

but among minds of the second rank it is not easy to find one surpassing Barrow's in breadth and power." Sermons valued by men differing so widely as John Locke, Bishop Warburton, and the elder Pitt will always have an attraction for Englishmen. Barrow himself had a dread that his mathematics should interfere with his divinity. The reverse is true. "Every sermon," it has been said, "is like the demonstration of a theorem." Mathematics undoubtedly gave him his direct clearness, and the thorough temper and tone of his mind.

There are few things more interesting than the ante-chapel of Trinity College, and the stranger who stands before Noble's remarkable statue of Barrow may well feel proud of the character, the dignity, and the completeness of the great Master whom Walter Savage Landor described "as one of the brightest stars in the firmament of English worthies."

G. D. BOYLE.



ART. IV.—WHO ARE "THE BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD"?

1 Cor. xv. 29.

THIS is a passage of well-known difficulty, which has called forth a multitude of comments. One writer mentions seventeen¹ different expositions of it, some of them differing very widely from the others. Bengel's observation—that a mere catalogue of the various interpretations which have been suggested would amount to a treatise,² is hardly an exaggeration. As might be inferred, no explanation has ever received general approval. Nor is it likely that after the failure of the most learned doctors of the Church, during eighteen centuries, to elucidate its meaning, anyone will ever succeed in doing so. Nevertheless, a careful examination of the passage will enable us to clear away some idle fancies, and correct some fallacious reasonings, which have rendered a difficult passage still more difficult, and make it easier to determine, approximately, its meaning.

The general purport of the Apostle's writing cannot be mistaken. The great stumbling-block of the Greeks, as regarded their acceptance of the Gospel, was the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. When St. Paul preached at Athens—the

¹ Since writing this article I have seen a similar one on "Baptism for the Dead," by the Rev. J. Horsley, which enumerates no less than thirty-seven different interpretations. But nearly all these—excepting those noticed in this paper—are so far-fetched and obviously untenable as hardly to require notice.

² "Tanta est interpretatum varietas, ut si qui, non dicam varietates ipsas sed varietatum catalogos colligere velit, dissertationem scripturus sit," Bengel in *loco*.

centre of Greek thought and speculation,—the belief in the resurrection which he propounded, awakened, at first curiosity and afterwards scorn. The same seems to have been the case all over Greece;¹ nor can it be doubted that at Corinth—the most voluptuous of the Greek cities, the notion of the body (which carnal-minded men regarded as the mere organ of sensual enjoyment) being in a future state renewed to life would provoke greater contempt than it would anywhere else. The false teachers of whom St. Paul complains, finding that the dogma in question was an obstacle to the success of their preaching, renounced it altogether, affirming that although Jesus Christ did indeed declare that there would be a resurrection, He meant no more by it than the rising of the soul from its inborn corruption to holiness of life—in fact, that in the instance of every really converted man, the resurrection was already past.²

It is against this error that St. Paul argues in the earlier part of the fifteenth chapter. He points out, first, that the actual, not the metaphorical, resurrection of Christ was attested by a number of witnesses, who saw Him alive after His death and burial; secondly, that the Resurrection of Christ in the body establishes the doctrine of the resurrection of all men in their bodies. He was the *first* fruits of them that slept. How could He be that, if there were no after fruits? Thirdly, if this were not so, the hope of the living and the dead alike would be rendered null. Belief in Christ could then only benefit us in this life, and, if that were the case, we should be of all men the most miserable. But happily that is not the case. Christ has been raised, and reigns on high, and will continue to reign till at last His kingdom will be established in all its fulness. "Else," he proceeds—supposing this were not so—"what shall they do—what will become of the οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν? Why in that case βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, and why should we, too, expose ourselves to continual danger for the sake of a faith which gives us nothing either in this world or in the world to come? All this is intelligible enough to the most ordinary understanding. There is, in fact, no difficulty anywhere, except in the four words, βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν. Who are the persons said in our version to be "baptized for the dead"?

It is urged that the natural and simple meaning of the words

¹ Even the most cultured minds in Greek literature rejected the doctrine of the resurrection of the body: ἡπαξ θάνατος οὐκετ' ἔστ' ἀναστασις wrote Æschylus (Eumen., 656); πέρασ γαρ, says Aristotle of death, the goal where all ends. Similarly Eurip., etc.

² 2 Timothy ii. 18. Cf. Romans vi. 4, from which verse they extracted the notion that man's resurrection consisted simply in "Walking in newness of life." Also Irenæus (ii. 56): "credunt . . . esse resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem ejus, quæ ab iis dicitur, veritatis."

is that certain persons were baptized as proxies for, and representatives of, the dead—that some having died who believed in Christ but had not yet received baptism, that sacrament was administered to living persons in their stead. As in the instance of Levitical marriages, it is argued, the children of the second marriage were regarded by the Jews as though they had been begotten by the former husband; as again, in the rite of infant baptism, the sponsors made the vows on behalf of the children, but these were accounted of as having been made by the children themselves, so here the benefits of the baptism were transferred from the person on whom the baptismal waters were poured to the person whom he represented.

Now, if it could be shown, in the first place, that such a practice as this existed in the Apostolic Church, and, in the second, that it was approved or even tolerated by it, little doubt would remain that this was the true explanation. But neither of these points can be established with anything like certainty, or even likelihood. All early authorities reject this interpretation of the Apostle's words, excepting only the writer, who for a long time passed under the name of Ambrose, and who is now known, sometimes as Pseudo-Ambrosius or Ambrosiaster.¹ He is thought to have lived towards the close of the fourth century; but his name and country are uncertain. He is apparently a man of no great learning, and is said to be tainted with Pelagianism. The statement of a writer like this, at a distance of nearly four centuries from the times of which he speaks, can carry little weight, especially when he is in disagreement with all other authorities on the subject. There is, indeed, no doubt that the practice existed before the end of the first century among certain Gnostic sects. Epiphanius² attributes it to the followers of Cerinthus, not, be it observed, to Cerinthus himself. Now, the date of Cerinthus' birth is unknown. He is believed to have been one of the false teachers whom St. Paul complains of. But Epiphanius adds that he founded his heretical school, subsequently to these times, in Asia, where he came into contact with St. John. That must have been many years after the date of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; nor is there a shadow of a reason for supposing that the practice of vicarious baptism existed when the Apostle wrote.³

Still more unlikely—we may safely say more incredible is it

¹ "Exemplum eorum subjicit, qui tam securi erant de futura resurrectione ut etiam pro mortuis baptizarentur. Si quem forte mors prævenisset, timentes ne aut male, aut non resurgeret, qui baptizatur non fuerat, vivus nomine mortui, tingebatur." Pseudo-Ambros. Comm. in 1 Cor. xv.

² Epiph. Hæres. xxviii.

³ Tertullian (cont. Marc. ver. 10, and De Resurr. Carnis, ver. 48) charges the practice on the Marcionites, who were long subsequent to St. Paul's

—that either St. Paul or the Apostolic Church should have permitted, much less approved, such a custom. The case of an infant's sponsors, urged by Dr. Wells, is a wholly different matter. They only answer hypothetically, and with an eye to future action, on the part of the baptized. They do not attempt "to deliver their brother, or make agreement to God for him,"¹ as these Gnostics did, in the teeth of the teaching of Scripture; nor would the Apostolic Church have held that such supplementary baptism was needed. The Catholic doctrine has ever been that a genuine desire for participation in the Sacraments will supply the place of the outward act, if that has been by circumstances rendered impossible.² We must believe this to have held good in the instance of the penitent thief and those martyrs who died before baptism had been administered. We never hear of the Church procuring vicarious baptism for these. Indeed we may gather from the manner in which Chrysostom speaks of this custom what was the opinion of the Church respecting it. "I know," he writes, "I shall excite laughter; nevertheless I will mention what they were wont to do, in order that you may more completely avoid this error. When any catechumen among them departs this life, they conceal a living man under the bed of the dead. Then they approach the corpse and ask it whether it wishes to receive baptism. When it makes no answer, the man underneath the bed says in its stead that of course he should wish to be baptized, and so they baptize him, instead of the departed, like buffoons in a theatre." Dean Alford argues that the manner in which St. Paul speaks of this custom—*τι ποιήσουσι οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*—shows that he himself does not approve of their proceedings. But Dean Alford, if he can discover this in St. Paul's words, must have extraordinarily keen eyesight, which, for cleverness, may match with Lord Burleigh's famous shake of the head. Ruchert says that though St. Paul expresses no disapproval of the custom, when speaking of it, he meant to express disapproval of it afterwards. But how does Ruchert know that? Surely, to suppose that the Apostle would in the first instance urge the most solemn and weighty arguments in favour of the resurrection of the dead, and then cap them by citing the profane and ludicrous practice of an heretical sect, is a notion we shall not easily be persuaded to

times. It is much more probable that a misapprehension of St. Paul's words on this occasion suggested the heretical practice, than that he referred to a practice already existing.

¹ Ambrose de ob. Valent. Aug. de Baptismo, iv. 22.

² The early Church held that martyrdom was in itself equivalent to baptism. Tertull. de baptismo, c. 16; Cyprian de orat. Domini; Origen, Tract 12.

adopt. Notwithstanding that this interpretation has been upheld by many learned and able men,¹ it must be rejected.

Passing on to other explanations, we may first notice the opinion of Whitby, that τῶν νεκρῶν is here equivalent to τοῦ νεκροῦ, and refers to Christ, who was dead and is alive. What would be the use, the Apostle asks, of being baptized in behalf or in the name of a dead Christ; that is, a Christ who will never live again? Ὑπὲρ may mean this, of course; but can the plural in this manner stand for the singular? Such a view is certainly forced and strained, and must be supported by some strong argument if it is to be adopted. But Whitby adduces nothing but a quotation from St. Luke vii, 22, where our Lord answers the disciples of John by saying that "the dead are raised," referring (as Whitby contends) to the single act of raising the widow's son at Nain. But that can be nothing more than Whitby's conjecture. Raising from the dead, we have reason to believe, was of no uncommon occurrence during our Lord's ministry (see St. Matt. x. 8; St. John xxi. 25), nor does there appear to be any reason why St. Paul, if he had intended to refer to our Lord, should not have employed the singular number.

Another favourite explanation is that ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν means "in the room of the dead," new converts being continually admitted by baptism to the Church, to supply the void caused by martyrdom and other modes of death. "If the dead rise not,"—so Doddridge, Olshausen, and others understand the passage—"why should her sons be anxious to fill the places of those who must needs be hopelessly dead?" This would be a rare sense of ὑπὲρ, but, doubtless, a possible one. Examples of it are to be found in classical Greek, as, for instance, Dionys. Halic. viii., where ὑπὲρ ἀποθανόντων is said of new soldiers brought up to supply the place of those who had died in war. Viger also (De idiotism. ix. 9) allows this sense to ὑπὲρ. But it is strange that the advocates of this view do not see that it is inapplicable to the present case. The Church does not resemble an army, which contains various corps, each composed of a definite number of men, whose vacancies must be filled up by new conscriptions, and in which no more than a definite number can be admitted. All are free to enter the Church, let their numbers or let *her* numbers be what they may. Wolfe somewhat modifies this exposition by suggesting a reference to the case of those persons who are so struck with the spectacle of men dying for Christ that they eagerly press forward to fill their places. This sense of ὑπὲρ is, I believe, without parallel, and must be held inadmissible, however well it might otherwise suit.

Again, ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν has been rendered "over the dead,"

¹ As e.g. Grotius, Erasmus, Michaelis, Dr. Welles, Slade, Burton, Dean Alford, Meyer, De Wette, and other Germans.

over the graves, that is to say, of the dead. This sense of ὑπέρ is tenable, though it is rare in Hebraistic Greek, nor is it denied that such a practice as administering baptism over the graves of holy men, and especially of martyrs, existed in the early Church. In the church built by Constantine it was the custom, on the anniversary of the dedication, to baptize converts over the Lord's accredited grave. But that practice was not known when this Epistle was written, at which time, indeed, there had been no martyrs, at all events none at Corinth. Nor is it easy to see how faith in the resurrection would be more emphasized by performing baptism over a grave than anywhere else. The above is the view of some eminent men, among them of Luther; but there is less to be said for it than for other opinions before mentioned.

Bengel's explanation of the passage, which is also that of Calvin and others, is quite different. These think that by νεκρῶν are meant those who are in effect already dead. "Qui baptismum suscipiunt eo tempore, cum mortem ante oculos positam habeant," says Bengel, "jam jamque vel ob decrepitam ætatem, vel ob morbum, vel luem, vel martyrium ad mortuos accumulandi omni fere fructu hujus vitæ carentes, devenientes ad mortuos, et mortuis quasi imminentes." "What do they mean," so Bengel puts it, "by being baptized at a time when they were virtually dead, so far as this world is concerned, unless because they were assured of a resurrection to another life?" But great as is Bengel's ability, he will hardly reconcile his readers to an exposition so forced and far-fetched as this, which makes "mortui" equivalent to "morituri." Nor is the argument by which he endeavours to support his view worthy of him. "Super mortuis," he says, is equivalent to "super sepulcro," and he quotes in proof of the reasonableness of this St. Luke xxiv. 5, where the angel says: "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" As there were no dead among whom, he says, Christ could be sought for, this must mean "in the grave." But plainly the angel's meaning is "among the dead," who might be expected to be found in any grave. Nor is there any evidence, so far as I am aware, that it ever was the custom to celebrate baptisms at the same time as funerals. Nor—to repeat the objection urged against Luther's interpretation—would a baptism performed at a funeral be any greater evidence of faith in the resurrection of the dead than if it were performed at any other time.

These various expositions turn chiefly on the meanings which the words ὑπέρ and νεκρῶν may possibly bear. But according to some commentators the solution of the difficulty is to be found in the word βαπτίζομενοι. Lightfoot, Rosenmuller, and Macknight understand it in the sense which it bears in St. Matt. xx. 23. "Are ye able," asked our Lord of the sons of Zebedee, "τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι;"—that is, "to endure

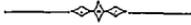
the flood of trial and sorrow with which I am environed." So again St. Luke xii. 50 : "βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι," etc. ; "I have a course of suffering to undergo." This sense of βαπτίζω is not unknown in classical Greek. Men are said—βαπτίζεσθαι δφλήμασι, εἰσφοραῖς, and again, ἀμαρτίαις—"to be overwhelmed with a deluge of debts, imposts, or sins." So Plutarch de Educ. Pueril. xiii. 3, "ψυχὴ πόνους ὑπερβάλλουσι βαπτίζεται." But though this use of the word βαπτίζομενοι is quite tenable, it does not explain ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν any more than the previously mentioned interpretations have done.

Lastly, there is the view held by Hammond, which is mainly derived from the Greek Fathers, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Photius, Theophylact and others, which supposes τῶν νεκρῶν to be elliptical, and the words τῆς ἔλπιδος τῆς ἀναστάσεως to be understood before them, "What shall we say of those who are baptized for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?" or, as Theophylact phrases it, ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀναστάσεως, "in expectation of the resurrection." Hammond quotes Suidas and Scaliger in proof that such ellipses as these are of common occurrence. He cites also the passage from Chrysostom, which upholds this view. The latter says that the ministrant required the catechumen, as part of the primitive baptismal service, to profess his belief in the resurrection of the dead. τοῦτο προστίθεμεν, he writes, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν ὅτι πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ, βαπτίζομεθα¹ (Chrys. Hom. 40, in 1 Cor. xv. 29). And after they had made this profession, they were lowered into the fountain of those sacred waters and again lifted out, symbolizing burial and subsequent resurrection. "Nothing, then," writes Hammond, "can be more plain than that this was Chrysostom's understanding of Paul's words. Being 'baptized for the dead' was being 'baptized in the faith of the resurrection of the dead.'" No one will dispute that this explanation gives a very satisfactory meaning to St. Paul's words ; and great weight ought to be allowed in a question of this kind to Greek writers, who could understand the subtleties of their own language as no foreigner could do. Yet, after all, a fuller and clearer explanation of the passage is to be obtained by simply understanding the words of verse 29, βαπτίζομενοι and βαπτίζονται, as "middle." If the dead rise not at all—if they have the sentence of eternal death in them—why practise baptism in their behalf? As regards any

¹ This is generally rendered "and for or unto this faith *we are baptized,*" making the words part of the catechumen's profession. But surely he would not be required to say "*I believe in the resurrection of the dead, and into this faith we are baptized.*" βαπτίζομεθα must needs refer to the ministrants, the same who μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, and should be rendered "and into this faith we baptize."

future life, they are dead already. But baptism is the sign of the new life after death.¹ If, then, they have no new life after death, what is the meaning of administering baptism to them? Professor Evans, in his valuable note on this passage, maintains that βαπτίζομενοι and βαπτίζονται are "middle," but still seems to think that the words interpolated by Chrysostom and Theophylact are necessary to the explanation of the passage. To me it seems clearer without them.

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ART. V.—ENGLISH GILDS.

THE principle of association for mutual aid is one so obvious, and so sure to suggest itself to all communities which have at all emerged from barbarism, that it is quite what one might expect to find—that the English mediæval gilds have had very various countries, times and causes assigned for their origin. The *ἔρανος* of the Greeks, the burial societies of Rome, the family festivals of the Scandinavian tribes, the tithings or divisions for frank-pledge, are all put forth by various writers as the origin of the gild, as it is found fully developed and systematized in mediæval England. With regard to the first of these the resemblance to the gild statutes is somewhat striking. "The objects of the *ἔρανοι*," says Boeckh, "were of the most various description; if some friends wanted to provide a dinner, or a corporation to celebrate a solemnity—to give a banquet or forward any particular purpose by bribery—the expense was defrayed by an *eranos*. Associations of this kind were very common in the democratic states of Greece, and to this class the numberless political and religious societies, corporations, unions for commerce and shipping belonged."² The Roman Burial Society, having a distinctly limited object, may be regarded as having less in common with the multifarious aims of the gild. "The northern historians," says Dr. Brentano, "in answer to the question whence the gilds sprang, refer above all to the feasts of the German tribes from Scandinavia, which were first called 'Gilds.' Among the German tribes every occurrence among the more nearly-related members of the family required the active participation in it of them all. At births, marriages, and deaths all the members of the family assembled. Banquets were prepared in celebration of the event, and these had sometimes even a legal signification, as in the case of funeral banquets, namely, that of entering on an inheritance. Great social banquets took place at the great

¹ Romans vi. 3, 4.

² "Public Economy of Athens," p. 243.