

*Translation of the Chapter on
Hadîth and the New Testament*

From Muhammadanische Studien, Vol. II

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THE HADÎTH AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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THE fact that Islâm regarded Christianity as a religion from which something could be learnt, and did not disdain to borrow from it, is acknowledged by the Muhammadan theologians themselves¹, and the early elements of Hadîth literature offer us a great wealth of examples which show how readily the founders of Islâm borrowed from Christianity. We do not here allude to those vague and confused plagiarisms which in the earliest times of Islâm, through verbal communications with Christian monks or half-educated converts, helped in building up the form and content of the faith, and which appear in the form of isolated technical ex-

¹ Thus *Ibn-i-Hâjar* (إِبْنُ هَاجِر), I. p. 372, in agreement with more ancient authorities, acknowledges the share which the communications of the Christian proselyte Tamîm-al-Dâri (تَمِيمُ الدَّارِي) had in the formation of Muhammadan eschatology.

pressions, Bible legends, and so forth; but we mean those borrowings which are presented in a more definite shape, and evince a certain, if not a very extensive, knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. The biography of the Prophet, consisting as it does of isolated features contributed by the theologians, is rich in elements borrowed from Christianity. An unconscious tendency prevailed to draw a picture of Muhammad that should not be inferior to the Christian picture of Jesus¹. And to this endeavour are to be traced, as has been often pointed out, those features in the life of the Prophet which are actually contrary to the intentions of Muhammad, those, namely, in which his admirers make him perform miracles such as are related of the Founder of Christianity.

The miracle narrated in St. John's Gospel (ii. 1-11) has served as a pattern for a whole series of miraculous legends, which were inserted

¹ The later and especially the polemic theology endeavours, by comparing the different miracles, to prove that the wonders wrought by Muhammad were more sublime and lasting than those which are recorded of Jesus. (*Disputatio de religione Moham-
medanorum adversus Christianos*: ed. Van den Ham, Leiden, 1890, p. 123 ff.; and specially pp. 125 (2) and 127 (16).)

at an early date into the biography of Muhammad. The Prophet was able to increase, in a supernatural manner, a supply of water, which in the natural course of things would have been insufficient for a large number of believers, either to quench their thirst, or—and this is a specifically Muhammadan feature—to serve for religious ablutions¹. He performs the same miracle in reference to the increase of insufficient food. The biography of Muhammad offers many examples of this latter kind of miraculous power²: we may take as a sample the miracle of the (increasing of) food which is related in the tradition about the “Battle of the Ditch” (غزوة خندق) as the “blessing of the food of Jâbir.” A little barley and a kid, which the wife of Jâbir had in store, sufficed not only for all the ravenous *Muhâjirîn* (مهاجرين) and *Anṣâr* (انصار) who accompanied the Prophet, but to provide also an ample share for those of the Companions (اصحاب) who were not present³. The *Qâdî ‘Iyâd*

¹ B. *Maghâzi* (مغازي), No. 37; *Wudû* (وضو), Nos. 46 and 47.

² No less than eleven miracles having to do with food and three with drink are related by *Al Wâqidî* (واقدي), Aug. Müller, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, XIV. p. 446.

³ *Ibn-i-Hishâm* (ابن هشام), p. 672; B. *Maghâzi* (مغازي), No. 31.

of *Maghrīb* (قاضي عياض مغرب) (fifth century) industriously collected and made a compilation of such narratives, and as though, in his time even, some possibility of doubt as to their authenticity had been recognized, he closes his statement with the remark that those facts were related by some Companions (اصحاب) from whom they were taken over by double as many Followers (*Tābi-ʿīn*, تابعين); and after these countless men have handed them on, they are imparted in well-known narratives, and occurred in gatherings at which many witnesses were present. The communication of these occurrences must therefore rest upon truth, for those present would not have remained silent during the narration of things which ought to have been contradicted¹. The Muhammadan biographers of the Prophet try even more eagerly to emulate Christians in developing the miraculous feature of the healing of the sick on the part of the Prophet, and they represent that this took place through the efflux of a healing power which dwelt in his body, or in things that belonged to him; for in the absence of the Prophet the same healing power is attributed to certain of

¹ *Shifā* (شِفَاءٌ), Constantinopolitan lithographic edition, I. pp. 243-52.

his possessions as is ascribed to his immediate presence and active intervention. For brevity's sake, I refer in the note¹ to the literature bearing on this subject, in which those of my readers who are interested in working out the details can find the data for a comparative study of these miraculous legends.

Still more noteworthy, however, is the influence which the didactic utterances, to be found in the Gospels, have exercised on the development of Muhammadan doctrines in the Traditions. As is shown hereafter, such borrowings are brought forward as sayings of the Prophet. It is worth while for the historian of literature, and also for the theologian, to notice some specimens of this influence, although in several cases they show only a superficial adoption of some well-known utterances.

¹ B. *Paḍā'il-ul-Aṣḥāb* (فَضَائِلُ الْأَصْحَابِ), No. 10; *Maḡhāzī* (مَغَازِي), No. 40; *Libās* (لِبَاس), No. 66; *Ṣalāt* (صَلَاةٌ), No. 17; *Manāqib* (مَنَاقِب), No. 23; *Marādū* (مَرَادُءُ), No. 5; *Wuḍū* (وُضُوءُ), No. 40 (41); *Dā'wat* (دَعْوَات), No. 33; comp. *Ibn-i-Hājar* (ابن هاجر), I. p. 314; *Agh.*, XV. p. 137; *Al Azraqī* (الْأَزْرَقِي), p. 438 (15). Under this heading comes the miracle of the raising of the dead; for the traditions about it, see *Shifā* (شِفَاءُ), I. p. 268.

First, however, let us notice the method by which such transfers took place. How easily it came about that people attributed to Muhammad, without any scruple, moral utterances which did not originate with him, is shown by a fact that is worthy of special notice.

It is not unusual to find in the Ḥadīth literature utterances attributed to the Prophet which had long been circulated in Islām under the authority of some other name. So-called *ahādīth Mauqūfa* (احاديث موقوفه), i. e. sayings which can only be traced to a Companion (صحابي) or even a Follower (تابعي), were changed with the greatest ease into *ahādīth Marfū'a* (احاديث مرفوعة), i. e. utterances traced back to the Prophet himself. This was done without much hesitation by the insertion into the chain of evidence of a few names according to requirements or fancy¹.

The same was frequently done in the region of legislative tradition. But people went still further. They did not hesitate to ascribe to the Prophet acceptable utterances from the days

¹ e. g. *Al Tirmizī*, I. pp. 90, 179, 263, 267 (22), 289 (11) ff.; II. pp. 167 (15), 190, 233 (6), and in numerous other passages. People who were suspected of completing interrupted chains of traditions were called *rafi'a* (pushers up), *Ibn Khalladūn*, *Muqaddima* (مُقَدِّمَة ابن خَلْدُون), p. 265 (17).

of heathenism; and this they could the more easily do, seeing it was known that Muhammad himself had no scruple in incorporating in the Qurân sentences from heathen sources¹. In an earlier treatise² it has already been pointed out that the saying of the Prophet, "Help thy brother, whether he be the oppressor or the oppressed³," is an old Arabian proverb which probably originated in heathen circles. It pleased the Muhammadans, and so they attributed it to the Prophet⁴.

The oft-quoted saying of the Prophet, "Good is fastened to the forelocks of horses," is to be found in a poem of *Imra-ul-Qais*⁵ (إِمْرَأُ الْقَيْسِ).

¹ It is significant that the saying "*fa ṣabrūn jamîl*" (فَصَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ), which is well known from Qurân XII. 83, is to be found in *Ashfâr-ul lâmi'a* (أَشْفَارُ اللَّامِعَةِ), *wal-lal-ṣabru in lan-yanf'il-shakwa ajmalû* (وَاللَّصْبَرُ إِنْ لَنْ يَنْفَعِ الشَّكْوَا أَجْمَلٌ), "The beauty of patience is that one does not complain at all."

² *Zâhiriten*, p. 154.

³ *Huẓail* (هذيل), 133 (19), *yu'inuka mazlûman wa yûdika zâlîman* (يُعِينُكَ مَظْلُومًا وَيُودِيكَ ظَالِمًا).

⁴ The earliest reference to this sentence as a speech of the Prophet is found in Al Shaibânî (*Kitâb'al Siyar*, fol. 59 a): Wiener, *Jahrbuch der Litteratur*, XL. p. 60, No. 191.

⁵ *Al Dârmî* (الدارمي), I. p. 385; comp. *Imr.* q. 8, 1.

Another aspect of this tendency which deserves to be further investigated is seen in the many variations of the maxim that "One should not meddle in things which do not concern one¹." We meet with this saying, fortified by the name of the Prophet² in the most diverse combinations, as a fundamental doctrine of Muhammadan ethics, and accordingly every virtuous man, whose good qualities are praised, is credited with the exercise of this virtue³. But the most ancient sources attribute this teaching to others. It is ascribed to Luqmân⁴ (لُقْمَان), to

¹ *Utruk mâ lâ ya'nika* (أُتْرِكَ مَا لَا يَعْنِيكَ).

² As such we find it among the *Arba'in Nawawi* (أربعين نوي) in No. 12.

³ 'Abdul malik (عبد الملك) is praised as follows: *Kâna târikan bil dukhâl fî mâ lâ ya'nihî* (كان تاركاً بالدخول في ما لا يعنيه), "He never meddled in things which did not concern him"; *Auṣāf-al-Ashrāf* (أوصاف الأشراف), p. 162. In the same way Mâlik (مالك) credited Ja'far-al-Bâqir (جعفر الباقر), p. 148 in *Z. W. Q.*, I. 209, with this virtue. In later biographical works this occurs just as frequently as the opposite, viz. that a man is praised for being *muqbilan 'alâ mâ lâ ya'nihî* (مقبلاً على ما لا يعنيه), "Ready to meddle in things which did not concern him," e. g. *Ibn Bashkâl* (ابن بشكول), pp. 202, 453, 496, 516, 518, 593, 612; *Abul Maḥâsin* (أبو المحاسن), I. p. 541 (15).

⁴ *Al Muwaṭṭa*, IV. p. 227 (صدق الحديث واداء الوعدة).

the *Khalîfa* 'Umar I¹ (خليفة عمر اول) and his son 'Abdullâh² (عبد الله), to the son of H̄usain³ (حسين), to 'Umar II⁴ (عمر ثاني), and even to Al Shâfi'î himself⁵. The *Suhaf* (صُحُف) (Scriptures) of Seth and of Abraham are likewise here and there named as the sources of this saying⁶ which was reckoned originally not a religious dogma, but a counsel of wisdom intended to recommend one of the attributes of *H̄ilm* (حلم), (urbanity and considerateness)⁷ in the old Arabian sense. In the sense of *H̄ilm* (حلم) it is mentioned among some wise rules of *H̄arith al-Badr* (حارث البدر) (about A. H. 50), a representa-

وتترك ما لا يعنه, "Speaking the truth; performance of one's promise and avoidance of what does not concern one," are the three qualities through which Luqman (لقمان) reaches his great age; comp. *Al Maidanî* (الميداني), II. p. 227.

¹ *Kitâb-ul-Khirâj* (كتاب الخراج), p. 8 (7).

² *Al Shaibânî, Muwatta* (موطى شيباني), p. 386.

³ *Al Ya'qûbî* (يعقوبى), II. p. 364.

⁴ *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, p. 40; among the five things which he claimed in his speech from the throne.

⁵ *Tahzîb* (تهذيب), p. 70 (6).

⁶ Compare *Arba'in, Commentaries al Nawawî* (شرح الأربعين من نووي), p. 28; *Al Fashânî* (الفشاني), p. 48.

⁷ P. 221, part I: the *Halîm* (حليم) is what we, from our own point of view, should call a well-educated man. The opposite is *Jâhil* (جاهل).

tive of the old *Muruwwa* (مروءة) in the first decades of Islām¹; and yet it is later on universally handed down as a Ḥadīth of the Prophet. As a result of the same process sentences from the Old Testament² and the Gospels are also counted among the sayings of Muhammad. Whatever appeared worthy of adoption to the theologians of those times (in which the formation of tradition was in full vigour) was introduced preferably under the form of *Ḥadīth*. In this shape it was possible for it to become an element in the formation of Muhammadan dogma.

Let me now enumerate some of the didactic sayings from the Gospels which we find incorporated into the Ḥadīth. Among those whom God "covers with His shadow in the day when there is no shadow save His" is mentioned "the man who does a charitable deed and keeps it secret, so that his left hand does not know what

¹ *Agh.*, XXI. p. 43 (15).

² Instead of many instances which might be quoted here, take *Al Mas'ûdi* (مسعودی), IV. p. 168 (4), *Râs-ul hikmat-i ma'rifat allâh* (راس الحكمة معرفة الله), "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," as a saying of the Prophet. Instead of *Ma'rifat* (معرفة), *Khâfat* (خافة) is also found (cf. Prov. ix. 10). See Fleischer, *Codd. Bibl. Senat. Lips.*, p. 428 a.

his right hand has done¹” (St. Matt. vi. 3). We also meet in Muhammadan tradition with the saying “Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s” (St. Matt. xxii. 21), though with an ending quite different from that in the Gospel². Muhammad is prophesying to his disciples that after his death times will come in which they shall see despicable things. They ask the Prophet how they are to comport themselves towards those in power; he replied “Give them,” i. e. those in power, “what is their due³ and ask God for that which is due to you.” The Gospel sayings about the blessedness of the poor, their being preferred before the rich, and the shutting out of the latter from the kingdom

¹ *Al Muwaṭṭa*, IV. p. 171; B. *Zakât*, V. 15, الموطى باب الزكوة, compare 18; *Muḥâribân* (مُحَارِبُونَ), No. 5, *Muslim* (مسلم), IV. p. 188. Compare also *Iḥyâ* (أَحْيَاء), II. p. 147, *Wa rajul-un taṣaddaqa bi ṣadaqati f’akhfâhâ hattâ lâ ya’lamu shimâluhu mâ yunfiqû yaminûhu* (و رجل تصدق بصدقة فاخفاها حتى لا يعلم شماله ما ينفق يمينه).

² B. *Fitan* (بَابِ فِتْنٍ), No. 2. *Addû ilaihim* (i. e. *ila’l umarâ*) *ḥaqqahum fasal ullâh ḥaqqakum* (ادو اليهم اي الى الامرا حقهم فسل الله حقكم), “Pay the great men their due, then ask your due from God.”

³ Commentators remark that this refers to the payment of taxes.

of Heaven, express a view directly contrary to that of the heathen Arab, but they find countless echoes in the sayings of Muhammad and the earliest Muhammadan divines. Only a few examples can be given here. "I stood," said the Prophet, "before the gate of Paradise, and observed that the greater number of those who gained admittance through it were the poor, whereas the well-to-do were turned away¹."

In another tradition the same thought is expressed in the following manner. "The rich will be admitted to Paradise 500 years after the poor²." "Once," so another passage runs,

¹ B. *Riqâq* (رقاق), No. 57. Compare the account in *Agh.*, II. p. 191 (11), in which 'Abdullâh bin Ja'far bin Abu Talib (عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبو طالب) instructed the teacher of his children not to make them acquainted with that *Qasîda* of 'Urwa bin al Ward (قصيدة عروة بن الورد), in which the heathen poet says, "Let me hunt after riches, for I see that the poor is the most miserable of men." For the inquiry how far the Muhammadan conception gives the preference to riches or to poverty, materials may be found in *Al Qastalânî* (قسطلاني), B. *Riqâq*, No. 16 (IX. p. 287). Men of letters also busy themselves much with this question, v. *Al Muwashsha* (الموشى), ed. Brünnow, p. 111.

² In *Fakhr ud Din al Râzî, Mafâtih* (مفاتيح فخر الدين), II. p. 538. The saying that "it is easier for

“some one passed by the Prophet. A Companion remarked, in reply to the inquiry of the Prophet, that the passer-by belonged to the most noble among men, with whom any one might be glad to be connected, and whose protection must be

a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for the rejector of revelation to enter Paradise,” is found in Qurân VII. 38, and the same expression is repeated often in the Traditions. “Among our Companions there are twelve hypocrites; among them eight who will find an entrance into Paradise, not more easily than a camel gets through the eye of a needle (*Sammal Khayât*, سم الخياط), &c., *Muslim* (مسلم), V. p. 345. “To go through the eye of a needle” means in Arabic also to be clever or acute. *Al Khirîf* (الخریط), the clever guide, B. *Ajârah* (اجارة), No. 3; *Manâqib-ul-anşâr* (مناقب الانصار), No. 45; *Al mâhir-u bil hidâya* (الماهر بالهداية) is connected with *Kharif al ibra* (خرط الابراء), needle’s eye: that is, “he is so clever that he can slip through the eye of a needle.” *Ibn-i-Dâûd* (ابن داود), p. 68. *Al Khirîf* (الخریط) was a nickname of *Khâlid bin ‘Abdullâh* (خالد بن عبد الله), *Agh.*, I. p. 67 (20); XIX. p. 55 (8), see below. Compare too the phrase, “He required the people to lead a camel through the eye of a needle,” i. e. he demanded impossibilities from them. *Khallaf-an-nâs idkhâl al Jamal fî Sammal Khayât* (خلف الناس ادخال الجمل في سم الخياط); *Ibn-i-Hâjar*, *Adduraru’l Kâmina* (الدرر الكامنة من ابن هاجر), *Handschriften der kaiserlichen Hofbibliothek*, Wien, Mixt. No. 245, III. fol. 40.

respected by all, so high was his position. The Prophet received this remark in silence. Then another man passed by, and the following information was given to the Prophet about his character. 'He belongs to the poor among the Muslims; should he sue for the hand of a girl, the father would be right to refuse him; should he give his protection to any one, it may be disregarded, and none need pay any attention to what he says.' 'Truly,' replied the Prophet, 'this same man is worth more than a whole world full of men like the other¹.' Many a one who goes clothed in this world goes naked in the next²." 'Abdullāh bin Mas'ūd (عبد الله بن مسعود) says: "As though I beheld the Prophet of God imitating one of the most ancient prophets, who was tortured and beaten by his people, but only wiped the blood from his face, and said, 'God forgive my people, for they know not (what they do)³.'" Hanzalī-al 'Abshamī (حنظلي العبشمي) says: "Never does a company sit together and

¹ B. *Riqāq* (رقاق), No. 10.

² B. *Fitan* (فتن), No. 6; *Al Tirmizī* (ترمذي), p. 31.

³ B. *Anbiya* (انبييا), No. 54; *Istīla* (استيلا), No. 5.

Commentators know so little about the matter that they mention Noah as the prophet whom Muhammad was supposed to be imitating.

make mention of the name of God, without a herald from heaven calling down to them, 'Stand up, for I have forgiven you, and turned your misdeeds into good deeds¹.' One cannot fail to recognize in this sentence the influence of St. Matt. ix. 2-7². Similarly, a likeness to the attitude concerning the poor in spirit (St. Matt. v. 3) is found in the Muhammadan saying, "The simple (*al bulhu*, بُلْهُ) form the larger part of the dwellers in Paradise³"; and a parallel to St. Matt. x. 16 is found in the tradition that certain Companions of the Prophet said, "Be simple as doves." It is added that, in the time of the Companions, a current formula of blessing ran, "May God diminish thy acuteness⁴" (*aqal allâhu fitnatuk*, اَقَلَّ اللهُ فِتْنَتَكَ). The philosopher Al Jâhiz (الجاحز) felt how foreign this view of things must seem to the community to which it was presented; accordingly, he adds to his

¹ *Ibn-i-Hâjar* (ابن هاجر), I. p. 744.

² Perhaps also St. Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

³ *Al Ya'qâbi* (يعقوبي), II. p. 115 (2). Compare *Kitâb-ul-a'dâd* (كتاب الأعداد), p. 214.

⁴ From this point of view *al abbaḥu* (الأبْه), the simpleton) may be considered an honourable designation. *Muḥammad bin Ja'far* (محمد بن جعفر), a great-grandson of 'Alī (علي), is commended by this term, *Agh.*, VI. p. 72 (10).

delivery of these utterances the following remark: "This is indeed in opposition to that which is related of 'Umar bin-al Khattāb (عمر بن الخطاب). If he was told that a certain person did not know what evil was, he would remark: 'Then it behoves him to fall into it at once'."

As one of the most remarkable examples of borrowing from the Gospels and attributing the borrowed excellence to Muhammad, we may take the use which is made in the *Ḥadīth* of the Lord's Prayer. That the notion current in ancient Muhammadan circles of the origin of the prayer was extremely vague is shown by the fact that one part of it was regarded as dating from Moses². Elsewhere it is related by *Abu Dardāi* (أبو درداء) that the Prophet said: "If any one suffers, or if his brother suffers, he should say: 'Our Lord God, which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom (here, apparently, the words "come; Thy will be done," are left out) is in heaven and on earth; as Thy mercy is in heaven, so show Thy mercy on earth; forgive us our debts and our sins (*haubaná wa khatāyáná*,

¹ *Kitāb-ul ḥaiwān* (كتاب الحيوان), fol. 403 b.

² *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXII. p. 352.

(هوينا و خطايانا). Thou art the Lord of the good (*Rabb-ut ṭayyibāna*, رَبِّ الطَّيِّبِينَ); send down mercy from Thy mercy and healing from Thy healing on this pain, that it may be healed¹.” It is remarkable that in this mutilated fragment the expression *ṭayyibān* (طَيِّبِينَ) occurs. This probably tallies with the Christian word *tublanā* (تُبِّ لَنَا), so that in this form of address, as incorporated in the *Hadīth*, the intercession of the saints would seem to be referred to.

Not only didactic utterances however, or (as shown in the last example) religious formulae, have come into Islam from the Gospel, but phrases also are frequently borrowed. It is worthy of note that the acknowledgement of the origin of such borrowed phrases has entirely disappeared from Muhammadan literature. An example of this is the word *Shahīd* (شهيد), used in the sense of “martyr.” Doubtless this is a pure Arabic word; but at first it signifies simply a witness in the ordinary sense. Its application to one who witnesses for his faith by the sacrifice of his life was derived from its use among Christians in correspondence with the Syriac *Sāhdā*, which is the invariable equivalent of the New Testament *μάρτυς*. This

¹ *Abu Dāūd*, I. p. 101.

turn of meaning is certainly post-Qur'anic, for in the Qur'ân itself *Shuhadâ*, شهداء (even in those passages where the word to all appearance is used to designate a distinct class of pious confessors¹), does not mean exactly martyrs, but confessors, i. e. those who testify for God and the Prophet². The Muslim confession of faith is called witness, *Shuhadâ* (شَهَادَة), and the formula begins with the word *Ashhadu* (أَشْهَدُ), "I bear witness," i. e. "I confess that," and so on³. It is in fact required from the whole Muslim community that its members should be witnesses on behalf of God to man, as the Prophet is the witness on behalf of God to men⁴. In the primary Muslim use of the word there is as yet no trace of the meaning "martyr" which Muhammadan commentators try to make out in several of the Qur'anic passages that contain it⁵.

¹ IV. 7; XXXIX. 69; and LVII. 18.

² Compare Sprenger, *Muhammad II*, p. 194. In this sense also *Shâhidîna* (شاهدين) occurs in *Sûra* (سورة) III. 46, V. 86.

³ Compare III. 16, 80; VI. 19; VII. 71; and LXIII. 1.

⁴ II. 137; IV. 134; XXII. 78.

⁵ Compare *Jandîz* (جنائز), No. 86, *Antum Shuhadâu 'Ulâhi fi 'l arđi* (انتم شهداء الله في الأرض), "Ye (the true believers) are the witnesses of God on earth" (for

Muhammad paraphrases the idea "martyr" with a relative clause: those who are killed in the way of Allâh¹. The Christian influence, through which the meaning of the word *Shahîd* (شهيد) was extended from "witness" and "confessor" to "martyr," made itself felt at a later date, and then the latter meaning soon became very general. But it is remarkable that the meaning of the word *Shahîd* (شهيد) thus received an extension which is scarcely to be reconciled with the warlike tendency of Islâm. To the Prophet² is ascribed the saying that not only those who are slain for the faith are to be regarded as martyrs. Seven other causes of death are enumerated which make the sufferers worthy of the honourable title of a *Shahîd* (شهيد), and these are mainly calamitous or pathological causes, which have nothing to do with voluntary self-sacrifice for a great cause. In later times other causes have been added to these seven. He who dies in defence of his

example III. 134, where some commentators understand under the term *Shuhadâ* (شهداء) those who fell in the battle of Badr (بدر).

¹ III. 163.

² B. *Jihâd* (جهاد), No. 29, compare *Abu Dâûd*, II. p. 37.

possessions¹, or far from his home in a strange country; he who meets his death in falling from a high mountain; he who is torn to pieces by wild beasts, and many more, are to be counted in the category of *Shuhadâ* (شهداء). Sea-sickness is also mentioned in this list as a form of martyrdom². In the third century *Dâûd bin 'Alî* (داؤد بن علي) of Ispahan³ delivered, as a saying of the Prophet, that any one who died from love-sickness was to be counted as a martyr⁴.

¹ *Al Nasâ'i* (نسائي), II. p. 116; *Abu Dâûd* (ابو داؤد), II. p. 184; *Al Mas'ûdî* (مسعودي), IV. p. 170 (3); *Ibn Qutaiba* (ابن قتيبة), (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 164 (12). See the collection in *Al Żurqânî* (الذرقاني), II. p. 22.

² *Al mâ'idu fi 'l bahri 'Ulaẓi Yuṣibuhu 'lqaila lahu ajru Shahîdin* (الماعد في البحر الذي يصيبه القيل له اجر شهيد), "He who, in going to sea, suffers tribulation receives the reward of a martyr," (*Abu Dâûd*), I. p. 247. In *Kitâb-us-Siyar* (كتاب السير), fol. 11 b, this Ḥadîth is applied to those voyagers who go to sea for the purpose of *Jihâd*. Compare *Z. D. M. G.*, XLIV. p. 165, note 3.

³ *Al Qasṭalânî* (القسطلاني), V. p. 67, quotes the saying from the son of Dâûd.

⁴ See *Zâhirîten*, p. 29, note 6; compare *Al Muwashsha* (الموشّي), p. 74. In *Al Mutanabbî* (المتنبي), (ed. Dieterici), I. p. 29, this thought is used poetically. The same thought appears constantly in the later

It appears that this extended conception of martyrdom was originally formed in opposition to the fanatical mania for rushing upon death which at one time became prevalent. In fact, it represents the theological reaction against *Talab-ush-shahâdat* (طلب الشهادة) = seeking for martyrdom¹. Muhammadan divines do not favour this kind of self-sacrifice; indeed, they teach that under some circumstances the pretended profession of a false creed is to be preferred to self-sacrifice².

The extension of the meaning of *Shahîd* serves to support this line of teaching³. It was to be shown that the Muslim idea of duty, soberly viewed, allows no merit to the fanatical endeavour of set purpose to attain a martyr's

erotic poetry of the Arabs and Persians; compare *Sheikh Muḥd. 'Alî Ḥazîn* (شيخ محمد علي حزين), translation by F. C. Balfour (London, 1830), p. 89.

¹ *Ibn Aẓharî* (ابن اظهري), (ed. Dozy), II. p. 187.

² Set forth in detail by *Fakhr ud Dîn al Râzî*, *Mafâtîḥ* (مفاتيح من فخر الدين رازي) on Sura XI. 168, vol. V. p. 523 ff.

³ Of course the pedantry of the ritualists has not left undecided the question as to whether this extension of the *Shahîd* idea applies also to the ritual privileges attaching to martyrs' funerals. See *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, I. p. 740.

death¹, and that the title of *Shahīd* can be won in other ways. An occasion for emphasizing their reaction against martyrdom was given by the conduct of the *Kharijites* and other insurrectionists, who, inspired by the prospect of the martyr's crown, resisted a government which in their eyes was godless, and rushed boldly to destruction, taking for their motto the words of the Qurān: "Verily God hath purchased of the true believers their souls and their substance, (in return) promising them the enjoyment of Paradise, on condition that they fight in the way of God, whether they slay or be slain."

In these rebellious circles it was thought that one might gain the martyr's crown in battle against an unrighteous government. To counteract such a fanatical tendency the theologians of the moderate party demonstrated that a *Jihād* (جهاد) waged out of mere opposition to authority had no claim to God's reward², and that, on the

¹ A reaction against martyrdom, such as showed itself also in the middle of the ninth century among the Christians in Spain. Dozy, *Geschichte der Mauren*, I. p. 330.

² *Al Muwatta* (الموطئ), II. 325; *Al Dârimî* (الدارمي), p. 318; *Abu Dâûd* (ابو داود), I. p. 250.

contrary, the quiet private expression of devotional feeling and the carrying into practice of moral principles is to be preferred to the *Jihād fî sabîli 'Ulâh* (جهاد في سبيل الله), albeit that that was the primitive way of seeking martyrdom for the faith. He who reads the Qurân for God's sake (*fî sabîli 'Ulâh*) is placed by God on a level with the martyrs¹. The *Žikr-allâh* (ذكر الله), i. e. the devout calling upon God, is, with no little emphasis, preferred to religious war²; the duty of religious war is remitted on account of obligations towards parents³. The upright tax-gatherer is as he who, for God's sake, goes out to fight for religion⁴. That the office of a tax-gatherer is regarded as a kind of martyrdom is explained by the fact that these officials were exposed to real peril of their lives among the Arabs⁵. The

¹ *Musnad, Ahmad, Itqân* (مسند من احمد اتقان), II. p. 178.

² *Abu Yûsuf, Kitâb-ul-Khirâj* (ابو يوسف كتاب الخراج), p. 4; *Al Tirmizî*, II. p. 243; compare p. 259.

³ *B. Adab* (ادب), *Abu Dâûd* (ابو داود), I. p. 250 f.; *Al Tirmizî* (ترمذي), I. p. 313. Compare *Agh.*, XII. p. 40 f.; XV. p. 60; XVIII. p. 157 f.; XXI. p. 69.

⁴ *Al Dârimî* (الدارمي), p. 209; *Al Tirmizî* (ترمذي), I. p. 126.

⁵ The 'Âmil-al-Khirâj (عامل الخراج) or tax-gatherer in Arabic literature bears a character similar to that

'*Ulamâ* (علماء) in their own interests composed a prophetic saying in which their merit is reckoned as higher than that of the *Shuhadâ*¹ (شهداء), and the ink which flows from the pens of the learned is recognized to be of more value than the blood of martyrs shed in war for the faith². The representatives of religious learning were glad to appeal to this saying³. He who travels to Medina to learn or to teach is counted equal to a warrior for the faith⁴. Another saying

of the publican in the N.T. This was owing to the fact that the subjection of the Bedouins to civil administration was always attended with great difficulties, especially as regards the collection of taxes. The poem of '*Urwat-at-Tâi* (عروة الطائي) (at the close of the Umayyad period: Ham, p. 315) is remarkable as showing the opposition of the Bedouins to the imposition of *Sadaqa* (صَدَقَةٌ).

¹ *Ibn Zuhaira* (ابن زهيرة), *Chron. Mekk.*, II. p. 333 (13). Compare *ibid.* p. 334 (13), "a mustard seed's weight of knowledge is more valuable than if an unlearned man took part for a thousand years in a war for the faith." Compare Ahlwardt, *Berliner Katalog*, I. p. 41 b.

² *Al 'T.*, qd, I. p. 199. Compare Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen*, p. 428.

³ *Ibn Mâjah* (ابن ماجه), p. 20.

⁴ e. g. in Rosen, *Notices Sommaires*, I. p. 64 (14), *Mufaddil midâduhum 'ala dimâi'sh Shuhadâi* (مفضل مدادهم على دماء الشهداء), "Their ink is better than the blood of martyrs."

places the calling of the *muazzin* (مُؤَذِّن) on a level with that of a warrior for the faith. *Abul Waqqâs* (ابو الوقاص) is said to have handed down, in the name of the Prophet, the saying that the portion of the caller to prayer at the day of resurrection will be the same as that of the *Mujâhadîn* (مجاهدين), (warriors for the faith); further, that the former, between the two calls to prayer (*Azân*, اذان, and *Iqâmat*, اقامة), will be counted equal to those who welter in their blood in the way of God¹. It is interesting to compare the actual estimation in which the *muazzins* are held in every-day life with this high-sounding theoretical appraisalment of their value by theologians. *Al Mu'tasim* (المعتصم) punished a singer who had fallen into disgrace by making him one of the *muazzins*². Certainly, these words of praise are not intended for paid mosque officials, but, as emphasized in earlier times³, for men who, without payment,

¹ *Ibn-i-Hâjar* (ابن هاجر), IV. p. 412.

² *Agh.*, XXI, p. 245.

³ And also in later times; Leo, Africanus (*Descriptio Africae*, ed. Antwerp, p. 108 b) says that at Fez "qui interdiu a turris vociferantur, nihil inde lucri habent, quam quod ab omni tributo atque exactione liberantur."

devoted themselves to this work so pleasing to God¹.

Among the fanatical sectarians and dissenters who regarded the struggle against a so-called godless government as a religious war incumbent upon believers *Jihād* was insisted on as the most excellent method of bringing religion into practice². Such ideas had to be combatted by belittling the worth of martyrdom as well as that of religious war, through which it could most easily be attained. Even the expression *Sabīlu 'Ulāh* (سبيل الله), "the way of God," underwent a corresponding change of meaning; originally identified with *Jihād*, it was now connected by the peaceful theologians with every pious God-pleasing action³, *ṭā'at* (طاعة), (so that even the open well is called *sabīl*⁴). Hence it comes that the verbal root *subal* II (سَبَلَ) (*Sabbala*), whence is derived *sabīl*, has acquired the general mean-

¹ *Agh.*, XI. p. 100.

² *Al Ṭabrī* (طبري), II. p. 544 (13), *fa inna'l Jihāda sinām al 'Amali* (فإن الجهاد سنام العمل), "Verily Jihād is the head of devotion."

³ More is to be found on this subject in the *Kitāb-us-Siyar* (كتاب السير), fol. 398 b.

⁴ In accordance with the ancient idea that the giving of water is the most excellent *ṣadaqa* (صدقة). *Ibn Sa'd* (ابن سعد) in Loth's *Klassenbuch*.

ing "to spend on pious purposes¹." This shifting of the conception of *Shahîd* greatly assisted the tendency to ignore the original meaning of the word. Even by the middle of the second century no Muhammadan knew that the martyr was so called because he witnessed by laying down his life for the truth of his faith. At least there is no trace of such a conception to be found in the thirteen explanations into which Muhammadan philology and theology meander, in order to show the connexion between the *Shahîd* and the idea of testimony, and which have been simply copied, even by the modern Christian Arabic Philologist, without a thought being given to the right explanation that lay so near at hand². Even *Al Nadr bin Shumâil* (النضر بن شمائل), (about A. H. 204), could give no better explanation than the following: that the hero of the faith was called a witness because his soul remains alive, and (straightway after his bodily death) beholds the dwelling-place of peace, and thus is an eye-witness of it, whereas the souls of others only attain to this vision on the day of Resurrection³. The remaining ex-

¹ Compare *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXV. p. 775.

² *Muḥîṭ* (محيط), I. p. 1132 b.

³ *Al Nawawî* (نَوَوِي) on *Muslim*, I. p. 209. These

planations are, if possible, still more meaningless¹.

Some more examples of New Testament phrases, used as religious terms by the Muhammadans, may be added to those above mentioned. It has been pointed out in another place that the saying in St. Matt. vii. 5 about the mote and the beam early became a part of Muhammadan literature². The same applies to the utterances of the Prophet to his Companions (preserved in an apocryphal Tradition). "My Companions are in my community like salt in food; for without the salt the food is not fit to eat." (See St. Matt. v. 13³.) Similarly *Abu Mūsā Ash'arī* (ابو موسى اشعري) writes from 'Irdāq (عراق) to 'Umar (عمر), "Send me some of the Anṣārs (انصار), for they are among men as salt in food⁴." The saying,

explanations are given more completely in *Al Zurqānī* (الزرقاني), II. p. 22.

¹ Compare some in *Al Baidāwī* (بيضاوي), I. p. 37 (1).

² *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXI. p. 765 ff.; *Agh.*, XIV. p. 171 (15); *Al Dāmīrī* (sub voce, Al Suāba), II. p. 70. It may here be added with reference to Aug. Müller's proof in *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXI. p. 52, that an echo of 1 Thess. v. 21 is to be found in *Al Mubarrad*, p. 409 (9).

³ *Al Baghawī, Maṣābīḥ-us-Sunna* (مصابيح السنة من المغوي), II. p. 194.

⁴ *Abu Hanīfa* (ابو حنيفة), p. 125 (3); compare Ibn

“He who wastes knowledge on the unworthy is like one who binds pearls upon swine,” is an echo of St. Matt. vii. 6¹; and the expression “take up his cross” in St. Matt. vi. 24 (which is not unknown in Rabbinical literature²) seems to have penetrated Muhammadan phraseology, if not the Traditions themselves³. A specifically Christian expression which has penetrated deeply into Muhammadan literature is to do anything “in God,” *fî 'ullâh* (في الله) or *billâh* (بالله). The Muhammadan interpreters of the Traditions in which this expression occurs explain it generally in the sense of *fî sabîli-'ullâh* (في سبيل الله), i. e. in God's way or to the glory of God. Turkish translators (as e. g. the translator of the fifty-four Muhammadan duties, ascribed to *Hasan Basri*)

Bassâm in Dozy, *Abbasiden*, II. pp. 224, 238. The expression “as salt in food” is used also to denote a vanishing quantity, B. *Manâqib-ul-Ansar*, No. 11; compare *Al Qasṭalânî*, VI. p. 175.

¹ *Ibn Mâja*, p. 20; compare an epigram of Shafi'i in *Al Dâmirî* (sub voce, Al Ghanam).

² *Midrâsh Berêshîth* r. c. 56 Shehû tû ên Şelûbhô bikhethêfô; compare *Tankhûma* (ed. Buber) *Gen.* p. 114, Sheheî Yôsê le hissârîf we 'êsâw al Kethêfâw.

³ *Di'bil*, *Agh.*, XVII. p. 30 (1), *aḥmil Khashabî 'ala Kitfî* (أَحْمِلْ خَشْبِي عَلَى كَتْفِي), “Load my beam on my shoulder.”

render it *Allāh iqsān*, on God's account, for God¹. The following are examples from the *Hadīth* of the scope of the use of this expression, "Two men who form a friendship in God," or "who love one another in God²." God says on the day of Resurrection, "Where are those who in My majesty (paraphrase for 'in Me') have formed a friendship, that I may protect them with My shadow in that day when there is no shadow but Mine³." Every wounded man who is wounded in God⁴, *fī 'Ulāh* (في الله), appears on the day of Resurrection with his bleeding wounds; their colour is the colour of blood, but their odour is the odour of musk⁵. The Prophet

¹ *Al Muwaṭṭa*, IV. p. 170. In this connexion reference may be made to the remarkable statement that the *Khalīfa al Mehdi* made a brotherhood in God (*ittahāda akhān fī 'Ulāhi*) (اتَّحَدَ أَخَاً فِي اللَّهِ) with his counsellor *Ya'qub bin Dāūd* and had a document drawn up regarding it, which was deposited in the archives of the State (*Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, p. 281).

² *Tahabba fī 'Ulāh* or *billāh* (تَحَبَّبَ فِي اللَّهِ بِاللَّهِ).

³ *Muslim*, V. p. 236, *Al Mutahabbūna bi Jalāli* (الْمُتَحَبِّونَ بِجَلَالِي).

⁴ Compare *Tahzīb*, p. 338, sub voce, 'Abdullāh bin Jaḥsh, who received the surname *Al Mujidd fī 'Ulāh* (الْمُجِدِّ فِي اللَّهِ).

⁵ *Zabāih* (ذَبَائِح), No. 31. Another reading is *fī sabīli 'Ulāh* (في سبيل الله).

asked *Abu zar* (ابوزر), "What is the firmest handle in religion?" When the latter asked the Prophet himself to reply, he received the following answer: "Mutual protection in God, and anger (or hatred) in God¹." "God has servants who eat in God, drink in Him, walk in Him²." The Imam 'Alî bin Ḥusain, Zain-ul-'Âbidîn (علي بن حسين زين العابدين), (A. H. 99), says that the protected of God, *Jîrân allâh* (جيران الله), are those who sit together in God, practise common devotional exercises in God, and together go on pilgrimage in God³. One of the Prophet's forms of prayer is said to have run thus:—

"We are in Thee and to Thee⁴," the same

¹ Compare *Mufâtîḥ*, VIII. p. 185 (*fî 'Ulâh*); also a communication of *Jâhîz* (جائز) in *Al Maidânî* (الميداني), II. p. 60. *Al Ash'ath it-Tammâ'a* (اشعث الطماع) relates: "*Sâlim bin 'Abdullah* told me that he was angry with (hated) me in God (*wa qâma yabgha-dûna fî 'Ulâh*) (وقام يبغضون في الله ('and he stood angry in God')."

² *Al Fashanî's* (الفشني) *Commentary on the Forty Traditions* (Bulâq, بلاق, 1292), p. 52.

³ *Natajâlâsa fî 'Ulâhi, wa natazâkara fî 'Ulâhi, wa natazâwara fî 'Ulâh* (نتجالس في الله ونتذاكر في الله ونتذاور) (في الله), *Al Ya'qûbî*, II. p. 264 (5).

⁴ *Abu Dâûd*, I. p. 109. Compare *Tirmizî*, II. p. 252.

words are said to have been used by 'Alī (علي) in a *Khutba* (خطبة), sermon, at *Kūfa*¹; and in imitation of a form of speech thus sanctified by the *Sunna*, the *Al Muḥaddis* (محدث), known as they are for their pettifogging zeal on behalf of the *Sunna*, have adopted the words into their Friday *Khutba*². The expression "to love in Muhammad" belongs to this category. When the *Shī'ah* (شيعة) poet, Al Sayyīd al Himyārī (السيد الهيماري) was imprisoned in Ahwāz (اهواز) on account of disorderly conduct by night, he claimed the protection of the Shī'ā governor; and in addressing him spoke of himself as "him whom thou lovest in Ahmad (Muhammad) and his children Ḥasan and Ḥusain³."

In the above remarks we have drawn attention to the influence exercised upon the early development of Islām by elements derived from the Gospel. But we must not overlook the reverse side of this relationship. Christianity, in the form in which it was known to Muhammad and his earliest disciples, taught an ascetic

¹ *Abu Hanīfa*, p. 163 (7).

² *Al Murrakishi*, the History of the *Al Muḥaddis*, p. 250: *fā innamā nahnu bihi wa lahu* (فانما نحن بيه ولله), "And verily we are in him and for him." *Bihī* (بي) perhaps means in this place "through him."

³ *Agh.*, V. p. 19 (2).

morality, a morality which turned away from earth towards the kingdom of heaven, one which did not favour the warlike tendency that the first disciples of Islâm had inherited from their Arab forefathers. Even before the time of Islâm we hear of

Christian spears which ne'er were dipped in blood.

Islâm could not accept this anti-secular morality of Christianity; and in its first ages, as well as in the systematic formulation of its later theology, it has followed the tendency of its early doctors. If the picture which a community draws of its founder is characteristic of its sentiments and ideas, and of its general view of life, we must give due weight to a trait of the Prophet which is mentioned in every description of his character. Such is the statement that he did not deny himself things which God allowed, and that he loved honey and sweet things¹. "He who goes forty days without flesh-meat," so runs a saying of the Prophet, "will deteriorate in character²." On a certain occasion Muhammad bought jewels to the value of thirty camels, and justified this expenditure

¹ *Takẓīb*, p. 39.

² *Aḡ Tabarsî* (الطبرسي), *Makârim-ul-Akhlâq* (مكارم الاخلاق), p. 66.

by saying that every one to whom God has given the blessing of means ought to make known this blessing by some outward sign¹. Side by side with the sayings in praise of poverty which were borrowed from the earliest Christian documents, we hear other accounts of prayers uttered by Muhammad in which he begs God not to send him poverty. It is obvious that harmonizing theologians would without difficulty reconcile these contradictions by applying the latter prayer to spiritual leanness².

Ancient Islām was particularly opposed to the manner of life then known as *Al rahbāniya*³ (الرهبانية), i. e. asceticism or monasticism, *La rahbāniyata fīl Islām* (لا رهبانية في الاسلام), "There is no monasticism in Islām." This principle evidently expresses opposition to the view which

¹ *Abu Dāūd*, II. p. 115; *Al Tirmizī*, II. p. 134; *Al Nasā'ī*, II. p. 228.

² *Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal* in *al Yāfa'ī*, *Raud al Raja ḥin* (رود الرجاحين من احمد بن حنبل اليافي), *Bulāq*, 197, p. 14.

³ But we meet with the term *Rāhib Quraysh* راهب قريش as a title of honour. It was given to *Abu Bakr bin Abdul Rahman al Makhzūmi* (about A. H. 94 in the so-called year of the *Fuqahā* (أيام الفقها)) because he gave himself up unceasingly to prayer. *T'ahzīb*, p. 673.

prevailed among Christians¹, "The monasticism of our community is *Jihād*²" (others, more mildly disposed, substitute *Hajj* for *Jihād*)³. The "Muslim who mixes with his fellow men and patiently bears with their provocation is better than the man who never mixes with others, and who therefore has nothing to put up with from them⁴." This contrast occurs specially in the opinions about unmarried life. "There are no celibates in Islām⁵." Further, a "well-to-do man who does not marry does not belong to me." "Oh! how poor is the man who has no wife." Such are the sayings which are attributed to Muhammad himself⁶, and at all events they express the general feeling of the Muhammadan community⁷. "Two Raka'as (ركعة) performed by a married man are more pleasing to God than seventy which are rendered

¹ Sprenger, *Muhammad I*, p. 389. Compare *Al Maqâmât-i-Harîrî* (مقامات حریری), ed. De Sacy, p. 570.

² *Al Shaiḥânî*, *Kitâb-us-Siyar* (كتاب السير من الشيباني), fol. 9 b.

³ Tholuck, *Sufismus*, p. 46.

⁴ *Al Tirmizî*, II. p. 82.

⁵ *Abu Dâûd*, I. p. 173.

⁶ *Ibn-i-Hâjar*, IV. p. 370.

⁷ Compare, on marriage as a religious duty, *Zâhirîten*, p. 74.

by a celibate," or they are equal to the celibate's watching through the nights and fasting through the days¹. Islām rejected the attempts to foster a spirit of asceticism among the faithful². "Impose no burden upon yourselves³, that no burden be put upon you; for other peoples have done this, and heavy was it made unto them. The remnant of them are in cells and closets, the *Rahbāniya* which they desired for themselves and which we did not prescribe to them⁴." The Prophet once observed, while he was speaking to the congregation, a man who was exposing himself to the rays of the sun. He was told that the man was a certain *Abu Isra'īl* who had made a vow never to sit down, never to seek the shade, never to speak⁵ and always to fast. "Order him," said the Prophet, "to speak, to

¹ *Al Tabarsī*, Makārim-ul-Akhlāq, p. 80 f.

² Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen*, p. 52 ff.

³ Compare B. *Adab*, No. 79; *Ihn*, No. 12; *Wuḍū*, No. 61.

⁴ *Abu Dāūd*, II. p. 195.

⁵ On silence as an ascetic practice see B. *Manāqib-ul-Anṣār*, No. 26 (Ḥajjat muṣmitatān) حَجَّتْ مُصْمِتَاتَانِ "Those who remain silent are the best." *Ajwan*, No. 29; *Al Dārimī*, p. 39; compare *Al Baiḍāwī* on Sūra XIX. 27 (I. pp. 580-3).

seek the shade, to sit down, and to leave off fasting¹.”

‘Abdullâh bin ‘Umar relates as follows: “The Prophet once addressed me in the following words: ‘Is it true, what they tell me of you, that you watch through the night and fast through the day?’ When I answered in the affirmative, the Prophet admonished me to do this only with moderation, for, said he, ‘Thine eye has claims upon thee, thy guests have claims upon thee², thy wife has claims upon thee. The *dîndr* which thou spendest for thy family is more pleasing to God than the *dîndr* which thou spendest in the way of God (for pious objects)³.’” Sa’d bin Abî Waqqâs (سعد بن ابي وقاص) relates: “When the Prophet made his farewell pilgrimage to *Mecca* he paid me, as I was then ill, a visit. I bemoaned my sufferings to him, and said also that I was a rich man, and, except for a daughter, I had no heir to my fortune. ‘Shall I now,’ said I, ‘will away two-thirds of my property for pious purposes to benefit the community?’ ‘No,’ said the Prophet. ‘Well then, at least half?’ ‘No’ was again the Prophet’s decision. ‘Then perhaps a third part?’

¹ *Abu Dâûd*, II. p. 52.

² *Adab*, No. 83.

³ *Musnad*, *Aḥmad in al Qaṣṭalânî*, II. p. 395.

‘A third is too much,’ the Prophet replied. ‘It is better that thou shouldest leave thy heirs in opulence than that they should remain poor and hold out a begging hand to others¹.’ Thou makest no outlay, in which thou strivest to please God, without receiving a reward for the same from God, even for that which thou spendest to put into the mouth of thy wife².’” Even when any one in penitence had made a vow to devote all his property to pious purposes the Prophet declared the vow to be invalid³.

Generally speaking, we find in the more ancient Muhammadan teachings a consistent tendency to

¹ B. *Zakât*, No. 46; *Abu Dâûd*, II. p. 9; compare *Al Tirmizî*, II. p. 15. B. *Wakâla*, No. 15. It is said that *Abu Talha* wanted to place *Birhâ* at the disposal of the Prophet for an object dear to him, but the Prophet would not take the gift and recommended *Abu Talha* to present the property to his relatives.

² B. *Marda*, No. 16. Compare parallel passage in *Farâid*, No. 6. Some variants are found in *Wasâiyâ*, No. 2, where Sa’d begins by saying he wishes to give up all his possessions for pious purposes. In this last passage the Prophet adds to his counsel the following wish: “God grant that thou mayest be able to leave thy sick bed, so that mankind may receive some benefit from thy life, and that others (the unbelievers) may be hurt by thee.”

³ *Abu Dâûd*, I. p. 53.

place the duties of a believer towards his family on a level with his duties towards the faith. Once when a man presented himself to the Prophet in order to take part in war against unbelievers, his offer was refused, and he was told that the religious duties which he had to fulfil at home to his parents were more important¹.

“If a man has two daughters to whom he gives food, drink and clothing, and for whom he takes all care, they will be to him as a protecting wall against hell fire. If, however, he has three daughters and bears the burden of them steadfastly, the tax of alms and the duty of religious war are remitted to him².”

A contradiction to St. Matt. v. 29 seems to be intended in the following narrative of a later date. *Muhammad bin Sirîn* (محمد بن سيرين), a so-called Follower (about A. H. 110), relates that “a terrified beast was raging in the streets of his native place, and was ready to kill any one who approached it. Then came a one-eyed man, and volunteered to go against the raging creature. Scarcely had the man come up to the animal, when the latter bowed its head before him, so that he could kill it. When asked his history,

¹ *Agh.*, XV. p. 60.

² *Ibn-i-Ilâjar*, IV. p. 245; compare also p. 324.

the one-eyed man related that in his whole life he had only once fallen into sin, and in that case the temptation came through his eye; so he took an arrow, and shot the temptation to evil out of his eye-socket." *Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal* (امام احمد بن حنبل), one of the strictest teachers of Islām, accompanies this narrative with the following remark: "Such an action was perhaps permitted by the law of the Israelites and of those who were before us (Christians), but our law does not sanction the plucking out of the eye, with which one has looked on a forbidden thing; rather do we teach that one should ask God for pardon, and afterwards take care to avoid the sin¹."

The moral philosophy of Islām has exhibited the relation of Muhammadan ethics to those of Judaism and Christianity in a scheme which is based on the Aristotelian doctrine of "the mean,"

¹ *Al Dāmīrī* (sub voce, *al dābba* الدابة), I. p. 395, quotes from *Aḥmad in al Baihaqī*. On the other hand the Muhammadan legend of a pious Medinite, *Yūsuf bin Yunus bin Ḥimās*, who lived in the first half of the second century, relates how he once looked with pleasure at a woman and thereafter prayed to God to deprive him of his eyesight. God granted his request, but in consequence of a later prayer restored his sight to him again. *Al Zurqānī*, IV. p. 64.

and which is supported with no little acuteness by utterances of the Qurân, II. 137; XVI. 92; XLI. 3; LXXII. 4; CXVIII. 4. It presents herein the same aspect as do the ethics of the Jewish religious philosophers, which are drawn from the same sources. They too have transferred the fundamental axioms of the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue into the ethical system of their religion, and professed to find it in Biblical verses and Rabbinical utterances¹. The axiom referred to is the doctrine of the "aurea media" (golden mean) as the moral attitude most desirable for man, and the most pleasing to God, both in theoretical religion (i. e. in creed), and in practical piety (i. e. in the activities and renunciations of life). It is the mean between extravagant spirituality and extreme sensuousness in the conception of God; between exaggerated sentimentality and callous want of feeling; between immoderate self-abnegation and ruthless selfishness; between unbridled pursuit of pleasure

¹ See Rosin, *The Ethics of Maimonides* (Breslau, 1876), p. 12, note 1; p. 14, note 3; p. 25, notes 2 and 28; and especially pp. 79-82, where the parallel passages from Aristotle are given. Cp. also *Jakob Antholis Malmad hattalmîdîm* (ed. Lyk.), passim, e. g. p. 98 ff.; p. 146, &c. M. Grünebaum has more lately treated this subject, *Z. D. M. G.*, XLII. p. 285.

and self-tormenting renunciation, between harsh justice and self-effacing placability. This "golden mean" is said to be the *Ṣirāt-al Mustaqīm* (صراط المستقيم), right way of the *Fātiḥa* (فاتحة), prayer, and it is this which Islām is supposed to embody, thereby presenting in a higher form the extreme and mutually exclusive views of Judaism and Christianity. We find as early as *Mālik bin Anas* (مالك بن انس), in the current exposition of doctrine, an echo of this principle. He relates a saying of 'Abdullāh bin 'Abbās (عبد الله بن عباس) to the effect that the keeping of the right mean (*al qaṣd*, القصد), i.e. thoughtfulness and dignified conduct, form a twenty-fifth part of the prophetic mission¹. To this same *Ibn Abbās* is traced the teaching of 'Umar, that one should preserve the *qaṣd* (قصد) in the employment of one's bodily powers, as being the best safeguard against excesses². According to a *Hadīth* of *Jābir bin 'Abdullāh* (جابر بن عبد الله), the Prophet once drew lines on the right and left. In the middle between these he then drew another line, and, pointing to it, he said: "This middle line is the *Ṣirāt-al Mustaqīm*

¹ *Al Muwaṭṭa* (الموطى), IV. p. 177.

² *Yāqūt-ul Mustaqīmīn Asrār-ul Hukamā* (ياقوت المستقيميين اسرار الحكماء), Stambūl, 1300, p. 89 (8).

(صراط المستقيم),” the following of which he recommended to the faithful¹.

Muta'rrif bin 'Abdullâh (متعرف بن عبد الله) (about A. H. 95) more consciously expresses the doctrine of “the mean” as a principle of ethics², but its clear exposition is connected with the name of Ḥasan-al-Baṣrî (حسن البصري). A Bedouin went to this doctor of the faith, with the request that he would teach him a religion, which neither diminishes nor exaggerates. “Then,” said Ḥasan, “thou hast desired the right thing; for the best among all things are the middle things” (*Khair-ul-umâr-i Ausatuhâ*) (خير الامور اوسطها). In this case too as frequently happens, a saying of later religious teachers soon comes to be accounted an utterance of the Prophet³. Still

¹ *Ibn Mâjâ*, p. 3.

² *Al 'Iqd*, I. p. 250; compare *Al Muwashsha*, p. 27.

³ *Al Mas'ûdî*, IV. p. 172 (2). As to traces of this in the Qurân, compare Ahlwardt, *Berliner Katalog*, I. p. 179 b. On the other hand it should be noted that very soon the boundary between Ḥadîth and Mathal was not preserved; as e. g. *Tha'lab* quotes a sentence as a proverb which is a Ḥadîth (*Kitâb-al-Faṣîḥ*, ed. Barth, p. 41 (6) of the text); *Al Dârimî*, p. 32; *Zâkirîten*, p. 213 (12). It is not surprising that suitable sentences from the Ḥadîth were used later on as proverbs, e. g. *Al Maidânî*, I. p. 238; *Al Dîn al*

it is in the philosophical schools that the Aristotelian doctrine is first raised to the dignity of a central principle of ethics. We find as early as the old Mu'tazilites, al Jâhiz (about A.H. 255), a clear indication in this direction, which shows that even in his time speculative theology had adopted this formula. "All that oversteps true moderation is forbidden; the religion of God sanctions the procedure of him who neither does too little nor too much good¹." The same thought also found a very early entrance into didactic poetry, and was expressed in a great variety of epigrams². It had become so generally accepted that the sentences in which it was embodied soon became winged words³ and favourite proverbs⁴, which even now are often heard from the lips of Oriental Muslims⁵.

naṣīhatun (الدين النصيحة), "Religion is but good advice"; *Arba'ûn*, No. 7, compare *Al Ya'qûbî*, II. p. 115 (7), and many others.

¹ Bayân-ul Mukhtaṣir wal Jali (بيان المختصر والجليل), *Kitâb-al Bayân*, fol. 34.

² In *Khaznat-ul-Adab* (خزينة الادب), I. p. 282.

³ *Agh.*, XV. p. 100 (12).

⁴ *Al Maidânî*, I. p. 214; Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictions*, I. p. 11.

⁵ Smouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter u. Redensarten*, p. 5.

The Muhammadan system of ethics, as taught independently of theology, taking the views of Aristotle as its basis, has adopted the doctrine of "the mean" as the starting-point of its systematic expression, and defines each individual virtue as the mean between two extremes, *Aṭraf* (اطراف), which as such are *razāil* (رزائل), i. e. vices. The ethical handbook of Ibn Mashkwaibī (ابن مشكويبي) (about A. H. 421) affords the best instance of a practical employment of this aphorism¹, and his contemporary Abu Sīna (ابو سينا) takes it as representing the goal of moral life². Among the Muhammadan theologians no one has explained this idea more fully or worked it out more systematically³ (emphasizing especially its relation to other religions) than Fakhr ud Dīn Rāzī (فخر الدين رازي). He appears to have regarded this exposition as a special service rendered by him to theology, and concludes one

¹ *Tahẓīb-ul-Akhlāq taḥkīm-ul-'arāq* (تهذيب الاخلاق تطهير العراق) (Cairo, marginal edition of Tabarsī, 1303), p. 26. On this work see Sprenger, *Z. D. M. G.*, XIII. p. 540.

² *Al Shahrastānī* (الشهرستاني), p. 392 (3). Mehren, *Les rapports de la philosophie d'Avicenne avec l'Islām*.

³ In many passages of his great exegetical work, specially in *Mafātīḥ* (مفاتيح), II. pp. 9, 149, 334; V. p. 509 ff.; VII. p. 369; VIII. pp. 319, 645.

passage of his great work (on Sûra XVI. 92), specially bearing on the doctrine of Islâm as the golden mean with the following words: "This is that whereunto my understanding and heart have attained, in respect of the interpretation of these words of the Qurân. If it is right it is an inspiration of the All Merciful, if it is wrong may it be regarded as a suggestion of Satan in which God and His Apostle have no part. Praise be to God who has distinguished us with such grace." This conception of the relation of Islâm to other religions passed, after his time, into the ordinary Muhammadan theology¹.

¹ It would seem that Ibn 'Arabshâh (*faqîhat-ul Khulafâ*, فقہیہ الخلفاء), p. 224, who makes laudatory mention of the Tafsîr Kabîr (تفسیر کبیر) of Fakhr ud Dîn Râzî, was led by him to lay stress on this line of teaching.



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