarly, biblical accounts about Moses receive little attention. In contrast, stories of the Seven Days of Creation, Adam, and Abraham, which belong to the early chapters of Genesis and are less developed in the Qur'an, play an important role in Ibn Barrajan's exegetical writings. His recurring discussions of the Eleventh Hour in Matthew enrich his discussions of Q. 57:28 and a *ḥadīth* report from al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection (*Kitāb al-Ijāra*, see below).

Ibn Barrajan takes his principle of Qur'anic hegemony a step further. He proclaims that the veracity of a Prophetic *ḥadīth* report is not to be assessed in light of the soundness of its chain of transmission (*isnād*) but rather in connection to its

accordance with the Qur'an. Thus, even though Ibn Barraġān rhetorically distances himself from the content of the Bible by introducing each passage with the cautionary formula 'it is said in the book that is said to be the Gospel/Torah' (*fīl-kitāb alladhī yudhkaru annahu al-injīl/al-tawrāh*), in effect both the Bible and the *ḥadīth* enjoy equal weight in his writings since they are always weighed against and validated by the Qur'an. In fact, Ibn Barraġān frequently refers to passages from Genesis and elsewhere as *ḥadīth* (lit. 'speech') instead of *āya* ('verse/sign') or *waḥy* ('revelation')⁵⁷ and, just as he inserts his own pious formulae following references to God and prophets in *ḥadīth* reports, he does the same when citing biblical materials.

Ibn Barraġān's principle of Qur'anic hegemony is indicative of a literalist *Zāhirī* streak that runs through his writings, a streak that was strongly influenced by *ḥadīth*. It is not coincidental that biographers like Ibn al-Zubayr describe him as a scholar who 'bound his opinions to the outward [meanings] of the Book and the Sunna'.⁵⁸ Ibn Barraġān's notion that Biblical passages and *ḥadīth* reports, regardless of their historicity, should be accepted or rejected expressly on the basis of their concordance with the Qur'an marks a radical departure of mainstream legal and theological thinking in Sunnī Islam. He endorses the idea that even a prophetic report that has a fabricated chain of transmission (*mawḍū'*) should be accepted as 'true' if it is in alignment with the message of the Qur'an.⁵⁹ This powerful 'principle of Qur'anic hegemony' undermines the entire *isnād* approach to Sunnī *ḥadīth*. Ibn Barraġān's drastic scripturalism, his opposition to the Sunnī scholarly consensus (*ijmā'*), his occasional criticism of *taqlīd* and the *madhhabs*, and his undercutting of the Sunnī tradition of assessing *ḥadīth* reports on the basis of chains of transmission seems to betray a *Zāhirī* leaning in his thought.⁶⁰ After all, the writings of Ibn Ḥazm were accessible and widely known to the scholars of sixth/twelfth-century Muslim Spain, especially in Seville.⁶¹ Ibn Barraġān likely came into contact with the teachings of this school and may have taken inspiration from them to broaden, instead of restrict his engagement with the Bible.⁶²

The Supersession of Pre-Islamic Religions (naskh)

Ibn Barraġān took an interest in the devotional practices of other religions and in their symbolic meanings. For instance, he notes how Roman Catholics in al-Andalus perform baptismal ceremonies in which the new initiate is immersed in holy water (*mā' al-mā'mūdiyya*) to provide protection against evil and wash away sins. He remarks that this rite is typically carried out in the presence of a group, who 'touch the newly baptised Christian, thereby emulating all of the created existents which, by virtue of having been 'touched' by God, also possess an intrinsic love and yearning [for their Creator]'.⁶⁴

But for all his openness to scriptures and his curious inquiry into the practices of other religions, it must be emphasised that Ibn Barraġān was a firm believer in the dogma of ‘supersessionism’ whereby Islam supersedes or abrogates Christianity, just as the latter is understood to have superseded Judaism. Salvation in the afterlife, therefore, is only possible within the framework of the Qur’anic message brought by Muḥammad. All other religions are devoid of salvific efficacy.⁶⁵ Ibn Barraġān plainly articulates this point of view in many of his writings and especially on his commentary on Q. 2:89, *When there came to them a Book from God, confirming what was with them—and they aforesometimes prayed for victory over the unbelievers—when there came to them what they recognised, they disbelieved in it; and the curse of God is on the unbelievers.*⁶⁶

What follows is a translation of Ibn Barraġān’s commentary on Q. 57:26–29 in which he outlines his pessimistic understanding of the history of Christianity and Judaism. The passage suggests that all the true followers of Christianity were killed off by their religio-political opponents and that the Torah and Gospels suffered from severe distortions either by way of false interpretation (*tahrīf al-ma’nā*) or textual forgery (*tahrīf al-naṣṣ*) by the mainstream Christian community. He begins by stating that God revealed the Gospel (*Injīl*) upon Jesus as a confirmation of the Torah, which was sent upon the Children of Israel. Some believed in him and affirmed the Torah and the Gospels, while others refused him:⁶⁷

Until the day a king appeared who changed the Torah and the Gospels, and he was followed by the Byzantines and Greeks. Then bishops were summoned from various parts of the earth, and they assigned three hundred and a few dozen bishops to compile a canon (*qānūn*) which would be imposed upon the people of their dominions; and so they did. Then the followers of Jesus were killed and torn to pieces, save a few who were protected by the regime of the day. These [survivors] continued to recite the Torah and the Gospels, and to worship God until the day they were succeeded by a generation who complained about them to their king, and they said: ‘None has insulted us with such a grave insult as these [Christians] because they recite in the Torah “Whosoever does not judge according to what God sent down, they are the disbelievers,” and in the Gospels “Whosoever does not judge according to what God sent down, they are the unrighteous, and they are the digressers.” And in our own book [the Qur’an] we read *So judge between them according to what God has sent down, and do not follow their caprices, to forsake the truth that has come to thee* (Q. 5:48) and *Had they performed the Torah and the Gospel, and what was sent down to them from their Lord, they would have eaten both what was above them, and what was beneath their*

feet (Q. 5:66).’ And we have previously discussed how the earlier scriptures can be deduced from the Qur’an for those who seek to do so and are facilitated for the task.

Interpretive Solutions to Inter-Scriptural Incongruities

i) Historical Contextualisation

Having outlined Ibn Barrajān’s general understanding of and approach to the Bible, let us look at the interpretive strategies that he uses to explain perceived scriptural incongruities between Qur’anic narratives and Jewish and Christian sources. Contrary to expectations, Ibn Barrajān does not evoke the epistemological hegemony of the Qur’an to resolve perceived tensions between the Qur’an’s narratives and those of other scriptures. Instead, he resorts to what may be called ‘historical contextualization.’ He insists that each divine revelation was tailored by God for the community that was destined to receive it, and that perceived incongruities often result from cultural, geographic, and even climatic particularities of the community that God is addressing. For instance, much like the philosopher al-Farābī (d. 339/950), he notes that religions are divinely tailored for the ultimate purpose of salvation. Thus, hellfire is often Qur’anically described as hot, but in the New Testament it is said to be a place of freezing. This, he reasons, is because the Qur’an was revealed to Arabs for whom coolness is a blessing and heat a curse; whereas the New Testament was destined for northern European inhabitants of cold temperatures for whom heat is a blessing and coolness a curse. Thus, he reasons, Hell comprises a freezing quarter designated for sinful Christians and a hot quarter for sinful Muslims. For Ibn Barrajān, as for later exegetes such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), God’s tailoring His message to different peoples is a manifestation of divine mercy, since God wants His servants to fear Hell and therefore describes it in a way that would most terrorise listeners:⁶⁸

It is repeatedly mentioned in the book that is said to be the Gospel: *Cast this wicked servant into the lower darkness; there shall be prolonged weeping and gnashing teeth.*⁶⁹ This expression denotes freezing [temperatures], because the region where the people to whom Jesus was sent is predominantly cold. They suffered in this life from the cold of that region. They used to fight it with heat, and would protect themselves with [heat] from the harm [of cold]. This is in contrast to the state of the [Arab] people of the [desert] region where the Qur’an descended.

There is far-reaching wisdom behind this twofold division of God’s address [to humanity]: that [the message] may be a source of more awe in their souls, and that it may be a more stinging whip of fear

for their hearts, and more effective in inspiring fear and grief in them, and that it may prompt their inner souls to flee from the imminent threat [of Hell]. And herein the excellence of His mercy becomes apparent through His address. For He created Hellfire from the whip of His mercy, in order to impel His servants to flee from it to His heaven.

Or it may also be that God knew that the [Arab] disbelievers who live in the hot region of the earth would dwell in the region of Hellfire that is predominantly hot; whereas the disbelievers of the cold regions would inhabit the region [of Hell] which is predominantly cold. All this in order for His books and messengers to be affirmed, and in order for the punishment of this life to connect to the punishment of the hereafter, and in order that *they be given the like thereof* (Q. 2:25), and God is the Knowing, the Wise.'

ii) *Allegorical Interpretation (ta'wīl)*

The second tactic that Ibn Barrajān commonly resorts to in order to align Qur'anic narratives with Biblical ones is allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*). For instance, he uses *ta'wīl* to explain the allegorical significance of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which do not feature prominently in Islamic eschatological literature. In the Qur'an, only one tree is featured and there is no explicit mention of the Tree of Life. Ibn Barrajān therefore puts forth three possible interpretations for the two trees. (i) These names were falsified by Jews (*tahrif*) and are not genuine revelations. This possibility is expressed but not emphasised by Ibn Barrajān. (ii) The trees were so named by Satan himself in order to lure Adam and Eve into disobeying God's command in Genesis 3:4–5. (iii) The trees can be allegorically interpreted (*ta'wīl*) to denote respectively the divine command (*amr*), which, when heeded, gives way to blissful immortality in the hereafter, and prohibition (*nahy*), which, when transgressed, results in punishment in the hereafter. The Tree of Life, which symbolises God's commands, is a door onto the hereafter whereas the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is a door onto this world. Adam ate from the latter and was expelled to this world. Therefore, Ibn Barrajān reasons somewhat obliquely that had Adam eaten from the Tree of Life instead of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, he and his progeny would have lived eternally in Eden but would have never been raised to heavenly Paradise.⁷⁰

Does the Bible Challenge the Qur'an?

A particularly fascinating aspect of Ibn Barrajān's exegetical use of Biblical material is that on the rare occasion in which *ḥadīth* and Biblical material are aligned in meaning, they are accorded the same level of authority as a Qur'anic verse. Furthermore, when a *ḥadīth* report and a Biblical passage agree on a

meaning that stands at odds with the Qur'an, they may actually challenge the meaning of a particular Qur'anic passage. In such a case, Ibn Barraġān affirms the veracity of each source—the Qur'anic verse, the contradicting *ḥadīth* report, and the Biblical passage—even if he is unable to entertain a solution to the apparent contradiction. His acceptance of such scriptural paradoxes is suggestive of the Ash'arī principle of 'without how' (*bilā kayf*), which he evokes occasionally in his writings.⁷¹

For instance, Ibn Barraġān notes that despite the Qur'an's emphasis on God's transcendence (*tanzīh*) vis-à-vis creation in verses such as *there is nothing as His like* (Q. 42:11), there are certain Biblical passages, as well as *ḥadīth* reports, which state explicitly that the human being was created in the image of God. Although the Qur'an is the most authoritative scriptural source for Ibn Barraġān, it cannot trump the combined authority of the Bible and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Barraġān therefore concedes that 'both are true' without being able to provide an explanation:⁷²

Caveat: This previous [Biblical] passage mentions *Let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness* (Gn 1:26), and the Qur'an confirms and protects the books that came before it, and God states truthfully: *there is nothing as His like* (Q. 42:11), and He says *and none is equal to Him* (Q. 112:4). Yet, the Prophet said in an authentic report that 'God created Adam upon His image' and in another, 'upon the image of the All-Merciful', and both [the seemingly conflicting Qur'anic verses and the *ḥadīth* reports] are true, and God speaks the truth and guides to [His] way.

In sum, while both *ḥadīth* and Biblical material are equally weighed against the Qur'an, the interpretive weight accorded to each may vary according to context. Depending on which Biblical or *ḥadīth* passage is being cited, Ibn Barraġān may either accord the Bible as much weight as a complementary *ḥadīth*, or more weight than a *ḥadīth*, or the reverse.

Two extremes : Ibn Ḥazm's versus Ibn Barraġān's Biblical Engagement:

The sharp-tongued and controversial Cordoban polymath Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is known for his articulation of one of the most polemical onslaughts against the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. He famously deplored the Bible as being historically unreliable, internally contradictory, rationally absurd, and morally decadent. Ibn Ḥazm's Biblical sources remain unclear, though it is safe to assert that he relied mostly on Arabic translations that were at his disposal. It is almost certain that Ibn Ḥazm had more than one incomplete translation of the Torah at hand, since he occasionally compares his translations side by side. In all likelihood, his was not a complete translation of the Torah, but rather an abridgement that he compared against another written source or even against oral informants.⁷³

Modern scholars are in disagreement as to whether Ibn Ḥazm had access to Sa'adya Gaon's (d. 331/942) translation of the Torah, a local Latin-to-Arabic rendering, or even a Karaite source.⁷⁴ Ibn Ḥazm definitely drew parts of his Biblical knowledge from earlier Muslim sources. One of these, which does not appear to have been used prominently by Ibn Barraĵān, was Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *A'lām al-nubuwwa* ('Signs of Prophethood'). Ibn Ḥazm lifts lengthy excerpts of Biblical foretellings of Muḥammad from the *A'lām* in his *Kitāb al-uṣūl wa'l-furū'* ('Book of Roots and Branches').⁷⁵

It is certain that Ibn Barraĵān did not extract his knowledge of the Bible from Ibn Ḥazm's polemical work, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī'l-milal wa'l-ārā' wa'l-niḥal* ('The Book of Discernment Between Religions, Doctrines, and Sects'). Rather he, like Ibn Ḥazm, probed into the Bible using translations that were at his disposal. As far as I can ascertain, the scattered Biblical quotations in Ibn Ḥazm's *Faṣl* only overlap loosely in seven instances with Ibn Barraĵān's Biblical citations. Other than the *Faṣl*, I have not detected overlaps in Ibn Barraĵān's writings with Ibn Ḥazm's earlier works. As the chart below indicates, these overlapping translations come from Genesis (2, 3, 15) and Matthew (11, 13, 24).

Broadly speaking, Ibn Hazm and Ibn Barraĵān's hermeneutical engagement with the Bible is almost antipodal. Ibn Hazm's paramount concern is to show that the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament are replete with internal contradictions. Ibn Barraĵān, on the other hand, had little interest in the supposed internal contradictions of the Bible and rather tried to incorporate Biblical material into his exegetical works to deepen his understanding of the Qur'an. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, for the former, the *de facto* assumption is that the Bible was tampered with (*mubaddal*) and falsified (*muḥarraf*) unless proven otherwise; for the latter, the Bible is an authentically and divinely preserved revelation unless there is strong evidence to prove its inauthenticity.⁷⁶ As we have seen, even in cases where the Bible is not in alignment with the Qur'an, it is still possible to resolve the incongruities in Ibn Barraĵān's eyes without resorting to the idea that Jewish and Christian communities distorted the meaning or wording of their scriptures.

In addition to differences in outlook, it should be noted that Ibn Ḥazm had a minimal knowledge of Hebrew,⁷⁷ whereas Ibn Barraĵān appears to have had none whatsoever. Moreover, Ibn Ḥazm had a broader knowledge of the Bible since he had access to the four gospels, whereas Ibn Barraĵān equates the *injīl* only with Matthew. Sometimes Ibn Barraĵān states that he is quoting from memory and cites different possible alternatives for a given word in Matthew. There is little evidence, however, that Ibn Barraĵān had multiple translations of the Bible at his disposal. His focus on Matthew is no surprise, since the first Gospel occupied a central position in the Mozarab community of al-Andalus from the beginning.

Notably, the bulk of Ibn Ḥazm's quotations are from Matthew as well, although a few are from Mark, Luke, and John.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, it is not impossible that Ibn Barrajān had heard of the four Gospels but deliberately chose to omit anything about their existence in order to eschew polemics.

Two more conclusions can be drawn from a close comparison of the translations used in the works of Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Barrajān. First, although the translations are not identical, the stylistic flow of the Arabic in the version of Genesis quoted by both Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Barrajān is similar, and both renderings lack the idiosyncratic Hebraisms often found in medieval Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible. Unlike Jewish Arabic versions of the Bible in the Mashriq, such as the famous one by Sa'adiya Gaon, which was possibly available in sixth/twelfth century-Muslim Spain,⁷⁹ the Mozarab translations of the Bible into Arabic lack the distinctive features of translations influenced by Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Aramaic source languages. Second, some of the same stylistic observations can be made for passages in Matthew, whose phrases bear some similarity to Qur'anic language. On the whole, however, there seem to be less discrepancies between Ibn Ḥazm's and Ibn Barrajān's Matthew translations than in their versions of Genesis.

There is no evidence to categorically exclude the possibility that Ibn Barrajān's sources came from the East. However, one may speculate based on stylistic considerations that Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Barrajān drew from similar Latin-to-Arabic translation traditions in al-Andalus, which have yet to be fully mapped out. The few textual differences that can be detected in both authors' versions do not necessarily imply that they used the Bibles of two different translators. Just as cherished classical Arabic *qaṣīdas* were 'living' texts that were modified by poets over time, Mozarab Arabic Biblical translations of the Hebrew Bible and the Gospel of Matthew evolved over the centuries as successive generations of Mozarab scholars tweaked and refined the Arabic recensions. Since the Arabic translation of the Vulgate never acquired the same canonical status as Jerome's Latin translation, Mozarab scholars would have felt free to insert their personal stylistic modifications. If this is the case, then passages of Ibn Ḥazm's Bible may represent earlier versions of the same Arabic Vulgate translation used by Ibn Barrajān one century later and/or represent the re-introduction of cherished pre-Jerome old Latin readings by North African and Andalusī copyists into the Mozarab Bible.

Appendix of Biblical Material in Ibn Barraġān's Works

The following appendix contains the Biblical quotations used by Ibn Barraġān in his works, together with parallel English translations. The verses are laid out according to the chapter and verse sequence of the Latin Vulgate, which Ibn Barraġān does not refer to. The passages cited below are primarily from Genesis and Matthew.⁸⁰ For reasons of space, an exhaustive collection of Ibn Barraġān's commentary on the Bible is not included. The author's exegetical opinions, however, are often voiced between the cited verses and provide a taste of his engagement with biblical material.

With regard to the Arabic translation of the Bible used by Ibn Barraġān, even the most cursory comparison of his passages reveal striking similarities with Jerome's Vulgate translation. The minor points of divergence between his Arabic translation and the Latin Vulgate suggests that the translation used by Ibn Barraġān was probably collated against pre-Jerome Latin translations. Important differences and omissions are underlined in the main text and specified in the endnotes.

Hebrew Bible:

Genesis 1:1–31, 2:1–7. The Seven Days of Creation

The opening of Genesis is one of Ibn Barraġān's favorite Biblical passages because it supplements and complements the Qur'anic narrative of creation. The following passage is part of his commentary on Q. 11:7, *And it is He who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His Throne was upon the waters:*

In the first book of the alleged Torah, [God] says:

¹Truly, God created the heaven and the earth.

²And it was barren and empty, and darkness [was] upon the abyss, and the spirit of God moved upon the waters.

³And God—Mighty and Majestic—said: let there be light, and light came to be.

⁴And God was pleased with the light, and He divided it from the darkness.

⁵And He called the light day, and the darkness night, and the day and the night were a first day.

⁶Then God—Mighty and Majestic—said: let there be a partition in the midst of the waters, that parts of the waters may be

جاء في الكتاب الذي يذكر أنه التوراة في السفر الأول منه، قال:

¹إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ السَّمَاءَ وَالْأَرْضَ⁸¹

²وكانت جديبةً خاوية، والظلمة تلو على الهواء، وروح الله يتقلب على المياه

³فقال الله جَلَّ وَعَزَّ لِيَتَكُونَ النُّورُ، فَتَكُونُ النُّورُ

⁴وأعجب الله النور وميزه من الظلمة

⁵وسمى النور نهارةً والظلمة ليلاً، وصار النهار والليل يوماً واحداً

⁶فقال الله عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَتَكُونُ السِّدَّ وَسَطَ الْمِيَاهِ لِيَنْخَزَلَ بَعْضُ الْمِيَاهِ مِنْ بَعْضٍ

divided from others.

⁷Then God created the partition, and He divided the waters that were under the partition from those that were above it.

⁸And God called the heaven a firmament, and the night and the day were a second day.

⁹Then God—glorious is His speech—said: let the waters that are under the heaven gather together unto one place so that the land may appear; and it was so.

¹⁰And He called the land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters Sea: and God saw that His affair was good.

¹¹And He said: let the earth bring forth the green herb that produces its own seed, each according to its measure; and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose offshoots come from it within the earth; and it was so.

¹²And God produced the green herb, each according to its kind, and the earth produced trees yielding their fruit, each according to the measure of their kind. And God was pleased with that.

¹³And the day and the night completed a third day.

¹⁴And God—Mighty and Majestic—said: let there be lights in the heaven so that the day will become distinct from the night; and let them be as signs marking the seasons, days, and years,

¹⁵And to illuminate the firmament and give light upon the earth. And it was so.

¹⁶And God made two great lights; the greater one He made as light of day, and the lesser one as light of the night alongside the stars,

¹⁷And He fixed them in the firmament to give light upon the earth,

¹⁸And to preside over the day, and to divide the light and the darkness on its account; and God saw that it was good.

¹⁹And the night and day completed the fourth day.

²⁰Then God—Mighty and Majestic—said: let the fish that hath life be created in the waters, and fowl that fly in the open.

²¹Then God created great beasts, and every living creature that came into existence from the waters, after their kind, and God was pleased with it.

²²And He blessed them, saying: grow and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea; and

⁷ فخلق الله السدّ وخرزل المياه التي كانت تحت السدّ من التي كانت فوقه

⁸ وسمّى السماء حجاباً، وصار الليل والنهار يوماً ثانياً.

⁹ ثمّ قال الله جلّ من قائل تجتمع المياه التي تحت السماء في موضع واحد لتظهر الأرض، وكان ذلك،

¹⁰ وسمّى الأرض تراباً ومجمع المياه بحراً واستحسن الله أمره،

¹¹ وقال تنبت الأرض عشباً أخضر يأتي بزريعته، كلّ واحد على قدره، وثمرة مثمرة تأتي بثمرتها على جنسها، يكون غرسها منها في الأرض، فكان ذلك،

¹² وأنبت الله⁸² عشباً أخضر، كلّ واحد على جنسه، وأنبت الأرض شجراً بثمارها على قدر أجناسها، فأعجب الله ذلك،

¹³ وكمل بالنهار والليل يوم ثالث.

¹⁴ وقال الله عزّ وجلّ لتكون السراجات في السماء لينخزل النهار من الليل ويكونوا علماً يُهتدا بها إلى الأزمنة والأيام والسنن،

¹⁵ ولتنير في الحجاب وتضيء على الأرض، فكان ذلك،

¹⁶ وخلق الله سراجين عظيمين جعل أعظمهما سراج النهار، والأصغر سراج الليل مع النجوم،

¹⁷ وأنبتها في الحجاب لتضيء على الأرض

¹⁸ وتشرف على النهار، وينخزل من سببها النور من الظلمة، واستحسن الله ذلك،

¹⁹ وكمل بالليل والنهار اليوم الرابع.

²⁰ ثمّ قال الله عزّ وجلّ، تتخلّق في المياه الحيتان بأنفاسها⁸³ والطيور الساعية في الهواء،

²¹ فخلق الله دوابّ جسمانيّات وكلّ نفس حيّة مبتدأة من المياه في أجناسها،⁸⁴ وأعجب الله

He said to the fowl: multiply in the earth.

²³And the day and night completed a fifth day.

²⁴Then God—glorious is His speech—said: let there be created from the earth living creatures in their kind, and cattle, and creeping creature, and predatory beasts of the earth after their types; and it was done.

²⁵And God created the predatory beasts of the earth according to multiple kinds, and every creature that creeps upon the earth after their types: and God saw that His affair was beautiful.

²⁶And He said: let us create man in Our image and likeness, that he may rule over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and all the cattle of the earth and every creeping creature.

²⁷Then God created man in His own image and likeness, male and female.

²⁸And God blessed both of them, and He said: multiply and fill the earth, and replenish it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and over all living creatures that moveth upon the earth.

²⁹And God—Mighty and Majestic—said: Behold, I have made permissible for you every plant that is produced by the earth, namely its vegetables, herbs, and seed-produce, and every kind of fruit-bearing tree; that you may eat from them and be nourished thereof.

³⁰And that all living creatures may take nourishment from them, namely beasts of the earth, and fowl of the air, and every creature that creeps upon the earth, wherein there is life, that there may be food for them; and it was so.

³¹And God completed all His creation, and all of it very good. And the day and the night completed a sixth day.

^{Gn.2:1}Thus God—Mighty and Majestic—completed the creation of the heavens and the earth in all their beauty.

²And on the seventh day God completed what He had created; and He ceased on that [day] from [creating] what He had created.

³And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because on that [day] He ceased from [creating] what He had created

⁴On the day that the Lord God created the heaven and earth,

ذلك،

²²وبارك عليها، وقال اكبروا وأكثروا واحشوا مياه البحر، وقال للطير أكثروا على الأرض،
²³فكمل بالنيهار والليل⁸⁵ يوم خامس.

²⁴ثم قال عز من قائل، تتخلق من الأرض أنفس حية في جنسها وبهائم وخشاش وسباع الأرض على أنواعها فتم ذلك،

²⁵وخلق الله سباع الأرض على أنواع شتى، وخشاش الأرض على أجناسها، واستحسن الله أمره.

²⁶وقال أخلق بنا إنساناً على شبيها ومثالنا ليشرف على حيتان البحر وطيور الهواء وجميع دواب الأرض وخشاشها،⁸⁶

²⁷فخلق الله إنساناً على صورته ومثاله ذكراً وأنثى،⁸⁷

²⁸وبارك الله عليهما، وقال أكثروا واملؤوا الأرض واحشواها⁸⁸ واملأ حيتان البحر وطيور الهواء، وكل ما يتحرك من ذوي الأنفس على الأرض.

²⁹وقال الله عز وجل قد أحللت لكم ما تنبتة الأرض من بقولها وعشبتها وزروعها، وكل شجرة مثمرة في أجناسها لتأكلها منها وتقتات بها،

³⁰ويقتات معكم منها كل ذي نفس من بهائم الأرض وطيور الهواء، وكل ما يتحرك من الثرى من فيه روح وتصير لهما طعاماً، فكان ذلك.

³¹وأكمل الله جميع خلقه وكان أجمع صالحاً جداً وكمل بالنيهار والليل يوم سادس.

¹فاستكمل الله عز وجل خلق السموات والأرض وجميع زينتها،

²وأتم الله في اليوم السابع ما كان خلق وأمسك فيه عما قد كان خلق.⁸⁹

³وبارك الله على اليوم السابع وقَدَّسه لأنه فيه كان أَمْسَكُ عَمَّا قَدْ كَانُ خَلَقَ⁹⁰

⁵And every tree of the earth before the earth brought it forth, and before it brought forth its herb; for the Lord God had not sent rain upon the earth, nor was there a man to inhabit it.

⁶But it was watered by a spring which rose out of it.

⁷Then the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth, and He breathed into his face the breath of life; and he became a human with a living breath.

⁴في اليوم الذي خلق الله السيد السماء والأرض،⁹¹

⁵وجميع شجر الأرض قبل أن تثبت الأرض، وقبل أن تأتي بعشدها، ولم يكن أمطر الله السيد الأرض ولا كان بها آدمي يعمرها،⁶ ولكنها كانت تسقيها عين تخرج منها،⁷فصوّر إنساناً من حماء الطين وأنفس في وجهه نفس الحياة، فصار إنساناً بنفس حيّة.⁹²

Genesis 2:8–9 and 16–19; 3:1–7. The Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil

It is related in the book that is said to be the Torah [Genesis 2]:

⁸And the Lord God had planted a garden of pleasure in the beginning, and He placed therein man whom he had created.

⁹And the Lord God had planted in the earth all trees that are fair to behold and pleasant of fruit, and He planted in the midst of the garden the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

¹⁶And He said: eat of every tree of this garden,

¹⁷But do not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; for when you eat thereof, you shall die.

This [death] means—and God knows best—that you shall assume the state of mortality. Perhaps this [death] symbolically denotes the death of his exalted status of being in dialogue with his Lord, as well as his life of abundance and his blessings, and his place of ease and distance from wretchedness, and that his [true] place of rest is in paradise. It is also related that He said to Adam [in Genesis 3]:

¹⁷Because you have hearkened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree whereof I commanded you not to eat, cursed is the earth for your inhabitation; for you shall gain thereof only with labor.

¹⁸Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you; and you shall eat the herbs of the earth

¹⁹in the sweat of your hands, and you shall eat the bread until you return unto the ground; for out of it you were taken; for you are dust, and

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه التوراة، قال،⁸ وكان السيد الله⁹³ اغترس جناناً مشتهى فيه في البدء وسكّن فيه الأدمي المخلوق⁹⁴⁹ وكان السيد الله قد أنبت في الأرض كلّ شجرة جميلة المنظر طيبة الفاكهة، وأنبت في وسط الجنان شجرة الحياة وشجرة معرفة الخير والشرّ.

¹⁶ وقال كلّ من جميع فاكهة هذه الجنان

¹⁷ ولا تأكل من شجرة معرفة الخير والشرّ فمتى أكلت منها تموت.

معنى ذلك والله أعلم أنك تصير إلى حال من يموت، وربما كان بمعنى التأويل، أي إنه يموت أثره القويم من كونه في حوار ربّه، وكونه في رغد العيش ونعمته وفي موضع اليسر وبُعد الشقاء عنه، وأنّ مسكنه الجنّة، كما جاء أنّه قال له:

¹⁷ إذ قد سمعت لامرأتك وأكلت من الشجرة التي نهيتك عنها فقد لعنت الأرض لعمارتك، فلا تصيب منها إلّا بشخص

¹⁸ وستتبت لك البقل والشوك وتأكل عشب الأرض

unto dust shall you return.

Moreover, God says: O Adam, inhabit, you and your wife, the Garden, and eat of where you will, but come not nigh to this tree, lest you be of the evildoers (Q. 7:19).

Also in the book that is said to be the Torah [Genesis 3]:

¹Now the serpent was more cunning than any earthly beasts which the Lord God had created. And he said unto the woman: why has God forbidden you from eating every fruit of the garden?

²And the woman said unto the serpent: we eat of all the fruit of the garden,

³but not of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, for God has commanded us that we should not eat therefore nor touch it, lest we die.

⁴And the serpent said to her: you shall never die,

⁵For God knows that the moment you eat thereof, your eyes will open, and you shall be like God in knowing good and evil.

⁶And when the woman beheld the beauty of the tree, and she liked its fairness, she took of its fruit and ate from it, then she gave some of it to her husband; and he ate therefore.

⁷And their eyes opened, and when they realised that they were naked, they sewed together fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons. (Gn. 3:1-7)

¹⁹في عرق يديك⁹⁵ وتطعم الخبز إلى أن تصير إلى الأرض، لأنك منها خلقت، لأنك غبار وستعود غباراً.

وقال الله جلّ من قائل وَيَا آدَمُ اسْكُنْ أَنْتَ وَزَوْجُكَ الْجَنَّةَ وَكُلَا مِنْ حَيْثُ شِئْتُمَا وَلَا تَقْرَبَا هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ فَتَكُونَا مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ (٧: ١٩).

وفي الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه التوراة أيضاً:

¹وكان الثّنين أحبّ جميع بهائم الأرضيّة التي خلق السيّد الله، فقال للمرأة لم نهاكما الله عن أكل جميع فواكه الجنان؟

²قالت له المرأة نأكل من جميع فواكه الجنان³ ما عدا الشجرة التي في وسطها، فإنّ الله أمرنا ألا نأكل منها ولا نمسّها لنلأ نموت.

⁴فقال لها الثّنين لا تموتان أبداً

⁵قد علم الله أنّكما متى أكلتما منها تتفتح أبصاركما وتكونان كالإله في معرفة الخير والشرّ.

⁶قلماً بصرت المرأة جمال الشجرة وأعجبها حسنها أخذت من فاكهتها وأكلت منها، ثمّناولت زوجها منها فأكلها⁹⁶

⁷وانفتحت أبصارهما، وإذ علّما أنّهما عريانان لفقّا ورق الثّنين وانثرا به.⁹⁷

Genesis 2:10–14. Descriptions of Paradise

¹⁰And a river flowed from the place of pleasure, irrigating the garden. It is divided into four rivers:

¹¹The name of one of them is Phison, and it is the one that encompasses the land of Hevilath where gold grows,

¹²and where one finds the jewel called bdellium and the onyx stone.

¹³And the name of the second river is Gehon, and it is the one that encompasses the land of Ethiopia—the Nile.

¹⁴And the name of the third river is Tigris, and it is the one that flows in the direction of the land of Persia. The name of the fourth river is the Euphrates.

¹⁰وكان يخرج نهر من الموضع المشتبه فيسقي الجنان وهو الذي ينقسم على أربعة أنهار:

¹¹فاسم أحدهما فيسون وهو الذي يحقن بأرض حفيلا حيث ينبت الذهب

¹²وفيه يوجد الجوهرة الذي يدعى البؤلج والمهي.⁹⁸

¹³واسم النهر الثاني فيحون وهو الذي يحقن بأرض الحبشة النيل.⁹⁹

¹⁴واسم النهر الثالث الدجلة وهو الذي يأخذ ناحية أرض فارس. واسم النهر الرابع الفرات.¹⁰⁰

Genesis 3:24. The Tree of Life

It is also related in the book that is said to be the Torah, that when Adam committed the sin and was driven out of the garden to this abode, God place in the hands of Israfil, or some other cherubim, [Genesis 3]

²⁴a flaming spear to guard the tree of life (Gn. 3:24), So that none would have any access to it and thus become immortal.

وجاء أيضاً في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه التوراة أن آدم لما واقع الخطيئة وأخرج من الجنة إلى هذه الدار جعل الله في يد إسرافيل، أو قال غيره من الملائكة

²⁴رمحاً نارياً يحرس شجرة الحياة.¹⁰¹

ألا ينال منها أحد شيئاً فيعيش في الأبد.¹⁰²

Genesis 15:4–7 and 13–18; 22:16–18. The Story of Abraham

In the following passage, Ibn Barrajān draws from passages from Genesis 15 and 22 concerning the covenant of Abraham as background to the story of Joseph, which fulfills the foretelling of Abraham's covenant with God. This passage, in which God promises to make of Abraham a great nation, is a classic polemic verse used by Muslims to prove that Ishmael is a forerunner of Muḥammad's prophecy. Surprisingly, this polemic is not evoked by Ibn Barrajān. Instead, these verses demonstrate that the Torah is a 'differentiation of everything', which also means that it predicts the future.

It is related in the book that is said to be the Torah (Genesis 15), that God—Might and Majestic —

⁴Revealed to Abraham—peace and blessings upon him —

⁵And He brought him outside then said: look up to heaven and count the stars if you are able to; so shall your seed be.

⁷And He said unto him: I am God, I saved you from the fire of the Yemenites, so as to give you this land to inherit and possess.

¹³And He said unto Abraham: verily your seed shall be a stranger in a foreign land, and they shall be enslaved and abased for four hundred years,

¹⁴But I will judge the nation that enslaves them, and after this they shall come out with plentiful abundance.

¹⁵And you shall join to your ancestors in wellbeing and in good old age.

¹⁶But their offspring shall return hither in the fourth generation.

God also told Abraham on the day he laid his son [upon the altar] to slay him, and God compensated him with a ram:

Gen. 22:16 ¹⁶Since you have done this, and have not spared your only begotten son:

¹⁷I will bless you and multiply your seed until they become as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand of the seashore, and you seed shall have dominion over the gates of their enemies;

¹⁸And your seeds will bless all nations of the earth, because you have obeyed my command.

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه التوراة أن الله عزَّ وجلَّ،

⁴أوحى إلي إبراهيم صلى الله عليه وسلم¹⁰³

⁵وأخرجه خارجاً ثم قال تبصّر السماء واحسب النجوم إن كنت تقوى هكذا يكون نسلك.

⁷وقال له أنا الله خلصتك من نار اليمانيين¹⁰⁴ لأورثك هذه الأرض وتملكها.

¹³وقال له إن نسلك يتعزّب في غير بلاده ويملكون ويذلّون فيه أربع مائة سنة،

¹⁴ولكن سأحكم على الأمة التي تستعبدهم، ويعد هذا يخرجون بخير واسع.

¹⁵وأنت تلحق بأبائك في عافية وشيخوخة صالحة

¹⁶وتتصرف ذريتهم هاهنا في الدرجة الرابعة

وقال له أيضاً يوم أضجع ابنه للذبح عليهما السلام وفداه الله منه بكبش،

¹⁶إذ فعلت هذا ولم تحنّ على ولدك المولود وحيداً

¹⁷سأبارك فيك وأكثر نسلك حتى يكونوا كنجوم السماء وكرمل أجراف البحر وسيملك نسلك أبواب أعدائهم،

¹⁸ويتبارك بنسلك جميع أجناس الأرض إذ وقفت عند أمري.¹⁰⁵

Genesis 19:20–1, 24–5, 27–8, and 30; 18:20 and 22–33. The People of Lot

Ibn Barrajān paraphrases and copies passages from Genesis here as complement to the story of Lot.

Said Lot to them: Surely you are a people unknown to me! They said, 'Nay, but we have brought thee that concerning which they were doubting' (Q. 15:62–3) i.e., with that concerning which you truthfully warned of what would befall them if they did not believe him. And we have come to thee with the truth, i.e., the

قال لهم لوط إنكم قوم منكرون قالوا بل جئناك بما كانوا فيه يمتنون (١٥ : ٦٢-٦٣)، أي بما كنت تنذرهم من الحق الذي لا بدّ هو مصيبتهم إن لم يكونوا يؤمنوا لك، وأتيناك بالحقّ أي من عند الله الواجب كونه، وإنا صادّقون إلى قوله

necessary truth from God, and assuredly we speak truly, So set forth, thou with thy family, in a watch of the night, and follow after the backs of them, and let not any one of you turn round; and depart unto the place you are commanded' (Q. 15:64-5).

It is said [in Genesis 19] that there were three cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, and Segor, and that ²⁰Lot asked for Zoar to be spared on account of its smallness, ²¹then he entered [Segor] before the dawn, and the punishment befell them by sunrise, ²⁴⁻²⁵and that brimstone and fire were rained upon them before overturning them, and *We rained on them a rain; and evil is the rain of them that are warned* (Q. 26:173).

²⁵And He overturned those cities, and all the environs, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and the passersby on that night.

²⁷⁻²⁸And Abraham—peace be upon him—looked toward the two cities Sodom and Gomorrah early in the morning, and toward all the land of the plain, and he saw the ashes rise up from the earth as the smoke of a furnace.

³⁰And Lot—peace be upon him—left Segor with his two daughters and he did not dwell in it.

This is copied from the book that is said to be the Torah, and it is affirmed by the Qur'an which confirms [the latter], and praise belongs to God, Lord of the worlds.

... And it is also related in the book that is said to be the Torah [Genesis 18]:

²²And when the men—that is the angels peace be upon them—departed from his place, they turned their gaze toward Sodom and Ghomarrh, and Abraham—peace be upon him—went with them accompanying them:

²⁰they said: the immodesty of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah has reached its full, their sins have multiplied and become exceedingly grievous.

He said, and Abraham followed them constantly. This, and God knows best, is the meaning of God's praise for [Abraham's] penitence [in the Qur'an by

وَأَمْضُوا حَيْثُ تُؤْمَرُونَ (١٥: ٦٤-٦٥).

قِيلَ كَانَتْ ثَلَاثَ مَدَائِنَ، سَدُومَ وَغَمْرَةَ وَصُغُورًا، ²⁰فَاسْتَأْذَنَ لُوطٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَنْ يَسْلَمَ لَهُ صُغُورًا لَصْغَرِهَا،

²¹فَالْتَحَقَ بِهَا قَبْلَ الْفَجْرِ وَنَزَلَ الْعِقَابَ بِأَوْلَادِكَ حِينَ طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ،

²⁴⁻²⁵قِيلَ إِنَّهُمْ أَمْطَرُوا النَّارَ وَالْكَبِيرَةَ بَعْدَ تَأْفِيكِهِمْ، وَأَمْطَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ مَطْرًا فَسَاءً مَطْرَ الْمُنذَرِينَ (٢٦: ١٧٣). ¹⁰⁶

²⁵وَحَسَفَ بِالْقَرِيَتَيْنِ وَأَجْوَارِهِمَا وَجَمِيعِ مَنْ سَكَنَهُمَا وَيَمِنْ كَانَ يَمْرَ لَيْلَتِنَا حَوْلَهُمَا ¹⁰⁷

²⁸⁻²⁷وَنَظَرَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ضُحَى ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ إِلَى الْقَرِيَتَيْنِ سَدُومَ وَغَمْرَةَ وَجَمِيعِ مَا جَاورَهُمَا وَالشَّرْرَ يَخْرُجُ عَنْهُمَا وَالِدَخَانَ صَاعِدَ كِدْحَانَ الْقُرْنِ، ¹⁰⁸

³⁰تَمَّ خُرُجُ لُوطٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَعَ ابْنَتَيْهِ مِنْ صُغُورًا وَلَمْ يَبِثْ فِيهَا.

هذا منقول من الكتاب الذي يُذكر أَنَّهُ التَّوْرَةُ، صَدَقَهُ الْقُرْآنُ الْمَهِيمُ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

...وجاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أَنَّهُ التَّوْرَةُ، قَالَ:

²²لَمَّا تَحَرَّكَ مِنْ عِنْدِهِ الرِّجَالُ، يَعْنِي الْمَلَائِكَةُ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ، حَوَّلُوا نَحْوَ سَدُومَ وَغَمْرَةَ أَبْصَارَهُمْ، وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَذْهَبُ مَعَهُمْ يَشِيْعُهُمْ ¹⁰⁹

²⁰قَالُوا: إِنَّ سُرْفَ أَهْلِ سَدُومَ وَغَمْرَةَ قَدْ كَمَلَ وَكَثُرَتْ ذُنُوبُهُمْ وَتَكَامَلَتْ جِدًّا. ¹¹⁰

قال، وكان إبراهيم لا يعود أن يتابعهم، وهذا والله أعلم معنى المدح بالإتابة.

²³قال: فتدانا وقال، أيهلك صالحًا مع طالح؟

²⁴إن كان في المدينة خمسون صالحًا يهلكون معًا، ولا يرحم ذلك الموضع للمحسنين الصالحين إذ كانوا فيهم،

²⁵فعداد من ذكر الفعل بأن يقتل صالحًا مع

referring to him as *munīb* in Q. 11:75].

Gn. 18:23 He said, *And Abraham drew near, and said: will the righteous be destroy with the wicked?*

²⁴Should there be fifty righteous within the city, they will be destroyed as well, and no mercy shall come to that place on account of fifty righteous ones there.

²⁵Then [Abraham] restated the act that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from Your: You who judges all the earth, would not make this judgment.

²⁶Then the Lord said: *If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will overlook all of their transgressions.*

²⁷Then Abraham answered and said: *behold, since I have taken upon me to speak once I shall do so again even though I am but dust and ashes:*

²⁸What would You do if You found that five were lacking of the fifty righteous? Would You destroy all the city for [lack of] five? And He said, *If I find there forty and five, I will not destroy.*

²⁹Then he said to Him: *if You find forty therein, what would You do? He responded: I will not destroy them for forty's sake.*

³⁰Then he said unto Him: *Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak: Peradventure there shall thirty be found there. And He said, I will not do it if I find thirty there.*

³¹Then Abraham—peace be upon him—said: *Behold, I have taken upon me to speak oh Lord: what would happen if You found twenty therein? He said: I will not destroy them for twenty's sake.*

³²Then he said: *I beseech You my Lord, be not angry if I were to ask You again, what would happen if ten were found there? And He said, I will not destroy them for ten's sake.*

³³He said: *then the Lord ascended after communing with Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place.*

Now God says [in the Qur'an]: *And We have sent down to thee the book with the truth, confirming the book that was before it, and assuring it (Q. 5:48).*

This passage [from Genesis 18] elucidates God's Qur'anic statement: *So, when the awe departed from Abraham and*

طالح، وأنت تحكم على جميع أجناس الأرض فلا تحكم بهذا الحكم.

²⁶فقال له السيد: إن وجدت في وسط مدينة سدوم خمسين صالحًا فسأعفو عن جميع تجوزاتهم.

²⁷فأجاب إبراهيم وقال، إذ قد بدأت مرة ساعود وإن كنت غبارًا أو دمارًا،

²⁸ما أنت فاعل إن وجدت من خمسين نقصانًا خمسة، تخسف بالمدينة الخمسة والأربعين؟ فقال له، لا أخسف إن وجدت خمسة وأربعين.

²⁹ثم قال له، إن وجدت بها أربعين ما أنت صانع؟ فقال لست أهلكهم للأربعين،

³⁰فقال له أرغب إليك ألا تحقد علي يا سيدي إن نطقت، ما يكون إن وجدت فيها ثلاثين؟ فقال، لست أفعل إن وجدت ثلاثين.

³¹فقال إبراهيم عليه السلام، قد بدأت أكلّم يا سيدي، ما يكون إن وجدت فيها عشرين؟ فقال لست أهلكهم للعشرين.

³²فقال أرغب إليك يا سيدي ألا تغضب علي إن سألتك بعد مرة ما يكون إن وجدت فيها عشرة؟ فقال لست أخسف بهم للعشرة.

³³قال، فارتفع السيد بعد إمساكه عن مكالمة إبراهيم ورجع إبراهيم إلى موضعه.

قال الله عز وجل وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمُهَيِّمًا عَلَيْهِ (٥: ٤٨).

وهذا الذكر شارح لقول الله جل ذكره في القرآن فَلَمَّا ذَهَبَ عَنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الرَّوْعُ وَجَاءَتْهُ الْبُشْرَىٰ يُجَادِلُنَا فِي قَوْمِ لُوطٍ إِنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ لَحَلِيمٌ أَوَّاهٌ مُنِيبٌ (١١: ٧٥-٧٤) ... ولم يكن ليقصر عن حال

المجادلة المذكورة حتى أوحى إليه أرحم الراحمين قوله العليّ بإبراهيم أعرض عن هذا إنّه قد جاء

the good tidings came to him, he was disputing with Us concerning the people of Lot; Abraham was clement, compassionate, penitent. (Q. 11:74–5) ... Adding to the aforementioned bargaining [between God and Abraham in Genesis], God also added 'O Abraham, turn away from this; thy Lord's command has surely come, and there is coming upon them a chastisement not to be turned back' (Q. 11:76) ...

It is related in the book that is said to be the Torah [Genesis 19] that [Lot's wife]:²⁶ looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt after she had left the city.

أَمْرُ رَبِّكَ وَإِنَّهُمْ آتِيهِمْ عَذَابٌ غَيْرُ مَرْدُودٍ (١١):
١١١. (٧٦)

... قيل في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه التوراة إنها²⁶ التفتت فمُسخت مكانها تمثالاً مالحاً بعد خروجها من القرية.¹¹²

Books of Prophecy:

Ezekiel 37:1–10. Resuscitating the Children of Israel

As demonstrated above, Ibn Barrajān evinces general knowledge of the Books of Prophecy (*kutub al-nubuwwāt*) in his works. In the following passage, he cites verses from Ezekiel 37:1–10 in order to propose his own interpretation of the identity of those who fled their homes mentioned in Q. 2:243.

God says in the Qur'an, *Art thou not aware of those who left their homes in thousands for fear of death? God said to them, 'Die!' Then He gave them life* (Q. 2:243). The majority of exegetes hold that the people in question left their homes for fear of the plague, so God caused them to die, then He gave them bodily life.

But it is related in certain passages from the Books of Prophets, that one of the prophets—peace be upon them all—said:

¹As I was sitting among a group of the Children of Israelites, the hand of the God took me, and carried me out to the desert, and behold, there were many bones in a wide plain,

⁴And He said to me, Prophecy upon these bones, and say [unto them], O ye dry bones and bodies, or He said "withered flesh," arise by the permission of God. Or He said something to that effect.

⁷And the bones came together,

⁸the flesh came upon the bones until the bodies were perfected.

قوله عز وجل ألم تر إلى الذين خرجوا من ديارهم وهم ألوف حذر الموت فقال لهم الله موتوا ثم أحياهم (٢: ٢٤٣)، ذكر الأكثر من المفسرين أن هؤلاء قوم خرجوا من ديارهم حذر الطاعون فأماتهم الله ثم أحياهم الحياة الجسمانية.

وذكر في بعض كتب النبوات أن نبياً من الأنبياء صلوات الله وسلامه على جميعهم قال:

¹بينا أنا قاعد بين ظهراني قوم من بني إسرائيل أخذتني يد الله فأخرجتني إلى البرية وإذا بعظام كثيرة في موضع متسع

⁴فقال لي نبئ على هذه العظام وقل أيتها العظام النخرة والأجسام، أو قال اللحوم البالية، لتقمي

بإذن الله، أو قال ما معناه هذا،¹¹³

⁷قال فجعل العظم ينتشر إلى العظم¹¹⁴

⁹Then He said unto me, Prophecy unto the spirits. Then comes a passage which I do not recall. He said, [the spirit] came from the four winds,

⁷and I heard a great commotion,

¹⁰and they stood up upon their feet, and they were like a great army,

¹¹then He said unto me, such is the revival of the children of Israel after they die.

God's speech includes more [concerning this topic] and He knows best whether those [who left their homes in Q. 2:243] are these [Israelites mentioned in the Book of Prophets] or those [fleeing the plague of Egypt] mentioned by the exegetes, or both at once, or each in a distinct fashion. All things for God are easy.

Most likely, Qur'anic verse 2:243 is [placed] in orderly accordance with the verse *And say not of those slain in God's way, 'They are dead'; rather they are living, but you are not aware* (Q. 2:154).

⁸واللحم يكسوا العظام إلى أن كملت الأجسام.¹¹⁵

⁹ثم قال لي، تنبأ على الأرواح، ونكر كلاماً

لستُ أذكره. قال فأقبلت من الرياح الأربعة¹¹⁶

⁷وسمعتُ هذّةً عظيمةً،

¹⁰ثم قاموا على أقدامهم فكانوا كجففل عظيم،

¹¹ثم قال هكذا إحياء بني إسرائيل بعد موتهم.

في كلام الله غير هذا فإنه أعلم أهم هؤلاء أم غيرهم أم كما قال المفسرون أو يجمع المعنى فيهما أو يتفرّق، كلّ على الله يسير، أمّا بما هو الحقّ عند الله عزّ وجلّ.

والأظهر أنّ هذا الخطاب منتظم بقوله الحقّ ولا تقولوا لمن يُقتل في سبيل الله أموات بل أحياء ولكن لا تشعرون (٢: ١٥٤).¹¹⁷

New Testament:

Matthew 4:34–5. Do not Swear

In the following passage (Matthew 4:35), Ibn Barrajān quotes a saying of Jesus in which the earth is described as God's footstool, and heaven as His throne, in order to stress God's omnipresence in the world. He follows up these passages by Qur'anic verses (Q. 2:55, Q. 20:5–6, and Q. 7:58) which describe God's presence in the cosmos.

It is related in the book that is said to be the Gospels that the ancients were told not to swear, but if they did swear to fulfill their oaths. He said, Jesus Son of Mary says:

³⁴But I say to you do not swear by heaven for it is the throne of God,

³⁵Nor by the earth, for it is His footstool.

وفي الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنّه الإنجيل أنّه قيل

للأولين لا تحلفوا فإن حلفتُم فأوفوا بما حلفتُم

عليه. قال، يقول عيسى بن مريم:

³⁴وأنا أقول لكم لا تحلفوا بالسماء فإنّها عرش الله

³⁵ولا تحلفوا بالأرض فإنّها كرسيّ قديمه.

Mathew 11:2–8, 11, and 13–15. Messengers from John the Baptist

In the following passage, Ibn Barrajān inserts verses 2–8 and 13–15 from Matthew 11 to explain how Jesus is Qur'anically *made to be an example to the Children of Israel*.¹¹⁸ En route, he comments on Matthew 11, and gives his interpretation of the

meaning of wilderness and the reed shaken in the wind, in verse 7. Interestingly, this is one of the few instances where Ibn Barrajan omits the cautionary stock phrase 'in the book that is said to be the Torah/Gospel'.

²And when John son of Zachariah—peace be upon him—caught news in prison of the works of the Messiah, he sent him two men from his disciples to say to him:

³Are you the one to come, or do we await someone else?

⁴Then Jesus—peace be upon him—responded to them: relate to John what you have heard and seen.

⁵For the blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the dead rise again, the poor are receive glad tidings,

⁶So blessed is he whose soul is not doubtful of me in this matter.

It is related in the book that is said to be the Gospels, following the previous verse, So blessed is he whose soul is not doubtful of me:

⁷Then he, peace and blessings upon him, began to address the multitudes concerning John son of Zachariah—peace be upon him—saying: what did you desire from your journey into the wilderness? By wilderness he means—God knows best—the worship of deities other than God—Mighty and Majestic—and disobeying His command. Did you think you would find scattered pebbles shaken with the winds?

This is a metaphor for John's steadfastness in God. Then he said:

⁸Perhaps you went out to see a man clothed in a soft garment?

¹¹Amen I say to you, there hath not risen among the descendants of Adam anyone nobler than John: yet he who is the smallest in the kingdom of heaven is nobler than he,

¹³For the highest end of each [revealed] book has been brought to John

¹⁴And should you will receive it, he is like Elias that is to come.

¹⁵So He that has ears to hear, let him hear. God says [in the Qur'an]: It is knowledge of the Hour; so doubt not concerning it (Q. 43:61) that is, he is its sign, so when he descends it will be a sign of the

²ولمّا بلغ يحيى بن زكريّا عليه السلام وهو في الحبس أفعال المسيح، أرسل إليه رجلين من تلاميذه يقولان له:

³أنت المقبل أم غيرك يُنْتَظَر؟

⁴فقال لهما عليه السلام، أعلم يا يحيى بما رأيتهما وسمعتهما،

⁵فإنّ العمي يبصرون والصمّ يسمعون والعرج يمشون والجذماء يستقون والموتى يحيون والفقراء يستبشرون،

⁶فطوبى لمن لم يشكك نفسه فيّ بهذا.

... جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنّه الإنجيل

متّصلاً بما تقدّم ذكره من قوله 'فطوبى لمن لم يشكك نفسه فيّ':

⁷ثمّ جعل صلوات الله وسلامه عليه يحدث الناس عن يحيى بن زكريّا عليه السلام، يقول ماذا أردتم بخروجكم إلى المفاز؟ يعني والله أعلم بالمفاز عبادة غير الله عزّ وجلّ والعمل بغير أمره، أظنتم أنكم تجدون فضّةً تلويها الرياح؟

مثل ضربه ليحيى في صلابته في الله، ثمّ قال:

⁸أتراكم تشوقتم إلى رجل عليه كسوة لينّة؟

¹¹آمين أقول لكم، لم يولد في الأدميين أشرف من يحيى، ولكن أصغر من في ملكوت السماوات هو أشرف منه،

¹³فكلّ كتاب أوتي منتهاه إلى يحيى

¹⁴وإنّ تقبلوا غيره هو في مثابة إلياس القادم،

¹⁵فمن كانت له أذن سامعة فليسمع.

قوله عزّ وجلّ وإِنَّهُ لَعَلَّمَ لِّلسَّاعَةِ فَلَا تَمْتَرُنَّ بِهَا (٤٣: ٦١) أي هو آيتها، فإذا نزل صلى الله عليه وسلّم فذلك آية على قرب الساعة وعلامة

closeness of the Hour and an indication of [our imminent] extinction.

Matthew 13:31–3 and 44–6. Parables of the Kingdom of Heaven

In the following passage (Matthew 13), Ibn Barrajān quotes a saying of Jesus from the Gospel of Matthew in order to highlight the ontological connection between the herebelow and the hereafter. He then interjects his own commentary, and Qur'an and *ḥadīth* citations, which are quoted with equal authority as are sayings of Jesus, to point out that they are descriptions of the same teaching.

It is mentioned in the book that is said to be the Gospel:

³¹ *Jesus—peace be upon him—one day struck a parable for his companions, comparing the kingdom of heaven to a grain of mustard seed which someone sowed his field,*

³² *It is the least of seeds and the finest of grains. Yet when grew it became taller than all herbs and wheats, and it grew until the birds of the sky [began to] lodge on its branches, and dwell therein, and the beasts of the earth take cover under its shade.*

His allusion—peace be upon him—was precidely to God's—glorified and praised— [Qur'anic] statement: *The day the earth shall be changed to other than the earth and the heavens (14:48).* The Messenger of God [Muḥammad] explained this verse (14:48) by saying: "In the hereafter, this world shall be merely as a finger that you dip into a river; behold how much [water the finger] withdraws."

³³ *He then struck another parable, saying: the kingdom of heaven is like yeast, which a woman buried in her dough, until it gained heat and was well leavened.*¹²²

⁴⁴ *He then said: the kingdom of the heavens is like unto a treasure hidden in a field. Then someone, having discovered it, hid it in order to sell his belongings then to buy that field.*

⁴⁵ *He also compares the kingdom of the heavens to someone who is a merchant seeking good pearls.*

⁴⁶ *He had found one of the greatest pearls, sold all his belongings and bought it.*

He exchanges the precious for the precious, and that is what is required on account of a valuable knowledge that is

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل:

³¹ أن عيسى صلوات الله وسلامه عليه قال يوماً

متمثلاً لأصحابه يشبّه ملكوت السموات بحبة

من خردل ألقاها إنسان في فدانِه

³² وهي أصغر الحبوب وأدقّ الزريعة، فإذا نبتت

استعلت على جميع البقول والزررايع ونمت حتى

ينزل طير السماء في أغصانها ويسكن إليها

وتستظلّ تحتها بهائم الأرض¹²³

وإنما أشار عليه السلام والله أعلم إلى ما قال

الله سبحانه وله الحمد يومَ تَبْدُلُ الْأَرْضُ غَيْرَ

الْأَرْضِ وَالسَّمَاوَاتِ (١٤ : ٤٨)، وفسر ذلك

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بقوله 'ما الدنيا

في الآخرة إلا كأصبع أدخلته في اليمّ فانظر بم

تخرج منه!'

³³ تمّ تمثّل لهم بمثل آخر فقال يشبّه ملك

السموات بخمير قد أخفتها امرأة في دقيقها حتى

تسخّنت وتخمّرت حسناً.¹²⁴

⁴⁴ تمّ قال مثل ملكوت السموات كمثل كنز قد

أخفي في فدان فاطّل عليه شخص فأخفاه حتى

يصرف ماله ويبتاع ذلك الفدان.¹²⁵

⁴⁵ ويمثّل أيضاً ملك السموات بإنسان تاجر

طالب للجواهر الفائق

⁴⁶ قد ظفر بجوهر نفيسة من أشرف الجواهر

فباع جميع كسبه وابتاعها

inexhaustible. Do you not hear God when He says, *And those are the parables—We strike them for men; haply they will reflect* (Q. 59:21)?

إِنَّمَا يَبْدُلُ الْنَفِيسَ فِي الْنَفِيسِ وَهَذَا الْمَطْلُوبُ
لَعَلَّمْ لَهُ قَدْرٌ وَلَا يَبْلُغُ كُنْهَهُ، أَلَا تَسْمَعُ قَوْلَ اللَّهِ
جَلَّ ذِكْرُهُ اللَّهُ وَتِلْكَ الْأَمْثَالُ نَضْرِبُهَا لِلنَّاسِ
لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ (٥٩ : ٢١).¹²⁶

Mathew 19:30; 20:1–16. The Eleventh Hour.

In the passage below, Ibn Barrajān comments upon Q. 57:28, *O believers, fear God, and believe in His Messenger, and He will give you a twofold portion of His mercy*. He interprets *the twofold portion of His mercy* to mean that followers of Muḥammad shall receive twice the reward of Jews and Christians on the Day of Judgment, even though the latter worked harder and longer than the former. His engagement with Matthew 20 can arguably be categorised as ‘polemical’ in that he is showing that Islam was foretold by the Bible. But more importantly this passage is invoked to explain the meaning of a *ḥadīth* from al-Bukhārī.¹²⁷ Remarkably, he does not speak about the Gospels as the word of God, but as a collection of statements by Jesus. What is also interesting to note is that as with his citations from the Qur’an and *ḥadīth*, Ibn Barrajān cuts his citations short by stating ‘to the end of the meaning.’ He seems to suppose, in other words, that his readers are well versed in Biblical literature.

In the book that is said to be the Gospels:

Mt.19:30 *And many that are first, shall be last; and the first shall be at the rear of the last.*

Mt.20:1 *That is why the kingdom of heaven is like unto a wealthy man who went out to hire labourers to work his vineyard in the early morning.*

² *And having agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he brought them into his vineyard.*

³ *During the third hour, he saw others standing in the marketplace idle.*

⁴ *And he said: go you also into the vineyard, and I will give you your rightful dues.*

⁵ *And so they did, and again he repeated in like manner on the sixth hour, this corresponds to the first phase with Jesus and his followers, and the ninth hour, this refers to Muḥammad—peace and blessings be upon him.*

وفي الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل:

³⁰ وكثيرًا يتقدّم الآخرون الأولين، ويكون الأولون ساقاة الآخرين.

¹ ولذلك يشبه ملك السماوات برجل ملّي خرج في استجارة الأعوان لحفر كرمه في أوّل النهار.

² وعامل كلّ واحد منهم في نهاره على درهم، ثم أدخلهم كرمه.

³ فلما كان في الساعة الثالثة بصر بغيرهم في الرحاب لا شغل لهم.

⁴ فقال: اذهبوا أنتم أيضًا إلى الكرم وسأمر لكم بحقوقكم.

⁵ ففعلوا، ثم فعل مثل ذلك في الساعة السادسة، هذه هي لعيسى عليه السلام ولأصحابه في أوّل

⁶ And when the eleventh hour came, this refers to the end of the interim period between both [Muhammad and the second return of Jesus], God willing, he found others standing, and he said to them: Why do you stand here all the day without work?

⁷ They responded: because no one has hired us. He said to them: go you as well and I will give you your rightful dues.

⁸ And when the day ended, the owner of the vineyard said to his steward: call the labourers and pay them their hire, and begin with the last and end with the first.

⁹ So he began with those that were brought in on the eleventh hour, and he gave every man a penny.

¹⁰ Then the first came forth, hoping for an increase, but they too received every man a penny.

¹¹ So they reproached the owner of the vineyard,

¹² Saying: have you made us equal to those who only worked but one hour of the day, [we who] have toiled all day long and borne the burden of its heat?

¹³ Then he answered one of them, saying: friend, I do you no wrong, did we not agree on a penny?

¹⁴ So take what is yours and go your way, for I wish to give to the latecomer just as I have given you.

¹⁵ Is it unlawful for me to do so? Just as you are envious, so am I merciful.

¹⁶ It is on this account that the last shall be first, and the first shall be at the rear of the last. For many are called, but few chosen.

الأمر، والتاسعة هذه لمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم. ⁶ فلما كان في الساعة الإحدى عشرة هذه بينهما في آخر الزمان إن شاء الله، وجد غيرهم وقوفاً فقال لهم: لم وقفتم هاهنا طول نهاركم دون عمل؟ ⁷ فقالوا له، لأننا لم يستأجرنا أحد، فقال اذهبوا أنتم وسأمر لكم بحقوقكم.

⁸ فلما انقضى النهار قال صاحب الكرم لوكيله: ادع الأعوان وأعطهم أجرتهم، وابدأ بالآخرين حتى تنتهي إلى الأولين.

⁹ فبدأ بالذين أدخلوا في الساعة الإحدى عشرة وأعطى كل واحد منهم درهماً.

¹⁰ وأقبل الأولون وهم يرجون بالزيادة فأعطى كل واحد منهم درهماً،

¹¹ فاستتكروا ذلك على صاحب الكرم

¹² وقالوا: أسويتنا بالذين لم يعملوا إلا ساعة من النهار في شحوصنا طول نهارنا وعذابنا بحرارته؟

¹³ فأجاب أحدهم وقال له، لست أظلمك يا صديق، أما عاملتني على درهم؟

¹⁴ فخذ حقك وانطلق، فإنه يوافقني أن أعطي الآخر كما أعطيتك،

¹⁵ أفلا يحل لي ذلك؟ وإن كنت حسوداً فإنني أنا رحيم.

¹⁶ ومن أجل ذلك يتقدم الآخرون الأولين، ويكون الأولون ساقية الآخريين، فالمُدعون كثير والمتخيرون قليل. ¹²⁸

Matthew 24:22, 24, and 29–30. The Antichrist

In the following commentary, the Gospel is quoted to complement the Qur'anic and ḥadīth accounts of endtimes. ¹²⁹

It is related in the book that is said to be the Gospels, that the affair [of the end of time] with which [the antichrist] comes “restrains the ability” which means that

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل أن ذلك الأمر الذي يجيء به يزحم القدرة، معناه أنه يجيء بما يخرق به العوائد ويأتي من ذلك

he comes forth with [an ability] to perform miracles [lit. break the habits] and display tremendous [signs], this he expressed by saying “he overwhelms the ability,” while those who are described as “mountains” deem that they were counted liars, and in the end there shall be respite, and with hardship comes ease, and whosoever endures to the end is saved by God’s will.

²²And were it not that those days are short, no one would be saved.

It is related in the book that is said to be the Gospels (Matthew 24),

²²But those days will be shortened on account of the righteous.

²⁴There will arise during those days those who claim to be the Messiah son of Mary, and [who claim to be] prophets, and they shall bring forth great signs, until even those who are supposedly righteous will have doubt.

This is related in the Books of Prophecies. It is also related in the book that is said to be the Gospel:

^{Mt.24:21}For then shall be great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither shall be.

The Messenger of God [Muhammad]—peace be upon him—said: “there is no affair,” and in another report “calamity”, “from the day God created Adam to the coming of the hour, is more tremendous than the antichrist.”

[Jesus] later said:

²⁹Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:

³⁰and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the King coming in the clouds of heaven—this resembles the Qur’anic verse: What do they look for, but that God shall come to them in the cloud (Q. 2: 210)—with a great and mighty power.

بعظائم، فعبّر عن ذلك بأنه يزحم القدرة ويظنّ الذين يعبر عنهم بالجبال أنهم قد كذبوا وعند التناهي يكون الفرج ومع العسر اليسر، ومن صبر إلى الخاتمة فهو المعافي إن شاء الله،²² ولولا قصر مدّة تلك الأيام لم يسلم أحد من الناس.

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل،

²²ولكن قصرت تلك الأيام لأجل الصالحين¹³⁰

²⁴وسياتي في تلك الأيام من يتشبّه بالمسيح بن مريم وبالأنبياء ويأتون بآيات عظيمة حتّى يشكّ من يُظنّ به صلاح.¹³¹

جاء ذكر هذا في كتب النبوات.

وذكر في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل أيضاً،²¹ سيكون يومئذ حزن لم يكن من ابتداء الدنيا مثله ولا يكون.

فأشبهه قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم 'ما من يوم خلق الله فيه آدم إلى أن تقوم الساعة أمر، وفي أخرى فتنة، أعظم من الدجال'.
ثم قال بعد كلام،

²⁹وبعد انقراض ذلك المحن تظلم الشمس ويضمحلّ نور القمر وتتساقط النجوم وتُحرّك قدرة السماوات:

³⁰وتبكي يومئذ جميع أجناس الأرض وينظرون إلى الملك مقبلاً في سحاب السماء¹³²—أشبهه هذا قول الله جلّ وعزّ قوله هل ينظرون إلا أن يأتيهم الله في ظللٍ من الغمام (٢: ٢١٠)— في قدرة عظيمة شديدة.¹³³

Chart: Comparison of the Closest Parallels between Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Barrajān's Biblical Passages:

Ibn Barrajān	Ibn Ḥazm
<p>Genesis 2:8 وكان السيد الله اغترس جناناً مشتهى فيه في البدء وسكن فيه الآدمي المخلوق¹³⁴</p>	<p>وأخذ الله آدم ووضعه في جنات عدن¹³⁵</p>
<p>Genesis 2:10-14 وكان يخرج نهر من الموضع المشتهى فيسقي الجنان وهو الذي ينقسم على أربعة أنهار، فاسم أحدهما فيسون وهو الذي يحق بأرض حفيلا حيث يببت الذهب وفيه يوجد الجواهر الذي يدعى البؤلج والمهي، واسم النهر الثاني فيحون وهو الذي يحق بأرض الحبشة النيل، واسم النهر الثالث الدجلة وهو الذي يأخذ ناحية أرض فارس. واسم النهر الرابع الفرات.¹³⁶</p>	<p>ونهر يخرج من عدن فيسقي الجنان، ومن ثم يفترق فيصير أربعة رؤس، اسم أحدها النيل وهو محيط بجميع بلاد زويله الذي به الذهب، وذهب ذلك البلد جيد، وبها اللؤلؤ وهو السائر شرق الموصل. واسم الرابع الفرات¹³⁷</p>
<p>Genesis 3:24 وجاء أيضاً في الكتاب الذي يذكر أنه التوراة أن آدم لما واقع الخطيئة وأخرج من الجنة إلى هذه الدار جعل الله في يد إسرافيل، أو قال غيره من الملائكة رُماً نارياً يحرس شجرة الحياة¹³⁸</p>	<p>وأسكن في شرقي جنة عدن الكروبين، ولهيب سيف متقلب بحراسة شجرة الحياة...ورأيت في نسخة أخرى منها: ووكل بالجنان المشتهى إسرافيل ونصب بين يديه رُماً نارياً ليحفظ طريق شجرة الحياة¹³⁹</p>
<p>Genesis 15:13 إن نسلك يتغرب في غير بلاده ويملكون ويدلون فيه أربع مائة سنة¹⁴⁰</p>	<p>إن نسلك يستعبد أربع مائة سنة¹⁴¹</p>
<p>Matthew 11:11 and 13 أمين أقول لكم، لم يولد في الآدميين أشرف من يحيى، ولكن أصغر من في ملكوت السماوات هو أشرف منه، فكل كتاب أوتي منتهاه إلى يحيى¹⁴²</p>	<p>أمين أقول لكم، لم يولد أحد من الآدميين أشرف من يحيى المعمد، ولكن من كان صغيراً وفي ملكوت السماء فهو أكبر منه. وفي الباب المذكور [الثاني عشر] أن المسيح قال لهم: كل كتاب ونبوّة فإن منتهاه إلى يحيى¹⁴³</p>
<p>Matthew 13:31-2</p>	

وفي الباب الثالث عشر من إنجيل متى أن
المسيح قال: يشبه ملكوت السماء بحبة خردل
ألقاها رجل في فدانها وهي أدقّ الزراريح فإذا
أنبتت استعلت على جميع البقول والزراريح حتّى
ينزل في أغصانها طير السماء ويسكن إليه¹⁴⁵

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل أن
عيسى صلوات الله وسلامه عليه قال يوماً متمثلاً
لأصحابه يشبه ملكوت السماوات بحبة من خردل
ألقاها إنسان في فدانها وهي أصغر الحبوب وأدقّ
الزريرة، فإذا نبتت استعلت على جميع البقول
والزراريح ونمت حتّى ينزل طير السماء في
أغصانها ويسكن إليها¹⁴⁴

Matthew 24:22 and 24

جاء في الكتاب الذي يُذكر أنه الإنجيل: ولكن
قصرت تلك الأيام لأجل الصالحين، وسيأتي في تلك
الأيام من يتشبه بالمسيح بن مريم وبالأنبياء ويأتون
بآيات عظيمة حتّى يشكّ من يُظنّ به صلاح. جاء
ذكر هذا في كتب النبوات.¹⁴⁶

وفي الباب [الرابع والعشرين من إنجيل متى] أن
المسيح قال لهم: سيعود مسحاء الكذب وأنبياء الكذب
ويطلعون العجائب العظيمة والآيات حتّى يغلط من
يظنّ بن الصلاح¹⁴⁷

NOTES

- 1 A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the ‘Yale Arabic Colloquium’ in late Autumn 2013. I am grateful to colleagues for their invaluable feedback. Special thanks to Gerhard Bowering, Frank Griffel, Beatrice Gruendler, Stephen Davis, Dimitri Gutas, Matthew Ingalls, Mareike Koertner, Ryan Brizendine, Pieter Coppins, and Rose Deighton. A special thanks to Samuel Ross for his invaluable feedback.
- 2 Jerome was heavily informed by several other sources, including Greek exegetical material and the Hexapla, a columnar comparison of the variant readings of the Old Testament carried out by Origen 150 years before Jerome.
- 3 van Koningsveld, ‘Christian-Arabic Manuscripts’, p. 426; Kassis, ‘Arabic-Speaking Christians’.
- 4 Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, p. 199.
- 5 van Koningsveld, ‘La literatura cristiano-árabe’, p. 698.
- 6 van Koningsveld, ‘Christian-Arabic Manuscripts’, pp. 425–6.
- 7 De Epalza, ‘Mozarabs’, pp. 149–51.
- 8 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, p. 8.
- 9 See Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, p. 176. For a list of third/ninth to fourth/tenth century authors involved in adducing Biblical passages that foretell the advent of Muḥammad, see Schmidtke, ‘The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials’.
- 10 Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb Ṣilat al-ṣila*, Lévi-Provençal (partial ed.) (Rabat: al-Maktaba al-Iqtiṣādiyya, 1938), no. 45, pp. 31–3.
- 11 Grammar, morphology, rhetoric.
- 12 Poetry, lexicography, grammar.
- 13 Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb Ṣilat al-ṣila*, no. 45, p. 33.
- 14 For a close examination of Ibn Barrajān’s written corpus, see chapter 4 of my dissertation, ‘The Forgotten Mystic’.
- 15 al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān*, vol. 2, pp. 129–45.
- 16 Ibn Barrajān, *Ṣarḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā: Comentario sobre los nombres más bellos de Dios*, ed. Purificación de la Torre (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2000). This is the first edition. The second edition, *Sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2010), is cited henceforth as *Sharḥ*.
- 17 See chapters 3 and 4 of my dissertation ‘The Forgotten Mystic’ for an extensive discussion.
- 18 The first edition is incomplete, covering the second half of the *Tanbīh* (suras 17 to 114). See *al-Taḥf al-ṣūfī li’l-Qur’ān*. The second edition, *Tafsīr Ibn Barrajān: Tanbīh al-afḥām ilā tadabbur al-kitāb al-ḥakīm wa-ta’arruf al-āyāt wa’l-naba’ al-‘aẓīm*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2013), cited here as *Tanbīh*, is complete.
- 19 By 522/1128, he had already reached sura 30 of the *Tanbīh*. Since suras 1–7 receive much more commentary than the rest of the suras of the Qur’an, it is safe to assume that he composed his exegesis chronologically from suras 1 to 114. He would have written just over half the *Tanbīh* by 522/1128.
- 20 Ibn Barrajān, *A Qur’ān Commentary by Ibn Barrajān of Seville (d. 536/1141): Īdāḥ al-ḥikma bi-ahkām al-‘ibra (Wisdom Deciphered, the Unseen Discovered)*, eds. Gerhard Bowering; Yousef Casewit, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

21 Aside from these four works, the authenticity of which is beyond question, it is possible that Ibn Barraġān wrote a fifth work which bears the title *'Ayn al-yaqīn* ('The Eye of Certainty') or simply *Kitāb al-yaqīn*. A reference to this title is preserved in a *fatwā* by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in which it is condemned to the torch, along with Ibn al-'Arabī's *Futūḥāt*, Ibn Sab'īn's *Budd al-'ārif*, and Ibn Qasī's *Khal' al-na'layn*. Ibn Khaldūn's *fatwā* was reprinted in Šālīḥ b. Maḥdī al-Maqbalī's (d. 1108/1696) *al-'Alam al-shāmikh*, (ed. Cairo, 1328h, p. 500). Ibn Barraġān's *'Ayn al-yaqīn* may have been lost during the uprising of Ibn Qasī's *Murīdūn* and the downfall of the Almoravids, but it is not cited in any of his earlier works and so would have been his last and probably shortest work. See Samarrāī, *ʿilm al-iktināh*, p. 153 for a reference to a copy or an excerpt of a treatise attributed to Ibn Barraġān entitled *Kitāb al-Yaqīn fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. Samarrāī claims to have come upon this short treatise at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo, but does not provide a manuscript reference number. He recalls having seen treatise that bears this title in one of the two copies of *al-Inbā' fī ḥaqā'iq al-ṣifāt wa'l-asmā' li'llāh ta'ālā* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ma'd b. ʿĪsā b. Wakīl al-Tujībī al-Uqlīshī (d. 549/1154) held at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya. I have not been able to obtain this MS from Dār al-Kutub. It seems to be part of a *majmū'a* on the divine names, and is therefore topically related to Ibn Barraġān's *Sharḥ* despite the fact that it bears the title of *tafsīr*. My preliminary impression is that the *'Ayn al-yaqīn* is not an independent work of Ibn Barraġān, but rather a second title to one, or part, of his four major works. A passage from the *Tanbīh* may have been mistakenly entitled *'Ayn al-yaqīn* by a scribe or a cataloguer.

22 Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, pp. 53–77.

23 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 580–2; Kraus, 'Hebräische und syrische Zitate'.

24 For a discussion of the sources of influence on Ibn Barraġān, see Casewit, 'The Forgotten Mystic', pp. 409–12.

25 See Böwering, 'Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī'; 'The Light Verse', esp. pp. 140–2; art. 'Deylamī'.

26 Walid Saleh has written several studies on al-Biqāī. See 'Hebrew Bible Quotations'; 'A Fifteenth-Century Muslim Hebraist'; and Saleh and Casey, 'An Islamic Diatessaron'. It is worth noting that al-Biqāī, who stood at the forefront of a scholarly dispute over the permissibility of using the Bible, authored a treatise entitled *al-Aqwāl al-qawīma fī ḥukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma* (*In defense of the Bible: a critical edition and an introduction to al-Biqāī's Bible treatise*, ed. Walid Saleh, Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2008) where he defends his use of the Bible in interpreting the Qur'ān. In *al-Aqwāl al-qawīma* he lists a large number of Muslim authorities who cited biblical material. Although Ibn Barraġān is quoted over 50 times in al-Biqāī's Qur'ān commentary, *Nazm al-durar*, he does not receive an entry in *al-Aqwāl al-qawīma*. This omission is presumably because al-Biqāī took an interest in Ibn Barraġān's writings relatively late in his career. He wrote the *Nazm* over the course of a twenty-two year period, and the first reference to Ibn Barraġān is in connection with Sura 30 (al-Rūm). Al-Biqāī's interest in Ibn Barraġān's Qur'ān commentaries was presumably sparked by his reading of the Jerusalem prediction. He may have already penned *al-Aqwāl al-qawīma* and was unaware of Ibn Barraġān's biblical citations at the time.

27 The manuscript in question is in Istanbul, Çarullah 1023 (235ff.; copied in 795/1392), folio 17. Cf. Aḥmad Shafīq's introduction to al-Mazīdī's edition of Ibn Barraġān's *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, p. 19, n. 1.

28 Ibn Barraġān probably did not possess a full Arabic translation of Exodus, but he did have some familiarity with this Biblical book. In his interpretation of Q. 7:134-35, where Moses's followers turn to him in supplication after suffering from locusts, lice, and frogs, Ibn Barraġān cites what appears to be passages from Exodus 9:13-35 on the plague of hail. He attributes the plague of hail to the rod of Aaron instead of the hands of Moses stretched forth to the heavens. He quotes these passages from memory. Additionally, he cites Exodus 4:1-9 to interpret the word *rijz* in Q. 7:134 (*Tanbīh*, vol. 2, pp. 356–7).

29 Arberry's translation informs the Qur'anic translations cited throughout this article.

30 *Īdāh*, ¶40.

32 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, p. 283. The 'core' of the Qur'an is what Ibn Barrajān terms the 'Tremendous Qur'an' (*al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*). This expression is employed as a technical term in Ibn Barrajān's writings to denote the essential Qur'anic verses whose meanings are synoptic and all-comprehensive, as well as the divine names and attributes mentioned in the Qur'an. Thus, both the Torah and the 'Tremendous Qur'an' encapsulate God's undifferentiated knowledge inscribed in the Preserved Tablet. See introduction to *A Qur'ān Commentary by Ibn Barrajān of Seville*, p. 34. See also González Costa, Amina, "Un Ejemplo de la Hermeneutica Sufi del Corán en al-andalus: El Comentario Coránico *Īdāh al-Ḥikma* De Ibn Barrajān (m. 536/1141) de Sevilla," (in *Historia del Sufismo en al-Andalus; Maestros Sufies de al-andalus y el Maghreb*, Amina González Costa, Gracia López Anguita eds., Cordoba: Almuzara, 2009) pp. 57-61.

33 The passage concerns the women of Israel who borrowed jewels of silver, gold, and raiment from their neighbours. God says to Moses in Exodus 3:21-22: *And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty: But every woman shall borrow of her neighbor, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put [them] upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.* Ibn Barrajān notes how this is confirmed by the Qur'anic verse, *we were loaded with fardels, even the ornaments of the people, and we cast them* (Q. 20:87). In this discussion, Ibn Barrajān again cites from memory as he interlaces Qur'anic verses with passages from Exodus. See *Tanbīh*, vol. 2, pp. 366-7.

34 For a recension based on the Jewish translation of Sa'adiya Ga'on, see Kahle, *Bibelübersetzungen*. For Sa'adiya's commentary, see de Lagarde, *Materialien*; Eng. trans. by Linetsky, *Rabbi Saadiah Gaon's Commentary*. See also Steiner, *Biblical Translation*.

35 On Ibn al-Ṭayyib, see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 160-77; Samir, 'La place d'Ibn al-Ṭayyib'; Faultless, 'Ibn al-Ṭayyib'; Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Commentaire*; Vollandt, 'Christian-Arabic Translations'.

36 Cf. Ezekiel 23:33, Zechariah 12:2, Revelation 14:10, 1 Corinthians 10:21.

38 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, p. 373. For a similar discussion, see *Tanbīh*, vol. 4, pp. 369-70.

⁴⁰ 'Azrā'īl and Jibrīl.

42 For instance, one *ḥadīth* states that David was told by God to 'Convey good news to sinners, and warn the truthful ones' for ignorant sinners are held at a lower standard than those who are endowed with knowledge of God and the afterlife. See *Sharḥ*, vol. 1, p. 307.

43 The fact that Ibn Barrajān only possessed a translation of Matthew in Arabic is alluded to in the *Sharḥ* where he states: 'It is repeatedly mentioned in the book that is said to be the Gospel: *Cast this wicked servant into the lower darkness; there shall be prolonged weeping and gnashing teeth*' (*Sharḥ*, vol. 2, p. 83). The only Gospel of the New Testament where this verse appears repeatedly is Matthew (8:12, 13:42, 13:50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30). In Luke it appears only once (13:28). Therefore Ibn Barrajān equates the *Injīl* with the Gospel of Matthew.

44 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 283-4.

45 See appendix, section on Eleventh Hour.

46 *Tanbīh*, vol. 1, p. 135. See parallels in Mathew 25:35-45.

47 The term used in the *ḥadīth* is *aswida* for both those to Adam's right and left. An *aswad* can mean a great serpent (see *Lisān al-'Arab*, s-w-d).

48 *Īdāh*, ¶381.

49 The scriptural foundations for this concept are seemingly to be found in Romans 5:12-21, 1 Corinthians 15:22, and Pslam 51:5.

50 Ibn Qasī also had a conception of ‘original sin’ which he discusses in much more elaborate and explicit terms. See Ebstein, ‘Was Ibn Qasī a Sufi?’.

51 Ibn Barraġān states: *wa-ammā kitāb al-zabūr fa-yaqūl munazziluhu al-‘alī al-kabīr jalla jalāluhu: ‘yā Dāwud isma‘ minnī wa’l-ḥaqq aqūl kun kadhā wa-kadhā, yā Dāwud isma‘ minnī wa’l-ḥaqq aqūl lā tafal kadhā wa-kadhā, wa-yukthir min hādhā fa-ashbah’* (Īdāh, ¶42). Parallels of this quotation are found in a statement attributed to the second/eighth-century Successor (*tābī‘ī*) and narrator of *Isrā‘īliyyāt*, Wahb b. Munabbih, in Abū Nu‘aym al-Aṣḥabānī’s *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’*, vol. 4, pp. 45–6. Given that Ibn Barraġān’s knowledge of the contents of the *zabūr* appears to originate in reports of Wahb, I suspect that he did not possess a copy of Ḥafṣ’ *raġaz* rendition. See Urvoy, *Le psautier mozarabe*.

52 *Tanbīh*, vol. 4, p. 42.

53 *Īdāh*, ¶910.

54 *Tanbīh*, vol. 2, p. 165.

55 *Tanbīh*, vol. 4, p. 224. See also *Īdāh*, ¶18 and ¶31.

56 *Īdāh*, ¶268.

57 For example, *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, p. 15.

58 Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb Ṣīlat al-ṣīla*, no. 45, p. 32.

59 Ibn Barraġān drew on the authority of an *isnād* when it suited his purposes, even though he usually stressed his principle of Qur’anic hegemony and the corrective function of the Qur’an in confirming weak *ḥādīth*. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Ibn Barraġān only used his principle of Qur’anic hegemony to confirm weakly transmitted *ḥādīth* reports and Biblical passages, and never to challenge the authenticity of a soundly transmitted prophetic report on the basis of a contradicting Qur’anic verse. His principle of Qur’anic hegemony, in other words, was only employed with a view to broadening the scope of authoritative scriptural sources which Ibn Barraġān could make use of. See *Īdāh*, ¶729–30.

60 There are significant differences between the two thinkers. *Contra* Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Barraġān accepts weak *ḥādīth* reports and analogical reasoning (*qiyās*); submits that there is utility in the *madhhab* system while criticising it; and endorses the idea that the Qur’an contains inner meanings which are accessible to spiritually qualified scholars. Ibn Ḥazm rejected all of the above and considered Qur’anic verses and strong *ḥādīth* reports to be equally authoritative. Sabra, ‘Ibn Ḥazm’s Literalism’, pp. 99–109.

61 Adang, ‘The Spread of Zāhirism’, pp. 336–7.

62 For instance, we know that the Zāhirī Ibn Yarbū‘ (d. 522/1128) studied the *ḥādīth* collection of Bukhārī with Ibn Manzūr, who was Ibn Barraġān’s *ḥādīth* teacher; and that Ibn Barraġān’s Mālikī student ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī transmitted Zāhirī works of Ibn Ḥazm. There are also connections to Ibn Barraġān through Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqī’s Zāhirī teacher Ibn Barrāl/Buriyāl, who was a student of Ibn Ḥazm and who came into contact with Ibn Barraġān’s associate Ibn al-‘Arīf. See Adang, ‘The Spread of Zāhirism’, p. 329.

64 *Tanbīh*, vol. 1, p. 270.

65 For example, Ibn Barraġān does not entertain the possibility of pubescent non-Muslims being saved after the coming of Islam, or of hell ever subsiding for its denizens. He discusses the eschatological destiny of the children of unbelievers in the context of the following Qur’anic verse: *Immortal youths will wait on them* (Q. 56:17). ‘These are the youths that died prior to attaining the age where one is obligated to observe the legal precepts of religion (*wujūb al-taklīf*); that is, they died in a state of primordality (*fiṭra*). I think, and God knows best, they are the children of the disbelievers, whom God entrusts to the service of the people of Paradise, just as they were their [child] slaves and servants in this world. As for the children of the believers, they will be with their parents. Their fate in Paradise, and God

knows best, will be different. I think that they will grow up and take wives; for this is implicit in the verse [And those who believed, and their seed followed them in belief.] We shall join their seed with them (Q. 52:21), thereby completing the happiness of their parents' (*Tanbīh*, vol. 5, p. 422).

66 For example, *Tanbīh*, vol. 1, pp. 120–2 and p. 267.

67 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, pp. 305–6.

68 *Sharḥ*, vol. 2, p. 83.

69 Mt 8:12, 13:42, 13:50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30; Lk. 13:28. The Arabic translation here is: *iqdhifū bi-hādhā al-'abd al-sū' fi al-ẓulumāt al-sufā ḥaythu yaṭūl al-'awīl wa-qalaqat al-aḍrās*.

70 *Īdāh*, ¶382–3.

71 For example, Ibn Barrajān contrasts Biblical and *ḥādīth* reports which state that man was created in God's image against the Qur'anic statement that there is nothing like unto God (*laysa ka-mithlihi shay'*, Q. 42:11).

72 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, p. 15.

73 Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 137.

74 For a detailed discussion of the range of opinions regarding the authorship of Ibn Ḥazm's Bible, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 136. Given the Andalusī context, a Christian Mozarab translation tradition seems to most likely to be the most important source for Ibn Ḥazm. Modern scholars have recently pointed out that Muslim authors were mostly exposed to earlier Arabic Christian renditions of the Bible in the East, and that on the whole Jewish ones including Sa'adya's (or pre-Sa'adian Karaite translations) did not play a significant role for any Muslim author. For translations of the Pentateuch, see Vollandt, 'Christian-Arabic Translations'. For the Gospels, see Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*.

75 Adang, 'Some Hitherto Neglected Material'.

76 For a discussion of Ibn Ḥazm's polemic against Judaism and Christianity, see Behloul, 'The Testimony of Reason'; and Urvoy, 'Le sens'.

77 Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 134.

78 Unlike Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Barrajān does not cite the chapters of the Bible that he quotes from. He only refers once to the opening of Genesis as the *sifr al-awwal* ('first book of the Torah') whereas Ibn Ḥazm uses the conventional term *bāb*. This may or may not indicate the different translations used by both Muslim authors.

79 Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 136.

80 (i) *Genesis* 1:1–31, 2:1–14; 2:16–19; 3:1–7; 3:24; 15:4–7; 15:13–18; 18:20, 22–23; 19:20–21, 24–25, 27–28, 30; (ii) *Exodus* 9:13–35. (iii) *Ezekiel* 1:10; 23:33; 37:1–10. (IV) *Matthew* 4:34–35; 11:2–8, 11, 13–15; 13:31–33, 44–46; 19:30; 20:1–16; 24:22, 24, 29–30.

81 In *Īdāh*, ¶508, Ibn Barrajān has a slightly different version: *fi'l-bad' khalaqa Allāh al-samā' wa'l-arḍ*.

82 Vulgate: *et protulit terra herbam virentem* (And the earth brought forth the green herb).

83 Mazīdī's edition (vol. 3, p. 13) reads *bi-anfusihā*, which would translate as 'by themselves'. However, the subsequent verses repeatedly refer to beasts that possess '*nafas*', or 'breath of life'. The plural of *nafas* is *anfās*, and therefore I assume here that there is a missing *alif* and that *bi-anfusihā* should be translated as '[fish] that hath life'.

84 Vulgate: *et omne volatile secundum genus suum* (and every winged fowl according to its kind).

85 The order is inverted in the Vulgate: *et factum est vespere et mane dies quintus* (And the evening and morning were the fifth day).

86 Vulgate adds: *et bestiis universaeque terrae omnique reptili quod movetur in terra* (and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth)

87 Vulgate adds: *et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei creavit illum masculum et feminam creavit eos* (And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them).

88 Vulgate adds: *et subicite eam* (and subdue it).

89 Vulgate: *et requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat* (and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done).

90 Vulgate: *et benedixit diei septimo et sanctificavit illum quia in ipso cessaverat ab omni opere suo quod creavit Deus ut faceret* (And he blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made).

91 Vulgate adds: *istae generationes caeli et terrae quando creatae sunt in die quo fecit Dominus Deus caelum et terram* (These are the generations of the heaven and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth).

92 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 13–16. See also *Īdāh*, ¶509, where Ibn Barrajān points out parallels between Qur'anic verses and Genesis 1:21–23, 26–31; 2:1–2. In *Īdāh*, ¶505, he sets out to determine the exact time and cosmic day of Adam's creation. To this end, he evaluates *ḥadīth* reports alongside descriptions from Genesis 2:1–5, and concludes that Adam was created on the seventh day.

93 Note that *al-sayyid Allāh* is referred to inversely as *Allāh al-sayyid* throughout Genesis 1.

94 See *Īdāh*, ¶90–1, for a discussion of the etymological significance of the first name Adam, in which Genesis 2:8 and 2:18 are quoted not only with equal, but more interpretive authority than similar *ḥadīth* reports.

95 Vulgate: *in sudore vultus tui* (In the sweat of thy face).

96 Vulgate adds: *vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis aspectuque delectabile et tulit de fructu illius et comedit deditque viro suo qui comedit* (And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat, and fair to the eyes, and delightful to behold: and she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave to her husband who did eat).

97 *Īdāh*, ¶378–80.

98 Vulgate adds: *et aurum terrae illius optimum est ibique invenitur bdellium et lapis onychinus* (And the gold of that land is very good: there is found bdellium, and the onyx stone).

99 This is how the text appears in both MSS A and B of *Īdāh* (¶476). There is no mention of the Nile in Vulgate.

100 *Īdāh*, ¶476.

101 Vulgate: *eiectque Adam et conlocavit ante paradisum voluptatis cherubin et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae* (And he cast out Adam; and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life).

102 *Īdāh*, ¶387.

103 Vulgate: *statimque sermo Domini factus est ad eum dicens non erit hic heres tuus sed qui egredietur de utero tuo ipsum habebis heredem* (And immediately the word of the Lord came to him, saying: He shall not be thy heir: but he that shall come out of thy bowels, him shalt thou have for thy heir).

104 Vulgate: *dixitque ad eum ego Dominus qui eduxi te de Ur Chaldeorum* (I am the Lord who brought thee out from Ur of the Chaldees).

105 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 141–2.

106 Vulgate: ²⁰*est civitas haec iuxta ad quam possum fugere parva et salvabor in ea numquid non modica est et vivet anima mea* ²¹*dixitque ad eum ecce etiam in hoc suscepi preces tuas ut non subvertam urbem pro qua locutus es* ²²*festina et salvare ibi quia non potero facere quicquam donec ingrediaris illuc idcirco vocatum est nomen urbis illius Segor* ²³*sol egressus est super terram et Loth ingressus est in Segor* ²⁴*igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorram sulphur et ignem a Domino de caelo* ²⁵*et subvertit civitates has et omnem circa regionem universos habitatores urbium et cuncta terrae virentia* (²⁰*There is this city here at hand, to which I may flee, it is a little one, and I shall be saved in it: is it not a little one, and my soul shall live?* ²¹*And he said to him: Behold also in this, I have heard thy prayers, not to destroy the city for which thou hast spoken.* ²²*Make haste and be saved there, because I cannot do any thing till thou go in thither. Therefore the name of that city was called Segor.* ²³*The sun was risen upon the earth, and Lot entered into Segor.* ²⁴*And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.* ²⁵*And he destroyed these cities, and all the country about, all the inhabitants of the cities, and all things that spring from the earth).*

107 Vulgate: *et subvertit civitates has et omnem circa regionem universos habitatores urbium et cuncta terrae virentia* (And he destroyed these cities, and all the country about, all the inhabitants of the cities, and all things that spring from the earth).

108 Vulgate: ²⁷*Abraham autem consurgens mane ubi steterat prius cum Domino* ²⁸*intuitus est Sodomam et Gomorram et universam terram regionis illius viditque ascendentem favillam de terra quasi fornacis fumum* (²⁷*And Abraham got up early in the morning, and in the place where he had stood before with the Lord:* ²⁸*He looked towards Sodom and Gomorrha, and the whole land of that country: and he saw the ashes rise up from the earth as the smoke of a furnace).*

109 Vulgate: *converteruntque se inde et abierunt Sodomam Abraham vero adhuc stabat coram Domino* (And they turned themselves from thence, and went their way to Sodom: but Abraham as yet stood before the Lord).

110 Vulgate: *dixit itaque Dominus clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrae multiplicatus est et peccatum earum adgravatum est nimis* (And the Lord said: The cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is multiplied, and their sin is become exceedingly grievous).

111 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 268–71; see also MS Reiskuttāb 30, fl. 369a–b.

112 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, p. 194.

113 Vulgate: *et dixit ad me vaticinare de ossibus istis et dices eis ossa arida audite verbum Domini* (And he said to me: Prophecy concerning these bones; and say to them: Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord).

114 Vulgate: *et prophetavi sicut praeceperat mihi factus est autem sonitus prophetante me et ecce commotio et accesserunt ossa ad ossa unumquodque ad iuncturam suam* (And I prophesied as he had commanded me: and as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold a commotion: and the bones came together, each one, its joint).

115 Vulgate: *et vidi et ecce super ea nervi et carnes ascenderunt et extenta est in eis cutis desuper et spiritum non habebant* (And I saw, and behold the sinews, and the flesh came up upon them: and the skin was stretched out over them, but there was no spirit in them).

116 Vulgate: *et dixit ad me vaticinare ad spiritum vaticinare fili hominis et dices ad spiritum haec dicit Dominus Deus a quattuor ventis veni spiritus et insufla super interfectos istos et revivescant* (And he said to me: Prophecy to the spirit, prophecy, O son of man, and say to the spirit: Thus saith the Lord God: Come, spirit, from the four winds, and blow upon these slain, and let them live again).

117 *Tanbīh*, vol. 1, p. 427.

118 The Qur'anic passage in question is: And when the son of Mary is cited as an example, behold, thy people turn away from it and say, 'What, are our gods better, or he?' They cite not him to thee, save to dispute; nay, but they are a people contentious. He is only a servant We blessed, and We made him to be an example to the Children of Israel. Had We willed, We would have appointed angels among

you to be successors in the earth. It is knowledge of the Hour; doubt not concerning it, and follow me. This is a straight path. Let not Satan bar you; he is for you a manifest foe. (Q. 43:57–62)

119 Vulgate: *et beatus est qui non fuerit scandalizatus in me* (And blessed is he that shall not be scandalised in me).

120 Vulgate: *omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad Iohannem prophetaverunt* (For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John).

121 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, pp. 94–6. For a similar passage, see also *Īdāh*, ¶589.

122 See also Luke 13:20–21.

123 Vulgate: *quod minimum quidem est omnibus seminibus cum autem creverit maius est omnibus holeribus et fit arbor ita ut volucres caeli veniant et habitent in ramis eius* (Which is the least indeed of all seeds; but when it is grown up, it is greater than all herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come, and dwell in the branches thereof).

124 Vulgate: *aliam parabolam locutus est eis simile est regnum caelorum fermento quod acceptum mulier abscondit in farinae satis tribus donec fermentatum est totum* (Another parable he spoke to them: The kingdom of heaven is like to leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened).

125 Vulgate: *simile est regnum caelorum thesauro abscondito in agro quem qui invenit homo abscondit et prae gaudio illius vadit et vendit universa quae habet et emit agrum illum* (The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in a field. Which a man having found, hid it, and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field)

126 *Īdāh*, ¶589.

127 The *ḥādīth* in question is in *Kitāb al-Ijāra* in which it is narrated by the father of Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said: ‘I heard the Messenger of God say, “The period of your stay in relation to the previous nations is like the period between the late afternoon (*‘aṣr*) prayer and sunset. The people of the Torah were given the Torah and they acted upon it till midday then they were exhausted and were each given one *qīrāt* [of gold]. And then the people of the Gospel were given the Gospel, and they acted upon it till the late afternoon (*‘aṣr*) then they were exhausted and were each given one *qīrāt* [of gold]. And then we were given the Qur’an and we acted upon it till sunset and we were each given two *qīrāts*. On that the people of both the scriptures said, ‘O our Lord! Thou hast given them two *qīrāts* and hast given us one *qīrāt*, though we have worked more than they.’ God responded, ‘Have I compensated you unfairly in any way?’ They said, ‘No.’ God said: ‘That is my blessing I bestow upon whomsoever I wish.’”

128 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, p. 308. See also *Tanbīh*, vol. 2, pp. 93–4; and *Sharḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 346–9.

129 Ibn Barraḡān notes a parallel passage in the Books of Prophecies. I have been unable to locate this passage.

130 Vulgate: *et nisi breviati fuissent dies illi non fieret salva omnis caro sed propter electos breviabuntur dies illi* (And unless those days had been shortened, no flesh should be saved: but for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened).

131 Vulgate: *surgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae et dabunt signa magna et prodigia ita ut in errorem inducantur si fieri potest etiam electi* (For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect).

132 Vulgate: *et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo et tunc plangent omnes tribus terrae et videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum virtute multa et maiestate* (And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven. And then shall all tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty).

133 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 248–9. Segments of the following passage are missing from the manuscripts that were at Mazīdī’s disposal. I therefore rely primarily on Reisulkuttab 30, fl. 362b–363a.

134 *Īdāh*, ¶91 and ¶278.

135 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 1, p. 203.

136 *Īdāh*, ¶476.

137 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 1, p. 203.

138 *Īdāh*, ¶387.

139 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 1, pp. 207–8.

140 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 141–2.

141 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 1, p. 216.

142 *Tanbīh*, vol. 5, pp. 94–6. For a similar passage, see also *Īdāh*, ¶589.

143 Ibn Ḥazm’s version reads: ‘In Matthew twelve, the Messiah said to them ...’ (cf. *Faṣl*, vol. 2, p. 69).

144 *Īdāh*, ¶589.

145 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 2, p. 79.

146 *Tanbīh*, vol. 3, pp. 248–9. Segments of the following passage are missing from the manuscripts that were at Mazīdī’s disposal. I therefore rely primarily on Reisulkuttab 30, fl. 362b–363a.

147 Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. 2, p. 117. Ibn Ḥazm claims that this passage is from Matthew 15. The editor corrects this assumption, and identifies the passage as Matthew 24.