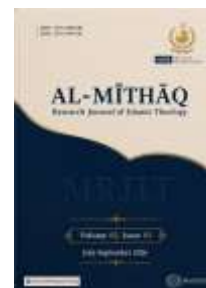




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The Question of Qur'ānic Narrative Sources in Muslim and Christian Polemics:

A Comparative and Critical Study of W. St. Clair Tisdall's The Original Sources of the Qur'ān and Abūl Fidā Muhammad Abdul Qādir's Sarchashmah-e-Qur'ān

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The Question of Qur'ānic Narrative Sources in Muslim and Christian Polemics:

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Abstract

This study investigates the polemical and source-critical debate surrounding Qur'ānic Christology and Mariology in the colonial Subcontinent, focusing on W. St. Clair Tisdall's *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān* (1905) and Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir's Urdu rejoinder *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān* (1962). Drawing on nineteenth-century European historicism (Historismus) and naturalistic evolutionism, Tisdall posited that Qur'ānic narratives concerning Mary and Jesus were derivative amalgamations of late antique Christian apocrypha, attributing narrative parallels to direct literary borrowing. Abū al-Fidā' countered Tisdall's diffusionist claims through an internalist theological and philological defense exposing Tisdall's reliance on spurious narrations, misunderstandings of internal methodological contradictions. However, while Abū al-Fidā' successfully dismantled Tisdall's theological assumptions within the traditional genre of Subcontinental munāẓarah, his reliance on internal intra-Qur'ānic arguments left key external historical-critical questions.

Keywords: *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān, Mariology, Source-Critical Debate, Historical-Critical Questions.*

Introduction

The acute historiographical preoccupation with the genetic origins (*Makaz*) of the Qur'ān in early twentieth and century Western Orientalism was an organic outgrowth of the 19th and century philological and historicist zeitgeist. Deeply rooted within European polemical traditions was the reductionist axiom that Islam constituted an epigonic, derivative religion (*derivierte Religion*), rendering its foundational scripture a secondary amalgamation of Near Eastern traditions. Crucially, any rigorous critical evaluation of this orientalist discourse necessitates a clear ontological distinction between *wahy* (the transcendent revelatory deposit) and *ḥaḍārāh* (the empirical reality of Islamic civilization). The former encompasses the immutable metaphysical worldview including uncompromising monotheism (*tawḥīd*), prophetology, angelology and the eschatological framework which Islamic epistemological orthodoxy holds to be exclusively divine in provenance and utterly transcendent of historical borrowing. Conversely, the civilizational framework constitutes an open, historical continuum that dynamically assimilated and syncretized surrounding material, administrative and cultural practices through regional conversions and inter and civilizational encounters. Muslim scholars historically and conceptually acknowledge these cross and cultural syntheses at the civilizational periphery; however, the orientalist enterprise deliberately conflated the two domains. By subsuming the transcendent text of the Qur'ān under

naturalistic and diffusionist paradigms, Western source criticism sought to invalidate its sui generis claim to revelation, arguing instead that the scriptural text itself was a humanly constructed mosaic synthesized from Late Antique Jewish, Christian and apocryphal traditions. The penetration and transmission of Western critical thoughts regarding the Qur'ān and its origins into the Indian Subcontinent coincided directly with the consolidation of colonial rule. As the British colonial apparatus expanded its administrative, educational and institutional reach across India, 19th and 20th century European orientalist paradigms rooted in historical and critical methodology, higher criticism and source and hunting were systematically introduced to the local intellectual landscape. This influx fundamentally transformed the nature of indigenous religious discourse, compelling missionaries and polemical experts alike to engage directly with European critique regarding the origin, compilation and revelatory nature of the sacred text.¹ A historical examination of Muslim and Christian polemics in the Subcontinent reveals that organized Christian missionary engagement began during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Jesuit delegations arrived at the imperial court with the primary objective of converting the emperor and transforming India into a Christian dominion. During these deliberations, the missionaries presented a Persian translation of the Qur'ān designed to convince Akbar of alleged textual contradictions, structural flaws and errors within the scripture marking the genesis of formal Christian polemical critique against the Qur'ān in South Asia. Historical accounts further indicate that the missionaries formally petitioned Akbar to proscribe the instruction and public recitation of the Qur'ān.² Following the Portuguese, the Dutch and French also established a presence; however, the British achieved unparalleled hegemony. Although the British East India Company initiated authorized trade in 1600 CE, its direct political consolidation commenced following the Battle of Plassey in 1757 CE. Embedded within these commercial and imperial ambitions was an underlying evangelistic imperative. Highlighting the long and term strategic agenda to Christianize India and avenge historical Muslim and Christian conflicts, Hempher records:

"Once, the Minister of Colonies convened a three and hour meeting with a prominent London priest and twenty and five other religious leaders. When no immediate breakthrough emerged, the priest addressed the assembly, stating: 'Do not lose heart; maintain patience and perseverance. Christianity became a global faith only after three centuries of trials, persecution and the martyrdom of Jesus and his disciples. It is entirely possible that after three hundred years we shall succeed in driving out the infidels. It is therefore incumbent upon us to fortify ourselves with firm faith and enduring patience, employing every available means to advance Christianity across Muslim territories. Even if this endeavor requires centuries, there is no cause for despair ancestors sow seeds for their progeny. We must employ the same strategy implemented in Spain, sowing seeds of discord among them, just as Spain was reclaimed into the fold of Christianity after centuries... The time has now arrived for Christians to seek retribution against the Muslims and reclaim their lost glory. Today, the greatest Christian empire rests with Great Britain, which holds sway across the globe and Britain now seeks to carry the banner of confrontation against the Islamic realms."³

To foster ideological and theological conformity advantageous to colonial rule, the British Empire facilitated the dispatch of Christian missionaries who sought to entrench their influence among the local population. These missionaries produced Persian

translations of the Gospels, engaged in public disputations (*munāẓarāt*) and established printing presses for the mass dissemination of polemical literature. Regarding biblical translations and the strategic expansion of missionary operations in colonial India, Avril A. Powell observes that the dissemination of vernacular scriptures formed the primary instrument of the evangelical enterprise. Missionaries and Christian polemist prioritized the translation of biblical texts into Persian, Urdu and regional vernaculars. Powell highlights that these translated scriptures were not merely intended for internal pastoral use, but served as the offensive textual vanguard in public disputations (*munāẓarāt*) and street preaching, designed to confront indigenous religious epistemologies and demonstrate the perceived superiority of the Christian canon, writes:

"That the Lucknow, ulama were already in possession of translations of the Bible, remarking particularly on Martyn's translations, preaching in the region more than twenty years earlier, it is clear from Wolff's references that Martyn's translations of the Bible, in Arabic and Persian as well as in Urdu, had by this time circulated fairly widely among the "ulama of northern India. Abd al-Masih was no doubt the main transmitter of these Bibles. Wolff surmised also that they had acquired some Biblical commentaries, for the mujtahid based one of his arguments against Wolff's interpretation of the Daniel prophecy on 'the translation of some English books which have been printed'?" Wolff was unsuccessful, however, in trying to elicit the titles of these books. Earlier he had discovered that an "alim in Kashmir possessed a copy of the munshi Nathaniel Sabat's refutation of Christianity. Thus, in spite of the apparent failure of evangelical enterprise in these regions, it is clear that knowledge about Christianity had recently been spreading among some of the ulama networks."⁴

The colonial administration actively patronized these initiatives. Describing state sponsorship of missionary efforts, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan writes:

"During the early period of our government in India, discussions on religion were minimal. Gradually, however, they increased until reaching their zenith in contemporary times. Although the government ostensibly maintained non and interference in these matters, every native subject perceived that all these activities were conducted pursuant to official orders and government approval. Everyone knew that the clergymen were appointed by the government and drew their salaries from state funds."⁵

These documentary testimonies confirm that early European colonial engagement was animated by a systematic agenda to Christianize the Subcontinent, wherein institutionalized polemics and anti and Muslim initiatives operated as strategic instruments of imperial hegemony. To advance the propagation of Christianity in the Subcontinent, missionary societies employed a multifaceted strategy encompassing public oratory, philanthropic social work and polemical literature. Emulating the post-Crusades European polemical legacy, Christian authors focused extensively on the Qur'ān to foster skepticism regarding its divine origin. The central thesis of this literary assault was to categorize the Qur'ān not as divine revelation (*wahy*), but as a derivative compilation drawn from earlier Abrahamic traditions and Late Antique apocryphal lore, substantiated through textual parallels and comparative source-criticism. Accordingly, this study undertakes a comparative and analytical investigation into the Christological and Mariological source hypotheses posited in William St. Clair Tisdall's *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān*, alongside the critical deconstructions and counter-arguments formulated by

Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir in his rebuttal *Sarchashmah-i-Qur'ān*. The introductory backgrounds and core thematic contents of both works are outlined below.

Part 1. William St. Clair Tisdall (1859–1928)

William St. Clair Tisdall completed his academic formation in Classical philology with first-class honors at the University of New Zealand in 1882. Ordained as an Anglican clergyman in 1883, he was enlisted in 1884 by the Church Missionary Society for deployment in the Islamic world an evangelical body whose missiological agenda was structured around the systematic proselytization of Muslim communities across the British imperial sphere.⁶ Grounded in his ecclesiastical and missionary commitments under the Church Missionary Society, Tisdall's extensive polemical corpus including *The Religion of the Crescent* (1894), *A Manual of the Leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity* (1904)⁷ and *Christianity and Other Faiths* (1912) was systematically geared toward deconstructing Islamic theological and revelatory paradigms. Although "The Original Sources of the Qur'ān" (1905) purported to be an objective historiographical "investigation of the sources from which Islam has sprung"⁸ its publication under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) underscored its underlying apologetic function. Tisdall candidly articulated the utilitarian missionary imperative governing his source-critical approach, asserting that it equipped evangelical practitioners with an effective methodology of leading Muslim inquirers to perceive the untenable nature of their position.⁹ By seeking to induce Muslim interlocutors to appreciate his ancestral faith at its real and proper value¹⁰, he situated the rise of Islam within a naturalistic evolutionary framework, treating it as an illustrative case study of "how an Ethnic Faith arose in recent historical times.

The Original Sources of the Qur'ān

W. St. Clair Tisdall explicitly rejects the Islamic conviction that the Qur'ān originates exclusively in divine revelation (*wahy*), applying Democritus's classical dictum that "nothing has sprung from nothing" to argue that the text is the human composition of the Prophet Muhammad¹¹ and "a faithful mirror of the life and character of its author."¹² Tisdall says:

A builder collects his materials from many different quarters, yet their method and arrangement reveal his skill. The plan of the architect is manifested in the edifice, which has been erected as its embodiment. Just in the same way, though we have seen that Muhammad borrowed ideas, legends and religious rites from many different quarters, the religion of Islam has assumed a form of its own, which differs in certain respects from any other faith with which it may be compared. The beauty of the literary style of many parts of the Qur'ān has been universally admired it evidences the eloquence of its author in no doubtful manner. It's wanted of arrangement and harmony of design may not be due to him, but the work as a whole mirror forth the limitations of Muhammad's intellect, the very slight amount of real knowledge and learning that he possessed, his unlimited credulity and want of all critical faculty the moral defects of his character."¹³

In evaluating the Christian and Late Antique apocryphal traditions underlying Qur'ānic Christology and Mariology, Tisdall contends that these narratives were acquired through informal, oral channels from informants lacking formal textual erudition.¹⁴ Consequently, he characterizes Qur'ānic accounts of Jesus and Mary not as direct textual translations, but as "free reproductions" shaped by oral reception. Employing the metaphor of an architect assembling materials from disparate sites, Tisdall asserts

that the Prophet gathered apocryphal infancy legends, Marian nativity traditions heterodox Christological motifs, integrating them into a distinctive narrative framework whose literary eloquence reflects the author's own oratorical skill. In mapping the putative source-environment available to the Prophet under the rubric of human authorship, Tisdall delineates four primary religious and cultural matrices: Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrian Persia pre-Islamic Arabian paganism. He situates this diffusionist dynamic within a nineteenth-century civilizational hierarchy, interpreting scriptural borrowing as an asymmetric sociological phenomenon:

"Whenever two nations, the one highly advanced in civilization and the other in a state of comparative ignorance, are brought into close intercourse with one another, the former always exercises a very considerable influence over the other. All history teaches us this lesson."¹⁵

Tisdall's deliberate lexical distinction employing the term "influence" when discussing Jewish and Christian traditions versus "elements" when addressing Zoroastrian lore is methodologically revealing. It signals his core thesis that Judeo-Christian scriptural and apocryphal traditions constituted the foundational and structurally dominant stratum of the Qur'ānic narrative, whereas Iranian motifs remained secondary and peripheral.¹⁶ In advancing this naturalistic reductionism, Tisdall aligns himself closely with Sir William Muir, dedicating the monograph to him and acknowledging his intellectual indebtedness to the veteran orientalist.¹⁷

Tisdall's Appraisal of Qur'ānic Christology and Mariology

Proponents of the source-critical hypothesis contend that key episodes within the Qur'ānic corpus find their textual antecedents in extra-canonical Christian apocrypha rather than NT:

1. Historical Mistake
2. Mary's early life and her dedication to temple service
3. The nativity of Jesus under the shelter of a palm tree
4. The infant Jesus speaking miraculously from the cradle
5. The breathing of life into birds fashioned from clay
6. Crucifixion of Jesus

1. Historical Mistake

Among the Qur'ānic figures whose biographical narratives are critiqued by W. St. Clair Tisdall, the persona of Maryam (Mary, the mother of Jesus) features prominently as a supposed instance of historical and textual error. In *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān*, Tisdall repeats a classical orientalist and missionary polemic, alleging that the Qur'ān commits a chronological anachronism by conflating Maryam, the mother of Jesus (*Maryam bint 'Imrān*), with Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron (*Mūsā wa Hārūn*), who lived over a millennium earlier. Tisdall bases his assertion on verses such as Surah Maryam (19:28), where Mary is addressed as "O sister of Aaron" (*yā ukhta Hārūn*) Surah Al-Tahrim (66:12), which refers to her as "Mary, daughter of Imran" (*Maryam ibnat 'Imrān*). He claims that this alleged confusion stems from the Prophet's reliance on flawed oral accounts and an imperfect acquaintance with Jewish and Christian biblical traditions. He writes:

"The history of Mary, as related in the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet, is taken almost entirely from the apocryphal Gospels and works of that character. Muhammad has, however, introduced into it another element of error, the source of which we must trace before entering upon the narrative itself. In Surah XIX., Maryam, 28, 29, we are told that when Mary came to her people after the birth of our Lord, they said to her, "O Mary, truly thou hast done a strange thing. O sister of Aaron, thy

father was not a man of wickedness thy mother was not rebellious." From these words it is evident that, in Muhammad's opinion, Mary was identical with Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron²²! This is made still more clear by Surah LVI., At Tahrim, 12, where Mary is styled "the daughter of 'Imran," the latter being the Arabic form of Amram, who in the Pentateuch is called the father of "Aaron and Moses and Miriam their sister" (Num. xxvi. 59). The title "sister of Aaron" is given to Miriam in Exod xv. 20 it must be from this passage that Muhammad borrowed the expression. The reason of the mistake which identifies the Mother of our Saviour with a woman who lived about one thousand five hundred and seventy years before His birth is evidently the fact that in Arabic both names, Mary and Miriam, are one and the same in form, Maryam. The chronological difficulty of the identification does not seem to have occurred to Muhammad."¹⁸

Mary's Early Life and Her Dedication to Temple Service

Proponents of this source-critical perspective argue that this specific Qur'ānic narrative trace its origins to the extra-canonical work entitled the *Protevangelium of James* (*Gospel of James*). In this regard, W. St. Clair Tisdall says:

"We can trace every single matter here mentioned to some apocryphal source, as will be evident from the passages which we now proceed to adduce. In the *Protevangelium of James* the Less³⁹ in reference to Mary's birth"¹⁹

Second Perspective

Alternatively, this account is identified as having been adapted from the apocryphal *Coptic History of the Virgin*. Citing this specific tradition within his comparative framework, W. St. Clair Tisdall observes:

"The legend of Mary's being brought up in the Temple is found in many other apocryphal works besides the one we have here quoted. For example, in the Coptic "History of the Virgin"²⁰

2. The Nativity of Jesus under the Shelter of a Palm Tree

Clair Tisdall posited that the narrative from the *History of the Nativity of Mary and the Saviour's Infancy* served as the source for the Qur'ānic account of Jesus's birth, remarking:

"The incident of Mary and the palm-tree as related above (Surah XIX., Maryam, 23-6) is apparently taken from the apocryphal work entitled "History of the Nativity of Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour."²¹

3. The Infant Jesus Speaking Miraculously from The Cradle

Scholars advancing the borrowing thesis contend that the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* (*Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*) constitutes the direct textual antecedent for the parallel Qur'ānic account.

"The origin of this legend is not far to seek. We have already seen that one of the apocryphal Gospels represents Christ, when on His journey to Egypt in His infancy, as addressing the palm-tree and bidding it how down and permit His Mother to pluck its fruit. But probably the source from which Muhammad borrowed the incident is Injilu't Tufuliyyah, better known as the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy."²²

4. The Breathing of Life into Birds Fashioned from Clay

This Qur'ānic narrative is alleged to have been derived from the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas the Israelite*. According to the author of *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān*²³,

this connection is demonstrated as follows:

"This incident is derived from the apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas the Israelite," in the second chapter of which we read:

"This child, Jesus, having become five years old, was playing at the crossing of a brook. He had collected together into pools the running waters and was making them clean forthwith with a single word did He command them. And having made some clay fine, He formed out of it twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when He did these things. There were, however, many other children also playing with Him. But a certain Jew, having seen what Jesus was doing, that He was playing on the Sabbath day, went away immediately and told His father Joseph, 'Lo! thy child is at the brook having taken clay He hath formed twelve little birds out of it He hath profaned the Sabbath.' And Joseph, having come to the spot and having seen, cried out to Him, saying, 'Why dost Thou on the Sabbath do these things which it is not lawful to do?' But Jesus, having clapped His hands together, cried out to the sparrows and said to them, 'Go!' And the sparrows, having taken flight, departed twittering. But the Jews, having seen this, were astounded; and having gone away they related to their chief men what they saw that Jesus did. It is worthy of note that the whole of this fable occurs twice over in the Arabic "Gospel of the Infancy" in chapter xxxvi again in another form in chapter xlvi. The reason of this is that the latter part of the book is taken from the "Gospel of Thomas the Israelite."²⁴

5. Crucifixion of Jesus

With respect to the crucifixion of Jesus, the conventional exegetical stance maintains that he was spared crucifixion, with a substitute bearing his resemblance being crucified in his stead. Conversely, orientalist scholars investigating Qur'ānic narrative motifs argue that this docetic interpretation was appropriated from Gnostic Christological heresies. Articulating this polemical source-critical thesis, Tisdall observes:

"Muhammad's denial of the death of Christ on the Cross cannot be traced even to such untrustworthy authority as his favourite apocryphal Gospels. It is needless to say that he contradicts both the Old Testament Prophets and the New Testament Apostles, though doubtless merely through ignorance. It seemed to him to be derogatory to the dignity of Christ to have been crucified and put to death by His enemies; and Muhammad was all the more convinced of this when he found his own enemies, the Jews, exulting at having slain Jesus. Hence, he gladly adopted the assertion of certain heresiarchs, with whose views in other respects he had little in common. Several of these had, long before Muhammad's time, denied the actual suffering of Christ. Irenaeus tells us with reference to the teaching of the Gnostic heretic Basilides, who flourished about A.D. 120, that, in speaking of Jesus, he taught his deluded followers "That⁶² He had not suffered; and that a certain Simon of Cyrene had been compelled to carry His cross for Him; and that this man was crucified through ignorance and error, having been changed in form by Him, so that it should be thought that he was Jesus Himself." This language coincides very closely with that of the Qur'ān in this matter."²⁵

Part 2. *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān: Dr. Tisdall kā Jawāb*²⁶

Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir's *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān* represents a pivotal

indigenous intellectual response to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British missionary-orientalist source criticism, specifically designed to deconstruct the diffusionist paradigm popularized in W. St. Clair Tisdall's *Yanābī' al-Islām* (circulated in English as *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān* and in Urdu as *Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*). In his preliminary discourse, Abū al-Fidā' delineates the polemical and epistemic stakes of his intervention, identifying Tisdall's thesis that the Qur'ānic corpus constitutes an eclectic amalgamation of Judeo-Christian canonical and pseudepigraphal corpora, Zoroastrian-Vedic mythos Jalili pagan customs as an institutionalized instrument of colonial evangelism across the Afro-Asian and Western imperial spheres. The teleological objective of *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān* is to deconstruct the methodological reductionism governing Tisdall's source-hunting approach, which routinely treated any narrative divergence between the Qur'ānic text and antecedent biblical recensions as *prima facie* evidence of historical error. Abū al-Fidā' counters this by establishing a rigorous dual-stage methodology: first resolving foundational epistemological and text-critical principles subsequently adjudicating granular historical discrepancies. Central to this framework is the rearticulation of Qur'ānic narrative teleology not as passive literary borrowing, but as an active, corrective superintending revelation (*haymanah* and *iṣlāḥ*) designed to rectify historical alterations (*tahrīf*) within antecedent scriptural traditions. Structurally, the work begins with an epistemological critique of Tisdall's hermeneutical premises, advancing into an ontological defense of the necessity of revelation, the completion of divine law the comparative textual histories of the Torah, the Gospels, Zoroastrian literature the Vedic corpus. To neutralize Tisdall's polemical weaponization of unverified traditions, Abū al-Fidā' incorporates an extensive methodological treatise on Hadith criticism (*uṣūl al-ḥadīth*), elucidating the critical standards of *isnād* evaluation, textual scrutiny (*ilm al-dirāyah*), the historiographical classification of *Isrā'iliyyāt* the interpretive boundaries of *riwāyah bi-l-ma'nā*. Recognizing that orientalist source theories heavily relied on etymological determinism, the author develops an elaborate section on comparative Semitic philology (*Ilm al-Alsunah*), establishing rigorous criteria for tracing lexical morphology, root preservation semantic shifts, while demonstrating the linguistic integrity and primordial expressive status of Arabic (*Umm al-Alsunah*). The monograph then systematically evaluates the Qur'ānic narrative corpus (*Qīṣaṣ al-Qur'ān*), providing historiographical defenses for indigenous Arabian accounts (such as 'Ād, Thamūd the *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl*) alongside major prophetic histories encompassing the Edenic narrative, Cain and Abel, Abrahamic iconoclasm, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*. Within the critical arena of Christology and Mariology, Abū al-Fidā' systematically refutes Tisdall's claims of apocryphal borrowing by defending the virgin birth of Maryam, the infancy miracles of 'Īsā (peace be upon him), the uncompromising Qur'ānic rejection of the crucifixion (*ṣalḥ*) and the Trinity the textual interpretation of the Johannine Paraclete (*Bashārat-i 'Īsā*). In its concluding metaphysical synthesis, the work dismantles claims of Zoroastrian and Hellenistic provenance regarding Islamic cosmology and eschatology including the *Mi'rāj*, the *'Arsh*, *al-Mīzān* the *Lawḥ Maḥfūz*. Incorporating material previously vetted in leading scholarly organs like *Nigār* (Lucknow) and *Al-Balāgh* (Hyderabad Deccan), *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān* stands as an enduring monument of Subcontinental apologetics, vindicating the transcendent provenance (*wahy*), internal coherence i'jāz of the Qur'ān. In the analytical prefatory section (*Sukhanhā-yi Guftugū: Tajziyah*) of *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān*, Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir establishes three fundamental methodological critiques against W. St. Clair Tisdall:

1. Although Tisdall's title *Mākhadh-i Qur'ān* (*The Original Sources of the*

Qur'ān) implies an investigation into the primary sources of Qur'ānic doctrines and despite Tisdall's explicit assertion that he would rely strictly on explicit Qur'ānic injunctions and authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) traditions his actual work focuses almost exclusively on weak (*ḍa'īf*) and fabricated (*mawḍū'*) hadith narrations. Instead of addressing authentic Qur'ānic teachings, Tisdall targets late exegetical accretions, legendary folklore and *Isrā'īliyyāt* that traditional Muslim critical scholarship (*ʿIlm al-Dirāyah*) had already classified as spurious. Thus, that Tisdall succeeded only in demonstrating the non-canonical nature of these unverified tales, rather than proving the derivative nature of the Qur'ān itself.²⁷

2. Challenging Tisdall's scholarly competence, Abū al-Fidā' demonstrates that the author lacked the essential linguistic and text-critical expertise required for such an inquiry. Philologically, Tisdall misinterprets fundamental Arabic morphology such as defining the name *Aḥmad* as a passive participle ("the much-praised") rather than an active elative form (*af'al al-tafḍīl*, "the one who praises the most"). Methodologically, Tisdall's inability to differentiate authentic Hadith from folk literature led him to cite popular storytelling compilations like *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* and *al-Majālis* as authoritative Islamic sources, exposing his unfamiliarity with classical Hadith sciences.²⁸
3. The circular and self-serving hermeneutic employed by Christian polemicists: whenever a Qur'ānic narrative parallels biblical accounts, they immediately claim it as proof of direct literary borrowing from antecedent scriptures; conversely, whenever the Qur'ān introduces independent details or corrects and refutes later theological accretions within Christian dogma, they dismiss these unique features as the personal fabrications and subjective inventions of the Prophet.²⁹
4. A glaring methodological contradiction in Tisdall's source-critical thesis regarding the Christian origins of the Qur'ān. On the one hand, Tisdall admits that canonical Gospels had not been translated into Arabic during the pre-Islamic or early prophetic era, acknowledging that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had no direct access to orthodox Christian doctrines or authentic canonical texts (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, p. 61). On the other hand, whenever Tisdall identifies thematic parallels between the Qur'ān and prevailing Christian concepts, he abruptly abandons this historical premise, asserting that the Prophet directly extracted these themes from specific chapters and verses of the canonical Gospels. He argues that this oscillation between claiming total textual ignorance and asserting precise chapter-and-verse literary borrowing exposes the arbitrary, contradictory nature of Tisdall's polemical method.³⁰
5. The rigid causal determinism governing Tisdall's historiography, noting that like many European authors of his era, Tisdall operates under a preconceived hypothesis around which he forces all historical data to revolve. By constructing elaborate causal chains based on remote conjectures, probabilities and speculative possibilities, this method fails to attain epistemological certainty, arriving instead at mere conjecture and estimation. Consequently, while Tisdall frequently employs assertions of certainty using words such as "undoubtedly" or "certainly" throughout *Mākhadh-i Qur'ān* his substantive evidence routinely relies on speculative qualifiers like "possibly," "probably," "it must have been," and "perhaps." Across the entire treatise, he fails to provide any definitive, text-critical proof that the Qur'ān was derived from antecedent scriptures. While he draws thematic parallels between Qur'ānic narratives, doctrines and external religious literature, he leaves the most critical historical questions unanswered:

how could the Prophet have accessed these written texts in the pre-Islamic Hijāz, from whom did he allegedly hear these accounts orally and what verifiable historical evidence substantiates such encounters?³¹

Methodological Organization of the Rebuttal (Jawābāt ke Uṣūl o Tartīb)

In Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān (pp. 19–21), Abū al-Fidā' outlines a concise, thematic framework to systematically address Tisdall's claims across five core domains:

- Comprehensiveness of Qur'ānic Teachings (Jāmi'iyat-i Ta'līmāt-i Qur'ān): Demonstrates the divine origin of the Qur'ān revealed directly to the unlettered Prophet (al-Nabī al-Ummī), proving it transcends human borrowing and synthesizes the primordial truths of all prophetic dispensations.
- Critical Scrutiny of Hadith Literature (Tanqīḥ-i 'Ilm al-Ḥadīth): Establishes the primacy of the Qur'ān as foundational law and delineates classical principles of transmission and textual criticism (riwāyah and dirāyah), proving that Tisdall built his thesis upon weak (ḍa'īf) and fabricated (mawḍū') narrations rather than authoritative texts.
- Philological Defense of the Arabic Language ('Arabī Zabān): Evaluates disputed vocabulary using comparative Semitic philology, demonstrating the primordial expressiveness of Arabic (Umm al-Alsunah) and refuting Tisdall's assertions of foreign lexical borrowing.
- Historiography of Qur'ānic Narratives (Qur'ānī Qiṣaṣ): Delineates the corrective, moral teleology of prophetic accounts in the Qur'ān, validating their historical authenticity while rejecting charges of plagiarism from antecedent apocrypha.
- Theological Doctrines and Metaphysics (I'tiqādāt): Provides a text-critical defense of Islamic metaphysics including angelology, revelation (wahy), eschatology, the Mi'rāj and the Mizān refuting Tisdall's attempts to trace these doctrines to Zoroastrian or Hellenistic folklore.³²

Within the domain of Qur'ānic narrative historiography (Qiṣaṣ al-Qur'ān), this study specifically concentrates on the five primary Christological and Mariological themes contested in the polemical exchange between W. St. Clair Tisdall and Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir: the alleged historical mistake regarding Maryam's lineage and identity (yā ukhta Hārūn), Mary's early life and temple dedication, the nativity of Jesus under the shelter of a palm tree, the infant Jesus speaking miraculously from the cradle, the animation of clay birds into living creatures and the absolute Qur'ānic denial of the crucifixion of Jesus.

Historical Mistake

In refuting Dr. Tisdall's claim of a historical error in Surah Maryam (19:28) where Maryam is addressed as the "sister of Aaron" (*ukhta Hārūn*), Abū al-Fidā' argues that:

"Tisdall's critique exposes a clear unfamiliarity with Arabic idiom. In Semitic and Arabic linguistic usage, relational terms such as *ab* (father), *ibn* (son), *akh* (brother) and *ukht* (sister) are not confined strictly to direct biological kinship or immediate single-generation relations; rather, they denote broader familial, tribal, or spiritual lineage. For example, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) referred to the patriarch Abraham as his father (*anā da'watu abī Ibrāhīm*) and the Qur'ān designates the Prophet Hūd as the "brother" of his tribe (Q. 7:65: *ilā 'Ādin akhāhum Hūdā*). Similarly, classical Arabic idioms employ relational words metaphorically, calling a dependable sword *akhū thiqaḥ*, a valiant warrior *akhū ghamarāt al-mawt*, or an opportunist *ibn al-waqt*. The titles *Ukhta Hārūn* (sister of Aaron) and *Binta 'Imrān*

(daughter of Imran) signify Maryam's noble lineage through two prominent ancestral forebears. Because Maryam's household belonged to the priestly line of the Israelites a priesthood traditionally rooted in the lineage of the Prophet Aaron—she was designated through this ancestral affiliation. A parallel usage exists within the canonical Gospels, where the Gospel of Matthew describes Jesus as the “son of David” and David as the “son of Abraham” (Matt. 1:1), despite the numerous generations separating them. Given that the Qur'ān applies *Ukhta Hārūn* and *Binta 'Imrān* on the basis of ancestral and priestly affiliation, Tisdall's assertion that the Prophet confused the mother of Jesus with Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, is entirely groundless and reflects a deficit in linguistic understanding. Consequently, Tisdall's attempt to identify the Book of Exodus (chapter 15) as the literary source of these Qur'ānic verses is baseless..... A directly comparable genealogical convention is observed in Christian scripture itself. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus is described as the “son of David” and David as the “son of Abraham” (Matt. 1:1), despite the numerous generations separating these historical figures. Given that the Qur'ān applies the designations *Ukhta Hārūn* (“sister of Aaron”) and *Binta 'Imrān* “daughter of Imran” purely on the basis of ancestral and familial lineage, Dr. Tisdall's assertion that the Prophet confused Mary, the mother of Jesus, with Miriam, the biological sister of Moses and Aaron, is entirely erroneous. This deduction merely underscores his unfamiliarity with Semitic idiom, which led him to author *Mākhadh-i Qur'ān* on fundamentally flawed premises. Once it is proven that the Qur'ān does not identify the Virgin Mary and the sister of Aaron as the same historical persona, Tisdall's claim that the Book of Exodus serves as the literary source for these Qur'ānic verses is rendered completely baseless.”³³

Apocrypha as Source of Mary's Quranic Narratives

In refuting Dr. Tisdall's contention that the Qur'ānic narrative of Maryam was derived from the *Protevangelium of James*, Abū al-Fidā' argues that the Qur'ān deliberately corrects and refutes the mythological elements found in such apocryphal texts:

"The Qur'ānic verses which Dr. Tisdall assumes to be derived from the aforementioned excerpts actually reform and refute the miraculous and legendary embellishments recorded in those texts. Verses 33–35 of Surah Āl 'Imrān bear no dependent relationship to the narrative of the *Protevangelium*; rather, these verses present a correction and rebuttal of it. In the *Protevangelium*, the primary purpose of recounting the births of Maryam the Truthful and the Messiah is to establish Jesus as the literal 'Son of God.' In contrast, the verses of Surah Āl 'Imrān refute this exclusivity, demonstrating that Jesus was not the sole chosen one of God, but that since the inception of humanity, Allah has continuously chosen specific servants for guidance. The House of 'Imrān (*Āl 'Imrān*) is simply a branch of the House of Abraham (*Āl Ibrāhīm*) and within the House of 'Imrān arose numerous prophets, one of whom was Jesus (peace be upon him)."³⁴

The Infant Jesus Speaking Miraculously from The Cradle

In refuting the hypothesis that the Qur'ānic account of the infant Jesus speaking from the cradle was derived from the *Arabic Infancy Gospel (Injīl al-Ṭufūliyyah)*, Abū al-

Fidā' argues that the teleological intent of the Qur'ān stands in stark theological opposition to the apocryphal text:

"The explicit purpose of mentioning this narrative in the Qur'ān is to establish decisive proof (*itmām al-hujjah*) against those Christians who deify the Messiah. The phrase *fīhi yamtarūn* ('concerning which they dispute,' Q. 19:34) refers to the contentious disputations of Christians with the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him). Furthermore, the statement "*yattakhidha min walad*" ('that He should take a son,' Q. 19:35) fundamentally refutes the divine sonship and divinity of the Messiah. Consequently, this passage bears no genetic connection to the narrative in the *Arabic Infancy Gospel*, whose sole objective is to assert the divinity of Jesus and declare him the literal Son of God. In the Qur'ānic account, Jesus addresses his people to exonerate his mother and refute false charges, proclaiming his servitude: 'Indeed, I am the servant of Allah; He has given me the Scripture and made me a prophet' (Q. 19:30). In sharp contrast, the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* states: 'He lay in the cradle and said to his mother Mary: Verily, I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Word whom thou didst bear' (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, p. 74). There is a vast, unbridgeable difference between these two theological positions: the Qur'ān actively refutes and corrects the dogma of divine sonship, whereas Tisdall claims the Qur'ān merely borrowed it. Moreover, in evaluating Surah Al-Mā'idah (5:110), Tisdall asserts that it was derived indirectly from the four canonical Gospels and the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, pp. 67, 77). Yet Tisdall himself explicitly concedes that 'Muhammad (peace be upon him) never had any acquaintance with pure evangelical Christianity' (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, p. 61) and that 'the Arabic language of the *Infancy Gospel* is so corrupt that it can by no means be believed to date from the time of Muhammad' (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, p. 74). To claim, despite these explicit concessions, that the pericope in Surah Al-Mā'idah was derived from the canonical Gospels and the *Infancy Gospel* represents a glaring internal contradiction."³⁵

Crucifixion of Jesus

In refuting the claim regarding the denial of the crucifixion of Christ, Abū al-Fidā' writes:

"Dr. Tisdall assumes that the denial of the crucifixion of the Messiah was made because it was deemed contrary to the dignity of Christ and that it is a deduction derived from the principle of the heretic Basilides. He then asserts that this event is mentioned in the apocryphal book, the *Acts of the Apostles* [i.e., *Acts of John* / Apocryphal Acts], wherein it is recorded that another person was crucified in place of Christ (*Mākhadh-i Qur'ān*, pp. 79–80). Dr. Tisdall's line of reasoning is exceedingly peculiar: on the one hand, he denies it, while on the other, he affirms it. On the one hand, he himself concedes that 'in this regard, it cannot even be said that he sought assistance from the apocryphal gospels,' yet on the other hand, he states that this idea is found in the apocryphal *Acts*. Regarding Basilides, Tisdall himself writes that he considered Christ to be the 'Mind of God,' and therefore held that Christ suffered no pain a doctrine entirely contrary to the Qur'ān. Yet alongside this, he asserts that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) 'both opposed the foundational principle of Basilides and simultaneously accepted the conclusion deduced from that principle.' In reality, there is a

fundamental difference between the doctrine of Basilides and the apocryphal Acts and the message of the Qur'ānic verses. In those sources, the belief was that Christ was God or the Divine Mind and therefore suffered no affliction. By contrast, Qur'ānic doctrine affirms that the Messiah (peace be upon him) is not God, but a prophet and messenger and a prophet does not die an accursed death. Because death on the cross is an accursed death, Allah Almighty delivered and protected him from such an accursed death."³⁶

Part 3. Source Criticism versus Indigenous Islamic Apologetics

The intellectual contours of nineteenth-century European historicism (*Historismus*) and Darwinian evolutionary paradigms profoundly conditioned the historiographical construction of Qur'ānic source criticism. Grounded in a naturalistic epistemology that viewed all emergent religious movements as evolutionary derivations of antecedent socio-religious environments, this historicist worldview categorically rejected the notion of "absolute originality" within historical phenomena. Working within this evolutionary matrix, orientalist polemicists—prominently exemplified by W. St. Clair Tisdall posited unmediated literary dependence and textual posteriority based merely on structural and thematic affinities (*motif-hunting*), bypassing the rigorous requirements of codicological, manuscript and epigraphic verification. They legitimized this diffusionist construct under the rubric of "historical-critical methodology" (*Historisch-kritische Methode*) and "source criticism" (*Quellenkritik*), systematically assigning late antique Christian apocryphal Vorlagen to the Qur'ānic Christological and Mariological corpora. In *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān*, Abū al-Fidā' formulates a foundational epistemological challenge to test the empirical validity of Tisdall's source-critical hypotheses, arguing:

"No evidence has been furnished to establish that the Qur'ān was derived from other scriptures. The argument is based merely on comparing the narratives, doctrines and religious practices found in the Qur'ān with those contained in the scriptures of other religions. Yet a fundamental question remains: how were these scriptures supposedly accessible to the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ? If such written texts were not available to him, then from whom did he allegedly hear these narratives and acquire this knowledge? More importantly, what conclusive historical evidence exists to establish that such transmission of information actually took place?"³⁷

An epistemic appraisal of the polemical encounter between Tisdall and Abū al-Fidā' exposes significant methodological limitations on both sides of the debate. Tisdall's diffusionist source criticism (*Quellenkritik*) posited direct literary and oral dependence upon Christian pseudepigrapha; however, it suffered from a severe lack of codicological rigor. Tisdall cited late antique apocryphal texts without providing palaeographical documentation, recensional chronologies, or manuscript evidence to substantiate their textual stabilization and linguistic accessibility in seventh-century Arabia. In response, Abū al-Fidā' adopted an apologetic, internalist hermeneutic (*apologia*) grounded in intra-Qur'ānic cross-referencing and classical theological epistemology. While this approach effectively demonstrated the internal consistency and corrective teleology (*haymanah*) of the Qur'ānic narrative from within the Islamic episteme, it largely bypassed external historical-critical methodology (*Historisch-kritische Methode*). As a result, within the context of twentieth-century academic discourse, his refutations functioned primarily as high-level polemical literature rather than historically conclusive critiques capable of overturning naturalistic orientalist

hypotheses. Had Abū al-Fidā' deployed the critical insights of contemporary Western biblical and manuscript scholarship specifically regarding the fragmented manuscript traditions, regionalized recensions and late textual fixity of works like the *Evangelium Infantiae Arabicum* he could have mounted an external, methodologically devastating critique against Tisdall's anachronistic source-hunting model. Although Abū al-Fidā' demonstrates significant philological and theological competence in juxtaposing Qur'ānic pericopes with apocryphal Vorlagen, his counter-discourse exhibits a marked methodological asymmetry. While he successfully deconstructed the teleological intent of certain apocryphal texts, he failed to conduct a rigorous manuscript-based historical-critical evaluation of the putative primary sources. More critically, in instances where the textual parallels posed complex historiographical challenges that resisted straightforward theological refutation, his treatise adopted a posture of textual silence. This methodological lacuna is acutely visible in his treatment of the miracle wherein 'Īsā (peace be upon him) fashions clay into living birds by the leave of Allah (Q. 3:49; Q. 5:110). Tisdall heavily weaponized this narrative as definitive evidence of literary dependence upon the Greek and Syriac recensions of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (*Paidika tou Kuriou / Thomas the Israelite*).³⁸ In *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān*, Abū al-Fidā' offers no textual or historiographical rebuttal to this specific locus, omitting any discussion of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* or the transmission trajectory of this motif. This conspicuous omission illustrates the inherent boundaries of his internalist-apologetic framework (*apologia*), revealing an inability to systematically engage the full spectrum of nineteenth-century *Quellenkritik* with an empirical, historical-critical apparatus. Here, we undertake a critical examination of the redactional chronology and textual development of these alleged Christian sources of the Qur'ān. A critical examination of the redactional chronology and manuscript history of these Christian apocrypha reveals their fluid, late and composite nature, severely complicating any straightforward claim of direct pre-Islamic textual dependence. As J. K. Elliott observes regarding the *Protoevangelium of James*, "most surviving Greek manuscripts of PJ are later than the tenth century," demonstrating a significant codicological gap between early recensions and surviving witnesses.³⁹ Similarly, the textual transmission of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* remains heavily contested, with Wilhelm Schneemelcher noting that reconstructing a definitive second-century prototype "is not yet possible" and that "a final critical edition is still awaited."⁴⁰ The late and secondary character of these traditions is even more pronounced in the vernacular versions cited by orientalist polemicists; Cornelia B. Horn emphasizes that "the Arabic Infancy Gospel or Arabic Life of Jesus is a composite apocryphal gospel that reworks traditions known from at least two other earlier apocryphal texts, the *Protoevangelium of James*... and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*," reflecting fluid cross-linguistic adaptations within later Christian-Muslim milieus rather than static seventh-century written Vorlagen.⁴¹ Furthermore, regarding the motif of the nativity palm tree, Stephen J. Shoemaker points out that "the Gospel of Ps.-Matthew is primarily a reworking of the *Protevangelium of James*, to which Ps.-Matthew adds some 'unique' material, including in particular the story of Mary's encounter with the date palm during the flight into Egypt," a text long regarded as "quite late, having been composed only in the eighth or ninth century."⁴² Consequently, the absence of early manuscript stabilization and the late composite formation of these apocrypha substantially weaken the nineteenth-century diffusionist hypothesis that posited unmediated literary borrowing in the pre-Islamic Hijāz.

Conclusion

The polemical encounter between W. St. Clair Tisdall and Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir highlights the epistemological divide between colonial-era orientalist

source criticism and traditional Muslim apologetics. While Tisdall's diffusionist model reduced Qur'ānic Christology and Mariology to apocryphal borrowings based on superficial narrative parallels, it lacked codicological and manuscript support. Conversely, while Abū al-Fidā' effectively dismantled Tisdall's philological errors and highlighted the corrective teleology of the Qur'ān, his internalist method bypassed external historical-critical analysis, leaving key text-historical questions unanswered. Ultimately, contemporary manuscript scholarship confirms that the late, fluid redaction of Christian apocrypha invalidates nineteenth-century claims of direct textual borrowing, underscoring the need to move beyond reductive polemics toward a more nuanced understanding of Late Antique scriptural intertextuality.

References

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- ². Ibid.
- ³ Hubert H. Hempher, *Humphrey ke I'tirāfāt [The Confessions of Hempher]*, trans./ed. Anjuman-i Naujawānān-i Pākistān (Lahore: Anjuman-i Naujawānān-i Pākistān in collaboration with Urdu Arts College, Hyderabad, n.d.) 14-15.
- ⁴. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, 126-127.
- ⁵. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Risālah Asbāb-i Baghawat-i Hind [The Causes of the Indian Revolt]* (Karachi: Urdu Academy, 1986), 121–122.
- ⁶. Clinton Bennett, *Victorian Images of Islam*, Studies in Oriental Religions 22 (London: Grey Seal, 1992), 128.
- ⁷. Clair Tisdall, *A Manual of the Leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904); reprinted as *A Christian Reply to Muslim Objections* (London: SPCK, 1908).
- ⁸. Clair Tisdall, *The Original Sources of the Qur'an* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1905), 28.
- ⁹. Ibid.
- ¹⁰. Ibid.
- ¹¹. Tisdall, *The Original Sources*, 26-27.
- ¹². Ibid.
- ¹³. Ibid, 274-275.
- ¹⁴. Ibid, 133
- ¹⁵. Tisdall, *The Original Sources of the Qur'an*, 214.
- ¹⁶. Ibid, 55.
- ¹⁷. Ibid, 8.
- ¹⁸. Tisdall, *The Original Sources of the Qur'an*, 79-80.
- ¹⁹. Ibid, 82.
- ²⁰. Ibid.84.
- ²¹. Ibid, 85.
- ²². Ibid, 88.
- ²³. This story is also found in Ps.Mt.
- ²⁴. Tisdall, *The Original Sources of Qur'an*, 91-92.
- ²⁵. Ibid, 94.
- ²⁶. Since the primary source text under evaluation Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir's *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān: Dr. Tisdall kā Jawāb* is composed in Urdu, all excerpts, conceptual paraphrases and substantive citations presented throughout this study have been translated into English by the author, maintaining strict fidelity to the semantic nuance and technical terminology of the original text. Footnote adheres rigorously to the Chicago style, with direct pagination referenced according to the original Urdu edition (Hyderabad, Deccan: Matba'-i Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Zāhid, 1962). Abū al-Fidā' Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, *Sarchashmah-i Qur'ān: Dr. Tisdall kā Jawāb* [The Fountainhead of the Qur'an: A Reply to Dr. Tisdall] (Hyderabad, Deccan: Matba'-i Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Zāhid, 1962), accessed May 23, 2026, <https://www.rekhta.org/ebooks/sarchasma-e-quraan-dr-teasdale-kaa-jawaab-abul-fida-mohammad-abdul-qadir-ebooks?lang=ur>.

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- ²⁷. Abū al-Fidā', *Sarchashmah-i-Qur'ān*, 6–7.
²⁸. Ibid, 7-8.
²⁹. Ibid, 9-10.
³⁰. Ibid, 12.
³¹. Ibid, 14-15.
³². Ibid, 19-21.
³³. Ibid, 289-290, 292.
³⁴. Ibid, 294.
³⁵. Ibid, 303-304.
³⁶. Ibid, 311–312.
³⁷. Ibid, 15.
³⁸. Tisdall, *The Original Sources of Qur'an*, 91-92.
³⁹. J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 51.
⁴⁰. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha: Gospels and Related Writings*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed., vol. 1 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 421.
⁴¹. Cornelia B. Horn, "Apocrypha on Jesus' Life in the Early Islamic Milieu: From Syriac into Arabic," in *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam L. Hjälm (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 61.
⁴². Stephen J. Shoemaker, "Christmas in the Qur'an: The Qur'ānic Account of Jesus' Nativity and Palestinian Local Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 28 (2003): 18.