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A table of contents for *Bibliotheca Sacra* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_bib-sacra\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bib-sacra_01.php)

## ARTICLE IV.

## RICHARD ROTHE'S MINISTRY IN ROME.

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MODERN history has turned very much upon the relation between Rome and Germany. Since the year of our Lord 9, when the army of Varus was routed by the forces of Hermann in the forest of Teutoburg, and Tacitus found the stirring motive for his famous History of Germany, to the battle of Sedan, when King William overthrew Louis Napoleon, and by so doing crippled the French power in Rome, and made Victor Emanuel king of the Eternal City instead of Pius IX. — in that long interval, made so memorable by the alliances and the quarrels between the German emperors and the Roman powers, the eventful drama has been going on, until now the Kaiser openly defies the Pope, and instead of giving allegiance to the Roman bishops and archbishops he insists upon allegiance from them. Throughout all this struggle, perhaps, the same essential principles have been at issue under different names, and the North and the South have presented their great antagonism in the Teutonic and the Latin races. It was at first, probably, not so much any definite opinion or system that was in debate, but the question was one of personal power or prerogative; and the stout Germanic independence resisted to the death the aggressions of Roman centralization. In course of time the Germans became an imperial people, and as such they offered protection and asked sanction from the Roman priesthood. The crown given to Charlemagne in the year 800, by the Pope at St. Peter's, was held by his successors in the holy Roman empire for a thousand years, until Napoleon took it from the head of Francis II. in 1806, and his nephew, Louis Napoleon, virtually restored it to King William in 1870.

Undoubtedly our most characteristic modern thought owes its power in great part to its bearing upon this Germanic and Roman question. The Protestant Reformation was a social and political, as well as theological and religious uprising. Stout Martin Luther was that stalwart old Hermann come again; and when he beat a hole in the drum of Tetzels, and stopped the sale of indulgences, Varus was again defeated, and Rome felt the loss and the ignominy in her temples and her palaces. The great Germanic national heart was stirred, and kindred nations — Holland and England not least among them — caught the fire of that electric life. The more recent German literature, art, and religion have followed the same drift, and the masters of the new thought from Emanuel Kant to Richard Rothe have carried the free banner of Hermann and Luther against the dominion of Rome. The motto so common of late "Rome or Reason," is translated frequently not in libraries and schools only, but in courts and senates, debates and battles, into very positive language, and undoubtedly strong men have died bravely in our time with the conviction that the cause of their fatherland is the cause of reason, and that the essential rights of the human mind march under the German banner in the conflict with the aggressions of the Latin race.

We propose in this Article to treat of the relation of Germany to Rome in a very quiet and unambitious way, by presenting the life and thoughts of Richard Rothe during his few years service as preacher there in 1824–28, under the auspices of Bunsen and the Prussian Court. No man would have been less forward to claim such representative distinction than he; and when, in the year 1824, that modest, intense, affectionate, devout, little pietist, at the age of twenty-five, entered the Roman gates with his blooming bride, the last thing that he could have thought of was the idea of ever being held up as a prominent leader of German thought and policy in relation to the Latin power. But such undoubtedly he is, and we have no hesitation in saying that Rothe is the most interesting, instructive, and significant moralist and

theologian that Germany has produced in our time, and that his name constantly rises as his mind and character are better known. To us he has been a cherished companion for some twenty years, and the fascination and astonishment that came with the first pages of his *Theological Ethics* so long ago are not lost, but sweetened and exalted by the charming biography which Friedrich Nippold has made so largely and richly from Rothe's own original correspondence. The whole book is well worth translating; but it seems best for us now to give one portion somewhat fully, instead of trying to grasp at the whole in an ambition that would probably end in a dry syllabus, little better than a table of contents. Those four years at Rome bring before us the man as he had been formed by previous study and experience, and they also present with some fulness the influences that so transformed him there, and made of the recluse pietist the bold thinker, the profound moralist, and the sturdy patriot and reformer.

I. We must take a glance at his previous life before coming to Rome, in order that we may fairly understand his development there. Often as he is named in connection with Schleiermacher, and closely as their names are brought together in the history of German theology, they were born and bred under widely different influences, and they thought and worked for quite different ends. Schleiermacher was educated very much under pietist influences, and the schools of Spener and Zinzendorf and others gave him a devotional turn which very readily took a critical-theological direction, and led him to seek the foundations of faith in scientific thinking and in the revision of the Christian doctrines. His characteristic book is the famous "Christian Faith." But Rothe was trained under quite other auspices, and he not only was free from all early bias towards the Herrnhut pietism, but he did not feel in childhood the attractions of the parsonage, or have any especial fancy for clerical or ecclesiastical life. His first impressions came from a circle in which the *State* was the main thing, not disparaged as the mere world, but revered as the very shrine of life. We are

indebted to Nippold's biography for bringing out this important fact so clearly, and tracing to his birth and first education his little liking for clerical prerogative and ecclesiastical dignities, and the strong secular Christianity that is embodied in his Ethics, and made him prefer ethics to dogma.

He was born in Posen, Prussia, January 30, 1799. His father was a privy councillor, and a great stickler for the honor of Frederick the Great, with ready disposition to work as well as to talk for the glory of Prussia. His mother was the daughter of a court councillor, and on both sides of the house the military and official influence was very strong, and quite in the face of the early pietistic tendencies of the son. The parents seem to have been conscientious and reverential in their treatment of religion, but they did not say much upon the subject, and their tendencies were more secular and rationalistic than churchly and orthodox. The son turned the other way, and was so recluse and serious that his mother said when he was but three or four years old, that she hoped to see him in the pulpit one day. He showed signs also of the brooding, speculative temper that marked his matured mind; and he was very fond of picture-books, voyages and travels, the theatre, and whatever tended to stir the fancy of a delicate and somewhat sickly child of seven or eight years. He went with his parents to Breslau in 1810, and there studied in the Frederick Gymnasium; and during his school years he grew in religious spirit without falling into unsocial, ascetic ways. He received confirmation most devoutly, and the diary which he kept is full of his religious experiences; yet he was an enthusiast for the literature and art of his day, and Schiller, Goethe, Richter, the Schlegels, Tieck, and their peers were his favorite authors; but from his sixteenth year he came under the fascination of Novalis, and probably this influence had much to do with his strong drift towards supernaturalism against the prevailing rationalism.

He entered the University of Heidelberg in 1817, and was there under the instruction of famous men such as Daub, Schwartz, Abegg, Paulus, Creutzer, Hegel, Schlosser, whose

characteristics he presents in many of his notes and letters so fully as to make his reminiscences very important portions of the literary history of the period. He seems to have led a healthy, social life at the university, and to have taken his fair interest in the sports and excitements of the students, showing himself to be a very good friend and a very hearty German. Here, as in his youth at Breslau, he went heartily for his country in her struggles for liberty; and there is nothing from his pen more rich than his description of the reception of Jean Paul Richter by the Heidelberg students, and of the overflow of German enthusiasm and beer upon the occasion. His sketch of this hero of Teutonic Gemüth is funny enough to do credit to Rabelais' humor, or to tempt Doré's pencil to give it form. At the close of his university course, in 1819, July 11, he preached his first sermon. A number of his particular friends came to hear him; but he writes that their praise pleased him less than the evident interest of the country people in his sermon. He was gratified at the ease and strength of voice with which he was able to speak in the service over an hour continuously, and he expresses himself thus upon the whole experience in a way which cannot but come home to old as well as new hands in the pulpit: "The hour which I passed in the pulpit belongs to the happiest of my life, and to the few in which a certain mistrust in myself, which has often given me much trouble, left me. In a word, I felt it through and through, that for the first time in my life I was placed in my own proper element. Hence I must certainly take myself out of the way, since I would otherwise preach very often, and thereby take much valuable time from my studies. Besides, I am very much dissatisfied with my preaching; I see more and more how we only by thorough exercise can succeed in bringing the life that is in us to true and unweakened expression; I hope, nevertheless, confidently that I shall at last do this in some degree."

In his twenty-first year, 1819, Rothe went to Berlin to complete his theological education, and found the university

there in its glory, with such lights as Schleiermacher, Neander, and Lücke, names closely connected with the new spring-time of evangelical life, of which he wrote so enthusiastically afterwards. But he was not pleased with the critical tone of theological teaching, and it seems to have combined with his own melancholy to have driven him into more decided pietism. He did not like the drift of Schleiermacher's teaching or his preaching. He thought it wrong to take the Scriptures in pieces as mere literature, without accepting the inward life which they embodied. He speaks thus of that brilliant man's sermons: "They lack, so it seems to me, the living ground and soil of that inward life pervaded by Christianity to the depths, which made that admirable man Abegg at once the kindling orator, the happy man, and the Christian in spirit and in truth. Especial edification, I have not been able to find in the sermons of Schleiermacher, and this is perhaps not the preacher's object. But they are intellectual and instructive exegetical exercises, and therefore I attend them regularly."

Very likely his discomfort at Berlin came in part from a certain antagonism between his nature and the prevailing style of mind and life there. He was full of sentiment and romance, and Berlin was essentially sharp and prosaic. The pleasures were too obtrusive and coarse for him, and the thinking was too hard and unfeeling. He found some true art, especially in music, to enjoy, and he delighted in the singing of Madame Milder in the opera; but he thought the ballet not worth his attention and in very bad taste, whilst he found fault with the famous Thiergarten for making each tree look so much like the others. He naturally tended to cling to such devout and affectionate natures as Neander, and he frequented the pietist circle that gathered in the house of Baron Kottwitz, the venerable man whom he described as having lived "for a few years there in a Sabbath such as the blessed will enjoy where the most blessed rest and the most blessed activity of love will be one"; and to whom, undoubtedly, De Wette's description of the influences that brought on his hero Theodore's regeneration, in his theological novel, refers.

Rothe went to Wittenberg in 1820, and entered the Seminary there under such instructors as Schleusner and Heubner. He preached often both in the city and the country, and gave himself to historical and exegetical discipline. His pietism grew upon him during his residence, under the influence of his own melancholy and his ascetic companions. It was undoubtedly good for his intellectual breadth and spiritual sweetness and power that a new element came now into his life, and a loving, true-hearted woman, Louise Von Brück, consented to share his lot, and promised him her hand. October 17th, 1822, he found himself again at home in Breslau, in his father's house, a candidate for the ministry, with great desire to find a parish, and to wed his bride. In July 1823 the call came, although not to the country parish that he wished to secure, but to Rome, and on the twenty-second day of August he went to Berlin, at the order of the court, to complete the arrangements. He was ordained, October 12th, in Berlin, and November 10th, he was married at Wittenberg. He started with his wife for Rome, in December, by way of Vienna, Trieste, and Florence, and he entered the gate of Rome on Thursday, January 8th, 1824. What sort of a person he was then, and what characteristics and opinions he brought with him from his old German home, with its staunch patriotism, from his childish romance, his youthful orthodoxy, and his maturer pietism, under such various influences of school, university, and seminary, with their companionships and instructors, we prefer to let him express for himself, as far as possible, in his own words and acts.

II. He seems to have been very happy upon his entrance upon his Roman life. He found a well-furnished house at once at his command, he was heartily welcomed by Bunsen with the assurance of the addition of two hundred dollars to his salary, and introduced to the pretty little church. Returning home, he was agreeably surprised by the arrival of letters from his parents, and on the twelfth of January he wrote his first letter to them, beginning thus, in the tone of piety that had become a second nature to him: "Thus has the dear God, as we

trusted, granted us the joy of writing to you that your children happily have run into the Roman haven in good health and spirits." January 16th, he wrote to his friend and confidant Heubner: "Thus far I have nothing else to say, than that the Lord hath done all well; to him be the glory. He has continued to me a cheerful heart, and encouraged me in fair hopes. We are both perfectly happy; and I enjoy from my heart my present calling, but with fear and trembling. Unfruitful the soil surely is not, if the right seed is sown with careful and humble hand, and thereby holy hands are lifted without ceasing to him who ever listens to his children."

He preached for the first time in Rome on January 11th, the Sunday after his arrival, and he thus speaks of the sermon in his letter to his parents the day after: "Yesterday I performed my first official service. The Lord will grant his blessing upon my work, as he seems to have made a beginning already. Since my predecessor Schmieder had gone, I was obliged to install myself. Bunsen, in the confident expectation that I would arrive on the previous week, had notified the congregation that they would celebrate the Feast of the Epiphany, falling on January 6th, on the following Sunday. I therefore began with the Feast of the Manifestation of the Lord, and preached from Isa. lx. 1-6 upon the subject, 'The appearing of the Lord, the true union of hearts.' I set it forth as such by showing, in the first place, that only in its light do hearts know and understand one another, and secondly learn to love one another; and I made of this at the close a particular application to my own case. I had scarcely three quiet hours to work upon my sermon; but the Lord did not leave me to shame; and he so visibly directed my feeble words that they found the hearts of the congregation. I cannot doubt of this, after the universal testimonials that I have had, in a way least sought; and I thank God wholly, especially for this, that he has not allowed me to be spoiled heretofore. My day of installation was my Louise's birthday."

This sermon is placed by Schenkel first in his collection of Rothe's discourses, and it is a very luminous and glowing

utterance of trust and encouragement to duty, and we remember reading it soon after its publication, in 1868, without tracing as we now do the author's peculiar personal experience in those seven wise and devout pages with the short prayer at the beginning, and the ascription to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost at the end. On the fourth Sunday of his ministry, February 1st, 1824, he celebrated the first communion, and he speaks of it thus: "Last Sunday I administered the Holy Supper for the first time. We enjoyed it together, for the first time in that inmost of all communion, the marital, for the first time, too, in Rome. I have traced the presence of the Lord, powerful and inward. He wills to bless me always when I stand in this place. The evening before, at six o'clock, I held the preparatory service in our chapel, and I spoke upon John vi. 56. On Sunday (we celebrated the Purification of Mary) I preached upon the gospel (Luke ii) 'Simeon an example, how we should rightly seek and find Jesus.' 1. How will the Lord Jesus be sought and found? 2. What are the happy consequences of this finding? Strictly after the text." He introduced a church service on the Wednesday of Passion week, an hour after the Ave-Maria, and he found comfort in the solemnity of the hour and the devotion of the assembly, which was all the more social and susceptible from its small number. His preaching made a decided impression, and Bunsen spoke and wrote of it in the strongest terms, as thus: "Fine preaching in Theremin, eloquent; but not to be compared in depth with Rothe." He wrote thus to Niebuhr of Rothe's arrival: "Rothe has meanwhile come, and will to-morrow give his opening sermon; outwardly he is very much like Schmieder, and he promises very much; his detestation of the Wittenberg Hymn-book allows me to hope for more taste than the latter possessed. His wife is a blooming young country girl, somewhat of the Herrnhut kind, but wholly natural, as far as I can judge. I am convinced that we are indebted to Nicolovius a second time for a very happy choice. Rothe's coming has excited here unusual interest."

In return Rothe thus writes of Bunsen, in a letter to his

parents, of January 12th, 1824. "Above all we both get along exceedingly well with the Bunsen family, Bunsen is not only a highly amiable, but a highly remarkable man, of rich intellect, and many-sided culture, and of a great mass of, in part, very miscellaneous knowledge. He has studied five years of theology, and two years of jurisprudence, he had formerly busied himself with Oriental letters, especially with the Persian which he studied in Paris under Sylvestre de Sacy ; and before he was led by a wonderful guidance of Providence into the diplomatic career, he belonged to our most hopeful young scholars. He has hitherto, even to this very hour, pursued his scientific studies without interruption, and in these last years he has occupied himself especially with church history, particularly with whatever is liturgical, and he has prepared a critical edition of the old liturgies. He is a man of very peculiar, versatile mind, whose society is to me very attractive and instructive. A dear soul also is his wife, who met us with hearty hospitality, and took Louise by the hand, both in word and deed ; she is a quiet, domestic woman, and both women will have very good understanding with each other, if Bunsen stays here longer, which is not decided at present.

"All of Friday I was driven about with Bunsen, making visits ; Saturday, amidst continual visits, I made my sermon. Sunday, after service, we were with Bunsen three or four hours about Rome ; have seen St. Peter's, the Pantheon, the Campo Vaccino, the Coliseum, etc. In the evening we were at Bunsen's, as well as on Friday evening. Sunday evenings we shall always be with the Bunsens, alternately at his house and our own ; we then read together in the Scriptures."

Charming people gathered about Rothe and the Bunsens, such as the Reinholds of the Dutch embassy and the Von Redens of the Hanover delegation, and, apparently to Rothe the most precious of all, the Von Dornbergs from Breslau. Scholars and artists entered largely into the pleasant society, and nobles and princes were willing to seek its refinement, and add to it their kind of dignity. Rothe had no fancy for grandees, and he privately writes to his parents what a

bore it was to him to be obliged to feast with royal blood at times when he had much rather fast among his books, or break plain bread with his more congenial friends. He seems to have been somewhat perplexed as to giving the desired religious ministrations to the Duchess of Montfort, Madame Jerome Bonaparte, a Wittenberg lady who wished to keep in with the Protestant religion, and he seems to have been much interested in the young Prince Frederick of Orange, and to have seen a good deal of him. But he cared more for the German artists who came to study and to work in Rome, and who greatly needed such society and influence as he could give. His attention to them was very memorable, and in some respects quite touching, from the union of aesthetic appreciation with Christian fidelity. Julius Schnorr, the painter, was the most prominent in this circle, and Faber, Von Maydell, Eggers, and others. He invited them to come to his house every Tuesday and Friday a half-hour after sunset, and join in a social and religious service, which he arranged for them according to their own choice. He gave them liberty, to take a subject of more secular interest, but they preferred to be instructed in church history, in view of their peculiar position in the Roman Catholic metropolis. The meeting began with some responsive sentences from the Psalms, read by the pastor and the little company. Then came a short prayer for the grace of God to edify them, and strengthen their brotherly love. Then a psalm and also a chapter from the New Testament were read, with the fitting comments. Then followed an appropriate prayer, to which he sometimes added a choice hymn. Then came, in Passion week, the Litany, or some liturgical sentences from the Scriptures, with the Lord's Prayer. The instruction of the evening was put into the form of an address on some topic of church history, which aimed at once to trace the threads of true evangelical religion throughout all the ages, and also to show the historical origin of the papal doctrine and government. The manner was colloquial, and such as to invite questions and remarks from hearers. The service closed with responsive sentences, a short prayer, and the bene-

diction. Those of the artists who wished remained after the service, and sat often chatting socially, till a late hour. Louise brought tea and bread-and-butter, and whoever was so inclined added a glass of wine to this simple fare. Usually fifteen or sixteen artists came, and much good seems to have come from the meetings by the wholesome incentive, and useful and timely instruction imparted. The programme indeed implies a large reliance upon the time and attention of the artists, and is ample proof of their host's entire devotion to his work. But probably Rome was a more serious place to visitors then than now, and any man, in these later years, must be a great enthusiast who would expect a circle of artists, whether German or American, to attend a religious sociable twice a week, even with the prospect of a cup of tea from the gracious hand of Louise, and the chance of a glass of wine.

It is so important for us to trace out the influence of these Roman years upon Rothe, that it is best for us to consider it in its principal relations, or in its bearing upon his impressions of the city and its institutions, and its power upon his own religious experience, and upon the development of his own mind and thoughts. The first and most obvious aspect of his residence in Rome is the impression of Rome itself upon his singularly susceptible and communicative mind. Here is a man as delicate and impressible as the silvered plate that the photographer exposes to the solar rays, quite sure of having it report accurately, and hold every tint of light and shade and form and feature, with an entire surrender of its surface to the scene. We might at first suppose that Rothe would thus wholly surrender himself to the history and art, to the poetry and religion, of the Eternal City, and be a Roman Catholic in his fancy and his vision, if not in his faith and feeling. But not at all. From first to last his Protestantism grew and strengthened within him as he looked down from his home near the old Capitol upon St. Peter's, the Vatican, and the Castle of St. Angelo. He begins his record of impressions with his protest against the tendency of so much in Roman art to overwhelm, and as it were to bully, the beholder with

the show of mere bulk and costliness. He is more pleased with the Pantheon as an example of the superiority of the sublime to mere mass, and of the marvellous secret of the ancient art than with the immense range and bulk of the circus of Caracalla and such things. His eye turns readily away from the pompous tomb of Cecilia Metella to the charming landscape beyond, with the snowy peaks of the mountain chain of Soracte reflecting the sunbeams that fall from the cloudless blue sky. To him it is the peculiar charm of Rome over nearly all of the other cities of the world, that within her own limits she has such inexhaustible wealth of the loveliest and the most various prospects. He thinks the neighboring region most delightful. As little as Rome comes up to the German idea of a well-ordered and thoroughly finished city, he rejoices that it surpasses all other great cities in its being an uncommonly rural place. He needed only to hie away over the Capitol and the Campo Vaccino, through the Coliseum and towards St. John Lateran or St. Stephen, in order to see charming picturesque views of the city, set off with the slimmest of pines which are by eminence the Roman trees. He insists upon keeping his hold upon nature in the midst of all the most ambitious displays of art, and is merry as a child in getting out of the damp chamber of the bath of Titus into the sunshine, and he allows that he was more oppressed at first by the enormous quantity of the treasures of the Vatican than exalted.

The ecclesiastical shows of Rome he had no patience with; and one of his first utterances on the subject relates to the carnival, which neither Louise nor himself could endure. It seemed to him very stupid sport; and that if old people would play the fool, they ought to do it with a little wit and humor. He thought that if a traveller should happen to enter Porta del Popolo, and go up the Corso, without knowing that it was the carnival, he would suppose the people of Rome had gone mad. The account by Goethe of the affair did not meet the present case at all; and the frolic had probably passed out of the hands of the upper classes into the charge of the rabble. Yet he

was not unmindful of the serious purpose that, even in Rome, might look forward from these revels to the approaching fasts. On Ash Wednesday the empty Corso has for him a new eloquence, and as he looks up to the snow-clad mountains of the Campagna, and feels the chill blast of the Tramontana instead of the warm breath of the Sirocco, he writes to his parents, that the harsh air seemed to say that it strips off the splendor and the gloss of life, and calls sternly with the fasting season for another life, whose glory lies not in perishable lights and colors, but in the still depths of a heart filled with divine peace. We can follow his meditations into his first week-day service on Passion week, when, as he and Louise went home from church, the warm moonlight evening (March 10th, 1824) was so fascinating as to tempt them to a walk in the Corso.

One of the most characteristic of Roman pageants, a grand funeral of a Cardinal (Gonsalvi) impressed him little. Even the music was not to his taste; and the luxury of the decorations, especially of the wax-candles, seemed more conspicuous than any signs of intellect or heart. He confessed his disgust at this whole style of service, and did not see how any Protestant could have the least inclination to go over to the Roman Catholic church. As for himself, he was grateful, as never before, to God that he was an evangelical Christian. He is not led by this earnest evangelism to slight the peculiar culture and taste that centred in Rome; but he rejoices in the society of artists, and he claims art as within the province and inspiration of religion. He is much pleased at the religious character of the leading German artists about him, and names Catholics, as well as Protestants, with favor on his list of devout artists. He maintains that a Christian disposition is as essential to worthy results in art, as the eye is for the light of natural colors. He believes that Christians ought to have more clearness, emphasis, and joy in their testimony to Christ, especially more joy, so as to set aside the too prevalent notion, that a close and earnest life with Christ must clip the wings of the inner man, and so as to give a full and inspiring witness that our Saviour cares for all that concerns our life,

is ready to hear all that we say and to refresh and enlighten us by his Spirit for all of our study and work.

He has an eye upon political movements, or rather the political torpor about him, and to him all in Italy has the character of a broken culture, of a stagnation in the intellectual progress of the nation. It seems to him to be wholly cut off from the intellectual fellowship of the civilized world. It has kept little else than a certain natural grace, and the unhappy indifference of mind as to whether man has anything to live for in the world but sensual gratification. Exceptions there are, indeed, but they nowhere so little break the beaten path as in Italy. It is a heavy responsibility, in his opinion, which the government of this people, so blessed by God, must take upon itself. These thoughts were expressed in the reign of Pope Leo XII., that plucky pontiff who seems to have had things pretty much his own way, without fear of saucy radicals or overbearing kings, and bold enough to take France and Austria to task for any slight to his ghostly prerogatives, instead of being snubbed by the majesty of those royal courts, as Rome has since been.

He looks sharply, in his rural excursions, at the faces of the people as well as the landscapes, and in neither respect is he inclined to yield the palm to Italy. He thinks that handsome, and even pretty, faces are rare, and that the impression that the Italians are especially a fine-looking race, comes from a single striking feature, such as the eyebrows, or something in the countenance that enables a painter to make very easily a taking picture, without its having any satisfactory expression or harmonious beauty. He cannot endure to look upon the enormous girth and the shameless fleshliness of the Italian women after their twentieth year, which are such as to take from them all claim to the slightest beauty of form. He thinks that painters have made fools of themselves in overdoing Italian subjects, and that too many of them have sold the sound German feeling, which is the peculiar birth-right of the German among European nations, for an unsavory garlic tribunal of Italian taste and morals. He is not willing to admire the Italian scenery without qualifications,

and his comparison between the Italian and the German and Swiss mountains is very rich and suggestive. Even in what he calls the Paradise of Middle Italy, he must still remember the Fatherland; and whilst he calls the German and the Italian mountain scenes both beautiful, he calls the latter fair and small, the former fair and grand. Before a German or Swiss mountain prospect, the first thought is, that heaven and earth are the works of God's hand. It is something peculiar, something far above all artificial productions — a pervading inward truth — an original force which is far from exhausting itself by its own products. He feels that he himself is an element in this great nature, in his own existence, not above it, but standing within it. It is impossible to look upon it merely objectively, because his own subjectivity enters into it. But it is quite otherwise with the Italian landscape. Its character is not that of a work of God, as it impresses the beholder, but a product of art. It is therefore so fit for easy treatment by painters. It therefore has inconsiderable elevating influence over the neighboring people, and it pleases the most godless men more than the masses. If the German mountain scenery needs a distant perspective to convey its full effect, and it is not easy to take all of its features into the view, it is otherwise with the Italian scenery, where all is so definite and set, and the eye takes it all in at a glance, however near the view. Hence also the satisfaction of landscape painters who are fond of a subject so ready, clear, and accommodating. It is far more easy for them to paint nature as a mere garment of itself, instead of painting it as a vesture of the living God. The Italian scenery seems more for effect and less for the creative life in itself, and it brings its few bewitching elements before the eye, as a lay figure draped for the studio, never forgetting the charm of the violet tint. It suggests the question not so much, *what* shall be done, but *how* shall it be done. But the highest scenery opens the heart of nature to man, and teaches that first comes the man and then the artist. Hence so little sense for nature among Italians, and they look upon her as an artificial thing, and their life, civil

and domestic, is generally founded upon illusion. Truth can perhaps live without beauty, he says, but beauty not without truth, and art is the vainest thing under the sun, if it does not depend upon what is the deepest and inmost truth of man. Therefore, adds Rothe, "I can never expect from Rome the regeneration of art, essential to their culture as it may be as a residence for artists in a certain stage of their development." It is not strange that after such searching criticisms he should not be particularly pleased by the grand festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and should say: "But for heaven's sake the whole perversity of the Roman church cannot express itself more distinctly than when it celebrates a religious feast by fireworks."

He is brought into contact with the proselyting movements of the Roman Catholic powers, and he did what he could to resist them; in one signal instance, keeping a German prince with his family from falling into the trap set for them. He succeeded in convincing the prince, apparently, that the Evangelical church could meet the earnest wants of the soul, and did not need the help of such doubtful expedients and arts as Rome depended upon. He was also careful of the welfare of the plainer class of people, and held a catechism service for the laboring class on Sunday noons; and he began, with Bunsen, the preparation of a collection of hymns and prayers for the congregation, whilst all the while the yearning grew within him for a more thorough and scientific grasp upon Christian faith, ethics, and history. Although not going wholly with Bunsen in his love for the English Prayer-book, and calling him too much of an Episcopalian to suit his own convictions and taste, Rothe worked with him diligently upon the New Liturgy, and was disappointed in not being able to introduce it into the church at once, on account of the departure of the larger part of the members of the choir. He was convinced that a new order of common worship was needed to meet the wants of the rising church-life of Germany, and to bring the two great branches of the Protestant church together, and he wished to found the Prayer-book upon a

historical as well as a devotional basis, and to combine whatever is best in the devotions of the ancient churches. But he preferred to rest more upon the old German usages than Bunsen liked, and he would have been content with enriching and invigorating the Lutheran service, which he considers adequate to all the functions of church worship that the nature of the Evangelical church requires. He is in favor of giving more full and definite expression to the principal offices of worship, yet he would not take from each individual congregation the liberty of choice, which is in his view so essential to the life and the glory of the evangelical devotion.

As Rothe settles down into his pastoral position, and takes a decided stand for his faith in the midst of the peculiar society and institutions of Rome, his modest figure comes out in distinct relief, and the little man seems to look upon the stateliness of Leo XII., in his grand public pageant of 1825, with something of the eye that Paul there before him might have turned upon the Pontifex Maximus of the Court of Nero. He kept at work like a very good churchman in his way, and he greatly rejoiced in the Passion-week devotion of his increasing flock. He speaks of his five sermons on that week, and of his church being too small for the hearers at Easter, and of his joy at having sixty persons at communion. He is somewhat hard upon the pope's quite different version of Easter, and gives a sharp cut at his policy in putting off the grandest part of the show till the arrival of the king and queen of Naples — Cede Majori, as if the Bourbons were greater than Christ. He is very indignant at the offensive course of the pope in canonising three new saints, and he describes the picture which was exhibited at St. Peter's in honor of the miracle wrought by one of them, a Spanish monk, Julianus, who is represented as taking a roasted bird off the spit, and making it fly again. He says that more than one person called the affair a farce; and he sees nothing at all spiritual in the operatic or dance music from the churches or the street, which so pleases the degenerate people. He sees no hope of regeneration from the Romish church, and

he looks to its downfall as the necessary condition of the rise of the true universal church. He works hard among his people, visiting the sick, caring for the poor, burying the dead, in his regular pastoral round, and coming into contact with noted people in social and official relations; such as call him now to discuss the grounds of faith with a Jesuit, now to preach in the palace of a duchess, and now to meet the spiritual perplexities of German nobles who have been tempted by Romish allurements, or who are inquiring the way of escape from Romish darkness. He keeps on diligently, and meets the duties of the hour; yet he is not at rest in Rome, and says that he is biting at the shell, without having yet reached the sweet kernel, which must at last reward the true soul and refresh its glorified organs with the taste that has no bitterness. He does not find in Rome the signs of social and political tranquillity that the champions of its conservative policy boasted of securing. He sees discontent all around; and the administration seemed to him to favor measures tending to stirring up bad blood, instead of quieting it. There is, he thinks, in purely Catholic states a poison for which there is no antidote in the Catholic church. What, he asks, can a government depend upon, when among the people not merely the positively church faith, but even the religious sentiment, is dead, and with it all moral energy, enterprise, and interest? It is token of a coming storm, he is sure.

He takes timely rest in the summer heat, in the rural retreats near Rome, and enjoys Bunsen's hospitality, in the country as well as the city, keeping up with him constantly the closest literary and personal relations. They acted much upon each other, and it is probably true, as a sagacious English reviewer has recently said, that they, to a great extent, exchanged places with each other, and whilst the statesman became a theologian, and was for strengthening the Church, the theologian became a statesman, and was for subordinating the Church to the State.

III. Three years in Rome were enough to bring him some-

what fully to himself, and to give clearness to his idea of his true vocation. His fourth and last year affords us pretty complete indications of his final career, and as we read his earnest and affectionate confession of his misgivings and his aspirations, we cannot but rejoice that he was allowed to have this time of preparation, and that these Wander Years were so auspicious to his development. It is a hard question to decide whether most men are really in their true sphere or not; and certainly a great many gifted men seem to stop growing in a very unhappy way, and to live and die without becoming what they ought to be. It was apparently a great advantage for Rothe, with his peculiarly susceptible turn of mind, that he was taken away from the speculations and the rival schools of German theology, and set to work so steadily in a city so full of impression and incentive of the most stirring and comprehensive kind. He was thus encouraged to let his mind grow without leading-strings or trammels; and if his sermons at Rome may seem to us strangely unambitious in their philosophy, and more abounding in Scripture texts, affectionate appeals, and practical counsel, than in bold thinking or original thought, we ought to rejoice that their spiritual wisdom was content to live and move in this pastoral simplicity, and to wait Heaven's time for giving it more open vision and complete utterance. Without doubt there are more effective elements in our higher education than books or lectures, and sometimes a strain of music, a mountain scene, a fine picture, or a pleasant conversation, stir depths within us that the lessons of the schools cannot reach. Marvellous Rome, with all its scenery and its arts, its past and its present, its memories and its hopes — this old and new Rome was for four long years working upon this gifted and peculiar man; and we may well ask with interest what it tended to make of him.

He leaves us in little doubt as to the main points. We have seen how he was strengthened there in his Protestant evangelical faith. We will now see what effect his Roman life had in taking him out of his narrow pietism, and also in

quickenings within him his characteristic tendency to historical and scientific study and speculation. His letter to Heubner, March 24th, 1827, is one of the most important expressions of his mind, and, in fact, it is one of the most remarkable documents in the religious literature of that period. He speaks with Heubner about his doubts as to being suited to the office in the Wittenberg Seminary with which his name had been connected as a leading candidate, whilst he allows that he does not wish to stay much longer at Rome. He thinks that in a congregation so fluctuating, a change of pastors is little likely to be felt, if Christian men are called to the position. He is convinced that if he stays there much longer, he will be unfitted for other positions better fitted to his powers. He is happy, and not unsuccessful in his work; yet he is constantly haunted, not only with the consciousness of the smallness of his abilities and of his unfitness for the post, but also with a sense of the greatness of what he ought to be, and of his need of foundation, depth, consequence, and completeness, in all his thinking, feeling, knowledge, and activity. He remembers that from childhood he ran of the notion that he was cut out for a country minister, and believes that this may be God's work for him still. This persuasion is not inconsistent with his growing feeling that there is through the grace of God something within him that he does not yet fully know, and what, with his blessing, may bear good and sound, if yet invisible fruit,— a something, which however unpractical it appears in its immediate, rough form, may yet find its use in its own time and place in the kingdom of God — a spiritual power which bears no ripe fruit before its time, and ought not to bear any, and on this account seeks the quiet seclusion of unpretending external relations, and probably would be destroyed or crippled in other circumstances, in which it must be developed before its time. He thinks that Rome has been to him a great blessing in this respect, and that his residence there has taken him away from the absorbing influence of the experienced and devout men who were making their own mark too strongly upon

him, and swallowing up his individuality in their own. In Rome he was left more to himself, and to his characteristic disposition to rest his mind and life directly upon his Saviour, and make his whole being consistent and homogeneous. Under the influence of those pietistic leaders, he had been in danger of having his moral and intellectual life out of keeping with each other, by his taking his opinions so much from others, and resting his spiritual experience so little upon his own independent thought. He was troubled with this inward schism, and he felt that his intellect was drying up, without his gaining freshness on the moral side of his being. He was now coming to himself, and to a more distinct conviction of having from the Creator a peculiar spiritual organization, and a rich fountain of love and motive to an actual scientific work. He feels at the same time his faith in the Saviour so immediately and universally melted into his whole spiritual, properly human life, that it would be impossible for any chemical process to separate his Christian life and consciousness from the mass of his intellectual life and consciousness, and it would be as much within his reach from his mere *cogito, ergo sum* to infer immediately his whole Christianity as it would be if he were a Cartesian to develop his whole metaphysical system. It is clear to him in what direction he is to guide his life upon earth through the powers bestowed upon him, and what his calling from God is; namely, a wholly definite kind of Scripture study, which will show its idea most obviously in its results. He is sure that there is more in the Scriptures than Christian people are generally aware, and that the Bible has the richness of God himself in its organic unity, as well as in its separate parts. As in nature, so in revelation, each part of the organism belongs to the whole, and each passage of the word, like the leaf or the bud in the tree, must be interpreted in its relation to the whole. In the word, as in nature, the two methods of investigation, the speculative and the practical, are to be united, and the true critic will analyze the contents of the Scriptures according to the highest spiritual science, and

then he will bring the practical rules and duties and satisfactions of the Christian life to illustrate and apply the speculative principles of truth and virtue. Both studies will have reality only when they start from the principle, "In thy light shall we see light,"—when they rest on the ground of a deep and inward life with Christ in God. In this way what comes from the immediate light of perception, and what comes in the path of speculative science can be reached by the true organic method of philological and dialectical study as by an actual fruitful seed-corn of knowledge. Great libraries are not so essential to this study as time, or more correctly the leadings of God in life, of all the sunshine, rain, storm, dew, etc., by which God matures the little deposit which is sown in spring-time into the sound and savory fruit of the harvest. He professes to have found hints for these plans in a work of Oetinger; and there can be no doubt that we have here the germ of Rothe's great work on "Ethics."

During his last year in Rome Rothe was constantly agitated, by repeated calls to take a professorship in the Seminary at Wittenberg, in connection with a place of service in the city church there. This latter addition to the office not being to his mind, the call, of course, tended to quicken his interest in scientific theology, and his letters are full of profound and suggestive observations upon the views of study opening upon him. He found many companions to share in his meditations, and besides noted scholars from Germany he made the acquaintance of that fresh, free-spoken devotee, Thomas Erskine of Scotland, and our own loved Boston had its word to say in his schooling at this eventful and formative period of Rothe's culture, through "Preacher Dwight in Boston, a dear Christian man, who told me extraordinary things of the progress of the kingdom of God there." His thoughts overflow in all directions to his family and friends. He wrote to his father, March 16th, 1827, very fully as to his state of mind; and, after expressing his trials in Rome, and the deadness of the people, and the sceptical temper of travellers and foreign residents, he thus speaks of the drift

of his own convictions: "My scientific tendency has always here in Rome, retreated from the outworks of theology to its citadel, so that I need for its satisfactory study much less in thorough-going critical apparatus than leisure for a quiet investigation of scripture with cheerful and collected mind. What has hitherto made a pastoral office often very burdensome to me, — the inward repugnance against all attempts at immediate edification, against all fine talking about feelings, especially if they should be premeditated or preconceived, against all spreading out into words of things which in their nature are only 'spirit and truth,' — all this in the future, especially in the country, a pastoral position will not suffer; since it always becomes clearer to me, that all true edification is only edification through the truth and upon its foundation, never upon the ground of a momentary excitement or subjective feeling." He has striven under this conviction to be content with setting forth the simple truth in his preaching, without any of the heats, not merely of eloquence, but of what is much more difficult to avoid, of feeling. The great essential with the preacher is real knowledge, both by experience and thought. It is useless, according to him, to look for the rich, ripe fruit except from the living tree. The way of actual regeneration to the life from God and in God is so gradual, so hidden and inward among the ways of this outward life, that we can show it to others only by strict quiet, humility, prudence, gentleness, and patience, and it is hurt by nothing more than by the rash haste which leaves out of sight the deliberate method of God in all his ways in nature and history.

We find Rothe persistently refusing to see any signs of regeneration in the Roman Catholic church from its own heart; and the arrival of the king of Bavaria at Rome for a short visit does not stir him to any especial delight in the splendid future of Bavarian art, which was then gathering such treasures at Munich. A city so essentially Catholic seems to him a poor place to plant a new university, and he can look for no extraordinary scientific life from such soil.

Great institutions of themselves do little for the light and warmth of the intellectual life, he thinks, and they are very likely to be the sepulchral monuments built over the ashes of the life already extinguished. He takes great interest, indeed, in the symptoms of disaffection and desire for greater liberty among the Roman Catholics of Silesia, but he does not give any hints of the rise of the old Catholic movement; and, so far as the historical church is concerned, his convictions and experience seem to lean more and more towards virtual independency, and to base religion upon personal faith, instead of ecclesiastical communion.

Yet he still affirms, and with greater positiveness, his belief in a science of religion and ethics, based upon the true interpretation of Scripture, and thus, in his way, he accepts the platform of a universal church. Even there, however, he insists upon the duty of individual fidelity, and he denies the existence of any wholesale policy, any cheap and easy way to truth for men in masses. He feels within himself the growing and burning assurance of his own peculiar mission, as leader of a school of interpretation of the Scriptures upon a basis both dialectical and critical. He is sure that the divine thoughts, which seem at first to be so scattered through the sacred books, and to have no scientific bond of connection, are not merely an aggregate of particular revelations placed in external relations, but that they are an organic whole, such as can be set forth from the stand-point of scientific exposition. He believes in a positive biblical dogmatic, and that in the Scriptures there are the stamina of the scientific, as well as of the practical, knowledge of God—the stamina of a true Christian gnosis. He is led by these views to look with mistrust upon efforts at a half-way, superficial interpretation of the Scriptures, such as aims at the mere edification of large numbers, and not at the thorough study of the truth. He speaks with misgiving of the purpose of Hengstenberg's Church Journal, and he commends Tholuck's Commentary upon the Romans, with praise of its good spirit and fresh life, tempered with hints of its inadequate depth and thoroughness.

His thoughts not only turn upon the Bible as an organic whole, but they go forth into nature, and grapple with the mystery of God and the universe. He is persuaded by the living witness within him, that this world of ours is no work of the devil, but a work of God's own holy hand, only tempted and perverted by the devil — that all the movements, powers, and elements have something purely divine at their foundation, which can and should be restored by the omnipotence of divine grace to their original purity. He seems in this way to carry his evangelical ideas into his studies of nature, and to interpret the universe as he interprets the Bible, from the light of God within him. He declares that from his own experience he has learned to understand the practical point of biblical Chiliasm in all its strength, and he would not, on any account, give up the promise of the new heavens and the new earth as presented in the word of God and set forth so gloriously by the prophets. He needs no commentary to interpret to him the yearnings of the creature, the groans of creation for redemption ; but he himself, as part of creation, and belonging to nature, joins in that universal cry for the liberty of the children of God.

He has serious illness in his last summer in Rome, and his wife's health was very precarious ; but these trials were brightened by many blessings ; and nothing seems to have pleased him more than a gift of three hundred dollars from the Prussian government, and an increase of his salary to an amount sufficient to pay his little debts and enable him to live without anxiety. On the whole his pet idea of a positive science of the Scriptures grows, and his letter of December 15th, 1827, to Heubner, is a remarkable essay upon the study of the New Testament, which begins with expressing his grief at being obliged to stay at Rome on a working vocation, instead of being in a position where he could follow the speculative investigations to which God so clearly and so imperatively calls him. He is aware that he does not understand the New Testament, yet he sees the way in which it ought to be understood, so as to show the bearing of all

the parts upon the central truth and life. He sees glimpses of a *logica sacra*, and of a *metaphysica sacra*, which shall develop the true method of the study and the true principles of the science of the New Testament. He does not presume to be up to these tasks himself, but he thinks that a century of the combined thought and experience of mankind will be needed to reach the end, and produce the theosophy that is necessary to meet the wants of devout and enlightened souls. He is glad that Rome has in one important respect prepared him for his new career at Wittenberg; that it has taken him away from his former dependence upon men of especial religious and theological tendencies, with favorite hobbies to ride, and so rid his mind of the peculiar coloring which they threw over his views, and that now he can return to Germany without prejudice, and with a certain independence, and act as a mediator between different schools.

March 22d, 1828, Rothe informed Heubner of his final decision to go to Wittenberg, in a letter which is well called a psalm of thanksgiving. Tholuck is to succeed him at Rome, and on June 7th Rothe started for Naples, that he might see Southern Italy before returning home, and also enjoy the baths of Ischia. He entered fully into the satisfactions of the journey, and, returning by way of Rome and Florence, on September 30th he is at his post in Wittenberg, to enter upon what he regarded as the work of his life. Here the first volume of Nippold's charming biography ends, and we must await the coming of the second volume in order to complete our estimate of Rothe's life, and to show the amount and the characteristics of his work.

Thus far he stands before us in a very interesting light, and even if no memorable distinction in the world had been attached to his name, no thoughtful reader could refuse to say that a rare spirit has been portrayed in this passing sketch. But as we look upon him now, with our knowledge of the signal part that he was called to play in the thinking and the activity of our time, we cannot but trace with great interest the promise of the man who now, in his thirtieth

year, turns from Rome towards Wittenberg, and who probably is destined to bring the thought of Germany as strongly against the Romish dogmas and rule as any man since Luther's day. He went quietly away; but in him there was a prophetic power mighty enough to have been denounced in the decrees of the Vatican, and to have brought down the anathema of Leo XII. He was to be, in some respects, the most significant opponent of Rome in our century, so far as the German race is concerned. He stood up, from first to last, for the direct communion of each soul with God through Christ, and he had no patience with the dogma that the only communion is in the hands of the Romish priesthood, and in the form of the wafer of the Roman mass. He set forth the necessary relation between Christian ethics and personal faith, and he deduced all virtue and all duty from the divine root in the life of God within the soul, with his utter protest against the legalism that draws all duty from ecclesiastical laws.

He read nature and history in the same way, from within outward, and the universe was to be the theatre of the final triumph of personal faith and virtue, and history was to record the evolution of true manhood in civic virtue and union without priestly domination or ecclesiastical conventionalism. Thoroughly Christian and a devotee as he was—an à Kempis in piety, he was almost a Voltaire in iconoclasm; he kept little, if any, place for the historical church, and, instead of advocating a Church either above the State, or on a level with the State, or under it, he was for making the State virtually the Church, and leaving religion, like education, as part of the civil service, and very much under the same superintendence as the fine arts. But weak and unsatisfactory as his idea of church organization was, his stay at Rome helps out our interpretation of its motive, and the memorable attitude of Germany now in reference to Romanism speaks out in thunder tones the meaning of his protest against the empire that claimed to rule the world in the name of heaven. Within and above all those speculations

upon the tyranny of the old church we may hear the voice of the mighty German manhood that has spoken, as we have said, from the days of Hermann to those of Luther, and kindled such love in Rothe's own parents for old Fritz and the great fight against the old Latin oppressors which is now seen to be the peculiar mark of modern history. In Rothe, scion as he was of the reign of Frederick the Great, German thought, perhaps unconsciously, communed at Rome with the mind of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, the Caesars of the North held counsel with the Caesars of the capitol and the forum, and all the while the Eternal Spirit was calling them to Christ and the church in a way that eye hath not seen, but the new ages may show forth.

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## ARTICLE V.

### THE USE OF לֹא WITH NEGATIVE PARTICLES.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. C. M. MEAD, PROFESSOR AT ANDOVER.

THE following is an attempt to ascertain the Hebrew *usus loquendi* in the matter of universal and partial negations. The subject is but lightly touched upon in the Hebrew grammars. E.g. Bush simply says, "The particles לֹא and אֵין (אֵין), *not*, when used with לֹא all denote a universal negation." Similarly, Kalisch, "In connection with לֹא the particle of negation has the meaning of *none, nothing*." Gesenius says, "In connection with לֹא, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, anything*, it [לֹא] expresses the Latin *nullus, none*. . . . But the case is different when לֹא is made definite, where it means *all, the whole*." Ewald

<sup>1</sup> The author was led to undertake this investigation by his studies in connection with the Revision of the Authorized Version of the Bible. It was begun in the assurance that little labor would be required in order to settle a question which as yet seems not to have been carefully examined. It must be frankly confessed that, while the labor has been immensely greater than was anticipated, the result is less satisfactory than was confidently hoped. But it is, to say the least, some satisfaction to have learned, in an effort to discover a law, that there is no law to be discovered.