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made again and again the agent of persecution. Here again the only explanation is that freedom of development was essential, and that freedom of development could not have been had if the Lord had sat in the midst of His Church as its visible Head, while it could be had if His guidance was given through the Holy Spirit. And what we believe of the Church, we believe also of the world. This is harder still, even for an optimist. But we cannot think that Christ, leaving the world, was leaving it that it might grow worse and worse. Something of good for the human race and perhaps for other spheres of existence is to be evolved here even apart from and outside the Church. 'I leave the world' is not a sentence of rejection. This, then, is one side of the matter, one of the thoughts of the Ascension season, the necessary divinely ordained forsaking of the world, the Church, the individual, by One who had apparently come to share permanently all the fortunes of man.

But there is another side of the matter, an absolutely contradictory statement—'I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' He is with His Church and with His people. He is with them by His Spirit.

Let us examine the matter in actual experience. Here is one who is absolutely ignorant of Christ in everything, except in name. The Eternal Word fills all things, sustains the universe, but *he* sees nothing but the laws of His action. As to spiritual guidance, help, and support, he has none of them, except in an indirect way. For him Jesus has left the world. He is allowed to think so, if he chooses. But here is another whose whole soul rises up against such an assertion. The Lord is with him all the days. He sees His hand in every turn of his life. More than this, he is living a life of which Jesus is the motive and the support. He has come by grace to be absolutely dependent on Him. He is the bond-servant of Jesus Christ. How he rejoices when he feels the constraining power of

His will, his inability to think or speak or act apart from Him!

This season, then, is the Festival of the Unseen. In it we assert against detractors the power of human nature to know and live by what no eye beholds. And not merely that human nature *can* do this, but that it is the way of its perfection.

The gospel has several aspects. There is the retrospective view. Some minds are ever turning back to the past facts, the solemn, glorious, reassuring facts of the Lord's life. They live by these. There is also the expectant aspect—waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian watches, labours, occupies till his Master come. Both these are looking on things which are not seen, and eternal. But there is a third aspect which tries the spiritual sight still more; yet, when habitually attained it has more power to govern life. It is to see *now* and *here*, between the faces of the crowd, Jesus everywhere present—to feel, to live by His presence. Those who attain it can understand the words which He spoke: 'A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me.' They can follow Origen's splendid misinterpretation of St. Paul, and say that *already* they walk not by faith but by sight.<sup>1</sup>

When Livingstone returned to Scotland after eighteen years in Africa there is no more moving story than that of his reception by the students of Glasgow University. As usual at the giving of honorary degrees they were prepared for all sorts of mischief, and a missionary would be a fine target for their humour. But when Livingstone appeared gaunt and wrinkled after twenty-seven fevers, darkened by the sun, with one arm hanging useless from a lion's bite, an unwonted awe and quiet descended upon the assembly. 'I am going back,' he said. 'Shall I tell you what sustained me amidst the toil, hardship, and loneliness of my exiled life? It was the promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end."'

<sup>1</sup> E. R. Bernard, *Sermons and Lectures*, 44.

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## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Varia.

ABOUT eight years ago I had the privilege of reviewing in the pages of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES the monumental work of Dr. Titius—'Gott und

Natur'—which discussed the relation between Christian and scientific thought as regards God's relation to the universe. This French volume <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dieu dans l'Univers*, par Victor Monod (Librairie Fischbacher, Paris; 1933).

is less than half the size, does not offer as exhaustive a treatment of its theme, but is no less competent and valuable. Its scope and purpose are clearly stated in its sub-title: 'Essay on the Action exercised on Christian Thought by the Great Cosmological Systems from Aristotle to our own Days.' Three 'frames' are distinguished, the Aristotelian, the Newtonian, and the Relativist. The Jewish and the Greek approach to God are distinguished, the one ethical, the other metaphysical. Some affinity between Platonic and Christian thought is recognized; but Aristotle's *cyclic* universe and *transcendent* deity are shown to be incompatible with it; and the vain effort of Christian theology in subsequent centuries to harmonize is described. The *static* universe of Newton with the *transcendent* God occasionally interposing is described, as also its sequel in the 'natural theology' of the eighteenth century, the insufficiency of which is exposed. The gradual decay of this *mechanistic* Universe is indicated, and its replacement by a representation of the Universe which is *biocentric* and evolutionary. This is a closer approach to the Christian view of God in history. A full account is given of the relativist physics, its substitution of mathematics for mechanism in its conceptions, its recognition of mystery in man's interpretation, its more hospitable attitude to theism. Besides Einstein, there is frequent mention of Eddington and Jeans, and also of Bergson. The last section of the volume deals with 'The Christian Affirmation of God.' The agnosticism of last century has been superseded as also its materialism: Christian thought is once more advancing from the psychological standpoint of Ritschl and others to a metaphysical. Roman Catholic neo-Thomism and Protestant Barthianism are regarded as mere reactions, side-eddies, not the main current of Christian thought. The modern view of the Universe the writer finds compatible with the Christian conception of the God who acts in history, in time, for the good of man. That view also in his judgment suggests conditional immortality as the destiny of man. I regret that the author has not more fully developed the last section. He has, I think, shown without any doubt that Christian doctrine cannot isolate itself from contemporary thinking in science or philosophy, and that to-day we can hold a more distinctively Christian conception of God than at any other time. To quote his conclusion: 'In the past the God sought in space has always remained profoundly different from the God sought in time.' But now 'if space ceases to appear to us an ultimate and impassable datum, if the whole

Universe is history, if the God of Nature is a thinker before being a geometer, the age-long antithesis vanishes and we perceive one sole and same God, in consciousness and in Nature' (p. 352). I have read the book with no less pleasure than profit, and commend it confidently and gratefully.

This volume<sup>1</sup> is a careful and thorough examination and exposition of the teaching of the Early Church till the middle of the fifth century, 'in its paths and by-paths,' on the miracles of the New Testament. It is written, as its dedication to Dr. Adolf Schlatter would indicate, from a positive and not negative critical standpoint, conservative rather than modernist. The author describes and criticises the rather subordinate position of the miracles in the Apostolic Fathers, the extravagant presentation of miracles in the Apocryphal Literature, the view of the miracles from the apologetic standpoint in its general features and as a defence against historical and religious-philosophical criticism, as against Celsus and Porphyry as well as others. This historical statement is followed by a systematic exposition of the Messianic significance of the miracles of Jesus, of the relation of miracles to creation, and to salvation, as an anticipation of the future consummation, and in regard to the limits to the miracles of Jesus imposed by the accepted Christology in its recognition of His human nature. This exposition is closed with a discussion of the relation of miracles to faith from a characteristically Lutheran position. It is supported by copious illustrations from the original Greek and Latin writings. It shows how inadequate was the appreciation by most of the writers of the distinctive character of the Christian revelation; how inaccurate and even perverse are their exegetical methods, especially their allegorizing which often led them to miss the obvious historical sense; how greatly they were influenced not only by the philosophy of their environment, but even by the superstitions of paganism, for claiming superiority for the Christian miracles over those alleged by their opponents, their conception moved on the same level; and how their historic apprehension was hampered by their dogmatic convictions. In short, the volume disproves the claim for a permanent doctrinal authority which is widely claimed for these early centuries. The author rightly insists that the miracles as constituent elements of the Divine revelation in Christ appeal to, evoke,

<sup>1</sup> *Die Wunder des Neuen Testaments*, von Hermann Schlingensiepen (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh; Kart. M. 8.40, geb. M. 10).

and can be properly apprehended only by human faith, as it was conceived at the Reformation. Yet he also recognizes that even the Reformation cannot here be our final authority on this question. With justice both to Fathers and Reformers we must to-day handle the subject with the resources which we can now command. I heartily commend the volume as deserving close study.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

London.

## The Technique of History.<sup>1</sup>

*HABENT sua fata libelli.* But why are some books apparently fated to be overlooked, even in quarters where one might expect them to be hailed? It is true that Professor Wach's investigations are devoted to an intricate subject, and that his outlook does not cover either the English or the French schools of history, except very casually in the case of the latter. But his topic appeals to an international interest in students of history, by raising questions of fundamental importance, and yet, unless I am mistaken, little or no notice has been taken, outside Germany, of the massive work of which this forms the third volume, namely, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der hermeneutischen Theorie im 19 Jahrhundert*. The first volume, published in 1926, dealt with the great systems of historical interpretation, specially with the historical praxis and principles of such men as Schleiermacher, Boeckh, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. The second volume, in 1929, was of particular interest to students of theology, for in it Dr. Wach discussed critically the theological hermeneutic of those who followed in the wake of Schleiermacher, down to Hofmann, including German scholars of various schools like Bretschneider, Griesbach, Strauss, Rothe, and Beck; the object was to elucidate their methods and aims in using history, as speculative, systematic, or exegetical theologians. The third volume, now before us, returns to the main subject of the first volume. Dr. Wach's interest throughout is not in interpretation so much as in the science of hermeneutic which underlies interpretation. The distinction drawn by German scholars between 'Geschichte' and 'Historie' is for him fundamental, *i.e.* between what actually happened in the past and the knowledge of this. The latter is a science with laws of its own, involving a philosophy

of history which raises problems of the relation between historical science and philosophy on the one hand and practical utility on the other. Thus, we have the eternal problem of impartiality brought to a sharp point. Plainly, the special appeal of Dr. Wach's work, so far as students of theology and religious history is concerned, lies in the second volume, though the writer's views have been stated in wider form by him in two essays, one contributed to the *Festgabe* for von Dobschütz (1930, p. 280 f.), and the other printed in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1570 f.). The third volume, dedicated to the memory of Wilhelm Dilthey, treats the influence of historians like Ranke, Droysen, and Sybel, Ernst Curtius, Levezow, and Preller, in their respective fields, that is to say, philological and archæological criticism no less than the more general work of historians proper. An excellent appreciation of Ranke is one of the outstanding features of the book. He notes Ranke's belief in a providence over human affairs or, more exactly, in a Divine revelation through human happenings; history for him had an objective worth and value, and his historical methods were designed in order to bring out a critical sympathy with the past for that reason. Another fruitful line of argument is the discussion of Hegelianism and neo-Kantianism as influences in the handling of history during last century; thus in Droysen the ethical and the philosophical interests are closely linked (p. 150 f.), under the breath of Hegelianism.

The pre-occupation of Dr. Wach with scholars of his own country prevents him from developing the thought of contributions made by Croce, for example, or by French and English experts. Thus, in noting Ranke's disclaiming of a judicial function for the historian (p. 125), he fails to note the well-known moralistic standpoint of Lord Acton, and I observe no reference to French work such as that of Xénopol. Neither is the Danish scholar Erslev mentioned, although his work, criticising Bernheim, was translated into German in 1928, with its proposed revision of the technique of sources. But, in the present volume, we certainly possess a thorough estimate of German labours in the field of historiography with estimates of such problems as the objectivity of a historian. This affects, of course, theological work, for in no field of history, not even in political or sociological, does the question of freedom from motive become so clamant. It is one shining merit of a remarkable treatise like this, that the reader is brought face to face with some of these ultimate problems in the investigation of history as that touches the relation of history to

<sup>1</sup> Joachim Wach, *Das Verstehen*, iii. : *Das Verstehen in der Historie von Ranke bis zum Positivismus* (Mohr, Tübingen; M.16.80).

revelation. 'The great object in trying to understand history,' Lord Acton once wrote, 'is to get behind men and grasp ideas,' whether the history is political, literary, religious, or scientific. Dr. Wach points to a further question, namely,

how far the student is under the influence of ideas, as he thus seeks to reach ideas. Indeed, how far he should be.

JAMES MOFFATT.

New York

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## Contributions and Comments.

### The 'Codex Sinaiticus.'

ONE of the most surprising pieces of news in an age full of surprises was the information that the nation had a chance of acquiring the famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. Even more surprising was it to learn that the Treasury was ready to find pound for pound up to £50,000 for its cost. But more surprising still was it, in a day when many people almost completely ignorant of the Bible pretend to be educated, that the public should take up the matter with such extraordinary enthusiasm, and pour out their scanty means to help towards the acquisition of the Manuscript. Towards this end the Press of the country has lent most valuable help, a fact which ought to be frankly and gratefully acknowledged by all to whom the Bible is still dear.

When I was in the United States in 1924, I heard a rumour that negotiations were proceeding for the acquirement by the American people of the whole collection of Latin and Greek MSS at Leningrad for a sum, if I recollect rightly, of a quarter of a million pounds. This would not be an excessive price to pay for the Latin MSS alone, which Peter Dubrowsky conveyed from Paris to Russia just after the French Revolution. But if there ever were any negotiations, they came to nothing, and the financial collapse of the United States in 1928 made such a proposal unthinkable. That prince of London booksellers, Mr. Maggs, has succeeded in achieving what no one else could do, and deserves recognition from the highest quarters for what he has done.

There have not been wanting signs of jealousy at his success and our good fortune. The honesty of the transaction has been questioned. It is possible to argue that such valuable MSS should be where they would be most appreciated, and hardly any one will be found to argue that Mt. Sinai or Leningrad is from this point of view a better place than London. It is not, however, necessary to argue in this way. We know nothing of the way in which the MS. came to the monastery of St. Catherine. It is quite clear that in 1844 it

was being treated as waste paper. It is also clear that the authorities of the monastery, as they were entitled to do, parted with the manuscript in 1859 to the then Tsar of Russia for a sum of money. If the present Russian Government, now established for nearly seventeen years, may be regarded as the heirs of the property of the Romanoffs, their right to part with this manuscript will not be questioned. That the purchase price is to take the form of British goods removes the last objection that any reasonable person could have to the transaction.

The treasure is now certain to remain in the British Museum, and to become known to thousands of people outside the narrow circle of textual scholars who have long been acquainted with its importance. The story of its discovery by Tischendorf is one to which the much-abused word 'romantic' may not unfittingly be applied. The Lutterworth Press in London has wisely seized the opportunity to publish an eighth edition of *Codex Sinaiticus, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript now in the British Museum: Tischendorf's Story and Argument related by Himself* (1s. net), with a preface by Mr. R. Mercer Wilson, who is, I understand, secretary of that firm. We are not informed who the translator of Tischendorf's pamphlet was.

Tischendorf was no mere textual critic, but was immensely interested in the Gospels in particular, both for their historical and for their spiritual value. In reading the pamphlet one hears again the echoes of the controversies of the second quarter of last century. He was concerned to rebut the extravagances of the Tübingen school, for example, and much of what he stated was afterwards set forth in more exact detail by Dr. Sanday in his *The Gospels in the Second Century* (1876). Since these scholars wrote, discoveries have been made in the sphere of Church literature which enable one to assert their conclusions more positively still, and now no one would put any canonical Gospel later than A.D. 110. Much of the pamphlet, of course, deals with the history of Tischendorf's own travels in search of MSS, and this part of it is as interesting to-day as ever.