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the wilderness there to be tempted of the devil. He hears a voice mocking him, insinuating some low explanation of his exalted mood, suggesting, to recall our quotation from Shakespeare, that he has simply been mouthing his lines upon the stage, and that presently he will be done :

Only, at heart's utmost joy and triumph, terror
Sudden turns the blood to ice : a chill wind disencharms
All the late enchantment! What if all be error—
If the halo irised round my head were, Love, thine arms ?

Is this uplift of mine, this lofty way of looking at things, this protest against my baser self, is it but a titillation of the senses, some fondness and bravado of the flesh, which casts its light indeed like a lamp at night up into the sky, flashing over a world which meanwhile in itself remains heedless and dark ?

That is the insinuation ; *that* is the permanent enemy of our souls ; *that* is the one temptation face to face with which, unless a man be safegarded by a faith which will not stop short of God, he literally is lost, lost in sadness and in futility.

. . . . . .

The one point which throughout I have been trying to make is this : the Church, in contending for the doctrine of Christ's identification of Himself with the Father, will be found to have been contending for some great *human* interest. It may very well be that, in the actual day of her contending, the Church herself did not perceive the implications of the doctrine or formula in question. But there would be nothing strange in that. When we are contending for any high thing, we are contending not for that high thing alone, but for the high way of conceiving life through and through. So here : in contending that the whole movement which Christ inaugurated shall be conceived as rooted and grounded in God, the Church has been contending really, and this has been the effect, for the belief that all idealism, all protest against the tyranny of things and against the merely natural doom, is related indissolubly to that final reality and very substance of the universe which we name God.

It is only the Church which holds a high doctrine of Christ which is in a position to perceive and to announce the great conviction—a conviction which gives to even the feeblest protest against wrong, and the feeblest aspiration after good, the pledge of an everlasting career—the conviction that ' Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights in whom is no variableness nor shadow cast by turning ' : and this because ' He is the same, yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

History treated Philosophically.

At the close of his *Logic,* after some critical remarks upon Hegel's method and ideal, Lotze expresses the hope ' that German philosophy will always arouse itself afresh, with more of moderation and reserve, yet with no less enthusiasm, to the endeavour, not merely to calculate the course of the world, but to *understand* it.' This latest volume [1] of Troeltsch's collected works, filled with essays in the great manner on the history of the human mind and the sociological influence of religion, may be regarded as one noteworthy fulfilment of Lotze's confident anticipation. There is, indeed, much to be said for the view that Troeltsch, though he died too early and at the summit of his powers, already stands out as the greatest philosophical writer on history that Germany has had since Hegel. More profoundly than any other for a generation he had studied both ideas and society, and striven to unite them in history as an intelligible development. He believed in thinking, in reason understood in the loftiest, richest sense ; at the heart of his labour was the conviction that God makes nothing in vain, and that in a real degree He enables those who will be His disciples to think His thoughts after Him. But also he believed in the world of concrete life ; in its

[1] *Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte und Religionsoziologie,* by Ernest Troeltsch (Gesammelte Schriften, Bd. iv.). Edited by Dr. Hans Baron. Tübingen : Mohr. Pp. xxviii, 872. M.21.

stages of living movement, its laws, its institutions and great historical formations. Ideas and facts must be fused together, in productive thought, re-creating and illumining the real.

In the main this new volume contains historical papers which Troeltsch had written between 1898 and 1922. Probably he had looked forward to working them up into one section of his projected Philosophy of History: there are indications which suggest this in his *Der Historismus* (1922). Many of these essays were published in periodicals now hard to come by, and we are more than grateful for the pious, scholarly toil that has been spent on their collection and revision.

After a brief Introduction, the body of the work falls into three parts. First come two essays on Judaism and Christian antiquity; seven follow on the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation; finally we are given eight on the Modern World. In addition many of Troeltsch's reviews of books are gathered into an appendix, as well as sundry extracts from his notebooks or annotations which throw light upon the text, and witness to his indefatigable industry till the last. It is convenient to have in continuous form the well-known articles (from the *Real-Encyclopädie*) on the Enlightenment, the English Moralists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Deism, and German Idealism; their massive erudition and untiring but never trivial spirit of criticism have conferred on them a permanent value. Lastly, the volume ends with a complete list of his printed works from 1891 to 1925. We note with keen interest that a final book of lectures on Christian Belief is promised.

Troeltsch's great work on the Social Doctrines of the Christian Churches showed how largely his reading of history had become sociological. The past, he held, must be construed in the light of social conditions, which in their turn are determined for the most part by economic and political forces. Much of this book, especially those sections which deal with the Reformation, exhibits the same point of view. But Troeltsch never accepted the view of Marx and others, who had eyes solely for economics. To him insight into the development of humanity belonged only to those who could pierce by faith, through integuments of concrete fact, to the inner reason of things, the Divine living ground and source of all. He sought to prolong the line of interpretation marked out by Malebranche, Leibniz, and Hegel. Like Schleiermacher, too, he felt that the philosophy of history could never be divorced from ethics without a fatal loss to either partner. And he had always a salutary sense of the virtual infinitude of his task: to write the philosophy of history as it ought to be written would be the work of many, not of one. They must be believing and courageous men, not sceptics, not mystics, no rationalistic fanatics, and no learned pedants or bookworms. And they must be filled with the conviction that only he can understand history who in his own person, and by his own brave faith and energy, is making history. We can build up human life only as the interpreted past is carried on into a living future —not interred in libraries, but taken as the material and the platform of new creation.

Troeltsch never took the writing of history lightly; he knew that the living of it had been a strange and tragic business. Perhaps one motto of his work might be found in the words of Jesus: 'I am come not to send peace on earth, but a sword.' His insight into the inevitable moral tensions and conflicts of the past was the fruit of costly sympathy not less than patient scholarship. Heart and mind accorded well in his gifted nature.

As we read him, we are not afflicted by the mechanism of dialectic applied to the past, proving to us that nothing was possible except the actual. One of his great virtues is that we are allowed to see how complex the past has been, how contingent and many-sided. No doubt he divides things at times more sharply than reality does; why should men not partake more fully of different types—the mystic, the Churchman, the sectarian—which in his pages are so acutely delimited? Might not some great soul have said: 'I am a Church mystic, with a leaning to the warmer piety of the sects'? Also, it is difficult to read certain pages, crowded with sweeping generalizations, without doubt creeping upon us. During the war it was curiously difficult to find out what had really happened, and when we passed from outward act to inward motive, our knowledge gave out completely. I find it hard even to understand the moods of my next-door neighbour; can I hope to read the secret issues of the first or the sixteenth century with the refinement of penetration that is here professed? To this the reasonable answer is, no doubt, that if these large generalizations bring light and meaning into the known course of events, they so far justify themselves. Without the con-

fidence that he can explain the past, how could the historian begin his work or persuade men to listen? Well and good; yet let us mark our conclusions with the appropriately varying degrees of certainty.

Troeltsch clung to his persuasion that the Modern Era began, not with Luther, but with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. He does not seem to have convinced the experts. It is a cardinal point on which Harnack, Loofs, and Holl are against him. But even here his intuitions are rewarding.

All who have felt the power of his rich and powerful mind will long to possess this volume, the last of a stately series. It puts the last stone in place, to mark and preserve a noble life-work. Troeltsch was a really great historian of thought, and some of us will never cease to mourn the loss of that History of Modern Theology which it was long expected he would give us. No other could have done the needed work half so well.

This[1] is a thoroughly revised and greatly extended fourth edition of Kattenbusch's *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*, from which thirty years ago many people got their first clear conception of the course of nineteenth-century theology. That book was a small classic; it will repay the student to keep it by him even alongside of its new and larger form. Many more names come up for treatment now, and the stage at times grows uncomfortably crowded. On the other hand, choose what name we may, we find a short characterization that gives precisely what we need—pregnant, trustworthy, provocative in the best sense. The whole is the fruit of lifelong reflection by a very learned Christian mind.

Suggestive pages on Kant and Goethe lead up to a masterly treatment of Schleiermacher. 'God to Schleiermacher was the beating heart of the Universe'; he thought in terms of music, sometimes too in the living plastic forms that stand before the eye of the sculptor. But he strove persistently against the innate pantheism of his own mind, and through his knowledge of Christ was saved, though as by fire. He had, however, little understanding for the problems of justification and forgiveness. It might have been better if from the start he had laid it down that religion is a thing, not of 'feeling,' but of the 'heart' and the 'soul.' It is striking to observe how well Kattenbusch's interpretation of Schleiermacher has worn with time; it need not fear comparison with the best recent work on the subject. What he has to say, however, respecting the biological tinge of the master's ethical thinking might have been strengthened. Schleiermacher is the point from which he measures the greatness of all his successors.

Ritschl, for instance, transcended the other by the fervour of his moral interest. He means something far deeper by the love of God, and this principally because when he uses the word 'love' he has the self-sacrifice of Christ in view. We ought to start our theology where Ritschl does, *i.e.* at the gospel; whether we can stop where he elected to stop is quite another question. It is a mark of Kattenbusch's sense for reality that he marks so clearly the points at which Herrmann has outstripped Ritschl, much to our advantage. Herrmann has a more searching eye for everything in Jesus that is personal and inward; he speaks more about Christ and less about the Kingdom of God. Also he feels more keenly the urgency of the problem set by 'faith and history.' In fact, he had just one great problem perpetually before his mind—what is faith, how is it generated, and how do I thereby have such fellowship with God as makes me more than conqueror? He was scientifically more interested in Christian Ethics than in Dogmatics proper; and Kattenbusch might have added that it is in Ethics that he did his most original work—work which, I believe, has added permanently to the insight of the Christian mind. A certain lack of interest in historical research has naturally diminished his appeal for the moment in certain quarters, but this will in all likelihood be temporary.

Then we come, after some vivacious pages on other Ritschlians, to Troeltsch and his discussion of the 'Absoluteness of Christianity.' Kattenbusch rightly regards him as the heir of Schleiermacher; the encyclopædic interests of both men create an affinity from the outset. It is, however, a hard saying which tells us (p. 78) that the two thinkers viewed Christ in much the same light. In Troeltsch there is no 'Christ-mysticism,' which is a difference that goes pretty deep. There are penetrating remarks on Troeltsch's theory of 'the religious apriori,' his perpetual struggle to master in thought the detailed intricacies of historical development,

[1] *Die deutsche evangelische Theologie seit Schleiermacher*, by Ferdinand Kattenbusch, Professor in Halle (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1924; pp. 124. M.3.50).

and his 'panentheism,' as it is here styled. Even Christ for him may be called a symbol. But death broke off the great thinker's plans, leaving his work a programme rather than a system.

The post-war years, Kattenbusch considers, have been a time of intuition more than construction. The value of the past has for the moment depreciated; men are studying forms of piety in preference to the history of dogma. They are often less certain than before of the absoluteness of Christianity; philosophy once more is flooding into the field of theology, and mysticism anew exerts a charm. But to this there has arisen strong opposition in Barth and the Swiss group. Their thought is highly coloured by eschatology and recrudescent Calvinism; man's responsibility over against God's absolute dominion, civilization over against Christianity as its foil and enemy. Kattenbusch closes wisely and hopefully on the note that we have only made a beginning with the Christianizing of our most fundamental idea. 'God in Christ' must be our watchword. The real mystery in God is nothing barely irrational, as some writers seem to imagine; it is the greatness and the majesty of His love. We thank this indefatigable worker for a book that can be trusted alike for knowledge and judgment.

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Budde on Hosea's Marriage.

IN January 1922 a special volume of *New Testament Studies*, containing articles which had appeared in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (now edited by Dr. F. Kattenbusch and Dr. F. Loofs) was published. After an interval of three years the issue of the *Sonderhefte* has been resumed. The first part of the 1925 series consists of *Old Testament Studies*.[1] Half of the number is given to a critical study of 'Hosea 1–3 and its Significance in the History of Religions,' by Dr. Karl Budde. [The other articles are 'The Literary Problem of Trito-Isaiah,' by Lic. Rudolf Abramowski; 'The Passover and the Jewish Church,' by Dr. H. Guthe; and a learned note on 'The Meaning of Millo' (Jg 9^6, etc.), by Dr. Julius Boehmer.]

Special reference is made to several important and recent contributions to the discussion of the subject. Gressmann (1921) treats this section as pure allegory; Sellin (1922) gives the baldest literal interpretation to the crucial passage referring to Hosea's marriage; Heermann (1922) offers a critical revision of the text, and reduces it to the statement that Hosea was commanded to marry and to give his children allegorical names. These exegetes, notwithstanding their differences, agree in ascribing no further significance to the prophet's marriage, neither psychic for himself, nor religious for the further development of the Israelitish conception of God.

In reply to Gressmann, Budde says: 'Allegory and reality are not mutually exclusive alternatives. Allegory has two sides . . . the representation and the object represented. An allegorical painting is not the allegory of a painting, but a real perceptible painting. . . . An allegorical action is a real action.' Accordingly, Hosea's marriage is held to be an allegorical action, that is to say, an action designed to represent and illustrate another action not perceptible by the senses.

Budde regards Heermann's suggestions for the alteration of the text as reducing it to nonsense; but before examining and criticising in detail the changes proposed, he asks the pertinent questions: Would an adult Israelite need a Divine revelation bidding him take to himself a wife? and could not the messages concerning Israel's destiny have been otherwise conveyed than in the names given to the prophet's children?

Against Sellin's interpretation of אֵשֶׁת זְנוּנִים, Budde cites examples of the same construction where the noun following אִשָּׁה refers to an attribute, not to an avocation; he also urges that אִשָּׁה here means wife, and not merely woman. Thus he renders the sentence (1^2): 'take to thyself a wife with a harlot's disposition,' explaining the reference as being to unfaithfulness after marriage and not to unchastity before. Hosea's actual experience thus became an allegory of the sin of Israel. It is not necessary to allege that Hosea foreknew how unhappy his marriage would be; it was in the light of subsequent events that he understood how Jahweh the searcher of hearts had ordered events. Disliking, as Hebrew writers do, the indirect construction, the prophet uses the direct form of speech, and Budde's paraphrase is: 'the first revelation which I received from Jahweh was that he prompted

[1] *Alttestamentliche Forschungen*: Sonderheft der Theologischen Studien und Kritiken. (Perthes, A.-G. Gotha.)

me (*mir eingab*) to take to myself a wife with the disposition of a harlot.' Knowledge of Gomer's frailty was not a *sine qua non* of Hosea's choice. *Mutatis mutandis*, Budde holds that a parallel is found in the words of Matthias Claudius concerning his Rebecca in his 'Silver Wedding Song':

'True wisdom did I show in finding thee:
Yet I found not, thou wast God's gift to me.
From no other hand such a boon could come.'[1]

The firm of Perthes, Gotha, has also published two booklets in the series entitled 'Bücherei der Christlichen Welt': (1) *Die dreifache Krise der deutschen Evangelischen Kirche*, von Heinrich Spiero (M.1.50). The author's position is that of a layman sincerely devoted to his Church, but most anxious about its future. He desires to see party-spirit banished from the Church; siding with a political party is, in his judgment, justifiable only when the Church is thwarted in the fulfilment of its spiritual task by social forces. (2) *Religion und Politik in der Kirche von England*, von Paul Schütz (M.1). English history is said to reveal an antagonism between religion and politics. The study of Richard Hooker, 'the normal theologian of the Church of England,' is commended to the younger Lutheran clergy. Too high an estimate is formed of the influence of the British-Israel theory as supporting the author's contention that British Imperialism has a religious root.

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[1] 'Ich war wohl klug, dass ich Dich fand;
Doch ich fand nicht, GOTT hat Dich mir gegeben;
So segnet keine andere Hand.'

Jesus on Tabor.

BY THE REVEREND R. DUNKERLEY, CAMBRIDGE.

'Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great Mount Tabor.'

THIS strange saying is twice quoted as from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* by Origen in his *Comm.* (2^6) *on John* and in *Homilies* (15^4) *on Jeremiah*, in the latter case without the words 'by one of my hairs.' It is also quoted three times by Jerome, but each time without the last clause. It is in every case attributed to Jesus. Ropes[1] thinks it too grotesque to be accepted as genuine; Blomfield Jackson,[2] that its very grotesqueness may be a sign of its authenticity and explains why it did not find a place in the canonical Gospels.

The chief difficulty felt about this passage is, of course, that Jesus appears to call the Holy Spirit His mother. There is no parallel to such a statement in the Bible; can we think of Jesus speaking thus? Baring-Gould[3] and others think that Gnostic influence has altered a primitive saying into this form. But Nicholson[4] denies that there is anything inconsistent with the severest orthodoxy here, mentioning that the Hebrew word for 'spirit' is usually, though not always, feminine, and that the Aramaic is always so. So too Jackson. And we might find a reason for the comparative neglect of the saying in the fact that in Greek the word becomes neuter, and in Latin masculine, which would help to hide any aptness that there might have been in the original. A further argument may be found in Burkitt's *Early Christianity outside the Empire* (p. 38), where a quotation is given from Aphraates in which words of Jesus (Mk 10^7) are thus commented on: 'What father and mother doth he forsake that taketh a wife? This is the meaning: that when a man hath not yet taken a wife, he loveth and honoureth God his Father, and the Holy Spirit his Mother, and he hath no other love. But when a man taketh a wife he forsaketh his Father and his Mother, those, namely, that are signified above, and his mind is united with this world.' Burkitt says that 'Aphraates' doctrine of the Spirit, strange as it appears to us, is only a survival of one of the most primitive Christian beliefs.' We may, then, regard such a connexion of ideas as certainly existing in the early Church and therefore as possible to the thought of Jesus, but this can hardly be called probable; and Findlay, who quotes further evidence

[1] *Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 99.
[2] *Twenty-five Agrapha*, p. 58.
[3] *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, p. 131.
[4] *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, pp. 75, 80.