

ST. PAUL AND THE MYSTERY-RELIGIONS.

VII BAPTISMAL RITES

RITES of purification were common to all ancient religions. One of the best-known features in the Eleusinian Mysteries was the bath of cleansing in the sea (*ἄλαδε μύσται.*) In the account of the initiation of Lucius into the Mysteries of Isis (Apul. *Metamorph.* xi. 20), an ablution precedes the central rites. Part of this ceremony consisted in sprinkling the neophyte. The ritual of sprinkling was apparently current in Egypt. A similar ceremonial is mentioned in Livy's description of the Bacchanalia. No doubt the idea of regeneration was associated with these lustrations, as, indeed, Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 5) deliberately affirms. But our knowledge of the baptismal rites of the Mystery-Religions is meagre in the extreme. One or two significant facts may be noted. No trace remains of the baptism of the initiated "into the name" of any of the Mystery-deities, although the cult-action may have formed part of a definite acknowledgment of the deity in question. Nor is there any hint that the influence of the Divine *πνεῦμα*, a feature which we have seen to be current in mystic doctrine, was ever connected with the ritual of lustration. Lietzmann, Heitmüller, and others have laid strong emphasis on the fact that Paul links the rite of Baptism to the experience of death and resurrection with Christ, and would refer the connexion to the hints of a dying to live which they profess to find in the Mystery-cults.¹ We have already examined the evidence in detail, and have noted its scantiness. And we have endeavoured to show that the background and atmosphere of the Pauline conceptions of death and resurrection with Christ are so incongruous with the Mystery-

¹ See Lietzmann's excursus, *Römerbrief*, pp. 30, 31.

ritual as to rob any parallels which may be adduced of their validity. The ceremony of the *taurobolium*, by far the most striking analogy that can be cited, we found, on the authority of so eminent an expert as Cumont, to be inadmissible as evidence for our period. We must deal with Paul's view of Baptism in detail. It may be noted in passing that one remarkable passage has been found in a Paris Papyrus (No. 47), in which it is possible to connect the phrase *οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποθανεῖν* directly with the term *βαπτίζόμεθα*. But although Reitzenstein favours this interpretation, his discussion indicates how problematic it is.¹ It is interesting, however, to observe that here (apparently a case of initiation into the Mysteries of Serapis), Baptism takes the central place, and its ultimate aim is salvation (*σωθῆναι*).

Professor Lake, in his recent *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, holding that the average Gentile God-fearer regarded the Christianity which was presented to him by Paul and his fellow-workers as a Mystery-Religion, goes the length of attributing the antinomianism which the Apostle has to combat to the Gentile-Christian's view of Baptism "as an *opus operatum* which secured his admission into the Kingdom apart from the character of his future conduct,"² and he credits Paul himself with a similar magical conception.³ Now as to the nature of the antinomianism which caused the great missionary such sore anxiety, we have his own testimony, and it takes a wholly different direction from Professor Lake's hypothesis. Thus, in Romans iii. 5-8, the antinomian argues for his own unrighteousness that it "commends the righteousness of God": the truth of God, through his falsehood, redounds to the Divine glory. His watchword is: "Let us do evil that good may come," and his whole position is summed up in Romans vi. 1: "Shall

¹ See *H. M. R.*, pp. 76-79; *Zeitschr. f. N. T. Wissensch.*, 1912, i. p. 9.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.* p. 385.

we remain in sin *in order that grace may abound?*" What Paul means by grace is perfectly clear from the discussion in chapter v. It is certainly not Baptism, but the forgiveness of sins through faith in Jesus Christ. And the danger of the antinomian is to take advantage of the mercy of God, because it is utterly inexhaustible. We believe that Professor Lake is equally wide of the mark in asserting that, for Paul, Baptism was "a mystery or sacrament which works *ex opere operato*." And we must now investigate the available data.

We venture to think that one of the chief impressions left upon the careful reader of the Epistles must be that of the Apostle's detachment from ritual in every shape and form. And if "sacramental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the Roman Empire began to be converted,"¹ it is certainly astonishing to find such scanty references to it in letters, some of the most important of which were addressed to Christian communities which Paul had never visited. It is absurd to suggest that the reason for this silence lies in the fact that "Baptism and its significance was common ground to him and all other Christians."² That does not accord with Paul's practice. His delight is to come back again and again upon all the crucial elements in his own religious experience, an experience which was fundamental in shaping his doctrine. Hence we are in no way surprised to find that in his first Epistle to the Christians at Corinth, a community whose "main feature," according to Professor Lake, was that "they all accepted Christianity as a Mystery-Religion," and regarded Jesus as "the Redeemer-God, who had passed through death to life, and offered participation in this new life to those who shared in the mysteries [Baptism and the Eucharist] which He offered,"³ Paul thanks God that he had only baptized a few of them. "For," he declares, "Christ sent me not to

¹ Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

baptize, but to preach the Gospel, and that not with wisdom of words, so that the cross of Christ might not be annulled" (1 Cor. i. 14). It is "the word of the cross" which is "the power of God to those who are being saved" (1 Cor. i. 18), no "mystery" of Baptism or anything else. Professor Lake attaches high importance to 1 Cor. x. 1 ff. where Paul compares the experiences of Israel in the wilderness to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as indicating their central importance for Christianity at Corinth.¹ We must examine the passage carefully in our next article on Sacramental Meals. We may remark, however, at this point, that the analogy chiefly reminds us of the allegorical fancies of Philo. It occurs in a context dealing with sacrificial meals, so that it lay ready to hand. It cannot certainly sustain the weight of the argument which Professor Lake has built upon it, that "it is a warning against the view that Christians are safe because they have been initiated into the Christian mysteries."² For it is a sheer begging of the question to assume that Paul associates with the actual food some supernatural nourishment. He merely interprets it, quasi-allegorically, as spiritual fare. The curious statement that "all were baptized into Moses" tells against the magical significance which Lake and others read into the Pauline idea of Baptism, for we cannot conceive the implication of some mystic relationship established between the people and Moses by these events in their history. "All that can properly be asserted is that, as the crossing of the Red Sea definitely committed the people to follow Moses as their Divinely appointed head, so baptism is a definite committal and consecration to the following of Christ."³ And we agree with the writer just quoted that the whole point of Paul's argument lies in the uselessness of sacraments apart from that ethical obedience

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 233, note 1.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 177 f.

³ Lambert, *The Sacraments in the New Testament*, p. 159.

to which believers have pledged themselves in these sacred ordinances.

Accordingly, it is a true instinct for facts which leads Weinel, in spite of his emphasis on the Mystery-element in Paul's religion, to the somewhat exaggerated assertion that "for Paul the sacrament was an alien body," and he very suggestively notes that in the entire Epistle to the Romans, "that document in which he sets forth and defends his own conception of Christianity, only once does baptism enter his mind (vi. 3 ff.), and the Lord's Supper not even once."¹ Similarly Holtzmann, from the same general standpoint, finds an irreducible contradiction between the mysterious virtue of the sacrament of Baptism in Paul and his conception of the life-giving Spirit with its free activities, bound to no action which can be assigned to a given point of time.² And Heitmüller can only account for the incongruity by explaining that Paul had not himself instituted the Sacrament of Baptism, but had found it already existing in the Christian society.³ But while we are far from confining the outlook of any great thinker within the bounds of a rigid logic, this notion of glaring contradictions in his thought is always apt to make us suspect the legitimacy of crediting him with the positions on which the judgment is based. It is so easy to isolate a conception from the general context of his thought, and thus to lay the emphasis on the wrong elements. Let us attempt to estimate Baptism in its relations to those features which Paul seems to regard as fundamental in Christian experience.

It will be universally admitted that for the Apostle's thought, possession of the Spirit is the indispensable condition of the Christian life, e.g., Romans viii. 9: "If any one

¹ *Biblische Theologie d. N. T.*, p. 330.

² *N. T. Theologie*², ii. p. 198.

³ *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, 1903, p. 23.

have not the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to him." Again and again throughout the Epistles he refers to this experience as crucial. Now if, as Lake and Heitmüller suppose, he regarded the baptismal rite as the actual vehicle by which salvation was conveyed to the Christian, it would seem inevitable that it should be given a prominent place in his many references to the gift of the Spirit. As a matter of fact, there is only one passage in which they are brought into close connexion, 1 Cor. xii. 13, and it occurs quite incidentally in his discussion of diversities of spiritual gifts. "For as the body is one and has many members, but all the members of the body, although many, are one body, so also is Christ. For by (or, in) one Spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks. . . . And we were all made to drink of one Spirit." The emphasis here is placed on the one community into which they were admitted on being baptized. The unity of Christians is the idea which stands before his mind. Baptism is a visible pledge of this unity in Christ. It has for Paul, as Holtzmann says, "social significance."¹ It is, of course, as we shall presently see, something more than a mere symbol. And probably the difficult phrase, πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν, does refer to the spiritual experiences associated with Baptism. If we interpret the vague expression, ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, in the light of its context, it seems most natural to explain it by means of verse 11: "all these [the various gifts] are wrought by one and the same Spirit, distributing to each separately according to his will." That is to say, the Spirit is regarded as active in the ordinance of Baptism. But there is no suggestion of the "unmediated and naked sacramental conception," which some scholars attribute to the Apostle.²

¹ *N. T. Theologie*², ii. p. 199.

² See a peculiarly crass statement in Schweitzer, *Geschichte d. Paulin. Forschung*, p. 166.

When Paul speaks of the reception of the Spirit, he is in the habit of connecting it with a quite definite group of experiences. Particularly instructive is Galatians iii. 2, where this is the very question at issue: "Did you receive the Spirit as the result of keeping the law, or was it the consequence of the hearing of faith?" The compressed phrase is elaborated in Romans x. 17: "So then faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ." Similar in tenor is Ephesians i. 13: "in whom [Christ] ye also, having heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation,—in whom, having also believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise." We doubt whether there is any reference to Baptism in the word *ἐσφραγίσθητε*. But if there were, it is obviously not the experience of regeneration which is referred to, but the joyful assurance of the new status in Christ Jesus. In 1 Corinthians ii. 4 he emphasises the manifestation of the power of the Spirit which accompanied his preaching, as contrasted with that lack of *σοφία* for which some of the Corinthians censured him, "that your faith might rest not on the wisdom of men but on the power of God." Again, in 1 Thessalonians ii. 13 he associates the Divine working in those that believe with their willing reception of his message. And in the remarkable utterance of 1 Corinthians iv. 15 he directly attributes their new life to the power of Christ operating in the Gospel.

If we turn to his profound conception of fellowship with Christ, we find ourselves in the same atmosphere. There are indeed one or two important passages in which Baptism appears as a primary element in the experience. These we shall examine immediately. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the clearest affirmation of communion with the risen Lord which has ever fallen from Paul's lips assigns the same prominence to *faith* as do his statements on the Spirit. "I through the law died to the law that I might live unto God. I have

been crucified with Christ, and no longer do I live, but Christ lives in me. And the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by faith, faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. ii. 19, 20). But this passage is also of importance as showing that death with Christ, which Lietzmann, Heitmüller and others identify with the baptismal experience, is something quite independent of that.

Here we enter the province of Paul's thought in which justification, forgiveness of sins, and the cross of Christ are the ruling ideas. And we venture to say, in flat contradiction of Heitmüller,¹ that these, and not "effects of a mystic-enthusiastic nature," are "the foci of Pauline piety." It seems needless to quote passages which prove that the new life, which means for Paul a right relation to God, is reached along the pathway of faith in Christ crucified and risen as the demonstration of the holy love of God in its bearing upon sinful men. Romans v. 1 is typical: "Therefore, having been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom also we have obtained access into that grace in which we stand." Everything fundamental for salvation is to be found there. But Paul's conception of union with Christ, which is supposed by Heitmüller, for example, to belong to the "physical-hyperphysical" atmosphere of Baptism, is discovered to be embedded in the stratum of thought which we are examining: see, e.g., Philippians iii. 9 ff.: "that I may win Christ and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God on account of (*ἐπί*) faith." To be in Christ, that is to say, is for Paul virtually identical with "having the righteousness of God," i.e., being justified, forgiven. Plainly, therefore, the central experiences of the Christian life are for the Apostle primarily associated with faith. Now the first of these

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

central experiences is the breaking off of relations with sin. Paul frequently connects it with fellowship with the death of Christ. "You died to the law [the régime in which sin is active] through the body of Christ" (Rom. vii. 4). This is expanded in Romans vi. 10 ff. : "in that he died, to sin he died once for all : but in that he lives, he lives unto God. So also do you reckon yourselves to be dead to sin but alive to God in Christ Jesus." And the meaning is elucidated by Colossians ii. 11 : "In whom you also were circumcised with the circumcision not made with hands in the stripping off of the body of flesh, in the circumcision of Christ." This inward circumcision means union with Him who on the cross abjured the flesh and all its implications. Obviously the metaphor is the same as that in Romans ii. 29 (*περιτομή καρδίας*), and it is impossible to identify it with Baptism, because it is deliberately described as "not made with hands." But in this and in a few other places, Paul brings Baptism into connexion with this death to sin, the distinctly Christian attitude. What does the relationship mean ?

Professor Lake has no difficulty in reaching a conclusion. "The Pauline doctrine of Baptism," he says, "is that on the positive side it gives the Christian union with Christ, which may also be described as inspiration with the Holy Spirit, while on the negative side it cleanses from sin. This is accomplished by the power of the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the sacramental effect of water, according to the well-known idea that results could be reached in the unseen spiritual world by the performance of analogous acts in the visible material world."¹ This explanation (which is also that of Heitmüller) stands in manifest antithesis to Paul's unvarying emphasis upon faith as the primary factor, on the human side, in salvation. Indeed Heitmüller asserts that it is not easy to see "that or how

¹ *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii., p. 382.

far, faith can play a really essential part in the process,"¹ an admission which, in the light of the Epistles, seems to us little less than a *reductio ad absurdum* of his hypothesis. Let us briefly examine the crucial passages.

Of fundamental importance is Romans vi. 1 ff. : "What shall we then say ? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound ? God forbid. We who died to sin, how shall we continue to live in it ? Or are you ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death. We were buried, therefore, with him through our baptism into his death, that, as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life." The passage can only be rightly understood from the argument which leads up to it. In chapter v. Paul has shown that faith, as linking the believer to Christ, has brought him into the sphere of those high privileges which he enjoys, experience of the Divine grace, hope, the love of God, the gift of the Holy Spirit. Can a faith of this kind be accused of being a solvent of right conduct ? Nay, everything belonging to justification involves a break with sin. Hence he states in verse 2 the basal principle of the Christian life, "we who died to sin." And then he proceeds to show that entrance into the Christian society emphasises and embodies the same principle. Baptism, the deliberate, decisive step which a man takes when he has surrendered his life to Christ, is not something vague or nebulous. It realises the meaning of Christ for the soul. The Christ into whose name the believer is baptized, that is, whose possession he becomes, is the Christ who was crucified, and who, in dying, made an end of sin both for His own person and for all who are united to Him by faith. And the very symbolism of the rite is an impressive picture of the believer's experiences. His disappearance beneath the water is a

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

vivid illustration of his separation from the old life of sin. It is a burial of the old existence, just as Christ's burial was a palpable proof that He had left behind Him His earthly conditions. Emergence from the baptismal water typifies entrance into a new environment, the life of the Christian society which is the life of the living Lord Himself, mediated to His followers by their fellowship with Him.

The real significance of this new life in Christ is made clear by the remarkable words of Colossians ii. 13 (which belong to a baptismal context): "You who were dead by reason of your transgressions and the uncircumcision of your flesh He (i.e. God) made alive with him (i.e. Christ), having forgiven us all our transgressions." Forgiveness is the presupposition of newness of life. But the Romans-passage is evidence that there is something more than symbolism in the baptismal celebration. There is indeed no suggestion that the pronounciation of the "name" of the Lord Jesus Christ, "if properly used, could enable the user to enjoy the benefits of the attributes attached to the owner of the name."¹ Nor is there any indication whatever of "the sacramental effect of water." But a comparison with Baptism on the mission-field to-day helps us to realise the situation with which Paul the missionary was thoroughly familiar. Whether, in the early Church, as Lambert holds, "there was no such thing . . . as a prolonged probation of the convert . . . but faith and baptism were connected with each other immediately,"² or whether, as we believe must frequently have happened, there intervened a period of instruction, Baptism must have meant a decision of momentous importance for the convert. Now, for the first time, he deliberately affirmed his allegiance to Christ before the world, and solemnly identified himself with the Christian brotherhood. This was the actual

¹ So Lake, *Dictionary of R. and E.*, p. 382.

² *The Sacraments in the N. T.*, p. 172.

spiritual crisis in which he turned his back upon his old associations, faced all manner of costly sacrifices, and committed himself, in utter dependence on the Divine grace and power, to a new manner of living. Rendtorff is fully justified in saying that an act which thus liberated the most powerful ethical motives "became a religious experience of the first rank."¹ In Baptism (of course, adult) something happened. Faith had been there before, receptiveness toward the good news of Christ. The Divine Spirit had been already present, taking of the things of Christ and showing them to the believer. But now, once for all, the convert makes his own the promptings of the Divine love in his heart. And thus there would come to him in his Baptism a wonderful spiritual quickening, a new enhancing of the power and grasp of faith, a fresh realisation of communion with the once crucified and now risen Lord. Hence there is good ground for the statement of Von Dobschütz that "according to the early-Christian view we may speak of real effects of Baptism in the sense that here the person does not give himself something by his activity, but God gives him what he has only to receive."²

What is true of the Romans-passage holds good also for the rest. "Ye are all sons of God," he declares in Galatians iii. 26, "through faith in Christ Jesus. For all of you who were baptized into Christ put on Christ." Does this mean that this faith is due to Baptism? Obviously not, for this Epistle is as forcible as Romans in its emphasis on faith as the first stage in the relation of the soul to Christ. The Apostle's words can only signify that in the solemn act of Baptism this faith is re-charged with spiritual energy and indeed reaches its crowning expression. In such a crisis, therefore, it may

¹ *Die Taufe im Urchristentum*, p. 32.

² See his very valuable article, *Sacrament und Symbol im Urchristentum* in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1905, i., p. 20.

be expected to achieve great things. And chief among its results will be an intensified consciousness of intimate fellowship with Christ, a fellowship which is here compared to the putting-on of a garment. Paul's special object on this occasion is to set forth the spiritual unity which springs from faith. And Baptism is the sacrament in which that unity becomes visible.¹

A similar background appears in the difficult passage, Colossians ii. 11, 12: "in whom [Christ] you also were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands in the stripping off of the body of flesh, in the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with him in baptism, in which (or, in whom) you were also raised up through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead." Here, as we have already noted, it is impossible to identify the "circumcision not made with hands" with the rite of Baptism. This is an inward experience, that profound fellowship with Christ crucified (Gal. ii. 19; Rom. vi. 6), that conformity to His death (Phil. iii. 10), which means the doing away with "the body of sin." The new life which it involves he associates directly, in verse 13, with the forgiveness of sins. But when he speaks of those who have undergone this change as "buried with Christ in baptism," he doubtless has in view, as in Romans vi. 1 ff., on the one hand the symbolism of the solemn rite as showing forth the completion of the process, and on the other the real recognition and assurance of the new life, which are quickened in the soul by the baptismal experience. It is highly significant that he immediately postulates the presence of faith as the psychological medium of the life of Christ in which they participate.²

¹ See a suggestive paragraph in Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 153: and cf. the close parallel in Ephesians iv. 4-6.

² See Lueken's admirable notes *ad loc.* (in *Die Schriften d. N. T.*, ed. J. Weiss).

In Ephesians v. 26 Paul speaks of Christ as "having purified the Church by the bath of water with the word." The language used has an evident reference to the lustration of the bride before marriage.¹ The notion of a baptism of the *ἐκκλησία* is plainly metaphorical. The most notable feature in the passage is the phrase *ἐν ῥήματι*, which must no doubt be interpreted, as in Romans x. 8, 17, of the proclamation of the Gospel. This accords with the place given to faith in the other passages on Baptism which we have examined.

There remain for consideration two references in 1 Corinthians. In chapter vi. he has been upbraiding them for going to law with their brethren before courts presided over by unrighteous men, who can have no share in the Kingdom of God. After enumerating glaring forms of unrighteousness he bursts forth: "and such were some of you: but ye had yourselves cleansed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God." Not much can be based on so incidental a reference. But probably Lambert is right in holding that the use of the middle here (*ἀπελούσασθε*) is intended "to remind them of the way in which at baptism they had consciously and deliberately separated themselves from the sinful world in which they previously lived, and joined themselves to that fellowship of the holy which was theirs by right, inasmuch as their baptism, precisely because they were believers, was the baptism of men . . . already sanctified in principle and justified in fact."²

Heitmüller and others have made much of 1 Corinthians xv. 29 as evidence for a crass form of sacramentalism approved by Paul. "Otherwise [i.e., if there be no resurrection] what shall they do who are baptized on behalf of the

¹ Note the technical expression *παρασθήση* (ver. 27), and see Von Soden *ad loc.* (in Holtzmann's *Hand-Commentar*).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

dead?" This curious reference occurs in a most varied series of arguments for the resurrection. Undoubtedly the practice must have existed in certain communities. No clear analogies have been detected in the Mystery-cults, although it is quite probable that in them it had its origin.¹ But it seems wholly illegitimate to suppose that because Paul pronounces no condemnation on a custom to which he refers, he must have given it his approval. This is surely a misapprehension of the very nature of the *argumentum ad hominem*. And there is force in Von Dobschütz's suggestion that the superstition belonged to the circle of the "sceptical" at Corinth, as "lack of faith and superstition come of the same lineage."²

We shall conclude with a brief summary. Our material for estimating the significance of baptismal rites in the Mystery-Religions is far too meagre to admit of dogmatic conclusions. But it is highly probable that they were conceived as working *ex opere operato*. An examination of Paul's utterances on Baptism does not suggest that in it we have a second principle of salvation, and that "the conceptions of justification and the forgiveness of sins are connected with Baptism only in a quite cursory fashion."³ On the contrary, the faith which welcomes the Divine message of forgiveness and new life in Christ crucified and risen is invariably presupposed as the background of the solemn ritual. It is in virtue of their faith that converts proceed to Baptism. But the ordinance is far more than a symbol of spiritual processes. It is a sacrament, that is, as Professor Bartlet admirably defines it, "a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of the Divine grace, already em-

¹ The parallels given by Rendtorff, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 1, are far from convincing.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 37.

³ So Heitmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

braced by faith. But all is psychologically conditioned, being thereby raised above the level of the magical or quasi-physical conception of sacramental grace.”¹

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

SPITTA ON JOHN XXI.

II

IN a previous paper we examined Spitta's hypothesis that chapter xxi. is really pre-Resurrection in its character and intention. We found that this position can only be maintained by a theory of wholesale interpolation. Signs are not wanting in this chapter that the original document with which the writer works has affinities not only with Lucan, but also with Johannine thought; but we are driven to the conclusion, whether we believe in the essential unity of the Fourth Gospel or not, that it is a hopeless task to discover any real literary connexion between the author of chapter xxi. and the rest of the Gospel. It is much more natural to conclude that, whatever be the motive for adding this final chapter, the writer of it found in the Gospel such a unity of thought and form, as made it impossible for him to incorporate with it his fresh material. It remains to adduce one or two further considerations of a more or less linguistic character, to prove that here we have a different kind of mind to that which produced chapters i.-xx.

1. The anonymity of the Beloved Disciple is a prominent characteristic of the Gospel. Spitta holds that the principle object of B was, in writing xxi., to indicate the real author of his *Grundschrift* as John, son of Zebedee. He does so expressly in verse 24, not only as *ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων*, but also as *ὁ γράψας ταῦτα*. In the language of the *Grund-*

¹ *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii., p. 377.