

as Lord, became the very sphere of the religious personality of the baptized, hence fitly called 'Christians.' The metaphor of the marriage bond, used in the OT of the moral union between Jahweh and Israel, is in the NT applied to the relation between Christ and the Church; and baptism was as the marriage rite, openly sealing for the individual this intimate spiritual relation already virtually present in faith, as marriage is in pledged love (Eph 5²⁻³, cf. 1 Co 6¹⁷ 'he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit'). The matter was, however, conceived rather differently in different circles. Jewish Christians viewed baptism mainly on its objective or collective side, through the OT associations of covenant and Messiah, as related to the solidarity of Israel, the chosen people; while Paul thought more of the subjective and personal side, bound up with his profound idea of faith as the bond between the believer and his spiritual Head, 'our life' (Col 3⁴). But to both baptism was corporate in idea, 'into one body' (1 Co 12¹³, cf. 10¹⁷), while repentance and faith were presupposed in the baptized, by Jewish Christians no less than by Paul. Still the difference of emphasis remains, and shows itself in the figures used, Paul's being the more experimental or psychological. He alone could pen passages like Ro 6⁴, Gal 2¹⁹⁻²¹, implying such spiritual identity with Christ by faith as resulted in his distinctive metaphor of baptism as formally marking transition from death to new life (Ro 6⁴, 2 Co 5¹⁷⁻¹⁷, cf. 1 P 3²¹ 4¹² 1² 2², which are probably adaptations of Pauline ideas to a less mystical mode of thought).

(b) *The psychological side of baptism.*—In all attempts to extract from the NT a connected view of primitive baptismal thought and practice, we must never forget its essentially experimental nature. Really to enter into its meaning, we must enter the very souls of the primitive Christians and share their experiences. In so doing, we get our best aid from analogous fresh Christian beginnings, whether in revivals of religious life, as seen, e.g., in George Fox's *Journal*, or on the more virgin soil of the mission field. While the former analogy warns us against exaggerating the value of the rite, as compared with the Spirit-baptism—the distinctive Christian element (Ac 1⁸),—the latter saves us from divorcing the inner reality altogether from the outer symbol. Due proportion between the two is preserved by the vital experiences of mission converts, in relation both to previous state and to alien environment. So seen, baptism is the seal by which life-giving faith (as in Abraham's circumcision, Ro 4¹¹) is ratified, and so confirmed through a definitive act in which consciousness of separation from the sphere of moral deadness, and into that of full moral life, is enhanced and made the more effective for the subsequent 'walk in newness of life.' It is thus truly an 'efficacious seal' for faith, yet only for faith. It completes and makes more vivid the experience of 'regeneration'—both objective, as between the old social world and the new, and subjective, as between two inner states of the soul. So is it 'regenerative washing and Holy Spirit renewal' (Tit 3⁵) in an experimental, a religiously real sense; it is the final stage in experience of 'salvation' (in principle) from self and 'the world' to God and His Kingdom of Christian fellowship.

(c) *Symbol and sacrament.*—It is not a bare symbol, as of something already complete, but a sacrament, i.e. a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of the Divine grace, already embraced by faith. But all is psychologically conditioned, being thereby raised above the level of the magical or quasi-physical conception of sacramental grace, native to paganism, but alien

to perfected Hebraism—the religion of revelation and faith.

The recent attempt of the strict 'religious-historical' school in Germany and elsewhere to trace the influence of the magical, non-ethical notion of sacraments, prevalent in the 'syncretist' or mixed religious consciousness of the age, upon the NT writers and their circles, is for the most part mistaken. It minimizes the Hebraic basis of primitive Christianity, not only in Palestine, but also outside it. In particular, it fails to read Paul's language sufficiently in relation to his personal experience and essential teaching of faith as the universal coefficient of all spiritual blessing (*in veritate est veritas*, Ro 1⁷); while it does not distinguish enough between Paul's own belief and the suggestions of terminology used by him in becoming 'to the Greeks a Greek.' In a word, it confuses Paul the missionary with Paul the theologian. The only excuse for this theory as regards baptism lies in false exegesis of a single passage, 1 Co 15²⁹, where Paul in passing seized upon an *arg. ad hom.* from a usage existing among his Christian converts, without meaning to give it his positive sanction (see 11² for minor abuses as left over against his own coming). On the whole subject see Rendtorff, *Die Taufe im Urchristentum*, pp. 16-37.

3. *The baptismal formula.*—To sum up: as baptism had in Judaism come to mean *purificatory consecration*, with a twofold reference—from an old state and to a new—, so was it in Christianity. It denoted (1) the convert's attitude towards his past sinful state with its 'dead works,' or towards God as sinned against (He 6¹, Ac 20²¹)—repentance; and (2) his new attitude, faith towards God (He 6¹) or Christ (Ac 20²¹), as the ground of hope for the future, of which Christ's resurrection was the guarantee or type (cf. 1 P 3²¹). The practical effect was remission of past sins or justification, the token of which was the gift of the Holy Spirit, in sensible experience, as marking Divine acceptance of the new subject of Messiah's Kingdom.

All this is present in germ in Peter's words (Ac 2³⁸⁻⁴⁰), 'Repent, and let each of you get himself baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of sins,' etc. The phrase 'in the name' now calls for closer consideration. It is clear from contemporary usage (e.g. Ac 1⁸, Rev 3⁴ 11¹²) that 'name' was an ancient synonym for 'person.' Parallels, moreover, from the colloquial Greek of the time show that the expression 'in the name' was itself widely used, especially in solemn or formal connexions, and with special reference to proprietorship. Thus a payment is made *eis broúd twos*, 'into so-and-so's account'; a petition is presented *eis to toú βασιλέως broúma*, 'to the king's person'; and, still more significantly in our connexion, soldiers swear 'in the king's name' (Rendtorff, *op. cit.* p. 9f.). Such solemn invocation of the king's name in token of personal allegiance answers exactly to one marked aspect of baptism (cf. 2 Ti 2²⁶), which was further developed in Christian thought after the Apostolic Age, in the notion of the *missio Christi* (see Harnack's monograph so entitled). Only, in primitive Christian baptism, 'the name,' possibly as sum of the Divine perfections (cf. Ps 116⁷ where 'mercy' and 'truth' are elements of God's name), was invoked, in the first instance, for mercy and protection. In any case the formula 'in the name of,' with or without associations from OT usage (= *em*) rather than *en*, so Dalman, came to have in all Christian circles—though with different shades of thought, as between typical Jews and others—the pregnant sense of identification between the baptized and Him in whose name baptism took place. The one became thereby the personal property of the other, as part of the people of peculiar possession (*λαός εις περιποίησιν* with other synonyms in 1 P 2²⁶; *περιποίησις*, Tit 2¹⁴) and the 'bondservant' of the true Lord (see 2 Co 4⁶), as all NT writers agree in putting it. That this was the essence of the matter appears from the very title, 'the Lord Jesus,' usual among Gentile converts, just as 'the Christ' or 'Christ Jesus' was in more Jewish circles. 'The Lord Jesus' seems, indeed, to grow out of the central phrase of the baptismal con-

fession, viz., 'Jesus is Lord.' Reading 1 Co 12⁹ 'No man can say Κύριος Ἰησοῦς save in Holy Spirit' (cf. 1st 6¹¹), in the light of Ro 10⁹ 'If thou confess "the utterance" (ῥήμα, more fully τὸ ῥ. τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν) in thy mouth (phrases just quoted from Dt 30⁴, cf. Eph 5²⁶ 'cleansing it with the washing of water ἐν ῥήματι'), to wit, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (cf. Ph 2¹¹), and believe in thy heart that God raised him from out the dead (in proof of Messianic Lordship, Ro 1⁴), thou shalt be saved'—one perceives this clearly. 'Christ Jesus,' as distinct from 'Jesus Christ' (=Jesus the Christ), perhaps arose from a similar Jewish Christian form of confession, 'Jesus is Christ (Messiah)'—whence 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Eph 4⁶). But did the formula used in baptism, *eis τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* (Ac 8¹⁶ 19⁵, 1 Co 6¹¹), embrace more than this distinctive element, having, for instance, such explicit reference to the unity of God as must have been the heart of proselyte baptism? This is suggested not only by 1 Co 8⁶ (*ἡμῖν εἰς θεός, ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ*, cf. Eph 4⁶), but also by the constant dual form of Apostolic salutations and benedictions (cf. Rev 14¹ 'having his name and the name of his Father written on their foreheads'). The use of a Trinitarian formula of any sort is not similarly suggested, in spite of 2 Co 13¹⁴. Ac 19²² tells against any view that explicit reference to the Holy Spirit occurred in baptism: so also 1 Co 6¹¹. It is probable, then, that God the Creator was in some way confessed in baptism (cf. Hermas, *Mand.* i. 1: 'First of all yield belief [πίστευσον] that God is one,' etc.); yet exactly in what form remains an open question, one which depends upon another, to which attention has recently been directed (see A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, 1903).

4. Procedure in baptism.—Here light is cast forward by Jewish proselyte baptism and backward by sub-Apostolic Christian usage, both of which make it unlikely that baptism was a bare rite of confessing a sacred Name, followed by immersion in water. This were too formal and abstract a conception to suit the intense moral reality of the religious crisis in question. The rite itself had a concrete setting of ethical exhortation and pledging, to which missionary experience of all ages affords parallels. According to this conception, the confession Κύριος Ἰησοῦς was probably the answer of practical allegiance, given by the candidate for baptism, to instruction in the rudiments of Christian piety, on lines best indicated by the 'Two Ways' of Life and Death, preserved in expanded form in the first half of the *Didache*. Thus the confession in baptism ('in the name of the Lord,' *Did.* 9⁵, and perhaps originally in 7¹ likewise) pledged the baptized to the Christian obedience (cf. Justin, *Apol.* 6, *βιοῦν ὁδῶν διδάσκειν ἡνωχυνώματα*)—a pledge which may have been weekly renewed in early Christian worship, at least in certain regions. For in Bithynia-Pontus, according to Pliny's *Epistle* of c. 112 A.D., the Christians used in their Lord's Day morning meeting to 'pledge themselves with a solemn oath (*sacramento se obstringere*) not to the commission of any crime, but to avoidance of theft, robbery, adultery, breach of faith, denial of deposit when called upon.' This is most suggestive, not only as to the genius of primitive Christian worship as profoundly ethical in tone, but also as to the obligations undertaken in baptism, no doubt in very solemn and explicit fashion, including the witness of those best able to answer (sponsors) for the candidate's good faith and fitness. Thus the *Didache*, after giving the 'Two Ways,' continues: 'All these things first pronounce and so baptize,' a practice probably

referred to in Mt 28¹⁹ 'Disciple all nations, baptizing them into the name . . . , teaching (*διδάσκοντες*) them to observe all the precepts I have given to you' (*ὅσα ἐνετείλαμην*—a *διδάχη* Κυρίου consisting of ἐντολαί). There is, moreover, hardly a doubt that the bulk of the 'Two Ways,' as found in the *Didache* and related documents, goes back to the Jewish ethical instruction, on a monotheistic basis, given to proselytes among the Diaspora, under the figure of a Way of Life and a Way of Death set before men, found in the OT, but also among Greek moralists. To this, in its earliest Christian form, reference may be found even in the Pauline letters (e.g. 2 Th 2¹⁵ *παράδοσιν ἅς ἐδίδαχθητε*, Ro 16¹⁷ *τοῦς . . . παρὰ τὴν διδασχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε ποιούντας*, where *δικαιοσύαι* and *σκανδαλα* are in view, 1 Co 4¹⁷ *τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ* [Ἰησοῦ], *καθὼς παραταχὸν ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω*). Most significant is the language of Ro 6^{12a}, where occurs the notion of prior 'bond-service' to sin 'unto death,' followed by obedience to a *τύπος διδασχῆς* issuing in new 'bond-service' to 'righteousness,' or to God and Christ, and the end 'life eternal.' So again 2 Ti 2¹⁹ 'Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord forthwith abstain from iniquity,' which is the human side of the seal placed on God's firm 'foundation' of piety among men. All this suggests such a formal renunciation of the service of Sin as the Way of Death, and a placing of oneself under obedience to Christ as Lord, as emerges after the sub-Apostolic age in the *abrenuntiatio diaboli* and the ranging of oneself with Christ (*Χριστῷ συντάσσουσαι*; cf. the Two Ways of 'teaching and dominion' in Barn. 18). This is perhaps the key to the description of baptism in 1 P 3²¹, 'not a putting away of filth in the sphere of the flesh (as by water), but the appeal of a good conscience directed to God,' as pledged to give part and lot in Christ's resurrection to those who yield 'obedience of faith' to God in Him. This appeal may refer specially to the invocation of the Name by the candidate, in answer to the baptizer's interrogation as to his acceptance *ex animo* of the true allegiance; whereupon the latter sealed the reception of the candidate into the holy community by invoking 'the fair name' of the Lord Jesus upon his head (see Ja 2⁷, cf. Rev 7⁹ 14¹ 22⁴).

This human sealing by sacred formula was normally countersigned, as it were, on the Divine part by the Messianic gift of a holy enthusiasm ('Holy Spirit' as a phenomenon in the human spirit), the spirit of adoption, through the deeper and abiding consciousness of which the Christian henceforth utters his soul in the word 'Father' (Ro 8¹⁵, the Aramaic exclamation, *Abba*, even passing into use in Gentile circles; cf. *Maranatha*, 'Lord come,' 1 Co 16²², *Did.* 10). Such Divine 'confirming' of the baptized 'into Christ' as a member of His Body, by an 'unction,' a sealing, a giving of the Spirit in 'earnest' (*ἀρραβών*, 2 Co 1²¹), took place in experience at baptism. But as it issued from a more secret working of the Spirit, as author of the faith which qualified for baptism, so it gave place to an abiding 'fellowship of the Holy Spirit' (2 Co 13¹⁴) in which Christians shared and by which they were 'led' in their 'walk' (Ro 8⁹, 14, 15, Gal 5¹⁶⁻²⁶). The effect of all this was such a spiritually real, or mystical, union with Christ that in baptism Paul regarded Christ as 'put on' like a robe (Gal 3²⁷), or again as entering the believer as his 'life' (Ro 8¹⁰, Gal 2²⁰).

Immersion and affusion.—Immersion seems to have been the practice of the Apostolic age, in continuity with Jewish proselyte baptism; and it is implied in Paul's language, especially in his figure of baptism as spiritual burial and resurrection (Ro 6²⁻⁵, Col 2¹²). But the form was not held