PROBLEMS OF MODERN THEOLOGY.

BY THE EDITOR.

MODERN theology is confronted with several problems, the solution of which is no easy task, for they go to the very bottom of the religious question and seem to endanger the vitality of the churches, yet we may be sure that the churches will come out of the present crisis unharmed, and that religion will thereby be purified.

RELIGION BASED UPON ETERNAL TRUTH, NOT ON HISTORICAL FACTS.

Higher criticism is making rapid progress and its appearance has created an unrest among the people who are anxious to know its significance and the effect which it will have upon Christianity. The truth is that theologians so far have shown a tendency to hold back, and this is perhaps natural since it is often true that Christian clergymen themselves are in a state of confusion. Their confusion arises partly because they are not yet fully familiar with the changed situation and partly because they have not been able to make up their minds as to the attitude they ought to take.

To a great extent Christians are under the impression that their religion is based upon certain historical facts and perhaps also that it depends on the truth of certain dogmas. If now the historicity of these facts becomes questionable and the dogmas become evidently untenable, people feel the foundation of their faith slipping away from under their feet and fear that religion will cease to be. But that is not so. Whatever our Church authorities may claim, the churches of to-day exist not through some incident that happened in the distant past, but because there is a definite need for them to-day, and the need of to-day is more important than any event of the past or doctrines formulated in past ages, even if they were all unquestionably true.

Religion (so far as it deserves that name) is always ultimately
based on eternal truths and every church to be stable must be founded upon this rock. The churches may ignore the fact and supplant it by something else. Indeed they are apt to emphasize externalities and thereby substitute the accidental for the essential. For all that we insist that a religion is built on sand unless its foundation rest upon the rock of ages—upon eternity, i.e., upon truths which are true from the beginning, are true even now, and will remain so for ever and aye world without end.

Truth is not a product of development nor can its scope ever be exhausted. Though truth is distinguishable from error our comprehension of truth is always imperfect, incomplete, or onesided. But when we have solved a problem of importance we are so elated with the result that we believe we have reached the end of our task and there is no more to be learned. Thus it has come to pass that religious leaders have frequently insisted on those things which they were afraid would be dropped from the creed; they wanted to perpetuate the truth as they saw it, and so they gave more prominence to the symbols than to the truth contained therein.

Furthermore, the conviction that they possessed the truth made them uncritical. Looking for an unquestionable authority in the famous leaders of the past, they ascribed those books which best represented their own faith to some great prophet that had preceded them, and so it happens that religious books are rarely written by the authors whose names they bear.

A SUMMARY OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

Biblical research, i.e., an investigation of the Scriptures, consisting of the lower or textual criticism and a more general as well as historical research, the so-called higher criticism, have revealed much that is not true in the fabric of our traditional views, and the Christian world is beginning to be anxious to know something of the results. We learn that certain things are not as they have been commonly represented in our Sunday schools, and pious fraud (we must frankly confess it) has played not an inconsiderable part in the development of our religion. This is not only true with regard to the establishment of the Roman authority on the basis of the legend that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, but also of the establishment of a rigidly monotheistic worship at the temple of Jerusalem which was accomplished by the discovery of a law book, a priestly forgery which henceforth determined the course of the development of Judah and impressed upon that little nation the peculiar character which it has retained ever since.
Among the efforts to popularize the result of higher criticism we will mention a book which has appeared under the title *The Evolution of a Great Literature,* and is written by Mr. Newton Mann, a Unitarian minister, who explains the situation as follows:

"The unsatisfactory situation has arisen in which a branch of knowledge confessedly of the first importance, with direct bearing on religion, is practically restricted to a few, to scholarly clergymen and lay students of theology. This knowledge is mostly lodged in ponderous and costly tomes and encumbered with an array of linguistic and other lore calculated to intimidate the unlearned inquirer, who yet desires to know something of what has been found out. It has seemed to me that there must be many hungry souls without the time or the equipment for extensive researches, who would welcome a frank effort to tell them, in outline, the results of recent biblical criticism—results well enough known to university professors, taught in many divinity schools, familiar to many preachers whose sermons are void of any least intimation of such a thing. He who boasts no Hebrew and no Greek has yet good right to know what scholars are thinking about the ancient textbook of our religion, and any curiosity he may have in that direction ought to be encouraged rather than repressed. All is well that helps to break down the tendency, already far advanced, to separate religious thinkers into the initiated and the uninitiated, and religious thought into esoteric and exoteric divisions."

Mr. Mann has done his best to meet the requirement in his book which is nothing short of a recapitulation of what has actually been established by a kind of common consent concerning the nature of our Biblical literature, the authorship of its books, the age in which they were written, and other important problems. He has wisely abstained from taking himself an active part in the work of higher criticism, and has taken upon himself the more modest but not less important task of a compiler who here condenses the work done by a great number of German, English, French, and some American savants into the comparatively small compass of four hundred pages.

A student of higher criticism could find no better introduction into this new science than is presented by Mr. Mann. Here he finds an abstract of the history of the religious literature of Israel and Judah, the historical conditions under which Israel developed, the rise of prophecy, the development of the law, the literary productions under the post-Exilic hierarchy, the wisdom literature and other

books such as Malachi, Canticles, and also the Jewish Apocrypha. Mr. Mann points out that there is no gap between the Old and New Testaments, for the Old Testament contains a number of writings preparing for the views which blossom out in their fulness with the appearance of Jesus. He says:

"We therefore conclude that the culminating point of religious development for the long period covered by our scriptures is in the Gospel and the person of Jesus: that the after evolution registered in the New Testament, while having great historical, ethical and doctrinal significance, is not to be regarded as a higher form of Christianity, but as an adaptation to meet the exigencies of the time, a phase inferior to that set forth in the first Gospels. And this accords with the obvious desire of the best minds of our time to go back, from epistles and apocalypse and mystic Gospel written with a dogmatic purpose, to sit at the feet of the Master himself, the preacher whose words have the quality of provoking no protest."

We will not enter into a controversy with Mr. Mann on this point but we have reached the conclusion that a further investigation of the Jesus problem will force theology to abandon the idea that Jesus forms the starting-point of the new movement. The ultimate cause of Christianity will finally be found not in the human Jesus but in the belief in Christ as the eternal Logos made flesh, the God-man who comes to earth to proclaim the truth and to show the way of salvation.

With reference to the New Testament Mr. Mann familiarizes his readers with the several problems of the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Johannine literatures, and shows how both the Pauline and the Johannine conceptions combined to form the foundation of the doctrines of the Church.

Mr. Mann is pretty radical but he is no more so than his authorities who (though they are not quite so orthodox as he represents them in the preface) are professors of good standing in the most famous Protestant theological faculties of the world. They teach their views to theological students in Oxford, Cambridge, Berlin, Strassburg, Paris, Yale, etc. We truthfully can say that they all have started from orthodox traditions and though they can no longer be called orthodox in the old sense of the term they have not severed their affiliation with the churches to which they belong. In consideration of this fact, Mr. Mann makes the following statement:

"The open use of other men's ideas may, in conceivable situations, have its advantages. If ever this volume brings down upon me the charge of undue radicalism, of sowing the seeds of revolu-
tion, I can, if so disposed, drop under cover of illustrious names, and say: 'I have been sitting at the feet of the foremost scholars of the great Evangelical churches; their disclosures have filled me with light and joy. The substance of the book is what they have taught me.'"

A Christian of the old stamp will be greatly disappointed in reading this book, and Mr. Mann anticipates this feeling when for instance he points out that the Pauline literature cannot be attributed to the Apostle but is only an expression of Pauline theology as developed in the second century. He says:

"The value of the epistles as religious writings does not depend on their authorship, any more than does the value of the book of Psalms. The inscriptions and salutations are indeed invalidated by criticism; but whatever in the epistles, under any construction put upon them, did us any good, remains to do it still."

He gives expression to the same sentiment concerning the whole Bible when he says:

"The old notion, if one has entertained it, that these writings were miraculously communicated to the Jews, becomes thoroughly undermined, and their dictatorial authority vanishes. By this change of view the Bible itself is not changed."

**CHRISTIANITY A CHILD OF PAGANISM.**

If in our opinion Mr. Mann's book has a shortcoming, it is one which the author shares with most of his authorities. Biblical scholars approach the subject as theologians in a theological way, taking for granted as a rule that the development of Christianity has shaped itself as represented in Christian tradition, but such is not the case. Christianity is not a product of Judaism. It is the product of a fusion of all the creeds of the world. The synchretic character of Christianity has been recognized, but the supremacy of the Gentile element has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.

When the barriers between Orient and Occident broke down through the conquest of Alexander the Great, the old naive faith in local gods was abandoned and people began to compare their own religious traditions with others. They no longer believed in Athene, Diana, Astarte, Adonis, Heracles, Osiris, etc. etc. They became infidels as to all particulars but they retained a kind of composite picture of all former beliefs. The ideas which all religions had in common were rather strengthened than weakened; they were unified and systematized under the aspect of monotheism which is already plainly set forth in Anaxagoras and Plato, as well as in his teacher
Socrates, and the result of this fusion was bound to change into such a religion as we find Christianity to be.

The religion that was preparing itself in the minds of the people led to the establishment of many religious sects which sought for a connection with the past and found it finally in Judaism. The main current of the new faith comes from Gentile sources, while Judaism was a tributary of great importance, yet after all merely a tributary. But Judaism happened to supply what the confused notions of the new Gentile faith were sorely lacking in, the claim of a definite revelation and an imposing literature supplying historical authority.

The development of Christianity may therefore be compared to a river like the Mississippi, the main bed of which should be traced up to the Missouri while the upper Mississippi is merely a tributary to the Missouri and yet claims to be the direct and legitimate source of the whole river. We shall not understand Christianity until we restore the Gentile influence to its full right and appreciate the development of its main dogmas from the débris of pre-Christian pagan religions.

These expositions will also show that the Christ-ideal is older than the story of Jesus. Jesus is not the founder of Christianity, but Christianity adopted Jesus as the Christ, and that was done when the doctrinal outlines of Christianity had already been established in their main outlines. It is possible that the Pauline epistles are a fabrication of the second century, but they are not for that reason necessarily later than the gospels. They do not represent a later phase, for the gospels are the result of a reiterated adaptation of certain reports of the life of Jesus to the views that were current concerning the Christ.

Pious Christians may doubt whether it is wise to let the light of Biblical research penetrate from the study of the scholar into the Sunday schools of our congregations, and we would say that it would certainly not be right for clergymen to parade ostentatiously the negative and radical results in their sermons and Bible classes, but it would be decidedly wrong to conceal the results of scientific inquiry. The truth will have to be faced sooner or later, and it is much better if it is proclaimed discreetly and with due consideration by the Church authorities themselves than to let religious progress be forced upon the churches from the outside and from their enemies.
DIVERSE ATTITUDES.

We have lately received several communications on the subject of modern theology, and have in our February number published two articles on the subject which come from the liberal camp, (one by the Rev. A. Kampmeier, the other by the Rev. H. W. Foote), while a third one, written by Mr. Crawley appears in the present number, and it may be regarded as representing the current orthodox view of Christianity.

Mr. Foote is a Unitarian and belongs to that class of Christians who discard the superhuman Christ and retain the human Jesus as an ideal man. We do not believe that this method of procedure is either tenable or commendable. Now Mr. Crawley, on the contrary, insists that the influence of Jesus upon the history of the world proves his divinity, thus giving predominance to the Christ-idea, and we grant that so long as Christianity exists the Christ-idea has always been a more potent factor in its development than the current views of the historical Jesus. Indeed we say that the latter has always been treated with astonishing indifference.

The Christ-idea has been productive of several ideals, different in different periods, and the story of Jesus has been interpreted differently at different times to suit the Christ-ideal of the age.

Mr. Foote claims that my preference of the Christ-ideal over the historic Jesus is merely a matter of personal opinion, but I beg to differ. I do not agree with him that the historic Jesus answers our present needs while the theological Christ does not. He is not aware that his conception of the historical Jesus is not the true historical Jesus. It is really a theological Christ who, however, according to his Unitarian philosophy has been deprived of all supernatural features so as to become thoroughly human, and so we may call it an idealized Jesus. If the true Jesus of history would reappear before his eyes Mr. Foote would scarcely recognize him as his Jesus, and I doubt whether he would tolerate him in his own pulpit.

Please bear in mind that I am not opposed to reconstructing the figure of Jesus on the basis of the Christ-ideal. This method—it is the traditional method unconsciously adhered to from the beginning of the Church,—is the only practical way of making the Gospel of Jesus educational and fruitful.

The same is true of religious art. Note for instance that all the Christ pictures by the old masters are ideals and only of late has there appeared a tendency to reproduce an idealized Jesus. I mean by the latter such representations of Christ’s life as have been
given us by Munkacsy and Tissot, but even this phase of religious art is not as it appears to the orthodox, and as liberals fondly imagine, an attempt at abandoning the old principle of representing Jesus in the light of Christhood, and replacing him by a Jesus as he actually was; but it is still the Christ as the present generation needs him, only that according to our modern requirements we feel the necessity of making concessions to our familiarity with certain historical features which must be woven into our Christ-ideal. The Christ-ideal here is humanized in the spirit of Unitarianism.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not blame liberal Christians of to-day for replacing the supernatural Christ by an idealized Jesus. On the contrary, they simply follow their natural inclination and are justified in their procedure. I only insist that their method is in principle the same as that practised by the orthodox churches, and that they are mistaken in thinking that they are now proclaiming the real historical Jesus.

We must remember that in accordance with their standpoint the orthodox need a God-man, and to them the God-man is as veritable as the ideal Jesus is to the Unitarians. The Unitarians naturally discard some metaphysical and perhaps also mythological notions of the God-man. They have made him first a divine man, and then merely an ideal man, thinking that this corresponds best to actual facts.

We agree with Mr. Foote and Mr. Kampmeier in rejecting the historicity of the superhuman features of Christ, but we agree with Mr. Crawley that the facts of the historical (or if you please "human") Jesus are insufficient to explain either the origin of Christianity or the influence which Jesus exercised upon the world, and as a matter of fact so long as Christianity exists the data of the historical Jesus as furnished in the Gospel story have always been subservient to the needs of the Church as they were interpreted in the light of the current Christ ideal.

At different times and in different countries, different features of the Christ ideal have been made prominent, and we may say that the several churches have their own typical Christ, in fact every Christian has his own conception, and it is the Christ-ideal that has made Christianity, not the historical Jesus.

The Christ-ideal was a living power even before the rise of Christianity, and it is active still. The Christ-ideal was foreshadowed in paganism with all the several myths of god-men, of saviours, of representatives of the deity on earth, such as Osiris in Egypt, Marduk in Babylonia, Mithras in Persia, Herakles and other heroes in
Greece, and wherever we dig down into folk-lore or mythology we find some unknown god treading the earth, working miracles or doing good in some form or another. Among the Teutons Thor walked abroad and no one knew of his divinity until he was gone, and the bliss of his presence was felt partly by a reward of the good, partly by a punishment of evil doers. Even the North American Indians had their Christ in the form of Hiawatha, who came to them as an apostle of peace and the prophet of a higher and nobler civilization.

The Christ ideal, or let us speak more broadly, the idea of a divine man who comes as a mediator between God and man, begins to assume a definite form at the beginning of the Roman Empire, and Augustus was actually hailed by many as the human god who was born to bring peace upon earth. How widely spread these ideas were in the time just preceding the Christian era is seen from a poem written by Virgil (Eclogue IV) who greets the birth of a Saviour-child in the language of a prophet, which greatly resembles the sentiment with which the nativity of Christ might have been hailed.

The better we become acquainted with the origin of Christianity the more we understand that its growth is not the result of a supernatural interference but the necessary product of historical conditions.

OTHER POSSIBILITIES.

A religion such as Christianity was in the days of Constantine, was bound to come in some form or another, and there were several competitors. There was mithraism, there was neoplatonism as represented by Porphyry and Plotinus, there was the perfected paganism of Hypatia, which the emperor Julian the Apostate tried later on to introduce as the state religion of the empire. There were some other pagan cults such as the worship of Hermes Trismegistus, of the Egyptian Set, mainly known in its mixture with Christianity which produced the famous Spott-Crucifixa in the Palatine; the several gnostic sects, among them the Manichees and perhaps some other less known religious movements of which we have not enough information to form any opinion at all.

One thing is sure, the leading spirits of the age are remarkably akin in their philosophical conceptions. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius might pass to-day for Christian philosophers; the story of Apollonius of Tyana, though written (as has been proved by critics) in perfect independence of the Gospels, contains many remarkable parallels to the life of Jesus; while the ritual of Mithraism has undoubtedly influenced the rituals of Christianity.
A historical consideration of all the facts indicates that certain ideas had taken a firm hold of mankind in the first century before and after Christ, and they would have developed into a religion such as Christianity now is, whoever might have been chosen as the type of the god-man, the saviour, the Christ. It would not have been impossible that some other center than Jesus would have been established in the competition of all these religious movements so much alike in their spirit and different only in unessential features of their makeup.

If some other religion than Christianity had gained the victory, the main outcome would have remained the same. A universal Church would have been formed and it would necessarily have become a Roman Church because Rome was at that time the center of the world. It would have laid claim to catholicity because the ideal of catholicity (viz., of a universal religion) was one of the most powerful factors of all these religious movements. The dogmas of the soul, of immortality, of sin and of salvation, of a last judgment and a restoration of the world to come, and especially of a rigid monotheism, yea even of trinitarianism, would have been the same under all circumstances. Even the most important sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, seem to be the necessary product of historical conditions, for we know that other religions, especially Mithraism, had quite similar rites.

If Mithras had been raised to the dignity of Christ the world would have worshiped him instead of Jesus. If Mithraism had conquered we would have had a change of front towards the past history of the world in so far as we would now read the Gathas and other sacred books of Mazdaism in place of the Hebrew Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. If some Oriental personality such as Buddha had taken the place of Jesus, we would study the Pali scriptures in place of Hebrew literature, but we may be sure that the history of this new religion would have remained the same in its main outlines. It would have been Romanized; it would have incorporated the traditions of classic antiquity in a similar manner as did the Roman Catholic Church; it would in a similar way have remodeled them in the spirit of the age, in its dualistic conception of the soul and its admiration of asceticism.

In fine we might say that the Christ ideal (not the story of Jesus) is the factor which made Christianity, and it became centered around the historical figure of Jesus mainly through the efforts of the Apostle Paul. But even here we must not exaggerate the personal influence which one man might be supposed to have exercised.
Even here the necessary outcome is predetermined through social conditions, and it appears that the main factor in the acceptance of Christianity must be sought in the dispersion of the Jews.

There are other reasons which favored Christianity in spite of some serious drawbacks, but it seems to me that the presence of the Jews among the Gentiles acted like a living testimony to the truths of the Christian faith.

THE DISPERSION OF THE JEWS.

The Jews lived in the great centers of population long before Jerusalem was destroyed, and kept themselves aloof from the Gentiles. The Jews spoke with contempt of the gods, and since the mythological conception of paganism had long been discredited, people were apt to look upon the Jews as representing a typically religious nation, a nation that had come to represent the main doctrine of the new religion that was preparing itself in the hearts of mankind, viz., monotheism. The rigidity of their monotheism was generally acknowledged throughout the Roman Empire, and their very stubbornness in clinging to their traditions elicited not only the hatred but also the admiration of the pagan world.

The claim of the Jews as the chosen people of God made a deep impression upon the Gentiles. It is true that at a certain period every nation in the world, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and all the rest, had looked upon themselves as "the chosen people," but since the amalgamation of all into a cosmopolitan empire, these claims had been forgotten, and so the Jews appeared truly to be set aside by providence for some reason or other.

It is true that the Jews were held in contempt, but their faith was conceded to contain a most important truth. They were looked upon with a mysterious awe which made an effective propaganda for a religion that was based upon their sacred scriptures.

The Jewish dispersion, frequently called by the Greek term "Diaspora," is a peculiar phenomenon in the life of nations, and has given rise to much reflection which is precipitated in folk-lore and legend as in the story of Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew.

The Jew had become a type at the time of Horace long before Christianity had risen into prominence, for this Roman poet refers to "the Jew" in a popular proverb, Credat Iudaens Aplexa, of the real meaning of which we are no longer sure. It is a mistake to think that the dispersion was due to the destruction of Jerusalem which it antedates by more than a century.

The presence of the Hebrews among the other nations is even
now considered a strange phenomenon. Wherever they had their abode they have remained strangers and it was naturally assumed that some secret doom had made them different from the rest of mankind. It seems to me that the explanation of the odd peculiarities of the Jewish settlements should be sought in the typical character of the Jews which was impressed upon them by the zealous reform of their priests on their return from the Babylonian exile. The rigidity, we might almost say bigotry, of their God-conception, the narrowness with which they retained the idea that they were the chosen people of God, is (as we said) natural at a certain phase of development. But while other nations soon broadened into cosmopolitan conceptions on the widening of their horizon, the Jews remained nationalistic and only universalized their God-conception. From the mere tribal deity of former centuries Yahveh became the omnipresent ruler of the universe, but they retained their pristine nationalism in all other respects.

It appears mysterious indeed that the Jews should be scattered all over the face of the earth, but we should bear in mind that all nations have the same tendency. There are always men who leave their home for the sake of improving their material conditions, and people will flock wherever there is a chance of making a living. This is true to an extraordinary degree to-day in the United States, but it has always been true of all nations and for all countries. The population of all large cities is cosmopolitan, being comprised of representatives of all the nations of the earth. But the general rule is that foreigners gradually become acclimatized and the third generation is absorbed by the nation where they have found their new home. Not so the Jew! Keeping aloof from his Gentile surroundings he remains a Jew, and a group of a few Jewish families soon forms a center for new comers. In a few generations this tendency naturally results in the presence of Jewish congregations in all great centers of population, and thus the strange phenomenon of the Jewish dispersion is not due to a peculiar tendency of the Jews to scatter among the nations but to the sternness of the Jewish religion with its decidedly nationalistic tendency to preserve their identity as a nation.

If people of other races had shown the same tendency to keep themselves undefiled and preserve their traditions among other nations, present mankind would not be a fusion of all of them to-day as is actually the case, but would have the appearance of a crazy quilt, exhibiting side by side patches of the most diverse and contrary nationalities.
Had the post-Exilic reformers not been so irreconcilably rigid in their institutions, the Jews as such would have disappeared from the face of the earth with the conquest of Jerusalem; they would have been blotted out from the pages of history, and their literature too would presumably have been lost. But since they preserved their identity they furnished the world with Hebrew scholars who could translate their scriptures and preserved the documents which gave a historical prestige to Christianity.

In addition to the peculiar place which the Jews held in the Roman Empire as representatives of a monotheism with a definite literature and well-established historical traditions, we may say that the figure of Jesus had the advantage over all his rivals in being sufficiently human to appeal to mankind, and Christianity was the religion of the large masses of the downtrodden, including the slaves, the common people who by their overwhelming numbers were bound to have the final decision.

Mithraism was the religion of an aristocratic minority, of soldiers, of officers in the army, and of the imperial magistrates. Reformed paganism as well as neoplatonism was the religion of sages, of thinkers, of professors and students, who are always few and scattered, so it is natural that their roots did not penetrate as deeply into the life of the people as those of a more lowly faith.

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Whatever will be the outcome of our present religious crisis we may be sure that in the long run the true and noble ideals of religion will survive. It seems to us unwise to found religion upon historical facts, especially if they are so doubtful and unreliable as are the statements of the Gospels. The life of religion is always rooted in the norm of the eternal, and so it seems to us that inasmuch as the Christ-ideal explains the enormous influence of Jesus on mankind we ought to cling to the Christ-ideal and need not fear any loss if we lose the historical Jesus.

It is perhaps not accidental that the religion was called "Christianity" after the title of the Saviour, and not after his name. It is after all the religion of the eternal ideal of a god-man whoever he may be, whether or not he was actualized in Jesus, or even if he was never actualized at all. The ideal is above time and space, and whatever may happen to our historical traditions, our main concern in the future development of Christianity should be that we do not lose the ideal that has guided us so far. We may even purify the ideal and cleanse it of the pagan excretions which are still clinging to the so-called orthodox Christianity.