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of this charm re-transliterates<sup>1</sup> the Greek transliteration of the original lower Sahidic sounds.

(β) For the connexion between Osiris' mummy and Anubis cf. Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie des klassischen Alterthums* vol. i coll. 2645-50 (Pietschmann), Metzler, Stuttgart, 1894.

(γ) Anubis' function as a frightener of demons &c., *op. cit.* l.c.

(δ) In perfect harmony with the supposed 'lower' Sahidic character of our text is the fact that Anubis was especially honoured in Middle Egypt: the twelfth-thirteenth and the seventeenth-eighteenth districts of Upper Egypt (the Cynopolites and the Lycopolites nomos) occupy the northern part of the territory of the Sahidic speech (Lat. 28°-29° N., and Long. 28°-29° E. for the Cyn. nomos; Lat. 27°-28° N., Long. 28°-29° E. for the Lyc. nomos). Cf. Brugsch *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1877.

J. DE ZWAAN.

### THE MOHAMMEDAN 'GOSPEL OF BARNABAS'.

IN April, 1902, there appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. iii pp. 441-451), an article by Dr William Axon 'On the Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas'. That article was based, so far as it dealt with the Italian *Barnabas*, on material drawn mainly from Sale and Toland, while extracts from the Spanish version were reprinted from Dr White's Bampton Lectures of 1784.

But the point of greatest interest and importance in the paper was the statement with which the author concluded, namely, that he had traced the Italian MS to Vienna. With this announcement he coupled the suggestion that a transcript should be made of the Vienna MS, and a judgement formed as to the desirability of printing it.

Acting on that suggestion, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who were already in correspondence on the subject with the late Dr Hastie of Glasgow, have secured a transcript of the document, the text of which will shortly be published by them, together with an English translation. It occurred to the translators, with the approval of the Press authorities, that pending the publication of the MS a second paper might be

<sup>1</sup> The man who retranslated the Greek into old Coptic, written in Demotic symbols, rendered the Greek ΠΑΠΠΕΤΟΥΜΕΤΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ phonetically not 'as if it consisted of magic names' *op. cit.* p. 108, but simply from religious fear of altering the exact sound of the formula, which of course he understood very well.

acceptable, which should to some extent fill up the gaps in Dr Axon's article, and answer—so far as is possible at this stage—the questions raised therein.

Summarily, then, the document seems to have been described quite accurately by Sale, Toland, and La Monnaie. Toland's version of the concluding words is however, to say the least, very free—he renders, e.g. *quanto habia scritto* by 'according to the measure of our knowledge'. Nor is it easy to point to any definite passage in our MS which can be identified with the sentence quoted by Grabe from the Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas<sup>1</sup>. Further, whatever Toland may have found in the complete Spanish version, we have not found in the Italian text the title *Paraclete* ascribed to Mohammed, who is most often entitled *il splendore* and *il nontio*<sup>2</sup>.

#### *The Two Versions.*

With regard to the lost Spanish version (to discover a trace of which all our efforts have so far been fruitless), the extracts reprinted by Dr Axon (l. c. pp. 446–51) differ very considerably from the corresponding passages of the Italian text. They are much less diffuse, and moreover actually diverge in several important points. On the other hand, Sale's extracts from the original Spanish represent the Italian text almost word for word. As these latter passages are few and short, it may be worth while to print them here, side by side with the Italian. The likeness is so remarkable that it would seem much more probable that one of these should be translated from the other, than that they should be independent sister-translations of a lost Arabic original.

#### *Spanish.*

#### *Italian.*

#### ORIGIN OF CIRCUMCISION.

Entonces dixo Jesus; Adam, el primer hombre aviendo comido por engaño del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebeló su carne à su espíritu;

Allora disse iessu adamo primo uomo avendo mangiato per fraude di satana il cibo proibito da Dio nel paradisso si ribelo al spirito la charne sua onde giuro dicendo per

<sup>1</sup> Grabe *Spicilegium* I. 302 (ex cod. barocc. 39): Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔφη· ἐν ἀμίλλαις πονηραῖς ἀθλιώτερος ὁ νικήσας, διότι ἀπέρχεται πλέον ἔχων τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

<sup>2</sup> There is one passage where Christ is represented as revealing the name of the 'messenger' in which the phrase is *il nome del Messia he admirabile*; and shortly afterwards *Machomete he il suo nome benedeto* (ch. xcvi p. 203<sup>b</sup>). There is nothing of the kind in the chapters which correspond to St John xiii–xvi. Toland's remark seems to be based upon the *Arabic gloss* on p. 46<sup>b</sup>, which runs thus: *in the Arabic tongue* Ahmed, *in the Amran tongue* Anointed, *in the Latin tongue* Consolator, *in Greek* Paracletus,

por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar ; y rompiendo una piedra tomò su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra. Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel, y el le dixo ; Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso no lo serè jamas. Ala hora el angel le enseño la superfluidad de su carne y a quella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, ansi esta obligado a cumplir aquello que Adam con juramento prometìò.

[*ap. Sale, Prel. Disc. § iv.*]

#### ABRAHAM AND THE ANGEL.

Dixo Abraham, Que harè yo para servir al Dios de los sanctos y prophetas ? Respondiò el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate, porque Dios quiere hablar contigo. Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavar-me ? Luego el angel se le apareciò como uno bello mancebo, y se lavò en la fuente, y le dixo, Abraham, haz com yo. Y Abraham se lavò.

[*ap. Sale, Prel. Disc. § iv.*]

Dio chio ti volgio tagliare . he roto uno sasso presse la sua charne per tagliarla con il talgio della pietra onde ne fu ripresso del angelo gabrielo . he lui risspose io ho giurato per Dio di tagliarlo bugiardo non sero giamai. allora langelo li mosstro la superfluita della sua charne he quella talgio. he pero si chome ogni homo prende charne dalla charne di Adamo chosi elgie obligato di osservare quanto Adamo giurando promise.

[MS pp. 22 *a* and *b.*]

. . . disse abraham che chossa fare debo per servire lo Dio di angiolli he santti proffeti . Risspose langello va in quel fonte he lavati perche Dio vole parllare teco . Risspose abraham hor chome lavarmi debo ; allora langelo se li appresento chome uno bello giovine he si lavo nel fonte dicendo fa chossi hanchora tu ho abraham . lavatosi abraham . . .

[MS pp. 30 *a* and *b.*]

#### THE JUDGEMENT ON THE SERPENT.

Y llamó [Dios] a la serpiente y a Michael, aquel que tiene la espada de Dios, y le dixo ; Aquesta sierpe es celerada, echala la primera de parayso, y cortale las piernas, y si quisiere caminar, arrastrara la vida por tierra. Y llamó à Satanas, el qual vino riendo, y dixole ; Porque tu reprobos has engañado a aquestos, y los has hecho immun-

he chiamato il serpe Dio chiamo langelo micchaelle quello che tiene la spada di Dio [he] disse . questo scellerato serpe scatia prima del paradisso he di fuori talgiali le gambe il quale si lui vora chiamare si strascini la vita per la terra . chiamo Dio dapoì satana il quale vene ridendo he disseli per che tu reprobos hai inganato costoro he li

dos? Yo quiero que toda inmun-  
dicia suya, ye de todos sus hijos,  
en saliendo de sus cuerpos entre  
por tu boca, porque en verdad  
ellos haran penitencia, y tu que-  
daras harto de inmundicia.

[*ap.* Sale on *Koran* ch. vii.]

hai fato diventare inmondi . io  
volgio che ogni inmonditia loro he  
di tutti li loro fioli che con verrita  
farano penitenza he mi servirano  
nello usscire del corpo loro hentri  
per la bocha tua he chosi serai  
satio de inmonditie. [MS p. 43 a.]

### *Contents of the Document.*

Reserving, for the moment, any further remarks on the extracts just given—which indeed speak for themselves—we may proceed to give a slight sketch of the contents of our MS.

It claims to give a true account of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, from the hand of Barnabas, who is represented as one of the Twelve, and writes with the express purpose of correcting the false teaching of St Paul and others, who have preached Christ as Divine, the Son of God. The narrative opens with an account of the Nativity, based on St Matthew and St Luke, and ends with an Ascension.

The matter falls into three groups: (1) about one-third of it is directly taken from, or dependent on, our four canonical Gospels; (2) with this is interpolated a large amount of legendary and characteristic Mohammedan matter, chiefly put, as discourses, into the mouth of Christ; and (3) there is a miscellaneous group of touches not easily accounted for as definitely Mohammedan or Gospel matter. To take these groups in order.

A. *Gospel material.* The most prominent characteristics of this group are its expurgation and its arbitrary arrangement. In accordance with the avowed object of the writer, anything which would tell in favour of the Divinity of Christ is conscientiously eliminated from the narrative. In the case of a well-known miracle for instance, the narrative will often follow the Gospels word for word till it comes to the critical point, and then instead of the authoritative *fiat* we have a prayer, and that often accompanied, if the healed man shews a disposition to worship, by a direct denial of any superhuman power in Himself. Christ's rebuke of Peter at Caesarea Philippi is turned into a direct condemnation of the great confession; and the Master is made to declare that he will suffer loss in the other world owing to the inexcusable way in which he is reluctantly made an object of worship in this world.

The Gospel matter, again, is most capriciously arranged, and the writer shews a supreme ignorance alike of the geographical and of the chronological data. For this reason the attempt to give a sketch of his account of the Ministry would be at once difficult and unprofitable.

'The second year of his prophetic ministry' is mentioned on p. 49 *b*, and the 'third year' on p. 50 *b*. In one or other of these years occurs a journey to Sinai, where the Master and his disciples are said to have spent the *Quaresima*; while the first year is distinguished, apparently, by a disembarkation at the port of Nazareth!

Similar narratives from the same or from different Gospels are often blended: e. g. the miracle of the withered hand (Lk. vi) with that of the dropsical man (Lk. xiv), the language of the first cleansing of the Temple (Jn. ii) with that of the second (Mat. xxi), the story of the centurion (Mat. viii) with that of the βασιλικός (Jn. iv), and so on. In one point at least the writer seems to have accidentally anticipated modern criticism—the narrative of the woman taken in adultery is transferred to a later position than it holds in our fourth Gospel! Space forbids us to enlarge on this part of our theme. Suffice it to point out that our 'Barnabas', who, by the by, undoubtedly knows many of the New Testament Epistles<sup>1</sup>, has a modern schoolboy's acquaintance with the main narratives—and ignorance of the sequence—of the Gospel record of Christ's ministry.

B. *Mohammedan Matter*. As the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* remarks, what was most original in the doctrine of the Koran was its teaching about the Last Judgement and the Future State. In our MS quite a large proportion of the bulk is taken up with these eschatological subjects.

The judgement and the torments of the damned are described at great length and with characteristic Mohammedan vigour and realism. An interesting feature of 'Barnabas's' *Inferno* is its arrangement according to the recognized seven capital sins, which, however, appear in an order apparently not found elsewhere.

Paradise also occupies a great deal of space, but the picture is, on the whole, purer and less sensuous than we might have expected. Here again there is a feature of special interest—the astronomy is Ptolemaic in character, and there are *nine* heavens (exclusive of Paradise itself) in place of the *seven* heavens of the Koran.

Other recognized characteristics of Islam are an admiration for asceticism and the hermit-life, an eager discussion of the problem of predestination, and a certain strain of mysticism (Şúffism) hard to combine logically with the savage sternness of the Mohammedan doctrine of the Almighty: the two latter being, of course, developments of a period somewhat later than the Koran.

The *ascetic* tendency finds expression in our MS in many pithy utterances, and is embodied in the quaint pictures of anchorite life

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be unmistakable reminiscences of the following Epistles at least: St James, 1 St Peter, 1 St John, Romans, Galatians, Philippians, Hebrews.

drawn in the narrative of the 'True Pharisees'—Hosea, Haggai, and Obadiah (pp. 196 sqq.).

The *mystic* chord—which supplies the undertone of the anchorite ideals—is struck most nobly now and again in language that could scarcely be matched. *L'amore*, we are told, *he uno tesoro inequi-parabile; poscia che chi amma Dio, suo ha Dio, e chi ha Dio ha ogni chossa*—'Whoso loveth God, hath God, and having God hath all things' (p. 25 *b*). Again, the faithful are exhorted to keep the law of Moses, for thus they shall attain to a union with God independent of time and place—*che talmente troverete Dio, che in ogni tempo he locho sentirete voi Dio he Dio in voi* (p. 159 *b*).

Most wonderful of all is the mystic ideal set forth in a passage too long for quotation (p. 186 *a*), where God Himself is proclaimed to be the reward—'the wages'—of faithful service.

The true end of asceticism is recognized as being so absolute a submission to, and self-identification with, the Divine Will, that the ascetic actually prays for punishment instead of pardon (p. 197 *a*), in the spirit of Jacopone da Todi's remarkable *rime*

O Signor, per cortesia  
Mandami la malsania, &c.

Predestination, again, is discussed at length (pp. 180-4). The extreme doctrine is ascribed to the evil Pharisees, and the 'true doctrine' affirmed to be founded on the double basis of the Law of God and man's free-will, *talmente che se bene potria salvare Dio tutto il mondo senza che neruno perissi, non il volle fare per non privare lo homo de liberta* (p. 183 *a*). The mode of predestination, we are told, is obscure, but the fact is certain, and must be faced (p. 184 *a*).

The foregoing are subjects largely discussed in the later schools of Islam. Themes characteristic of the Koran itself are to be found here in stories of Creation and the fall of angels and of mankind, and in various fantastic legends—partly, perhaps, Rabbinical, partly of uncertain origin—attached to familiar Old Testament names. It is from this section of the matter that the Spanish extracts printed above are taken.

Among the legends of Old Testament worthies, the story of Abraham given here stands supreme in its quaintness and life-like humour. The altercation of the child with Terah his image-making father is very racy reading, and full of human nature. This narrative, as a whole, is a complete and circumstantial filling up of the outline sketched in the Koran xxi and xxxvii. Here, as there, Abraham is represented as mocking the idolatry of his father, as indulging in energetic measures of iconoclasm, and as escaping the summary vengeance of the idolaters by a miracle, God forbidding the fire to burn him.

Among characteristically Mohammedan matter we may also, in view of the mediaeval Arabic philosophy, class the frequent traces of Aristotelianism that this document exhibits; among which may be instanced the doctrine of the mean and the tripartite division of the human soul.

C. There remains a third strain in the document rather difficult to classify: an element which is not clearly Mohammedan in tendency, and not drawn from—though partly modelled on—our four Gospels.

For instance, there are several apocryphal parables of varying tone and value—some of them distinctly good; there are one or two apocryphal miracles—the sun is made to stand still, and the harvest at Nain is miraculously hastened. Certain apocryphal miracles are indeed attributed to our Lord in the Koran, but these are connected with His infancy, a period for which our writer has collected little or no extraneous matter.

Other peculiarities of this 'Gospel' are the absence of all mention of St John the Baptist (whose rôle is taken by his Master, as herald of Mohammed<sup>1</sup>), the unaccountable prominence of Pilate, Herod, and Caiaphas, the substitution of Barnabas for Thomas (or for Simon Zelotes) in the list of the Twelve, and the acceptance of the Jewish story mentioned by St Matthew, as an explanation of the empty Tomb.

But one of the most striking features of all is the story of the Passion. The germ of this may indeed be found in the Koran<sup>2</sup>, but may it not also be possible that we have incorporated in *Barnabas* an original Gnostic account of which the Koran has but echoes?

The 'docetic passion' of the scattered references in the Koran is vague and indefinite. No substitute, as e.g. Simon the Cyrenian, or 'Titian', or Judas, is named. Here, on the other hand, we have an elaborate and consistent story, in which, from the moment of the capture, Judas occupies the place of the supposed Jesus. Briefly, the story is as follows<sup>3</sup>:—

The moment before the betrayal is consummated, Jesus is caught up into the Third Heaven, and Judas magically transformed into His likeness. The trial before Caiaphas and that before Pilate, the sending to Herod, the mocking of the soldiers, and the crucifixion itself assume an entirely new character—one of intensest tragic irony. For throughout it is *Judas* who is seized, questioned, scourged, insulted, crucified; and he dies naïvely protesting his innocence. The disciples themselves

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that, whereas in the Koran 'Jesus, son of Mary' is Messiah, in *Barnabas* (though 'chiamato Christo') He is made to deny Messiahship for Himself and to attribute it to the coming Mohammed.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. Koran chaps. iii and iv.

<sup>3</sup> The portions concerned are printed in full (from the Spanish version) by Dr Axon.



are deceived, and Jesus is allowed to appear temporarily to them and to His mother—somewhat *à la* Keim—in order to reassure and to explain.

It is in this third group of matter surely, if anywhere, that experts may expect to find traces of the lost *Evangelium Barnabe* mentioned in the so-called Gelasian Decretal.

*Relation to Vernacular Bible.*

Leaving, however, such problems to more competent investigators, who will soon have the text itself before them, we may conclude with a few remarks on the language and diction of the MS, and its relation to the Italian Vernacular Bible.

The Italian, though well and fluently written, is very curious, alike in its orthography and its grammar, as may be judged, to some extent, from the foregoing extracts. Perhaps the most likely solution of the problems it raises may be stated as follows: The original appears to have been written in Tuscany in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but the existing MS is the work of a Lombardo-Venetian scribe perhaps a couple of centuries later, who is responsible in the main for the orthography, and, in part perhaps, for the grammatical solecisms<sup>1</sup>.

The relation of our text to the Italian Vernacular Bible would seem to be a matter of some importance in connexion with the question of its origin—the question, i.e. whether the original document was Italian or whether the Italian is a translation of a lost Arabic document.

In view of this I have compared passages of Biblical narrative incorporated in 'Barnabas' with the leading types of Italian version, down to the first printed Bible of Malermi in the fifteenth century. So far as can be judged from a somewhat cursory examination, the 'Barnabas' version is independent. It is true indeed that there is perpetual variation, of a sort, between the several MS versions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—*quot codices tot varietates*; but Prof. Samuel Berger has shewn that all the extant Italian versions, though independent in a modified sense, belong to a single family, typically represented by the Old Provençal.

The independence of our version seems to be of a different character, and to represent either an original translation from the Vulgate or a translation from another tongue by one to whom the Vulgate was extremely familiar. Frequently, and especially in the Psalms, he closely follows the Vulgate's wording, even where he departs a little from the sense. In Ps. lxxxiv 5, 6, e.g. we have *lo ascendere nello chor suo dispone nella valle delle lachrime*, following the Vulgate word for word—and equally obscure. And many similar instances might be quoted.

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion is due to Prof. C. A. Nallino, of Palermo.

I subjoin a short passage from the Parable of the Prodigal Son, in which our MS shews more freedom, but also a decided independence of the Provençal type.

Barn. p. 160 a.	Provençal thirteenth cent. (ap. Berger).	Italian fourteenth cent. (MS Riccardi No. 1252).	Vulgate (Lu. xv 11-13).
Egli fu uno padre di famiglia il quale haveva dui figlioli he il piu giovine disse padre dami la mia portione di roba ilche li dete il padre suo il quale riceuta la portione sua si parti he andete in paese lontano onde sconssumo tutta la fachulta sua chon meretrice vivendo lussoriosamente.	Un homo era llo qual aveva ij fioj e llo plu çovene disse a so pare pare dame la mia parte de lo chastello che mi tocha, e lo pare parti la sustancia e dè a queluy la soa parte et dentro brieve termine tute cose asemblade insembre lo plu çovene fyo andè fuore de lo paese e spendi là tuta la soa sustancia vivendo lussoriosamente.	Uno huomo ebbe dui figliuoli et disse lo piu giovane di quelli padre dami la parte mia della nostra sustantia et non dopo molti die raghuno tutte le parti delle cose sue lo piu giovane figliuolo et andone malandrinando in un paese alungi et là distrusse et scialacquò la sustantia sua vivendo lussoriosamente.	Homo quidam habuit duos filios et dixit adolescentior ex illis patri: Pater da mihi portionem substantiae quae me contingit. Et divisit illis substantiam. Et non post multos dies, congregatis omnibus, adolescentior filius per egre profectus est in regionem longinquam, et ibi dissipavit substantiam suam vivendo luxuriose.

#### *Evidence for an Arabic Original.*

Mention has been made of a supposed Arabic original. The conjecture was made by Cramer, in the preface affixed to the copy which he gave to Prince Eugène—the actual copy of which the Clarendon Press is publishing a transcription—and it has often been repeated. But no trace of such an Arabic text has yet been discovered. And the Italian text affords little or no decisive material for a conclusion. A Mohammedan document, even if compiled by a European renegade and in a romance language, would necessarily be tinged in general and in detail with semitic colouring. When that, and the orientalisms due to our document's obvious dependence on the Bible, have been subtracted, there remains, apparently, little or no evidence in favour of an Arabic original. The text does not, according to experts, read like a literal translation from the Arabic; and the fact that it is annotated with Arabic glosses in the margin would seem to tell against rather than in favour of the theory. The purpose of these glosses is somewhat mysterious. It has been suggested to me by Mr F. C. Burkitt, that their function may have been to protect the MS from destruction at the hands of Moslems ignorant of western languages. Thus the internal evidence remains, so far as I can judge, perplexingly indecisive.

If we assume that Italian was the original language, the compilation

must probably be the work of a Christian renegade. There are no traces of southern or Sicilian dialect, so we are forbidden the romantic conjecture that it had its birth at the court of Frederic II. There remains the equally interesting possibility that its author may have been one of the apostate Templars.

But whatever may have been the place and the environment of its origin, the document may well prove to be one of considerable interest and importance—perhaps to the student of early Gnostic literature, certainly to the student of mediaeval thought, and to those interested whether academically or practically in the relations between Islam and Christianity.

LONSDALE RAGG.

#### NOTES ON THE *DE LAPSU VIRGINIS* OF NICETA.

AMONG the *opera dubia* in his admirable and epoch-making edition of the works of Niceta of Remesiana Dr A. E. Burn prints from two manuscripts of the seventh and tenth centuries a treatise inscribed *epistula Nicetae episcopi de lapsu Susannae deuotae et cuiusdam lectoris*. It bears the same title in a MS of Einsiedeln (186 saec. xi), which he has not collated. In all three manuscripts is found a remarkable colophon in which this (revised) form of the text is attributed to Ambrose.

The same work, with considerable differences, especially in the direction of expansion, is found in many manuscripts of Ambrose and Jerome, and has been printed by Migne in *P. L.* xvi as a genuine work of the former Father. Dr Burn, being mainly and rightly concerned with the form attributed to Niceta, has not provided collations of MSS of the longer form: he has however printed a complete collation of the shorter form, with the text as it appears in Migne.

The treatise, whether it be founded on fact or be merely fiction, is one of the most interesting remains of Latin literature, and it seemed worth while to call attention, by the publication of a few notes about it, to the need which exists for a new edition of the longer form. It is desirable to find out exactly what the correct text of the longer form is, not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of the shorter form. Only when a complete collation has been made of all the old MSS of the longer form (or forms) will it be possible to say where this form took its rise, and what claim it has to be associated with Niceta, Ambrose, or Jerome.