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them. It may, with some, require courage to do so, and yet they stand as the key to all true worship, and the interpretation of it, by Him who said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

HARRY JONES.



ART. V.—THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER, AND
THE REVELATION OF PETER.¹

IN November, 1892, M. U. Bouriant, Director of the French Archæological Institute at Cairo, published the ninth volume of the "Memoirs of the Institute." The larger part of the volume is taken up with an account of the text of, and a discussion of the problems raised by, a papyrus containing a treatise on Greek arithmetic. The latter part gives the contents of a vellum MS. of thirty-three leaves, containing portions of no less than three lost Christian works, viz.: The Book of Enoch, the Gospel of Peter, and the Apocalypse of Peter. The characters and spelling in the MS. are not earlier than the eighth century, nor later than the twelfth. The first page contains the figure of a Coptic cross, each of the arms of which has a smaller cross; on the right and left is a Greek Alpha and Omega. "At the end of the volume," writes Dr. Bratke, who has given us a more detailed account than any English writer so far (January 27th), "is a piece of parchment attached to the inner side of the leather binding, containing, in uncial characters, a section from a Canonical Gospel." He does not say which. "Finally there is a leaf, also in uncials, clearly forming a fragment from the Acts of the Martyr Julian." The text of the Greek of Enoch still waits for minute treatment and comparison with the existing fragments and the Ethiopic version already well known in the edition of Archbishop Laurence.

¹ "The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter: Two Lectures on the Newly-Recovered Fragments, together with the Greek Text." By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., and Montagu Rhodes James, M.A.; London: C. J. Clay and Sons.—"A Popular Account of the Newly-Recovered Gospel of St. Peter." By J. Rendel Harris. London: Hodder and Stoughton.—"The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter: The Greek Text of the Newly-Discovered Fragments." Edited by H. B. S[wete]. London: Macmillan.—"Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus." Von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.—See also: *Theol. Liter. Blatt.*, December 2nd and 9th, 1892. Article by Dr. Ed. Bratke, of Bonn.—Rev. J. O. F. Murray on "Evangelium Secundum Petrum" in *Expositor*, January, 1893. An interesting account of the Gospel of Peter will be found, as far as then known, in Baring Gould's "Lost and Hostile Gospels."

The Apocalypse of Peter, of the text of which Mr. James and Prof. A. Harnack have both given us good editions with comment, is well known to have existed early in Christian history. The Muratorian Fragment (*cir.* 170—200 A.D.) says: "The Apocalypses of John and Peter only do we receive; which (in the singular) some of our number will not have read in the churches" (quoted by James, p. 41). There seems good reason for rejecting Zahn's conjecture that this should read: "And of Peter one epistle, which alone we receive; there is also a second epistle, which some of our number will not have read in church." It is mentioned also by Eusebius as being one on which Clemens Alexandrinus had commented, Eusebius terming it "the so-called Apocalypse of Peter." In his catalogue of sacred writings, Eusebius first names it among the spurious writings of Peter, grouping it with the Acts, the Gospel, and the Preaching, and then, in the well-known passage (Eus. H. E. iii. 25, 4) places it among the spurious and disputed books. Mr. James is probably right in thinking that "spurious" represents Eusebius' own opinion, and "disputed" his concession to the opinions of many of his contemporaries. So that only, and that not without some doubt, the Muratorian Fragment regards it as Canonical, while Clement commented on it, though how we know not. It presents many points of interest. In Mr. James's edition will be found a translation of it as far as recovered, the known part representing probably about one half the original. And it is worth while noting in passing that Mr. James himself had hypothetically reconstructed the missing document some time before it was found; while the text justifies his critical acumen, and brings credit to him and the band of scholars with whom he is associated in the excellent "Texts and Studies" (see "The Testament of Abraham," p. 23 ff. The whole book is worth study). To begin with, we see very clearly from the Apocalypse of Peter why it was refused a place in the Canon, and why that of St. John was put there. It compares only with the "Inferno" of Dante, though there is a rough and ready spiritual allegorical meaning, like that of the greatest of Italian poets, running through it to justify its brutal horror and crude cruelty. Some of it is unfit for public reading, yet it was read in the Churches of Palestine on Good Friday in the time of Sozomen, and it has probably had a wider influence than we have hitherto imagined on the growth of the notion of physical torture in a material hell. Canon Browne has since indicated it as the probable source of Bede's description of hell. Let two brief extracts suffice, and they are typical of the whole. The first is the description of the righteous:

Their bodies were whiter than any snow, and redder than any rose, and the red thereof was mingled with the white; and, in a word, I cannot

describe the beauty of them, for their hair was thick and curling and bright, and beautiful upon their faces and their shoulders like a wreath woven of spikenard and bright flowers, or like a rainbow in the sky, such was their beauty.

The other is of the lost :

And there were some there hanging by their tongues : and these were they that blaspheme the way of righteousness : and there was beneath them fire flaming and tormenting them. . . . And in another great lake full of pitch and blood and boiling mire stood men and women up to their knees : and these were they that lent money and demanded interest on interest.

It may be no longer, perhaps, matter of wonder that men like Julian the Apostate preferred to study the milder story of Virgil if this teaching were very much pressed upon them, as Sozomen seems to imply, nor matter for wonder either that the Church eventually used only the spiritual Apocalypse of the divine St. John, so real because so true, and in harmony with the spirit and word of Christ Himself.

There are other points that might be dwelt upon, but suffice it to mention that the inquiry into the origin and text of the new portion opens up some fresh problems of language and style relating to the connection between it and our Second Epistle of St. Peter. Mr. James thus sums up the coincidences : "Either the author of the Apocalypse designedly copied the Epistle (as St. Jude may also have done), or the Apocalypse and Epistle are products of one and the same school, or the resemblances do not exist." We still look for more light on this point. The discovery is of great importance also as bearing on the whole question of Apocalypses. Once we realize that St. John's is one of a class, we learn two things : First, how to interpret it rightly ; and, secondly, how immeasurably superior it is to all the others.

Turn we now to the third document, the newly-recovered Gospel of Peter (not St. Peter, as Mr. Rendel Harris has it in his first edition, though corrected later). Here, again, Eusebius is our main original authority for our previous knowledge of the work. In H.E. vi. 12 he quotes a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203 A.D.), written to the church of Rhossos, on the coast just below Antioch, in which Serapion warns them against reading the Gospel of Peter, on the ground that it was Docetic and contained some things which were additions. If, then, this document be the same, it cannot be placed later than the middle (or thereabouts) of the second century. It is apparently Docetic. It certainly contains additions to, and some modifications of, the Gospel narrative. The best translation is the revised one of Mr. Armitage Robinson, first published in Mr. Murray's *Expositor* article, and then in the second edition of Mr. Robinson's own

book. The best text, perhaps, is Swete or Harnack; but all texts still await the facsimile reproduction of the original, which is eagerly looked forward to, as there are many points in the text of M. Bouriant that are obscure. The story begins at the account of Pilate washing his hands, and extends in more or less detail down to Simon Peter and Andrew taking again to their nets and going away to the sea, where it abruptly ends. To note the points of chief divergence from the four Gospels is the best way of realizing its main value to us. It is an anti-Jewish document throughout, and this bias determines many of the changes made. Thus, in the first verse, Pilate is exonerated and Herod made to bear the blame. Hence, too, Herod has to be consulted about the granting of the body of our Lord to Joseph for burial. We note the entire absence of the use of the name "Jesus" throughout the document; and we do not remember that any of the writers quoted at the head of this article have observed this fact, which is not without its bearing on the date and character of the book. The Four Gospels do not scruple to speak of "Jesus." The Epistles rather speak of "the Lord Jesus Christ," and but seldom of "Jesus," showing that the custom was growing up of speaking and thinking of Him as "the Lord." And this fact alone, though not absolute—for the New Testament use varies—yet is, so far as the Gospels are concerned, sufficient to separate this one from our four by a very wide chasm of time. They belong to an earlier period, this to a later. Its date is probably A.D. 160 or 170. The use of the phrase "the Lord's Day" also suggests a late date, it being doubtful whether, in the Apocalypse, St. John refers to Sunday or the judgment day, the day of the Lord, and the general use of the phrase being not earlier apparently than the Didache.

In the third chapter there is a curious change in the story. "And they clothed Him with purple and set Him on the seat of judgment, saying, Judge righteously, O King of Israel." Here it is our Lord that is set on the judgment-seat, not Pilate, with the Lord before him; this rendering is also in accordance with Justin Martyr (Apol., i. 35), and may be the correct translation of our own Greek text.

In ch. 4 we have the first indication of the Docetic tendencies. When crucified, "He held His peace, as having no pain." This is clear enough, especially when we find the "Father, forgive them," omitted. Whether the remarkable variation in ch. 5 is Docetic also is, we think, doubtful. It reads: "And the Lord cried out, saying, My Power, My Power, Thou hast forsaken Me. And when He had said it He was taken up." The translation is Mr. Robinson's. But may not *ἡ δύναμις μου* be equally well rendered "My strength" without any personal reference such as is implied in "My Power"?

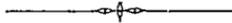
Moreover, the possibility that behind the word there lies a various reading in the Hebrew as yet undiscovered is by no means slight. We know that Aquila translated *ἰσχυρέ μου*, and Eusebius, in commenting on this, says (as quoted by Robinson from Dem. Ev., x. 8, p. 494) that the exact meaning was "My strength, My strength" (*ἰσχύς μου*). It may be a personification of "the power" so often spoken of in St. Luke, but we think it very doubtful. Nor, again, are the words "He was taken up" conclusive. They may be only another way of saying, "He gave up the ghost," or "He died." And this receives support from the further fact that the narrative goes on still to speak of "the hands of the Lord," "and he took the Lord and washed Him," etc., where a change would almost certainly have been made, or the words "the Lord" omitted, if the thought of the departure of the Divinity had been so prominently in the mind of the writer, as the Docetic view of the meaning of the words implies. So that in the fragment we have of the Gospel of Peter the Docetic element may be after all but very slight, though sufficient to condemn it as heretical in the one phrase, "as having no pain," and in the omission of the "I thirst." It is possible, too, that the word "trouble" would better render the Greek than "pain," the idea then being that it was no source of annoyance to our Lord to be crucified between two robbers.

When we look not at doctrinal alterations, but at alterations of the nature of legend or of unsupported statements, they are very marked indeed. The cry of the Jews, "Woe for our sins: for the judgment and the end of Jerusalem draweth nigh," and the seeking for the Apostles "as malefactors and as wishing to set fire to the temple," are not improbable; the former is found in Tatian and in varied form in the old Syriac Version and in one Latin Codex (S. Germanensis, g). Longinus, the centurion, mentioned in the Acts of Pilate becomes, in the pseudo-Peter, Petronius. What a Christian legend is really like we see from chapter 10, and it is not, we observe, of the kind supposed by some to be embedded in our Gospels. It is detected at once, even by the casual eye. "As they declared what things they had seen, again they see coming from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the One and a cross following them. And of the two the head reached unto heaven, but the head of Him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a Voice from the heavens saying, Hast Thou preached to them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the cross, Yea." Then, again, the ascension is placed immediately after the resurrection. "He is risen and gone away thither, whence He was sent." And, if so, then it is difficult to see how the Gospel ended. There

are resemblances to the last twelve verses of St. Mark, which are by no means the least interesting part of the document, and await further elucidation, but these resemblances do not help us to conjecture what conclusion there could have been. The human Christ had ascended, the Divinity had ascended, if the ἀνέληψθη of the fifth chapter really means this, and so nothing was left. The "disciples of the Lord wept and were grieved: and each one grieving for that which was come to pass departed to his home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . ." How there could have been any appearance of the *ascended* Christ to the Apostles, or how the doubting Thomas was convinced, from the pseudo-Peter, as yet, we do not know. The gap is unfortunate, as in many ways it leaves a sense of greater loss on the mind than the gain from what we actually have. How did the Docetists (if Docetic it be) account for the belief in the resurrection? and for the subsequent history in the Acts of the Apostles? It seems to us they could not account for either the one or the other except by the acceptance of the story as told in our canonical Gospels, and not as told in pseudo-Peter.

We observe, next, the value of the Gospel of Peter in relation to our existing Gospels. It is based on all four. In Rendel Harris's edition and in Robinson's the references are placed in the margin, so that readers can see for themselves the sources of the narrative. In Robinson's first text references are only put to "those lines in which some statement or phrase occurs which is *peculiar to one* of our four Gospels;" and the evidence gathered by this means is instructive. It draws from all four, from St. Mark the least, then from St. Matthew and St. Luke, and from St. John most of all. The proportions are, roughly: St. Mark 5, St. Matthew 6, St. Luke 9, St. John 14, taking only the points peculiar to each Gospel. So that St. John's Gospel is used more than twice as much as that of St. Mark. And this, be it remembered, in the middle of the second century, giving another backward thrust to the date of the Fourth Gospel, already pushed nearly back to the conventional date of 90-100 A.D. by the growing force of modern critical discovery. The Shepherd of Hermas, as the Master of St. John's has so acutely pointed out, also implies the four; so does Tatian's "Diatessaron"; and therefore are we justified in accepting the four as equally genuine, equally authentic, equally historically true. By contrast with the Gospel of pseudo-Peter our Gospels shine with a new lustre, one that will not dim, but grow in luminous power and brilliancy with the advancing years.

Then, further, the figure of the Christ is substantially the same. There is no denial of the fact of the rejection by the Jews, of the crucifixion, the actual death, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension. The particular conception of some of these is heretically varied, but the historic fact behind the heresy is plain enough. To support some modern views of the end of our Lord's life, we ought to have read of the two men supporting the One, because He was too weak to walk alone, crawling out of a sepulchre in which He had been interred when only half dead. Not so the legend. The head of the Third overpassed the heavens. He is the Lord throughout, and in the resurrection strong, while on the Cross He is called by one of the malefactors, "the Saviour of men." Pilate, too, is made to say: "I am pure from the blood of the Son of God." So that knowing, as we probably now do, the worst that heresy could devise to explain differently certain parts of the Passion narrative that did not harmonize with preconceived ideas, we know also that it embedded the fundamental facts and conclusions substantially as we have them, and the "Evangelium Secundum Petrum" is all unconsciously, and therefore the more powerfully, a "Gospel of the Son of God." FREDERIC RELTON.



ART. VI. — THE UNREASONABLENESS OF HOME
RULE; OR, WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR IRELAND?

PART I.

SHORT as it is, hardly a more interesting or suggestive voyage could be made than a row on a fine day between Tor Head, in the county of Antrim, and the Mull of Cantire, in the county of Argyll. It is but twelve miles across, and the huge headlands which face each other are of the same formation and have the same look. Or it is not very different if you take the steamer which plies every day of the year between Larne and Stranraer. The nearest points there are but twenty-two miles apart, though the necessity of going into good harbourage on either side makes the way a few miles longer. As you look out from the middle of that passage, the hills of England, Scotland, Ireland and Man surround you; the basalt cliffs of Antrim, the peaks of Cantire and Arran and Ayr, the beautiful points of the Stewartry, and the towering heights of Man. You feel that such a group of islands, spreading from that point north, south, east and west, must have a common history, a common past, a common future, and common interests. And when you inquire further, you remember that they have a common race and a common language. In Ireland, as well as in Scotland and in England, the vast majority of the inhabitants are of English stock and of