

# A rare case of biblical “testimonies” to the Prophet Muhammad in Mu‘tazilī literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī’s *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s *Ghurar al-adilla*, as preserved in a work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

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## *Introduction*

The text presented in the following pages is a chapter from *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*,<sup>1</sup> a compendium of Mu‘tazilī theology composed in the year 581/1185 by the Imāmi Mu‘tazilī Sadid al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, who died after 600/1204.<sup>2</sup> The chapter that is edited and translated here deals with the biblical passages that were adduced by Muslims as proof of the veracity of the prophethood of Muhammad.<sup>3</sup>

It is of great scholarly interest for a number of reasons. First of all, it contains extensive quotations from a work, now lost, by the well-known Mu‘tazilī theologian Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).<sup>4</sup> The work in question is *Ghurar al-adilla*, the Best of Proofs, in which the author defends himself against attacks from opponents that had been elicited by his earlier tract *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of al-Ḥimmaṣī’s work – not only the chapter under discussion here – it is possible to make a partial reconstruction of the contents of the *Ghurar*.

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<sup>1</sup> Sadid al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* 1-2, Qom 1412-14/1991-3. For a list of manuscripts and editions, see *Mu‘jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 305. The work is also known under the titles *Al-Murshid ilā l-tawḥīd wa-l-munqidh min al-taqlīd* and *Al-Taṭīq al-‘irāqī li-l-kalām*.

<sup>2</sup> On this author, who is little known to Sunnī scholars but no stranger to Shī‘is, see the introduction to the edition of *al-Munqidh*, and the introduction to *Khulāṣat al-nazar. An Anonymous Imāmi-Mu‘tazilī Treatise (late 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century)*, eds. Sabine Schmidtke and Hasan Ansari, Tehran 2006, pp. x-xi.

<sup>3</sup> I should like to thank Wilferd Madelung for drawing my attention to the section on biblical annunciations and for a number of valuable comments and suggestions for improvement of the edition and the translation. Needless to say I alone remain responsible for any remaining errors. I am also grateful to Sabine Schmidtke for providing me with a copy of the *Munqidh*.

<sup>4</sup> On Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see D. Gimaret, “Abū'l-Ḥosayn al-Baṣrī,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 322-24; W. Madelung, “Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, Supplement, p. 25; and the introduction to *Khulāṣat al-nazar*.

<sup>5</sup> See Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*. The extant parts introduced and edited by Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, Wiesbaden 2006.

Secondly, it is quite unusual to find, in a work of Mu'tazili theology, a section dealing with biblical predictions of the coming of Muḥammad and of Islam. For although most *kalām* theologians, Mu'tazili and other, discussed the issue of prophethood and the ways to demonstrate the genuineness of the message of someone claiming to be a prophet, they usually concentrated on the inimitable Qur'ān as the incontrovertible proof of Muḥammad's prophetic dignity. Apparently they, as opposed to the more traditionally-minded theologians, saw the description of the prophet in the Bible as a secondary proof, and they clearly did not take the Qur'ānic verse which states that Muḥammad is encountered in the Torah and the Gospel that the Jews and the Christians possess (Qur'ān 7:157) as an invitation to verify for themselves where and in which way he is described. Even the Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025), arguably the most influential Mu'tazili theologian and author of, among other things, a voluminous work on the proofs of prophethood (*Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*), dispenses with a discussion of what had come to be recognised as one of the most resounding proofs of a prophet's veracity: annunciation in an earlier sacred scripture.<sup>6</sup> The presence of a chapter on testimonies in a work of the nature of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, then, is somewhat of a surprise. But in dealing so extensively with the topic, al-Ḥimmaṣī merely follows the example of Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī, from whose *Ghurar al-adilla* he lifted the section on biblical annunciations.

But the chapter presented here is important for a third reason: it provides decisive proof of the antiquity and authenticity of a text that has long been considered a twentieth-century forgery, namely *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Tabarī, a ninth-century Nestorian convert to Islam (d. ca. 251/865).<sup>7</sup>

The author of this work sought to convince non-Muslims in general, and Christians in particular, of the truth of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. Almost half of the book is taken up by an argumentation on the basis of passages from the Bible (in its wider sense, including the New Testament) that could be taken to refer to the Prophet and to his nation. From the Hebrew Bible alone Ibn Rabban adduces over sixty testimonies, sixteen of which are reproduced, in most

<sup>6</sup> See Gabriel Said Reynolds, *A Muslim theologian in the Sectarian Milieu. 'Abd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Origins*, Leiden 2004, p. 98: "[Abd al-Jabbār] is generally silent on biblical predictions of Muḥammad, a topic about which other Muslim scholars speak at length."

<sup>7</sup> For a brief history of the controversy and a biographical sketch of the author, see my *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden 1996, pp. 23-29, with bibliographical references. To date there are two editions of Ibn Rabban's work, both of which leave much to be desired, viz. the one by Alphonse Mingana (Manchester 1923) and 'Ādil Nuwayhid (Beirut 1393/1973). Mingana also produced an English translation: *The Book of Religion and Empire. A Semi-Official Defence and Exposition of Islam written by Order at the Court and with the Assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861) by 'Ali Tabarī*. Translated with a critical apparatus from an apparently unique MS. in the John Rylands Library, Manchester 1922. A new edition of the tract is currently being prepared by David Thomas and Rifaat Ebied.

cases verbatim, by al-Ḥimmaṣī, who indicates that he quotes them from Abu l-Ḥusayn's *Għurar*. Since Abu l-Ḥusayn, and al-Ḥimmaṣī in his wake, mention Ibn Rabban by name, we have here a concrete – and relatively early – piece of evidence positively linking Ibn Rabban to the Manchester manuscript that was regarded with suspicion.

The number of alleged biblical references to the Prophet contained in the chapter under discussion is small in comparison to what we find in Ibn Rabban's work, which means that a selection was made. The question is only by whom: was it Abu l-Ḥusayn himself who picked what had by that time become the standard testimonies (e.g., Gen. 16:6-12; Deut. 18:18f.), discarding the less obvious and therefore less popular ones, or was it al-Ḥimmaṣī who chose these sixteen passages from a larger number found in the *Għurar*? What exactly was Abu l-Ḥusayn's *Vorlage*?<sup>8</sup> Although he closely follows the text of Ibn Rabban's book, as well as his argumentation<sup>9</sup>, this need not mean that he had a complete copy at his disposal, and perhaps not even a complete version of the chapters from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* that deal with biblical annunciations (Chapters Nine and Ten in the Arabic text). It is not inconceivable that these chapters circulated as a separate booklet, under Ibn Rabban's name, and that an excerpt of this booklet was made later on, containing mainly the most popular proof texts which had become fixed ingredients in Muslim polemics and apologetics. If this is so, one cannot escape the irony that Ibn Rabban's list, which, as I have shown elsewhere, was itself based on a pre-existent list of Messianic passages which he managed to expand,<sup>10</sup> should in turn have been curtailed.<sup>11</sup>

What is interesting is that Abu l-Ḥusayn seems to accept Ibn Rabban's version as the authoritative one. He uses it as his basic proof text, comparing it at times with the Hebrew version or at least a version allegedly transmitted from the Hebrew by a Jew. Moreover, he makes frequent reference to a number of Christian transmissions, Syriac and other. However, what he does not seem to realise is that Ibn Rabban's version is, in the final analysis, also a Christian (albeit an islamised) one in the sense that it is based upon the Syriac.

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<sup>8</sup> He indicates that he has seen more than one manuscript of Ibn Rabban's text.

<sup>9</sup> Though Abu l-Ḥusayn has some highly original arguments as well.

<sup>10</sup> Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 21, 145, 148.

<sup>11</sup> It also shows that Moshe Perlmann was correct in his assumption that Ibn Rabban's tract was "a Bible quarry for Muslim controversialists" and that *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* was perhaps not eclipsed by a similar work by his contemporary, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), as I previously assumed; see Moshe Perlmann, "Note on the Authenticity of 'Alī Ṭabarī's 'Book of Religion and Empire,'" *Moslem World* 31 (1941), p. 308, and *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 26 (1941-42), p. 246, and Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 148. For a translation of the biblical annunciations adduced by Ibn Qutayba – most of which can be encountered in Ibn Rabban's tract, and some of which appear in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Għurar* as quoted by al-Ḥimmaṣī, see *Muslim Writers*, Appendix Three.

Unlike Ibn Rabban, who mainly had his former coreligionists in mind, Abu l-Husayn seems to address himself exclusively to the Jews. He only adduces passages from the Hebrew Bible, refutes Jewish arguments, and refers to one or more Jewish interlocutors. That Abu l-Husayn held discussions with Jews seems to be confirmed by references in his discussion of *naskh*, abrogation of one revealed law by another, which we find in al-Himmaṣī's *Munqidh*.<sup>12</sup> According to Madelung and Schmidtke, there must have been Jews who were attracted to Abu l-Husayn's teachings. One of them may have been a convert to Islam of Egyptian origin who became a disciple of Abu l-Husayn.<sup>13</sup>

Although al-Himmaṣī's work has been preserved in several manuscripts, and is available in various editions, most of these are not easily accessible. The edition I had at my disposal is, moreover, seriously flawed, and especially in the section under discussion, where the editor was clearly unfamiliar with the subject matter and with biblical names. In addition, he was obviously unaware of the existence of Ibn Rabban's work. For the edition presented here Abu l-Husayn's quotations were compared with *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla*, which made it possible to correct many errors.<sup>14</sup> All corrections and emendations are indicated in the footnotes,<sup>15</sup> as are the parallels with Ibn Rabban's tract,<sup>16</sup> which are quoted in full, highlighting the extent of Abu l-Husayn's indebtedness to the earlier author. Biblical names have been corrected on the basis of the Arabic translation of the Bible, published in 1998 in Lebanon by the Bible Society. The numbers in square brackets that appear in the edition and the translation refer to the pages in the Qom edition of the *Munqidh*.

## References

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<sup>12</sup> Discussed by Sabine Schmidtke in her "Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī on the Jewish Torah and its Abrogation," (forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication. Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī's Mu‘tazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fātimid Age*, Leiden 2006, p. 9. See also n. 38 to the translation presented here.

<sup>14</sup> Despite the fact that both editions available to date also contain many mistakes.

<sup>15</sup> Readings of the edition of *Munqidh min al-taqlīd* are indicated as ↗.

<sup>16</sup> References are to the Mingana edition.

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*Mu‘jam al-turāth al-kalāmī* = al-Lajna al-‘ilmīyya fī mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Sādiq, *Mu‘jam al-turāth al-kalāmī. Mu‘jam yatanāwālu dhikr asmā’ al-mu‘allafāt al-kalāmiyya (al-makhtūṭāt wa-l-maṭbū‘āt) ‘abra l-qurūn wa-l-maktabāt allatī tatawaf-faru fihā nusakhuhā* 1-5, Qum 1423/1381/[2002].

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### Translation

[504] Among the clear proofs of [Muhammad's] prophethood are the annunciations of him [found] in the books of the prophets (peace be upon them), of the spread of his call, the appearance of his religion, the victory of his tribe, and the cultivation of his country and his desert.

This was stated by Shaykh Abu l-Husayn in his *Ghurar*, where he says: “Among this is what is [stated] in the ninth chapter of [505] the first book (*sifr*)<sup>1</sup>, namely that when Sarah became angry at Hagar<sup>2</sup>, the angel of God (exalted is He) appeared to [the latter] and said: ‘O Hagar, where are you going and where are you coming from?’ She said: ‘I am fleeing from my mistress Sarah’. And he said to her: ‘Go back to your mistress and submit to her, for God will multiply your seed and your offspring<sup>3</sup>; you will conceive<sup>4</sup> and give birth to a son, and you will name him Ishmael, because God (exalted is He) has heard [of] your self-denial and your humility; he will be a wild ass of men<sup>5</sup>; his hand will be above (*fawq*) everyone’s hand, and the hands of everyone will be stretched out to him in submission, and he will live on the borders of the land of all his brethren.’ This is how **Ibn Rabā’ al-Ṭabarī** transmits it, and some copies have **‘Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabīb’** (the physician).

Said Shaykh Abu l-Husayn: I heard a certain Jew transmit it as follows: “His hand will be on all and the hands of all will be on him,” for, he said, what we encounter in Hebrew is “bādh bikūl wa-bādh kūl”<sup>6</sup>, and he claimed that this passage may either imply that he<sup>7</sup> exercises control, or [rather] that his hand is on everyone in the sense that he associates with everyone.

The method of reasoning in this saying [by the Jew] is that [the verse] is issued as an annunciation, but it is not conceivable that the angel should bring tidings

<sup>1</sup> In fact Gen. 16:6-12.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic text Sarah is the object of Hagar’s anger instead of the other way around as in Gen. 16:6. Cf., however, Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, p. 67: *lammā harabat Hājār min Sārah*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, p. 67, with slight variants, one of which is, however, significant: Ibn Rabban follows the Biblical text in putting the words “I will multiply your seed” into the mouth of the angel, whereas in the version presented here the angel states that *God* will multiply Hagar’s seed, thus avoiding the theologically problematic suggestion that anyone but God has the power to do so. It is not clear whether Abu l-Husayn implemented this change or whether his Vorlage already contained the variant reading.

<sup>4</sup> According to Gen. 16:4, Hagar was already pregnant by this time.

<sup>5</sup> The Arabic has ‘ayn al-nās, instead of ‘ayr which is required by the Hebrew. Ibn Rabban discusses in detail why the nick-name “wild ass” particularly suits Ishmael; see *Din wa-dawla*, p. 72; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 83f. ‘Aȳr would have suited the purpose of the Muslim author since in Arabic it also has the meaning of lord, chief or king.

<sup>6</sup> Hebrew: *yado ba-kol ve-yad kol bo*; see Gen. 16:12.

<sup>7</sup> The text actually has “his hand”, which is awkward in translation.

of injustice and oppression on behalf of God (exalted is He) and of a matter that was not fulfilled without lying about God (praised be He).

Now, it is well known [says Abu l-Husayn] that Ishmael and his offspring did not exercise control – meaning in the larger part of the world and among the majority of nations – nor did they associate with everyone and intermingle with them, their hands being on all of them and the hands of all on them, except in Islam, because before Islam they had been confined to the desert and did not venture to enter the perimeters of the Arabs and of Syria, except with great trepidation.

But when Islam came, they took possession of the East and the West through Islam, and they intermingled with the nations and settled down in their countries, and the nations mingled with them and became involved with them and betook themselves to them and made the pilgrimage to their *qibla* and entered their desert in order to be close to the Ka'ba and to receive the sciences of the religion from Medina or Mecca.

[506] If the Prophet were not truthful, as [the Jews] claim, then this approach on the part of the nations, and the [Muslims'] mingling with the nations, and the nations' mingling with them would constitute disobedience to God and exchanging obedience to Him and His religion for disobedience of Him and obedience to Satan, and God (mighty and exalted is He) is far above annunciating something of this nature.

In the eleventh chapter of the fifth book it says, quoting Moses (peace be upon him): "The Lord your God will raise up a prophet for you like me from among you and from among your brethren, so hearken".<sup>8</sup>

In this [same] chapter [we find]: "The Lord said to Moses (peace be upon him): "I am raising up for them a prophet like you from among their brethren, and whichever man who does not hearken to my words that this man will convey from me in my name, I shall take revenge on him".<sup>9</sup>

Said the Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī]: I have seen in the Torah after His saying "from their brethren" [the following words]: "And I will put my word in his mouth and whichever man who does not hearken to the words that he will speak in my name, I shall take revenge on him".<sup>10</sup>

This saying demonstrates that the prophet whom He raises up is *not* from among the Children of Israel, because if someone addresses a certain people and says to them: "I will raise up a man *from among your brethren*," it will be concluded from this that he will not be *from among themselves*, like when someone says to the Banū Hāshim: "there will be a leader (*imām*) from among your brethren," it will be understood from this that he will not be from among the Banū

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, p. 73; *Religion and Empire*, p. 85; cf. Deut. 18:15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, pp. 73f.; *Religion and Empire*, p. 85; cf. Deut. 18:18-19.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Deut. 18:18.

Hāshim [themselves]. Now, every prophet who was sent after Moses was not from among their brethren, being from the Children of Israel [themselves]. The Prophet, however, (peace be upon him) *was* from among their brethren, because he was from the children of Ishmael, and Ishmael was the brother of Isaac. If this annunciation had been of a prophet from among the Children of Israel, it would be meaningless, because God (exalted is He) had already sent many prophets from among the Children of Israel after Moses.

[Abu l-Husayn] said: A certain Jew told me that they believe that after Moses no other prophet will come from among the Children of Israel.<sup>11</sup> This, now, confirms what we have said, about the annunciation being of a prophet from among others than themselves.

[507] If they say: “His saying ‘from among you’<sup>12</sup> precludes that the reference is to Muhammad, because he did not rise up from among the Children of Israel,” it will be said: But he *did* actually rise up from among them, for he rose up in the Hijāz and received his mission in Mecca, and emigrated to Medina, where his affair was accomplished. Now, around Medina there were Jewish towns, such as Khaybar, [those of] the Banū Qaynuqā‘ and Naḍīr, etcetera, and moreover, the Hijāz is situated close to al-Shām (Greater Syria) and the majority of Jews were at the time in al-Shām. Therefore, whoever rises up in the Hijāz has in fact risen up from among them, because he is not far removed from them.<sup>13</sup>

It says in the twentieth chapter of this book: “The Lord came from Mount Sinai, and rose up for us from Se‘ir and appeared from Mount Paran, while with him at his right hand there were the masses of holy ones, and he granted them the power and caused them to be loved by the nations, and invoked a blessing on all his holy ones.”<sup>14</sup> Mount Paran, now, is in the Hijāz, for it says in the Torah that Ishmael learned archery in the desert of Paran,<sup>15</sup> and it is known that he was only ever in Mecca.<sup>16</sup>

Said the Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn]: I have read in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfi in *Kitāb manāzil Makka*<sup>17</sup> that he says: “A number of Bedouin of Ma‘din

<sup>11</sup> The Jewish interlocutor probably means that there will be no further lawgiver after Moses.

<sup>12</sup> As in Deut. 18:15.

<sup>13</sup> Although the verse cited is often used by Muslim polemicists and apologists, I have not seen this particular argument elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> See Deut. 33:2f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gen. 21:20f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, pp. 74f.; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 86f.

<sup>17</sup> On the bibliophile Abu l-Hasan ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd b. al-Zubayr al-Asādī, known as Ibn al-Kūfi (254-348/868-960), see Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, pp. 384f. The title *Kitāb manāzil Makka* does not necessarily refer to a work by Ibn al-Kūfi himself; he was in the habit of annotating the volumes in his well-stocked library, and Ibn al-Nadim’s frequent references to information he read *bi-khattāb* *Ibn al-Kūfi*, for example, may well refer to notebooks by Ibn al-Kūfi or to the catalogue of his library that he himself compiled and annotated.

Banī Sulaym, not just one or two, told me that the dilapidated house which is located two-and-a-half miles before the quarry (*ma'din*) was called Rayyān; it was the house before the present one and we nowadays call it the Old Quarry. The mountain in which the quarry is located is called Fārān; I found it accurately vocalised.”<sup>18</sup> He said: “It is located slightly to the left of the road [...].”<sup>19</sup> He said: “Beyond it are two mountains, one of them called Yaramram<sup>20</sup> and the other al-'Alam. Yaramram is situated to the right of the ascent to Mecca, and al-'Alam to the left of it, and between them and Fārān are Qulwa<sup>21</sup> and Majī' Allāh, which is the place where His revelation and His messengers appeared.”

If [the Jews] say: What is meant by this [verse cited above] is the arrival of Ishmael to the desert of Paran when he was one of the [508] friends of God, they will be told: “But it said [earlier] ‘and he granted them the power,’ but no power was granted there after Ishmael dwelled there, nor did any multitudes of holy ones gather there.”

One of them said: What is meant by this [verse] is that when the fire appeared from Mount Sinai, another fire appeared [simultaneously] from Se'ir as well, and also from Mount Paran, and spread from those places.<sup>22</sup>

It will be said [to them]: That is not correct, because if God (exalted is He) created a fire or something else in a certain place, it would not be said “God came from that place,” except if [this event] were followed by a revelation, or if a [divine] punishment struck that place, or something like that. According to what you have [in the Torah] the appearance of the fire was neither followed by a revelation nor by [divine] speech except on Mount Sinai, so it should actually [only] say: “God came from Mount Sinai,” but not “He appeared from Se'ir and from Mount Paran,” just like it is not said: “God came from the clouds,” if what came from the clouds were fire and flames, such as appear on the days of spring.

[Abu l-Husayn] said: Also, in the book of Habakkuk we find clarification of what we have said, namely:

“God came from Mount Sinai,<sup>23</sup> and the Holy One from Mount Paran. Heaven was eclipsed by the splendour of the Praised One (*Muhammad*), and the

<sup>18</sup> For the location of Ma'din Banī Sulaym, see the map in Michael Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A contribution to the study of early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989, p. xiii.

<sup>19</sup> Here follow two obscure words.

<sup>20</sup> On Mount Yaramram, see Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā istajam min asmā' al-bilād wa-l-mawādi'*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, 4 parts in 2 vols., Cairo 1417/1996, vol. 4, pp. 1347, 1393.

<sup>21</sup> *Qulwa* literally means highest point, summit.

<sup>22</sup> The point being made here is that God's light shone forth from various places at the same time, and not at three consecutive periods, representing the times of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad respectively, as is held by Abu l-Husayn and Muslim apologists before and after him.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Rabban, following the biblical text, has *jā'a llāhu min al-Tayman*: God came from Tayman (i.e., Yemen).

earth was filled with his praise (*ḥamd*). The rays of his sight shall be as the light, and he shall encircle his country with his might. Death goes before him, and birds of prey accompany his armies. He stood and measured the earth, and he contemplated the nations and watched them. The everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills bowed. The curtains of the land of Midian trembled, and he took possession of the everlasting ways. God was displeased against the rivers. Your anger is in the rivers, and the wrath of your boldness is in the seas. You rode on horses, and went up on the chariots of salvation and help. You shall be filled in your bows to overflowing, and the arrows shall surely be drenched at your command, O Praised One (*Muḥammad*). The earth shall be cleft with rivers. The mountains saw you and trembled, and the showers of the torrent passed away from you. The abysses gave a howl of fear, and lifted up their hands in dread and alarm. The sun and the moon stood still in their course, and the armies marched at the flash of your arrows, and at the shining of your spears. You shall subjugate the earth in anger, and tread upon the nations in wrath, because you came forth for the salvation of your nation, and for the deliverance of the inheritance of your fathers.<sup>24</sup> [509] Thus transmitted **Ibn Rabban al-Tabarī**.<sup>25</sup>

Said [Abu l-Husayn]: As for the Christians, I have seen in their transmission “He appeared from Mount Paran, and heaven was shot through with the splendour of the Praiseworthy One (*al-mahmūd*), and the arrows shall be drenched at your praiseworthy command, because you came forth for the salvation of your people and the deliverance of your Messiah.”

He said: From the Syriac is transmitted, instead of His saying “and he contemplated the nations and watched them”: “he distressed the nations”.

Instead of “the abyss gave a howl”: “the abyss raised its voice and started to extend its arms”, meaning, those who had had little power in the army now rose up.

And His saying “The everlasting mountains were scattered” means: the kings and those high in power were brought low.

“The sun and the moon stood still in their course to be illuminated by the flash of your arrows and the shining of your spears”, that is: what happened is that as a result of the multitude of your troops and the multitude of their weaponry, its rays eclipsed the rays of the sun and the moon, veiling both of them so that they sought after him in their need. This [is said] by way of emphasis; this characteristic is found in the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his nation.

“And the Holy One [came] from Mount Paran and heaven was eclipsed by the splendour of the Praised One (*Muḥammad*),” implies that his coming

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<sup>24</sup> See Hab. 3:3-13.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, pp. 103f.; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 119f.

brought about that which we have mentioned, and this occurred only with the coming of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), and not, as they claim, through the fire that appeared from Mount Paran when God spoke to Moses (peace be upon him) [on Mount Sinai]. Don't you see that when a person says: "Zayd came in to us and the house shone and was filled with joy," this implies that this was because of his arrival and followed upon it?

As for their transmission "from the resplendence of *al-Mahmūd*," it is in the sense of *muḥammad*, because both *mahmūd* and *muḥammad* indicate the one[s] to whom the praise (*ḥamd*) befell. In Syriac, they are *mashīḥā* and *mashyūḥā* respectively, that is, *muḥammad* and *maḥmūd*, and therefore [510] if a speaker of Syriac (*Suryānī*) wants to praise God, he says: "*mashyūḥā lāhā*," and this word of his *mashyūḥā* means praise (*al-ḥamd*) and *lāhā* is God. This transmission of theirs does not prejudice us, for except for Muḥammad (peace be upon him), no one came from Mount Paran who possesses this characteristic (*sīfa*).<sup>26</sup>

If [the Jews] say: The one intended is God [himself at the time] when the Messiah comes, and therefore it has at the end of the saying "and the salvation of your Messiah," it will be said: "It is not allowed to describe God as if He were riding horses or as if the rays of His sight are like the light, or as if He took possession of the everlasting ways, and we cannot abandon the apparent sense of these expressions without necessity.

Also, he mentions these expressions following upon his saying "And the Holy One [came] from Mount Paran". According to them, [however,] the Messiah will *not* come from Mecca or the Hijāz. Therefore, we know from this that the reference in this saying is to a person who comes from the Hijāz and in whose wake will occur that which He mentioned in the way of crossing the seas and the rivers, just like the Muslims crossed the Tigris into al-Madā'in.<sup>27</sup>

As for His saying: "the deliverance of your Messiah," behold, Muḥammad (may God bless him and grant him salvation) saved the Messiah (peace be upon him) from the lies of the Christians and the slander of the Jews about him.

In the transmission of the Jews [it says]: "The Lord came from Mount Sinai and the Holy One from Mount Paran eternally (*sarmadan*)," and this precludes that it is the appearance of fire from Mount Paran and requires that what is intended is the revelation and the eternal law (*al-shar' al-dā'im*).

<sup>26</sup> For a similar attempt to find a Syriac parallel to the names *Muḥammad*, *Alḥmad* and *Mahmūd* and thus to demonstrate that the prophet of Islam is mentioned in the Bible by name, see Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-Dawla*, pp. 75f, 77, 88, 90, 93f; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 88f, 90, 103, 105, 108. As I have shown elsewhere, Ibn Rabban was not the first one to employ this method of tracing the Prophet's name in scripture; see my *Muslim Writers*, pp. 144f.

<sup>27</sup> Ctesiphon, the ancient capital of the Persian empire.

In the Book of Isaiah, in the 22<sup>nd</sup> or the 27<sup>th</sup> chapter [it is said]: “God said to her – that is, Mecca<sup>28</sup> – Arise, and make your lamp shine, for your time has come near and the glory of God is rising upon you. For darkness has covered the earth, and fog has overspread the nations. The Lord shall shine upon you, and he will cause His glory to be seen upon you. The nations shall come to your light, and the kings to the brightness of your rising. Lift up your sight to what is around you and contemplate, for they shall all gather themselves unto you [511] and make pilgrimage to you.<sup>29</sup> Your sons will come to you from a remote country, and your daughters will be nursed in canopies and on couches. And when you will see this, you will rejoice and be delighted, because the treasures of the sea shall be turned [over] to you, and the armies of the nations shall make pilgrimage to you<sup>30</sup> until you will throng with camels and your land will be too small to contain the files [of animals] that shall gather to you. The rams of Midian and the rams of Zufār<sup>31</sup> will be led to you, and the people of Sheba shall come to you and tell of the favours of God, and they shall praise Him, and all the flocks of Kedar shall come to you and the lambs of Nebaioth shall serve you. They will offer on my altar what pleases me, and then I will renew praise (*hamd*) to the house of my laudation (*mahmada*).<sup>32</sup>

These characteristics are all to be found in Mecca, for indeed the land has become too small to contain the files, that is, the assembled trains of camels, and the armies of the nations [do] make pilgrimage to it, and the treasures of the sea are [indeed] turned over to it. In one transmission [it says]: “the riches of the sea, until more of it is carried there than to any other city”.

Said the Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī]: A curious thing occurred to me with regard to His saying “I will renew praise (*hamd*) to the house of my laudation (*mahmada*),” and also concerning His saying “the people of Sheba shall come to you and tell of the favours of God and they shall praise Him,” namely, that the Arabs would [already] chant the *talbiya* before Islam, saying: “At your command, you have no partner save the one who is yours; you have dominion over him and whatever he possesses.” Then Islam renewed it [as follows]: “At your com-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ibn Rabban (*Dīn wa-dawla*, p. 98; *Religion and Empire*, p. 109), who introduces the passage quoted by saying that it is addressed to Hagar and to Mecca, the birthplace of her children.

<sup>29</sup> *Wa-yahūjūnaki*; the biblical text has nothing remotely similar to this interpolated Islamic expression which is already present in Ibn Rabban’s version; see Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, p. 95; *Religion and Empire*, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> The biblical text has the much more neutral “they will come”.

<sup>31</sup> The biblical text has Ephah, which is situated in the land of Midian, on the east shore of the Dead Sea; Zufār, on the other hand, is a region in southern Oman, near the eastern border of Yemen.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-Dawla*, pp. 94f.; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 109f.; cf. Isa. 60:1-7.

mand, O God, at your command. All praise and bounty are yours, and all dominion. You have no partner!".

This, now, is the praise (*al-hamd*) that God renewed for the house of His laudation (*maḥmada*), and it is the bounty of which the people of Sheba tell when they make the pilgrimage, and by His saying "I will renew praise (*hamd*) to the house of my laudation (*maḥmada*), he means a praise (*hamd*) which is particular to the House (i.e., the Ka'ba), that is, it [this praise] is pronounced when one goes there.

"The flocks of Kedar [that] shall come to Mecca" are the flocks of the Arabs, because Kedar is the son of Ishmael.

If it is said that Jerusalem<sup>33</sup> is meant, and that [all of] this will come to pass in the future, it will be said: It is inconceivable that the Wise One (*al-hakīm*) should say: "Your time has come near" with regard to something in the religion, and then it does not come near; [512] and that that which *does* come near is a matter which does not agree with His pleasure, which nonetheless He does not warn of. Rather He says that something like this will happen somewhere other than Jerusalem, so do not be deceived by it.

If [the Jews] say that Isaiah could not possibly mention Mecca, and that everything he says is about Jerusalem alone, it will be said : but [Isaiah] had already mentioned the characteristics of Mecca and the desert and what proceeds from it to the lands of al-Ahwāz and al-Māhīn<sup>34</sup>; don't you see what is [written] in the tenth chapter, viz. "You will come to the land from the direction of the Yemen and from a remote country and from the land of the desert, swiftly and rapidly like tempests and storms from the winds?"<sup>35</sup> Then he says: "Rise, O lands of al-Ahwāz and Jabal al-Māhīn, for everything you used to compete for and dispute about has ceased."<sup>36</sup> Then he says: "The Lord said to me: Go and set the guard on the watchtower, to report to you what he sees. And what he saw were two riders, one riding an ass, the other a camel. And as he was thus, behold, one of the riders approached saying: 'Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and her graven idols are broken unto the ground. That which I have heard from the god of the children of Israel I have declared to you'".<sup>37</sup>

In some transmissions it has, instead of his saying "behold, *one* of the riders approached": "*two* horsemen approached, and when the guard saw the two of

<sup>33</sup> Or perhaps "the Temple"; *Bayt al-Maqdis* can mean either.

<sup>34</sup> The biblical text has Elam, as does Ibn Rabban; al-Ahwāz is the capital of the Iranian province of Khuzestan, ancient Elam; Ibn Rabban, too, has Māhīn, which stands for biblical Media.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, p. 82; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 95f., and cf. p. 97. Interestingly, our text is slightly more detailed here than *Dīn wa-dawla*. Cf. Isa. 21:1-10.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Isa. 21:2.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Isa. 21:6-10.

them, he cried: Babylon is fallen". Said the transmitter: this is an allusion to two persons at whose hands Babylon was destroyed, namely Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This transmission, now, is from the Hebrew.<sup>38</sup>

In the sixteenth chapter of Isaiah, it says: "Let the parched desert land rejoice, and let the wilderness and the desert be glad, let them rejoice and rise up like a mountain goat, because they will be given the most praiseworthy (*ahmad*) beauties of Lebanon, and something like the goodness of villages and luxuriant gardens. And you will see the glory of God and the splendour of our God."<sup>39</sup> This is in the transmission of **Ibn Rabban**.<sup>40</sup>

He [Abu l-Husayn] said: I have seen in the transmissions of the Christians: "Let the parched wasteland rejoice, and the plain be glad, [513] and let it bloom like the henna plant in which the henna blossoms bloom, for they will be given the beauties of Lebanon. [The Christians] do not mention *ahmad*.

The Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn] said: It is transmitted from the Syriac: "for they will be given the most praiseworthy (*ahmad*) beauties of Lebanon". I have learned that in this place there is an expression that some of them have dropped, or perhaps some of them have distorted (*qad ḥarrabu*). But it does not prejudice us that this name [*ahmad*] is not present, for the people already know that there had appeared in the arable land of Mecca luscious gardens and [all] kinds of fruits, and also on the west bank of the Tigris at Basra, and out of the wasteland there developed luscious gardens that everyone knows. This, now, occurred under Islam, and the fact that it was annunciated implies the soundness of all that was accomplished through it.

In the nineteenth chapter [of Isaiah we find]: "A crier cried in the wilderness, saying: Prepare the way for the Lord, make straight in the desert the way for our God, and the valleys shall be filled with water and to the point of overflowing; the mountains and the hills shall be made low; the hillocks shall be levelled; the rough ground shall be trampled, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and everyone shall see it".<sup>41</sup>

His saying: "Prepare the way for the Lord" means: for the friends of the Lord (*awliyā' al-rabb*).<sup>42</sup>

Close to this [passage] is what we find in the tenth chapter of the book of Isaiah: "You shall lodge in the forest on the way to Duranim. Welcome the

<sup>38</sup> As opposed to the Syriac, I assume. The fact that the transmitter, who quotes a version allegedly based upon the Hebrew, refers to the first Rightly-Guided caliphs may be an indication that the informant was a Jewish convert to Islam.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Isa. 35:1-2.

<sup>40</sup> See Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, p. 85; *Religion and Empire*, p. 99. The text presented here varies slightly from Ibn Rabban's in the Mingana edition.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, p. 85; *Religion and Empire*, p. 99; cf. Isa. 40:3-5.

<sup>42</sup> The purpose of this gloss is probably to neutralise a possible anthropomorphism.

thirsty with water, O people of Yemen, and receive with your food the scattered and dispersed people, because the sword has scattered them, and their dispersion was from fear of sharp blades, bent bows and fierce and endless warfare.”<sup>43</sup>

This is a clear reference to the Arabs and their attacks on the lands of Persia and Byzantium, when beforehand they had been dispersed by the raids of Shāpūr Dhu l-Aktāf against them<sup>44</sup>, and the Persians and the Byzantines confined them to their desert.

[514] In the twentieth chapter of Isaiah, and it is also mentioned in the 153<sup>rd</sup> of the Psalms of David, according to what I have seen (though **Ibn Rabban al-Tabarī** says that it is in the 52<sup>nd</sup> one) we read: “Let the wilderness and its towns rejoice, and let the land of Kedar turn into meadows; let the inhabitants of the caves praise [God], and shout the Lord’s praises (*hamd al-Rabb*) from the tops of the mountains, and let them spread His glorification, for the Lord shall come as a mighty man, as a man stirring and raging and imperious, and he shall rebuke and demonstrate His power and kill His enemies.”<sup>45</sup>

Kedar, now, is the father of the Arabs and the son of Ishmael, and the land of Kedar is Mecca, which was turned into a meadow.

He had already related that something will come from God (exalted is He) which will bring revenge upon the enemies, and the fact that he ascribes it to God indicates that it is true and not false, and he indicates this also in his saying: “let the inhabitants of the caves praise [God], and shout the Lord’s praises,” because of what will come to pass in the way of killing the enemies.

And his saying “Let the wilderness and its towns rejoice, and let the land of Kedar turn into meadows” points to the fact that something comes from God that will bring aid to this place and aid to its people, and that He does not wreak vengeance on all its people, which is in accordance with his saying in the tenth chapter: “The rule will come to you from the direction of the Yemen and from the desert land,” and with his saying in the twentieth chapter: “The weak and the poor seek water, and there is no water for them; their tongues have dried with thirst, and I, the Lord, will answer their call on that day, and I will not forsake

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, p. 84; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 97f.; cf. Isa. 21:13-15.

<sup>44</sup> On this Sasanid emperor, who reigned from 309 till 379 CE and led many expeditions against the Arabs, see C.E. Bosworth, “Shāpūr,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 9, p. 309, where his nickname is explained as follows: “Arab captives had their shoulders pierced or dislocated, whence Shāpūr’s nickname in the Arabic sources of *Dhu l-Aktāf*, “the man of the shoulder-blades.”

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, pp. 78f.; *Religion and Empire*, pp. 91f. The text is included by Ibn Rabban among the prophecies of David about Muhammad. He mentions that it is from the 152<sup>nd</sup> Psalm – rather than the 52<sup>nd</sup> as stated by Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī – but adds that it is attributed to Isaiah. It does in fact correspond with Isa. 42:11-13. According to Mingana (*Religion and Empire*, p. 92 n. 1) these verses from Isaiah, together with Exod. 15:1-21 and Deut. 32:1-43, are incorporated with the Psalter in the East Syrian or Nestorian breviary.

them, but I will open for them rivers in the mountains and I will make fountains flow between the wastelands, and will create pools in the desert, and will make springs of water flow in the dry land; I will grow in the deserts and the wastelands pine trees, myrtle, and olive-trees, and I will plant in the arid desert the magnificent cypress, that they may all see, and reflect, and know that [515] the hand of God did this and that the Holy One of Israel created this.”<sup>46</sup>

These are the characteristics of the Arabs, because they were in the parched lands, then great reservoirs welled up in the desert areas and between the mountains, and rivers flowed west of Basra,<sup>47</sup> which had till then been arid, and all this came to pass under Islam.

This was subsequently confirmed in the twenty-first chapter [where he says]: “I create a new thing, and you will see it and know it; let the beasts of the desert praise me and exalt me, from the jackals to the ostriches, because I have caused water to flow in the desert, and have made rivers flow in the country of Ashimūn in order that my chosen nation drink from them, and may the nation that I have chosen drink from them.”<sup>48</sup>

God confirmed the truth of this report through the reservoirs He brought into being under Islam and the rivers in the desert, so that the pilgrims may drink of them; now the country of Ashimūn is the wasteland.

Everything we have mentioned shows that the book of Isaiah is full of references to the desert and the lands of the Arabs and the annunciation of what He would bring about there under Islam, and they cannot divert its application] to the Messiah whom they are awaiting, for the Christians do not see it that way, nor do the Jews [themselves] hold that he will come from the lands of the Arabs and the mountains of Paran, and because the frequency of the references to the desert indicates that the one who is being annunciated has a special connection with the desert. They, however, believe that the one they are awaiting will come from the lands of the Byzantines, while the Jews are dispersed over the lands. Also because it is clear from the ninth chapter of the book of Ezekiel that the one who appears from the desert will bring about the ruin (*hatf*) of the Jews, as follows: “Your mother is planted on the water in your blood; she is like the vine which brought forth its fruits and its branches, through many waters. Branches sprang up from it like rods, strong and standing high up over the branches of the nobles and the rulers, and their boughs and branches became lofty and surpassed the others, and their statute was enhanced by their height and the intertwining of their branches. But it was not long before that vine was plucked up in fury and beaten down [516] to the ground, and the hot winds burned up its fruits; its strength was scattered and the rods of its might withered, and the fire came upon

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, pp. 88f.; *Religion and Empire*, p. 103; cf. Isa. 41:17-20.

<sup>47</sup> The reference may be to the many canals that were dug in the Basra area.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Din wa-dawla*, p.89; *Religion and Empire*, p. 104; cf. Isa. 43:19-20.

them and consumed them. At that a plant was planted in the desert and in the neglected, barren and thirsty land and fire came out of its lofty rods and consumed its fruits until not one strong rod remained of them, nor a branch that rose up for the power of authority".<sup>49</sup> This is the transmission of **Ibn Rabban**.

In the transmission of the Christians [we find]: "And [fire] came out of its chosen rods", and from the Syriac is transmitted "selected", and they do not deny that this saying appears in condemnation of the Jews and about God's wrath at them.

Said the Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn]: This demonstrates that of their power there remains a remnant that will be eliminated by the plant that was planted in the desert land, and his saying "from its selected rods" shows that he is a prophet from God, and this is only true with regard to the Prophet (peace be upon him), for the sovereignty of the Jews ceased to be and none of it was left apart from slight remnants in the area of the Hijāz such as in Khaybar and other towns, and it ceased to exist through the selected rod that emerged from the plant that was planted in the desert. This plant, now, is the Prophet (peace be upon him), and the selected rod is 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (peace be upon him), and those who were with him at the time when he conquered Khaybar.<sup>50</sup>

In the first chapter of the book of Zephaniah [is written]: "O you people, wait for the day in which I shall rise up to witness, for the time has come to show my decision to gather the nations and bring together the kings to pour forth upon them my wrath and my painful punishment, and the earth shall be consumed with the fire of my anger and disapproval. There I will renew to the nations the chosen language, that all may taste the name of the Lord, and serve him together in common obedience, and bring [me] sacrifices from beyond the rivers of Kush".<sup>51</sup>

[517] Now, it is known that the Arabic language was chosen and has spread over the earth, for it has gained currency in the entire East, in the seas and in the mountains after it had previously not been spoken there.

Said the Shaykh [Abu l-Husayn]: As for Iraq, al-Shām, the Jazīra, Egypt and the lands of the Maghrib, it was not spoken there at all, but then after Islam entered the[se countries] Arabic made its mark on their people to the point that a

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, pp. 109f. *Religion and Empire*, p. 128; cf. Ezek. 19:10-14.

<sup>50</sup> At first sight this passage seems to reveal Shi'ite sympathies on the part of Abu l-Husayn al-Baṣrī, but this is inconclusive in view of the fact that the role of 'Alī in the conquest of Khaybar is acknowledged by Sunnis as well as Shi'is. Moreover, he wrote a refutation of Twelver Shi'ite conceptions of the imamate (which was in turn refuted by Imāmī scholars); see Schmidke and Ansari's introduction to *Khulāsat al-nazar*, p. x n. 17. It is of course possible that the addition about 'Alī is to be attributed to al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī who was a Shi'ite.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Rabban, *Dīn wa-dawla*, pp. 104f.; *Religion and Empire*, p. 121; cf. Zeph. 3:8-10. In Hebrew, the last two verses read: *Ki-az ehefokh el-'ammim safah berurah li-qro' kulam be-shem Adonay le-'avdo shekhem ehad / me-'ever le-nahare Kush* (...). The Arabic has *al-lugha al-mukhtāra*, which does not correspond with the Hebrew.

youngster would only learn Arabic well as he was growing up, while the matter had been different before Islam.

[Abu l-Husayn] said: I used to be amazed at this, until I read this chapter from the book of Zephaniah, for then I knew that God had renewed this language through this *shari'a* which came to take revenge on the kings of the faraway countries and to bring down their rule, and this demonstrates that it came from [God].

One of them transmitted: "There I shall renew to the nations the chosen *shafa*,<sup>52</sup>" but this does not contradict this [other] transmission, for *shafa* means language, just like *lisān* (tongue) means language. For they say "the people of the tongue say," when they mean "the people of the language" (*ahl al-lugha*), and they say: "in the Arabic tongue (*lisān al-'Arab*) it is so and so," when they mean "in the language of the Arabs". What clarifies what we have said is that it is not possible that He intended by this the regeneration of the *shafa* in the literal sense, because He had created its variety before that and God did not renew it at this time.

They may say: By the renewal of the *shafa* he meant the renewal of the praise given to God, and this is the chosen *shafa*.

But they will be told: That is not correct, because if you mean that He will renew the *act* of praising God, that is impossible, for the people<sup>53</sup> are the ones who praise God and perform [that precept] and if you mean that He will renew the *command* to praise and worship him, that has been issued by God before; but we know that He will renew the worship and speech in a [certain] language, and He will cause certain nations to be marked by it, and this is the worship he renewed through the recitation of the Qur'ān, the call to prayer, the call to rise for prayer, the sermon, the utterance of the profession of faith, the supplication during the ritual prayer and the [...]<sup>54</sup> and through the fact that God made the Arabic language the mark for regions whose people had theretofore not been marked by it.

[518] These<sup>55</sup> are the annunciations of the Prophet (peace be upon him), his religion and his nation, and when a righteous person contemplates what God says, to the effect that He was going to send a prophet from among the brethren of the Children of Israel, and that He would come from Mount Paran, and the saying of the angel "the hand of Ishmael is above the hands of all," the saying of Habakkuk "the Holy One came from Mount Paran," and that He caused this to be followed by wars and domination over the lands; [then if one] learns what Isaiah said about the flourishing of the land of Kedar and of the desert and the

<sup>52</sup> Hebrew *safah*, language, also means lip, as Arabic *shafa* which does not, however, have the related meaning of language.

<sup>53</sup> Rather than God himself; He does not praise himself.

<sup>54</sup> Lacuna in text.

<sup>55</sup> The following section is probably to be attributed to al-Himmaši, as opposed to the remainder of the text which is taken from Abu l-Husayn al-Bašri's *Ghurar*.

large quantities of water in it so that the people would drink of it, then what is mentioned in the book of Ezekiel, that He planted a plant in the desert and destroyed the rest of the dominion of the Jews until no sovereignty remained with them; then what is in the book of Zephaniah about the renewal of the chosen language; [if he contemplates all of this], this righteous person will know that only the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his nation [can be] intended.

If the prophethood of our chosen Prophet (peace be upon him) has [thus] been determined and established, this acknowledgement and confirmation must apply to everything he brought in the way of revealed laws and accounts and reports, in accordance with what has been referred to above.

Now, since among the sum of things that [Muhammad] brought there is the promise of reward (*al-wād*) for the obedient, and the threat of punishment (*al-wā'id*) for the unbelievers and sinners, it is appropriate that I should present the discussion of the promise and the threat after the discussion of his prophethood (peace be upon him and his family).

## Edition

ومن الآيات المؤكدة لنبوته ما في كتب الأنبياء عليهم السلام من البشارة به وبانتشار دعوته وظهور دينه وغلبة رهطه وعمارة بلده وباديه. وقد أورده الشيخ أبو الحسين في غرره، قال:

ففي ذلك ما في الفصل التاسع من [505] السفر الأول: «إن هاجر لما غضبت عليه<sup>١</sup> سارة ترائي لها ملك الله<sup>٢</sup> تعالى فقال: يا هاجر أين تردين ومن أين أقبلت؟ قالت: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. فقال لها: أرجعي إلى سيدتك واحضعي لها، فإن الله سيكثر زرعك<sup>٣</sup> وذرتك، وستحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل من أجل أن الله تعالى سمع بتتكلك وخشوعك، وهو يكون غير<sup>٤</sup> الناس، وتكون<sup>٥</sup> يده فوق يد الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع وهو يسكن على تخوم أرض جميع إخوته».<sup>٦</sup> وهكذا نقل ابن رباء الطبرى، وفي بعض النسخ ابن ربن الطبيب.

قال الشيخ أبو الحسين: فسمعت بعض اليهود يتعلّم كذلك: «وتكون يده في الكل ويد الكل فيه»، قال: لأنَّ الموجود في العبداني باذ يكُول وباذكُول.<sup>٧</sup> وزعم أنَّ هذا الباب يحتمل أنَّ يده متصرفة في الكل، ويحتمل أنَّ يده في الكل بمعنى أنه يكون مخالطاً للكل. ووجه الاستدلال بهذا الكلام أنه خرج مخرج البشارة، وليس يجوز أن يبشر الملك من قبل الله تعالى بالظلم والجور وأما لا يتم إلا بالكذب على الله سبحانه.

<sup>١</sup> عليها: على، مت.

<sup>٢</sup> الله: لله، مت.

<sup>٣</sup> زرعك: رعك، مت.

<sup>٤</sup> غير: عين، مت.

<sup>٥</sup> تكون: يكون، مت.

<sup>٦</sup> قارن ابن ربن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 67: 11-18: وقد كان موسى عليه السلام نبياً يمثل هذه النبوة في السفر الأول والفصل التاسع وقال أنه لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترائي لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر أمة سارة من أين أقبلت وأين تردين؟ قالت هاجر مجيبة له: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. قال لها ملك الرب: أرجعي إلى سيدتك واحضعي لها فإني سأكثُر ذرتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصلن كثرة. وهذا أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل، لأنَّ الله قد سمع بتتكلك وخشوعك وهو يكون غير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع إخوته.

<sup>٧</sup> كما في مت؛ راجع سفر تكون 16: 12: يد بكل ويد كل بو.

ومعلوم أن إسماعيل وولده لم يكونوا متصرفين<sup>8</sup> في الكل، أعني في معظم الدنيا ومعظم الأمم، ولم يكونوا مخالطين للكل وممازجين لهم وأيديهم معهم وأيدي الكل معهم إلا بالإسلام، لأنهم كانوا قبل الإسلام محصورين في الباية، لا يتجاوزون على الدخول في أوائل العرب وأوائل الشام إلا على خوف تام. فلما جاء الإسلام استولوا على الشرق والغرب بالإسلام ومازجوا الأمم ووطنوا بلادهم، ومازجتهم الأمم وخلطوهم وقصدوهم وحجوا قبلتهم ودخلوا إلى بادتهم مجاورة الكعبة ولأخذ معلم الدين من المدينة أو مكة. [506] فلو لم يكن النبي صادقاً على ما يدعون لكن هذا القصد من الأمم، وهذه المخالطة منهم للأمم ومن الأمم لهم معصية الله وخروجاً عن طاعته ودينه إلى معصيته وطاعة الشيطان، والله عز وجل تعالى عن أن يشربوا هذه سبليه.

وقال في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس عن موسى عليه السلام: «إن الرب الحكم يقيم نبأكم مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا». وفي هذا الفصل: «إن الرب قال لموسى عليه السلام: إنني مقيم لهم نبأً مثلك من بين<sup>9</sup> إخوتهم وأيما<sup>10</sup> رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها عنني ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه». <sup>11</sup>

قال الشيخ: ورأيت في التوراة بعد قوله «من إخوتهم»: «وأجعل كلمتي في فيه، وأيما<sup>12</sup> رجل لم يسمع القول الذي يتكلم باسمي فإني أنتقم منه». وهذا الكلام يدل على أن النبي الذي يقيميه ليس منبني إسرائيل، لأن من خاطب قوماً فقال لهم: «إني أقيم من إخوتكم رجالاً»، استقىده من ذلك أنه لا يكون من أنفسهم، كما أن من قال لبني هاشم: إنه سيكون من إخوتكم إمام، عُقل منه أنه لا يكون منبني هاشم. وكل نبي بعث من بعد موسى لم يكن من إخوتهم، لأنه كان من ولد إسرائيل، والنبي عليه السلام

<sup>8</sup> متصرفين: منصرفين، مت.

<sup>9</sup> بين: بني، مت.

<sup>10</sup> وأيما: وإنما، مت.

<sup>11</sup> قارن ابن الصبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 73: 13-74: 1: فالنبأ الخامسة الدالة عليه المشيرة إلى بنوته وحقه قول موسى عليه السلام في الفصل الحادي عشر من التوراة من السفر الخامس وهو الأخير لبني إسرائيل: إن الرب الحكم يقيم نبأً مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا له. وقالت التوراة في هذا الفصل بعينه مؤكداً لهذا القول وموضحاً له أنه قال الرب لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبأً مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيماً رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه.

<sup>12</sup> وأيما: وإنما، مت.

من إخوتهن، لأنه من ولد إسماعيل، وإسماعيل أخو إسحاق. ولو كانت هذه البشارة بنيَّ من بني إسرائيل، م<sup>13</sup> يكن لها معنىًّا لأن الله تعالى قد بعث من الأنبياء من بني<sup>14</sup> إسرائيل بعد موسى خلقاً كثيراً.

قال: وذكر لي بعض اليهود أنهم يعتقدون أنه لا يحيي نبيَّ من بني إسرائيل من بعد موسى، وهذا يؤكد ما ذكرناه من أن البشارة كانت ببنيَّ من غيرهم. [507] فإن قالوا: قوله «من بينكم» يمنع أن يكون المراد به مُحَمَّداً، لأنه لم يقم من بين بني إسرائيل. قيل: بل قام من بينهم، لأنَّه قام بالحجاز وبعث بِكَة وهاجر إلى المدينة وبها تكامل أمره، وقد كان حول المدينة بلاد اليهود، كخير<sup>15</sup> وبني قينقاع والتضير وغير ذلك. وأيضاً، فإن الحجاز يقارب الشام وجمهور اليهود كانوا إذ ذاك بالشام، فمن قام بالحجاز فقد قام من بينهم، لأنَّه ليس هو بعيد منهم.

وقال في الفصل العشرين من هذا السفر: «إنَّ الرب جاء من طور سيناء وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوت القدسين<sup>16</sup> فمتحمِّل العز وحبيبه<sup>17</sup> إلى الشعوب ودعا جميع قدسييه بالبركة». وجبل فاران هو بالحجاز، لأنَّ في التوراة: «إنَّ إسماعيل تعلم الرمي في برية فاران»، ومعلوم أنه إنما بِكَة. <sup>18</sup>

قال الشيخ: فرأيت بخط ابن الكوفي في كتاب منازل مكة، قال: أخبرني جماعة من أعراب معدن بني سليم، لا واحد ولا اثنان، فقالوا: المنزل الحزب الذي كان قبل المعدن بمليين ونصف يقال له ريان، وهو

<sup>13</sup> م: ملن، مت.

<sup>14</sup> بني: نبي، مت.

<sup>15</sup> كخير: كثير، مت.

<sup>16</sup> القدسين: المقدسين، مت.

<sup>17</sup> وحبيبه: وحبيهم، مت.

<sup>18</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 74: 75-16: 1: وقال موسى في هذا السفر في الفصل العشرين: إنَّ الرب جاء من طور سيناء وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوت القدسين فمتحمِّل العز وحبيبه إلى الشعوب ودعا جميع قدسييه بالبركة. فقاران هي البلدة التي سكَّنَها إسماعيل عليه السلام ولذلك قدمَ الله ذكرها في التوراة في قوله: فكأنَّ يعلم الرمي في برية فاران. وقد علم الناس كلامَه أنَّ إسماعيل سكن مكة.

كان المنزل قبل هذا المنزل، وسميه الساعة<sup>19</sup> المعدن العتيق. والجبل الذي كان فيه المعدن، يقال له فاران، وجدته مضبوطاً منقوطاً . قال: وهو يسرا عن الطريق قليلاً رقيق يرقا<sup>20</sup> . قال: وبعده جبلان يقال لأحد هما يرمم<sup>21</sup> والآخر العلم، فيرمم<sup>22</sup> عن يمين المصعد إلى مكة والعلم عن يساره، وبينهما وبين فاران قلوة ومجيء الله هو مجيء وحيه ورسله.

فإن قالوا: إن المراد بذلك حصول إسماعيل ببرية فاران وهو ولی من [508] أولياء الله، قيل لهم: فقد قال: «فِي نَحْنُمُ الْعَزَّ» ولم يحصل عقب سكتى إسماعيل هناك عز ولا اجتمع هناك ربات القديسين. وقد قال بعضهم: المراد بذلك أن النار لما ظهرت من طور سيناء، ظهرت من ساعير نار أيضاً ومن جبل فاران أيضاً، فاتسارت في هذه الموضع. قيل: هذا لا يصح، لأن الله تعالى لو خلق ناراً أو غيرها في موضع، فإنه لا يقال: جاء الله من ذلك الموضع إلا إذا اتبع ذلك وحي أو نزل في ذلك الموضع عقوبةً وما أشبه ذلك. وعندكم أنه لم يتبع ظهور النار وحي ولا كلام إلا في طور سيناء، فكان ينبغي أن يقول: جاء الله من طور سيناء، ولا يقول: ظهر من ساعير ومن جبل فاران، كما لا يقال: جاء الله من الغمام إذا ظهر من الغمام احتراق وينار كما يظهر في أيام الرياح.

قال: وأيضاً، ففي كتاب حقوق بيان ما قلناه وهو: «جاء الله من طور سيناء والقدس من جبل فاران، لقد انكشفت<sup>23</sup> السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور، يحيط ببلده بعزة، تسير<sup>24</sup> المنيا أيامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده، قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. قطضت الجبال القديمة وانضمت الروابي<sup>25</sup> الدهرية، وتزعزع ستور أرض مدين، ولقد حاز

19. الساعة: الساعة، مت.

20. رقيق يرقا: كذا في مت.

21. يرمم: يرمم، مت.

22. رقيق يرقا: كذا في مت.

23. انكشفت: انكشفت، مت.

24. تسير: تسير، مت.

25. وانضمت الروابي: والروابي، مت.

المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهر، فرجنك<sup>26</sup> في الأنهر واحتمام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الحيوانات مراكب الإلقاء والغوث، وستريع<sup>27</sup> في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً<sup>28</sup> وترتوى السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتقاء، وتحرث الأرض بالأنهر. فلقد رأتك<sup>29</sup> الجبال فارتاعت وانحرفت عنك شهبوب السيل ونعت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً، ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً، وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما، وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولعنان نيازكك. تدوخ الأرض غصباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً<sup>30</sup>، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث [509] آبائك». <sup>31</sup> هكذا نقل ابن ربي الطبرى.

قال: فاما النصارى فرأيت في تقولهم: «وظهر من جبل فاران، لقد تقطعت السماء من بهاء المحمود وترتوى السهام<sup>32</sup> بأمرك المحمود، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ مسيحك». قال: وقل من السريانى بدلاً من قوله «وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها» «كرب<sup>33</sup> الأمم»، وبدلاً من قوله «ونعت المهاوي»: «رفعت المهاوية صوتها وأخذت بسط باعها»، أي: ارفع من كان منخفض القدر في العسكر. قوله «فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة»، أي انخفض الملوك ومن كان رفيع القدر. وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن

<sup>26</sup> فرجنك: فرجنك، مت.

<sup>27</sup> وستريع: وستريع، مت.

<sup>28</sup> إغراقاً وترعاً: إغراقاً وترعاً، مت.

<sup>29</sup> رأتك: رأتك، مت.

<sup>30</sup> رجزاً: زجراً، مت.

<sup>31</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 103: 5-104: 1: قال جبقوق النبي عليه السلام: إن الله جاء من التين والقدوس من جبل فاران. لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلاء الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور ويحيط به عزه. تسير المانيا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجاداته. قام فسح الأرض ثم تأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضفت الروابي الدهرية. وتزعزعت سور أهل مدين ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهر. فرجنك في الأنهر واحتمام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الحيوانات مراكب الإلقاء والغوث. وستريع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً. وترتوى السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتقاء، وتحرث الأرض بالأنهر. ولقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرفت عنك شهبوب السيل ونعت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً. ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولعنان نيازكك. تدوخ الأرض غصباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آبائك».

<sup>32</sup> السهام: السماء، مت.

<sup>33</sup> كرب: كذب، مت.

بجراها ليستير في برق سهامك ولمعان نيازك، أي: إنه قد يلغى من كثرة عساكرك وكثرة سلاحيهم ما قد صار شعاعه يزيد على شعاع الشمس والقمر، فقد غشأها واحتاجا إليه، وذلك على سبيل المبالغة وهذه الصفة موجودة في النبي عليه السلام وأمته. «والقدوس من جبل فاران لقد انكشفت<sup>34</sup> السماء من بهاء محمد» يفيد أن مجئه أتى عقيبه هذا الذي ذكرناه، ولم يكن ذلك إلا بمجيء محمد عليه السلام، دون [ما] ادعوه من النار التي ظهرت من جبل فاران عند كلام الله لموسى عليه السلام. ألا ترى أن الإنسان إذا قال: دخل علينا زيد لقد أضاءت الدار وامتلأت سروراً، أفاد أن ذلك كان بسبب مجئه وعقيبه؟ فاما نقلهم من بهاء الحمود فهو بمعنى محمد، لأن حمداً ومحموداً هما اللذان وقع عليهما الحمد . وهو بالسريانية: مسيحاً ومشيحاً، أي حمداً ومحموداً، ولهذا [510] إذا أراد السورياني أن يحمد الله، قال: مشيحاً لها، فقوله مشيحاً هو الحمد، ولاها هو الله، وليس يضرنا هذا النقل منهم، لأنه لم يأت من جبل فاران من كان هذه صفة إلا محمد عليه السلام. فإن قالوا: المراد به الله إذا جاء المسيح، ولهذا قال في آخر الكلام: «إنقاذه مسيحك»، قيل: لا يجوز وصف الله بأنه يركب الخيل أو بأن شعاع منظره مثل النور وبأنه حاز المساعي القدية وليس لنا ترك ظواهر هذه الألفاظ لغير ضرورة. وأيضاً، فإنه ذكر هذه الألفاظ عقيب قوله «والقدوس من جبل فاران»، والمسيح عندهم لا يجيء من مكة والجهاز، فلعلنا بهذا أن المراد بالكلام شخص يجيء من الجهاز يعقبه ما ذكره من عبور البحار والأنهار كما عبر المسلمون دجلة إلى المدائن. وأما قوله «إنقاذه مسيحك»، فإن حمداً صلى الله عليه والله أنقذ المسيح عليه السلام من كذب النصارى عليه وافتراء اليهود عليه. وفي نقل اليهود: « جاء الرب من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران سرماً»، وهذا يمنع من أن يكون هو ظهور النار من جبل فاران ويوجب أن يكون المراد به الوحي والشرع الدائم.

وفي كتاب إشعياء في الفصل الثاني والعشرين أو السابع والعشرين: «قال الله لها: قومي وأزهري مصباحك، يعني مكة، فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله طالعة عليك، فقد تحمل الأرض الظلم، وغضي<sup>35</sup> على

<sup>34</sup> انكشفت: انكشفت، مت.

<sup>35</sup> وغضي: وعطي، مت.

الأُمُّ الضيَّاب، فَالرَّبُّ يُشَرِّقُ عَلَيْكَ إِشْرَاقًا وَيُظَهِّرُ كَرَامَتَهُ عَلَيْكَ، وَتَسِيرٌ<sup>36</sup> الْأُمُّ إِلَى نُورٍكَ، وَالْمَلُوكُ إِلَى  
ضُوءٍ طَلَوْعَكَ، ارْفَعِي بَصَرَكَ إِلَى مَا حَوْلَكَ وَتَأْمِلِي، فَإِنَّهُمْ سَيَجْمِعُونَ عَنْدَكَ [511] وَيَحْجُونَكَ، وَيَأْتِيكَ  
وَلَدُكَ مِنْ بَلْدٍ بَعِيدٍ، وَتَنْتَرِي<sup>37</sup> بَنَاتَكَ عَلَى الْأَرَائِكَ وَالسَّرَّرِ، وَحِينَ تَرِينَ ذَلِكَ تَسْرِينَ وَتَبَهْجِينَ مِنْ أَجْلِ أَنَّهُ  
يَمْلِي إِلَيْكَ ذَخَّارَ الْبَحْرِ، وَيَحْجَجَ إِلَيْكَ عَسَّاكِرَ الْأُمُّ حَتَّى تَعْمَرَكَ [الْإِبْلُ] الْمُؤْبَلَةُ وَتَضْيِيقُ أَرْضَكَ عَنِ  
الْقَطَرَاتِ الَّتِي تَجْمِعُ إِلَيْكَ، وَتَسَاقُ إِلَيْكَ كَبَاسَ مَدِينٍ وَكَبَاسَ ظَفَارٍ وَيَأْتِيكَ أَهْلُ سِبَا وَيَتَحَدُّثُونَ بِنَعْمَ<sup>38</sup> اللَّهِ  
وَيَمْجُدُونَهُ وَتَسِيرُ إِلَيْكَ أَغْنَامُ قِيَدَارٍ<sup>39</sup> كَلَّهَا<sup>40</sup>، تَخْدِمُكَ رَحَالَاتٍ<sup>41</sup> نَبَاوَتٍ<sup>42</sup> وَتَرْفَعُ إِلَى<sup>43</sup> مَذْنَجِي<sup>44</sup> مَا  
يَرْضِيَنِي، وَأَحَدُثُ حَيْنَدَ لَبِيتَ مُحَمَّدِي حَمَادًا<sup>45</sup>. وَهَذِهِ الصَّفَاتُ كُلُّهَا مُوْجَودَةٌ بِمَكَةَ فَقَدْ ضَاقَتْ  
الْأَرْضُ عَنِ الْقَطَرَاتِ، وَهِيَ جَمْعُ قَطَارِ الْإِبْلِ، وَحْجَجَ إِلَيْهَا عَسَّاكِرَ الْأُمُّ، وَمَالَ إِلَيْهَا ذَخَّارُ الْبَحْرِ. وَفِي  
بعضِ النَّقْولِ: «عَنَاءٌ<sup>46</sup> الْبَحْرُ حَتَّى حَمَلَ إِلَيْهَا مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَكْثَرُ مَا حَمَلَ إِلَى غَيْرِهَا».

<sup>36</sup> وَتَسِيرٌ: سِيرٌ، مَت.

<sup>37</sup> وَتَنْتَرِي: وَسَرِّيَنَ، مَت.

<sup>38</sup> بِنَعْمَةٍ: بِنَعْمَةٍ، مَت.

<sup>39</sup> قِيَدَارٌ: قِيَدَارٌ، مَت.

<sup>40</sup> قِيَدَارٌ كَلَّهَا: فَإِذَا رَكَلَهَا، مَت.

<sup>41</sup> رَحَالَاتٍ: رَحَالَاتٍ، مَت.

<sup>42</sup> نَبَاوَتٍ: نَبَاوَتٍ، مَت.

<sup>43</sup> إِلَى: إِلَى مِنْ، مَت.

<sup>44</sup> مَذْنَجِي: مَذْنَجِي، مَت.

<sup>45</sup> قَارِنُ بْنُ رَبِّنَ الطَّبَّيِّ: كَابَ الدِّينِ وَالْوَلُوْلَةِ، ص 94: 14 – 95: 7: وَتَبَأْنُ فِي هَذَا النَّصْلِ بِمَا لَا يَرِدُهُ إِلَّا الْخَاسِرُونَ وَلَا يَمْهُلُهُ إِلَّا  
الْأَجْهَلُونَ الْأَعْمُونَ فَإِنَّهُ ذَكَرَ أَيْضًا هَاجِرَ حَمَاطِيًّا طَوْلَيَّا وَبِلَادَ وَلَدَهَا مَكَةَ وَقَالَ: قَوْيِي وَازْهَرِي مَصِبَاحُكَ فَقَدْ دَنَا وَقْتُكَ وَكَرَامَةُ اللَّهِ طَالَعَهُ  
عَلَيْكَ فَقَدْ تَحَلَّتِ الْأَرْضُ الْفَلَامُ وَغَطَّى عَلَى الْأُمُّ الضِّيَّابِ. فَالرَّبُّ يُشَرِّقُ عَلَيْكَ إِشْرَاقًا وَيُظَهِّرُ كَرَامَتَهُ عَلَيْكَ. وَتَسِيرُ الْأُمُّ إِلَى نُورِكَ  
وَالْمَلُوكُ إِلَى ضُوءِ طَلَوْعَكَ. ارْفَعِي بَصَرَكَ إِلَى مَا حَوْلَكَ وَتَأْمِلِي. فَإِنَّهُمْ سَيَجْمِعُونَ كُلَّهُمْ إِلَيْكَ وَيَحْجُونَكَ وَيَأْتِيكَ وَلَدُكَ مِنْ بَلْدٍ  
وَتَنْتَرِي بَنَاتَكَ عَلَى الْأَرَائِكَ وَالسَّرَّرِ. وَسِرْتَرُوحُ قَلْبَكَ مِنْ أَجْلِ أَنَّهُ يَمْلِي إِلَيْكَ الْبَحْرُ وَتَحْجَجَ إِلَيْكَ عَسَّاكِرَ الْأُمُّ حَتَّى تَعْمَرَ الْأَبْلُ الْمُؤْبَلَةُ  
وَتَضْيِيقُ أَرْضَكَ عَنِ الْقَطَرَاتِ الَّتِي تَجْمِعُ إِلَيْكَ. وَسَاقَ إِلَيْكَ كَبَاسَ مَدِينٍ وَكَبَاسَ ظَفَارٍ أَعْفَأَ وَتَأْتِيكَ أَهْلُ سِبَا وَيَتَحَدُّثُونَ بِنَعْمَ اللَّهِ وَيَمْجُدُونَهُ  
وَتَسِيرُ إِلَيْكَ أَغْنَامُ قِيَدَارٍ كَلَّهَا وَتَخْدِمُكَ رَحَالَاتٍ نَبَاوَتٍ وَتَرْفَعُ إِلَى مَذْنَجِي مَا يَرْضِيَنِي وَأَحَدُثُ حَيْنَدَ لَبِيتَ مُحَمَّدِي حَمَادًا<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> غَنَاءٌ: غَنَاءٌ، مَت.

قال الشيخ: وقد وقع لي في قوله «أَحَدُثُ حِينَدَ لِبَتْ حَمْدَيْ حَمَدَ» شيءٌ طريفٌ، وكذلك قوله «وَيَأْتِكَ أَهْلُ سَبَأً وَيَتَحَدَّثُونَ بِنَعْمَ اللَّهِ وَيَعْجُدُونَهُ»، وذلك أنَّ العربَ كانت تلي قبل الإسلام، فيقولون: «لَبِيكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ إِلَّا شَرِيكٌ هُوَ لَكَ، تَلَكَهُ وَمَا مَلَكَ»، ثمَّ جَدَّ الدِّينُ: «لَبِيكَ اللَّهُمَّ لَبِيكَ، إِنَّ الْحَمْدَ وَالنِّعْمَةَ لَكَ وَالْمَلَكَ، لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ»، فهذا هو الحمدُ الذي جَدَّ اللَّهُ لِبَتْ حَمْدَيْهِ، وهو النِّعْمَةُ التي تحدث بها أَهْلُ سَبَأً إِذَا حَجَّوْا، يعني بقوله «أَحَدُثُ لِبَتْ حَمْدَيْ حَمَدَ» أي: حَمَدَ يَخْتَصُّ الْبَيْتَ، أي يقال عند المسير إليه.

وأَغْنَامُ قِيَدَارٍ<sup>47</sup> تَسِيرٌ<sup>48</sup> إِلَى مَكَّةَ، وَهِيَ أَغْنَامُ الْعَرَبِ، لَأَنَّ قِيَدَارٍ<sup>49</sup> هُوَ ابْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ. فَإِنْ قِيلَ: الْمَرَادُ بِذَلِكَ بَيْتُ الْمَقْدِسِ، وَسَيَكُونُ ذَلِكَ فِيمَا بَعْدِ، قِيلَ: لَا يَحِيْزُ أَنْ يَقُولَ الْحَكِيمُ: قَدْ دَنَا وَقْتُكَ لِأَمْرٍ مِّنْ أَمْرِ الدِّينِ وَمِنْ يَدِنَّ، [512]<sup>50</sup> بَلْ الَّذِي يَدْنُو هُوَ أَمْرٌ لَا يَوْافِقُ رَضَاهُ وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ لَا يَحْذَرُ مِنْهُ، وَيَقُولُ أَنْ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ يَحْصُلُ لِغَيْرِ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ فَلَا تَقْتَرُوا بِهِ.

فَإِنْ قَالُوا: إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَحِيْزْ لِإِشْعَيَا<sup>51</sup> ذَكْرُ مَكَّةَ، وَإِنَّمَا كَلَامُهُ كَلَامٌ فِي بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ، قِيلَ: بَلْ قَدْ ذَكَرَ صَفَةَ مَكَّةَ وَالْبَادِيَةِ وَمَا يَأْتِي مِنْهَا إِلَى الْبَلَادِ الْأَهْوَازِ وَالْمَاهِينَ. أَلَا تَرَى إِلَى مَا فِي الْفَصْلِ الْعَاشِرِ، وَهُوَ «إِنَّكَ سَتَأْتِيَ الْأَرْضَ [مِنْ] جَهَةِ الْيَمَنِ وَمِنْ بَلْدٍ بَعِيدٍ وَمِنْ أَرْضِ الْبَادِيَةِ مَسْرِعًا مَغْدِلًا<sup>52</sup> مِثْلَ الزَّوَابِ وَالْزَّعَانِ مِنَ الْرِّيَاحِ». ثُمَّ قَالَ: «فَاصْعُدِي<sup>53</sup>، يَا بَلَادَ الْأَهْوَازِ وَجَبَلَ الْمَاهِينِ، فَقَدْ بَطَلَ مَا<sup>54</sup> كَتَبْتَ تَنَافِسِينَ وَتَنَاقِشِينَ». ثُمَّ قَالَ: «قَالَ لِي الرَّبُّ: امْضْ فَأَقْمِ الْرِّبِيْتَةَ<sup>55</sup> عَلَى الْمَنْتَرَةِ يَجْرِيْكَ بِمَا يَرِيْ. وَكَانَ الَّذِي رَأَى الرَّاكِبِينَ أَحَدُهُمَا رَاكِبُ حَمَارٍ وَالْآخَرُ رَاكِبُ جَلَّ. فَبَيْنَا هُوَ كَذَلِكَ إِذَا<sup>56</sup> أَقْبَلَ أَحَدُ الرَّاكِبِينَ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: هَوْتُ هُوْتُ

47 قِيَدَار: قِيَدَار، مَت.

48 تَسِير: تَسِير، مَت.

49 قِيَدَار: قِيَدَار، مَت.

50 إِشْعَيَا: إِشْعَيَا، مَت.

51 مَغْدِلًا: مَغْدِلًا، مَت.

52 فَاصْعُدِي: يَا صَغْرَى، مَت.

53 مَا: عَمَّا، مَت.

54 الرِّبِيْتَة: الرِّبِيْتَة، مَت.

55 إِذَا: إِذَا، مَت.

بابل ونكسرت آهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت [من] الرب إله بني إسرائيل قد أبناكم». <sup>56</sup> وفي بعض النقول بدلاً من قوله «إذ <sup>57</sup> أقبل أحد الراكيين»: «أقبل فارسان فلما رأهما الديدان <sup>58</sup> صاح سقطت بابل». قال الناقل: وهذا رمز إلى شخصين يهلك بابل على أيديهما وهم أبو بكر وعمر. وهذا النقل هو من العبراني.

وفي الفصل السادس عشر من إشعياء: «لتفريح أرض الباية العطشى، ولتبهيج البراري والفلوات، ولتسترنّ وتعلو مثل الوعل فإنها ستعطى» <sup>59</sup> بأحمد حasan Lebanon، وكمثل حسن الدساكرا والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلها». <sup>60</sup> هذا في نقل ابن ربن.

قال: ورأيت في نقول النصارى «يفرح القرف العطشان وتجذل القاع، [513] ولينضر كالفاغية»<sup>61</sup> التي ينضر فيها الفواغي <sup>62</sup> فإنها ستعطى <sup>63</sup> حasan Lebanon، ولم يذكروا «أحمد». قال الشيخ: ونقل من

قارن ابن ربن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 81: 16-17: وقال في الفصل العاشر كاشفاً لما اشتبه ومبيناً لما اغتصب من نبواته: هكذا يقول الرب: إنك ستأتي من جهة التين من بلد بعيد ومن أرض الباية مسرعاً مقدماً مثل الزواج والزعازع من الرحيم. وقد رأينا منظراً رائعاً هائلاً ظالماً ظلماً ومنتهياً ينهب، فاصعدى يا جبار علم وجبار الماهرين فقد بطل جميع ما كتبت تنافسين وتناقضين عليه، ومن أجل ذلك اعتربت ظهوري الرعدة ودبر بي كما يدار بالمرأة النفساء وقد ذعرت حتى ما أسمع وذهلت حتى ما أرى وهام قابي وأذهلتني السمادير وصار ما كتبت أحبه مؤنساً أنيقاً وحشةً عدني وشيشاً هائلاً. فانصبو يا هؤلاء الموارد وارفعوا عيونكم أيها الربايا والجوايس وكروا واشروا ولتقم السادة والقادة إلى أترسيهم فلديهموها دهناً لأن الرب قال لي هكذا اغض فاقم الربيبة على المنظرة ليخبر بما يرى. فكان الذي رأى راكين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل وسمع مقالاً كثيراً جماً وأسر صاحب المنظرة إلى وقال لي في أذني: أنا الرب القيوم وأنا بالمرصاد والمنظر الأعلى ليلاً ونهاراً. في بينما أنا كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكيين وهو يقول هوت هوت بابل ونكسر جميع آهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت من الرب إله إسرائيل العزيز قد أبناكم.

<sup>57</sup> إذ: إذا، مت.

<sup>58</sup> الديدان: الديدان، مت.

<sup>59</sup> ستعطى: ستعطى، مت.

قارن ابن ربن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 85: 3-7: وقال في الفصل السادس عشر مفسراً لما تقدم في النبوات ومبيناً لأهل الملوك والغوايات لتفريح أهل الباية العطشى ولتبهيج البراري والفلوات ولتخرج نوراً كنور الشسلبة ولتسترن وتره مثل الوعل لأنها ستعطى بأحمد حasan Lebanon وكمثل حسن الدساكرا والرياض. ويسرون جلال الله عز وجل وبهاء إلها.

<sup>61</sup> كالفاغية: كالفاغية، مت.

<sup>62</sup> الفواغي: الفواغي، مت.

<sup>63</sup> ستعطى: ستعطى، مت.

السرياني «فإنها ستعطى<sup>64</sup> بأحمد حاسن لبنان»، فلعلت أن في هذا الموضع كلاماً قد أسقطه بعضهم، ولعل بعضهم قد حرفه. وليس يضرنا أن لا يكون هذا الاسم موجوداً، لأن الناس قد علموا أنه قد حصل بسوان مكة من الرياض وأنواع الفاكهة، وحصل بغربي دجلة البصرة، وكانت من القفر ما قد علمه كل أحد من الرياض، وكان ذلك بالإسلام، والبشرة به تقتضي صحة ما تم هذا كله به.

وفي الفصل التاسع عشر: «هُقْ هَاقْ فِي الْبَدْوِ وَقَالَ: خُلُوا الْطَّرِيقَ لِلَّهِ، سَهَّلُوا السَّبِيلَ لِإِلَهِنَا فِي الْقَفْ فَقْسَمْتُلَى<sup>65</sup> الْأُودِيَّةَ مِيَاهَا وَتَقْيِضَ فِيْضَاً، وَتَنْخَضُ الْجِبَالُ وَالرَّوَابِيُّ الْأَخْفَاضَا وَتَصِيرُ الْأَكَامَ دَكَاكَا وَالْأَرْضَ الْوَعْرَةَ مَذْلَلَةَ لِيَنَا، وَتَظَهُرُ كَرَمَةَ الرَّبِّ وَيَرَاهَا كُلُّ أَحَدٍ».<sup>66</sup> قوله «خُلُوا الْطَّرِيقَ لِلَّهِ»، يزيد به لأولياء الله.

ووَقَرِيبٌ مِّنْ هَذَا مَا فِي الْفَصْلِ الْعَاشِرِ مِنْ كِتَابِ إِشْعَيَا: «إِنْكُمْ سَتَبِيُّونَ فِي الْغَيْضَةِ مِبْيَانَا<sup>67</sup> عَلَى طَرِيقِ دُورِنِيمِ<sup>68</sup>، فَتَلَقُّوا الْعَطَاشَ بِالْمَاءِ، يَا سَكَانَ يَنِ، وَتَسْقَبُلُوا<sup>69</sup> بِطَعَامِكُمِ الْقَوْمَ الْمَبَدِّيْنَ الْمَفَرِّقِينَ، لَأَنَّ السَّيفَ بَدَدَهُمْ، وَمِنْ خَوْفِ الشَّفَارِ الْمَشْحُودَةِ وَالْقَسِيِّ الْمَوْتَرَةِ وَالْحَرْبِ الْعَوَانِ<sup>70</sup> الْمَسْعُرَةَ كَانَ تَشَرِّدَهُمْ». <sup>71</sup> وَهَذَا تَصْرِيفٌ بِذَكْرِ الْعَرَبِ وَخَرْوَجِهِمْ إِلَى أَرْضِ فَارَسِ وَالرُّومِ، وَكَانُوا مِنْ قَبْلِ مُشَرَّدِيْنَ بَغْزُو سَابُورِ ذِي الْأَكَافِ لَهُمْ وَحَصْرُ فَارَسِ وَالرُّومِ إِيَاهُمْ فِي بَادِيَتِهِمْ.

<sup>64</sup> ستعطى: ستعطى، مت.

<sup>65</sup> قسملى: فيتجلى، مت.

<sup>66</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 85: 11-15: وقال في الفصل التاسع عشر فزاد إباهةً وإيضاً هُقْ هَاقْ في البدو وقال: خُلُوا الْطَّرِيقَ لِلَّهِ، سَهَّلُوا لِإِلَهِنَا السَّبِيلَ فِي الْقَفْ فَقْسَمْتُلَى الْأُودِيَّةَ كَلَّا مِيَاهَا وَتَقْيِضَ فِيْضَاً، وَتَنْخَضُ الْجِبَالُ وَالرَّوَابِيُّ الْأَخْفَاضَا وَتَصِيرُ الْأَكَامَ دَكَاكَا وَالْأَرْضَ الْوَعْرَةَ مَذْلَلَةَ لِيَنَا، وَتَظَهُرُ كَرَمَةَ الرَّبِّ وَيَرَاهَا كُلُّ أَحَدٍ.

<sup>67</sup> مبياناً: مبياناً، مت.

<sup>68</sup> دورينيم: دور ين، مت.

<sup>69</sup> تسقابلوا: واستقبلوا، مت.

<sup>70</sup> العوان: العوانى، مت.

<sup>71</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 84: 3-7: وقال في هذا الفصل: إنكم ستبينون مسأء في الغيضة التي على طريق دورينيم. فتلقوا العطاش بالماء يا سكان التين واسقبلوا بالأطعمة القوم المبددين المفرقين لأن السيف بددهم ومن خوف الشفار المشحوذة والقسي الموترة والحرب العوان المسعرة كان تشردتهم.

[514] وفي الفصل العشرين من إشعياء وهو مذكور في الثالث والخمسين ومائة من مزمير داود على ما رأيته، وذكر ابن الطبرى أنه في الثاني والخمسين: «لترتاح البوادي وقرها ولتصير أرض قيدار<sup>72</sup> مروجاً، وليسبح<sup>73</sup> سكان الكهوف ويهتفوا<sup>74</sup> من قلل<sup>75</sup> الجبال بحمد رب وليديعوا تسابيحة، فإن رب يأتي كالجبار وكالرجل المتحرك المتلطي المتكبر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه». <sup>76</sup> وقيدار<sup>77</sup> هو أبو العرب وابن إسماعيل، وأرض قيدار<sup>78</sup> مكة، وقد صارت مروجاً.

وقد أخبر أنه يحيى ما هو من قبل الله تعالى ما فيه انتقام من الأعداء، ودلّ نسبته ذلك إلى الله على أنه حق غير باطل، ودلّ على ذلك أيضاً بقوله: «وليسبح سكان الكهوف ويهتفوا بحمد رب» لأجل ما يحيى<sup>79</sup> من قتل الأعداء.

ودلّ قوله «لترتاح البوادي وقرها ولتصير أرض قيدار<sup>79</sup> مروجاً» على أن يأتي من قبل الله ما فيه نصرة هذا المكان ونصرة أهله، وأنه غير منقم من جميع أهله، وهذا موافق لقوله في الفصل العاشر: «إنك ستائين الأمر من جهة اليمن ومن أرض الباذية»، وموافق لقوله في الفصل العشرين: «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون<sup>80</sup> ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفت ألسنتهم من الطعام، وأنا رب أجيبي يومئذ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفحّر لهم في الجبال الأنهاres، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءً معيناً وأنبت في القفار والباقع الصنوبر والأس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف

<sup>72</sup> قيدار: قيدار، مت.

<sup>73</sup> ليسبح: وتسبح، مت.

<sup>74</sup> ويهتفوا: ويهتفوا، مت.

<sup>75</sup> قلل: قلل، مت.

<sup>76</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 78: 14-79: 1: وقال عليه السلام في المزور المائة والثانية والخمسين: فسمى البلد والأهل فلم يدع موضع مقال ولا اعتدال. وهو مزمور ينسب إلى إشعياء النبي عليه السلام لترتاح البوادي وقرها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً وليسبح سكان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد رب وليديعوا تسابيحة في الجزاير، لأن رب يحيى كالجبار وكالرجل الحرب المتلطي للتكبر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه.

<sup>77</sup> قيدار: قيدار، مت.

<sup>78</sup> قيدار: قيدار، مت.

<sup>79</sup> قيدار: قيدار، مت.

<sup>80</sup> يستسقون: + من، مت.

السرور البهية، ليروها<sup>81</sup> جمِيعاً ثم يتدبروا<sup>82</sup> ويعلموا<sup>83</sup> أن [515] يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه».<sup>84</sup>

وهذه صفات العرب، لأنهم كانوا في المعاشر، ثم تفجرت المصانع في الفقار وبين الجبال وجرت الأنهر بغربي البصرة وكانت قفاراً وكل ذلك بالإسلام.

ثم وقد أكَدَ في ذلك في الفصل الحادي والعشرين: «إني خالق أمراً جديداً، وسترون ذلك وتعزفونه تسبحي وتحمدني حيوانات البر من بنات آوى حتى النعام، لأنني أجريت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهر في بلد أبشمون لشرب<sup>85</sup> منها أمتي المصطفاة وتشرب منها الأمة التي اصطفيتها».<sup>86</sup> وقد صدق الله هذا الخبر بما أحدث بالإسلام من المصانع والأنهر في الباادية، ليشرب منها الحجيج وبلد الشيمون هو الفقار.

فدل جملة ما ذكرناه على أن كتاب إشعيا مملوء بذكر الباادية وبلاد العرب والبشرة بما حصل فيها بالإسلام وليس لهم أن يصرفوا ذلك إلى المسيح الذي ينتظرون، لأن النصارى لا ترى ذلك، ولا اليهود يقولون أنه يأتي من أرض العرب وجبال فاران، وأن الإكثار من ذكر الباادية يدل على أن المبشر به له اختصاص بالباادية. وعندهم أن الذي ينتظرون يأتي من بلاد الروم ويكون اليهود متفرقين في البلاد، وأنه قد بان في الفصل التاسع من كتاب حزقييل أن الذي يظهر من الباادية يكون فيه حق اليهود، وهو «إن أملك<sup>87</sup>

<sup>81</sup> ليروها: لتروها، مت.

<sup>82</sup> يتذربوا: تتدبروا، مت.

<sup>83</sup> ويعلموا: وتعلموا، مت.

<sup>84</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 88: 17-89: 5: وقال في هذا الفصل: إن المساكن والضعفاء يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم فقد جفت ألسنتهم من الطعام. وأنا أرجيب حينئذ دعوتهم ولن أهلهم بل أجر لهم طم في الجبال الأنهر وأجري بين الفقار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءً معيناً وأنبت في الفقار البلاع الصنوبر والأس والزېتون وأخرين في القاع الصنف السرور البهية ليروها جيئوا ويعلموا ويتذربوا ثم يفهموا معاً أن يد الله فعلت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه.

<sup>85</sup> لشرب: ليشرب، مت.

<sup>86</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 89: 13-16: وقال في الفصل الحادي والعشرين: تسبحي وتحمدني حيوانات البر من بنات آوى حتى النعام لأنني أظهرت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهر في بلد أبشمون لشرب منها أمتي المصطفاة. فلتشرب منه أمي التي اصطفيتها.

<sup>87</sup> أملك: أمتلك، مت.

معروسة على الماء بدمك، فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وفُرِّعت<sup>88</sup> منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسداد ويسقطت وارتفعت أغصانهن وأفانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتلاف شعبهن، فلم تثبت<sup>89</sup> تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة وضرب [516] بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم<sup>90</sup> ثمارها، وتفرق قواها، ويس عصي عزّها<sup>91</sup> وأدت عليها النار فأكلتها، فعند ذلك غرس<sup>92</sup> في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرجت<sup>93</sup> من أغصانه<sup>94</sup> الفاضلة<sup>95</sup> نار، فأكلت ثمارها حتى لم تبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان».<sup>96</sup> هذا نقل ابن ربن.

وفي نقل النصارى: «وخرج من أغصانه المختارة»، وقل من السريانية «المنجوبة»، وليس يستكرون<sup>97</sup> في أن هذا الكلام ورد في ذم اليهود وسخط الله عليهم.

قال الشيخ: فدل ذلك على أنه تبقى من أمرهم بقية يزيلها الغرس الذي غرس في أرض البدية، ودل قوله «من أغصانه<sup>98</sup> المنجوبة» على أنه نبي من قبل الله وهذا إنما تحقق بالنبي عليه السلام، وذلك أن

<sup>88</sup> وفُرِّعت: وفُرِّقت، مت.

<sup>89</sup> ثبَّت: ثبَّت، مت.

<sup>90</sup> السمائم: السماء، مت.

<sup>91</sup> عصي عزّها: غضارتها، مت.

<sup>92</sup> غرس غرس: غرس، مت.

<sup>93</sup> وخرجت: وخرج، مت.

<sup>94</sup> أغصانه: أغصانهن، مت.

<sup>95</sup> الفاضلة: الفاضلة، مت.

<sup>96</sup> قارن ابن الصبّي: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 109: 110-111: 4: قال في الفصل التاسع أن أمك معروسة على الماء بدمك فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وفُرِّعت منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسداد وارتفعت ويسقطت أفنانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتلاف سعفهن. فلم تثبت تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة ورمي بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم ثمارها وتفرق قواها ويس عصي عزّها وأدت عليها النار فأكلتها. فعند ذلك غرس غرس في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى. وخرجت من أغصانه الفاضلة نار أكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم يوجد فيها عصا قوية بعدها ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان.

<sup>97</sup> يستكرون: يستكرون، مت.

<sup>98</sup> أغصانه: أعضائه، مت.

اليهود زالت دولتهم ولم يبق منها إلا شيء يسير بأرض الحجاز كخير وغيرها من القرى، فزال ذلك بالغضن المنتجب البارز من الغرس الذي غرس في الباذية فالغرس هو النبي عليه السلام، والغضن المنتجب هو علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، والذين كانوا معه حين قتله خير.

وفي الفصل الأول من كتاب صفينيا<sup>99</sup>: «أيها الناس، ترجموا اليوم الذي أقام فيه للشهادة، فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي بجسر الأمم وجمع الملوك لأصب عليهم سخطي وأليم عقابي فستحرق الأرض احتراضاً سخطي ونكيري، هناك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليدعووا اسم رب جياعاً ويعبدوه في رقة<sup>100</sup> واحدة معاً ويلائوا بالذبائح من معابر أنهار كوش». [517]<sup>101</sup> ومعلوم أن اللغة العربية مختارة قد شاعت في الأرض، وذلك أنها صارت تداول بالشرق كله وفي البحر والجبل بعد أن كانت لا تذكر فيها.

قال الشيخ: فأما بالعراق والشام والجزيرة ومصر وبلاد المغرب فكانت لا تذكر فيها، ثم صارت طبع أهلها العربية بعد دخول الإسلام فيها، حتى صار الصبي إذا نشأ لا يحسن إلا العربية، وقد كان الأمر قبل الإسلام بخلاف ذلك. قال: وقد كنت أعجب من هذا حتى قرأت هذا الفصل من كتاب صفينيا<sup>102</sup> فقد علمت أن الله جدد هذه اللغة بهذه الشريعة التي جاءت بالانتقام من ملوك الآفاق وإزالة دولتهم، فدل ذلك على أنها من عنده.

وأقل بعضهم: «هناك أجدد للأمم الشغفة المختارة»، وهذا لا ينافي ذلك التقليل، لأنه قد يعبر بالشغف عن اللغة كما يعبر باللسان عن اللغة، فيقولون: قال أهل اللسان، وهم يريدون أهل اللغة ويقولون في لسان العرب كذا وكذا، وهم يريدون في لغة العرب. والذي يبين ما قلناه أنه لا يجوز أن يكون أراد به تجدد الشغف على الحقيقة، لأن الشغف قد خلق جنسها من قبل ولم يجددها الله تعالى في ذلك الوقت.

<sup>99</sup> صفينيا: أصفينيا، مت.

<sup>100</sup> رقة، رقة، مت.

<sup>101</sup> قارن ابن الطبرى: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 104: 14-105: 1: قال يقول رب: «أيها الناس ترجموا اليوم الذي أقام فيه للشهادة. فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي بجسر الأمم كلها وجمع الملوك لأصب عليهم رجزي وأليم سخطي. فستحرق الأرض كلها احتراضاً سخطي ونكيري. هناك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليدعووا اسم رب جياعاً ويعبدوه في رقة واحدة معاً. ويلائوا بالذبائح في تلك الأيام من معابر أنهار كوش».

<sup>102</sup> صفينيا: أصفينيا، مت.

وقد قالوا: أراد<sup>103</sup> بتجديد الشفاعة تجديد حمد الله، وهو الشفاعة المختارة. فيقال لهم: هذا لا يصح، لأنكم إن أردتم أن يجدد فعل حمد الله فذلك لا يجوز، لأن العبيد هم الذين يحمدون الله ويفعلون ذلك. وإن أردتم أنه يجدد الأمر بالحمد والتعبد به، فذلك قد سبق من الله، فعلمتما أنه يجدد<sup>104</sup> التعبد بلغة والتكلم بها، ويجعل بعض الأمم مطبوعين عليها وهو ما جدده من التعبد بتلاوة القرآن والأذان والإقامة والخطبة والتشهد والدعاء في الصلاة . . . .<sup>105</sup>، وعما [518] جعل الله اللغة العربية طبعاً لأقاليم لم يكن أحلاها مطبوعين عليها .

فهذه جملة من البشارات بالنبي عليه السلام وبدينه وأمته، وإذا تأمل المنصف فيما ذكره الله من أنه سبب في نبأ من إخوة بني إسرائيل، وأن الله جاء من جبل فاران، وقول الملك: «إن يد إسماعيل فوق يد الكل»، وقول حبقوق: «إن القدس جاء من جبل فاران»، وأنه تبع ذلك بالحروب والاستيلاء على الأرض، ثم عرف ما ذكره إشعيا من عمارة أرض قيدار<sup>106</sup> وعمارة البادية وكثرة المياه فيها ليشرب منها الأمة المصطفاة، ثم ما ذكر في كتاب حزقييل من أنه يغرس غرساً في البادية يهلك بقية أمر اليهود حتى لا يبقى لهم سلطان، ثم ما في كتاب صفينيا<sup>107</sup> من تجديد اللغة المختارة، علم ذلك المنصف أنه ليس المقصود بذلك إلا النبي عليه السلام وأمته. إذا تقررت وثبتت نبوة نبينا المصطفى عليه السلام وجب الإقرار والتصديق بجميع ما جاء به من الشرائع والقصص والأخبار على ما سبقت الإشارة إليه. وما كان من جملة ما جاء به الوعيد للمطهين بالثواب والوعيد للκκαρ والفساق بالعقاب، فبالحربي إيراد الكلام في الوعيد والوعيد عقيب الكلام في نبوته عليه والله السلام.

<sup>103</sup> أراد: أرادوا، مت.

<sup>104</sup> يجدد: تجدد، مت.

<sup>105</sup> بياض في الأصل.

<sup>106</sup> قيدار: قيدار، مت.

<sup>107</sup> صفينيا: أصفينيا، مت.