## Samau'al al-Maghribī

## KEEPING

THE JEWS QUITE

## "Ifhām al-Yahūd";



# SAMAU'AL AL-MAGHRIBĪ IFHĀM AL-YAHŪD <br> Keeping the Jews quite 

Edited and Translated<br>by<br>Moshe Perlmann

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 xat rimest mixpThe material for this publication was assembled over a number of years. A leave of absence from the Harvard Center of Middle Eastern Studies enabled me to concentrate on the preparation for publication of Samau'al's Ifhām (and Ibn Kammūnā's Tanqịh). I am grateful to the Director of the Center, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, for his sympathetic consideration of my plans. A Rockefeller Foundation grant helped make these plans practicable.

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The notes marked " $B$," which follow the translation, may be of value to the reader interested in further details and bibliography.

Both in Arabic and in English, the pages of the basic manuscript are indicated in order to facilitate the identification of parallel passages.

Los Angeles, April 1964.

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Apart from the usual abbreviations, the following symbols have been used in the notes:
$\left.\begin{array}{lc}\text { Baron } & \begin{array}{c}\text { S. W., A Social and Religious History of the Jews, } \\ \text { 2nd ed. (New York, 1952- ) }\end{array} \\ \text { Bergmann } & \begin{array}{c}\text { J., Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen } \\ \text { Zeitalter (Berlin, 1908) }\end{array} \\ \text { Blumenkranz } & \begin{array}{c}\text { B., Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental } \\ \text { 430-1096 (Paris, 1960) }\end{array} \\ \text { Clair-Tisdall } & \text { W., A Manual of the Leading Mohammedan Ob- } \\ \text { jections to Christianity (London, 1912) }\end{array}\right\}$

## INTRODUCTION

Samau'al al-Maghribi, a distinguished scholar, mathematician, and physician of the twelfth century, lived in what is today Syria, Iraq and Iran. Born and brought up in the Jewish faith he became a convert to Islam, whereupon he wrote a tract against the Jews to which he later appended an autobiography. These two documents are of considerable interest and historical value.

## The Author

Samau'al mentions in his autobiography that his father Yehuda b. Abūn, a man of considerable accomplishments in Hebrew learning and writing, both prose and verse, had emigrated from the West. It has been suggested that the father can be identified with a minor Hebrew poet of the time. After settling in the East, perhaps to escape persecution under the Almoravides, Yehuda married into a distinguished family in Baghdad. ${ }^{1}$

Samau'al's first teacher was his father who later employed good instructors for his gifted son. Up to age 13, Hebrew, the Bible and its commentaries formed the curriculum in which there is no trace of talmudic study. At the same time, from age 10 to 13, Samau'al read first the Arabic fiction literature of his day - stories, anecdotes, popular romances of knighthood; later he read the works of historians (Tabari and Ibn Miskawayh in particular). He shows acquaintance with Arabic poetry. ${ }^{2}$ After the boy reached the age of 13, he pursued only secular studies: mathematics, astronomy, and the theory and practice of medicine. ${ }^{3}$ Before he was twenty he was

[^0]an accomplished student and practitioner, and began the composisition of a series of works on mathematical and medical subjects. His attainments won him wide recognition. ${ }^{4}$ It has been shown that Samau'al won a place in the history of science in medieval Islam. ${ }^{6}$

The most distinguished of his teachers in Baghdad was the phi-losopher-physician Abū-l-Barakāt. ${ }^{6}$ Perhaps a colleague of Samau'al's was the young Hebrew poet Isaac, son of Abraham Ibn Ezra, the globe-trotting poet-scholar-commentator, from Spain. ${ }^{7}$ It is remarkable that the teacher and these two disciples ended by converting from Judaism to Islam. The old man took the step toward the end of his life. The poet was full of remorse, and eager to nullify his conversion. It was left to Samau'al to defend, justify, and uphold the transition to the dominant faith.

It seems that Samau'al served as physician to important person-
4. Ibn al-Qiftī (died 646/1249) in his Ta'rikh al hukamä' (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 209) devotes a note to Samau'al's life and works. It seemed to him that Samau'al was born in Spain whence he migrated with his father to the East. He mentions that the conversion was successful (wa-aslama fa-hasuna islāmuhu). He knew of a clash between Samau'al and Ibn al-Khashshāb (GAL S v. I 493 f.), a Muslim savant, on mathematical problems.

Ibn Abi Usaybica (died 668/1269-70) follows suit in his 'Uyūn al-'anbả' (ed. A. Mueller, Cairo, 1884, v. II, p. 30 f.). His note is based on one by Muwaffaq al-Din 'Abd al-Latịf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī as well as on Ibn al-Qifṭi. 'Abd al-Latiif (died 629/1231, GAL S v. I, p. 880) is full of praise for Samau'al's attainments.

Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286' in his 'Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal [ed. A. Salihani, Beirut, 1890, p. 377] merely reproduces the earlier authors.
Al-Safadi (died 1363) in his Wāfī (Ms Bodl., cf F. Rosenthal in Osiris v. IX, 1950 , p. 560 n. 21) repeats the earlier data but also mentions that he saw a reference to an autograph of Samau'al's listing of eighty-five works.
5. F. Rosenthal in Osiris IX 1950 p. 561, characterizes one of the works-against astrologers-as "an unusually vigorous and well-documented exposition of the idea of progress in scholarship, as exemplified in the field of mathematics." He suggests: "The fact that Samau'al grew up as a Jew, in the cultural milieu of a minority grcup, appears to have been responsible for his intellectual outlook. It made him receptive for problems which most of those educated in the Muslim majority civilization would, as a rule, consider unimportant and take for granted . . . He somehow became afraid of his own boldness . . ."
Recently an analysis of Samau'al's mathematical work Al-Bāhir fi-1-Hisāb showed that the author mérite d'être placé au tout premier rang des algebristes arabes. This work is also valuable because it preserved various points of earlier authors. Where Pythagoras claims discovery by revelation, says Samau'al, he (Samau'al) claims to proceed by a method which is devoid of the doubtful elereent and is original to boot. He mentions that his own writings are so numerous that he cannot list them all. Cf. the study by Adil Ambuba in Al-Mashriq 1961.
6. See note B96.
7. Cf. H. Schirmann's work on Hebrew poetry in Spain and Provence, v. I. (Jerusalem, 1954) 624-28, and v. II (1956) 687 £.
ages. ${ }^{8}$ He practiced in Iraq, Syria, Kurdistan, and Adharbayjan. At the time of his conversion to Islam he lived in Marägha, where he was physician to local dignitaries and on friendly terms with prominent personages. He mentions no contacts with Jews or with their communal life. His travels and work took him far away from his father for whom he shows affection and respect. Upon learning of his son's conversion, the father speedily set out from Syria to Marägha, but died in Mosul on his way.

Marāgha ${ }^{9}$ was the capital of a principality which was one of the numerous splinter states that arose on the ruins of the Seljuk empire and persisted during the period of the Crusades. ${ }^{10}$ It was past the middle of the twelfth century, a stormy time politically, that Samau'al settled there. And it was there, in $558 \mathrm{H} / 1163$, that he embraced the dominant faith, amidst the congratulations of Muslim friends and patrons who rejoiced that the distinguished scholar had finally seen the light of the true faith. ${ }^{11}$ That same night he began to pen his refutation of Judaism: "Silencing the Jews" (Ifhām alYahūd). He tried to show that he was justified in abandoning Judaism, and that the Jews were benighted, unreasonable, ignorant, and inconsistent. At least one retort - with Samau'al's rebuttal - has been preserved. ${ }^{12}$ Four years later a new edition ${ }^{13}$ was shaped. Here Samau'al adds: (1) the story of his visions in which he talked to his namesake, the Prophet Samuel, and to the Prophet Muhammad; (2) an explanation why he had not made the visions public earlier; (3) an autobiographic outline. ${ }^{14}$

Samau'al is rather unpleasantly boastful about his mother's family, about providential guidance towards the light since his very

[^1]birth, and about his achievements in study, medical work, and literary activity.

Of his later years nothing can be learned. He died in $570 \mathrm{H} .{ }^{15}$ It seems that his progeny also practiced medicine.

## The Book

The "Silencing" in its present form is a pamphlet of some fifteen thousand words, consisting of a) the anti-Jewish treatise, b) the author's autobiography. The latter is something of an anti-Jewish treatise in its own right. The whole work is, then, a piece of medieval polemics directed on behalf of Islam against Jews and Judaism. With his usual self-admiration, the author indicates that since previous polemic treatises by distinguished Muslim authors are inadequate, he has decided to use his "inside knowledge" of Jewish scriptures and affairs to assist the community of the believers in its disputations with the Jews.

## The Background

The polemic literature of Islam is directed, for the most part, against the far more numerous and powerful Christians; the Jews are considered only in passing. Still, from time to time, specifically anti-Jewish polemic tracts have appeared, and it is not surprising to find that it was the Jewish converts to Islam who produced them, supplying the font of information and argumentation against Judaism. ${ }^{16}$ Christian converts to Islam also served as a quarry of Islamic polemics againt both scripturary faiths. Indeed, Christian views and attitudes concerning Jews, brought along by the ever-growing mass of Christian converts to Islam, could not fail to percolate into Islam. ${ }^{17}$

[^2]The Koran, ${ }^{18}$ of course, became a mine of anti-Jewish passages. The Hadith did not lag behind. ${ }^{19}$ Popular preachers used and embellished such material. ${ }^{20}$ Scholars, commentators of the Koran, and historians sought elucidation of references to the Jews of times past.

Passages from the Old and the New Testament became the stock-in-trade of the disputants. If the scriptures are divinely inspired, the Muslims reasoned, they must contain references to the advent of Muhammad and Islam. If they do - why do not the scripturaries see and understand them; if they do not - they must have been either wholly or partially distorted, forged, or tampered with (tabdill, tahrif). Besides, the scripturaries possibly do not know the right interpretation ( $\left.t a^{\prime} w \bar{l}\right)$ ). The scriptures still may contain allusions to Islam and the Prophet (acläm). Muslims held that scriptures, laws, and dispensations can by divine command be changed, discarded, substituted for earlier ones, or entirely abrogated (naskh). Attempts at solution of the problem along with questions of exegesis, history, theology - and logical consistency - resulted in an imbroglio. Rationalists were quick to ridicule the fervour of the theologians of all three faiths. ${ }^{21}$

Jewish schismatics, especially the Karaites of the 8-10th centuries, subjected various Jewish institutions, especially post-biblical bre, ${ }^{22}$ to criticism, and this was partially known to Muslims.

In their attempt to adjust themselves to the intellectual ferment in the Islamic world and to its influence, the Jews had to produce refutations of early anti-Jewish references and disputations. Such
18. T. Andrae in Der Ursprung (p. 198 f.) draws attention to the Christian urigin of many of the arguments in the anti-Jewish polemic of the Prophet.
19. G. Vajda in J. 1937.
20. M. Perlmann in The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume (New York, 1953) and in JQR 1954.
21. The atmosphere can be felt in Khayyät's K. al-Intisār or in Rāzi’s utterances published by P. Kraus in RSO 1935. Cf. al-Ma'arri's (ob. 1058) views, ap, R. A. Nicholson Studies in Islamic Poetry (Camridge, 1921) pp. 144ff, $160 \mathrm{ff}, 173 \mathrm{ff}$. Cf. Goldziher in REJ 47, p. 43f. and ZDMG 62, Baron V, 82-6, 103-8, Mann in HUCA v. 12/13, also Cf. Judah Rosenthal's study (Phila., 1949).

More recent are the following studies: G. Vajda in REJ 106 p. 100 sq.; M. Zucker's volume on Saadia's translation and exegesis (Hebrew; New York, 1959) ; the papers by F. Gabrieli and L. Gardet in the volume L'elaboration de KIslam (Paris, 1957) ; Jul. Guttmann, On the sources of Hiwi, in the Alexander Marx Festschrift (New York, 1950) ; H. S. Nyberg's study in Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam (Paris, 1957).
22. Cf. L. Nemoy, Karaite Anthology (New Haven, 1952).
refutation of Islamic arguments is still found in the tenth century works of Saadia Gaon and the Karaite, al-Qirqisāni. ${ }^{23}$

Special attention was paid to polemics against the Jews by the great Spanish man of letters, Ibn Hazm, ${ }^{24}$ who devotes over a hundred pages solely to routing Jewish positions: criticizing biblical and talmudic lore; denouncing detestable Jewish traits; and inveighing against the rise of Jewish dignitaries and the employment of Jewish officials in Islamic states. He mentions discussions and disputes between Muslims and Jews; Jewish attempts to take the offensive in them; the wavering position of many Muslims in evaluating Jewish and Christian scriptures and their claim to authenticity. He is eager to point out the contradictions, illogical statements, wrong calculations, geographical and historical misstatements, and above all, inappropriate utterances about God and the prophets, especially anthropomorphisms (tajsim) that occur in the scriptures. Questions are posed on authorship, time, manner, and purpose of composition of the biblical books. This important work, however, may have had only limited circulation on account of the author's precarious reputation in Muslim scholarly circles resulting from his intransigence in adhering to unpopular theological views. ${ }^{25}$

Samau'al, over a century later at another end of the Islamic world, wrote his compendium of polemics against the Jews after reading some of the eartier literature on the subject.

## The Polemicist

Thus the earliest preserved Muslim compendium of polemics directed specifically against the Jews and their faith was produced by the Jewish convert to Islam, Samau'al. The "Silencing" contains the following sections (faṣl): 1) opening; 2) abrogation; 3) transmission; 4) cf. 2;5) Jesus and Muhammad; 6) the claim to being the chosen people; 7) the Bible; 8) composition of the Bible; 9) Jews

[^3]on Islam; 10) objectionable aspects of Jewish law; levirate, segregation; 11) Rabbanites and Karaites; 12) epilogue: sins and follies of the Jews. The "Silencing" thus attempts to invalidate the views of the Jews and to deride their practices as sheer folly.

The faith of the Jews is based on their concept of the scriptures, of the scriptures' reliability as a record of the past and their validity for the future. The critique of transmission is to demonstrate that the first premise is a fallacy; the theory of abrogation is to undermine the second premise. Now the deck has been cleared for the attack on the Jews' practice: clinging to their false position on the scriptures, they entertain wrong notions about Jesus and Muhammad; they falsely claim to be God's own people; and their ritual and law contain degrading and absurd practices and norms. But the author apparently thinks it is his task to go beyond denunciation and to explain the source and origin of the wrong theory and wrong practice, to go on from symptoms to diagnosis and etiology. The reader therefore is offered an explanation as to the true origin of the Torah and the implied basis of the Jews' behaviour. The Torah is a compilation by Ezra, the Aaronid. The priests had a vested interest in maintaining the rule of the Torah, and through it their own rule in the Second Commonwealth, to the exclusion of the Davidic House. That is why the latter is tainted and denigrated in the scriptures. The Jews' behaviour is moulded by 1) an internal factor - the rabbis who seek to preserve the Jewish community by segregation from, and animosity toward, non-Jews, and 2) an external factor - the Gentiles' attitude toward the Jews, and the position of the Jews, a people scattered in exile among the Gentiles. The Jews are thus exposed to oppression and persecution from without, and to fraudulent misleading from within.

Thus the discussion of the "Jewish question" is put, rather unexpectedly, in terms of ingenious historical and social observations.

Physician that he is, Samau'al passes on from diagnosis to therapeutics. Evidently, conversion to Islam is prescribed. However, the call to the mosque is not as simple as it might appear at first.

Judaism is proved to be without foundation. But why conversion to Islam? It would have been too glaring a non sequitur to turn to the faith of the dominant majority without an enquiry into its tenets and precepts. It is at this point that a different aspect of Samau'al becomes prominent.

## The Rationalist

Samau'al poses as the rationalist. Reason is the supreme arbiter between proofs and arguments concerning facts, men, faiths. As there are various faiths, it is for Reason to decide which is the right one. To the extent that a faith is based on alleged reports of past events and on the transmission of such reports-and the three monotheistic faiths all depend on such-it is for Reason to test the reports. Again and again Samau'al harps on pure logic as the spring of his conversion. True, he has had visions that urged him to take the final step. But actually, he insists, he had known all the arguments for conversion before embracing Islam. To his patron who launches him in the community of true believers he does not mention the visions. For four years he suppresses any mention of them, not only for fear of ridicule, but mainly because he wants people to understand that it is a set of syllogisms and deductions that leads him to Islam.

Logic will show that the three faiths and their respective founders, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, may have equally valid claims to recognition, in which case - this conclusion is not drawn - Islam might be the most inclusive faith (holding in esteem the founders of Judaism and Christianity) just as Judaism is the most exclusive (as it rejects the claims of both Christianity and Islam).

Samau'al stumbles, however, against another logical possibility. Why must one choose one of the three faiths? Why prophethood and religion at all? Neither can be logically demonstrated, or proved. In a most revealing passage, Samau'al hastens to get away from the unwholesome discussion of the skeptic position by remarking that the prophets and religions - all of them - taught the good life and contributed to social welfare, maintenance of institutions and of the polity. ${ }^{26}$

Samau'al, beginning with proud reason, ends with pragmatic opportunism: accommodation to existing society and to prevailing religious attitudes. A man of the world, of the Islamic world, he seeks "to belong" fully. He is proud of its achievements, and has no patience with the petty particularism of what is to him an ossified minority, a remnant of an older and obsolete civilization.

Thus there is a second basic aspect in Samau'al's tract with its

[^4]wavering: on the one hand unfettered Reason, doubt as to the validity of faith; on the other hand, the logically equal validity of all faiths, the social value of religion; and finally, accommodation to the convenience of the leading surrounding civilization. It demonstrates the gravitation of the marginal man to the focal points of his social environment.

There is hardly anything new here, either in the polemics or in the rationalistic attitude. Elements of both can be traced to earlier sources, and must have been absorbed by our author in his reading and discussion. However, no direct source or major influence can be discerned. The author does not name any of his predecessors in the field, though he does mention them in a general way. It would be of particular interest to determine whether he knew the work of Ibn Hazm who had written a century earlier and with whom he shows much affinity. However, it would rather appear that both used common sources independently. Sets of biblical passages to confound the Jews and/or indicating the advent of Islam, a critique of the oral law, a search for rational interpretation of ancient precepts along with rationalist queries - all these had a wide circulation. A number of them can be traced in the monotheistic communities and their sects, as well as among Zoroastrians and Manicheans. The same interreligious discussion that on the one hand contributed to partisanship, zeal, fanaticism, and bigotry, did, on the other hand, in some minds pave the way toward recognizing the weakness of the disputants' claims, the dependence of their views upon certain historical and social circumstances, and the relative good in various systems. The result was the notion of "equal validity" of proofs, arguments, and the rise of a mood of indifferentism (of both mystic and skeptic) and tolerance. ${ }^{27}$

Samau'al shows the influence of this trend, but was unable to follow it consistently. He combines relativism with intolerance against the Jews and their tenets, avoiding and ignoring the possible critique of the dominant faith he is championing.

It is strange that he shows no acquaintance with the literature of Islamic theology and philosophy. His only reference is to the rationalist preface to Kalila wa-Dimna. This is much as if somebody in our day were writing on religion or social problems on the basis of a Shavian preface or a novel by Sinclair Lewis. ${ }^{28}$

[^5]It stands to reason that our author was acquainted with the philosophical literature but was not eager to betray that knowledge in a tract designed to commend him to pious readers who regard philosophy as the path to godlessness. ${ }^{29}$

What Samau'al has to say on the "Jewish question" is possibly a reflection of the thought of such Jewish intellectuals as were not inclined, or able, or trained, to follow the path of the philosophers from Saadia to Maimonides (whose older contemporary Samau'al was) in their cogitations on the destiny of the Jewish people, and on a rationale for its continued existence.

## Impact

The Vita mentions the success of the Silencing and the dissemination of copies in several countries. This seems plausible.

Later polemic literature of Islam usually shows the direct or indirect influence of the Silencing. An important work of this type was Qarāfi's (d. 684/1285) al-Ajwiba-l-fākhira, with numerous excerpts from the Silencing. Indeed a ms. in the British Museum of Qarāfi's tract has (the copyist's?) marginal remark: "most of this discourse is from the Silencing by Samau'al."

Likewise, Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziya (XIV century) leans heavily on the Silencing both in his Hidāyat al-ḥayārā, and in the work Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣă’id ash-shaytān. The quotations in the latter are very extensive. ${ }^{30}$

Through these works the influence of Samau'al must have spread even further.

When, a hundred years after Samau'al, the Baghdad Jewish physician-philosopher $\mathrm{Sa}^{\mathrm{C}} \mathrm{d}$ b. Manșūr b. Kammūna, wrote his Critical Inquiry into the Three Faiths, he used Samau'al's tract as the most representative and typical summary of Muslim polemics directed against Jews, and quoted Samau'al's arguments against the Jews. A rebuff by a Muslim author again draws upon Samau'al. ${ }^{31}$

[^6]In Jewish sources, Samau'al is mentioned a few times with opprobrium toward the renegade. Presumably he is mentioned by Alharizi (d. ca. 1225). ${ }^{32}$ The chronicler Yosef Sambari ( 17 c .) has a rhymed prose remark about him: "He compiled the book "Silencing," black as coal, and claimed to have compiled a book for the faith of Ishmael, and God separated him for evil from all the tribes of Israel. He made many copies of this book which he distributed to king and dignitaries in order to find favour with his new coreligionists., ${ }^{33}$

We should also mention an Arabic tract translated into Latin, and from Latin into many Western languages, which has been erroneously connected with Samau'al (Epistola Samuelis Marrocani ad R. Isaacum contra errores Judaeorum). ${ }^{34}$

## Text and Edition

The oldest known text of the Silencing is the Tehran ms. which claims to be a copy of a ms. in Samau'al's handwriting, and is dated 685/1286.

Only the tract appears here, not the autobiography. Instead, the tract is followed by an exchange of epistles: one sent to Samau'al after his conversion, and containing an obviously malicious and ironical query about his conversion; the other - the rebuttal by Samau'al. A copy of this exchange exists in Istanbul also.

The Tehran text differs substantially from that extant in all the other copies: some passages appear in a different order; whole pages of the other texts do not appear here at all. Thus the earliest available text gives a version different from that of all the other texts.

There is a further detail peculiar to this version: the Hebrew quotations, which appear in all the other texts in Arabic transliteration and translation, appear here in Hebrew characters as well (in an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew script of the original ms. from which the Tehran ms. was copied). Where it differs from the other

[^7]texts, the Tehran ms. shows greater simplicity of exposition and structure. All these data entitle us to put it into a category by itself. ${ }^{85}$

Presumably, we have here a copy of an original text written before the Vita was penned in 562 H ., i.e. in the years $558-562 \mathrm{H}$. The preservation of the epistles points in the same direction. The epistles presumably explain why Samau'al was forced to write his Vita, to persist in his claim that pure logic and mere consistency of meditation had led him to Islam; and that only the timing of his conversion was to be explained by the inspired visions he had had in 558 , which visions he had not seen fit to report during $558-562 \mathrm{H}$.

The Hebrew characters were too strange to the Muslim copyists and were later dropped, possibly by the author himself. There is no doubt that all the other texts follow another version, the later expanded version.

This would suggest that over a number of years the author, while dictating his tract to copyists (as he himself mentions in the Vita), polished up the original text, adducing new arguments. Not only the author's meticulousness, but the necessity to rebuff his opponents, whose interest was aroused by the discussions following the appearance of the tract, made Samau'al introduce changes in the original text; whether this was done by stages, resulting in the later version, or in a single revision of the original tract, there was some disruption of the original order and sequence. The revised version was probably prepared along with the autobiography, in which case it can be dated 562/1166-7.

Chionologically, the next ms. is that of Cairo, dated 732/1332. ${ }^{\text {.6 }}$ It includes the later (longer) version and the Vita. Its contemporary is the incomplete Paris ms. (735/1334-5) containing a portion of the Silencing and the complete Vita. ${ }^{37}$

[^8]An Istanbul ms. follows with the date 861/1456.\% In the Berlin ms. copied in Damascus as recently as 1329/1911 the Vita does not appear. ${ }^{39}$ Slightly earlier (1328/1899) is a copy made at Jaffa, in which the end of the Vita is missing. ${ }^{40}$ From Cairo and Istanbul come also undated mss. ${ }^{41}$
S. Munk was the first to use the tract in scholarly discussion but he had to use the incomplete Paris ms. ${ }^{42}$ When Steinschneider wrote his book on polemic literature, no other text was yet known. ${ }^{48}$ In 1898, Martin Schreiner used Steinschneider's recently acquired copy for a fine study and printed about one-third of the text and translated even more. In 1358/1939 an Azhar scholar, Muhammad Hāmid al-Fiqqi, published in Cairo the text of the Jaffa ms., with a Jewtaiting introduction. The Vita is here printed before the tract; elsewhere it follows the tract. ${ }^{44}$ Yosef Sambari, too, mentions that Sa-

The Al-Ajwiba-l-Fākhira that precedes the incomplete text of Samau'al in the Paris ms. is by the thirteenth century al-Qaräfi.

The Ifham fragment is in a Maghribi hand, on twenty pages of twenty-three to twenty-five lines to a page.

Qaräfi's treatise and Ibn Qayyim's Hidāya were printed on the margin of K. al-fāriq bayn al-makhlūq wa-1-khāliq (Cairo 1905) by ${ }^{\text {cAbdurrahmản Bächa- }}$ chizäda. The Hidaya appeared also separately.
38. Ashir 545. 110 pages of clear naskhi, thirteen lines to the page. Six pages are missing: the end of the tract and the beginning of the autobiography.

The opening contains some marginal notes on biblical matters, unrelated to the tract, and a note indicates they are in the handwriting of al-Biqä' (GAL, $\mathbf{S}$ II, p. 177 f.) who died in 885/1480.
39. For information leading to the location of this ms. I am obliged to Prof. Franz Rosenthal.

Its number is Or 1927-555. Ms Or. oct 2686 in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek (former Preussische Staatsbibliothek). This is a ms in a beautiful handwriting, on 138 pages, eleven lines to a page. The copyist identifies the author as the pre-Islamic poet Samau'al b. 'Adiya.
40. This ms was published. Cf. n. 44.
41. Cairo Cat. Kalam 1965; Istanbul, Reisulkuttab 586. The last mentioned ms was pointed out by Prof. Fuat Sezgin, Istanbul, correcting a mistake in GAL. He was kind enough to supply a microfilm of the ms.
42. In JA 1842.
45. But he had discussed at length the author and his works in the Catalogue of the Hebrew Books of the Bodleian, and later returned to the subject in his work on the Arabic literature of the Jews. The next mentioned study, by Martin Schreiner, appeared in MGWJ in 1898 and pp. 521 f. for 1899.
44. Badhl al-majhūd fí ifhām al-yahūd, Cairo, 1358/1939.

The pamphlet contains in its first twenty-five pages: the editor's introduction (2-8; Samau'al's biography from Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (9-11), a note on the ms basis (11), the autobiography (12-24; izhảr islăm al-mu'allif). Then a new pagination runs for 79 pages of which 1-64 give the text of the Ifham. The rent reproduces Al-Risāla al-Sabǐīya bi-Ibṭãl al-Diyảna al-Yahüdiyã by Isra'il b. Shamu'il al-Urushlimi, a nineteenth century tract, deacribed by A. E. Schmidt in Zapiski Kollegii Vostakovedov, v. V (1930).
mau'al "prefaced his book with a pamphlet which he entitled 'book of the vision' and gave in it the reason for his conversion."

The following pages include the text and a translation of the complete long version, as well as new material, such as the variants of the shorter version ( T ) and the exchange of epistles between Samau'al and his critic. The Hebrew quotations are reproduced here in Hebrew characters mostly. Scribes ignorant of Hebrew so greatly and variously distorted Samau'al's original transliteration (which might have indicated the pronunciation of Hebrew in his circle) that it would be sheer waste of space and effort to use a transliteration which would have to be more or less arbitrary (in conveying the vowels). ${ }^{45}$

Variations in the wording of eulogies and some simple copyists' mistakes or slight changes of word order are disregarded.

On the whole the Cairo ms. is the basis of the edition of the longer version.

[^9]
Elements
A. Ifhăm
B. Autobiography
C. The Epistles
Page Arabic
2b note 2
3a note 14
4a.
note 9
Concerning Ishmael，except in this verse．This verse then is
not at all like other verses of the Torah．And in this verse it is just this word of the Creator that is a hyperbole，that is the word＇greatly＇as it indicates the greatness of the cause of Ishmael．Now if this verse is without equal in the Torah，and

 being indicative of the prophethood of Muhammad who is the most excellent progeny of Ishmael．Section defining a pas－

 In the last portion with which the Torah closes，they have the following verse ．．．．
Different order of the verses quoted．
The Book of Samuel is mentioned as the source of the quota－ tion（also in the ms．in the Reiselkuttab collection）． Note B45（on the priests）．
The Greeks also for a long time were preventing them from ． Last sentence omitted．
Continues with last paragraph（on Tamar）． Continues with last paragraph（on Tamar）
Story of Lot is followed by that of Tamar．
The piece on Ezra versus the House of David is missing．
Order：$\S 1$ ，last paragraph and its continuation on 17b．Then follows a passage on the position of Jews under Islamic rule， cf．note B66．
 abrogated passages．This is what we wanted to make clear．
This is followed by the Epilogue．

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## SILENCING THE JEWS

[1b] In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God pray over our master Muhammad.

To proceed. Praise to God for inspired guidance and protection from error; prayer over Muhammad, the seal of the prophets, and his pure family.

It is the way of a man who has been graced with understanding and guidance in the right course to exert himself to inquire into the circumstances of the life to come, and to consider with an examining and critical eye what he has inherited from his father and forefathers. If he considers that legacy to be a virtue, he will strive to master it; but if he finds it a vice, he will flee its entanglements in order to ensure that his life be well stocked with meritorious deeds, ${ }^{12}$ for verily, death unseen is in waiting. Not happy will be the end for him who is slow to fortify his religion, and who spends his time in following his natural inclinations. Only strenuous seekers after the truth will succeed in their quest, and only those with perverted souls will permit fables to befuddle them. ${ }^{1}$

The ultimate purpose in writing this work is to refute that obstinate and stubborn people, and to reveal with what corruption their tenets are beset. It is true that, before my time, leading authoritiesmay their reward be augmented - applied themselves to this matter and pursued several lines of polemics with the Jews, but the latter hardly understood most of the controversy, nor found it convincing. By using scriptural passages current among the Jews, this book clears the way to silencing them. God made the Jews blind when they tampered with the text; so that these same passages, possessed by the Jews, might thus serve as evidence against the Jews.

## Forcing them to admit abrogation

Here is the first point with which I begin to compel them to accept abrogation [naskh] ${ }^{2}$ on the basis of the wording of their scripture and in accordance with their own methods. ${ }^{\text {B1 }}$

We say to them: was there a Divine Law [sharc] before the reve-

[^10]lation of the Torah, or was there not? If they answer in the negative, they deny what the second portion of the first book of the Torah spells out: that God legislated unto Noah - upon whom be peace - retaliation for murder. It says: ${ }^{8}$

שפך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם [2a] which means: Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in a noble image made He man. ${ }^{\mathbf{B} 2}$

A further testimony is to be found in the third portion of the first book of the Torah. Here God legislated unto Abraham circumcision of the newly-born male child to be performed on the eighth day after birth. ${ }^{4}$

These - and other such matters - are precepts, for divine law consists either of positive command or of negative injunction by God to His worshippers, whether it be by mouth of the prophet, or by writing on scrolls or tablets, etc.

But if they do admit that there was some Divine Law, we say:
What say you about the Torah, did it or did it not add something to those earlier precepts? If it did not add anything it is meaningless, since it contains nothing beyond the earlier legislation and is of no import. Hence, it cannot be of divine origin. But this, in your religion, would be tantamount to unbelief. Again, if the Torah did contain something additional, did or did not that addition prohibit what had formerly been permissible? Should they deny this, their thesis is rendered worthless on two counts. Firstly, the Torah forbade any manner of work on the Sabbath, which previously had been lawful. ${ }^{5}$ This in itself is indeed a case of abrogation. Secondly, in law, any addition has no other purpose than to prohibit what has previously been permitted, or to permit what has previously been forbidden.

If they say that the wise one ${ }^{5 a}$ does not prohibit a thing, later to permit it, because by so doing he would be like someone who commands a thing and its very opposite, the answer is that one who commands a thing and its opposite at two different points in time does not contradict himself in his command; though he would be self-contradictory if the two commands were simultaneous. ${ }^{33}$

[^11]They may say that the Torah prohibited what had formerly been permissible but did not permit what had been unlawful, and that objectionable abrogation [naskh makrūh] consists in rendering the prohibited lawful - for if one has been permitted a thing but abstains from it considering it unlawful unto himself, he is not a violator; rather he is the violator who has been enjoined to abstain from something, yet practices it, permitting unto himself that which has been prohibited. ${ }^{\text {B4 }}$

The answer to this is: [2b] He who declares as lawful that which the law has prohibited is in the same category as he who prohibits what the law has declared lawful. For each of them has contravened the stipulations of the law and misinterpreted its wording. If it is possible that the law of the Torah should proscribe that which has been considered lawful by Abraham and others before him, then it is possible that still another law should declare lawful that which has been forbidden in the Torah.

Furthermore, prohibitions can either be imposed for all time, God being displeased with the forbidden thing per se; or not displeased with it per se, He may forbid that thing for a certain time. Now if God forbids working on the Sabbath, it follows that this prohibition was in force also for Abraham, Noah, and Adam; for essentially there was Sabbath in their time, too, and Sabbath was the reason for prohibition. But if working on the Sabbath was not prohibited to Abraham and his predecessors, then the prohibition was not per se, i.e., not for all the time that the Sabbath, as such, existed. Consequently, the Jews have to conclude that the prohibition of work on the Sabbath was not for all time and that it is not impossible that this prohibition could be abrogated at another time. If a bearer of apostolic miracles and signs of prophethood should arise later, after a long interval, he might bring the message of the abrogation of many stipulations of the law, whether by proscribing what it has hitherto considered lawful or by permitting things hitherto prohibited.

If a man has presented clear proof [of his mission] how can objections be raised concerning his commands and injunctions, irrespective of whether they do or do not agree with human understanding? And especially so when his opponents have for a long time worshiped under precepts as contrary to reason as those of cleansing their impurities with ashes of the heifer burned by the Aaronid priest
on the eve of the holiday [haij], ${ }^{6}$ and the defiling of the pure one with these very ashes? Whilst what is claimed as revelation unto this man $^{7}$ is far more reasonable.

Certainly, divine aets and commands are exalted far above the limitations of human minds. But inasmuch as religious [3a] ritual acts neither benefit God Almighty nor protect Him from harm, for He is beyond imperfection, or benefit, or harm, what would render impossible or prevent His prescribing a law for one people and proscribing it for another; forbidding something unto a people, only to declare it lawful for their children, and even forbid it again for those who come after them?

How can a worshiper oppose God's Messenger who declares lawful that which has been unlawful to a group; how can the worshiper argue that the Apostle is a fraud after the Apostle has produced clear proof, and when reason compels one to accept the Apostle's trustworthiness and authority? Is this not sheer presumptuousness and error -- a deviation from truth?

## Silencing the Jews and the Christians with rational proof, and compelling them to accept Islam

A sensible man cannot repudiate one prophet, whose teaching has wide acceptance and whose cause is well established, and believe in another. For he has seen neither of them nor witnessed the miracles of either. If he chooses to believe one and to repudiate the other, then logically he exposes himself to reproof and contempt. Let us take an example.

Thus, if we ask a Jew about Moses - may he rest in peace that is, whether he, the Jew, has seen Moses and witnessed his miracles, the Jew will necessarily admit that he has seen nothing of the kind himself. We then say to him, "How do you know of the prophethood of Moses and of his veracity?" If the Jew says that traditional transmission [tawātur] confirms this, and that the testimonies of the nations as to its truth furnish strong rational proof, just as the transmission of reports and accounts make us logically certain of the existence of lands and rivers we have not seen, we say, "There is such transmission of tradition concerning Muhammad and Jesus

[^12]just as there is for Moses, and so you must believe also in the former two."

If the Jew says, "The testimony of my father about the prophethood of Moses is reason for my affirmation of his prophethood," we say to him, "But why is your father, in your opinion, right in this matter and immune from error?"

Now you see that infidels are also taught by their fathers, taught what you consider unbelief; this being done either out of partisanship for one's faith and reluctance to forsake the community and abandon one's people [3b] and clan, or because the fathers and elders have transmitted the belief to him; and he has accepted it, convinced that therein are guidance and salvation. Now, if you consider all the denominations you repudiate as unbelievers - though their followers have inherited their tenets from their fathers just as you have taken your religion from your father - and if you still consider that what they maintain is error and ignorance, you will be obliged to inquire into what you have taken over from your father lest it prove to be in the same category.

If he says, "What I have taken over from my father is truer than what other people have taken from their fathers," he must produce evidence for the prophethood of Moses beyond mere following in his father's footsteps [taqlid], for he now claims the truth of that prophethood not by virtue of mere imitation. ${ }^{\text {B5 }}$

If he asserts that the reason for the truth of what he has been told on the authority of his father is that his father surpasses the fathers of other people in veracity and knowledge - as the Jews will assert concerning their ancestors - he is obliged to produce evidence that his father was more intelligent and virtuous than the ancestors of other peoples. Should he claim this, it is a false claim, since proof of the virtues of anyone of such description must of necessity be adduced from the records of his past. The assertion of the Jews is invalid for, with respect to records of the past on a world scale, they do not have as many as other peoples; rather, in all truth, there is no mention of them among the peoples who developed the exact sciences and systematized them for later generations. All that is ascribed to them in the sciences, including what they borrowed from others, cannot compare with certain of the scholarly disciplines evolved by the Greek wise men, or with the sciences developed by Aramaic-speaking people [Nabat!]. As for works by Muslims, they are so numerous that it is impossible for any single human being to
encompass all that they wrote in any one scientific discipline, so vast and extensive is their literature. If such is the Jews' position among the nations, then their assertion that their fathers were the most intelligent, wise and virtuous of men, is groundless. ${ }^{\text {B6 }}$ Their fathers are equal to the forefathers of other people, who were likewise of the progeny of [4a] Shem the son of Noah-peace upon them both. Now, if they admit the equality of their fathers with the fathers of others - who taught their progeny unbelief - it follows that the testimony of fathers cannot be a proof of the truth of religion. Then they are left with no other argument for the prophethood of Moses than the testimony of the chain of transmission [tawātur]. But there is such transmission for Jesus and Muhammad, just as there is for Moses. If they believe in Moses because of the testimony of transmission about his prophethood, they have to accept as true also the mission of Jesus and of Muhammad - peace upon them. ${ }^{\mathbf{B 7}}$

> Another way to establish abrogation on the basis of their own sources

We say to them: Do you live in accordance with Mosaic law today? If they say 'yes,' we say to them: Is it not said in the Torah that whosoever touches a bone, or steps on a tomb, or is present at the death of a person, will be placed in a state of defilement of which he can rid himself only with the ashes of the heifer which the Aaronid priest used to burn? ${ }^{8}$ They cannot deny this, because this is a passage current among them. Further, we say to them: Why then have you stipulated that a person who has touched a bone, tomb, or corpse remains pure and is fit to pray and carry the scripturc - though this is contrary to what is in your book?

If they say: Because we lack the means of purification, that is, the ashes of the heifer, or the priest to purify and pray for forgiveness, we say: Do you, then, think, or do you not think that because you are unable to perform this act, you may dispense with it? If they say, 'yes, we may,' they admit that precept has been abrogated by reason of present circumstances. If they say, 'no, we cannot dispense with the purification,' they recognize that they are impure so long as they do not possess the means of purification. We then say to them: If you be unclean in your own view, and according to

[^13]your own sources, why do you continue to shun a woman for seven days after the conclusion of her menstrual period, ${ }^{9}$ [4b] and to be so strict about it that should the garment of one of you touch the garment of the woman, you would declare him and his garment unclean? If they say: Because this is a precept of the Torah, we say: Is it not in the Torah that by the precept purity is intended? But if you cannot attain purity, and if your impure state cannot, in your belief, be removed by ablution, as is the impurity of menstruation, then your impurity is stronger than the impurity of menstruation. Furthermore you consider the menstruating woman clean if she be not of your community; you will not declare impure her touch, or the garment that she has touched; you confine this matter of menstrual impurity to your own community. ${ }^{10}$ But that is not in the Torah. All of which amounts to abrogation or alteration (tabdīl) on your part. ${ }^{\text {B8 }}$

If they say that this, even though the scriptural text (naṣ̣) does not mention it, occurs in their system of law (figh), we say to them: Now what will you say about your legists? All those various points of dispute and various tenets, numerous as they are among you, are they the fruit of human effort and judgment [ijtihād] and reasoning [istidlall], or are they tradition itself? They will say: Our legists took over all that is in the books of our jurisprudence from the rabbis who drew upon reliable earlier authorities that go back to Joshua the son of Nun, to Moses who spoke with God [kalim Allāh], ${ }^{11}$ and to God Almighty. ${ }^{12}$ Then it follows that in every single problem about which two of your legists disagreed, each will sustain his belief in the matter with a tradition going back to God Almighty. Thus, vileness pervades them to such a degree that they ascribe to God contradictory commands on any given problem. This is precisely the kind of abrogation the Jews repudiate.

But if they say that this dissension is of no practical import because the ancient sages, after dissension on a problem, would reach a joint decision, which is the final decision, we say: Their recourse to agreement after dissension is the result either of one of the rabbis giving up his tradition, or of a blemish in his tradition causing his testimony [5a] to be impugned, in which case you should no

[^14]longer give consideration to anything transmitted on his behalf; or else, the legists have agreed to abrogate one of the two opinions, ie., that the report by one abrogated the report by the other. Yet, there is hardly a legist whose opinions do not get quashed in many matters. This position would be madness for one who does not admit abrogation and who considers the words of the partners to the dispute to be not the result of human judgment and speculation, but rather a pure divinely-inspired tradition.

## Another way of forcing them to admit abrogation

We say to them: What do you say about your prayers and fasts? Are they the ones that Moses left with you? If they say 'yes', we say: But did Moses and his people use to say in their prayers as you do:
תקע בששפר גדל לחרותנו ושא נם לקבצנו, וקבצנו יחד מארבע כנפות
הארץ אל נוה קדשךך, ברוך אתה ה' מקבץ נדחי עמו ישראל meaning
$O$ sound a great trumpet for our freedom, [and hoist a banner to collect us] and gather us together from the four corners of the earth to thy holy ground; Blessed art thou, $O$ Lord, who gathereth the scattered ones of his people Israel. ${ }^{13}$
Or did they say in the time of Moses as you do every day:
השב שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצינו כבתחלה ובנה את ירושלים עיר קדשך בימינו ונחמנו, ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים.
which means
Restore our judges as aforetime, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and build Jerusalem Thy holy city in our days, and console us [in its rebuilding]. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who rebuildeth Jerusalem. ${ }^{18}$

Or do these passages testify [5b] that you fabricated them after the destruction of the Jewish state?

As to the fast of the burning of the Temple, the fast of its siege, and the fast of Gedalia which you made obligatory, did Moses observe them, or did he or his successor, Joshua b. Nun, enjoin them? Or the fast of the hanging of Haman? Are these enjoined in the Torah, or were they added for reasons that called for such additions in

[^15]the course of centuries? If they say: How does that compel us to accept abrogation, we say: Because the Torah bas this verse: ${ }^{14}$ you shall not add to this word which I command you thereof, nor diminish from it. ${ }^{\text {B9 }}$ Having added precepts, you have abrogated that verse.

לא תוםיפו על הדבר אשר אנכי טצוח אתכם ולא תגרעו טמנו

## Another way of establishing the fact of abrogation

We say to them: Is it not in your text that God chose from among the children of Israel the first-born that they may be consecrated for holy service? ${ }^{15}$ They will say, 'yes.' We then say to them: Is it not in your text that Moses, when he descended from the mountain with the tablets in his hands and found the people worshipping the calf, stood at the rim of the camp and called: Whoso is on the Lord's side, let him come unto me. ${ }^{16}$ The sons of Levi, not the first-born, joined him although his appeal, literally addressed to all, had been intended only for the first-born inasmuch as it was they who were the chosen of God at the time, not the children of Levi. So when the first-born deserted him, and the children of Levi assisted him, God said to Moses: ${ }^{17}$

ואקח את הלויים תחת כל בכור בבני ישראל.
which means: And I have taken the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel. Did not God, following the revelation of this verse, dismiss the first-born from the privileged status and take the Levites in their stead? They cannot deny this, and this will compel them to admit either [6a] alteration (badā') of divine determination ${ }^{18}$ or abrogation. ${ }^{\text {B10 }}$

> Compelling them to accept the prophethood of Jesus God's prayer and blessing upon him

> We say to them: Is it not in the Torah that you have: ${ }^{19}$ לא יםור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו

[^16]which means: Kingship shall not depart from the people of Judah nor the staff from amongst them until the Messiah has come. ${ }^{811}$ They cannot deny that. We then say to them: Do you not know that you once had a state and kingdom up to the advent of Jesus, and that then your kingdom came to an end? If you do not have a kingdom today, it follows from the Torah that the Messiah has already been sent.

We also say to them: Was it not since the mission of Jesus - upon whom be peace - that the kings of Rome ruled over the Jews and Jerusalem, and that the state of the Jews came to an end and the Jews were dispersed? They cannot deny this without becoming absurd. So it follows from their own source, from the Torah, that Jesus the son of Mary is the Messiah they were expecting. ${ }^{20}$

## Compelling them to accept his prophethood and the prophethood of Muhammad - peace upon them both ${ }^{812}$

We say to them: What say you about Jesus the son of Mary? They will say: The son of Joseph the carpenter by fornication; he learned God's great name and with its help used to impose his will upon many things. ${ }^{21} \mathrm{We}$ say to them: Is is not true that, according to your best tradition, Moses was taught by God the divine name composed of forty-two letters ${ }^{\text {B13 }}$ with which Moses parted the sea and performed the miracles? They cannot deny this. Then we say to them: If Moses also performed miracles by invoking the names of God, why do you believe in his prophethood and reject that of Jesus? They will say: Because God Almighty taught Moses the divine names, whilst Jesus learned them not by inspiration but from the walls of the Temple. We say to them: If that which enables one to perform miracles can be attained by a person not selected by God and to whom [6b] God does not wish to teach it, then how may Moses be believed? They will say: Because he received the divine names from the Lord. And we will ask: How do you know he received them from the Lord? They will say: By the chain of transmission of reports from our ancestors.

We further force them to take recourse to their ancestors' tradition by saying to them: By what do you recognize the prophethood of Moses? If they say: By the miracles he performed, we say to them: Has any of you seen those miracles? This is indeed no way to verify

[^17]the prophetic missions; for it would follow that the miracles should be perpetuated beyond the lifetime of the prophet in order that every generation might behold the miracles and believe them. But this is not necessary. For if a prophet has appeared in a certain age and his prophethood proven true by miracles performed by him for the people of that time, and if the report thereof reaches the people of another age, the latter must believe in his prophetic mission and follow him, because (authenticated) transmitted reports and well-established phenomena must be accepted by reason. Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad God's prayer and blessing upon them - are equals in this respect. If anything, the transmission of evidence for the prophethood of Moses is weaker than that for the mission of Jesus and Muhammad, since the evidence of the Muslims and Christians for the mission of Moses is based merely on the fact that their respective scriptures bear witness thereto; and their belief in his prophethood is derived from their belief in their own respective scriptures.

As to the miracle of the Koran, ${ }^{22}$ its permanence, which is not essential as a reason for belief, is an additional advantage. Further, anyone endowed with a taste for eloquence will believe in the miraculous character of the Koran, and do so as the eyewitness of a miracle and not merely as one who relies on hearsay. However, this is a stage not everyone can attain. ${ }^{\text {B14 }}$

Should they say: All the nations bear witness to our prophet, therefore the transmission is stronger in his favor; how can you say then that it is weaker? We should say: Is the consensus of the nations' testimony [7a] true in your opinion? Should they say 'yes,' we say: But the nations whose evidence you have just accepted are unanimous in declaring you unbelievers living in error; this is now binding upon you inasmuch as their evidence is accepted by you. Should they say, 'we do not accept anybody's evidence,' they will be left only with the chain of transmission of their own community, which is the smallest community numerically, and their transmission and religion would, consequently, be the least sound.

From the preceding, it follows that anyone who has performed miracles attested to by a chain of transmission is to be believed in his

[^18]teaching. From this, it follows that the Jews must accept as true the prophethood of Jesus and of Muhammad - upon both of whom be peace.

## Section on what they tell of Jesus

They assert that he was a scholar, not a prophet; that he used to heal the sick with medicines but made them believe that the improvement had set in through his prayer; that he healed a group of sick persons of their diseases on a Sabbath. When the Jews disapproved thereof, he said to them: Tell me, if a sheep of the fold fell into the well on a Saturday, would you not go down to it, thus permitting the breaking of the Sabbath rest to save the sheep? They said, 'certainly.' He said: Then why do you violate the Sabbath to save cattle, but will not do so to save a human being who is more important than cattle? Thus he silenced them, but they believed not. ${ }^{23}$

They also tell about him that he was on a mountain with some of his disciples, and no food reached them, and he permitted them to gather herbs on the Sabbath. But the Jews disapproved of cutting herbs on the Sabbath. ${ }^{\text {B15 }} \mathrm{He}$ said to them: If one of you were with people not of his own faith and if they, without any intention of breaking the Sabbath, ordered him to cut a plant on the Sabbath and to throw it to their draft animals, would you not permit him to cut the plant? They said 'certainly.' Then he said: I ordered these men to cut the plant that they might eat it and nourish themselves; not that they might infringe upon the Sabbath. All this [was said] [7b] in a gentle attempt to treat their minds, which were not receptive to abrogation. Even if what they tell of this matter were true, it would perhaps refer to the beginning of the ministry of Jesus.
23. Cf. Matth. 12:1-12.

An account of the verses and allusions referring in the Torah to the prophethood of our master Muhammad the Chosen - may God pray over him and grant him peace ${ }^{\text {B16 }}$

They cannot deny this verse from the second portion of the fifth book of the Torah: ${ }^{24}$

נביא אקים להם טקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון
meaning: I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee; in him they shall believe. ${ }^{\mathrm{B17}}$

This certainly is an allusion to the fact that they shall believe Muhammad.

Should they say: The text has from among their brethren, and it is unusual for our Scripture to refer to non-Israelites as 'your brethren,' we would say: Ay, it says in the Torah 'your brethren the children of Esau,' namely in the first portion of the fifth book: ${ }^{25}$ אתם עוברים בגבול אחיכם בני עשו היושבים בשעיר meaning: Ye are to pass through the border of your brethren the children of Esau, that dwell in Seir; and do not covet any of their land. ${ }^{\text {b18 }}$

Now if the children of Esau were brethren to the children of Israel because Esau and Israel were the sons of Isaac, then the children of Ishmael are likewise brethren to all the progeny of Abraham.

Should they say that this passage refers rather to the prophet Samuel inasmuch as it says "from among their brethren like unto thee," and Samuel was like Moses insofar as he too was from amongst the children of Levi, i.e., of the same tribe as Moses, ${ }^{26}$ we might say: If so, then why did God have to enjoin you to believe in Samuel who, as you say, had nothing to add to or abrogate (in the Law)? Was he afraid you might reject him? ${ }^{\text {B19 }}$
[8a] For he was sent merely to strengthen your hands against the people of Palestine and to lead you back to the law of the Torah.

[^19]You would be quick to believe a man of his description. And it might rather be feared that you would repudiate him who abrogates your religion and changes the rulings of your faith, and the injunction to believe in him might be indispensable for people like you. That is why Moses did not have to enjoin you to believe in the prophethood of Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the other prophets.

This is proof that in this passage the Torah commanded them to believe in Muhammad - God's prayer and blessings upon him and his followers.

## The allusion to his name in the Torah

God says in the third portion of the first book of the Torah addressing Abraham, the friend of God [al-khalil] ${ }^{27}$ And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful and will multiply him exceedingly. ${ }^{28}$ In the original: ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אותו והפריתי אותו
והרביתי אותו במאד מאד

Now this word "exceedingly," bi-me'od me'od, if we compute the numerical value of its letters, will add up to ninety-two, which is also the numerical value of the letters in the name Muhammad. Yet in the present passage this was left enigmatic; had it been clear, the Jews might have changed it or omitted it from the Torah as they did elsewhere. ${ }^{\text {B20 }}$

They might say that there are a number of words in the Torah with the numerical letter value equal to that of the names of Zayd, 'Amr, Khālid, and Bakr, but it does not follow that Zayd, 'Amr, Khālid, and Bakr are prophets. The answer to that is: It would be as they say if this verse were the mere equal of other Torah passages; but we shall produce proofs and demonstrate that [8b] it is without equal in the rest of the Torah. Namely, no other verse of the Torah honors Ishmael as does this one, which is a divine promise to Abraham on how great will be the honor of Ishmael. Nor is there another verse in the Torah that refers to the glory of the tribe of a Zayd or 'Amr or Khālid or Bakr. We further stress that within this verse no other word equals bi-me'od me'od which means "exceedingly," it being a superlative used by God - praised be He - without

[^20]equal among the other words of the verse quoted. As this verse is the most superlative concerning Ishmael and his progeny, and this word the most superlative of all the words of the verse, it is not surprising it should contain an allusion to the most glorious and distinguished of Ishmael's progeny [i.e. Muhammad] - God's prayer and blessing over him and his kin and companions.

As we have shown that this word has no equal in the verse, nor this verse in the whole Torah, the Jews' objection is null and void.

On the passage alluding to the prophethood of Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad ${ }^{29}$

## ואמר אדתי טםיני אתגלי וזהור יקרה משעיר אתחזי לנא אתגלי בגברתה

 מטורא דפארן ועמה רבון קדישין'This means: God will reveal himself from Sinai, His light will rise from Seir and will shine forth from the mountains of Paran, and with Him myriads of the holy. ${ }^{\text {B21 }}$

They know that Mt. Seir is the mountain range Sharāt ${ }^{20}$ [9a] on which lived the children of Esau who believed in Jesus. ${ }^{31}$

Further, in this range was the abode of Christ - peace upon him. They know that Sinai is Mt. Tūr. ${ }^{\mathbf{B 2 2}}$ But they do not know that Mt. Paran is the mountain of Mecca. The allusion to these three places, which were the abodes of the ministry of these prophets, should impel the intelligent to inquire into the exposition of this passage which results in the command to follow the teaching of the prophets.

Clear proof from the Torah that Mt. Paran is the mountain of Mecca is the fact that Ishmael, when he parted from his father Abraham, settled in the wilderness of Paran. The Torah tells about it thus: ${ }^{32}$

וישב במדבר פארן ותקח לו אמו אשה מארץ מצרים
i.e.: And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt. ${ }^{\text {B23 }}$ Thus the Torah states that

[^21]Mt. Paran is the abode of the people of Ishmael. If the Torah alluded in the previously quoted verse to prophecy coming from Mt. Paran, it follows that it is the prophecy unto the people of Ishmael, because it is they who are the dwellers of Paran. All will then see that the allusion to prophecy from the progeny of Ishmael points to Muhammad, for it was he who was sent forth from Mecca, formerly the abode of Ishmael. This indicates that the mountains of Paran are those of Mecca, and that the Torah, in this passage, alluded to the mission of Muhammad and announced it; but the Jews, in ignorance and error, fail to connect these two verses. They admit the premises but, in their excessive ignorance, not the conclusion. The Torah bears witness to their poor understanding and counsel. Namely, in the passage ${ }^{83}$

## כי גוי אבד עצזת המח ואיץ בהם תבונה

meaning: For they are a nation void of counsel, and there is no understanding in them. ${ }^{\mathbf{3 2 4}}$

## [9b] Refutation of their claim that God loves them

They assert that God loves them above all men, and loves their community and race, and that the prophets and the saintly are selected by God only from their midst. But we shall dispute them thereon.

We say to them: What have you to say about the prophet Job on whom be peace - do you recognize his prophethood? ${ }^{325}$ They will say 'yes.' Then we say to them: Is he one of the children of Israel? They will say 'no.'

We then say to them: What have you to say about the bulk of the children of Israel, namely the nine-and-a-half tribes seduced by Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who revolted against the son of Solomon the son of David and made the two calves of gold? Many of the Israelites, and all the people in the region of their capital then called Shomron, were bent on worshipping the golden calves ${ }^{34}$ until a war took place between these Israelites and the two-and-a-half tribes that, headed by the son of Solomon in Jerusalem, were true

[^22]believers. And in one battle 500,000 men were slain. ${ }^{35}$ What say you about all those slain and about the nine and a half tribes - did God love them because they were Israelites? They will say: No, He did not, because they were infidels.

Then we say to them: Is it not in your Torah that there be no difference in your religion between the stranger and the native? They will say: Certainly, for the Torah says about it: ${ }^{26}$

כגר כאזרח כבם יהיה לפַנִי ה'
meaning: The stranger and the native shall be equal before the Lord. תורה אחת וטשפט אחד יהיה לכם ולגר הגר בתוככם meaning: One law and one ordinance shall be both for you and for the stranger [10a] that sojourneth amidst you. ${ }^{\mathrm{B26}}$

Once we force them to admit that God does not love the errant among them, but does love the believers outside their community and selects prophets and saints who are not of their race, they negate their claim that God's love is reserved specifically for their community, of all mankind.

Section devoted to some aspects of their unbelief and falsification
Men of scholarly attainments will shun vice and avoid what sound minds regard with disapproval, and what clear thinking is likely to declare spurious. But in this community of the Jews there are varieties of error and corruption that [sound] minds will shrink from, and that defy both human reason and divine law.

Thus, despite the disappearance of their state, despite their dispersion, and their recognition of the divine wrath extended over them, they still say each day in their prayers that they are God's children and beloved ones. Thus they say daily in the prayer: ${ }^{87}$

אהבת עולם אהבתנו אדני אלהינו
meaning: Thou hast loved us with eternal love, O Lord our God, ${ }^{\text {B27 }}$
השיבנו אבינו לתורתך
meaning: Return us, $O$ our Father, to thy Law, ${ }^{88}$
אבינו מלכנו אלהינו
meaning: $O$ our Father, $O$ our King, $O$ our God,

[^23]meaning: Thou art, $O$ Lord, our Father our Redeemer, ${ }^{30}$
ואת כל רודפי בניך ואויבי עדתך כלם כטמו ים, אחד מהם לא נותר meaning: And all those who persecuted Thy children, and all the enernies of Thy community - all of them the sea hath covered, not one of them remained. ${ }^{\text {B28 }}$

They picture themselves as clusters of grapes, and the other nations as the thorn that surrounds the top of the vineyard walls. This comes from their poor minds and defective insight; for he who cares for a vineyard will place thorns on top of the walls in order [10b] to protect and preserve the vineyard. But we do not find that the other nations harbored for the Jews anything but evil, humiliation, and contempt, and this disproves their assertion. ${ }^{329}$

They expect a leader who will come of the house of David the prophet. When he moves his lips in prayer, all the other nations will die and only the Jews will remain. This expected one is, they contend, the Messiah they have been promised. ${ }^{40}$

But the prophets - peace upon them - coined for them parables pointing to the glory of the religion of Jesus, to the submission of the mighty to the people of his community, and to his declaration of the supreme abrogation.

Such is the word of Isaiah in his prophecy: ${ }^{41}$
וגר זאב עם כבש יחדיו ירבצו ביניהם ופרה ודב תרעינה
ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן
meaning: The wolf and the lamb shall all pasture and lie down together, and the cow and the bear shall pasture together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. ${ }^{330}$

But they understood only the sensory images of those parables, not their spiritual meaning, and turned away from believing in Jesus at the time of his mission, continuing to wait for the lion to eat straw, that it might serve as a true sign of the Messiah's advent.

They also believed that when this expected Messiah has come he will gather them all in Jerusalem, the sovereignty will be theirs, the world will be emptied of all others, and death will be kept from them for a long time. It is still their custom to follow the lions into their thickets and to throw straw in front of the lions to see just when they eat it.
39. To be found in the Saadia prayer book p. 16, line 12; not in later texts.
40. Cf. Isaiah 11:4.
41. Inaccurately quoted from Is. 11:6-7.

Also, in the first ten days of the year they say in their prayers: ${ }^{42}$ אלתינו ואלהי אבותינו מלך על כל יושבי תבל ארצך ויאמר כל אשר נשטה באפט אדני אלהי ישראל מלך ומלכותו בכל טשלה
meaning: Our God [11a] and the God of our fathers, reign Thou over all the inhabitants of the world, so that whatsoever is animated may say God, the God of Israel, reigns and His dominion ruleth over all.

In this prayer they say also: ${ }^{\text {B31 }}$ To God will belong dominion and on that day God will be one. ${ }^{43}$ They mean thereby that it will not be evident that dominion belongs to God unless the sovereignty passes to the Jews, His nation and choice; and so long as the government is in the hands of non-Jews, God is hardly known among the nations, His reign is defective, His power doubtful. This is the import of their saying, God, reign Thou over all the inhabitants of the earth, and the import of their saying, And the dominion will be unto God. Into the same category will fall their saying: ${ }^{44}$

> למה יאמרו הגויים איה נַא אלהיהם
meaning: Wherefore should the nations say: Where is now their God? ${ }^{\text {B32 }}$ and their saying: ${ }^{45}$

עורה למה תיש; אדני הקיצה משנתך
meaning: Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord? Arouse Thyself from Thy slamber. ${ }^{\text {B3 }}$

These people uttered such words of delirium and unbelief from the great vexation resulting from humiliation, enslavement, contempt and expectation of the ever-receding deliverance. This plunged them into irrationality and vexation and led them to a form of heresy and delirium which only their incoherent minds could accept. Thus they became bold against God in these vile prayers, as if they were urging God to encourage them and protect Himself. For when they pray to their Lord in this way, they, as it were, inform Him that He has apparently chosen to be obscure and they urge Him to bestir Himself and become renowned. Thus one may see a Jew shuddering as he recites these words in the prayer, yet doubting not that his word will greatly impress God, and that he will influence his Lord, move Him, shake Him, challenge Him. In truth, the ignorance and weak-mindedness of such people should be pitied. ${ }^{\text {B34 }}$

[^24]Also, their Torah states that Moses ascended the mountain together with the elders of [11b] his people and that they saw God clearly, and under His feet there was a stool; it looked like cryatal." It says: ${ }^{3 x}$

## ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמראה לבנת חםמיר וכעצם השמים לטהר

They maintain that the two tablets were written by God's finger, the text reading: ${ }^{47}$

## באצבע אלהים

It would take too long to enumerate the anthropomorphic heresies maintained by them. True, their scholars, benefiting from the Muslim monotheism, have refined much of their ancestors' belief and have put such an interpretation upon their texts as will shield them from the Muslims' disapproval, even though it is not in accord with the words they interpret and translate. When asked about these shocking matters, they hide behind denial and falsehood in fear of the terrible infamy that may overtake them.

For example, they ascribe to God - praised be He - regret for what He has done. Thus the Torah they possess says: ${ }^{48}$

וינחם ה' כי עשה את האדם בארץ ויתעצב אל לבו
meaning: And the Lord regretted that He had made man on earth, and was grieved. ${ }^{336}$

The compiler of the Targum went so far in his zealous partisanship as to falsify the words, in violation of the usage of the language, and interpreted

> וינחם ה' - ותב ה' במימרה
as meaning: And God retracted in His view. Not only is this interpretation not in accord with usage, but it is also heretical; indeed it contradicts their rejection of sudden change in divine decision, or abrogation. The proof that ויתעצב אל אבו means 'it grieved Him' is to be found in the words addressed to Eve: ${ }^{49}$

> בעצב תלדי בנים
meaning: In pain thou shalt bring forth children. ${ }^{\text {B37 }}$ Thus it becomes clear that [12a] in the Hebrew language means grief or pain. This verse occurs, in their text, in the story of the people of Noah. ${ }^{30}$ They assert that God, when He saw the corruption of the

[^25]people of Noah and how their evil and unbelief had become great, regretted the creation of man, and it grieved Him. Fools that they are, they do not know that whosoever asserts this is obliged to conclude that God, before He created man, was unaware of what would become of the people of Noah, and to draw other disparaging conclusions. God is above all their unbelief.

The text also has it that God said to the prophet Samuel: ${ }^{\text {s1 }}$ נחמתי כי חמלכתי את שאול למלך על ישראל
meaning: It repenteth Me that I have set up Saul to be king over Israei.

In another passage in their scriptures it says: וה' נחם כי המליך את שאול על ישראל
i.e.: and the Lord repented that He had made Saul king over Israel.

It states that the prophet Noah, upon leaving the Ark, began to build an altar to God. He made offerings. Then follows: ${ }^{52}$
וירח ח' את ריח הנחוח ויאמר ה' אל לבו לא אוחקף עוד לקלל את האדמה בעבור האדם כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו ולא אוםיף עוד להכות אח כל חי כאשר עששיתי
meaning: And the Lord smelled the pleasing odour; and the Lord said to Himself: Never again will I curse the ground because of man, for the devisings of man's heart are evil from his youth; neither uill I ever again destroy every living being, as I have done. ${ }^{\mathbf{B 3 8}}$

We do not think that these heresies were in the Torah revealed to Moses - may God's prayers be upon him; nor do we say that the Jews intended to change and corrupt the Torah. But the truth should be followed above all. And now we shall mention the true reason for the falsification of the Torah.

## [12b] Why the Torah was falsified

None of their scholars or rabbis believes that the Torah in their possession is the one revealed to Moses. For Moses guarded the Torah from the children of Israel and did not divulge it to them, but deliv-

[^26]ered it to his tribe, the sons of Levi. Proof thereof is the Torah passage: ${ }^{5 s}$

ויכתב טשה את התורה הזאת ויתנה אל הכהנים לבני לוי meaning: And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi. ${ }^{889}$

The sons of Aaron were the judges and rulers of the Jews, for the priesthood, and the service of sacrifices and of the Temple were vested in them. Moses did not distribute any part of the Torah among the children of Israel other than half a chapter entitled Ha'azinu. ${ }^{54}$ This chapter of the Torah is the one that Moses taught the children of Israel. It says: ${ }^{55}$

> ויכתב טשה את השירה הזאת ויזמדה לבני ישראל
meaning: So Moses wrote this song [the same day], and taught it to the children of Israel. ${ }^{\text {B40 }}$

God also said to Moses concerning this chapter: ${ }^{56}$
והיתה לי השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל
meaning: This song may be a witness for Me against the children of Israel. ${ }^{\text {B41 }}$ Also, God said to Moses concerning this chapter: ${ }^{57}$

## כי לא תשכח מפי זרעם

meaning: For it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed. ${ }^{\text {B42 }}$ He meant that this chapter contains a reproof of their character, and that they would violate the laws of the Torah; that, subsequently, evil would befall them, their land would be destroyed, they would be dispersed over the earth. He said: This chapter will always be in their mouths [13a] as a witness against them, certifying the truth of what had been said to them.

As God said: Shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed, this chapter indicates that God knew that the other chapters would be forgotten. This is also proof that Moses did not give the Israclites any of the Torah, other than this chapter. ${ }^{\text {B43 }}$ As to the rest of the Torah, he gave it to the sons of Aaron, depositing it among them and keeping it away from all others. These Aaronid priests, who knew the Torah and had memorized most of it, were slain by Nebuchadnezzar in a massacre at the conquest of Jerusalem. ${ }^{\text {B44 }}$ Memorizing the Torah was neither obligatory nor traditional, but
53. Deut. 31:9.
54. Deut. 32.
55. Deut. 31:22 (inaccurately cited).
56. I'eut. $31: 19$ (inaccurate).
57. Deut. 31:21.
each Aaronid used to memorize a section of it. When Ezra saw that the Temple of the people was destroyed by fire, that their state had disappeared, their masses dispersed and their book vanished, he collected some of his own remembrances and some still retained by the priests, and from these he concocted the Torah that the Jews now possess. ${ }^{\text {B45 }}$ That is why they hold Ezra in such high esteem and claim that a light appears over his tomb, situated near the marshes of Iraq, ${ }^{\text {B46 }}$ even unto the present day; for he has produced a book that preserves their religion. Now this Torah that they have is in truth a book by Ezra, and not a book of God. This shows that the person who collected the sections now in their possession was an empty man, ignorant of divine attributes. That is why he attributed anthropomorphism to God - regret over His past actions and the promise of abstention from similar acts in the future, as is mentioned above.

Also, one can argue against their interpretations, their extreme fanaticism, and the stress they lay on the burden [of the law], from what they say in interpreting the following verse: ${ }^{58}$
ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית ה' אלחיך, לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו [13b] meaning: The first fruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God; Thou shalt not let a kid mature in its mother's milk. ${ }^{847}$

What was intended thereby was that inasmuch as they had been commanded to perform the pilgrimage, they should take along, when setting out for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the first-born of their flocks and the first fruits of the produce of their land. For they had been enjoined earlier that the young of the cows and the sheep should remain with their mothers for seven days, and from the eighth day onward the young animals might serve as offerings to God. ${ }^{59}$ Therefore He hinted in the verse, "do not let a kid mature in its mother's milk" that the people should not protract the period during which the young of the flock remained with their mothers, but should take along on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem the first-born of the flock that had passed the seventh day since their birth so that the offerings might be selected from amongst them. ${ }^{60}$ The foolish scholars, translating this passage and interpreting its content, took it into their heads that the legislator intended this "mature" to mean "seething" the cooked food in a pot. Suppose they are right in this interpreta-
58. Ex. 23:19.
59. Ex. 22:29.
60. Ex. 22:28.
tion; it still would not follow from the prohibition of cooking that eating is prohibited, for if the legislator meant "eating" there was nothing to prevent him from clearly stating so. As if this error in word interpretation were not enough, they prohibited also the eating of all other meats with milk. This could be additional proof of the ignorance of the commentators and translators, ascribing falsehoods to God and thereby increasing the burden of the community. As to the proof that tebashshel means maturity, i.e., reaching a certain age, this can be found in the words of the chief butler to Joseph the righteous, whilst both were in prison, as the former described to the latter his dream. He said in the course of his words: ${ }^{61}$

ובגפן שלשה ששריגים והיא כפורחת עלתה נצה הבשילו צשככלותיה meaning: And in the vine were three branches; and as it was budding, its blossoms shot forth, [14a] and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes. ${ }^{\text {B48 }}$ It has thus become clear that what is expressed by the word hibshilu is "reaching maturity."

The intelligent man cannot consider it implausible that a whole community has agreed upon something absurd and accepted some kind of heresy and error. When the political independence ${ }^{\text {B49 }}$ of a nation is coming to an end through foreign domination and occupation of its land, the true record of its past is obliterated, and the vestiges of its antiquity are blotted out and difficult to trace. For the political independence of a nation may come to an end through a succession of invasions and assaults, and through the devastation and partial scorching of the land. The succession of such events continues until at last the learning of a nation is displaced by ignorance.

The more ancient a nation is, and the more the various empires expose it to humiliation and grief, the more it is fated [to suffer] the obliteration of its records. This [Jewish] community is beyond doubt the one that has been exposed more than any other to the aforementioned [evils], because it is one of the oldest of nations on record and because it has been ruled by a multitude of nations, such as the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Christians, and Islam. And each of these nations was strongly bent on harming the Jews and extirpating them; intent on scorching and razing their country, and on burning their scriptures - all except the Muslims.

Indeed, Islam came upon the Jews when they were under Persian rule and had no longer a polity or army, except for the Judaizing Arabs in Khaybar.
61. Gcn. 40:10.

But even more grievous to the Jews than all these empires was what befell them at the hands of their own rebellious kings such as Ahab, Ahaziah, Amaziah, ${ }^{62}$ Jehoram, Jeroboam b. Nebat and other kings of the Israelites, who slew the prophets, pursuing them relentlessly in order to put them to death, who worshipped idols, who invited idol-worshipping priests from abroad to strengthen idolatry and to teach the ceremonies of its cult, and who built great sanctuaries and temples for these idols. [14b] The kings and the majority of the Israelites cleaved to this worship, and the precepts of the Torah and of religious legislation were abandoned for a long time, for century after century.

If such was the succession of calamities that befell their religion at the hands of their own kings, and this of their own making, one is not surprised at the succession of the various disasters they were to suffer through foreign domination - the slaying of their priests, the burning of their scriptures, and the prohibiting of their observance of the precepts of their law. Thus the Persians often prevented them from practicing circumcision and from praying, for they knew that most prayers of this community invoked ruin of the nations and destruction of the world, with the exception of their own land, which is the land of Canaan. ${ }^{\text {B50 }}$ When the Jews saw that the Persians persisted in obstructing their prayer, they invented invocations into which they admixed passages from their prayers; and they called these hizāna. ${ }^{\text {B51 }}$ They set numerous tunes to them. They would assemble at prayer time in order to read and chant the hizāna. The difference between the hizāna and the prayer is that the prayer is without melody and is read only by the person conducting the service; no other person recites along with him. The hazzān, however, is assisted by the public in reciting the hizāna and in chanting melodies. When the Persians rebuked them for this, the Jews sometimes asserted that they were singing, and sometimes that they were bewailing their lot. So the Persians left them at it.

Strangely enough, by the time the dominion of Islam arose and granted recognition to the various denominations of 'protected people, ${ }^{63}$ and prayer became permissible unto the Jews, the hizāna had become a commendable tradition among them for holidays, festivals, and joyful occasions. Although no longer compelled to do so, the Jews were content to substitute hizāna for prayer.

[^27]The Jews assert that Muhammad had dreams indicating that he was to be the head of a state; that [15a] he traveled to Syria on business of Khadija, ${ }^{64}$ met rabbis and told them his dreams, and that they recognized that he was to be the head of a state. Then they attached to him as companion, cAbdallāh b. Salām, ${ }^{65}$ who instructed him for some time in scholarship and jurisprudence of the Torah. ${ }^{\text {B5 }}$ They go so far in their claim as to ascribe the miraculous eloquence of the Koran to its compilation by cAbdallāh b. Salām, and maintain that it was he who stipulated in the marriage law ${ }^{\mathrm{B54}}$ that a wife, after her third divorce from her husband, shall not be permitted to rewed him until she has been married and divorced from another man, the purpose being, in their contention, to make mamzerim of the children of the Muslims. This word is plural; its singular is mamzer. This is the term for an illegitimate child. For, in their law, if the husband takes back his wife after she has been married to another man, her children are considered illegitimate. Since abrogation is inconceivable to them, they conclude that this stipulation in the marriage law is an interpolation of cAbdallāh b. Salām, by which he sought to turn Muslim children into what they consider mamzerim. ${ }^{66}$

But even more amazing is that they made the prophet David a mamzer in two respects, and they turned their Messiah into a mamzer in two respects. For they do not doubt that David was the son of Jesse who was the son of Obed. This Obed's father was called Boaz, from the tribe of Judah; his mother's name was Ruth the Moabitess, of the children of Moab. ${ }^{67}$ This Moab's lineage is given in the text of the Torah in the following story. When God destroyed the people of Lot for its corruption, and only Lot with his two daughters escaped, the daughters imagined that the earth had become empty of men by whom they might beget children. The elder daughter said to the younger: ${ }^{68}$ Our father is old, and not a man has remained upon earth to come to us after the manner of all mankind; come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him that we may preserve seed by our father. ${ }^{\text {B55 }}$ They did this, and it is asserted that they made that prophet drink wine until he became drunk and

[^28]did not know his daughters. Then he lay with them and the two conceived, [15b] unrecognized by him. One of them bore a son whom she named Moab, meaning he is from the father; the other named her son Ben Ammi, meaning he was of her own tribe. ${ }^{69}$ These two children are necessarily mamzerim to the Jews, for they were born of a father and his two daughters. Should the Jews deny this, on the ground that the Torah had not yet been revealed, ${ }^{70}$ it would still follow. For they have it that when - in that same age - Abraham, the friend of God, ${ }^{71}$ feared that the Egyptians might kill him on account of his wife, he concealed his marriage to her and said, She is my sister, ${ }^{72}$ knowing that if he spoke thus, they would be safe from designs against them. This is proof that the prohibition against marrying one's sister had already been stipulated by that time. What shall one think then of marriage with one's daughter, which was not permissible even in the time of Adam? This story, referring to Lot the prophet, is in the Torah that the Jews possess, and they cannot deny it. It follows from this that the two persons they relate to Lot are mamzerim for they were born [under conditions that were] contrary to the law. As Ruth was of the progeny of Moab, and the ancestress of David and of their expected Messiah, the Jews have transformed both [David and the Messiah] into the progeny of a line whose legitimacy they malign. ${ }^{\text {B56 }}$

Further, it is utterly absurd that an old man close to a hundred years of age should imbibe wine and become drunk to the extent of not recognizing his own daughters, that one of his two daughters should lie down with him, receive his sperm and get up, and he remain unaware of it all, as it says in their scripture:

## ולא ידע בשכבה ובקומה

meaning: He did not know when she lay down or when she rose. ${ }^{73}$ Such is the talk of a man who does not know how conception occurs. ${ }^{\text {B57 }}$ For it is impossible that a woman should conceive by a man so advanced in years and insensate through excessive drinking. What makes it utterly impossible is that they assert that his younger daughter did the same with him [16a] the following night and also conceived. It is impossible in the case of a very old man that a woman

[^29]should conceive by him one night, and the very next night another woman, too, should conceive by him. But the endless animosity between the Ammonites and Moabites, on the one hand, and the Israelites on the other hand, induced the compiler of this section to concoct this absurdity so that it might be a most vilifying report about the Ammonites and Moabites.

Further, they have it that Moses vested the Aaronids with the priesthood. When Saul ${ }^{74}$ became king, his rule was felt oppressive by the Aaronids, and he massacred many of them, ${ }^{75}$ and later, power passed to David. ${ }^{\text {B68 }}$ Yet in the hearts of the Aaronids there remained the lust for the power they had lost. Now this Ezra was a scribe in the service of the King of Persia. He made representations for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and compiled for the Jews the Torah which is in their possession. As he was an Aaronid, he was averse to a Davidid reigning over them in the second commonwealth. So he added in the Torah two sections derogatory of the lineage of David: one is the story of the daughters of Lot, the other the story of Tamar, to be mentioned below.

By my life, he achieved his purpose: for in the second commonwealth which they had in Jerusalem it was not the Davidids who were their kings but the Aaronids. ${ }^{\text {B89 }}$ This Ezra is not al-cUzayr ${ }^{76}$ as people think. ${ }^{860}$ For al-cUzayr is the Arabic for Elazar (Eliezer). ${ }^{77}$ [But] the name Ezra would not change in translation to Arabic at all for it is a name whose vowels and consonants fit [the Arabic]. Nor is Ezra counted a prophet by the Jews, but called hassofer meaning "scribe."

Also they have in the Torah a stranger story still, as follows: Judah, the son of the prophet Jacob, married his eldest son to a woman by the name of Tamar. ${ }^{78}$ The son used to come to his wife ex partes posteriores, so God was angry with his deed and slew him. Then Judah married Tamar to his other son. It came to pass that when the son went in unto her [16b] he spilled the seed on the ground, in the knowledge that, should she bear children, the first son would be called by his brother's name and thus be related to his brother. This

[^30]act displeased God, and He slew him also. Then Judah ordered Tamar to rejoin her family until his son Shelah was grown and of mature mind, for Judah feared that what had befallen Shelah's two brothers might befall Shelah, too. Accordingly, she lived in her father's house. Later Judah's wife died, and he went up to a station called Timnah to shear his sheep. When Tamar was told of her fa-ther-in-law's journey to Timnah, she put on the garment of the harlots, and, knowing his character, sat on an elevated spot on his road. As he passed by her, he took her for a harlot; he enticed her, and she asked for the wage. He promised her a kid, and he pledged with her his staff and signet, and came in unto her. Consequently, she conceived by him Perez and Zerah. From the line of this Perez came Boaz who married Ruth, of Moabite descent, and from them the prophet David was descended. ${ }^{\text {B61 }}$

Furthermore, this story has a fine point that would make abrogation necessary. Namely, when Judah was informed that his daugh-ter-in-law had conceived in harlotry, he ruled that she be burned. ${ }^{79}$ Then she sent him his signet and staff, saying: I am with child by the man to whom these belong. ${ }^{80} \mathrm{He}$ then said: ${ }^{862}$ She is more in the right than $I .{ }^{81}$ He excused himself on the grounds that he had not recognized her, and that he did not visit her again. This indicates that the law of that time stipulated the burning of harlots, which the Torah abrogated by prescribing stoning. ${ }^{\text {B63 }}$

In this story they also ascribe fornication and unbelief to the prophetic line, even as they ascribed them to the prophet Lot.

All this is found in the text of their Scripture. They make this the genealogy of David, Solomon, and the Messiah they expect. Yet they maintain that the Muslims deserve this by-name (mamzerim) more tifian their Messiah. The absurdity of this assertion is most clear and evident.
[17a] As to their rejection of the Koran's inimitable eloquence, I do not wonder at this, for they do not know Arabic sufficiently to distinguish eloquence from stammering; that, despite their long sojourn amongst the Muslims. ${ }^{\text {B64 }}$

They argue further against Muslims and say: How can a book that contradicts itself - meaning thereby, abrogates itself - be ascribed to God? ${ }^{365}$ We say to them: We have already pointed to the

[^31]affirmation of the permissibility thereof in the beginning of the present discourse; but as to your surprise thereat and your loathing of it -- well, your own Scripture is not free from similar difficulties. Should they deny that, we would say to them: What say you about the Sabbath? Which is the earlier precept: the Sabbath or the great fast [the Day of Atonement]? They will say: The Sabbath is older. For, should they say the great fast is older, we would give them the lie, for the precept of the Sabbath was enjoined upon them following the gift of the manna, whilst the great fast was stipulated after the revelation of the two tablets and after the disobedience and calfworshipping of the Jews. ${ }^{82}$ When the punishment for that sin was lifted, fasting on, and solemn observance of, that day was stipulated. But should they admit the precedence of Sabbath we would say to them: What say you concerning the Sabbath, are you obliged to observe rest and quiet, and are or are not exertions forbidden on that day? They will say: Yes, certainly. Then we say to them: But why are you obliged to observe the great fast when it happens to fall on a Sabbath, even though your fast became an obligation later than the precept of Sabbath observance, and despite the fact that you suffer on the day of that fast various discomforts, such as standing all the day long? Is not this, too, an abrogation of the precept of Sabbath observance?

As to our master, the Messenger of God - may God pray over him and bless him - only two names for him are current among the Jews - may they be accursed by God, the angels, and all men. One of the names is pasul meaning "vile," [17b] the other meshuggac meaning "madman." As to the glorious Koran, they call it Qalon which in their tongue is a name for turpitude; they mean thereby that it is a disgrace of the Muslims. ${ }^{\text {B66 }}$ Through this and similar acts, they became most violent in enmity against those who have believed. ${ }^{88}$ How, then, will God and men not curse them? ${ }^{84}$

## Section demonstrating some of their ignominy

One of the disgraceful things in their religion is the procedure of yebama and halūs. Namely they were commanded ${ }^{85}$ that if

[^32]two brothers dwelt in one place, and one of them died without leaving a child, the widow should not marry a stranger; her fa-ther-in-law's son shall marry her, and the first child she will bear by him shall be attributed to his deceased brother. If he refuses to marry her, she goes forth complaining of him to the elders of her people saying: My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel and does not wish to marry me. The judge there will summon him and will oblige him to stand up and say:

## לא חפצתי לקחתה

meaning: I like not to take her. ${ }^{\text {B67 }}$ The woman then will seize his shoe, take it off his foot, hold it in her hand, spit in his face, and exclaim over him:

כבה יעשה לאיש אשׁר לֹא יבנה את בית אחיו
meaning: So shall it be done unto the man who doth not build up his brother's house. ${ }^{\text {B68 }}$ After which he will be branded the unshod ${ }^{86}$ and his family will be reviled by that appellation, i.e., the house of him who had his shoe loosed. All this is imposed upon them by the Torah, but therein is a ruse that forces the man to marry his deceased brother's wife. Since the man knows that the woman is obliged to summon him to her people's assembly, he may be induced to marry her. Even if his sense of shame should not deter him, he may, when summoned, be hesitant to say: I like not to take her. If still unashamed, [18a] he may recoil in shame from being dishonoured by the unshoeing, by having the woman remove his shoe, spit in his face, and proclaim him a failure, a man lacking in virtue. Even if he can face this, he may yet dread being reviled by the appellation that will attach to him and his kin after him with shame and bad renown; and this may force him to marry her. But if he is repelled by her to such an extent that all this will appear trivial to him, the law will separate the two. There is nothing in the Torah beyond that. But what their legists deduced from this is truly their shame and disgrace. Namely, if the woman is averse to marrying the brother of her deceased husband, they force him to waive his right to her. Yet they oblige her to appear before the judge in session with their rabbis, and they teach her to say: ${ }^{87}$

## מאן יבמי להקים לאחיו שם בישראל לא אבה יבמי

meaning: My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not marry me. ${ }^{\text {B69 }}$ Thus they force her to

[^33]lie against him; for he did wish to marry her, and she it was who withdrew, whilst he was willing. By teaching her these words, they instruct her to lie. They summon him and instruct him to rise and say. ${ }^{88}$

לא חפצתי לקחתה meaning: I like not to take her. Even though she may be his wish and desire, they order him to lie. When she dishonours him and spits in his face, it is the acme of transgression for, not content with the untruths against him, they compel him to lie and thus expose him to punishment for a sin he did not commit. ${ }^{\text {B70 }}$ Just as the poet said:

Many a $\sin$ is committed by the fools of a people,
Yet chastisement is meted out to other than those who committed it. ${ }^{89}$

Account of the cause for their increasing the burden upon themselves ${ }^{\mathrm{B} 71}$

There are two causes for their making their burden even heavier. One of them stems from their legists called hakhamim. This word means sages.
[18b] The Jews in ancient times used to call their legists "sages." They had academies in Syria and Mesopotamia, during the rule of the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, where thousands studied the sacred law until material was accumulated from which the legists decided to compile the two works, namely, the Mishna and the Talmud. The Mishna, the smaller book, consists of about eight hundred sheets; the Talmud, the larger book, has the weight of about half of the burden of a mule. The legists who wrote it did not all live in one and the same age; they continued to compile it generation after generation. When the later legists, scrutinizing this compilation, noticed that the additions to it contained contradictions to the earlier sections of the work, they realized that, unless further additions were prohibited, obvious disorder and gross contradiction would result. They therefore ceased adding to the Talmud, barred any further additions, and forbade the legists to add or affix anything to it; in fact, they excommunicated ${ }^{\mathbf{8 7 2}}$ anyone who added anything to it. And thus its size was set.

In these two books the spiritual leaders of the Jews forbade them to partake of food in the company of strangers, that is, with those

[^34]not of their persuasion, and made it unlawful for them to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by men not of their faith. For they, i.e., the scholars and spiritual leaders, realized that their religion would not be preserved in the state of exile in which the Jews lived in humiliation and subjection, unless the scholars could keep them from mingling with people of other religions; consequently, they forbade marriage with non-Jews and the eating of the meat of animals slaughtered by non-Jews. The scholars could not have gone so far in this respect had they not concocted an argument which in reality calumniates God.

For [19a] the Torah merely prohibited marriage of Jews with nonJews lest the Jews should follow their wives in idol-worship and unbelief in God. ${ }^{90}$ Furthermore, in the Torah the Jews are forbidden to eat of the meat of animals slaughtered by those who offer sacrifices to idols because a name other than that of God was invoked at the slaughter. But animals not slaughtered as idol-offerings were not forbidden in the Torah; rather, the Torah speaks of the permissibility of taking food from persons of other nations. Thus God said to Moses at the time the Hebrews passed through the land of the children of Esau: ${ }^{\mathrm{E73}}$

לא תתגרו בם כי לא אתן לך מארצם עד מדרך כץ רגל
meaning: Contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not even so much as the sole of the foot would tread on, ${ }^{91}$ אכל תשברו מאתם בכםף ואכלתם וגם מים תכרו מאתם בכחף ושתיתם meaning: Ye shall purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. ${ }^{92}$

Thus it is clear from the text of the Torah that the Jews are permitted to take food from other peoples, and eat it. They know that the children of Esau were idol-worshippers and infidels. Now the Muslims, for example, are not lower in rank than the children of Esau. Therefore, the Jews should accept the food of the Muslims; nay, they should prefer it, since the Muslims, because of their monotheism and their faith, are not idol-worshippers. True, Moses forbade the Jews to marry idol-worshippers or to eat the meat of animals slaughtered in the name of idols; but we do not know of a single Muslim who invokes the name of an idol or image at the slaughter-
90. Ex. 34:16; Nu. 25:1-3.
91. Dent. 2:5.
92. Ib $2: 5$.
ing of an animal. What is the matter with these Jews, then, that they do not eat of animals slaughtered by Muslims?

What is the matter with the Jews who live in Syria and Persia that they will not accept from the Muslims such food as milk, cheese, sweetmeats, bread, et cetera?
[19b] If they say: That is because the Torah forbade us to eat terefa; we say to them: 'Terefa is the prey torn by the lion or wolf or other wild beast. Proof thereof is the Torah verse: ${ }^{93}$ ובשר בשדה ערפה לא תאכלו לכאב תשליכו אתו
meaning: Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs. ${ }^{\text {B74 }}$

When the leaders saw that the Torah makes no mention of a prohibition against the foods of the gentiles - except the idol-worshippers - and that the Torah clearly states that the prohibition against eating together and mingling with non-Jews stems from the fear lest this should gradually lead to intermarriage, which is objectionable lest it be followed by conversion to the religions and idolworship of the gentiles - all of which is clearly stated in the Torah -they invented a book entitled הלכת שחחיטה meaning the science of (animal-) slaughter. In this book, they imposed upon the Jews an increased burden that distracts them from their position of humiliation and affliction. ${ }^{875}$ Thus they ordered the Jews to blow into the lung of the animal until it is filled with air, and then observe whether the air is escaping through some aperture. If it is, they declare the meat unlawful. If some section of the lung adheres to another, they do not eat the meat of that animal. The inspector of the slaughter is also instructed to put his hand into the slaughtered animal's belly in order to determine with his finger whether the heart is attached to the back or to one of the sides; should there be an adhesion by a vein, though it be as fine as a hair, they declare the meat unlawful, do not eat thereof, and call it terefa, meaning unclean. This designation is the first transgression [20a] on the part of the scholars, because in Hebrew usage terefa refers merely to prey killed by some beast. Proof thereof is found in what Jacob says when Joseph's shirt, soiled with blood, is brought to him : ${ }^{94}$

ויכירה ויאמר כתנת בני חיה רעה אכלתהו, שרף שרף יוסף meaning: He recognized it and said: my son's tunic! a wild beast has devoured kim! Joseph has been mauled by a beast! ${ }^{\mathrm{B76}}$ Thus it

[^35]94. Gen. 37:39.
 torn to pieces by a beast of prey, and terefa is the prey.

Another proof thereof is that it says in the Scriptures: $Y e$ shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field. ${ }^{95}$ Prey of beasts is always to be found in the desert; and there is nothing surprising in the fact that the prohibition against eating this prey was revealed to a people of tent-dwellers, living in the desert. For they spent fully forty years wandering in desert and in wilderness, most of this time finding no food other than manna. When their lust for meat grew, Moses brought them quails. The quail (salwā) is a small bird similar to the sumānā. Its specific quality is that the eating of its meat softens the wicked heart, and eliminates conceit and cruelty. Indeed, this bird dies if it hears the sound of thunder, just as the swallow is destroyed by cold. God causes the quail to dwell on islands devoid of rain and thunder until the rainy season is past, after which the tird leaves the islands and spreads over the earth. ${ }^{\text {B77 }}$ God brought this bird to the Hebrews that they might benefit from the specific quality of its flesh, namely, the softening of wicked hearts. The Hebrews' lust for meat had grown to such an extent that nothing less than a revealed Torah prohibition could restrain them from eating beasts' prey and carcasses. So the transgression of their elders in interpreting terefa becomes clear, [20b] since merely "beasts' prey" is meant. But the legists invented absurdities and nonsense connected with the lung and heart [of a slaughtered animal]. They said that a slaughtered animal if found fit under these conditions is dakhya meaning clean; if it does not satisfy these conditions, it is terefa meaning unlawful. They said that the significance of the Torah verse: Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field; you shall cast it to the dogs, is that if you slaughter an animal and it does not satisfy these conditions - do not eat of it, but sell it to the gentiles. Thus they interpret "cast it to the dogs" to mean "to a person not of your persuasion; feed it to him, sell it to him." But, in truth, it is they who are like dogs, deserving this appellation and analogy on account of their mental turpitude, and their evil thoughts and beliefs concerning other nations. ${ }^{\text {B78 }}$

The Jews are of two sects. One of them, the Karaites, recognizes that those early authorities who compiled the Mishna and the Talmud, i.e., the Jewish legists, are a pack of calumniators of God and
of the prophet Moses; and that they are men of appalling stupidity and unsound mind. Thus, on questions concerning their law and religion, the legists usually differ from one another. Yet the Jews assert that the legists, even when disagreeing with one another on each of these questions, were inspired by God, all of them hearing Him say: In this question, legist so and so is right. This voice they call bath qol. When the Karaite Jews, disciples of cAnan and Benjamin, ${ }^{96}$ saw these infamous absurdities, this disgraceful forgery, and silly lie, they seceded from the legists and all those who followed them. They repudiated all of these impious fabrications. Having established [21a] the deception of the legists with their false claim to prophethood and their assertion that God has been inspiring them all several times a day, the Karaites decided that the legists had strayed from the right course, and that none of their tenets should be accepted. Consequently, they opposed the deceitful legists in all other matters which the text of the Torah did not mention. The Karaites ate meat with milk and forbade only the flesh of the young kid in its mother's milk, out of deference to the text of the verse: Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. As for the absurdities by the "sages" - or legists - which they entitled hilkhath shehitea, i.e., the science of animal slaughter, these are legal problems systematized by the legists, which the Karaites dismissed and voided, along with many other things. They desisted from declaring unlawful any animal slaughtered by themselves. Such is the position of this group of Jews, i.e., the Karaites. They have legists of their own, tco, who are authors of books, but do not go so far in calumniating God as to claim prophethood; nor do they ascribe their interpretations to prophetic inspiration, or to God, but merely to their own effort (ijtihād). ${ }^{\text {B79 }}$

The other sect is called the Rabbanites. They are more numerous. They are followers of the "sages" - the legists who calumniate God and who assert that on every problem God was wont to address them through the voice they call bath qol. Among the Jews, this group is the most harsh in its animosity toward other nations. These Godcalumniating legists made the Jews believe that food and drink become lawful for man through the application of this "science" which they ascribe to Moses and to God; that the other nations do not know it, and that only the Jews have been so honoured by God through

[^36]this and similar absurdities, with which the legists have corrupted the minds of the Jews. A Jew will look upon someone not [21b] of his own faith as one would look upon some animal devoid of intelligence; and regard the foods eaten by the gentiles as a sensible man would regard dung, or the pus of the dead, and similar filth that is unfit as food for any human. This is the root of the community's perseverance in its religious laws, its strict segregation from other nations, and its utterly scornful and contemptuous view of the rest of mankind.

As for the first group, the Karaites, most of them were little by little converted to Islam, so that only a few of them are left. Since the Karaites are free from the absurdities of the Rabbanite legists, those persistent fabricators who aggravated the burden of their community, they are better prepared to enibrace Islam. ${ }^{\text {B }}{ }^{\text {bo }}$

From what we have mentioned, it becomes clear that the "sages" are those who imposed their law upon this group, making livelihood more difficult and the burden heavier. They sought thereby to pit the Jews ever more against the religions of the gentiles lest thev mingle with the gentiles and thus be led to the abandonment of their religion.

The second cause for the oppressiveness of their burden is that the Jews are dispersed both to the East and to the West. In any town harbouring a community of Jews there may appear from a distant land a man of their faith who displays religious strictness, extreme piety, and meticulous observance. If he happens to be trained theologically, he will start to rebuke them for certain practices, giving an impression of superiority. He will accuse them of defective observance. He will ascribe the substance of his rebuke to his masters and to his townsmen, and his references for the most part will be false. In this way, he hopes to achieve leadership or some other goal, especially if he intends to remain with or be influential among them. So you may see him, upon his arrival, refraining from partaking of their food [22a] and of the meat of their slaughter; examining the knife of their slaughterer, whom he will reprove for something or other, saying: I shall not eat except of my own slaughter. You may see them vexed by him, while he continues to blame them for what is lawful and permissible, suggesting that these things be prohibited on the strength of his fabricated references until their doubts are dispelled.

Should, after a long interval, a countryman of his arrive, who knows how false are those references to authorities, the newcomer
may either agree with him or oppose him. In the former case, the newcomer will agree in order to share in the spiritual leadership achieved by his countryman and out of fear lest he, in opposing the leader, be denounced as a liar or accused of a lack of piety.

Moreover, the newcomer in most cases will approve of what the first one has sought to institute, i.e., declaring lawful things unlawful and disapproving of permissible things, and will say: May God greatly reward so and so, for he has strengthened the authority of the faith in the hearts of this community, and has repaired the fence of the law ${ }^{\text {B81 }}$ amidst them. Should he meet the other alone, he will thank him and bless him, or say to him: God has made you the pride of our fellow townsmen. However, should the newcomer defy what the first has instituted, i.e., his censure and oppression, not one in the community would sympathize with him, or trust him. Nay, all of them would think he is not pious enough, for these people are convinced that narrowing the scope of livelihood and prohibiting things unlawful is a sign of extreme piety and asceticism, and they invariably believe that religion and truth are with him who makes things more difficult for them. They do not stop to consider whether he does or does not produce any proof, nor do they investigate whether he is right or wrong. Such is the case of a theologicallytrained newcomer in a town.

Should the newcomer happen to be a rabbi - a Jewish scholar -he would institute a strange religious regime and introduce new customs with added precepts imposed, yet no one can raise an objection. They surrender to him completely, while he cleverly milks them [22b] and filches away their money. Should he learn that some young Jew sat alongside the road on a Sabbath, or bought milk or wine from a Muslim, the rabbi would rebuke and curse the fellow at a gathering of the town's Jews, would disparage him, and ascribe it all to religious slackness. ${ }^{\text {B82 }}$

This reason and the reason mentioned above are the cause of the increased oppressiveness of the burden the Jews have imposed upon themselves, of the narrowing scope of their livelihood, and of their abstention from the food of other people and from mingling with those not of their own community. We have clarified these for the reflective reader.

## EPILOGUE

He most deserves to be described as ignorant and branded as errant, whose nature defies the pursuit of the verities, and whose mind is far from perceiving the ultimate truth. But his station is even more miserable, who not only resists admitting the verities, but is also quick to accept the absurd and to believe the impossible, so that he deserves to be characterized as insane and degenerate. The group under consideration is most deserving of such a characterization, for although their ancestors daily witnessed sensorial miracles and heavenly fire as no other people did, yet they repeatedly plotted the stoning of Moses and Aaron. It is enough to mention that they chose the golden calf in the days of Moses; preferred to return to Egypt into slavery in order to sate themselves with flesh, onion, and cucumber; worshipped idols after the time of Joshua b. Nun; and joined Absalom, the refractory son of David by the daughter of the King of Geshur. ${ }^{\text {B83 }}$ The overwhelming majority joined this rebellious and refractory son, and waged war at his side against David, the great king and noble prophet of God. Then, when they shifted their allegiance back to David, ${ }^{97}$ their delegations and troops began streaming to him, asking to be forgiven for what they had perpetrated, [23a] and rejoicing in the safety of King David. Their eagerness was so intense that the tribes picked a quarrel with the tribe of Judah when, in a fervent race for precedence in the service of the king, it crossed the Jordan with its king before the arrival of the troops of the other tribes. Mild rebukes were exchanged, and then the tribe of Judah said: We are more entitled than others to hasten to the king and be eminent in his service because he is near of kin to us, and you have no reason to blame us, $O$ children of Israel. Then a base fellow arose, Sheba the son of Bichri, ${ }^{98}$ and called at the top of his voice: We have no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse, every man to his tent, O Israel. No sooner said than the army of the children of Israel seceded from David in answer to that base fellow's call. But when the vizier Joab succeeded in slaying the mischief-maker, all the troops returned their

[^37]allegiance to David. The people were like ruffians, a vulgar rabble who rally to drum-beating only to be dispersed by a yell.

As for their worship of the two calves, ${ }^{99}$ their abandonment of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and their persistent opposition to the prophets down to the very end of their kingdom - all this is not what one would expect from people in their right minds. It is their way to follow another nation only in its vices. Such is their ignominy and shame. ${ }^{100}$

As to their being quick to accept the absurd and incredible, we shall cite an instance illustrative of their lack of intelligence, namely what happened in our own time to the cleverest, shrewdest, and craftiest among them, the Jews of Baghdad. ${ }^{B 84}$ An impostor arose in the region of Mosul, a young Jew named Menaḥem b. Sulaymān and known as Ibn ar-Rūhi. He was a man of fine appearance. By the standards of the rank and file of Jews dwelling in the district known as Amadia in the country [ruled from] Mosul, he was well-versed in their religion. The commander of a fortress there was so kindly disposed toward this impostor, of whom he had formed a good opinion and whose [23b] feigned piety impressed him, that he used to look forward to visiting this man. The impostor coveted the place of the governor, whom he considered a simpleton, and imagined that he would be able to pounce upon the fortress and take it over, that it might become his fortified stronghold. So he wrote to the Jews who dwelled in the varions districts of the country of Adharbayjan and the adjacent territory, knowing as he did that the Persian Jews are the most ignorant of all Jews. In his writings he mentioned that he was a leader ${ }^{\text {ri85 }}$ zealous to free the Jews from the hands of the Muslims, and he addressed the Jews with various ruses and deceptions. Passages of his writings which I saw were to this effect:
"Perhaps you will say - what has he rallied us for, is it war or battle? No, we want you not for war or battle but that you might stand before this leader, to be seen at his gates by the royal envoys who surround him."

Toward the end of the writings:
"It behooves each of you to have a sword or other instrument of war and to conceal it under your garments."

[^38]The Persian Jews, and the people ${ }^{\mathrm{B86}}$ of the environs of Amadia and of the region of Mosul, responded. They flocked to him with concealed weapons until a vast number of them had gathered about him. The governor, because of his good opinion of him, thought that the people were mere pilgrims visiting the alleged sage who had appeared in his town; so it was, until their ambitions were disclosed to him. He was too forebearing to shed blood; he therefore killed only the trouble-making impostor. The rest of them dispersed in dismay, after suffering the evil results of affliction, privation, and destitution.

This story, though clear to every sensible person, was not plain enough for them. Nay, to this day they, I mean the Jews of Amadia, prefer him [the impostor] to many of their prophets. Some of them believe he is the expected Messiah himself. I saw groups of Persian Jews in Khoy, Silmās, Tabriz, and Marāgha [24a] who used his name for their gravest oath. As for the Jews of Amadia they became, in all their practices, more segregated from and opposed to the Jews than the Christians. In that region there is a group that professes a religion which it relates to the above-mentioned impostor, Menahem. ${ }^{\text {B87 }}$

When the report about him reached Baghdad, two Jewish tricksters, cunning elders, decided to forge letters by Menahem to the Jews of Baghdad bringing them the good tidings which they had been expecting since of yore; that he would appoint for them a certain night in which all of them would fly to Jerusalem. The Jews of Baghdad, their claim to sagacity and pride in craftiness notwithstanding, were all led to believe it. ${ }^{\text {B88 }}$ Their women brought their moneys and jewels in order that it all might be distributed, on their behalf, as charity to those whom the two elders considered deserving. In this manner the Jews spent the bulk of their wealth. They donned green garments, ${ }^{\text {B89 }}$ and on that night gathered on the roofs expecting, they asserted, to fly to Jerusalem on the wings of angels. Women began to weep over their nursing infants. What if the mothers should fly before their children or the children before their mothers? The children might suffer hunger because of the delay in feeding. At the time, the Muslims there marveled so greatly at what had befallen the Jews that they refrained from opposing them until the result of the Jews' vain expectations had come to light. ${ }^{\text {B90 }}$ The Jews kept crowding together for the flight until the morning disclosed their frustration and ignominy. But those two deceivers es-
caped with whatever they had appropriated of the Jews' wealth. Subsequently, the Jews realized the nature of the trick and how they had been fooled. ${ }^{B 91}$ Then they named that year "the year of the flight" and began to reckon the years of their old and young as from that year: it is the era of the Jews of Baghdad at the present time. This affair should suffice to cast shame and disgrace upon them forever. [24b] What we have listed is fully adequate to achieve the purpose of silencing them and muzzling them with their very own data. In God do I seek refuge and safety from their polytheism.

## THE CONVERSION TO ISLAM OF SAMAU'AL IBN YAHYA AL-MAGHRIBI


#### Abstract

and the narrative of his vision of the Prophet, upon whom God's prayer and blessing in the night of cArafa in the year $558 .{ }^{101}$ There is no God but God upon whom I rely. ${ }^{102}$


Said Samau'al, after praise to God and prayer for his prophet Muhammad, the God-chosen, and his kin.

Divine Providence leads a man, who through God's knowledge is predestined to be rightly guided, until he finds the right course at the exact time which God in His knowledge has set in advance. I shall relate God's guidance granted to me, and how I was led since my birth from the faith of the Jews toward my conversion, that it may become an example and an exhortation to whomsoever this may reach. The reader shall know that divine kindness is so concealed as to be unfathomable. God will select whomsoever He wishes, will grant wisdom to whomsoever He wants, and will lead him along the straight path. ${ }^{103}$
[25a] My father was called Rāb Yehūda Ibn Abūn and was of the city of Fās in Morocco; Rāb being a title, not a name, and its meaning - a Rabbi. He was the most learned man of his time in Torah studies, and the most gifted and prolific stylist and exquisite extemporizer in Hebrew poetry and prose. Among the Arabic-speaking people he was known as Abū-l-Baqā' Yahyā ibn cAbbās al-Maghribi. For most of the distinguished people among the Jews have an Arabic name distinct or derived from the Hebrew name, even as the Arabs who have name and surname ${ }^{104}$ separately.

He married my mother in Baghdad. She came from Basra and was one of three distinguished sisters ${ }^{\text {B92 }}$ well-versed in Torah studies and Hebrew writing, daughters of Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī alLewi, i.e. of the tribe of Levi, a tribe of good lineage, for Moses

[^39]sprang from it. This Ishāq was a man of learning and taught in Baghdad. Their mother was Nafisa, the daughter of Abū Naşr alDāwudi, one of their well-known dignitaries whose progeny still dwell in Egypt to this day.

My mother was named after the mother of the Prophet Samuel. This prophet was born after his mother had been barren, childless, and had not conceived for a number of years, not until she prayed to the Lord requesting a son who would become a devotee of God. A pious man, a spiritual leader by the name of Eli, blessed her, and she gave birth to Samuel the prophet. All this is described in the beginning of the Book of the Prophet Samuel. Now my mother had been with my father for some time, childless, until she was filled with fear of her barrenness, and saw a dream in which she was reciting the prayer of Hannah, mother of Samuel, to the Lord. She then vowed that if she had a son she would name him Samuel, as her name was the name of Samuel's mother. It came to pass that after that she conceived [25b] and I was born; she called me Samuel, which in Arabic is Samau'al. My father called me Abū Naṣr which was the Kunya of my grandfather. ${ }^{\text {B93 }}$

My father had me learn Hebrew writing, and then study the Torah and the commentaries until, by the age of thirteen, I had mastered this knowledge. Then he introduced me to the study of Indian reckoning ${ }^{\text {B94 }}$ and the solution of equations under Shaykh Abū-l-Hasan Ibn ad-Daskarī, ${ }^{\text {B95 }}$ and the study of medicine under the philosopher Abū 'l-Barakāt Hبibat-Allāh Ibn ${ }^{c} \mathrm{Alī}^{\mathrm{B}}{ }^{\mathrm{B96}}$ and the observation of current surgical operations and the treatment of diseases as practiced by my maternal uncle Abū-1-Fath Ibn al-Basri. As to Indian reckoning and astronomical tables, I mastered them in less than a year, by the age of fourteen, and at the same time continued to study medicine and to observe the treatment of diseases. Then I studied administrative accounting ${ }^{105}$ and the science of surveying under Shaykh Abū-l-Muzaffar ash-Shahrazürí, ${ }^{\text {B97 }}$ as well as algebra and equations also under him and the kātib ${ }^{106}$ Ibn Abī Turāb as well. I then frequented Master Daskarī and Abū-1-Hasan Ibn an-Naqqāsh ${ }^{\text {B98 }}$ for the study of geometry, until I had solved the problems from Euclid that they used to solve. At the same time, I was so devoted to medicine that I absorbed whatever I could from the above-mentioned two

[^40]teachers of this science. There remained parts of the Book of Euclid, ${ }^{\mathrm{B} 99}$ the book of al-Wāsiti on arithmetic and the Book Al-Badic on algebra by al-Karkhi. ${ }^{\text {B100 }}$ But I could find nobody who knew anything of these books, or beyond these, on the mathematical sciences, e.g., the book of Shujāa $\operatorname{Ibn}$ Aslam ${ }^{\text {B101 }}$ on algebra and others.

My passion and love for these studies were so strong that I would forget food and drink when pondering on some of them. I secluded myself in a room for a time and analyzed all those [26a] books and expounded them; I refuted their authors wherever they committed mistakes; demonstrated the errors of their compilers; and undertook to verify or correct where other authors had failed. I found Euclid's arrangement of the figures in his book faulty for by rearranging them I could dispense with some as superfluous; this - after the book of Euclid had been considered the acme by the other geometricians, so much so that they had introduced nothing new either by changing Euclid's set of figures or by eliminating any of them. All this I achieved in that year, namely, by the age of eighteen. Since that year my writings in these sciences followed one another continuously down to the present. God has revealed to me much that had been withheld from my predecessors among the eminent scholars; all this I put into shape for the benefit of whomever it might reach.

During that time my only source of income was from the practice of medicine. In this, I enjoyed a great measure of success for, with divine support, I was able to distinguish a curable disease from an incurable. I never treated a patient but with the result that he recovered. Whenever I felt disinclined to treat a patient, all the other physicians would fail to cure him and would give up his case.

Praise to God for His bounty and great favor.
After extensive readings of books in Iraq, Syria, Adharbayjan and Kuhistan, ${ }^{107} \mathrm{I}$ acquired the method of extracting much knowledge and of discovering medicines which, as far as I know, I was the first to find: such as the preparation I called "the penetrating rescuer" because it cures several serious diseases within a fraction of a day, and other preparations which I compounded that were useful and healing to men, by the grace of God Almighty.

Before I took up these sciences, that is, in my twelfth and thirteenth years, [26b] I was fascinated by records of the past and by stories, and was eager to learn what had happened in ancient times, and

[^41]to know what had occurred in ages past. I therefore perused the various compilations of stories and anecdotes. Then I passed on from that stage to an infatuation with books of entertainment and long tales; later still-to the larger compilations such as the tales on cAntar, ${ }^{108}$ Dhū-l-Himma, al-Batṭāl, Iskandar dhū-l-Qarnayn, the stories of ${ }^{\text {cAnqā}}{ }^{\prime}$, TTaraf b. Lūdhān, etc. ${ }^{\text {B102 }}$ Upon reading these I recognized that most of [the material was derived] from the works of the historians. Therefore I sought the real historical accounts, and my interest shifted to the histories, of which I read the book of Abū cAli b. Miskawayh entitled Experiences of the Nations, ${ }^{109}$ the History of at-Tabari ${ }^{110}$ and other historical works.

In these history books there passed before me accounts of the Prophet - God's prayer and blessing upon him - his conquests, the miracles God had performed for him, and the wonders he was given to work; divine victory and help which were granted him in the battles of Badr, ${ }^{111}$ Khaybar ${ }^{112}$ and others; the story of his beginnings in orphanhood and wretchedness; the animosity of his own people toward him while he stood up to his adversaries over a period of many years, rejecting openly their faith and calling them to his own faith, until God permitted him to migrate to Medina; what calamities befell his active enemies, and how they were slain under his eyes by the swords of his supporters at Badr and in other battles; the revelation of the miraculous verse foretelling the defeat of the Persians who, though headed by mighty Rustum with many thousands of a very great and powerful army, fled before the small and weak column under Sacd b. abī Waqqās; ${ }^{113}$ the dreams of Chosroes Anushirwān; ${ }^{114}$ the collapse of Byzantium and the destruction of its armies at the hands of Abū cUbayda b. al-Jarrāh, ${ }^{115}$ - God's mercy

[^42]upon him. Then I read about the governance of Abū Bakr ${ }^{1 s 6}$ and cUmar, ${ }^{117}$ their justice [27a] and asceticism. At the same time, engrossed in the accounts of ministers and secretaries, I acquired from this wide reading of the stories and reports about them, and from their own words, a mastery of eloquence, and a knowledge of rhetoric to an extent that evoked the praise of stylists and the admiration of rhetoricians, and that will be recognized by those who read any of the books I wrote on some scientific discipline.

I saw the miracle of the Koran, which human eloquence cannot rival, and well did I recognize the truth of its miraculous character. ${ }^{118}$ Then, after I had trained my mind on mathematical sciences, especially on geometry with its demonstrations, I asked myself about the differences among men in religious faiths and tenets. I received the greatest impulse to inquire into the subject from reading the epistle of Bardhawayh the physician, in the book Katila wa Dimna, ${ }^{119}$ and what I found therein. I realized then that reason is the supreme arbiter and that its rule should be established generally in the affairs of this, our world. For were it not that reason directs us to follow the prophets and apostles and to trust the elders and authorities of the past, we would not accept anything transmitted on their authority. I realized that if it is reason that is at the root of the adherence to the religions inherited from earlier generations, and at the root of following the prophets, it is then necessary to make reason the supreme arbiter in this whole sphere. And if we make reason supreme judge of what we learn by transmission from our ancestors, we realize that reason does not oblige us to accept ancestral tradition without examining it as to its soundness, merely because it has been handed down from ancestors, but obliges us to accept tradition only if it be a verity per se and if there is proof of its soundness. Mere reference to fathers and ancestry, however, is no proof. For if it were, it would serve all the infidel rivals as well, e.g., the Christians. Thus, they have it from ancestral tradition that Jesus is the son of God and upon him depend sustenance, privation, injury, benefaction. ${ }^{119 a}$ If following the fathers and ancestors were

[^43]to prove the truth of what has been handed down on their behalf, this would oblige us to accept as true the tenets of the Christians and Magians. ${ }^{120}$ [27b] Should it be claimed that emulation of the ancestors be correct only in the case of the Jews, this would not be accepted unless the Jews proved that their ancestors were wiser than those of other peoples. The Jews may make such a claim with respect to their fathers and ancestors, but all reports about their ancestors give the Jews the lie in this matter. Once we abandon partisanship in their favor, their ancestors are put on the same footing as those of other peoples. If the fathers of the Christians-and others-transmitted from their fathers such unbelief and error as reason avoids and sound human nature shuns, then it is not impossible that what the Jews have transmitted on behalf of their fathers be of the same nature.

When I realized that Jews and non-Jews are on a par with respect to transmission of ancestral tradition, I realized that the Jews had no true proof in their possession about the prophethood of Moses other than the evidence of the chain of transmission, which is available for Jesus and Muhammad just as it is for Moses - peace upon them all; that if the chain of transmission serves as confirmation, then all three are right and the prophethood of all of them is true. I also realized that I had not seen Moses with my own eyes nor had I witnessed his miracles nor those of any other prophet, and that, but for tradition and our following in the footsteps of the transmitters, we would know nothing of any of this. Then I realized that a reasonable person cannot believe one and disbelieve another of these prophets, not having seen any of them nor having witnessed the circumstances of any; except [that he may trust] tradition, whose evidence of transmission, however, is available for all three prcphets. It is therefore neither reasonable nor wise that one of them be accepted as true, and the others rejected as false. Rather, it is rationally incumbent either to believe all of them or to reject all of them.

As to disbelieving all, reason does not dictate that either. For we find that they all preached lofty morals, appealed for the virtues and against the vices, and regulated the world in a fashion [28a] beneficial to mankind.

Thus, trenchant proof convinced me of the prophethood of Jesus and of Muhammad, and I believed in them. For some time, out of consideration for my father, I held this belief without performing

[^44]the Muslim rites. For he loved me intensely, could hardly live without me, and was very much attached to me. He was careful about my upbringing, occupying me since my early youth with disciplines based on logical demonstration, and training my thought and mind in arithmetic and geometry, the two disciplines whose mind-developing quality was praised by Plato. ${ }^{\text {B103 }}$

For a long time I was not granted divine guidance, and this uncertainty, i.e. the consideration for my father, did not abandon me until travels separated me from him and my abode became distant from his. Yet I persisted in my respect for him and in the effort to avoid distressing him on my account.

And the time of divine guidance arrived. The divine call reached me in a vision of the Prophet, in a dream, the night of Friday, the ninth of Dhū-1-Hijja in the year 558. This was in Marāgha in Adharbayjān.

## Description of what I saw

This is the first dream I saw.
I saw myself in the vast open space of a verdant countryside. In the east loomed a mighty tree, and people were hurrying toward it. So I asked one of them what was the matter with the people. Said he: The prophet Samuel is sitting under the tree and the people are saluting him. I was glad to hear that and went toward the tree. In its shade I found a corpulent, radiant, grave old man with very white hair, awe-inspiring, holding a book into which he was looking. Then I saluted him saying in the Arabic tongue: "Peace upon thee, O prophet of God." He turned to me smiling, and said to me kindly: "And upon thee peace, O namesake. Sit down, so we may present a matter to thee." I sat down before him. [28b] He then passed to me the book which was in his hand and said: "Read what thou findest before thee." I found before me this verse from the Torah: ${ }^{121}$

נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון
meaning: I wiil raise thern up a prophet from among their brethren like un!o thee; in him they shall believe. ${ }^{8104}$ This is an exhortation from God Almighty unto Moses. I knew that the Jews say that this verse was a revelation concerning the prophet Samuel because he

[^45]was like Moses, by which they mean that Samuel was of the tribe of Levi, the one to which Moses belonged. When I found this verse of the Torah before me, I read it and thought that he meant to boast that God had mentioned him in the Torah and had announced his advent to Moses. So I said: "May it bring thee joy, O prophet of God, that God has distinguished thee therein even unto this rank." However, he looked at me angrily and said: "But is it to me that God alluded herein? O, thou clever one, of what benefit were to you then the geometric demonstrations?" So I said: "O prophet of God, but whom was God referring to thereby?" Said he: To the one referred to in the verse: ${ }^{122}$

## תופיע מהר פארן

The meaning of this is an allusion to a prophecy that will be revealed, it was promised, on the mountains of Paran. ${ }^{\text {B105 }}$ When he told me that, I realized he meant Muhammad - may God pray over him and bless him - because he is the one sent from the mountains of Paran, i.e. the mountains of Mecca; for the Torah says literally that Paran is the dwelling of the people of Ishmael, namely in the verse: ${ }^{125}$ וישב במדבר פארן
meaning: And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, i.e. Ishmael the son of Abraham, the friend of God - God's prayer and blessing upon them. Thereupon he again turned to me and said: "Dost thou not know that God did not send me to abrogate anything of the Law but sent me to remind them of it, to revive its precepts, and to save them from the Philistines?" I said then: "Yes, O prophet of God." Said he: "What need have they that their Lord should enjoin them to follow one who is neither abrogating their religion nor altering [29a] their law? Dost thou think they needed that God enjoin them to accept the prophethood of Daniel or Jeremiah or Ezekiel?" I said then: "No, indeed, no need at all." He then took the scripture from my hand and departed angrily.

I was frightened by his anger and alarmed by his exhortation. I awoke in terror and sat up. It was dawn, and the lamp was burning at its brightest. I recollected the entire dream. I saw it clearly with nothing of it lost. I said: Verily this is an act of grace from God may he be praised and exalted; an exhortation that is to remove the doubt that has been preventing me from professing the true creed and openly embracing Islam. I repented thus before God and asked
123. Gen. 21:21.
to be forgiven, and prayed ardently for the Apostle of God, Muhammad the chosen - may God pray over him and bless him. I performed the ritual ablution and prayed in several prostrations to God. Great was my relief and joy at the guidance revealed unto me. Then I sat up meditating, but drowsiness overwhelmed me while I was pondering, and I fell asleep. ${ }^{\text {B106 }}$

I saw myself sitting in a busy street unknown to me when somebody came over to me. He was dressed in the garments of the S Sūfis ${ }^{\mathbf{1 4}}$ and the garb of the poor. He did not greet me but said:
"Obey the Apostle of God." ${ }^{125}$
Overawed, I got up to go with him; joyfully I hurried, happy at the prospect of meeting the Prophet.

He walked in front of me, and I followed him until he reached the gate of a house. He entered it and invited me to enter. I walked in behind him, following him through a long corridor which was dark, but only slightly so. When I reached the end of the corridor and realized that I was about to meet the Prophet, I was overawed and began to prepare for meeting and greeting him. I remembered I had read in the accounts about him that when he was met in company they used to say: "Peace upon you and God's mercy and blessings"; but when he was found alone they used to say: "Peace upon thee, [29b] O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings." I now decided that I should greet him with the general salutation that would include the company, too, for I considered that more proper and suitable.

Then I approached the court of the house. Opposite the corridor there was a lengthy chamber, and to the left of the entrance another chamber, and there were no other rooms beside these two in the house. In each of these there were two men, of whose appearance I am not certain now, but it seems to me that most of them, though young, seemed to be preparing for travel. Some were dressed for travel, with arms near by.

Then I saw the Messenger of God standing between the two chambers, i.e., in the corner of that side of the courtyard. He seemed occupied, as if just finishing something and turning to begin something else. I entered unexpectedly just as he was about to start. He

[^46]was clad in white, his turban was moderately elegant; on his neck was a white cloak. He was of medium height, distinguished looking, corpulent, his colour medium between pale and ruddy, and slightly swarthy; his eyebrows and eyes were black, and his moustache and beard were of medium length as was his hair; and his features too were of medium size, neither long nor short. ${ }^{\text {B107 }}$ When I entered and saw him, he turned to me, saw me, and came toward me smiling and benevolent. In awe of him I forgot how I had decided to salute him, and addressed him with an individual salutation saying: "Peace upon thee, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings," thus excluding the company, as my vision and my heart turned exclusively to him. He then said: "And upon thee peace, and God's mercy and blessings." There was no interval or stop between my salutation and my advance toward him; I rushed toward him and stretched out [30a] my hand toward his. He stretched out his noble hand to me and put it in my hand. I said: "I testify that there is but one God and that thou art (annaka) the Messenger of God." For it came to my mind that some philologists maintain that proper names are the most expressively defined nouns, while others say that personal pronouns are most expressive, which is correct. For the kāf of my word annaka includes nobody but the person thus addressed, as it applies to him exclusively. ${ }^{\text {B108 }}$ I saw he was filled with joy. Then he sat down in the corner between the two chambers and I sat down in front of him. He said: "Prepare for the trip with us to Ghumdān ${ }^{B 109}$ for the conquest." ${ }^{126}$

When he said that, it was my impression that he was referring to the great city which is the seat of the emperor of China, and to the fact that Islam had not yet prevailed over it. I had read that the nearest road in use to China was through the Green Sea, which is the most stormy and most dangerous of seas. When I heard that word from the Prophet, I was seized with fear of a voyage at sea, and said to myself: "The wise do not travel by sea, how then shall I travel by sea?" Then, also immediately, I said to myself: "Praise God, now that I believe in this Prophet and owe him allegiance, shall I not follow him when he commands? What sort of allegiance is it that I have just sworn to him?" I resolved to comply and obey. Then another thought occurred to me, and I said: "If the Apostle of God and his companions are with us - then land and sea will submit to us and we need fear no danger." I felt relief

[^47]at that thought; I was filled with certainty and acceptance. I recollect that these thoughts and ideas occurred to me whilst I was before the Prophet, in no time, that is to say, without any interval delaying my answer to the Prophet. I could not have been any quicker as I said to him: "I hear and obey, O Apostle of God." Then he said: "With God's blessing."

Then I rose and left [30b] and I did not find in the corridor the darkness that had been there when I entered. When I left the house and had walked for a while, I found myself, as it were, in the market place of Marāgha, in the spot between the row of the money-changers and the Madrasa Qadawiya, and I noticed three persons in Ṣūfi garb, the raiment of ascetics. One of them had on his body a waistcoat of coarse black wool, and a headdress of the same kind. In one hand he had a bow folded in shabby felt; in the other, a javelin with a palm-stem handle. Another of them was girded with a sword in a scabbard made of a palm branch. Ever since I was young and had read the stories of the rise of Muslim power it had been impressed upon my imagination how the companions of the Prophet were weak, poor, and without equipment except for the like of what we have just mentioned, and yet were victorious over powerful and huge armies and numerous cavalry. So when I saw the three persons I said: These are the warriors and conquerors in the holy war, these are the companions of the Prophet; with these shall I travel and go forth to conquer. Tears rolled from my eyes in my sleep, so great was my joy and happiness over them.

Then I awoke, though it was not yet dawn. I performed the ritual ablution, and said the dawn prayer. I was very eager now to proclaim the creed and to make public my conversion to the faith of Islam.

I was at the time in Marāgha in Adharbayjan, guest of the glorious master Fakhr ad-Dīn Abū-l-cIzz cAbd-al-cAziz b. Maḥmūd b. Saed b. cAlī b. Hamid al-Mudari - God's mercy upon him. He had suffered from a disease but God had restored him to health. I had been friendly with him even before. I came to him in the early hours of the aforementioned Friday and informed him that God had lifted the veil from me and had granted me his guidance. How great was his joy [31a] that day at hearing the news! He said: "By God, this is what I have always wished for, and hoped for, and for a long time I have discussed it with the supreme judge, STadr ad-Din, and both of us have regretted that your scholarship and virtues should adorn a non-

Muslim; praise God for the rightness and guidance He has inspired you with, and for thus answering our prayer. But tell me, how did God reveal this unto you and how did He facilitate it, after denial and delay?" I said: "This is something that God has injected into my soul by inspiration. However, I had known the idea and its rational proof and demonstration even before - its proof is in the Torah - but out of consideration for my father, and thus shunning divine reproof, I was reluctant to be the cause of his grief. But now this doubt has been lifted. Stretch out your hand, and I shall testify that there is but one God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God." The sāhib, in great happiness, stood up trembling with joy before that he could stand up only with difficulty. He left me, inviting me to be seated until his return, bestowed upon me the finest of clothes, had me carried on the noblest of steeds, and ordered his retinue to rush to the mosque in front of me. The sāhib himself had gone ahead to the khatiib ${ }^{127}$ and ordered him to bide his time and to wait until I appeared at the mosque. For it took the tailors a while to complete the sewing of the jubba ${ }^{128}$ the sāhib had ordered to be cut. I set out for the mosque as the community was waiting for me. Upon my arrival the congregation broke into a loud "God is great!" and the great mosque shook with the prayer for the Messenger of God. Then the khatib ascended the minbar, ${ }^{129}$ and the judge, the prince of preachers, Ṣadr ad-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. cAbdallāh b. Abdarrahim b. Yel, ${ }^{\text {B110 }}$ delivered a sermon, speaking at length in my praise, and on the praise due to God for having granted me alertness and guidance. [31b] His eloquence on the subject was exquisite. For the most part the assembly was occupied with myself. ${ }^{\text {B111 }}$

In the evening of that day, i.e. the night of the feast of sacrifice, ${ }^{130}$ I began writing the arguments for silencing the Jews and compiled them in a book I entitled Ifhām al Yahūd (Silencing the Jews). The book became well known, its fame was widespread, and numerous copies of it were made under my supervision in many places in the regions of Mosul, Diyārbakr, Iraq, and Persia. Later I added to it many sections of polemics against the Jews on the basis of the Torah, so that it became an excellent work on polemics against the Jews, the like of which had never been produced in Islam.

[^48]But as to the first and second dreams, I did not mention them for four full years either to the șāhib or to anyone else in Marägha. That was for two reasons. Firstly, I was loath to mention a matter that could not be proved, lest the mind of the listener should be prompt to deny it as something extraordinary or unusual. For a sensible man is loath to expose himself to refutation, be it open or secret. Secondly, I was loath to have the report of the two dreams reach anyone in the land who was envious of me on account of the scholarship and esteem God had bestowed upon me, lest this report be used to stir up ill-will against me and contempt for my conduct, and lest the illwishers say: "He left his religion on account of a dream he had seen; he was deceived by jumbled dreams." I therefore concealed it until the book, Silencing the Jews, had become well known, its copies numerous and read by a great number of people. When people learned the truth, i.e., that my conversion from the faith of the Jews was by proof and demonstration and trenchant arguments which I had known, and that I had been concealing this and refraining from disclosing it for a time, out of consideration and reverence for my father, then only did I reveal the story of the two dreams [32a] and explain that they were an admonition from God urging me to proceed without any delay, be it on account of my father or for any other reason.

I wrote a letter to my father who was then in Aleppo, whilst I was in Hiss Kayfā, ${ }^{\text {B112 }}$ and I explained to him in that letter a number of arguments and proofs which I knew he would not deny and could not refute. I informed him also of the two dreams. He set out for Mosul in order to meet me, but in Mosul he was suddenly stricken with a disease, and died.

The reader of these pages should now understand that it was not the dream that had induced me to abandon my first faith. A sensible man will not be deceived about his affairs by dreams and visions, without proof or demonstration. But I had known for a long time the proofs and demonstrations and arguments for the prophethood of our master Muhammad - may God pray over him and grant him peace. It was those proofs and demonstrations that were the cause for my conversion and for taking the right path. As to the dream, it served merely to alert ard to prod me out of my procras-
tination and inertia, toward declaring, now that my father was dead, the cause of truth. ${ }^{131}$

Praise be to God for the conversion to Islam and the true creed, for the light of faith and guidance. I ask Him to direct me toward what pleases Him in Muhammad and his kin.
131. Or: the true creed.

## AN ANONYMOUS EPISTLE TO SAMAU'AL

[T 21] In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate.
Text of a query received by Samau'al from one of the "philosophizing" heretics (Zindiq). ${ }^{\text {B113 }}$

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.
The conversion of our master - the spiritual leader, theologian, scholar, unique and outstanding, mainstay of the faith, sun of Islam, one and only in his age, king of the sages, may God perpetuate [T 22] support for him, and subdue anyone envious of him - from the Israelite faith to the Muslim faith was either a matter of caprice, inclination, or folly, or else it was through proof and demonstration. But caprice, inclination, or folly would ill suit a man like you and would not be fitting in a man who has reached your degree of learning, especially with regard to belief and religion. ${ }^{132}$

Should you say that it was through proof and demonstration, inquiry and speculation, then, if this inquiry and speculation were the result of some new idea that influenced you at a certain time, perhaps another new idea may occur to you which will prove the first one false. But if this inquiry was undertaken in the original state of mind, then was there no such inquiry before that time? Perhaps, if you continued your inquiry and speculation, you might learn that the truth is in a creed other than the one you have embraced.

Should you say: I know that truth is in this religion - through proof and demonstration, we would say: by what method? Furthermore, nobody knows that one faith is truer than another faith unless he has studied and made a thorough investigation of all the faiths and perused all the texts of their masters, and all their arguments. If you claim to have done so - that is absurd, for a lifetime would not suffice to read all the texts of all the masters of all the re-

[^49]ligions and sects. Perhaps, if you were asked about the nature of the religion of the Magians, and the dualists and the Brahmans, ${ }^{133}$ B114 you would not be an authority in the study of their tenets.

Also, the religion to which you have been converted is divided into many rites (madhāhib). With which one, then, did you become affiliated and which one did you choose?

If you have not yet become affiliated with any of them, then you are not yet a Muslim. Again, if you have given preference to one of the rites, then - by what method? If you claim that by argumentation - that is absurd because it would require you to have perused all the expositions of the masters of the rites of ash-Shäfici, Abū Haniffa, Mālik, and Ahmad b. Hanbal. ${ }^{134}$

If you have given preference to one of the rites at your pleasure, by caprice, or merely by following an authority, that is not what behooves the learned and the wise; in such a case, the royal dignity departs from them. ${ }^{135}$ B115

The opinion of our master, the religious leader and theologian, in considering and answering this, will be greatly appreciated.

[^50]
## THE REPLY

## In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

Foolish people will say: what has turned them from the Qibla which they have been observing? Say: to God belongs the East and the West. He guideth whom He willeth to a straight path. ${ }^{136}$

I have considered what is mentioned by this opponent who is asking about what is none of his concern. Let him know that God [T23] guided me with clear proof and solid argument; it was not a matter of following a teacher or parent.

As to his query on the time of my profession of the Islamic tenets, whether that followed upon my becoming a believer or whether there was an interval of time between the two (i.e., the belief and the conversion) during which interval this faith was hidden or undeclared -this is a form of meddlesomeness. For Islam is pleasing to God and to the believers in either case.

As to attributing the delay in professing Islam to folly - how does he know that the delay in professing and in divulging the conversion was not due to purposeful timing, or to caution against an enemy? However, we declare before God we are innocent of any slackness in responding to Him who called us toward the truth, once we recognized it. But as soon as God granted me insight and brought unto me the light of divine guidance, I hastened to join the community of truth.

As to his saying: Just as this has struck him as a new idea, so another idea may occur to him that will prove the first one false, the answer thereto is that this is a false analogy, and idle talk. For this objection could be raised against one converted to a [new] religion through investigation and speculation and then converted from this second religion to a third after further inquiry and speculation. But it does not apply to one who rejected the absurdities rooted in his imagination since childhood, as a result of ancestral concoction, which he had become familiar with and accustomed to, but which for him did not become valid through investigation and speculation; nor to one who later, when he happened to engage in intellectual activity and study, was led by reason and valid proofs toward the truth. For that which he abandoned and gave up, he

[^51]had not been led to by speculation. How, then, can the doubt mentioned apply to such a man?

As to his saying: Did he investigate all the faiths - I do not have to do so because the truth is one and is not plural. Consequently, when the proof led me to the true faith, then from its truth followed the falseness of all the opposing faiths. There was no need to peruse everything written by their masters.

As to his saying: Had he inquired he might have learned that the truth is not in what he maintains - this is absurd, because truth is not plural.

As to his question by which method I became convinced of the call of Muhammad - may God pray over him and his kin and grant them peace - the evidence of these mighty nations for his prophethood, coupled with the great miracle uncontested of the glorious Koran, i.e., the eloquence of the Koran, led me toward that; and this was made certain by allusions, referring to Muhammad, which I understood from (reading) the Torah. But the former (i.e., the evidence of these mighty nations) is the original argument.

As to his query on the Islamic rite that [T 24] I joined, and his contention that I am obliged to consider all the rites of the imams, this is a moot point that does not apply to me and a question that is none of his concern. However, my answer to it is the very first retort, namely, that proof led me to a rite in whose truth I believe, and I have no need to examine any other because truth is not plural with respect to rite, just as it is not plural with respect to faith. Moreover, the difference between the Muslim authorities on rites is merely on secondary matters and minor points, not on the basic creed, nor to the extent that they would anathematize one another. I mean the followers of ash-Shäficī, Abū Heniifa, Mālik, and Ahmad b. Hanbal ${ }^{137}$ - may God be gratified with them - not the originators of unlawful innovations.

But this inquirer into what is none of his concern, in taking this position, is bent upon strengthening the Jewish arguments I have demolished. In his support of the Jews, he busies himself with a query that is none of his concern. For I have shown in the Silencing (Ifhām) the corruption of their belief and the contradictions of their lore. This is preferable to perpetuation of the doubts of the heretics and the ravings of the infidel philosophers - who should
137. Cf. no. 134.
be slain - in the religion I abandoned and in the one to which God guided me.

As to the conclusion of his speech, this is truly pointless. Kings and rulers are in the habit of apportioning to everyone that which they think he deserves, thus keeping the high positions out of the reach of the unfit. Envy serves but to augment man's obscurity. As the poet says: ${ }^{\text {R116 }}$

If unnoticed I be by the fool's mind,
It is just because his eyeball is blind.
-And, farewell!

## B NOTES

Bi. Abrogation is an internal Islamic problem since in the Koran certain passages are supposed to abrogate other passages. Furthermore, Islam insists that the older monotheistic religions have been abrogated with the rise of Islam.

Christianity considered Judaism abrogated by the New Testament dispensation. This attitude is continued in Islam and turned also against Christianity. The Jews remained the most stubborn opponents of the abrogation theory. The polemic, theological and philosophic literature of the Jews dealt with the subject extensively, considering it inconceivable that God should contradict his own commands. Cf. SPL 322 ff.; Clair Tisdall ch. 3.

B2. The translation is in the main Saadia's. It attempts to avoid the possible anthropomorphism of the expression in the original "for in the image of God made He man":

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ان يُكون سافك دم الأسان با نسان مثله دمه يسفك } \\
& \text { لان بصورة شريفة مسلطا صنعه }
\end{aligned}
$$

In Gen. 1:26, the translation has

Cf. I H 141, Paragraph 1.
B3. I-H p. 100 insists on the time limit for the validity of the law: the precepts are for definite acts over a definite period.

B4. Cf. Saadia Amanät, ch. 3 .
B5. The argument against the acceptance of ancestral tradition as decisive is developed in various quarters. Rāzī (IX-Xc.) cites it (Kraus in RSO 1935, pp. 358,367 ) as part and parcel of anti-traditionalism with an anti-religious animus; Karaites use it to pave the way to objections against the rabbinic lore (Qirqisani 15 f., Nemoy Anthology 118). Cif. Rosenthal Ar. Autob. p. 28 n. 1.

B6. Qaräfi 64: the vigorous literary production of Islam shows Islam is more universalist, and perfect. Better fruits point to better plants. (Cf. Josephus, Against Apion II, 14, 20: "We have not produced any geniuses, for example, in arts and crafts, or eminent sages." Cf. Tcherikover 368; Origenes Contra Celsum Iv 31.) Moses b. Ezra in his K. al Muhādara (in the chapter edited by Kokovtseff p. 214 end, in Halper's Hebrew rendering p. 53) acknowledges the excellence of Arabic and the wealth of Arabic literature, and indeed finds it all foretold in the Bible; also 205/39, 210/47; that is why Arabian Jews were at an advantage 212/49. Ibn 'Abdūn ( $\$ 206$ p. 128) : Scholarly books should not be sold to infidels who might translate them and attribute to their own people the works which have been written by Muslims.

B7. This victorious conclusion had already been drawn by Bäqillāni, Tamhid (Cairo, 1947) p. 131 sq.

B8. Qirqisāni similarly stresses the contradictions of the rabbanite tenets on these subjects.

B9. The first part of the verse is addressed to you, the second to thee. Here the plural only appears. This occurs also in Saadia's version and indeed in the Targum Saadia:

B10. Whilst the Mu'tazila and the Shi'a were inclined to accept badä', Jews were opposed to the notion Cf. E.I., s.v.

B11. A classical passage, esp. in Christian polemics with Jews. Cf. B. Blumenkranz 227-237. Saadia

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { الى الن يجي، الذي هو ( ـ الاهر ) له والي تجتمع الثموب • }
\end{aligned}
$$

B12. Cf. S. Krauss Leben esp. 189, 280; id. in REJ 103 (1938) ; Qirqisãni J. 42 f.; Ginzberg V, 15 f.; Nemoy Anthology p. 50 f.; R. Travers Herford in UJE
v. VI; L. Ginzberg Geniza Studies I, 324-338; Blumenkranz 169 ff. M. Goldstein, Jesus in Jewish Tradition (New York, 1950).

B13. JE XI, 262-64; Rashi on Sanh. 60a, Erub. 18b.
B14. Baqillãnī is the best known authority on the subject. Cf. the introduction by G. E. von Grunebaum in A Tenth Century Document of Arab Literary Theory and Criticism (Chicago, 1950), and his remarks in Medieval Islam (Chicago, 1947) 96 ff. Arnong Muslims, objections, doubts and controversies on the subject appeared from time to time. A Fischer on Ma'arri Berichte u.d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1942. R. Hartmann in ZDMG, 98, 396 sq., Kraus, in RSO 1935, 367 ff. Yehuda Ha-Levi, Khazari (216/191) seems to claim this quality for the Mishna. Qirqisani 298 f. SPL 315; Schreiner Polemik 663 sq.

B1j. Further J. Bergmann Apologetik esp. 99 ff., 113 f.; S. Kraus Leben 161.
B16. On acläm, biblical passages cited to prove that Muhammad and Islam had been alluded to in the ancient scriptures, cf. SPL 325-9; Clair Tisdall ch. 7; Fritsch 74-96; Ali Tabari, chs. 9-10; von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, 92f; Schreiner Polemik 625 sq.

The difficulty was: if the bible is not a revealed book but a forgery, how can it contain announcements about the prophet of Islam? This plagued all the Muslim authors. Samau'al explains that by God's foresight, some passages have remained that may be quoted. Qirqisani (295) says that Muslim scholars shrink from quoting such announcements that are left to the vulgar; similar was the opinion of Maimonides in his Epistle to Yemen.

B1\%. Saadia's tr. Deut. 18:15 and 18

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { كن ای־ نبى " من ينكم من بمض اخو تك مثلى ينصبـه لك اللـه ربـــك منـ } \\
& \text { •فاقبلـوا }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { بجميع ما آمره بـ • }
\end{aligned}
$$

Used as an argument for Jesus in Acts 3:22.
B18. Saadia

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ومُر لتومكا وقل لهم انكم جائزون في تخم اخوتكم بنى عسو الميميني } \\
& \text { بسعر فسيخافو نكم فاحندوا جدلّا • }
\end{aligned}
$$

B19. Cf. Ginzberg III, 223 f.; J. E. s. v. Samuel (in post-biblical lore).
B20. Saadia:

B21. Saadia:


Onkelos has Mi-Ţurā instead of Mi-Sinai [Ms. T. mentions that the passage is in the last weekly portion; it is in the one before the last].

B22. For Sharät cf. Le Strange Palestine pp. 35, 39, 74, 287. For Tur cf. ib. 73; A. Jeffery The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an (Baroda 1938) 206 f . The word occurs ten times in the Koran. On the nomenclature Edom-Ishmael cf. SPL 257, 316.

B23. Saadia
واقام في برية فارن واتخذت له امـُ زوجة من بلد مصر •

B24. Saadia's rendering
i.e. with reference to Israel's enemies.

B25. Job as a gentile prophet: Baba Batra f. 15; Ginzberg VI 125 n. 727; E.I. s.v. Ayyüb.

B26. Saadia
Hebrew


Lev. 24:22
Num. 15:15
 יהיו לסם ולגו הגר (אתכם)
Ex. 12:49



的 . . .

B2\%. Cf. 1. Elbogen, p. 16, 20f; 'J. E. s. v. Ahava Rabba.
Samau'al quotes the Eastern rite.
B28. Schreiner, of course, could not find such a prayer in the current prayerbook. The full text in the Saadia Siddur runs:


The text is also known from Geniza fragments: REJ 53 (1907) pp. 236, 241. B29. I-Q 75 published by Goldziher in Kobak's Jeschurun IX 1873 p. 43 with a note suggesting that the passage may refer to the Midrash Rabba on the Song of Songs 1:14.

B30. The passage is reproduced by I-Q 41. Saadia's rendering:

ور.بسض ويتِتـمسع $\qquad$ الحهل والند مح
وسكني الذنب والضرغام والجباوس ومبى مير يـوقـيم

B31. This passage is referred to in an anonymous commentary (Oxf. Neubauer N 814) quoted by S. Fuchs in Ha-Hoqer (1893) 321 (and already referred to by Steinschneider in the Bodleian Cat.). Concerning Ex. 16:15


בצלד דmi השניה.
B32. J. Z. Lauterbach, Saadia . . . Psalmenuebersetzung und Commentar (Berlin, 1903) p. XII and p. 39.
ولا يَوْولون الامب إين دبُّم

B33. This passage and part of the continuation appear also in I-Q 39-41.
B34. Cf. I-H. 223 f.
B35. The Hebrew text has כמצשה [not כמראה)
Saadia:
 - النقـاء

J. Derenbourg points out in his annotation that in this verse, as well as in the following verse and in Gen. 27:42, Saadia gives this translation. He refers to the commentary on Ex. 32:14, to Ibn Ezra's comment and Ibn Janah's Book of Roots s.v. NHM. The attempt to avoid the anthropopathic suggestion is evident in the translation. David ben Abraham al-Fäsī, the Karaite lexicographer of the second half of the Xc also distinguished between regret (nadäma) and withdrawal (ru$j \bar{u}^{\circ}$ ). Cf. The Hebreze Arabic Dictionary . . . . ed. by Solomon L. Skoss v. II (New Haven, 1945) p. 265. But the question has ancient antecedents: it is discussed by Philo (Quod deus sit immutabilis $\S 21$ ), Celsus (ap. Orig. VI 58).

B37. Saadia's rendering. Cf. Davidson Hiwi N20.
B38: Saadia:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { قيبل الله القربان المرضى وقال اللـه من ذاته لا اعود ابداً ألعن ' الارض } \\
& \text { ايضا بسبب الانسان علي ان مخاطر قلب الا نسان ردى من صغـره ون ولا اعـود } \\
& \text { زبادة اثتن كلَّ "مى "كما منت • }
\end{aligned}
$$

Opening deviation follows the Targum
וקביל ה ברצאוא ית קרבניה
The words min dhātihi mean li-nabiyyihi i.e. His heart $=$ His prophet. (Derenbourg).


B42. In the original Zarco. Saadia: אן לא תנסי מן אפואה גסלה.
B43. In the talmudic age similarly there was a view that only the ten commandments represented true revelation. To fight this view the daily reciting of the decalog was discarded. (j. Ber. 3c) Cf. Bergmann Apologetik 65; Baron II 981.

B44. Ginzberg IV, 304; VI 396 f. The point is discussed by I-H 113 end, 114. J-Q 40 f. Qarăfi 109 ff.
B45. This anticipation of modern biblical criticism is rooted in a widespread hellenistic attitude which possibly was based on some off-the-track Jewish interpretations of the role of Ezra. Cf. E. Stein Bibelkritik, esp. 28, 43; Ginzberg IV 355-58, VI 444 n. 35, 445 ; Baron II 156 sq. 382. Curiously Qirqisäni (p. 144) accuses the Rabbanites of asserting that the Torah is not the one revealed to Moses but was compiled by Ezra; they say (p. 149 f.) that there was only one copy in the hands of the priests etc. and refer to Deut. $31: 9$. I-H writes in the same vein in the following passages: 187, 198 f., esp. 199 end; of 117 end, 196 f. Ezra is bitterly denounced by I-H: 123, 129 lines 11-12. I-Q made use of the passage on Ezra. Yet many Muslims could not accept the forgery hypothesis. Cf. I-H 215; Tabari II 669 ff. Ms. T. digresses when it mentions the priests. "By kähin 1 do not mean what the Arabs call by that name-a soothsayer-for the Jews claim that the Aaronids were forbidden to practice soothsaying."

B46. Yăqut (ed. Wüstenfeld) I 668 f.; J. Obermeyer Landschaft 321-9; Y. Ghanima Nuzhat 196-203; D. Sassoon JQR NS XVII 410 ff.; Cat. Sassoon 568 sq. S. Asaf: באהלי 125 f.

B47. Saadia:

i.e. the end of the verse is here: "Thou shalt not eat meat in milk." Taj: Wa-Lā tatbakh. So already in Onkelos. Ms. T. indeed accuses "the compiler of the Targum" of the rabbinic misinterpretation. "He outdid himself in a hasty conclusion . . . This, by my life, is different from what God said for it is extremely remote from what the usage of the word suggests. This far-reaching tampering with the divine word is inadmissible. For if God wished to forbid the eating of meat with milk nothing would have prevented Him from stating that clearly. Thus their error in the interpretation of other distorted translations becomes evident, as well as how they tended to make the burden [of the precepts] heavy upon their community."

B48. Saadia:
وفى الجفن ثلاتة قضبان وهى كما فرعت صعد نوارها و نضجت صناقدها -وصارت هنبا
Cf. Zucker p. 358; Qirqisãnī v. V p. 1226; David b. Abraham Dictionary v. I 280; Nemoy Anthology p. XXIV. Schreiner pointed to the Karaite origin of the argimsent mentioned also by Ibn Ezra, and referred to the 13 c . Aaron b. Joseph in Sefer Ha-Mibhar and the 14 c. Aaron b. Elijah in Keter Tora. Cf. Belkin Philo and the Oral Law (Cambr., Mass., 1940) p. 22; von Grunebaum in JQR 1941 p. 405 f . (a Muslim aware of the difference of opinion between Karaites and Rabbanites in this matter).

B49. daula. IH 210 also has inqiradu daulatin: This explanation of the stultifying impact of catastrophe and oppression upon the Jews is reproduced by I-Q, Qarăfi. In the last mentioned text it was recognized by Schreiner (p. 411 n . 1 in MGWJ for 1899) as a borrowing from Samau'al.

B50. This is a curious echo of ancient accusations directed against the Jews, and later against the Christians. Cf. Tcherikover 365-68; Baron I 188 sq., 379 sq. With reference to celibacy's destructive intent (Takhrīb al-álam) it was turned against the Christians in Sasanian Iran (Andrae, Ursprung 188 ff.)
b51. The origin of synagoguc prayers, poctry, and chant is obscure. The present text seems to carry some vague historical tradition. Cf. Baron VII 125 sq. (where our passage is queted) ; also 95, 255 n. 28, 163 n. 45 \& 46. Cf. Barceloni's Sefer Ha-ittim 252 used by I. Halberstamm in Kobak's Jeschurun VI 130. But the argument here may be of Karaite origin. Qirqisäni (15f.) blames the Rabbanites for reciting their compositions and neglecting the Psalms of David during the services. Cf. Elbogen, 280-7; P. Kahle, The Cairo Genizah, 2 ed. (1959), pp. 38-43, 315-7. Possibly both Persian and Byzantine restrictions contributed to the shaping of the rites.

B52. On the medicval Jewish lore on the rise of Islam cf. SPL 302 sq; Cat Sassoon; J. Mann in Hebrew Union College Annual v. XII-XIII; J. Leveen in JQR XVI-XVII; M. Schwabe in Tarbiz II, 1930; Z. H. Baneth ib. III; B. Cohn in REJ LXXXVIII. Cf. W. Eichner in Islam 1936 p. 145 f.

B53. He was close to the prophet and his successors, and is cited in traditions as an authority on various subjects, in particular on biblical and Jewish subjects. Cf. E.J. and EI.

B54. Cf. Juynboll Handtuch p. 230 ff.
B55. Saadia:


B56. Cf. s.v. Lüt in The Shorter El. For the Jewish lore cf. Ginzberg, esp. I 257, V 243 and n. 7 on p. 240. Cf. IḤ I 133 ff. Samau'al is excerpted by Qaräfí 113 f.

B57. Samau'al touches on this matter in his medical treatise Ms. Berlin-Tübingen f . 80.
B58. On Tālūt, cf. SEJ.
Cf. B. Heller in L. Blau Festschrift (Frankfurt, 1927).
B59. Cf. I-H on the second commonwealth and non-davidic rule pp. 145-47.
B60. On 'Uzayr cf. SEJ s.v. Uzair; Tabari Annales I 669 f. Presumably, the author meant that the name Ezra fits an Arabic pattern in word formation (suggested by Prof. Gibb).

B61. Ibn Hazm 145-47. The subject of sexual habits figures frequently in discussions. Cf. Vajda in Journal Asiatique 1937 p. 71; Ghazāli in K. al Ni太äh in the Ihyä', tr. G. H. Bousquet La Morale de l'Islam etc. (Paris, 1953) p. 127.

B62. Saadia
من اللرجل الذي له هذه الاعلاق منه انا حامل •
B63. Sandia
B64. On this Islamic tenet and its various interpretations cf. T. Andrae Person 94 sq.; von Grunebaum, Medicual Islam pp. 96-97; L. Gardet et M. M. Anawati Introduction etc. p. 41 n . 2; Abdul Aleem in Islamic Culture v. VII p. 70 ; M. Schreiner in ZDMG 42 esp. 663-673, Qirqisāni in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 26 pp. 106-110; SPL 314 ff., M. Khalafallăh \& M. Z. Sallām (eds), Thaläth Rasä̈l fl $\mathfrak{z}^{\text {rijäz }}$ al-Qur'ān (Cairo 1956) (X-XI c. treatises by Rummãní, Khaṭtābī, Jurjāni). E. Garcia-Gomez presented in al-Andalus IV (1936) objections ascribed to Samuel b. Nagrela as founded' in a tract by Ibn Hazm. The fult text was recently published by I. ©Abbăs. Cf. also I-H 119 f., 160 f., 182. The Muslim polemicist accuses Ibn al-Muqaffa of being deficient in Arabic; cf. M. Guidi La Lotta p. XI and p. 19 lines 14-15. IH addresses a similar retort to the Jew: lā tuḥsinuhă.

Cf. R. Paret in the Studi . . . in onore de G. Levi della Vida v. II.

B65. For the $X$ century discussion on abrogation in the writings of Saadia and Bāqillānj cf. R. Brunschvig pp. 225-241 (in Homenaje . . . Millas Valicrosa).

B66. Pasul was probably meant to rhyme with the Arabic Rasül, the Messenger (of God). Madman is with reference to Hosea 9:7: "The man of the spirit is mad." Qelon is an attempted parody on Qur'än. Cf. SPL 302, 313-6. Ms. T. runs here thus: "Further, their animosity toward the Muslims is stronger than that (of, toward?) the other communities. Thus they will not call the Prophet except by these two names. This despite their having found great ease and having achieved much happiness under Muslim rule. For this rule was the most lenient toward them. Under Roman (or Byzantine) domination, they suffered from most wicked and harsh conditions, for the Romans used to hinder them in the observance of the precepts, preventing them now from praying and now from performing circumcision. The Persian Empire's yoke was the heaviest and most oppressive. But Muslim rule was the most lenient of all, the most merciful toward them for it was satisfied with their payment of poll-tax and their submission, and they were left free to cbserve their religion. In all fairness, this was kindness and benevolence they had never experienced under all the other regimes prior to Islam. But they requite with invoking evil upon Islam in every prayer, namely, in saying ומלכות זדון מהרה תעקר בימינו meaning: the kingdom of evil destroy and uproot it in our days. Elbogen, 51, mentions such a passage in a Geniza piece. It is a variant of the 'amida section ולמלשינים. (REJ, 53, p. 238) Cf. Berakhot 28b.

Maimonides recognizes the complete monotheism (yihud she- 'eyn bo dofi) of Islam (Responsa, ed. Freimann, Jerus. 1934, p. 335-7). But he is bitter about the premeditated systematic humiliation of the Jews in Islamic lands (cf. The Epistle to Yemen). Yefet b. cAli maintains "the Arabs did not act, as others had done, by (inflicting the suffering of) exile and destruction but they harassed (us) with humiliation and contempt" (adhat fī-l-dhull wa-l-hawän; Oxf., 1889 p. 30).

B67. Saadia:
انا y اريد التزويج بها

B68. Saadia:

B70. I-K 1173 !. The Karaite treatment of the matter, Nemoy Anthology 346, 379, Qirqisani 1152 sq. Mas'üdi (IX. c.): A man marries his niece; he dies; his brother, i.e. the widow's father, is supposed to marry her (Murūj II 388 f ., ch. 31): "this is one of their secrets, one of the things they conceal and do not reveal."
C. S. Krauss Die Ehe zwischen Onkel und Nichte in Festschrift Kaufmann Kohler (Berlin, 1913). Cf. IH 133 f.

B71. Isrmburden is here a term; it refers to the burden of the precepts which may be a form of chastisement for transgression. "A burdensome covenant compuct or contract" Koran 2:286, 3:75, 7:156. In 2:286: a burdensome command such as was given to the Children of Israel to slay one another; grievous punishment of a sin" (Lane). This notion is most probably of Christian origin. Cf. T. Andrae Ursprung p. 18. Also Matt. 19:8, Mark 10:5, Rom. 5:20; Justin Martyr, T'rypho ch. 18, 19, 21, 22.

B72. Hrm $=$ to forbid is used in this passage but in harramū man yudifu the verb seems to be derived from the Hebrew herem and to mean rather they threatened with excommunication. The two meanings are thus blended.

Goldziher in his paper Kaempfe etc., (ZDMG 61, 1907), shows earlier Islamic notions about the Mishna (tending to warn against committing oral tenets to writing lest they be exposed to misinterpretation). In a note (p. 867) he recognized the Ibn Qayyim passages he had published in 1873 in Kobak's Jeschurun v. IX were quotations from Samau'al.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { كذا يِصنع برجل لا يِنى سِت اخِّ } \\
& \text { B69. Saadia: }
\end{aligned}
$$

B73. The original has al instead of $10^{\circ}$.

Tāj:
The next verse:

B74. Text:
وتحوان مغترس غي المصحر:

Cf. 1-Q 69 f .
B75. Cf. Hullin 9a. Qirqisani (22) objects to the procedure as lacking a biblical basis.

B76. Saadia

B77. In al-Damiri II $21 \mathrm{f} . /$ II 60 f . Ghazali is quoted as asserting that the name salwa (quail) was coined because the flesh of the bird calms (yusalf) man, and eliminates passions (qätic al-shahawāt).

B78. S. Mung in Notice, JA (1842) p. 16 made use of this passage. Christian Jew-baiting made extensive use of raising resentment against the Jews' sale of terefa to Christians. But sometimes the issue was raised in the orbit of Islam, e.g. by the poet al-Ilbiri in his poem against Joseph Nagrela cf. Perlman is PAAJR, 1949, p. 284 n. 46,287 \& n. 54.

B79. Cf. EI. This description puts the Karaites on lines parallel to those of Shi'a in Islam.

B80. Baron III 112: an exaggeration.
BS1. Probably reflecting the Hebrew expression of Abot, I.
B82. A late X c. admonition by the Karaite Sal b. Masliah might serve as an illustration. Cf. Nemoy 116 f.

B83. The name Geshur was distorted in the Arabic script to Grj with the result that the coypist of Ms T. apparently took it to mean Georgia in the Cawcasus and added a note which seems to identify Grj with Abkhasia.

B84. Here begins the account of a messianic movement which is identified as that of David Elroy. The passage was printed in the appendix to Wiener's ed. of Joseph Ha-Kohen's 'Emeq-Ha-Bakha with a translation by Th. Haarbrücker and S. Murk (Leipzig 1858 p. 22-4, 169-171, xxv-xxiv) on the basis of the Paris ms. This tr. was rendered into English: J. R. Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World.
On Amadiya, cf E1 2d ed.; Le Strange Lands 92: 100 km north of Mosul; ciadel on a steep rock and named after 'Imād al-Din Zangi who built it in 537/1142 (but there had been an older fortress before this one was built). [On later Jewish settlement in Amadiya. Cf. S. Asaf Be-ohole Yacqob 123 f. 131, 137 ff.]
J. Mann, Texts and Studies, v. I, p. 477.

The Alroy movement is discussed by Baron (III 202 ff ., 385 ; cf. the source collation in Dinur Toledot II 277-281) the suggested date being about 1147.

Cf. Goitein in JQR 1952.
B85. Qd'im-a term in vogue, esp. among Shiites, for a precursor or representative of an imam; the head of a movement in favor of a saintly pretenderredeemer. It was in use among Jews; cf. Friedlaender Studies JQR, 1912 pp. 491, 495.

B86. Non-Jews? Graetz suspected a connection between the messianic movemont and Ismail activities in northern Persia.

Cf. A. N. Poliak in World Congress of Jewish Studies, v. I (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 406.

B87. The sectarians presumably offered the docetist explanation: it only appeared that Menahem had been killed. Cf. Friedlaender Studies in JQR 1912 p. 507 ff. For geographic data, cf. Schwarz Iran s.v.

B88. Baron V 385 n. 69; Friedlander JQR NS II (1912) 503-7. Ib al-Athir v. X p. 98 mentions such a case in the West in $487 / 1094$. The event mentioned by

Samau'al is perhaps referred to in a Geniza document [Mann RE] 71 p. 90 f., Ha-tequfa 24 p. 347 f.; Dinaburg 278].

B89. Friedlaender o.c. p. 505 n .122 discusses the recurrence of green-colored garb and signs in mesaianic movements.
B90. Mawã'id 'urqūbī̀ya-'Urqūb promises. 'Urqūb "the name of a certain man of the Amakelites..., the greatest liar of his time, proverbial for breach of promises" (Lane 2023).
B91. Friedlaender o.c. 506 read ghulwän (for jilbäb) and translated: the excessive viciousness exhibited by them (i.e. the swindlers). But it scems that here the swindlers' (dual) act made the Jews (plural) appear in the mantle of vileness i.e., as the uncouth simpletons.
B92. Munjibãt - who gave birth to noble children. Goldziher: munjiyät die ausgezcichneien.

B03. On the father, of. introd. n. 1. "The name Abŭ Nass was rather common in that century" Goitein in JQR 1954 p. 35 n . 8. It was the name of the son of Joseph Nagrela (M. b. Eira, Shirat Yisrael, p. 68 end). This kunya was translated by Hebrew-writing authors who call Samau'al 'Azarya or Samuel b. Azarya (Zacuto, Sambari - cf. n. B 31 and the Sassoon ms. History Sketch, Cat. I 371 N 578-9)

B94. I.e. with the use of the zero.
B95. GAL S. I 857 (Abū-l-Ḥusayn).
B96. See introduction. He was born ab. 470/1077, died after $560 / 1164-5$, is said to have become a convert to Islam toward the end of his life. S. Pines analyzed the philosophical writings of Abū-1-Barakăt. Cf. his summary and bibliography in E. I. (2. ed, I 111 ff .)

B97. Possibly the commentator on Karaji (Karkhi)'s al-Käfi (cf. n. 100 below) mentioned in GAL SI 389 end. On administrative accounting cf. Hinz in Der Islam v. 29 (1949) and C. Cahen in Annales de l'Institut d'Études orientales (Alger) 1952 (quoting also Karaji).

B98. Muhadhdhab al-Din Abü-1-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isä b. al-Naqqäsh al-Baghdädī, a disciple of Abū-1-Barakāt is mentioned by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a I 285.

B99. Cairo ed.: Almagest. On the Arabic translations of and commentaries on Euclid of. A. G. Kapp's study in Isis XXII (1934) - XXIV.

B100. Al Karkhi or rather al-Karaji - GAL I 219 SI 389 f., XI century author of al-badi' fi-l-hisäb and 'Ilal hisãb-al-jabr wa-l-muqãbala.
Cf. E. I. 2 ed. s.v. Al-Jabr., Ambuba in Al Dirasãt Al-Adabiya (Beirut) 1959. B101. Shujä' b. 'Asiam - cf. GAL SI 390. (X century).
B102. Cf. GAL II 62, SII 63 ff. M. Canard, Delhema, in Byzantion X, XII (1935-37), and in Arabica 8 (1961).

B102a. "A rare glimpse into the important role which historical works played in the intellectual formation of boys is afforded to us through the autobiography of a twelfth century Jewish scientist, as-Samaw'al b. Yahyáal-Magribi, who later in his life converted to Islam. . . As-Samaw'al was greatly impressed by the miraculous success of Muhammad, the collapse of the mighty Persian and Byzantine armies, the skilful and just policies of Abû Bakr and 'Umar. If he as Jew could be so much influenced by the record of a past which was not his, how much more so must young Muslims have experienced the emotional impact of the historical literature. Here we clearly see the tremendous significance of historiography in Islam. It helped to inspire loyalty to and enthusiasm for the religious and cultural heritage of Islam at an age in the life of the individual in which other intellectual influences would have been far less effective." F. Rosenthal A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden, 1952) p. 42 f.

B103. Perhaps referring to such passages as The Republic Book VII, 526 b, c,
e and 527 b , c. Cf. also al-Farả̉bi ed. Dieterici Abhandlungen 52 end/87.
B104. Saadia: ci. n. B 17 plus the cnd minhu fa-qbalū (from v. 15)
B105. Saadia


B106. Dreams are often mentioned in Islamic lore and literature as instructive and directive. The vision of the Prophet, i.e., his appearance in the dream of a
person ( $r u^{\prime} y a$ ) is especially frequently mentioned. Such a vision is also cited in other cases of conversion (e.g. in that of Sa'id al-Iskandarani; cf. Goldziher in REJ XXX). Cf. Andrae Person 376-382; Macdonald Attitude 70-94; Krenkow in JRAS 1912; von Grunebaum Med. Islam 271 sq.; Rosenthal Ar. Autob. 1618; T. Fahd in Les Songes et leur interpretation (Sources Orientales II, P. 1959) csp. p. 133.

B107. The appearance of the Prophet. F. Buhl p. 364 f. quoting Ibn Hishām (p. 266) ; neither tall nor short, etc.; W. Montgomery Watt Muhammad at Medina p. 321 (The hair . . . was long and thick, straight and slightly curled. In complexion he was fair). T. Andrae Person p. 199 ff. (from the hadith sectionsshamāil - and a work by al-Tirmidī Shamä’il Mustafā).

Cf. L. Zolondek's translation of Book XX of Al-Ghazäli's 'Ihyā', (Leiden, 1963) pp. 68-74.

B108. Cf. H. Reckendorf Arabische Syntax (Heidelberg 1921) §109; Ibn al Anbari Irsäf ed. G. Weil, pp. 292 \& 296 ff .

B109. Texts: 'mdn (probably ghmdn) cf. V. Minorsky (tr.) Hudūd al-${ }^{\circ}$ Alam (L. 1937) p. 51 and p. 224 ff., esp. 229 end, map p. 231; id. Marvazi (L. 1942) pp. 25 f., 84; I. Krachkovskii Izbr. Soch. Iv (Moscow 1957) pp. 142, 144, 262.

B110. Possibly the same elements (yal) as in the nomenclature of the rulers in n. 9 to the introduction. Presumably of Kurdish origin.

B111. The celebration of the conversion is described also in other (later) cases e.g. REJ XXX 3 f., 17. Cf. Blumenkranz 148 sq. (for Christian areas).

B112. "On the southern bank of the Euphrates, between where the two rivers from Mayyaffarikin and Arzan flow in from the north, stands the castle called Hiṣn Kayfā or Kifã, which the Greeks called Kiphas or Cephe. . . . Many churches . . . stone bridge which crossed the Tigris. . . . Below the castle, at that time (XIIc.) was a populous suburb, with many markets and hostelries, the houses being built of mortared stone." G. Le Strange Lands p. 113. EI; LanePoole Mohammadan Dynasties (Paris 1925) pp. 166-9.

Usàma b. Munqidh lived there in the years $560-570 \mathrm{H}$. i.e. in the years with which we are concerned here. The Ortukids were masters of the city (1101-1231). To a member of this family Najm Al-Din Abū-l-Fath Shāh Ghäzi b. Toghrulbek a mathematical work of Samau'al's was dedicated in 570/1174. Likewise, Samau'al's tract on sex life Nuzhat al Ashāb fī mu'äsharat al-aḥbāb available in several mss. was written for Abū-1-Fath Muh. Qilij Bey Abū Bakr b. Qara Arslan, perhaps son of the ruler Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan ca. 1148-1174.

B113. EJ s.v. Vajda in RSO XVII and REJ 99 pp., 81-91; L’élaboration de l'lslam (Paris 1960), article by F. Gabrieli.

B114. Cf. L. Gardet et MM Anawati Introduction, pp. 155, 441, n. 1.
B115. Probably this matter goes back to Platonic notions. Cf. e.g. Plato's Politics 292E97; Al-Farảbi, Fuṣ̂l al-Madani, ed. \& tr. by D. M. Dunlop (Cambr. 1961) §29 pp. 41, 84, 123 f.

B116. Mutanabbi, ed. Dieterici p. 193.

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##  مـوسى بـرلـــان

> المبجه الاميريكي للبحوث اليهودية


p’ب•
$r$
جــول دموز النـخ التي ربهنا الهــا
في هذا الكتاب

ب باريس 1\&04 دار الكتب الثو ميـن
د دمشق في مكبة برلين ( دار الكتب Y"لانيا الغوية ( PMAT / Iarv _-oo

ر د رئيس الكتّاباب
 ع طبع التامرة lara (منشوطة من با6ا):بذل المجهود في انمام البود


 ( $11 r$ )
 رمـوز اغـــى

س س سط
ز زيـادة
الما الملاحظلات فمر تبة حسب صحن النخطوطة الوساسية وارقام مذه المسفـ موجودة في النصس مثلا r أ ثم r ب الـن •



وصلى الله على سيلنا مححه (1)


-النيـن ، وعاى آله الطاهرين
فانٍ سبيل من 'فضل (0) من العباد ، بالفطانة والرثاد ، ان





 (1) تسقط عا هذا السطر•ط : وبه نتسين. د د ، ع : لا الل الا الله عدة للقا.
 ( ( ) • س (



مفسدوها (10) •

والغرض !الاقصى من انشاء هذه الكلسَ ـ الرد (17) على






 موجودة في ايديهم• إلز امهم الننسخ
 كتابهم ومما ترتتضيه اصولهم الهم

 وعلى الحاشية تصحيح اللثظة • (10) ع : معتلوهـا (10) (14) ط : الـراد

 (rq) • (ro) عا : س • ق تسرد على الحاثبة هذهالملاحظلة :

نقول (YY) لهم : هل كان قبل نزول التوراة شرع ام لا ؟
 هن التوراة اذ شرع الله على نوح عليه السلام القصصاص في

التـــل • ذلك قولـه :
شوفيخ دام ها ادام دامو يشافين كي بصلم الوهيم عاسا
اث ها ادام• 2a
שפך דם האדם באדם דעו ישפגך כי בצאם אלהים עשה את האדם
تفسيـره : ســافــك دم الانسـان فليحكـم بسفــك دمــ
لا'ن الله خلق الادمي (1) بصورة شريفـة • وما يشهد به الجزه الثالث من السفر الاول من (Y) الا اذ شدع الله (Y) على ابراهيم عليه السلام ختانة (Y) المولو -في اليوم الثــامن هن ميـالاده



كتب في اسفار ، الو الواح ، او او غير ذلك •
فاذا افورا بان قد كان شرع ، قلنا لهم :


المحتح ) • ( ( IV ) د : اقول -
(1)

فان (0) لم تكن اتت بزيادة فقد هارت عبيا اذ لا زيادة


عن الله تعالى (٪) • وذلك كفر على مذهبكم •
وإِن كانت التوراة اتت بزيادة ، فهل في تلك الزيادة تحر.م ما كان مباحا أم لا ؟

فانن انكروا ذلثك، بطل قونهم من وجهين :



والثاني انه لا ععنى للزيادة في الشرع الا تحريم ما تقدمت

- اباحته او اباحة ما تقدم تحريسه (9)

ثان قالوا إِن الحكيم لا يحظل(• إ شيئاً ثم يبيحه لان ذلك
 أم .ششي، وخده في زمانين مختلفين (II) غير مناقض (IY) (IY)
 (V) • ( ) :
 في دا اتتال الى عبادة עفي زمانينه•• (11) د : ز : كان • (1r) ع ع ع

من (IW) اوامره وانما يكون كدلك لو كان الامـسان فـي وقت واحد

فانْ قالوا إِن التوراة حظرت امورا كانت مباحة من قبل




فاتاه لاستباحتـه (14) الصظور ، فالجواب : 2b
إِن ثـَن أححلَ ما حظره ألشرع' - في طبقة الدحر مَ نما احلَّ




تأتي شريعة اخرى بتحليل هـا كان في التوراة محظورا •
وأ أيضاً فلا تخـلو المحظورات من أن يـكون تحريمهـا

متناقض • (Ir) د : عا ين (18)ط : ايح شيئا • (10) د : من • (19) د ، ع : باستباحت

2b
( ( )
 كل الازمنة فـد جعلوا الانبيـاء الذين كانوا قبل نزول التوداة وبهده من

الصظظرد لعينه (0) والمَّا أن لا يكرهد الله لعينه بل نهى


فان كان الله ينهى (Y) عن عمل الهناعات في يوم (Y) (Y)
 ايضا لا'نز عين الببت كان ايضا موجودا في زمانهم، وهي علـة التحريم • واذا كان ذلك غير الك انحرم على ابراهيم ومن
 عينه • واذا لزمهم ان تحريم الاعمال (^) الهناعية ني يـوم
 انست فليس يمنع ان ينسخ هذا التحريم في زمان آن آخر • واذا



سواء حظر مباحاتها او اباح محظوراتها •
وكف يجوز الن يحاج "ن جاء بالبينة باعتراضى فيا وزد
المستيحة لـحظورات • بـل لمن الهجب إن تكون الثرية سنترضا فبل




 - ( m
.



 - العفــل

فاز الافعال والاوامر الإِلاهية منزهة عن الوقوف عنـد مقتضى العتون البشرية • واذا كانت التعبدات الشرعيـة غير 82



 تلى من يجّيء عن ( وكيف يجوز نلمتعبد ان يعارخ الرسول في تي تحنيله ها كا كان

 32 (1) د : لتنزيه • ع : لتنزيهه • (r)د ، ع : بحرم • (r) د ، ط : س •


افحام اليهود والنصارى بالحـجة (٪) العقلية
وإلز امهم الاسلام

لا يسع عاقنا ان يكذب نبيًًا ذا دعوة (V) ثائعة، و كلمة قائية
 ناذا (1) خصص (9) الحهمـ بالتصديق والاخر بالتكذيب ،

-ثالا (

وهو إِنَّا (II) اذا الألنا يهوديا عن شموسى عليه السلام ،

 نبوة موسى وصدقه (ई) ؟•
 بالحجج • (V) د : اذ دعو تهث على وهذا الزامهم ايضا بالنصس الذي في التو النواة انه لا يجوز تكذيب نبي
 :


ذأل قال إِن ألتواتر (10) قد حقق ذلك ، وشهادات الامبم

 الانباء والاخبار (19) ، قلنا - إِن هنا التواتر شو الموجود لمحمد


وبن قال اليهودي ـ ان شهادة ابي عندي بنبوة مبوسى هي


 من (Yr) احدهم لدينه وكراهية لباينة طائمته ومفارقـة




ابي عر"تني ذلك ، واما ان يمول - لان التواتر تد حتق ذلك • (10) (10) د

(r)

- لاحدم

3b
(1) ع : اباه • (r) ع : تكفر با (r) د : ابنأها • (\&) ط ع : ز :

سن ابائهم كأخنك منهبك عن ايك ، و كنت عاللا (£) ان





لا'يه ، ذ'نه قد ادعى صهة ذلك بغير (Y) تقليد (A)
وإِن زعم ان العلـة في مهة ما نقله غن ابِ ان (4) اباه






 العاوم الدفيقة ودو "نوها لُمن يأتي بعدهم • وجميع ما نسب

او ميتبدا • (0) ع : س: • ( ز ;

 مبطل بانه (1A) د ، ط : ز : : لس :
\$

 لكثر تها إز يقف احد من الناس على جميع ما هنغو ه في احد

 واحكبهم (19) هولهم اسوة بسائر اباء الناس الماثلين لهم
"
 لا يجوز اذ تكون هِّ (r) في هسة الدين • فلا يبقى لهم
 -وجود ( ) لعيسى ومحمد كوجوده لموسى (0) • فازا كانوا




- (19)

4a


 نبوته • '

## وجه آخر في اثبات النسخ باصولهم (4)

نتول لهم: هل (•1) انتم اليوم على ملة بوسى عله الـلام ؟
فاز قالوا نعم ، قلنا نهم : اليس في التوداة ان من مس
 النجاسة في سـال لا يخرج لـ منها الا برساد البقرة التي كان

 العظلم والقبر والبت فهو طاهر يصلح للصطالة وحمل اليصحف

فان قانوا - لانًا عدمنا البـاب الطهارة ، وهي رماد البقرة ،
رولى هاثبة ف :
وهذه الآيّة من التوداة في أباتالنسخ وانه المسروع لها نبياه بامر الل -وانزال مليم

وجه آخر في انحامه • م مزهمون ان ان التواتر بشهـادة الام

 هل هو صحيح لديم • ثم نجد في ط نص

 نهل اتم اليوم على ذلك ؟ فيتولون - Y همدر على ذلك • فنتول لهم
 عجز كم شن (1乏) فُله (10) مها تستغنون في الطهازة عنه ام
 لتلك الفريضة لحال اقتضاهها هذا الزمان • وان قالوا ـلا لا نستغني فـي الطهمارة عن ذانك الطهـو د ـ ، فقــد اقروا بانهـم

اللْنُجاس ابداً ، ، دا داموا لا يقدرون على اسباب الطهارة •
فنقونل لهم : فاذا كنتم انجاسا على رأِيكم والصولنم ، فـا بالكم نعتزلون الحائض .عد انتطاع الحيض وارتفاعه سبعـة

ايام اعتزالا تفرطون فيه الى حد ان احدكم ، لو لمس ثوبه ثوب المرأة ، لاستنحستهوه بع ثوبه ؟
فان قالوا ـ لا'ن ذلك من احكام التوراة ـ قلنا : أليس


 زنجاسة الحیض ; ثم (\&) انكم ترون ان الحائض طاهرة اذا

د : عنه • (10) د : سلـ
4b


كانت على (0) غير ملنكم ، لا ( () تستنجسون لامسها ولا
 الجيض - بعنائتتكم ـ مـا ليس في التوداة ; فهنا كلــ -نـم نسخ او تبديل

فان قالوا ـ ان هنا ، وإن كان النص غير ناطق به ، فتد
 اختلغوا فيه من مسائل الخلاف والدذهب (r) على كرتها لديكم ، كانت ثمرة أجتهاد واستدلان او (^) منقولا بينه

 موسى الكليم عله الـلام، عن الله تعالى•فيلزمكم في هنا ان (9) أمسئلة الواحدة التي اختلف فيها اثنان من فقهائكم

 يجِعلوا الله فد امر في تلك المـئلة بشيء وخلانة • وهو النـخ





فان قالوا - إِن هذا (Y) الخــلاف غير مستعــل (Y) (Y)


 احدهم رجع عما نقل او طعن في نقله ، فيلزمه الـقوط عن $5 a$

العدالة ، ولْ يِوز لكم اذ تعاودوا الالتغات الى نقله • وإِيا
 روابة احنـمطا نامخة للوواية الآخر • وما (ا) من الفقهـاء

 و ونظرأ، بل نتلا محضا -

## الز امهم النسخ بوجه آخر






 נדחץ עמו ישדאר 5
 جميع بن (0) اقطار الازض الى قدسك ; سبحانك ، يا جانع
تثتـت قومه (1) اسرائيل •

ام هل كانوا يقولون على عهد بوسى علي السلام كـا تقولون في كل يوم :
השב שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצינו כבתחתה. ובנה את ירושליב עיר קרשך בישינו ונחענו, ברוך אתה ה׳ בונה ירושלים.
"نفيره : الردد حكن.نا 'كالاولين ، ومثيرينا كالابتداء ،

 الصلاة وغيرم وابتدعوا كلام غيره • (0) د : ز : ادبة • (1) د : : ووم بني • (Y) ع ، كـ : واعز نا •
.


 . هذه الالمود مفترضة في (1) التوراةء او (Y) زيدت لا لاسباب !قتضت زيددتها في هنه الاعصار ؟


 וצא תגרעו ממנו.
لا نزيدوا نلى الامر الذي انا موحيكم بـ ثيئا ولا تنفصوا
منه شيـا (0)

إثبات النسخ على وجه آخر (^)
نقول نهم : اليس عندكم ان الله اختار من بني اسرايُل
(1) د : بالتوداة • ( ( ) د : ام • ( ) هذه الآي • (£) د : ز : ومي •

الابكاز ليكونوا ضو اص في الخدمة للاقداس ؟ فيقونون :

 وقف بطرف العسكى ونادى - مَن كاذ لله فليحضرني فانغيم اليه بنو ليوى ونم ينضم اليه الـكوود على الن مناداته ،
 البكـود (•1) اذ هم خامة الله يومئذ دون اولاد ليوي فلما خذله البكود ونصره اولاد ليوى قال الله ابوسى : ואסח את הצויים תחת כ5 בכור בבני ישרא5

تنسيره : وقد اخذت النيوا انيين عوضاعن كل بكى في بني - ارـئئل

وفي نتيب نزول هذه الآيَ ، اليس ان الله عزل الابكار عن ولاية الاختصاص واخذ اولا لاد ليوي عونا عنهم ؟ فهم لا يقدون على انكار ذلك • •وهذا يلزمهم منه القول بالبداء

 الى "ر نصرهu
(1) الز امهم نبو ها الكسيح صلمى الله عليه و سلم

نقول لهم : اليس في التوراة التي في إيديكم :
5א יסור שבם מידהדה ומתזקק עבין רגליו
تفسيره : لا يزول (Y) الملك من آل يهودا والراسم بين

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ظهرانيهم النى الن يأني المسيح } \\
& \text { •ولا يقدرون على جحده }
\end{aligned}
$$


 .

وايضا فإِنا نقول لهم : اليس منذ بعث (\&) الميح علي
الملام استولت ملوك اللوم على اليهود وبيت المقـدس وانتضت دولتهم وتفرَّق شملهم ؟ فلا يقدوون تلى جحد ذلك الك الا بالبهتان

وـِلزهمم ثلى اهلهم, الذي في التوراة ان عيسى بن مريم
هـر الــيح الذي كانو! ينتظرونه •
6a
(1) حاشية ق : وهذه آية من التوداة ايضا مثتن لثيوة عبسى وهحمد


## إلز امهم نبوته وبنبوة المصطفى

عليهها السلام
نتول لهم : ما تقولون في يـيسى بن ميرمّ ؟


فنقول لهم: اليس عند كم في اطح نقلكم ان موسى عليه السلام قد اطلعه الله على الاسم المى كب من اثنين واربعين


 فيقولون لا'ن الله تعالى علَّمَ موسى الا' سماء وعيسى لماتمعلمها " فإِذا كان الاسر الذي يتو بل به الى عمل المعجزات قد يهل 6b
 جاز تصديق موسى؟ فيقولون: لا'نه اخذها عن ربه• فنقول: وبأي شيء عرفتم انه اخذها عن ربه؟ هيقولون: بـا تواتر من دن
(0) د : فاسنخدم • (1) نصب في د ، ــ .

- اخـاز اسلالفنا



 (


ذلك بواجب لا'نه، اذا اثتهـر النبي في عصر ، وصحت نبوته في ذلك العصر بالمعجزات التي ظهرت مني




الله عليهم وسامه ، في هذا الاهم متساوون (^)
ولعل نواتر الشهادات بنبوة موسى اخعف مـن تواتس الشهادات بنبوة تبسى ومحمد ، لان شهادة المسلمين والنصارى
(r) قزة الى ״ ليس " في عا (r) د : يلمكم ، ط ،

به • (V) د : لاهل • د : : مساويون •

بنبوة موسى ليست الا (9) بسبب ان كتا بيهـا شهدا نه بذلك فتصديقهم بنبوة هوسى فرع عن. تصديقهم بكتابيهم




لم يرسخ (Ir) بتا كل واحد (I\&) •

فان(10) قالوا-إِن نيينا يشهد لهحميعالامم،فالتواتر بهاقوى




 من طائُنهمه، وهي (Yأ) اقل الطو ائف عددا ، فيمير تواترهم
(9) تنتقل د الى "بكتايهما"،


 7a


## rv

-وشرعم لذلك اضْفـ الشرائـع


-المسيح والJaصفى عليهـا السلام (r)

فصل فيها يـحكو نه
عن عيسى عليه السلام

هم يزعمون انه كان من العلWاء، لا من الانبياء ، وانه كان


 نهم ـ اخبروني عن الشاة من الغنم ، اذا وقعفي البّر يوم السبت أ ما تنزلون اليه وتحلون السبت التخليهه ؟ • قالوا : بلى •
 لتخليص الانسا نالذي هو الكبر حرمة من الغنم فأفحمهم ولم - بـوعمنوا
 V Y Y (





 بذلك كسر الـ.

 $7 b$

 الـيت عليه الـــلام




## ذكر (r) الآيات والعلامات <br> التي فى التور الا

اللاالة على نبوةٌ سيلنا مححه المصطفى
ملى اللـه عليـه وسلـم
الهم لا يقدر:

נביא אקים אהם מקרב אחידם כמוך אליו ישמעון
"نْسيرن (0) : نبيا اقيم لهم من وسط اخو تهم مثلك بـ
-فليوءهنو ا



 في الجز: الاول من السفر الخامس قوله :
אתם עוברים בגבו5 אחיכם בני עשו היושבים בשעיך

(1) د : س • ( 1 ( 1 ( داجع ملاحظة
 ق ، كـ : س • (\&) د : ز : وهي • (0) ط : تأويله

المقيمن في سعير اياكم ان تطبعوا غي شيء من ارخهم فاذا كان بنو العيص اخوذ لبني (7) اسرائيل ، لان اليصص وانسائيل ولدا اسحاق ، فكذلك بنو اسماعيل اخوة نجميـع
ولد ابراهـهم •

 كان مثل موسى لانه بن إولاد ليوي-يعنون من الهـي الـي الذي


 تقبلوه ؟ (4) •لَاْنه انــأُ أرسل ليقوي ايديكم على اهــل 8 a

 تكذيبـكم لـن ينسخ مذهبكم ويغير اوضـاع ديانتـكم ،

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (1) } \\
& \text { - (9) : }
\end{aligned}
$$

8 a
(1) د ، ع : س • (r) د: س • ع :وين • (r) ط : فاهه .

فالو صية بالايمان به مـا لا يستغنى شثلكم عنه (\&) • ولذلك
 واثثعيا وغيرهما من الانبياء • وهذا دليل على ان التوراة امرتهم ثي هذا الفصل بالايمان بالدصطفى ، علب الهالاة - والسلام واتباas

الالثار
قالل الله تعالى في الجزء الـــالث من السفر الاول من
التوراة مخاطبا لابر|هيم الخليل عليه السام :

وأثره وأكشره جدا جدا
زلك قوله

## וֹישמעעא5 שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אותו והאםריתי אוֹתו ודרביתי אותו במאד מאד

(£) حاشية


فهذه الكلمة (^) ״بطاد ماد") ، اذا عددنا حساب حروفها (9) بالجمل كان († (1) اثنين, وتسعين ، وذلك عدد حساب حرونف اسم (1) محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ؛ فانه ايضا اننان وتسعون ، وانما جعل ذلك في هنا الموضع ملغزا لانه ، لو صرح به ، لبد"ّته اليهود او (II) اسقطته من التوراة ك كما عملوا في غير ذلك

كلمات مما يكون عدد (10) حساب حروفه مساويا (17) (17)
لعدد حساب حروف السم (IV) زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكى (IV) (I (IV) فلا يلزم من ذلك ان يكون (1ه) زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكر (19) انبياء ، فالجواب :ان الامر كما يقولون لو كان لهنه



ها ها



 ط : فان قالوا - ان هذه الكلمة اسوة بغيرها من الكن الكمات التي في التوراة
 اسم محمد .. . والجواب : انه ليس في التوراة آية اخرى بشر با ابرهيم•
. غيرها سن ( ( ) ساءٌ التوراةٌ وذلك انه ليس في التوراة من
 لانها وعد من الله بابراهيم (₹) بـا با بـا اسماعيل • وليس (Y) في التوراة آية اخرى مشتملة على شرف لقيلة زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكر• ثم (V) إِنَّا نِين انه ليس في هذه الآية كلمة تساوي ("بِاد ماد") التي معناها جدا جد| وذلك انها كلمة المالغة من الله سبحانه • فالو
 واذا كانت هذه الآية اهغظم الآيات مبالغة في حق اسماعيل واولاده ، و كانت تلك الكلمة (II) اعظم مبالغة من .اقي كللات تلك الآيّة، فالا عحب ان تتضهن الاشارة الى اجل
 - (IV) (آله وصحصبه وسلَّم

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (1) }
\end{aligned}
$$

 ق : الآيّة • (IT) د د : ز : محمد • (IT) تسرد ط : في حق اسماعيل غير هذه الاحية ، فلا اسو اسوة
 الخالق ، جل وعز ، الا هذه الكلمة ، واعني قوله جدَّا جدا، لا ونا بالغة في
 كلWات هنم الآ ,ية ولا لهذد الآيّة الـوة هغيرها من آيات

التوراة نتد :عل إتراءهـم •

## S S (10) المو ضع الذني اشير فيه

الى نبوة الكليم و!الميـح والدصطنى عليهم السلام ( 17 )

ואמר אדני מסצני אתגמי וזדור יקרה מששעיר אתחהי צנא אתג5י בגברתה טשורא דבארן ועמה רבון מרישין.

تفسيره (IV) : قال ان الله من سيناي يتجلى واشق نوره


التعظيم لامر اسساعيل • فاذا كانت هذه الآية بغير نظير في التوراة، وكانت
 بشي: من كلمات التوراة في الدلالٍ علي نبوة المصطىي الني هو اجل²
 حاشية ق : وهذه آية في التوداة تثير الى نبوة موسى وعيسى ومحمد
 التوراة دال" على نبوة الثلاثة ....والمساواة ينثم بالاثارة اليم • عندهم في الجزء الآخر الني ختهت به التوراة هذه الآية ...

 قزة الى لفظه هو في النترة التالبة • (1^) ع : بالمسيح •

وهم يعنهون ان ج.
العيص الذين آمنوا بعيسى (1^) عليه السلام • بل في هذا
الجبل (1) كان مقام المسيح عليه السلام • ويعلمون (Y) ان الن سيناي (Y) هو جبل (₹) الطود ، لكنهم لا يعلمون ان جبل فاران هو جبل بهكة • وفي الاثنـارة الى هـنـه الاماكن الثلاثة التي كانت مقام نبوة هؤلاء الانبياء ما (0) يقتضي (0) للعقالا ان يبحثوا عن تأويله المؤدي الى (٪) الامر -باتباع مقالتهم

فأَما الدليل الواضح بن التو.|ة على ان جبل فاران هو جبل هـة فهو ان اسماعيل لما فارق اباه الخليل عليه اللاملام ، سكن الاسماعيل في برية فاران • وونطقت التوراة بذلك في قولـه :

וּישב במדבר פארן ותקח לו אמו אשה מארץ מצרים تفسيره (V) : واقام في برية فاران وانكحته امه امرأة من

 ط : اتباع مقالتم والايمان بـم • (V) في ط \& كلـــــات عبرانيـة دون
 واذا كانت التوراة قد اثارت في الاية التي تقدم ذ كرها النى
 لا'نـَّهم سكان فارانْ وقد علم الناس قاطبة أن المشار اليه بالنبوة من ولد امساعيل هحمد (־1 ) صلى الله عليه وسلم وانه


 وسالامه عليه ، وبشت به الا ان اليهود لجهلهم وخالهم لا لا

 (IV) عليهم التوراة بالافاسس من الفطنة والرأي• ذلك قوله تعالى :

כי בוי אבר עצות המה ואין בהם תבונה ":فسير • (11) : انهم لثعب عادم الرأي وليس فيهم فطانة -

تع تريها •


 - أويله

في (1) إبطال ما يلعونه (Y) من محبة الله اياهم

هم ـزعمون ان الله تعالى (Y) يحبهم دون جميع الناس


الله الا منهم • ونحن نناظرهم (₹) على (0) ذنك • فنقول لهم (Y) : ما قولكم في ايوب النبي عليه الـلام ؟ اتقرون بنبوته ؟ فيقولون : نعم (Y) • فنقول لهم : هل هو

من بني اسرائيل ؟ فيقولون : لا •


 =



- • (

 فنقواه التالية • (1) د : فوضع • (a) د : عباد تمم • (1) د د ، ع ع
＂ع ولد سليمان（II）في بيت المقدس وقتل（I「）في معركة
 القتلى باسرهم（I乏）وفي التسهة الباط والنصف（10）، هل كان النل يتِهم لانهم اسرائيليون ؟ فيقو لون ：لا ، لا لا نهـم كنَّنُ

ننقول نهم ：اليس عند كم في التوراة انه لا فرق بين الدخيل في دينكم وبين الصريح النـب（17）\＆

## فيقولوذ ：بلى（IV）لان التوراة ناطقة بهذا ： <br> כגר כאזרח כבם יהיה למני ה＇

 －عد اللـه（•「）

## תורה אחת ומשפט אחד יהיה זכם ואגר הגר בתוככם

تنسيره ：ثـيعة واحدة وحكم واحد يكن لكم ولنغـيب ｜＇ابساكن فيا بينكم




 صعبة القراءة • يظهر ان فيها قفزة الى الفقرة التالية •

فاذا (1) اضطررناهم الى الاقر اد بأنز الله لا يحب الضالين نـهم ويحب المؤمنين تن غير طائفتهم ، ويتخذ انبياء واولياء الا

-محبة الله سبعانه وتعالى بطائنتهم بن بين الصخلوقين •

## فصل في Sj طر فـن <br> من كفر هم وتبليلهم

إن من (£) ) ببيل ذوي التحمهيل ان يتحنبو! الرذائل وينفرو|
 المستقيهة • ولهذه الطائنة بن فنوز الغالال ( () والاختلال ما
-نتفر (Y) (
فهن ذلك انهم (4) "مع ذهاب دولتهم وتفرق ششلهم(•1)؛ وعلدهم بالغضب المدود عليهم ‘ يقولون في (II) كل يوم 10a
(1) د د ، ع : وبيذا • (



(11) د، ط : س :

> في صلو|تهم انهم ابناء النله واححاوءه (IY) • ذلك (IK) قونْم كل يوم في الصلاة :

## אהבת עו5ם אהבתנו אדני אלהינו


השיבנו אבינו אתורתך
"تفسيره : ارددنا ي! ابإنا الى شيعتك •

## אבינו מלכנו א5הינו

تنفسيه: : ا ابانا
אתה הי אבינן גואלנו
تقسيره : انت اللهم ابو نا هنقذنا •
ואת כ5 רודפי בניך ואויבי עדתך כאם כםמו ים
אחד מהם אא נותר.
تفسيره: وجميع الذين اقتفوا (10) بنيك واعداء جماءتك
كلهم غطاشم البحر ، واحد دنهم لم يبق •
ويمثلوز انْسهم .عناقيد العنب وسائر الامه بالشولك المحيط
 وفساد نظرّهم ، لا'ن الععتني بمعالح الكرم انها يجعل على

 الكـلمـات • ( 17 ) ط تـواصل واذا قيـل لهـم انكـم تـتـولــون

اعا'ي (11) حيطانه الشوك حفظا وحياطة للكرم •
10b
ولسنا نرى لنـهود منـ بقية الانم الا الضرد وانذل والصغار،
وذلك مبطل لقولهم
وينظرون قائما يأتيهم من آل (1) داود انبي (Y) اذا حرك
 هذا المتنظر بزعمهم هو المسيح الذي وعدوا بهـ • وقد كان الا الانبياء عليهم السلام ضربوا لهم امثالا اثاروا بها با الى جلالة الة دين المسيح وخضوع الجِارين لاهل ملته واتيانه بالنسخ العظيم• فمن ذلك (r) قول شعيا في نبوته : וגר זאב עם כבש יחדיו ירבצו ביניהם ופרה ודב תרעינה ואריה כבקר יאכ5 תבן.
تنسيرد : ان الذُنب والكبش يرعيان جـيعا وير.يضان معا وان الققدة والدب يرشيان جيهـا وان الاسد يأكل التبن كالبقرة

في صلوانكم انكم ابناء الله واحبَّأه وجحدوا ذلك وهم يِولو نه في كل



فان • ( (1) د : س •
(1)

فلم يفههوi من تلك الامثال الا مورهها (\&) الحسية دون

 حينّذ علامة (Y) الميح • ويعتقدون إيضا اذ هذا المتتظر


 الاسود في غاباتها وطرح التبن بين إيديها ليعلهوا وقت | اكلها ايساه (Ir)


- يقولون في بلو اتهم : (10) •

11a
 וֹאמר פא אשר נשמה באפו אדני אצחי ישראז עצך ומצכותו בכ5 משצת.

ذلنك ان الذئب والكبش يربضان مطا ويرعيان جميبا وان الاهد ياكل التبن




 - د ع : صلاتم

الارخن ليقون كل ذي نسمة : اللـه الــ اسرائيــل قد ملك - ومملكته في الكل متسلطنة (I) (إلا

ويحونوذ في هذه الصالاة إياً : وسيكون لله الملك وفي
ذلك اليوم يكون اللـه واحدا (1) •

ويعنون بذنت انه لا يظهر ان الملك لله الا اذا هارت
 لغير اليهود فان الله خامل الذك الذ عند الامبم ، وانه مطعون في ملكه ، مشنكوك في قدرته • فهذا معنى قونهم ״ اللهم املك الـك تلى جميع اهل الارضن" ومعنى قولهمم"وسيكون الملك نله") •

دهمـ ينخزط في هذا السلك قولهم :

## למה יאמרו דגויים איה נא אלחדדם

تنسيره :لم 'تتول الايم اين الاههم •
وقولهم :

## עודה למה תישן אדני הקיצה משנתך

 رهو:لاء أنا نطقوا بِهذه الهذيانات والكفريات عن ثشـدة أْضْجر من الذل والعوية والصغار وانتظالر فرج لا يزداد منهم 11a


إلا بعد| • فاوقعهم ذلك في الطيش والضحر واخرجهم الى

 ينخون الله بذلك لينتخي لهم ويححي لنفسه لانهم اذا ناجو! زبٌّم بذلك فكأثهم . : يُنخو نه نلنباهة وانتهار (₹) الصيت • فترى احدهم اذا تلا هذه الكلمات في الهالاة يقشعر جلده ولا يشك في ان كلامس (₹) يقع عند الله بموقع عظميم وانه يؤثر في.

-ضגف تقولهم
-ايضا فان ذندهم في نوراتهم ان موسى معد انحِل مع
11b
.سنأنغ المته فإبصروا أنله جهرة وتحت رجليه كرسي منظره
-كنظر البلور
;لك قولـه (1) :

دليل على شدَّة كنرهم بذه الالناظ القيحة لمنم الله تعالى • (

11b
(1) في ط فيها يلي تظه الجمل المبر انية بحروف عرية اولا • (r) د ،

ויראו את אאתי ישרא5 ותחת רגאיו כמ־אה אבנת המעיר ובעצם השםים 5שדר.

## ويزنهون ان اللوحين هكتوبان باصبع الله ، في (Y) وولهم <br> באצבע אלהים

ويطول الڭكتنب اذا (r) عددنا ما عندهم عن كفريات



 وصاروا متى سـلوا عما عنــدهم هن هــند الفصنائح استتروا بالجحد والبهتان خوفا من فظيع (9) ما يلزمهم من الشناعة

ومن ذلث انهم ينسبون ("1) الى الله سبحانه الندم على ما يفعز • فهن دنْ قوُ لهم في التوراة التي بايديهم :
וינחם ה׳ כי עשה את האדם בארץ ויתעצב אמ אבו
تفسيره (II) وندم الله على خلق البشر في الارخ وشق

وقد افرط المترجم في تعصُّبه وتحرينه للالفاظ عن (IY)
ط ، ع : ذلك • (

 الى الندم • (II) ط : تأويله • (IT) هـكـا فـي د • ط • نمي سائر

مو جب النغة وفسَّر " ويناحم ادو ناي " ـ " وثاب ادو ناي

- "بيمـره

וינחם ה׳ - ותב אדני במימדה
يهني ((ووعاد الله في رأيه)"
وهذا التأويل (Ir) ، وإِن كا كان غير موافق للغة ، غهو ايضا


عــلى ان (£) تفسير (10) "ويتعصب ال لبو" ויתעצב א5 5
" وشق عله " فهو ما جاء في مخاطبة حوا عليها السلام : בעצב תצדי בנים

تفنيره (II)
" بمشقة تلدين الاولاد " •
فقد تبيَّن ان ال " عيصب" (17) في اللسان العبراني هو
12a
المشقة(1) " وهذه الآية عندهم في قصةّ(Y) قوم نوح • زعموا ان الله تعالى، لما رأى فساد قوم نوح وأذْ شرهم و كفرهم
|النصوص : ملى • (IV) د د ، ط ، ع : ز : ايضا • (18) د : س • (10)
د : تمبره• • (II) د ز : عندم •
12a




 وعندهم ايضا ان الله تعالى قال لشموايل النبي عليه الهالام:

## 

 تنسير• (9) : نست اني (‘‘) وليت ثااول ملكا عـلىبني اسرائيل
وفي موضغ آخر من مهطفهم
וה' גתם כי המציך את שאגוֹ ע5 ישרא5
تفيره : ووالله ندم على تمليكه ثاؤول على اسائيل(II) (II)

 (10) قرابين’ ويتلو ذلك :
 אפ מנעוריו וצא אוםים עוד אהכות את פ5 חי כאששר עשיתי.
 : ع (



 وألمكان وغيره • (1\&) د : س • (10) د ، ط ، ق ، لـ : ز : علب • د :

تفسيره (9) : فاستتشق الله رائحة القتار فقال الله تعانى
 البشي مطوع على الرداءة (17) ولن اعاود اهلالك جميع

الحيوان كا صنعت'
ولسنا نرى (IV) ان هذه الكفريات كانت في التوراة
أالمنزلة على موسى ، بلوأت الله عليه . ولا نقون ايصّا ان ان اليهود قصلووا تغييرها (ما ) وافسادها ، بل الحق اولى ما اتبع• ونحن نذكر الآن حقيقة بسب تبديل التوراة • 12b

## (1) السبب في تبحيلل التور اله (Y)



ز : على • (II) ع : المدة • (IV) ط : تول • (1 (1) ط توامل :
 هذه التوراة الخ • (ينني - اتتال الى مادة الثترة التالية ) م

12b
(1) العنوان س في ط • (r) د ، ق ، لـ : ع علماؤم واحبارهم يملون

 علماء اليهود واحبارهم يتتمون ان هذه التوداة التي باليديهم يست هي التي انزلها الله تعالى • وفي كتابه الهداية إلخ (جلد ب ، ص •\&) : علها.
 من علمائم الخ• الثرافي يسرد : ان الحبار اليهود يعلمون علما مِينا •


 فيهم • وإنما سنها الى عشيرته او'لاد ليوي • ودنِّل ذلك

قول التوراه :
ויכתב משה את התורה הואת ויתנה א5 הפהנים לבני לוי تفُسيره : و كتب موسى هذه التوراة ودفعها الى الا'ئمة
-لبني نيــوي
 وخدمة القرابين وبيت المقدس كانت هوقوفة عليهم • ولم
 'نها "هاازينو" • فا نهذه السورة من التوراة هي التي علمها

موسى لبني إسرايُيل • ذلك قوله :
ויכתב מששה את השירה חואת ויצמרה אבני ישרא5 تفسيره: و كتب موسى هذه السورة وعلمها لبني اسرائيل •

واليضا فان الله تال لموسى عن هذه السورة : והיתה 5י השירה הואת צעד בבני ישרא5 تفسيره : وتكون لي هذه السورة شاهدا على بني اسرائيل •
(0) د ، ع : س • (1) ط تواصل : لانم يملمون ان الكهنة الذين كا نوا



وايضانانز الله قال لـوسى كن هذه الـورة :

## כי צא תשכח משי דעם.

تفسيره : لاز هذه السورة لا تنسى من افواه اولادهم •
يعني الذ هذه السـورذ مشتتملـت على ذم طباعهـم وانهم ديخالفون (4) شر ائع التوراة ، وان السخط يأتيهم .بعد ذلك 13a
وتخرب ديارهم ويثتون في البلاد•قال:فهذهالسورة تكون متداولة في 'نو اههم كانساهد عليهم البوافق (1) لهم
 تنس من افواه اولادهم" ، دل ذلك على ان الله تعالى (
 هذه الـورة• فاما بتية التوداة فـنغها إلى اولاد هـيارون وجعلها فيهم وصانها عنسوا|هم • وهؤلاء الائنمالهالهاونيون

 المقس (†) • ولم (Y) يكن (^) حنظ التوداة فرنا ولا 13a



'سنتّة، بل كلز كل واحد من الهادونيِن (9) يحفظ فهالا من التوراة • فللا رأى عزدا ان القوم قد أُحرق هيكلهم ون وزالت
 محفوظاته ومن الفصول التي يحفظها الكهنة ما لفق منه هذه التوراة التي بايديهم (II) الآنذ (IY) • ولذلك بالغ الغورا في تعظيم عزدا هذا غاية البالغة وزعهوا ا ا نالنود الى الآن
 لهم كتابا محفظ (12) دينهم • فهذه التوراة التي بايديهم - (11) على الحقيقة كتاب عزدا وليست كتاب الله (18)

وهذا يدل على انه (II) أعني الذي جع هذه الفهول
 نسب الى الله تعالى صفات التحسيم والندامـة (IV) عــلى (IV الانى . مضا مضى من الفعاله والاقالاع عن مشلها (IN) مسا تقدم ذكره• وإضأ فما يستدل به على بطالان تأو يالتهم وإغراطهم في
(


 ، (Ir) - ع : (Ia) • ع ع (IV)
 -هـنـه الآيـة

## ד - ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית ה׳ אלהיך 5א תבש5 גדי בח5ב אמו.

تفسيره (Y) : بكور ثـار ارخك تحمل (Y (Y) الى بيت الله
ربك لا تنضج الجدي بلبن اهـ

والمراد من ذلك انزم اءهوgا (1) ، عقيب افتر امَى الحج


 ایها تها (₹) سيعة ايام (0) ، ومن اليوم الثامن فصاعدا تصلح ان تكون قربانا لله • فأثار في هذه الآية في قوله (لا تنضج
 تأويل الحقيقي • ع (rr) ط : ترب •
( ) (1) ط : س • (0) : ط يواصل : وراء الهاها






الهدي بلمن امه) الى انهم لا يبالغوا في اطالة بكث بكور
 الناتي قد عبرن سبعة ايام من ميلادهن معهم ، اذا حجوا الى بيت الیقدس، ليتخذوا منها القرابين• فتوهم المشائخ البله
 بالُنضضاج هكذا (Y) انضاج الطبيخ في القدر • وهـهم صادقين

 وما كفأهم هذا الغلط في تفسير هذه اللفظة حتى حرموا
 على بههل المفسين والنقلة ، وكذبهم على الله ، وتشديد الاصر (•1) على طائعتهم

وامأ الدليل =لى تفسير " "بتنـيل " الانصُاج الذي هو البلوغ فهو قون יئيسس السقاة نيوسف الهديق وهما (11) في السحن

تجاوز الافراط الى أن جعل التحريم شائماَ في سائر اللحمان • فال

 كارم ألله مبا لا يجوز لا'حد قبوله لان الله تهالى لو اراد تحريم اكل اللحم
 سائر ما حرفوا ترجمته وعدلوا بـ الى تشديد الاصر على جماعتم • تتلو إنتوة "وولا ينبغي الخّه (الصنحة التالية) • (ا) في ع المؤنت المفرد + (

!ذا شُّح له روءياه نقال في جملة كلامه :
ובנםן שצשה ששריגים והיא כמורחת עצתה נצה הבשילו אשכזותיה
نفسيره : وفي الكرمة ثلاثة عناقيد وهي كأنها قد اثمرت وصحد نوارها ونضجت عناقيدها عنبا • 14a

فقد تبين ان الانماج الذي يعبر عنه بال (هبشيلو" انما هو -البلوغ
ولا ينغي للعاقل ( ( ) ا ذيستعد احططاح كافة هذ هذه الطائنة


 :اندرس قديم آثارها ، وتعند الوقوف عليها (٪) • لاز


 وكلما كانت الامة اقدم واختلفت عليها الدول التتناولة

14a
( (1)
( ( )
ملى حثائى ااخبارما الــالنة • (Y) د ، ع : المضامِات • (A) د ، ط ،
:4) (8) بألاذلان والايذاء (\&) ، كاز حظها من اندراس الَّ ثار اكثر • وهذه انطائنة ، بلا ثلك ، اعظم الطوائف حظا
 الْي استو لت عليها من (II) الكسد|نيسن والبابليسن والفرس, .اليو نان والنصارى والاسلام • وما عن هذه الانم الا من
 بادوهم واخرابها واحر اق كتـهم الا المسلمين

فان !لاسنام مأدف اليهود تحت ذمة الفرس • ولم يبق

 دلد كهم الدهاة ، مثل احاب وأحزيا وامصيا ويهودام ويدبعام

 -ن البلاد سدنة لامهنام لتعظيمها وتعليم دسوم عبادتها (IV)
 عبادتهـا (IV) الــــلوك ومعظم بني اسائيــــل وتر كــوا





14b
احكام(1) التوراة والشرع(ץ) مدة (r) طويلةو اعصانرا متصلة واذا(₹) كان هذا تو اتر الآفات على(0) شرعهم(Y) من قبل ملو كهم(Y) ومنهم(

 الياهم عن القيام بشرائهـهم
فان الغرس (II) كثيرا مL منعوهم عن الختانة (IY) ك

 سوى :الادهم التي هي ارخ كنعان • فلدا رأت اليهود الجد


 و"ثلاوٌّها • والفرق بين هذه الحزانة وبين الهلاة ان الصلاة

14b





.نيّ نَّن وان ألدصلي (IV) يتلو الهلاة وحده (IV) ولا
 بالحزانة و.يعاو نونه في الالحان • فكانت الفرس اذا انْكرت ذنك منهمه زعمت اليهود انهم يغنون (19) احيانا وينوحون

 على اديانها (Y)، وحارت الهلاة مباحة لهم صارت الخزان التا
 والافراح يحعلونها عو

غير ضرورة تبعثهم على ذلك •
فصل (٪) فيها يعتقدونه في هين الاسلام

هم يزعمون ان. المصطفى، صلعم(Y0) وشفف وعظم و كـم كان قد رأى احلاما تدل ععلى كونه (Y (Y) باحب دولة وانه

خزانة • (II) ط تواصل : اعني الني قام بهم في الصلوة • (IV) تابع
 ز : على ا انسمم احيانا • ( (
 -

مافر (I) الى الشام في تجارة لخديجة ، رخوان(Y) الله عليها

 علوم التوراهونقهها مدة • زعهوا وافرطوا الى (0) ان نسبوا الفعاحة اليعجزة ( (Y) التي فيالقر آن الى




 نكتحت غيره ، كـان اولادهما معــدودين كن (IY) اولاد



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(1) حاشية ف : انظر مؤلاء الكرة لما بعتـدون ني الانبياه وامـل

 على عبد الله علوم التوراة • زعهوا وفتها مدة • وافرطوا • (
 (9) د د


موخوتات شــد اللـب بن بــام ، قصد به ان يجمل اولاد النسلمين " مسزيم " ، بزعهم ثم اكثر العجب nنهم انهم جعلوا داود النبي علبه اللام


 رانْه يقال لها روث الموءاية من بني بيواب ، وهذا مواب

 خالتا (Y) ابنتاه أن (YY) الارض قد خلت مسن تستبقيان (Y) (Y) منه نسلا • فقالت الكبرى للصغرى :

إِن ابانا لشيخ ، وانسان لم يبق في الاره (Y\&) ليأتينا كسيل البش فهلتي بنا نستي ابابا خـا خرا ونضاجعه لنستقي

- (YO) من ابينا نســـ)

فنعلتا ذلك ، بزعهم ، وجعلوا ذلك النبي قد شرب الخم حتى سكر ولم يعرف ابتّيـه • ثم وطثهـا فأحجلهـا •وهو لا
 ق ، الك : س • (
 1 : ج جمع • (

 انَّه (r) من قبيلتها (\&) ه
 انكروا ذلك : لان انتوراةٍ لم تكن نزلت ، لزمهم عندهم انابی|هيم الخليلعليه السلام،لWا خافـ فيذلكالكالعصر ـ من ان يقتله الدريون بسبب زوجته، اخفى نكاحها، وقال


 لا يجوز ولا في زمن آدم عليه السلام•

وهذه الحكاية منسوبة الى لوط النبي في التوراة الموجود
 ذلك از الولدين المنسوبين الى لوط مسزديم اذ توليدهما على خلاف المشروع • واذا كانت روث من ولد (ab (a) موابع

 ( جحدانها • ر : جهد لها • (9) :

وهي جد"ة داود عليه السلام وجدة ميـيحهم الينتظر ، فقد حعلوهما جميعا من نسل الامل الذي يطعنون فيه وايضا (0 0 فمن افحش الهحال ان يكون شيخ كبير قد
 بينه وبين (II) معرفة ابنته ، فضاجتته احداهـا وا واستنتلت


كتابهم في قون(I (I)
ו5א ידע בשכבה ובקומה
-تفسيره (10) ولم يشع بإضطجاعها وقيامها (IT) وهذا (IV) حديث (IV) مـنَ لا يعرف كيفية (IQ) الحبل،

 ذلك انَّهم زعموا ان (Y (Y) ابنته الهغرى فعلت (Y (Y) كذلك
:



 - ط : كام • • ط ط: : : عهه • • ط تتابع : بـ بـ مثل ذلك في •

16a
به في الليلة الثانية ( ( ) نعلقت ايضا • وهذا مستع منالمثائخ
 في الليلة الثانية (\&) ، الا اذ العد العداوة التي ما زالت بين بني
 تلفيق هذا المحال ، لِكون اعظم الاخجار وَحشا في حت عهون ومواب

وايضا فان عندهم ان موسى جهل الامامة في الهارونين فلما (0) ولى طالوت، وثقلت وطئته على الهانو ينين ، وقتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة ، ثمّ انتقل الامر الىداود ، بقى في في نفوس الهارو نيين التشوٌ
 (9) الى بنــاء بيت المقدس ،ووعمل لهم هــنـه التوراة التي -
فلسا كان هارونيًا كره ان يتولَّى عليهم في الدولتالثانية داودي"• فأضاف في (‘ ا ) التوراة فصلين طاعنين في نسب 16a
 امرأة • ( $)$

 ع : عنده • (4) ع : فتوسط • (•ا) ب ، ع ع : الى •

داود : احداهما قصة بنات لوط ، والآخر قصة ثالمار وسيأتي

 داوديون ؛ بل كانت ملو كـهـم هارونيوّون

 عن حاله ، لانه امم خنيف الحر كات والحروف ولان عزير

-النانحت



 16b
بها امنى على الارضن علما منه بانتَّه ان اولدها ، كا كان اول الاولاد مدعوا (1) باسم اخيه ومنسوبا الى اخيه • فكره الله

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ب ، د : يهودا • ط : فزوع بهودا ولده الآخر بها • } \\
& \text { 16b } \\
& \text { (1) د : ع : س • (r) ب : ز : منه • (r) : بييت ايها • ب : الى }
\end{aligned}
$$

(Y) ذلك من فعله فاماته ايضـا • فامرها يهودا باللحــا
 يصيبه ما اصاب اخويه • فاقامت في بيت ابيها • فماتت






 ،لدها كان داود النَّبي

وايضا ففي هذه الحكاية دقيقة ملزمة بالنَّسْ • وهي ان
 باحراقها • فعيثت اليه بخاتهه وععاه وقالت : ("من رب" هذين انا حاسل" • فقال: (اصدقتمني " • ذلك (‘ا) واعتند
 ذلك الزمان كانت مقتضية إِحَ اق الزواني ، وان النورأة اتت

 (ا(1) حاشثي ق : وهذا ايضا من جملة النتخ • (11) تواصل ط : يستحل

- نستخ ذلك واوجبت الدجم عليهن

بيت النبوة ، (10) ما يقارب (IY) ما ما نسبوه الى لوط النبي"
وهذا (IV) ككُّه عندهم في نص" كتابهم " وهم يـجعلون
هذا نسبا لداود وسليمان ولمسيحهم المنتظر • ثم يرون (IN) الملمين احت بهذا اللقب من منتظرهم • و كذبهم في هذا القول (19) من اظهر الامور وأيينها

17a

 النصاحة والعي" ، مع طول مكثهم فيما بين الملمين وايضا (r) فمن اعتراخهم على المسلمين انـَّهم يقولون : " كيف يجوز ان ينسب الى الله كتاب ينقض بعضه بعضا؟؟" اعه


معاودتها ولا تسليهها الى ولده • (I (I) ب ، ط، ع : وفيه • (

 - (11) 17a
(1) د : فليس • د ، ع : فليست • م~ د ، ع : باعبب• (r) ط تواصل :
 ط بهذا • (0) في د ، ع قفزة الى "ما تمولونه• ط : ز : في جواب
"تحسين جواز ذلك فقد ذكرناه في اولّ مذه الكلبة ، وا
 فان انكروا ذلك قلنا لهم : ما تقولون في السبت ؛ ايهها اقدم ، انتراضها (0أ) عليكم او انتراخن الصوم الاكبر ؟


 اللوحين ومحالنتهم وعبادتهم العجل • ولــا رنع (V) عنهم عقـاب ذنبهم ذلك ، في ذلك اليوم ، فرض عليهم مومــ



 الاككب يوم السبت "ع كون صوبكم فر فن بعد فريضة السبت، ولـكم في ذلك الصوم انواع من المشتـــة ، منها التيــام




 مجنون ، والثاني صهاء فاسول و أؤيل اللـاقط • لا اسم لـ فيها ينم
(A) هميع النهار • أليس هذا ايضا قد نسغ فريضة البت

واله ( (4) سيدنا(•1) دسول الله ، هلى الله عليه وسلم (11)
ووعظم وكرم ، فله فيما بينهم اسمان فقط (IY (IY) ، فعليهم لعنة פ
الله واللاوئكة والناس اجمعين• احدهما (فاسول) وتغسير•
17b
משוגע

 קצון
(0) ( قالون ) وهو اسم للسوءة بلسانهم ‘ يعنون بذلك انــ - عورة المسلمين (†)

وبذلك (Y) وامثاله ماروا اشدْ عداوة للذين آمنوا فكيف
لا يلعنهم الله ويلعنهم اللاغنون (^)
(1) غير ذلك • (•ا) ب ، د ، ع : س • ب تستط الكلمتين التالينين (11) ع : وشرف • (1 (1) ب : سسף كلمات تالية

17b
(६) • (1) ط : س • (
 كو كهم وجدوا الراحة اللظلية وادركوا اللسادة الكيرة بـوالة الاسلام ،
 الروم في ذتمه علي اقبح الاحوال وأغلظها • فانمي كا نوا يمنعو نمر مـن القيام بشرانهم ، فوتت يمنسو نم عنا الصلوة ووتت عن الختا نا


فصل معر ب عن بعضى فضائحهم

יבםה
ومن الفضانع التي عندهم (Q) مذهبهم في قصـَّه اليامــا
북
والحالوص • وذلك انَّهم امروا أهه (• أ) اذا أقام إخوان في موْع واحد ومات احدهما ولم يعقب ولدا فلا تخْج

 خرجت (II) مشتكية" منه (‘ (I) الى مشيخة قوهها قائلة فد ابى ابن حمي ان يستقي اسم (Y) اخيه في اسر ائيل ونم "يرد نكاحي


من سائر الدول وارحم لمم اذ اقتنع منهم باداء الجزية والدخول في الطاعة.





 - ع ع

צא חמצתי צקחתה
تفسيره ما اردت نگاحها
فتتاون المرأة نعله فتخرجها عـن (₹ ا₹) رجله وتمسكها بيدها وتبهت في وجهه وتنادي عليه
ככה יעשׁה צאישׁ אשׁר 5א יבנה את בית אחתיו نفسيره كذا فاليصنع بالئهل الذي لا يبني بيت اخي و'يدعى فيها بعد اسمه بالتخـلوع النعـل وينز بيته بهــا اللقب ، أُغني بيت المخلوع النعـل • هــذا ككُّه مفترض
 زوجة اخيه الد|رج لانَّه اذا علم انه قد فرحم على المرأة
 نكاحها • فان لم بردعه الحما• (17) من ذلك فربَّما، اذا حضر؛
 183 فر. تشيل نعله ، وتبصق في وجهه ، وتنادي عليه بقلَّة البر كة والمروءة • فــان هـو استهـان بِلك فربـَّا استعظم ان ينبز
 فيلجئه ذلك الى نكاحها • فان كان ون ون الزهد فيها بحيث (18) ع : من • (10) د : فتلك • (19) فـي ق تصحيف وعلى الحاشيـة : - لعَّـَّه الخجل

بهون علي جميع ذلك ، فقد فرق الشع بينهـا بعد ذلك •
وليس في التوراة غير هذا •


 بسضر من مشيختهم الخاخاميم (Y)، ولقنوها ان تقول מאן יבעי אהקים אאחיו שם בישרא5 5א אבח יבםי تنسيره ابى ابن حمي ان يقيم لاخيه اسما في (£) اسوائيل لم يُرد نكاحي



ويقول (v)
צא חמצתתי לקחתה
تفسيره ما اردت نكاحها
ولعل "ذلك(^) 'سؤلهُ ومناه، فيامرونه بأن (a) يكذب•واما
(1) ب ، د ، ع ، ك : خزيتم • (r) ب : انم • (r) ب ، د ، ع :


(1•1) اخر اقها به ، وبصقها في وجهه ، نغاية التعدي ، لانتَّ




## Sj السبـب في تشخيلهمم الأ, إر (İ) على انفسهم

تشديدهم الا مر على انفسهم لد سبـــان • احدهما مسن
18b
جانْب فقهائهم ، وهم الذين يُدعون الجاخاميم ، وتغسير (1) هذه اللفظة الحكماء •
 بالحكـا•• و كانت لهم (Y) في الشأم والمدايّن مدارسو كان لهم الوف من الفقهاء، وذلك في زمان دولة النط البابليين،

 - (الاهد)

18b


 (£) الكتابان اللذان اجتتع (0) فقهاؤهم على تأليفهـا وهما

المشنا والتلووذ

 نصف حمل بنـل لكثرته • ولم يكن النقهاء الذين القَوه



 وينعوا من الزيادة فيه ، اد"ى الى الخلل الظاهر والتناقض |'فاحش• فقطعوا الزيادة فيه ، ومنعوا من ذلك الك ، وحظروا تلى الفقهاء الزيادة فيه (V) واضانة شيء آخر اليه ، وحرموا من يضيف اليه شيئا آخر • فوقف على ذلك المقدار • ولـي و كان (^) ائتهم قد حرموا عليهم في هــنـين الكتابين مؤاكلة الاجانب ، اعني من كان على (4) غير ملتّهم ك

لهؤلاء الحكماء من الديارس في بابل وسووا والمدائن والشام ما لم يكن




وحظروا عليهم اكل اللحمان من ذيحة (•1) من نم يُّن = دينهم لا يبقى عليهم في هذه الجالوت (II) ، مع كونهم
 مهالطة من كان على غير ملتَّهم • وحر "موا عليهم منا كحتهم والا كل من ذبائحهم • ولم يمكنهم المبالغة في ذلك الا


19a
أنوراة انَّما حر "مت عليهم منا كحة غيرهم هن الامب لثلا"


 فانما الذبانُح التي لم تذبح قربانا فلم تنطق التوراة بتحريمها •
 غيرهم من الابم في قول الله تعالى لموسى حين اجتازوا على -ارخ بني العيص

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ع ع : الحالة • (Ir) ع : }
\end{aligned}
$$

 تفسيره (£) لا تتحرشوا بهم فانتي لا اعطيك من ارخهم

- ولا مسلك قدم

אכ5 תשברו מאתם בכשת ואפתֹתם ונם םים תכרו מאתם בכםם ושתיתם.
تفسيره مأكولا تمتاروا (0) منهم بفضّةَ وتأكلوه وايضا



 يكون المسلمون ، على كل حال ، بدون (־1) هذه المنزلة ،
 أَكلو ا من مأكولات الملمين وان يجملوا للمسلمين تفضيلا


 (ir)
 ( \&

 - ز :

ذبائع الملمين بل ها (أ) بال (أ) من سكن بالشام وبلد
 والحلوى (ب) والخبز وغير ذلك من المـأكولات (ج) ؟ فاز قالوا „لالز التوراة حتَّرت علينــا اكل الطريفـاه ، قلنا لهم (I): ان الطريفا هي الفريسة التي يفترسها الا'نسـد
 التوراة

## ובשר בשדה ערמה 5א תאכאו 5כאב תשציכו אתו

تفسيره ولحما فيالصحراء فريسةلا تأكلوا للككلبألقوه •
فلمًّا نظر ائتمتهم الى ان التوراة غير ناطقة بتحريم مآكل



 ووجدو ا جمع هذا واضـا في التوراة ، اختلقو ا كتابا بــُّوه

19b
(c)
(r) ب: ب:



הּהת שחףחה
"هلكث شحيطا" ومعناه (اعلم الذباحة") ، (V) وو خهوا في
 عمـُّا هم فيه من الذلّ والمشقَّة • وذلك انـَّهم امروهم بان ينفخوا الرئة حتى تمتلى ' هواء ويتأملو ها ، هل يخرج الهوا هن نقب (9) منها ام لا • فان خرج ثنها الهواه حر "موه •


 فان وجد القلب ملتصقا الى الظهر او احد الجانين ، وني

 وهذه التسمية هي اوّل انتعدّي بنهم لانه ليس مو 20a

في اللغة الا المفترس الذي يغترسه بعضى الوحوش • ودئيل


 د


20a
(1) د ، ع : جاءوا • (r) د : عادي • ع : اذى • (

ויכידה ויאמר כתנת בני חיה רעה אכאתהדו, טרה שרח יזסף تفسيره : فتأملها وقال دراءة ابني وحش ردي، (Y) (Y) - اكله افتراسا افترس يوسف (r)

فقـد تيسَّن ال تفسير "طروف طوراف يوسف"، انتراسـا انترس يوسف • فالطريفا هي الفريسة ودليل آخخ (£) انه قال :
"ولحما في الصحراء فريسة لا تأكلواه ، والفريسة ابدا |نما
توجد (0) في الهحراء • وليس ينغي ان يعجب هن ذلك • فان" هذا النهي عن اكل الفريسة انما نزل على قوم ذوي اخيبة يسكنون البر • وذلك انَّهم مكثو اي يترددون في التيه والبرادي
 -طعاما الا الـن

 القلوب القاسية ويذهب بالخنزوانة والقساوة • وذلك ان هذا الطاتر يـوت اذا سـع صوت الرعد ككــا ان الخطاف يقتله
 لا يكون بها بطر ولا رعد الى انقضاء (V) اوان الـطر والرعده

فيخرج من الجزائر وينتش في الارضن • فُجلب الله اليهم هنا الانائر ينتفعوا بِا في اكل لحمـه من الخاصية ، وهي تليسن

 ندريمها في التوراة • فقـد تبيَّن التعد"ي مـنـن مشائخهم في 20b

## טרפה

تفسير الطريفا• •فانه (1) الفريسة • فالمـًا (Y) فقهاوّهم فانتَّهم
 דכיא
وقالوا ما كان من الذبائع سليما من هذه الشروط فهو دخيا ، وتفسير هذه الكلةة طاهر; وما كان خارجا عن هذه الشا
 قول التوراة
"ولحما فريسة في الصحراء لا تأكلوا للكلب القوه" يعني اذا ذبحتم ذبيحتكم (\&) ولم توجد فيها هذه الشروط،


، ع، (1) ب ، (


(0) د‘ ع : س • (1) ب : تبيعو نا •


 عقولهم وسوء ظنو نهم واعتقادهم في (Y) سواهم من الامبم

 كــنا ابون على الله وعلى موسى النبي ، اصحــا ورقاعـــات هائلـــة • من ذلــــك ان اكر اكر مسائل ومذههـم (•) يختلنون (II) فيها • ويزعمون ان العقهـاء


 - "بث قول"
 الى هذه المحالاتالثنيعة والى هذا الانقراه الفاحشوالئذب

 : ع (1•) • (
 -

21a
ان ثبت كذبهم على الله وانهم قد اد"عوا النبوة وزغعوا ان الله كان يوحي الى (1) جميعهم في كلّ يوم مرّات ، ات فقد فسقوا ولا يجوز قبول شيء منهم • فخالفوهم في سسـاتر هـا



 الفقهاء وسموها ״هلكث شتحطال) اعني (علم الذباحة)" وهي

 الذبانع التي (V) يتو لُون ذباحتها البتة • فهـذا حـا الطائنة مـن اليهود ، اعني القرائين • ولهم ايضــا فقهــاء

 الى النبي" (4) ولا الى الله ، بل الى اجتهادهم (•1)
$21 a$
(1)
( )
 ب : و ل • (

والفرقة الثانية يقال لهم الربانيون • ووهم اكثر عددا • وهم

 "بث قول)" "وهذه الطائفة اثد عداوة لغيرهم من الاهم (I (Ir)


 الله وان سائر الامم لا يعرفون هذا وانهم انما ششفهم الله . بهذ| ، وامثاله من التُّرهات التي افسدوا بها عها عقولهم • فهار 21b
 الحيوانات التي لا عقل لها ه وينظر الى الهآكل التي تأكلها

 - لا"حد |كلها

فهذا هو الامل في بقاء هذه (0) الطانّنة على اديانها ، (11) 21b

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ، د(1) } \\
& \text { ع : بسوغ • (0) ق : س• }
\end{aligned}
$$

لشد"َة مباينتها لغيرها من الامم ، ولانَّهم ينظرون الى الناس .عين النقص والازراء (0) الى إهد غايـة •

وامتًا الطائفة الاولىى وهم القرائيون، فاكثرهم خرج الى
دين الاسلام اولا فأولا الى ان لم يبق (Y) منهم الا نغر
 من بحالات فقهاء الربانين، الصحاب الافتراء الزاند الذين ثدّدوا على جماعتهم الإصر •

 قصدوا (Y) بذلك مبالغتهم في مضادة مذاهب الامم حتّى لا لا .ينتلطو ا بهم فيؤدي اختلاطهم بهم الى خروجهم من دينهم• والسبب الثانيفي تضيِق الإِصر عليهم ان الِهود مبد"دون. في شرق البلاد وغربها • فما من جماعة منهم (^) في بلدة الا واذا قدم عليهم دجل بن اهل دينهم من بلاد بعيدة يظهر لهم الخشونة في دينهو الملالغة في التورع والاحتياط، فان كان هن التتفقهة (9) فهـو يشرع في انكار اشيــاء عليهم ويوهمهم

(i) د د : والازدداء • (1) ق : لايبقى • (Y) ب : نتصدوا•

 ذلك الاسناد كاذبا • ويكون قصده بذلك إما الرئاسة عليهم وإِما تحصيل غرخ منهم، ولا سيما إن اراد المقام عندهم (II) (II)


229
من أطعتهم ولا من ذبائحهم ، ويتأمل سكتين ذبَّاحهموينكر

 والمباح ويوهمهم تحريسه باسنادات يخترعها حتى لا يشكُوا في ذلك

نان وصـل بهد مــدة طويلة بن اهـل بلده مــن يعرف انَّ كاذب في تلك الاسنادات فلا ينلو امره من ان ان يو افقه


 الامر يستحسن ما اعتمده القادم الاول سن تحريم الباحات
(II) ب ، ب ، - ع : مندم

22a
(1) د د

وانكار المحلَّلات ويقول "لقد عظم الله ثواب فلاز اذ قوى


 القادم الثاني ينكر ما اتى به القادم الاول بن الان الانكار عليهم والتضيت ، لم يبت من الجماعة واحد يستصشبه (Y) ، ولا يحدقه، بل جميعهم ينسبونه الى قلة الدين لاز هؤلاء القوم يعتقدون ان تضيِيت المعيشة وتحريم المحلَّلات هو !!مبالنة في الدين والزهد ، وهم ابدا يعتقدون الدين والحت ״ع مسَن
 ـبحثون عن كونه محقًا او مبطال • هذا حال القادم الى بلد

- (Y) (Y التمفته

فامهـا إن كان القـادم احــد احبـار اليهود وعلمـانهم فهنالك ترى العحب من, الناموس الـني يعتمـده والسنن إلتي يهدثهـــا ويلحقهـا بالفرائض • ولا يقـدر احـدهم على الاعتراخم عليه ، فترامم مستسلمين اليه وهو يدتلب
(r) د ، ع : الثرع • (r) ع : هؤلا• •

 يستنصحه • (V) ب ، د ع :
’در" هم (م) ويحتلب بحيلة درهمهم ، حتى لو بلغه اذ" بعض
22b
احداث اليهود قد جلس على قارعة الطريق في يوم السبت او (أ) اشترى لبنا هن بعض الهسلين او خمرا ، ثلبه (ب)
 -فلَّة الدين

فهذا السبب والـبب الذي ذكرناه قبله هما (ج) العلَّت في تشديد الإِرِ الذي جعلته اليهود على انفسها ، وتضهيق
 على غير ملَّتهم • وقد او

س ، والتالبة ايضا • ع : يجتلب ويجلب مجبة وراه دداممثم . 22b

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { : ع (أ ع : } \\
& \text { اونحناها • ( }
\end{aligned}
$$

خاتهة الكتاب



 الى قبولالباطلوتصديق(1 (1) المتتجل، فهو حقيق بالنـبة الى

الجنون والسقوط •
وهــنه الطــائفة احق" النـاس بذلـك لأز آبــاءما





 الى ابشـالوم الولد الهـاق (1£) ولد داود (10) مـن بنت

ملك الكشود (II) • فان سوادهم الاعظم انضم" الى هذا الولد

 عادوا الى طاعة داود ، جاءت وفودهم وعسا كرهم متعاطرة اليه (19) ، مستغفرين مــًّا ارتكبوه ، مستبشـين بسـلامة

23a
الملك ( ( ) داود ، بحيث اختهم الاسباط مع سبط يهودا (Y)،
 منهم على البـق الى خدمة الملك • وتعاتبو ا في ذلك عتابا

دقيقاً (r)• فقال سبط يهودا
نحن احق" الناس بالسبق الى الملك والاختصاص بـخدمته

فنبخ فضولي يقال له ثيبع بن بخري (0) فنادى برفيع هوته لا نصيب لنا في داود ولا حظ في ابن يشاي كليم
الـلام • (II) الرك • • : ز : الذين مم الاذفاز • (IV) ط : س •

الى داود
23a
(1) ف : ذ : النبي • (r) تابع ط : اذا سبتوا الى الون الونود على الــلك
 د ، ع ، و : ز : في ذلك • (0) جمبع النصوص : بخرى غ غ شيع •
 انفضاضن عسكر(Y) بني اسائيلعنداود ، بسبب كلسة ذلك الفضولي • ولـــا توحتَّل الوزير يواب الى قتـل ذنـــــك
 كان القوم الا مثل دَعاع هـج العـوام الذين تجمعهم دبدبة - وتفرقهم صيحة (•)

واما عبادتهم الكبثين(II)وتر كهم الحجّ الى القدس(IV) (IV)،
 فمها لا يصدر عن متمسك إلاهداب العفـل • وسبيلهم ان لا لا يتطرقوا (إٕلا ) الى معايب (10) احد من الامم اذا كانت هذه - ثخازيهم وفضائحهم

فاهــا تسرعهـم الى قـــول الباطـل والمستحـــل فانتــا
 في زماننا مــن أذ كاهم واكيسهم (14) وامــكرهم وهم - يهود بغداد
(1)



 فو على الحقبَ مبا • ع : فما يصدر (10) ب : الى معايب • ط : الى ا

فان" محتالا" هن ’شَّان اليهود نشأ (IV) بسواد الموصل • يقــال له منــاحيم بن سليمـان ، ويعـرف بإبن الروحي و كان ذا جمـال في صودتـه وقــد تفقه في دينهم بالاضانة
 المعروفت بالعمادية بن بلد المو صل و كان المتولِي لقلعة (19)


23b
 الوالي يسعى الى زيارته • فطمع ذلك الـحتال في جانبالو
 واخذها وانها تضحیى (Y) لل معقالا حصينا • فكتب الى اليهود




ع : الى معاندة احد • (17) ط : تابع : واشد"هم عيتّا ومكرا وهم الخ • و الخ
 ب ، ، ، ، ع : الحمر • (19) د ، ق : 23b
(1) ط : ( ع قبل هذه : القرائين • (£) د ، ع ع: س. (



ولعلِّكم تقولون هذا لا'ي شيء قد استنفرنا (9) أ لحرب
 لتكونوا واقفين بين يدي هذا القـائم ليراكم هنــاك
-غشاه من دسل الملوك الذين بيابه (II)
 منكم سيف او غيره من آلات الحرب ويخفيه تحت اثوابه

فاستجابت اليه يهود الاعاجم واهل نواحي الحمادية وسواد الموهل • ونفروا اليه بالسلاح المستر حتى الا



 المحتال وحده• فاما الباقون فتهاجوا (IV) مدبرين بعد ان

ذاقوا (1) وبال المشقتَت والخسارات والفقر

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { حـرف على • (V) تـابِ ط : اندقال ولمتَّكم الخ • ( ( ) د : محويا }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ز ينتابوه • (Ir) د ، ع : المتاب الكبد • (Ir) كـ : كيرة • د : }
\end{aligned}
$$

 بل هم الى الآن يفضلونه على كثير من انبيائهم • اعني (10) الهي يهود (10) العمادية (10) • ومنهم من يعتقده (11) الميح
 وسلماس وتبريز ومراغه ، وقد جعلوا اسسه قسَسهمه الاعظم• 24a

واما من بالعمادية من اليهود فصاروا اثد" مباينة ومخالفة ، في جيع امورهم ، لليهود من النصارى • وفي تلك الولاية
 ولW وهل خبره (Y) الى بغداد اتَّفق هناكـ شخصان من متحتالي اليهود ودواهيمشيختهم فزو ورا (Y) على (Y) على لسان مناحيم


 ويفخرون به من الخب ء انقادوا باسرهم الى (0) تصديت

ع : تكثف • د :
ع : يتتد انه -
24a
(1) د : س • ( ) ( ) د ، ع : الخبر • (


ذنك• وذهبت ( ( ) نسوانهم باموالهن" وحليهن الى ذينــاك


 اللـطوح ينتظرون الطِيران بزعهم على اجنحة الملائكة الى

- بت المقدس

وارتفـع للنسوان (II) منهـم بــكاء عــلى اطفــــــــالهن


 (10) اليهود حينّذ بحيث احجهوا عن معارفتهم حتى (19) (19) تنكثف آثار مواعيدهم العرقوبية • فـا زالوا متهافتين الى الى الى الـي الطيران الى ان اسفر (IV) الصباح عن خذلانهم وامتهانهم

ونجا (19) ذانك اليحتالان بها وبل اليهها من اموال اليهود • وانكشف لهم .عهد ذلك وجه الحيلة وما تظاهروا به

ع : وذهوا بنسوانم (د : وحليم) واموالهم • (Y) ب : الثخصين • (




من جلباب الرذيلة• فسسوا ذلـك العـام "عــام الطيران"
 تاريخ البغداديين من المتهودة في هذا الزمان

24b
وفيما قد اوردناه كناية قامية للوطر من افهامهم والجامهم
 - البراءة مبًا يكفرون
 ع : سنين • (

إِسلام السهوءل بن يتحيي المغربي(1) واقتصاص دؤيته (ץ) النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ليلة عرنة

.سسم الله الرحمن الرحيم(0) ، لا اله الا الله ، عليه تو كلت•
قال السموءل :
بهد حمد الله والهلاة على نبيـه محـــد الهصطفى وعلى

- ( 7 ) ل

ان العناية الإِلهية لتسوق هـن تسبق في عــلم الله (V) هدايته حتى يوجد منه الاهتداء في الوقت الذي سبق في علم
 الهداية، وكيف انساقت بي الحال، منذ نشأت انى انتقالي عن مذهب اليهود ، ليكون عبرة وهوعظة لمن يقع (a) اليه 24b




(1) ب ، ع : ذاكر • ب : ز : سبب(د : بسبب) • (1) ب : وقع •



- الحكة من يشاء ويهديه صراطا مستقيما

وذلك ان" ابي كان يقال له الىاب يهودا بن ابون (1) من مدينــــة فــــاس التي باقصى اليغــرب ، والر الـب لقب وليس باسمم ، وتفسيره الحبر • و كاذ اعلم اهل زما فمانه بعلوم






العرب الاسم غير الكنية •
 وهي احـدى الاخوات النـلاث النـجبات في علوم
 البصري الليوي ، اعني مـن (Y) سبـط ليـوى وهـو مبط
-
25a
(1) ع : ايوب • ( 1 ( 1 (

( ) مضبوط النسب لأن منه كان موسى عليه الـلام • و كان هذا اسحاق ذا علوم يدرسها (^) بيغـداد • و كانت الـهن نفيسة بنت ابي نصر الداودي (9) شن دؤسائهم المثاهير (‘‘) وذريته الى الآن بدص•

وكاذ اسم التي باسم ام شموايل النبي عليـه الســام


 مالح بن الائثة ، يقال له عيلى ، فرزقت (r) شا شموايل

 حتى استثعرت العقم فرأت في منامها انها تتلو مناجاة (II) (II)

 فاتَّفق انها بعد ذلك اثتتلت (\ا^) علي • وحين دزقتني
 - (1•) (1r)
 فانذرت • (1 (1) ق : حملت ع
 نصر وهي كنية جد"ي

25b
وثغــني ابي بالـكتابــة بالقــــلم العبري ثم بعــلوم (1)
التوداة وتفاسيرها حتى احكت علم ذلك عند كالـد كال السنة
-الثاثة عشرة من مولدي

 الدسـكـي ، وقــراءة عـــلم الطب عــلى الفيـلسوف الـي الـي البر كات هبة الله بن علي ، والتأمل في علاج (£) الامراضن،




 الامراض • •ثم قرأت الحساب الديواني وعلم المساحة على الثيخ (^) ابي الثظفر الثهرزوري (9) وقرأت الحبر والمقابلة

:


إيا عليه (•1) وعلى الكاتب ابن ابي تراب" وترد"دت الى









والقابلة وغيره

 بنغي في بيتمدةّ(r) وحلت'جيع تلكالكتب وشرتها،



 (Ir)


تصحيحـه وتحقيقه • وازريت (₹) على اقليــدس في ترتيب اثكال كتابه بحيث امكنني ، اذا غيرت نظام الثكاله ، ان
 كان كتاب اقليدس معجز| لسائر المهندسين ، اذ لم يحدثوا
 ذلك في هذه السنة ، اعني الثامنة عشرة من مولدي واتصلت تصانيفي في هذه العلوم بنذ تلك السنة والى الآن وفتح الله علي" كثيرا مهـَّا ارتج على هن سبقني من الحكماء المبرّزين (Y) فدو "نت ذلك لينتفع به سن يقع (Y)

وبفي خالل ذلك ليس لي مـكسب الا بصنــاعة الطب" و كان لي منها اوفر حظ ، اذ اعطاني الله من التأيد فيها ما عرفت به كل مرضن يقبل العاج من الامر اضن التي لا علاج لها • فما عالجت' مريضا الا وعوفي (A) وما كرهت علاج مريض الا وعحز عن علاجه سائر الاطبـًّاء و كاعوا عن تدبيره •
(1)



- نالحمد لله على جزيل نعمته (9) وعظيم فضله (1 (1) واتضن لي بعد مطالعة ما طالعته' من الكتب التي بانعرات والشام والذد:يسان و كوهستان ــ الطريق الى استخراج علوم كيرة واختراع ادوية لم اعرف اني 'ُبقت اليها ، مثل الدرياق الذي وسته بالمخلص ذي اقوة النافذة ، وهو يبرى


-نعـالى
وقد كنت' قبل انتغالي بهذه العلوم ، وذلك في السنة

الثانية عشرة والثالثة عشرة مششفوفا (أ) بالاخخار والهكايات،

 التصانيف المؤ لَّفة في الحكايات والنوادر ، على اختلاف
 الطوال، ثم الى الدواوين الكباد ، مثل ديوان اخبار عنتر، ود وديوان(Y) ذي الهمة(Y)، والبطال، واخبار الاسكندر ذي

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - (Ir) } \\
& \text { 26b }
\end{aligned}
$$

القرنين ، واخبار العنقاء، واخبار الطرف (£) بن لوذان ،
وغير ذلك
تم اني لW طالعت ذلك اتَّضح لي ان اكثره من تأليفات
المؤدخين(0)• فطلبت' الاخبار الصهيحة فمالت هيتّي (1) الى التوادِنخ • فقرأت كتاب ابي علي "بن مسكويه الذي الذي ســًاه „"تجارب الامم" ، وطالعت تاريخ الطبري ، وغيرهما

من التواريخ
فكانت تم" "بي في هذه التواريخ اخبار النبي صلى الله عله وسلم، وغزواته، ووما اظهر الله له من المعجزات، وما (Y) (Y)


 اعدائه مxاهرهم (II) بإنكاد دينهم عليهم ، والدعوة الى دينه مد"ة طويلة وسنين كثيرة ؛ الىاذ الذ اذن الله له في الهجرة الى دار غيرها ; وما جرى للأعداء الذين جـاهدوه مـــنـ





وظهود الآية المجيبة في هزيمة الفس ؛ ورستم الجيـار





 27a
ومع ذلك فانتي كنت ، لـكثرة ثغفي باخبـاد الوزراء

 وركان لي في ذلك با حمده الفصهطاء ، وتعجَّب به البلغاء ، وقد يعلم ذلك منّي من تأمكَل كلامي في بعض الكتنب التي -الَّتها في احد الننون العلمية فثــاهدت' الععزة (Y) التي لا تبـاريه النصـاحة
-
 الوليد رغي اللا عنه • (IV) ع :ز : الهد"يق • (ه) ع ع : ز : با بن - الز

27a
(1) ع : س • ( 1 ( ب : الهجز الذي

الآدمية في القر آن • فعلمت هحــة اعجازه • ثم انتي
 و براهينها ، داحعت نفسي في اختلانف الناس في الاديسان والمذاهب• و كان اكبر(ه)المحر كاتلي الى البحثعنذلك
 وجدت فيه

 والرسل وتصديق المثائخ والسلف لها هدقناهم في سائر ما


 ذلك واجب• •واذا نحن حكـَّنا (^) العقل على ما نقلناه عن

 عن السلف ، لكن من اجل انه (9) يكون امن امرا ذا حقيقة في


- ب : العلوم • ع : باللوِم



فليست ’ححـَّه (•1)، اذ لو كانت ححة، لكانت ايضا حجَّت لسائر الخصوم الكفار ، كالنصارى: فانهم نقلوا عن اسالفهم أن عيسى "! نزالله، وانه الرازق المانع الضّارّ "النافع ع فان كان تقليد الآباء والاسلاف يدل على صحة ما 'نقل (II) 27b عنهم، فان ذلك يلزم منه الاقق ار بصحَّة مقالة (1) النهارى -ومقالة الصجوس وان كـان هــا التقليـد لاســلاف اليهود خاصــة دون

 فان (0) اليهود اد عّت ذلك في حق ابائها واسانفها ، فجميع
 التعصـُب لهم ، فنحن نجعل لابائهم اسوة بسائر أباء غيرهم من الانم • فاذا كانت اباء النصارى وغيرهم قد نقلوا عن ابائهم الكفر والضالال الذي تهرب العقول منه ، وتنف الطباع السليمة عنه ، فليس بمتتع ان يكون ما نقله اليهود عن ابائهم
ع : بحجة • (11) د ، ع ، ك : ينظل •

27b
ع (1)



إِنا بهذه الصفة
فلما علمت (Y) ان اليهود لهم اسوة بغيرهم فيما نقلوه عن
 بنوّ موسى الا شهادة التواتر ، وهذا التواتر موجود لعيسى
 التواتر يفيد تصديقا فاثثلاثة صادقون ونبوتهم معا حـهيسة وعلمت ايضا أنتي لم ار موس بعيني ولم اشثاهد معجزاته ولا معجزات غيره من الانبياء عليهم السلام• ولولا النقل
 للعاقل ان يصدق بو احد ويكذب بواحد من هؤلاء الانبيا عليهم السلام لانه لم ير احدهم ولا شاهد احو اله الا بالنقل، وشهادة التواتر موجودة ثلانتهم • فليس من العقل ولا من الحكمة ان يصدق احدهم و'يكذب الباقون ، بل الواجب

فاما تكذيب الكل " فان العقل لا يوحيه ايِضا لانًّا انـــا نجدهم اتوا بمكارم الاخلاق وندبوا الى الفضائل ونهوا عن




- ملاح حال (أ) اهله

فصع "عندي بالدليل القاطع نبوة الميح والیصطفى صلى


 وركاز قد احسن تريتي ، اذ ثغلني منذ اول الحـي البرهانية وربَّى (1) ذهني وخاطـي
 فيهما• فمكثت مدة طويلة لا 'يفتح علي" وجه الهداية ، ولا تنحل(r) عني هذه الثبهة، وهي مراقبة ابي، الى الى ان حالت

 وحـان وقت الهـداية وجاءتني الموعظـة الالهية برؤـتي
 ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وخسين, وخمسمائة و كان ذلك بـراغ (ا) من آذديهجان (v) • ( )

وهذا شرحمارايت وهذا (r) النــام الاوّل الذي (Y) دأيته

رأيت كأني في صصراء (^) فيحاء، مخضرة الأرجـاء يلوح من شرقيها (9) شجرة عظيمة ، والناس يهرعــون الى الى تلك
 الشجـرة شـو ائيل النبي جـالس والـــاس يسلّبون عليه " فسردت' بما سعته وقصدت الشجرة فوجدت في ظلحها ثيخا جسيسا ، بهيا ، وقورا ، ثديد بياض الثعر ، عظِيم الهيبة ،

 الي"، وقال "وعليك الـلام ، يا شريكنا في الاسم ، اجلس 28b
 الذي يده (1) وقال „اقرأ ها تجده بين يديك، • فوجدت بين يدي هذه الآية من التوداة : נביא אקים אתם מקרב אחזדם כמוך אפיץ ישמעון

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 28b } \\
& \text { (1) ع : بين يديه • (r) ع : س • (r) ع : واياي • ر : او اياي • }
\end{aligned}
$$

نابي اقيم لاهيم مقارب احيهم كاموخا ايالو يشماعون تفسيره : نبيًّا اقيم لهم مـن وسط اخـوتهم مثلـك بــ

فليؤمنوا•
 ان اليهود يقولون ان هذه الآية نزلت في حق شَ شـو ائيل النبي





 بهذا ، يا ذ كيا ، ما افادتك اذاً البراهين الهندسية"، • فقلت
 דופיע מהד באהן قو وتفسيره اثارة الى نبوة 'وعد (Y) بنزولها على جـال فاران •


 ب ، ق : اوباي • (£) ب : ز : محــا • (0) د ، فـ ، لـ تستط

وذ تفسيره : واقام في برية فاران (0) ، يعني اسماعيــل ولــد

ابراهيم الخليل عليهـا السلام•
ثم انه عاد والتفت الي" وقال ״الما (7) علمت ان الله لم يبعثني بنسخ شي" من التوراة ه وانما بعثني لا'ذ كـهم .بها

 29a
 الحتاجوا الى ان يو بيهم بقبول نبوة دانيال او ارميا (1) او حزبيل ؟؟" فقلت "لاه لعمري، لم تحتج (Y) الم ذلكه•

تُم اخذ المصشفت من يدي وانصرف مغضبا•
فارتعت لغضبه وازدجـرت' (r) لموعظتـه • وامتيتظت هــنعورا وجلست • وكـان وقت السحر ، والمعباح قِد في غــاية استنـارته • فتذكرت المنـام جميعه فاذا انا تـد تخيلته ، لا يذهب علي"ّ (ع) منه شي"

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { الترجمة • (ף) ب : اوما • (Y) ب : رسول (^) ع : فال • } \\
& \text { 29a } \\
& \text { (1) ب : يرمبا• (r) ع : نحتّ• (r) ع : وانزجرت • (£) ب : س • }
\end{aligned}
$$

فقلت (اان" ذلك لطف عن الله سبحانه وتعالى وموعظة لإِّالة الشبهة التي كانت تمنعني من اعلان كلمة الحق والتظاهر بالاسلام)" فتّت الى الله من ذلك واستغفرته ، واكثرت من الصالة على رسول (0) الله (0) المصطفى (Y) صلى اله الله عليه
 وانا شديد الفرح والسرود بـا قد انكشف لي من الهداية • ثم جلست مفكرا (V)• فنلب علي النوم عند تفكرُري ونمت
( المنام الیاني )
فرأيت كأني جالس في سكَّة عامرة لا اعرفها ، اذ اتاني آت ، عليه ثياب المتصو "ْة وزي "الفقراء ، فلم يسلمّ ثلي" خكنَّ قال "احب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم") • فهبته وقمت ثهع مسرورا مسرعا مستبشر ا بلقاء النبي على الله عله وسلم• فسار بين يدي" وانا ثن ورايّه حتى انتهى الى .اب دار • فذخله واستدخلني، فدخلت وراءه، وسرت خلفه في دهلِي طويل قليل الظللة الا أنه مظلمَ طرف الدهليز وعلمت انه قد حان اشر افـ البني صلى الله عله وسلمَ هبت لقاءه هيبة شديدة، فاخذت في الاستعداد للقاقه - وسالمهـ وذكرت اني كنت قد قرأت في اخباره هلى الله علي




296

 الجماعة في السلام ، لا'ني رأيت ذلك كأنه الأولى والاليت • ثم اشرفت على هحن الدار ه و كان مقابل الدهليز مبلس طويل وعن يسرة الداخل هبجلس آخر ، وليس في الدار غير هذين الهجلسين • وفي كل واحد مـن الهجلسين رجلان لا احقق الآن صود اولثك الرجال الا اني اظن" اكثرهم كانوا شبانا، لكنهم كانوا كالمتهييّين(ץ) للسفر • نمنهم من يلبس ثِيابا للسفر، واسلحتهم قريبة منهم• ورأيت دسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قائما فيــــا بين الدجلسين ، اعني في الزاوية التي في ذلك (₹) الر كن من ار كان (ه) الصحن ، و كأنه قد كان في ثشل ، وقد فرغ منه وانقلب عنه ليشرع في غيره• ففجأته بالدخـول عليه قــــل شروعه في غيره• و كان هلى الله عليه وسلم لابس ثياب (9) ع : السلام • (•1) ع : قنزة الى كلدة فعزت في الصنهة التالة • 29b - (1)

بيض وعمامته معتدلة اللطافة ، وعلى عنقه رداء ابيض حول
 البياض والحمـرة واليسير من السـرة، اسـود الحاحجين والعينين وشع محاسنه نصف كانه شهره• وشعره ومیاسنـ

إِضا معتدلة بين طول والقصر•
ولWا دخلت عليه ورأيته ، التفت الي" ور آني فاقبل علي"

 عليك، يا رسول الله ورحة (V) الله وبر كاتهه) • والغيت الجماءة • فلم التفت بيصري وقلبي (^) الا اليـه "(وعليك اللام ورحمة الله وبر كاته") • ولم يكن بين تسليـي عليه وبين معيي اليه توقف ولا زهان ، بل جريت اليه (a) 30a
مسرعا واهويت بيدي الى يــده، ومــد" يــده الكريــه الي" الـا
 رسول الله،" وذلك انه خطر بقلبي (Y) ان النُحَّاة منهم من الا

(1) (1) ب) ب : - ب 30a


زعم ان الاسطاء الاعلام هي اعرف المعارف ومنهم من يعول


لا تقع الا عليه وحده •

فرأيته قد ملى ابتهاجا • ثم جلس في الزاوية التي بين الدجلسين. وجلست' بين يديه • وقال ر"تأهب للمسير معـــا الى غدان للغزاةه"
فلـًا قال ذلك وتع في نفسي انـــ يغني المدينة العظى

 المسلوك الى الصين في البحر الاخضر ، وهــو اثدّ البحار أهوالا واعظهها اخطارا• فلما سعت' ذلك القـي القول من النبي
 اذ الحكاء لا يركبون البحار ، فكيف اركب البحر ؟ ثم


 وقع لي خاطر آخر وتلت: اذا كاز معنا رسول الله ملى الله

عليه وسلم وامِحابه فان البر والبحر يكون مسخرا (ّ) لنا ولا خوف علينا من سائر الاخطار • وطاب قلبي بذلك وحسن
 (₹) لي وانا بين يدي النبي على الله عله وسلم في غير زماز ، اعني من غي توتُف يستطبني به عن اجابته •
 يا رسول الله• فقال (اعلى خيرة الله")

فقتت (0) يين يديه وخرجت• فـا وجدت في الدهليز (1) الظُّلمة التي كانت فيه عند الدخول • فلـا خرجت من الد ومشيت قليا وجدت (ץ) كأني في سوق مراغة، فيـا بيا بين الهيارف وبين المدرسة التضوية ، و كانتي ادى ثلاثة نفى




 هغيرا، حين قرأت أخبار ظهود دولآلألاملام ، كيف كان

اهصحاب النبي هلى الله عليه وسلم ڤعفاء ، فقراء (٪) ، وليس لهم هن الآلات الا ثبيها بـا ذلـا كرنـا ، وانهم كانوا ينصرون على الحيوش الكينيفة والنيول العديدة ذوي الشو كة القويـة • فلـــا رأيت النفر الثـلاثة قلت : هــؤلاء هم المجاهدون والغزاةء هؤلاء اصحاب النبي صلى النى الله عليه
 عيني في النوم لفرط سروري بهم وغبطتي بهم (\&)

ثم استيقظت' والصجح لم يسفـر بعـد • فاسبغت الوخــوٌ وصلَّيت الفجر وانا شديد الحرص على اشهار كا كلمة الحق -اعلان الانتقال الى دين الاسلام • و كنت حينئذ بـراغة من الح




الله منه• ولي به انس متقدم
فدخلت اليه في اوائل نهار الجمعة المـنـكور يوبـــنـ ، وعر "نه ان الله قد رفع الحجاب عنتي وهداني (Y) • فـا

306
(£) (1)
 مرض • (V) د ، ما : وقد هداني •

اعظم استبشاره يومنذ بذلك ! وقال :
الله ، ان هذا الاهم ما زلت اتنتَّاه واترجاه وطالـا فد حــاورت قاضي القضـاة هــدر الدين في ذلك ، و كنــــا


 ذلك () وسهله بعــد ارتاجه وامتناعه ؟

فقلت: ذلك المر اوقعه الله في نفسي بالالهام، والفكى
 التوداة، الا اني كنت اراقب ابي واكره ان افجعه بنفسي،

 رسول الله

فقام الهاحب لفرط سروره قائسا ، واهتزَ فز ها، و كاز قبل ذلك لا يقوم الا بالتكلُفت ، وغاب عني واستجلسني الى
(1) عا : بان • (r) ب : الصلاح • (r) عا : س • (\&) ب ، ر ، عا :
من (0) د ، عا ، ك : فتـد • (ף) : ا انا ، عا : فاني •



بالتـأخير والتوقُـف الى وقت حضوري في المسجـد لانـذ الوقت خاق الى ان فرغ الخياطون من خياطة إلجُبِّة التي ادر الهاحب بتفصيلها
فسرت (•1) الى الجامع ، والجـــاعة في انتظـاري • وارتفع التكبير من جماعة أمل المسجـد حين أششفت عليهم وارتج المسجد الجامع من هلاتهم على وسول الله هلى الله
 القاضي صدر الدين ملك الوُعاظ ابو بكر محمد بن عبد اللـ


31b
ايدني الله به من التيقُط والهداية وبالغ في ذلك مبــالغة
 وفي عشية ذلك اليوم ، اعني (1) ليلة عيد النحر ، ابتدأت'

( (V)

 31b
(1) عا : ز: عثية (1 أ) ق ، لك : طال • (r) عا : س • (
. وانتسخْ هني (Y) في عد"ّة بقاع نسخا كثيرة (r)؛ بالمو مـل - والعhالها، وديار بكر، والع اق، وبلد العجم ثم اضفت' اليه بعد وقت فصوولا كثيرة من الاحتحاج على اليهود من التوراة حتى صار كتابا بديعا لم ِيمهل في الالمالام

مثله في مناظرة اليهود البتّة
ووامَّا المنام الاول والمنام الثاني (£) فاني لم اذكرهمـا للصاحب ولا لغيرد من اهل مراغة الى انقضاء اربع سنين
 اني كرهت ان اذكر امرا لا يقوم عله البرهان فربما تسرع خاطر من يسـعه الى تكذيبـه لا'نَّهُ امر نــادر ، قليل مــا
 لنتكذيب سرّا او علانية • ـ والثاني اني كرهت ان يصل خبر النامين الى عن يحسدني في البالاد على ما فضلني الله . والاززراء على مذهبي ، فيقول : ان فلانا ترك دينه لمنام رآـ

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ما: }
\end{aligned}
$$

- وانخدع لاْهاث احام (•)

فاخفيت' ذلك الى ان اشتهر كتاب افحام اليهــود و كثر - نسخة" وقراءة (II) على جماعة كثيرة من النا فلمًّا تحقَّق الناس ، اغني (Ir) ان انتقالي من مذهب اليهود انما كان بدليل ، وبرهان ، وحجِج قطعيَّة عرفتها ، واني



32a
هوعظة من الله تعال ىوتنبيها على ما يحب علي تقديسه ولا

- يحلّ لي تأخيره بسبب والد او غيره

و كتبت' كتابا الى ابي الى حلب ، وانا يومئذ بحصن كيفا، واو ونحت له في ذلك الكتاب عدة ححج وبر اهين مما اعلم انه لا ينكره ولا يقدر على ابطاله، واخبرته ايضا بضبر المنامين • فانحدر الى المو بل ليلقاني ؛ وفاجأه مرضى جاءه

- بالمو

فليعلم الآن من يقرأ هذه الاورات ان المنام لم يكن باءثا

 32a
(1) ب ، ر ، لـ : فيه • ( ( ) ب : س • ( ( ) ر ، عا تواصلان : المَابا

على ترك الذهب الاوّل • فان العاقل لا يجوز ان ينخدع عن احو اله بالهنامات والاحلام من غير برهان ولا (ץ) ديلّ نكنتي كنت قد عرفتقبل ذلك بزمان طويل الحججو البراهين والاددَّة على نبوة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم• فتلك الحجج والبر|هين هي سبب الانتقال والهداية • واما المنام



- بوت ابي

فالحمد لله على الاســـام و كلمة الحق ونور الايمــان


- وآله (

() ب :

بسم الله الر حهن الر حيم (1)
نسخة مسئلة وردت على السهوءل من بعضى الز نادقة المتفلسفة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
انتقال سيَدنا الامام (Y) الجبر ، العالم الاوحد ، اللئيس مؤيد الدين ، شدس الاابلام ، اوحد العصر ، ملك الحكا الارياء ، T22 ادام الله تأيده ، وارغم حسوده ، من الملَّة الاسرائيلية الى الملَّة الاسلامية إِما هوى واستحسان وبرهاز• فالما الهوى والاستحسان والعبث فهو ما يقبح بيثله ه ولا يليق لمن وهل الى درجته من العلمهولا سِيَّما في الاعتقاد والدين • وإنذ قال انه بدليل وبر وهان وان وبحث ونظر ، فان كان كان
 له عقل آخر فيُريه ان ما هو عليه الآن باطلْ وان وان كان ذلك البحث بالعقل الاول فهلا كان ذلك البحث قبل ذلك

T21 (1) رسالة الى السموءل وجوابه • من آخر ط ، ومن مخطوطة فاتح
 مضروبا عليه تأدبا و تحاشيـا من انيكتب القابه هخطه • (Y) ف : اله (1) ف : او عبث• الحبر الهمام

## irr

الوقت؟ ولعلَّه لو ازداد في البحث والنظر لعلم ان الحق’ في غير المذهب الذي مار اليه
 والبرهان ، قلنا - باي طـريق ؟ ثم انه لا يعلم احد ان مذهبا اصحَ "من سائر المذاهب الا اذا بحث واستقصى عن جميع المذاهب ، وتأمـَّل جـيع ما اصـَّله اربابها ، وححِّهم • فان هو اد"عى ذلك فهو محال لا'ن عمره لا يفي للطالعة جميع ما امـَّله سائر اصـكاب المذ|هب والاديان • ولعلَّه ، لو 'سُّل عن حقيقة دين الحجوس والنتوية والبراهمة لW كان
-قيّا بعلوم مذهبهـ
وايضا فان الملة التي قد (r) ا انتقل اليها هي على مذاهب كثيرة•




 تقليدآ فذلك مْا لا يليق بالعلماء والحكماء ورأى سيدنا الامام الحبـر فـي تأتُل ذلك والاجابـة عنـه اعلى

## نسخة الجواب

بسم الله الرحمن الزحيم
سيقول السنهاء من الناس : ما ولآهم عـن قبلتهم التي
كانوا عليها ؟ ، قل : لله المشق والمغرب ، يهدي من يشـا


فليعلم ان الله هداني بالدليل الواضح والحبَّة الثـابتة ،
من غير تقليد لـعلم او والد•

T23
والما سؤاله عن وقت الاذعان بالكلمة الاساكمية ، هل كان
 مضهرة ، غير مظهرة - فهو ضوب من النض النضول لأن الانسام مقبول عند الله وعند اهل الدين في اي" الوقتين كان •

 عدو"؟ على انًّا نبرأ الى الله من التضبيع في اجابة الدابة الداعي الى

الحق بجد معرفته • ولكن عقيب ما كشف الله عن المصيرة ، وجاد بنور الهداية بادرت الى الانضهام الى زمرة الحق

والمـَّا قوله انتَـه ، ككـا حـــث له هذا عقلا ، فوبهـا حدث له عقل آخخ يريه ان ما هو عليه باطل ـ فحجوابه ان هذا
 على من انتقل الى دين يبحث ونظر ثم انتقل عن الدين الثاني
 المحالات التي حصلت في وهمه بالتلفُقُ من الاباء في الطفولة، وانس . بها ، واعتادها من غير ان تصع غنده يِحث ونظر ،

 يؤدْه اليه نظر • فكيف يلزمه ما ذ كر من الشهة واما قوله ـ هل بحث عن جميع المذاهب فانـَّه لا حاجة لي الى ذلك لا'ز الحق" "في جهة واحدة وليس بـتعد"د • فلمًا قادني الدليل الى المذهب الحت "لزم من صتحته بطالان سائر المذاهب المخالفة له ه من غير حاجة الى الاطّلاع على جميع - ما حرده اربا بهها الـالها

والمًّا قوله ـ لو بحث لعلم ان الحق "في غير ما هو عليه •

نهو محال لاز" الحت "لا يتعدّد •
واما سؤاله عن ما الطريق الذي صحت به عندي دعـوة الدصطفى ، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم (1) ، فالن شهادة هذه الـه الامم العظية بنبوتّه مع الـعجز الاعظم الذي لم يبار فيه ك وهو غصاحة القر آن ، دلَّني على ذلك ، واكَد ذلك اشارات


- الندلالة

واما سؤاله عن المذهب الاسلامي الذي انتست' اليه ، وما
T24
زعم انه يلزمني من مطالعة جميع مذاهب الائئة ، فهو شبهة
 الاوّل بعينه، وهو ان الدليل قادني الى مذهب اعتقد بصرحته، فلا حاجة لي الى تصفـُّح غيره لاز الحق "غير متعدد فيالمذاهب
 المسلمين انما هو في توابع وصغاتر ، لا في اهل العتيــد الا
 حنيفة ومالك واحمد ، رضي الله عنهم ، دون اصحاب البدع

على اذ هذا السائل عما لا يعنيه ، اذا قام (1) هذا المقامه فسبيله ان يقوي ال هــد"متِ' من حجــج اليهود ، ويتشاغل

 من الاخلاد الى ثبهة الزنادقة وهذيانات المتفلسفة الكنتّار


- الله اليها
 الحقيةة الا ان الملوك والسلاطين جرت عادتهم ان يخصـوُوا

الا كفاء • والحسد لا يزيد اهـله الا خمولا • شعر (Y) :

واذا خفيت’ على الغبي" فعاذد
والسـلام
تم الجواب
(1) ط ، ف : دام ، دام
(r) ف: ف •

## عنوان الكتاب وختامـه

العناوين

> ب (ناقص)

 المؤلف من احبار اليهود فاسلم بـبسب رؤبت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ر بذل المجهود في افهام اليهود

.... مسعود الثيراذي ختم الله لـ بالحسنى -

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ع بذل المجهود في انحام اليهود } \\
& \text { عا كا كتاب غـاية ألمتصـود في الرد على النصارى واليهود } \\
& \text { ق انحام طائنة اليهود } \\
& \text { كـ أفام اليهود }
\end{aligned}
$$




في النصوص المختلفة
في آخر ب :

فصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم • وكتب من نسخة بخط السموءل المصنف المذكود وفرغ منهافي الحادي والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة خسس وثلاثين وسبعمانتة حاشثية: نظر فيه العبد النتير الى الله تعالى ابو بـك عمر الازهري
 ملحوظة بالمراجعة من الناسخ
ملحوظة - في الهامش

نظر فيـ العبـد الثقير الى الله تعالى ابو بكر عمر الازهري الشافعي الشاذلي غفر الله لـ ولولده ولجميع المسلمين امين والحمد لله ربالعالمين في آخر د :
والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحب

 لاجل النسخ فتط وحمهما الله وعفا عنهما وعن المسلمين امين. • م • سنة في آخر د :
 ولا حول • . . وصلى • • سلاما كثيرا • الو ا في آخر ط : نصى ״الافهامه قبل الرسالتين:

 ْخطه حامدا للد على افضاله ومصليا على وسوله محمـد المصطنى وآلَ - المجتمعين

بعد الرسالتين :
وقد تقله احوج خلق الله اليه محمد بن مسعـود الشيرازي ختـم اللـ لـ لـ بانحسنى من خط السموءل وذلكفيشيراز ديع الثاني من شهود سنة هالـالـو وفي بلدة قونة حماها الله من الاحفات

> في آخر ع :

تم نسخ هذا الكتاب على يد العد الضعيف الفقير اليه تعالى عبد اللطيف -بن الحاج علي المكنى بالرواسي
وهذه النسخة نقلت عن نسخة الشيخ عبد الرحمن أفندي الثقصار • وهي عن نسخة تاريخ تأليها في سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة بزياداتها و التها التي اضافها المؤلف اليها في سنة اثنتين وستين وخمنسمائة ولائة
 فأساله تعالى التوفيق لي ولجميع المسلمين آمين ،
 على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة وأذكى التحية

سنـد النسخة

قد فتل هذا الكتاب من نسخة موجودة عند الشيخ أبي السعاداتالدالدجاني اليافاوي وهو نتلها من نسخة عند مغتي يالما ، وقد نملها من عند الما خالد افندي عديل احمد باشا الشمعة فليعلم
(تنبي) عند تمام نسخ هذا الكتاب دأيت في النوم نحو عشرة رئ رجال
 يناظرهم ويباحثم في هذا الكتاب و كان سنه اثنتي عشره سنة ، وفي جأن نبه

 محمد توفيق وأخجلهم • ثم استيقظت وأنا مسرود منقول هذا عن خط الشيخ عبد الرحمن الثقار في آخر ف :
وقد تـــله احوج خلق الله اليـه ابن الشريف الكرماني في بلدة الموصل - حماها الله من الآّفات في آخر ق ك :

## (قبل قصة الاسـلام)

منقول من خط مصنف مها وجد مكتوبا في آخر النسخت المنقول منها كتبه


†لعشر الاول من رمضان المعظم سنة اثنتين (ك اثنين) وثلاثين وسبعمائة
 وصلاته (ك: وصـلواته) على سيدنـامحمد وعلى آله (ك : وآله) وصحب وسلم تسليماء وحسبنا الله و نع الوكيل

## ir.

## ملــحـق

الاغجار عن السـوعل

## من كتـاب تاديخ الهكاء لابن التنطي

نشره ليبرت 14.r

- السموهJ







 البهلوان وامراء دولتهم ، واقام بمدينة المراغة • واولد اولم اولادا هناك سلكا طريتت في الطب" • واسلم فحسن اسلامه • وصنف كتابا في اظهـاد مهعايب
 واحكم ما جَمعه في ذلك• وْمات بالمراغة قريبا من سنت سبعينوخمسماتة •

هن كتاب عيون الانباء فيطقات|لاطباء لابنابيإبيعة

السموءل هو السموءل بن يحيى بن عبـاس المغـربي، كان فاضــلا في
 في بغداد ، ثم ا نتقل الى بلاد العا العجم ، ولم يزل بها الى آلى آخر عهره • وكان ابوه ايضا يشدو شيئا من علوم الحكمة

و تملت' من خط الشيخ مونتّق الدين عبد اللطيف بن يوسف البفدادي ، :

هــا السموءل ششـاب بغـدادي كان يهوديا واسلم • ومات شابا بالمراغة•



 و نظر في الجبر والمقابلة • و الم

وللسهوءل . . . من الكمب : كتاب المفيد الاوسط في الطب صن المنف في سنة \&ףه بيغداد للوزير مؤيد الدين ابياسمعيل الحسين بن محمد بن الحسن بن علي
دسالة الى ابن خدود في مسائل حساية جبر ومقابلة ،


كتاب الرد على اليهود

 كتاب المنبر في المساحة ... . -كتاب في الباه
:

بارض مصر • طبب، عالم، درحالة (

اما ابن الخششاب فكان من علماء بغداد في الادب والفته والرياضيات • -وتوفي في سنة (IIVF) (IVY (IV)

اه „ اللرسالة الى ابن خدوده فيظهر انها الرسالة الى ابن الخشاب وانه قد وقع تصحيف في الاسم ] ]

## irr

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { من تاريخ مختهر الدول الابن العري }
\end{gathered}
$$

- نشره الاب صالهاني ، •


( من كلام ابن التنطي)


## من كتاب الوافي للصفدي

$$
\text { (من منتاب الوافي للصندي في البودليانا ، او كسفودد) ص } 170 \text { ب }
$$



 رأيت بعضم قد كتب في هامش فالم الترجمة في تاريخ ابن النجار (الذيل ملى تاريخ بغداد) قال :


 والطب والادب وغير ذلك •
رأى النبي ••• في ليلة جمعة•••فاصبح فاسلم • وقد عظم فنسه فافرط•
[


## من توطةّ كتاب الابهر ني السساب للسموءل

## - نشره عادل انبوبا في مجلة المشرق 1971 ص• 197 •Tr

هذا الكتاب الني جمعنا فيه اصول صناعة الجبر والمتابلة وبرهنا منها


 التهويهات والشوائب لم نخلط كلامنا بكلام من تَدمنا ...
وكان قد طالع بمض كراديسه ، عند فراغي من سطره ، ، من مشائخ

 في الاصجاب كل مذهب• وسألني تفويض تسميته اليه ، فاجبتـ الى الى ذلك






## ש5מה אלתריזי - תחכמוני - שער ג'



ויצחק בנו גם הוא ממקור השיר שאב. ועל שיׁירי הבן מזיו האב. אך בבואו לארצות מזרח, כבוד ה' עליו לא זרח. והםיר מעליו טעילי


ורבי יהודה בן עבם גם הוא בא מארצות ערב למזרח. ובדרך
השיר ארח. ולוֹ שירים המודים וערבים. וקצתם כאפם נחשבים. לא ערבים ולא טובים. גם הולציד בi פריץ. הפליא נבלות והמריץ.

# יוחף םםברי 

## דברי יןהח

## [A. Neubauer, Revue des Etudes ]uives V pp. 52-551

 על תארת הּ חמימה: ודברים מִלבו בדה: על החחורה ועל הצעודה: ועשד:
 והבדיליו ה׳ לרצה מכל שבטי ישראל:










 ואור גדול ואש מחלקחת בקרבו ואיש אהחד יוטב צל דככטא כנגדו רצל
 זקני מגיהיט צר טבבורו ובידו. כפר פתוח ויקראה אליו ויאמר לו יאודי







 פצּר בלבו ודאי גם בו בחר הּ ויטכם בבקר ריחבוּ אז אתונו והלך לכפור בתוררת מטדה ויטראל והידת כאוחד מהחש וחבר זה הכפר נגר היאוארים

 היצטיח האמיתי ומכליל כלינו כלילות ברטיצ כי ההורד מוחלפת וגרצטי

והוטפנר וכדי לאמרת דבריו בנדי קי צל הוהיר וכהב כי צזראה הסרסר נרצ



 הכדהנים בני לוי וכשגרמו הצוננות והחחריב נבוכדנצר הרטצ בירת הממקטש
 יושבים בגלות ובארץ אויביההם כמחה פנים רבוה ורצוּ ורות ויודצים את החתורד





 במימריד: ואה ידיכתר מוכרחרז ב=ָ יגלוי וצאוי לפציו טיכהידים לחבאג רצל






 חז"ל טשאטרו בשר בתלב מן ההתורה: שיהוא אכור דכהיב לא הבשל גדי בדלב


 לכהבם בכתב ועוד דיפליל פלינו צלילות ברשי וכתב בכפרו צל צובדידרי




 ויבצלנה טצם אחת ולא אשנדה לו ובזה מוהרת לחזור לבצלה: הראשולן רצל

 מהר ציבל כתב כליגו כצאנו כוהבים בכפרים כּלנור ומהחרחרין ריב צל כבד


 ריכלה את קוציו וישבדח יכראל ביוצא חלציו אמן.

## محتويات الكتاب

## صفنحـة




[^0]:    1. The data on Samau'al's father are sifted by H. Schirmann in v. VI of the Bulletin of the Hebrew Poetry Research Institute [Jerusalem, 1945] pp. 297 sq.

    Cf. GAL I 488, S I 892; ALJ under Samuel b. Abbas.
    2. The text published here contains a few verses from Mutanabbi. The unpublished work on erotica is replete with poetical quotations. Cf. Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue, No. 6381. The medical aspect of this work is discussed by L. Leclerc, Histoire de la medicine arabe, v. II (Paris, 1876) pp 14-18.
    3. His teachers are listed in the autobiography.

[^1]:    8. Thus he served and/or wrote for the princes of Marägha (of the Pahlawan house), the rulers of Hisn Kayfā (Ortokids), and a Baghdād wazir Mu'ayyad aldīn abū Ismā’il. Cf. Goitein in HUCA v. 34 (1963): Geniza data on the medrcal profession.
    9. Le Strange Lands 164 f.; EI s. v. and s. v. Ildegiz, Pehlewan; A. Godard, Notes in Atñär-e Iran I (Haarlem, 1936); Lane Poole Dynasties 171. The history of the local dynasties of the region and of the town is not very clear. The Ahmadil house ruled for over a century 505-624, H.

    Cf. E. I. 2 ed. s.v. Ahmadili; R. Guseinov, Siriiskie istochniki XII-XIII चֶ. ob Azerbaidzhane (Baku, 1960) pp. 119-126.
    10. This was the time when to the West, in Syria-Egypt, the star of Saladin was beginning to rise.
    11. Cif. below in the autobiography.
    12. This is the sarcastic anonymous epistle addressed to Samau'al. Cf. below.
    13. In 562/1167.
    14. On the autobiography cf. F. Rosenthal, Arab. Autobiographis 27 f. (Analecta Orientalia XIV, Rome, 1937).

[^2]:    15. Ibn al-Qifti gives the date of death as close to 570 H ., Ibn Abī Usaybi'a and Safadi as 576. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a mentions that Samau'al died young (mäta shäbban). This probably means: under the age of fifty. Samau'al's lifetime may be presumed to have been about $520-570 \mathrm{H} / 1126-1175$.

    The name Al-Maghribi occurs in Adharbayjan as a name of physicians and scholars at a later period.
    16. It is sufficient to glance through the list of polemic tracts in Steinschneider's Polem-Lit. (1877) p. 110 sq. (which of course could be supplemented now) to see the prevalence of polemics between Christians and Muslims, and the impact of converts.
    Cf. E. Fritsch Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter (Breslau, 1930).
    17. By the middle of the ninth century, a Nestorian had written against Jews and was followed by a flow of Christian polemics that dealt with Islam but did not mince words about the Jews. Cf. SPL 45, 416.

[^3]:    23. Saadia's Amanät (ed. S. Landauer, Leiden, 1881) was translated by S. Kosenblatt (New Haven, 1948). Qirqisani's work was published by L. Nemoy (New York, 1939-43). The chapter on Islam (v. II p. 292 sq.) had been published by I. Friedlacnder in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie v. XXVI.
    24. K. al-Fişal; M. Asin Palacios Abenházam, especially v. II (Madrid, 1928); The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v.; M. Perlmann in PAAJR XVIII [1949].
    R. Brunschwig in Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa v. I. (Barcelona, 1954) analyses a fine section on Judaism in the tenth century Bāqillänī's Tamhīd.
    25. I. Goldziher in ZDMG 66 p. 166. J. Friedlaender in Orientalische Studien (Noeldeke Festschrift I 1906), p. 268.
[^4]:    26. Cf. F. Rahman, Prophecy in Islam (London, 1958) p. 40 f., 59 ff.
[^5]:    27. M. Perlmann in JQR 1950.
    28. Samau'als reference is to the epistle of Bardhawayh the physician. Cf. E. I. 2.4.
[^6]:    29. Cf. I. Goldziher Stellung der altex islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wisset:schaften (Abh., Berlin, 1916): H. S. Nyberg in Classicisme, p. 134 f.
    30. M. Perlmann in the Journal of Jewish Bibliography (New York, 1942) and in Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida, v. II (Rome, 1956).
    31. Ibn Kammūna's book is known from quotations in Steinschneider's Pol. Lit. and in L. Hirschfeld, Sa'd b. Mansūr 1bn Kammūna etc. (Berlin, 1893); cf. analysis by D. H. Baneth in MGWJ 1925.
[^7]:    32. In the third maqama.
    D. Kaufmann tried to connect the Silencing with Abr. b. Daud's Emuna Re$m a(R E J v . X)$ but there is no reason to believe that this thesis is valid.
    33. Published by Neubauer REJ v. V.
    34. Cf. A. L. Williams Adversus Judaeos (Cambridge, 1935) p. 228 sq.

    The Latin tract claims to be a translation of an Arabic tract written by a Jewish convert to Christianity.

[^8]:    35. Cat. (Ettesami) of the Majlis Library I 184; II 593. The epistles to and by Samau'al appear here and in the ms. Fatih 3141, Istanbul.
    36. Catalogue v. VI. A copy of this manuscript was made for S. Friedmann who put it at the disposal of M. Steinschneider and with the latter's library it later came into the possession of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York. S. Friedmann was the Christian ecion of a family of Jewish extraction, and devoted much energy to a search for territory for the settlement of Jewish refugees, his best-known project being that of colonizing Midian. He wrote to Steinschneider:
    möge der Ifham . . ihnen so wenig den Mund stopfen, als er es bisher den anderen Juden gethan.
    Cf. Steinschneider in ZfHB 1897, p. 189 f. On Friedmann cf. N. M. Gelber in Shibat Şiyyon v. II-III, Jerusalem, 1953; J. M. Landau ib. v. I and in Rassegna lsraelitica of Nov. 1963; J. Fraenkel in Herzl Year Book v. IV (New York, 1962).
    37. G. Vajda, Index General etc. (Paris, 1953) pp. 207; 250.
[^9]:    45. Schreiner devotes a section of his study to this point. He had written previously on the pronunciation of Hebrew (ZATW v. VI).
[^10]:    1a. Literally: his coffers become well stocked with provision. In the Karan, 89, v. 13 God "lies in ambush."

    1. This opening paragraph is in rhymed prose.
    2. Of the Bible by the Koran, of Judaism by Islam.
[^11]:    3. Gen. 9:6
    4. Gen. 17:10-14.
    5. Ex. 20:8-11.

    5a. i.e., God.

[^12]:    6. $\mathrm{Nu}_{1}$ 19. In Arabic the word means pilgrimage but no doubt the Hebrew meaning holiday is intended.
    7. i.e. Muhammad.
[^13]:    8. Nu. 19:11, 16, 17.
[^14]:    9. Lev. 15:19 sq.
    10. b. Nidda f. 34.
    11. An appellation for Moses on the basis of the Koran 4:162.
    12. Cf. Abot I.
[^15]:    13. From the 'Amida.
[^16]:    14. Deut. 13:1 All this word which I command you, that shall ye observe to do; thou shalt not acid thereto, nor diminish from it. Probably quoted from memory.
    15. Ex. 13:2.
    16. Ex. 32:26.
    17. Num. 8:18.
    18. "The emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier divine ruling." (E.I.)
    19. Gen. 49:10
[^17]:    20. This notion is incorporated in the Koran.
    21. Following medieval folk-lore.
[^18]:    22. The Koran is consicered inimitable, perfect in eloquence, miraculous. The elequence and styic of the Koran are considered by Muslim theologians miraculous in the sense that these properties of the Koran proved inimitable, whether because of intrinsic perfection, or as a result of divine intervention against those challenged by the Prophet to produce anything like the verses of his scripture.
[^19]:    24. Confusion of Deut. 18:15 and verse 18. The first part here is from verse 18, the second from verse 15 with its command unto him ye shall hearken. The verses belong to the fifth weekly portion in Deuteronomy.
    25. Deut. 2:4; the concluding sentence is not a quotation from the text but a paraphrase of the following verse: contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, etc.
    26. The argument recurs in the autobiography.
[^20]:    27. Koran 4:124.
    28. Gen. 17:20 in the fourth weekly section. (Hebrew and Arabic letters were used as figures to express numerals.)
[^21]:    29. Deut. 33:2 in the Aramaic (Onkelos) version. The Hebrew is translated as follows: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them; He shined forth from Mount Paran, and he came from the myriads holy."
    30. Sharät - the mountainous region of ancient Edom in Southern Palestine, adjoining the Gulf of Aqaba and forming the transition to the Arabian area.

    This is the biblical Seir, the land of Esau (Gen. 36:8, 20, 21; Deut. 2:5; Jo. 24:4).
    31. Esau is called here al-'Is, and connected with the followers of 'Isã, i.e. Jesus. Jews used to designate Christendom as Edom, and Islam as Ishmael.
    32. Gen. 21:21.

[^22]:    33. Deut. 32:28-9.
    34. I Kings $12: 23$. Jeroboam's city was Shechem. Shomron-Samaria was founded later by Omri (ib. 16:24). In IK 11:31-32 Ahijah the Shilonite promises Jeroboam rule over ten tribes while one tribe (Judah) was to be left with the House of David. (Later notion in II Chron 11:1)
[^23]:    35. II Chron. 13:17.
    36. Confusion of Lev. 24:22, Num. 15:15-16, Ex. 12:49.

    3?. The praycr before the Shemar.
    38. From the 'amida.

[^24]:    42. From a section of the 'Amida for Rosh Hashana.
    43. To be found in the prayer preceding the one cited in n. 42.
    44. Ps. 115:2.
    45. Ps. 44:24 (from thy slumber does not occur in the psalm).
[^25]:    46. Ex. 24:10.
    47. Ex. 31:18.
    48. Gen. 6:6.
    49. Gen 3:16.
[^26]:    50. Both of the preceding verses belong to the first portion, but Gen. 6:6 is at the end of it, close to the beginning of the portion entitled Noah, and leads to the story of the flood.
    51. I Sam. 15:11 without the words over Israel. These words remained from the concluding sentence of the same chapter cited only in mss. P. T. and in the Cairo edition.
    52. Gen. 8:21 (with slight change in word order).
[^27]:    62. In II Kings 14:3 a righteous ruler.
    63. Ahl al-dhimma tolerated (monotheistic) groups in Muslim states.
[^28]:    64. Muhammad's employer, later his wife.
    65. An early Jewish convert to Islam.
    66. Cf. Koran 2:229-230.
    67. Ruth 1:4.
    68. Gen. 19:31. Lot is a prophet in Islamic lore, beginning with the Koran.
[^29]:    69. Ib., Verse 36.
    70. The well-known talmudic pattern to explain certain scriptural difficulties.
    71. Koran 4:124 (125): "God took Abraham as a friend." Biblical prototype II Chron. 20:7.
    72. Gen. 12:10-20.
    73. Gen. 19:33.
[^30]:    74. Here Țālūt as in the Koran 2:248, 250.
    75. I Sam. 22:16-20.
    76. Koran 9:30. The Jews said: 'Uzayr is the son of God. Muslim commentaries equate 'Uzayr with Ezra, and quote embellished traditions explaining why the Jews called Ezra the son of God.
    77. Gen. 15:2.

    78 Gen. 38:10.

[^31]:    79. Gen. 38:24.
    80. Ib. v. 25.
    81. Gen. 38:25-26.
[^32]:    82. Ex. 16:23, Lev. 23:27-32.
    83. After Koran 5:85.
    84. After Koran 2:154.
    85. Deut. 25:5-10.
[^33]:    86. Deut. 25:10.
    87. Ib. v. 7.
[^34]:    88. Ib. v. 8.
    89. Mutanabbi II 546 N. 225 line 26. (ed. Dieterici)
[^35]:    93. Ex. 22:30.
[^36]:    96. Anan b. David, the VIII cent. Karaite teacher. Benjamin Nahãwandi, the IXc. Karaite master.
[^37]:    97. II Sam. 19:41-44. Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, King of Geshur, was Absalom's mother - II Sam. 3:3, I Chr. 3:2 (Geshur was a principality in the nor heastern part of Transjordan).
    98. II Sam. 20:1-2. The parts of the name are transposed in the mss. Let every one of you proceed to his tent.
[^38]:    99. T. adde: of gold, which Jeroboam made in Nablus, and their turning to the (worship of the) two calves.

    100 . The text has: They will not come near the disgrace of any other nation. This does not seem to make sense. Apparently the opposite sense is required, as given in the translation.

[^39]:    101. Nov. 8, 1163. The vision occurred on Thursday night; the conversion took place on Friday.
    102. After Koran 9:130.
    103. A frequent Koran image.
    104. An Arabic name may include, apart from the name proper (ism), a surname of relationsl:ip (kunya) and a surname (laqab). In this case Rāb is the laqab, Abū-l-Baqā ${ }^{3}$ the kunya. The latter is not an indication of relationship proper (father of . .) in this case but an appellation - the long lived.
[^40]:    105. Much in vogue at the time both as a general educational subject and as training for employment.
    106. Scribe, secretary, official.
[^41]:    107. Persian province (s.w. of Khurasan).
[^42]:    108. The works cnumerated here are cycles of heroic tales, somewhat reminiscent of western knighthood lore.
    109. Died 421/1030.
    110. 224-310/839-923.
    111. The charisma of the Prophet is revealed in his miraculous victories, such as his first victory over the Meccans at Badr (624).
    112. An oasis north of Medina, settled by Jews; occupied by Muslim forces in 628.
    113. The beginning of Koran 30 mentions that Byzantium, though smitten, will again be victorious. This reference to the Byzantine-Persian struggle (of 612-626, esp. the campaign of 62-626) was uttered in Mecca. Sa'd was the leader of the Muslim force that wrested Iraq from the Persian forces in 633.
    114. Legend has it that when Muhammad was born, the palace of the Persian ruler shook, and the thousand year old eternal fire of the Zoroastrian cult was extinguished; a lake was flooded; the high priest saw in his dream a camel overrunning lands, etc. (Cf. Tabarī Annales p. 981.)
    115. Leader of the Muslim conquest of Syria (634).
[^43]:    116. The first caliph (632-34).
    117. The second caliph (634-44).
    118. Cf. n. 22.
    119. The Indian fables (Panchatantra) in the Arabic version by Ibn al Muqaf$\mathrm{fa}^{\circ}$ ( who was put to death in 760) ; to this work was attached the autobiographic note of the humanist sceptic, the physician Bardawayh.

    119a. Literally: He is the one who sustains, etc.

[^44]:    120. The Zoroastrians.
[^45]:    121. Deut. 18: i8; the last two words are from Verse 15. In the original the last word means: ye shall hearken.
[^46]:    124. Ascetics and mystics, members of the mystics' orders. Their garb is 'the garb of the poor'.
    125. Lit. 'Respond.' A turn of speech meaning: follow me (or do as ordered) in response to the command of . . .
[^47]:    126. Probably Khumdān, the capital of China, "on the shore of the Green Sea."
[^48]:    127. Preacher.
    128. A garment.
    129. Pulpit.,
    130. 'id al-nahr or 'id al-adhā is celebrated on the tenth of the month of Dhū-lhijja. On that day the pilgrims to Mecca offer their sacrifice in the valley of Minā.
[^49]:    132. Samau'al is addressed in the third person, which has been changed in the translation to the second person.
[^50]:    133. The Brahmins were supposed to deny the need for propbets. Under this guise rationalist theories could be propounded. (God endowed man with reason which suffices to distinguish between right and wrong.)
    134. The heads of the four main schools of Islamic law: Ash-Shäfi'i 150/767204/820, Abū-Hanifa ca. 80/699-150/767, Mālik b. Anas d. 179/795, Ahmad b. Hanbal 164/780-241/855.
    135. This secms to be a reference to a characterization of the philosopher as possessor of royal dignity. It is alluded to also towards the end of the reply.
[^51]:    136. Koran 2:136. Qibla: The place in the direction of which one turns in prayer (Jerusalem, Mecca).
