

THIS FILE IS MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE DECLASSIFICATION EFFORTS AND RESEARCH OF:

THE BLACK VAULT

THE BLACK VAULT IS THE LARGEST ONLINE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT / GOVERNMENT RECORD CLEARING HOUSE IN THE WORLD. THE RESEARCH EFFORTS HERE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECLASSIFICATION OF THOUSANDS OF DOCUMENTS THROUGHOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, AND ALL CAN BE DOWNLOADED BY VISITING:

[HTTP://WWW.BLACKVAULT.COM](http://www.blackvault.com)

YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO FORWARD THIS DOCUMENT TO YOUR FRIENDS, BUT PLEASE KEEP THIS IDENTIFYING IMAGE AT THE TOP OF THE .PDF SO OTHERS CAN DOWNLOAD MORE!

The Justifications for War and Peace in World Religions

Part I: Extracts, Summaries and Comparisons of Scriptures in the Abrahamic Religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism)

A. Walter Dorn

Anne Frances Cation

Canadian Forces College

Defence R&D Canada – Toronto

Contract Report

DRDC Toronto CR 2009-125

July 2009

Principal Author

Original signed by A. Walter Dorn

A. Walter Dorn

Associate Professor of Defence Studies, Canadian Forces College

Approved by

Original signed by Dr. David R. Mandel

Dr. David R. Mandel

Group Leader, Thinking, risk, and Intelligence Group

Approved for release by

Original signed by Carol McCann

Carol McCann

Section Head, Adversarial Intent Section

- © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence,
© Sa Majesté la Reine (en droit du Canada), telle que représentée par le ministre de la Défense nationale,

Abstract

One of the most important decisions by any nation or armed group is when, if ever, to wage war or engage with armed force. Such life-and-death judgements are usually informed by and sometimes determined by ethical principles and religious beliefs. The world religions provide guidelines on when armed force is justified. Are the permissions and prohibitions similar among religions? The present work seeks to map out the spectrum of religious approaches to armed force, as expressed in the scriptures of the world's largest religions. Through the interpretations of religious scriptures vary considerably, the texts themselves provide a sense of each religion's approach to the issue. Expressing values from absolute pacifism, where armed force is not permissible under any circumstances, to strong militancy, where armed force is readily adopted, this research compiles, compares and contrasts scriptural passages. Along with the associated DRDC report, it presents a *tour d'horizon* of the basic scriptures of seven world religions. The present report, constituting Part I of the work, analyses three Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) and the companion report, Part II, covers religions of Indic origin (Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism). The chosen scriptures from each religion are briefly introduced and the relevant verses are extracted, categorized and summarized. This makes possible, in each religion, the juxtaposition of passages justifying the use of force with passages that suggest the opposite. More broadly, in Part II, a comparison of approaches is presented in both a descriptive and a schematic fashion to illustrate the differences between the scriptures within each religion and the differences between the religions. This variance is illustrated in Part II by locating religious scriptures along the spectrum of force. Furthermore, the religious approaches can be compared by examining how they answer the basic questions about war: Why? Who? When? Where? What? How?

Résumé

Une des décisions les plus importantes pour n'importe quelle nation ou pour n'importe quel groupe armé consiste à déterminer les circonstances qui justifient, s'il en existe, de faire la guerre ou de s'engager dans une intervention armée. Or, le règlement de telles questions de vie ou de mort repose habituellement sur des principes éthiques et des croyances religieuses. Les grandes religions du monde donnent en effet des lignes directrices sur les situations où l'emploi de la force armée peut être jugé légitime. Mais les permissions et les interdictions à cet égard se ressemblent-elles d'une religion à l'autre? Le présent ouvrage a pour objet de décrire le spectre des positions concernant l'usage de la force armée qui sont exprimées dans les saintes écritures des grandes religions du monde. Certes, les interprétations de ces écritures peuvent varier considérablement, mais les textes eux-mêmes donnent une bonne idée de la position de chaque religion sur la question. Passant des valeurs prônées dans le cadre d'un pacifisme absolu, où l'emploi de la force armée n'est admis sous aucun prétexte, jusqu'au militantisme le plus convaincu, qui adopte sans réserve l'usage de la force armée, cette étude compile et compare différents passages des saintes écritures pour mettre en relief les contrastes constatés. De concert avec le rapport connexe de Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada, on effectue un tour d'horizon des livres sacrés de sept grandes religions du monde. Le présent document, qui constitue la partie I de l'ouvrage, se penche sur trois religions abrahamiques, à savoir le

christianisme, l'islam et le judaïsme, alors que le document d'accompagnement, la partie II, porte sur les religions qui tirent leurs origines du sous-continent indien, c'est-à-dire le bouddhisme, l'hindouisme, le jainisme et le sikhisme. Les écritures retenues pour chacune des religions sont brièvement présentées, et les versets pertinents sont extraits, classés et résumés. Cela permet la juxtaposition, pour les différentes religions, des passages justifiant l'emploi de la force et de ceux qui préconisent le contraire. De façon plus générale, dans la partie II, on procède à une comparaison des approches, laquelle est expliquée d'une manière à la fois descriptive et schématique pour illustrer les différences entre les religions. Cette variation est représentée dans la partie II, les divers textes religieux se situant à différents endroits dans le spectre de la force. De plus, les positions des religions peuvent être confrontées les unes avec les autres au moyen d'un simple examen des réponses données aux questions élémentaires posées relativement à la guerre : Pourquoi? Qui? Quand? Où? Quoi? Comment?

Executive summary

The Justifications for War and Peace in World Religions

Part I: Extracts, Summaries and Comparisons of Scriptures in the Abrahamic Religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism)

Religious scriptures have often been used to justify a particular course of action, be it violent or peaceful. The identification and summary of relevant excerpts from religious scriptures is the immediate purpose of this work. Scripture is defined here as the most common document or documents to which the widest numbers of adherents consider as a foundational document of their faith. This report (Part I) compiles and summarizes scripture from the three largest Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The goal is to create a research and educational tool, through a compilation of scriptural extracts relevant to war and peace, which will promote the understanding of religious scriptures in the Canadian Forces and the wider world. The companion report (Part II) continues this comparative religious analysis, investigating the four most widespread religions of Indic origin: Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism. It concludes with comparisons of religious approaches, including a proposed model to position religious texts from all seven world religions along the spectrum of force.

In this report (Part I), each set of scriptural excerpts—from Judaism, Christianity and Islam—are provided with an introduction and summary. Subsections within each chapter address particular themes such as “peace in the community” or “permissions or reasons to fight.” In order to best facilitate the reading and comparing of scriptures, this report presents most excerpts in tabular form. Also, the quoted passages are presented in a different font (Garamond) than the other materials—i.e., introductions, commentary and summaries of scriptures. In addition, some key words in each excerpt are bolded or underlined for ease of scanning. Ultimately, this thorough comparative examination of Christian, Jewish and Islamic scriptures should help uncover the richness and diversity of scriptures and of the applicability of the Just War tradition in analyzing “the six Ws”: Why? Who? When? Where? What? and How?

This report can serve as a useful reference work on religious scriptures in relation to war and peace, as well as an analytical work which compares and contrasts different perspectives in scripture. A thorough literature review revealed the absence of any similar compilation of scriptural extracts or a comparison of the justifications for war and peace in the Abrahamic religions. Read alongside Part II, this work is almost certainly the only report which extends its scriptural analysis to four more world religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism. This research is centred in the field of religious studies, one of the humanities, but it touches upon the wider peace and security studies.

Sommaire

La justification de la guerre et de la paix dans les religions du monde

Partie I : Extraits, sommaires et comparaisons des textes sacrés des religions abrahamiques (christianisme, judaïsme et islam)

Les textes religieux ont souvent été utilisés pour justifier la prise de mesures particulières, qu'il s'agisse de violence ou d'actions pacifiques. Le présent ouvrage a pour objet premier de relever et de résumer les passages pertinents à cette fin dans les saintes écritures. Par cela, on entend ici les documents les plus couramment considérés par la majorité des fidèles d'une religion donnée comme le fondement de leur foi. Dans ce rapport (partie I), on trouve une compilation et un abrégé des textes sacrés pour les trois principales religions abrahamiques : le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'islam. L'objectif visé est de créer un outil de recherche et d'éducation au moyen de la réunion d'extraits de livres sacrés qui touchent les enjeux de la guerre et de la paix, favorisant ainsi la compréhension des saintes écritures des diverses religions au sein des Forces canadiennes et dans le monde en général. Le document d'accompagnement (partie II) poursuit l'analyse comparative en s'intéressant cette fois aux quatre religions d'origine indienne les plus répandues : le bouddhisme, l'hindouisme, le jaïnisme et le sikhisme. Le rapport se termine par des comparaisons entre les différentes approches religieuses et propose notamment un modèle situant les positions des sept grandes religions du monde dans le spectre de la force.

Dans le présent rapport (partie I), chaque ensemble d'extraits des écritures – textes sacrés du judaïsme, du christianisme et de l'islam – est présenté avec une introduction et un résumé. Les sections figurant dans chaque chapitre abordent des thèmes précis, comme la paix dans la collectivité, ou encore les permissions ou les raisons de s'engager dans un conflit. Pour faciliter la lecture du document et la comparaison entre les textes sacrés, la plupart des extraits sont présentés dans des tableaux. De plus, les citations textuelles sont indiquées par une police distincte (Garamond) de celle employée pour les autres éléments du document (p. ex., introductions, commentaires, résumés). Par ailleurs, certains mots clés dans chaque extrait ont été mis en gras ou sont soulignés afin de mieux en permettre le repérage. Ainsi, cette étude comparative exhaustive des écritures chrétiennes, juives et musulmanes devrait contribuer à mettre en lumière la richesse et la diversité des textes sacrés, de même que l'applicabilité du concept de guerre juste dans l'analyse des six questions fondamentales suivantes : Pourquoi? Qui? Quand? Où? Quoi? Comment?

Ce rapport peut s'avérer un ouvrage de référence utile pour illustrer le lien entre les livres sacrés et les enjeux de la guerre et de la paix, et se veut un document d'analyse permettant de comparer et de mettre en contraste les différentes perspectives religieuses. En effet, un examen minutieux de la littérature a révélé l'absence d'une compilation semblable d'extraits d'écritures sacrées ou d'une comparaison des justifications données pour faire la guerre ou pour préserver la paix dans les religions abrahamiques. Avec la partie II, il s'agit presque assurément du seul rapport à étendre sa portée à quatre autres grandes religions du monde, soit le bouddhisme, l'hindouisme, le jaïnisme et le sikhisme. Cette étude relève principalement du domaine des sciences religieuses, qui compte parmi les sciences humaines, mais elle touche également aux dossiers plus larges de la paix et de la sécurité.

Table of contents

Abstract	i
Résumé	i
Executive summary	iii
Sommaire	iv
Table of contents	v
List of figures	vii
List of tables	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
1 Introduction: The Lord as warrior or as source of peace?	1
1.1 Methodology	2
1.2 Source selection and definition of scripture	3
1.3 Methodological limitations.....	4
1.4 Overview	6
2 Christianity	8
2.1 The New Testament.....	8
2.1.1 Summary of passages.....	8
2.1.2 Extracts by theme	10
2.1.2.1 War, violence and force.....	10
2.1.2.2 Personal (individual) peace	11
2.1.2.3 Peace in the community	12
2.1.2.4 Peace of the nations and the world.....	14
2.1.2.5 Jesus as a pacifist (including alternative quotes).....	14
2.1.2.6 Jesus as a source of peace	17
2.1.2.7 War and fighting in the apocalypse.....	18
2.1.2.8 Christian work for peace	22
2.2 Doctrines and policies of several modern churches	22
2.2.1 Anglican (Anglican Church in Canada).....	23
2.2.1.1 Statement on the outbreak of the Gulf War	23
2.2.1.2 Letter to the Standing Committee on Defence and Veterans Affairs.....	25
2.2.2 Catholic Church.....	26
2.2.2.1 Extracts from the Catechism of the Catholic Church.....	27
2.2.3 Lutheran (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada).....	28
2.2.3.1 Statement of Peace	28
2.2.3.2 The Augsburg Confession.....	30
2.2.4 The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Interpretation of Just War	30
3 Islam	33

3.1	The Qur'ān.....	33
3.1.1	Summary	34
3.1.1.1	Permissions and reasons to fight (<i>ad bellum</i>).....	35
3.1.1.2	Admonishments and encouragements to fighters.....	35
3.1.1.3	Rules and permissions during fighting (<i>in bello</i>)	36
3.1.1.4	Restrictions on fighting (<i>in bello</i>)	36
3.1.2	Extracts.....	37
3.1.2.1	Why, when, who and where to fight (<i>Jus ad bellum</i>).....	37
3.1.2.2	Limitations on force	48
3.1.2.3	How to fight (<i>Jus in bello</i>)	52
3.1.2.4	Other aggression.....	55
3.1.2.5	Peace	59
4	Judaism	63
4.1	The Tanakh.....	63
4.1.1	Summary	64
4.1.2	Interpretations and commentaries	66
4.1.2.1	Commanded War (<i>milhemet mitzvah</i>).....	66
4.1.2.2	Permitted War (<i>milhamot reshut</i>).....	67
4.1.2.3	Forbidden war	68
4.1.3	Extracts.....	68
4.1.3.1	Commanded war (<i>milhemet mitzvah</i>)	68
4.1.3.2	Permitted war (<i>milhamot reshut</i>).....	74
4.1.3.4	Forbidden wars.....	80
4.1.3.4	Extreme actions during war.....	81
4.1.3.5	God as a warrior	85
4.1.3.6	Other wars/violence	88
4.1.3.7	Peace and non-violence before the Messianic era.....	99
4.1.3.8	Peace in the Messianic era	102
4.1.3.9	“How to fight” (Deuteronomy 20:1-20).....	105
4.2	Jerusalem Talmud: Sotah 8:10	107
4.2.1	Background	107
4.2.2	Extract	107
5	Interpretations and uses of scripture: two extreme cases.....	109
5.1	Pope Urban II's 1095 call to crusade.....	109
5.2	Osama bin Laden's major statements	115
5.2.1	Background	115
5.2.2	Scriptural quotations used by Osama bin Laden	116
5.2.3	Quoted Qur'ānic passages about fighting	124
5.2.4	Quoted Qur'ānic passages about limitations on force.....	126
6	Comparisons	128
6.1	Tabular comparison of religious approaches.....	128

7 Conclusion of Part I.....	133
References	136

List of figures

Figure 1.1: Largest world religions by percentage of global population	7
--	---

List of tables

Table 2.1: Anglican quotations on Just War conditions	23
Table 2.2: Catholic quotations on Just War conditions	27
Table 2.3: Lutheran quotations on Just War conditions	28
Table 2.4: Presbyterian quotations on Just War conditions	30
Table 5.1: Biblical references in Pope Urban II’s 1095 call to crusade.....	109
Table 5.2: Scriptural quotations used by Osama bin Laden on all themes	116
Table 6.1: Justifications for war and fighting in the scriptures of Judaism and Islam.....	128

Acknowledgements

The principal investigator/author thanks the Adversarial Intent section of DRDC Toronto for financial and moral support. In particular, Dr. David Mandel provided valuable assistance and exhibited great patience as this exploration grew to larger dimensions. The principal author also thanks the excellent research assistant, Anne Frances Cation who worked on the scriptures of the Abrahamic religions. Her skill and efficiency in finding passages from these scriptures, in tabulating them and drafting text proved remarkable and a constant inspiration. This manuscript was also reviewed by the research assistants for the larger project, who also contributed much to development of the thinking on comparative religions: Raj Balkaran, Seth Feldman, Courtney Hood and Stephen Gucciardi. Also valued is the manuscript review and copy editing done by Cameron Harrington and Erika Simpson. The encouragement of experts in the field, particularly James Turner Johnson, Gregory Reichberg and Vesselin Popovsky, at various points during the course of the work is also much appreciated.

1 Introduction: The Lord as warrior or as source of peace?¹

Religious scriptures have frequently been used to justify or oppose the use of armed force and the resort to violence. Throughout history, one can find many instances of scriptural passages being cited to either foster peace or reinforce adversarial intent and encourage participation in warfare. Religious figures from the Abrahamic faiths, past and present, provide significant examples of the latter. In the eleventh century, Catholic Pope Urban II famously called for a Crusade to the “holy land” by referencing a passage found in the New Testament: “If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.”² More contemporarily, when declaring a *jihad* in 1998, Osama bin Laden quoted a section of a Qur’ānic surah: “When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them.”³ Similarly, the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defence League,⁴ quoted a line from the Tanakh, “A G-d of vengeance is the L-rd,” to explain that no other trait, under certain circumstances, is more justifiable than revenge.⁵

Non-extremist figures, religious and secular, have also referenced scripture to find authority and inspiration for either war or peace. For instance, in a widely hailed speech in June 2009, US President Barack Obama sought to reach out to the Muslim world by quoting from the Qur’ān to show that Islam does not condone the killing of innocents.⁶ Knowledge of the scriptural sources is

¹ The title is based on two passages from Abrahamic scriptures to illustrate two approaches: “The LORD is a warrior” (Exodus 15:3, New International Version) and a Qur’anic quotation, which holds that Allah is “the Source of Peace” (59:23, Yusufali trans.).

² Urban II referenced Matthew 16:24, Mark 8:34 and Luke 9:23. The Gesta Version. The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials. 2nd ed. Edward Peters, ed. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1998). p. 25.

³ Surah 9:5. Osama bin Laden, “Declaration of *Jihad*,” Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden, ed. Bruce Lawrence (New York City: Verso, 23 August 1996) 59. Another relevant example follows: Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, in describing the foundations of a military spirit likewise referenced scripture, the Qur’an: “when a decisive Surah (explaining and ordering things) is sent down, and fighting is mentioned (i.e. ordained) therein, you will see those in whose hearts is a disease (of hypocrisy) looking at you with a look of one fainting to death.” Source: Surat-Muhammad, Number 47, Ayah 20. Hasan al-Banna. “Jihad” Young Muslims Online Library. Accessed 12 August 2008. Available: http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/#all_muslims

⁴ Backgrounder: The Jewish Defence League. Anti-Defamation League. Accessed: 15 August 2008. Available: http://www.adl.org/extremism/jdl_chron.asp

⁵ Psalm 94:1. Meir Kahane. “On Revenge,” Kahane Was Right. Accessed 11 August 2008. Available: <http://www.kahanetzadok.com/revenge.html>. See also Isaiah 34:8.

⁶ “The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind. And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind.” Obama Barack. “Remarks by the President on a New Beginning.” Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt: 4 June 2009. Available: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-Cairo-University-6-04-09.

Obama’s predecessor, President George W. Bush, was known to be strongly influenced by Biblical passages. In fact, the “World Wide Intelligence Update” provided daily by then-US Secretary of Defence often used biblical passages on its front cover, presumably to influence the President or other White House officials. For instance, a 20 March 2003 Update showed US soldiers and fighting vehicles below the quote “‘Their arrows are sharp, all their bows are strung, their horses’ hoofs seem like flint, their chariot wheels are like a whirlwind.’ Isaiah 5:28.” Similarly, an update (31 March 2003) showed a US tank at sunset

useful to those who wish to enter into dialogue among civilizations, religions or with religiously-inspired combatants and their supporters. It is also useful to those who seek to understand and analyse the motivations and justifications for war or peace. Knowing the reasons for the recourse to war or violence and the alleged scriptural support can contribute to the peace process by providing insight into the combatants' personal justifications. Furthermore, mediators and negotiators may choose to challenge extremists' scriptural interpretations favouring war by presenting alternative passages from scripture that offer a more peaceful perspective.

Comparisons across religions are also valuable because the similarities and differences of scriptural approaches may help foster a deeper understanding among religious adherents from different groups and provide greater insight into the human condition. The goal of this report is to facilitate the reader's understanding of, and ability to analyze and compare, scriptural justifications for war and peace. Through its compilation of scriptural excerpts and accompanying summaries, it aims to create a research and educational tool which will promote reading and understanding of religious scriptures within the Canadian population at large, and the Canadian Forces in particular.

1.1 Methodology

The authors of this report adopted a linguistic basis, keywords, to begin their compilation of religious scripture. (This report's definition of scripture is detailed below in section 1.2). Keyword searches of the Qur'ān, Tanakh and New Testament, first directed the authors towards relevant excerpts.⁷ The keywords are listed in each chapter before the tabulated excerpts from each scripture. The keywords were chosen to be appropriate for the scripture so as to obtain as many relevant hits as possible. The texts surrounding these keywords were likewise reviewed for relevant content.

In addition, secondary articles containing scriptural references were cited.⁸ As the scriptures were analyzed using English translations, not the original language(s), the authors used various translations during their searching and compiling. For more about the scriptural translations, as well as the authors' use of multiple translations, see section 1.3.

In addition to grouping the excerpts under general headings, a common classification system for the excerpts, shown in sections 2.1.2, 3.1.2 and 4.1.3, was designed to link thematically the excerpts to basic themes without impairing readability of the excerpts. The classification is

beneath the quote "Therefore put on the full armor of God, so that when the day of evil comes, you may be able to stand your ground, and after you have done everything, to stand." Ephesians 6:13." See: Sanger, David E. "Biblical Quotes Said to Adorn Pentagon Reports," New York Times, 17 May 2009, Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/18/us/18rumfeld.html>, which refers to the website <http://men.style.com/gq/features/topsecret> ("Onward Christian Soldiers").

⁷ For the Qur'ān, see: "USC-MSA Qur'ān Database" of the University of Southern California—Muslim Student Association, "Compendium of Muslims Texts" available at www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran (list by chapter), Search engine: www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/reference/searchquran.html; "Searchable Bible: King James Version" <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kjv/simple.html> ; and an online Biblical Concordance: www.BibleGateway.com

⁸ See, for instance: "An Index to the Qur'an." Centre for Muslim-Jewish Engagement. Accessed 25 May 2009. Available: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/quran/quranindex.html>

provided in the far right-hand side of each excerpt for further reference. Classical Just War tradition informed the development of the classification system. However, all effort was taken to let the scriptural excerpts speak for themselves.

The overall intention of this methodological approach is to offer a primary source exposition that is as thematically comprehensive as possible given the length and scope of these scriptures. One of this method's strengths is that it allows an overview of direct source materials along with a basic classification that aids analysis. The work seeks to increase the accessibility of these passages, which have gained increased salience in practice as well as in the literature on war and peace. Thus this exposition should be of interest to researchers and practitioners, the general Canadian population at large, and the Canadian Forces in particular.

1.2 Source selection and definition of scripture

Academically and religiously there is a wide diversity of opinion about the definition of "scripture." Scripture is defined here pragmatically as the most common document or documents to which the widest numbers of religious adherents from a particular religion refer. In Islam, the Qur'ān has a clear position of authority. Islam has a number of other religious sources, including Hadiths and Islamic law commentaries but these are of varying authority and, in some cases, debatable authenticity. In addition to the Sunni-Shiite bifurcation, Islam is divided into various legal schools, each interpreting and commenting upon the vast Hadith differently. In fact, Islam's notable diversity has even led to difficulty in defining 'Islam.' Nevertheless, the Qur'ān is cited across Islamic legal schools as not only the primary source but also as an infallible work. It will be considered here, as elsewhere, to be Islam's central scripture.⁹

Judaism also possesses a rich scriptural history and several religious branches.¹⁰ Likewise, there is an immense pool of scriptural analysis and commentary, whose level of authority varies among the branches of the Judaism. However, the Tanakh is the most authoritative source in Judaism, consisting of three sections: the Torah, containing the five books from Genesis to Deuteronomy, which form the most famous part of the Tanakh; the Nevi'im, which is translated as 'Prophets,' and contains books from Joshua to Malachi, and the Kethuvim, which is translated as 'Writings,' and contains the books from Psalms through 2 Chronicles.¹¹ There are a number of associative commentaries for the Tanakh, the most famous of which is the Talmud. The Talmud has two components: the Mishnah, the recorded oral tradition, which serves to apply the laws of the Torah and which is believed to stem from Moses, and the Gemara, the later commentary on the Mishnah. There are two Gemaras that comment on the same Mishnah, making the two Talmuds, the early Palestinian/Jerusalem Talmud (c. 4th-5th Century C.E.) and the later, more complete, Babylonian Talmud (c. 6th Century C.E.).¹² While the Babylonian Talmud is considered the more authoritative work in Judaism and provides a wider basis for the Jewish legal tradition than the

⁹ This statement is briefly repeated at the beginning of the section of Qur'an Extracts.

¹⁰ Modern Judaism has a number of different branches: Conservative, Reform, and Orthodox, and further subdivisions including Haredi and Dati.

¹¹ Harris, Stephen L. and Robert L. Platzner. The Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 2003) 3-4.

¹² Alan F. Segal, A Concise Introduction to World Religions, eds. Willard G. Oxtoby and Alan F. Segal (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 2007) 84-85.

older and more fragmented Palestinian Talmud,¹³ both Talmuds are referenced frequently throughout Judaism. Consequently, the Tanakh and both Talmuds are considered here to be authoritative scripture for Judaism.

Identifying Christianity's scripture is also straightforward because of the widespread usage across Christian denominations of the Bible, and in particular the New Testament. However, the respective roles of the New and Old Testaments are debated within Christianity. For this study, the difference between the two is even more problematic. In the New Testament, there is a notable lack of references to war or to any advocacy of armed force. In fact, the New Testament is explicit in urging Christians not to kill, not to be violent against others and even not to resist evil.¹⁴ The Old Testament, by contrast, deals directly with war and contains many examples of authorized wars and sanctioned violence. For instance, Joshua leads the Israelites in wars of conquest in Canaan.¹⁵ The closest reference to justified force in the New Testament is when Jesus states that the purchase of two swords is sufficient.¹⁶ Nevertheless, using scripture to justify violence has occurred in Christianity, as exemplified by Pope Urban II's above mentioned quote (see section 5.2 for further quotes). Certainly, many Christians use the New Testament and the Tanakh, which they call the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible, to justify violence. However, the varying usage of the Tanakh and the inclusion of other books in certain denominations, such as the Catholic deuterocanonical books,¹⁷ encourage a denomination-specific approach in Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church's authoritative Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC), which presents a definitive "collection of doctrinal statements and pastoral norms,"¹⁸ is especially useful because it deals directly with war. The CCC provides guidelines commonly labelled as Just War theory. The Just War ideas have become such a predominant part of Christian and Western thought that it is worthwhile to identify some religious documents which elucidate or support the concept. Using the 'Just War' framework, the statements of several churches will also be examined.

1.3 Methodological limitations

Scripture is considered the heart of many religions. Apart from being a source of inspiration and guidance, it assures consistency over generations of adherents and across wide areas in different communities. However, the limitations of direct scriptural analysis must be acknowledged. Various religious schools interpret religious scripture differently, often with the guidance of secondary texts, which can be unique to particular religious schools. An analysis of the great many interpretations of religious scripture is beyond the purview of this work, or any work, due both to the lack of materials and the plethora of opinion. Instead, this study provides a modest

¹³ Firestone, "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows'," 959.

¹⁴ Rom. 13:9; Luke 3:14; 2 Cor. 10:3-4.

¹⁵ See the book of Kings in the Tanakh and the Bible. Similarly instances of fighting are found in the Qur'ān, which describes Muhammad leading in battle, for example, with the Medians against the Quraish at the Battles of Badr and Uhud, see Chapters 3 and 8 in Qur'ān.

¹⁶ Luke 22:38. Apocalyptic references, such as the Book of Revelation, are not included in this statement.

¹⁷ These deuterocanonical books are largely agreed to include: Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach/Ben Sira, Baruch, 1 & 2 Maccabees and additions to the books of Esther and Daniel.

¹⁸ John Paul II. *Fidei Depositum: On the Publication of the Catechism of the Catholic Church Prepared Following the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council*. (Holy Vatican See: 1992). 18 January 2008. Available: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_19921011_fidei-depositum_en.html

exegetic interpretation of the various justifications of war and violence using the words as close as possible to what is presented in the scriptures. The authors caution, however, against simple “proof-texting,” the superficial use of quotations taken out of context, especially when made to sound like authoritative references on a given subject. When texts are used without fan understanding of the context of the writings and the writers, the original meaning can be lost and the value for dialogue diminished. Still, the collection of passages can reveal much about a religion’s basic approach to the subject of war and peace.

It is also important to note the methodological limitations of using English translations. For some religious adherents, particularly Muslims, when the Qur’ān is translated from its original Arabic, the resulting scripture loses its authority and is no longer considered to be the literal word of God.¹⁹ While the use of English instead of the original language is necessary for the present work because of its intended audience and the authors’ linguistic abilities, the potential spiritual and religious differences between original and translated texts must be recognized. In addition, some languages, Arabic in particular, are difficult to translate into English, resulting in wide discrepancies between translations. Accordingly, this study’s compilation of Qur’ānic quotations incorporates three major English translations: those of Abdullah Yusufali (also spelled as Yusuf’Ali), Marmaduke Mohammad Pickthall and Mohammad Habib Shakir. Yusufali’s 1937 translation was, until recently, the most popular English translation, and it has been adopted as the official translation by the Saudi government. Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall’s early twentieth century translation is considered a classic translation, and Muhammad Shakir’s more modern 1987 translation draws heavily from Pickthall’s translation.²⁰

Two translations of the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible) are, likewise, presented: the 1985 New Jewish Publication Society (NJPS) and the New International Version (NIV). The NJPS translation is generally maintained to be the best Jewish source for English-speaking audiences. The publisher of the NJPS, the Jewish Publication Society (JPS), is the oldest English publisher of Jewish works. The original 1917 JPS translation, which was later updated as the NJPS, was hailed as the first time since the third century B.C.E. that such a wide committee of Jewish scholars gathered together to produce a translation of the Tanakh. The NIV is not a Jewish translation but a primarily Protestant Christian translation, which also includes the New Testament. Nevertheless, it is one of the most accepted English translations of the Old and New Testaments, both academically and popularly, and arguably underwent the most rigorous process of review and revision of any Bible translation. In the Christianity section, the NIV is supplemented by the King James Version (KJV) because of that translation’s widespread usage and popularity.

Being a religious studies exercise and not a social science analysis, the assignment of Just War themes to the passages was not subjected to the usual tests of social scientific scrutiny—namely, determining the level of inter-rater reliability using standard approaches such as independent review and quantitative analysis of reliability such as correlation, percent correct, or some other measure of agreement. The Just War themes are added to help make future links to more general

¹⁹ The Qur'an. Compilation of Yusufali, Pickthall and Shakir trans. in “USC-MSA Qur'an Database” of the University of Southern California-Muslim Student Association’s Compendium of Muslim Texts. Available: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/>

²⁰ Mohammed, Khaleel. “Assessing English Translations of the Qur'an.” The Middle East Quarterly 12.2. (Spring 2005).

themes. Future research could, however, develop the present exercise in that direction by examining inter-rater reliability and developing a more standard set of coding guidelines.

1.4 Overview

Using the aforementioned guidelines for scriptural analysis, this work examines the scriptures of three Abrahamic religions, presenting excerpts that deal with war, armed force, violence and peace. Due to the sheer volume of excerpts and to assist in the visual and electronic scanning of the texts, the majority of this work is presented in tabular form. Such tabulated excerpts also help to prevent this report's authors from imposing or suggesting interpretations of the excerpts, thus allowing readers to more directly engage with the material. This is thought to be the first compilation and comparison of scriptural passages from the three Abrahamic religions dealing with armed force, and, when read alongside Part II, it almost certainly is the only report which extends its scriptural compilation to four more world religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism.

In addition to this reference material, brief summaries of each scripture are added, and some short background guides to the tables or short explanations of the documents are also provided. Also the quoted passages are presented in a different font (Garamond) than the commentary and summary. Certain words in the excerpts have also been bolded for emphasis and ease of browsing. Underlining has been used for extra emphasis. Round brackets are from the original, whereas square brackets are minor and infrequent additions or commentary by the authors of this work.

The speeches of two diverse yet particularly militant religious figures in history, Pope Urban II and Osama bin Laden, have also been analysed using a similar tabular format. The tables show the respective applications of scripture, and thus serve to demonstrate some extreme uses – or misuses – of scriptural passages.

To reiterate, while this first research report focuses on Abrahamic religions, the associated report “The Justifications for War and Peace in Indic-Origin Religions,” comparatively analyses Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism. Thus, both reports taken together analyse the world's largest religions. These religions are listed by percentage of world population in Figure 1.1.

This chart shows the religions covered in this work: religions having over five million adherents. Jainism, with approximately five million followers, is important for this study because it is based on non-violence, forming an important pole on the force spectrum. It also has a marked influence on other religions, including Buddhism and Hinduism, particularly through the works of Mahatma Gandhi. Other smaller religions have so far been omitted due to time and space constraints.

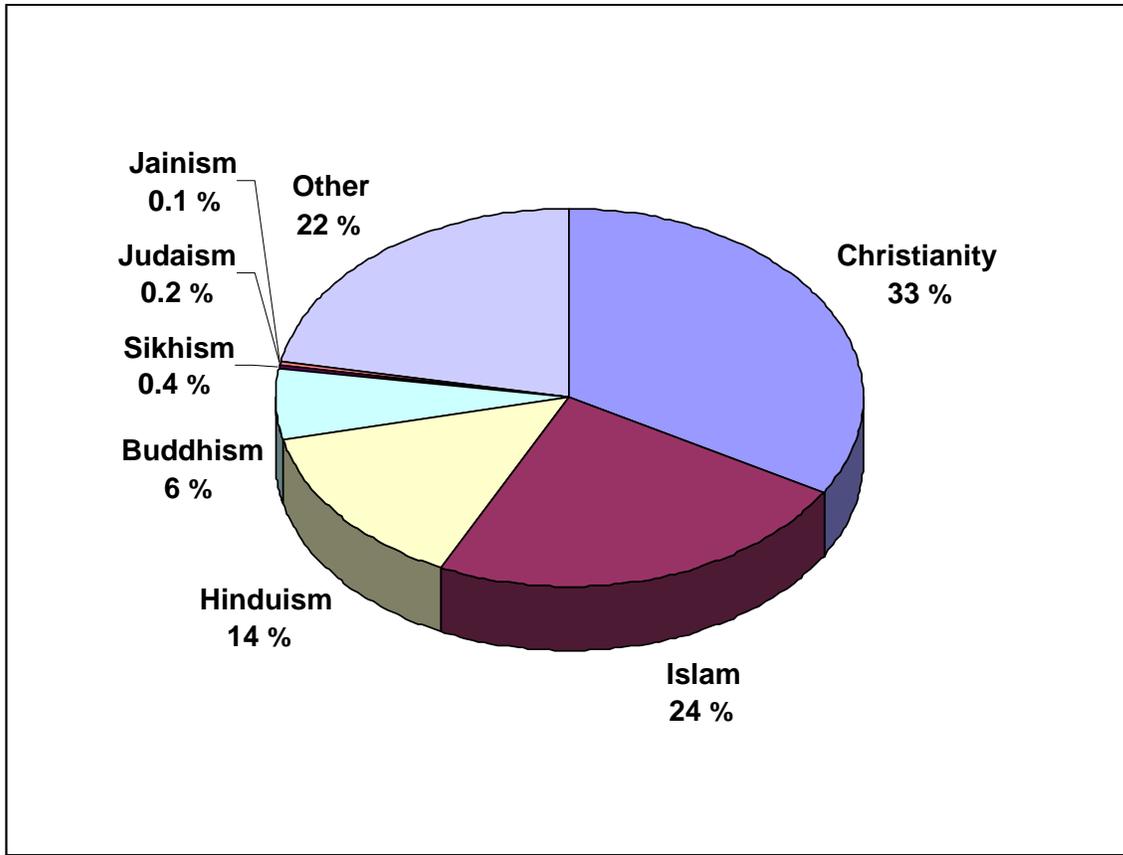


Figure 1.1: Largest world religions by percentage adherents of global population²¹

Lastly, the methods used in these reports—extracting, summarizing and preliminary analysis—are the first steps in a wider examination of religious approaches to the use of force. Later, the variety of interpretations, schools of thought, religious sects, leaders and religio-cultural practices may also be added. In this work, the authors aim to stimulate further analysis and discourse regarding religions and themes of war and peace. This study may serve as a reference source of scriptural passages and thus facilitate the field of comparative religion.

²¹ Data from the website Adherents.Com, where the sources for the various estimates are also provided (http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html). Included in the “Other” category here are the following groups with over a billion adherents in total: Secular/Nonreligious/Agnostic/Atheist; Chinese traditional; primal-indigenous; African Traditional & Diasporic; Juche; Spiritism; Baha’i; Shinto; Cao Dai; Zoroastrianism; Tenrikyo and Neo-Paganism.

2 Christianity

The Christian Bible is the principal scripture of the Christian faith. The Bible is divided into the Old Testament (also known as the Hebrew Bible) and the New Testament, the latter dealing with the life and teachings of Jesus and his apostles. These two parts provide substantially different treatments of the subject of war and violence. Since the Old Testament is virtually identical to the main scripture of Judaism, the Tanakh, the extracts and a summary thereof are provided in the Judaism chapter. The common Bible text provides an important source for Christian interpretation and inspiration, despite the contrast to the New Testament.

There are several dozen English versions of the Bible and over twenty versions are available at www.biblegateway.com. The New International Version (NIV) is usually considered a scholarly version of the Bible but the King James Version (KJV) is in widespread and popular use. Both the NIV and KJV are sourced for the New Testament quotes in this chapter.

This chapter briefly explains the New Testament sources used and summarizes its excerpts relating to peace and war. The New Testament's scriptural excerpts follow. This, in turn, is followed by excerpts from several church doctrines which investigate the justifications for war in several modern Canadian Christian churches. These doctrines show some applications of the Christian scriptural excerpts.

2.1 The New Testament²²

For the extracting process, the King James Version (KJV) of the Bible was accessed electronically and searches were done using the search engine at quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kjv/simple.html. The New Testament passages were extracted using the following search terms: war, peace, violence, harm, just*, fight*, sword, force, soldier, centurion, etc, where the asterisks (*) represents any additional letters. The corresponding NIV passages were added later.

2.1.1 Summary of passages

The New Testament is filled with exhortations not to kill,²³ not to wield the sword,²⁴ not to do violence to others²⁵ and not to wage physical wars.²⁶ Instead, any lusts and desires for fighting are to be overcome.²⁷ John the Baptist advises soldiers to “do violence to no man.”²⁸ Jesus asks his followers to love God and their neighbours²⁹—and even their enemies.³⁰ He recommends that

²² This section was written by A. Walter Dorn, except for section 2.2, which was authored by Anne Frances Cation under the supervision of A. Walter Dorn.

²³ Matt. 5:21; Rom. 13:9

²⁴ Matt. 26:52

²⁵ Luke 3:14

²⁶ 2 Cor. 10:3-4

²⁷ James 4:1-2

²⁸ Luke 3:14

²⁹ Matt.19:19

they be gentle with all,³¹ express goodwill towards all and enmity against none.³² His followers should be willing to turn the other cheek,³³ and to overcome evil with only good and not with further evil.³⁴

The New Testament asks followers to “imitate Christ,”³⁵ to “live in peace with all men,”³⁶ and abide in peace,³⁷ which is “the fruit of the Spirit.”³⁸ This “peace of God that passeth understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.”³⁹ The “risen Christ” is described as saying to his disciples after his resurrection “Peace be with you,”⁴⁰ so Christians are to share this peace and love with others. They have the opportunity to be a channel of God’s peace, knowing that blessings come from being a peacemaker.⁴¹ At the same time, Christians are told to respect the public ruler, who is given authority by God and who “beareth not the sword in vain” as a “revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.”⁴² So the use of force by an authority is acknowledged.

In the New Testament, Jesus states that one must live *in* the world even if one is not to be *of* this world, and he tells his followers to give unto Caesar what is Caesar’s,⁴³ meeting with practical necessities, which might presumably include the use of force. In an angry moment, Jesus himself fashions a whip “of small cords” to chase money changers from the temple.⁴⁴ In one passage and instance just before his arrest, Jesus recommends the purchase of a sword,⁴⁵ and when his disciples show him two swords, he states they are sufficient.⁴⁶ In a parable, he suggests that fully armed guards are necessary for protection and peace.⁴⁷ At another time, Jesus enigmatically states: “I came not to send peace, but a sword.”⁴⁸ Apart from these few excerpts, there appears to be no direct endorsement or advocacy for the use of armed force in the teachings or practice of Jesus. In the New Testament, the overwhelming message is one of peace and pacifism.

The apocalyptic vision in the Book of Revelation includes descriptions of violence unmatched anywhere else in the New Testament in scale and intensity. This violence, though, does not have human origin, but rather, it is between divine and satanic forces. It is exerted by divine authority, coming at the end of the world. Quite clearly, it is messianic and eschatological, in other words,

³⁰ Matt. 5:43

³¹ 2 Tim. 2:24

³² Matt. 5; Heb. 12:14

³³ Matt. 5:39; Luke 6:29

³⁴ Matt. 5:39; Rom. 12:14 and 12:21

³⁵ 1 Cor. 11:1b

³⁶ Heb 12

³⁷ 2 Cor. 13:11

³⁸ Galatians 5:22

³⁹ Phil. 4:7

⁴⁰ John 20:19

⁴¹ Matt. 5:9; James 3:18

⁴² Rom. 13:3-4

⁴³ Matt. 22:17-21

⁴⁴ John 2:15

⁴⁵ Luke 22:36, and in 22:37, Jesus gives a reason: “For I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me.”

⁴⁶ Luke 22:38

⁴⁷ Luke 11:21

⁴⁸ Matt. 10:34. Luke 12:51 uses the word “division” rather than “sword.”

dealing with prophesy of the final battle at Armageddon. Its provisions on war are not said to be applicable to human-waged warfare, though this point is debated by a few groups within Christianity. In any case, the passages are worth knowing about, even if the meaning is unclear.

2.1.2 Extracts by theme

In the tabulation of extracts, the following abbreviations for Just War criteria have been used in order to make parallels with the Just War themes, where applicable:

- JC: Just Cause
- LA: Legitimate authority
- LR: Last Resort
- P: Proportionality
- RI: Right Intent

2.1.2.1 War, violence and force⁴⁹

Verse	Quotation from King James Version (KJV)	Quotation from the New International Version (NIV)	Just War Parallel
Matt. 11:12	And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.	From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven has been forcefully advancing, and forceful men lay hold of it.	
Matt. 19:18-19	Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder , Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.	"Which ones?" the man inquired. Jesus replied, " Do not murder , do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not give false testimony, honor your father and mother,' and ' love your neighbor as yourself. "	
Matt. 26:52	Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.	"Put your sword back in its place," Jesus said to him, "for all who draw the sword will die by the sword.	
John 6:15	When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force , to make him a king , he departed again into a mountain himself alone.	Jesus, knowing that they intended to come and make him king by force , withdrew again to a mountain by himself.	
Matt. 24:4-7;	And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive	Jesus answered: 'Watch out that no one deceives you. For many will come in my	

⁴⁹ Paul of Tarsus, commonly held to be a major author of New Testament epistles, uses military metaphors on several occasions, for instance: "Who goeth a **warfare** [as a soldier] any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" (1 Cor. 9:7); "But let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the **breastplate** of faith and love; and for a **helmet**, the hope of salvation" (1 Thes. 5:8); "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good **soldier** of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a **soldier**" (2 Tim. 2:3-4).

24:6 similar to Mark 13:7 and Luke 21:9	you. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars : see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation , and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.	name, claiming, 'I am the Christ,' and will deceive many. You will hear of wars and rumors of wars , but see to it that you are not alarmed. Such things must happen, but the end is still to come. Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom . There will be famines and earthquakes in various places.'	
---	--	--	--

2.1.2.2 Personal (individual) peace

Verse	KJV	NIV	Just War Parallel
Matt. 10:28	And fear not them which kill the body , but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell .	Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. Rather, be afraid of the One who can destroy both soul and body in hell .	
John 16:33	These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace . In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.	'I have told you these things, so that in me you may have peace . In this world you will have trouble. But take heart! I have overcome the world.'	
Rom. 8:6	For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace .	The mind of sinful man is death, but the mind controlled by the Spirit is life and peace ;	RI
2 Cor. 13:11	Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace ; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.	Finally, brothers, good-bye. Aim for perfection, listen to my appeal, be of one mind, live in peace . And the God of love and peace will be with you.	RI
Gal. 5:22	But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace , patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness	But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace , patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness,	
2 Tim 2:22-25	Flee also youthful lusts : but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace , with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart. But foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes. And the servant of the Lord must not strive ; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth;	Flee the evil desires of youth , and pursue righteousness, faith, love and peace , along with those who call on the Lord out of a pure heart. Don't have anything to do with foolish and stupid arguments, because you know they produce quarrels. And the Lord's servant must not quarrel ; instead, he must be kind to everyone, able to teach, not resentful. Those who oppose him he must gently instruct, in the hope that God will grant them repentance leading them to a knowledge of the truth,	RI

Jude 1:2	May mercy, peace , and love be multiplied to you.	Mercy, peace and love be yours in abundance.	
----------	--	---	--

2.1.2.3 Peace in the community

Verse	KJV	NIV	Just War Parallel
Matt. 5:9	Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.	Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God.	RI
Matt. 5:38-40	Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also.	“You have heard that it was said, 'Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth.' But I tell you, Do not resist an evil person. If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if someone wants to sue you and take your tunic, let him have your cloak as well.	JC RI
Matt. 7:1, similarly Luke 6:37	Judge not, that ye be not judged.	Do not judge, or you too will be judged.	JC RI
John 7:24	Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.	Stop judging by mere appearances, and make a right judgment.	RI
Matt. 18:21-22	Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.	Then Peter came to Jesus and asked, ‘Lord, how many times shall I forgive my brother when he sins against me? Up to seven times?’ Jesus answered, ‘I tell you, not seven times, but seventy-seven times.’	JC LR
Rom. 13:9	The law says, ‘Do not commit adultery. Do not kill. Do not steal. Do not want things that belong to other people.’ These laws and others are all in this one law: ‘Love your neighbour as you love yourself.’	The commandments, ‘Do not commit adultery,’ ‘Do not murder,’ ‘Do not steal,’ ‘Do not covet,’ and whatever other commandment there may be, are summed up in this one rule: ‘Love your neighbor as yourself.’	JC
Luke 10:5	And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house.	When you enter a house, first say, ‘Peace to this house.’	RI
2 Tim 2:24	And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient.	And the Lord's servant must not quarrel; instead, he must be kind to everyone, able to teach, not resentful.	
Heb. 12:14	Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.	Make every effort to live in peace with all men and to be holy; without holiness no one will see the Lord.	
Rom 14:19	Let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding.	Let us therefore make every effort to do what leads to peace and to mutual	JC

		edification.	
1 Thess. 5:13	[T]o esteem them very highly in love because of their work. Be at peace among yourselves.	Hold them in the highest regard in love because of their work. Live in peace with each other.	
Matt. 5:43-44; also see Luke 6:27	Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies , bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.	'You have heard that it was said, 'Love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I tell you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you	RI
Matt. 22:17 and Matt. 22:21; similarly Mark 12:17 and Luke 20:25	Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not? [...]They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's ; and unto God the things that are God's.	Tell us then, what is your opinion? Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar or not? [...] "Caesar's," they replied. Then he said to them, " Give to Caesar what is Caesar's , and to God what is God's."	JC
Rom 13:1-2; 13:4	Every person must obey the rulers over him. Every ruler has his power from God. And the rulers are put there by God. So anyone who fights against the ruler, fights against what God put there. And those who fight will be punished. [...] Such a person is God's servant and will do what is good for you. But if you do what is wrong, you should fear him. He has great power and he will use it. He is God's servant and will punish those who do wrong.	Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted , and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves. [...] For he is God's servant to do you good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword for nothing. He is God's servant, an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer.	RA
Hebrew 12:14	Make every effort to live in peace with all men and to be holy ; without holiness no one will see the Lord.	Follow peace with all men, and holiness , without which no man shall see the Lord:	
James 3:17-18	But the wisdom that comes from heaven is first of all pure; then peace-loving , considerate, submissive, full of mercy and good fruit, impartial and sincere. Peacemakers who sow in peace raise a harvest of righteousness	But the wisdom that comes from heaven is first of all pure; then peace-loving , considerate, submissive, full of mercy and good fruit, impartial and sincere. Peacemakers who sow in peace raise a harvest of righteousness.	

2.1.2.4 Peace of the nations and the world

Verse	KJV	NIV	JW Parallel
Luke 2:14	Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace , good will toward men	'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men on whom his favor rests.'	RI
Rom. 2:10	Glory and honor and peace for everyone who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek	but glory, honor and peace for everyone who does good: first for the Jew, then for the Gentile.	
Rom 12:18	If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.	If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone.	JC RI
Matt. 12:30	He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad	He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters.	JC Counter-quote
Mark 9:40	For he that is not against us is on our part [side]	for whoever is not against us is for us.	JC Counter-quote
Luke 9:50	And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.	'Do not stop him,' Jesus said, 'for whoever is not against you is for you.'	JC Counter-quote

2.1.2.5 Jesus as a pacifist (including alternative quotes)

Verse	KJV	NIV	JW Parallel
Matt. 5:11	Blessed are ye , when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.	Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me.	
Matt. 5:21-22	Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill ; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.	'You have heard that it was said to the people long ago, Do not murder , and anyone who murders will be subject to judgment.' But I tell you that anyone who is angry with his brother will be subject to judgment. Again, anyone who says to his brother, 'Raca,' is answerable to the Sanhedrin. But anyone who says, 'You fool!' will be in danger of the fire of hell.	JC
Matt. 5:38-39	Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.	"You have heard that it was said, 'Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth.' But I tell you, Do not resist an evil person . If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.	JC

Matt. 7:12	Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.	So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets.	JC RI LR
Matt. 26:51-53	And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword , and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear. Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father , and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?	Then the men stepped forward, seized Jesus and arrested him. With that, one of Jesus' companions reached for his sword , drew it out and struck the servant of the high priest, cutting off his ear. 'Put your sword back in its place,' Jesus said to him, ' for all who draw the sword will die by the sword. Do you think I cannot call on my Father , and he will at once put at my disposal more than twelve legions of angels?	RA
Luke 3:14	The soldiers likewise demanded of him [John the Baptist], saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages.	Then some soldiers asked him, 'And what should we do?' He replied, ' Don't extort money and don't accuse people falsely— be content with your pay.'	LR
Luke 23:33-34	And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.	When they came to the place called the Skull, there they crucified him, along with the criminals—one on his right, the other on his left. Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing.' And they divided up his clothes by casting lots.	
John 18:36	Jesus answered [Pontius Pilate], My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence.	Jesus said, "My kingdom is not of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest by the Jews. But now my kingdom is from another place."	RA
1 Peter 2:21-22	For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:	To this you were called, because Christ suffered for you, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps. ' He committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth. '	RI
Matt 21:12	And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves,	Jesus entered the temple area and drove out all who were buying and selling there. He overturned the tables of the money changers and the benches of those selling doves	Counter -quote
John 2:15	And when he had made a scourge of small cords , he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables	So he made a whip out of cords , and drove all from the temple area, both sheep and cattle; he scattered the coins of the money changers and overturned their tables.	Counter -quote

Luke 19:45	And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought	Then he entered the temple area and began driving out those who were selling.	Counter-quote
Luke 11:21	When a strong man, fully armed, guards his own palace, his goods are in peace.	‘When a strong man, fully armed, guards his own house, his possessions are safe.	Counter-quote
Luke 22:36-38	‘Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. For I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, And he was reckoned among the transgressors: for the things concerning me have an end. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.	He said to them, ‘But now if you have a purse, take it, and also a bag; and if you don't have a sword, sell your cloak and buy one. It is written: 'And he was numbered with the transgressors'; and I tell you that this must be fulfilled in me. Yes, what is written about me is reaching its fulfillment.’ The disciples said, ‘See, Lord, here are two swords. ’ ‘That is enough,’ he replied.	Counter-quote
Rom. 13:3-4	For rulers are not a terror to good works , but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.	For rulers hold no terror for those who do right , but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and he will commend you. For he is God's servant to do you good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword for nothing. He is God's servant, an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer.	RA Counter quote
John 15:13	Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends	Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends.	Counter-quote ⁵⁰
Luke 14:31-32	[Jesus said:] ‘Or suppose a king is about to go to war against another king. Will he not first sit down and consider whether he is able with ten thousand men to oppose the one coming against him with twenty thousand? If he is not able, he will send a delegation while the other is still a long way off and will ask for terms of peace.	‘Or suppose a king is about to go to war against another king. Will he not first sit down and consider whether he is able with ten thousand men to oppose the one coming against him with twenty thousand? If he is not able, he will send a delegation while the other is still a long way off and will ask for terms of peace.	LR RA Counter-quote

⁵⁰ This verse is often quoted in military services and memorials. The Arlington National Cemetery's cenotaph in honor of fallen WWI chaplains, for instance, bears this Biblical quote. See: “Three Chaplains Monuments on Chaplains Hill.” Arlington National Cemetery. Available: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.org/descriptions/chaplains_hill_monument.html

2.1.2.6 Jesus as a source of peace

Verse	KJV	NIV	JW Parallel
John 14:27	Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you : not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.	Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you . I do not give to you as the world gives. Do not let your hearts be troubled and do not be afraid.	RI
John 20:21	Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you : as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.	Again Jesus said, ' Peace be with you! As the Father has sent me, I am sending you.'	
John 20:19	On the evening of that day, the first day of the week, the doors being shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said to them, " Peace be with you. "	On the evening of that first day of the week, when the disciples were together, with the doors locked for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said, " Peace be with you! "	
1 Cor. 1:3	Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.	Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.	
Phil 4:7	And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding , shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.	And the peace of God, which transcends all understanding , will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.	RI
1 Cor. 14:33	For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace , as in all churches of the saints.	For God is not a God of disorder but of peace . As in all the congregations of the saints,	
Eph 2:14	For he [Jesus] is our peace , who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us	For he himself is our peace , who has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility,	
2 Pet. 1:2	Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord.	Grace and peace be yours in abundance through the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord.	
Luke 19:38	[S]aying, "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!"	'Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord!' ' Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!'	
Phillip 4:9	What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you	Whatever you have learned or received or heard from me, or seen in me—put it into practice. And the God of peace will be with you.	
Luke 12:51	Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division	Do you think I came to bring peace on earth? No, I tell you, but division .	Counter- quote
Matt. 10:34	Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword .	"Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword ."	RI Counter- quote

Eph. 6:11	Put on the whole armour of God , that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.	Put on the full armor of God so that you can take your stand against the devil's schemes.	Counter-quote
Eph. 6:17	And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit , which is the word of God	Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit , which is the word of God.	Counter-quote ⁵¹

2.1.2.7 War and fighting in the apocalypse

Verse	KJV	NIV	JW Parallel
1 Cor. 15:24-26	Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power . For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet . The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death .	Then the end will come, when he hands over the kingdom to God the Father after he has destroyed all dominion, authority and power . For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet . The last enemy to be destroyed is death .	RA P
Rev. 1:13; cf. 2:12 and 19:11	And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man , clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.	and among the lampstands was someone "like a son of man ," dressed in a robe reaching down to his feet and with a golden sash around his chest.	
Rev. 1:16	And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp twoedged sword : and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.	In his right hand he held seven stars, and out of his mouth came a sharp double-edged sword . His face was like the sun shining in all its brilliance.	
Rev. 1:18	I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death .	I am the Living One; I was dead, and behold I am alive for ever and ever! And I hold the keys of death and Hades .	
Rev. 2:6	But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate .	But you have this in your favor: You hate the practices of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate .	
Rev. 2:9	I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan .	I know your afflictions and your poverty—yet you are rich! I know the slander of those who say they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan .	
Rev. 2:12	And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges .	To the angel of the church in Pergamum write: These are the words of him who has the sharp, double-edged sword .	

⁵¹ The expression "Prince of Peace" is not found in the New Testament but in the Old Testament: see Is. 9:6.

Rev. 2:16	Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth .	Repent therefore! Otherwise, I will soon come to you and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth .	
Rev. 2:18	And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire , and his feet are like fine brass	To the angel of the church in Thyatira write: These are the words of the Son of God, whose eyes are like blazing fire and whose feet are like burnished bronze.	
Rev. 2:23	And I will kill her [Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess] children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.	I will strike her children dead . Then all the churches will know that I am he who searches hearts and minds, and I will repay each of you according to your deeds.	P
Rev. 2:26-27	And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: And he shall rule them with a rod of iron ; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father	To him who overcomes and does my will to the end, I will give authority over the nations— 'He will rule them with an iron scepter ; he will dash them to pieces like pottery' —	RA
Rev. 4:10-11	The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne , saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.	the twenty-four elders fall down before him who sits on the throne, and worship him who lives for ever and ever. They lay their crowns before the throne and say: "You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they were created and have their being."	RA
Rev. 5:6	And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain , having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth	Then I saw a Lamb, looking as if it had been slain , standing in the center of the throne, encircled by the four living creatures and the elders. He had seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth.	
Rev. 6:2-4	And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow ; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer. And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another:	I looked, and there before me was a white horse! Its rider held a bow , and he was given a crown, and he rode out as a conqueror bent on conquest. When the Lamb opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say, "Come!" Then another horse came out, a fiery red one. Its rider was given power to take peace from the earth and to make men slay each other. To him was given a large sword .	

	and there was given unto him a great sword.		
Rev. 6:8-10	And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death , and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword , and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth. And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God , and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?	I looked, and there before me was a pale horse! Its rider was named Death , and Hades was following close behind him. They were given power over a fourth of the earth to kill by sword , famine and plague, and by the wild beasts of the earth. When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain because of the word of God and the testimony they had maintained. They called out in a loud voice, "How long, Sovereign Lord, holy and true, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our blood?"	JC RA
Rev. 6:16	And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.	They called to the mountains and the rocks, "Fall on us and hide us from the face of him who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb!	
Rev. 9:1	And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.	The fifth angel sounded his trumpet, and I saw a star that had fallen from the sky to the earth. The star was given the key to the shaft of the Abyss.	
Rev. 9:15-16	And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men. And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.	And the four angels who had been kept ready for this very hour and day and month and year were released to kill a third of mankind. The number of the mounted troops was two hundred million. I heard their number.	
Rev. 9:18	By these three was the third part of men killed , by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.	A third of mankind was killed by the three plagues of fire, smoke and sulfur that came out of their mouths.	
Rev. 11:5	And if any man will hurt them, fire procedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed	If anyone tries to harm them, fire comes from their mouths and devours their enemies. This is how anyone who wants to harm them must die.	P
Rev. 11:15	And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord , and of his Christ; and he shall	The seventh angel sounded his trumpet, and there were loud voices in heaven, which said: "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he will reign for	RA

	reign for ever and ever.	ever and ever."	
Rev. 12:5	And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron : and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.	She gave birth to a son, a male child, who will rule all the nations with an iron scepter . And her child was snatched up to God and to his throne.	RA
Rev. 19:11	And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse ; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war .	I saw heaven standing open and there before me was a white horse , whose rider is called Faithful and True. With justice he judges and makes war .	
Rev. 19:13	And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood : and his name is called The Word of God.	He is dressed in a robe dipped in blood , and his name is the Word of God.	
Rev. 19:15	And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron : and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God .	Out of his mouth comes a sharp sword with which to strike down the nations. "He will rule them with an iron scepter ." He treads the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God Almighty.	
Rev. 19:18-19	That ye may eat the flesh of kings , and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth , and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.	so that you may eat the flesh of kings , generals, and mighty men, of horses and their riders, and the flesh of all people, free and slave, small and great." Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to make war against the rider on the horse and his army.	
Rev. 19:21	And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.	The rest of them were killed with the sword that came out of the mouth of the rider on the horse, and all the birds gorged themselves on their flesh.	
Rev. 20: 9-10	And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever	They marched across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of God's people, the city he loves. But fire came down from heaven and devoured them. And the devil , who deceived them, was thrown into the lake of burning sulfur, where the beast and the false prophet had been thrown. They will be tormented day and night for ever and ever.	

2.1.2.8 Christian work for peace

Verse	KJV	NIV	JW Parallel
Acts 10:36	The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: he is Lord of all	You know the message God sent to the people of Israel, telling the good news of peace through Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all.	
Matt. 10:16	Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.	I am sending you out like sheep among wolves. Therefore be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves.	
Luke 10:3	Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.	Go! I am sending you out like lambs among wolves.	
Rom. 14:17	For the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.	For the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking, but of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit,	
Rom. 8:36	For your sake we face death all day long ; we are considered as sheep to be slaughtered.	As it is written: "For your sake we face death all day long ; we are considered as sheep to be slaughtered."	
Eph. 6:11; 6:14-15	Put on the whole armour of God , that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil [...] having on the breastplate of righteousness. And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.	Put on the full armor of God so that you can take your stand against the devil's schemes. [...] Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled around your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place, and with your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace.	JC

2.2 Doctrines and policies of several modern churches

In an effort to better understand Christianity's approach to the use of force and the reliance for such justifications on scripture, this section analyses four Christian denominations. Their statements on war not only demonstrate various similar interpretations of the Bible, but also these Churches' differing authorship and use of supplemental religious sources.

The four denominations have been chosen for two reasons: their applicability to a Canadian-context (since this is a Canadian publication) and their direct treatment of war. With the exception of the Catholic Catechism, the four chosen documents appear to have been authored in Canada, and resultantly, are most relevant to the Canadian context. While some Christian denominations such as the Mennonites and Quakers do not advocate war-fighting at all, and instead focus on peace, most denominations examine war through a 'Just War' framework, which has its millennium-old roots in Christianity. As demonstrated by the following documents, the Just War approach is used in some of Canada's largest denominations.

2.2.1 Anglican (Anglican Church in Canada)

On 17 January 1991, Archbishop Michael Peers of the Anglican Church in Canada issued a statement in response to the outbreak of the First Gulf War. It outlined “six just war criteria,” which were also noted in the 1994 “Letter to the Standing Committee on Defence and Veterans Affairs.” Relevant sections of both documents are included underneath the following chart.

Table 2.1: Anglican quotations on Just War conditions

Just War Conditions (<i>Jus ad bellum</i>)	Quotation
Just Cause	“ right cause in the purpose of war”
Legitimate Authority	“ right authority in the initiation of hostility”
Probability of Success	“ reasonable prospect of success. ”
Proportionality	“ proportionality in the use of force”
Last Resort	“ last resort after all other attempts to resolve the conflict”
Discrimination in force	“ discrimination in the application of force (i.e., protection of non-combatants)”

The full statement is given below, with words placed in bold for ease of scanning.

2.2.1.1 Statement on the outbreak of the Gulf War (by Archbishop Michael Peers, 17 January 1991)

It is with deep regret that I find our nation is today at war. The event so many of us had hoped could be avoided is now upon us. I grieve and mourn the loss of **innocent civilian life** in the last 12 hours in the streets and homes of Iraqi cities. I extend my support to the families of Canadian forces’ members waiting anxiously now for news of their loved one’s safety.

I ask all Anglicans, and I join with other Canadian church leaders in asking all Canadians, to pray fervently for a quick end to the fighting, for the resumption of **diplomatic** initiatives by both Iraqi and United Nations authorities, and for the containment of this conflict within its present limits.

It is beyond dispute that Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait, in flagrant violation of international law and with its foul atrocities against the Kuwaiti people, is unacceptable and contemptible. Nevertheless, the decision of the Canadian government to commit our forces to war and the call today from Canadian politicians to close ranks and support the war effort are deeply **problematic**. There are issues here upon which religious leaders have a duty to comment.

The Christian religion has a tradition of the **just war**. Normally, there are six **tests** applied to a conflict to determine whether violence is morally justifiable. They are:

- **last resort** after all other attempts to resolve the conflict,
- **right authority** in the initiation of hostility,
- **right cause** in the purpose of war,
- **proportionality** in the use of force,
- **discrimination** in the application of force (i.e., protection of non-combatants), and
- **reasonable prospect of success.**

The commitment of the United Nations forces to war last night does not, in my view, meet these tests.

- Military force cannot be said to be the option of last resort. South Africa has been in violation of UN resolutions for 40 years, and Israel for 23 years, yet in these cases sanctions and negotiations are still being pursued.
- While the commitments of United States, British, and French forces have received the approval of their respective legislative assemblies, the Canadian Parliament has not given approval to the use of Canadian forces in combat roles.
- There is widespread public debate about exactly what cause is being pursued in this conflict. Is the cause the liberation of Kuwait? If so, it may be just. But is it a further attempt by western powers, in continuance of a long tradition, to dominate Middle Eastern affairs and to subjugate Arab nations by coercion? The industrialized world, including Canada, has supplied weapons of war to the entire region, including Iraq, for its own political and material benefit. In his speech last night, President Bush failed to mention the one word which this war seems to be about—"oil." If the cause which is being pursued is the preservation of western lifestyles, then this war is not just.
- It is too early to judge whether the force that is being used is commensurate with the force that is being opposed. Certainly, the elimination of Iraqi chemical and nuclear capability is to be welcomed—though this would need to be extended to other nations in the region and in the world as well. But if, in view of early signs of minimal air resistance, the strength of Iraqi forces should prove to have been seriously overestimated by UN commanders, this will be a further indication of a lack of moral justification for the attack.
- Similarly, we have no assurance that there has been protection of the lives of innocent Iraqi civilians. The resort to high-level aerial bombardment is a tactic designed to minimize military casualties, not those of non-combatants. The first commitment given by President Bush last night was to the safety of American lives. The total neglect of any mention of the protection of civilians is reprehensible. If the first casualty of war is truth, the early military-controlled news releases of low levels of ground casualties are difficult to believe.
- A reasonable prospect of success exists only if one's understanding of success is limited to the battlefield. This conflict has the potential to ignite the entire region in unimaginable devastation, to pit the Muslim world against the West for decades to come, and to unleash waves of violent and racist extremism throughout the world, not least in our own country. We have opened Pandora's box once again.

I conclude that this war in the Persian Gulf does not meet the tests provided by Christian tradition for a **morally justifiable** engagement at this stage. The Prime Minister has commented that Canadian participation in combat roles in this conflict is both reasonable and moral. I reject his sentiments and his reasoning.

I call upon him now to show leadership in creating a role for Canada in building a new world order, one which settles disputes through diplomatic, economic, and political means without recourse to the brutalities of war.

I call upon all Canadians of good will to pursue all efforts to bring about peace and the cessation of this destruction.

2.2.1.2 Letter to the Standing Committee on Defence and Veterans Affairs [20 July 1994 from the Anglican Church of Canada]

We share Project Ploughshares' discernment of the post-Cold War world as facing not only the military violence of regional wars but the very roots of global insecurity: the structural violence of unjust and desperate social and economic conditions; the failure of many societies to meet basic human needs; widespread denial of human rights and democracy; and a deteriorating natural environment (*Building Peace: New Challenges for Canada's Foreign and Defence Policies*, April 1994 [Project Ploughshares *Working Paper* 93-4]). It is in these circumstances that we give expression to the prophetic vision of shalom—a world where none would fear and people would build peace—a vision of global common security.

Human rights and the arms trade

The Anglican Church of Canada has long pressed the Canadian government to stop sales of Canadian military commodities to countries known to be human rights violators whose military or police forces might use them against their own populations. The Anglican Church of Canada has, however, made stronger claims. As a worldwide faith community the church hears firsthand about the human and ecological devastation wreaked by modern weapons. Anglicans expressed concern and anger at the diversion of money and resources from social and economic needs (such as education and healthcare) to the military when General Synod, in 1992, called upon the Government of Canada to acknowledge that the common security of all peoples is based upon the just and equitable distribution of wealth and the preservation of the environment rather than military might; recognize that government spending should reflect this principle; and realign budgetary allocations from national defence to the environment and international aid, making provision for annual parliamentary reviews of progress in this direction. We have also indicated our alarm at the burden that huge arms purchases create, especially for Third World countries. This, too, was embodied in a resolution of General Synod 1992:

- Canada should help eliminate the international arms trade by acting as a model for other nations through prohibition of exports of military commodities, except for two purposes: equipping international peacekeeping forces sanctioned by the United Nations; and providing surveillance commodities, avoiding countries in unstable regions or known to be human rights violators;
- there should be parliamentary scrutiny of all arms sales for export, through procedures of prior approval and subsequent review, to ensure openness and accountability.

Nuclear disarmament

Along with the worldwide Anglican communion, the Anglican Church of Canada since 1958 has sought an end to the nuclear arms race and ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons. More than a decade ago General Synod 1983 renounced the development, production, or use of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction—such as biological or chemical. Opposition to nuclear weapons lay behind the Anglican Church of Canada's call since 1982 to end cruise missile testing on Canadian soil. (The recently tested "Stealth" AGM-129 Advanced Cruise Missile is part of the modernization of the US nuclear capability.) The government must not allow cruise missile tests in Canada.

Since 1983 the Anglican Church of Canada has publicly opposed Canada's support for the NATO policy of "first use" of nuclear weapons in response to a conventional weapons attack, and in 1989 it endorsed the Nuclear Weapons Legal Action to seek a court declaration that such support is illegal

under both Canadian and international law. The Anglican Church of Canada also endorsed the World Court Project, promoted its Declaration of Conscience to congregations, and joined many peace organizations in urging the government to submit a brief to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), supporting the view that the ICJ should declare use of nuclear weapons by a State during a time of armed conflict a breach of its obligations under international law. Because the ICJ has extended the time limit for states to make such statements to 20 September, we repeat our request as a matter of urgency. Such an ICJ declaration could be a citizen-initiated step to complement achievement of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and of the extension of an improved Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which, among other things, should ensure compliance of the nuclear-armed nations with major nuclear disarmament measures. We endorse the detailed recommendations of steps towards nuclear abolition set out in the Project Ploughshares brief (*Building Peace*, page 9). We believe abolition is key for the future of humanity.

Canada's participation in combat

Reflecting the established Church of England, the Anglican Church of Canada was the church of God, King, country, and regimental flags. When, in mid-January 1991, our government committed Canadian forces to combat roles against Iraq, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, **Archbishop Michael Peers, issued a statement on January 17 condemning Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait but rejecting the Gulf War as morally unjustifiable in light of the six just war criteria.** This call to the government to create a role for Canada in building a new world order that would settle disputes through diplomatic, economic, and political means without recourse to the brutalities of war is widely supported in the Anglican Church of Canada. Our analysis noted the indiscriminate devastation that western powers in the first 12 hours of war wreaked upon innocent civilians by high-level aerial bombardment. Archbishop Peers observed that military force had **not been the last resort** because the United Nations did not pursue the options of sanctions and negotiations, which were employed over long periods in other cases where United Nations resolutions were flouted (South Africa for 40 years, Israel for 23). Pointing out Canada's complicity, along with that of the industrialized world, in supplying arms to the region and to Iraq itself, the Primate suggested that the conflict might be being pursued militarily for reasons of *realpolitik* (such as continuance of a long tradition of domination of Middle Eastern affairs and access to oil needed for western lifestyles).

2.2.2 Catholic Church

The following is a compilation of quotations from the Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC) on Just War criteria. The CCC was released by Pope John Paul II in 1992, as a 900-page authoritative "collection of doctrinal statements and pastoral norms attested to or illumined by Sacred Scripture, Apostolic Tradition and the Church's Magisterium."⁵²

⁵² John Paul II. Fidei Depositum: On the Publication of the Catechism of the Catholic Church Prepared Following the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. (Holy Vatican See: 1992). 18 January 2008. Available: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_19921011_fidei-depositum_en.html

Table 2.2: Catholic quotations on Just War conditions

Just War Condition	Quotation
Just cause	- “governments cannot be denied the right of lawful self-defense ” (Part III, Part II, Chapter II, Article V, Clause 2308) - “the damage inflicted by the aggressor on the nation or community of nations must be lasting, grave, and certain” (Clause 2309)
Legitimate authority	“as long as the danger of war persists and there is no international authority with the necessary competence and power, governments cannot be denied the right of lawful self-defense” (Clause 2308)
Probability of success	“there must be serious prospects of success ” (Clause 2390)
Proportionality	“the use of arms must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated. The power of modern means of destruction weighs very heavily in evaluating this condition” (Clause 2390)
Last resort	“once all peace efforts have failed ” [Clause 2308] “ all other means of putting an end to it must have been shown to be impractical or ineffective ” (Clause 2309)
Right conduct	“Non-combatants, wounded soldiers, and prisoners must be respected and treated humanely . Actions deliberately contrary to the law of nations and to its universal principles are crimes, as are the orders that command such actions. Blind obedience does not suffice to excuse those who carry them out. Thus the extermination of a people, nation, or ethnic minority must be condemned as a mortal sin. One is morally bound to resist orders that command genocide.” (Clause 2313). ⁵³

2.2.2.1 Extracts from the Catechism of the Catholic Church

“2308 All citizens and all governments are obliged to work for the avoidance of war. However, ‘as long as the danger of war persists and there is no international authority with the necessary competence and power, governments cannot be denied the right of lawful self-defense, once all peace efforts have failed.’

“2309 The strict conditions for legitimate defense by military force require rigorous consideration. The gravity of such a decision makes it subject to rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy. At one and the same time:

- the damage inflicted by the aggressor on the nation or community of nations must be lasting, grave, and certain;
- all other means of putting an end to it must have been shown to be impractical or ineffective;
- there must be serious prospects of success;
- the use of arms must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated. The power of modern means of destruction weighs very heavily in evaluating this condition.

⁵³ The quotes above and below were obtained from the Official Catholic Church’s site, the Holy See Website at http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P81.HTM, accessed 5 October 2007. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Part Three: Life of Christ, Part Two: The Ten Commandments, Chapter Two: You Shall Love Your Neighbors As You Do Yourself, Article Five: The Fifth Commandment, III. Safeguarding Peace.

“These are the traditional elements enumerated in what is called the ‘just war’ doctrine. The evaluation of these conditions for moral legitimacy belongs to the prudential judgment of those who have responsibility for the common good.”

2.2.3 Lutheran (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada)

The Lutheran Church of Canada and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada both accept the Just War tradition, as does the larger worldwide Lutheran Church, as evidenced by clause 2, article 16 of the 1580 Augsburg Confession, which is presented here. However, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada appears to be the only denomination of the two which clarifies its Just War conditions.

“Our theological situation” of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, was a 1983 study document on peace.⁵⁴ The entirety of section two is located under the following chart:

Table 2.3: Lutheran quotations on Just War conditions

Just War Condition	Quotation
Just Cause	greater justice will result fighting the war as opposed to the unjust condition if the war is not fought [or to be considered under Net Benefit]
Right Intention	that the intention in declaring the war is good
Legitimate Authority	that the war has been declared by a legitimate authority
Probability of Success	that there is a reasonable chance of success
Proportionality	that all possible moderation be used
Last Resort	that war is seen as only a last resort when all other attempts at resolution have failed

2.2.3.1 Statement of Peace

This extract is drawn from a study document on peace (1983) entitled “Statement of Peace” by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada.

2. Our theological situation

There have been different viewpoints within our church regarding strategies for achieving world peace.

We recognize those who adhere to some form of the ancient Christian tradition of pacifism, attempting to renounce any use of violence to settle human conflicts. This position has been found in Christianity since the earliest centuries and represents a sincere attempt to actualize the teachings of Jesus within a broken world. But some forms of pacifism have difficulty in articulating the need for a **legitimate defence**, if not of one’s self (for we are never called to defend our own self-interests),

⁵⁴ Ploughshares Working Paper 94-3: We Call for Peace: Statements on Peace by Canadian Churches and Religious Organizations, Project Ploughshares, Available: <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/WorkingPapers/wp943.html>, 18 January 2008.

then the need to **defend one's neighbour**. In light of the possibility of one nation practicing "nuclear blackmail" against another, a unilateral disarmament does not seem realistic in the near future. Yet the nonviolent resolution of conflicts remains a goal for all of us. **Most of us have adhered to the "just war theory"** (mentioned in the Augsburg Confession, Article 16).⁵⁵ The **classical** just war theory affirms that war is always evil and sinful, but it concedes that on occasion it will be necessary for Christians to participate in war, provided that a number of provisions are met: that **the means** of conducting the war are **appropriate** to the end being sought; that **greater justice** will result fighting the war as opposed to the unjust condition if the war is not fought; that only military targets are attacked and not the civilian population; that the war has been declared by a **legitimate authority**; that the **intention** in declaring the war is **good**; that there is a **reasonable chance of success**; that **all possible moderation** be used; and that war is seen as only a **last resort** when all other attempts at resolution have failed. Martin Luther essentially saw defence, in particular defence of the neighbour, as the only valid grounds for participating in war.

The just war theory provides some important guidelines for today's world. Many feel that the policy of **nuclear "deterrence"** has delayed a major confrontation between the superpowers for the past generation. The **"just war theory" remains valid** for some forms of more conventional warfare.

But we are also aware of problems facing the traditional just war theory in light of today's technology and military strategies. Many now feel that nuclear warfare should violate the "just war" principles. Current military strategies call for attacking the civilian population, in violation of the just war theory. The attempt to develop weapons that can initiate an attack ("first strike") on an enemy, such as the Cruise and Pershing II missiles, rather than developing a purely defensive military strategy, is also a violation of traditional Christian just war theory. Nuclear war calls for using levels of force and destruction that far exceed being legitimate means for the end in view. Many of today's weapons not only inflict immediate destruction, but also will make large portions of the earth uninhabitable for many generations. Thus no war employing nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons can meet the **criteria for a just war**.

The policy of "deterrence" must affirm the intention to use nuclear weapons in order for there to be a deterrence; without the intention there is no deterrence. But even the threat to use nuclear weapons and bring about this kind of destruction, as a policy of deterrence, is morally unacceptable because intentions are not morally neutral.

Thus our traditional approaches to war and peace are in need of reappraisal in light of today's world. We need to recover again the Bible's teachings on peace and justice in order to deal with many of the problems and concerns now before us. We need to witness to faith and love even within the difficult choices before us. Regardless of the specific means or tactics employed, we affirm that our common calling is to be peacemakers and agents of reconciliation in this world. We need to explore the Bible to express our common calling even while we have differences in accepting specific strategies for approaching peace through justice and reconciliation.

⁵⁵ See below.

2.2.3.2 The Augsburg Confession

The Augsburg Confession is the primary statement of faith for the Lutheran Church. The Confessions were created in 1530 by Emperor Charles V and first published in 1580. The following section contains article 16 (“Of Civil Affairs”), paragraph 1, which explicates the acceptance of just wars.⁵⁶

“Of Civil Affairs they teach that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God, and that [2] it is right for Christians to bear civil office, to sit as judges, to judge matters by the Imperial and other existing laws, to award just punishments, **to engage in just wars**, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to make oath when required by the magistrates”

2.2.4 The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Interpretation of Just War

The following table contains excerpts from the June 1994 statement “Can War Be Just?” from the 120th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC).⁵⁷ The wording in the preamble does not explicitly state an adherence to the just war tradition. In fact, the concluding wording appears to warn against it: “[t]his means that the Church **cannot participate** in the justification of human warfare as **good and holy**. Nor can Augustine’s teaching be used to justify war where ‘collateral damage’ is a code word for children, women [. . .]” However, the denomination customarily remains adherent to the just war tradition and so are many of its members.⁵⁸ Though contained in PCC documents, these just war conditions must be taken as not necessarily dogmatic.

Table 2.4: Presbyterian quotations on Just War conditions

Just War Conditions (<i>Jus ad bellum</i>)	Quotation
Just Cause	war must have a just cause
Right Intent	must be fought with a peaceful intention
Legitimate Authority	must be waged by a legitimate authority
Formal Declaration	must be formally declared .
Probability of Success	must be a reasonable hope of success
Proportionality	means used must be proportional to the end sought
Last Resort	must be a last resort

The full statement is copied below, with words placed in bold for ease of scanning.

2.2.4.1 Can war be just?

⁵⁶ The Augsburg Confession, Available: <http://www.bookofconcord.org/augsburgconfession.html#preface>, accessed 24 January 2008.

⁵⁷ Ploughshares Working Paper 94-3: We Call for Peace: Statements on Peace by Canadian Churches and Religious Organizations, Project Ploughshares, Available: <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/WorkingPapers/wp943.html>, 18 January 2008.

⁵⁸ For instance, the son of Hans Kouwenberg, the moderator for the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 2007, is in the Canadian navy. Josiah Neufeld, Will Bullets Win Afghanistan?, 1 November 2007, Christian Week, Available: <http://www.christianweek.org/features.php?id=9>, 24 January 2008.

In the twentieth century, churches continue to **justify war** against opposing nations, with terrible results. For example, in the Falkland War, the church leadership in Argentina and Great Britain both believed that their side had the just arguments concerning the sovereignty of the islands. The influence of nationalistic perspectives was a strong factor in the dissonant proclamation. The Body of Christ was divided. Christians fought and killed one another.

The practice of humans sanctioning a holy war is **dangerous**. It is too easy for arrogance and propaganda to influence our judgment about whether God "wants" us to wage this war. It is too tempting to believe that if we win, then we are on the side that is right. At the same time, "we know that nations have fought in self-defence and that war, at times, may be unavoidable" (*Living Faith*, 8.5.2).

A more judicial means of determining whether a war could be sanctioned is to look at conflict by the standards of the **just war theory**. It was first formulated by Augustine [who] agreed with the earliest Christian theologians that Christians should not defend themselves against violence. He did, however, argue for the rightness of violence to defend the innocent against evil. Many theologians have continued to reflect on the just war theory. Even with some differences in modern versions, there is **consensus** on the essential points:

1. The war must have a just cause.
2. It must be waged by a legitimate authority.
3. It must be formally declared.
4. It must be fought with a peaceful intention.
5. It must be a last resort.
6. There must be a reasonable hope of success.
7. The means used must be proportional to the end sought.

In addition, there are three considerations for the conduct of war:

1. Noncombatants must be given immunity.
2. Prisoners must be treated humanely.
3. International treaties and conventions must be honoured.

This theory of just war assumes a premise of **reluctance** towards entering into conflict. It assumes a deep desire for resolution and a lasting peace. It also assumes that ordinary citizens of "the enemy" should not be killed, and that those whom we fight against should still be thought of as human beings.

In the 1990s, violent conflict is a brutal fact. War affects all of the society where it is being waged. The criteria (*sic*) of "non-combatant immunity" is shattered by the reality that from 1700 to 1945, 50 per cent of those killed in war have been civilians. Walter Wink points out that the **proportion** of civilian deaths jumped to 74 percent in the 1980s, and in the 1990s appears to be close to 90 percent. The sheer numbers of humans killed in war in the twentieth century are also alarming, especially in comparison with the past (Project Ploughshares, 1993):

1500s – 1,600,000 killed
1600s – 6,100,000
1700s – 7,000,000
1800s – 19,400,000
1900s – 107,800,000+

It is hard to imagine that in the twentieth century at least 53.9 million civilians have been killed in war. This slaughter of people shows some of the horror of war, at which our advanced war technology has allowed us to excel. "The tragic evil that comes with war, the slaughter of men, women, and children must rouse us to work for peace" (*Living Faith*, 8.5.2).

We do not live in a perfect world, but in one where human fallibility leads to injustice and conflict. It is incumbent on us to support **defenders against aggressor states** when all **attempts** at peacekeeping fail. However, we do so in sorrow, acknowledging the fallenness of creation. This means that the Church cannot participate in the justification of human warfare as **good and holy**. Nor can Augustine's teaching be used to justify war where "**collateral damage**" is a code word for children, women, and men being killed, injured, and sentenced to years of poverty, disability, and disease. God does not glorify our wars, nor allow us freely to take joy and satisfaction from defeating our enemy. The loss to our world of human and natural resources is too great. Consider the loss which comes from destroying a society's ability to transport and communicate, from defoliating farms and forests, and from burning oil fields. All these destroy the well-being of our descendants!

3 Islam

3.1 The Qur'ān

This chapter provides some brief historical and religious background to the Qur'ān and attempts to summarize its excerpts relating to peace and war. This summary is followed by tabulated Qur'ānic excerpts in section 3.1.2.

In Islam, the Qur'ān is considered the literal word of God, transmitted by the Angel Jibril (Gabriel) to the Prophet Mohammad over 23 years during the early seventh century C.E. When translated into a language other than its original Arabic, the Qur'ān is no longer considered the literal word of God.⁵⁹ Arabic is a difficult language to translate into English, and there remains a wide discrepancy between English translations. As such, this compilation of Qur'ānic quotations includes three major English translations: Abdullah Yusuf Ali (also spelled Yusufali), Marmaduke Mohammad Pickthall and Mohammad Habib Shakir. Until recently, Yusuf Ali's 1937 translation was the most popular English translation.⁶⁰ It has been endorsed by the Saudi government. Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall's early twentieth century translation is considered a "classic" translation of the Qur'ān. Muhammad Shakir's 1987 translation draws heavily from Pickthall's translation.⁶¹

Due to the large number, the wide breadth and the debated authenticity of various Hadiths, an analysis of the Hadith traditions was considered beyond the scope of this project. The Qur'ān, being the central religious source in all traditions of Islam, was chosen as the most important scripture for analysis.

Sources: "USC-MSA Qur'ān Database" of the University of Southern California—Muslim Student Association, "Compendium of Muslims Texts" available at www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran (list by chapter).

Search engine: www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/reference/searchquran.html.

This Qur'ān database provides simultaneously the three translations.

The terms used from the USC-MSA index⁶² for the extract search include: arguments/attacks, death, fighting, killing, jihad (fighting, striving, struggling, endeavoring). The electronic search in text of the Qur'ān was for keywords including: army, attack, battle, defend, defence, enemy, force, just, peace, sword and war. The search was done for complete words only, not truncated words like war* for warrior. According to the search, the word "martyr" does not appear in these translations of the Qur'ān.

⁵⁹ *The Qur'an*, Compilation of Yusufali, Pickthall and Shakir translations in "USC-MSA Qur'ān Database" of the University of Southern California-Muslim Student Association's Compendium of Muslim Texts. Available at <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/>. The original Pickthall version is cited as: M.H. Shakir's translation of the Holy Qur'an, as published by Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc., Elmhurst, New York, USA.

⁶⁰ Note, however, that Yusuf 'Ali's translation expands upon anti-Jewish verses.

⁶¹ Mohammed Khaleel. "Assessing English Translations of the Qur'an." *The Middle East Quarterly* 12.2. (Spring 2005).

⁶² The Qur'anic index is available at www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/quranindex.html.

3.1.1 Summary⁶³

Different translations of holy texts can yield English passages with quite different meanings. In the case of the Qur'ān, this can have dramatic results. For instance, the word *jihad* has been translated variously as “striving,” “struggling,” “fighting” or “holy war,”⁶⁴ words that have quite different meanings in English.⁶⁵ Even the phrase “fight for the faith”⁶⁶ conveys in English a variety of possible messages, including metaphorical ones. An example of substantially different Qur'ānic translations is shown in the important passage 2:190, which contains a restriction on fighting: “do not transgress limits” (Yusuf Ali translation) or a much more specific prohibition “begin not hostilities” (Pickthal translation). Such translation problems make it even more difficult to discern when armed force is specifically referred to (or called for) in the Qur'ān. Many passages coming out of word searches cover murder and other crimes, not necessarily war. Since the context is not always given, the circumstances may not be clear, especially if fighting is used as a metaphor. Nevertheless, some principles can be discerned to provide a general sense of the approach taken in the Qur'ān on the use of armed force. (The Yusuf Ali translation is used below unless otherwise indicated.)

In this summary of Qur'ānic verses, no attempt has been made to interpret them beyond the decision of which excerpts to include and how to categorize and summarize them. Rather, they have been linked thematically. A fuller and lengthier analysis would provide historical context, determining the original time and place from which the passages emerged, and develop an understanding of the underlying reasons. Different schools of thought within Islam will have different interpretations of the passages and most will interpret the passages in light of the practice of Mohammed, e.g., the Hadiths and the teachings of the early Caliphs, including Abu Bakr and Omar.

⁶³ This summary was written by A. Walter Dorn.

⁶⁴ Though some claim that “holy war” is a Western term that cannot be applied to Islam, there are many Islamic scholars who use the term, giving it an Islamic meaning, such as “War in the way of Islam.” For instance, see Ayatullah Morteza Mutahhari, “Jihad: The Holy War of Islam and Its Legitimacy in the Quran,” Mohammad Salman Tawhidi trans. (Islamic Propagation Organization: Tehran, Iran). Available: www.al-islam.org/short/jihad.

⁶⁵ According to the online Qur'an search engine at www.searchtruth.com the word "jihad" appears 24 times in 23 verses in the Quran in M. Khan's translation (accessed 19 January 2008). A list of Qur'ānic extracts is given at: Rev. Richard P Bailey. “Jihad: The Teachings of Islam from its Primary Sources -The Qur'an and Hadith” *Answering Islam: A Muslim-Christian Dialogue*, available at <http://www.answering-islam.org/Bailey/jihad.html>. Another website states that there are 164 “Jihad-related” verses namely: 2:178-179, 190-191, 193-194, 216-218, 244; 3:121-126, 140-143, 146, 152-158, 165-167,169, 172-173, 195; 4:71-72, 74-77, 84, 89-91, 94-95,100-104; 5:33, 35, 82; 8:1, 5, 7, 9-10, 12, 15-17, 39-48,57-60, 65-75; 9:5, 12-14, 16, 19-20, 24-26, 29,036, 38-39, 41, 44, 52, 73, 81, 83, 86, 88, 92, 111, 120, 122-123; 16:110; 22:39, 58, 78; 24:53, 55; 25:52; 29:6, 69; 33:15, 18, 20, 23, 25-27, 50; 42:39; 47:4, 20, 35; 48:15-24; 49:15; 59:2, 5-8, 14; 60:9; 61:4, 11, 13; 63:4; 64:14; 66:9; 73:20; 76:8. See: Natan, Yoel. “164 Jihad Verses in the Koran,” Available at www.yoel.info/koranwarpassages.htm.

⁶⁶ Qur'ān 8:74

The Qur'ān specifies both permissions and restrictions on use of force. Of course, passages must be taken in the context of the verses and chapters (suras) from which they come. The following is a description of the Qur'ānic instructions on fighting that attempts to rely upon the words of the scripture as much as possible.

3.1.1.1 Permissions and reasons to fight (*ad bellum*)

The Qur'ān urges believers to “fight in the cause of Allah.”⁶⁷ It states that “Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in battle array.”⁶⁸ The Qur'ān permits “hostility” against those who practice oppression.⁶⁹ Force can be used to protect those who are weak, ill-treated and oppressed.⁷⁰ Permission is also granted to slay disbelievers who try to force you to reject your Faith.⁷¹ Similarly, you may fight those who “taunt you for your Faith” and those “who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day”⁷² but “let there be no compulsion in religion.”⁷³ You may fight enemies who fight you without offering peace guarantees⁷⁴ and those who violate treaties with you.⁷⁵

Defensive wars are permitted, i.e., if war is made against you⁷⁶, if you are “unjustly attacked”⁷⁷ or if an “oppressive wrong” is done.⁷⁸ If a Believer transgresses “beyond bounds,” then all should fight him until he complies.⁷⁹ “You may fight until there is no more tumult or oppression and justice and faith in Allah prevails.”⁸⁰

Severe punishments are prescribed: “The punishment for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and create mischief through the land is execution, dismemberment or exile, in addition to punishment in the Hereafter.”⁸¹

3.1.1.2 Admonishments and encouragements to fighters

The Qur'ān admonishes those who give excuses not to fight and die: “What is the matter with you, that, when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling heavily to the earth? Do ye prefer the life of this world to the Hereafter?”⁸² Furthermore, the curse of death is on hypocrites⁸³

⁶⁷ 2:190; 2:244; 4:84

⁶⁸ 61:4

⁶⁹ 2:193

⁷⁰ 4:75

⁷¹ 4:89

⁷² 9:29

⁷³ 2:256

⁷⁴ 4:91

⁷⁵ 9:12

⁷⁶ 22:39, c.f. 2:190

⁷⁷ 26:227

⁷⁸ 42:39

⁷⁹ 49:9. This provision could be seen as a form of collective security and/or community action.

⁸⁰ 8:39

⁸¹ 5:33

⁸² 9:38

⁸³ 33:61

who make up an excuse not to fight the foe in the city.⁸⁴ There are exceptions to the responsibility to fight: there is “no blame on the blind, the lame, nor on one ill, if he joins not the war.”⁸⁵

There are great rewards, including paradise, for those who fight, whether slain or gaining victory.⁸⁶ There is also great help: “Allah will help you fight”⁸⁷ and “Allah is with those fighters who fear Him.”⁸⁸ For example, Allah helped Mohammed in the battle of Badr.⁸⁹ For those who “remain firm, and act aright, even if the enemy should rush here on you in hot haste, your Lord would help you with five thousand angels Making a terrific onslaught.”

3.1.1.3 Rules and permissions during fighting (*in bello*)

Some rules are to be applied during battle: do not turn your backs to run away⁹⁰ and “when fighting unbelievers, smite at their necks; At length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly (on them): thereafter (is the time for) either generosity or ransom.”

When you have the upper hand in battle, “do not cry for peace.”⁹¹ And having won a battle, disperse anyone who comes to backup the enemy so that “they may remember,” sending a signal of your strength.⁹² Booty can be enjoyed but a portion (a fifth) should be given to Allah and/or to good causes.⁹³

3.1.1.4 Restrictions on fighting (*in bello*)

The Qur’ān urges jihadists to “fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors.”⁹⁴ Similarly, “fight the Pagans all together as they fight you all together. But know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.”⁹⁵ The Qur’ān specifies many limits, including: do not take life without just cause for life is sacred;⁹⁶ and do not slay an innocent person. In fact, slaying a single person, provided he is not a murderer or mischief-maker, is like slaying “the whole people” (“mankind” in Pickthall translation).⁹⁷ Never “kill a believer”; but if it happens by mistake, “compensation is due” to the family of the slain.⁹⁸ The punishment for intentionally killing a believer is strong: eternal damnation.⁹⁹ Do not begin

⁸⁴ 3:167

⁸⁵ 48:17

⁸⁶ 4:74, 9:111

⁸⁷ 9:14

⁸⁸ 9:123

⁸⁹ 3:124

⁹⁰ 8:15

⁹¹ 47:35

⁹² 8:57

⁹³ 8:41, c.f. 8:69

⁹⁴ 2:190

⁹⁵ 9:36

⁹⁶ 17:33; 25:68. Presumably “just cause” include the causes mentioned above: against oppression, in defence of the weak and in self-defence.

⁹⁷ 5:32

⁹⁸ 4:92; 2:178

⁹⁹ 4:93

hostilities.¹⁰⁰ Do not fight at a “Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there.”¹⁰¹ If the adversary does not fight but instead offers peace guarantees (or treaty), then Allah does not allow you to fight.¹⁰² It is not right to reject a peace offered by an enemy because you desire the spoils of war.¹⁰³ But you can reject a peace agreement if the enemy is treacherous.¹⁰⁴

Do not fight during the four holy months.¹⁰⁵ It is permissible to fight after the forbidden months and slay Pagans but “if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practice regular charity, then open the way for them.”¹⁰⁶ Follow proportionality: punish to the degree you were afflicted, though patience is even better¹⁰⁷ “for Allah is with those who restrain themselves, and those who do good.”¹⁰⁸

A Muslim cannot turn for help (such as protection) from those who do various wrongs, such as fighting you on the basis of your Faith, or those who “drive you out of your homes, and support (others) in driving you out.”¹⁰⁹

3.1.2 Extracts

In the tabulation of extracts, the following abbreviations for Just War criteria have been used in order to make parallels with the Just War themes:

- JC: Just Cause
- LA: Legitimate authority
- LR: Last Resort
- P: Proportionality
- RI: Right Intent

3.1.2.1 Why, when, who and where to fight (*Jus ad bellum*)

Verse	Quotation	Just War Parallels
2:190	YUSUFALI: Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors. PICKTHAL: Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities . Lo! Allah loveth not aggressors . [Note: significant difference in translation] SHAKIR: And fight in the way of Allah with those who fight with you, and do not exceed the limits, surely Allah does not love those who exceed the limits.	JC-Allah JC-defence (“but begin not hostilities” (P) Also interpreted as instruction to avoid targeting non-combatants.
2:191-	YUSUFALI: And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out	JC

¹⁰⁰ 2:190, Pickthall trans.

¹⁰¹ 2:191

¹⁰² 4:90 and 8:61

¹⁰³ 4:94

¹⁰⁴ 8:58 and 9:12

¹⁰⁵ 9:36

¹⁰⁶ 9:5

¹⁰⁷ 16:126

¹⁰⁸ 16:128

¹⁰⁹ 60:9

2	<p>from where they have Turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them. Such is the reward of disbelievers. But if they desist, then lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from whence they drove you out, and persecution is severer than slaughter, and do not fight with them at the Sacred Mosque until they fight with you in it, but if they do fight you, then slay them; such is the recompense of the unbelievers. But if they desist, then surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	<p><i>Jus in bellum</i>-do not fight in the Sacred Mosque. Persecution or oppression is worse than killing. See also passage 2:193</p>
2:216-217	<p>YUSUFALI: Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not. They ask thee concerning fighting in the Prohibited Month. Say: "Fighting therein is a grave (offence); but graver is it in the sight of Allah to prevent access to the path of Allah, to deny Him, to prevent access to the Sacred Mosque, and drive out its members." Tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter. Nor will they cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can. And if any of you Turn back from their faith and die in unbelief, their works will bear no fruit in this life and in the Hereafter; they will be companions of the Fire and will abide therein.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Warfare is ordained for you, though it is hateful unto you; but it may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you, and it may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you. Allah knoweth, ye know not. They question thee (O Muhammad) with regard to warfare in the sacred month. Say: Warfare therein is a great (transgression), but to turn (men) from the way of Allah, and to disbelieve in Him and in the Inviolable Place of Worship, and to expel His people thence, is a greater with Allah; for persecution is worse than killing. And they will not cease from fighting against you till they have made you renegades from your religion, if they can. And whoso becometh a renegade and dieth in his disbelief: such are they whose works have fallen both in the world and the Hereafter. Such are rightful owners of the Fire: they will abide therein.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Fighting is enjoined on you, and it is an object of dislike to you; and it may be that you dislike a thing while it is good for you, and it may be that you love a thing while it is evil for you, and Allah knows, while you do not know. They ask you concerning the sacred month about fighting in it. Say: Fighting in it is a grave matter, and hindering (men) from Allah's way and denying Him, and (hindering men from) the Sacred Mosque and turning its people out of it, are still graver with Allah, and persecution is graver than slaughter; and they will not cease fighting with you until they turn you back from your religion, if they can; and whoever of you turns back from his religion, then he dies while an unbeliever-- these it is whose works shall go</p>	<p>JC LA-"Allah knoweth, ye know not"</p>

	for nothing in this world and the hereafter, and they are the inmates of the fire; therein they shall abide.	
2:244	<p>YUSUFALI: Then fight in the cause of Allah, and know that Allah Heareth and knoweth all things.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Fight in the way of Allah, and know that Allah is Hearer, Knower.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And fight in the way of Allah, and know that Allah is Hearing, Knowing.</p>	JC
2:279	<p>YUSUFALI: If ye do it [give up usury] not, Take notice of war from Allah and His Messenger: But if ye turn back, ye shall have your capital sums: Deal not unjustly, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And if ye do not, then be warned of war (against you) from Allah and His messenger. And if ye repent, then ye have your principal (without interest). Wrong not, and ye shall not be wronged.</p> <p>SHAKIR: But if you do (it) not, then be apprised of war from Allah and His Messenger; and if you repent, then you shall have your capital; neither shall you make (the debtor) suffer loss, nor shall you be made to suffer loss.</p>	<p>JC LA Note: Principle of reciprocity (also known as the “Golden Rule”)</p>
2:98	<p>YUSUFALI: Whoever is an enemy to Allah and His angels and messengers, to Gabriel and Michael,— Lo! Allah is an enemy to those who reject Faith.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Who is an enemy to Allah, and His angels and His messengers, and Gabriel and Michael! Then, lo! Allah (Himself) is an enemy to the disbelievers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Whoever is the enemy of Allah and His angels and His messengers and Jibreel and Meekaeel, so surely Allah is the enemy of the unbelievers.</p>	<p>JC God’s enemies are enemies to the faithful</p>
3:121	<p>YUSUFALI: As to those who deny the Signs of Allah and in defiance of right, slay the prophets, and slay those who teach just dealing with mankind, announce to them a grievous penalty.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Lo! those who disbelieve the revelations of Allah, and slay the prophets wrongfully, and slay those of mankind who enjoin equity: promise them a painful doom.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Surely (as for) those who disbelieve in the communications of Allah and slay the prophets unjustly and slay those among men who enjoin justice, announce to them a painful chastisement.</p>	JC

3:125	<p>YUSUFALI: ‘Yea,—if ye remain firm, and act aright, even if the enemy should rush here on you in hot haste, your Lord would help you with five thousand angels Making a terrific onslaught.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Nay, but if ye persevere, and keep from evil, and (the enemy) attack you suddenly, your Lord will help you with five thousand angels sweeping on.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Yea! if you remain patient and are on your guard, and they come upon you in a headlong manner, your Lord will assist you with five thousand of the havoc-making angels.</p>	
4.104	<p>YUSUFALI: And slacken not in following up the enemy: If ye are suffering hardships, they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have Hope from Allah, while they have none. And Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Relent not in pursuit of the enemy. If ye are suffering, lo! they suffer even as ye suffer and ye hope from Allah that for which they cannot hope. Allah is ever Knower, Wise.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And be not weak hearted in pursuit of the enemy; if you suffer pain, then surely they (too) suffer pain as you suffer pain, and you hope from Allah what they do not hope; and Allah is Knowing, Wise.</p>	
4:74	<p>YUSUFALI: Let those fight in the cause of Allah Who sell the life of this world for the hereafter. To him who fighteth in the cause of Allah,—whether he is slain or gets victory—Soon shall We give him a reward of great (value).</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Let those fight in the way of Allah who sell the life of this world for the other. Whoso fighteth in the way of Allah, be he slain or be he victorious, on him We shall bestow a vast reward.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Therefore let those fight in the way of Allah, who sell this world's life for the hereafter; and whoever fights in the way of Allah, then be he slain or be he victorious, We shall grant him a mighty reward.</p>	<p>JC Ultimate reward after death</p>
4:75, 4:76, 4:77	<p>YUSUFALI: And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?- Men, women, and children, whose cry is: "Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will protect; and raise for us from thee one who will help!"</p> <p>Those who believe fight in the cause of Allah, and those who reject Faith Fight in the cause of Evil: So fight ye against the friends of Satan: feeble indeed is the cunning of Satan.</p> <p>Hast thou not turned Thy vision to those who were told to hold back their hands (from fight) but establish regular prayers and spend in regular charity? When (at length) the order for fighting was issued to them, behold! a section of them feared men as—or even more than—they should have feared Allah: They said: "Our Lord! Why hast Thou ordered us to fight? Wouldst Thou not Grant us respite to our (natural) term, near (enough)?" Say: "Short is the enjoyment of this world: the Hereafter is the best for those who do right: Never will ye be dealt with unjustly in the very least!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: How should ye not fight for the cause of Allah and of the feeble among men and of the women and the children who are crying: Our Lord! Bring us forth from out this town of which the people are oppressors! Oh, give us from thy presence some protecting friend! Oh, give us from Thy</p>	<p>JC-Allah and protection against oppression; JC-fight for God even when it is against personal wishes.</p>

	<p>presence some defender! Those who believe do battle for the cause of Allah; and those who disbelieve do battle for the cause of idols. So fight the minions of the devil. Lo! the devil's strategy is ever weak.</p> <p>Hast thou not seen those unto whom it was said: Withhold your hands, establish worship and pay the poordue, but when fighting was prescribed for them behold! a party of them fear mankind even as their fear of Allah or with greater fear, and say: Our Lord! Why hast Thou ordained fighting for us? If only Thou wouldst give us respite yet a while! Say (unto them, O Muhammad): The comfort of this world is scant; the Hereafter will be better for him who wardeth off (evil); and ye will not be wronged the down upon a date-stone.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And what reason have you that you should not fight in the way of Allah and of the weak among the men and the women and the children, (of) those who say: Our Lord! cause us to go forth from this town, whose people are oppressors, and give us from Thee a guardian and give us from Thee a helper.</p> <p>Those who believe fight in the way of Allah, and those who disbelieve fight in the way of the Shaitan. Fight therefore against the friends of the Shaitan; surely the strategy of the Shaitan is weak.</p> <p>Have you not seen those to whom it was said: Withhold your hands, and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate; but when fighting is prescribed for them, lo! a party of them fear men as they ought to have feared Allah, or (even) with a greater fear, and say: Our Lord! why hast Thou ordained fighting for us? Wherefore didst Thou not grant us a delay to a near end? Say: The provision of this world is short, and the hereafter is better for him who guards (against evil); and you shall not be wronged the husk of a date stone.</p>	
4:84	<p>YUSUFALI: Then fight in Allah's cause – Thou art held responsible only for thyself – and rouse the believers. It may be that Allah will restrain the fury of the Unbelievers; for Allah is the strongest in might and in punishment.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: So fight (O Muhammad) in the way of Allah Thou art not taxed (with the responsibility for anyone) except thyself—and urge on the believers. Peradventure Allah will restrain the might of those who disbelieve. Allah is stronger in might and stronger in inflicting punishment.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Fight then in Allah's way; this is not imposed on you except In relation to yourself, and rouse the believers to ardor maybe Allah will restrain the fighting of those who disbelieve and Allah is strongest in prowess and strongest to give an exemplary punishment.</p>	JC

4:89	<p>YUSUFALI: They but wish that ye should reject Faith, as they do, and thus be on the same footing (as they): But take not friends from their ranks until they flee in the way of Allah (From what is forbidden). But if they turn renegades, seize them and slay them wherever ye find them; and (in any case) take no friends or helpers from their ranks;-</p> <p>PICKTHAL: They long that ye should disbelieve even as they disbelieve, that ye may be upon a level (with them). So choose not friends from them till they forsake their homes in the way of Allah; if they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever ye find them, and choose no friend nor helper from among them,</p> <p>SHAKIR: They desire that you should disbelieve as they have disbelieved, so that you might be (all) alike; therefore take not from among them friends until they fly (their homes) in Allah's way; but if they turn back, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them, and take not from among them a friend or a helper.</p>	<p>JC This verse is in reference to "hypocrites" (4:88).</p>
4:90	<p>YUSUFALI: Except those who join a group between whom and you there is a treaty (of peace), or those who approach you with hearts restraining them from fighting you as well as fighting their own people. If Allah had pleased, He could have given them power over you, and they would have fought you: Therefore if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and (instead) send you (Guarantees of) peace, then Allah Hath opened no way for you (to war against them).</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Except those who seek refuge with a people between whom and you there is a covenant, or (those who) come unto you because their hearts forbid them to make war on you or make war on their own folk. Had Allah willed He could have given them power over you so that assuredly they would have fought you. So, if they hold aloof from you and wage not war against you and offer you peace, Allah alloweth you no way against them.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Except those who reach a people between whom and you there is an alliance, or who come to you, their hearts shrinking from fighting you or fighting their own people; and if Allah had pleased, He would have given them power over you, so that they should have certainly fought you; therefore if they withdraw from you and do not fight you and offer you peace, then Allah has not given you a way against them.</p>	<p>LR-no fighting because of diplomacy</p>
4:91	<p>YUSUFALI: Others you will find that wish to gain your confidence as well as that of their people: Every time they are sent back to temptation, they succumb thereto: if they withdraw not from you nor give you (guarantees) of peace besides restraining their hands, seize them and slay them wherever ye get them: In their case We have provided you with a clear argument against them.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Ye will find others who desire that they should have security from you, and security from their own folk. So often as they are returned to hostility they are plunged therein. If they keep not aloof from you nor offer you peace nor hold their hands, then take them and kill them wherever ye find them. Against such We have given you clear warrant.</p> <p>SHAKIR: You will find others who desire that they should be safe from you and secure from their own people; as often as they are sent back to the mischief they get thrown into it headlong; therefore if they do not withdraw</p>	<p>LR-fighting only after diplomacy fails and the other side remains aggressive.</p>

	from you, and (do not) offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them; and against these We have given you a clear authority.	
4:94	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! When ye go abroad in the cause of Allah, investigate carefully, and say not to any one who offers you a salutation: "Thou art none of a believer!" Coveting the perishable goods of this life: with Allah are profits and spoils abundant. Even thus were ye yourselves before, till Allah conferred on you His favours: Therefore carefully investigate. For Allah is well aware of all that ye do.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! When ye go forth (to fight) in the way of Allah, be careful to discriminate, and say not unto one who offereth you peace: "Thou art not a believer," seeking the chance profits of this life (so that ye may despoil him). With Allah are plenteous spoils. Even thus (as he now is) were ye before; but Allah hath since then been gracious unto you. Therefore take care to discriminate. Allah is ever Informed of what ye do.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! when you go to war in Allah's way, make investigation, and do not say to any one who offers you peace: You are not a believer. Do you seek goods of this world's life! But with Allah there are abundant gains; you too were such before, then Allah conferred a benefit on you; therefore make investigation; surely Allah is aware of what you do.</p>	JC: Fight not for spoils/material goods.
6:162	<p>YUSUFALI: Say: "Truly, my prayer and my service of sacrifice, my life and my death, are (all) for Allah, the Cherisher of the Worlds:</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Say: Lo! my worship and my sacrifice and my living and my dying are for Allah, Lord of the Worlds.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Say. Surely my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death are (all) for Allah, the Lord of the worlds;</p>	JC Ultimate service to Allah
Surah 8	<i>This surah is entitled al-Anfal (Spoils of War, Booty). It contains a number of commands about war. See especially: 8:15-18 (meeting the Unbelievers in hostile array), 8:38-39, 41 (one fifth booty to Allah), 56 (covenant-breakers), 61 (peace offered), 65 (rouse the Believers to the fight), 66 (winning against superior numbers), 67-70 (prisoners of war), 69 (enjoy spoils), 72-73 (protectors), 74-75 (fight for the Faith).</i>	
8:38-39	<p>YUSUFALI: Say to the Unbelievers, if (now) they desist (from Unbelief), their past would be forgiven them; but if they persist, the punishment of those before them is already (a matter of warning for them). And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere; but if they cease, verily Allah doth see all that they do.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Tell those who disbelieve that if they cease (from persecution of believers) that which is past will be forgiven them; but if they return (thereto) then the example of the men of old hath already gone (before them, for a warning).</p> <p>And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for Allah. But if they cease, then lo! Allah is Seer of what they do.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist, that which is past shall be forgiven to them; and if they return, then what happened to the ancients has already passed.</p> <p>And fight with them until there is no more persecution and religion should be only for Allah; but if they desist, then surely Allah sees what they do.</p>	JC -End oppression or persecution.

8:58	<p>YUSUFALI: If thou fearest treachery from any group, throw back (their covenant) to them, (so as to be) on equal terms: for Allah loveth not the treacherous.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And if thou fearest treachery from any folk, then throw back to them (their treaty) fairly. Lo! Allah loveth not the treacherous.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if you fear treachery on the part of a people, then throw back to them on terms of equality; surely Allah does not love the treacherous.</p>	LR-diplomacy, but reject the treaty if there is treachery. Prop.
8:60	<p>YUSUFALI: Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others beside them whom ye know not. Allah knoweth them. Whatsoever ye spend in the way of Allah it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And prepare against them what force you can and horses tied at the frontier, to frighten thereby the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them, whom you do not know (but) Allah knows them; and whatever thing you will spend in Allah's way, it will be paid back to you fully and you shall not be dealt with unjustly.</p>	JC/P- Eternal goals.
8:65	<p>YUSUFALI: O Prophet! rouse the Believers to the fight. If there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred: if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the Unbelievers: for these are a people without understanding.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O Prophet! Exhort the believers to fight. If there be of you twenty steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be of you a hundred (steadfast) they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they (the disbelievers) are a folk without intelligence.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O Prophet! urge the believers to war; if there are twenty patient ones of you they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they are a people who do not understand.</p>	JC
9:12	<p>YUSUFALI: But if they violate their oaths after their covenant, and taunt you for your Faith, — fight ye the chiefs of Unfaith: for their oaths are nothing to them: that thus they may be restrained.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And if they break their pledges after their treaty (hath been made with you) and assail your religion, then fight the heads of disbelief—Lo! they have no binding oaths—in order that they may desist.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if they break their oaths after their agreement and (openly) revile your religion, then fight the leaders of unbelief-- surely their oaths are nothing-- so that they may desist.</p>	JC: fight treaty-breakers and those who assail Islam LR-fight when diplomacy breaks down
9:14	<p>YUSUFALI: Fight them, and Allah will punish them by your hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of Believers,</p>	LA JC

	<p>PICKTHAL: Fight them! Allah will chastise them at your hands, and He will lay them low and give you victory over them, and He will heal the breasts of folk who are believers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Fight them, Allah will punish them by your hands and bring them to disgrace, and assist you against them and heal the hearts of a believing people.</p>	
9:29	<p>YUSUFALI: Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya [tribute] with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Fight against such of those who have been given the Scripture as believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which Allah hath forbidden by His messenger, and follow not the Religion of Truth, until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Fight those who do not believe in Allah, nor in the latter day, nor do they prohibit what Allah and His Messenger have prohibited, nor follow the religion of truth, out of those who have been given the Book, until they pay the tax in acknowledgment of superiority and they are in a state of subjection.</p>	JC-fight against those who do not believe in Allah. Famous “sword verse.”
9:38	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! what is the matter with you, that, when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling heavily to the earth? Do ye prefer the life of this world to the Hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the Hereafter.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! What aileth you that when it is said unto you: Go forth in the way of Allah, ye are bowed down to the ground with heaviness. Take ye pleasure in the life of the world rather than in the Hereafter? The comfort of the life of the world is but little in the Hereafter.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! What (excuse) have you that when it is said to you: Go forth in Allah's way, you should incline heavily to earth; are you contented with this world's life instead of the hereafter? But the provision of this world's life compared with the hereafter is but little.</p>	JC (personal rewards in the “Hereafter”)
9:39	<p>YUSUFALI: Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: If ye go not forth He will afflict you with a painful doom, and will choose instead of you a folk other than you. Ye cannot harm Him at all. Allah is Able to do all things.</p> <p>SHAKIR: If you do not go forth, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement and bring in your place a people other than you, and you will do Him no harm; and Allah has power over all things.</p>	JC “Go forth” can be translated as “go and fight.”
9:41	<p>YUSUFALI: Go ye forth, (whether equipped) lightly or heavily, and strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of Allah. That is best for you, if ye (but) knew.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Go forth, light-armed and heavy-armed, and strive with your wealth and your lives in the way of Allah! That is best for you if ye but knew.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Go forth light and heavy, and strive hard in Allah's way with your property and your persons; this is better for you, if you know.</p>	JC Note: <i>jihad</i> is often translated as “strive.”

9:111	<p>YUSUFALI: Allah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the garden (of Paradise): they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth, through the Law, the Gospel, and the Qur'an: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Lo! Allah hath bought from the believers their lives and their wealth because the Garden will be theirs: they shall fight in the way of Allah and shall slay and be slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'an. Who fulfilleth His covenant better than Allah? Rejoice then in your bargain that ye have made, for that is the supreme triumph.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Surely Allah has bought of the believers their persons and their property for this, that they shall have the garden; they fight in Allah's way, so they slay and are slain; a promise which is binding on Him in the Taurat and the Injeel and the Quran; and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Rejoice therefore in the pledge which you have made; and that is the mighty achievement.</p>	JC –“they fight in His cause”
9:123	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! fight the unbelievers who gird you about, and let them find firmness in you: and know that Allah is with those who fear Him.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! Fight those of the disbelievers who are near to you, and let them find harshness in you, and know that Allah is with those who keep their duty (unto Him).</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! fight those of the unbelievers who are near to you and let them find in you hardness; and know that Allah is with those who guard (against evil).</p>	LA
22:39	<p>YUSUFALI: To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged;– and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid;–</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Sanction is given unto those who fight because they have been wronged; and Allah is indeed Able to give them victory;</p> <p>SHAKIR: Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely Allah is well able to assist them</p>	JC-defence, Allah’s permission; those who are wronged
27:35	<p>YUSUFALI: "But I am going to send him a present, and (wait) to see with what (answer) return (my) ambassadors."</p> <p>PICKTHAL: But lo! I am going to send a present unto them, and to see with what (answer) the messengers return.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And surely I am going to send a present to them, and shall wait to see what (answer) do the messengers bring back.</p>	Example of diplomacy

33:14	<p>YUSUFALI: And if an entry had been effected to them from the sides of the (city), and they had been incited to sedition, they would certainly have brought it to pass, with none but a brief delay!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: If the enemy had entered from all sides and they had been exhorted to treachery, they would have committed it, and would have hesitated thereupon but little.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if an entry were made upon them from the outlying parts of it, then they were asked to wage war, they would certainly have done it, and they would not have stayed in it but a little while.</p>	Describes the ruthlessness of the enemy during the Battle of the Trench (627 C.E.). ¹¹⁰
33:22	<p>YUSUFALI: When the Believers saw the Confederate forces, they said: "This is what Allah and his Messenger had promised us, and Allah and His Messenger told us what was true." And it only added to their faith and their zeal in obedience.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And when the true believers saw the clans, they said: This is that which Allah and His messenger promised us. Allah and His messenger are true. It did but confirm them in their faith and resignation.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And when the believers saw the allies, they said: This is what Allah and His Messenger promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth; and it only increased them in faith and submission.</p>	LA
42:39	<p>YUSUFALI: And those who, when an <u>oppressive</u> wrong is inflicted on them, (are not cowed but) help and defend themselves.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And those who, when great wrong is done to them, defend themselves,</p> <p>SHAKIR: And those who, when great wrong afflicts them, defend themselves.</p>	LR-defence
42:41	<p>YUSUFALI: But indeed if any do help and defend themselves after a wrong (done) to them, against such there is no cause of blame.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And whoso defendeth himself after he hath suffered wrong—for such, there is no way (of blame) against them.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And whoever defends himself after his being oppressed, these it is against whom there is no way (to blame).</p>	JC: Self-defence after a wrong is done
42:42	<p>YUSUFALI: The blame is only against those who oppress men and wrongdoing and insolently transgress beyond bounds through the land, defying right and justice: for such there will be a penalty grievous.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The way (of blame) is only against those who oppress mankind, and wrongfully rebel in the earth. For such there is a painful doom.</p> <p>SHAKIR: The way (to blame) is only against those who oppress men and revolt in the earth unjustly; these shall have a painful punishment.</p>	JC: against oppression
49:9	<p>YUSUFALI: If two parties among the Believers fall into a quarrel, make ye peace between them: but if one of them <u>transgresses beyond bounds</u> against the other, then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of Allah; but if it complies, then make peace between them with justice, and be fair: for Allah loves those who are fair (and just).</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other,</p>	JC: parties who transgress beyond bounds LA

¹¹⁰ Chapter 33 introductory notes in The Qur'an. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem trans. (Oxford University Press, 2005). 266.

	<p>fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah; then, if it return, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if two parties of the believers quarrel, make peace between them; but if one of them acts wrongfully towards the other, fight that which acts wrongfully until it returns to Allah's command; then if it returns, make peace between them with justice and act equitably; surely Allah loves those who act equitably.</p>	
52:42	<p>YUSUFALI: Or do they intend a plot (against thee)? But those who defy Allah are themselves involved in a Plot!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Or seek they to ensnare (the messenger)? But those who disbelieve, they are the ensnared!</p> <p>SHAKIR: Or do they desire a war? But those who disbelieve shall be the vanquished ones in war.</p>	JC

3.1.2.2 Limitations on force

Verse	Quotation	Comment
2:193	<p>YUSUFALI: And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah; but if they cease, Let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrong-doers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And fight with them until there is no persecution, and religion should be only for Allah, but if they desist, then there should be no hostility except against the oppressors.</p>	<p>P</p> <p>LR-only fight until it is needed.</p> <p>JC-stop oppression</p>
2:276	<p>YUSUFALI: Allah will deprive usury of all blessing, but will give increase for deeds of charity: For He loveth not creatures ungrateful and wicked.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Allah hath blighted usury and made almsgiving fruitful. Allah loveth not the impious and guilty.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Allah does not bless usury, and He causes charitable deeds to prosper, and Allah does not love any ungrateful sinner.</p>	<p>God does not love the bad.</p>
3:172	<p>YUSUFALI: Of those who answered the call of Allah and the Messenger, even after being wounded, those who do right and refrain from wrong have a great reward;</p> <p>PICKTHAL: As for those who heard the call of Allah and His messenger after the harm befell them (in the fight); for such of them as do right and ward off (evil), there is great reward.</p> <p>SHAKIR: (As for) those who responded (at Ohud) to the call of Allah and the Messenger after the wound had befallen them, those among them who do good (to others) and guard (against evil) shall have a great reward.</p>	<p>Do right and refrain from doing wrong.</p>

5:2	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! Violate not the sanctity of the symbols of Allah, nor of the sacred month, nor of the animals brought for sacrifice, nor the garlands that mark out such animals, nor the people resorting to the sacred house, seeking of the bounty and good pleasure of their Lord. But when ye are clear of the sacred precincts and of pilgrim garb, ye may hunt and let <u>not the hatred</u> of some people in (once) shutting you out of the Sacred Mosque lead you to transgression (and hostility on your part). Help ye one another in righteousness and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancour: fear Allah: for Allah is strict in punishment.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! Profane not Allah's monuments nor the Sacred Month nor the offerings nor the garlands, nor those repairing to the Sacred House, seeking the grace and pleasure of their Lord. But when ye have left the sacred territory, then go hunting (if ye will). And let not your hatred of a folk who (once) stopped your going to the inviolable place of worship seduce you to transgress; but help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty. Help not one another unto sin and transgression, but keep your duty to Allah. Lo! Allah is severe in punishment.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! do not violate the signs appointed by Allah nor the sacred month, nor (interfere with) the offerings, nor the sacrificial animals with garlands, nor those going to the sacred house seeking the grace and pleasure of their Lord; and when you are free from the obligations of the pilgrimage, then hunt, and let not hatred of a people-- because they hindered you from the Sacred Masjid-- incite you to exceed the limits, and help one another in goodness and piety, and do not help one another in sin and aggression; and be careful of (your duty to) Allah; surely Allah is severe in requiting (evil).</p>	Help one another; Be peaceful and righteous.
5:32	<p>YUSUFALI: On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if any one <u>slew a person—unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land—it would be as if he slew the whole people:</u> and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. Then although there came to them Our messengers with clear signs, yet, even after that, many of them continued to commit excesses in the land.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: For that cause We decreed for the Children of Israel that whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and whoso saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind. Our messengers came unto them of old with clear proofs (of Allah's Sovereignty), but afterwards lo! many of them became prodigals in the earth.</p> <p>SHAKIR: For this reason did We prescribe to the children of Israel that whoever slays a soul, unless it be for manslaughter or for mischief in the land, it is as though he slew all men; and whoever keeps it alive, it is as though he kept alive all men; and certainly Our messengers came to them with clear arguments, but even after that many of them certainly act extravagantly in the land.</p>	<p>Famous quote.</p> <p>Do not kill except ...</p> <p>JC: <u>murderer or spreader of mischief</u> (“corruption”)</p> <p>Relates Islam with Judaism, specifically to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin, 37a.¹¹¹</p>

¹¹¹ Khaleel Mohammed, "Assessing English Translations of the Qur'an," The Middle East Quarterly 12.2 (Spring 2005): Footnote 5.

9:36	<p>YUSUFALI: The number of months in the sight of Allah is twelve (in a year)- so ordained by Him the day He created the heavens and the earth; of them four are sacred: that is the straight usage. So wrong not yourselves therein, and fight the Pagans all together as they fight you all together. But know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Lo! the number of the months with Allah is twelve months by Allah's ordinance in the day that He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred: that is the right religion. So wrong not yourselves in them. And wage war on all of the idolaters as they are waging war on all of you. And know that Allah is with those who keep their duty (unto Him).</p> <p>SHAKIR: Surely the number of months with Allah is twelve months in Allah's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four being sacred; that is the right reckoning; therefore be not unjust to yourselves regarding them, and fight the polytheists all together as they fight you all together; and know that Allah is with those who guard (against evil).</p>	<p>JC-defence LR</p> <p>Do not fight during four holy months, even if they war against you.</p>
11:112	<p>YUSUFALI: Therefore stand firm (in the straight Path) as thou art commanded,- thou and those who with thee turn (unto Allah); and transgress not (from the Path): for He seeth well all that ye do.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee, and transgress not. Lo! He is Seer of what ye do.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Continue then in the right way as you are commanded, as also he who has turned (to Allah) with you, and be not inordinate (O men!), surely He sees what you do.</p>	<p>Moderation in action</p>
16:126	<p>YUSUFALI: And if ye do catch them out, catch them out no worse than they catch you out: But if ye show patience, that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient. [...] (16:128:) For Allah is with those who restrain themselves, and those who do good.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: If ye punish, then punish with the like of that wherewith ye were afflicted. But if ye endure patiently, verily it is better for the patient.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if you take your turn, then retaliate with the like of that with which you were afflicted; but if you are patient, it will certainly be best for those who are patient.</p>	<p>P</p> <p>Being patient is better than aggression.</p>
17:33	<p>YUSUFALI: Nor take life—which Allah has made sacred—except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully, we have given his heir authority (to demand qisas or to forgive): but let him not exceed bounds in the matter of taking life; for he is helped (by the Law).</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And slay not the life which Allah hath forbidden save with right. Whoso is slain wrongfully, We have given power unto his heir, but let him not commit excess in slaying. Lo! he will be helped.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And do not kill any one whom Allah has forbidden, except for a just cause, and whoever is slain unjustly, We have indeed given to his heir authority, so let him not exceed the just limits in slaying; surely he is aided.</p>	<p>JC</p> <p>Allah has made life sacred</p>
25:68	<p>YUSUFALI: Those who invoke not, with Allah, any other god, nor slay</p>	<p>JC – do not kill</p>

	<p>such life as Allah has made sacred except for just cause, nor commit fornication;—and any that does this (not only) meets punishment.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And those who cry not unto any other god along with Allah, nor take the life which Allah hath forbidden save in (course of) justice, nor commit adultery—and whoso doeth this shall pay the penalty;</p> <p>SHAKIR: And they who do not call upon another god with Allah and do not slay the soul, which Allah has forbidden except in the requirements of justice, and (who) do not commit fornication and he who does this shall find a requital of sin;</p>	<p>“sacred life” except for just causes.</p>
26:227	<p>YUSUFALI: Except those who believe, work righteousness, engage much in the remembrance of Allah, and defend themselves only after they are unjustly attacked. And soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Save those who believe and do good works, and remember Allah much, and vindicate themselves after they have been wronged. Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned!</p> <p>SHAKIR: Except those who believe and do good and remember Allah much, and defend themselves after they are oppressed; and they who act unjustly shall know to what final place of turning they shall turn back.</p>	<p>JC Self-defence</p>
42:39; 42:41 is similar	<p>YUSUFALI: And those who, when an oppressive wrong is inflicted on them, (are not cowed but) help and defend themselves.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And those who, when great wrong is done to them, defend themselves,</p> <p>SHAKIR: And those who, when great wrong afflicts them, defend themselves.</p>	<p>JC Resisting oppression and self-defence</p>
47:20	<p>YUSUFALI: Those who believe say, "Why is not a sura sent down (for us)?" But when a sura of basic or categorical meaning is revealed, and fighting is mentioned therein, thou wilt see those in whose hearts is a disease looking at thee with a look of one in swoon at the approach of death. But more fitting for them-</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And those who believe say: If only a surah were revealed! But when a decisive surah is revealed and war is mentioned therein, thou seest those in whose hearts is a disease looking at thee with the look of men fainting unto death. Therefor woe unto them!</p> <p>SHAKIR: And those who believe say: Why has not a chapter been revealed? But when a decisive chapter is revealed, and fighting is mentioned therein you see those in whose hearts is a disease look to you with the look of one fainting because of death. Woe to them then!</p>	<p>Qur'ān appears trying to avoid instigating violence.</p>
60:8	<p>YUSUFALI: Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) Faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for Allah loveth those who are just.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Allah forbiddeth you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that ye should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allah loveth the just dealers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Allah does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war against you on account of (your) religion, and have not driven you forth</p>	

	from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly; surely Allah loves the doers of justice.	
--	--	--

3.1.2.3 How to fight (*Jus in bello*)

Verse	Quotation	Comment
8:15 (also in 8:16)	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! when ye meet the Unbelievers in hostile array, never turn your backs to them.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! When ye meet those who disbelieve in battle, turn not your backs to them.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! when you meet those who disbelieve marching for war, then turn not your backs to them.</p>	Command for <i>jus in bello</i> .
8:20	<p>YUSUFALI: Remember thy Lord inspired the angels (with the message): "I am with you: give firmness to the Believers: I will instil terror into the hearts of the Unbelievers: smite ye above their necks and smite all their finger-tips off them."</p> <p>PICKTHAL: When thy Lord inspired the angels, (saying): I am with you. So make those who believe stand firm. I will throw fear into the hearts of those who disbelieve. Then smite the necks and smite of them each finger.</p> <p>SHAKIR: When your Lord revealed to the angels: I am with you, therefore make firm those who believe. I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve. Therefore strike off their heads and strike off every fingertip of them.</p>	Cut off the necks of your enemies
8:41	<p>YUSUFALI: And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to Allah,—and to the Messenger, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy, and the wayfarer,— if ye do believe in Allah and in the revelation We sent down to Our servant on the Day of Testing,— the Day of the meeting of the two forces. For Allah hath power over all things.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And know that whatever ye take as spoils of war, lo! a fifth thereof is for Allah, and for the messenger and for the kinsman (who hath need) and orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, if ye believe in Allah and that which We revealed unto Our slave on the Day of Discrimination, the day when the two armies met. And Allah is Able to do all things.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And know that whatever thing you gain, a fifth of it is for Allah and for the Messenger and for the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, if you believe in Allah and in that which We revealed to Our servant, on the day of distinction, the day on which the two parties met; and Allah has power over all things.</p>	<i>Jus post bello</i> - sharing booty properly
8:67	<p>YUSUFALI: It is not fitting for a prophet that he should have prisoners of war until he hath thoroughly subdued the land. Ye look for the temporal goods of this world; but Allah looketh to the Hereafter: And Allah is Exalted in might, Wise.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: It is not for any prophet to have captives until he hath made slaughter in the land. Ye desire the lure of this world and Allah desireth (for you) the Hereafter, and Allah is Mighty, Wise.</p> <p>SHAKIR: It is not fit for a prophet that he should take captives unless he has fought and triumphed in the land; you desire the frail goods of this world, while Allah desires (for you) the hereafter; and Allah is Mighty, Wise.</p>	<i>Jus in bello</i> - Do not take captives until you can hold the land.

8:69	<p>YUSUFALI: But (now) enjoy what ye took in war, lawful and good: but fear Allah: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Now enjoy what ye have won, as lawful and good, and keep your duty to Allah. Lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Eat then of the lawful and good (things) which you have acquired in war, and be careful of (your duty to) Allah; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	Booty in war.
8:70	<p>YUSUFALI: O Prophet! say to those who are captives in your hands: "If Allah findeth any good in your hearts, He will give you something better than what has been taken from you, and He will forgive you: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful."</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O Prophet! Say unto those captives who are in your hands: If Allah knoweth any good in your hearts He will give you better than that which hath been taken from you, and will forgive you. Lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O Prophet! say to those of the captives who are in your hands: If Allah knows anything good in your hearts, He will give to you better than that which has been taken away from you and will forgive you, and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	Allah will help war captives if they are good.
9:6	<p>YUSUFALI: If one amongst the Pagans ask thee for asylum, grant it to him, so that he may hear the word of Allah; and then escort him to where he can be secure. That is because they are men without knowledge.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And if anyone of the idolaters seeketh thy protection (O Muhammad), then protect him so that he may hear the Word of Allah, and afterward convey him to his place of safety. That is because they are a folk who know not.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And if one of the idolaters seek protection from you, grant him protection till he hears the word of Allah, then make him attain his place of safety; this is because they are a people who do not know.</p>	Give asylum to the pagans so that they can know Allah.
42:40	<p>YUSUFALI: The recompense for an injury is an injury equal thereto (in degree): but if a person forgives and makes reconciliation, his reward is due from Allah: for (Allah) loveth not those who do wrong.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The guerdon of an ill-deed is an ill the like thereof. But whosoever pardoneth and amendeth, his wage is the affair of Allah. Lo! He loveth not wrong-doers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And the recompense of evil is punishment like it, but whoever forgives and amends, he shall have his reward from Allah; surely He does not love the unjust.</p>	P

47:4	<p>YUSUFALI: Therefore, when ye meet the Unbelievers (in fight), smite at their necks; At length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind a bond firmly (on them): thereafter (is the time for) either generosity or ransom: Until the war lays down its burdens. Thus (are ye commanded): but if it had been Allah's Will, He could certainly have exacted retribution from them (Himself); but (He lets you fight) in order to test you, some with others. But those who are slain in the Way of Allah,- He will never let their deeds be lost.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Now when ye meet in battle those who disbelieve, then it is smiting of the necks until, when ye have routed them, then making fast of bonds; and afterward either grace or ransom till the war lay down its burdens. That (is the ordinance). And if Allah willed He could have punished them (without you) but (thus it is ordained) that He may try some of you by means of others. And those who are slain in the way of Allah, He rendereth not their actions vain.</p> <p>SHAKIR: So when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then smite the necks until when you have overcome them, then make (them) prisoners, and afterwards either set them free as a favor or let them ransom (themselves) until the war terminates. That (shall be so); and if Allah had pleased He would certainly have exacted what is due from them, but that He may try some of you by means of others; and (as for) those who are slain in the way of Allah, He will by no means allow their deeds to perish.</p>	<p>How to act in war. Chop off the heads of an enemy.</p> <p>- Free or ransom captives.</p>
76:8	<p>YUSUFALI: [The Rigueous] And they feed, for the love of Allah, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive,-</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And feed with food the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner, for love of Him,</p> <p>SHAKIR: And they give food out of love for Him to the poor and the orphan and the captive:</p>	<p>Feed captives.</p>

3.1.2.4 Other aggression

Verse	Quotation	Comment
2:178	<p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! the law of equality is prescribed to you in cases of murder: the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the woman for the woman. But if any remission is made by the brother of the slain, then grant any reasonable demand, and compensate him with handsome gratitude, this is a concession and a Mercy from your Lord. After this whoever exceeds the limits shall be in grave penalty.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! Retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the murdered; the freeman for the freeman, and the slave for the slave, and the female for the female. And for him who is forgiven somewhat by his (injured) brother, prosecution according to usage and payment unto him in kindness. This is an alleviation and a mercy from your Lord. He who transgresseth after this will have a painful doom.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the slain, the free for the free, and the slave for the slave, and the female for the female, but if any remission is made to any one by his (aggrieved) brother, then prosecution (for the bloodwit) should be made according to usage, and payment should be made to him in a good manner; this is an alleviation from your Lord and a mercy; so whoever exceeds the limit after this he shall have a painful chastisement.</p>	<p>P</p> <p><i>Lex talionis</i> (law of equal and direct retribution). Can kill in retaliation, but “grant any reasonable demand”</p>
2:194	<p>YUSUFALI: The prohibited month for the prohibited month,- and so for all things prohibited,- there is the law of equality. If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, Transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The forbidden month for the forbidden month, and forbidden things in retaliation. And one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you. Observe your duty to Allah, and know that Allah is with those who ward off (evil).</p> <p>SHAKIR: The Sacred month for the sacred month and all sacred things are (under the law of) retaliation; whoever then acts aggressively against you, inflict injury on him according to the injury he has inflicted on you and be careful (of your duty) to Allah and know that Allah is with those who guard (against evil).</p>	<p>Avoid fighting in the prohibited month, but it is permitted for retaliation. Repeated in 2:217.</p> <p>(Also <i>Lex talionis</i>)</p>
4:92	<p>YUSUFALI: Never should a believer kill a believer; but (If it so happens) by mistake, (Compensation is due): If one (so) kills a believer, it is ordained that he should free a believing slave, and pay compensation to the deceased's family, unless they remit it freely. If the deceased belonged to a people at war with you, and he was a believer, the freeing of a believing slave (Is enough). If he belonged to a people with whom ye have treaty of Mutual alliance, compensation should be paid to his family, and a believing slave be freed. For those who find this beyond their means, (is prescribed) a fast for two months running: by way of repentance to Allah: for Allah hath all knowledge and all wisdom.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: It is not for a believer to kill a believer unless (it be) by mistake. He who hath killed a believer by mistake must set free a believing slave, and pay the blood-money to the family of the slain, unless they remit it as a charity. If he (the victim) be of a people hostile unto you, and he is a</p>	<p>Restrictions against killing believers.</p>

	<p>believer, then (the penance is) to set free a believing slave. And if he cometh of a folk between whom and you there is a covenant, then the blood-money must be paid unto his folk and (also) a believing slave must be set free. And whoso hath not the wherewithal must fast two consecutive months. A penance from Allah. Allah is Knower, Wise.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And it does not behoove a believer to kill a believer except by mistake, and whoever kills a believer by mistake, he should free a believing slave, and blood-money should be paid to his people unless they remit it as alms; but if he be from a tribe hostile to you and he is a believer, the freeing of a believing slave (suffices), and if he is from a tribe between whom and you there is a covenant, the blood-money should be paid to his people along with the freeing of a believing slave; but he who cannot find (a slave) should fast for two months successively: a penance from Allah, and Allah is Knowing, Wise.</p>	
4:93	<p>YUSUFALI: If a man kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell, to abide therein (For ever): And the wrath and the curse of Allah are upon him, and a dreadful penalty is prepared for him.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Whoso slayeth a believer of set purpose, his reward is hell for ever. Allah is wroth against him and He hath cursed him and prepared for him an awful doom.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is hell; he shall abide in it, and Allah will send His wrath on him and curse him and prepare for him a painful chastisement.</p>	Punishment: eternal damnation for intentional killing of a believer
5:33	<p>YUSUFALI: The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is: <u>execution</u>, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or <u>exile</u> from the land: that is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter;</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The only reward of those who make war upon Allah and His messenger and strive after corruption in the land will be that they will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or will be expelled out of the land. Such will be their degradation in the world, and in the Hereafter theirs will be an awful doom;</p> <p>SHAKIR: The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His messenger and strive to make mischief in the land is only this, that they should be murdered or crucified or their hands and their feet should be cut off on opposite sides or they should be imprisoned; this shall be as a disgrace for them in this world, and in the hereafter they shall have a grievous chastisement,</p>	Punishment: from execution to exile for waging war against Allah or the Prophet
5:64	<p>YUSUFALI: The Jews say: "Allah's hand is tied up." Be their hands tied up and be they accursed for the (blasphemy) they utter. Nay, both His hands are widely outstretched: He giveth and spendeth (of His bounty) as He pleaseth. But the revelation that cometh to thee from Allah increaseth in most of them their obstinate rebellion and blasphemy. Amongst them we have placed enmity and hatred till the Day of Judgment. Every time they kindle the fire of war, Allah doth extinguish it; but they (ever) strive to do mischief on earth. And Allah loveth not those who do mischief.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The Jews say: Allah's hand is fettered. Their hands are fettered and they are accursed for saying so. Nay, but both His hands are spread out</p>	Possible interpretation: Jews as enemy until the Day of Judgement.

	<p>wide in bounty. He bestoweth as He will. That which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord is certain to increase the contumacy and disbelief of many of them, and <u>We have cast among them enmity and hatred till the Day of Resurrection</u>. As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguisheth it. Their effort is for corruption in the land, and Allah loveth not corrupters.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And the Jews say: The hand of Allah is tied up! Their hands shall be shackled and they shall be cursed for what they say. Nay, both His hands are spread out, He expends as He pleases; and what has been revealed to you from your Lord will certainly make many of them increase in inordinacy and unbelief; and We have put enmity and hatred among them till the day of resurrection; whenever they kindle a fire for war Allah puts it out, and they strive to make mischief in the land; and Allah does not love the mischief-makers.</p>	
8:57	<p>YUSUFALI: If ye gain the mastery over them in war, disperse, with them, those who follow them, that they may remember.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: If thou comest on them in the war, deal with them so as to strike fear in those who are behind them, that haply they may remember.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Therefore if you overtake them in fighting, then scatter by (making an example of) them those who are in their rear, that they may be mindful.</p>	War tactic. [Appears to be a way to avoid later hostilities.]
8:74	<p>YUSUFALI: Those who believe, and adopt exile, and fight for the Faith, in the cause of Allah as well as those who give (them) asylum and aid,- these are (all) in very truth the Believers: for them is the forgiveness of sins and a provision most generous.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Those who believed and left their homes and strove for the cause of Allah, and those who took them in and helped them—these are the believers in truth. For them is pardon, and bountiful provision.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And (as for) those who believed and fled and struggled hard in Allah's way, and those who gave shelter and helped, these are the believers truly; they shall have forgiveness and honorable provision.</p>	Bountiful provisions for those who <i>fight</i> for the Faith.
9:44	<p>YUSUFALI: Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day ask thee for no exemption from fighting with their goods and persons. And Allah knoweth well those who do their duty.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day ask no leave of thee lest they should strive with their wealth and their lives. Allah is Aware of those who keep their duty (unto Him).</p> <p>SHAKIR: They do not ask leave of you who believe in Allah and the latter day (to stay away) from striving hard with their property and their persons, and Allah knows those who guard (against evil).</p>	The true believers fight/jihad (a difference in translation from Yusufali and Shakir).
9:5	<p>YUSUFALI: But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, an seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Then, when the sacred months have passed, slay the idolaters wherever ye find them, and take them (captive), and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush. But if they repent and establish worship and pay the poor-due, then leave their way free. Lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	<u>Spare pagans/idolaters if they morally reform.</u> Famous "sword verse."

	<p>SHAKIR: So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush, then if they repent and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, leave their way free to them; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	
33:61	<p>YUSUFALI: They shall have a curse on them [the Hypocrites]: whenever they are found, they shall be seized and slain (without mercy). PICKTHAL: Accursed, they will be seized wherever found and slain with a (fierce) slaughter. SHAKIR: Cursed: wherever they are found they shall be seized and murdered, a (horrible) murdering.</p>	<p>Curse of death on hypocrites who, according to 3.167, make up an excuse not to fight the foe in your city</p>
48:17	<p>YUSUFALI: No blame is there on the blind, nor is there blame on the lame, nor on one ill (if he joins not the war): But he that obeys Allah and his Messenger,- (Allah) will admit him to Gardens beneath which rivers flow; and he who turns back, (Allah) will punish him with a grievous Penalty. PICKTHAL: There is no blame for the blind, nor is there blame for the lame, nor is there blame for the sick (that they go not forth to war). And whoso obeyeth Allah and His messenger, He will make him enter Gardens underneath which rivers flow; and whoso turneth back, him will He punish with a painful doom. SHAKIR: There is no harm in the blind, nor is there any harm in the lame, nor is there any harm in the sick (if they do not go forth); and whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, He will cause him to enter gardens beneath which rivers flow, and whoever turns back, He will punish him with a painful punishment.</p>	<p>Similar quote at 4:16.</p>
60:9	<p>YUSUFALI: Allah only forbids you, with regard to those who fight you for (your) Faith, and drive you out of your homes, and support (others) in driving you out, from turning to them (for friendship and protection). It is such as turn to them (in these circumstances), that do wrong. PICKTHAL: Allah forbiddeth you only those who warred against you on account of religion and have driven you out from your homes and helped to drive you out, that ye make friends of them. Whosoever maketh friends of them—(All) such are wrong-doers. SHAKIR: Allah only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of (your) religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends with them, and whoever makes friends with them, these are the unjust.</p>	<p>Do not respect those who discriminated against you because of your religion. Also repeated in 60:8, only less clearly.</p>
61:4	<p>YUSUFALI: Truly Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in battle array, as if they were a solid cemented structure. PICKTHAL: Lo! Allah loveth them who battle for His cause in ranks, as if they were a solid structure. SHAKIR: Surely Allah loves those who fight in His way in ranks as if they were a firm and compact wall.</p>	<p>Allah loves those who fight for him.</p>

66:9	<p>YUSUFALI: O Prophet! Strive hard against the Unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell,- an evil refuge (indeed).</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O Prophet! Strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern with them. Hell will be their home, a hapless journey's end.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O Prophet! strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be hard against them; and their abode is hell; and evil is the resort.</p>	Jihad against the unbelievers. As mentioned above, “striving” is the usual translation for jihad. In this paragraph it might not refer to the use of armed force.
------	---	---

3.1.2.5 Peace

Verse	Quotation	Comment
2:126	<p>YUSUFALI: And remember Abraham said: "My Lord, make this a City of Peace, and feed its people with fruits,—such of them as believe in Allah and the Last Day." He said: "(Yea), and such as reject Faith,—for a while will I grant them their pleasure, but will soon drive them to the torment of Fire,—an evil destination (indeed)!"</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And when Abraham prayed: My Lord! Make this a region of security and bestow upon its people fruits, such of them as believe in Allah and the Last Day, He answered: As for him who disbelieveth, I shall leave him in contentment for a while, then I shall compel him to the doom of Fire—a hapless journey's end!</p> <p>SHAKIR: And when Ibrahim said: My Lord, make it a secure town and provide its people with fruits, such of them as believe in Allah and the last day. He said: And whoever disbelieves, I will grant him enjoyment for a short while, then I will drive him to the chastisement of the fire; and it is an evil destination.</p>	
2:10-12	<p>YUSUFALI: In their hearts is a disease; and Allah has increased their disease: And grievous is the penalty they (incur), because they are false (to themselves). When it is said to them: "Make not mischief on the earth," they say: "Why, we only Want to make peace!" Of a surety, they are the ones who make mischief, but they realise (it) not.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: In their hearts is a disease, and Allah increaseth their disease. A painful doom is theirs because they lie. And when it is said unto them: Make not mischief in the earth, they say: We are peacemakers only. Are not they indeed the mischief-makers? But they perceive not.</p> <p>SHAKIR: There is a disease in their hearts, so Allah added to their disease and they shall have a painful chastisement because they [missing from source] ... And when it is said to them, Do not make mischief in the land, they say: We are but peace-makers. Now surely they themselves are the mischief makers, but they do not perceive.</p>	Peace as a false excuse of unbelievers
2:224	<p>YUSUFALI: And make not Allah's (name) an excuse in your oaths against doing good, or acting rightly, or making peace between persons; for Allah is One Who heareth and knoweth all things.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And make not Allah, by your oaths, a hindrance to your being righteous and observing your duty unto Him and making peace among</p>	

	<p>mankind. Allah is Hearer, Knower. SHAKIR: And make not Allah because of your swearing (by Him) an obstacle to your doing good and guarding (against evil) and making peace between men, and Allah is Hearing, Knowing.</p>	
6:54	<p>YUSUFALI: When those come to thee who believe in Our signs, Say: "Peace be on you: Your Lord hath inscribed for Himself (the rule of) mercy: verily, if any of you did evil in ignorance, and thereafter repented, and amend (his conduct), lo! He is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful. PICKTHAL: And when those who believe in Our revelations come unto thee, say: Peace be unto you! Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy, that whoso of you doeth evil through ignorance and repenteth afterward thereof and doeth right, (for him) lo! He is Forgiving, Merciful. SHAKIR: And when those who believe in Our communications come to you, say: Peace be on you, your Lord has ordained mercy on Himself, (so) that if any one of you does evil in ignorance, then turns after that and acts aright, then He is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>	<p>This scriptural passage advocates the use of the common Muslim greeting "Assalam Alaikum" ("Peace be on you")</p>
7:46	<p>YUSUFALI: Between them shall be a veil, and on the heights will be men who would know every one by his marks: they will call out to the Companions of the Garden, "peace on you": they will not have entered, but they will have an assurance (thereof). PICKTHAL: Between them is a veil. And on the Heights are men who know them all by their marks. And they call unto the dwellers of the Garden: Peace be unto you! They enter it not although they hope (to enter). SHAKIR: And between the two there shall be a veil, and on the most elevated places there shall be men who know all by their marks, and they shall call out to the dwellers of the garden: Peace be on you; they shall not have yet entered it, though they hope.</p>	
8:61	<p>YUSUFALI: But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth (all things). PICKTHAL: And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in Allah. Lo! He, even He, is the Hearer, the Knower. SHAKIR: And if they incline to peace, then incline to it and trust in Allah; surely He is the Hearing, the Knowing.</p>	
10:25	<p>YUSUFALI: But Allah doth call to the Home of Peace: He doth guide whom He pleaseth to a way that is straight. PICKTHAL: And Allah summoneth to the abode of peace, and leadeth whom He will to a straight path. SHAKIR: And Allah invites to the abode of peace and guides whom He pleases into the right path.</p>	
11:69	<p>YUSUFALI: There came Our messengers to Abraham with glad tidings. They said, "Peace!" He answered, "Peace!" and hastened to entertain them with a roasted calf. PICKTHAL: And Our messengers cam unto Abraham with good news. They said: Peace! He answered: Peace! and delayed not to bring a roasted calf. SHAKIR: And certainly Our messengers came to Ibrahim with good news. They said: Peace. Peace, said he, and he made no delay in bringing a roasted calf.</p>	

13:29	<p>YUSUFALI: "Peace unto you for that ye persevered in patience! Now how excellent is the final home!"</p> <p>PICKTHAL: (Saying): Peace be unto you because ye persevered. Ah, passing sweet will be the sequel of the (heavenly) Home.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Peace be on you because you were constant, how excellent, is then, the issue of the abode.</p>	
14:23	<p>YUSUFALI: But those who believe and work righteousness will be admitted to gardens beneath which rivers flow,- to dwell therein for aye with the leave of their Lord. Their greeting therein will be: "Peace!"</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And those who believed and did good works are made to enter Gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein abiding by permission of their Lord, their greeting therein: Peace!</p> <p>SHAKIR: And those who believe and do good are made to enter gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to abide in them by their Lord's permission; their greeting therein is, Peace.</p>	
19:33	<p>YUSUFALI: "So peace is on me the day I was born, the day that I die, and the day that I shall be raised up to life (again)!"</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Peace on me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be raised alive!</p> <p>SHAKIR: And peace on me on the day I was born, and on the day I die, and on the day I am raised to life.</p>	
36:58	<p>YUSUFALI: "Peace!"—a word (of salutation) from a Lord Most Merciful!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: The word from a Merciful Lord (for them) is: Peace!</p> <p>SHAKIR: Peace: a word from a Merciful Lord.</p>	
37:79	<p>YUSUFALI: "Peace and salutation to Noah among the nations!"</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Peace be unto Noah among the peoples!</p> <p>SHAKIR: Peace and salutation to Nuh among the nations.</p>	
43:8-9	<p>YUSUFALI: (Allah has knowledge) of the (Prophet's) cry, "O my Lord! Truly these are people who will not believe!" But turn away from them, and say "Peace!" But soon shall they know!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And he saith: O my Lord! Lo! these are a folk who believe not. Then bear with them (O Muhammad) and say: Peace. But they will come to know.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Consider his cry: O my Lord! surely they are a people who do not believe. So turn away from them and say, Peace, for they shall soon come to know.</p>	
59:23	<p>YUSUFALI: Allah is He, than Whom there is no other god;- the Sovereign, the Holy One, the Source of Peace (and Perfection), the Guardian of Faith, the Preserver of Safety, the Exalted in Might, the Irresistible, the Supreme: Glory to Allah! (High is He) above the partners they attribute to Him.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: He is Allah, than Whom there is no other Allah, the Sovereign Lord, the Holy One, Peace, the Keeper of Faith, the Guardian, the Majestic, the Compeller, the Superb. Glorified be Allah from all that they ascribe as partner (unto Him).</p> <p>SHAKIR: He is Allah, besides Whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty, the Supreme, the Possessor of every greatness Glory be to Allah from what they set up (with Him).</p>	

70:28	<p>YUSUFALI: For their Lord's displeasure is the opposite of Peace and Tranquillity;-</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Lo! the doom of their Lord is that before which none can feel secure—</p> <p>SHAKIR: Surely the chastisement of their Lord is (a thing) not to be felt secure of--</p>	
97:5	<p>YUSUFALI: Peace! ... This until the rise of morn!</p> <p>PICKTHAL: (The night is) Peace until the rising of the dawn.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Peace! it is till the break of the morning.</p>	
109:1-6	<p>YUSUFALI: Say : O ye that reject Faith! I worship not that which ye worship, Nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye have been wont to worship, Nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your Way, and to me mine.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Say: O disbelievers! I worship not that which ye worship; Nor worship ye that which I worship. And I shall not worship that which ye worship Nor will ye worship that which I worship. Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Say: O unbelievers! I do not serve that which you serve, Nor do you serve Him Whom I serve: Nor am I going to serve that which you serve, Nor are you going to serve Him Whom I serve: You shall have your religion and I shall have my religion.</p>	

A summary of the Qur’anic passages is provided above, in section 3.1.1.

4 Judaism

4.1 The Tanakh

The Tanakh is the most important and authoritative text in Judaism. It contains three sections: the *Torah* (Genesis to Deuteronomy); *Nevi'im*, Prophets (from Joshua to Malachi); and *Kethuvim*, Writings (Psalms to 2 Chronicles).¹¹² The *Tanakh* has been adopted with little modification as the first and largest of the two parts of the Christian Bible. Christians call it the Old Testament or, more recently, the Hebrew Bible.

This chapter provides a brief historical and religious background to the Tanakh and summarizes its excerpts dealing with peace and war, including an explanation of its tabulated categories, such as a “God commanded war.” Following the scriptural excerpts from the Tanakh, an explanation and excerpts of the Talmud (Jewish interpretation of the Tanakh) are presented.

In order to represent a variety of textual interpretations, and show both Jewish and Christian versions, this compilation covers the New Jewish Publication Society (NJPS) translation¹¹³ and the New International Version (NIV) translation.¹¹⁴ The NJPS translation is generally maintained to be the best source for English-speaking audiences.¹¹⁵ The Jewish Publication Society (JPS) is the oldest English publisher of Jewish works.¹¹⁶ In fact, the 1985 translation was the first time since the third century that such a wide committee of Jewish scholars gathered together to produce a translation of the Tanakh. This study also uses the JPS Tanakh commentary provided in the *Jewish Study Bible*, published by Oxford University Press in 2003 (and apparently not available online). It includes an introduction and notes. The JPS maintains that their Tanakh is the “standard English translation of the Holy Scriptures.”¹¹⁷ Conversely, the NIV was not translated by a Jewish Press but is a predominantly Protestant translation. It can be found at BibleGateway.com, which also offers an online concordance. The NIV is one of the most popular English translations of the Bible and arguably it underwent the most rigorous process of review and revision in comparison with any other translation.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Harris, Stephen L. and Robert L. Platzner. *The Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*. (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 2003) 3-4.

¹¹³ As found within: *The Jewish Study Bible* Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler eds., (Oxford University Press: Toronto, 2004). No searchable online version of this translation could be found.

¹¹⁴ The NIV is searchable online at: www.biblegateway.com. The NJPS does not appear to be available online. The older JPS (1917) is available at: <http://www.hareidi.org/bible/> and <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/e/et/et0.htm>.

¹¹⁵ Graham Christian. “Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures, the New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text” in *Library Journal*. (New York: May 2006). Vol. 131. Is. 8. p. 18.

¹¹⁶ “About JPS,” *The Jewish Publication Society*. Accessed: 5 May 2008. Available: <http://www.jewishpub.org/about/>

¹¹⁷ “TANAKH: The Holy Scriptures. Cloth Edition,” *The Jewish Publication Society*. Accessed: 5 May 2008. Available: <http://www.jewishpub.org/product.php?isbn=9780827602526>

¹¹⁸ “New International Version.” Muskegon, MI. Gospel Communications International. 10 January 2008. <<http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/?action=getVersionInfo&vid=31%3E>>.

This compilation and summary of Tanakh passages covers reasons and justifications for war as well as the limitations on the conduct of warfare and the role of peace.

4.1.1 Summary

While a peaceful world that “shall never again know war” is one of Judaism’s goals,¹¹⁹ the Tanakh itself is saturated with stories and discussions of war. Such wars include: the ancient Israelites’ battle against the Egyptians,¹²⁰ their victory at cities such as Jericho¹²¹ and Ai,¹²² their battle against the Canaanites,¹²³ King Saul’s defeat of the Ammonites¹²⁴ and King David’s sacking of Jerusalem from the Jebusites.¹²⁵ The books Joshua and 2 Samuel are particularly replete with stories of battle and repetitiously lists the ancient Israelites’ wars during their conquest of Israel.

The Tanakh frequently portrays God as an active warrior. Exodus 5:3 maintains that “The LORD, the Warrior—LORD is His name!”¹²⁶ God both orders the Israelites to war¹²⁷ and fights wars Himself: the “LORD set ambushes for the men;”¹²⁸ “He [God] will deliver you [Israel’s enemy] into our hands.”¹²⁹ God is heard in the treetops,¹³⁰ is seen entering the Philistine camp,¹³¹ and had “wiped out from among you [enemies] every person who followed Baal-peor.”¹³² The ancient Israelites even carried God into war in the Arc of the Covenant.¹³³

Not all wars within the Tanakh were directly commanded by God. The Tanakh describes indirect methods of receiving God’s permission, including through prophets¹³⁴ and dreams.¹³⁵ In addition, some Davidic wars in the Tanakh, such as the wars against the Arameans of Aram Tzuba were initiated without reference to God.¹³⁶ The Israelites do not always war alongside God: if Israel angers God, He uses other nations to fight against Israel.¹³⁷

The Tanakh also describes situations to avoid during battle. If a peace is sworn in the name of God, the Israelites should not fight.¹³⁸ Similarly, the book of Deuteronomy notes the importance

¹¹⁹ Isaiah 2:4 NJPS

¹²⁰ Exodus 13:17-18

¹²¹ Joshua 6: 1-2

¹²² Joshua 8:26-28

¹²³ Judges 4:6-7

¹²⁴ 1 Samuel 11: 11-13

¹²⁵ 2 Samuel 5:6-7

¹²⁶ Exodus 15:3

¹²⁷ Numbers 31:1-5

¹²⁸ 2 Chronicles 20:22

¹²⁹ 1 Samuel 17:47

¹³⁰ 2 Samuel 5:24

¹³¹ 1 Samuel 4:7

¹³² Deuteronomy 4:3

¹³³ Joshua 6:6-11

¹³⁴ 1 Kings 22:1-15

¹³⁵ Judges 7:15-16

¹³⁶ 2 Kings 10

¹³⁷ Judges 3:8

¹³⁸ Joshua 9:18-19

of maintaining bodily purity in an army camp.¹³⁹ Deuteronomy also explains who can go to war, exempting for example, men who have recently married,¹⁴⁰ are afraid or disheartened by battle,¹⁴¹ and men who have planted a vineyard but not yet harvested it.¹⁴²

On occasion, God calls for the extermination of an enemy. In one instance, Moses reprimands his soldiers for sparing the female Midianites during battle.¹⁴³ King Sihon's towns were "doomed" as "men, women, and children," were killed "leaving no survivor;"¹⁴⁴ the ancient Israelites "exterminated everything in the city [Jericho] with the sword;"¹⁴⁵ and, as Samuel said to Saul, "[t]he LORD anointed you king over Israel, and the LORD sent you on a mission, saying, 'Go and proscribe the sinful Amalekites; make war on them until you have exterminated them.'"¹⁴⁶

God also forbids some wars. God tells his prophet Shemaiah that Rehoboam, the king of Judah, must not war with Benjamin because he is a fellow Israelite.¹⁴⁷ Also, God forbids Moses to war with Esau's descendants in Seir. God states: "I have given the hill country of Seir as a possession to Esau. What food you eat you shall obtain from them for money; even the water you drink you shall procure from them for money."¹⁴⁸ Additionally, Joshua and his chieftains would not go to battle with the cities of Chephirah, Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim¹⁴⁹ because they had given an oath to them in the Lord's name: "We swore to them by the LORD, the God of Israel; therefore we cannot touch them."¹⁵⁰

While the comparatively few and shorter references to peace are frequently associated with the messianic passages in the Tanakh,¹⁵¹ the Tanakh also mentions peace and non-violence before the Apocalypse. Deuteronomy 5:17 and Exodus 20:13 repeat the commandment against murder. Abimelech and Abraham swear a peace oath.¹⁵² Gideon built God an altar, called Adonai-shalom, which the NJPS translates as "The LORD, All-is-well,"¹⁵³ and the NIV translates as "The LORD is Peace."¹⁵⁴ Also, Deuteronomy maintains that before you attack a town, you should offer it terms of peace.¹⁵⁵ The books Isaiah and Psalms contain the majority of the references to peace during the messianic era. For instance, Isaiah 2:4 contains the famous passage: "Thus He will judge among the nations And arbitrate for the peoples, And they shall beat their swords into plowshares And their spears into pruning hooks," and Psalms 46:10, the passage "He puts a stop to wars throughout the earth."

¹³⁹ Deut. 23:9-14 NIV; Deut. 23:10-14 NJPS (Difference in verse numbering.)

¹⁴⁰ Deut. 24:5

¹⁴¹ Deut. 24:8

¹⁴² Deut. 24:6

¹⁴³ Numbers 31:13-15

¹⁴⁴ Deut. 2:34

¹⁴⁵ Joshua 6:21

¹⁴⁶ 1 Samuel 15:16-19; See also Exodus 32 :26.

¹⁴⁷ 1 Kings 12:21-24

¹⁴⁸ Deut. 2:4-6

¹⁴⁹ Joshua 9:17

¹⁵⁰ Joshua 9:19

¹⁵¹ See, for instances, sections of Isaiah and Micah.

¹⁵² Genesis 21:32

¹⁵³ Footnote, *Jewish Study Bible*, p. 524

¹⁵⁴ Judges 6:24 NIV

¹⁵⁵ Deut. 20:10

4.1.2 Interpretations and commentaries

Judaism offers numerous Tanakh commentaries. The Mishnah, believed to originate with Moses, is the main oral tradition surrounding the Tanakh. Two separate second century Jewish communities in Babylon and Jerusalem authored two Gemara, collections of their commentaries on the Mishnah. The combination of the Mishnah and the Gemara are called the Talmud. Resultantly, there are two Talmuds, the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Talmud (also known as the Palestinian Talmud).

Jewish commentaries on the Tanakh and many secondary sources divide wars into Commanded, Permitted and Forbidden wars. Many of the battles in the Tanakh can be categorized in this fashion.

4.1.2.1 Commanded War (*milhemet mitzvah*)

Both Talmuds state that Joshua's wars of conquest are considered Commanded Wars because they were undertaken in response to God's command.¹⁵⁶ Other wars explicitly mandated by God include the war against the Amalekites and the Seven Nations in Canaan.¹⁵⁷ Moses's wars, such as the ones against Amalek¹⁵⁸ and King of Og of Bashan¹⁵⁹, are also Commanded Wars.

In addition, wars of defence of the Promised Land are usually considered Commanded Wars by extension. Rabbi Maurice Lamm states: "[i]f the conquest of the land is an obligation, then it stands to reason that the protection of that land is also an obligation."¹⁶⁰ While the defensive war is described in the Jerusalem Talmud and not the Babylonian Talmud, which is the more authoritative work and which provides more of a basis for the Jewish legal tradition,¹⁶¹ and while there is no record of defensive wars being endorsed in biblical texts,¹⁶² according to modern Just War expert Michael Walzer, the notion of a Commanded War "seems to be extended as well to defensive wars generally."¹⁶³ In a Commanded War, every person in society must go into battle: it states in the Mishnah, in *Sotah* 8:7, that "everyone must go forth, even a bridegroom from his chamber and a bride from her bridal pavilion."¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶ Reuven Firestone. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

¹⁵⁷ Geoffrey B. Levey. "Judaism and the Obligation to Die for the State." *AJS Review* 12.2 (Autumn 1987): 189.

¹⁵⁸ Exodus 17:8-10

¹⁵⁹ Numbers 21:31-34

¹⁶⁰ Geoffrey B. Levey. "Judaism and the Obligation to Die for the State." *AJS Review* 12.2 (Autumn 1987): 192.

¹⁶¹ Reuven Firestone. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

¹⁶² Michael Walzer. "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition." *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives*. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 111.

¹⁶³ Michael Walzer. "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition." *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives*. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 99.

¹⁶⁴ Mishnah, *Sotah* 8:7 in Reuven Firestone. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

4.1.2.2 Permitted War (*milhamot reshut*)

The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds write that the specific wars fought for territorial expansion such as those by King David are classified as Permitted Wars.¹⁶⁵ Permitted Wars may only be fought after Commanded Wars and involve a number of prohibitions which are inapplicable to Commanded Wars. Walzer notes the difficulty in attaining this category. According to the Babylonian Talmud, before the king may call war, he must first get the approval of the Sanhedrin, the seventy-one person judicial and religious council of ancient Jerusalem and he must consult the prophetic tools called *urim* and *thummim*.¹⁶⁶ The king must next proclaim exceptions from military service (e.g., those listed in Deuteronomy 20: 5-8), which had expanded so greatly under the early rabbinical commentators that the king could count only the mercenaries as his soldiers.¹⁶⁷ Surrender must also be demanded of the enemy before war is declared.¹⁶⁸

While this procedure of attaining Permitted War status is accepted by the majority of rabbinical commentators, it is not consistently present in Scripture. All Davidic wars, such as the wars against the Arameans of Aram Tzuba (2 Kings 10) were not initiated with reference to God. In consideration of the previous example, Walzer writes that it is unclear if all of the wars contained in the Torah are Commanded or Permitted by God. What is clear in the Torah, however, is that a group cannot win militarily without God's favor. This is even true when the Israelites themselves lose:¹⁶⁹ in Judges 3:8, God uses King Cushan-rishathaim of Aramnaharaim against the Israelites, and forces the Israelites to live under him for eight years.

A man does not have to fight in a Permitted War if he is a newlywed, if he has built a house without dedicating it, or if he has recently planted a vineyard.¹⁷⁰ It is assumed that women do not have to fight in a Permitted War. Stipulations of moral actions *during* such wars are viewed differently than during Commanded Wars, where fighting can occur even if the prohibitions against cutting down fruit trees, destroying property or surrounding a city on all four sides will be unavoidably violated. It appears, however, that Permitted Wars may be only fought if it is judged unlikely that violations of such prohibitions will be necessary.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ Reuven Firestone. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" Journal of the American Academy of Religion 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

¹⁶⁶ "War of Free Choice etc. Whence do we deduce this? — Said R. Abbahu: Scripture states, And he shall stand before Eleazar the Priest [who shall inquire for him by the judgment of the Urim before the Lord. At his word shall they go out and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him even all the Congregation]. 'He', refers to the King; 'And all the children of Israel with him,' to the Priest anointed for the conduct of war; and, 'all the Congregation,' means the Sanhedrin. But perhaps it is the Sanhedrin whom the Divine Law instructs to inquire of the Urim and Tummim?" Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Sanhedrin Folio 16a. Rev. Dr. A. Cohen and Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein. Accessed: 22 May 2008. Available: www.come-and-hear.com/sanhedrin/sanhedrin_16.html

¹⁶⁷ Michael Walzer. "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition." The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 101.

¹⁶⁸ Deuteronomy 20:10-14 Dan Cohn-Sherbok. "War and Peace in Judaism." War and Peace in World Religions: The Gerald Weisfeld Lectures 2003. Ed. Perry Schmidt-Leukel. London: SCM Press, 2004. 83.

¹⁶⁹ Reuven Firestone. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" Journal of the American Academy of Religion 74.4 (December 2006): 956.

¹⁷⁰ Geoffrey B. Levey. "Judaism and the Obligation to Die for the State." AJS Review 12.2 (Autumn 1987): 183 and 87-88.

¹⁷¹ Michael Walzer. "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition." The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 110.

4.1.2.3 Forbidden war

While the Jewish legal tradition of war has been criticized for omitting this category,¹⁷² Hebrew University Professor Aviezer Ravitzky instead argues that this tradition exists: any war that is not either Commanded or Permitted falls into this category.¹⁷³ These halakhic traditions maintain, for instance, that war is forbidden if both nations already have a peace treaty in place.¹⁷⁴

4.1.3 Extracts

In the tabulation of extracts, the following abbreviations for Just War criteria have been used in order to make parallels with the Just War themes:

- JC: Just Cause
- LA: Legitimate authority
- LR: Last Resort
- P: Proportionality
- RI: Right Intent

4.1.3.1 Commanded war (milhemet mitzvah)

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Exodus 13:17-18	Now when Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines, although it was nearer; for God said, ‘The people may have a change of heart when they see war , and return to Egypt.’ So God led the people roundabout, by way of the wilderness at the Sea of Reeds. Now the Israelites went up armed out of the land of Egypt.	When Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them on the road through the Philistine country, though that was shorter. For God said, ‘If they face war , they might change their minds and return to Egypt.’ So God led the people around by the desert road toward the Red Sea. The Israelites went up out of Egypt armed for battle.	Exodus from Egypt; God, as actor in war, seeks to avoid war. LA –God RI –war to discourage war JC-war to discourage war
Exodus 17:8-10	Amalek came and fought with Israel at Rephidim. Moses said to Joshua, ‘Pick some men for us, and go out and do battle with Amalek. Tomorrow I will station myself on the top of the hill, with the rod of God in my hand.’ Joshua did as Moses told him and fought with Amalek , while Moses, Aaron, and	The Amalekites came and attacked the Israelites at Rephidim. Moses said to Joshua, ‘Choose some of our men and go out to fight the Amalekites . Tomorrow I will stand on top of the hill with the staff of God in my hands.’ So Joshua fought the Amalekites as Moses had ordered, and Moses, Aaron and Hur	Self-defence against Amalek JC –defence LA –prophet Moses

¹⁷² Michael Walzer. “War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition.” The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 97.

¹⁷³ See: Aviezer Ravitzky. “Prohibited Wars in the Jewish Tradition.” The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

¹⁷⁴ Joshua 9:18-19

	Hur went up to the top of the hill.	went to the top of the hill.	
Numbers 1:52-54	[1:48 For the LORD has spoken to Moses, saying:] The Israelites shall encamp troop by troop, each man with his division and each under his standard. The Levites, however, shall camp around the Tabernacle of the Pact, that wrath may not strike the Israelite community; the Levites shall stand guard around the Tabernacle of the Pact. The Israelites did accordingly; just as the LORD had commanded Moses, so they did.	[The LORD told Moses:] ‘The Israelites are to set up their tents by divisions , each man in his own camp under his own standard. The Levites, however, are to set up their tents around the tabernacle of the Testimony so that wrath will not fall on the Israelite community. The Levites are to be responsible for the care of the tabernacle of the Testimony.’ The Israelites did all this just as the LORD commanded Moses.	RA
Numbers 2	<i>This chapter contains a listing of the Israelite tribes.</i>		
Numbers 10:8-9	[The LORD spoke to Moses:] ‘The trumpets shall be blown by Aaron’s sons, the priests; they shall be for you an institution for all time throughout the ages. When you are in war in your land against an aggressor who attacks you , you shall sound short blasts on the trumpets, that you may be remembered before the LORD your God and be delivered from your enemies.’	‘The sons of Aaron, the priests, are to blow the trumpets. This is to be a lasting ordinance for you and the generations to come. When you go into battle in your own land against an enemy who is oppressing you , sound a blast on the trumpets. Then you will be remembered by the LORD your God and rescued from your enemies.’	JC –Israelites may resist oppression in own land LA RI
Numbers 21:31-34	So Israel occupied the land of the Amorites. Then Moses sent to spy out Jazer, and they captured its dependencies and dispossessed the Amorites who were there. They marched on and went up the road to Bashan, and the King of Og of Bashan, with all his people , came out to Edrei to engage them in battle . But the LORD said to Moses, ‘Do not fear him, for I give him and all his people and his land into your hand . You shall do to him as you did to Sihon king of the Amorites who dwelt in	After Moses had sent spies to Jazer, the Israelites captured its surrounding settlements and drove out the Amorites who were there. Then they turned and went up along the road toward Bashan, and Og king of Bashan and his whole army marched out to meet them in battle at Edrei. The LORD said to Moses, ‘Do not be afraid of him, for I have handed him over to you, with his whole army and his land . Do to him what you did to Sihon king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon.’	LA

	Heshbon.’		
Numbers 31:1-5	The LORD spoke to Moses, saying, ‘ Avenge the Israelite people on the Midianites ; then you shall be gathered to your kin.’ Moses spoke to the people, saying, ‘Let men be picked out from among you for a campaign , and let them fall upon Midian to wreak the LORD’s vengeance on Midian. You shall dispatch on the campaign a thousand from every one of the tribes of Israel.’ So a thousand from each tribe were furnished from the divisions of Israel, twelve thousand picked for the campaign.	The LORD said to Moses, ‘Take vengeance on the Midianites for the Israelites . After that, you will be gathered to your people.’ So Moses said to the people, ‘Arm some of your men to go to war against the Midianites and to carry out the LORD’s vengeance on them. Send into battle a thousand men from each of the tribes of Israel.’ So twelve thousand men armed for battle, a thousand from each tribe, were supplied from the clans of Israel.	JC LA RI-carrying out JC PS-a strong army
Numbers 32:20-24, 27	Moses said to them, ‘If you do this, if you go to battle as shock-troops, at the instance of the LORD , and every shock-fighter among you crosses the Jordan, at the instance of the LORD, until He has dispossessed His enemies before Him, and the land has been subdued , at the instance of the LORD, and then you return—you shall be clear before the LORD and before Israel; and this land shall be your holding under the LORD. But if you do not do so, you will have sinned against the LORD ; and know that your sin will overtake you. Build towns for your children and sheepfolds for your flocks, but do what you have promised.’ [... and Moses also said] ‘while your servants, all those recruited for war, cross over, at the instance of the LORD, to engage in battle—as my lord orders. ’	Then Moses said to them, ‘If you will do this—if you will arm yourselves before the LORD for battle , and if all of you will go armed over the Jordan before the LORD until he has driven his enemies out before him—then when the land is subdued before the LORD, you may return and be free from your obligation to the LORD and to Israel. And this land will be your possession before the LORD. But if you fail to do this, you will be sinning against the LORD ; and you may be sure that your sin will find you out. Build cities for your women and children, and pens for your flocks, but do what you have promised [...] But your servants, every man armed for battle, will cross over to fight before the LORD, just as our lord says.	RI LA JC Obligation to fight for God
Deut. 1:41-45	[Moses said:] You replied to me, saying, ‘We stand guilty before the LORD. We will go up now and fight, just as the LORD our God commanded us. ’ And you all	[Moses said:] Then you replied, ‘We have sinned against the LORD. We will go up and fight, as the LORD our God commanded us. ’ So every one of you put on his weapons ,	

	<p>girded yourselves with war gear and recklessly started for the hill country. But the LORD said to me, ‘Warn them: Do not go up and do not fight, since I am not in your midst; else you will be routed by your enemies.’ I spoke to you, but you would not listen; you flouted the LORD’s command and willfully marched into the hill country. Then the Amorites who lived in those hills came out against you like so many bees and chased you, and they crushed you at Hormah in Seir. Again you wept before the LORD; but the LORD would not heed your cry or give ear to you.</p>	<p>thinking it easy to go up into the hill country. But the LORD said to me, ‘Tell them, Do not go up and fight, because I will not be with you. You will be defeated by your enemies.’ So I told you, but you would not listen. You rebelled against the LORD’s command and in your arrogance you marched up into the hill country. The Amorites who lived in those hills came out against you; they chased you like a swarm of bees and beat you down from Seir all the way to Hormah. You came back and wept before the LORD, but he paid no attention to your weeping and turned a deaf ear to you.</p>	
<p>Deut. 2:24-31</p>	<p>[The LORD said:] ‘Up! Set out across the wadi Arnon! See, I give into your power Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land. Begin the occupation: engage him in battle. This day I begin to put the dread and fear of you upon the peoples everywhere under heaven, so that they shall tremble and quake because of you whenever they hear you mentioned.’ Then I sent messengers from the wilderness of Kedemoth to King Sihon of Heshbon with an offer of peace, as follows, ‘Let me pass through your country. I will keep strictly to the highway, turning off neither to the right nor to the left. What food I eat you will supply for money, and what water I drink I will furnish for money; just let me pass through—as the descendants of Esau who dwell in Seir did for me, and the Moabites who dwell in Ar—that I may cross the Jordan into the land that the LORD our God is giving us.’ But King Sihon of Heshbon refused to let us pass through, because the LORD had stiffened his will and hardened</p>	<p>[The LORD said:] ‘Set out now and cross the Arnon Gorge. See, I have given into your hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his country. Begin to take possession of it and engage him in battle. This very day I will begin to put the terror and fear of you on all the nations under heaven. They will hear reports of you and will tremble and be in anguish because of you.’ From the desert of Kedemoth I sent messengers to Sihon king of Heshbon offering peace and saying, ‘Let us pass through your country. We will stay on the main road; we will not turn aside to the right or to the left. Sell us food to eat and water to drink for their price in silver. Only let us pass through on foot— as the descendants of Esau, who live in Seir, and the Moabites, who live in Ar, did for us—until we cross the Jordan into the land the LORD our God is giving us.’ But Sihon king of Heshbon refused to let us pass through. For the LORD your God had made his spirit stubborn and his heart obstinate in order to give him into your hands, as he has now done. The LORD said to me, ‘See, I</p>	<p>JC LA RI LR (Final LORD quote is without punctuation in NJPS text.)</p>

	his heart in order to deliver him into your power —as is now the case. And the LORD said to me: See, I begin by placing Sihon and his land at your disposal. Begin the occupation; take possession of his land.	have begun to deliver Sihon and his country over to you. Now begin to conquer and possess his land.'	
Deut. 4:3-4	You [O Israel] saw with your own eyes what the LORD did in the matter of Baal-peor, that the LORD your God wiped out from among you every person who followed Baal-peor; while you, who held fast to the LORD your God, are all alive today.	You saw with your own eyes what the LORD did at Baal Peor. The LORD your God destroyed from among you everyone who followed the Baal of Peor, but all of you who held fast to the LORD your God are still alive today.	
Deut. 20	<i>Explains rituals to be done for war. Copied in full in section 4.1.3.9 below.</i>		
Joshua 6:2	The LORD said to Joshua, 'See I will deliver Jericho and her king [and her] warriors into your hands.'	Then the LORD said to Joshua, 'See, I have delivered Jericho into your hands , along with its king and its fighting men.'	LA God an actor in war
Joshua 6:6-11	[During the Battle of Jericho:] Joshua son of Nun summoned the priests and said to them, 'Take up the Ark of the Covenant, and let seven priests carrying seven ram's horns precede the Ark of the LORD.' And he instructed the people, 'Go forward, march around the city, with the vanguard marching in front of the Ark of the LORD. ' When Joshua had instructed the people, the seven priests carrying ram's advanced before the LORD , blowing their horns; and the Ark of the LORD's Covenant followed them. The vanguard marched in front of the priests who were blowing the horns, and the rear guard marched behind the Ark, with the horns sounding all the time. But Joshua's orders to the rest of the people were, 'Do not shout, do not let your voices be heard, and do not let a sound issue from your lips until the moment that I command you, 'Shout!' Then shall you shout.' So he had the Ark	So Joshua son of Nun called the priests and said to them, 'Take up the ark of the covenant of the LORD and have seven priests carry trumpets in front of it.' And he ordered the people, 'Advance! March around the city, with the armed guard going ahead of the ark of the LORD. ' When Joshua had spoken to the people, the seven priests carrying the seven trumpets before the LORD went forward, blowing their trumpets, and the ark of the LORD's covenant followed them. The armed guard marched ahead of the priests who blew the trumpets, and the rear guard followed the ark. All this time the trumpets were sounding. But Joshua had commanded the people, 'Do not give a war cry, do not raise your voices, do not say a word until the day I tell you to shout. Then shout!' So he had the ark of the LORD carried around the city, circling it once. Then the people returned to camp and spent the night there.	LA JC –God, in the Ark of Covenant, during march around Jericho

	of the LORD go around the city and complete one circuit; then they returned to camp and spent the night in camp.		
Joshua 11:15	Just as the LORD had commanded His servant Moses, so Moses had charged Joshua, and so Joshua did; he left nothing undone of all that the LORD had commanded Moses.	As the LORD commanded his servant Moses, so Moses commanded Joshua, and Joshua did it; he left nothing undone of all that the LORD commanded Moses.	Careful to follow all of God's commands. ("Moses . . . Joshua again conveys the transition of divinely ordained leadership" in <u>The Jewish Study Bible</u> 484)
Judges 11:28-32	But the king of the Ammonites paid no heed to the message that Jephthah sent him. Then the spirit of the LORD came upon Jephthah. He marched through Gilead and Manasseh, passing Mizpeh of Gilead; and from Mizpeh of Gilead he crossed over [to] the Ammonites. And Jephthah made the following vow to the LORD: 'If you deliver the Ammonites into my hands, then whatever comes out of the door of my house to meet me on my safe return from the Ammonites shall be the LORD's and shall be offered by me as a burnt offering.' Jephthah crossed over to the Ammonites and attacked them, and the LORD delivered them into his hands.	The king of Ammon, however, paid no attention to the message Jephthah sent him. Then the Spirit of the LORD came upon Jephthah. He crossed Gilead and Manasseh, passed through Mizpah of Gilead, and from there he advanced against the Ammonites. And Jephthah made a vow to the LORD: 'If you give the Ammonites into my hands, whatever comes out of the door of my house to meet me when I return in triumph from the Ammonites will be the LORD's, and I will sacrifice it as a burnt offering.' Then Jephthah went over to fight the Ammonites, and the LORD gave them into his hands.	LR –message JC LA RI
Joshua 24:14-15	'Now, therefore, revere the LORD and serve Him with undivided loyalty ; put away the gods that your forefathers served beyond the Euphrates and in Egypt, and serve the LORD. Or, if you are loath to serve the LORD,	[Joshua said:] ' Now fear the LORD and serve him with all faithfulness. Throw away the gods your forefathers worshiped beyond the River and in Egypt, and serve the LORD. But if serving the LORD seems undesirable to you, then	JC RI LA

	choose this day which ones you are going to serve—the gods that your forefathers served beyond the Euphrates, or those of the Amorites in whose land you are settled; but I and my household will serve the LORD.’	choose for yourselves this day whom you will serve, whether the gods your forefathers served beyond the River, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you are living. But as for me and my household, we will serve the LORD.’	
Judges 20	<i>Discussion of war throughout. Describes Benjaminites battle against Gibeah. Includes description of God as actor in battle: “the LORD routed the Benjaminites before Israel” (Judges 20:35)</i>		

4.1.3.2 Permitted war (*milhamot reshut*)

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Judges 7:15-16	When Gideon heard the dream told and interpreted , he bowed low. Returning to the camp of Israel, he shouted, ‘Come on! The LORD has delivered the Midianite camp into your hands!’ He divided the three hundred men into three columns and equipped every man with a ram’s horn and an empty jar, with a torch in each jar.’	When Gideon heard the dream and its interpretation , he worshiped God. He returned to the camp of Israel and called out, ‘Get up! The LORD has given the Midianite camp into your hands.’ Dividing the three hundred men into three companies , he placed trumpets and empty jars in the hands of all of them, with torches inside.	RA-God via dream prophecy JC -God

1 Samuel 17:1, 45-47	The Philistines assembled their forces for battle; they massed at Socoh of Judah, and encamped at Ephes-dammim, between Socoh and Azekah. [. . .] David replied to the Philistine [Goliath], ‘You come against me with sword and spear and javelin; but I come against you in the name of the LORD of Hosts, the God of the ranks of Israel , whom you have defied. This very day the LORD will deliver you into my hands. I will kill you and cut off your head; and I will give the carcasses of the Philistine camp to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the earth. All of the earth shall know that there is a God in Israel. And this whole assembly shall know that the LORD can give victory without sword or spear. For the battle is the LORD’s, and He will deliver you into our hands.’	Now the Philistines gathered their forces for war and assembled at Socoh in Judah. They pitched camp at Ephes Dammim, between Socoh and Azekah. [. . .] David said to the Philistine, ‘You come against me with sword and spear and javelin, but I come against you in the name of the LORD Almighty, the God of the armies of Israel , whom you have defied. This day the LORD will hand you over to me, and I’ll strike you down and cut off your head. Today I will give the carcasses of the Philistine army to the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth, and the whole world will know that there is a God in Israel. All those gathered here will know that it is not by sword or spear that the LORD saves; for the battle is the LORD’s, and he will give all of you into our hands.’	LA –in God’s name RI
1 Samuel 19:8	Fighting broke out again. David went out and fought the Philistines. He inflicted a great defeat upon them and they fled before him.	Once more war broke out, and David went out and fought the Philistines. He struck them with such force that they fled before him.	David’s wars of conquest
2 Samuel	<i>Majority of 2 Samuel details David’s wars. Specific examples follow:</i>		
2 Samuel 2:12-17	Once Abner son of Ner and the soldiers of Ish-bosheth son of Saul marched out from Mahanaim to Gibeon, and Joab son of Zeruiah and the soldiers of David [also] came out. They confronted one another at the pool of Gibeon: one group sat on one side of the pool, and the other group on the other side of the pool. Abner said to Joab, ‘Let the young men come forward and sport [“i.e. engage in single	Abner son of Ner, together with the men of Ish-Bosheth son of Saul, left Mahanaim and went to Gibeon. Joab son of Zeruiah and David’s men went out and met them at the pool of Gibeon. One group sat down on one side of the pool and one group on the other side. Then Abner said to Joab, ‘Let’s have some of the young men get up and fight hand to hand in front of us.’ ‘All right, let them do it,’	

	<p>combat,” <u>The Jewish Study Bible</u> 622] before us.’ ‘Yes, let them,’ Joab answered. They came forward and were counted off, twelve for Benjamin and Ish-bosheth son of Saul, and twelve of David’s soldiers. Each one grasped his opponent’s head [and thrust] his dagger into his opponent’s side; thus they fell together. That place, which is in Gibeon, was called Helkath-hazzurim. A fierce battle ensued that day, and Abner and the men of Israel were routed by David’s soldiers.</p>	<p>Joab said. So they stood up and were counted off—twelve men for Benjamin and Ish-Bosheth son of Saul, and twelve for David. Then each man grabbed his opponent by the head and thrust his dagger into his opponent’s side, and they fell down together. So that place in Gibeon was called Helkath Hazzurim. The battle that day was very fierce, and Abner and the men of Israel were defeated by David’s men.</p>	
2 Samuel 3:1	<p>The war between the House of Saul and the House of David was long-drawn-out; but David kept growing stronger, while the House of Saul grew weaker.</p>	<p>The war between the house of Saul and the house of David lasted a long time. David grew stronger and stronger, while the house of Saul grew weaker and weaker.</p>	War between Saul and David.
2 Samuel 5:6-7	<p>The king and his men set out for Jerusalem against the Jebusites who inhabited the region. David was told, ‘You will never get in here! Even the blind and the lame will turn you back.’ (They meant: David will never enter here.) But David captured the stronghold of Zion; it is now the City of David.</p>	<p>The king and his men marched to Jerusalem to attack the Jebusites, who lived there. The Jebusites said to David, ‘You will not get in here; even the blind and the lame can ward you off.’ They thought, ‘David cannot get in here.’ Nevertheless, David captured the fortress of Zion, the City of David.</p>	David’s war of conquest; capturing Jerusalem.
2 Samuel 11:1	<p>At the turn of the year, the season when kings go out [to battle], David sent Joab with his officers and all Israel with him, and they devastated Ammon and besieged Rabbah; David remained in Jerusalem.</p>	<p>In the spring, at the time when kings go off to war, David sent Joab out with the king’s men and the whole Israelite army. They destroyed the Ammonites and besieged Rabbah. But David remained in Jerusalem.</p>	David’s war of conquest
1 Kings 20:13-15	<p>Then a certain prophet went up to King Ahab of Israel and said, ‘Thus said the LORD: Do you see that great host? I will deliver it into your hands today, and you shall know that I am the LORD.’</p>	<p>Meanwhile a prophet came to Ahab king of Israel and announced, ‘This is what the LORD says: ‘Do you see this vast army? I will give it into your hand today, and then you will know that I am</p>	RA-God via prophets

	<p>“Through whom?” asked Ahab. He answered, “Thus said the LORD: Through the aides of the provincial governors.” He asked, “Who shall begin the battle?” And he answered, “You.” So he mustered the aides of the provincial governors, 232 strong, and then he mustered all the troops—all the Israelites—7,000 strong.</p>	<p>the LORD.” “But who will do this?” asked Ahab. The prophet replied, “This is what the LORD says: “The young officers of the provincial commanders will do it.” “And who will start the battle?” he asked. The prophet answered, “You will.” So Ahab summoned the young officers of the provincial commanders, 232 men. Then he assembled the rest of the Israelites, 7,000 in all.</p>	
<p>1 Kings 22:1-15</p>	<p>There was a lull of three years, with no war between Aram and Israel. In the third year, King Jehoshaphat of Judah came to visit the king of Israel. The king of Israel said to his courtiers, “You know that Ramoth-gilead belongs to us, and yet we do nothing to recover it from the hands of the king of Aram.” And he said to Jehoshaphat, “Will you come with me to battle at Ramoth-gilead?” Jehoshaphat answered the king of Israel, “I will do what you do; my troops shall be your troops, my horses shall be your horses.” But Jehoshaphat said further to the king of Israel, “Please, first inquire of the LORD.” So the king of Israel gathered the prophets, about four hundred men, and asked them, “Shall I march upon Ramoth-gilead for battle, or shall I not?” “March,” they said, “and the Lord* will deliver [it] into Your Majesty’s hands.” Then Jehoshaphat asked, “Isn’t there another prophet of the LORD here through whom we can inquire?” And the king of Israel answered Jehoshaphat, “There is one more man</p>	<p>For three years there was no war between Aram and Israel. But in the third year Jehoshaphat king of Judah went down to see the king of Israel. The king of Israel had said to his officials, “Don’t you know that Ramoth Gilead belongs to us and yet we are doing nothing to retake it from the king of Aram?” So he asked Jehoshaphat, “Will you go with me to fight against Ramoth Gilead?” Jehoshaphat replied to the king of Israel, “I am as you are, my people as your people, my horses as your horses.” But Jehoshaphat also said to the king of Israel, First seek the counsel of the LORD.” So the king of Israel brought together the prophets—about four hundred men—and asked them, “Shall I go to war against Ramoth Gilead, or shall I refrain?” “Go,” they answered, “for the Lord will give it into the king’s hand.” But Jehoshaphat asked, “Is there not a prophet of the LORD here whom we can inquire of?” The king of Israel answered Jehoshaphat, “There is still one man</p>	<p>RA-God via prophets</p> <p>*Note: The text refers to a Lord and not the LORD.</p>

	<p>through whom we can inquire of the LORD; but I hate him, because he never prophesies anything good for me, but only misfortune—Micaiah son of Imlah.’ But King Jehoshaphat said, ‘Don’t say that, Your Majesty.’ So the king of Israel summoned an officer and said, ‘Bring Micaiah son of Imlah at once.’ The king of Israel and King Jehoshaphat of Judah were seated on their thrones, arrayed in their robes, on the threshing floor at the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets were prophesying before them. Zedekiah son of Chenaanah had provided himself with iron horns; and he said, ‘Thus said the LORD: With these you shall gore the Arameans till you make an end of them.’ And all the other prophets were prophesying similarly, ‘March upon Ramoth-gilead and triumph! The LORD will deliver it into Your Majesty’s hands. The messenger who had gone to summon Micaiah said to him: ‘Look, the words of the prophets are with one accord favorable to the king. Let your word be like that of the rest of them; speak a favorable word.’ ‘As the LORD lives,’ Micaiah answered, ‘I will speak only what the LORD tells me.’ When he came before the king, the king said to him, ‘Micaiah, shall we march upon Ramoth-gilead for battle, or shall we not?’ He answered him, ‘March or triumph!’ The LORD will deliver [it] into Your Majesty’s hands.’</p>	<p>through whom we can inquire of the LORD, but I hate him because he never prophesies anything good about me, but always bad. He is Micaiah son of Imlah.’ ‘The king should not say that,’ Jehoshaphat replied. So the king of Israel called one of his officials and said, ‘Bring Micaiah son of Imlah at once.’ Dressed in their royal robes, the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah were sitting on their thrones at the threshing floor by the entrance of the gate of Samaria, with all the prophets prophesying before them. Now Zedekiah son of Kenaanah had made iron horns and he declared, ‘This is what the LORD says: ‘With these you will gore the Arameans until they are destroyed.’ All the other prophets were prophesying the same thing. ‘Attack Ramoth Gilead and be victorious,’ they said, ‘for the LORD will give it into the king’s hand.’ The messenger who had gone to summon Micaiah said to him, ‘Look, as one man the other prophets are predicting success for the king. Let your word agree with theirs, and speak favorably.’ But Micaiah said, ‘As surely as the LORD lives, I can tell him only what the LORD tells me.’ When he arrived, the king asked him, ‘Micaiah, shall we go to war against Ramoth Gilead, or shall I refrain?’ ‘Attack and be victorious,’ he answered, ‘for the LORD will give it into the king’s hand.’</p>	
--	--	--	--

<p>2 Chronicles 20:14-22</p>	<p>Then in the midst of the congregation the spirit of the LORD came upon Jahaziel son of Zechariah son of Benaiah son of Jeiel son of Mattaniah the Levite, of the sons of Asaph, and he said, ‘Give heed, all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem and King Jehoshaphat; thus said the LORD to you, ‘Do not fear or be dismayed by this great multitude, for the battle is God’s, not yours. March down against them tomorrow as they come up by the Ascent of Ziz; you will find them at the end of the wadi in the direction of the wilderness of Jeruel. It is not for you to fight in this battle; stand by, wait, and witness your deliverance by the LORD, O Judah and Jerusalem; do not fear or be dismayed; go forth to meet them tomorrow and the LORD will be with you.’ Jehoshaphat bowed low with his face to the ground, and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem threw themselves down before the LORD to worship the LORD. Levites of the sons of Kohath and of the sons of Korah got up to extol the LORD God of Israel at the top of their voices. Early the next morning they arose and went forth to the wilderness of Tekoa. As they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, ‘Listen to me, O Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: Trust firmly in the LORD your God and you will stand firm; trust firmly in His prophets and you will succeed.’ After taking counsel with the people, he stationed</p>	<p>Then the Spirit of the LORD came upon Jahaziel son of Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, a Levite and descendant of Asaph, as he stood in the assembly. He said: ‘Listen, King Jehoshaphat and all who live in Judah and Jerusalem! This is what the LORD says to you: ‘Do not be afraid or discouraged because of this vast army. For the battle is not yours, but God’s. Tomorrow march down against them. They will be climbing up by the Pass of Ziz, and you will find them at the end of the gorge in the Desert of Jeruel. You will not have to fight this battle. Take up your positions; stand firm and see the deliverance the LORD will give you, O Judah and Jerusalem. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged. Go out to face them tomorrow, and the LORD will be with you.’ Jehoshaphat bowed with his face to the ground, and all the people of Judah and Jerusalem fell down in worship before the LORD. Then some Levites from the Kohathites and Korahites stood up and praised the LORD, the God of Israel, with very loud voice. Early in the morning they left for the Desert of Tekoa. As they set out, Jehoshaphat stood and said, ‘Listen to me, Judah and people of Jerusalem! Have faith in the LORD your God and you will be upheld; have faith in his prophets and you will be successful.’ After</p>	<p>RA JC Following God’s orders</p>
--------------------------------------	---	--	---

	singers to the LORD extolling the One majestic in holiness as they went forth ahead of the vanguard, saying, 'Praise the LORD, for His steadfast love is eternal.' As they began their joyous shouts and hymns, the LORD set ambushes for the men of Amon, Moab and the hill country of Seir, who were marching against Judah, and they were routed.	consulting the people, Jehoshaphat appointed men to sing to the LORD and to praise him for the splendor of his holiness as they went out at the head of the army, saying: 'Give thanks to the LORD, for his love endures forever.' As they began to sing and praise, the LORD set ambushes against the men of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir who were invading Judah, and they were defeated.	
--	--	--	--

4.1.3.4 Forbidden wars

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Deut. 2:4-6	[Then the LORD said to Moses]: And charge the people as follows: You will be passing through the territory of your kinsmen, the descendants of Esau, who live in Seir. Though they will be afraid of you, be careful not to provoke them . For I will not give you of their land so much as a foot can tread on; I have given the hill country of Seir as a possession to Esau. What food you eat you shall obtain from them for money; even the water you drink you shall procure from them for money.	[The LORD said:] Give the people these orders: 'You are about to pass through the territory of your brothers the descendants of Esau, who live in Seir. They will be afraid of you, but be very careful. Do not provoke them to war , for I will not give you any of their land , not even enough to put your foot on. I have given Esau the hill country of Seir as his own. You are to pay them in silver for the food you eat and the water you drink.'	God will provide for your needs so do not attack unnecessarily
Deut. 24:5	When a man has taken a bride, he shall not go out with the army or be assigned to it for any purpose; he shall be exempt one year for the sake of his household, to give happiness to the woman he has married .	If a man has recently married, he must not be sent to war or have any other duty laid on him. For one year he is to be free to stay at home and bring happiness to the wife he has married .	Reasons why individual soldier is unable to fight
Joshua 9:18-19	But the Israelites did not attack them, since the chieftains of the community had sworn to them by the LORD, the God of Israel. The whole community muttered	But the Israelites did not attack them, because the leaders of the assembly had sworn an oath to them by the LORD, the God of Israel. The whole assembly grumbled against the	Cannot have war with a group with whom you already have a

	against the chieftains, but the chieftains answered the whole community, ‘We swore to them by the LORD, the God of Israel; therefore we cannot touch them ’	leaders, but all the leaders answered, ‘We have given them our oath by the LORD, the God of Israel, and we cannot touch them now.’	treaty
1 Kings 12:21-24	On his return to Jerusalem, Rehoboam mustered all the House of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin, 180,000 picked warriors, to fight against the House of Israel, in order to restore the kingship to Rehoboam son of Solomon. But the word of God came to Shemaiah, the man of God: ‘Say to King Rehoboam son of Solomon of Judah, and to all the House of Judah and Benjamin and the rest of the people: Thus said the LORD: You shall not set out to make war on your kinsmen the Israelites. Let every man return to his home , for this thing has been brought about by Me.’ They heeded the word of the LORD and turned back, in accordance with the word of the LORD.	When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered the whole house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin—a hundred and eighty thousand fighting men—to make war against the house of Israel and to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam son of Solomon. But this word of God came to Shemaiah the man of God: ‘Say to Rehoboam son of Solomon king of Judah, to the whole house of Judah and Benjamin, and to the rest of the people,’ This is what the LORD says: ‘Do not go up to fight against your brothers, the Israelites. Go home, every one of you, for this is my doing.’ So they obeyed the word of the LORD and went home again, as the LORD had ordered.	God refusing war between brother tribes and so within Israelites

4.1.3.4 Extreme actions during war

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Genesis 34:25-26	On the third day, when they were in pain, Simeon and Levi, two of Jacob’s sons, brothers of Dinah, took each his sword, came upon the city unmolested, and slew all the males. They put Hamor and his son Shechem to the sword, took Dinah out of Shechem’s house, and went away.	Three days later, while all of them were still in pain, two of Jacob’s sons, Simeon and Levi, Dinah’s brothers, took their swords and attacked the unsuspecting city, killling every male. They put Hamor and his son Shechem to the sword and took Dinah from Shechem’s house and left.	Demonstrates that all wars do not have a notification to the enemy. Earlier in this chapter, however, Simeon is described as replying “deceitfully” (34:13)

Numbers 31:13-15	Moses, Eleazar the priest, and all the chieftains of the community came out to meet them outside the camp. Moses became angry with the commanders of the army , the officers of thousands and the officers of hundreds, who had come back from the military campaign. Moses said to them, ‘You have spared every female! ’	Moses, Eleazar the priest and all the leaders of the community went to meet them outside the camp. Moses was angry with the officers of the army —the commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds—who returned from the battle. ‘Have you allowed all the women to live? ’ he asked them.	Angry at a conduct during war
Deut. 2:14-15	The time that we spent in travel from Kadesh-barnea until we crossed the wadi Zered was thirty-eight years, until the whole generation of warriors had perished from the camp, as the LORD had sworn concerning them . Indeed, the hand of the LORD struck them , to root them out from the camp to the last man.	Thirty-eight years passed from the time we left Kadesh Barnea until we crossed the Zered Valley. By then, that entire generation of fighting men had perished from the camp, as the LORD had sworn to them . The LORD’s hand was against them until he had completely eliminated them from the camp.	JSB Interpretation “ <i>Hand of the LORD</i> , thus indicating that they did not die merely of old age or natural causes. The imagery inverts the standard idea of holy war: God had turned against Israel rather than fighting on its behalf.” (The Jewish Study Bible 367)
Deut. 2:34	At that time we captured all his [King Sihon of Heshbon] towns, and we doomed every town —men, women, and children—leaving no survivor .	At that time we took all his towns and completely destroyed them —men, women and children. We left no survivors .	Complete killing of towns.
Joshua 6:21	They exterminated everything in the city [Jericho] with the sword: man and woman, young and old, ox and sheep.	They devoted the city to the LORD and destroyed with the sword every living thing in judges it—men and women, young and old, cattle, sheep and donkeys.	JC Complete destruction of Jericho
Joshua 8:26-28	Joshua did not draw back the hand with which he held out his javelin until all the inhabitants of Ai had been exterminated . However, the Israelites took the cattle and the spoil of the city as their booty, in accordance with the instructions that the LORD had given to Joshua. Then Joshua burned down Ai , and turned it into a mound of ruins for all time, a desolation to	For Joshua did not draw back the hand that held out his javelin until he had destroyed all who lived in Ai . But Israel did carry off for themselves the livestock and plunder of this city, as the LORD had instructed Joshua. So Joshua burned Ai and made it a permanent heap of ruins, a desolate place to this day.	JC Complete destruction of Ai

	this day.		
Joshua 10:30	The LORD delivered it and its king into the hands of Israel; they put it and all the people in it to the sword, letting none escape . And he treated its king as he had treated the king of Jericho.	The LORD also gave that city and its king into Israel's hand. The city and everyone in it Joshua put to the sword. He left no survivors there. And he did to its king as he had done to the king of Jericho.	LA (God). Similar quotes repeated throughout Joshua 10.
Joshua 11:5-12	All these kings joined forces; they came and encamped together at the Waters of Merom to give battle to Israel. But the LORD said to Joshua, ' Do not be afraid of them; tomorrow at this time I will have them all lying slain before Israel . You shall hamstring their horses and burn their chariots.' So Joshua, with all his fighting men, came upon them suddenly at the Waters of Merom, and pounced upon them . The LORD delivered them into the hands of Israel, and they defeated them and pursued them all the way to Great Sidon and Misrephothmaim, and all the way to the Valley of Mizpeh on the east; they crushed them, letting none escape. And Joshua dealt with them as the LORD ordered him ; he hamstrung their horses and burned their chariots. Joshua then turned back and captured Hazor and put her king to the sword . — Hazor was formerly the head of all those kingdoms.*—They proscribed and put to the sword every person in it. Not a soul survived, and Hazor itself was burned down. Joshua captured all those royal cities and their kings. He put them to the sword; he proscribed them in accordance with the charge of Moses, the servant of the LORD .	All these [northern] kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom, to fight against Israel. The LORD said to Joshua, ' Do not be afraid of them, because by this time tomorrow I will hand all of them over to Israel , slain. You are to hamstring their horses and burn their chariots.' So Joshua and his whole army came against them suddenly at the Waters of Merom and attacked them , and the LORD gave them into the hand of Israel. They defeated them and pursued them all the way to Greater Sidon, to Misrephoth Maim, and to the Valley of Mizpah on the east, until no survivors were left. Joshua did to them as the LORD had directed: He hamstrung their horses and burned their chariots. At that time Joshua turned back and captured Hazor and put its king to the sword. (Hazor had been the head of all these kingdoms.) Everyone in it they put to the sword. They totally destroyed them, not sparing anything that breathed, and he burned up Hazor itself. Joshua took all these royal cities and their kings and put them to the sword. He totally destroyed them, as Moses the servant of the LORD had commanded .	LA JC –God's command but maybe also defence? (* " <i>Head of all those kingdoms</i> again suggests Hazor's supremacy in the north" in The Jewish Study Bible 484)
Joshua 11:19-20	Apart from the Hivites who dwelt in Gibeon, not a single city made terms* with the Israelites; all were taken in battle . For it was the LORD's doing to stiffen their	Except for the Hivites living in Gibeon, not one city made a treaty of peace with the Israelites, who took them all in battle . For it was the LORD himself who	RA LR *("Made terms, lit. 'made shalom,' a reference to the treaty with Gideon")

	hearts to give battle to Israel , in order that they might be proscribed without quarter and wiped out, as the LORD had commanded Moses.	hardened their hearts to wage war against Israel, so that he might destroy them totally, exterminating them without mercy, as the LORD had commanded Moses.	in <u>The Jewish Study Bible</u> 484)
1 Samuel 15:16-19	Samuel said to Saul, ‘Stop! Let me tell you what the LORD said to me last night!’ ‘Speak,’ he [Saul] replied. And Samuel said, ‘You may look small to yourself, but you are the head of the tribes of Israel. The LORD anointed you king over Israel, and the LORD sent you on a mission, saying, ‘Go and proscribe the sinful Amalekites; make war on them until you have exterminated them.’ Why did you disobey the LORD and swoop down on the spoil in defiance of the LORD’s will?’	‘Stop!’ Samuel said to Saul. ‘Let me tell you what the LORD said to me last night.’ ‘Tell me,’ Saul replied. Samuel said, ‘Although you were once small in your own eyes, did you not become the head of the tribes of Israel?’ The LORD anointed you king over Israel. And he sent you on a mission, saying, ‘Go and completely destroy those wicked people, the Amalekites; make war on them until you have wiped them out.’ Why did you not obey the LORD ? Why did you pounce on the plunder and do evil in the eyes of the LORD ?	RA RI
2 Samuel 22:38-43	I pursued my enemies and wiped them out , I did not turn back till I destroyed them . I destroyed them , I struck them down; They rose no more, they lay at my feet. You have girt me with strength for battle , Brought low my foe before me, Made my enemies turn tail before me, My foes—and I wiped them out . They looked, but there was none to deliver; To the LORD, but He answered them not. I pounded them like dust of the earth, Stamped, crushed them like dirt of the streets.	I pursued my enemies and crushed them ; I did not turn back till they were destroyed . I crushed them completely , and they could not rise; they fell beneath my feet. You armed me with strength for battle ; you made my adversaries bow at my feet. You made my enemies turn their backs in flight , and I destroyed my foes . They cried for help, but there was no one to save them— to the LORD, but he did not answer. I beat them as fine as the dust of the earth; I pounded and trampled them like mud in the streets.	

Isaiah 10:5-7	Ha! Assyria, rod of My anger, In whose hand, as a staff, is My fury! I send him against an ungodly nation, I charge him against a people that provokes Me, To take its spoil and to seize its booty And to make it a thing trampled Like the mire of the streets. But he has evil plans, His mind harbors evil designs; For he means to destroy , To wipe out nations, not a few.	‘Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of my anger, in whose hand is the club of my wrath! I send him against a godless nation, I dispatch him against a people who anger me, to seize loot and snatch plunder, and to trample them down like mud in the streets. But this is not what he intends, this is not what he has in mind; his purpose is to destroy , to put an end to many nations. ’	
Jeremiah 25:9	I am going to send for all the peoples of the north—declares the LORD—and for My servant, King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and bring them against this land and its inhabitants, and against all those nations roundabout. I will exterminate them and make them a desolation , an object of hissing—ruins for all time.	‘I will summon all the peoples of the north and my servant Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,’ declares the LORD, ‘and I will bring them against this land and its inhabitants and against all the surrounding nations. I will completely destroy them and make them an object of horror and scorn, and an everlasting ruin.’	

4.1.3.5 God as a warrior

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Exodus 14:14	‘The LORD will battle for you ; you hold your peace!’	‘The LORD will fight for you; you need only to be still.’	
Exodus 15:3	The LORD, the Warrior — LORD is His name!	The LORD is a warrior ; the LORD is his name.	Example of militaristic language
Joshua 10:11	While they were fleeing before Israel down the descent from Beth-horon, the LORD hurled huge stones on them from the sky , all the way to Azekah, and they perished; more perished from the hailstones than were killed by the Israelite weapons.	As they fled before Israel on the road down from Beth Horon to Azekah, the LORD hurled large hailstones down on them from the sky , and more of them died from the hailstones than were killed by the swords of the Israelites.	

Isaiah 42:13	The LORD goes forth like a warrior, Like a fighter He whips up His rage. He yells, He roars aloud, He charges upon His enemies.	The LORD will march out like a mighty man, like a warrior he will stir up his zeal; with a shout he will raise the battle cry and will triumph over his enemies.	
Judges 4:14-15	Then Deborah said to Barak, ‘Up! This is the day on which the LORD will deliver Sisera into your hands: the LORD is marching before you. ; Barak charges down Mount Tabor, followed by the ten thousand men, and the LORD threw Sisera and all his chariots and army into a panic before the onslaught of Barak. Sisera leaped from his chariot and fled on foot	Then Deborah said to Barak, ‘Go! This is the day the LORD has given Sisera into your hands. Has not the LORD gone ahead of you? ’ So Barak went down Mount Tabor, followed by ten thousand men. At Barak’s advance, the LORD routed Sisera and all his chariots and army by the sword, and Sisera abandoned his chariot and fled on foot.	God acting in war
1 Samuel 4:7	the Philistines were frightened; for they said, ‘ God has come to the camp. ’ And they cried, ‘Woe to us! Nothing like this has ever happened before.’	the Philistines were afraid. ‘ A god has come into the camp, ’ they said. ‘We’re in trouble! Nothing like this has happened before.’	God entering an enemy’s army camp
1 Samuel 14:15	‘Terror broke out among all the troops both in the camp [and] in the field; the outposts and the raiders were also terrified. The very earth quaked, and a terror from God ensued.	Then panic struck the whole army—those in the camp and field, and those in the outposts and raiding parties—and the ground shook. It was a panic sent by God.	
2 Samuel 5:24	‘And when you hear the sound of marching in the tops of the baca trees, then go into action, for the LORD will be going in front of you to attack the Philistine forces.’	‘As soon as you hear the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam trees, move quickly, because that will mean the LORD has gone out in front of you to strike the Philistine army.’	God sounding like an army
Jeremiah 21:3-10	Jeremiah answered them, ‘Thus shall you say to Zedekiah: Thus said the LORD, the God of Israel: I am going to turn around the weapons in your hands with which you are battling outside the wall against those who are besieging you—the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans—and I will take them into the midst of this city; and I Myself will battle against you with an outstretched mighty arm, with anger and rage	But Jeremiah answered them, ‘Tell Zedekiah, ‘This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: I am about to turn against you the weapons of war that are in your hands, which you are using to fight the king of Babylon and the Babylonians who are outside the wall besieging you. And I will gather them inside this city. I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and a mighty arm in anger and fury and great wrath. I will strike down	

	<p>and great wrath. I will strike the inhabitants of this city, man and beast: they shall die by a terrible pestilence. And then—declares the LORD—I will deliver King Zedekiah of Judah and his courtiers and the people—those in this city who survive the pestilence, the sword, and the famine—into the hands of King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, into the hands of their enemies, into the hands of those who seek their lives. He will put them to the sword without pity, without compassion, without mercy. ‘And to this people you shall say: Thus said the LORD: I set before you the way of life and the way of death. Whoever remains in this city shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence; but whoever leaves and goes over to the Chaldeans who are besieging you shall live; he shall at least gain his life. For I have set My face against this city for evil and not for good—declares the LORD. It shall be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon, who will destroy it by fire.’</p>	<p>those who live in this city—both men and animals—and they will die of a terrible plague. After that, declares the LORD, I will hand over Zedekiah king of Judah, his officials and the people in this city who survive the plague, sword and famine, to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and to their enemies who seek their lives. He will put them to the sword; he will show them no mercy or pity or compassion.’ ‘Furthermore, tell the people, ‘This is what the LORD says: See, I am setting before you the way of life and the way of death. Whoever stays in this city will die by the sword, famine or plague. But whoever goes out and surrenders to the Babylonians who are besieging you will live; he will escape with his life. I have determined to do this city harm and not good, declares the LORD. It will be given into the hands of the king of Babylon, and he will destroy it with fire.’</p>	
<p>Zephaniah 3:17</p>	<p>Your God the LORD is in your midst, A warrior who brings triumph. He will rejoice over you and be glad, He will shout over you will jubilation. He will soothe with His love</p>	<p>‘The LORD your God is with you, he is mighty to save. He will take great delight in you, he will quiet you with his love, he will rejoice over you with singing.’</p>	

Nahum 1:2-3	The LORD is a passionate, avenging God; The LORD is vengeful and fierce in wrath. The LORD takes vengeance on His enemies, He rages against His foes. The LORD is slow to anger and of great forbearance, But the LORD does not remit all punishment. He travels in whirlwind and storm, And clouds are the dust on His feet.	The LORD is a jealous and avenging God; the LORD takes vengeance and is filled with wrath. The LORD takes vengeance on his foes and maintains his wrath against his enemies. The LORD is slow to anger and great in power; the LORD will not leave the guilty unpunished. His way is in the whirlwind and the storm, and clouds are the dust of his feet.	
Psalms 24:8	Who is the King of glory?— the LORD, mighty and valiant, the LORD, valiant in battle.	Who is this King of glory? The LORD strong and mighty, the LORD mighty in battle.	

4.1.3.6 Other wars/violence

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Exodus 13:13	But every firstling ass you shall redeem with a sheep ; if you do not redeem it, you must break its neck. And you must redeem every first-born male among your children.	Redeem with a lamb every firstborn donkey , but if you do not redeem it, break its neck. Redeem every firstborn among your sons.	Example of sacrifice
Exodus 21:23-25	But if other damage ensues, the penalty shall be life for life , eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise.	But if there is serious injury, you are to take life for life , eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise.	<i>Lex talionis.</i> (Note: “Talmudic loose construction of the law considered the equitable application of talion impossible and inferred that it requires the assailant to pay damages corresponding to the severity of the injury” in <u>The Jewish Study Bible</u> 154)

Exodus 32:17-18	When Joshua heard the sound of the people in its boisterousness, he said to Moses, ‘There is a cry of war in the camp.’ But he answered, ‘It is not the sound of the tune of the triumph, Or the sound of the tune of defeat; It is the sound of song that I hear!’	When Joshua heard the noise of the people shouting, he said to Moses, ‘There is the sound of war in the camp.’ Moses replied: ‘It is not the sound of victory, it is not the sound of defeat; it is the sound of singing that I hear.’	War for general upheaval. It was the sound at camp while Moses was receiving the ten commandments and the people were worshipping the golden calf.
Exodus 32:26-30	Moses stood up in the gate of the camp and said, ‘Whoever is for the LORD, come here!’ And all the Levites rallied to him. He said to them, ‘Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: Each of you put sword on thigh, go back and forth from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay brother, neighbour, and kin. ’ The Levites did as Moses had bidden; and some three thousand of the people fell that day. And Moses said, ‘Dedicate yourselves to the LORD this day—for each of you has been against son and brother—that He may bestow a blessing upon you today.’ The next day Moses said to the people, ‘You have been guilty of a great sin. Yet I will now go up to the LORD; perhaps I will win forgiveness for your sin.’	So he stood at the entrance to the camp and said, ‘Whoever is for the LORD, come to me.’ And all the Levites rallied to him. Then he said to them, ‘This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: ‘Each man strap a sword to his side. Go back and forth through the camp from one end to the other, each killing his brother and friend and neighbor. ’ The Levites did as Moses commanded, and that day about three thousand of the people died. Then Moses said, ‘You have been set apart to the LORD today, for you were against your own sons and brothers, and he has blessed you this day.’ The next day Moses said to the people, ‘You have committed a great sin. But now I will go up to the LORD; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin.’	
Leviticus 24:18-20	One who kills a beast shall make restitution for it: life for a life. If anyone maims his fellow, as he has done so shall it be done to him: fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. The injury he inflicted on another shall be inflicted on him.	Anyone who takes the life of someone's animal must make restitution—life for life. If anyone injures his neighbor, whatever he has done must be done to him: fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. As he has injured the other, so he is to be injured.	<i>Lex talonis</i>
Numbers 1	<i>This chapter discusses the Israelites’ military groupings during the exodus. JSB Interpretation: “Now they must be organized into a mobile war camp to resume their travels in the wilderness and in readiness to meet any foes along the way” (Jewish Study Bible, 284)</i>		

Numbers 21:14-15	Therefore the Book of the Wars of the LORD speaks of ‘. . . Waheb in Suphah, and the wadis: the Arnon with its tributary wadis, stretched along the settled country of Ar, hugging the territory of Moab...?’	That is why the Book of the Wars of the LORD says: ‘...Waheb in Suphah and the ravines, the Arnon 15 and the slopes of the ravines that lead to the site of Ar and lie along the border of Moab.’	Little known of the Book of Wars of God in other texts or commentaries
Numbers 31:25-54	<i>Details how to divide the booty of war.</i>		
Numbers 32:6	Moses replied to the Gadites and the Reubenites, ‘Are your brothers to go to war while you stay here?’	Moses said to the Gadites and Reubenites, ‘Shall your countrymen go to war while you sit here?’	Appears to refer to unjust, unhelpful behaviour
Deut. 2:36-37	From Aroer on the edge of the Arnon valley, including the town in the valley itself, to Gilead, not a city was too mighty for us; the LORD our God delivered everything to us. But you did not encroach upon the land of the Ammonites, all along the wadi Jabbok and the towns of the hill country, just as the LORD our God had commanded.	From Aroer on the rim of the Arnon Gorge, and from the town in the gorge, even as far as Gilead, not one town was too strong for us. The LORD our God gave us all of them. But in accordance with the command of the LORD our God , you did not encroach on any of the land of the Ammonites, neither the land along the course of the Jabbok nor that around the towns in the hills.	Careful to follow God’s commands for which wars to fight

<p>Deut. 19:16-21</p>	<p>If a man appears against another to testify maliciously and gives false testimony against him, the two parties to the dispute shall appear before the LORD, before the priests or magistrates in authority at the time, and the magistrates shall make a thorough investigation. If the man who testified is a false witness, if he has testified falsely against his fellow, you shall do to him as he schemed to do to his fellow. Thus you will sweep out evil from your midst; others will hear and be afraid, and such evil things will not again be done in your midst. Nor must you show pity: life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.</p>	<p>If a malicious witness takes the stand to accuse a man of a crime, the two men involved in the dispute must stand in the presence of the LORD before the priests and the judges who are in office at the time. The judges must make a thorough investigation, and if the witness proves to be a liar, giving false testimony against his brother, then do to him as he intended to do to his brother. You must purge the evil from among you. The rest of the people will hear of this and be afraid, and never again will such an evil thing be done among you. Show no pity: life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.</p>	<p><i>Lex talonis</i></p>
<p>Deut. 23:9-14 Difference in verse numbering: NJPS is 23:10-14</p>	<p>When you go out as a troop against your enemies, be on your guard against anything untoward. If anyone among you has been rendered unclean by a nocturnal emission, he must leave the camp, and he must not reenter the camp. Toward evening he shall bathe in water, and at sundown he may reenter the camp. Further, there shall be an area for you outside the camp, where you may relieve yourself. With your heel you shall have a spike, and when you have squatted you shall dig a hole with it and cover up your excrement. Since the LORD your God moves about in your camp to protect you and to deliver your enemies to you, let your camp be holy; let Him not find anything unseemly among you and turn away from you. [Deut. 23:10-14]</p>	<p>When you are encamped against your enemies, keep away from everything impure. If one of your men is unclean because of a nocturnal emission, he is to go outside the camp and stay there. But as evening approaches he is to wash himself, and at sunset he may return to the camp. Designate a place outside the camp where you can go to relieve yourself. As part of your equipment have something to dig with, and when you relieve yourself, dig a hole and cover up your excrement. For the LORD your God moves about in your camp to protect you and to deliver your enemies to you. Your camp must be holy, so that he will not see among you anything indecent and turn away from you. [Deut. 23:9-14]</p>	<p>Keep the army camp clean during war</p>
<p>Joshua</p>	<p>About forty thousand shock</p>	<p>About forty thousand armed</p>	<p>Ark of the Covenant</p>

4:13-16	<p>troops went across, at the instance of the LORD, to the steepes of Jericho for battle. On that day the LORD exalted Joshua in the sight of all Israel, so that they revered him all his days as they had revered Moses. The LORD said to Joshua, ‘Command the priests who bear the Ark of the Pact to come up out of the Jordan.’</p>	<p>for battle crossed over before the LORD to the plains of Jericho for war. That day the LORD exalted Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they revered him all the days of his life, just as they had revered Moses. Then the LORD said to Joshua, ‘Command the priests carrying the ark of the Testimony to come up out of the Jordan.’</p>	<p>being taken by priests into war. “<i>Pact</i> is an alternative term for the covenant but appears only here in Joshua” (The Jewish Study Bible 471)</p>
Joshua 22: 10-19, 29-30, 32-34	<p>When they came to the region of the Jordan in the land of Canaan, the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh built an altar there by the Jordan, a great conspicuous altar. A report reached the Israelites: “The Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have built an altar opposite the land of Canaan, in the region of the Jordan, across from the Israelites.” When the Israelites heard this, the whole community of the Israelites assembled at Shiloh to make war on them. But [first] the Israelites sent the priest Phinehas son of Eleazar to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the land of Gilead, accompanied by ten chieftains, one chieftain from each ancestral house of each of the tribes of Israel; they were every one of them heads of ancestral houses of the contingents of Israel. When they came to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the land of Gilead, they spoke to them as follows: “Thus said the whole community: What is this treachery that you have committed this day against the God of Israel, turning away from the LORD, building yourselves an altar and rebelling this day against the LORD! Is the</p>	<p>When they came to Geliloth near the Jordan in the land of Canaan, the Reubenites, the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh built an imposing altar there by the Jordan. And when the Israelites heard that they had built the altar on the border of Canaan at Geliloth near the Jordan on the Israelite side, the whole assembly of Israel gathered at Shiloh to go to war against them. So the Israelites sent Phinehas son of Eleazar, the priest, to the land of Gilead—to Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh. With him they sent ten of the chief men, one for each of the tribes of Israel, each the head of a family division among the Israelite clans. When they went to Gilead—to Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh—they said to them: “The whole assembly of the LORD says: ‘How could you break faith with the God of Israel like this? How could you turn away from the LORD and build yourselves an altar in rebellion against him now? Was not the sin of Peor enough for us? Up to this very day we have not cleansed ourselves from that sin, even though a plague fell on the</p>	<p>Example of a successful diplomacy to stop a war. LR RI –restoring authority back to God.</p>

	<p>sin of Peor, which brought a plague upon the community of the LORD, such a small thing to us? We have not cleansed ourselves from it to this very day; and now you would turn away from the LORD! If you rebel against the LORD today, tomorrow He will be angry with the whole community of Israel. If it is because the land of your holding is unclean, cross over into the land of the LORD's own holding, where the Tabernacle of the LORD abides, and acquire holdings among us. But do not rebel against the LORD, and do not rebel against us by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of the LORD our God. [. . .] Far be it from us to rebel against the LORD, or to turn away this day from the LORD and build an altar for burnt offerings, meal offerings, and sacrifices other than the altar of the LORD our God which stands before His Tabernacle.' When the priest Phinehas and the chieftains of the community—the heads of the contingents of Israel—who were with him heard the explanation given by the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the Manassites, they approved. [. . .] Then the priest Phinehas son of Eleazar and the chieftains returned from the Reubenites and the Gadites in the land of Gilead to the Israelites in the land of Canaan, and gave them their report. The Israelites were pleased, and the Israelites praised God; and they spoke no more of going to war against them, to ravage the land in which the Reubenites and Gadites dwelt. The Reubenites and the Gadites named the altar ['Witness'], meaning, 'It is a witness between us and them</p>	<p>community of the LORD! And are you now turning away from the LORD ? If you rebel against the LORD today, tomorrow he will be angry with the whole community of Israel. If the land you possess is defiled, come over to the LORD's land, where the LORD's tabernacle stands, and share the land with us. But do not rebel against the LORD or against us by building an altar for yourselves, other than the altar of the LORD our God." [. . .] 'Far be it from us to rebel against the LORD and turn away from him today by building an altar for burnt offerings, grain offerings and sacrifices, other than the altar of the LORD our God that stands before his tabernacle.' When Phinehas the priest and the leaders of the community—the heads of the clans of the Israelites—heard what Reuben, Gad and Manasseh had to say, they were pleased. [. . .] Then Phinehas son of Eleazar, the priest, and the leaders returned to Canaan from their meeting with the Reubenites and Gadites in Gilead and reported to the Israelites. They were glad to hear the report and praised God. And they talked no more about going to war against them to devastate the country where the Reubenites and the Gadites lived. And the Reubenites and the Gadites gave the altar this name: A Witness Between Us that the LORD is God.</p>	
--	--	---	--

	that the LORD is [our] God.’		
Judges 3:8-10	The LORD became incensed at Israel and surrendered them to King Cushan-rishathaim of Aramnaharaim; and the Israelites were subject to Cushan-rishathaim for eight years. The Israelites cried out to the LORD, and the LORD raised a champion for the Israelites to deliver them: Othniel the Kenizzite, a younger kinsman of Caleb. The spirit of the LORD descended upon him and he became Israel’s chieftain. He went out to war, and the LORD delivered King Cushan-rishathaim of Aram into his hands. He prevailed over Cushan-rishathaim	The anger of the LORD burned against Israel so that he sold them into the hands of Cushan-Rishathaim king of Aram Naharaim, to whom the Israelites were subject for eight years. But when they cried out to the LORD, he raised up for them a deliverer, Othniel son of Kenaz, Caleb’s younger brother, who saved them. The Spirit of the LORD came upon him, so that he became Israel’s judge and went to war. The LORD gave Cushan-Rishathaim king of Aram into the hands of Othniel, who overpowered him.	God uses other tribes to punish sinful Israelites
Judges 5:8	[From Song of Deborah] When they chose new gods, Was there a fighter then in the gates? No shield or spear was seen Among forty thousand in Israel!	[From Song of Deborah] When they chose new gods, war came to the city gates, and not a shield or spear was seen among forty thousand in Israel.	Defeat in war due to idolatry
Judges 5:23	‘Curse Meroz!’ said the angel of the LORD. ‘Bitterly curse its inhabitants, Because they came not to the aid of the LORD, To the aid of the LORD among the warriors.’	‘Curse Meroz,’ said the angel of the LORD. ‘Curse its people bitterly, because they did not come to help the LORD, to help the LORD against the mighty.’	JSB interpretation: “ <i>Meroz</i> , which has not been identified and whose inhabitants did not join the battle, is cursed. <i>The warriors</i> : Here in v. 13 it speaks of the warriors of Israel who joined the LORD’s battle” (<u>The Jewish Study Bible 522</u>)

Judges 5:30-31	[Sisera’s mother replied to herself:] “They must be dividing the spoil they have found: A damsel or two for each man, Spoil of dyed cloths for Sisera, Spoil of embroidered cloths, A couple of embroidered cloths Round every neck as spoil’ So may all Your enemies perish , O LORD! But may His friends be as the sun rising in might! And the land was tranquil for forty years.	‘Are they not finding and dividing the spoils : a girl or two for each man, colorful garments as plunder for Sisera, colorful garments embroidered, highly embroidered garments for my neck—all this as plunder?’ ‘So may all your enemies perish , O LORD! But may they who love you be like the sun when it rises in its strength.’ Then the land had peace forty years.	Details dividing the booty from wa
Judges 6:1-17	<i>God forgave the Israelites’ idolatry and sent Gideon to save them from the Midianites.</i>		
Judges 6:34	The spirit of the LORD enveloped Gideon; he sounded the horn, and the Abiezrites rallied behind him.	Then the Spirit of the LORD came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet, summoning the Abiezrites to follow him.	Trumpet is blown before battle. Similarly found at Judges 3:27 and 1 Samuel 13:3
Judges 8:22-23	Then the men of Israel said to Gideon, ‘Rule over us—you, your son, and your grandson as well; for you have saved us from the Midianites.’ But Gideon replied, ‘I will not rule over you myself, nor shall my son rule over you; the LORD alone shall rule over you. ’	The Israelites said to Gideon, ‘Rule over us—you, your son and your grandson—because you have saved us out of the hand of Midian.’ But Gideon told them, ‘I will not rule over you, nor will my son rule over you. The LORD will rule over you. ’	JSB interpretation: “ <i>The men of Israel, the army of the tribes . . . You have saved us:</i> The army sees Gideon and not the LORD as their deliverer” (<u>The Jewish Study Bible 529</u>)
Judges 11:13	The king of the Ammonites replied to Jephthah’s messengers, ‘When Israel came from Egypt, they seized the land which is mine, from the Arnon to the Jabbok as far as the Jordan. Now, then, restore it peaceably .	The king of the Ammonites answered Jephthah's messengers, ‘When Israel came up out of Egypt, they took away my land from the Arnon to the Jabbok, all the way to the Jordan. Now give it back peaceably. ’	Example of diplomacy
Judges 18:11	They departed from there, from the clan seat of the Danites, from Zorah and Eshtaol, six hundred strong, girt with weapons of war.	Then six hundred men from the clan of the Danites, armed for battle , set out from Zorah and Eshtaol.	The Danites fight to settle in Laish

Judges 20:13	‘Come, hand over those scoundrels in Gibeah so that we may put them to death and stamp out the evil from Israel. ’ But the Benjaminites would not yield to the demand of their fellow Israelites.	‘Now surrender those wicked men of Gibeah so that we may put them to death and purge the evil from Israel. ’ But the Benjaminites would not listen to their fellow Israelites.	The Israelites fight the Benjaminites
1 Samuel 7:9-11	Thereupon Samuel took a suckling lamb and sacrificed it as a whole burnt offering to the LORD; and Samuel cried out to the LORD in behalf of Israel, and the LORD responded to him. For as Samuel was presenting the burnt offering and the Philistines advanced to attack Israel, the LORD thundered mightily against the Philistines that day. He threw them into confusion, and they were routed by Israel. The men of Israel sallied out of Mizpah and pursued the Philistines, striking them down to a point below Beth-car.	Then Samuel took a suckling lamb and offered it up as a whole burnt offering to the LORD. He cried out to the LORD on Israel's behalf, and the LORD answered him. While Samuel was sacrificing the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to engage Israel in battle. But that day the LORD thundered with loud thunder against the Philistines and threw them into such a panic that they were routed before the Israelites. The men of Israel rushed out of Mizpah and pursued the Philistines, slaughtering them along the way to a point below Beth Car.	God assisting in battle because of prophetic appeasement
1 Samuel 8:19-21	But the people would not listen to Samuel's warning. ‘No,’ they said. ‘We must have a king over us, that we may be like all the other nations: Let our king rule over us and go out at our head and fight our battles.’ When Samuel heard all that the people said, he reported it to the LORD.	But the people refused to listen to Samuel. ‘No!’ they said. ‘We want a king over us. Then we will be like all the other nations, with a king to lead us and to go out before us and fight our battles.’ When Samuel heard all that the people said, he repeated it before the LORD.	People questioning what is the RA
1 Samuel 12	<i>Samuel warns to obey the LORD or else calamities will occur. He reminds that obeying the LORD leads to success in battle.</i>		
1 Samuel 13:12	‘I thought the Philistines would march down against me at Gilgal before I had entreated the LORD, so I forced myself to present a burnt offering. ’	[Samuel said to Samuel:] I thought, ‘Now the Philistines will come down against me at Gilgal, and I have not sought the LORD's favor.’ So I felt compelled to offer the burnt offering. ’	A burnt offering to God during war

1 Samuel 15:26	But Samuel said to Saul, 'I will not go back with you; for you have rejected the LORD's command , and the LORD has rejected you as king over Israel.'	But Samuel said to him, 'I will not go back with you. You have rejected the word of the LORD , and the LORD has rejected you as king over Israel!'	
2 Samuel 20:22	The woman came to all the people with her clever plan; and they cut off the head of Sheba son of Bichri and threw it down to Joab. He then sounded the horn; all the men dispersed to their homes, and Joab returned to the king in Jerusalem.	Then the woman went to all the people with her wise advice, and they cut off the head of Sheba son of Bicri and threw it to Joab. So he sounded the trumpet, and his men dispersed from the city, each returning to his home. And Joab went back to the king in Jerusalem	Beheading
2 Kings 8:21	Joram crossed over to Zair with all his chariotry. He arose by night and attacked the Edomites, who were surrounding him and the chariot commanders; but his troops fled to their homes.	So Jehoram went to Zair with all his chariots. The Edomites surrounded him and his chariot commanders , but he rose up and broke through by night; his army , however, fled back home.	
Jeremiah 27:6-7	I herewith deliver all these lands to My servant, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon; I even give him the wild beasts to serve him. All nations shall serve him, his son and his grandson—until the turn of his own land comes, when many nations and great kings shall subjugate him .	Now I will hand all your countries over to my servant Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; I will make even the wild animals subject to him. All nations will serve him and his son and his grandson until the time for his land comes; then many nations and great kings will subjugate him .	
Jeremiah 43:10-11	And say to them: 'Thus said the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: I am sending for My servant King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, and I will set his throne over these stones which I have embedded. He will spread out his pavilion over them. He will come and attack the land of Egypt, delivering Those destined for the plague, to the plague, Those destined for captivity, to captivity, And those destined for the	Then say to them, 'This is what the LORD Almighty, the God of Israel, says: I will send for my servant Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and I will set his throne over these stones I have buried here; he will spread his royal canopy above them. He will come and attack Egypt, bringing death to those destined for death, captivity to those destined for captivity, and the sword to those destined for the sword .'	

	sword, to the sword.'		
Jeremiah 51:20	[The LORD says:] 'You are My war club, [My] weapons of battle; With you I clubbed nations, With you I destroyed kingdoms;'	[The LORD says:] 'You are my war club, my weapon for battle— with you I shatter nations, with you I destroy kingdoms;'	Refers to warriors as instruments
Psalms 18:40-41	You have girded me with strength for battle , brought my adversaries low before me, made my enemies turn tail before me; I wiped out my foes.	You made my enemies turn their backs in flight , and I destroyed my foes. They cried for help , but there was no one to save them—to the LORD , but he did not answer.	
Psalms 33:16-17	Kings are not delivered by a large force; warriors are not saved by great strength; horses are a false hope for deliverance; for all their great power they provide no escape.	No king is saved by the size of his army; no warrior escapes by his great strength. A horse is a vain hope for deliverance; despite all its great strength it cannot save.	JSB interpretation: "Armies and military equipment, however strong, are no match for God's power" (The Jewish Study Bible 1318)
Psalms 78:65-66	The Lord awoke as from sleep, like a warrior shaking off wine. He beat back His foes, dealing them lasting disgrace.	Then the Lord awoke as from sleep, as a man wakes from the stupor of wine. He beat back his enemies; he put them to everlasting shame.	Note: unclear if this Lord refers to the LORD God; yet second reference is a capitalized 'His'
Psalms 79:1-3	O God, heathens have entered Your domain, defiled Your holy temple, and turned Jerusalem into ruins. They have left Your servants' corpses as food for the fowl of heaven , and the flesh of Your faithful for the wild beasts. Their blood was shed like water around Jerusalem, with none to bury them.	O God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to rubble. They have given the dead bodies of your servants as food to the birds of the air , the flesh of your saints to the beasts of the earth. They have poured out blood like water all around Jerusalem, and there is no one to bury the dead.	
Psalms 137:8-9	Fair Babylon, you predator, a blessing on him who repays you in kind what you have inflicted on us; a blessing on him who seizes your babies and dashes them against the rocks!	O Daughter of Babylon, doomed to destruction, happy is he who repays you for what you have done to us- he who seizes your infants and dashes them against the rocks.	

Psalms 144:1	Blessed is the LORD, my rock, who trains my hand for battle , my fingers for warfare ;	Praise be to the LORD my Rock, who trains my hands for war , my fingers for battle .	God as a battle trainer.
Daniel 7:20-22	and of the ten horns on its head; and of the new one that sprouted, to make room for which three fell—the horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spoke arrogantly, and which was more conspicuous than its fellows. (I looked on as that horn made war with the holy ones and overcame them, until the Ancient of Days came and judgment was rendered in favour of the holy ones Most High, for the time had come, and the holy ones took possession of the kingdom.)	I also wanted to know about the ten horns on its head and about the other horn that came up, before which three of them fell—the horn that looked more imposing than the others and that had eyes and a mouth that spoke boastfully. As I watched, this horn was waging war against the saints and defeating them, until the Ancient of Days came and pronounced judgment in favor of the saints of the Most High, and the time came when they possessed the kingdom.	Eternal war until the End
Esther 9	<i>Discussion of war and fighting throughout. Details war of Jews throughout the provinces of King Abasnerus.</i>		

4.1.3.7 Peace and non-violence before the Messianic era

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Genesis 9:6	Whoever sheds the blood of man, By man shall his blood be shed; For in His image Did God make man.	Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God has God made man.	
Genesis 21:30-34	He replied, 'You are to accept these seven ewes from me as proof that I dug this well.' Hence that place was called Beer-sheba, for there the two of them swore an oath . When they had concluded the pact at Beer-sheba, Abimelech and Phicol, chief of the troops, departed and returned to the land of the Philistines. [Abraham] planted a tamarisk at Beer-sheba, and invoked there the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God. And Abraham resided in the land	He replied, 'Accept these seven lambs from my hand as a witness that I dug this well.' So that place was called Beersheba, because the two men swore an oath there. After the treaty had been made at Beersheba, Abimelech and Phicol the commander of his forces returned to the land of the Philistines. Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, and there he called upon the name of the LORD, the Eternal God. And Abraham stayed in the land of the Philistines for a long time.	

	of the Philistines a long time.		
Exodus 20:13-16	You shall not murder . You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.	You shall not murder . You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not give false testimony against your neighbor.	The King James version of the Bible translates the first of these lines as “Thou shalt not kill.”
Exodus 23:4-5	When you encounter your enemy’s ox or ass wandering, you must take it back to him . When you see the ass of your enemy lying under its burden and would refrain from raising it, you must nevertheless raise it with him.	If you come across your enemy’s ox or donkey wandering off, be sure to take it back to him . If you see the donkey of someone who hates you fallen down under its load, do not leave it there; be sure you help him with it.	
Leviticus 7	<i>Discussion of war and fighting throughout. Details how the “guilt offering” should be given to God. In other translations, including the 1917 JPS, “guilt offering” is translated as “peace offering.”</i>		
Leviticus 26.6	[The LORD said:] ‘I will grant peace in the land, and you shall lie down untroubled by anyone; I will give the land respite from vicious beasts, and no sword shall cross your land.’	[The LORD said:] ‘I will grant peace in the land, and you will lie down and no one will make you afraid. I will remove savage beasts from the land, and the sword will not pass through your country.’	
Deut. 5:17	You shall not murder . You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour.	‘You shall not murder .’	
1 Kings 5:12, 1 Kings 5:26 Note: difference in verse numbering	The LORD has given Solomon wisdom, as He had promised him. There was a friendship between Hiram and Solomon, and the two of them made a treaty . (1 Kings 5:26)	The LORD gave Solomon wisdom, just as he had promised him. There were peaceful relations between Hiram and Solomon, and the two of them made a treaty . (1 Kings 5:12)	
Ezekiel 37:26	[The LORD said:] ‘I will make a covenant of friendship with them—it shall be an everlasting covenant with them—I will establish them and multiply them, and I will place My Sanctuary among them forever.	[The LORD said:] ‘I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an everlasting covenant. I will establish them and increase their numbers, and I will put my sanctuary among them forever.’	

Judges 6:24	So Gideon built there an altar to the LORD and called it Adonai-shalom .* To this day it stands on Ophrah of the Abiezrites.	So Gideon built an altar to the LORD there and called it The LORD is Peace . To this day it stands in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.	* I.e., ‘The LORD, All-is-well’ (<u>Jewish Study Bible</u> Footnote 524)
Psalms 29:11	May the LORD grant strength to His people; may he bestow on His people wellbeing .	The LORD will give strength unto his people; the LORD will bless his people with peace .	
Psalms 34:14	Guard your tongue from evil, your lips from deceitful speech. Shun evil and do good, seek amity and pursue it. (Psalm 34:14-15)	Turn from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it. (Psalm 34:14)	(Note: difference in verse numbering)
Psalms 34:15	Shun evil and do good, Seek amity and pursue it.	Turn from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it.	(Note: difference in verse numbering)
Psalms 37:37	Mark the blameless, note the upright, for there is a future for the man of integrity .	Consider the blameless, observe the upright; there is a future for the man of peace .	
Psalms 119:165	Those who love Your teaching enjoy well-being ; they encounter no adversity.	Great peace have they who love your law, and nothing can make them stumble.	
Proverbs 3:13, 3:17	Happy is the man who finds wisdom, The man who attains understanding. [. . .] Her ways are pleasant ways, And all her paths, peaceful .	Blessed is the man who finds wisdom, the man who gains understanding [. . .] Her ways are pleasant ways, and all her paths are peace .	
Proverbs 3:29-32	Do not devise harm against your fellow Who lives trustfully with you. Do not quarrel with a man for no cause, When he has done you no harm. Do not envy a lawless man, Or choose any of his ways; For the devious man is an abomination to the LORD, But He blesses the abode of the righteous.	Do not plot harm against your neighbor, who lives trustfully near you. Do not accuse a man for no reason— when he has done you no harm. Do not envy a violent man or choose any of his ways, for the LORD detests a perverse man but takes the upright into his confidence.	
Proverbs 16:7	When the LORD is pleased with a man’s conduct, He may even turn his enemies into allies .	When a man's ways are pleasing to the LORD, he makes even his enemies live at peace with him.	
Proverbs 25:21-22	If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; If he is thirsty,	If your enemy is hungry, give him food to eat; if he is thirsty,	(JSB Interpretation: “Rather than

	give him water to drink. You will be heaping live coals on his head, And the LORD will reward you.	give him water to drink. In doing this, you will heap burning coals on his head, and the LORD will reward you.	seeking vengeance, treat a vulnerable enemy kindly. Then he will be ashamed and God will reward your kindness” (<u>The Jewish Study Bible</u> 1488)
--	--	--	---

4.1.3.8 Peace in the Messianic era

	NJPS	NIV	Comment
Isaiah 2:4	Thus He will judge among the nations And arbitrate for the peoples, And they shall beat their swords into plowshares And their spears into pruninghooks: Nation shall not take up Sword against nation; They shall never again know war.	He [the Lord] will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore.	Similar verse in Micah 4:3; Verses calling for opposite action (plowshares into swords) are Joel 3:9-17 and Joel 4:10
Isaiah 9:5 Note: difference in verse numbering	For a child has been born to us, A son has been given us. And authority has settled on his shoulders. He has been named ‘The Mighty God is planning grace; The Eternal Father, a peaceable ruler ’	For to us a child is born, to us a son is given, and the government will be on his shoulders. And he will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. (Isaiah 9:6).	
Isaiah 9:6 Note: difference in verse numbering	In token of abundant authority And of peace without limit Upon David’s throne and kingdom, That it may be firmly established In justice and equality Now and evermore. The zeal of the LORD of Hosts Shall bring this to pass.	Of the increase of his government and peace there will be no end. He will reign on David’s throne and over his kingdom, establishing and upholding it with justice and righteousness from that time on and forever. The zeal of the LORD Almighty will accomplish this. (Isaiah 9:7)	
Isaiah 11	<i>Details future of harmony and peace between animals. Isaiah 11:10 NJPS mentions nations:</i> “In that day, The stock of Jesse that has remained standing Shall become a standard to peoples— Nations shall seek his counsel And his abode shall be honoured.”		

Isaiah 19:24-25	In that day, there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria. The Assyrians shall join with the Egyptians and Egyptians with the Assyrians, and then the Egyptians together with the Assyrians shall serve the [the LORD].	In that day Israel will be the third, along with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing on the earth. The LORD Almighty will bless them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, Assyria my handiwork, and Israel my inheritance.	
Isaiah 32:18	Then my people shall dwell in peaceful homes, In secure dwellings, In untroubled places of rest.	My people will live in peaceful dwelling places, in secure homes, in undisturbed places of rest.	
Isaiah 48:18	[The LORD said:] 'If only you would heed My commands! Then your prosperity would be like a river, Your triumph like the waves of the sea.'	[The LORD said:] 'If only you had paid attention to my commands, your peace would have been like a river, your righteousness like the waves of the sea.'	
Isaiah 52:7-10	How welcome on the mountain Are the footsteps of the herald Announcing fortune, Announcing victory, Telling Zion, 'Your God is King!' Hark! Your watchmen raise their voices, As one they shout for joy; For every eye shall behold The LORD's return to Zion. Raise a shout together, O ruins of Jerusalem! For the LORD will comfort His people, Will redeem Jerusalem. The LORD will bare His holy arm In the sight of all the nations, And the very ends of earth shall see The victory of our God.	How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of those who bring good news, who proclaim peace, who bring good tidings, who proclaim salvation, who say to Zion, 'Your God reigns!' Listen! Your watchmen lift up their voices; together they shout for joy. When the LORD returns to Zion, they will see it with their own eyes. ... The LORD will lay bare his holy arm in the sight of all the nations, all the ends of the earth will see the salvation of our God.	
Micah 4:3	Thus He will judge among the many peoples, And arbitrate for the multitude of nations, However distant; And they shall beat their swords into plowshares And their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not take up Sword against nation; They shall never know war;	He will judge between many peoples and will settle disputes for strong nations far and wide. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore.	

Zechariah 1:11	And in fact, they reported to the angel of the LORD who was standing among the myrtles, ‘We have roamed the earth, and have found all the earth dwelling in tranquility. ’	And they reported to the angel of the LORD, who was standing among the myrtle trees, ‘We have gone throughout the earth and found the whole world at rest and in peace. ’	
Zechariah 9:9	Rejoice greatly, Fair Zion; Raise a shout, Fair Jerusalem! Lo, your king is coming to you. He is victorious, triumphant, Yet humble , riding on an ass, On a donkey foaled by a she-ass.	Rejoice greatly, O Daughter of Zion! Shout, Daughter of Jerusalem! See, your king comes to you, righteous and having salvation, gentle and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey.	“This image of the idea future king (Messiah) has been very influential in the Jewish tradition, and has influenced the depiction of Jesus in the Gospels” (The Jewish Study Bible 1259).
Zechariah 9:10	He shall banish chariots from Ephraim And horses from Jerusalem; The warrior’s bow shall be banished . He shall call on the nations to surrender , And his rule shall extend from sea to sea And from ocean to land’s end.	I will take away the chariots from Ephraim and the war-horses from Jerusalem, and the battle bow will be broken . He will proclaim peace to the nations . His rule will extend from sea to sea and from the River to the ends of the earth.	
Psalms 37:11	But the lowly shall inherit the land, and delight in abundant well-being .	But the meek will inherit the land and enjoy great peace .	
Psalms 46:10	He puts a stop to wars throughout the earth, breaking the bow, snapping the spear, consigning wagons into the flames.	He [God] makes wars cease to the ends of the earth; he breaks the bow and shatters the spear, he burns the shields [b] with fire. (NIV, Ps. 46:9)	“God is so great a warrior that He can end all war (see: Isa. 2.4 II Mic. 4.3). (The Jewish Study Bible 1334)
Psalms 122:6-7	Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem; ‘May those who love you be at peace . May there be well-being within your ramparts, peace in your citadels.’	Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: ‘May those who love you be secure . May there be peace within your walls and security within your citadels.’	

Ecclesiastes 3:8	A time for loving and a time for hating; A time for war and a time for peace .	A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace .	
1 Chronicles 22:9	But you will have a son who will be a man at rest, for I will give him rest from all his enemies on all sides; Solomon will be his name and I shall confer peace and quiet on Israel in his time.	Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon , and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days.	

4.1.3.9 “How to fight” (Deuteronomy 20:1-20)

Since this particular twenty-verse excerpt from Deuteronomy addresses war so directly, it has been extracted in its entirety and placed together in one section. The verse numbers for both translations remain intact in this excerpt. Similar to the other excerpts, words and phrases have been underlined and bolded for quickened review and, thus, this formatting is not original to the text.

NJPS translation of Deuteronomy 20:1-20

“1 When you take the field against your **enemies**, and see horses and chariots—forces larger than yours—have no fear of them, for the LORD your God, who brought you from the land of Egypt, is with you. 2 Before you join battle, the priest shall come forward and address the troops. 3 He shall say to them, ‘Hear, O Israel! You are about to **join battle** with your **enemy**. Let not your courage falter. Do not be in fear, or in panic, or in dread of them. 4 For it is the LORD your God who marches with you to do **battle** for you against your **enemy**, to bring you victory.’

5 Then the officials shall address the **troops**, as follows: ‘Is there anyone who has built a new house but has not dedicated it? Let him go back to his home, lest he die in **battle** and another dedicate it. 6 Is there anyone who has planted a vineyard but has never harvested it? Let him go back to his home, lest he die in battle and another harvest it. 7 Is there anyone who has paid the bride-price for a wife, but who has not yet married her? Let him go back to his home, lest he die in **battle** and marry another.’ 8 The officials shall go on addressing the **troops** and say, ‘Is there anyone afraid and disheartened? Let him go back to his home, lest the courage of his **comrades** flag like his.’ 9 When the officials have finished addressing the **troops**, army **commanders** shall assume command of the **troops**.

10 When you approach a town to **attack** it, you shall offer it terms of peace. 11 If it responds peaceably and lets you in, all the people present there shall serve you at forced labor. If it does not surrender to you, but would join battle with you, you shall lay siege to it; and when the LORD your God delivers it into your hand, you shall put all its males to the **sword**. 14 You may, however, take as your **booty** the women, the children, the livestock, and everything in the town—all its **spoil**—and enjoy the use of the spoil of your enemy, which the LORD your God gives you.

15 Thus you shall deal with all towns that lie very far from you, towns that do not belong to nations hereabout. 16 In the towns of the latter peoples, however, which the LORD your God is giving you as a heritage, you shall not let a soul remain alive. 17 No, you must proscribe them—the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites—as the

LORD your God has commanded you, 18 lest they lead you into doing all the abhorrent things that you have done for their gods and you stand guilty before the LORD your God.

19 When in your **war** against a city you have to besiege it a long time in order to capture it, you must not destroy its trees, wielding the ax (sic) against them. You may eat of them, but you must not cut them down. Are trees of the field human to withstand before you into the besieged city? 20 Only trees that you know do not yield food may be destroyed; you may cut them down for constructing siege-works against the city that is waging war on you, until it has been reduced.”

NIV translation of Deuteronomy 20:1-20

[Titled “Going to War” in the NIV]

“1 When you go to **war** against your **enemies** and see horses and chariots and an army greater than yours, do not be afraid of them, because the LORD your God, who brought you up out of Egypt, will be with you. 2 When you are about to go into battle, the priest shall come forward and address the army. 3 He shall say: ‘Hear, O Israel, today you are going into **battle** against your **enemies**. Do not be fainthearted or afraid; do not be terrified or give way to panic before them. 4 For the LORD your **God is the one who goes with you to fight** for you against your enemies to give you victory.’

5 The officers shall say to the army: ‘Has anyone built a new house and not dedicated it? Let him go home, or he may die in battle and someone else may dedicate it. 6 Has anyone planted a vineyard and not begun to enjoy it? Let him go home, or he may die in battle and someone else enjoy it. 7 Has anyone become pledged to a woman and not married her? Let him go home, or he may die in battle and someone else marry her.’ 8 Then the officers shall add, ‘Is any man afraid or fainthearted? Let him go home so that his brothers will not become disheartened too.’ 9 When the officers have finished speaking to the army, they shall appoint commanders over it.

10 When you march up to attack a city, make its people an offer of peace. 11 If they accept and open their gates, all the people in it shall be subject to forced labor and shall work for you. 12 If they refuse to make peace and they engage you in battle, lay siege to that city. 13 When the LORD your God delivers it into your hand, put to the sword all the men in it. 14 As for the women, the children, the livestock and everything else in the city, you may take these as plunder for yourselves. And you may use the plunder the LORD your God gives you from your enemies. 15 This is how you are to treat all the cities that are at a distance from you and do not belong to the nations nearby.

16 However, in the cities of the nations the LORD your God is giving you as an inheritance, do not leave alive anything that breathes. 17 Completely destroy them—the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites—as the LORD your God has commanded you. 18 Otherwise, they will teach you to follow all the detestable things they do in worshiping their gods, and you will sin against the LORD your God.

19 When you lay siege to a city for a long time, fighting against it to capture it, **do not destroy its trees** by putting an ax to them, because you can eat their fruit. Do not cut them down. Are the trees of the field people, that you should besiege them? 20 However, you may cut down trees that you know are not fruit trees and use them to build siege works until the city at war with you falls.”

4.2 Jerusalem Talmud: Sotah 8:10

4.2.1 Background

The following is a portion of the 8th chapter of the Sotah, a volume of the Palestinian Talmud (c. 4th-5th Century C.E.). This Talmud is also known as the Jerusalem Talmud, Talmud Yerushalmi or the Talmud of the Land of Israel. This Talmud, and the Babylonian Talmud, is believed to contain the oral tradition which accompanied the Torah and a different commentary upon this oral tradition. The Jerusalem Talmud is an incomplete collection of commentary on this oral tradition, but is authoritative in the Jewish legal system nonetheless.

The following is a transcription of the section of the Jerusalem Talmud which describes a 'Permitted War,' as noted in the interpretation section of the Tanakh extracts. It appears to be a commentary upon Deuteronomy 20, which details characteristics of a Permitted War. This section of Deuteronomy is also included in the previous section of this Report. This extract of the Talmud properly accompanies the Tanakh excerpts because it clarifies the arguable meaning of 20 Deuteronomy. It is also cited as an important source in the scholarly literature analysing the Tanakh.

This extract is taken from: "Sotah 8:10," trans. Jacob Neuser. The Talmud of the Land of Israel. Vol. 27, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. 255-257.

4.2.2 Extract

[A] "And it shall be when the officers have made an end of speaking to the people that they shall **appoint captains** of hosts at the head of the people (Deut 20:9), and at the rear of the people. [B] They station warriors at their head and others behind them, and iron axes are in their hand. [C] And whoever wants to **retreat**-he has the power to break his legs. [D] For the start of defeat is falling back, [E] and it is written, "Israel fled before the Philistines, and there was also a great slaughter among the people" (1 Sam. 4:7). [F] And further it is written, "And the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines and fell down slain" (1 Sam. 31:1). [G] Under what circumstances [do the foregoing rules apply]? [H] In the case of an **optional war**. [I] But in the case of a war subject to **religious requirement, everyone goes** forth to battle- [J] even a bridegroom from his chamber, and a bride from her marriage canopy. [K] Said R. Judah, "Under what circumstances [do the foregoing rules apply]? In the case of war subject to a religious requirement. [L] "But in the case of an obligatory war, everyone goes forth to battle- [M] "even a bridegroom from his chamber, and a bride from her marriage canopy."

[I.A] It is written, "And it shall be when the officers have made an end of speaking to the people that they shall appoint captains of hosts at the head of the people" (Deut. 20:9). [B] I know only that that applies to the head of the people. [C] How do I know that the same applies at the rear of the people [M. 8:10A]? [D] Scripture says, ". . . and they shall be appointed" [with the "and" encompassing yet another set of officers]. [E] Up to this point the proposition has been proved in accord with [the exegetical approach of] R. Aqiba. [F] [How is it shown through the exegetical approach] of R. Ishmael? [G] R. Ishmael accords with the view of R. Meir, for R. Meir called the end of a rope the head of the rope. [H] Said R. Meir, "It is written, "The wise man has his eyes in his head, but the fool

walks in darkness” (Qoh. 2:14). [I] Said R. Abba Mari, “As to a wise man, while he is at the beginning of a matter he knows what will be at the end of it.”

[II.A] “Raiders shall raid Gad, but he shall raid at their heels” (Gen. 49:19). [B] Raiders will come and raid him, and he will raid them. [C] That is the meaning of the Mishnah, For **the start of defeat is falling back** [M. 8:10D].

[III.A] R. Yohanan said, “It is the implications of language which is at issue [between M. 8:10G-J and K-M]: [B] “R. Judah did call an optional war, a war subject to religious duty. [C] “But in the case of an obligatory war, everyone goes forth, [D] “even a bridegroom from his chamber and a bride from her canopy” [M. 8:10K-M] [T. Sot. 7:24]. [E] Said R. Hisda, “There is a dispute between them. [F] Rabbis say that a war which is a religious duty is such as a war fought by **David**. [G] “A war which is obligatory is the war fought by **Joshua**. [H] “R. Judah would call an optional war such as one in which we go forth against the enemy. [I] “He would regard a **war of obligation as one in which the enemy makes war on us.**”

[IV.A] It is written, “Then King Asa made a proclamation to all Judah, none was exempt” (1 Kings 15:22). [B] What is the meaning of “None was exempt”? [C] R. Simon and rabbis- [D] R. Simon says “One is not exempt to remain at home even for one moment [e.g., a husband must leave his marriage chamber].” [E] Rabbis say, “None was deemed a great man, son of a great man [and hence exempt from the draft].”

5 Interpretations and uses of scripture: two extreme cases

This chapter contains a review of Pope Urban II’s call to crusade and Osama bin Laden’s major statements. While extreme examples, these two sections are intended to illustrate how scripture has been used and can be applied to urge practitioners to fight.

5.1 Pope Urban II’s 1095 call to crusade

In 1095 at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II called for a military expedition to regain for Christianity the Holy Lands, in particular Jerusalem. He referred to biblical passages to help justify this action. There is little academic consensus about the exact contents of this speech: as a result five major versions of the speech are analysed below. In addition, the biblical passages which Urban II used are provided as modernized quotes from the New International Version of the Bible. Indirect references to scripture are not contained in this compilation due to their large volume and potentially disputable location in scripture.

The main source for the quotes from the speech is the book: The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials. 2nd ed. Edward Peters, ed. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1998).

The versions of the speech are as follows, with the number of Old Testament (OT) and New Testament (NT) references:

1. The Gesta (4 NT references);
2. Robert of Rheims (4 NT and 1 OT);
3. Baldric of Dol (4 OT);
4. Guilbert of Nogent (3 NT and 3 OT);
5. Fulcher of Chartres (3 NT).

As will be shown, there is a diversity of possible Biblical references. In total there are 16 NT and 8 OT unique references.

The NT references are used to promote selfless action, to encourage potential crusaders to leave family for the holy lands in following “Lord Jesus” and enduring suffering but gaining heavenly rewards. No New Testament passage directly calls for violence. By contrast, the OT references support more militant action: encouraging potential crusaders to gird themselves with the sword and to engage in war in the Holy Land as the Israelites had done. No comment is made here on the appropriateness of such Biblical references.

Table 5.1: Biblical references in Pope Urban II’s 1095 call to crusade

Version of Urban II’s Speech	Extracts Containing Biblical References (emphasis added)	Associated Bible (NIV) Quotes
<i>1. The Gesta Version.</i> Anonymous author who was not present at	“When now that time was at hand which the Lord Jesus daily points out to His faithful, especially in the	<i>Matthew 16:24:</i> “Then Jesus said to his disciples, ‘If anyone would come after me, he must

<p>Clermont but wrote from secondary accounts (page 25)</p>	<p>Gospel, saying, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' ..."</p>	<p>deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.” <i>Mark 8:34</i>: “Then he called the crowd to him along with his disciples and said: ‘If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.” <i>Luke 9:23</i>: “Then he said to them all: ‘If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me.””</p>
	<p>“Just as the Lord saith to His disciples: ‘Ye must suffer much in My name,’...”</p>	<p><i>Acts 9:15-16</i>: “But the Lord said to Ananias, ‘Go! This man is my chosen instrument to carry my name before the Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel. I will show him how much he must suffer for my name.””</p>
	<p>“Be not ashamed to confess Me before the faces of men; verily I will give you mouth and wisdom,’ and finally ...”</p>	<p><i>Matthew 10:32</i>: “Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge him before my Father in heaven.””</p>
	<p>“Great is your reward in Heaven” (p.25)</p>	<p><i>Matthew 5:12</i>: “Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you.””</p>
<p>2. <i>The Version of Robert of Rheims.</i> Robert, a monk from Rheims, wrote his version from the Gesta and other sources. He may have been present during Urban II’s speech (25)</p>	<p>“But if you are hindered by love of children, parents and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me” (27-28)</p>	<p><i>Matthew 10:37</i>: “Anyone who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; anyone who loves his son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.””</p>

	<p>“Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name’s sake shall receive an hundred-fold and shall inherit everlasting life” (28)</p>	<p><i>Matthew 19:29</i>: “And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.”</p>
	<p>“Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which the Scripture says ‘floweth with milk and honey,’ [Exodus 3:8] was given to God into the possession of the children of Israel” (28)</p>	<p><i>Joshua 5:6</i>: “The Israelites had moved about in the desert forty years until all the men who were of military age when they left Egypt had died, since they had not obeyed the LORD. For the LORD had sworn to them that they would not see the land that he had solemnly promised their fathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey.”</p>
	<p>“Most beloved brethren, to-day is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, ‘Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them” (28)</p>	<p><i>Matthew 18:20</i>: “For where two or three come together in my name, there am I with them.”</p>
	<p>“Such, indeed, by the two-fold action will fulfill the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, ‘He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me” (29)</p>	<p><i>Matthew 10:38</i>: “and anyone who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me.”</p>
<p>3. <i>The Version of Baldric of Dol.</i> Archbishop of Dol’s version was also</p>	<p>“We weep and wail, brethren, alas, like the Psalmist, in our inmost heart!” (31)</p>	<p><i>Psalms 51:6</i>: “Surely you desire truth in the inner parts; you teach me wisdom in the inmost place.”</p>

<p>dependent upon the Gesta. His version clearly reflects a post-conquest perspective (29)</p>	<p>“We are wretched and unhappy, and in us is that prophecy fulfilled: ‘God, the nations are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem in heaps; the dead bodies of thy servants have been given to be food for the birds of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them” (31)</p>	<p><i>Psalms 79:1-3</i>: “O God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to rubble. They have given the dead bodies of your servants as food to the birds of the air, the flesh of your saints to the beasts of the earth. They have poured out blood like water all around Jerusalem, and there is no one to bury the dead.”</p>
	<p>“Accordingly, we speak with the authority of the prophet: ‘Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty one” (32)</p>	<p><i>Psalms 45:3</i>: “Gird your sword upon your side, O mighty one; clothe yourself with splendor and majesty.”</p>
	<p>“Moreover, you who are to go shall have us praying for you; we shall have you fighting for God’s people. It is our duty to pray, yours to fight against the Amalekites. With Moses, we shall extend unwearied hands in prayer to Heaven, while you go forth and brandish the sword, like dauntless warriors, against Amalek” (32)</p>	<p>Old Testament reference to wars with Amalek and the Amalekites (Genesis and 1 Chronicles)</p>
<p>4. <i>The Version of Guilbert of Nogent</i>. The Abbot of Nogent, while not present during Urban II’s speech, reworked the Gesta and other sources (33)</p>	<p>“If what the Lord says—namely, ‘Salvation is from the Jews—,’ accords with the truth, and it is true that the Lord has left us Sabaoth [<i>sic</i>] as seed, that we may not become like Sodom and Gomorrah, and our seed is Christ ...” (33)</p>	<p><i>John 4:22</i>: “You Samaritans worship what you do not know; we worship what we do know, for salvation is from the Jews.”</p>

	<p>“If, when the Lord had but just been crucified and the city still held by the Jews, it was called holy by the evangelist when he says, ‘Many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after His resurrection, they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many,’ ...”</p>	<p><i>Matthew 27:51-52:</i> “At that moment the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. The earth shook and the rocks split. The tombs broke open and the bodies of many holy people who had died were raised to life.”</p>
	<p>... “and, by the prophet Isaiah when he says, ‘It shall be His glorious sepulchre,’ then, surely, with this sanctity placed upon it by God the Sanctifier Himself, no evil that may befall it can destroy it, and in the same way glory is indivisibly fixed to His Sepulchre” (34)</p>	<p><i>Isaiah 22:16 King James Version (‘sepulchre’ not present in NIV trans.):</i> “What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock?”</p>
	<p>“According to Daniel and Jerome, the interpreter of Daniel, he [the Antichrist] is to fix his tents on the Mount of Olives; and it is certain, for the apostle teaches it, that he will sit at Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord, as though he were God. And according to the same prophet, he will first kill three kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia, without doubt for their Christian faith” (35)</p>	<p><i>Daniel 11:45:</i> “He will pitch his royal tents between the seas at the beautiful holy mountain. Yet he will come to his end, and no one will help him.” <i>Daniel 7:24:</i> “The ten horns are ten kings who will come from this kingdom. After them another king will arise, different from the earlier ones; he will subdue three kings.”</p>
	<p>“Behold, the Gospel cries out, Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be filled” (35)</p>	<p><i>Luke 21:24:</i> “They will fall by the sword and will be taken as prisoners to all the nations. Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.”</p>

	<p>“‘Times of the Gentiles,’ can be understood in two ways: Either that they have ruled over the Christians at their pleasure, and have gladly frequented the sloughs of all baseness for the satisfaction of their lusts, and in all this have had no obstacle (for they who have everything according to their wish are said to have their time; there is that saying: ‘My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready,’ whence the lustful are wont to way ‘you are having your time’)” (35)</p>	<i>See above</i>
	<p>“Or, again, ‘the times of the Gentiles’ are the fullness of time for those Gentiles who shall have entered secretly before Israel shall be saved” (35-36)</p>	<i>See above</i>
	<p>“Let your memory be moved by what the Lord Himself says to the Church: ‘I will bring thy seed from the East and gather thee from the West” (36)</p>	<i>Isaiah 43:5:</i> “Do not be afraid, for I am with you; I will bring your children from the east and gather you from the west.”
<p><i>5. The Version of Fulcher of Chartres.</i> Fulcher, a cleric, was present at the Council of Clermont speech. He wrote a full account of the First Crusade, which many historians consider the most reliable (47)</p>	<p>“Likewise, according to the evangelical sermon, you are the ‘salt of the earth’” (51)</p>	<i>Matthew 5:13:</i> “You are the salt of the earth . But if the salt loses its saltiness, how can it be made salty again? It is no longer good for anything, except to be thrown out and trampled by men.”
	<p>“For It is read, ‘If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into a ditch” (51)</p>	<i>Matthew 15:14:</i> “Leave them; they are blind guides. If a blind man leads a blind man , both will fall into a pit.”
	<p>“For so it happened to the rich man in the well-known Gospel, who on that account was not punished because he had taken away the property of others, but because he had misused that which he had received” (52)</p>	<i>Example: Luke 16:</i> “Jesus told his disciples: “There was a rich man whose manager was accused of wasting his possessions ...”

Note: In the *Guilbert of Nogent* version, the Pope specifically refers to unjust wars: “You have thus far waged **unjust wars**, at one time and another [. . .] We now hold you to wars which contain the glorious reward of **martyrdom**, which will retain that title of praise now and forever” (34).

5.2 Osama bin Laden’s major statements

5.2.1 Background

Osama bin Laden referred frequently to Islamic scripture in his major addresses. The first table below contains the scriptural quotations found in bin Laden’s five major “works” from 1994 until 2004. The name of his work, indicated in the left-hand column of the table, is only one of several possible titles. This compilation uses the nomenclature presented by Bruce Lawrence in his reputable translation of bin Laden’s statements, *Messages to the World*. The central column contains bin Laden’s quote, and the far right column demonstrates how Lawrence associates scriptural passages with bin Laden’s quotes in his footnotes.

The second table narrows the previous table, as it only contains quotations which specifically involve fighting. Although bin Laden makes numerous references to militant passages in the Hadiths, this table only contains Qur’ānic quotations. In order to compensate for the differences in translation from Arabic to English, three supplementary translations are provided beyond the initial translation in *Messages to the World*. The third table is similar to the second table, but only contains passages related to limitations on force.

Regarding the most pacific and the most militaristic passages from bin Laden’s Qur’ānic quotations, two quotes contain both extremes: 2:193 (Yusuf Ali translation) reads “And **fight them** on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah; but **if they cease**, Let there be no hostility except to those who practise oppression,” and 9:5, “But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and **slay** the Pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they **repent**, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.” Importantly, when citing the Qur’ān, bin Laden uses only the most militant part of these quotations, without acknowledging the peaceful portion. The first table provides more information about verses 2:193 and 9:5.

Source: *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden*. Bruce Lawrence, ed. James Howarth, trans. (Verso: New York City, 2005).

5.2.2 Scriptural quotations used by Osama bin Laden

Table 5.2: Scriptural quotations used by Osama bin Laden on all themes

Major Work	Scriptural Passages –Hadith and Qur’ān (page numbers from Lawrence, emphasis added)	Notes (from Lawrence’s footnotes)
“The Betrayal of Palestine,” 29 Dec. 1994.	“The best <i>jihad</i> against a despotic sultan is the word of truth ” (p. 4)	“From the hadith collection of ibn Hanbal, vol. 3, no. 11,127”
	“The Prophet has said, as related by al-Hakim: ‘There are 73 easier ways to offend God than usury, such as to marry your own mother’” (7)	“Al-Mataqi al-Hindi, <i>Kanz al-Amal</i> , p. 507”
	“They are part of the war that God Almighty has declared on those who have not ceased to practise usury and similar evils, and of the eradication of usury that He has ordained: ‘God blights usury, but blesses charitable deeds with multiple increase’” (7)	“Qur’an, 2:276”
	“The Prophet said, as related by Muslim, ‘God cursed him who accommodates an innovator’” (8)	“From the <i>hadith</i> of Sahih Muslim, book 22, no. 4,876”
	“And the Prophetic saying is true: ‘Whoever enters the sultan’s door has been led astray’” (13)	“Al Mataqi al-Hindi, <i>Kanz al-Amal</i> , p. 2,312”
	“So beware, honourable sheikh, of relying on these men, whether in word or in deed, ‘and do not rely on those who have been oppressive or else the fire will befall you—for what other protectors do you have than God?—and you will be victorious’” (13)	“Qur’an, 11:113”
	“The Prophet said, as related by al-Bukhari: ‘He who believes in God, let him say something good on the Last Day or be silent’” (13)	“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Bukhari, vol. 8, book 73, no. 160”
“The World Islamic Front,” 23 Feb. 1998	“Praise be to God, revealer of the Book, controller of the clouds, defeater of factionalism, who says in His Book: ‘When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists , kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them’” (59)	“Qur’an, 9:5. The second half of the Qur’anic verse reads, ‘but if they turn [to God], maintain the prayer, and pay the prescribed alms, let them go on their way, for God is most forgiving and merciful.’”

	<p>“Prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad bin Adballah, who said: ‘I have been sent with a sword in my hands so that only God may be worshipped, God who placed my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who condemns those who disobey my orders to servility and humiliation’” (59)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of Musnad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, vol. 5, book 3, no. 5, 409”</p>
	<p>“This is in accordance with the words of God Almighty: ‘Fight the idolaters at any time, if they first fight you;’ ‘Fight them until there is no more persecution and until worship is devoted to God’ [. . .]” (61)</p>	<p>“Qur’an 2:193 and 8:39. This clause is listed at the beginning of both Qur’anic verses. The conclusion to the first reads: ‘If they cease hostilities, there can be no [further] hostility, except towards aggressors’; and to the second: ‘if they desist, then God sees all that they do.’”</p>
	<p>“‘Why should you not fight in God’s cause and for those oppressed men, women, and children who cry out: ‘Lord, rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors! By Your grace, give us a protector and a helper!’” (61)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 4:75”</p>
	<p>“God Almighty said: ‘Believers, respond to God and His Messenger when he calls you to that which gives you life. Know that God comes between a man and his heart, and that you will be gathered to Him’” (62)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 8:24”</p>
	<p>“God Almighty said: ‘Believers, why, when it is said to you, ‘Go and fight in God’s way,’ do you dig your heels into the earth? Do you prefer this world to the life to come? How small the enjoyment of his world is, compared with the life to come! If you do not go out and fight, God will punish you severely and put others in your place, but you cannot harm Him in any way: God has power over all things’” (62)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 9:38-39”</p>
	<p>“God Almighty also said: ‘Do not lose heart or despair—if you are true believers you will have the upper hand’” (62)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 3:139”</p>
<p>“To Our Brothers in Pakistan,” 24 Sept. 2001</p>	<p>“Those who believe in God and His messengers are the truthful ones who will bear witness before their Lord: they will have their reward and their light’” (100)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 57:19”</p>
	<p>“The Prophet said: ‘Before the Day of Resurrection God will punish with calamity whoever did not fight, was not prepared to fight or was not successful in fighting,’ as related by Abu Dawud’” (101)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of Abu Dawud, book 14, no. 2,497”</p>

	“If God helps you, no one can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who else can help you?” (102)	“Qur’an, 3:160”
“Crusader Wars,” 3 Nov. 2001	“God Almighty said ‘And the Jews and Christians will not be satisfied with you until you follow their faith’” (135)	“Qur’an, 2:120. The verse goes on: ‘Say, ‘God’s guidance is the only true guidance.’ If you were to follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to you, you would find no one to protect you from God or help you.”
	“Every Muslim must stand under the banner that says: ‘There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Prophet’” (138)	“This is the <i>shahada</i> , the Muslim declaration of belief in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad. Its recitation is one of the five pillars of Islam”
	“I will remind you of what our Prophet told ibn Abbas, may God be pleased with him. He said: ‘Boy, I am going to teach you something. Remember God, and He will protect you. Remember God, and you will find him on your side. If you ask for something, ask God. If you seek help, seek God’s help. You should know that if the <i>umma</i> comes together to help you in some way, it can only do so with something that God has already decided for you. If it comes together to harm you, the same applies. God decides man’s fate’” (138)	“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Tirmidhi”
“Depose the Tyrants,” 16 Dec. 2004	“God Almighty said: ‘God presents the example of a town that was secure and at ease, with provisions coming to it abundantly from all places. Then it became ungrateful for God’s blessings, so He afflicted it with the garment of famine and fear for what its people had done’” (247)	“Qur’an, 16:112”
	“And He said: ‘All of them committed excesses in their lands, and spread corruption there: your Lord let a scourge of punishment loose on them. Your Lord is always watchful’” (247)	“Qur’an, 89:11-14”
	“For God Almighty said: ‘Those children of Israel who defied [God] were rejected through the words of David and Jesus, son of Mary, because they disobeyed, they persistently overstepped the limits, they did not forbid each other to do wrong—how vile their deeds were!’” (247)	“Qur’an 5:78-79”

<p>“And the Prophet is reputed to have said, as related by al-Hakim: “Their leaders have not ruled in accordance with the book of God Almighty, nor have they paid attention to what God has revealed. May God keep the harm they intend amongst themselves” (247)</p>	<p>“Quoted in Abu Naim al-Isbahawi, <i>Halia-al-ulia</i>, p. 1,513”</p>
<p>“And he also said, as related by ibn Dawud: “When people see an oppressor but do nothing about it, God will let him punish them all” (247)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of Abu Dawud, book 37, no. 4,324”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: “So keep to the right course as you have been commanded, together with those who have turned to God with you. Do not overstep the limits, for He sees everything you do” (248)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 11:112”</p>
<p>“And God’s Prophet said: “Say, ‘I believe in God’ and keep to the right course” (248)</p>	<p>Unknown location</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: “If they intend to deceive you, God is enough for you: it was He who strengthened you with His help, and with the believers, and brought their hearts together in friendship. Even if you had given away everything in the earth you could not have done this, but God brought them together: God is mighty and wise” (249)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 8:62-63”</p>
<p>“And he said: “If the people of those towns had believed and had been mindful of God, we would have showered them with blessings from the heaven and earth, but they rejected the truth and so we punished them for their misdeeds” (249)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 7:96”</p>
<p>“The polytheists are the ones whose hearts resembled each other. God Almighty said: “When Our clear revelations are recited to them, those who do not expect to meet with Us say: ‘Bring [us] a different Qur’an, or change it.’ [Prophet], say ‘It is not for me to change it of my own accord; I follow only what is revealed to me, for I fear the torment of an awesome day” (253)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 10:15”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: “[Joseph] began by searching their bags, then his brother’s, and he pulled it out from under his brother’s bag” (257)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 12:76”</p>
<p>“I’ll give you some examples: it is well known in religion that usury is strictly forbidden, for God Almighty has said: “God has allowed trade and forbidden usury” (258)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 2:276”</p>
<p>“After the general behaviour we have seen from all the rulers of the region, and the rulers of Riyadh in particular, who besides their other bad characteristics, are apostate collaborators, it is clear that the dispute is one between two paths, and a profound struggle between two beliefs: a struggle between the divine, perfect belief, which has submitted to God’s authority in all matters—the way of “Say, my prayer, my piety, my life and death are for God, lord of the two worlds, who has no partner. So I have</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 6:162-3” and “The <i>shahada</i>, the Muslim declaration of belief in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad”</p>

been instructed and I am the first of Muslims,' the way of 'There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger', in all its meanings and with all its requirements [. . .]" (259)	
"—and the crudely secular way, the way of 'those who deceive God and those who believe, although they only deceive themselves even if they do not realise it,' [. . .]" (259-260)	"Qur'an, 2:9"
"those who take each other as lords instead of God" (260)	"Qur'an, 3:64"
"the way of those about whom God said: 'When they are told, 'Turn to God's revelations and the Messenger [for judgment],' you see the hypocrites turn away from you [Prophet]" (260)	"Qur'an, 4:61"
"God Almighty said: 'When God and his Messenger have decided on a matter that concerns them, it is not fitting for any believing man or woman to claim a freedom of choice on that matter: whoever disobeys God and his Messenger is far astray'" (261)	"Qur'an, 33:36"
"He also said: 'By your Lord, they will not be true believers until they let you decide between them in all matters of dispute, and find no resistance in their souls to your decisions, accepting them totally'" (262)	"Qur'an, 4:65"
"Al-Nawawi said: 'As for the idea that he only orders and forbids what he knows about, this is something else entirely; every Muslim knows about obvious duties like the forbidden months, praying, fasting, adultery, drinking alcohol, and the like'" (263)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of Muslim"
"As the Prophet said, according to al-Bukhari: ' Banish the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula' [. . .]" (264)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Bukhari, vol. 4, book 52, no. 288. This was one of the three requests Muhamad made on his deathbed"
"and 'There can be no two religions in the Arabian peninsula' [. . .]" (264)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of ibn Malik, book 45, no. 45.5.18"
"and 'There can be no two religions in the Arabian peninsula'" (264)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of ibn Malik, book 45, no. 45.5.17"
"He also said: ' Fight the Jews and Christians , take their sons' graves as places of worship —there can be no two religions on Arab land' [. . .]" (264)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of ibn Muslim, book 19, no. 4,366"
"and 'I am banishing the Jews and Christians from the Arabian peninsula so that I preach only to Muslims'" (264)	"From the <i>hadith</i> collection of ibn Muslim, book 13, no. 3,272"

<p>“God Almighty said: ‘As you the disbelievers, who bar others from God’s path and from the Sacred Mosque—which He made for all people, residents and visitors alike—and who try to violate it with wrongdoing, and we shall inflict on them a painful punishment” (264)</p>	<p>“Qur’an 22:25”</p>
<p>“He also said: ‘She said, ‘Whenever kings go into a city, they ruin it and humiliate its leaders—that is what they do—but I am going to send them a gift, and see what my envoy brings back” (264-265)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 27:34-35”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said of such people: ‘The boat belonged to some needy people who made their living from the sea and I damaged it because I knew that coming after them was a king who was seizing every serviceable boat by force” (266)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 18:79”</p>
<p>“The Prophet said: ‘A woman went to Hell because she had a cat whom she tied up so that it could not eat, not even the crumbs on the floor, and so it died” (267)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Bukhari, vol. 3. book 40, no. 553”</p>
<p>“There is another Prophetic saying: ‘If the people of the heavens and earth agree to kill a Muslim man, then God will throw them into the Fire” (267)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Nisai, book 17, ch. 2, no. 3,922”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: ‘If anyone kills deliberately, the punishment for him is Hell, and there he will remain: ‘God is angry with him, and rejects him, and has prepared a tremendous torment for him” (267)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 4:93”</p>
<p>“Ibn Abbas reports that the Prophet said: ‘On the Day of Judgment, the killer and the victim will come face to face, and the victim will be holding his head in his hands, and his veins will spill forth blood. He will ask: ‘Oh Lord, ask this man why he killed me.’ And God will bring him closer to the throne” (267)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Tirmidhi, vol. 47, book 5, no. 2,955”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: ‘Abraham asked forgiveness for his father because he had made a to [sic] promise to him, but once he realized that his father was an enemy of God, he washed his hands of him. Abraham was tender-hearted and forbearing” (267)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 9:114”</p>
<p>“He also said: ‘You have a good example in Abraham and his companions, when they said to their people: ‘We disown you and what you worship beside God! We renounce you! Until you believe in God alone, the enmity and hatred that has arisen between us will endure!’—except when Abraham said to his father, ‘I will pray for forgiveness for you though I cannot protect you from God’ [they prayed]” (267-268)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 60:4”</p>
<p>“God Almighty said: ‘And anyone who commits an offence or a sin, and then throws the blame on to some innocent person, has burdened himself with deceit as well as flagrant sin” (268)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 4:112”</p>

	<p>“God’s Prophet said: ‘The three kinds of people whom God will not speak to, praise or even look at, on the Day of Judgment, and who will have a painful torment, are the sheikh who defames people, the king who lies, and the one who fails to support those in his charge’” (269)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Bukhari, vol. 3, book 48, no. 838”</p>
	<p>“The Prophet said, as related by Imam Ahmad: ‘People will suffer years of deception in which lies will be deemed the truth and the truth lies, and in which a traitor will come and faithful people will betray, and the foolish will speak.’ ‘And who are the foolish?’ the Prophet said: ‘The stupid man who discusses public matters’ (269)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of ibn Hanbal, vol. 6, book 1, no. 7,571”</p>
	<p>“And to my <i>mujahidin</i> brothers in particular, I say: you have made a stand to help your religion when all around you have failed, you have waged <i>jihad</i> when others have only talked about it, you have spoken the truth when the timid and the greedy were silent. ‘When the sorcerers came to Pharaoh, they said: ‘Shall we be rewarded if we win?’ and he said, ‘Yes, and you will join my inner court’” (269)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 26:41-42”</p>
	<p>“There is a Prophetic saying, related by al-Bukhari: ‘By God, for one man to be guided by God’s path by you is better for you than all the blessings in the world’” (270)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Bukhari, vol. 4, book 52, no. 192”</p>
	<p>“I remind you of God’s words: ‘No misfortune can happen, either in the earth or in yourselves, that was not set down in writing before We brought it into being—that is easy for God’” (271)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 57:22”</p>
	<p>“How can a Muslim who believes in God’s truth not be patient, for He is our Master, the Creator, who said to the leader of the path that we are on: ‘Wait patiently [Prophet] for your Lord’s judgment you are under Our watchful eye. Celebrate the praise of your Lord when you rise’” (271)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 52:48”</p>
	<p>“After the invasion of the joint forces and all its horrors, God Almighty also said: ‘The Messenger of God is an excellent model for those of you who put your hope in God and the Last Day and remember Him often. When the believers saw the joint forces, they said, ‘This is what God and His Messenger promised us; the promise of God and His Messenger is true,’ and this only served to increase their faith and submission to God’” (271)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 33:21-22. The ‘joint forces’ refer to the confederation of tribes that comprised the Meccan army in the Battle of the Trench (627)”</p>
	<p>“And God’s Messenger said: ‘The size of your reward will be in proportion to your bravery, and if God loves a people He puts them to the test, and whoever pleases Him will be rewarded in kind and whoever angers Him will be rewarded in kind’” (271)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of al-Tirmidhi, vol. 36, book 49, no. 2,320”</p>

	<p>“God Almighty said: ‘Do not be faint-hearted in pursuing the enemy: if you are suffering hardship, so are they, but you hope to receive something from God for which they cannot hope. God is all-knowing and wise” (272)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 4:104”</p>
	<p>“Don’t be fooled by the numbers of deserters and defectors, for God’s Messenger said: ‘There is still a group in my <i>umma</i> who fight at God’s command, conquering their enemies. Those who differ with them can do them no harm, until their Hour comes” (272)</p>	<p>“From the <i>hadith</i> collection of Muslim, book 20, no. 4,721”</p>
	<p>“So we say to the tyrants what the believers said before: ‘They said, ‘We shall never prefer you to the clear sign that has come to us, nor to Him who has created us. So decide whatever you will: you only can decide matters of this present life” (272)</p>	<p>“Qur’an, 20:72”</p>

5.2.3 Quoted Qur'ānic passages about fighting¹⁷⁵

Qur'ānic Source	Qur'ānic Passage as contained in <i>Messages to the World</i>	Three Supplementary translations of the Passage
4:104	“God Almighty said: ‘Do not be faint-hearted in pursuing the enemy : if you are suffering hardship, so are they, but you hope to receive something from God for which they cannot hope. God is all-knowing and wise” (272)	<p>YUSUFALI: And slacken not in following up the enemy: If ye are suffering hardships, they are suffering similar hardships; but ye have Hope from Allah, while they have none. And Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Relent not in pursuit of the enemy. If ye are suffering, lo! they suffer even as ye suffer and ye hope from Allah that for which they cannot hope. Allah is ever Knower, Wise.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And be not weak hearted in pursuit of the enemy; if you suffer pain, then surely they (too) suffer pain as you suffer pain, and you hope from Allah what they do not hope; and Allah is Knowing, Wise.</p>
9:38-39	“God Almighty said: ‘Believers, why, when it is said to you, ‘ Go and fight in God’s way ,’ do you dig your heels into the earth? Do you prefer this world to the life to come? How small the enjoyment of his world is, compared with the life to come! If you do not go out and fight, God will punish you severely and put others in your place, but you cannot harm Him in any way: God has power over all things” (62)	<p>[9:38]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: O ye who believe! what is the matter with you, that, when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling heavily to the earth? Do ye prefer the life of this world to the Hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the Hereafter.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: O ye who believe! What aileth you that when it is said unto you: Go forth in the way of Allah, ye are bowed down to the ground with heaviness. Take ye pleasure in the life of the world rather than in the Hereafter? The comfort of the life of the world is but little in the Hereafter.</p> <p>SHAKIR: O you who believe! What (excuse) have you that when it is said to you: Go forth in Allah's way, you should incline heavily to earth; are you contented with this world's life instead of the hereafter? But the provision of this world's life compared with the hereafter is but little.</p> <p>[9:39]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye</p>

¹⁷⁵ Also see Table 5.2.

		<p>would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: If ye go not forth He will afflict you with a painful doom, and will choose instead of you a folk other than you. Ye cannot harm Him at all. Allah is Able to do all things.</p> <p>SHAKIR: If you do not go forth, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement and bring in your place a people other than you, and you will do Him no harm; and Allah has power over all things.</p>
<p>“Qur’an, 33:21-22. The ‘joint forces’ refer to the confederation of tribes that comprised the Meccan army in the Battle of the Trench (627)”</p>	<p>“After the invasion of the joint forces and all its horrors, God Almighty also said: “The Messenger of God is an excellent model for those of you who put your hope in God and the Last Day and remember Him often. When the believers saw the joint forces, they said, “This is what God and His Messenger promised us; the promise of God and His Messenger is true,’ and this only served to increase their faith and submission to God”” (271)</p>	<p>[33:21]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: Ye have indeed in the Messenger of Allah a beautiful pattern (of conduct) for any one whose hope is in Allah and the Final Day, and who engages much in the Praise of Allah.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Verily in the messenger of Allah ye have a good example for him who looketh unto Allah and the Last Day, and remembereth Allah much.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Certainly you have in the Messenger of Allah an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allah and the latter day and remembers Allah much.</p> <p>[33:22]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: When the Believers saw the Confederate forces, they said: "This is what Allah and his Messenger had promised us, and Allah and His Messenger told us what was true." And it only added to their faith and their zeal in obedience.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And when the true believers saw the clans, they said: This is that which Allah and His messenger promised us. Allah and His messenger are true. It did but confirm them in their faith and resignation.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And when the believers saw the allies, they said: This is what Allah and His Messenger promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth; and it only increased them in faith and submission.</p>

5.2.4 Quoted Qur'ānic passages about limitations on force

Qur'ānic Source	Qur'ānic Passage as contained in <i>Messages to the World</i>	Three Supplementary translations of the Passage
2:193 and 8:39	<p>“This is in accordance with the words of God Almighty: ‘Fight the idolaters at any time, if they first fight you,’ ‘Fight them until there is no more persecution and until worship is devoted to God’ [. . .]” (61)</p>	<p>[2:193]: YUSUFALI: And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah; but if they cease, Let there be no hostility except to those who practise oppression.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrong-doers.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And fight with them until there is no persecution, and religion should be only for Allah, but if they desist, then there should be no hostility except against the oppressors.</p>
4:93	<p>“God Almighty said: ‘If anyone kills deliberately, the punishment for him is Hell, and there he will remain: ‘God is angry with him, and rejects him, and has prepared a tremendous torment for him’” (267)</p>	<p>YUSUFALI: If a man kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell, to abide therein (For ever): And the wrath and the curse of Allah are upon him, and a dreadful penalty is prepared for him.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Whoso slayeth a believer of set purpose, his reward is hell for ever. Allah is wroth against him and He hath cursed him and prepared for him an awful doom.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is hell; he shall abide in it, and Allah will send His wrath on him and curse him and prepare for him a painful chastisement.</p>
9:5	<p>“Praise be to God, revealer of the Book, controller of the clouds, defeater of factionalism, who says in His Book: ‘When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them’” (59)</p>	<p>YUSUFALI: But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, an seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practise regular charity, then open the way for them: for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: Then, when the sacred months have passed, slay the idolaters wherever ye find them, and take them (captive), and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush. But if they repent and establish worship and pay the poor-due, then leave their way free. Lo! Allah is Forgiving,</p>

		<p>Merciful.</p> <p>SHAKIR: So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush, then if they repent and keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate, leave their way free to them; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.</p>
11:112	<p>“God Almighty said: ‘So keep to the right course as you have been commanded, together with those who have turned to God with you. Do not overstep the limits, for He sees everything you do’” (248)</p>	<p>YUSUFALI: Therefore stand firm (in the straight Path) as thou art commanded,- thou and those who with thee turn (unto Allah); and transgress not (from the Path): for He seeth well all that ye do.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee, and transgress not. Lo! He is Seer of what ye do.</p> <p>SHAKIR: Continue then in the right way as you are commanded, as also he who has turned (to Allah) with you, and be not inordinate (O men!), surely He sees what you do.</p>
27:34-35	<p>“He also said: ‘She said, ‘Whenever kings go into a city, they ruin it and humiliate its leaders—that is what they do—but I am going to send them a gift, and see what my envoy brings back’” (264-265)</p>	<p>[27:34]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: She said: "Kings, when they enter a country, despoil it, and make the noblest of its people its meanest thus do they behave.</p> <p>PICKTHAL: She said: Lo! kings, when they enter a township, ruin it and make the honour of its people shame. Thus will they do.</p> <p>SHAKIR: She said: Surely the kings, when they enter a town, ruin it and make the noblest of its people to be low, and thus they (always) do;</p> <p>[27:35]:</p> <p>YUSUFALI: "But I am going to send him a present, and (wait) to see with what (answer) return (my) ambassadors."</p> <p>PICKTHAL: But lo! I am going to send a present unto them, and to see with what (answer) the messengers return.</p> <p>SHAKIR: And surely I am going to send a present to them, and shall wait to see what (answer) do the messengers bring back.</p>

6 Comparisons¹⁷⁶

6.1 Tabular comparison of religious approaches

In seeking religious answers to the basic questions in the form of the six “Ws”—Why? Who? When? Where? What? How?—more specific formulations naturally arise in both religious and ethical discourse about war. The “Why?” is typically answered by stating the cause, human or divine, that justifies the fighting and explaining the intent behind the fighting. “Who?” can be answered by stating the authority that is permitted to declare, sanction or wage war. “When?” usually is expressed in general terms by looking at the pre-conditions to fighting, since there is a universal presumption in world religions against killing. One common precondition is that peaceful means should be exhausted before resorting to force. “Where?” is, of course, case specific. However, in some religions, such as Islam, there are certain locations where fighting is generally prohibited (such as Mosques). The question “What?” can be answered by describing the legitimate and proscribed targets (e.g., not to attack civilians). Finally, “How?” is also governed by the rules of conduct, suggesting the means of fighting that can and cannot be employed. In essence, the Just War themes, which arose out of the Christian tradition, cover responses to the range of basic questions. Though it is not appropriate to apply or impose the Just War criteria on other religions, the general themes can be useful tools to examine other world religions.

With this set of terms in mind, Table 6.1 seeks to outline the basic answers from the Judaic and Islamic scriptures. The table reviews the scripturally-cited cause, intent and authority for fighting. It reviews any provision for last resort and net benefit. Finally, it looks at legitimate means and provides some religious examples of classical (some would say “model”) wars by religious leaders.

*Table 6.1: Justifications for war and fighting in the scriptures of Judaism and Islam
(arranged by seven themes)*

	Judaism	Islam
	<i>Tanakh and Talmuds</i> (Babylonian and Palestinian)	<i>Qur’ān</i>
Just Cause	<u>Commanded wars</u> <i>(milhemet mitzvah)</i> “But if you do not do so, you will have sinned against the LORD” (Numbers 32:23) Some wars were “commanded” by God	<u>Cause of Allah</u> “Fight in the cause of Allah” (2:190 and 2:244) <u>Resist oppression</u> “Tumult and oppression are worse than

¹⁷⁶ This chapter was written by A. Walter Dorn. Anne Frances Cation prepared the first draft of Table 6.1 under instruction from Walter Dorn.

¹⁷⁷ Michael Walzer, “War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition,” *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives*, ed. Terry Nardin (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996) 111. See also

	<p>through the prophets.</p> <p><u>Self-defence</u> The defensive war is described in the Jerusalem Talmud. There is no record of defensive wars being “God-commanded” in Biblical texts. However, the notion of a Commanded War “seems to be extended as well to defensive wars generally.”¹⁷⁷ An oft-quoted Talmudic principle is also informative: “[i]f someone intends to kill you, get in first and kill him” (Sanhedrin 72a).¹⁷⁸ Similarly: “the Torah has said: If a man comes to kill you, rise early and kill him first.”¹⁷⁹ (Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth 58a)</p> <p><u>Permitted or voluntary wars</u> (<i>milhamot reshut</i>) Not specified</p>	<p>slaughter” (2:191)</p> <p><u>Self-defence</u> “And those who, when an oppressive wrong is inflicted on them, (are not cowed but) help and defend themselves.” (42:39)</p>
Right Intent	<p>For commanded wars, the intent is to <u>obey God</u>: e.g., “They heeded the word of the LORD and turned back, in accordance with the word of the LORD.” (1 Kings 12:24)</p> <p>For wars of self-defence, the intent is to <u>protect oneself and the community</u></p>	<p><u>Obey Allah</u> “But he that obeys Allah and his Messenger,— (Allah) will admit him to Gardens beneath which rivers flow; and he who turns back, (Allah) will punish him with a grievous Penalty.” (48:17)</p> <p><u>Strive and struggle for Allah</u> “Go ye forth, (whether equipped) lightly or heavily, and strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of Allah. That is best for you, if ye (but) knew.” (9:41)</p>

Reuven Firestone, "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows'," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

¹⁷⁸ quoted in Dan Cohn-Sherbok, “War and Peace in Judaism,” *War and Peace in the World Religions: The Gerald Weisfeld Lectures 2003*, ed. Perry Schmidt-Leukel (London: SCM Press, 2004) 91.

¹⁷⁹ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Berakoth Folio 58a*. Rev. Dr. A. Cohen and Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein. Accessed: 22 May 2008. Available: www.come-and-hear.com/berakoth/berakoth_58.html

<p>Legitimate Authority</p>	<p>For commanded wars the authority is <u>God or God’s Prophets</u>, e.g., “Moses said to Joshua, ‘Pick some men for us, and go out and do battle with Amalek. Tomorrow I will station myself on the top of the hill, with the rod of God in my hand.’ Joshua did as Moses told him and fought with Amalek, while Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.” (Exodus 17:8-10)</p> <p>Permitted wars must be ordered by king or <u>ruler</u>, approved by the once-existent <u>Sanhedrin</u>¹⁸⁰ and approved by God via the once-existent prophetic <u>tools</u> <i>urim thummim</i>.¹⁸¹</p>	<p><u>Allah</u> as the legitimate authority “To him who fighteth in the cause of Allah,— whether he is slain or gets victory – Soon shall We give him a reward of great (value).” (4:74) “Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not.” (2:216)</p>
<p>Last Resort</p>	<p><u>Commanded Wars</u> Not applicable – respond as commanded.</p> <p><u>Permitted Wars</u> Request surrender of enemy before war “When you approach a town to attack it, you shall offer it terms of peace.” (Deuteronomy 20:10)</p>	<p><u>Diplomacy:</u> “Therefore if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and (instead) send you (Guarantees of) peace, then Allah Hath opened no way for you (to war against them)” (4:90).</p>
<p>Net Benefit</p>	<p><u>Commanded Wars</u> Not applicable – obey commands</p> <p><u>Permitted Wars</u> No references found.</p>	<p>Ultimate <u>heavenly reward:</u> “To him who fighteth in the cause of Allah, - whether he is slain or gets victory - Soon shall We give him a reward of great (value).” (4:74)</p>

¹⁸⁰ The Sanhedrin was the 71-membered traditional Jewish Court. The Sanhedrin was disbanded in 358 C.E. See: Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan “The Jewish Court System” Aish.com (Jerusalem, Israel). Accessed: 22 May 2008. Available: www.aish.com/literacy/concepts/The_Jewish_Court_System.asp.

¹⁸¹ “WAR OF FREE CHOICE etc. Whence do we deduce this? — Said R. Abbahu: Scripture states, And he shall stand before Eleazar the Priest [who shall inquire for him by the judgment of the Urim before the Lord. At his word shall they go out and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him even all the Congregation]. ‘He’, refers to the King; ‘And all the children of Israel with him,’ to the Priest anointed for the conduct of war; and, ‘all the Congregation,’ means the Sanhedrin. But perhaps it is the Sanhedrin whom the Divine Law instructs to inquire of the Urim and Tummim?” Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Sanhedrin Folio 16a. Rev. Dr. A. Cohen and Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein. Accessed: 22 May 2008. Available: www.come-and-hear.com/sanhedrin/sanhedrin_16.html.

<p>Right Conduct</p>	<p>For commanded wars,¹⁸² use means as <u>God commands</u>, potentially including the extermination of the enemy. “The LORD anointed you king over Israel, and the LORD sent you on a mission, saying, ‘Go and proscribe the sinful Amalekites; make war on them until you have exterminated them’” (1 Samuel 15:17-18)</p> <p>For the permitted wars category, it appears that they cannot be conducted if war <u>prohibitions</u> are likely to occur (i.e., destruction of a food-bearing tree): “When in your war against a city you have to besiege it a long time in order to capture it, you must not destroy its trees, wielding the ax (<i>sic</i>) against them. You may eat of them, but you must not cut them down. Are trees of the field human to withstand before you into the besieged city? Only trees that you know do not yield food may be destroyed; you may cut them down for constructing siege-works against the city that is waging war on you, until it has been reduced.” (Deuteronomy 20:19-20)</p>	<p><u>Avoid harming non-combatants:</u> The following has been widely interpreted within the Muslim community as a prohibition against killing non-combatants: “Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors” (2:190) More particular is the quote: “[I]f any one slew a person—unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land—it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people.” (5:32)¹⁸³</p> <p><u>Not to kill fellow Muslims:</u> “Never should a believer kill a believer; but (If it so happens) by mistake, (Compensation is due): ... If the deceased belonged to a people at war with you, and he was a believer, the freeing of a believing slave (Is enough). If he belonged to a people with whom ye have treaty of Mutual alliance, compensation should be paid to his family, and a believing slave be freed. For those who find this beyond their means, (is prescribed) a fast for two months running; by way of repentance to Allah: for Allah hath all knowledge and all wisdom.” Also: “If a man kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell, to abide therein (For ever).” (4:92 and 4:93)</p> <p><u>Location:</u> “but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there” (2:191)</p>
<p>Examples</p>	<p>Commanded wars would include <u>Joshua’s wars</u> of conquest: The Gemaras (commentary on the Mishnah, which itself is a collection of oral commentary on the Scriptures c. 200 C.E.) of both the</p>	<p>Muhammad leading the Medians against the Quraish at the Battles of Badr and Uhud (Chapters 3 and 8 in the <i>Qur’ān</i>).</p>

¹⁸² Michael Walzer, “War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition,” The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives, ed. Terry Nardin (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996) 110.

¹⁸³ The Pickthal translation is more dramatic: “... whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and whoso saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind.” (5:32)

	<p>Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds state that Joshua's wars of conquest are considered Commanded Wars.¹⁸⁴</p> <p>Permitted wars would include <u>David's Wars</u>: The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds write that the specific wars fought for territorial expansion by King David are classified as Permitted Wars.¹⁸⁵</p>	
--	---	--

Christians view the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) as an integral part of the Bible, their principal scripture, though most view the New Testament as having greater importance, if not superseding, the Old Testament. To the extent that Christians have adopted the views and approaches of the Hebrew Bible in their belief system and moral code, the Judaism section in Table 6.1 also applies to Christianity. Alternatively, some churches have taken a pacifist approach, using the teachings and practice of Jesus in the New Testament as a scriptural basis (see Chapter 2). However, many modern churches subscribe to the Just War approach, falling in between the Old and New Testament approaches. The Just War criteria, as enunciated in the doctrine of several churches, is shown in Tables 2.1 through 2.4 to parallel the categories shown in Figure 6.1 above.

¹⁸⁴ Reuven Firestone, "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows'," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 74.4 (December 2006): 959

¹⁸⁵ See: Reuven Firestone, "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows'," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 74.4 (December 2006): 959.

7 Conclusion of Part I¹⁸⁶

The scriptural comparison of the three Abrahamic faiths has sought to elucidate important religious themes that are used to justify both war and peace, themes that have had strong influence on religious thinkers and adherents. The work reveals that there are some deep similarities, as well as strong differences, between the approaches in the three principal religious scriptures (the Tanakh, the Qur'ān and the New Testament). To start, all three emphasise the significance of individual and collective peace. They hold peace as a great virtue and advocate passing peace to others.¹⁸⁷ They maintain a basic presumption against war and violence, though this is most pronounced in Christianity's New Testament. In Judaism and Christianity, one of the Ten Commandments is the commandment not to kill.¹⁸⁸ The Qur'ān also contains a provision not to take life, which is sacred, "except for just cause."¹⁸⁹ In all three religions the application of deadly force necessitates a strong justification, valid only in specific circumstances and for significant causes.

The causes that justify war are similar but not identical among these three religions. The scriptures of Judaism and Islam emphasize the cause or commandment of God. (See Table 6.1 for details.) In Judaism's Tanakh, one such commandment is to seize by force the promised land, that is, the territory west of the Jordan river, though the exact boundaries are debated. Judaic and Islamic scriptures both emphasize absolute obedience or submission to God, so God-ordained wars have supreme value. Conversely, the New Testament does not suggest that God wants humans to kill each other or even to apply armed force, but that love should be spread. There are a few potential scriptural exceptions to the non-use of force rule, such as Romans 13:3, which speaks of the ruler's authority, invested by God, to use the sword. The vast majority of New Testament passages suggest there is no justified cause for violence and even that evil should not be resisted by force. According to the vision in the Bible's final book, the Book of Revelation, God will use ultimate force in the Apocalypse to achieve a final and absolute victory over evil. In part because the New Testament does not directly advocate the use of force but provides an abundance of pacifist urgings and justifications to adherents, some Christian denominations, such as the Mennonites and Quakers, have formally adopted pacifism, that is, the complete renunciation of armed force. However, the practice of most Christian denominations including the largest, Catholicism, is guided by Just War theory, which has evolved over centuries. Just War intellectuals usually specify the Just Cause as self-defence and protection of others from aggression. The Judaic and Islamic scriptures also provide for the cause of self-defence, while the Qur'ān placed additional emphasis on fighting against oppressors and oppression. There is little in the principal scriptures of Judaism and Islam to serve as a basis for pacifism, and these religions have no strictly pacifist branches as does Christianity.

In applying force, Judaism, Christianity and Islam all include a "last resort" provision, although in Judaism and Islam it is couched in terms of offering or accepting peace guarantees. All three

¹⁸⁶ The chapter was written by A. Walter Dorn.

¹⁸⁷ Quotes showing the value of peace include: "Blessed are the peacemakers" (New Testament, 2 Cor. 13:11, NIV), "'Peace!'—a word (of salutation) from a Lord Most Merciful!" (Qur'an, 36:58, Yusufali trans.), "Turn from evil and do good; seek peace [*shalom*] and pursue it." (Tanakh, Psalms 34:15, NIV).

¹⁸⁸ Exodus 20:13

¹⁸⁹ Qur'ān 17:33

religions have varying prohibitions against harming innocent civilians and living things. Jewish and Islamic scriptures even place value on saving fruit-bearing trees during warfare. But other scriptural passages in these two religions advocate harsh military actions, such as exterminating villages¹⁹⁰ and taking no prisoners until the land is thoroughly subdued.¹⁹¹ Both the Tanakh and the Qur'ān contain specific provisions on how to wage war.

The Tanakh narrates a steady series of battles, where God is not only omnipresent but active in human battles. The New Testament lacks any such suggestions, and instead war is discussed metaphorically or apocalyptically. Violence is used against Jesus, but he refuses to use violence in return or even for his own protection. The Qur'ān, similar to the Tanakh, directly discusses war and alludes to specific wars. In addition, it contains numerous prescriptive statements such as the need to protect the oppressed.

The Qur'ān promises heavenly rewards for those combatants fighting for Allah and punishment in Hell for killing a Muslim intentionally.¹⁹² The Tanakh makes no mention of such other-worldly rewards or punishments for those who fight. The Bible is likewise silent and does not discuss heavenly rewards or hellish punishments for combatants.

Besides the main scriptures in Judaism and Islam (the Tanakh and Qur'ān), there are religious texts in these two religions which exhibit a more pacific tone. The Judaic Talmud and Mishnah, which are not treated in any depth in this work, include sections on peace [*shalom*] which prize it above all.¹⁹³ The Kabbalah, likewise, does not treat the subject of armed force directly. Rather, it is a more allegorical, mystical document. Conversely, the Tanakh does contain a messianic vision of a world at peace under God, for instance, in the Book of Isaiah, but that same Book also describes dire corporeal punishment.¹⁹⁴ In Islam, the Hadiths are considered important guidelines for right and wrong conduct, including in war, but they do not have the authority of the Qur'ān and by no means do they replace Islam's holiest book, which is regarded by many Muslims as an infallible text. Selected Hadiths and Sunnah interpret and describe Mohammed's words and deeds in either a more pacific or militant direction. For instance, the instruction to wage *jihad akbar* (often defined as the greater *jihad*) describes fighting against the forces of aggression within oneself. Other passages declare the glory of Mohammed's fighting skills.

The placement of the three Abrahamic faiths into the larger picture of world religions will be the work of the concluding section of the accompanying report (Part II). Specifically, all seven world religions contained in this study will be situated along the spectrum of force and their approaches to the basic question of war will be compared and contrasted.

Future work on this project will seek to extend coverage to other religions such as Baha'ism and traditional Chinese schools of thought. Future plans also feature case studies of how scriptural excerpts are applied in specific contexts and conflicts. Implementing a text-based methodology, such case studies will help discern the interpretation of scripture through an examination of the

¹⁹⁰ Deut. 20:16

¹⁹¹ Qur'ān 8:67

¹⁹² Qur'ān 4:92

¹⁹³ "God has found no vessel more fitting to contain blessing than shalom" (Mishnah 'Uqtsin 3:11) and "the world is preserved by three things: by truth, by judgement and by peace" (Mishnah Avot 1:18).

¹⁹⁴ For a contrast, see Isaiah 2:4 (nations make war no more) and 10:5-7 (destruction of nations).

primary source writings and speeches of those who make calls to force. The present report (Chapter 5) already provides two modest case studies: Pope Urban II's medieval call to Crusade and Osama bin Laden's five major addresses between 1994 and 2004. These case studies show how both these figures interpreted and used scripture to call for violence. By gaining an applied understanding of the variations of scriptural interpretation, it should be possible to learn how such extremists, moderates and pacifists approach the texts. This should also allow one to learn how to counter calls to violence. To best facilitate the latter, lists of the most militant and most pacifistic quotations are tabulated and contrasted in Part II.

References

- "The Augsburg Confession". The Book of the Concord. 24 January 2008. Available: <http://www.bookofconcord.org/augsburgconfession.html#preface>
- "About JPS," The Jewish Publication Society. Accessed: 5 May 2008. Available: <http://www.jewishpub.org/about/>
- "An Index to the Qur'an." Centre for Muslim-Jewish Engagement. Accessed 25 May 2009. Available: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/quran/quranindex.html>
- "Backgrounder: The Jewish Defence League." Anti-Defamation League. Accessed: 15 August 2008. Available: http://www.adl.org/extremism/jdl_chron.asp
- al-Banna, Hasan. "Jihad" Young Muslims Online Library. Accessed 12 August 2008. Available: http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/#all_muslims
- Anglican Church of Canada. "Letter to the Standing Committee on Defence and Veterans Affairs, in "Ploughshares Working Paper 94-3: We Call for Peace: Statements on Peace by Canadian Churches and Religious Organizations". Waterloo. Project Ploughshares. Accessed: 18 January 2008. Available: <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/WorkingPapers/wp943.html>
- Anglican Church of Canada. "Statement by Archbishop Michael Peers on the outbreak of the Gulf War, in "Ploughshares Working Paper 94-3: We Call for Peace: Statements on Peace by Canadian Churches and Religious Organizations". Waterloo. Project Ploughshares. Accessed: 18 January 2008. Available: <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/WorkingPapers/wp943.html>
- Bailey, Rev. Richard P. "Jihad: The Teachings of Islam from its Primary Sources -The Qur'an and Hadith" Answering Islam: A Muslim-Christian Dialogue. Available: <http://www.answering-islam.org/Bailey/jihad.html>.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. "Islam and War." Religion and Ethics: War. Accessed: 21 January 2008. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/islamethics/war.shtml>.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. "Jihad" Religion and Ethics: War. Accessed: 21 January 2008. Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml.
- Catechism of the Catholic Church. Part Three: Life of Christ, Part Two: The Ten Commandments, Chapter Two: You Shall Love Your Neighbors As You Do Yourself, Article Five: The Fifth Commandment, III. Safeguarding Peace.
- Christian, Graham. "Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures, the New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text" in Library Journal. New York: May 2006. Vol. 131. Is. 8.

- Cohn-Sherbok, Dan. "War and Peace in Judaism." War and Peace in World Religions: The Gerald Weisfeld Lectures 2003. Ed. Perry Schmidt-Leukel. London: SCM Press, 2004.
- Firestone, Reuven. "Holy War in Modern Judaism? 'Mitzvah War' and the Problem of the 'Three Vows.'" Journal of the American Academy of Religion 74.4 December 2006: 954-82.
- The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials. 2nd ed., ed. Edward Peters. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1998.
- Harris, Stephen L. and Robert L. Platzner. The Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. Toronto: McGraw Hill, 2003.
- Holy See Website. Available: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P81.HTM, Accessed 5 October 2007.
- The Jewish Study Bible. eds. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler. Oxford University Press: Toronto, 2004.
- John Paul II. Fidei Depositum: On the Publication of the Catechism of the Catholic Church Prepared Following the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Holy Vatican See: 1992. 18 January 2008. Available: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_19921011_fidei-depositum_en.html
- Kahane, Meir. "On Revenge," Kahane Was Right. Accessed: 11 August 2008. Available: <http://www.kahanetzadak.com/revange.html>
- Levey, Geoffrey B. "Judaism and the Obligation to Die for the State." AJS Review 12.2 Autumn 1987: 175-203.
- Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden. ed. Bruce Lawrence. trans. James Howarth. Verso: New York City, 2005.
- Mohammed, Khaleel. "Assessing English Translations of the Qur'an." The Middle East Quarterly 12.2. Spring 2005.
- Mutahhari, Ayatullah Morteza. "Jihad: The Holy War of Islam and Its Legitimacy in the Quran," Mohammad Salman Tawhidi trans. Islamic Propagation Organization: Tehran, Iran. Available: www.al-islam.org/short/jihad
- Natan, Yoel. 164 Jihad Verses in the Koran. Available: www.yoel.info/koranwarpassages.htm
- Neufeld, Josiah. "Will Bullets Win Afghanistan?" Winnipeg. 1 November 2007. ChristianWeek. Accessed: 24 January 2008. Available: <http://www.christianweek.org/features.php?id=9>
- "New International Version." Muskegon, MI. Gospel Communications International. 10 January 2008. Available: <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/?action=getVersionInfo&vid=31%3E>

Ploughshares Working Paper 94-3: We Call for Peace: Statements on Peace by Canadian Churches and Religious Organizations". Waterloo. Project Ploughshares. Accessed: 18 January 2008. Available: <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/WorkingPapers/wp943.html>

The Qur'an. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem trans. Oxford University Press, 2005.

The Qur'an. Compilation of Yusufali, Pickthall and Shakir trans. in "USC-MSA Qur'an Database" of the University of Southern California-Muslim Student Association's Compendium of Muslim Texts. Available: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/>

"USC-MSA Qur'an Database" of the University of Southern California—Muslim Student Association's "Compendium of Muslims Texts." Available: www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran (list by chapter), with a search engine at www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/reference/searchquran.html

Ravitzky, Aviezer. "Prohibited Wars in the Jewish Tradition." The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Segal, Alan F. A Concise Introduction to World Religions, eds. Willard G. Oxtoby and Alan F. Segal. Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 2007.

"Sotah 8:10," trans. Jacob Neuser. The Talmud of the Land of Israel. Vol. 27, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. 255-257.

"TANAKH: The Holy Scriptures. Cloth Edition," The Jewish Publication Society. Accessed: 5 May 2008. Available: <http://www.jewishpub.org/product.php?isbn=9780827602526>

Walzer, Michael. "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition." The Ethics of War and Peace: Religion and Secular Perspectives. Ed. Terry Nardin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. 95-111

UNCLASSIFIED

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA <small>(Security classification of the title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall document is classified)</small>		
1. ORIGINATOR (The name and address of the organization preparing the document, Organizations for whom the document was prepared, e.g. Centre sponsoring a contractor's document, or tasking agency, are entered in section 8.) Publishing: DRDC Toronto Performing: Canadian Forces College Monitoring: Contracting:		2. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION <small>(Overall security classification of the document including special warning terms if applicable.)</small> UNCLASSIFIED
3. TITLE (The complete document title as indicated on the title page. Its classification is indicated by the appropriate abbreviation (S, C, R, or U) in parenthesis at the end of the title) The Justifications for War and Peace in World Religions Part I: Extracts, Summaries and Comparisons of Scriptures in the Abrahamic Religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) (U) La justification de la guerre et de la paix dans les religions du monde Partie I : Extraits, sommaires et comparaisons des textes sacrés des religions abrahamiques (christianisme, judaïsme et islam) (U)		
4. AUTHORS (First name, middle initial and last name. If military, show rank, e.g. Maj. John E. Doe.) A. Walter Dorn ; Anne Frances Cation		
5. DATE OF PUBLICATION <small>(Month and year of publication of document.)</small> July 2009	6a NO. OF PAGES <small>(Total containing information, including Annexes, Appendices, etc.)</small> 148	6b. NO. OF REFS <small>(Total cited in document.)</small> 36
7. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES (The category of the document, e.g. technical report, technical note or memorandum. If appropriate, enter the type of document, e.g. interim, progress, summary, annual or final. Give the inclusive dates when a specific reporting period is covered.) Contract Report		
8. SPONSORING ACTIVITY (The names of the department project office or laboratory sponsoring the research and development – include address.) Sponsoring: Tasking:		
9a. PROJECT OR GRANT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable research and development project or grant under which the document was written. Please specify whether project or grant.)	9b. CONTRACT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable number under which the document was written.)	
10a. ORIGINATOR'S DOCUMENT NUMBER (The official document number by which the document is identified by the originating activity. This number must be unique to this document) DRDC Toronto CR 2009–125	10b. OTHER DOCUMENT NO(s). (Any other numbers under which may be assigned this document either by the originator or by the sponsor.)	
11. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY (Any limitations on the dissemination of the document, other than those imposed by security classification.) Unlimited distribution		
12. DOCUMENT ANNOUNCEMENT (Any limitation to the bibliographic announcement of this document. This will normally correspond to the Document Availability (11). However, when further distribution (beyond the audience specified in (11) is possible, a wider announcement audience may be selected.) Unlimited announcement		

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA

(Security classification of the title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall document is classified)

13. **ABSTRACT** (A brief and factual summary of the document. It may also appear elsewhere in the body of the document itself. It is highly desirable that the abstract of classified documents be unclassified. Each paragraph of the abstract shall begin with an indication of the security classification of the information in the paragraph (unless the document itself is unclassified) represented as (S), (C), (R), or (U). It is not necessary to include here abstracts in both official languages unless the text is bilingual.)
- (U) One of the most important decisions by any nation or armed group is when, if ever, to wage war or engage with armed force. Such life-and-death judgements are usually informed by and sometimes determined by ethical principles and religious beliefs. The world religions provide guidelines on when armed force is justified. Are the permissions and prohibitions similar among religions? The present work seeks to map out the spectrum of religious approaches to armed force, as expressed in the scriptures of the world's largest religions. Through the interpretations of religious scriptures vary considerably, the texts themselves provide a sense of each religion's approach to the issue. Expressing values from absolute pacifism, where armed force is not permissible under any circumstances, to strong militancy, where armed force is readily adopted, this research compiles, compares and contrasts scriptural passages. Along with the associated DRDC report, it presents a tour d'horizon of the basic scriptures of seven world religions. The present report, constituting Part I of the work, analyses three Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) and the companion report, Part II, covers religions of Indic origin (Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism). The chosen scriptures from each religion are briefly introduced and the relevant verses are extracted, categorized and summarized. This makes possible, in each religion, the juxtaposition of passages justifying the use of force with passages that suggest the opposite. More broadly, in Part II, a comparison of approaches is presented in both a descriptive and a schematic fashion to illustrate the differences between the scriptures within each religion and the differences between the religions. This variance is illustrated in Part II by locating religious scriptures along the spectrum of force. Furthermore, the religious approaches can be compared by examining how they answer the basic questions about war: Why? Who? When? Where? What? How?
- (U) Une des décisions les plus importantes pour n'importe quelle nation ou pour n'importe quel groupe armé consiste à déterminer les circonstances qui justifient, s'il en existe, de faire la guerre ou de s'engager dans une intervention armée. Or, le règlement de telles questions de vie ou de mort repose habituellement sur des principes éthiques et des croyances religieuses. Les grandes religions du monde donnent en effet des lignes directrices sur les situations où l'emploi de la force armée peut être jugé légitime. Mais les permissions et les interdictions à cet égard se ressemblent-elles d'une religion à l'autre? Le présent ouvrage a pour objet de décrire le spectre des positions concernant l'usage de la force armée qui sont exprimées dans les saintes écritures des grandes religions du monde. Certes, les interprétations de ces écritures peuvent varier considérablement, mais les textes eux-mêmes donnent une bonne idée de la position de chaque religion sur la question. Passant des valeurs prônées dans le cadre d'un pacifisme absolu, où l'emploi de la force armée n'est admis sous aucun prétexte, jusqu'au militantisme le plus convaincu, qui adopte sans réserve l'usage de la force armée, cette étude compile et compare différents passages des saintes écritures pour mettre en relief les contrastes constatés. De concert avec le rapport connexe de Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada, on effectue un tour d'horizon des livres sacrés de sept grandes religions du monde. Le présent document, qui constitue la partie I de l'ouvrage, se penche sur trois religions abrahamiques, à savoir le christianisme, l'islam et le judaïsme, alors que le document d'accompagnement, la partie II, porte sur les religions qui tirent leurs origines du sous-continent indien, c'est-à-dire le bouddhisme, l'hindouisme, le jaïnisme et le sikhisme. Les écritures retenues pour chacune des religions sont brièvement présentées,

et les versets pertinents sont extraits, classés et résumés. Cela permet la juxtaposition, pour les différentes religions, des passages justifiant l'emploi de la force et de ceux qui préconisent le contraire. De façon plus générale, dans la partie II, on procède à une comparaison des approches, laquelle est expliquée d'une manière à la fois descriptive et schématique pour illustrer les différences entre les religions. Cette variation est représentée dans la partie II, les divers textes religieux se situant à différents endroits dans le spectre de la force. De plus, les positions des religions peuvent être confrontées les unes avec les autres au moyen d'un simple examen des réponses données aux questions élémentaires posées relativement à la guerre : Pourquoi? Qui? Quand? Où? Quoi? Comment?

14. **KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS** (Technically meaningful terms or short phrases that characterize a document and could be helpful in cataloging the document. They should be selected so that no security classification is required. Identifiers, such as equipment model designation, trade name, military project code name, geographic location may also be included. If possible keywords should be selected from a published thesaurus, e.g. Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms (TEST) and that thesaurus identified. If it is not possible to select indexing terms which are Unclassified, the classification of each should be indicated as with the title.)

(U) Allah; Anglican; Armed; Bible; Catholic; Christian; Christianity; Crusade; Crusades; Extremist; Fight; Force; Force; God; Islam; Jewish; Judaism; Jus ad Bellum; Jus in Bello; Just War; Justify; Justification; Kill; Limitations in War; Lutheran; Militant; Muslim; New Testament; Osama bin Laden; Pacifist; Peace; Pope Urban II; Pope; Qur'ân; Qur'an; Quran; Religion; Scripture; Scriptures; Spectrum of Force; Talmud; Tanakh; Violence; War

UNCLASSIFIED