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pessimist alike, that, in the philosopher's phrascology, the infinite is ever reflecting itself in the finite nature of man ; or in the language of religion, that beyond and above the world, with its conflicts and disappointments, its achievements and its failures, its joys and its sadness, knowing and caring for it all, is a Love that passeth knowledge, before which sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Our beliefs

are to be kept within no narrow limits, but linked to every phase of human life, to knowledge old and new, and to the unseen order in harmony with and dependence upon which lies our truest life : which makes demands upon us and gives us help in meeting these demands : which has set, neither despair nor self-confidence, but something of eternity within our hearts.

The Venerable Bede: Christian Saint and Hero.

BY THE REVEREND G. PERCY THOMAS, CARDIFF.

THE story of the rise and progress of the Christian Church ever remains one of transcendent interest to those who would realize alike their heritage and responsibility to-day. Thomas Carlyle once wrote that 'History is the essence of innumerable biographies,' and that of the great and holy man who is the subject of this article, comparatively unknown as it is, may well serve as a shining example of constancy, unremitting toil, and patient humility to us who have to carry on in these depressing and difficult times.

Bede was born at or near Jarrow-on-Tyne in 673 A.D., during a period of transition and travail. The country was divided into petty kingdoms constantly at war, while over the land lay that spiritual darkness and ignorance which were to be gradually dissipated by the gospel of deliverance and healing carried with such self-sacrificing devotion by the willing hands of those whom the monasteries sent forth. For a moment let us look at the setting in which this picture of romance and beauty is framed and recall some of the events which preceded our hero's arrival. The kingdom of Northumbria stretched, in the seventh century, from the river Humber to the Firth of Forth. Its most powerful king was Edwin, who reigned from 617 to 633. It was he who built a strong fortress on an old volcanic rock overlooking the Firth, which he called Edwinsturg, eventually to become the Edinburgh of our day. His marriage to the Christian daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was of far-reaching significance, for, when she came to York for the wedding, she brought her chaplain, Paulinus, a convert of Augustine, who persuaded Edwin to become a Christian, while, in time, Paulinus became the first Archbishop of York.

Unfortunately, Edwin was killed in battle against Penda, the pagan ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia, and the religion of the Cross suffered a serious set-back. Green tells us that the Roman Church in Kent shrank into inactivity before the heathen reaction ; but let it be noted that the cowardice of a few never has and never will prevent the onward march of God in the task of world salvation ; in His wondrous design Britain's destiny of ultimate greatness founded on the rock of Eternal Truth could not be frustrated by the temporary triumph of pagan force, and in a very short time after Edwin's death the fiery zeal of missionaries of the ancient Irish Church was flung into the struggle, and we see the spirit of St. Columba from his monastery in lonely Iona directing the work with a masterly hand, and St. Aidan, a brother-monk, joyfully accepting the hard and perilous task, preaching all over Northumbria and erecting his monastery on Lindisfarne (so aptly called Holy Island), where he gathered his pupils and sent them as intrepid evangelists to the mainland, knowing neither weariness nor failure. Presently the savage Penda himself is defeated and slain, the Christian faith rehabilitated, uniting the English peoples of both Northumbria and Mercia. The conversion of the turbulent Picts and Scots through Columba's great ministry added to the general atmosphere of tranquillity into which Bede was born, and which seems so essential to the pioneer and constructive labours which have brought for him an imperishable name among the real heroes of the past.

He himself has told us that at the early age of seven years he was placed in the abbey of Wearmouth under Benedict, whose inspiration and

guidance were of priceless value to the boy, and who, though a nobleman by birth, was unwearied in the pursuit of knowledge and in the amelioration of his country's condition, making frequent journeys to the Continent, not only introducing foreign literature but bringing back with him valuable books and costly treasures of art by which a library and museum were established at the monastery of Jarrow, which must have been the envy and admiration of all others, and which served to supply the intellectual stimulus for which a mind like that of Bede ever craved. Not only so, but Benedict in one of his journeys to Rome brought with him John, the chief singer of St. Peter's, who revolutionized the music and praises of the monastery with the charm of his voice, and in training the monks in a liturgy that embraced, we are told, hymns, chants, and anthems; so that multitudes of people from adjoining counties were attracted to the services; some of them, I doubt not, hearing the Divine call in their hearts for the first time. Such was, and ever will be, the attractive power of the best music in the worship of God. Through a source like this Bede was drinking in that inspiration and vision which made him a pioneer in Christian thought and expression. Latin and Greek, even Hebrew, were studied at that Jarrow monastery but with one object, as he artlessly says: 'All my life I spent in that same monastery, giving my whole attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and in the interval between the hours of regular discipline and the duties of singing in the church, I always took pleasure in learning or teaching or writing something.' Took pleasure, forsooth! To the youth of our day such a life suggests imprisonment, harsh discipline, a cruel monotony, the subjugation of legitimate desires and innocent amusements. Yet here is one whom history has acclaimed as the first great English scholar and historian, at any rate up to the Norman Conquest. Unlike the student of our time he had very little to help and much to discourage him. He must be his own translator and expositor; but with the introduction of Greek into England by the monk Theodore, whom Pope Vitalian sent to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and who did so much to organize the Church in Britain on solid and enduring foundations, Bede established that interest in the old classical literature of Greece and Rome which abides with us to-day and has so enriched our social and intellectual life. Untiringly his busy pen produced commentaries and homilies on various books in the Bible, the Latin Vulgate, and the writings of the early Fathers being his stand-by and

the sources of much inspiration. Yet was he far from confining himself to the fascinating realm of theology, his restless and inquiring mind exploring many of the arts and sciences which were then in their infancy, and these (especially astronomy, grammar, physics, and music) formed the subjects of some half-hundred books he gave to the world ere his eyes closed in death. Such prodigious industry! Why, his great work, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which may be read and pondered to-day, is our authority for the events that took place in our land from the landing of Augustine in 597, almost to the end of the gifted writer's life. Though disfigured by some glaring errors of chronology and places, it is, nevertheless, a work of profound interest. Sometimes it reads like a fairy tale, for we find ourselves in an age of gross superstition, with its artless recital of miraculous healing, of ecstatic visions, special dispensations of Providence and supernatural events each of which had its own significance, not the least of which was the victory of Charles Martel over the Saracens at the decisive battle of Tours in 732, which hurled back the menace of Mahomet from its impious sway in a Christian land and which was justly regarded as the mark of God's approval and favour. With this signal triumph of the Cross over its subtle and determined foe, Bede's noble life was drawing toward its close. So great was his fame for piety and learning that students at the Jarrow monastery numbered many hundreds, all of whom came to revere their beloved master, and to cherish his memory ever after. He was so humble in his greatness, so patient with their faults, so persevering in his efforts to guide and instruct, that they could not help loving him. And the last scene of all when death came to claim him and a beautiful life found its fitting climax in an equally beautiful end, we find him desperately anxious to complete his translation of the Gospel of St. John into the rude English tongue of his day. Let all who can read the entrancing story of those closing hours during which, despite the pain and sleeplessness of many weeks, the dying sufferer achieved his high purpose. Amid the profound sorrow of his young friends, their eyes dimmed with tears, their trembling lips showing the anguish that filled every heart—there, in the dark and narrow cell, aflame with the glory of Divine Presence, singing a hymn to the glorious Trinity, this gentle, saintly, scholarly, heroic old man, in that year 735, breathed his last peaceful breath and received the reward of his consecrated labours.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Varia.

It may surprise some to find an entire number of a theological magazine devoted to anthropology.¹ Four technical essays on the subject are followed by reviews of eight German books upon it. But anthropology is the answer to 'What is man?' And religion puts that question. Besides, as the editor Professor Stephan points out, anthropology nowadays means the study of human nature in its entire meaning and structure, with a range far beyond that covered by biology, sociology, and psychology. 'If any one made anthropology fruitful in the nineteenth century it was Kierkegaard'—is a sentence which explains the object and significance of this symposium; anthropology in this sense plainly raises ultimate questions about man's relation to Nature and God, in which theology no less than science and philosophy is deeply concerned, for Kierkegaard's influence on the Barthian school is obvious, and at several points the Barthian conception of man engages the essayists. Again, there is the well-known summary by Freud of the three shocks to humanity; first, when the new astronomy displaced man from his central position in the universe; then, when Darwinism revealed his affinity to the lower creation; and, thirdly, when psycho-analysis showed that the human ego was not even master in its own house of consciousness. The summary is clever rather than profound, but at least it serves to bring out the vital interest of anthropology, in the broad sense of the term, for religion as well as for science and philosophy. When questions like freedom, responsibility, the physical basis of thought, and social fellowship, are raised, as the editor justly observes in his introduction, we are on ground common to religion or theology and philosophy.

The four essays are all upon recent German books and movements. Professor Robert Winkler, basing his inquiry upon K. Jasper's existential philosophy (p. 103 ff.) maintains with keen logic the right of theology to develop an anthropology, and refuses to accept the philosopher's plea that in this field one must be either philosopher or theologian, either passing forward to philosophy with its independent outlook or falling back to poor, slavish theology. This trenchant argument is carried on by Professor W. Schultz (p. 125 f.), who develops

¹ *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Heft 2, 1933 (Mohr, Tübingen).

the positive content of the Christian idea of man, handling the ontology of Heidegger especially, with more religious appreciation than, for example, M. E. Levinas shows in his brilliant sketch in the *Revue Philosophique* (1932, p. 395 f.). Dr. H. E. Eisenhuth (p. 148 f.) writes upon the conception of man in E. Grisebach's philosophy, which depreciates any systematic philosophical estimate of ethics. The five points made against this are excellently put. Professor F. W. Schmidt's essay on 'The problem of anthropology in Freud's psycho-analysis and in Künkel's individual psychology' (p. 166 f.) seeks to find a *via media* between realism and atomism. He notes, as others have done, that in movements like psycho-analysis the tendency is to revert to a pessimistic view of human nature, such as Schopenhauer had popularized, whereas Fritz Künkel's opposite philosophy is in the direction of an optimism like that of Leibnitz. He concludes a searching analysis of the two rival philosophies by urging that 'Theological anthropology is man's knowledge of himself arising out of revelation and faith.' In other words, that knowledge of God is the only real basis for any adequate knowledge of human nature. It is a conclusion to which all four essayists indicate the approach, as they deal with the technical philosophies of the hour in Germany, where alongside of realism an anthropological movement is spreading, which, though less superficial than humanism, is a real problem for any religious estimate of character. Here, it is plain, phenomenism finds fresh ammunition for attacking anything like an idealistic view of human nature. The seriousness of the situation fully justifies the publication of a Heft or number like this. Even those of us who can seldom do more than look over the fence occasionally, must realize, after reading these essays, that the struggle between these groups of modern philosophies affects the central ideas of any Christian philosophy.

From one point of view, this² is an enlarged treatment of the subject which Professor van der Leeuw discussed in his manual of 1925. From another point of view it opens a new series of theological manuals which, with admirable enterprise, the publishers are starting to replace their original *Grundriss*. The latter laid all students under a deep debt. It contained works like those

² *Phänomenologie der Religion*, by G. van der Leeuw (Mohr, Tübingen; M.15).

of Jülicher on the New Testament, Herrmann's 'Ethik,' and Cornill on the Old Testament. But science advances, new problems require handling, and perhaps none more than the general subject of religion in its manifestations, to which archæology, comparative religion, and anthropology have contributed so much material during the past quarter of a century. It is specially appropriate that the new series should open with a volume on the phases of this development, and few writers are better qualified to provide it than the Groningen professor.

The scope of the book does not exactly cover what is known as comparative religion, although the author draws his data from a wide survey of religions, ancient and modern. Neither is it an introduction to the philosophy of religion, although its pages are far from being a picture of external phenomena; he explicitly rules out, for example, any discussion of the origin of religion in primitive animism or monotheism. What he means by the technical term 'Phänomenologie' may be gathered from a glance at the ground which he seeks to cover. The object of religion (pp. 3-172) includes man's belief in a God or gods, whose power meets the human soul in various ways. These, empirically viewed, include and involve questions such as those of tabu, dæmons, the saving deity, and, in short, the various expressions of the supernatural, producing awe, trust, and a more or less conscious relation to the universe, not excluding the animal world. This opens up into 'the subject of religion' (pp. 173-316), the holy man (*i.e.* such personalities as the king, the medicine man, the priest, the prophet, and so forth), the holy fellowship, and the human soul—for the author here interpolates a section (p. 254 f.) on the notion of the spirit or soul as the recipient of religious experience, which deals with its psychology and with ideas such as those of heaven and death. A third section (pp. 317-514) is devoted to the interaction of subject and object, including of course the sacraments, the sacred Word, the data of cults, mysticism, religious fellowship, and regeneration. A fourth, shorter section (pp. 515-559) embraces the world in connexion with God and the soul, that is, the relationship of creation and the universe to the religious experience. Here magic is discussed (p. 519 f.) and revelation (p. 537 f.). The arrangement of material at this point has obviously become particularly difficult, for some of these phenomena seem to fall more naturally under other headings. And the same applies to the contents of the fifth section, for while 'Gestalten'

(pp. 560-633) breaks fresh ground in the matter of syncretism, for example, phenomena like asceticism and the functions of the reformer or the philosophic theologian might be subsumed in one of the earlier sections with some relevance. Some brief but penetrating 'epilegomena' (p. 634 f.) sum up the survey; they discuss the scope of the religious phenomenon, that is, the human answer to the question of revelation, with stress on the fact that religion may be held to be more than an imaginative analysis of purely inward emotions and notions. Special tribute is paid to work done by modern thinkers like Dilthey and Söderblom as well as to Wach and Heiler in this connexion.

It is impossible in a review to do any sort of justice to the rich variety of a book like this, which touches so wide and complex a group of subjects. In such a comprehensive work there is inevitably a certain repetition, and, as I have hinted, an awkwardness at several points where phenomena are grouped or at any rate noticed in what seems to be rather an artificial connexion. On the other hand, this is due to the sheer desire of the author to omit no aspect of his theme. And one result is that we have here not a mere book of reference, but a volume that can be read continuously with some sense of unity and growing interest. This is deepened by the remarkable knowledge of literature which the pages of the book reveal. I mean, not simply the technical literature of the subject in modern languages but literature in general. From Milton to Burns, from Goethe to Walt Whitman and Mr. Chesterton, Dr. van der Leeuw draws apposite illustrations. He ranges over ancient and mediæval religion as well as over modern phenomena, but never leaves the impression that he is dealing with museum material. Though he scientifically abstains from drawing morals, he manages to make his readers feel that the *res sacrae* in their strangest forms represent a vital interest of the human soul, and not even the ramified character of his subject is permitted to obscure this conviction. If there is one impression which the book deepens in the mind it is the truth which Dr. Hort once noted, in a letter to Westcott: 'Religion must be fundamentally the consciousness of a relation or relations. It is doubtless true that false religion (of Christian origin) usually arises (when it is not idolatrous) from our effort to extricate the worshippers from the world, and God from the world; whereas such effort, if consistently successful, could only end in reducing the worshipper to a pin-point of nothing-

ness and destroying the medium through which alone God can be known.' The implications of this truth are repeatedly forced home by what Dr. van der Leeuw argues in his impartial and alert survey. God, the soul, and the world are the three points of religion for him, as an observer of what religion has meant to men in different ages. It is an admirable service to have brought out the interaction of these three factors, and their varied impact upon the human consciousness throughout the centuries, and especially to have brought them out with such a wealth of relevant illustration. Nothing could be more arid in a field like this than to relapse into abstractions and generalizations. Nothing, perhaps, except to amass details and items without any living sense of what produced them in the dealings of men with the supernatural. One of the shining merits of this volume is that the author rises clear above such besetting errors of his field.

Professor Schmidt, who is to edit the Book of Psalms in the new 'Handbuch zum Alten Testament,' writes a delightful and scholarly study of Luther's keen devotion to the Psalter.¹ It is an historical survey, but the writer feels that it is not a merely antiquarian excursion, since anything that suggests the religious significance of the Psalms is vital to a genuine appreciation of them in German Protestantism at the present day. The Psalter was the first book on which the reformer lectured, and on his deathbed he repeated several times a verse from the Psalms, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.' Dr. Schmidt collects and explains a number of Luther's favourite expositions, notably the interpretations of Ps 31² (p. 18 f.); he notes how the reformer gradually worked clear of allegorical interpretations, and how carefully the penitential psalms were studied and re-studied, especially the hundred and thirtieth (p. 35 f.). There is a fresh discussion of his work on the forty-sixth psalm (p. 39 f.), in which it is proved that Luther was not nearly so dependent on the Vulgate and earlier German versions as Grisar alleged. The essay concludes with noting the influence of the Psalter upon Luther's own hymns. Altogether an attractive little monograph.

There is a striking passage in Luther's treatise upon *Christian Liberty* (1520). He is talking about

¹ *Luther und das Buch der Psalmen*, by Hans Schmidt, in the 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge,' 167 (Mohr, Tübingen; M.1.50).

popular preaching in the Latin Church of his day. 'It is not enough,' he protests, 'it is not Christian, to preach the life and works and words of Christ as historical facts, as though the knowledge of this would suffice for the conduct of life, although such is the method of our best preachers nowadays. . . . Also there are not a few who preach Christ and read about Him in order to stir up men's emotions to sympathy with Christ and to indignation against the Jews, and such-like nonsense.' It is interesting to discover in the early sixteenth-century preaching not only sentimentalism but anti-Semitism, fostered by picturesque addresses upon the Gospels. So far as I see, Herr Vogelsang² does not refer to this. He writes with special reference to some contemporaries in Germany who are appealing to Luther as a prototype of anti-Semitic Christianity. Is this justifiable, he asks? Now it is well known that Luther altered his attitude to the Jews, as he did to some other groups of his contemporaries. The harsh sentences of his later writings are in contrast to the more friendly tone of some earlier references. Herr Vogelsang shows, with considerable skill, that this, however, does not entitle us to adopt the conventional theory that Luther began by being a pre-Semite and ended in anti-Semitism. He shows, for example, that while Luther, like St. Paul, regarded the Jews as responsible for the murder of the Lord, yet he branded semi-Christians and nominal Christians as trebly worse enemies of the Cross of Christ. Again, he had most unfortunate experiences with converted Jews, which made him feel in later life that any conversion of Jews was likely to be artificial. Also he dreaded any infiltration of rabbinism into evangelical interpretation of the Bible. In addition, he resented, like many a German of his day, the financial rapacity of the Jews. These and other points are made by the author in what forms a most convenient study of Luther's allusions to the Jews. One must admit that Luther's temper towards Jews was one of imperfect sympathy. It even drove him to doubt, if not to deny, that the Apostle Paul really meant a conversion of all the Jews, when he told the Romans, 'so all Israel shall be saved.' One helpful thing in Herr Vogelsang's treatment of the subject is that he insists upon viewing Luther's outbursts and arguments in the light of their sixteenth-century context. He is right in demurring to the cheap habit of moderns, who live in an entirely different

² *Luthers Kampf gegen die Juden*, by Lic. Erich Vogelsang, in the 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge,' 168 (Mohr, Tübingen; M.1.50).

situation, snatching at the great reformer's language in order to justify their particular prejudices. It is, indeed, remarkable that utterances of Luther, which twenty years ago embarrassed his admirers, are being to-day hailed with applause, even by some Germans who welcome little else in the great reformer's teaching.

This is a welcome edition of Schweitzer's Survey of Biographies of Jesus,¹ clearly printed and not expensive. During the twenty-seven years since the first edition was issued, a rich stream of literature has been flowing. On account of other occupations, Dr. Schweitzer has not been able to keep abreast of this output, although he manages to notice most of the important contributions down to about 1912. But there is no word of Bultmann, and the newer developments provoked by the rise of 'Formgeschichte' remain unsurveyed. Nevertheless, for the earlier lines of study, this book will be a classic still, and the publishers deserve gratitude for keeping it in print.

To the valuable publications of the 'Deutschen Bibel-Archivs in Hamburg,' Herr Vollmer contributes this scholarly study,² illustrated with some

¹ *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, von Albert Schweitzer. Fünfte, photomechanisch gedruckte Auflage (Mohr, Tübingen; M.16; bound M.19).

² *Bibel und Deutsche Kultur*. I. Der Materialen zur Bibelgeschichte und religiösen Volkskunde des

exquisite plates, of a Latin-German set of verses on the Bible preserved in a Heidelberg manuscript, and of another Latin-German work upon the chronology and the genealogy of our Lord, the latter being in prose, however. Both treatises witness to the need of presenting the content of the Bible in a form that could be easily memorized and also to an increasing interest in the actual life of Jesus, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to which the German part of the works probably belongs. So far as the former is concerned, the Latin verses are connected with the *Roseum Memoriale* of Peter of Rosenheim (d. 1433). Herr Vollmer's critical researches are technical; they appeal to mediævalists and especially to those who are interested in the spread of learning, with its use of verse and other forms of the *ars memorandi* for popular knowledge of the Bible as well as of secular subjects. But, apart from the most valuable printing of the texts, this monograph opens up some side-lines upon the diffusion of the Bible in excerpts, specially designed to be remembered.

JAMES MOFFATT.

New York.

Mittelalters. Neue Folge: V. *Deutsche Bibelauszüge des Mittelalters zum Stammbaum Christi*, by Hans Vollmer. Mit 8 photographischen Tafeln und 12 Zeichnungen (Akademischen Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaeon m.b.H., Potsdam; 1931).

Contributions and Comments.

Codex 2400.

Codex 2400 and its Miniatures, by Mr. Harold R. Willoughby (reprinted from the 'Art Bulletin,' vol. xv. No. 1, The College Art Association of America, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1933, quarto, pp. 74, printed in Italy [Maggs Brothers, 34-35 Conduit St., New Bond St., London, W.]).

2400 is the number assigned to this manuscript of the Greek New Testament (less the Apocalypse) by Von Dobschütz, who is continuing the reformed numbering of Gregory. It is better known as the Rockefeller McCormick manuscript. The existence of this manuscript was first made known to the learned world by Dr. H. R. Willoughby of the University of Chicago in July 1928, though the actual discoverer of it was his senior colleague Professor E. J. Goodspeed, who came upon it in a

Paris shop in September 1927. In March 1928 the late Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick of Chicago purchased it for her collection, the negotiations having been brought to successful completion by Dr. Willoughby himself. In 1932 an exhaustive edition of the manuscript was published by the University of Chicago Press under the editorship of Messrs. Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby (vol. i. Facsimile, vol. ii. Text, vol. iii. Miniatures).¹

The present publication ought to reach a much wider circle. In addition to seventy-four black and white photographs, it contains two double-page coloured photographs of marvellous beauty, which reproduce the original with almost incredible skill.

¹ This expensive work I was privileged to examine at leisure in the house of Professor H. A. Sanders, Ann Arbor, Mich., in December 1932. His name is misprinted as 'Saunders' on p. 74 of the present work.