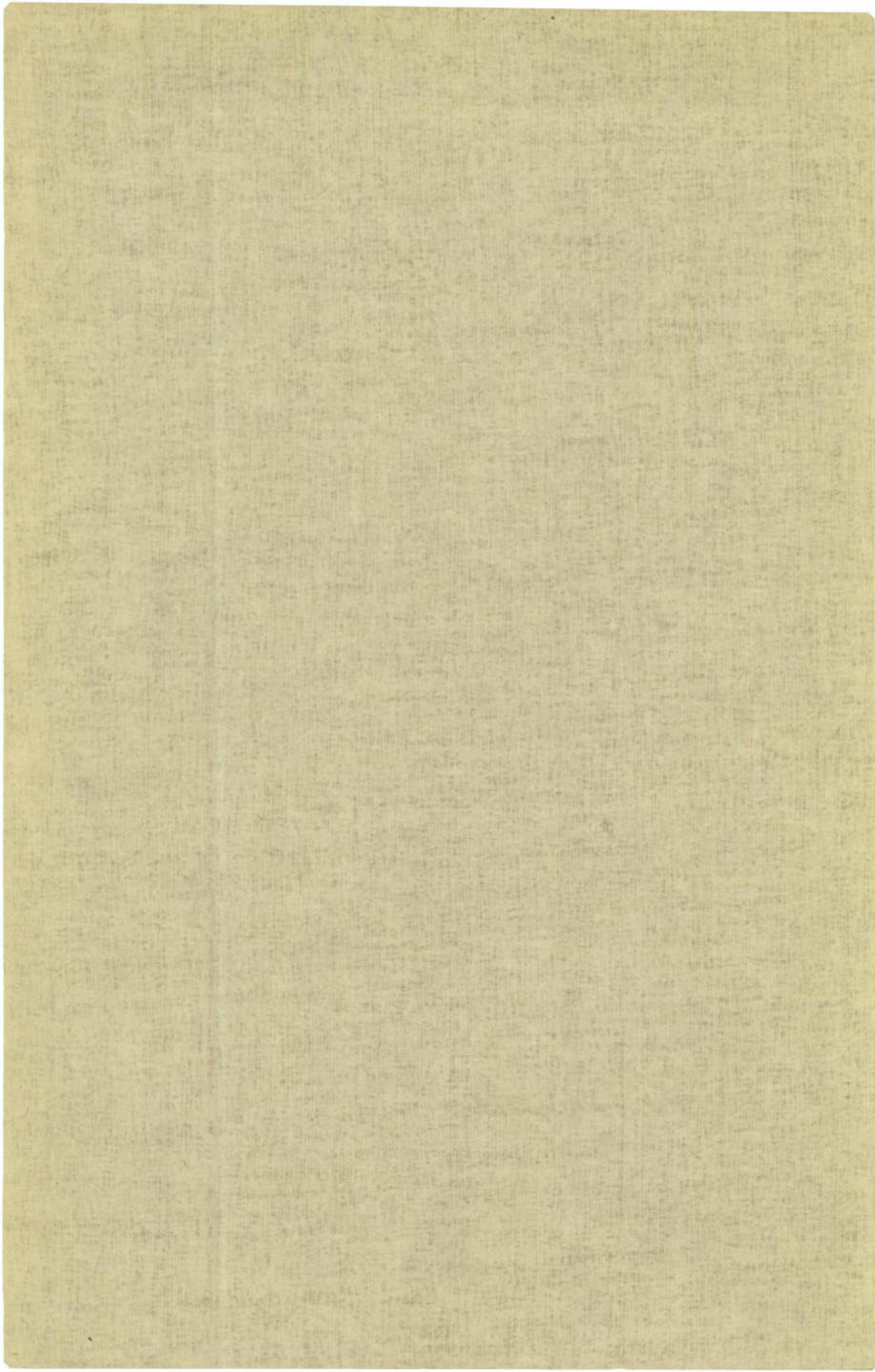


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GREEK BAPTISMAL TERMINOLOGY
ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

J. YSEBAERT



GREEK BAPTISMAL TERMINOLOGY

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACh	Antike und Christentum
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
DThC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
ETHL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JACH	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NT	Novum Testamentum
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RevSR	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
RhM	Rheinisches Museum Neue Folge
RivAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RömQ	Römisches Quartalschrift
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
RThom	Revue Thomiste
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.
STh	Studia Theologica
ThW	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
VCh	Vigiliae Christianae
WS	Wiener Studien
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

The abbreviations employed for epigraphical and papyrological texts are those adopted in LIDDELL-SCOTT. The Old Testament is generally quoted according to the Septuagint in the edition by RAHLFS, Stuttgart 1935. Important differences of divisions in the Hebrew Bible are given in brackets. The later Greek versions of the Old Testament are cited from FIELD, *Origenis Hexapla*, Oxford 1875 (Al ἄλλοι, Aq Aquila, Heb Ἑβραῖος, Quint · Quinta, Sext · Sexta, Sm Symmachus, Th Theodotion).

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Stellingen behorende bij J. YSEBAERT, *Greek Baptismal Terminology. Its Origins and Early Development*, Nijmegen 1962.

INTRODUCTION

BAPTISM and the subsequent rite by which the Holy Spirit is conferred – now, but not in the first centuries, known by the name of ‘confirmation’ – are of old the principal rites of admission into the Church. In order to refer to these rites an extensive terminology develops which reflects the importance attributed to them by the early Christians.

On the basis of the ritual act by which it is accomplished baptism is called a washing and an immersion. The Greek terms for this are dealt with in Part One of the present study. Other terms refer to the spiritual effects which baptism brings about in man and for this reason have become technical terms for the rite. Because of the transformation it accomplishes baptism is called a renewal, re-creation, and rebirth, and because of the knowledge it grants an enlightenment. The Greek terms for these effects are discussed in Parts Two and Three. The post-baptismal rite, some prebaptismal and other rites, often mutually connected or not correctly distinguished, are referred to as an imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing. The Greek terminology of these rites is dealt with in Part Four.

It is our intention, by as complete an examination of the texts as possible, to determine the origins and meanings of these four groups of terms. The material is classified chronologically but it must be borne in mind that it belongs to four milieus, pagan antiquity, Judaism, the New Testament, and early Christianity.

In each part the use of the terms in pagan antiquity has to be dealt with first since it forms the basis of the further development. Special attention is paid to the use of the terms in the pagan mysteries which it has been assumed exercised a direct influence upon the early Christian usage. To the material from pagan antiquity also belong later texts, notably from the magic and Hermetic literature, in which the use of the terms may be dependent upon the development undergone in the Jewish and Christian milieus.

The development of the Greek terms in the Jewish milieu takes place

under the influence of the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents. We must therefore take as our starting point the meanings of the Semitic terms in the Old Testament, the Jewish apocrypha, rabbinic literature, and Jewish sectarian writings including the Dead Sea Scrolls. This linguistic usage has been examined also in cases where no Greek equivalents for the meanings are known since it may be assumed that the Greek terms were used in a comparable manner in the Jewish milieu, and especially since the Hebrew and Aramaic usage may have directly influenced the development of the terms in the New Testament.

Data for the development of the Greek terms in the Jewish milieu are scarce. The sources are principally the Greek version of the Old Testament and the deutero-canonical and apocryphal writings which are either written in Greek or translated into that language. Supplementary data may sometimes be gleaned from the New Testament especially when Jewish authors speak of the usages and concepts of their fellow-countrymen. The same is true of Philo and Josephus although these authors betray a tendency to avoid Jewish linguistic usage and may thus also be considered as witnesses for the Hellenistic Greek of pagan antiquity.¹ The fragments which have been preserved of the later Greek Bible versions show a further stage in the development. The most important of these translations are completed in the second century A.D. Christian linguistic usage had become established in the meantime and exercised a negative influence since terms which have become highly esteemed among the Christians may now be avoided or used in a pejorative sense.²

After this investigation we can proceed to examine the rise of the baptismal terminology in the New Testament. In considering the semantic development we must now take into account the influence of the Semitic linguistic usage of the Jews, of their Greek usage, and also a direct dependence upon the Hellenistic Greek of pagan antiquity.

We found it necessary to implicate the Didache in the study of the New Testament terminology because, with reference to the terms examined, the usage of this document differs from that of the Apostolic Fathers while showing close similarities to that of the New Testament. For this reason we readily agree with a dating of the Didache in the first century, recently defended by Adam and Audet.³

¹ Cf. for this phenomenon CHR MOHRMANN, *Note sur doxa*, Études sur le latin des chrétiens, Rome 1961, I p 282 f., and below, p 23 ff. and 34

² For examples, see p 32, 123, 232 n 1, 234 and 241.

³ A. ADAM, *Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Didache*, Zeitschr f Kirchengesch 68, 1957,

In examining the development of the terminology in early Christian literature certain limits had to be imposed. The ordinary profane use of the terms which continues in the Christian texts is generally not taken into consideration but we must examine whether or not the connection between the profane and Christian meanings of the terms is still felt; this may serve to show to what extent the terms have become technical in the Christian meanings.

Quotations from the Old and New Testaments are sometimes of value in the absence of other data or on account of the frequency with which they occur, but in the main they too are left out of consideration.

In principle we have confined ourselves to the early Christian writings of the second and third centuries of which the Greek text has been preserved. It has, however, been necessary to extend our examination, especially when dealing with the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing. We must then have recourse to texts of which old versions have been preserved only, either in Latin or in oriental languages. It can also be useful to see how the Latin equivalents have developed. Sometimes too the data from the second and third centuries are so scarce or a meaning is still in such process of development that the later literature must be consulted in order to see how an early meaning has become established in the Christian linguistic usage.

In this manner the main texts consulted for the second century are the Apostolic Fathers, with the exception of the *Didache*, the Apologists, gnostic sources, a number of apocryphal writings of which some are gnostic in origin or at least suspected of gnostic influence, and Irenaeus.¹

The Odes of Solomon are included in the assumption that they contain allusions to baptism² and are a translation from the Greek.³

p. 1 ff., J.-P. AUDET, *La Didachè*, Paris 1958, p. 187 ff. For the opposite view E. PETERSON, *Über einige Probleme der Didache-Überlieferung*, *RivAC* 27, 1951, p. 37 ff.

¹ For general information concerning early Christian literature the reader is referred to J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, 3 vols. Utrecht 1950-60, and B. ALTANER, *Patrologie*, Freiburg i.B. 1958.

² This was argued especially by J. H. BERNARD, *The Odes of Solomon*, Texts and Studies 8.3, Cambridge 1912, Cf. also F.-M. BRAUN, *L'énigme des Odes de Salomon*, *RThom* 57, 1957, p. 597 ff., and below, p. 342 f. and 392 f.

³ Cf. E. A. ABBOTT, *The Original Language of the Odes of Solomon*, *JThS* 14, 1913, p. 441 ff., R. H. CONNOLLY, *Greek the Original Language of the Odes of Solomon*, *JThS* 14, 1913, p. 530 ff., E. A. ABBOTT-R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Original Language of the Odes of Solomon*, *JThS* 15, 1914, p. 44 ff., and see below, p. 392 f..

The Acts of Thomas, preserved in Greek and in Syriac, are in their present form dated in the first half of the third century. In our opinion they are an originally Greek composition,¹ describing a gnostic baptismal ceremony which is similar to others found in second century texts from Syria and Asia Minor. They are therefore dealt with together. The well-known acrostic from the Sibylline Oracles seems also to have been composed in Syria and still in the second century.² The Epistle of the Apostles, of which the original text is preserved in a complete Ethiopic and a fragmentary Coptic version, is dated in the second half of the second century and attributed variously to Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria.³ The meaning of the seal in this document agrees best with a Syrian origin at the end of that century.⁴

Of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the Acts of John are the earliest and were composed in Asia Minor in the middle of the second century. They are followed in the same region and in the same century by the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul. A large portion of the Acts of Peter has been preserved in a Latin version under the title *Actus Petricum Simone*. Of the Acts of Paul are extant in Greek a papyrus fragment, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the Martyrdom of Paul. They depend on the Acts of Peter as has been argued by Schmidt.⁵ His opinion is confirmed by the meaning of the seal in these Acts.⁶

From the linguistic point of view the works of Irenaeus, although composed in Lyons, form part of the Asia Minor writings. Where Greek fragments of his *Haereses* are lacking we quote the old Latin version. For his Demonstrations we are dependent on the old Armenian version of the lost Greek original.

In dealing with the writings from the third century and later it is sometimes of importance to establish a geographical classification on the basis of the local differences which may occur in the meanings of the

¹ This was the opinion of the editor of the Syriac text W. WRIGHT, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London-Edinburgh 1871, I p. XIV, and of M. BONNET, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig 1903, II 2 p. XX ff. The opposite view was upheld by NÖLDEKE in R. A. LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Braunschweig 1884, II 2 p. 423 ff., and F. C. BURKITT, *The Original Language of the Acts of Judas Thomas*, JThS 1, 1900, p. 280 ff., *Another Indication of the Syriac Origin of the Acts of Thomas*, JThS 3, 1902, p. 94 f. Our arguments see below, p. 343 ff. and 417 ff.

² See p. 416 f.

³ Cf. C. SCHMIDT, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, Texte und Untersuchungen 43, Leipzig 1919, p. 361 ff., J. DE ZWAAN, *Date and Origin of the Epistle of the Apostles*, Amicitiae Corolla, London 1933, p. 344 ff

⁴ See p. 297 f.

⁵ C. SCHMIDT, *Acta Pauli*, Hamburg 1936, p. 127 ff.

⁶ See p. 394.

terms. In Africa we must consider the Latin linguistic usage mainly in Tertullian, Cyprian, and the anonymous *De rebaptismate*. For Rome we have Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition and a few papal documents. We support the current opinion rather than the recent assertion made by Hanssens that the Apostolic Tradition originated in Egypt.¹ Our conviction is based on the fact that this document attributes a meaning to the seal that is out of keeping with Egypt and especially that it gives a postbaptismal liturgy which is exclusively and typically early Roman.² We quote the old Latin version and, where this is missing, Dix's restoration in English of the lost Greek original.

In the East we deal first with the writers from Egypt, principally Clement of Alexandria. Data from the works of Origen extant in Greek can, with the necessary reservations, be supplemented from the writings which are only preserved in Latin translation. From the fourth century Athanasius, Serapion of Thmuis, and Didymus the Blind may be quoted.

Among the writers of Palestinian origin we have first Eusebius of Caesarea. Of importance are also the Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem, the Mystagogical Catecheses attributed to him, and the anti-heretical writings of Epiphanius of Salamis.

The Didascalia provides precious information concerning the rise of the baptismal terminology in Eastern and Western Syria. It was composed in the third century perhaps by a bishop of a small community somewhere between Antioch and Edessa. Its baptismal liturgy, which underlies both the East and West Syrian ritual, points to an early date in that century.³ The Greek original has been preserved in the amplification of the Apostolic Constitutions. Most of it can be restored with passable certainty with the help of the fragmentary old Latin and the complete old Syriac versions. Also important for Eastern Syria in the third century are the Acts of Thomas in their present form. The later development of the Syriac equivalents can be examined in the writings of Aphraates and Ephraem.

The peculiar development of the baptismal ceremony in Syria renders it desirable to examine also the later West Syrian terminology. John Chrysostom, of whom the newly discovered baptismal Catecheses are of particular importance, informs us about the liturgy of Antioch, the Catechetical Homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia preserved in a

¹ J. M. HANSENS, *La liturgie d'Hippolyte*, Rome 1959.

² See p. 355.

³ R. H. CONNOLLY, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford 1929, p. LXXXVII ff.

Syriac translation refer to a slightly different ritual, apparently that of Mopsuestia, and the interpolator of the Apostolic Constitutions describes a ritual which is very akin to that found in Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹

Little information is to be obtained in the third century concerning the development of the baptismal terminology in Asia Minor. The main sources are Methodius of Olympus and the letter of Firmilian of Caesarea to Cyprian preserved in a Latin translation in the latter's correspondence. They may be supplemented by a few texts from the Cappadocian Fathers.

Some anonymous writings, notably apocryphal documents and passions of martyrs, often cannot be attributed to any particular region or time. They also testify more to the popular milieu in which this literature originated.

In early Christian literature a separate treatment must be given to those texts in which the technical terms are applied to concepts and rites from pagan antiquity, Judaism, and heretical Christianity. This occurs according to a process generally accepted in antiquity following which everyone applies his own technical terms to foreign concepts. Thus the shophets in Carthage may be termed consuls and the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem a senate. In this manner Christian terms acquire new meanings. In other cases at least allusions are made to a meaning which the term assumed elsewhere. The application of the terms to heretical rites is made on the one hand by the heretics themselves who, according to the fragments of their writings that have been preserved, retained the Christian terms to use them for their own rites and on the other by outsiders, in particular by the heresiologists, who, generally without taking into consideration the semantic development in the sects, apply again their own Christian terms to the heretical rites.

Information concerning the heretical terminology is sometimes of particular importance since in the absence of direct sources it gives evidence of the linguistic usage which existed among the Christians at the time when the sect broke away. In this manner they provide a valuable supplement notably to the terminology of the postbaptismal rite in the second century.

The material from pagan, biblical, Jewish, and Christian sources has been collected with the aid of lexica, concordances, and indexes, and from the literature dealing with these terms. In cases where the indexes for the early Christian writings were insufficient or non-existent we have

¹ See p. 314 ff.

gone through the texts ourselves. In a classification on the basis of the meanings assumed by the terms in various times and milieus the texts are, in principle, dealt with in that place only where they belong according to the meaning we attribute to a particular instance and not according to the meanings attributed to it by tradition or by scholars. The cross references and the index may serve to facilitate the finding of the texts. For practical reasons texts in oriental languages are quoted in English translation with a transliteration of the technical terms. We have made use of the existing translations, although with slight alterations wherever a more literal rendering of the original was required.

The meanings of the terms in the various stages of their development has often been the subject of learned discussion by archaeologists, historians of religion, exegetes, theologians, patrologists, and liturgists. A divergence of conclusions has thus often been attained which extends beyond the domain of linguistics proper. It is not our intention to examine anew all the problems raised but only those in which a semantic investigation may be expected to contribute to a solution.

PART ONE

WASHING AND IMMERSION

THE terms λούειν, βαπτίζειν, and derivatives define baptism from the point of view of the ritual act as a washing and an immersion of the body. They become associated as religious terms in Judaism and via this milieu are adopted into the Christian language. There remains, however, a divergency of opinions with regard to the meanings of the terms in the various stages of their development.

The linguistic problems which arise in this connection have been dealt with in many studies on baptism; most of them are discussed in the articles of Oepke in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch*.¹

¹ A OEPKE, Βάπτω, βαπτίζω, βαπτισμός, βάπτισμα, βαπτιστής, ThW I p 527 ff, Λούειν, ἀπολούειν, λουτρόν, ThW IV p 297 ff, cf also art *Taufe*, PW IV A c 2501 ff (FASCHER), G MARSH, *The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism*, Manchester 1941, F J LEENHARDT, *Le baptême chrétien*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1944, CH DE BEUS, *De oud-christelijke doop*, 2 vols Haarlem 1945 8, W F FLEMINGTON, *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism*, London 1948, A STENZEL, *Die Taufe*, Innsbruck 1958, A KIRCHGASSNER, *Die machtigen Zeichen*, Freiburg i B 1959, G B LADNER, *The Idea of Reform*, Cambridge Mass 1959, A review of recent literature dealing with baptism is given by V WARNACH, *Taufe und Christusgeschehen nach Römer 6*, ALW 3, 1954, p 284 ff, *Die Tauflehre des Römerbriefes in der neueren theologischen Discussion*, ALW 5, 1956, p 274 ff

CHAPTER ONE

THE TERMS FOR WASHING AND IMMERSION IN PAGAN ANTIQUITY

IN pagan antiquity (1) λούειν and derivatives are current in a profane sense which presents no special difficulties, so that a brief mention will suffice. The profane use of βαπτίζειν, however, demands more attention in order to determine its exact meaning. It will thus be possible to make a distinction with the sacral meaning which it later acquired in the Jewish and Christian milieus. (2) In a sacral sense λούειν and λουτρόν appear to have been current along with other terms for ritual washings, but βαπτίζειν is not found in this connection. (3) On the other hand, indications for a sacral use of βαπτίζειν are found in pagan texts in cases where pagans adopt the Jewish-Christian use of the verb or are unable to avoid it altogether.

1. *The profane usage*

A short survey and a few pertinent remarks on the profane use of λούειν, βαπτίζειν, and derivatives may serve as the basis of our research.¹

From Homer onwards λούειν is the normal term for 'to wash', 'to bathe': λούσατε τ' ἐν ποταμῷ Od. 6.210, in the middle voice 'to wash oneself', 'to take a bath'. It is nearly always used for the cleansing of the whole body, while νίζειν (νίπτειν) is the term for the washing of hands and feet, and πλύνειν for the washing of clothes. The compound ἀπολούειν has the same meaning as the simple form but lays more emphasis upon the removal of dirt: ἄλμην ὤμοισιν ἀπολούσομαι Homer Od. 6.219. The noun λουτρόν 'a bath' is always used by Homer in the plural: θέρμα λοετρά Il. 14.6, but the singular is already found in Hesiod: γυναικείῳ λουτρῷ χροῖα φαιδρύνεσθαι Op. 753.

The verb βαπτίζειν is an intensive form of βάπτειν. A survey of the meanings of the latter verb may therefore precede the examination of βαπτίζειν.

(1) The normal meaning of βάπτειν is 'to dip'. It is found once in

¹ Cf. H. G. LIDDELL-R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1925-40, s.v.

Homer for the dipping of iron into water: πέλεκυν..εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ Od. 9.391 f. It seldom occurs in the middle voice: ποταμοῖο ἐβάψατο (sc. ἡ κορώνη) Aratus Phaen. 951, or intransitively: ἐὰν βάπτωσι (sc. αἱ ἐγγέλους) Aristotle Hist.Anim. 592a18, and thence: ναῦς..ἔβαψεν Euripides Or. 706 f., 'the ship sank'.

(2) The verb is used particularly for dipping into dye, whence 'to dye': εἴμματα..βεβαμμένα Herodotus Hist. 7.67, τὰς τρίχας..βάπτειν Ant.Pal. 11.68, and in the middle voice, 'to dye oneself': βάψομαι καὶ παρατιλοῦμαι Menander fr. 363.

(3) In Hellenistic Greek the verb occasionally has the meaning of 'to draw' (water): ἀνθ' ὕδατος τᾶ κάλπιδι κηρία βάψαι Theocritus Idyll. 5.127, νῆα..βάπτουσαν ἤδη κῦμα Babrius Fab. 71.1 f. An early instance of this development is the expression in Euripides: βαπτὰν κάλπισι ρυτὰν παγὰν Hipp. 123, which implies the construction βάπτειν ὕδωρ κάλπισι instead of the normal βάπτειν κάλπιδα εἰς ὕδωρ or ὕδατι.¹

(1) The normal meaning of βαπτίζειν is 'to dip' or 'to plunge' like that of βάπτειν but it differs from this by the connotation of 'to cause to perish'. It is found for the first time in Plato who uses it of a boy who gets the worst of an argument: ἐγὼ γνοῦς βαπτιζόμενον τὸ μειράκιον Euth. 277d, and in the sense of 'to drench in wine', 'to make drunk': καὶ γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι τῶν χθὲς βεβαπτισμένων Symp. 176b. In the Middle Comedy poet Eubulus the word is preserved in a fragment of his Nausicaa; he is probably speaking mockingly of Odysseus who is tossed about the sea: δς νῦν τετάρτην ἡμέραν βαπτίζεται νῆστιν πονήρου κεστρέως τρίβων βίον fr. 68.

From these texts it is evident that the verb occurs occasionally in the classical period. In all known cases it is used metaphorically and in order to impart a comic accent to the sentence. This may be explained by assuming that the verb was older in the literal sense of 'to cause to perish' but belonged to the popular and not to the literary language.

The word did, however, gain acceptance in Hellenistic Greek, and was used indiscriminately in both the literal and figurative senses. Pollux mentions it as a technical term of navigation, 'to sink' (a ship): βαπτίσαι Onom. 1.124, and in the middle voice 'to perish' (at sea): βαπτίσεσθαι ib. 1.114. From the time of Polybius this meaning regularly occurs: πολλὰ τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβάπτιζον Hist. 1.51.6, cf. 16.6.2, Plutarch

¹ Cf. W. G. RUTHERFORD, *Babrius*, London 1883, p. 68.

Marc. 15.3 (conj. [ἀν]εβάπτειζον). Strabo knows of a lake in Sicily in which even non-swimmers cannot sink: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολύμβοις βαπτίζεσθαι συμβαίνει Geogr. 6.2.9. Soranus mentions the plunging of a scalpel into an embryo: εἰς τὰς σφαγὰς βαπτίζεσθαι..εἰς τὸ ἔμβρυον Gyn. 2.63. The verb is often used figuratively in expressions like: συμφοραῖς ἀνεκέσταις βαπτίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν Philo Det.Pot. 176, ἐβάπτισαν τὴν πόλιν Josephus Bell. 4.137, βαπτιζομένους ὑπο τῶν πραγμάτων Plutarch Mor. 593f, ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι βεβαπτισμένη (sc. ψυχῇ) Plotinus Enn. 1.8.13.¹

(2) The meaning 'to draw' (water) is already found in the fourth century B.C. in the comic writer Aristophon. He tells how a master frees his female slave while offering her a cup of wine, which is referred to as 'strongly drawing': ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε βαπτίσας ἐρρωμένως fr. 14.5. The text presumes the use of βάπτειν in the meaning of 'to draw'. The preference for the intensive form is explained by the exaggerated and mocking tone apparent from the context. This again indicates the popular character of βαπτίζειν in the classical period.

Later Plutarch uses the verb in this meaning to picture the joy of Alexander's soldiers who with various bowls draw wine from large jars: βαπτίζοντες ἐκ πίδαων μεγάλων Alex. 67.4.² This meaning is, for the rest, not found elsewhere.

With the verbs βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν the matter in which the object is dipped is commonly indicated by the prepositions εἰς or ἐν, which assumes an application of the object to the liquid. One finds, however, in Aristophanes: τάρια βάπτουσι θερμῷ Eccl. 215 f., in which the instrumental dative seems to imply that the warm water is poured over the wool. This construction is common in the figurative use of βαπτίζειν and thus sometimes evokes the same image.

The noun βαπτισμός 'dipping in water', 'immersion', which also contains the connotation of a perishing is found in only a few texts in pagan antiquity and then in fairly late authors. It occurs in its literal sense in Antyllus: κόλυμβος..καὶ βαπτισμός ap. Orib.Coll. 10.3.9. Elsewhere it is used metaphorically, on the model of the verb, in an

¹ The metaphorical meaning is also found in Hippocrates: ἐκ τοῦ βεβαπτίσθαι ἀναπνέουσι Epid 5.63, and Evenus: βαπτίζει δ' ὑπὸ Anth Pal. 11.49 These texts, however, fit into the historical development given, for the one of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* is not earlier than the Hellenistic period, while the epigram must probably be attributed to a poet of the first century A D and not to Evenus of Paros, cf art. *Euenos*, PW VI c. 976 (REITZENSTEIN).

² MADVIG's correction *κυσθίζοντες*, adopted in the edition of C LINDSKOG-K. ZIEGLER, *Vitae Parallelae*, Leipzig 1935, II 2 p 275, is unnecessary

excerpt from Anatolius: εἰς κακίας βαπτισμὸν Theol.Arith. p. 30 A., especially for the incarnation of the soul: βαπτισμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως Corp.Herm. fr. 25.8, and for lethargic sleep in Archigenes and Posidonius: τὸν βαπτισμὸν ὑπομένουσιν ap. Aëtium Med. 6.3. The noun βάπτισμα is not found in pagan literature.

In the profane language of pagan antiquity thus λούειν was the ordinary word for the washing of the whole body, and ἀπολούειν emphasized the removal of dirt. The usual meaning of βαπτίζειν is 'to cause to perish' in both the literal and figurative senses. It was probably considered too popular in the classical period for adoption in the literary language other than to express a certain degree of mockery and exaggeration.

2. The religious usage

According to the primitive concept certain events and conditions result in a state of impurity. The Greeks and other peoples of antiquity were familiar with this idea. Purification could be attained among other means by bathing, by washing the hands, and by aspersion. For ritual purity one finds καθαρός, ἄγνος, and derivatives. For purification through bathing the common terms are λούειν and λουτρόν. The compound ἀπολούειν is rare. One uses νίζειν and derivatives for the washing of the hands and ράινειν and derivatives, especially those with περι-, for aspersion.

Ancient writers often mention ritual ablutions which were performed on various occasions and an abundant material has been several times assembled.¹ A short survey will show, besides λούειν and λουτρόν, a few less common terms.

Plato enumerates as means of purification the purgations used in medicine and soothsaying, the fumigations with medicinal and magic drugs, and the baths and sprinklings connected with this sort of thing: ἡ κάθαρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ αἱ τοῖς ἰατρικοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ αἱ τοῖς μαντικοῖς περιθειώσεις τε καὶ τὰ λουτρά τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ αἱ περιρράνσεις Crat. 405ab. He uses the

¹ Already a considerable number of texts in J. LOMEIER, *Epimenides sive de veterum gentium lustrationibus syntagma*, Zutphen ²1700, especially p. 195 ff., further TH. WÄCHTER, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, Giessen 1910, E. FEHRLE, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Giessen 1910, especially p. 25 ff., J. THOMAS, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, Gembloux 1935, p. 288 ff., 314 ff., ΟΕΡΚΕ, *art cit*, ThW IV p. 298 ff.

compound ἀπολούειν with an allusion to the name of Apollo who is the purifying god: ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολούων τε καὶ ἀπολύων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν *ib.* 405b.

One of the principal occasions of impurity which made bathing necessary was sexual intercourse. Herodotus mentions this in connection with the Babylonians and Arabians: ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούονται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι. *Hist.* 1.198, and for the Egyptians: μηδὲ ἀλούτως ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι *ib.* 2.64. The rules of the cult of the Lycian Xanthus for a temple founded by him in Sunion require a complete bath after sexual intercourse: καθαριζέσθω δὲ ἀπὸ . . . [γ]υναικός· λουσαμένους δὲ ἀθήμερον εἰσ[πορεύ]εσθαι SIG 1042.4 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), *cf.* *ib.* 982 (after 133 A.D.). Aelianus mentions a spring in which Hera bathed after intercourse with Zeus: ἐνταῦθα ἀπελούσατο *Nat. Anim.* 12.30. Another circumstance requiring a purifying bath is female menstruation. Hesiod's words: γυναικείῳ λουτρῷ *Op.* 753 refer perhaps to this. This bath is also required by Xanthus: ἐκ τῶν γυναικείων λουσαμένην SIG 1042.5. In addition, both birth and death result in pollution and thus necessitate a bath. This is probably the reason why a dead body was washed, as mentioned by Sophocles: λούσαντες ἀγρόν λουτρόν *Ant.* 1201, *cf.* Homer *Il.* 18.350. Contact with a dead body and taking part in a funeral also rendered a person impure. In Homer the Greeks cleanse themselves of the plague: οἱ δ' ἀπελυμαίνοντο *Il.* 1.314. The god Aesclepius cures after a prescribed bath: λουόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἤλγησα SIG 1170.22. Finally, the bloodshed in war, manslaughter and other crimes rendered a man impure. In Homer, Hector refuses to offer a libation with unwashed hands: χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν *Il.* 6.266, *cf.* 6.268, Virgil *Aen.* 2.719 f.

Several of the texts quoted show that purity was required before contact with the gods, in particular before prayer and before entering a temple. Purification to this end is also mentioned without any reference to a preceding pollution. Homer mentions a bath taken by Penelope before praying: ὕδρηναμένη *Od.* 4.759, and Telemachus washes his hands before invoking the gods: χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολιῆς ἀλός εὐχετ' Ἀθήνῃ *ib.* 2.261. The emperor Julian mentions rules of purification to be followed before entering a temple: οὐ θέμις προσελθεῖν ἐστὶ πρῶν ἀπολούσασθαι *Ep.* 76 (77).

Usually the person concerned bathed himself, but in a few cases the intervention of a priest is mentioned: θύει ἱαρρεὺς καὶ ἀπορραίνεται θαλάσῃ SIG 1026.23 f., *cf.* Athenaeus *Dipn.* 9.410a.

In several cults sacral baths were known and these have been

considered by some as part of the initiation rite,¹ although in most cases it is difficult to establish that they were anything more than a preliminary purification rite such as were known everywhere. In Eleusis one of the streams called 'Πειτοί served for the purification of the initiates: Hesychius s.v. 'Πειτοί: ὁ δὲ.. ἔθεν τοῖς λουτροῖς (MSS. τοὺς λουτρούς) ἀγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους, and s.v. ὑδρανός: ὁ ἀγνιστῆς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, cf. for the lesser mysteries Polyaeus Strat. 5.17.1, for Adania SIG 736.107, among the Pythagoreans Diogenes Laertius Vit. 8.33, among the Orphics Pausanias Per. 9. 30.4, in the cults of Sabazius and of Dionysus Demosthenes Or. 18.259, Pausanias Descr. 9.20.4.

Livy mentions a bath before initiation into the Bacchic mysteries in Italy: *decem dierum castimonia opus esse: decimo die cenatum, deinde pure lautum in sacrarium deducturam* Hist 39.9.4. The same custom formed part of the initiation into the Isis mysteries, according to Apuleius' account of Lucius' initiation: *iamque tempore, ut aiebat sacerdos, id postulante, stipatum me religiosa cohorte deducit ad proximas balneas et prius sueto lauacro traditum, praefatus deum ueniam, purissime circummorans abluit* Met. 11.23. Tertullian mentions similar baths for various cults: *nam et sacris quibusdam per lauacrum initiantur Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae* Bapt. 5.1. In the Mithras cult fire was used at the initiation to a higher degree on account of its cleansing properties; in this case water was shunned as a hostile element. Porphyry speaks of this fire as the *νίπτρον* 'water for washing' proper to this degree: *καί, ὡς μύστη καθαρτικοῦ ἔντος τοῦ πυρός, οἰκεῖα νίπτρα προσάγουσι* Ant. 15. The same noun is found on a graffito in the Mithreum of Dura-Europus. The text speaks of a fiery breath as the *νίπτρον*, sacred also for the magi: *ἐμπυρωτὸν ἄσθμα, τὸ καὶ μάγοις νίπτρον ἔσιον.*² The word had thus an established place in the terminology of this cult.

From all this it appears that the terms *λούειν* and *λουτρόν* were common in the various cults but that there is no real evidence of a proper terminology for the sacral bath in any cult. One can only quote *ὑδρανός* for Eleusis and *νίπτρον* for the Mithras cult.

An indication that *βάπτειν* was a technical term for a ritual bath may be found in the name *βάπτται* applied to the members of a little known sect, not held in great esteem either by the Greeks or the Romans. They celebrated the mysteries of Cotytto, a Thracian goddess worship-

¹ Thus J LEIPOLDT, *Die urchristliche Taufe im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1928, p 38 ff, for the opposite view THOMAS, *op cit*, p 319

² Text according to W VOLLGRAFF, *Une inscription gravée sur un vase cultuel mithriaque*, Amsterdam 1955, p 4

ped with orgiastic rites.¹ Eupolis called a play after them according to Lucian, *Ind.* 27; later, Juvenal knows of them in Rome, *Sat.* 2.91 f. They were considered very effeminate and their name may possibly be connected with βάπτειν in the sense of 'to dye'. If this is indeed so they are of no interest for our investigation but at the same time there is the possibility that they were called 'dippers' on the basis of a different conception of the sacral bath. The scarce data preserved concerning the cult are not informative on this matter but one may compare the use of *mergere* by some Latin writers in speaking of ordinary sacral baths. Alongside: *pureque lauari* Tibullus *Eleg.* 1.3.25, one finds: *Tiberino in gurgite mergis mane caput bis terque et noctem flumine purgas* Persius *Sat.* 2.15 f., *ter matutino Tiberi mergetur ... caput abluet* Juvenal *Sat.* 6.522 f. The verb *mergere* is used here for persiflage in referring to the repeated bathing in the Tiber. It may be that long before a similar mocking intention caused the worshippers of Cotytto to be called βάπται.

The verb βαπτίζειν, given its connotation of a perishing, is not lightly to be expected in this connection. Only Reitzenstein thought he might have found it in the sense of 'to baptize' in a papyrus dating from c. 152 B.C.² The text contains a letter in which the young Apollonius sarcastically expresses his disappointment to his brother Ptolemy, a κάτοχος in the Serapeum at Memphis: 'For you lie and so do your gods, for they have cast us into a great slime and in which we may die, and if you have seen (in a dream) that we shall be saved (from this slime) then we are immersed', ὅτι ψεύδῃ πάντα καὶ οἱ παρὰ σὲ θεοὶ ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἐνβέβληκαν ἡμᾶς εἰς ὕλην μεγάλην καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ἴδης ὅτι μέλλομεν σωθῆναι, τότε βαπτίζομεθα UPZ 70.³ The profane meaning of βαπτίζειν is quite sufficient in this context and Reitzenstein's interpretation has aroused only criticism.⁴ He then admitted himself that it was not tenable.⁵

In the Greek pagan terminology for cultic purity we thus find λούειν, λουτρόν for the sacral bath alongside general terms like ἀγνίζειν and καθαίρειν. The compound ἀπολούειν is not usual except in a late

¹ Cf art *Kotys*, PW XI c 1551 (SCHWENN)

² R REITZENSTEIN, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig 1910, p 77 ff

³ REITZENSTEIN read ἡμᾶς οὐ δυνάμεθα βαπτίζομεθα according to the edition in PPar 47

⁴ See the literature in the edition by U WILCKEN, UPZ 70, also F J DÖLGER, *Die Bedeutung von βαπτίζεσθαι in einem Papyrustext des Jahres 152/151 v Chr*, ACh 2, 1930, p 57 ff, and OEPKE, *art cit*, ThW I p 529

⁵ Cf REITZENSTEIN, *op cit* ²1920, p 85 f, and ³1927, p 207 For Tertullian's reports on pagan baths see below p 78 and 153

period. Possibly βάπτειν was used for a bath by immersion, but βαπτίζειν must be excluded on account of its connotation of a perishing. There is little trace of a proper terminology in specific cults.

3. *Adoption and avoidance of the Jewish-Christian usage*

A few occurrences of βαπτίζειν belonging to pagan antiquity are independent of what we have seen up to now. Here the Jewish usage of the verb in the middle voice and the Christian use of the active and passive for a ritual bath without the idea of a perishing was adopted by the pagans, especially in magic and in Hermetism. The more educated of pagan authors, however, show a tendency to avoid this use of the verb.

One cannot simply state that the use of the middle voice must be derived from the Jews and the passive from the Christians. The Christians came to use the passive because their rite was performed by an officiant. It may therefore be that, when the term was borrowed from the Christians, the passive was transformed again into the middle voice if there was no officiant.

The Hermetic literature provides an example of this. God sends to earth a basin filled with the Νοῦς and causes to be proclaimed to the hearts of men that they must baptize themselves therein: βάπτισον σεαυτήν ἢ δυναμένη (sc. καρδία) εἰς τούτον τὸν κρατῆρα. Hereupon follows the announcement: ἐβάπτισαντο τοῦ νόος Corp.Herm. 4.4. Then Tat makes known to Hermes his desire to be baptized: κάγω βαπτισθῆναι βούλομαι ib. 4.6. The alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis says likewise: καὶ καταδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸν Ποιμάνδρην καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα τῷ κρατῆρι, ἀνάδραμε Organ. 22. An adoption of the verb from Judaism cannot explain the passive, but borrowing from Christianity is here sufficient explanation: in so far as an objection to the passive form exists this again leads to a use of the middle voice or a paraphrase thereof.¹

The middle voice of the verb recurs in two magic papyrus texts. To some rules for incantations is added the advice to wash and baptize oneself: καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ βαπτισάμενος ἀνάβα παρὰ σαυτ[ό]ν PMag. 7.44I f. (3rd cent. A.D.), καὶ ἐνάλλου τῷ ποταμῷ μεθ' ἧς ἔχεις ἐσθῆτος βαπτισάμενος ἀναποδίζων ἄνελθε ib. 4.43 f. (4th cent. A.D.). The verb in the middle voice must be derived from Jewish or Christian linguistic usage.

A passage from Plutarch also provides evidence of the adoption of

¹ Otherwise LEIPOLDT, *op.cit.*, p. 26 n. 4.

the middle voice in magic texts. The writer warns against superstitious practices to combat fear, among which the recommendation of dipping oneself in the sea: βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Mor. 166a. In the context σαββατισμοί are mentioned as remedies, which points to Jewish influence.¹ Plutarch must have objected to the use of the middle voice on the grounds of the general linguistic usage and replaces it by the paraphrase σεαυτὸν βαπτίζειν.

The avoidance by Arrian is even stronger. For the baptism of proselytes he prefers βάπτεισθαι to the Jewish middle voice βαπτίζεσθαι. A comparison is made between the Stoic disciple and the proselyte, and it is remarked in this connection that one is not a true Jew until one has also taken upon oneself the πάθος of one who has dipped himself: δταν δὲ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου.. Epict. Diss. 2.9.20.² The replacement of βαπτίζειν by βάπτειν enables, moreover, a play on words: οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβαπτισταί, λογῶ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔργῳ δ' ἄλλο τι ib. 2.9.21. The word παραβαπτιστής can be associated with βαπτ(ί)ζειν 'to immerse' and with βάπτειν in the sense of 'to dye': he 'who has received baptism insincerely' is also 'sailing under false colours'.

Educated Greek writers must have had the same objection to the Christian use of βαπτίζειν as Arrian to the Jewish. An indication of this may be that the philosopher Celsus uses λούειν instead of βαπτίζειν for the baptism of Christ in a fragment of his True Discourse preserved by Origen: λουομένῳ, φησί, σοί (i.e. Jesus) παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Cels. 1.41.

The Jewish and Christian usage of βαπτίζειν appears thus to have penetrated to some extent into the profane language. The magic and Hermetic writers had no objection to it. The word even remains in Plutarch but is avoided by Arrian and possibly by Celsus. The contact between the Jewish-Christian and the profane usage of βαπτίζειν clearly brings out the difference in meaning.

¹ Against the conjecture βαπτισμούς for σαββατισμούς, cf DÖLGER, *Die Apollinari-schen Spiele und das Fest Pelusia*, ACh 1, 1929, p 154

² This πάθος may be taken in the sense of good or bad 'experience' as a euphemism for circumcision, thus G POLSTER, *Der kleine Talmudtraktat über die Proselyten*, Angelos 2, 1926, p 21 n 1 Cf THOMAS, *op cit*, p 361 n 3, and below, p 70

THE TERMS FOR WASHING AND IMMERSION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN JUDAISM

THE Israelites were acquainted of old with ritual ablutions. Besides the bath by immersion a more practical possibility was washing by pouring or sprinkling water on the body, or, where no water was available, rubbing with sand. Ritual ablution was very frequent among the Essenes and other groups especially in the region of the Jordan. There are, in addition, as separate rites, proselyte baptism and the baptism of John.

Starting from an examination of the Hebraic and Aramaic terminology, we must determine which terms the Greek speaking Jews used for the rites. (1) We find (ἀπο)λούειν and λουτρόν for ritual washings, sometimes ράινειν and derivatives for ritual sprinkling, and (2) especially βαπτίζειν in the middle voice and βαπτισμός for ritual immersion. (3) In conclusion we have to examine the exact meaning of the terms and what can be deduced from it with respect to the practice of the Jewish ritual bath.¹

1. *Ritual washing and sprinkling*

In the Old Testament and non-canonical Jewish literature a distinction can be made between (1) the use of the terms for ritual washing and sprinkling in general and (2) the usage in Jewish sects.

¹ On this subject in general and especially on the washings in Jewish sects and proselyte baptism, cf W BRANDT, *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, Giessen 1910, I ABRAHAMS, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Cambridge 1917, F GAVIN, *The Jewish Antecedents of Christian Sacraments*, London 1928, p 26 ff, J THOMAS, *op cit*, p 356 ff, H H ROWLEY, *Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John*, HUCA 15, 1940, p 313 ff., J W DOEVE, *De doop van Johannes en de proselietendoop*, NThT 9, 1954-5, p 137 ff., N A DAHL, *The Origin of Baptism*, Interpretationes S Mowinckel, Oslo 1955, p 36 ff, J SCHMITT, *Les écrits du Nouveau Testament et les textes de Qumran*, RSR 29, 1955, p. 381 ff, 30, 1956, p 55 ff, 261 ff, T M TAYLOR, *The Beginnings of Jewish Proselyte Baptism*, NTS 2, 1955-6, p. 193 ff, J A T ROBINSON, *The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community*, HThR 50, 1957, p 175 ff, O BETZ, *Die Proselytenaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament*, RQ 1, 1958-9, p 213 ff, J GNILKA, *Die essenschen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe*, RQ 3, 1960-1, p 185 ff, H KRAFT, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Taufe*, Theol Zeitschr 17, 1961, p 399 ff

(1) Ritual washing and sprinkling in general. – The Hebrew *rḥṣ* q. 'to wash' is currently used for both the profane and ritual cleansing of hands, feet and face, of the whole body and of the flesh of victims. Seldom is it applied metaphorically. The Septuagint translates by *νίπτειν* for partial washing of the body: *νιψάτωσαν τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν* Gen. 18.4, and by *λούειν* in the other cases: *κατέβη...λούσασθαι ἐπὶ ποταμόν* Ex. 2.5, rarely by other verbs, although *ἀπολούειν* occurs once: *ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπολούσωμαι χιόνι καὶ ἀποκαθάρωμαι χερσίν καθαραῖς* Job 9.30, as does *χεῖν*: *ἐχέοντό μοι αἱ ὄδοι βουτύρω* ib. 29.6. The noun *λουτρόν* remained as rare as its equivalent *raḥṣāh*. It is used for the bath of a herd of animals: *ἀνέβησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ* Cant. 4.2; 6.6, and once for a ritual washing in a passage of which the original text has been lost: *ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ αὐτοῦ* Sir. 34.25. Isaiah already stressed the need for inner cleansing: *λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν* Is. 1.16.

The use of *λούειν* and *λουτρόν* for the profane and ritual bath in the Septuagint concurs with the general linguistic usage. That the compound is used in Job 9.30 may be due to the emphasis laid on the removal of dirt. A certain preference for the compound in the Jewish milieu becomes evident only later.

In addition to ablution the Old Testament mentions in a few places a rite of sprinkling with water. The Hebrew has two verbs, *zrq* and *nzh*, both meaning 'to sprinkle'. The first is usually translated in the Septuagint by *προσχεῖν*, the second by *ῥαίνειν* and derivatives. For a sprinkling with water *zrq* occurs in the following cases: for the cleansing of persons who have touched a corpse: *περιεβραντίσθη* Num. 19.13, 20, and Yahweh will cleanse Israel in the Messianic future: *ῥανῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὕδωρ καθαρὸν* Ez. 36.25. The Hebrew *nzh* is used for a sprinkling with water at the cleansing of the Levites: *περιρρανεῖς* Num. 8.7, and equally of persons who have touched a corpse: *περιρρανεῖ* ib. 19.18 f. One may also quote *ῥαντιεῖς (h^l pi.) με ὕσσώπω...πλυνεῖς με* Ps. 50.9; the Hebrew text only speaks of a purification with hyssop but the Septuagint has rightly understood this as a sprinkling. The number of texts is limited but they show that, in addition to the washing by pouring, sprinkling with water was also known in the Old Testament.

From the New Testament one text may be quoted for the use of *λούειν* as a Jewish ritual term. John makes Christ say at the washing of the feet: *ὁ λελουμένος οὐκ ἔχει χρεῖαν [εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας] νίψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν καθαρὸς ὅλος* Jn. 13.10. The words between square brackets are absent in the codex Sinaiticus, in codex c of the old Latin version and

in the codices of the Vulgate. If they are deleted one is left with a saying from the Jewish doctrine of purification, i.e. that a washing of the feet (νίψασθαι) is not necessary before the meal if one has taken a complete bath. This superfluity makes Christ's intention clear: by the washing of the feet after the meal He seeks to give an example of brotherly love.¹ John now uses λούειν as the term for the Jewish ritual washing.

Mark probably uses ῥαντίζειν for the Jewish ritual purification. He speaks of these rites for the benefit of those readers who are not familiar with these customs: all Jews wash their hands before eating: ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν Mk. 7.3, and they sprinkle themselves with water on returning home from the market-place: ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ ῥαντίσωνται (v.l. βαπτίσωνται) οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν ib. 7.4. For a ritual washing one may be more inclined to expect βαπτίσωνται and it is thus understandable that this variant soon arose. It finds, however, insufficient support in the manuscripts, and the *lectio difficilior* is generally preferred.

In order now to explain ῥαντίσωνται it has been suggested that the object of the verb may be that which has been bought on the market-place. Such an interpretation is, however, far-fetched and so far as is known it was not the custom to sprinkle such purchases. It seems more lucid to remark that the custom of sprinkling the body with water was not unknown among the Jews. We find this rite mentioned in several places in the Old Testament and in the writings of Qumran; Philo refers frequently to sprinkling and it is quoted as a Jewish custom by the interpolator of the Didascalia, Const. 2.35.1.² This being so, ῥαντίσωνται may appear less surprising in Mark. It is a verb which the evangelist found useful in giving his non-Jewish readers a not too exaggerated impression of the cleansing rites practised, as he says, by all Jews.

In Philo and Josephus one finds a comparatively frequent use of the compound ἀπολούειν which is not in accordance with the general linguistic usage and may be an example of how these writers are unable to avoid minor differences of the Jewish linguistic usage.³

Philo often speaks of sacral baths and then uses the simple form for pagan ritual washings and for the Old Testament purification rites: λουσάμενος φαιδρύνηται τὸ σῶμα Deus Imm. 8, cf. Legat. 235, Vit.Mos.

¹ Cf. A. FRIEDRICHSEN, *Bemerkungen zur Fusswaschung Joh. 13*, ZNW 38, 1939, p. 94 ff., J. MICHL, *Der Sinn der Fusswaschung*, Biblica 40, 1949, p. 697 ff.

² See p. 24 ff.; also Heb. 10.22, below p. 62.

³ See p. 2.

2.143, Spec.Leg. 1.119, 261. For these last, however, he also uses the compound: περιρρανάμενον εις ἄπαξ ἢ ἀπολουσάμενον Spec.Leg. 1.261, cf. 3.89, 205 f. He also uses the compound when he wishes to give an allegorical-symbolic meaning to the outward ablution: τὰς τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν ἐκνίπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπολούεσθαι κηλῖδας Somn. 1.82, cf. Rer.Div. 113, Spec.Leg. 1.107, or to stress the inward washing of the soul since the outward does not cleanse man: τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν. ἐκνίψασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι παντελῶς οὐκ ἔνεστιν Mut. 49, cf. Det.Pot. 170, Somn. 1.248. Philo thus has no objection to using the compound alongside the simple form. He also likes to use ἐκνίπτειν for partial ablution and derivatives of βραίνειν for sprinkling, especially in expressions like: ἀπολούσωνται καὶ περιρρανάμενοι καθαρῶσι Spec.Leg. 3.89, and in the fixed combination: λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιρραντηρίοις Dec. 45. One can deduce from this that he is more interested in the superficial forms of the ritual ablutions than in the bath by immersion.

In Josephus the compound ἀπολούειν occurs for the ritual washing after mourning or defilement: εὐθύς ὡς εἶχε μὴδ' ἀπολουσάμενος Ant. 11.163, especially after sexual intercourse: μετὰ τὴν νόμιμον συνουσίαν ἀπολούσασθαι Ap. 2.203, and always for the ablutions among the Essenes; the simple form is found only for a similar custom of Bannus.¹

The Jewish preference for the compound ἀπολούειν also appears from the later Greek Bible versions. In the fragments preserved λούειν and λουτρόν do occur occasionally but without any connection with ritual ablution, as equivalents of *śhh* 'to swim': καθὼς ἀναπλώσαι ὁ λουόμενος εἰς τὸ κολυμβῆσαι Is. 25.11 Al. (ὄν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι LXX), and of *śtr rahṣt* 'wash-pot': Μωάβ λέβης λουτροῦ μου Ps. 59.10 Aq., 107.10 Aq. Quint. (λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου LXX). Unfortunately no fragments have been preserved of the many places where the Septuagint used λούειν as the equivalent of *rḥṣ* for the ritual washing. It is, however, significant that in the only fragment which offers a translation of *rḥṣ* the compound ἀπολούειν is used: ἀπὸ βύπου οὐκ ἀπελούσατο Prov. 30.12 Th. (ἀπένιψεν LXX). It is especially remarkable that ἀπολούειν is once found where it is less close to the original text than the translation of the Septuagint and does not seek to emphasize the removal of dirt: ἀπολελουμένη 2 Reg. 11.4 Aq. (LXX ἀγιαζομένη, Heb. *qdš* hithp. 'to purify oneself'). This may indicate that the compound had become a common sacral term among the Jews.

In rabbinic literature *rḥṣ* is rare in comparison with *ḥbl* which is the real technical term, but it is still used, notably to indicate the washing

¹ See p. 26.

away of sins: 'They had all washed away (*rhš pi.*) their sins' Cant. Rabbah 4.4 § 1.¹

(2) Washing and sprinkling in the sects. – Among the texts which deal with ritual ablutions in various sects the writings of Qumran and the Zadokite Documents deserve first attention. Here we find a community with a great desire for purity and with ritual washings corresponding with those of the Old Testament or surpassing them. The technical term is always *rhš*.

The Zadokite Documents contain a prescription dealing with the ritual washing: 'Concerning purification with water: Let no man bathe (*rhš*) in water that is dirty or less than the quantity that covers up (*mr'yl*) a man. Let him not purify a vessel in it. And as for every rock-pool in a rock in which there is not the quantity that covers up (*mr'yl*) (a man), which an unclean person has touched: he renders its water unclean with (the uncleanness of) water in a vessel' CD 10.10 ff., cf. 11.1, 22. A regulation in the Qumran texts concerns washing after battle: 'Next morning they shall launder their garments and wash (*rhš*) themselves clean of the blood of the guilty corpses' IQM 14.2. The fact is stressed that the outward bath is not sufficient without the internal disposition: 'He cannot purify himself by atonement, nor cleanse himself by water for impurity (*my ndh*), nor sanctify himself in streams and rivers, nor clean himself by any water for washing (*my rhš*)' IQS 3.4 f., cf. 5.13 f. The root *nzh* is used to denote the ritual purification as a sprinkling with water: 'It is by humiliating himself under all God's ordinances that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling (*nzh*) with water for impurity (*my ndh*) and by sanctifying himself with water of purity (*my dwky*)' ib. 3.8 f. Metaphorically *nzh* indicates the awaited purification of sins in the Messianic future as a sprinkling of the flesh with a spirit of truth: 'He (God) will sprinkle (*nzh*) upon it a spirit of truth, like water for impurity (*my ndh*)' ib. 4.21. We may add that λούειν occurs in apocryphal texts which may be of the same origin: εἶδον τὴν Βάλλαν λουομένην Test.Rub. 3.11, cf. Test.Lev. 9.11, Or.Sib. 4.164.²

With these data one should now compare what Josephus says concerning the ablutions practised by the Essenes on various occasions. They wash themselves before the midday meal: ζωσάμενοί τε σκεπάσασαι λινοῖς, οὕτως ἀπολούσονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασι Bell. 2.129, and again before the evening meal, ib. 2.132. They take a bath after

¹ Cf. M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols., London-New York 1903, s.v.

² See p. 33.

defecation, ib. 2.149, and after contact with anyone of lower rank within the community, ib. 2.150. Here the compound ἀπολούειν is always used. On admission to a higher rank, after a time of probation, they acquire a share in 'purer waters': καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἀγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει ib. 2.138.¹ The noun λουτρόν is used when the writer mentions another group of Essenes which, in contrast to the first, advocates marriage with a view to procreation; in this case both men and women bathe: λουτρά δὲ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀμπεχομέναις ἐνδύματα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν περιζώματι ib. 2.161. The simple form λούειν occurs once in a report on Bannus, the ascete and hermit with whom Josephus, when young, stayed three years in the desert. He used frequent ablutions of cold water by day and night: ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι.. λουόμενον πρὸς ἀγνείαν Vit. II.

In the Hebrew writings we thus find as terms for these ritual ablutions *rḥš* four times, *nzh* twice, but *ḥbl* not at all. For *mryl* CD 10.11, 13, Schechter proposed in his edition the correction *mḥbyl* and he then translates 'insufficient for immersion'. It is, however, possible to maintain the manuscript reading by connecting the word with *r'i* ho. 'to be made to quiver' or 'to be veiled'.² These data suggest that in this milieu people spoke of 'ablutions' and perhaps of 'sprinklings' but not of an 'immersion', even though in CD 10.10 ff. a complete bath is probably required. Josephus strengthens this assumption by using exclusively (ἀπο)λούειν and λουτρόν, but provides no absolute confirmation since in the opposite case he would have tried to avoid βαπτίζειν and derivatives.

Similar ablutions, performed in the morning or before the communal meal, are found among other groups which show a relationship to the Qumran sect. We know little about their terminology, but the Jewish-Christian sect of the Ebionites has preserved λούειν as the technical term for the ritual bath.³

We thus find λούειν, λουτρόν, and in later texts also ἀπολούειν used for the Jewish ritual bath viewed as a washing of the body, although there are some indications that ραίνειν and derivatives were used to denote this washing as a sprinkling. We must now see how this rite came to be called an immersion.

¹ This again refers to daily repeated washings. Cf. GNILKA, *art.cit.*, p. 189, who disproves the idea of an *Initiationstaufe*.

² Cf. S. SCHECHTER, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge 1910, p. XLVIII, CH. RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford 21958, p. 50 f., TH. H. GASTER, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea in English Translation*, New York 1957, p. 77.

³ See p. 81 ff.

2. Ritual immersion

As new terms which refer to the Jewish ritual washing as an immersion we find *tbl* q. 'to dip' and the middle voice of βαπτίζειν. The scarce data give us some indication of how this development came about. The terms are then applied (1) to ritual immersion in general, (2) to proselyte baptism, (3) to the baptism of John, and (4) to sectarian ablutions.

(1) Ritual immersion in general. – The normal equivalent of *tbl* in the Septuagint is βάπτειν. The Israelites dip hyssop into some blood: βάψαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ex. 12.22, and Jonathan a stick into a honey comb: ἔβαψεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος 1 Reg. 14.27. The verb βαπτίζειν is found only in four places in the Septuagint. It occurs once in its profane meaning 'to immerse' with the connotation of perishing: ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει Is. 21.4. There is no equivalent in the original text. The translator was probably dealing not with *tbl* which lacks the idea of a perishing, but perhaps with *tbl'* 'to sink down'.¹ In the remaining three passages the verb occurs with a new religious meaning.

The oldest, both in the original and in the Greek, is the only one that still allows comparison of the Greek verb with its Hebrew equivalent. The story is that of the cleansing of Naaman in the Jordan. The prophet Elisha has ordered the Syrian to bathe seven times in the Jordan in order to be cleansed: λούσαι ἐπτάκις..καὶ καθαρισθήσῃ 4 Reg. 5.10. Irritated, Naaman thinks that he would do better to bathe in the rivers of Damascus but his servants exhort him to carry out the command of the prophet. The original text three times uses *rhs* translated every time by λούειν. However, when Naaman finally washes himself in the Jordan the Hebrew uses *tbl* q. intransitively, an unusual expression which the Greek renders just as unusually by the middle voice of βαπτίζειν: καὶ κατέβη Ναιμαν καὶ ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐπτάκι..καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη Ib. 5.14.

The Hebrew text describes the bath that Naaman finally takes as a 'plunging of oneself into the river'. One may take into account that *rhs* does not refer clearly to a complete bath since it is also used for the washing of hands and feet. Now *tbl* indicates that the washing was complete and the use of this term in the story of Naaman may have influenced its rise as the normal technical term for the ritual bath.

In the Septuagint the translator shows understanding of the emphatic description of Naaman's bath as a sevenfold plunging. To the

¹ Cf. the use of βαπτίζειν in the later versions, below p. 32.

usual rendering by βάπτειν he prefers the intensive βαπτίζειν and translates the intransitive usage of the Hebrew term by the middle voice. As a result the middle voice of βαπτίζειν obtains a new meaning for an immersion without the connotation of perishing. The spread of this verb as the Greek technical term for the Jewish ritual washing, instead of simply the middle voice of βάπτειν, may now be explained by the fact that the translator used it in the episode of Naaman.¹

The new meaning is accepted in the remaining two texts. Jesus Sirach speaks of the bath after contact with a corpse: βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ Sir. 34.25, Judith washes herself before praying in the camp of the Assyrians: ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος Jdth. 12.7. In both cases the middle voice is clearly meant and not the passive.

If one compares the usage of the new term with that of λούειν in the later writings of the Old Testament it even appears possible to follow the transitional development from the rare data. For the ritual bath one finds λούειν three times in Tob. 2.5; 2.9; 7.8, then λουτρόν alongside βαπτίζειν in Sir. 34.25 and βαπτίζειν alone in Jdth. 12.7. The Hebrew and Aramaic originals of these passages have been lost, but one may assume that they contained the corresponding roots *tbl* and *rhš*. It appears then that the new Semitic term does not yet occur in the book of Tobias at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the Hellenistic period; the use of both terms together in Jesus Sirach c. 200 B.C. may indicate the transition, whereas *tbl* is the normal technical term in the book of Judith c. 100 B.C. The use of the Greek equivalents λούειν and βαπτίζειν follows a parallel course.

Data from the New Testament, where Jewish authors speak of the purification rites among their compatriots, supplement our conclusions on one point especially. It now appears that βαπτισμός was the Jewish noun corresponding to βαπτίζειν in the middle voice. In two of the three places the meaning of the noun is quite clear: βαπτισμούς ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων Mk. 7.4, ἐπὶ βρώμασιν καὶ πόμασιν καὶ διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς Heb. 9.10. On analogy with the Jewish usage of the verb, the noun indicates the cleansing by immersion of both the body and of vessels. It differs from the noun as used in pagan antiquity in that it contains no connotation of a perishing. It may have come into being independently of this noun as a Jewish neologism, although there is no proof of this. The texts for the noun, known from pagan antiquity, are

¹ Cf. ΟΕΡΚΕ, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 532.

of later date, but the word itself may have existed much longer.¹

These Jewish purification rites, called βαπτισμοί, are distinguished by this name from the baptism administered by John and from Christian baptism, called in the New Testament βάπτισμα. However, the expression βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς in Heb. 6.2 offers a special difficulty. The author invites his readers: ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα, μὴ πάλιν θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι μετανοίας ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων, καὶ πίστεως ἐπὶ θεόν, βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς, ἐπιθέσεως τε χειρῶν, ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου ib. 6.1 f. Bible commentators have seen in this enumeration the elements of the primitive catechesis, plainly set out: renouncement of dead works, faith in God, baptism and the imposition of hands, resurrection and the last judgment. The plural βαπτισμοί, however, remains difficult to explain. It has been interpreted in various ways; it was considered above all as an allusion to the triple immersion and to the baptisms of water, blood, and desire, but these explanations are hardly satisfactory. Modern commentators take this passage to refer to a doctrine concerning the difference between Christian baptism and the similar Jewish ablutions including proselyte baptism and the baptism of John.²

One may, however, wonder whether this distinction really forms part of an elementary Christian doctrine, and, from a terminological point of view, the explanation of βαπτισμός is especially unsatisfactory. This would now be a common noun signifying all kinds of ablutions, both Jewish and Christian, but this meaning is not attested elsewhere.

According to the terminology of the early Church, βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς should, in point of fact, refer to a doctrine relating to the Jewish ablutions and must have been thus interpreted by Jewish readers of this Epistle in so far as such an interpretation was not in contradiction with the context. This context, however, has presented more problems to commentators. First of all it may be remarked that the primitive catechesis according to Heb. 6.1 f. contains nothing with which its Jewish readers were not familiar from their own religion: μετάνοια, preached especially by John, faith in God (and not in Christ), ablution rites and the laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead and last judgement. Such a catechesis might serve for the instruction of pagans but even in this case it would seem surprising not to find any mention of Christ.

¹ See p. 14.

² Cf. C. SPICQ, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Paris 1952-3, II p. 140 ff., *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, *Apollon, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran*, RQ 1, 1958-9, p. 367.

The inter-relation of ideas presents another difficulty. The author distinguishes an elementary instruction which is called: τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ ib. 5.12, γάλα proper to the νήπιος ib. 5.13 f., τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον and θεμέλιον ib. 6.1, from a higher instruction called: στερεὰ τροφή for the τέλειοι ib. 5.12, 14, λόγου δικαιοσύνης ib. 5.13, and τὴν τελειότητα ib. 6.1. After having established the need for elementary instruction among his readers the author says that this must be 'abandoned' and urges them to the higher instruction: διὸ ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα ib. 6.1. This is a remarkable transition; one would expect an adversative particle like 'nevertheless', 'yet', and it is not clear why the author does not quite give the elementary instruction.¹

In order to elucidate the problems mentioned here B. Collins has recently attempted another interpretation of this passage in a study which is remarkable for its good grasp of the linguistic facts.² In his opinion the author of the Epistle does not make a distinction between an elementary and a higher Christian doctrine but discerns between the revelation of the Old Testament in its highest form and the revelation of the New Testament.

This hypothesis has several advantages. The survey of the elementary doctrine is easier to understand if one assumes that the author selected from the Jewish religion those elements which conformed best with the Christian doctrine. He was obliged to omit any Jewish or Christian doctrine forming a difference between the two religions and especially that of Christ.

In this hypothesis the terms acquire what seems to be a normal meaning. The noun βαπτισμός refers as elsewhere to the Jewish purification rites. These differ by this name from the baptism of John and Christian baptism, called in the New Testament βάπτισμα.

The verb ἀφιέναι means 'to send away', 'to leave out' with the connotation of 'to neglect', and not 'to interrupt' as is supposed in the old Latin versions, nor 'to leave aside' without the connotation of abandoning something as is usually assumed in modern translations.³ The author, however, cannot ask his readers to 'abandon' their

¹ Another problem is the impossibility of second penance, see p 133

² B COLLINS, *Tentatur nova interpretatio Hebr 5 11-6 8*, *Verbum Domini* 26, 1948, p 144 ff, 193 ff Now also H KOSMALA, *Hebräer - Essener - Christen*, Leiden 1959, p 30 ff, who refers for this interpretation to the School of John Locke, p VIII and 33, and defines the recipients as an Essenic community but deletes Heb 5 11b-14 as an unauthentic addition, p 17 ff See also below, p 133 and 171 f

³ Cf LIDDELL-SCOTT s v

elementary knowledge of Christian doctrine, but they must 'reject' the elementary doctrine which was only a preparation for the revelation of the New Testament. The causal connection διὰ ἀφέντες is now understandable.

The term στοιχεῖον has a pejorative meaning in St. Paul: it refers to the elements of a doctrine opposed to that of Christ, Gal. 4.3, 9, Col. 2.8, 20, cf. 2 Pet. 2.10, 12. In the Epistle to the Hebrews this term is thus more applicable to the Jewish religion, which must be rejected by the readers, than to the Christian doctrine. The word λόγιον refers to the oral revelation of the Old Testament in Stephen's speech: λόγια ζῶντα Acts 7.38, and in Paul: τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ Rom. 3.2. In the latter text, however, the revelation of the New Testament should not be excluded.¹ The term now acquires the same meaning in Heb. 5.12, and the part of this revelation pertaining to the Old Testament is designated as its στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς. On the other hand, λόγου δικαιοσύνης ib. 5.14, viewed according to the New Testament and especially the Pauline conception of the δικαιοσύνη, is less suited to a doctrine reserved for those who have made progress in the new religion, than to the entire body of Christian doctrine.

A few difficulties still remain. It may be asked if the author can speak of the Jewish religion as τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον ib. 6.1. While opposing Judaism he does, however, his utmost to show its value and importance for salvation. This is why he first uses the pleonastic expression τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς, thus acknowledging Judaism as ἀρχή but at the same time repudiating it as στοιχεῖα, ib. 5.12. He speaks once again of this beginning but adds this time that his readers must reject it: ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς..λόγον ib. 6.1. The same intention of emphasizing the merits of the Jewish religion may have led the author to formulate six truths in such a way that they resemble the primitive Christian catechesis. He may even have borrowed this formulation from his readers themselves who exaggerated the points of contact between the old religion and the new. It was they perhaps who ended by considering the Jewish μετάνοια, particularly that of the Essenes or of to John, as a μετάνοια ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων, all the more so since, according to the Christian concept, the dead works are precisely those of the Jewish religion. If the enumeration of the six truths appears to exaggerate its value it also brings out what is lacking: the teaching concerning Christ, considered by the author as the high priest according to the order of Melchizedek, ib. 5.6, 10; 6.20. In actual fact, this interpre-

¹ Cf. G. KITTEL, Λόγιον, ThW IV p. 140 ff.

tation agrees with the tenor of the Epistle to the Hebrews; its author wishes to underline the superiority of the New Testament to the Old and the fulfilment of the one by the other. The usual meaning of the terms ἀφιέναι, στοιχειῶν, λόγιον, δικαιοσύνη, and above all of βαπτισμοί in the plural must have made the writer's intention plain to his readers. None the less, the author's expressions are astonishing and the traditional interpretation may have soon gained acceptance.

In the later Greek versions of the Old Testament βαπτίζειν is not found for sacral washings. This, however, is not saying very much, as it is just for 4 Reg. 5.14 that fragments of later translations are lacking. One does find it used as the equivalent of *šṭp* 'to rinse' for the cleansing of a copper vessel: σμηχθήσεται και βαπτισθήσεται Lev. 6.28 Al. (ἐκκλύσει LXX).¹ Elsewhere it occurs in its profane meaning as the equivalent of *tbl* 'to sink down': ἐβαπτίσθησαν Ps. 9.16 Al. (ἐνεπάγησαν ἐν διαφθορᾷ LXX), ἐβαπτίσθην εἰς ἀπεράντους καταδύσεις Ps. 68.3 Sm. (ἐνεπάγην LXX), ἐβάπτισαν εἰς τέλμα τοὺς πόδας σου Jer. 45.22 Sm. (καταλύσουσιν LXX), and of *tbl*: ἐν διαφθορᾷ βαπτίσεις με Job 9.31 Aq. (ἐβαψας LXX).

The preference for βαπτίζειν in its profane meaning has something deliberate and may indicate a desire to avoid the sacral usage. Whereas in Philo and Josephus such an avoidance is sufficiently explained by the fact that these authors took into account that they were writing for pagan readers, a different motive seems more probable in the case of the later Bible versions. In these translations, which originate in the second century A.D., and especially in that of Aquila, a tendency can be observed to avoid using words which had become highly esteemed as technical terms in the Christian language or, on the other hand, to use them in a profane and pejorative sense.²

In rabbinic literature *tbl* is the current technical term for ritual washing, whereas *ῥῆς* is only used in special circumstances.³

(2) Proselyte baptism. — The discussion surrounding the baptism of proselytes is concerned first of all with the date of origin. A gradual development appears probable, the beginning of which dates back to pre-Christian times. The texts do not go back farther than the first century A.D. when a discussion in the Mishnah between the schools of Shammai and Hillel deals with the bath of the proselyte after circumcision, Pes. 8.8, cf. Tosephta Pes. 7.13. A discussion in the Talmud between the rabbis Eliezer ben Hircanus and Joshua ben Hananiah at the end of the first century shows that the bath as such existed but it is

¹ See also p. 37.

² See p. 2.

³ Cf. JASTROW s.v.

not agreed whether both bath and circumcision are necessary for the proselyte, Yeb. 46a. A ritual which may go back as far as the second century A.D. is found in the Talmud, ib. 47a. Even while assuming that the baptism of proselytes is the result of the 'Eighteen Measures' of 65 A.D. in which the pagan was declared impure, it must none the less be remarked that the concept which then obtains concerning impurity and proselyte baptism may have already existed.¹

In the Hebrew and Aramaic texts mentioned one finds for the rite from early on the root *ḥbl*. The choice of this term concurs with the normal linguistic usage of this period for the ritual bath. In Greek one would now expect the middle voice of βαπτίζειν and the noun βαπτισμός, but no texts can be found of Jewish or other origin in which these terms are used in this meaning. The use of βάπτειν and παραβαπτιστής, however, found in Arrian in the text discussed, Epict. Diss. 2.9.20 f., shows plainly how closely βαπτίζειν is linked with proselyte baptism. If we deduce from the New Testament that βαπτισμός was the Jewish noun for the ritual ablution it may then be assumed that this term was also used for the baptism of proselytes.²

At the same time a second passage, the only Greek text of Jewish origin in which mention is seen of proselyte baptism, raises a difficulty owing to the use of λούειν. Here the pagans are exhorted to do penance and to bathe the entire body in flowing water: ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ἅλον δέμας ἀενάοισιν Or. Sib. 4.164 (shortly after 79 A.D.).

J. Thomas has pointed out that the context contains traces of concepts peculiar to Jewish sects such as the Essenes and the Hemero-baptists.³ He is of the opinion that the poet was a member of such a sect and refers in his exhortation to the baths customary in such sects. His explanation, however, comes up against a difficulty for which he is unable to give a satisfactory solution. The aorist tenses μεθέντες and λούσασθε ib. 4.162, 164, especially as opposed to the presents αἰτεῖσθε and ἰλάσκεσθε ib. 4.166 f., indicate that the author is referring to a bath which is taken only once, unlike the repeated ablutions of the sects. It would thus appear that Thomas goes too far in his conclusion. Even if the poet did belong to such a sect or was influenced by the ideas of such sects he could advocate the receiving of proselyte baptism. And if he viewed the conversion of a pagan to Judaism as a transition to his sect

¹ Cf. DOEVE, *art. cit.*, p. 138 f., with reference to S. ZEITLIN, *The Halaka in the Gospels*, HUCA 1, 1924, p. 357 ff.

² See p. 20 and 28 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 46 ff.

he would have thought in the first place of circumcision and proselyte baptism and not of the daily ablutions. The use of λούειν can now be explained, not only as a tendency to avoid using βαπτίζειν with regard to pagans, but also as a result of the preference for λούειν in the sects.

(3) The baptism of John. – There is only one Greek testimony of Jewish origin concerning the baptism of John. Josephus finds occasion to speak of it in his history of the Jewish people. He realizes that βαπτίζειν and its derivatives may create misunderstanding among his pagan readers on account of the idea of a perishing associated with it.¹ A trace of anxiety on this point may be discerned in the manner in which he introduces to his readers the name by which John was known: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ Ant. 18.116. The difficulty created by the use of the normal terms becomes apparent when the writer speaks of baptism itself: κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα..βαπτισμῶ συνιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι ib. 18.117. The expression βαπτισμῶ συνιέναι 'to unite through immersion' is strange but understandable as a paraphrase of the βαπτίζειν he wishes to avoid. The expression indicates at the same time that John gathered disciples about him. The writer, however, is not yet satisfied with βαπτισμός and this brings him to substitute βάπτισις, for the first noun is a Jewish term, again apt to be misunderstood by the pagan reader: by being linked with βαπτίζειν as a profane term it acquires the connotation of a perishing. Josephus tries to circumvent this difficulty by using the second term. It is probably a neologism which he coined for this occasion. It is not found again in pagan antiquity and only much later among the Christians.²

We now find βαπτισμός in Josephus as the term for the baptism of John whereas in the New Testament and among the Christians in general the word is βάπτισμα. One might, however, assume that Josephus first replaced βάπτισμα by βαπτισμός which in its turn was ousted by βάπτισις. In this assumption βαπτισμός never was a technical term for the baptism of John. There is, however, a more likely alternative explanation. Josephus, and the Jews in general, see in the baptism of John the similarity with their own ritual ablutions and therefore apply to it their own term βαπτισμός. The Christians, for their part, see the relationship with Christian baptism and apply βάπτισμα as the term for their rite to the baptism of John.³

¹ See p. 13 f.

² Cf. E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge 1914, s.v.

³ See p. 28 ff. and 51 ff.

(4) Ritual immersion in Jewish sects. – There is no evidence that *tbl* and βαπτίζειν were ever used in Jewish sects to denote ritual purification as an immersion. Schechter's correction of *mtbyl* in CD 10.11, 13 was found unnecessary.¹ On the other hand, one learns nothing about the particular terminology of the sects from the names *Tōblē šāharit* 'Morning Baptists'² and Ἡμεροβαπτισταί,³ which may have been given to them by others who thus apply their own terms for the ritual bath to sectarian purifications.

The rise of *tbl* and hence of βαπτίζειν may thus be traced back to the story of Naaman's cleansing in the Jordan. The Jewish noun corresponding to βαπτίζειν is βαπτισμός. The terms have become technical for the ritual bath in general and they assume new meanings when used for proselyte baptism and the baptism of John which are to be received only once.⁴ They are sometimes applied to sectarian rites but it remains doubtful whether they have ever been used in the sects themselves. For this reason one may object to daily ablutions, customary in certain sects, being termed by scholars 'baptisms', so that J. Thomas in the title of his book called those groups collectively a *mouvement baptiste*. Baptism is, in fact, a term which has acquired even a more limited meaning in modern linguistic usage through being reserved for purification rites performed only once: proselyte baptism, the baptism of John, and Christian baptism. By giving this name to frequently repeated ablutions one implies, with respect to these ablutions, a meaning which is not evident in the texts.

3. *The meaning of the terms and the practice of the Jewish ritual bath*

Having established which terms were used for the Jewish purification rites we must now examine the meaning of the terms and what we learn from this about the practice of the ritual bath.

¹ See p 26

² The Tosephta mentions a discussion between these Morning Baptists and the Pharisees: 'The Morning Baptists (*Twbly šhryn*) said: We cry out against you, Pharisees, ye who invoke the Name with an unclean body' Yad 2 20 The text quoted by THOMAS, *op cit*, p 44, is only a late variant from the medieval Tosaphist R Samson b Abraham of Sens, but in any case we find here *tbl* as the common Jewish term applied to the rite of the Morning Baptists: 'The Morning Baptists (*Twbly šhryt*) said: We cry out against you, Pharisees, ye who invoke the Name in the morning without having taken a bath (*tbylh*) The Pharisees answered: We cry out against you, Morning Baptists, ye who invoke the Name with an unclean body' Bab Talmud, Yad 4 8, ed. Wilna 1908, p 15.

³ See p 79 f

⁴ The difference is rightly stressed by ROWLEY, *art cit*, p. 317 ff.

We found the Hebrew root *rhš* used both for partial washing and for the washing of the whole body. In the latter case, therefore, it is sufficient to think of an original rinsing with water. The translation of the Hebrew term by *χεῖν* in Job 29.6 may still illustrate this. In the same manner the roots *zrq* and *nzh*, and in Greek *βάλλειν* and derivatives, may refer to a superficial performance of ritual purification as a sprinkling. We saw traces of this in the Old Testament, in Mark, in the Qumran texts, and in Philo. Hence the practice of sprinkling, common among the neighbouring peoples, probably existed also among the Jews, even if only as the result of a scarcity of water.

It now appears remarkable that the Qumran texts use the terms for washing and sprinkling in a period when *tbl* was already current to indicate the ablution as an immersion and although, according to CD 10.10 ff., immersion was probably the manner of bathing in the sect.

One might explain the preference for *rhš* as resulting from the conservatism of the group which retains the traditional term. This, however, does not make it clear why there is also mention of a sprinkling. It would seem, after all, that the preference may be explained from the texts themselves. The sect sets great store upon purity but to this concept is linked the idea of freedom from sin, IQS 3.4 ff., 4.21. The terms for sprinkling and washing are particularly suitable for expressing this connection between outward and inward cleansing. In the Old Testament and in rabbinic literature we found the terms used for the same purpose and also Christian baptism, viewed in this light, is called an ablution.¹ The sectarian documents, however, term the bath an ablution even where this connection is not apparent, IQM 14.2, CD 10.11.

The use of the compound *ἀπολούειν* must be considered in the same light. In Philo, Josephus, and in the later Bible versions we found it as a current term, without its being obvious why the compound was preferred.² It might now be, however, that this usage too owes its rise to the emphasis placed in wider circles upon ablution as a purification of sins.

The root *tbl* and *βαπτίζειν*, on the contrary, indicate the purification rite in its outward aspect as an immersion. It is clear that the Jews did not give the Greek word in this significance the connotation of 'to (cause) to sink'. It has merely the meaning 'to immerse'. For the New Testament this meaning is disputed on various grounds, partly

¹ See p. 24 and 62 f.

² See p. 23 f.

connected with Jewish linguistic usage.¹ It has been suggested that the verb already has the completely technical meaning of 'to baptize' or even that it is synonymous with (ἀπο)λούειν. In examining here the Jewish data we shall also come closer to elucidating the meaning of the Christian term.

It would appear unlikely that βαπτίζειν had already become so technical in the earliest Jewish texts that the meaning 'to immerse' was lost. This meaning was borne in mind in so far as the new name still assumes a bath by immersion. Philo and Josephus are conscious of this when they observe the difference from the profane usage in the general language and the same applies to the later Bible translators when they reintroduce this profane meaning.

No objection to this may be deduced from the construction of the verb with various prepositions.² In Hebrew *tbl* is construed with *b^e*; the Septuagint translates by βάπτειν εἰς as was customary in the general language: βάψει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν δάκτυλον εἰς τὸ αἷμα Lev. 4.6. On the basis of the Hebrew prefix one also finds the construction with ἐν: βάψεις τὸν ψωμόν σου ἐν τῷ ὄξει Ruth 2.14. It is clear that this did not alter the meaning of the verb. The translators take the prefix in the local, not in the instrumental sense and think of an application of the object to the liquid. The opposite interpretation is, however, obtained when Theodotion translates Aramaic *šb' pa*. 'to wet' by βάπτειν for the dew of heaven fallen upon the body: ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐβάφη Dan. 4.33 (4.30) Th., 5.21 Th.³

For βαπτίζειν in the literal sense we may now likewise expect the construction with ἐν instead of εἰς and this does occur already in 4 Reg. 5.14, where the writer is certainly thinking of an immersion. In Jdth. 12.7, however, we find ἐπὶ which may replace ἐν for stylistic reasons after the preceding locative ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ.⁴

The meaning of the verb still presents difficulties in particular cases. When βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμός are used for the cleansing of vessels: βαπτισμούς ποτηρίων Mk. 7.4, βαπτισθήσεται Lev. 6.28 Al., it may appear that the idea of an immersion has been lost. It has, however, been rightly remarked that it is a common household practice to clean vessels by immersing them in water.⁵ The Old Testament is familiar

¹ See the literature mentioned below, p 41

² For the constructions in profane Greek, see p 13 f

³ The preposition ἀπό is an over-literal rendering of *min*, cf βάπτειν ἀπὸ (*min*) τοῦ αἵματος or τοῦ ἐλαίου Lev 4 17, 14 16, 'to dip into some blood' or 'some oil'

⁴ Cf ἐπὶ and εἰς in Acts 2 38, below p 50 f

⁵ Cf. F H CHASE, *The Lord's Command to Baptise* JThS 6, 1905, p 179.

with this procedure: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$..εις ὕδωρ βαφήσεται (Hebr. *biw' ho*, 'to be put into') Lev. 11.32, and also the Mishnah: 'If a man immersed (*tbl*) (unclean) vessels on the Sabbath..' Ter. 2.3, cf. Bes. 2.2 f.

Another difficulty is the meaning of ἐβαπτίζετο in Jdth. 12.7. According to the prescript of Ex. 30.18 ff. only the hands must be washed before prayer but the author does use the new Hebrew term for a bath by immersion thus mentioning a peculiarity which is in keeping with Judith's piety.¹

The rise of *tbl* and βαπτίζειν indicates a new concept of the ritual bath. The demand is made for an immersion in contrast to the practice of washing or sprinkling. One may then wonder if a submersion is also required in the sense that the body must completely disappear beneath the surface of the water. The Hebrew and Greek terms in themselves throw no light upon this matter. Contrary to Rogers, however, Abrahams holds that this is the requirement made in rabbinic literature.²

If the new terms are current for proselyte baptism this need mean no more than a continuation of the usual terminology for the general ritual bath. It is less clear, however, why John chose this name for his baptism. His rite served for the cleansing from sin and this idea could be suitably expressed by speaking of an ablution. The fact that John shows similarity with the Qumran sect in laying emphasis upon inward purification makes the difference of terminology all the more striking. One may therefore attempt to explain his choice as concurring with the appellation of the proselyte baptism and indeed the origin of the Johannine rite has often been sought here, although this theory has just as often been disputed.³ In John's time proselyte baptism had probably not yet become clearly distinguished from the general ritual bath and this makes his dependence less likely.

John, however, aspired not only to a forgiveness of sins but to a real change of heart in man, the *tšúbāh*, μετάνοια, and this change may be symbolized by a complete immersion. One may go even further. The Jews were familiar with the concept that the realm of the dead, the *šə'ól*, $\xi\delta\eta\varsigma$, is the sea, into which one descends and from which one can emerge again, Jon. 2.3 f., Ps. 17.5 f., Job 26.5 f. If John gave to his rite

¹ On the other hand non-Jewish authors do use βαπτίζειν for the washing of hands and feet; see p. 46 and 66.

² C F ROGERS, *How did the Jews baptize?* JThS 12, 1911, p. 437 ff., 13, 1912, p. 411 ff., I. ABRAHAMS, 'How did the Jews baptize?' JThS 12, 1911, p. 609 ff Cf also W. BRANDT, *op.cit.*, p. 28 f., 32 ff., and CD 10.10 ff.

³ Cf., for example, THOMAS, *op.cit.*, p. 356 ff., and ROWLEY, *art.cit.*, p. 313.

the meaning of a descent into the sea of death this would explain why he termed his rite an immersion and performed it in the Jordan. One does indeed find in the New Testament traces of such a concept of Christian baptism. Christ called His own death a baptism and Dibelius thinks that He used the term here as the name for the baptism of John.¹ This is not necessarily true, and the pronouncement therefore does not provide a certain explanation of the baptism of John. It does appear, however, that people were acquainted with the idea of baptism as a death and the more evidence there is of this the more right one has to assume that this concept lays at the basis of the baptism of John.²

The examination of the meaning of the terms for the Jewish ritual bath has thus brought to light a few peculiarities concerning the practice of the rite and the underlying ideas. The terms for the ablution originally indicated a means of cleansing which did not necessarily differ much from sprinkling. A preference for these terms is later found wherever a cleansing from sin is referred to, especially in Jewish sects. The rise of the preference for the compound ἀπολούειν may also be connected with this idea. On the other hand, new terms arise which require a bath by immersion. The Greek terms for this, βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμός, have acquired a meaning distinct from that current in the profane language since the connotation of a perishing is absent. In the New Testament period the terms have not yet become so technical among the Jews that the idea of an immersion is lost. The new name is also applied to proselyte baptism, which thereby indicates its origin from the general ritual bath, but it is not entirely certain why John chose it for his rite instead of speaking of a cleansing from sin. A possible explanation may be that John considered his baptism in the Jordan as an immersion in the sea of death.

¹ Cf. F. DIBELIUS, *Das Abendmahl*, Leipzig 1911, p. 54 ff., and P. LUNDBERG, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, Leipzig-Uppsala 1942, p. 221 ff. See also below, p. 53 ff.

² See p. 55 n. 1.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TERMS FOR WASHING AND IMMERSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

CONCERNING the use of βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα in the New Testament we intend to examine (1) the literal and metaphorical meanings of βαπτίζειν, (2) the use of the verb in the active and passive as contrasted with the Jewish use of the middle voice, (3) the constructions of the verb, and (4) the use of the noun βάπτισμα. (5) Our attention will be drawn especially to the literal use of the terms for baptism considered as an immersion in the sea of death and to the metaphorical use for dying as a baptism, and (6) to the metaphorical expression 'baptizing in the Spirit and in fire'. (7) In addition we shall examine the use of λούειν and derivatives to denote Christian baptism as a washing away of sins.

1. *The literal and metaphorical use of βαπτίζειν*

In the New Testament βαπτίζειν is used (1) literally for the baptism of repentance administered by John to the multitude and to Jesus, frequently in the Gospels, and in Acts 1.5; 11.16; 19.3 f., (2) for the baptism administered by the disciples of Jesus during His public life, Jn. 3.22, 26; 4.1 f., (3) for Christian baptism, Mt. 28.19, Mk. 16.16, and currently in Acts and the Pauline Epistles, (4) and for Jewish purification rites, Mk. 7.4 v.l., Lk. 11.38. (5) Metaphorically the verb is used for the pouring out of the Spirit and fire in the Messianic future, Mt. 3.11, Mk. 1.8, Lk. 3.16, Jn. 1.26 ff., Acts 1.5, 11.16, (6) for the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites, 1 Cor. 10.2, and (7) for the death of Christ, of the sons of Zebedee, and perhaps also of the Corinthians, Mk. 10.38 f., Lk. 12.50, 1 Cor. 15.29, all experiences which are thus compared with a baptism.

The difference in meaning of the Christian term from the verb as used in the general language is clear from the absence of the connotation of a perishing. Borrowing from the general language can therefore only have occurred via the Jewish use of the middle voice. There can thus be no reasonable doubt concerning the origin of the verb.

There exists, however, a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Christian verb. Three possibilities are to be considered: the verb means, literally or metaphorically, 'to immerse', or, as a synonym of (ἀπο)λούειν, 'to wash', or it has become completely technical in the sense of 'to baptize'. The same meanings are then possible for the noun βάπτισμα.

The meaning of 'to immerse' is defended by Chase.¹ Robinson opts for 'to cleanse ceremonially in water' by which he means that the verb has become practically synonymous with (ἀπο)λούειν.² Reñé defends the meaning 'to wash' for Jewish customs in Mk. 7.4, Lk. 11.38 and perhaps Heb. 9.10, but advocates 'to immerse' for all the other places in the New Testament.³ For Oepke the verb has already become completely technical in the New Testament in the sense of 'to baptize'.⁴

The arguments are based upon the profane linguistic usage, upon the Greek and Aramaic usage of Jewish contemporaries, and upon the constructions and contexts in the New Testament. An inadequate examination of the historical development of the term has been largely responsible for the confusion surrounding this question. Hence the answer to the problem is to a great extent contained in the preceding arguments.

In order to clarify the discussion it may be well to distinguish between two questions: did the verb by becoming more technical lose its true Jewish meaning of 'to immerse' or did it change its meaning into that of 'to wash'? To begin with the second question: such a change of meaning would be extremely remarkable and there are no proofs to render it credible. The texts upon which this argument is based are dealt with elsewhere and need only be mentioned briefly here. Upon examination of Mk. 7.4 it appeared that the use of βαπτισμός for the cleaning of vessels was quite compatible with the meaning of 'immersion', while the use of ῥαντίζειν instead of βαπτίζειν does not intimate anything about the meaning of the latter verb.⁵ In Lk. 11.38 ἐβαπτίσθη is the Christian term in the passive applied to a Jewish ritual ablution, which merely indicates that the verb was becoming more technical.⁶

¹ F H CHASE, *art cit*, JThS 6, 1905, p 481 ff, 8, 1907, p 161 ff

² J A ROBINSON, *In the Name*, JThS 7, 1906, p 186 ff

³ E REÑÉ Y ORÓ, Βαπτίζειν(εσθαι) εἰς τινα γείζ τὸ δνομά τινος, *Anal Sacr Tarracon.* 1, 1925, p 115 ff

⁴ OEPKE, *art cit*, ThW I p 528 and 537

⁵ See p. 23.

⁶ See p. 46.

From an examination of the constructions of the verb it will appear that they do not allow any conclusion concerning its meaning,¹ while an investigation of (ἀπο)λούειν and λουτρόν will show that they are only used in exceptional cases for the washing away of sins and are not synonymous with βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα.² We are thus only concerned with the question of to what extent βαπτίζειν lost its meaning of 'to immerse' in the New Testament by becoming increasingly more technical.

In order to prove that the verb still retains its meaning of 'to immerse' the profane meaning has been referred to. This argument is not immediately acceptable. The verb does mean 'to immerse' in the general language but always with the connotation of a perishing.³ The Christian term is quite distinct from this verb, nor does it derive directly from it. This being so one is all the more justified in taking as starting point the Jewish use of the verb in the sense of 'to immerse oneself'.⁴

The indications that in the New Testament the use of βαπτίζειν still implied the idea of an immersion are not found where baptism is directly referred to. It is generally accepted that Paul had this meaning in mind in Rom. 6.3, but this explanation is more based upon the assumption that the process of the verb becoming technical has not advanced too far than providing a proof of this.⁵ We now find the indications precisely in those places where βαπτίζειν is used in the metaphorical sense in order to compare something with baptism.

A first example of this is provided by the expression βαπτίζειν (ἐν) πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (καὶ πυρὶ). The verb is here used metaphorically for an immersion in Spirit and fire as in a liquid.⁶ It has its Jewish meaning of 'to immerse' with an allusion to the technical meaning 'to baptize'. This play upon both meanings is only possible if one still bears the literal meaning in mind along with the technical.

A similar case is found in Paul when he compares Christian baptism with the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites: ἐβαπτίσαντο ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ I Cor. 10.2. Paul refers to Christian baptism and in thus far thinks of the technical term for it. At the same time, however, he remains conscious of the literal meaning. This appears from the fact that he finds a point of similarity between the crossing and Christian baptism in that the Israelites were 'immersed' in the

¹ See p. 48 ff

² See p. 62 f.

³ See p. 13 f.

⁴ See p. 27 ff

⁵ See p. 53 ff.

⁶ See p. 56 ff.

cloud and in the sea. In actual fact the Jews were neither in the cloud nor in the water but by making this comparison the apostle shows that for him the verb was not yet completely technical.

A third example is found in the question and answer of Christ to the sons of Zebedee: δύνασθε.. τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι; .. τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε Mk. 10.38 f., and: βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι Lk. 12.50. Christ is speaking of His death but the difficulty is how He can metaphorically speak of it as of a baptism. Here too we must take it that Christ, using *tbl* in Aramaic, alludes both to its profane meaning of 'to immerse' and to the sacral meaning of 'to baptize'. He then compares His death with a baptism as an immersion in the sea, the realm of death.

If this is correct, for βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι the connotation of a perishing emerges through the linking of immersion and death. The verb then once more approaches its meaning in the profane language. The idea of a perishing is indeed found in the Old Testament texts where the sea is spoken of as the realm of death. From the womb of the realm of death Jonah cries: ἀπέρριψάς (*šlk* hi. 'to throw') με εἰς βάθη καρδίας θαλάσσης Jon. 2.4; in fear of death the psalmist says: ἐνεπάγγην (*tb^c* 'to sink down') εἰς ἕλυν βυθοῦ Ps. 68.3.

Recently Delling has proposed a new interpretation of the expression βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι, assuming that these words have nothing to do with Christian baptism but must be understood in their profane meaning with the connotation of a perishing.¹ Various passages in the Greek Bible versions provide him with examples of the verb used in this meaning. The noun is admittedly not found in this sense but the writer may nevertheless assume that it did exist.² If, however, the expression is based upon a usage in Aramaic of the root *tbl*, the idea of a perishing is merely secondary, while the allusion to a baptismal rite is obvious. If this is not intended, another term might already be expected in Aramaic, such as *tb^c* or *šlk*, which we found in the just quoted texts concerning a being drowned in or a being thrown into the sea of death. Furthermore, if this intention had been rightly understood, the Aramaic should not have been rendered by βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι for in the Christian milieu this would immediately have been seen as a reference to baptism. An Aramaic *tbl* in its profane sense should have had to be translated by the normal equivalent βάπτειν.

A play upon the meanings 'to immerse' and 'to baptize' may thus be

¹ G. DELLING, Βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι, NT 2, 1957, p. 92 ff.

² See p. 52.

observed in three passages of the New Testament. In two of them, John's words concerning the baptism with Spirit and fire and Jesus' reference to His death, the wordplay may be said to depend on a usage of the Aramaic *tbl*. In Greek the play becomes more difficult but the translators may in both passages still have been aware of the two meanings. Paul too appears to be conscious of the double meaning. The first indications of a decreasing awareness are then found in Luke. The fact that he only mentions briefly the words of Christ concerning His death may already be one of them, Lk. 12.50. He is the first to use βαπτίζειν in the passive for a Jewish purification rite, ib 11.38. He is also the first to substitute for the passive the middle voice in the causal sense of 'to have oneself baptized', Acts 22.16.¹

The question of the exact meaning of βαπτίζειν and hence of βάπτισμα has thus become greatly simplified by a better formulation of the problem. The only possible point of departure is the Jewish meaning of 'to immerse' and there is no reason to assume that this ever changed into that of 'to wash'. The question that then remains is the extent to which the meaning of 'to immerse' disappears as the term becomes progressively more technical in the sense of 'to baptize'. The New Testament shows that people were still aware of the meaning of 'to immerse' since it is possible to play on it when using the verb in a metaphorical sense. This is easier, however, in Aramaic than in Greek and the awareness may thus have decreased sooner among the Greek-speaking Christians.

2. *The active, medial, and passive use of βαπτίζειν*

One difference from the Jewish usage of βαπτίζειν is that the verb as a technical term for the baptism of John, for the baptism administered by the disciples of Jesus during His public life, and for Christian baptism is found again in the active and passive. This may be explained by the manner in which baptism is now administered. Whereas in Judaism the rite was self-administered, making the middle voice essential, it is now an officiant who performs the action. It must, however, be borne in mind that it is possible to view differently the manner in which a person is considered to be the minister of an immersion rite. As Rowley has remarked, proselyte baptism may be considered to be 'administered' by the witnesses on account of their

¹ See p. 45 f.

active part in the ceremony, although the immersion remains the unaided act of the candidate.¹

It may be remarked in this connection that the discourse between Jesus and the Baptist concerning which of them should baptize the other, implies the idea of a minister: ἐγὼ χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς μέ; Mt. 3.14. The disciples of John telling their master of the baptism administered by the disciples of Jesus during His public life, say that Jesus performs the rite: οὗτος βαπτίζει Jn. 3.26, and the evangelist expresses himself in the same manner, ib. 4.1, but he then specifies that it is not Christ who baptizes but His disciples: αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐβάπτισεν ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ib. 4.2. It is possible that in like manner John is called the Baptist even though in many cases he allowed his disciples to administer his rite. In either case John and his disciples may have acted as witnesses, whereas the immersion remained the unassisted act of the candidate.

It has indeed been pointed out that when the middle voice of βαπτίζειν corresponds to the qal intr. of *tbl*, 4 Reg. 5.14, the active then corresponds to the causative form, the hiphil, in the sense of 'to bring, to induce to baptism' and the passive to the hophal, the passive form of the hiphil, 'to be brought, induced to baptism'.² If this is correct, the Greek text does not render this nuance, but one may share Easton's opinion that it is given in the variants of the Western text on Lk. 3.7: βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ (D) instead of ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *in conspectu eius* (d, e) and *coram ipso* (b, l*, q, r). The variants may render an early concept concerning the activity of John although there is no likelihood whatever that they are the correct readings. John is then called the minister of his rite, because he induces people to receive it or perhaps, because he presides over the ceremony. His role then does not really surpass that of a witness.

Easton is moreover of the opinion that there are many traces of an early Christian usage of the middle voice of βαπτίζειν and he reads into them an original concept according to which the Christians administered baptism to themselves.³ We shall consider his arguments one by one.

The peculiarities in the linguistic usage of Luke can be explained by the fact that, as a Greek, he treats the technical term slightly different-

¹ *Art.cit.*, p. 324.

A. MERX, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, Berlin 1902, II 1 p. 41 n. 1, B. S. EASTON, *Self-Baptism*, Am. Journ. Theol. 24, 1920, p. 516.

³ *Art.cit.*, p. 513 ff.

ly. A Pharisee who has invited Christ is astonished that He does not perform the prescribed ablution before the meal: *ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη* (v.l. *ἐβαπτίσατο* P⁴⁵, 700) *πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου* Lk. 11.38. Luke uses the Christian technical term for a Jewish ablution in accordance with the general custom of antiquity.¹ The variant is intended to eliminate this peculiarity.

Elsewhere, in Paul's account of his conversion given to the Jews of Jerusalem, Luke mentions the following exhortation addressed to him by Ananias: *ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου* Acts 22.16. If the middle voice is here intended to convey that the rite was self-administered, it would form a remarkable contrast to the passive in Lk. 11.38. The phenomenon, however, is easy to explain and is quite independent of Semitic usage. Luke writes of Paul's conversion: *ἀναστὰς ἐβαπτίσθη* Acts 9.18, and can repeat this expression with the main verb in the middle voice in the causal sense of 'to have oneself baptized'.² The middle voice *βαπτίσασθαι* is found as a variant in two other passages of Luke for publicans receiving the baptism of John, Lk. 3.12 (700), and for Jesus' death, *ib.* 12.50 (1, 954). It may be intended in a causal sense or be meant to indicate that the action is performed by oneself.

It is clear that now the medio-passive of the present, imperfect, and perfect must be viewed as passive voices wherever the baptism of John or Christian baptism is meant. One cannot agree with Easton that they are evidence for the middle voice. On the other hand the middle voice is correctly used in *ῥαντίσωνται* (v.l. *βαπτίσωνται*) Mk. 7.4, for a Jewish rite,³ and also in *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* I Cor. 15.29, if here a rite is referred to which the faithful of Corinth administered to themselves.⁴ In such cases either the middle voice can be used or one may retain the passive, as in Lk. 11.38.⁵ Paul was confronted with this choice when he compared Christian baptism with the crossing of the Red Sea: *εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν* (v.l. *ἐβαπτίσαντο*) I Cor. 10.2. It will probably remain uncertain whether he retained the passive or replaced it by the middle voice; the alternative reading could soon arise as a variant and both now find good support in the manuscripts. In the earliest text P⁴⁶ the middle voice of the aorist *ἐβαπτίσαντο* is already a correction for the imperfect *ἐβαπτίζοντο*. This imperfect is not

¹ See p 6, for more examples, see p 79

² More examples in Clement of Alexandria and Origen, see p 68

³ See p 23

⁴ But see p 55

⁵ The terminology of the Elkesaites provides examples of both, see p 80 f.

attested elsewhere and may be a correction itself intended to circumvent the difficulty.¹

We thus find a constant use of the active and passive and this might be objected to the supposition that at the baptism of John and that of Jesus during His public life the immersion was the unaided act of the candidate for, in such a case, the active might have been expected for the minister but not the passive instead of the middle voice. The New Testament authors, however, may apply their own usage to the similar rites of John and of Jesus during His public life but, if they did so, the constant use of the active and passive for Christian baptism points all the more to the fact that from the very beginning in this rite at least the candidate was considered to be immersed by the officiant.

In only one passage of the New Testament is the question of a minister expressly raised, 1 Cor. 1.13 ff., and then Paul makes a sharp distinction between those he has baptized and those he has not. The function of the minister appears to be closely defined; Paul would not have been able to make the distinction had he merely been the official witness in whose presence the baptismal ceremony was performed. The Didache makes a distinction between the minister, the person being baptized, and others who may be present: ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται Did. 7.4.²

It thus appears that the use of βαπτίζειν in the New Testament as the technical term for the baptism of John, for the baptism of Jesus during His public life, and for Christian baptism, although it concurs with the Jewish usage by the absence of the connotation of a perishing, is again sharply distinguished from it by a regular use of the active and passive. Any exceptions are only apparent. This usage may be explained by the fact that in Christian baptism a minister plays a role in such a manner that he actually immerses the candidate. It is possible, however, that this usage is only applied to the baptism of John and that of Jesus during His public life, whereas in these rites the immersion remained the unassisted act of the candidate.

¹ EASTON, *art cit*, p. 514 f, refers moreover to the constant use of the middle voice in (ἀπο)λούειν, but see below, p. 62 f.

² See p. 2, but for the authenticity of this passage, cf. PETERSON, *art cit.*, p. 49 ff., and AUDET, *op cit*, p. 104 ff and 357 ff

3. *The constructions of βαπτίζειν*

The verb βαπτίζειν is in the New Testament construed with εἰς, ἐν, ἐπί, and with the dative. A difference of opinion exists concerning the meaning of these constructions, especially as regards the preposition εἰς. In addition, an attempt has been made to determine the meaning of the verb itself by means of the constructions. Chase sees in the use of εἰς support for the meaning 'to immerse'.¹ Robinson disputes this by pointing out the interchangeability of εἰς and ἐν in the New Testament.²

Four meanings may be distinguished among the constructions of βαπτίζειν: (1) εἰς and ἐν are used in a locative sense to indicate the place of baptism, (2) ἐν and the dative in an instrumental sense to indicate the means – in a literal use of the verb the liquid – by or in which the action is performed, (3) εἰς is used in a final sense to indicate the aim for which one has oneself baptized; (4) ἐν has once a causal sense to show the motive inspiring the action; ἐπί is also found once and may in this case be understood finally or causally.

(1) In the phrase βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Mt. 3.6, Mk. 1.5, ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ 1 Cor. 10.2, there is a local connection. The use of the preposition does not detract at all from the meaning of the verb. The place of the immersion was already indicated with the same words in the story of Naaman, 4 Reg. 5.14. None the less, εἰς is also found: ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην Mk. 1.9. This can be sufficiently explained on account of the interchangeability of ἐν and εἰς in the local sense as can be observed elsewhere in Mark and in other New Testament writers: ἦλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν Mk. 1.39.³ This also explains the interchange of the two prepositions in the prescription of the Didache: βαπτίσατε . . ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ Did. 7.1 f.⁴ One cannot thus quote εἰς as proof that the writer is still aware of the meaning 'to immerse'.

(2) In the places where it is said that John baptizes with water but Christ with the Holy Spirit various constructions occur: βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι . . ἐν πνεύματι Mt. 3.11, Jn. 1.26 ff., Mk. 1.8 v.l., ὕδατι . . πνεύματι Mk. 1.8, ὕδατι . . ἐν πνεύματι Lk. 3.16, Acts 1.5; 11.16.⁵ The fact that the

¹ *Art cit*, p. 500 ff

² *Art cit*, p. 186 ff

³ Cf F BLASS-A DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1954, § 205

⁴ But for the authenticity of this passage, see p. 47 n. 2

⁵ On 1 Cor. 12.13, see p. 61

preposition may be omitted proves that the construction has not a local but an instrumental meaning. This may indicate a weakening of the idea of an immersion since the instrumental connection suggests an application of the liquid to the object, i.e. a pouring over or sprinkling.¹ This reversed conception may also have been in Paul's mind when he speaks of an 'immersion' of the Jews in the cloud, 1 Cor. 10.2.

(3) In other cases the preposition εἰς is found in what is clearly not a local but a final connection. In this manner εἰς μετάνοιαν and εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν are linked with βαπτίζειν Mt. 3.11, Acts 2.38, cf. Mk. 1.4, Lk. 3.3, in order to indicate the aim for which baptism is given.

There has been much discussion concerning those texts in which the verb is construed with εἰς or εἰς τὸ ὄνομα followed by a proper name.² Thus one finds the expressions βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα with the Trinitarian formula, Mt. 28.19, and βαπτίζειν εἰς (τὸ) ὄνομα (τοῦ) κυρίου Acts 8.16; 19.5, Did. 9.5. Paul does not use the expression but alludes to it with: βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου 1 Cor. 1.13, εἰς τὸ ἕμδὸν ὄνομα ib. 1.15. In addition, one finds without ὄνομα the expressions: βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ib. 10.2, εἰς Χριστόν Gal. 3.27, Rom. 6.3, elaborated upon with: βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον Rom. 6.3, cf. 6.4, the question: εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίστηθε; and the answer: εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα Acts 19.3.

In the first place it can be stated that the omission of ὄνομα does not change the meaning of the preposition εἰς. This ὄνομα is avoided in order to speak not of a baptism conferred 'in the name of' a human person. Paul omits it when speaking of a baptism in Moses, 1 Cor. 10.2, and added to his own name it heightens the absurdity of a baptism in Paul, ib. 1.13, 15. Nor does one speak of a baptism in the name of John, and this explains the unusual εἰς τί; and εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα Acts 19.3, anticipating the formula βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ib. 19.5. On the other hand, ὄνομα may be omitted in order to make the expression more pregnant. Thus we find εἰς Χριστόν Gal. 3.27, Rom. 6.3, elucidated in the latter passage by εἰς τὸν θάνατον. In this manner we obtain a large number of texts in which it may be taken that βαπτίζειν εἰς is always used in the same sense. We must now decide whether they contain sufficient data to establish the meaning of the expression.

It is obvious that in several of these texts εἰς cannot be understood in the local sense. In 1 Cor. 10.2 such an explanation of βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν

¹ For this idea in the use of βάπτειν, see p. 14 and 37

² In addition to the literature mentioned above, p. 41, M DE JONGHE, *Le baptême au nom de Jésus d'après les Actes des Apôtres*, EThL 10, 1933, p. 647 ff, CHR. MOHRMANN, *À propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: tropaeum, nomen*, VCh 8, 1954, p. 167 ff.

Μωϋσῆν would lead to a second definition of place alongside ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. It would also be a remarkable idea if Paul was alluding to an immersion in the person of Moses. The same can be said with regard to Rom. 6.3 ff. If the apostle is aware of βαπτίζειν in the sense of 'to immerse' he refers to an immersion as a descent into the tomb and an ascent from it. This experience is undergone by both Christ and the faithful, as expressed in the verb συνδάπτεισθαι Rom. 6.4, Col. 2.12. The idea of an immersion into Christ would again provide a second definition of place which is incompatible with the first.¹ One should therefore attribute no local significance to εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε Gal. 3.27, despite the subsequent elucidation: Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. The putting on of Christ is merely the result aimed at in baptism. Finally, it is clear that no local connection is intended by εἰς τί; in Acts 19.3, which would render the question superfluous.

In these cases the preposition can have no local meaning and in the last passage the final connection is clearly brought out: εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε: .. εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα Acts 19.3. The following ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ib. 19.5, may then have the same meaning. The final meaning also does justice to the preposition in the other texts, in the sense that an action is spoken of which is performed 'with a view to' the Trinity, to Christ or His death, to Paul or to Moses.

Upon comparison of the expression εἰς τὸ ὄνομα with its Hebrew and Aramaic equivalent the problem arises that there are two related expressions: *bešēm* 'in the name of', 'under invocation of the name', and *lešēm* which may have the causal meaning of 'by reason of', 'for the sake of' and the final 'with a view to', 'in order that something may happen'. It has, however, been remarked that for the final meaning rabbinic literature offers texts which form a close parallel to the New Testament expression. According to the Talmud the slave takes a bath 'in the name of the free man (*tbl lšm bn hwryn*)' Yeb 45b, i.e. in order to become a free man; on his entry into a Jewish house the pagan slave takes a bath 'in the name of the status of slave (*tbl lšm šphwt*)' ib. 47b.²

The explanation provided thus of the New Testament expression βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα or εἰς τινὰ and the close connection with Semitic usage make it unnecessary to look for parallels in the profane language.³ On the other hand, it appears that no evidence can be obtained from

¹ See p 53, a survey of opinions in R SCHNACKENBURG, *Das Heilsgeschehen bei der Taufe nach dem Apostel Paulus*, Munich 1950, p 19

² For this explanation see MERX, *op cit*, II I p 39 ff, and H BIETENHARD, "Ὄνομα, ThW V p 267 and 274 f

³ Cf ΟΕΡΚΕ, *op cit*, ThW I p 537, and literature p 537 n 1

the expression as to whether in the New Testament βαπτίζειν still has the meaning of 'to immerse'.

(4) In two more places βαπτίζειν is linked with ἐν or ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι: βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ (v.l. ἐν) τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Acts 2.38, and: προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ib. 10.48. Both ἐν and ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι may correspond with a Hebrew *lešēm*. The Septuagint offers examples of translation by ἐν in Jos. 9.9, 2 Reg. 22.50, and with ἐπὶ in Sir. 47.13. In Acts 10.48 the phrase may be taken in the causal sense of 'for the sake of'. The expression is then not connected with the fixed final phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, whereby it may be remarked that ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι now precedes the verb. The same meaning may be attributed to the phrase in Acts 2.38 but it is also possible that here ἐπὶ is used in the final sense and before εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν replaces the εἰς of the fixed expression for stylistic reasons.¹

The examination of the various constructions of βαπτίζειν shows that both εἰς and ἐν are used to indicate the place of the action. For the liquid ἐν is used or the instrumental dative without preposition, which suggests an application of the liquid to the object. In addition, a great number of texts show the construction with εἰς or εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in a final connection indicating the aim of baptism and not an immersion in a particular person.

4. *The use of βάπτισμα*

The noun βάπτισμα occurs in the New Testament (1) thirteen times as the term for the baptism of John, and (2) four times for Christian baptism; (3) it is thrice used metaphorically for Jesus' death. If, however, the New Testament authors use the same term for the baptism of John and for Christian baptism, they do make a distinction between the two. The noun stands by itself as the technical term for Christian baptism, Rom. 6.4, Col. 2.12, Eph. 4.5, 1 Pet. 3.21, whereas the baptism of John is distinguished by additional words: τὸ βάπτισμα (τὸ) Ἰωάννου Mt. 21.25, Mk. 11.30, Lk. 7.29; 20.4, Acts 1.22; 18.25; 19.3, τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ Mt. 3.7, τὸ βάπτισμα δ' ἐλήρυξεν Ἰωάννης Acts 10.37, βάπτισμα μετανοίας Mk. 1.4, Lk. 3.3, Acts 13.24; 19.4.

The noun βάπτισμα distinguishes the baptism of John and Christian baptism from the Jewish ritual ablutions, referred to as βαπτισμοί. According to the traditional view βαπτισμῶν in Heb. 6.2 is an exception to this rule, which is undoubtedly the reason why the contrast in

¹ See also p. 37.

terminology was not clearly perceived. The interpretation discussed above here does justice to the Jewish term.¹ There still remains the variant βαπτισμῶ Col. 2.12 (P⁴⁶, B, D, G) for Christian baptism, but this is almost universally rejected by editors of the text. If this is not the original reading it only testifies for the period in which it originated.²

For the formation of βάπτισμα alongside βαπτισμός one may perhaps suggest the influence of the Hebrew equivalent of the two nouns. The Septuagint translators sometimes show a preference for Greek words because of their phonetic similarity to the Hebrew equivalent, especially for nouns in -μα on the model of Hebrew nouns in -āh. In this manner βάπτισμα may have been coined because of its greater similarity to *ḥibilāh*.³

According to this explanation βάπτισμα means 'immersion' just as much as βαπτισμός, but a distinction naturally arises between the two nouns when they are used for different rites. In the opinion of Debrunner βαπτισμός renders the act of immersion while βάπτισμα also comprises the result of the action,⁴ but there is no evidence from the contexts that this distinction was meant and even less that βάπτισμα was coined for this reason.

The noun βάπτισμα is not found in the literature of pagan antiquity. This does not prove that it did not exist at all but, if it did, it would have had another meaning concurring with that of the verb. Nor is the noun found in Jewish literature. If, therefore, it was coined on analogy with the Hebrew equivalent, this was probably done by Christians of Jewish origin. If the formation were pre-Christian, it might have been coined notably by the disciples of John in so far as they spoke Greek. We should then have here a term for the baptism of John as it existed in his own milieu. When, however, the disciples call their rite τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα in Acts 19.3, this wording must be attributed to Luke himself, who employs his own Christian term.

For the time being it remains more probable that βάπτισμα is a Christian neologism. It expresses the consciousness of the first Christians that their rite is something new and definitely different from Jewish and pagan purification rites. It does not appear that they

¹ See p 30

² See p 64 f

³ Other examples, see p 239 f . 245 n 3, also ἀγάπη as the equivalent of 'ahābāh, in A CERESA-GASTALDO, 'Αγάπη nei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento, Aegyptus 31, 1951, p 269 ff

⁴ *Op cit.*, § 109 2 Nouns in -μα are really *nomina rei actae*, cf E SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich 1953, I p 522

borrowed the term from John's disciples but they use it for the baptism of John just as the Jews could use βαπτισμός for it.

5. *Baptism as an immersion in the sea of death, and dying as a baptism*

Since the New Testament currently terms the Christian bath an immersion and only in special circumstances an ablution,¹ we are justified in asking the reason for this preference. The term may simply have been adopted from the Jewish linguistic usage along with the custom of bathing by immersion, or one may point to the link with the terminology of John's baptism since it has been conjectured that John preferred this name for his rite as an immersion in the sea of death. This supposition, however, is based mainly upon Christian baptism and upon Christ calling His death an immersion with a possible allusion to the baptism of John.²

For the New Testament conception of Christian baptism as a death and descent into the realm of the dead one may now refer in the first place to the same pronouncement of Christ in so far as He alludes to this rite as a participation in His death, Mk. 10.38 f., Lk. 12.50. Moreover, the idea is elaborated by Paul. Speaking of baptism he defines ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν more closely with the words: εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν Rom. 6.3. Subsequently he defines the verb ἐβαπτίσθημεν by: συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ib. 6.4, cf. Col. 2.12. Since the preposition εἰς must be taken in the final sense,³ the rite of immersion is said to be performed with a view to Christ's death, in order to participate in it, and this participation is brought about by an immersion with Christ in His tomb.

This elaboration of the image presents the difficulty that death does not precede burial. Stommel, however, has pointed out that according to the ancient conception burial is not undertaken solely for reasons of reverence and hygiene but because it is only by burial that the deceased can enter fully into the realm of death.⁴ Paul can thus emphasize Christ's burial as being His complete entry into the sphere of death, implying the descent into hell, and speak of the Christians being buried with Him as a more comprehensive term for the participation in Christ's death than being crucified and dying with Him.

In consequence, however, Stommel denies the opinion that Paul's

¹ See p 62 f.

² See p 38 f

³ See p 49 f

⁴ E STOMMEL, 'Begraben werden mit Christus' (Röm 6 4) und der Taufritus, RomQ 49, 1954, p 6 ff., *Christliche Taufriten und antike Badesiten*, JACH 2, 1959, p. 5 ff.

words on dying, being buried, and rising with Christ refer to the descent into the baptismal water and the ascent from it.¹ He assumes that βαπτίζειν has become completely technical and that the manner of baptizing is described by ἀπολούειν 1 Cor. 6.11, and λουτρὸν Eph. 5.26, Tit. 3.5, as a washing. Christian baptism, however, is only called a washing for special reasons and βαπτίζειν had certainly not become so technical that Paul was no longer aware of its real meaning.² The manner in which in Rom. 6.3 f. συνετάφημεν is opposed to ἐβαπτίσθημεν suggests rather a direct reference to it. Paul bases his use of the word upon the Jewish meaning of βαπτίζειν and thus bears in mind that baptism was usually performed by immersion. In so far does the text contain a reference to the baptismal liturgy of the apostolic age. This connection is, for the rest, of secondary importance and there appears to be no objection to assuming that, despite the use of the term βαπτίζειν, the immersion among the Christians was more or less complete according to the circumstances. The Didache proposes the possibility of baptism by effusion alongside that by immersion: ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρις ὕδωρ Did. 7.3.³

If Paul sees baptism as an immersion in the tomb then this action consists of two movements, one descending and one ascending, symbolizing on the one hand a dying or, more accurately, a being buried with Christ and on the other a rising with him. Later theological reflexion has elaborated this: ἡ κατάδυσις τὸ συναποθανεῖν, ἡ ἀνάδυσις τὸ συναναστῆναι Const. 3.17.3, and John Chrysostom: καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τινὶ ταφῶ, τῷ ὕδατι καταδύοντων ἡμῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος θάπτεται In Jo. 25.2. The two movements implied in the verb βαπτίζειν are thus indicated by καταδύειν and ἀναδύειν, and it cannot be said that with this they read more into Paul's text than the apostle himself already intended to convey.

One must, however, distinguish these movements of immersion in the strict sense from the descent into the water and the ascent from it. The Old and New Testaments and rabbinic literature, when speaking of the bath, already like to refer to the descent and ascent with *yrd*, καταβαίνειν, and *ʿlh*, ἀναβαίνειν, 4 Reg. 5.14, Jdth. 12.8, Mt. 3.16, Mk. 1.10, Acts 8.38 f., Mishnah Mikw. 13.5, Talmud Yeb. 47b. The Christian writers elaborate this. Pseudo-Barnabas says: ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες Ep. 11.11, and Hermas: εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσιν νεκροί, καὶ ἀνα-

¹ *Art cit.*, RömQ 49, 1954, p. 11 ff.

² See p. 42 f. ³ But see p. 47 n. 1

βαίνουσιν ζῶντες Past. 93.4, cf. 93.6. Stommel rightly remarks that the moment of baptism is situated between the descent and ascent and that the symbolism of dying and rising is not attached to these movements. Nothing is said, however, against such a symbolism of the immersion itself, for it is not mentioned. The most that can be said is that the writers were not aware of it and that Paul's idea was only adopted later.

With ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε; in Rom. 6.3 Paul assumes his conception of baptism as an immersion in the sea of death to be well known. Hence it may be supposed present when he sees a prefiguration of baptism in the crossing of the Red Sea, 1 Cor. 10.2, and Peter in the saving of Noah and his family from the waters of the flood, 1 Pet. 3.20.¹

If we thus assume that the meaning of βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα in the literal sense for the baptism of John and Christian baptism implied the concept of an immersion in the sea of death, we find on the other hand a metaphorical use of the terms when, with an allusion to this concept, Christ calls His death and the death of the sons of Zebedee a baptism, Mk. 10.38 f., Lk. 12.50.² It may even be that this figurative use was more generally accepted. Assuming this, Schlatter attempted an explanation of Paul's words concerning the baptism practised by the Corinthians for their dead in the hope it would allow them to share in the resurrection: ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; 1 Cor. 15.29.³ Paul then does not speak of Christian baptism or of any similar rite practised by the Corinthians but of death itself which they suffer for God's sake for the intention of those who have died unbaptized. Paul indeed goes on to say that he too is constantly in danger of death and dies daily. This explanation assumes, however, that βαπτίζεσθαι in the sense of 'to die for the sake of God' was fairly technical in the apostolic age and there is no further proof of this in the texts available.

The preference by which the baptism of John and Christian baptism are termed an immersion may thus go back not simply to the use of *tbl* for the Jewish ritual washing but probably derives from the baptism of John being viewed as an immersion in the sea of death. In Rom. 6.3 ff. Paul has the baptismal rite in mind, in so far as immersion implies a movement of descent and ascent which he refers to as a

¹ More texts from the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers in LUNDBERG, *op.cit.*, p. 201 ff.

² See p. 43.

³ A. SCHLATTER, *Paulus der Bote Jesu*, Stuttgart 1934, p. 420 ff., cf. SCHNACKENBURG, *op.cit.*, p. 90 ff.

descent into the tomb and an arising from it. On account of this concept of baptism the death of Christ and of the sons of Zebedee and perhaps also dying for God's sake in general may be called a baptism in the figurative sense.

6. *Baptizing in the Holy Spirit and in fire*

With the inquiry into the New Testament meaning of the expression βαπτίζειν (ἐν) πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (καὶ πυρὶ) we touch for the first time upon a problem which will be met with again in various places: the distinction between the baptism in water and the gift of the Spirit. An examination of the terminology in the New Testament and in early Christian literature will reveal an established linguistic usage for two distinct rites, each having its own effects: the baptism in water and the subsequent rite of imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing, the effect of which is said to be the gift of the Spirit.

When thus we separate the gift of the Spirit from the baptism in water, this does not mean that we attribute to this baptism only the negative effect of the forgiveness of sins, for the positive effect of justification is combined with it. In addition, renewal, re-creation, rebirth, and enlightenment are all names for the positive effects of baptism in water, which have even become technical terms for the rite. The negative and positive effects of baptism are produced by God and are attributed to the operation of the Holy Spirit in particular. This operation results in a permanent indwelling of God, or again in particular of the Spirit, in the soul of the person baptized. In the literature dealing with baptism, however, this operation and indwelling of the Spirit are often not clearly distinguished from the gift and this has given rise to a great deal of misunderstanding with regard to the postbaptismal rite.

In the Church of England the discussion on this subject was set in motion in 1880 by a paper by Puller.¹ He wishes to distinguish between the operation of the Spirit in baptism, which consists of 'His purifying, consecrating, regenerating influence', and the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit, but terms the latter an 'indwelling presence', thus confusing the indwelling and the gift. The author opposes this concept to the old opinion that the effect of the postbaptismal rite consists in the increase of a gift already imparted in baptism. If, however, one links only the

¹ F. W. PULLER, *What is the Distinctive Grace of Confirmation?* London 1880, especially p. 12.

gift and not the indwelling with the postbaptismal rite there is no contrast at all with the traditional opinion, for that which the New Testament calls the gift of the Spirit is termed in scholastic theology an increase of the grace already received in baptism.

The misconception on this point has persisted in Anglican theology. Mason defended anew the thesis that 'the indwelling gift of the Holy Ghost' is not granted in baptism,¹ whereas Wirgman wished to prove the contrary: indwelling and gift of the Spirit must coincide for it is hardly practical to distinguish between a 'presence' of the Spirit in the person baptized and an 'indwelling presence' which is only granted later; nor is it possible to consider the baptized person as an 'empty temple' of the Spirit until he has received the postbaptismal rite.² Wotherspoon made one more attempt to distinguish between the graces granted by both rites, but he did not succeed in resolving the confusion between indwelling and gift.³

In recent years Dix has again made the distinction between baptism in water and the gift of the Spirit; the latter is communicated by a rite which originally took place before the baptism in water.⁴ Be this as it may, to the objection that he only acknowledges for the water rite the negative effect of the forgiveness of sins he rightly replied by pointing out the various positive effects which none the less remain.⁵

Among the opponents of Dix, Lampe in particular returned once more to the theory that the gift of the Spirit is granted in baptism.⁶ He disputes the separation of this gift from the operation and the indwelling as a 'difficult and highly artificial isolation of one mode of the Spirit's activity from another'.⁷

Among the Lutheran theologians Seeberg and Behm must be mentioned for their theory that the gift of the Spirit was originally unconnected with baptism but was granted by an imposition of hands.⁸ In recent years among Roman Catholic theologians Coppens and

¹ A J MASON, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, London 1891

² A T WIRGMAN, *The Doctrine of Confirmation considered in relation to Baptism*, London 1897, p XI f

³ H J WOTHERSPOON, *Religious Values in the Sacraments*, Edinburgh 1928, p 199 ff

⁴ G DIX, *The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism*, Westminster 1946

⁵ G DIX, 'The Seal' in the second Century, *Theology* 51, 1958, p 12

⁶ G W. H LAMPE, *The Seal of the Spirit*, London 1951

⁷ *Op cit*, p VIII

⁸ A SEEBERG, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, Leipzig 1903, p 216 ff, J BEHM, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum*, Leipzig 1911, p 160 ff, for the opposite view OEPKE, *art cit*, ThW I p 541

Welte have upheld the theory of the separation.¹ Coppens, however, discerns among the positive effects of baptism in water an 'initial gift' of the Spirit, whence he comes to speak of a double gift.² This formulation is misleading since in the New Testament a positive effect of baptism is never called a 'gift'.

In this part we are dealing with the meaning of βαπτίζειν in the expression 'to baptize in the Holy Spirit and in fire' and with the terms for the operation and indwelling of the Spirit as distinguished from the gift. We shall refer again to this distinction when discussing the terminology of washing, renewal, re-creation, rebirth, and enlightenment, and of the postbaptismal rite.³

In the New Testament the expression βαπτίζειν (ἐν) ὕδατι.. βαπτίζειν (ἐν) πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (καὶ πυρὶ) contrasts the baptism of John in water with the baptism of Christ in the Spirit or in the Spirit and in fire. The expression is placed in the mouth of the Baptist, Mt. 3.11, Mk. 1.8, Lk. 3.16, Jn. 1.26 ff., and of Christ, Acts 1.5; 11.16.⁴

In the last two texts it is quite obvious what is meant by the baptism of the Spirit. Christ refers to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and compares this outpouring of the Spirit viewed as a baptism to the water rite of John, Acts 1.5. Peter remembers these words of Christ after the descent of the Spirit on the family of Cornelius and so established the connection between this event and that of Pentecost. The fact that the objection against the reception of the gentiles had to be overcome explains why, in the case of Cornelius, the gift of the Spirit preceded the baptism in water. Whenever the gift is mentioned elsewhere it is granted after baptism and in a distinct rite, the imposition of hands. This appears in the case of the Samaritans and of the disciple of John, Acts 8.17; 19.6. Hence 'baptizing in the Spirit' is a metaphorical expression for the profuse outpouring of the Spirit in the Messianic period in which the faithful normally participate through the postbaptismal rite of the imposition of hands.

In any case it is clear that in the early Church the baptism in the

¹ J. COPPENS, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes*, Wetteren-Paris 1925, p. 257 ff., B. WELTE, *Die postbaptismale Salbung*, Freiburg i.B. 1939, p. 13 ff. Opposed to the latter H. ELFERS, *Gehört die Salbung mit Chrisma im ältesten abendländischen Initiationsritus zur Taufe oder zur Firmung?* Theol.Gl. 34, 1942, p. 335. Cf. I. DE LA POTTERIE, *L'onction du chrétien dans la foi*, Biblica 40, 1959, p. 66, TH. CAMELOT, *Sur la théologie de la confirmation*, Rev.Sc.Phil Théol. 38, 1954, p. 637 ff.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 251 f., 255, 267.

³ See p. 63, 135, 151, 172, 176, 262 ff and 340 ff.

⁴ Cf. P. VAN IMSCHOOT, *Baptême d'eau et baptême d'Esprit*, ETHI. 13, 1936, p. 653 ff., J. E. YATES, *The Form of Mark 1.8b*, NTS 4, 1957-8, p. 334 ff., E. BEST, *Spirit-Baptism*,

Spirit is likened only with a baptism and this should not lead one to imagine that the gift of the Spirit is ever linked with a water rite. On the contrary, the Spirit is contrasted with water as the liquid of a baptism in the metaphorical sense. It is exactly the neglect of this contrast which has given rise to much confusion with regard to the meaning of the expression and the distinction between baptism in water and gift of the Spirit.

For the origin of the expression several Jewish traditions must be taken into account. In the Old Testament fire is referred to as an eschatological means of punishment. God will refine men as gold and silver are refined in fire: πυρώσω αὐτούς, ὡς πυροῦται τὸ ἀργύριον Zech. 13.9, cf. Mal. 3.2 f. He pours out His wrath as fire and as water: ἐξέχεεν (ῥῆγ) ὡς πῦρ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ Lam. 2.4, Hos. 10.5. John speaks of fire in this sense according to the Q tradition of Mt. 3.10, 12 and Lk. 3.9, 17.

For πνεῦμα, Heb. *rúah*, Aram. *rúhā'*, as announced by the Baptist three explanations can be given. John may have announced a 'spirit' in the sense of 'wind'. In the Old Testament wind is associated with punishment: ῥήξω πνοιήν (*rúah*) ἐξαίρουσαν μετὰ θυμοῦ Ez. 13.13, δώσω . . . πνεῦμα (*rúah*) καὶ ῥαγήσεται ib. 13.11, cf. Jer. 23.19, and mentioned along with fire: ἐπισκοπή γὰρ ἔσται . . . καταιγίς φερομένη (storm-wind and tempest) καὶ φλόξ πυρὸς κατεσθίουσα Is. 29.6. A reference to wind may be found in John's words on the winnowing fan by which the Messiah will separate the chaff from the grain, Mt. 3.12, Lk. 3.17, cf. Is. 41.16.

Another explanation given to 'spirit' is that of the refining 'breath' of God. This is associated with punishment and fire, and presented under the image of water: ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἔδεται, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα (*rúah*) αὐτοῦ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐν φάραγγι σῦρον Is. 30.27 f., cf. 4.4; 11.41, 4 Esd. 13.10, 27.

A third conception of the spirit is that of the divine or holy spirit which is expected as an eschatological gift; it is a spirit of cleansing represented under the image of water but not destructive and the expressions are that this spirit will be poured out (*γῆγ*, *ῥῆκ*, ἐκχεῖν), drawn (imbibed) (*ῥῆ*) or sprinkled (*ῆκ*): ἐγὼ δώσω (*γῆγ*) ὕδωρ . . . ἐπιθήσω (*γῆγ*) τὸ πνεῦμα (*rúah*) μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου Is. 44.3 ἐκχεῶ (*ῥῆκ*) ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου Joel 3.1, 2, cf. Ez. 39.29, Zech. 12.10, 'And behold a well in the field (Gen. 29.2) symbolizes Zion . . . from there they imbibed (*ῥῆ*)

the divine spirit' Gen.Rabbah 70.8, '(God) will utterly destroy the spirit (*rwḥ*) of deceit from them and clean His flesh by a holy spirit (*rwḥ*) from all ungodly acts. He will sprinkle (*nzh*) upon it a spirit (*rwḥ*) of truth like water for impurity' 1QS 4.20 f., cf. 1QH 16.12.¹

It has been supposed that John the Baptist only spoke of a baptism in fire and, if he prophesied a baptism in 'spirit', this would have been in the sense of a baptism with 'wind' or with 'breath'. Such a baptism would have been interpreted by Jesus or in the Christian community as a baptism with the Holy Spirit. The primary question, however, is how a baptism with wind, breath, or fire could ever be termed a baptism. The rise of the metaphorical expression presupposes that spirit and fire could be represented under the image of water. The 'breath' of God and, to a certain extent, fire as means of punishment are compared with water but their action is destructive and thus it remains difficult to call a judgment carried out with God's breath and with fire a baptism with reference to the baptism of John.

In actual fact, baptizing with the Holy Spirit is to be viewed as a development of the expressions of a pouring out, sprinkling, and drawing of the Holy Spirit: with an allusion to the baptism of John in water one now speaks of an immersion. If this is correct, in 'baptizing with the Holy Spirit and fire' the Holy Spirit is primary and the fire additional but the close link between the Holy Spirit and fire may be due to an earlier concept of 'spirit' in the sense of 'breath' or even of 'wind' as eschatological means of punishment. This development in the meaning of 'spirit', which resulted in the fixed expression, may have occurred in the preaching of John himself. If not, one is obliged to suppose that both the new meaning of 'spirit' and the metaphorical use of 'to baptize' are the result of an interpretation either by Jesus or by the Christian community before the expression came in the common source of Matthew and Luke to be attributed to the Baptist.

A further development of 'baptizing in the Spirit' is now found in the source of Mk. 1.8 and in Jn. 1.26 ff. Here both the mention of John's preaching concerning the judgment and the addition *καὶ περὶ* are missing. The text of the fourth Gospel moreover establishes a connection between the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the descent of the Spirit upon Christ in the form of a dove, Jn. 1.33. The only difference from the tradition of Acts 1.5; 11.16 now consists in that the expression

¹ The words: αὐτὸς ἐκχεεῖ πνεῦμα χάριτος Test.Jud. 24.2 f., probably occur in a Christian interpolation; cf. M. DE JONGE, *Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, NT 4, 1960, p. 202 ff.

is still attributed to the Baptist. A possible explanation may be that Jesus adopted the expression from John but applying it, according to Acts 1.5 in the days before His Ascension, to the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost deprived it of the idea of eschatological punishment by omitting the baptism in fire. Thence, in the Christian tradition, the expression could be attributed both to the Baptist and to Christ.

If thus in the early Church baptizing with the Holy Spirit refers to the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit, we find other expressions for the operation of the Spirit at the baptism in water.

A passage of Paul speaks of a baptism in one Spirit and in one body: ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν . . . καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν I Cor. 12.13. If one takes the second part to refer to the Eucharist then the first may be a variant of the fixed expression and refer to the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit. For this, however, the imbibing of the Spirit in the second part is a striking image. Hence one would be rather inclined to take the first section as referring to baptism in water. In support of this it may be pointed out that εἰς ἓν σῶμα indicates the aim of the rite as being the incorporation in Christ, which is accomplished by baptism. The linking of baptism and Spirit thus does not necessarily mean that the text refers to a gift of the Spirit at baptism. If so, the author would be thinking literally of an immersion in water and metaphorically of an immersion in the Spirit. It is therefore better to take the preposition ἐν instrumentally in the sense of 'by means of'.¹ Paul then says that the incorporation of the faithful is brought about by the one Spirit at baptism.

In this passage we now find a first way of expressing the fact that the Spirit operates in baptism. For this operation Paul has various expressions: baptism purifies and justifies by the operation of the Spirit: ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν I Cor. 6.11, the charity of God is poured forth in baptism through the Holy Spirit: διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου Rom. 5.5, the baptismal renewal is the work of the Spirit: ἀνακαινώσις πνεύματος ἁγίου Tit. 3.5, the children of God are led by the Spirit of God: πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται Rom. 8.14. John says that rebirth is brought about by the Spirit: ἐκ (τοῦ) πνεύματος Jn. 3.5, 6, 8.² We thus find the operation of the Spirit at the baptism in water expressed by the genitive, the dative, and by the prepositions ἐν, διὰ, ἐκ. The idea only appears less striking because no definite technical term is used.

Other texts speak of a presence of God and in particular of the Holy

¹ Cf. Mt. 9.34. and BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *op.cit.*, § 219.

² Concerning these texts, see p. 63, 135, 143, and 269.

Spirit in the souls of the faithful. If a man loves Christ, the Father and He will take up their abode in him: *μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα* Jn. 14.23. Paul terms the body of the believer a temple in which God or the Holy Spirit dwell: *ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ* 1 Cor. 3.16, *τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν* ib. 6.19. The texts assume a presence of God existing in all believers. This is already included in His operation at baptism, but is not, however, presented as a gift. Established linguistic usage has the terms *ναὸς θεοῦ* and *(ἐν)οἰκεῖν*, also *κατοικεῖν* Eph. 3.17, *κατοικίζειν* Jas. 4.5, and *κατοικητήριον* Eph. 2.22.

It thus appears that the New Testament is familiar with the idea of an operation of God or of the Spirit at baptism in water. This is not expressed by a technical term but by the genitive, the dative, and by certain prepositions. This operation effects an indwelling of God and, in particular, of the Spirit in the soul of the justified. No mention is made, however, of a gift of the Spirit at baptism. Texts which mention such a gift and the expression 'to baptize with the Spirit' refer to a distinct postbaptismal rite.

7. *The use of (ἀπο)λούειν and λουτρόν*

The use of *(ἀπο)λούειν* and *λουτρόν* in the New Testament is confined to a few places. The terms are commonly used in direct or indirect connection with Christian baptism.¹

The simple form *λούειν* is used for the profane washing of the body, Acts 16.33, and for the washing of a dead person, ib. 9.37. It indicates the Jewish ritual washing in Christ's words: *ὁ λελουμένος οὐκ ἔχει χρειάν [εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας] νίψασθαι* Jn. 13.10, if the words within square brackets are deleted; in the other case *λούειν* may be taken to refer to Christian baptism.² A reference to baptism is certainly contained in the words: *ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ* Heb. 10.22. The writer emphasizes the inner cleansing of conscience. The expression: *ὅς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου* 2 Pet. 2.22, is probably a proverb. The verb retains its profane meaning but the proverb is applied to the false prophets who relapsed after baptism. A reference to baptism is also contained in the variant reading: *λύσαντι* (v.l. *λούσαντι*) *ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* Apoc. 1.5. In each case we see that baptism is spoken of as an ablution in connection with the forgiveness of sins.

¹ Cf. especially ΟΕΡΚΕ, *art.cit.*, ThW IV p. 305 ff.

² See p. 22 f.

The same is true of ἀπολούειν and λουτρόν which in the New Testament are constantly applied to baptism. Ananias exhorts Paul to have his sins washed away by baptism: βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου Acts 22.16; some Christians were sinners but they have been cleansed by ablution: ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε 1 Cor. 6.11; Christ cleansed His Church by the ablution with water: ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος Eph. 5.26, and by this bath saved us from our sinful state: διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας Tit. 3.5.

In the Old Testament and in Judaism, especially in the Qumran texts, we have already found the terms for washing, sprinkling, and cleansing used for the idea that an inner cleansing must accompany the ritual bath.¹ In the New Testament we now find in the same way (ἀπο)λούειν, λουτρόν, and the related terms ῥαίνειν, καθάρος, καθαρίζειν, ἁγιάζειν, in cases where baptism is considered under the aspect of the forgiveness of sins.

This being so, (ἀπο)λούειν and λουτρόν must be viewed as technical terms for baptism but to a lesser degree than βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα. They only replace these terms to bring out the symbolism of the washing away of sins. Thus it is obvious that they retain their normal meaning of 'to wash' and 'washing'.²

The verbs λούειν and ἀπολούειν are not found in the passive voice. There is no doubt about this when the aorist tense is used but even the remaining medial forms must not be taken as passive. These verbs are not common in the passive in the general language, and this is borne in mind whenever they are used in referring to baptism. It is therefore impossible to draw from the medial use any conclusions concerning the question of whether or not the rite was originally self-administered.³

The Holy Spirit is mentioned in connection with baptism considered as an ablution in one passage: ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε.. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν 1 Cor. 6.11. The ablution and justification is performed in the name of Christ and through the Spirit of God. One may attribute to ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι the causal meaning of 'for the sake of' and ἐν τῷ πνεύματι may indicate the operation of the Spirit at baptism.⁴ There is no reason to assume that a gift of the Spirit at baptism is meant.

¹ See p. 36.

² See p. 41 f.

³ See p. 44 ff.

⁴ See p. 61.

THE TERMS FOR WASHING AND IMMERSION IN
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

IN the use of βαπτίζειν, λούειν, and derivatives in early Christian literature (1) we are confronted with roughly the same problems as occurred in the New Testament although some new meanings and derivatives must be added. (2) We must deal separately, however, with the application of the terms to pagan, Jewish, and heretical purification rites.

1. *The Christian usage*

In the Christian literature of the second and third centuries (1) βαπτίζειν, λούειν, and derivatives are used literally to refer to Christian baptism and the baptism of John as an immersion and washing. (2) In particular we must examine the exact meaning of the terms, (3) the use of the active, middle, and passive voices, (4) the constructions of βαπτίζειν, (5) the distinction of the baptismal immersion or washing from the gift of the Spirit, (6) and baptism in a wider sense as a name for the entirety of the baptismal rites, with the exception of the Eucharist. (7) Among the metaphorical meanings of the terms we must consider in the first place those attributed to the expression 'baptizing in the Holy Spirit and in fire'. (8) The terms are also used metaphorically to refer to martyrdom, and (9) the preservation of baptism or second penance. (10) A new name for baptism, based on the ritual, is ὕδωρ.¹

(1) Baptism as an immersion and washing. – As in the New Testament βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα are technical terms for Christian baptism and the baptism of John. The use of βάπτειν in this sense is extremely rare. It is possibly this verb which is translated by *intingere* in: *quem intingas in signo domini* Act.Petr.Sim. 5. Twice it can be conjectured by restoring a papyrus: [ἐβαψεν εἰς τὸ ὕ]δωρ Act.Paul 3.33, [βεβά]μεθα ἐν ὕδασι POxy. 840.43. Clement of Alexandria uses the verb with an allusion to baptism: ἀκμαῖς..βεβαμμέναις Protr. 116.4.²

¹ Cf. A. BENOIT, *Le baptême au second siècle*, Paris 1953.

² See also p. 66, 67 and 375.

The use of the noun βαπτισμός for Christian baptism occurs from the third century onwards, but is rare. It appears for the first time in an African text and may thus have been coined on analogy with its Latin equivalent. With an allusion to baptism martyrdom is called: βαπτισμῷ δευτέρῳ (Lat. *baptismo secundo*) Pass.Perp. 18.3, δευτέρου βαπτισμοῦ (Lat. *secundi baptismatis*, v.l. *baptismi*) ib. 21.2. The Latin text has *baptisma* the second time but we are not concerned here with two texts of which the one is a slavish imitation of the other.¹

Another instance may be seen in the variant τῷ βαπτισμῷ αὐτῶν in Col. 2.12 (P⁴⁶, B, D, G), which is rejected by almost all editors but is none the less very old. Origen once uses βαπτισμός for the baptism which the Pharisees wish to receive from John: τῷ βαπτισμῷ αὐτῶν In Jo. 6.26.135. These texts possibly reflect the influence of the Jewish usage of βαπτισμός. The reason for its unpopularity among the Christians may be sought in the fact that they recognized in this noun the profane term with its connotation of a perishing.

The compound ἀναβαπτίζειν 'to rebaptize' emerges in the rebaptism controversy. In the profane language it is only conjectured.² It must be considered as a Christian neologism and appears as such for the first time in a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria: ἐπειδὴ τοὺς αἰρετικούς, φησὶν, ἀναβαπτίζουσι ap. Eus.Hist. 7.5.4, cf. Conc.Nic. (325) 19.

The noun βαπτιστήριον found in profane literature with the meaning of 'swimming bath', Pliny Ep. 2.17.11, is employed by Melito with a reference to baptism, when he speaks of the bath of the sun in the ocean: τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου βαπτιστήριον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν λαμπ(ρυν)τήριον fr. 8.2, cf. 8.4.

In addition to βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα, the terms λούειν and λουτρόν have become comparatively technical for Christian baptism. They are now even used for the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, the noun in Clement of Alexandria: τελειοῦται δὲ τῷ λουτρῷ μόνῳ Paed. 1.25.3, cf. Origen In Jo. 2.11.84, the verb in the middle voice in Hippolytus: ἐλούσατο εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην Ref. 8.10.7, cf. Origen In Jo. 6.48.251, and likewise for the baptism which the Pharisees ask of John: ἀξιούντες λούσασθαι ib. 6.29.151. These texts, however, are mostly concerned with the forgiveness of sins. Thus Justin Martyr uses the verb with reference to Is. 1.16: λουσάμενοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ Ἡσαίου

¹ For the rest, this use of βαπτισμός is in accordance with the supposition that the Latin text is the original, see below, p. 76 n. 2.

² See p. 13.

κηρυχθὲν λουτρόν Dial. 44.4. Elsewhere the terms for washing may be used to find a variation for βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα, or to avoid these terms, as does Justin in his first Apology.¹

The compound ἀπολούειν continues to be used for baptism, usually with reference to 1 Cor. 6.11 or in order to stress the idea of the washing away of sins: πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀπολούομεθα ἁμαρτήματα Clement of Alexandria Paed. 1.30.1, cf. Strom. 3.62.2, Origen In Jo. 6.38.191, Dionysius of Alexandria ap. Eus.Hist. 7.5.5. This means that scarcely any trace remains of the preference for the compound evidenced by the Jews, and confirms our assumption that this was a typically Jewish nuance. It apparently occurred too seldom in the New Testament to be continued in Christian linguistic usage.

The noun λούσμα must be viewed as a Christian neologism. It is not found in the profane language. As a Christian term it is coined on analogy with βάπτισμα and used by Hippolytus in a pejorative meaning to denote heretical washings: τὰ τοιοῦτα λούσματα καὶ ἀπολυτρώσεις Ref. 6.42.1. It is used non pejoratively for baptism as opposed to the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of sinners: ἀντὶ τοῦ λούσματος (*ma'môdîtâ*) ἡ χειροθεσία Const. (Didasc.) 2.41.2. Here the word must be attributed to the interpolator who amplified the text of the Didascalia. The old Syriac version has the usual equivalent of βάπτισμα.

(2) The meaning of βαπτίζειν, λούειν, and derivatives as terms for baptism. – The fact that βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα progressively became more technical may have made the Christians less conscious of the meaning 'to immerse'. Some texts show, however, that this meaning still persisted.

This may appear first of all from the use of βάπτειν alongside βαπτίζειν as a term for baptism in an apocryphal fragment, provided the restoration of the text is correct. Christ answers a Pharisee: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ [μαθηταὶ μου] οὐκ λέγει μὴ βεβα[πτίσθαι βεβά]μμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζω[ῆς αἰωνίου] POxy. 840.41 ff., cf. Act.Petr.Sim. 5, Act.Paul. 3.32. In Latin βαπτίζειν is not infrequently translated by (*in*)*tinguere* and *mergere* (*-itare*), especially in Tertullian: *aquis tinguimur* Bapt. 4.2, *ter mergitamur* Cor. 3.3, cf. Firmilianus ap. Cypr.Ep. 75.12, Sent.Episc. 37, Commodianus Instr. 2.6.9.

Another indication is the avoidance of βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα by the Apologists when addressing pagan readers. Justin Martyr gives a

¹ See next page.

description of baptism without using these terms at all, *Apol.* 1.61.1 ff. On the other hand he employs them freely in his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*. The terms are not used either by the other Apologists although Tatian, *Or.* 5.3, and Theophilus, *Autol.* 2.16, speak of baptism as a rebirth. It thus appears that Christian writers were aware of the difference between the profane and Christian meanings.

In other texts Christian authors seek to establish a reference to Christian baptism in the profane use of the verb but without the connotation of a perishing. Melito compares baptism with the immersion of glowing metal in water and of the heavenly bodies in the ocean: ποῖος δὲ χρυσός, ἢ ἄργυρος, ἢ χαλκός, ἢ σιδηρὸς πυρωθεὶς οὐ βαπτίζεται ὕδατι; τὰ οὐράνια.. βαπτιζόμενα fr. 8. A similar reference to baptism may be detected in the use of βάπτειν by Clement of Alexandria. The Christians, he says, quench the flaming arrows of the Evil One with the edges of swords which have been immersed in water by the Logos: ταῖς ὕδατίναις ἀκμαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βεβαμμέναις *Protr.* 116.4.

In a number of texts, however, it is precisely the idea of a perishing contained in the profane meaning that the writers allude to when referring to baptism, for baptism is salvation from a menacing destruction. Justin views baptism as a salvation from the immersion into sin: ἡμᾶς βεβαπτισμένους ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἁμαρτίαις, ἃς ἐπράξαμεν *Dial.* 86.6, cf. 14.1. Origen likewise alludes to baptism. The fish with the stater in its mouth is human nature which, by the word of the apostle, is brought up from the depths of unbelief in which it was immersed: ἡ φύσις.. ἐν βυθῷ ἀπιστίας βαπτισθεῖσα *In Matth.* fr. 373.

We may hence assume an allusion to baptism where falling into sin is viewed as an immersion. Clement of Alexandria calls the cleansing of some Gnostics a baptism from purity into immorality: ἐκ σωφροσύνης εἰς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι *Strom.* 3.109.2. Elsewhere the allusion is less clear: ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοία βεβαπτισμένος *Protr.* 4.1, cf. *Paed.* 2.27.2, ναῦς βαπτιζομένη κουφίζεται, μόναις ἀγίων εὐχαῖς κυβερνωμένη *Div.Salv.* 34.3, τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καταβεβαπτισμένων Origen *In Jo.* 28.10.72, ἄλλοις ὀρέγων χεῖρα διασώζοιτο ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένους ἀνώμενος Gregory *Thaumaturgus Paneg.* 171.

With λούειν and derivatives it of course remains easy to establish a connection with the pagan-sacral or profane usage. Referring to *Is.* 1.16 Justin Martyr contrasts baptism with profane bathing: οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε εἰς βάλανειον ὑμᾶς ἐπεμφεν Ἡσαίας ἀπολουσομένους ἐκεῖ.. ἁμαρτίας *Dial.* 13.1. Melito makes a more laboured comparison. The earth is 'washed'

by rains and rivers, the air and the rainbow are 'washed' by rain and the heavenly bodies are 'washed' in the ocean: ἡ σύμπασα γῆ ἄμβροϊς καὶ ποταμοῖς λούεται. τὸ δὲ πῶς λούονται μυστικῶς, παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθε πιστῶς fr. 8. Speaking of profane bathing Clement of Alexandria refers to the inward cleansing of the soul by baptism and in general: λούειν δὲ δεῖ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν καθαρσίῳ λόγῳ Paed. 3.47.4.

(3) The use of the active, middle, and passive voices. – The verb βαπτίζειν is regularly used in the active and passive. It is thus taken for granted that an officiant was present at a Christian baptism and performed the act of immersion. When Clement of Alexandria twice and Origen repeatedly use the middle voice it must be understood in the causal sense of 'to have oneself baptized'. The phenomenon was already remarked upon in the language of Luke¹ and recurs precisely among the more educated of the early Christian writers.

Clement deals with the question of why Christ had himself baptized: διὰ τοῦτο ἐβαπτίσαστο Exc. 36.2, ἐβαπτίσαστο μὴ χρῆζων Ecl. 7.1. Likewise Origen says that Christ had himself baptized by John: ὅτε γὰρ ἐβαπτίσαστο In Luc. 28, cf. In Matth. fr. 69, and the Jews: τοῖς βαπτισαμένοις Cels. 1.47, βαπτισόμενοι In Jo. 6.28.146. The Christians also have themselves baptized: ἐν γὰρ τῷ βαπτίσασθαι εἰς Ἰησοῦν In Jo. 6.44.232, cf. 32.7.79, In Matth. 12.20, and they cannot have themselves baptized anew: αὐθις βαπτίσασθαι Exh. 30, but in after-life they may need to have themselves baptized in fire: χρεῖαν ἔχει βαπτίσασθαι τῷ πυρὶ In Jer. 2.3. They have themselves baptized in martyrdom: τὸ βάπτισμα. .βαπτίσασθε νῦν Exh. 37, βαπτισάμενοι τῷ ἑαυτῶν αἵματι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι ib. 39. Elijah's crossing of the Jordan is considered as a baptism: ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισάμενος In Jo. 6.46.238, but in this text the action is one that the prophet performs himself so that the middle voice may have an ordinary reflexive meaning. On the other hand, writers naturally use the middle voice with (ἀπο)λούειν just as in the New Testament.

With the passive the function of the officiant is normally indicated by ὑπό, but for the baptism of Jesus παρά is found in a fragment from Celsus preserved by Origen: λουομένῳ. .σοὶ παρά τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Cels. 1.41.² Origen himself alludes to this with: τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιστάσης τῷ σωτήρι βαπτίζομένῳ παρά τῷ Ἰωάννῃ περιστερᾶς ib. 1.40, but also uses παρά elsewhere: τῶν παρά τῷ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτισαμένων In Jo. 6.29.152. This may suggest that the idea had arisen or still persisted that John could not be the officiant for every one of the many who had themselves baptized in

¹ See p. 46.

² On this text, see also p. 20.

the same clearly defined manner as obtained in the administration of Christian baptism.¹

(4) The constructions of βαπτίζειν. – The constructions of βαπτίζειν concur with those found in the New Testament.² To indicate the place of baptism the preposition εἰς can still be used: ἀγαγὼν με εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πλησίον οὐσας πηγάς, ὡς εἰς ἀέναον ἐβάπτισεν ὕδωρ Clem.Hom. II.35.1, cf. II.36.2, Hippolytus Ref. 8.10.7.

To indicate the liquid the preposition ἐν is current and the instrumental dative: βαπτίζειν(-εσθαι) ἀγίῳ πνεύματι Justin Dial. 29.1, ὕδατι Melito fr. 8.1, ἐν ψυχρῷ Hippolytus Ref. 9.16.1, ἀγνοῖα Clement of Alexandria Protr. 4.1, τῷ ἑαυτῶν αἵματι Origen Exh. 39, τοῦ ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίσματος In Jo. 6.31.159. By using the preposition εἰς Clement is able to lay more stress on the idea of immersion: ἐκ σωφοροσύνης εἰς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι Strom. 3.109.2, but Origen also says: τίς γὰρ ὁ εἰς ἄγιον πνεῦμα βαπτίζων; In Luc. 26.

The aim of baptism continues to be indicated by εἰς in a final sense. In this manner it is possible to express the fact that baptism is received for the forgiveness of sins: βαπτίζειν(-εσθαι) εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν Origen Exh. 30, Clem.Hom. 9.23.2; II.27.1; 17.7.1, although Clement of Alexandria uses ἐπί: τὸ βάπτισμα ἐπὶ ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν Paed. 1.50.4.

A final meaning must also be attributed to βαπτίζειν εἰς and εἰς τὸ ὄνομα followed by the mention of Jesus or of the Trinity. The Trinitarian formula is usually found as in Mt. 28.19: τὴν Μυγδονίαν ἐβάπτισεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Act.Thom. 121, cf. 132, Origen In Matth. 12.20, Const. 7.40.1. Elsewhere εἰς without ὄνομα occurs in the same meaning. Origen says: τὸ δὲ εἰς Ἰησοῦν βάπτισμα In Jo. 6.44.230, βαπτισασθαι εἰς Ἰησοῦν ib. 6.44.232, and Methodius: εἰς Χριστὸν βεβαπτισμένων Symp. 8.8. Theodotus refers to the formula of Mt. 28.19 with: ὁ γὰρ εἰς θεὸν βαπτισθεὶς εἰς θεὸν ἐχώρησεν... εἰς οὐς ἀναγεννώμεθα. Exc. 76.1. In the same way Clement of Alexandria says: ἀνεγεννήθημεν εἰς Χριστόν Paed. 1.49.3, cf. Ignatius Rom. 6.1. The substitution of ἀναγεννᾶσθαι for βαπτίζεσθαι makes the final meaning of the preposition clear.

In a few other places βαπτίζειν (ἐν) (τῷ) ὀνόματι is found. Here 'in the name of' may have the causal meaning of 'for the sake of' or 'in the power of'. The connection with the verb is looser or the texts refer to heterodox ideas concerning baptism. In the name of Jesus Thecla casts herself

¹ It is the same idea that may be expressed by the variants of the Western text on Lk 3 7, see p 45

² See p. 48 ff.

into the water in order to receive baptism: ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑστέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίζομαι... ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Act.Paul.Thecl. 34. Theodotus expounds that the Valentinian is baptized in the same name in which his angel and Jesus were baptized: ἐν ᾧ βεβαπτισμένος ὁ τὴν λύτρωσιν κομισάμενος τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι, ᾧ ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ προβεβάπτισται Exc. 22.5. According to Hippolytus the baptism of the Elkesaites is administered in the name of the great and most high God and in the name of His Son, the great king: βαπτισάσθω ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ref. 9.15.1, cf. 9.15.5.

Cyprian's anonymous opponent in the rebaptism controversy views the expression 'baptizing in the name', Mt. 28.19, as a possible objection to his theory that the gift of the Spirit is not granted by baptism. He does not refute this by pointing out the final meaning of this 'in the name' but, referring to Mt. 7.22, attempts to give it the causal meaning of 'by the power' or 'under invocation of', Rebapt. 7.

(5) Operation and indwelling of the Spirit as distinguished from the gift of the Spirit. – In the early Christian writers, as in the New Testament, the negative and positive effects of baptism are ascribed to the operation of God and, in particular, of the Holy Spirit.¹ This is expressed by the causal dative πνεύματι in Clement of Alexandria, who calls the baptismal forgiveness of sins the work of the Spirit: οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ θεῷ πνεύματι ἀποτριψάμενοι Paed. 1.28.1, or, with reference to Jn. 3.5, the preposition ἐξ is changed to διὰ in the heretical interpretation of Theodotus: τὸ βάπτισμα οὖν διπλοῦν.. τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν δι' ὕδατος.. τὸ δὲ νοητὸν διὰ πνεύματος Exc. 81.2, by Clement: τὸ βάπτισμα γίνεται δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος Ecl. 8.1, and by Origen: *sordes peccati, quae per aquam et spiritum ablui deberent* In Rom. 5.9. Christians are convinced that water by itself cannot sanctify; this only becomes possible by divine operation. Thus Ignatius perhaps intends to say that by His baptism (πάθος) Jesus purified the water: ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρῶσιν Eph. 18.2,² and Cyprian clearly states: *peccata enim purgare et hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest nisi habeat spiritum sanctum* Ep. 74.4.

The divine operation at baptism effects a permanent indwelling of God and, in particular, of the Holy Spirit in the soul as in a temple. From this operation and indwelling the gift of the Spirit is distinguished by the established linguistic usage as found in the New Testament, with

¹ See p 56 ff

² For this interpretation of πάθος, see p 20 n. 2.

the exception of Syria and Asia Minor since there, for reasons of decency, the postbaptismal anointing was joined as closely as possible with the bath.¹

Whereas Clement of Rome does not mention the indwelling, Pseudo-Barnabas clearly links it with baptism: διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν Ep. 16.8, cf. 6.14 f. Indwelling of God is mentioned by Ignatius: πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν Eph. 15.3, cf. Phil 7.2, 2 Clem. 9.3. Hermas ascribes the indwelling to the Holy Spirit: ἐὰν μακρόθυμος ἔσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοὶ καθαρὸν ἔσται Past. 33.2. As a consequence of sin the Holy Spirit must make way before the evil spirit: ἐὰν δὲ ὀξύχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. ζῆτεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· πνίγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ib. 33.3, cf. 28.1 ff., 60.1 ff. According to Justin Martyr the Holy Spirit remains present after He has forgiven sins at baptism and conferred His robe: στολὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβόντας, ἐν οἷς αἰεὶ δυνάμει μὲν πάρεστι, καὶ ἐναργῶς δὲ παρέσται ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ Dial. 54.1. Tatian says that God dwells within man through the Spirit who represents Him: εἰ μὲν ὡς ναὸς εἴη, κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸς βούλεται διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύοντος πνεύματος Or. 15.

In contrast to these writers we find in the second century Irenaeus of Lyons who, as an author originating from Asia Minor, does not distinguish between the effects of baptism in water and the gift of the Spirit: *hunc (sc. spiritum) enim promisit per prophetas effundere in nouissimis temporibus... unde et in filium dei descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano..renouans eos a uetustate in nouitatem Christi* Haer. 3.17.1. Speaking of the sealing with the Spirit he calls the Spirit the pledge which dwells within us: *pignus hoc habitans in nobis* ib. 5.8.1, cf. 5.6.1 ff., 5.12.2.

Among Christian writers from the third century onwards it can similarly be established that, where bath and anointing are distinct rites, the indwelling of the Spirit constitutes one of the positive effects of baptism in water and is distinguished from the gift. Origen says: *in his quorum terra renouata fuerit, spiritus sanctus inhabitat. deinde idcirco per manuum apostolorum post baptismi gratiam et renouationem sanctus spiritus tradebatur* In Rom. 1.37. In Syria, however, the distinction cannot be clearly made on account of the close link between the two rites: πᾶς δὲ βεβαπτισμένος κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τοῦ μὲν διαβολικοῦ πνεύματος κεχώρισ-

¹ See p. 362.

ται, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐντὸς κατέστηκεν Const. 6.27.5 (Didasc. 6.21.5), cf. Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3; 2.33.2; 2.41.2. From Methodius of Olympus one may conclude that the same holds good for Asia Minor in the third century. He connects with baptism both the sharing in Christ and the sharing in the Holy Spirit: ὅπως ἕκαστος τῶν ἁγίων τῷ μετέχειν Χριστοῦ Χριστὸς γεννηθῆ... οἰονεὶ Χριστῶν γεγονότων τῶν κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Χριστὸν βεβαπτισμένων Symp. 8.8.

If further problems arise in connection with the distinction between baptism and the gift of the Spirit, they occur principally in texts in which baptism in a wider sense is a term comprising the two rites of bath and anointing.

(6) Baptism in a wider sense. – The bath and the subsequent anointing are so closely linked even outside Syria and Asia Minor that βαπτίζειν and derivatives taken in a wider sense can refer to both rites. In an even wider sense they may include the secondary rites such as the exorcisms and the feeding with milk and honey, but not, however, the Eucharist. Although a wide application could not be established for the New Testament it may be assumed in the second century in a passage of Irenaeus in which no distinction is made between indwelling and gift of the Spirit: 'For so do the faithful keep when there abides constantly in them the Holy Spirit, who is given by Him in baptism, and is kept by him who has received Him by the practice of truth and holiness' Dem. 42.

From the third century onwards this usage appears to be general for the Greek terms and for their Latin equivalents. To begin with Africa: after dealing with the baptismal rites Tertullian says: *diximus... de omnibus quae baptismi religionem instruunt* Bapt. 10.1, cf. Cor. 3.2 f. Similarly in the following passage baptism may include the gift of the Spirit: *qui acceptam a deo patre substantiam utique baptismatis, utique spiritus sancti et exinde spei aeternae longe euagatus a patre prodigit* Pud. 9.9. Speaking of the Spirit in connection with the baptismal water, Tertullian compares the Spirit with the breath of life which man received at creation but lost through sin: *recipit illum spiritum quem tunc de adflatu eius acceperat sed post amiserat per delictum* Bapt. 5.7; then, however, in order to avoid a misunderstanding, he specifies: *non quod in aqua spiritum sanctum consequimur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo spiritui sancto praeparatur* ib. 6.1, cf. 8.1 ff. The distinction between bath and gift of the Spirit is thus expressly established.

Cyprian often speaks of a baptism in a narrower and in a wider sense. In the following passage he links the gift of the Spirit with

baptism in the wider sense; subsequently he distinguishes between baptism in the strict sense, gift of the Spirit, and Eucharist: *per baptismum spiritus sanctus accipitur, et sic baptizatis et spiritum sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem domini pervenitur* Ep. 63.8. Hence he calls the bath and the gift of the Spirit the two parts of baptism. In the sects, both parts must be valid or invalid: *neque enim potest pars illic inanis esse et pars praevalere. si baptizare potuit, potuit et spiritum sanctum tradere* ib. 70.3. In elaborating Tertullian's comparison of Bapt. 5.7 Cyprian brings out the distinction but also the close link between the two rites. If Adam was first shaped from clay and afterwards received the breath of life, in like manner rebirth must precede the reception of the Spirit by the imposition of hands: *non per manus inpositionem quis nascitur, quando accipit spiritum sanctum, sed in ecclesiae baptismo, ut spiritum sanctum iam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factus est. ante enim deus eum plasmauit et tunc insufflauit in faciem eius flatum vitae. nec enim potest accipi spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat* Ep. 74.7.

In Rome Hippolytus ends his description of the baptismal liturgy with the words: 'And we have delivered to you briefly these things concerning baptism and the oblation' Trad. 23.13. Baptism then includes the gift of the Spirit and the secondary ceremonies, although not the Eucharist.

In Egypt Clement of Alexandria understands by οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι those who receive baptism in the strict sense and the gift of the Spirit. When, through the Spirit, we have rubbed sin as a mist from our eyes, we contemplate the divine and then the Spirit streams in from heaven: οὕτως οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, τὰς ἐπισκοτούσας ἀμαρτίας τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι ἀχλὺς δίκην ἀποτριψάμενοι, ἐλεύθερον. ὄμμα τοῦ πνεύματος ἴσχομεν, ᾧ δὴ μόνῳ τὸ θεῖον ἐποπτεύομεν, οὐρανόθεν ἐπεισερόντος ἡμῖν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Paed. 1.28.1. The difference in time between the two rites is indicated by the participles ἀποτριψάμενοι and ἐπεισερόντος.

For Origen baptism in the wider sense includes the imposition of hands and anointing: *in Actibus apostolorum per impositionem manuum apostolicarum spiritus sanctus dabatur in baptismo* Princ. 1.3.1, *omnes baptizati simus in aquis istis uisibilibus et in chrismate uisibili* In Rom. 5.8. Baptism in the strict sense, however, is distinguished from the gift of the Spirit. Philip baptized the eunuch but did not confer the Holy Spirit upon him: ἐβάπτισεν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου πνεῦμα ἅγιον In Matth. fr. 570, cf. In Rom. 1.3.7.

For Syria in the third century we have the evidence of the Didascalia

and the Acts of Thomas in their present form. Here baptism in a wider sense includes the prebaptismal anointing: *in manus impositione ungas caput eorum qui baptismum (ma'môdîtâ') accipiunt* Didasc. 3.12.3, cf. Const. 3.16.4, Act. Thom. 121, 132.

In Asia Minor, when Methodius does not distinguish between indwelling and gift of the Spirit, it is probable that by the baptized he understands those who have received bath and anointing: τῶν κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Χριστὸν βεβαπτισμένων Symp. 8.8.

(7) 'Baptizing in the Holy Spirit and in fire'. – Where the early Christian writers speak of baptism in the Spirit they usually do not elaborate upon the meaning of the expression. At least the writers do not seem aware that the verb was really intended metaphorically and may therefore have taken the expression as referring to baptism in water. The dative πνεύματι may then refer to the operation of the Spirit. The expression occurs in this way in Justin Martyr. He contrasts circumcision with the approval by God's testimony, which we receive just as Christ received it at His baptism in the Jordan, and the Jewish ritual bath with the baptism in the Spirit: τίς οὖν ἔτι μοι περιτομῆς λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντι; τίς ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρεια ἀγίῳ πνεύματι βεβαπτισμένῳ; Dial. 29.1.

Among the writers from Syria and Asia Minor, who make no distinction between the effects of bath and anointing, one may certainly not expect to find a contrast between baptism in water and in the Spirit. Irenaeus offers an example: 'Taught by Him . . . were the apostles, who after (the descent of) the power of the Holy Spirit . . . carried out the calling of the Gentiles . . . purifying their souls and their bodies through the baptism of water and of the Holy Spirit, dispensing and administering to the faithful the Holy Spirit they had received from the Lord' Dem. 41.

Origen explained 'baptizing in the Holy Spirit and in fire' in various ways. The baptism in the Spirit appears to be nothing other than the bath, when he refers only to forgiveness of sins and the dying and being buried with Christ: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν . . . αὐθις βαπτίσασθαι ὕδατι καὶ πνεύματι εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων Exh. 30, *iste uere in spiritu sancto et aqua de superioribus baptizatur* In Rom. 5.8.

Elsewhere, however, Origen distinguishes baptism in water and in the Spirit as two *baptismata* or *lauacra* which must be received and preserved in this life; the baptism in fire is only granted in after-life if another cleansing is needed: *quando baptizat Iesus spiritu sancto et rursum, quando igni baptizat? . . . baptizati sunt apostoli post adscensionem*

eius ad caelos spiritu sancto; quod autem igni fuerint baptizati, scriptura non memorat. sed . . . stabit in igneo flumine dominus Iesus Christus iuxta flammeam rompheam, ut quicumque post exitum uitae huius ad paradisum transire desiderat et purgatione indiget, hoc eum amne baptizet et ad cupita transmittat, eum uero, qui non habet signum priorum baptismatum, lauacro igneo non baptizet. oportet enim prius aliquem baptizari aqua et spiritu, ut, cum ad igneum fluiuium uenerit, ostendat se et aquae et spiritus lauacra seruasse et tunc mereatur etiam ignis accipere baptismum in Christo Iesu In Luc. 24. More briefly, baptism in the Spirit and in fire are given the same meaning in a homily of which the Greek text has been preserved: τὸν μετὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι, μετὰ τὸ ἀξιωθῆναι ἁγίου πνεύματος, πάλιν ἀμαρτηκότα λούει ἐν πυρὶ. . . μακάριος οὖν ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ μὴ δεόμενος βαπτίσματος τοῦ ἀπὸ πυρός. . . ὁ τηρήσας τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος In Jer. 2.3. The distinction between baptism in water and the gift of the Spirit may be indicated by the aorists πιστεῦσαι and ἀξιωθῆναι ἁγίου πνεύματος but, for the rest, it is not clearly expressed.

Elsewhere baptism in fire is the final judgment for the unbelievers who were not baptized in the Spirit in this life: τίς γὰρ ὁ εἰς ἅγιον πνεῦμα βαπτίζων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τίς δὲ ὁ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ βαπτίσων ὡς κριτῆς τῷ πυρὶ τῆς γέννης; In Luc. 26, or, in another scholium on the same passage of Luke, baptism in fire is the final judgment for the sinners and baptism in the Spirit for the righteous: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ βάπτισμα τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις εἰς πῦρ καὶ εἰς κρίμα γίνεται, τοῖς δὲ καλῶς καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον καὶ σωτηρίαν γίνεται. οὗτος δὲ ὁ βαπτιστῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρὶ λέγεται πτύον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ In Luc. 26, cf. In Matth. 15.23.

Finally, it must be noted that the meaning of the expression has been thoroughly investigated by the author of *De rebaptismate*. It provides him with the main argument for his thesis that the Holy Spirit is not conferred by baptism in water. By comparing the New Testament occurrences he reaches the conclusion that 'baptizing in the Holy Spirit' is a metaphorical expression which refers to the postbaptismal rite, Rebapt. 2. For this reason he advocates calling the gift of the Spirit the *baptisma spiritus*, as contrasted with the *baptisma aquae*: *in aliquo claudicet cum baptizatur baptismate aquae, quod minus est, dummodo postea constet in ueritate sincera fides in baptismate spiritus, quod non dubie maius est* ib. 6.

(8) The baptism of blood. – If the use of βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα to refer to Christ's death and that of the sons of Zebedee already led

perhaps in St. Paul's milieu to death for the faith being called a baptism,¹ no further evidence of this is found in the sub-apostolic period. Irenaeus speaks of the martyrdom of the Innocents but without calling it a baptism: *ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum...interfectos* Haer. 3.17.4. Tertullian already has in one of his earlier treatises an elaborate doctrine on the baptism of blood. Martyrdom is a second baptism for those already baptized, it replaces baptism for the non-baptized, and it gives back baptism to the sinners who have lost it. Although the connection with Christ's death is still seen, the baptism of blood is no longer considered as an immersion in the sea of death and may thus also be termed a washing: *est quidem nobis etiam secundum lauacrum unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet... hic est baptismus qui lauacrum et non acceptum repraesentat et perditum reddit* Bapt. 16.1.

From this time onwards the baptism of blood is often mentioned. After her delivery Felicitas looks forward with joy to her second baptism: μελλούσα λούσασθαι μετὰ τὸν τοκετὸν βαπτισμῶ δευτέρῳ, τούτέστιν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι Pass.Perp. 18.3. With reference to the cry of the public: καλῶς ἐλούσω, *salve lotum*, a greeting to someone who has taken a bath, this baptism is viewed as a washing: τοσοῦτον αἷμα ἔρρηξ, ὡς λογισθῆναι δευτέρου βαπτισμοῦ μαρτύριον· καθῶς καὶ ἐπεφάνει ὁ ὄχλος, βῶν καὶ λέγων· καλῶς ἐλούσω, καλῶς ἐλούσω. καὶ μὴν ὑγιῆς ἦν ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπῳ λελουμένος ib. 21.2.²

Hippolytus calls the martyrdom of a catechumen a being baptized in one's own blood: 'For if he suffer violence and be put to death before baptism, he shall be justified, having been baptized in his own blood' Trad. 19.2.

Origen has various expressions for the baptism of blood: ἔτι βάπτισμα ἡμῖν δίδοται τὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου...τὸ κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον βάπτισμα Exh. 30, τὸ βάπτισμα...μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας βαπτίσασθε νῦν ib. 37, βαπτισάμενω τῷ ἑαυτῶν αἵματι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ib. 39. The death of Christ is now called: τέλειον βάπτισμα In Jo. 6.56.291. Eusebius says of the death by fire suffered by a martyr: τὸ βάπτισμα, ὡς πού φησιν, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα Hist. 6.4.3, cf. Mart.Pal. 11.1.

(9) The preservation of baptism and second penance as a baptism. -

¹ See p. 55.

² Cf. DÖLGER, *Tertullian über die Bluttaufe*, Ach 2, 1930, p. 129 ff. The Latin text adds an allusion to the Christian meaning of *saluus*; cf. CHR. MOHRMANN, *L'étude de la latinité chrétienne*, Études sur le latin des chrétiens, I p. 91. It is therefore plausible to assume that the Latin text is the original. See also above, p. 65 n. 1.

The early Christians were confronted with the problem of relapse after baptism. This gained in meaning as the faith spread and the first enthusiasm abated. In the texts dealing with this question, especially in the second century, the baptismal terms are used to express the idea that the condition achieved by baptism must be preserved and to indicate an eventual restoration of this condition.

In order to estimate the use of these terms for the preservation of baptism we must bear in mind that other terms were also used to refer to this duty. Authors speak of the obligation to preserve the flesh: τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξαντες 2 Clem. 8.4, cf. 8.6; 9.3; 14.3, Hermas Past. 60.1, Act. Paul. Thecl. 5, 12, of the temple which man has become through baptism: δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα 2 Clem. 9.3, of the Spirit received at baptism: συντηρεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ Irenaeus Haer. 5.9.3, of body and soul: *animas et corpora sine querela seruauerint* ib. 5.6.1, and of man: ἀμίαντον φυλάξωμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον Clement of Alexandria Paed. 1.32.4.

In order to express the same idea Ignatius of Antioch says that baptism must remain: τὸ βάπτισμα μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα Pol. 6.2, and others that baptism must be preserved: ἡμεῖς ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἄγνον καὶ ἀμίαντον 2 Clem. 6.9, μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα τηρήσαντες Act. Paul. Thecl. 6, also Origen: μακάριος . . . ὁ τηρήσας τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος In Jer. 2.3, cf. In Lev. 6.5.

The forgiveness of sins after baptism can now be called a second baptism. Clement of Alexandria thus terms the tears of repentance of a boy who relapsed after his conversion but now abandons his evil ways: τοῖς δάκρυσι βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου Div. Salv. 42.14. A second baptism in a literal sense, however, is impossible as Origen states: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν κατὰ τοὺς εὐαγγελικούς νόμους αὐθις βαπτίσασθαι Exh. 30, and Commodian: *semel es lotus, numquid poteris denuo mergi* Instr. 2.6.9.

(10) The water. – From a term used for the baptismal water the noun ὕδωρ developed to a certain extent into a name for baptism itself. This development is indicated in the New Testament. When the Spirit descends upon the family of Cornelius, Peter says that one cannot all the same refuse them ‘the water’: μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ δύναται κωλύσαι τις τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι τούτους; Acts 10.47. Pseudo-Barnabas now intends to examine what the Lord has revealed concerning the water and the cross: περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ Ep. 11.1. Hermas calls the seal the water in order to say that it is conferred in baptism: ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν Past. 93.4, and alludes to baptism as the water: ἡ

ζωή ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται ib. 11.5, cf. 32.1. The term becomes more technical when it is said that Paul promises the water to Thecla: λήψη τὸ ὕδωρ Act.Paul.Thecl. 25. Origen says that one does not always receive the Holy Spirit after the water: πνεύματος..οὐ πᾶσιν μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου In Jo. 6.33.169. From Tertullian onwards the same development of *aqua* is found in Latin: *de sacramento aquae nostrae* Bapt. 1.1, cf. Paen. 6.18, Pass Perp. 3.5.

2. Application to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites

In early Christian literature βαπτίζειν, λούειν, and derivatives have been applied to ritual washings which were customary in paganism, in official Judaism, and in various sects of Jewish and Christian origin.

(1) Paganism. – Justin Martyr uses λούειν and ῥαντίζειν as current terms for pagan purification rites, which he compares with baptism, from whence he considers them to be derived: ῥαντίζειν ἑαυτοῦς..καὶ λούεσθαι Apol. 1.62.1. Tertullian applies *tingere* as a Christian term for baptism to a bath in the Mithras cult: *tingit* (sc. *diabolus*) *et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos* Praescr. 40.3, and to the purification rites at the Apollinarian and Pelusian games: *certe passim ludis Apollinariibus et Pelusiis tinguntur* Bapt. 5.1. Of the terminology of these cults we learn nothing.¹

(2) Old Testament and Judaism. – For the Old Testament washings Christian authors follow the Septuagint and the general language in using λούειν and derivatives, as does Clement of Alexandria for the bath of the high priest and the Levites: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς..λούεται... ἀπολουμένων ἐκείνων Strom. 5.39.3 f., and for the bath after sexual intercourse: τῆς ὀμιλίας ἀπολούσας ib. 3.82.6, cf. 5.70.7, Origen In Jer. 12, Didasc. 6.22.8 (Const. 6.29.4), for Latin Tertullian Bapt. 15.3.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether Christian authors intend to apply their own terms to Jewish ablutions when using βαπτίζειν in the medio-passive of the present and perfect. This seems probable, however, since we do find the passive of the aorist and the noun βάπτισμα used as Christian terms.

In an apocryphal Gospel fragment λούειν is employed for these washings: οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος εἰ μὴ] λουσάμενος POxy. 840.18 f., cf. 840.24 ff., along with βαπτίζειν in the passive of the aorist and then probably also

¹ Against the conjecture *Eleusinus* for *Pelusus*, see A. D. Nock, *Pagan Baptisms in Tertullian*, JThS 28, 1927, p. 289 f., and DOLGFR, *Tertullian kein Zeuge für eine Taufe in den Mysterien von Eleusis*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 143 ff.

in the perfect passive, when a Pharisee demands that they should be performed by Christ and His disciples: τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[όδας βα]πτισθέντων ib. 840.15 f. οὐς λέγεις μὴ βεβα[πτίσθαι] ib. 840.42 f.

In his Dialogue Justin Martyr uses βαπτίζειν in the medio-passive and βάπτισμα for Jewish ritual washings: τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι ἀψάμενον τινος.. ἢ ἐν συνουσίᾳ γεγόμενος Dial. 46.2, τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὃ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαιδρύνει ib. 14.1, τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκεῖνο.. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦτο ib. 19.2, cf. 29.1. Justin seems to use βάπτισμα deliberately in order to refer to the Jewish bath as the 'baptism' which the Christian rite has rendered superfluous.

Irenaeus quotes 2 Reg. 5.14 concerning the curing of Naaman with βαπτίζειν in the middle voice but himself uses the passive in order to explain how this purification is a prefiguration of Christian baptism: ἐβαπτίσαστο, φησίν, ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐπτάκις. οὐ μάτην πάλαι Ναιμάν λεπρὸς ὢν βαπτισθεὶς ἐκαθαίρετο, ἀλλ' εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἡμετέραν fr.Gr. 35 (33).

Clement of Alexandria has the medio-passive of the present and βάπτισμα for the Jewish bath taken after sexual intercourse: ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ συζυγίαν κοίτης.. βαπτίζεσθαι Strom. 3.82.6, cf. 4.142.3, ὁ νόμος.. τῆς γεννητικῆς καταβολῆς τοῦ σπέρματος προσέφερε τὸ βάπτισμα ib. 3.81.1, and postulates that this bath like all Jewish βαπτίσματα has been made superfluous by the one baptism of Christ: ὁ κύριος, ὁ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Μωυσέως δι' ἑνὸς περιλαβῶν βαπτίσματος ib. 3.82.6, cf. Const. 6.19.1 (Didasc. 6.15.1).¹

We may add that in Origen Elijah's crossing of the river Jordan is called a baptism: ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισάμενος In Jo. 6.46.238; but the prophet will not come to baptize Christ, for he also left to others the 'baptism' of the sacrificial wood on mount Carmel, which needed a 'bath' before it was set alight by the Lord: οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ξύλα.. δεόμενα λουτροῦ ἵνα ἐκκαυθῆ, ἐπιφανέντος ἐν πυρὶ τοῦ κυρίου, βαπτίσαντα ib. 6.23.125.

(3) The Essenes. – An application of the Christians terms to the ritual washings of the Essenes cannot be established. Hippolytus mentions these washings, Ref. 9.21.2 ff., but adopts ἀπολούειν from his source, Josephus Ant. 2.129 ff.²

(4) The Hemerobaptists. – A few Christian writers mention a Jewish sect under the name of Ἡμεροβαπτισταί.³ Hegesippus does so in a

¹ Many later writers combat such purification rites still practised among the Christians Since no connection is seen with Christian baptism, λούειν is the usual term Texts in J ZELLINGER, *Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche*, Munich 1928, p 93 ff

² See p 26

³ On these and the following sects, cf especially THOMAS, *op cit*, p 34 ff and 140 ff,

summary of Jewish heresies, ap. Eus.Hist. 4.22.7, and so does Const. 6.6.5. In Epiphanius they form the fourth of the Jewish errors, the seventeenth of his *Haereses*. They may be the Jewish sect which Justin Martyr mentions under the name Βαπτισταί Dial. 80.4. In Clem.Hom. 2.23.1 John the Baptist is called a Hemerobaptist but the ritual baths of the sect differ greatly from the baptism of repentance and J. Thomas may be closer to the solution when he suggests that this remark forms part of the polemic directed by the Ebionites against the disciples of John. The daily ablutions suggest that the Hemerobaptists are related to the Essenes, with the difference that the former bathe in the morning and the latter before meals. Hegesippus, Epiphanius, and the Apostolic Constitutions speak of them as a distinct sect. They may be the same as the *Tōblē šāharit*, 'Morning Baptists', mentioned in rabbinic sources.¹

It is impossible to arrive at any degree of certainty with regard to the terms employed by this sect. One might deduce from their name that they employed *tbl* and its equivalent βαπτίζειν but we do not know whether they adopted this name themselves or were given it by others, Pharisees and Christians, who derived this appellation from their own use of *tbl* and βαπτίζειν. Epiphanius refers to their washings with (ἀπο)λούειν, the medio-passive of βαπτίζειν, and βάπτισμα, but he intends to use the Christian noun in order to suggest how strange it is to repeat a 'baptism' every day: αὐθις δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς πάλιν λουόμενοι ἀπεφήναντο τὸ παρελθὸν ἐν τῇ χθὲς τεθνάσαι βάπτισμα Haer. 17.2.2, cf. 17.1.2 f., 17.2.1, Const. 6.6.5.

(5) The Elkesaites. – Hippolytus supplements his report of the various baths in the sect of the Elkesaites with fragments from their Book of Revelations.

The new doctrine owed its success to a simple means of forgiving all sins: fully clothed, the disciples took a bath in the name of the great and highest God and in the name of His Son the great king, afterwards invoking the seven elements: βάπτισμα ὀρίζει.. φάσκων τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ ἀσελείᾳ.. βαπτίσματι λαμβάνειν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν Ref. 9.13.4, cf. 9.15.1, according to the fragments: βαπτισάσθω ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψίστου θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, <τοῦ> μεγάλου

H J SCHOEPS, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tubingen 1949, E. MOLLAND, *La circoncision, le baptême et l'autorité du décret apostolique (Actes 15 28 sq) dans les milieux judéo-chrétiens des Pseudo-Clémentines*, STh 9, 1955, p 1 ff, G STRECKER, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, Berlin 1958, *Elkesai* RAC IV, 1171 ff.

¹ See also p 35.

βασιλέως ib. 9.15.1, cf. 9.15.5, βαπτισάσθω σὺν παντὶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ ib. 9.15.6, cf. 9.15.5. By ἐκ δευτέρου the rite is contrasted with Christian baptism.

In addition the Elkesaites practised baths having a magic-therapeutic effect. These were taken in the same manner. They are efficacious for every disease, among which are mentioned rabies, consumption, and possession: βαπτίσεσθαι ἐν ψυχρῷ τεσσαρακοντάκις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ib. 9.16.1, ἐπα(οι)δαῖς καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ib. 10.29.3; the fragments prescribe for demoniacs: μὴ βαπτίζετε ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ ib. 9.16.1, cf. 9.16.2.

Hippolytus uses the medio-passive of βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα. These are the Christian terms from which, to judge from the fragments, the verb and thus probably the noun were adopted by the sect. Even should the verb βαπτίζειν be itself a translation of *ἔβλ*, if the sect is of Jewish origin, its use in the passive for a rite that was, as far as can be judged, self-administered must certainly be considered as Christian; the middle voice could then come to be used alongside the passive. The active is only used in cases of possession where the patient is assisted into the water.

(6) The Sampsees. – Epiphanius does not deal with the Elkesaites separately, nor does he mention their washings, but as the fifty-third in his *Haereses* he mentions the Sampsees who pride themselves on being disciples of Elkesai (Elxai). They still dwell, he says, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, they maintain that there is one God and they worship Him by the taking of baths: βαπτισμοῖς τισι χρώμενοι Haer. 53.1.4. It is noteworthy that Epiphanius uses the term βαπτισμός but we may not draw from this any conclusion regarding the terminology of the Sampsees or Elkesaites as will appear from the manner in which he speaks of the ritual washings of the Ebionites.

(7) Ebionites. – As the thirtieth of his *Haereses* Epiphanius describes a sect under the name of Ebionites. They practice a βάπτισμα which is either Christian baptism itself or a derivative thereof: βάπτισμα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνουσι Haer. 30.16.1. Epiphanius also ascribes to them the magic-therapeutic baths of the Elkesaites but he does not designate them by a technical term, ib. 30.17.4. The other baths of the sect are indicated by the medio-passive of βαπτίζειν and the noun βαπτισμός, usually in the plural. They take daily baths like the Essenes and Hemerobaptists: καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτίζονται ib. 30.16.1, οἱ καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτισμοὶ ib. 30.32.2, cf. 30.21.2, and assert that the apostle Peter used to take the same daily baths: καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτιζομένου ib. 30.5.1,

βαπτισμοῖς ἐκέχρητο ib. 30.21.1. Furthermore they take a bath after sexual intercourse and after contact with strangers: βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ib. 30.2.4, τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καταδύσεως καὶ βαπτισμοῦ ib. 30.2.5.

Epiphanius thus makes a distinction between βάπτισμα for a baptism that is received once and βαπτισμοί for baths which are taken repeatedly. This usage might be based upon that of the Ebionites themselves, considering that the sect is, according to Epiphanius, in possession of Greek documents, the Itinerary of Peter and the Ascents of James, but it appears rather an individual terminology of the writer's which he derives from the New Testament. Referring to Mk. 7.4 and Mt. 15.20 he argues against the sect that the Lord reproached the Scribes and Pharisees with their βαπτισμοί and rejected both bathing and the washing of the hands before a meal: ἐπεὶ κατὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἐμέμφετο τοὺς Φαρισαίους καὶ Γραμματεῖς, τοὺς βαπτισμοῖς πυγμῇ χρωμένους ἑαυτῶν <τε> καὶ ξεστῶν. ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι τούτων ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ νίψαι χεῖρας περιττὸν εἶναι ἔδειξε Haer. 30.21.6.

The peculiarity of Epiphanius' terminology appears also on comparison with the Greek text of the Clementine Homilies. Here we find the story of Peter's itinerary in Palestine and Syria. The apostle takes a bath every morning before prayer and in this he is imitated by his entourage: ἐκεῖ λουσάμενος, εἶθ' οὕτως εὐξάμενος Clem.Hom. 10.1.2, cf. 11.1.1; 14.1.2, 3. The day also ends with an established ritual: the bath is followed by a communal meal, after which everyone goes to bed: θαλάσση λουσάμενος εἰσελθὼν καὶ σιτίων σὺν προόδοις μεταλαβὼν. ὕπνωσεν ib. 8.2.5, cf. 9.23.3; 10.26.2. The term used for these baths is in every text λούειν. Here we have the terminology of a Jewish-Christian sect and we must suppose that they carry on the linguistic usage of Jewish sects in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. There too we found only indications for *rh̄s* and not for *tbl*.

For the rest, we also find the usual terms for Christian baptism. Peter thus preaches a baptism unto the forgiveness of sins under the triple invocation: εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισθῆναι Clem.Hom. 7.8.1, τρισμακαρίῳ ἐπονομασίᾳ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισάμενοι ib. 9.23.2, cf. 11.26.3, and a baptism for the forgiveness of sins committed in ignorance: βαπτισθῆναι εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ πεπραγμένων ib. 11.27. In addition Peter knows the magic-therapeutic bath in running water under the same invocation. It is able to drive out evil spirits and confers the power of driving them out from others: ἂν θαλάσση ἀπολουσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ ib. 9.19.4. In the same passages the apostle preaches the ritual bath after sexual intercourse: ἀπὸ

κοίτης γυναικὸς λούεσθαι ib. 7.8.1, μετὰ κοινωνίαν βαπτίζεσθαι ib. 11.30.2, cf. 11.33.4, after menstruation: καθαρθεῖση καὶ βαπτισθεῖση ib. 11.30.1, and ritual purity in general: ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολούεσθαι λύματος ib. 7.4.1, λουτρῶ δὲ πλύνετε τὸ σῶμα ib. 11.28.2. Of the terms used here the passive of βαπτίζειν is plainly Christian. It occurs alongside the middle voice of the aorist for a rite that was probably self-administered. There is no evidence of an adoption of βάπτισμα or βαπτισμός.

(8) Christian sects. – Christian writers mention heretical baptismal rites, Irenaeus among the Marcosians: ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ καὶ βαπτίζοντες. . Haer. 1.23.3, Clement of Alexandria among the Gnostics in general: τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ αἰρετικόν Strom. 1.96.3, cf. 1.46.1; 2.38.1; 3.109.2, and Dionysius of Alexandria says: τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ παρὰ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς βεβάπτιστο ap. Eus.Hist. 7.9.2. We find the usual Christian terms for baptism but the heretics also adopted these terms and applied them to their own rites as appears from what little of their writings has been preserved in Greek. In the considerations of the Valentinian Theodotus concerning baptism, βαπτισθῆναι, βάπτισμα, and λουτρόν occur alongside ἀναγενναῖν and ἀναγέννησις Exc. 25.2; 76.1 ff. With reference to 1 Cor. 15.29 Theodotus speaks of a baptism which the angels receive for us: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γάρ, φησίν, οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐβάπτισαντο Exc. 22.1. The middle voice may be used for a rite considered to be administered by the angels to themselves.

Sometimes the Christian authors expressly mention the fact that a sect uses certain terms. Hippolytus says of the Marcosians that they have a second baptism for the forgiveness of sins under the name of ἀπολύτρωσις, whereas the first is called λουτρόν: ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λουτρῶ παραδιδόασιν, τὸ τοιοῦτο καλοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν καλοῦσιν Ref. 6.41.1, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἕτερον ἐπαγγέλλονται, ὃ κάλουσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν ib. 6.42.2. This writer, however, derives his information from Irenaeus, who uses ἀπολύτρωσις as a general term: ὅσοι γάρ εἰσι ταύτης τῆς γνώμης μυσταγωγοί, τσαῦται ἀπολυτρώσεις Haer. 1.21.1; with reference to Mk. 10.38 f. and Lk. 12.50 the heretics oppose this 'redemption' to the baptism of John, Haer. 1.21.2. Hippolytus himself has a preference for λουτρόν since he does not consider it to be a true βάπτισμα. For this reason he also speaks disapprovingly of the heretical rites as λούσματα καὶ ἀπολυτρώσεις ib. 6.42.1.

PART TWO

RENEWAL, RE-CREATION, AND REBIRTH

THE terms dealt with in this part are not intended to define baptism from the point of view of the ritual act, but to express one of its positive effects: the inner change which it brings about in man. One could speak of a 'transformation', μεταμόρφωσις, and St. Paul does indeed use the word μεταμορφοῦσθαι in Rom. 12.2. For the rest, he is here not directly referring to baptism, and neither of these words became technical terms for baptism in early Christian literature. The change in man through baptism is spoken of as a renewal, a re-creation, and a rebirth. The terms for renewal are ἀνακαινοῦν, ἀνακαινίζειν, ἀνανεοῦν, and derivatives, and, as we shall see, παλιγγενεσία also belongs to this group. Re-creation is indicated in the New Testament by καινὴ κτίσις. Later, one finds ἀνακτιζειν, ἀναπλάσσειν, and derivatives. The principal technical terms for rebirth are ἀναγεννᾶν and ἀναγέννησις.

Various problems arise in connection with these terms. They concern above all the Christian concept of rebirth and its origin. This origin has been sought in the pagan mystery religions and evidence for this theory has been sought in a borrowing of the technical terms by the early Christians. A complete examination of the origin and semantic development of the terms will be needed to cast more light upon this subject.

In the articles which Büchsel devotes to these terms in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, he pays due attention to the semantic problems.¹ A detailed study of the term παλιγγενεσία was later published by Dey.² In the first part of his work this writer assembles and explains a great number of instances in which this word is used in the profane language and we are greatly indebted to him in this matter. It is, however, our intention to deal with these instances anew, since in our opinion the writer does not see the semantic development which is apparent from the material.

¹ F. BÜCHSEL-K. RENGSTORF, Γενᾶω, γέννημα, γεννητός, ἀρτιγέννητος, ἀναγεννάω, ThW I p. 663 ff., F. BÜCHSEL, Παλιγγενεσία, ThW I p. 685 ff.

² J. DEY, Παλιγγενεσία. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung von Tit. 3.5, Münster i.W. 1937.

Since this part deals with compound verbs and nouns it may be useful to decide beforehand what we can learn of their meaning from the etymology. According to the investigations of Fraenkel, verbal nouns ending in *-σις*, like *θείσις*, *ἔξις*, must change their suffix to *-σία*, whenever they are made up with a nominal root or with an adverb: *υἰοθεσία*, *πλεονεξία*. If they are made up with a preposition, the suffix can be *-σις* and *-σία*, often with a change of meaning, as in *ἐπίστασις*, *ἐπιστασία* and *ἐκκλησις*, *ἐκκλησία*. This difference depends upon the way in which the compounds are formed: nouns in *-σία* are derived from a verbal noun, *στάσις*, *κλήσις*, while nouns in *-σις* owe their origin to the compound verb, *ἐπιστατεῖν*, *ἐκκαλεῖν*.¹

This being so, the following may be concluded with reference to our terms: *ἀνακαινώσις* is derived from *ἀνακαινοῦν* and *ἀναγέννησις* from *ἀναγενῶν* but *παλιγγενεσία* is made up of the adverb *πάλιν* and *γένεσις*, the verbal noun of *γίγνεσθαι*. For the meaning it follows that *ἀναγέννησις* means 'rebirth' since, and in the measure that, the idea of birth is contained in *ἀναγενῶν*. On the other hand this meaning, although possible, is certainly not inevitable for *παλιγγενεσία*. One would expect that this noun, in association with *γένεσις* and *γίγνεσθαι*, has first of all the general meaning of 'second origin', 'new beginning', and this supposition is confirmed by an examination of the texts. Büchsel rightly remarks that the noun originally did not convey the idea of procreation and that it would be necessary to examine in how far it later acquired this meaning.² In spite of this the word is currently translated as 'rebirth' or 'regeneration', and is thus made to convey a meaning of which the presence is by no means certain. Dey too, although he begins his examination of the word by giving this etymology, assumes this meaning without reservation, which leads him to an inaccurate interpretation of several texts.³

¹ E. FRAENKEL, *Zur Geschichte der Verbalnomina auf -σις-, -σία*, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung* 45, 1913, p. 160 ff.

² *Art. cit.*, ThW I p. 685 n. 2.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 4, cf. also P. GENNRICH, *Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt*, Berlin 1907, and V. IACONO, *La παλιγγενεσία in S. Paolo e nell' ambiente pagano*, *Biblica* 15, 1934, p. 369 ff. GENNRICH, however, is aware that the concept of rebirth in the figurative sense closely approaches that of renewal, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

THE TERMS FOR RENEWAL, RE-CREATION,
AND REBIRTH IN PAGAN ANTIQUITY

THE group of terms discussed in this part have divergent meanings in pagan antiquity. Enough can be found in the lexica about the derivatives of κτίζειν and πλάσσειν.¹ (1) Concerning the derivatives of καινός and νέος it will be sufficient to point out a few peculiarities which are important for the understanding of the semantic development undergone by these words in Christian literature. (2) The word παλιγγενεσία, however, underwent in pagan antiquity a semantic development which forms a history in itself, and we have to examine it carefully to determine what it means when it again appears in Christian texts. (3) The same applies to ἀναγεννᾶν and ἀναγέννησις. They are found in only a few places but these must be closely examined in order to understand in what sense the first Christians used these terms.

1. *Some derivatives of καινός and νέος*

The adjective καινός occurs in Greek from the time after Homer. It denotes that which is 'new' by its own nature and hence is better than the old or different from what existed before, 'modern', 'surprising'.² From this adjective are derived two verbs with a slight difference in meaning: καινίζειν 'to do something for the first time', and especially 'to do something unexpected': εὐχὰς ὡς ἐκαινίσας θεῶν; Euripides Tro. 889, and καινοῦν (1) found in one context with the meaning 'to use for the first time', 'to handle': οἴκημα... καινοῦν Herodotus Hist. 2.100, and (2) elsewhere 'to make new' by changing what exists, 'to change': καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας Thucydides Hist. 3.82.

Of the derivative compounds with ἀνα-, ἀνακαινίζειν 'to renew' is very current in the general language. It is important to point out that this word always refers to the restoration of something that already exists

¹ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v., W FOERSTER, Κτίζω, κτίσις, κτίσμα, κτίστης, ThW III p. 999 ff, and H BRAUN, Πλάσσω, πλάσμα, πλαστός, ThW VI p. 254 ff

² Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v. and J. BEHM, Καινός, καινότης, ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνακαινώω, ἀνακαινώσις, ἐγκαινίζω, ThW III p. 450 ff.

and not to the introduction of something new: τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς βασιλέα πάλιν ἀνακεκαινισμένης Isocrates Or. 7.8, τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ Josephus Ant. 9.161. One might now expect that ἀνακαινοῦν would mean 'to renew' by changing what exists, but this does not appear from the late and only text in which it is found in the profane language, in Heliodorus: ἡ παιδία . . ἡ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαινουμένη In Arist.Eth. Nic. p. 221 H. The corresponding nouns, ἀνακαινισις and ἀνακαινωσις are likewise found only once in the profane language, in Suidas s.v. ἀνακαινισις: ἡ ἀνανέωσις. λέγεται καὶ ἀνακαινωσις. This entry, however, or at least the latter part of it, may be a Christian interpolation intended to enumerate the terms for Christian renewal.¹

The adjective νέος signifies that which is 'new' in time, and hence, when used of persons, 'young'; it may be better or worse than what existed before. In this it differs from καινός although the contrast is not an absolute one. The connotation of time cannot be absent in καινός and νέος may be used of things and events whether or not with the implication of something strange and unexpected.² The derived verb νεοῦν 'to renew' is rare, but the compound ἀνανεοῦν is very current in the same meaning. Like ἀνακαινίζειν it does not imply the introduction of something new, but the restoration of that which formerly existed: τὴν πατρικὴν φιλιαν ἀνανεοῦσθαι Demosthenes Or. 23.121.

2. *The use of παλιγγενεσία*

The word παλιγγενεσία has a remarkable history in pagan antiquity which can be followed fairly accurately from the limited number of surviving occurrences. (1) We find that the word originates from the paraphrase πάλιν γίγνεσθαι and means 'restoration' or 'new beginning'. It was probably first used in this sense in the Stoa of the second century B.C. for the then disputed idea of a world restoration after the world conflagration. (2) It acquires a second technical meaning for the reincarnation of the soul in the body according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. (3) Educated Greeks and Romans begin to use the word in a non-technical sense, and (4) later it is found again in the professional vocabulary of various groups, physicians, philosophers, and

¹ Cf p 112 n. 1.

² Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v., and J BEHY, Νέος, ἀνανέω, ThW IV p 899 ff The distinction between καινός and νέος has long been remarked upon but is not an invention of lexicographers as argued by R A HARRISVILLE, *The Concept of Newness in the New Testament*, JBL 74, 1955, p 69 ff It continues in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, see below p 122 and 131 f

lawyers. (5) In addition, it became a religious term in Hermetism and there acquired the meaning of 'rebirth'.

(1) The Stoa. — According to the ancient Stoic conception the world will be consumed by fire; then will follow a restoration, after which world history will repeat itself in the same way. Equal periods of creation and destruction succeed each other until eternity. The world conflagration is called ἐκπύρωσις and among the terms expressing restoration we meet παλιγγενεσία.

Among the surviving fragments of the Early Stoa the restoration of the world is paraphrased in Chrysippus as πάλιν . γίγνεσθαι, πάλιν εἶναι . . και γίγνεσθαι fr. 624. The absence of the noun παλιγγενεσία does not necessarily mean that it did not yet exist. There are, however, indications that the word was first coined in the second century B.C. These are found in Philo's *De aeternitate mundi*, in which the word occurs for the first time as a Stoic term.

The authenticity of this work has been disputed but Cumont found valid reasons for defending it.¹ The objections most often raised and notably the extremely compilatory character of the work disappear if one considers it as a school exercise of the young Philo. It contains no literal quotations but it is certain that the author adopts old arguments against the Stoic cosmology. We are thus not confronted with Philo's own terminology but his work provides information concerning the linguistic usage of his sources.

In the beginning of his work the author reviews the different opinions concerning the eternity of the world. Here we meet our noun for the first time rendering the Stoic concept: κόσμος . . παλιγγενεσίαις και περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος . . μηδέποτε ληγούσαις Aet. 9. The word is supported by a second noun, added in hendiadys. This detail is important: it recurs with the use of παλιγγενεσία in the various milieus and helps us to define its meaning more accurately and to determine the extent to which it has become a technical term. Later in the work, in the discussion of the Stoic concept, the word occurs five times as the current technical term without the support of an explanatory addition, ib. 85 (twice), 93, 99, 103. It is also linked three times with the word for the world conflagration: τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις και παλιγγενεσίας ib. 47, cf. 76, 107.

The arguments advanced by Philo against the Stoic cosmology go

¹ F. CUMONT, *Philonis De aeternitate mundi*, Berlin 1891, p. II ff. His view has been adopted by L. COHN, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, Berlin 1896, I p. XXXI f., cf. Dey, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

back to Boethus of Sidon, a philosopher of the Middle Stoa. In the middle of the second century B.C. he was the first to contest this part of the Stoic doctrine. It is understandable that in the discussion which arose the need was felt for a noun corresponding to the paraphrase *πάλιν γίνεσθαι* in order to express more easily the disputed concept of a world restoration. It even appears probable that the word was coined by the very opponents of the doctrine. Dey considers this hardly likely and thinks that, if Boethus knew the word, it must go back to the Early Stoa.¹ One must, however, note the peculiar character of *παλιγγενεσία*. The formation with the adverb *πάλιν* and the suffix *-σία* gives a noun that is very long and thus rather unwieldy. One even gets the impression that it may have been coined rather ironically.²

For the rest, the word remained extremely rare in Stoic literature. It is found only once in the mouth of a Stoic. The emperor Marcus Aurelius speaks of the restoration of the world as: *τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν* In Semet. 11.1.1. An adjective is added which corresponds with *περίοδος* in the hendiadys of Philo, Aet. 9. This may indicate that at this period already the noun is no longer strictly technical for the Stoic concept.³

It is not surprising that most writers prefer to use other and more convenient terms for world restoration. One finds *διακοσμεῖν*, *διακόσμησις* in Zeno fr. 102, Philo Spec. Leg. 1.208, Arius Didymus fr. 599, *διάταξις* with *διακόσμησις* in Arius Didymus fr. 596, Aëtius Plac. 2.4.13, *ἀποκαθιστάναι*, *ἀποκατάστασις* in Arius Didymus fr. 599, Nemesius of Emesa Nat. Hom. 28,⁴ and general terms like *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* Marcus Aurelius In Semet. 10.7.5, *συνίστασθαι πάλιν* Simplicius In Arist. Cael. 1.10. It was only later writers who again turned to *παλιγγενεσία* when speaking of Stoic cosmology: οἱ Στωικοὶ περὶ παλιγγενεσίας Eusebius Praep. 15.19, cf. Basil In Hex. 3.8, Simplicius In Arist. Phys. p. 886 D., John Philoponus In Arist. Gen. 2.11.

As far as the meaning of our word in the Stoa is concerned, it is obvious that the idea of birth is entirely absent. It means no more than

¹ *Op cit*, p 10

² On the similar circumstances surrounding the appearance of the word in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, see p 94

³ Accordingly, a non-technical use of the word which is borrowed from the Stoa occurs in the first centuries before and after Christ; see p 97 ff.

⁴ Cf. A. ΟΕΡΚΕ, 'Αποκαθίστημι, ἀποκατάστασις, ThW I p. 386 ff. The terms are of importance since in nearly all meanings *ἀποκατάστασις* appears as a synonym of *παλιγγενεσία*. Apart from the Stoa this is the case in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, see p 95, in the later general and technical usage, see p 100 f., 103, in Jewish literature, see p 120 f., and in the New Testament, see p 130 f.

'restoration' or 'new beginning', and it is not apparent that any metaphor of a new birth of the cosmos was intended. The same holds good for the other technical terms and phrases. Cicero accurately renders the Stoic idea with *renouatio mundi* Nat.Deor. 2.118.¹

The history of *παλιγγενεσία* in the Stoa may thus begin in the second century B.C. with the dispute on the doctrine of world conflagration and restoration and perhaps it was then coined with a derisive intention by the opponents of the doctrine. The unwieldy word had but little success; most authors prefer more convenient terms. In any case it means nothing more than 'restoration', 'new beginning'.

(2) The doctrine of the transmigration of souls. — Several philosophical systems of antiquity, Pythagorism, Orphism, and Platonism, held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and the earliest literature contains many expressions conveying this idea.² Herodotus, who ascribes this doctrine to the Egyptians, says: ἐς ἄλλον ζῶον ἀεὶ γινόμενον ἐσθύεται Hist. 2.123. Pindar refers to it with the words: Φερσεφόνα... ἀντιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν fr. 133. Plato uses similar expressions when expounding his doctrine of transmigration: πάλιν ἐνδεθῶσιν εἰς σῶμα Phaed. 81e, πάλιν ἀναβιώσκοιτο ib. 72c, τὴν ψυχὴν... πάλιν γίγνεσθαι Men. 81b. Aristotle says of the Pythagorean doctrine: εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ἐνδύεσθαι σῶμα Anim. 407b22. Still later one finds: ἀναβιώσεις In Pind.Ol. 2.104a, ψυχὰς εἰς ἕτερα σώματα εἰσδυνούσας ἀνανεοῦσθαι ib. 2.104c, εἰς ἕτερα ζῶα εἰσέρχεσθαι Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 10.6.1, ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῶοις Diogenes Laertius Vit. 8.1.14, πάλιν γίνεται Porphyry Vit.Pyth. 19.

Among the authors of the classical period there is no noun which can be used as technical term for the transmigration of souls. It means nothing when Diodorus Siculus assures of Pythagoras: μετεμψύχωσιν ἐδόξαζε Bibl. 10.6.1, nor when Servius says of him: *Pythagoras uero non μετεμψύχωσιν sed παλιγγενεσίαν esse dicit* In Verg.Aen. 3.68. They tell us nothing of the terminology of the ancient philosopher. Nor can be deduced that Plato knew the noun *παλιγγενεσία* from the fact that he uses the paraphrase *πάλιν γίγνεσθαι*. On the other hand, this does not prove that the noun did not yet exist in this meaning. A positive fact in favour of this theory is, however, that in the earliest instance the noun seems to be used deliberately and for the first time.

¹ On Philo's paraphrase *πάλιν ἀναγέννησις* and a few Latin terms, see p. 109 and 110.

² Cf. DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 13 ff., E. ROHDE, *Psyche*, Freiburg i.B. 21898, II p. 135 n. 3, and W. STETTNER, *Die Seelenwanderung bei Griechen und Römern*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1934, p. 3 ff.

The document concerned is a scholium which is assumed to go back to Didymus Chalcenterus in the second half of the first century B.C. or even to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived about 200 B.C.¹ The scholiast says that Pythagoras, having hidden himself in an underground room, had his mother spread the story that he was dead; afterwards he reappeared and recounted marvellous things on after-life: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιφανείς περὶ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ τῶν καθ' "Αἶδου ἑτερατεύετο In Soph.El. 62. In this text our noun refers to the very doctrine of the transmigration of souls of which Pythagoras speaks, even though, according to the scholiast, this doctrine is based upon deceit.

If we suppose that, at the time this scholium was written, παλιγγενεσία was already more or less a current term for the transmigration of souls its use in this sense might be even older than that in the Stoa. The contrary, however, seems more probable. If the term is borrowed from the Stoa, the scholiast applies to the return of the individual soul a contemporary technical term for the restoration of the universe, thus rendering his mockery of the doctrine all the more caustic. The spread of the story may have caused the rise of the term in its new meaning of 'transmigration of souls'.²

In later texts the noun appears as a current term in this sense, for the first time, probably, in a commentary on Pindar: ἐγκρίνει τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν... περὶ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας In Pind.Ol. 2.104a, τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν παλιγγενεσίας ib. 104c. The date of composition of this scholium is, however, difficult to establish. Between the two commentaries on the same line of Pindar another is inserted, ib. 104b, which goes back to a certain Chrysippus. According to A. Körte this commentator is a scholar of the first century B.C., who may perhaps be identified with Cicero's freedman of the same name. If this is right, the collection of opinions on Pindar's line can hardly be older than the end of the first century B.C. and the compiler knew παλιγγενεσία as a term for the Pythagorean doctrine.³

About a century later our noun is the technical term for the transmigration of souls in general in Plutarch: εἰς ταῦτα μόνα (sc. ζῶα) γίνεσθαι τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν Mor. 379f, ἐν ταῖς παλιγγενεσίαις ib. 998c; the dismemberment of Dionysus refers to transmigration: τὰ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μεμυθευμένα πάθη τοῦ διαμελισμοῦ... ἐστὶ μῦθος εἰς τὴν

¹ Cf DEY, *op cit*, p 16 f

² Pythagoras' doctrine was not infrequently regarded with suspicion, cf for the first century B C Horace Ep 15 21

³ Cf A KÖRTE, *Der Pindarcommentator Chrysippus*, RhM 55, 1900, p 131 ff, DEY, *op cit*, p 18

παλιγγενεσίαν ib. 99bc. The last text has no connection with the cult of the god: Plutarch only means to say that the ancient myth contains a reference to the incarceration of the soul in the body. Similarly Porphyry, in a fragment preserved in Stobaeus, considers the changing of Odysseus' companions into swine as a transmigration of souls: τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περίοδον καὶ περιφορὰν παλιγγενεσίας Ecl. I p. 446 W.

Also dating from the second century is a book by Cronius on the transmigration of souls which, according to Nemesius of Emesa, Nat.Hom. 51, bears the title Περὶ παλιγγενεσίας. Clement of Alexandria uses the term in this meaning when speaking of the doctrine among the Brahmins: πείθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν Strom. 3.60.2. It also recurs in a Hermetic text which deals with transmigration: ἡ τοίνυν διαφορὰ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ὑμῖν ἔσται σωμάτων, ὡς ἔφην, διαφορὰ Corp. Herm. fr. 23.41.

From the time the Pindar scholium was composed up to and including the second century our noun appears to have been a current technical term for the transmigration of souls. Throughout this period it is used in this sense without the support of a more concrete word. It is characteristic that Plutarch does not use an addition when the word means 'transmigration of souls', but only when he employs it in a general sense.¹

More accurate technical terms make their appearance alongside our noun and end by ousting it. These are μετεμψύχωσις, μετεμψυχοῦσθαι Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 10.6.1, Schol. in Pind.Ol. 2.123a, μετενσωμάτωνωσις, μετενσωματοῦσθαι Plotinus Enn. 1.1.12; 2.9.6, and μεταγγισμός, μεταγγίζειν Clement of Alexandria Strom. 3.13.3, Hierocles Prov. p. 172 B.² A less technical synonym of παλιγγενεσία in this sense is again ἀποκατάστασις in Jamblichus Myst. 1.10, cf. Proclus Inst. 199.³ Plutarch refers to the technical terms with: εἰς σώματα παλινμεταβολή Mor. 998c.

With all this the existence of παλιγγενεσία in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was brief. Already in the third century fragment of Porphyry mentioned above the word was added to other terms. About 400, Nemesius of Emesa, when mentioning the title of Cronius' writing, finds it necessary to explain its meaning: Κρόνιος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οὕτω δὲ καλεῖ τὴν μετενσωμάτωνωσιν Nat.Hom. 51.

In other third and fourth century texts, however, one observes a

¹ See p. 100 and 101.

² The instances have been collected by STETTNER, *op.cit.*, p. 5 f.

³ Cf. OEPKE, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 389 f., and above. p. 92 n. 4.

tendency to distinguish between *παλιγγενεσία* and *μετεμψύχωσις*. Anatolius uses *παλιγγενεσία* for the return to the original state after a series of migrations which are termed *μετεμψυχώσεις*: *σις' ἔτεσι τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις τὰς αὐτῶ (i.e. Πυθαγόρα) συμβεβηκυίας ἔφασαν γεγονέναι. μετὰ τοσαῦτα γοῦν ἔτη εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἔλθεῖν Πυθαγόραν καὶ ἀναζῆσαι* Theol.Ar. p. 40 A. It is not at all necessary to conclude from this that a differentiation of meaning had occurred. The distinction may well be a personal invention of the author himself. The compound with *μετα-* suggests more a series of migrations, that with *πάλιν* the actual return.

In the fourth century Servius makes a distinction between the two terms in an exposition of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines: *Plato perpetuam dicit animam et ad diuersa corpora transitum facere statim pro meritis uitae prioris. Pythagoras uero non μετεμψύχωσιν sed παλιγγενεσίαν esse dicit, hoc est redire post tempus* In Verg.Aen. 3.68. According to Servius Plato's *μετεμψύχωσις* is a series of migrations into various bodies which begins immediately after death, and the *παλιγγενεσία* of Pythagoras a return to the original state which occurs in the course of time. On comparing this with Anatolius' judgment, it becomes evident that Servius employs the terms with the same distinction of meaning, but that he goes a step further by attributing *παλιγγενεσία* to Pythagoras and *μετεμψύχωσις* to Plato. Elsewhere, Servius mentions the two nouns together, perhaps to indicate both systems, or after all as two synonyms: *ipse (i.e. Mercurius) est deus prudentiae, per quam philosophi deprehenderunt παλιγγενεσίαν uel μετεμψύχωσιν* ib. 6.603.

The tendency to differentiate between the meaning of the two terms makes it clear that in the first text of Servius we must not seek a clear exposition of the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato. Nor is the text rendered more intelligible by interchanging the two terms as proposed by Stettner.¹ The development indicated also makes it improbable that Servius is noting a peculiarity of the professional philosophical language of his day.² On the contrary, the word had fallen rather into disuse as a philosophical term for transmigration.

According to Dey, *παλιγγενεσία* in the texts quoted contains the idea of birth so that it may be correctly translated as 'rebirth'. He is of this opinion since the return to life is accomplished by means of a birth, and quotes in evidence passages from Herodotus and Plutarch.³ Plutarch's

¹ *Op cit*, p 4

² Cf H DÖRRIE, *Kontroversen um die Seelenwanderung im kaiserlichen Platonismus*, Hermes 85, 1957, p 428 n 4

³ *Op cit*, p 23

text does not deal directly with the transmigration of souls and is discussed elsewhere.¹ Herodotus merely says that the soul passes into a living being and later returns to occupy a human body: ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσθύνεται. . . ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσθύνειν Hist. 2.123. This occurs at the moment of physical birth (γινόμενον). He does not say that the soul is born but expresses what happens to the soul by ἐσθύνειν. The same can be remarked for all texts dealing with the transmigration of souls: they point to the return of the soul which, at the moment of birth, begins a new existence in the body. Of the terms quoted εἰσθύνειν, ἐνδύνειν, εἰσδεῖσθαι, εἰσέρχεσθαι, μετενωμάτωσις, μετεμψύχωσις, μεταγγισμός, παλιμμεταβολή, and in Latin *transitus, redire* cannot be misunderstood.² This interpretation must also be retained for ἀναβιώσκεσθαι, ἀναβίωσις, and probably for πάλιν γίνεσθαι. Plato objects to the use of the term ἀποθνήσκειν 'to die'. The soul only 'ends' this existence and comes again into being: φασὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι ἀθάνατον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τελευτᾶν – ὃ δὴ ἀποθνήσκειν καλοῦσι – τοτὲ δὲ πάλιν γίνεσθαι Men. 81b.

The rise of *παλιγγενεσία* as the technical term for the transmigration of souls thus probably occurs fairly late. It may have been first applied in a derisive comparison of the return of the soul with the cosmic restoration. The expansion of the word in its new meaning reaches its peak in the second century A.D. Here too, however, the word is found unwieldy and is ousted by more convenient terms. The meaning is again 'restoration' or 'return', without any implication of rebirth.

(3) Adoption of the noun in the general language. – The rise of *παλιγγενεσία* as the technical term for the restoration of the world in the Stoa and for the transmigration of souls led more educated writers to apply the word to the most divergent circumstances. The non-technical character of the term in these texts again appears from its position in a hendiadys beside a more concrete noun and from the addition of words like *καθάπερ, ὥσπερ, τις*. In most cases it is still possible to determine with some degree of certainty, either from the context or from the personal interests of the author, whether this usage is derived from the Stoa or from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. From the first century onwards the Stoic term is applied to the restoration of a particular person or of an entire people. In the second century especially the word indicates a return from death and thus strongly recalls its technical meaning in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls which

¹ See Mor. 389a, below p 101.

² For other Latin expressions which seem to indicate the contrary, see p. 110.

was widespread at this period. The findings concerning the use of the word in common speech reflect thus those relating to the technical usage discussed in the preceding sections.

In texts earlier than the rise of *παλιγγενεσία* in the Stoa and in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls only the paraphrase *πάλιν γίνεσθαι* is used for circumstances to which the noun is applied later. In this manner Plato has the paraphrase when he says that the Athenians are a young people since they must recover time and again from a periodic deluge: *ὥστε πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅλον νέοι γίνεσθε* Tim. 23b.

The earliest instances of *παλιγγενεσία* in a non-technical sense are found in two Romans of the first century B.C. In a fragment preserved by St. Augustine, Varro mentions the speculations of the Chaldeans on the great year: *genethliaci quidam scripserunt, inquit (sc. Varro), esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant παλιγγενεσίαν Graeci; hac scripserunt confici in annis numero quadringentis quadraginta, ut idem corpus et eadem anima, quae fuerint coniuncta in homine aliquando, eadem rursus redeant in coniunctionem* Civ. Dei 22.28.

Dey wondered whether Varro had borrowed the word from the Stoa or from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and thought the former the more probable.¹ Varro, however, says that he is talking about a term current among the Greeks, thus providing us with the solution. In his time the word was currently used for the Stoic concept, whereas it perhaps did not yet exist in connection with metempsychosis and in any case only became current later. He thus explains the return of the same soul into the same body after 440 years with the term for the periodic restoration according to the Stoa. Any similarity with the use of the noun for the transmigration of souls is merely the result of Varro's transition from the cosmic to the individual; the fragment deals, not with the restoration of the cosmos, but with that of man in the cosmos. This transition is also evident in several of the texts which follow.

Referring to his return from exile, Cicero writes to his friend Atticus: *amicorum litterae me ad triumphum uocant, rem a nobis, ut ego arbitror, propter hanc παλιγγενεσίαν nostram non negligendam, quare tu quoque, mi Attice, incipe id cupere, quo nos minus inepti uideamur* Att. 6.6.4 (c. 10 August 50). This passage has been quoted to prove that our noun formed part of the common speech of educated people in the first century B.C.² Yet the text gives as little indication of this as that of

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 11 ff. and 22.

² Thus BÜCHSEL, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 686, and DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

Varro. The writers merely assume that the reader is familiar with the usage of a word that has become fashionable in the Stoa. Viewed in this light, Cicero's thought becomes perhaps even more striking. With a certain arrogance, yet not without self-deprecation, he compares his political rehabilitation with the great event of the cosmic restoration, and this in order to appear less *ineptus*. There is no cause for surprise at the application of the cosmic concept to a particular person, and it is easy to sense the special tone that Cicero wished to achieve by this transition.

A little later Philo applies the term to the recovery of the world after the deluge, when he considers Noah and his sons as the leaders of a new world period: *παλιγγενεσίας ἐγένοντο ἡγέμονες καὶ δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου* Vit.Mos. 2.65.¹ He also compares an individual restoration with the *παλιγγενεσία*, when he sees in Seth the return of Abel: *τῆν ὡσπερ παλιγγενεσίαν Ἄβελ τοῦ δολοφονευθέντος* Post.Cain. 124. In a letter to Caligula, Herod Agrippa reminds the emperor of a benefit received from him when he at the beginning of his reign restored Herod to liberty: *καθάπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας ἀνήγειρας* Legat. 325. The term is thus used again for political rehabilitation.

Philo's philosophical interests lead us to assume that he borrowed the term from the Stoa. In the first quotation the similarity is obvious and is even confirmed by the addition of the term *περίοδος*. In the other two texts one may be reminded of the meaning of the word in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but any similarity is sufficiently explained by the transition which is being made from the cosmic to the individual.

Our word recurs in one other passage of Philo, where the writer is dealing with man's condition after death: *οὐκ ἐσόμεθα οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί, ἀλλ' εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὀρμήσομεν οἱ μετὰ ἀσωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί* Cher. 114. The use of *παλιγγενεσία* in this text has been linked with a supposed usage in the language of the mysteries. It is then translated by 'rebirth' in the sense of an elevation to a higher life after death, an absorption in the divine.² The attribution of such a meaning to *παλιγγενεσία*, however, deviates widely from the usage found for this

¹ We take *παλιγγενεσία* to be here a synonym of *περίοδος* and not, as suggested by DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 27, of *δευτέρα γένεσις* in: *δευτέρας γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων ἀρχή* ib. 2.64, in which case the word would not refer to the renewal of the earth but of the human race.

² Cf. L. COHN, *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria*, Breslau 1919, III p. 200, F. COLSON, *Philo with an English Translation*, London 1929, II p. 76 f. and 485, and DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 34 f.

period up till now, notably in the works of Philo himself. On the other hand, the ordinary meaning may serve as the basis for a satisfactory explanation. Philo says that after death we shall no longer exist in our present condition of union with the body with composition and quality (οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί); in this incorporeal condition, however, we retain composition and quality (οἱ μετὰ ἄσωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί) and as such we shall attain 'restoration'. This restoration thus consists in the reunion of soul and body. Philo employs the noun in a manner similar to that used in the Stoic doctrine of world conflagration and restoration and in his considerations concerning Seth and Noah mentioned above. Dey arrived at a similar explanation and Colsen already considered it possible; they retain, however, the meaning 'rebirth'.

In the first century A.D. historians apply the Stoic term to the restoration of a people or a city. Josephus tells of the joy of the Jewish people after they had obtained permission to return from the Babylonian Exile: τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐορτάζοντες Ant. 11.66. Added to ἀνάκτησις our word suggests the magnitude of this memorable fact. Nor is this usage typically Jewish. A parallel is found in Memnon, a contemporary historian: ἐπενόει ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καθάπερ εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἀνακαλούμενος fr. 60.2.

In Plutarch one instance appears related to the Stoic usage when he says that all that exists between earth and moon and, according to some, even the things above, change and begin anew: ὄξεισι χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις Mor. 438d.

Upon a papyrus of the third or fourth century are preserved the address: τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτοκράτορσι Κ[αίσαρσι] and the words δῶρ[ον] παλιγγενεσίας PLond. 878. Some meaning may be attached to this expression in connection with the passage quoted from the letter to Caligula in Philo, Legat. 325. Starting thus with Cicero's text, Att. 6.6.4, we have three passages which lead us to suppose that our noun had become to some degree a solemn term for political rehabilitation.

Still later, the phrasing of Isodore of Pelusium recalls the passage of Josephus. To the belief that the Jewish power will rise again (αὐτὰ ἀναστήσεσθαι) he opposes his own opinion: τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ πράγματα.. παλιγγενεσίαν οὐχ ἔξει Ep. 4.17. John Philoponus speaks of the custom of giving another name to a newly acquired slave and explains this change of name as the conferring of a new existence: οἶονεὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τινὰ.. αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενοι Opif.Mund. 6.6.

As a Stoic term adopted in ordinary speech παλιγγενεσία is again

synonymous with ἀποκατάστασις.¹ In a political connection ἀποκαθιστάναι and ἀποκατάστασις are used for the restoration of a city or people, and for the return home of hostages or other persons: ἀποκατέστησεν τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν in a decree of Byzantium, ap. Demosth. Or. 18.90, τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῶν ὀμήρων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας Polybius Hist. 3.99.6. Only the noun is found in Philo; with reference to the Exodus from Egypt he applies it to the restoration of the individual soul to virtue: τελείαν ἀποκατάστασιν ψυχῆς *Rer.Div.* 293. Josephus uses the terms fairly often in the same way as Polybius, notably for the return from the Babylonian Exile: πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀποκαταστήσει γῆν *Ant.* 11.2, and for the restoration of the Jewish people: τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως *ib.* 11.63.

Since παλιγγενεσία is current in the second century A.D. as a technical term for the transmigration of souls, the influence of this usage may be expected when writers of this period use the term in a figurative sense. Plutarch adds it by way of explanation to a fragment of Democritus of Abdera in which it is said that those who follow Zeus are constantly stimulated to new thoughts: καθάπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας νέα ἐφ' ἡμέρη φρονέοντες, ὡς φησι Δημόκριτος *Mor.* 722d.² Whereas Plutarch finds in the myth of the dismemberment of Dionysus a reference to παλιγγενεσία as a term for the transmigration of souls, *Mor.* 996c,³ he also speaks of the ἀποβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας of the god himself, *ib.* 389a, and refers in the same manner to the myth of the god Osiris: τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὀσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναβιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις *ib.* 364f.

Lucian reverts to the paraphrase πάλιν γίγνεσθαι from the *Phaedo* of Plato. In his opinion, the only thing overlooked by the great philosopher in his dialogue on immortality is the fact that a dead fly, when covered with ash, returns to life: ἀνίσταται καὶ παλιγγενεσία τις αὐτῇ καὶ βίος ἄλλος ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς γίνεται *Enc.Musc.* 7. Likewise the word means a return to life in Longus' novel: the lovers Daphnis and Chloe, who are separated in winter, await spring as an ἐκ θανάτου παλιγγενεσίαν *Daphn.* 3.4.2.

In neither of these groups of texts is there any reason to give our noun the meaning of 'rebirth'. Such a translation gives an acceptable metaphor in cases where it is applied to a single person, but this

¹ See p. 92 n. 4.

² Plutarch has the same fragment twice more, *ib.* 755d and 1126a, without the addition, which can thus not be ascribed to Democritus, as was done by IACONO, who thus wished to take back the word to the fifth century B.C., *art.crit.*, p. 369, cf. DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 26 n. 3.

³ See p. 94 f.

meaning does not appear to have been inherent in the Greek. The meaning 'renewal' is everywhere sufficient. Where the restoration of a city or a people is meant, Philo combines the word with *περίοδος*, Josephus with *ἀνάκτησις*, Isidore with *ἀνίστασθαι*, and it is synonymous with *ἀποκατάστασις*. Applied to man this 'renewal' implies a return to life. In such cases Plutarch and Lucian add *ἀποβίωσις*, *ἀναβίωσις*, *βίος ἄλλος*, *ἀνίστασθαι*. The stress is laid upon the new beginning; the idea of birth is irrelevant.¹

It may thus be affirmed that *παλιγγενεσία*, as a Stoic term, found a new application in the general language from the first century B.C. and, as a technical term for the transmigration of souls, from the second century A.D. It becomes a general word used to indicate a restoration or a new beginning, without implying the metaphor of a rebirth. For this restoration *παλιγγενεσία* is, however, a solemn term which by its peculiar character lends a certain lofty quality to the statement of the writer. It is thus capable of being employed in a rather mocking sense. In our opinion this is affirmed in the rise of the word successively in the Stoa, in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and in the general language. In Lucian this mockery becomes a satire upon the immortality of the soul.

(4) The later profane usage. – In the period after Christ *παλιγγενεσία* recurs as a profane term in the language of various groups, physicians, philosophers, and lawyers. It is, however, not always possible to say with certainty whether the usage may be called truly technical, nor is it always clear from which former usage the word is now derived.

Our noun has two meanings in Greek medical literature. Galen speaks of a medicament that restores to health in hopeless cases: *παλιγγενεσίαν ὥσπερ τοῖς λαβροῦσιν ἐπεδωρήσατο* 14 p. 305 K. Elsewhere the same writer says of a medicament that it prevents the return of the disease: *τὸ φάρμακόν ἐστι σφόδρα καλὸν καὶ παλιγγενεσίας κωλυτικόν* 13 p. 83 K. In the same manner Antyllus says that the tunic with which a sebaceous tumour has been covered must be entirely removed to prevent the return of the tumour: *ὑπολειφθὲν γὰρ τι μέρος αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίας αἴτιον καθίσταται* ap. Orib. Coll. 45.2.7.

In the first text the addition of *ὥσπερ* indicates that Galen is conscious of figurative speech. He uses the word for a solemn affirmation, a usage common in the ordinary language of the period. Nothing indicates that the word has become technical in this meaning. This was perhaps true, to some extent, of the word when used in the

¹ In this connection again the metaphor of birth does occur in Latin; see p. 110.

other sense, for the return of a disease, since we find here a turn of phrase which would appear to be a fixed expression: *παλιγγενεσίας αἴτιον, κωλυτικόν*. A synonym for the first meaning is again *ἀποκατάστασις* in Aretaeus: *ἀσφαλῆς ἢ ἀποκατάστασις Acut.Morb. J.10.4*, cf. *7.5.16*, Dioscorides *Mat.Med. 1.64.4*.¹

Our noun was also used to express the production of vegetable life: *τὸ σπέρμα τῆς παλιγγενεσίας Corp.Herm. 3.3* The new fruit which grows from the seed is for Simplicius the return of the old: *τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων παλιγγενεσίας* In *Arist.Phys. 2.8*, and thus originates, according to Olympiodorus, a certain immortality, In *Arist.Meteor. 4.2*.

Not only plants, however, renew themselves. This can also be said of time and matter. The adjective *παλιγγενής* may be intended in this sense in a papyrus which says of Helios: *σὺ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγενεοῦς Αἰῶνος PMag. 7.510*, and in Nonnus: *παλιγγενέος Φύσις ὕλης Dion. 2.650*. The Neoplatonists frequently use the noun for the restoration of matter in the cycle of coming to be and passing away. Proclus says: *ἡ μὲν φθορὰ παρὰ τὴν ὕλην, ἡ δὲ παλιγγενεσία διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ τεχνίτη λόγον* In *Plat.Crat. 53*, cf. Olympiodorus In *Plat.Phaed. p. 87 N*. The term has thus become fairly technical in this meaning. Speaking, however, of this *παλιγγενεσία* Olympiodorus says that there is yet another, that of the recall to memory, and in this case his wording makes it clear that the term is not technical: *εἴη δὲ ἄν τι καὶ ἴδιον τῆς γνωστικῆς παλιγγενεσίας, ἣ ἔστιν ἀνάμνησις* *ib. p. 208 N.*, cf. *p. 66 N.* John Philoponus gives a definition of the word as the term for the philosophical concept of being and coming to be: *ἐγγὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν γίνεσθαι τῷ εἶναι. . . τῇ δὲ αἰδιότητι ἡ παλιγγενεσία* In *Arist.Gen. 2.10*.

In the general language we found *παλιγγενεσία* for political rehabilitation. This development of the word may be echoed by the usage among lawyers as the technical term for the restoration of rights in law, especially in the declaring legitimate of children not born free. The Greek expression for this is: *τὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας δίκαιον* Justinian *Nov. 18.11; 78.1 ff.*, the Latin: *natalibus restituere* *Dig. 40.10.4; 40.11.1 ff.*, *Cod. Just. 6.8.2*.

In all these texts from different milieus it is sufficient to take *παλιγγενεσία* in the sense of 'restoration', 'new beginning'. For recovery after illness the synonym is again *ἀποκατάστασις*. The metaphor obtained by the translation 'rebirth' is possible but nowhere specifically indicated. When the term refers to a restoration or a new origin of man or animal, the stress is not upon the idea of birth. It is not even evident

¹ See p. 92 n. 4.

that the legitimization of birth was considered as a 'rebirth' and here too such a translation probably reads more into the word than was intended.

(5) The religious usage. — Our noun does occur in pagan antiquity as a religious term meaning 'rebirth', but this usage is much more limited than is commonly supposed.

(a) Philo. — Indirect evidence for a religious rebirth concept in pagan antiquity has been sought in a passage from Philo's *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum* of which Greek fragments have been preserved by Procopius of Gaza, who draws upon the work for his commentary on the Pentateuch. The complete text has been preserved in an Armenian version, edited with a Latin translation by Aucher.

Philo wonders why God called Moses to Mount Sinai on the seventh day (Ex. 24.16): *sursum autem uocatio prophetae secunda est natiuitas (siue regeneratio) priore melior. illa enim commixta per carnem et corruptibiles habebat parentes; ista uero incommixta simplexque anima principalis (uel spiritus principis) mutata a genita ad ingenitam, cuius non est mater sed pater solus, qui et uniuersorum. quam ob rem et sursum uocatio siue, ut diximus, diuina natiuitas contigit ei fieri* In Ex. 2.46 f. The words *siue regeneratio*, which might lead one to assume a *παλιγγενεσία* in the Greek text of Philo, are an explanatory addition by Aucher.¹ The Armenian text has two words *erkrorđ cnownd*, which are correctly rendered by *secunda natiuitas*. The Greek text of Procopius also speaks of a 'second birth' and not of a 'rebirth': *ἡ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δευτέρα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείνων* In Ex. 24.16. Hence we can be sure that Philo himself wrote *δευτέρα γένεσις*.

With *γένεσις* Philo has in mind a birth which is contrasted with physical birth; it is purely spiritual, has God as its author, and means an elevation towards God or even a deification (*sursum uocatio . . . diuina natiuitas*). Reitzenstein sees here traces of a rebirth mystery.² Pascher finds in the two births two degrees of initiation into the mysteries.³ The metaphor of a second birth does indeed surpass the metaphor of birth with which Philo is very familiar.⁴ We need not therefore deny

¹ J. B. AUCHER, *Philonis Judaei Paralipomena armena*, Venice 1826, p. 502. An English translation has been provided by R. MARCUS, *Philo Questions and Answers on Exodus*, London 1953, p. 90.

² R. REITZENSTEIN, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, Leipzig 1929, p. 353 ff., cf. the review by H. SCHAEDEER, *Gnomon* 5, 1929, p. 353 ff., and the answer of REITZENSTEIN, *Zwei Arten religionsgeschichtlicher Forschung*, ARW 27, 1929, p. 252 ff.

³ J. PASCHER, 'Η βασιλική ὁδός. *Der Königsweg zu Wiedergeburt und Vergottung bei Philon von Alexandria*, Paderborn 1931, p. 247 f.

⁴ See p. 116 f. and 129.

any connection with mystery religions but merely affirm that for his second birth Philo did not use the term *παλιγγενεσία*. Its usage as a profane term rendered it unsuitable in this context. Yet Philo could have used the word, and might perhaps have preferred it, had it been known in his time as a term for rebirth in the mysteries. Its absence in Philo is thus rather a slight indication that the word did not exist in the mysteries of the time.

(b) Hermetism. — The use of *παλιγγενεσία* for a spiritual rebirth occurs later in the thirteenth Hermetic treatise.¹ The writer introduces a new element into the existing doctrine and his choice of terms must be viewed in the light of this attempt.

Rebirth is here a spiritual process which consists of an extasy having deification as its aim. This process is compared in a realistic manner with birth from male seed and from the womb. Here the writer uses the verb *γενῶν*.² The vague *παλιγγενεσία* is apparently not in keeping with this manner of viewing things. It has, however, its own task in the introduction of the new doctrine. For the writer needs a solemn name too, and this he has found in *παλιγγενεσία*. This word occurs wherever he wishes to designate the new concept by its true name. In the beginning of his text he affirms: *μηδένα δύνασθαι σωθῆναι πρὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας* Corp.Herm. 13.1, and the noun is found again in the expressions: *ὁ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λόγος, τρόπος, παράδοσις* ib. 13.1, 3, 7, 10, 13, 22, *γενεσιουργὸς τῆς παλιγγενεσίας* ib. 13.4, *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ παλιγγενεσία* ib. 13.13, *τὸν ὕμνον τῆς παλιγγενεσίας* ib. 13.16. In his speculations, however, the writer prefers the simple form *γένεσις* in expressions like: *τὴν ἐν θεῷ γένεσιν* ib. 13.6, cf. 13.7, 10, 14.

This usage of *παλιγγενεσία* is not indicated by the development of the word as we have traced it up till now, and therefore a direct borrowing from the general language appears out of the question. It is thus understandable that the word has been assumed here to have been borrowed from the mysteries. Yet its very absence in Philo made it appear that the term probably played no role in the language of the mysteries. Nor is it necessary to seek the solution in this quarter. The thirteenth Hermetic treatise derives from the Christian period; it has been dated in the second half of the third century A.D. At this time *παλιγγενεσία* was known as a solemn word in the Christian milieu for renewal and it gradually acquired the meaning of 'rebirth' by being

¹ Cf A J FESTUGIÈRE, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris 1954, IV p 211 ff., and G VAN MOORSEL, *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus*, Utrecht 1955, p 105 ff

² See p. 117.

coupled with ἀναγενῶν and ἀναγέννησις.¹ After the word has undergone this development, the Hermetic writer can adopt it as a solemn appellation for his rebirth concept. The borrowing need not surprise us, for the linguistic usage of the author shows in many respects affinity with that of the New Testament. In this manner παλιγγενεσία acquires in the religious language of the pagans the meaning 'rebirth'. This no longer means a renewal of or a return to existence, but an elevation to a higher mode of being.

We may now perhaps attribute the same meaning to the noun in an exorcism formula found on a lead tablet dating from the third century A.D.: ὀρίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας Tab.Defix. 4.17 f.²

(c) The 'Mithras liturgy'. – For the history of παλιγγενεσία as a religious term one more passage is important. This is found in the great magic papyrus of Paris, dating from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. In a part of this document Dieterich thought to recognize a 'Mithras liturgy' transformed into a magic text.³

Rebirth, as described in this 'liturgy', resembles that in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. It consists of a spiritual process which takes place in extasy and has deification as its aim. The technical term for this is μεταγενῶν. The 'closing prayer', however, speaks of the end of the extasy and the return to normal conditions as follows: κύριε, παλιγενόμενος ἀπογίνομαι, αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορευόμεμαι PMag. 4.718 ff. The return is described as a death with the terms: ἀπογίνομαι, τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως. .γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς. One returns αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς 'being fortified and having been fortified', and this is the result of a preceding birth, the term for which is now παλιγενόμενος. This term must be translated as 'reborn', for παλιγίνεσθαι corresponds with a μεταγενῶσθαι from the preceding passages and is opposed to the terms for dying ἀπογίνεσθαι and ἀπογενεσία. The noun ἀπογενεσία is known only from this passage and is perhaps coined purposely for the end of the extasy in opposition to παλιγγενεσία. If this is correct, we are approaching here a use of the latter word in the meaning 'rebirth'. It may only be by accident that it is absent from the text. In addition, we find rebirth conveyed by the simple noun in γένεσις ζωόγονος. There is thus a similarity with the terminology of the Hermetic writer in the use

¹ See p. 146 ff

² R. WÜNSCH, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, Kleine Texte 20, Bonn 1912, p. 17

³ A. DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig-Berlin 21910. The writer later wished merely that the text should be closely linked with Mithraic religion, *op.cit.*, p. 288

of γένεσις and an assumed παλιγγενεσία. It is, however, new for these terms to stand in opposition to another group indicating the end of the extasy.

At the end of our examination of παλιγγενεσία in pagan antiquity thus we do find this word in the meaning of 'rebirth' as a religious term for the elevation of man to a higher mode of existence. This usage is practically confined, however, to the thirteenth Hermetic treatise, with related terms in the 'Mithras liturgy'. This development cannot be explained on the basis of that undergone in the general language, which is all the more reason for seeking its origin in the Christian milieu. Consequently, there are no texts to support the theory that the word ever belonged to the terminology of the mysteries.

3. *The metaphorical use of γεννᾶν and related terms*

The origin or beginning of anything can be expressed in terms derived from the propagation of man, animals, and eventually of plants. In this manner one can speak of birth in a figurative sense, and hence it is possible to express restoration or return with the metaphor of rebirth. The literal usage of the terms becomes figurative in a comparison and especially when in a sentence they are applied either to another subject or to another object or to both at once. One can, for example, say that the sea brings forth children, that a mother brings forth violence, or that the sea brings forth violence. These metaphors can vary from extremely realistic to very weak; the former is usually the case when only the subject or the object is replaced, often in connection with the report of a real birth, the latter when both subject and object are used in a figurative sense. There is, however, no reason to speak only of a metaphor when subject and object are both replaced; one could rather speak in such cases of a double metaphorical usage.

We have to examine (1) the use of γεννᾶν and related terms in the profane language of pagan antiquity for the metaphors of birth and rebirth, and (2) especially to what extent the religious language was familiar with these metaphors.

(1) The profane metaphorical usage. — It is, in itself, not surprising that terms relating to propagation should be used figuratively. In Greek the metaphor for birth is thus found in verbs like γεννᾶν, said of the man 'to beget', of the woman 'to bring forth', 'to bear', τίχτειν, which originally also had both meanings but is later the technical term for the child-bearing of a woman, κρεῖν 'to be pregnant', ὠδίνειν 'to be

in travail', 'have labour pains', for example: *ἄνδρες..γεννήσαντες παντοίαν ἀρετήν* Plato Symp. 209e, *ἡ χρῆσις λύπην ἐγέννησεν* Philo Det.Pot. 119, *μὴ θράσους τέκη φόβον* Aeschylus Suppl. 489, *τίκτει πόλεμον καὶ ἔχθραν* Plato Resp. 547a, *κῦει ἡ πόλις ἤδε* Theognis Eleg. 1.39, *ἡ ψυχὴ μου..ἀεὶ τοῦτο κουῦσα* Xenophon Cyr. 5.4.35, *Κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύνησι* Homer Od. 9.415, *κουῦμέν τι καὶ ὠδίνομεν..περὶ ἐπιστήμης* Plato Theaet. 210b.

The use of *ἀποκυεῖν* for the metaphor of birth and of *ἀναγεννᾶν* and *μεταγεννᾶν* for the metaphor of rebirth deserves closer examination.

Like *κυεῖν* the verb *ἀποκυεῖν* indicates pregnancy, but the addition of the prefix shifts the stress to delivery: the meaning is then 'to bear young', 'to bring forth'. In its literal meaning the compound is not earlier than the Hellenistic period.¹ At the same time it appears among the terms used by Philo of Alexandria for the metaphor of birth. He compares the activity of the soul with the child-bearing of a woman; the soul becomes pregnant and bears male and female thoughts: *κουφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει πολλὰ διάνοια. τῶν δὲ ἀποκεκουσμένων ἐννοημάτων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα* Sacr. 103. A similar activity is attributed to justice: *ἀποκεκῦθηκε δικαιοσύνη ψυχῇ γενεᾶν ἄρρενα, τὸν δίκαιον λογισμόν* Det.Pot. 121. Cain and Abel are two conflicting concepts borne by one soul: *ἀμφοτέρας μὲν οὖν δόξας ὠδίνει μία ψυχὴ. ἀνάγκη δὲ αὐτάς, ὅταν ἀποκυηθῶσι, διακριθῆναι* Sacr. 3.

Starting from the figurative use of *γεννᾶν* one comes to the metaphor of rebirth in the compounds *ἀναγεννᾶν* and *μεταγεννᾶν* in so far as these verbs convey the idea of the recurrence of a particular event. Both verbs are, however, extremely rare in pagan antiquity.

The earliest instance of *ἀναγεννᾶν* is found in a short treatise by Philodemus, an Epicurean of the first century A.D. He uses it for the return of evil things: *ἀν[αριθμ]ήτοις συνεχόμε[νοι] κακοῖς ἀναγεν[ν]ᾶ[ν] πάλι]ν ἐπιστάμεθα κα[κὰ ἐ]πὶ πολὺ* Ira 2.19. The verb recurs in Josephus who describes the land of Sodom, once fertile, but now ravaged by fire; there are fruits which look edible but on being plucked desintegrate into smoke and ashes: *κάν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδῖαν ἀναγεννωμένην* Bell. 4.424.

From both texts it is sufficiently clear that the word existed in the general language and was not typically Jewish. As a compound of *γεννᾶν* it must originally have conveyed the idea of birth, although this

¹ The instances have been collected by C.-M. EDSMAN, *Schöpferwille und Geburt* Jac. 1.18, ZNW 38, 1939, p. 14 ff.

is in both texts very weak. It can be translated by 'to regenerate' which has the same figurative meaning.

The noun ἀναγέννησις is found only once in the profane language. Philo uses it in his exposition of the Stoic cosmology.¹ The Stoics attribute the origin of the world to a deity, the destruction of the world to fire: everything is consumed in the fire and from the fire emerges a new universe: πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου δύναμιν χρόνων μακρᾶς περιόδου ἀναλύουσιν τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐξ ἧς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου συνίστασθαι προμηθεΐα τοῦ τεχνίτου Aet. 8. One might be tempted to assume that here ἀναγέννησις is identical with παλιγγενεσία in its Stoic technical sense. It is, however, more accurate to take πάλιν ἀναγέννησις together and consider this as a paraphrase of παλιγγενεσία preceding the introduction of this noun, ib. 9. The combination πάλιν ἀνα- is a common tautology in ancient writers.² The greater stress which this lays upon the return is to be explained in the context by the fact that the writer, after a long exposition of the world conflagration and its cause, yet deals with the restoration in a relative clause. There is no reason to suppose that Philo is here using a typically Jewish noun. He most probably borrowed it from the general language, or he may have coined it himself for the occasion. As appears from the etymology given, the noun is directly derived from the compound ἀναγεννᾶν.³ The idea of birth may therefore be as weak as in the verb. In Philo's exposition the use of the noun is entirely secondary and cannot prove that the idea of birth was also contained in παλιγγενεσία.

Another verb, similar to the preceding one, is μεταγεννᾶν. It is found only once in the profane language. In a eulogy of wine Josephus has his speaker say that it restores man and causes him to be born again: μεταποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννᾷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγενόμενος Ant. 11.40. It is difficult from this text to draw conclusions concerning the use of the verb for the metaphor of rebirth. It may have been coined for the occasion on analogy with the preceding μεταποιεῖν or have been fairly well known in general speech. We shall, however, see that one is to some extent justified in supposing that μεταγεννᾶν was a technical term for rebirth in the mysteries,⁴ and Josephus' text takes on a special significance if one assumes that he borrowed it in this meaning. We should thus have one more example of the way in which terms from the mysteries became taken up in general speech and writing.⁵

¹ See p. 91.

² For examples, see the quotations from Isocrates, p. 90, and Philodemus, p. 108.

³ See p. 88.

⁴ See p. 118.

⁵ See p. 161.

Thus, although birth is spoken of fairly frequently in Greek in the figurative sense, the metaphor of rebirth remains rare. This is all the more striking since it is extremely common and thence very weakened in Latin. Here *(re)nasci* and also *(re)generare* are used for the (re)appearance of the moon and stars, day, rivers, fevers, glory etc. As a result the metaphor of rebirth is found in Latin in places where it seemed to be absent in Greek with the use of *παλιγγενεσία*. Virgil uses it in a cosmic sense: *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo* Ecl. 4.5, and so does Firmicus Maternus: *exustae res poterant renasci* Math. 3.1.9. Horace has the metaphor for the transmigration of souls when he warns against the belief in Pythagoras' return to life: *nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati* Epod. 15.21. Pliny speaks of the appearance of the comet in the year 44 B.C. and Augustus' belief that it brought him a new life, with the words: *sibi illum natum seque in eo nasci interpretatus est* Nat.Hist. 2.23.94.¹ Pliny also uses *regenerare* in a weaker sense when saying that a son resembles his father or grandfather: *nec alio magis Drusus Caesar regenerasse patrem Tiberium ferebatur* ib. 14.22.145. In Sallust the metaphor of rebirth occurs for political rehabilitation when C. Aurelius Cotta, in a speech about his former exile, speaks of himself as: *bis genitus* Hist. 2.47.3.

It must be added that a literal translation of *παλιγγενεσία* in Latin was almost certain to lead to the introduction of the idea of birth since it is obvious to render a derivative of *γίγνεσθαι* by one of *gignere*. In this way the scholiast renders the Greek noun by *iterata generatio* in an exposition of Pythagoras' doctrine: *dicit animas humanas per παλιγγενεσίαν, id est, per iteratam generationem, exeuntes de corporibus in alia posse introire*. In Pers.Sat. 6.10. The usual Latin translation with *regeneratio* probably came about in the same manner, whence the general opinion that the Greek noun means 'rebirth' or 'regeneration'.

The texts quoted show that Greek and Latin were familiar with a weak metaphor of birth and rebirth. For the metaphor of rebirth Greek has *ἀναγεννᾶν*, *ἀναγέννησις*, and *μεταγεννᾶν* which terms are, however, extremely rare. On the other hand, Latin currently uses *renasci* and *regenerare* in a weakened figurative sense, even in contexts in which such a meaning must be disputed for *παλιγγενεσία*.

(2) The religious metaphorical usage. — The verb *γεννᾶν* and related terms are used in pagan antiquity to convey a religious concept of rebirth. Sometimes the terms are used for a particular ceremony, and

¹ Cf. on this text H. WAGENVOORT, *Virgil's fourth Eclogue and the Sidus Iulium*, Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion, Leyden 1956, p. 16 ff.

this may represent in a realistic fashion the imitation of the natural birth, as in the case of the adoption rite. Elsewhere the writers have in mind only a spiritual process which is expressed by the metaphor of birth or rebirth.¹

Direct sources for this usage of terms in various milieus are extremely rare. Sometimes we have to rely upon a report made by others concerning a rebirth in a certain cult and to determine whether they are, in fact, using a term taken from the cult itself. Sometimes too the idea of rebirth is indicated without any particular term being used.

(a) Adoption in general. – In the first place we must turn to an idea of rebirth which is to be found among primitive peoples and also in the ancient world. As Wagenvoort has emphasized rebirth is an ancient, wide-spread, and originally primitive notion indicating a new beginning in the life of man; in the rites arising from this concept, notably the puberty and adoption rites, the idea of a second birth may be expressed in a very realistic manner. In these either the birth itself was re-enacted or else the accompanying circumstances, such as feeding with milk. Dey and Wagenvoort have collected a number of examples of this from the culture of various peoples and notably from classical antiquity.²

According to Plutarch the custom exists that a ὑστερόποτμος, i.e. someone who was presumed dead and returned alive, acted like a new-born child. He allowed himself to be bathed by women, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and suckled: παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τικτόμενον ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀπολοῦσαι Mor. 265a.

There was also a solemn adoption ritual which consisted of a realistic imitation of the birth. Diodorus Siculus describes thus the adoption of Heracles by Hera: the goddess imitates a real birth by lying upon her bed and allowing Heracles to slip to the ground through her clothes: τὴν Ἥραν . . . τὸν Ἡρακλέα προσλαβομένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν μιμουμένην τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένεσιν Bibl. 4.39. Lycophron calls Hera δευτέραν τεκοῦσαν Alex. 39. The periphrase of the text and the scholium explain this as an allusion to the adoption of Heracles, In Lycophr. Alex. 39 (1 p. 5, 2 p. 13 f. S.). One may assume that this refers to a custom which really existed. Diodorus himself adds that it also exists among non-Greeks. Hesychius is familiar with the custom

¹ A survey of the discussions and the relevant literature in DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 36 ff.

² Cf. WAGENVOORT, 'Rebirth' in *antique profane Literature*, Studies in Roman Literature, p. 132 ff., DEY, *op.cit.* p. 130 f., M. ELIADE, *Birth and Rebirth*, New York 1958, and, for the adoption in the Old Testament, Gen. 30.3; 48.12.

among the Athenians, but does not say what purpose it served, s.v. δευτερόποτμος: ὁ δεύτερον διὰ γυναικείου κόλπου διαδύς: ὡς ἔθος ἦν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐκ δευτέρου γεννᾶσθαι. Pliny the Younger gives a description of the adoption of Trajan by Nerva from which it may be assumed that a similar custom existed in Rome: *itaque tui non in cubiculo, sed in templo, nec ante genitalem torum sed ante pulvinar Iouis Optimi Maximi adoptio peracta est* Paneg. 8. This rite may also be referred to in the gloss: *adoptio: paene naturae emutatio* Cod.Leid. 67 F (Corp. Gloss. Lat. 4 p. 304).

In Greek the usual terms for adoption are υἰοθεσία, υἰοποιεῖσθαι, θετός υἱός. The texts quoted, however, speak of the adoption rite as a realistic imitation of birth. For this, τίκτειν may have been used metaphorically by Lycophron and γεννᾶσθαι in Hesychius, but it does not appear from this one text whether ἐκ δευτέρου γεννᾶσθαι was a fixed expression for the adoption rite.¹

(b) The mysteries. Sabazius. – It has been assumed that in the mysteries too initiation was considered as an adoption by the deity and an assumption into the family of the gods. If this is correct, it must appear that rebirth in the mysteries is not unconnected with what is elsewhere known from pagan antiquity.²

Dieterich assumed such an adoption rite in the initiation into the mysteries of Sabazius. According to a report by Clement of Alexandria the initiate allows a snake, representing the god, to glide to the floor beneath his clothes: ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός: δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων Protr. 16.2. One objection to this explanation is the fact that it is not the initiate who slips down through the tunic, as in Heracles' adoption by Hera, but the deity himself in the form of a snake.³

(c) Dionysus. – This difficulty is not met with in another text quoted by Dieterich. In the orphic-dionysiac poem upon one of the gold plaques of Sybaris the initiate says to Prosperina that he dived into the bosom of his mistress, the goddess of the underworld: δεσποίνας δ[ε]

¹ DEY, *op cit*, p 129, is of the opinion that the term for this was παλιγγενεσία. He arrives at this view by comparing the expression from Hesychius with another from the same lexicon s.v. παλιγγενεσία: τὸ ἐκ δευτέρου ἀναγεννηθῆναι, ἢ ἀνακαινισθῆναι. Nothing, however, indicates that here the adoption rite is referred to. We are rather concerned with one of the Christian interpolations in the lexicon, intended to explain the noun by means of the Christian technical terms for rebirth and renewal. For another example, see p 90

² Cf A DIETERICH, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, p 97 f., E. ROHDE, *op cit*, II p 421 ff., and BÜCHSEL, *art cit*, ThW I p 667 ff

³ *Op cit*, p 97

ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας Orph. fr. 32c.8.¹ In a realistic ceremony he is probably also fed with milk: ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον ib. 32c.11, 'as a kid I fell to the milk'.² So he may say that he is one of the family of the blessed: γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος δλβιον εὔχομαι εἶναι ib. 32c.3.

Even if this explanation is correct, however, there is no more indication than in the mysteries of Sabazius that γενῶν and derivatives or any other term were used for the metaphor of rebirth.

(d) Eleusis. — For Eleusis Rohde has attempted to detect the idea of initiation as an adoption in a passage from the pseudo-Platonic dialogue Axiochus.³ Socrates remarks that all the initiates of Eleusis enjoy the privilege of a front seat in Hades: τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἐστὶ τις προεδρία, but Axiochus in the first place: πῶς οὖν οὐ σοὶ πρώτῳ μέτεστι τῆς τιμῆς, ὄντι γεννήτῃ τῶν θεῶν; Ax. 371d. The reason why Axiochus is granted this privilege is that he is μεμνημένος and this is again expressed by ὄντι γεννήτῃ, whereas πρώτῳ indicates Axiochus' special position, the result, for example, of a higher degree of initiation. One may assume then that every mystes was γεννήτης τῶν θεῶν. This means that he belongs to the γένος of the gods just as γεννήται in Athens are those who together form a γένος.

The adoption may have been enacted in a realistic manner and this would explain the ceremony with the contents of the chest and the basket at Eleusis.⁴ Some connection may also be seen with the Eleusinian words transmitted by Hippolytus: ὕε, κύε Ref. 5.7.34, and: ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμῶ Βριμόν, τουτέστι ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν ib. 5.8.40. If these explanations are correct, then γεννήτης or even γενῶν, and perhaps also κύειν and τίκτειν may be taken to have been used at Eleusis for the metaphor of a birth from the deity.

¹ Thus DIETERICH, *op.cit.*, p. 97. ROHDE's objection, *op.cit.*, II p. is disproved by BÜCHSEL, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 668.

² Cf. C. W. VOLLGRAFF, "Ἐριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον. Over den oorsprong der Dionysischen *Mysterien*, Amsterdam 1924, H. SCHLIER, *Γάλα*, ThW I p. 645, and WAGENVOORT, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

³ *Op.cit.*, II p. 422 f.

⁴ Cf. the attempt of A. KÖRTE, *Zu den eleusinischen Mysterien*, ARW 18, 1915, p. 116 ff., also O. KERN, *Zum Sakrament der eleusinischen Mysterien*, ARW 19, 1919, p. 443 f. KÖRTE assumes in the chest at Eleusis a womb, κτεῖς, on account of Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 22.5, and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, *Cur.* 7.11. The action (ἐργασάμενος) performed by the mystes according to the synthema preserved in Clement, *Protr.* 21.2, he compares with that performed at the adoption of Heracles by Hera and with the snake in the Sabazius mysteries. Against these interpretations W. F. OTTO, *Der Sinn der Eleusinischen Mysterien*, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1939, p. 83 ff. We may none the less suppose that the chest contained, or perhaps represented, a womb, whence the producing and replacing (of an object?) may have symbolized birth and death; cf. below, p. 115.

(e) Attis. – The mysteries of Attis and Isis and the *taurobolium* which occurred in the cults of Attis and Mithras have always played an important role in the discussion on rebirth. It is precisely here that one seems to find a terminology for rebirth which resembles that of Christianity.

The philosopher Sallust, a contemporary and probably a friend of the emperor Julian, gives a description of the initiation into the mysteries of Attis. He tells how anyone taking part in the mysteries shares the lot of Attis who died and arose to life again through the strength of the goddess. One of the rites was the feeding with milk, which is explained as a rite of rebirth: ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφή ὡσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων Diis 4.

The text has led to the supposition that ἀναγεννᾶν was the term for rebirth in the mysteries of Attis. It is then protested that the passage is of too late a date to provide reliable evidence of the early linguistic usage of the cult.¹ This argument ignores the fact that Sallust makes it clear by his wording that he is not employing a technical term from the cult. He adds ὡσπερ to the verb, and this is thus a personal explanation made by the writer in which he compares the feeding with milk with a rebirth.² When writing in the fourth century Sallust must be familiar with the verb as a current term for Christian rebirth. At this time the pagan cults were enjoying a last revival in a conflict of rivalry with the now powerful Christianity. This brings us to view the verb in Sallust as a term borrowed from the Christians in order to explain the rite of the feeding with milk. So, even though a realistic imitation of birth were already known in the mysteries of Attis, it is none the less not clear whether rebirth was ever spoken of in a figurative sense and, if so, in what terms.

(f) Isis. – In the mysteries of Isis one might suppose the use of *renasci* on account of Apuleius' description of the initiation of Lucius. The goddess chooses those she wants to place as though reborn to a new course of well-being: *quis tamen tuto possint magna religionis committi silentia, numen deae soleat eligere et sua providentia quodam modo renatos ad nouae reponere rursus salutis curricula* Met. 11.21. The verb *renasci* is introduced by *quodam modo* and is therefore an explanatory addition of the writer's, like ἀναγεννᾶν in Sallust, and not a technical

¹ BÜCHSEL, *art cit.*, ThW I p 672

² Cf the use of ὡσπερ and οἶον in the same passage in order to explain the preceding ceremony as a dying, and the succeeding as an ascent to the gods ὡσπερ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὴν περαιτέρω τῆς γενέσεως πρόοδον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶον ἐπάνοδος

term from the Isis mysteries. In the same manner Apuleius calls Lucius, when he has recovered his human form, *renatus quodam modo* ib. 11.16, and his tongue is then a *renata lingua* ib. 11.4. This last expression especially is merely a typical example of the generally current metaphor of rebirth in Latin.¹

Although we thus do not find any expression for rebirth in the Isis mysteries, one cannot say that the idea itself is entirely absent.² Apuleius describes the initiation as a journey through the universe which ends in the contemplation of a dazzling light. He names this initiation a *traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis* ib. 11.21. It is thus compared with a dying and a connection is made between being initiated and dying. It is noteworthy that this also occurs in a fragment, probably of Plutarch, preserved in Stobaeus, in which it is said that the words for dying and being initiated and the implications of both are similar: διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελεῖσθαι προσέειπε Anth. 4 p. 1089 H., cf. Pindar fr. 137. Apuleius can speak thus of the beginning of a new course of well-being and compare it with a rebirth: *quodam modo renatos ad nouae reponere rursus salutis curricula* Met. 11.21. He, however, is responsible for the comparison.

(g) The *taurobolium*. – For the concept of the *taurobolium* as a rebirth one is referred to a Roman inscription dating from the year 376 A.D.: *Matri deum et Attidi Sextilius Agesilaus Adesius . . taurobolio criobolioque in aeternum renatus aram sacrauit* CIL 6.510. Less importance is attributed to the expression *in aeternum renatus* since it has become clear that it only occurs on this one and late inscription. The earlier inscriptions, moreover, say only that the bull sacrifice was celebrated for the benefit of the emperor and the empire and not as a personal initiation. They afford no real place, therefore, to a concept of rebirth. Nor does one achieve much by turning to the words *tauroboli sui natalici* CIL 2.5260, cf. 13.573, as though here the day of sacrifice were considered as a birthday. It might also mean a bull sacrifice performed

¹ See p 110

² ROHDE, *op.cit.*, II p 421, still points to the words *natalem sacrum*, as he reads instead of *natalem sacrorum* Met 11 25 The day of initiation is then called a birthday It is safer, however, to keep to the manuscript reading, which says that Lucius is celebrating the anniversary of his initiation – The expression *homo moriturus* in Firmicus Maternus, Err 18 1, might refer to a mystic death as was assumed by DIETERICH, *op.cit.*, p 103, but, on account of similar expressions, Err 2 4, 8 1, 28 2, it must be seen as a verdict on man given by Firmicus from the Christian point of view Cf K PRÜMM, *Der christliche Glaube und die altheidnischen Welt*, Leipzig 1935, I p 370, DEY, *op.cit.*, p 83 f.

on an anniversary.¹ There is thus not much evidence that the *taurobolium* was originally intended to represent a rebirth, and *in aeternum renatus* is in all probability borrowed from the Christian language.

In several mysteries the priest who performed the initiation was called *pater* or *parens*, for example, in Apuleius Met. 11.25, Tertullian Nat. 1.7. According to Rohde the priest is so called because in the initiation ceremony, considered as an adoption, he receives the initiate into the divine family.² It is, however, not necessary to read more into this appellation than a polite form of address, common in use and without much significance.

The examination of the terminology of rebirth in the mysteries has so far given little result. There is no lack of evidence for a metaphor of rebirth, but the use of ἀναγεννᾶν and *renasci* as terms taken from the mysteries could not be proved. The data, however, can be supplemented from texts in which γεννᾶν and related terms indicate a spiritual process as a birth from God or a rebirth. In these, scholars have recognized terms and concepts derived from the mysteries even though the external rite had been abandoned.

(h) Philo. – Indirect evidence may be sought in Philo of Alexandria. This Jewish author often terms the activity of God a begetting by God, and uses then, along with ποιεῖν, the verbs σπεῖρειν and γεννᾶν: ὁ θεός . . . γεννήσας φυτά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶα Mut. 63, σπειρομένων ἀνωθεν ἀφανῶς τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων Migr. 35. As an explanation of Sarah's words: γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν κύριος Gen. 21.6, Philo says that the verb here means ἐγέννησεν and then adds: Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος· αὐτὸς καὶ πατήρ ἐστι τῆς τελείας φύσεως, σπείρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν Leg.All. 3.219. Of the virtues with which Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah are compared he says: τίς οὖν ὁ σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς (sc. ταῖς ἀρεταῖς) τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὄντων πατήρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν; Cher. 44.

Philo does use in this connection a number of technical terms taken from the mysteries and generally from pagan religions. For example, in the texts quoted he begins his explanation of Sarah's words with: ὦ μύσται, παραδέξασθε τελετὰς ἱερωτάτας Leg.All. 3.219. He calls the teaching concerning the virtues a ἱεροφαντεῖν of the divine τελεταί to the μύσται: τελετὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδάσκομεν θείας τοὺς τελετῶν ἄξιους τῶν ἱερωτάτων μύστας . . . ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐχ ἱεροφαντήσομεν Cher. 42. The sowing of ideas in man by God is likened to the inspiration of the Corybantes: ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθεοῦ κορυβαντιῶν Migr. 35. These are all pagan religious terms

¹ Cf. DEY, *op cit*, p. 77, and WAGENVOORT, *op cit*, p. 143

² *Op cit*, II p. 421

which had become current in the general language.¹ If, therefore, γεννᾶν and σπεῖρειν were likewise pagan religious terms for a begetting by the deity, one would expect more pagan writers to use them in this sense. On the other hand, Philo's preference can be deduced from the metaphor of birth as it is found in the general language and above all in the Old Testament.²

(i) Hermetism. — In the thirteenth Hermetic treatise we find, besides παλιγγενεσία and γένεσις,³ the verb γεννᾶν for a realistic metaphor of birth. In a discourse between Hermes and Tat, the latter confesses that he does not know from what womb nor from what seed spiritual birth is brought about: ἀγνοῶ, ὦ Τρισμέγιστε, ἐξ οἷας μήτρας ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη (ἐγεννήθη MSS., ἀνεγεννήθης cj. Reitzenstein, ἀναγεννηθείη ἄν cj. Scott) σπορᾶς δὲ ποίας Corp.Herm. 13.1. Hermes explains to him: the womb is Wisdom, the seed is the true Good, that which sows is the Will of God. The man who is born again is called: ὁ γεννώμενος ib. 13.2. Hermes himself has experienced this rebirth: ἐγεννήθην ἐν νῶ ib. 13.2.

The metaphor with which this rebirth is announced is extremely realistic. It calls for the simple γεννᾶν. To try to correct the text by replacing the simple form by the compound ἀναγεννᾶν is to mistake the writer's intention.⁴ It is, however, likely that the author of the tract borrowed γεννᾶν as well as παλιγγενεσία from Christian linguistic usage. He could already find in the writings of John the compound ἀναγεννᾶν replaced by γεννᾶν in order to lay more stress upon the idea of birth.⁵ It is unnecessary to suppose that he was familiar with the use of γεννᾶν, ἀναγεννᾶν or μεταγεννᾶν from any other milieu to express a religious idea of rebirth.

(j) The 'Mithras liturgy' — The so-called 'Mithras liturgy' provides in two passages μεταγεννᾶν as a technical term for rebirth in pagan antiquity: ἵνα νοήματι μεταγεν<ν>ηθῶ, καὶ πνεύση ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα PMag. 4.508 ff., ἐάν σοι δόξη ἀγγελίον με τῶ μεγίστῳ θεῶ, τῶ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος, ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπὸ σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος,⁶ ἐκ τοσοῦτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθεῖς.. προσκυνῆσαι σε ἄξιόν ib. 4.642 ff.

¹ See p. 161, and cf. R. REITZENSTEIN, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 245 ff.

² See p. 109 and 129; on 'second birth' in Philo see p. 104 f.

³ See p. 105 f.

⁴ Cf. BÜCHSEL, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 672.

⁵ See p. 142.

⁶ DIETERICH's correction, adopted by PREISENDANZ; cf. με<γα>λοκράτωρ ib. 4.639.

Besides rebirth, the second of these quotations mentions natural birth. However, on closer examination it becomes clear that here the idea is not of rebirth after natural birth, but rather after an actual temporary distress in which human strength has failed. This is expressed by: μεταπαρὰδῶναι με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει ib. 4.501, which may be seen as a paraphrase introducing the technical term, and: ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπεΐγουσάν με χρεῖαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν ib. 4.502 ff.; further down this idea is repeated with the words: ὑπεξ>εστῶσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἦν ἐγὼ πάλιν μεταπαρὰλήμφομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπεΐγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην ib. 4.523 ff., and: <ἀνάλαβέ> με ὑγιῆ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]γουσαν χρεῖαν ib. 4.533 ff.

It is clear that μετὰ as preposition and prefix plays an important part in this trend of thought. It gives expression to an important new element, not found in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, i.e. the actual distress which accompanies the ascent to deification. This sufficiently explains the use of the compound μεταγεννᾶν in this context with the prefix in the sense of a succession of time.¹ This, however, does not exclude the possibility that together with the new element the term μεταγεννᾶν may have been adopted from elsewhere. This then leads to the supposition that the term μεταγεννᾶν may have been derived from one of the mystery religions in which initiation consisted of a birth which followed an actual distress.

Concluding remarks. – The examination of the terminology for a religious concept of rebirth in pagan antiquity has attained little result. We have examined two groups of terms, on the one hand, παλιγγενεσία, πάλιν γίγνεσθαι, and γέनेσις, on the other, γεννᾶν and derivatives. It appeared that an adoption rite was known in antiquity consisting of a realistic imitation of birth; in the only text in which γεννᾶν is used for this rite, it was not clear that it formed part of a fixed terminology. From known data concerning the mystery religions one may assume that some of them knew concepts which might be termed a rebirth, but it is extremely doubtful whether they actually were. For Eleusis the use of γεννήτης and hence of γεννᾶν may be supposed along with κύνειν and τίκτειν. The feeding with milk in the Attis cult is interpreted as a rebirth by means of ἀναγεννᾶν. Likewise *renasci* is used to explain the initiation in the Isis mysteries. Once *renatus* is found for the *taurobolium*. Other terms denote an ascent to deification as a

¹ There is no need to think of μετα- as indicating change of condition, whence REITZENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 39 and 262 ff., established a connection with μεταμορφοῦν, *reformari*.

spiritual process. For this, Philo has δευτέρα γένεσις, the thirteenth Hermetic treatise παλιγγενεσία, γένεσις and γενῶν, the 'Mithras liturgy' γένεσις and μεταγενῶν. Of these terms those from Eleusis, μεταγενῶν and perhaps δευτέρα γένεσις may have been technical terms in the mysteries, the others are borrowed from the general or the Christian language.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TERMS FOR RENEWAL, RE-CREATION, AND REBIRTH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN JUDAISM

IN the Old Testament and in non-canonical Jewish literature a distinction can be made between the use of the Greek terms along with their Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents for (1) world restoration, (2) inner renewal, (3) new creation, and (4) for the metaphor of birth.

(1) World restoration. – In Judaism the expectation persisted of a restoration of the people at the end of time, of a new heaven and a new earth, and of the resurrection of the body.¹

For the restoration of the people at the end of time announced by the prophets, we find the verb ἀποκαθιστάναι 'to restore', pass. 'to return'. It occurs often in the Septuagint, usually as the translation of שׁוּב. This Hebrew verb and its Greek equivalent are sometimes found for the return of the Jewish people from the Babylonian Exile: ἀποκαταστήσει αὐτούς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν Jer. 16.15, but they also refer to the restoration of the people in the Messianic future. An instance of the latter use is the allegory of faithless Jerusalem, in which Yahweh assures the restoration of Sodom, Samaria, and Jerusalem: ἀποκατασταθήσονται καθὼς ἦσαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ez. 16.55. Elijah is named as the one whom God will send to bring about this restoration at the end of time: ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱόν Mal. 3.23.

The verb ἀποκαθιστάναι has thus a definite place in the terminology for the restoration of the people. The noun, absent in the Septuagint, cannot be expected in this connection, since the Hebrew original always uses the verb.² One can hardly speak of a true semantic development since the terms are also current elsewhere for the restoration of a land or people.³ Josephus adopts them without hesitation. Evidence of a special eschatological usage is even rarer.

In the general language παλιγγενεσία occurred as a solemn term for the restoration of persons or of an entire people. We found instances of

¹ Cf O PROCKSCH, *Wiederkehr und Wiedergeburt*, Das Erbe Martin Luthers, Leipzig 1928, p 1 ff, also DEY, *op cit* p 142 ff

² Cf, however, ἀποστροφή (*tesûbâh*) 1 Reg 7 17, for the 'return' of Samuel, and περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως αὐτῶν Ep Arist 123, for the 'return' of messengers

³ See p 101

this notably in the works of Philo and Josephus.¹ It is thus possible that Greek-speaking Jews in isolated cases also used this noun to voice their expectation of a final restoration, but there is no evidence that the word developed in this meaning in the Jewish milieu.

The expectation of a new heaven and a new earth is expressed in the Old Testament with the same terms which are used for the first creation, *br* 'to create' and '*śh* 'to make', rendered in the Septuagint by ποιεῖν: ἔσται (*br*) γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν τῶν προτερῶν Is. 65.17, ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ('*śh*) ib. 66.22. In apocryphal and rabbinic texts, we find *hdš* for the renewal of the world: 'I, God, created (*br*) the world from the beginning; I, God, shall once renew (*hdt*) the world for the righteous' Targ. Jer. 23.23, cf. Qoh. Rabbah 3.15, and the expression *bryh hdšh* 'new creation' or even *br bryh hdšh* 'to create a new creation' may be supposed on the base of the old Ethiopic version in: 'Mount Zion will be sanctified in the new creation (*feprat hadās*)' Jub. 4.26, 'Until the new creation will be created (*gabara geber hadis*) which dureth till eternity' 1 Hen. 72.1.²

The Jewish conception does show a certain similarity with the Stoic doctrine of world restoration. The Stoic terms, however, like ἀποκατάστασις and παλιγγενεσία, are not found in this connection. One can only suppose that the Jews occasionally expressed their own concepts in these terms without their being adopted into Judaism with a new meaning.

The expectation of the resurrection of the dead is well known in Judaism.³ It is expressed with πάλιν γίνεσθαι in a passage of the Septuagint which is a free rendering of the original text: ὑπομενῶ, ἕως ἂν πάλιν γένωμαι Job 14.14. It is not evident whether this expression led to a use of the noun παλιγγενεσία. Philo speaks of the restoration of soul and body in a manner which approaches the concept of resurrection, according to the interpretation given, with the words: εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὀρμήσομεν Cher. 114.⁴ Here, however, the writer may have depended for his choice of the term upon the Stoa, so that the passage provides no evidence of Jewish linguistic usage. When Josephus says that his compatriots die for their country in the hope of a better life he uses the paraphrase as in Job 14.14: προθύμως ἀποθανοῦσιν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς

¹ See p. 99 f.

² Cf. P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich 1922-8, III p. 840 ff.

³ Cf. BILLERBECK, *op.cit.*, IV p. 1166 ff.

⁴ See p. 99 f.

γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτομῆς Αρ. 2.218. From this it does not appear that *παλιγγενεσία* existed among the Jews with the meaning of 'resurrection', but neither does it prove the contrary: had Josephus been conscious of a typically Jewish usage, he would probably have avoided the term.¹

(2) Renewal of man. – The Hebrew adjective *hādāš* 'new', 'not yet in existence', may have the same connotation as *καινός*, which is its usual equivalent in the Septuagint. Only four times it is translated by *νέος* in contexts which stress the connotation of time: *προσοίσετε θυσίαν νέαν* Lev. 23.16, cf. Num. 28.16, *παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων* Lev. 26.10, cf. Cant. 7.14. Elsewhere *νέος* renders *na'ar* 'youth' and other terms. The difference between the Greek adjectives is thus carried on.²

Among the derivatives of *καινός* and *νέος* we find in the Septuagint *ἀνακαινίζειν* and *ἐγκαινίζειν* used for *hāš pi* 'to renew' in a few passages where a physical or spiritual renewal of man is referred to: *ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετοῦ ἡ νεότης σου* Ps. 102.5, *ἀνακαίνισον ἡμέρας ἡμῶν καθὼς ἐμπροσθεν* Lam. 5.21, *πνεῦμα εὐθές ἐγκαινισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου* Ps. 50.12. Elsewhere spiritual renewal is viewed as the formation of a new heart and a new spirit in man: *ποιήσατε (śh) ἑαυτοῖς καρδίαν καινὴν καὶ πνεῦμα καινόν* Ez. 18.31. These texts refer to an actual change in man. Where the idea is expressed in connection with the end of time, they refer to an entire nation: God will make a new covenant now that the old has been broken by the Israelites and in this covenant man too will receive a new heart and a new spirit, Ez. 11.19; 36.26, cf. 4 Esd. 6.26, Ex. Rabbah 15.6. In the Hymns of Qumran, however, the author hopes for a personal renewal: 'To be renewed (*hāš*) with all the beings' IQH 11.13 f.³

(3) New creation of man. – For the terminology of re-creation we must base our observations on the manner in which the Old Testament speaks of God's creative activity in general. The Hebrew technical term for 'to create' is *br'*, properly 'to cut', but one finds in the same sense *qnh*, properly 'to acquire', *yšr*, properly 'to shape' like a potter, and the general *śh* 'to make'. The Septuagint translates by *κτίζειν*, *πλάσσειν*, and *ποιεῖν*.⁴

It may be remarked that *br'* indicates God's creative activity in a

¹ Cf. BÜCHSEL, *art cul*, ThW I p 673 and 687 f, who with reference to Josephus and Mt 19 28 (see below, p 131) assumes that *παλιγγενεσία* had a development of its own in the Jewish milieu

² See p 89 f and cf. HARRISVILLE *art cul*, p 70

³ See also next page

⁴ Cf. J. VAN DER PLOEG, *Le sens du verb hébreux bārā'*, Muséon 59, 1946, p 143 ff

wider sense, including the creation of human life in the womb and God's abiding concern with His creation.¹ This activity may closely approach the concept of re-creation. One can, for example, speak of a renewed people as a newly created people: λαὸς ὁ κτιζόμενος (*br'*) αἰνέσει τὸν κύριον Ps. 101.19. A similar idea is expressed with the words: ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται (*br'*), καὶ ἀνακαινεῖς (*hđš*) τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς ib. 103.30. Here we approach a use of the compound ἀνακτίζειν for re-creation as a counterpart of ἀνακαινίζειν in the second half-line. The same is true of κτίζειν alongside ἐγκαινίζειν in another passage, in which the new creation refers to man's inner renewal: καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίζον (*br'*) ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαινίσειον (*hđš*) ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου ib. 50.12, cf. Jub. 1.21 ff. It is remarkable that we have here ἀνάκτισον preserved as Aquila's translation, Ps. 50.12 Aq. This compound is rare in the profane language and where it does occur it means 'to rebuild'.² It is absent in the Septuagint and in the New Testament but is found for re-creation in the Apostolic Fathers.³ Aquila's usage, therefore, does not concur directly with that of the profane language, although he would probably have avoided it had he known it as a Christian term.⁴

In the Hymns of Qumran the renewal of man is likewise considered as a new creation: 'Thou didst draw me up to an eternal height, so that I may walk about in uprightness unsearchable and know that there is hope for him whom Thou didst fashion (*yšr*) from the dust unto eternal foundation. And a perverted spirit Thou didst cleanse from much transgression to stand in array with the host of the holy ones and enter into fellowship with the congregation of the sons of heaven' 1QH 3.20 ff. A related passage reads: 'To lift the worm of men from the dust unto [eternal] foundation, and from a perverted spirit unto understanding of [God]. And to stay in array before Thee, with the eternal host and the [true] spirits, [and] to be renewed (*hđš*) with all the beings and with those who know to rejoice in the Community' ib. 11.12 ff. Following Kuhn, Sjöberg has referred this new creation to the entry into the sect.⁵ It may, however, be more correct to refer the new creation and the renewal of man mentioned here to the experience

¹ Cf. G. LINDESKOG, *Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken*, Uppsala 1952, p. 64 ff.

² Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s v

³ See p. 148 f. ⁴ See p. 2

⁵ K. G. KUHN, *Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament*, ZThK 47, 1950, p. 201 n. 7, E. SJÖBERG, *Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen*, STh 9, 1955, p. 131 ff.

which elsewhere is described as the birth of the new man, *ib.* 3.7 ff.¹

In rabbinic literature we find *br'*, seldom *'sh*, both with and without the prefix *k-* 'as' or *k'ylyw* 'as if', 'as though', applied to a change of man, or of a human condition, which in this manner is compared with the first creation, the creation of man in the womb, or the new creation.²

In some passages attributed to rabbis from the third century A.D. a text concerning Abraham is discussed: 'And the souls that he had made (*'sh*) in Haran' Gen. 12.5. Since a human being cannot make (create) life, the text is explained as referring to the teaching of the Torah and the making of a proselyte: 'He who teaches Torah to his neighbours's son is regarded by Scripture as though (*k'ylyw*) he had made (*'sh*) him' Sanh. 99b (Resh Lakish c. 260), 'He who brings a gentile near (to God) is as though (*k'ylyw*) he created (*br'*) him' Gen. Rabbah 39.14; 84.4 (R. Eleazar c. 270, in the name of R. Jose b. Zimra c. 220), cf. Cant. Rabbah 1.3 § 3.

In other texts, of which only the first quoted may go back as early as the third century, we find *br'*, sometimes *'sh*, in the expression *br' ('sh) bryh hds'h*, 'to create (make) a new creature (creation)'. The expression is applied to atonement and forgiveness of sins. The Talmud Yerushalmi states: 'As soon as, on the Day of the New Year, you shall be assembled before Me for judgment and (on the Day of Atonement) shall go out in peace, I shall ascribe this to you as though (*k'ylyw*) you have been created (*br'*) (as) a new creation (*bryyh hds'h*)' R. Shan. 4.59c (R. Eleazar b. Jose c. 400, in the name of R. Jose b. Kasarta c. 250?), 'He may be sure that his sins will be forgiven, and that he will be made (*'sh*) as a new creature (*kbryh hds'h*)' Midr. Ps. 18.6 (R. Simon c. 320), 'At the Day of Atonement I shall cleanse you and (create) you (as) a new creation (*bryyh hds'h*)' Pesikta Rabbati 40 (R. Isaac c. 320), 'The Holy One, blessed be He, will create (*br'*) them (i.e. the penitents) (as) a new creation (*bryh hds'h*)' Lev. Rabbah 30.3 (R. Isaac c. 320).

The expression is also applied to the change by which God made Moses more eloquent: 'I will create (*br'*) thee (as) a new creature (*bryh hds'h*), as it is said: And the woman conceived (*hrh*) (Ex. 2.2)' Ex. Rabbah 3.15 (R. Simon c. 320), 'I make (*'sh*) thee a new creature (*bryh hds'h*) as a woman conceives (*hrh*) and bears (*yld*)' Tanhuma Ex. 2.18 (on 4.10) (R. Juda b. Simon c. 370), and to the change brought about by God in Abraham through circumcision or by changing his name: 'After

¹ See p 127

² Cf BILLERBECK, *op cit*, II p 421 f and III p 340, E SJÖBERG, *Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum*, STh 4, 1950, p 44 ff

I have created (*br*²) thee (as) a new creature (*bryyh ḥdšh*)' Gen. Rabbah 39.11 (R. Berekiah c. 420).

In eschatological contexts the expression is applied to the late concept that the Messiah after a time of suffering in obscurity will be re-established by God: 'At that time I shall create (*br*²) him (as) a new creature (<*bryyh*> *ḥdšh*)' Pesikta Rabbati 31, cf. Midr.Ps. 2.9, and to resurrection '(Yahweh) will create (*br*²) the righteous (as) a new creation (*bryyh ḥdšh*)' Tanhuma Gen. 2.12 (on 8.1), but one also finds the expression applied to escape from danger: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, created (*br*²) them (i.e. people in danger of death) as a new creation (*kbryyh ḥdšh*)' Midr.Ps. 102.3 (R. Juda b. Simon c. 370), 'The Holy One, blessed be He, created (*br*²) them (i.e. people in danger of death) (as) a new creation (*bryyh ḥdšh*)' Lev. Rabbah 30.3, even in common speech: 'What a danger you ran! Your mother has really borne (*yld*) you there! What trouble you have been through! Here you have been created (*br*²) (as) a new creature (*bryyh ḥdt*²)' Cant. Rabbah 8.5 (R. Berekiah c. 420).

It has been asked whether in these texts *br*² and especially the expression *br*² *bryyh ḥdšh* are used in a literal or in a metaphorical sense. If it is true, however, that *br*² 'to create' means properly 'to cut', we have already a metaphor when this root is applied to God's creative activity, but in rabbinic literature one is certainly not aware of this. Now *br*² in the literal sense of 'to create' is transferred to a divine or human activity which is compared with God's creative activity at the first creation, the creation of man in the womb, and the new creation. The addition of the prefix *k-* or of *k'ylyw* in the third century and in many texts of the fourth show that one is aware of making a comparison. Hence the omission of *k-* and *k'ylyw* in other fourth century texts does not re-establish the literal use of *br*², as is the opinion of Sjöberg, but changes the figurative speech into a metaphor in the strict sense.¹ It would thus seem that the rabbinic texts show the rise and development of this usage and it is therefore not likely that it did already exist at an earlier period.

(4) The metaphor of birth. – The true Christian technical term for rebirth *ἀναγεννάω* is not found in the Septuagint, nor in the later Greek Bible versions. The variant reading *ἀναγεννηθεῖς* in Sir. Prol. 28 is wrong for *παράγεννηθεῖς*. Yet antecedents of the New Testament terminology of rebirth can be found in the Old Testament and non-canonical Jewish literature in so far as they are familiar with the custom of using in a figurative sense terms pertaining to generation.

¹ *Art.crit.*, p. 45 and 63 ff.

The terms for begetting, pregnancy, labour pains, and bearing are indeed currently used in this manner. They are in Hebrew *hrh* 'to conceive', 'to become, be pregnant', usually translated in the Septuagint by: συλλαμβάνειν, ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν, κύειν, *hyl* (*hwl*) 'to have labour pains', also *hbl* 'to be in travail, pregnant', usually translated by ὠδίνειν, further *yld* 'to bear', 'to bring forth', rendered by τίκειν, and said of men 'to beget', properly 'to cause (a woman) to bear', whence this and the two preceding roots are also translated by γεννᾶν.

Among the examples found we shall ignore the many places where labour pains are mentioned figuratively only to express someone's fear. In the first place, then, we can refer to places where the propagation of people or of a whole nation is transferred to various subjects: to Jerusalem: ὠδινεν (*hyl*) καὶ ἔτεκεν (*yld*) Σίων τὰ παιδιά αὐτῆς Is. 66.8, cf. 54.1, to Moses: μὴ ἐγὼ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβον (*hrh*) πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ἢ ἐγὼ ἔτεκον (*yld*) αὐτοῦς Num. 11.12, to the land or sea: ὠδινεν (*hyl*) γῆ Is. 66.8, cf. 23.4, to a stone: εἶπαν. . τῷ λίθῳ· Σὺ ἐγέννησάς (*yld*) με Jer. 2.27. In these texts the idea of a real birth is present, but it is attributed to a person or thing in a figurative manner.

The metaphor is used in reverse whenever the verbs for propagation are applied to various objects. One example is provided by the praise of a mother's attitude who has seen her seven sons tortured. Her sorrow is compared with the labour pains she suffered for her children. It is said that by this sorrow she has borne piety completely: ὧ μόνη γύναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὀλόκληρον ἀποκυήσασα 4 Macc. 15.17. The word ἀποκυεῖν is used figuratively but the metaphor is certainly not weakened.

The text quoted is the only instance where the Septuagint has this verb. In itself the word is, with τίκειν, a suitable translation for *yld*, literally and figuratively. It must not, however, be expected in the earlier writings of the Septuagint, since it only appeared later in the general language. This makes this one example of figurative use all the more interesting.¹

In cases where verbs dealing with generation are applied to another object, the subject is often a male person with verbs presupposing a female activity. The bringing forth of injustice by men, for example, is spoken of thus: ὠδίνησεν (*hbl*) ἀδικίαν, συνέλαβεν (*hrh*) πόνον καὶ ἔτεκεν (*yld*) ἀνομίαν Ps. 7.15, κύουσιν (*hrh*) πόνον καὶ τίκτουςιν (*yld*) ἀνομίαν Is. 59.4, cf. 33.11; 59.13, Job 15.35. It is also said of the day and, in the original text at least, of the wind, that they bear: οὐ γὰρ γινώσκεις τί

¹ Cf. EDSMAN, *art.civ*, p. 15 f., and see above, p. 108.

τέξεται (*yld*) ἡ ἐπιούσα Προν. 27.1, ἀνεμος βορέας ἐγείρει (*hyl*) νέφη ib. 25.23.

In one of the Hymns from Qumran this terminology is applied to the birth of the new man. It has been supposed that here the birth of the Messiah is referred to but it seems more probable that the passage describes the birth of the 'Messianic' man in general.¹ The writer compares himself with a woman in labour pains bringing into the world a male child who is wonderful in counsel: 'I was in distress as a woman in travail (*ldh*) bringing forth her first child, for her birth pangs (*šyr*) came suddenly' IQH 3.7, 'And with infernal pains (*hbl*) there shall break forth from the womb of the pregnant woman (*hryh*) a wondrous counselor in his might' ib. 3.9 f. Others too undergo the experience of the writer: 'All throes (*mšbr*) were hastened and agonizing pains (*hbl*) at their birth (*mwdyn*) and a terror to those who are pregnant (*hrh*) with them' ib. 3.10 f. They are contrasted with the woman who becomes pregnant with injustice: 'And they shall shut the gates of the pit upon her who conceives (*hryh*) injustice' ib. 3.18.

The writer thus applies the biblical metaphor of birth to a special case. The newness of his image may explain why he introduces it with the prefix *k-* as a comparison. This prefix is missing in a later passage: 'And I, (though I go) from ruin to desolation, from pain to blows; yea, from pangs (*hbl*) to throes (*mšbr*)' ib. 9.6 f.

In rabbinic literature the metaphor of birth is applied to most of the circumstances which can be called a new creation.² Thus the teaching of the Torah is called in the Talmud a creation but also a begetting: 'He who teaches the son of his neighbour the Torah, Scripture ascribes it to him as if (*k'ylyw*) he had begotten (*yld*) him' Sanh. 19b (R. Samuel b. Nahman c. 260, in the name of R. Jonathan c. 150). The bringing up of an orphan is also spoken of thus: 'Whoever brings up an orphan in his home, Scripture ascribes it to him as though (*k'ylyw*) he has begotten (*yld*) him' ib. 19b (R. Joshua b. Korha c. 150). Moses' acquisition of eloquence and escape from danger are referred to as a birth and a new creation in the passages already quoted, Ex.Rabbah 3.15, Tanhuma Ex. 2.18, Cant.Rabbah 8.5.³

The gaining of a proselyte, though called a new creation, is nowhere considered as a begetting. Another aspect of the rebirth concept is,

¹ Cf. O BETZ, *Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer*, NTS 3, 1956-7, p. 314 ff., and KOSMALA, *op.cit.*, p. 213 ff.

² Cf. BILLERBECK, *op.cit.*, II p. 421 ff. and III p. 340 f., SJÖBERG, *art.cit.*, p. 44 ff.

³ See p. 124 f.

however, presented in a baraita which compares the proselyte with a new-born child: 'One who has become a proselyte is like a child (*hqtñ*) newly born (*yld*)' Yeb. 48b (R. Jose b. Halaphta c. 150). The comparison is made in order to bring out the legal status of the proselyte.¹

The same aspect of the rebirth concept is found when the Israelites are compared with children. Beth Hillel referred the two lambs (*kebes*) a year old, to be offered every day according to Lev. 28.3, to Israel: 'For they will wash away (*kbs*) the sins of Israel and make (*sh*) them as a child (*ktynwq*) a year old which is clean of every sin' Pesikta Rabbati 61b. Another comparison goes like this: 'Why Sinai is called the house of my mother? Because there Israel became like a child (*ktynwq*) a year old' Cant. Rabbah 8.2 (R. Berekiah c. 420).

Nowhere in the Old Testament or in non-canonical Jewish literature is a birth from God spoken of in the literal sense but in some passages we do find the metaphor of birth applied to God's creative activity. It is used to express that God created the mountains: *πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενηθῆναι (yld) καὶ πλασθῆναι (cj. hyl) τὴν γῆν* Ps. 89.2, the raindrops: *τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ τετοκῶς (yld) βώλους δρόσου;* Job 38.28, and man: *θεὸν (štr 'rock') τὸν γεννήσαντα (yld) σε ἐγκατέλιπες καὶ ἐπελάθου τοῦ τρέφοντός (hyl) σε* Deut. 32.18, *υἱοῦς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up')* Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά (yld) σε* Ps. 2.7, *ἐκ γαστρὸς..ἐξεγέννησά (yaldutēkā 'your childhood')* ib. 109.3, cf. 2 Reg. 7.14. God creates Wisdom: *κύριος ἐκτίσεν (qnh) Prov. 8.22, and begets it: γεννᾷ (hyl pol.pass.) με* ib. 8.25.

Whereas the Hebrew *yld* 'to bear' can be used for men in the sense of 'to cause to bear' 'to beget', *hyl* always refers to a female activity, 'to be in labour', 'to bring forth in travail'. In Greek *γενῶν* has the double meaning but *τίκτειν* is later unusual for the male activity. It thus appears that the Old Testament applies the metaphor of birth to God even in such a way that a female activity is attributed to Him. In the Septuagint the use of *γενῶν* as the equivalent of *hyl* does not clearly express the female activity, Prov. 8.25, and the metaphor of a birth from God even disappears with the rendering of *hyl* by *πλάσσειν*, Ps. 89.2 (cj.), and *τρέφειν*, Deut. 32.18. On the other hand, the translation of a passive form of *hyl* by an active form of *γενῶν*, Prov. 8.25, and of *štr* by *θεός*, Deut. 32.18, renders the metaphor more realistic.

The texts which refer to a birth from God are rare and it has been pointed out that the metaphor found little echo in later Jewish

¹ Cf. SJÖBERG, *art.crit.*, p. 45 ff., D. DAUBE, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1956, p. 112 f.

literature.¹ With reference to Prov. 8.22 ff., Ben Sirach mentions the creation but not the birth of Wisdom: ὁ κτίσας με Sir. 24.8. This he does when saying that God created everything, so that his remark is quite in keeping with the context. Ps.Sol. 17.23 ff., however, while borrowing widely from Ps. 2, does not mention the birth of the Messiah either. Philo, on the other hand, says that the Logos was born of God: ὁ γεννηθείς Conf. 63, and is, as we have seen, very familiar with the metaphor of a birth from God in general.² The metaphor may not be frequently expected in the historical works of Josephus but this writer too uses it once when he says that the laws are born of God: νόμοι, οὗς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν Ant. 4.319. On the other hand, the metaphor is absent in rabbinic literature and the birth of the Messiah is now explained as his creation by God: 'As Scripture says: This day I have begotten (*yld*) thee, that is, on the very day of redemption God will create (*br*) the Messiah' Midr.Ps. 2.9, cf. Targ.Ps. 2.7.

If thus the metaphor of a birth from God was not very familiar, the reason may be found in the language itself. Since *yld*, said of men, properly means 'to cause (a woman) to bear', it implies the female activity in such a manner that this must have been felt as an objection to transferring the verb to God. On the other hand, one understands why Philo does not avoid using *γεννᾶν* and *σπείρειν* in Greek.

Concluding remarks. – For eschatological renewal and restoration we have thus found, notably as the equivalents of the root *šwb*, ἀποκαθιστάναι, ἀποκατάστασις, and perhaps πάλιν γίγνεσθαι, but there is no reason for assuming that παλιγγενεσία underwent a separate development in the Jewish milieu. For the inner renewal the root *hđš* is found and in Greek ἀνακαινίζειν and ἐγκαίνειζειν but not yet ἀνακαινοῦν. With *br*, κτίζειν, and related terms the inner renewal of man is referred to as a new creation. The root *yld* and *γεννᾶν* are the most usual terms for a current and realistically elaborated metaphor of birth. In the Hymns of Qumran the rise of the new man is possibly referred to as a renewal, a new creation, and a new birth.

¹ Cf. BÜCHSEL, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 667, SJÖBERG, *art.cit.*, p. 75.

² See p. 116 f.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TERMS FOR RENEWAL, RE-CREATION, AND REBIRTH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

ON examining the terms for renewal, re-creation, and rebirth in the New Testament (1) we find παλιγγενεσία as the synonym of ἀποκατάστασις for the restoration of the world at the end of time. (2) For the baptismal renewal Paul uses ἀνακαινοῦν, ἀνακαινώσις, and also has παλιγγενεσία once in this sense; in addition, he uses κτίζειν and καινὴ κτίσις as terms for the new creation. (3) The origin of the terminology of rebirth may be sought in two sayings of Christ; the early development is seen in James, Peter, and John who use, respectively, the terms ἀποκυεῖν, ἀναγεννᾶν, and γεννᾶν.

1. *Eschatological restoration*

The meaning of παλιγγενεσία as a term for the world restoration at the end of time may again be elucidated by the use of ἀποκαθιστάναι(-άνειν) and ἀποκατάστασις in this connection.¹ As in Mal. 3.23, ἀποκαθιστάναι expresses the expectation that Elijah will return in order to restore all things: ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα Mt. 17.11, ἀποκαθιστάναι πάντα Mk. 9.12, and the disciples voice to Christ their expectation of the Messianic restoration: Κύριε, εἰ ἐν χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; Acts 1.6. These texts refer to a restoration close at hand, due to take place at the first coming of Christ. The conception is, however, different in the only passage where the noun ἀποκατάστασις is found. Here Peter says that the risen Christ has been taken up into heaven until the time of the general restoration: ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ib. 3.21. The apostle means the restoration at the second coming of Christ. If one compares this with the expectation of a new heaven and a new earth in 2Pet. 3.13, there is one difference in that 'a new heaven and a new earth' refers to the period itself, while ἀποκατάστασις indicates the act of restoration with which the new period begins.

In this light we must consider the use of παλιγγενεσία in a passage dealing with the rewards which Christ promises to those who have

¹ See p. 92 n. 4, and cf. ΟΕΡΚΕ, *art cit.*, ThW I p. 388 and 390 f.

followed Him. It begins with the words: ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ Mt. 19.28. Again our noun must be taken in the sense of 'restoration'. Thence it refers to the beginning of the new period and not the period itself. This difference, however, should not be pressed too far, so that the following words may be taken to refer to the last judgment but also to the government of Christ and the apostles during the new period.¹

If thus παλιγγενεσία retains its ordinary meaning for the establishment of a new period, it is again synonymous with ἀποκατάστασις as found in Acts 3.21. The resemblance between the terms in Mt. 19.28 and Acts 3.21 now becomes so striking that one may wonder why the Greek text of Matthew prefers παλιγγενεσία to ἀποκατάστασις, which was certainly better known in the Jewish-Christian milieu. Sufficient motive for this choice is already provided by the solemn opening of Christ's promise. It is also more suited to the style of the first Gospel which strives after a more polished Greek. It is thus clear that we have no evidence here for the transition of the word to Judaism.² It is merely the original Stoic term, as it had become established in the general language. In an isolated case it is used for a Jewish-Christian eschatological concept.

In this context παλιγγενεσία obviously does not mean 'rebirth'. Two possible meanings remain: 'world restoration', or, with the transition from the cosmic to the individual so often observed in connection with this noun, 'personal restoration' i.e. 'resurrection'. The first possibility must be preferred, for the second assumes a semantic development for which there is no evidence earlier than the second century. This later development is then reflected in the old Latin versions, where *resurrectio* occurs along with the too literal *regeneratio*.³

2. *Baptismal renewal and re-creation in Paul*

Early Christianity, conscious of its newness, prefers καινός to νέος in the sense of 'new' with the connotation of superiority to that which is old, hence 'modern', 'up to date'.⁴ The Gospels contrast the new covenant, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, with the old. The inner renewal of man is an important

¹ Cf. PROCKSCH, *art cit*, p 5 f, TH ZAHN, *Das Evangelium des Matthaus*, Leipzig-Erlangen 41922, p 604 f, and other commentaries

² See p 122 ³ See p 110

⁴ Cf. BEHM, *art cit*, ThW III p 450 ff and IV p 899, K. PRÜMM, *Christentum als Neuheitserlebnis*, Freiburg i B 1939

part of Pauline doctrine. The new man is *καινός ἄνθρωπος* Eph. 2.15, 4.24, he exists *ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς* Rom. 6.4, *ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος* ib. 7.6. To express the Christian newness Paul has two terms peculiar to himself, the verb *ἀνακαινοῦν* and the noun derived from it *ἀνακαινώσις*: *ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν* (sc. *ἄνθρωπος*) *ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα* 2 Cor. 4.16, *τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον* (sc. *ἄνθρωπον*) Col. 3.10, *μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός* Rom. 12.2, *διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου* Tit. 3.5.

Both verb and noun are found in the profane language only in a late text, and we may thus assume that we are here dealing with Christian neologisms. Paul must have found it necessary to coin these terms instead of using *ἀνακαινίζειν* common in the general language and in the Septuagint, because (*ἀνα*)*καινίζειν* only means that something is renewed in the sense that the former condition is restored and this did not adequately convey his thought. On the other hand, *καινοῦν* in the profane language may mean that one renews something by changing or abolishing the old. In consequence Paul could use *ἀνακαινοῦν* in order to express the idea that man is thus essentially renewed by baptism that the old man is set aside.¹

Renewal is an effect of baptism, Rom. 6.4; Tit. 3.5, but it is also a process which must continue to occur daily in the life of the Christian, 2 Cor. 4.16, Rom. 12.2. In the latter meaning the verb is almost synonymous with (*μετα*)*μορφοῦν*, which Paul uses in three passages written shortly after each other, first the simple form: *τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν* 2 Cor. 3.18, *μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός* Rom. 12.2, cf. 8.29. The connection with baptism appears only indirect, in so far as it can be established by reasoning that the change of heart began essentially at this occasion.

The contrast between *καινός* and *νέος* with their derivatives is not absolute. The verb *ἀνανεοῦν* occurs once for renewal through baptism: *ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοός ὑμῶν καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον* Eph. 4.23 f., and *νέος* once: *τὸν νέον* (sc. *ἄνθρωπον*) *τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον* Col. 3.10. The verb may be used to stress a temporal connotation in the sense of a rejuvenation of the human spirit and *νέος* merely to alternate with *καινός* before *ἀνακαινοῦν*.²

¹ See p 89 f

² A temporal connotation may also be meant by *διαθήκης νέας* Heb 12 24 Cf R C TRENCH, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London 1880, p 219 ff In any case, *νέον φῦραμα* is correct for 'fresh' dough in contrast to the old, 1 Cor 5 7, and *οἶνος νέος* denotes time and not quality, Mt 9 17 par , especially Lk 5 39 Such texts provide no evidence for a strict synonymy of the two adjectives, as asserted by HARRISVILLE,

Apart from Paul's term for renewal, ἀνακαινίζειν occurs in the pronouncement: ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν Heb. 6.4 ff. According to the prevailing conception the text says that it is impossible for those who have relapsed after baptism to obtain forgiveness by a second penance and thus it offers an old crux of biblical interpretation.

If we cling to the traditional view then the term ἀνακαινίζειν is also not without difficulties. It is used for baptismal renewal and πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν now indicates its repetition. It is, however, surprising to find this verb here, since Paul had introduced the neologism ἀνακαινοῦν. It might be expected that Paul's immediate circle, partly as a result of personal contact, would have adopted his linguistic usage in this respect. In addition, ἀνακαινίζειν is used in the active voice without a subject. If one thinks of God as the subject, one is left with a train of thought which is surely in contradiction with God's mercy. The verb is therefore usually read intransitively which leads to its being rendered by passive or intransitive forms such as *renouari* in the Latin versions.

For the statement concerning the impossibility of a second penance a solution has been sought by pointing out that the text refers to apostasy, which is indeed irredeemable in so far as the apostate denies Christ Himself and the means which He has provided for conversion.¹ One may now postulate the writer himself as the subject of the verb: it is impossible for him in the short time which remains to convert the apostate.² This, however, does not resolve the difficulty that one would expect ἀνακαινοῦν.

An alternative solution for the difficulties resumed here is the explanation proposed by Collins for Heb. 5.11 ff. The writer of the Epistle then states that in case of a relapse of converted Jews it is impossible for their old religion to renew them again. Kosmala has referred this old religion to an Essenic community but assumes that the author speaks of the impossibility of second repentance among the Essenes.³ In both suppositions one may strictly speak of an impossibility; the subject and the active use of ἀνακαινίζειν are explained and the author rightly uses this verb instead of the Pauline term for Christian renewal.

art. cit. p. 70 and 78, but MOULTON-MILLIGAN, s.v. καινός, may be right in supposing that in the later koine νέος has gained ground at the expense of καινός. See also above, p. 89 f. and 131 f.

¹ Similar views are expressed in Heb. 10.26; 12.16 f., 2 Pet. 2.20. Cf. ΣΠΙCQ, *op. cit.*, II p. 169 ff.

² Cf. BEHM, *art. cit.*, ThW III p. 453.

³ See p. 30 and p. 171 f.

If ἀνακαινίζειν does not form part of the New Testament terminology of renewal, παλιγγενεσία certainly does in a pronouncement of Paul, although it is usual to consider it here as a term for rebirth: διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Tit. 3.5. In the general language παλιγγενεσία in a non-technical sense repeatedly appeared connected by hendiadys with a noun which conveyed its meaning more precisely.¹ For this reason alone we shall have to keep to the, for the rest, most current opinion that in Tit. 3.5 both nouns, παλιγγενεσία and ἀνακαινώσεις, depend upon λουτρόν. This determines at the same time the origin and meaning of παλιγγενεσία: it has its usual meaning of 'renewal', 'new beginning', and thus takes its place in Paul's terminology of the Christian newness. The reason for its adoption need be no other than that which led to its use in this sense elsewhere: the want of a solemn term. One may perhaps add that, even more than ἀνακαινώσεις, the word suggests that the restoration of man is preceded by a destruction of the old man, and that with this properly cosmic concept Paul sought also to express the eschatological aspect of salvation through baptism.²

The most obvious Latin rendering of παλιγγενεσία was *regeneratio*.³ The literalism of the early translators made the choice of this word almost inevitable. This led the West to attribute to the word a meaning which it did not really possess and may have strongly contributed to the opinion that παλιγγενεσία in Tit. 3.5 and in general has the meaning of 'rebirth'.⁴

The renewal of man according to Paul is part of the new arrangement of the whole of creation in Christ. Hence the new man is called a new creature: καινὴ κτίσις Gal. 6.15; 2 Cor. 5.17, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ Eph. 2.10, τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα ib. 4.24, and the distinction between Jew and pagan is abolished: ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίση ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ib. 2.15. Paul's wording concurs with the Hebrew linguistic usage, which accounts God's abiding concern for His creation among His creative activities.⁵ In this manner the renewal of man is seen as a being created by God. With καινὴ

¹ See p 91

² This explains the extension of Paul's vocabulary and the semantic development thus shows that here παλιγγενεσία is not a second century term which can be used to dispute the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles Cf P. N HARRISON, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, Oxford 1921, and G J M BARTELINK, *Lexicologisch-semantische studie over de taal van de Apostolische Vaders*, Utrecht 1952, p. 66 f

³ See p 110.

⁴ Cf the use of *sacramentum* in the old Latin versions, in CHR MOHRMANN, *Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens*, Études, I p 223 ff

⁵ See p. 122 f

κτίσις, however, Paul gives the idea that this intervention is a second creation as opposed to the first, although he means to stress rather the superiority of this creation than the fact of repetition. The compound ἀνακτιζειν, which only expresses the repetition, does not occur.

If in rabbinic literature one comes to speak of a new creation, this results from the fact that a human activity is compared with the divine work of creation.¹ Paul may have been acquainted with this metaphor but he uses it in a different way.

Renewal and re-creation are not linked with the gift of the Spirit.² Paul calls the new creation God's work without any mention of the Spirit, but renewal and the Holy Spirit are closely linked in the words: διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως Tit. 3.5 f. Attempts have been made to distinguish in this passage between baptism, referred to as λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, and the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit of which Paul begins to speak with ἀνακαινώσις πνεύματος.³ The gift of the Spirit would then be unconnected with baptism, but this explanation must be rejected since the genitives παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως are a hendiadys, and the second noun, as a term for renewal, indicates elsewhere an effect of baptism.

There is, however, an alternative solution. As we shall see, Paul, speaking of the operation of the Spirit in Rom. 5.5, immediately adds that this Spirit is also given.⁴ In the same manner the genitive πνεύματος ἁγίου now expresses the operation of the Spirit in baptism, and the idea is supplemented with οὗ ἐξέχεεν in order to say that He is also poured out as a gift. Since the gift of the Spirit is known as a distinct rite and τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν as an expression for this,⁵ Paul may express himself so concisely without ambiguity.

We thus find an extensive terminology for the Christian newness in Paul. This newness, καινότης, is obtained in baptism, but a permanent process of renewal must continue to operate in the life of the Christian. In order to say that the renewal is a radical process which is achieved by the abolition of the old man, Paul coins the words ἀνακαινοῦν and ἀνακαινώσις. When used of renewal as a permanent process the verb is synonymous with (μετα)μορφοῦν. Despite the preference for καινός and derivatives as terms for the Christian newness one also finds single instances of νέος and ἀνανεοῦν. In the explanation proposed, however,

¹ See p. 124 f.

² See also p. 56 ff.

³ Cf. SEEBERG, *op.cit.*, p. 219. COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

⁴ See p. 269.

⁵ See p. 266 ff.

ἀνακαινίζειν does not form part of this terminology, although παλιγγενεσία is a solemn appellation for the Christian renewal. Since the new man, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, is the work of God, Paul also calls him a new creature of God, καινὴ κτίσις, κτισθεὶς. Renewal and re-creation are the work of God and in particular of the Holy Spirit, but the gift of the Spirit is distinguished from them.

3. *Baptismal rebirth in James, Peter, and John*

When in some passages of the New Testament conversion is described as a birth from God, this means from a linguistic point of view that it is referred to with the metaphor of birth or rebirth. In addition to these texts other passages mention conditions relating to birth: the converted are as new-born children and they are to be fed with milk.

The writings of the New Testament enable us to some extent to follow the rise and development of the rebirth terminology. The points of departure are two statements of Christ. Paul does not speak of a rebirth, but his Epistles contain expressions which are related to this concept. James, Peter, and John, however, each use a different term for the rebirth concept.¹

Christ. – In the first of Christ's statements the condition for entering the Kingdom of Heaven is 'turning and becoming like little children': ἐὰν μὴ στραφῆτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία Mt. 18.3, ὡς παιδίον Mk. 10.15, Lk. 18.16. In στραφῆτε, which may translate a Hebrew or Aramaic *šwb* (*twb*), one may see a demand for inner change into humility, to a certain extent comparable with the renewal spoken of above.² On the other hand, one may link στραφῆτε with γένησθε so that it only means a return to the condition of children. This condition has been taken as already presenting the basis of the New Testament concept of rebirth. The use of παιδίον is here in any case different from the manner in which terms like παιδίον, τέκνον, υἱός, and ἀδελφός serve elsewhere in the New Testament as very weak metaphors to express relationship between men.³ The aim of Christ's comparison is, however, to point out to the disciples the necessity for humility. There is furthermore no mention of baptism itself, but only of a condition connected with

¹ Cf A VON HARNACK, *Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche*, Leipzig 1918, p 106 ff, BUCHSEL, *op cit*, ThW I p 669 ff, DEV, *op cit*, p 151 ff

² Cf HARNACK, *op cit* p 98 n 2

³ On the use of such terms in non-canonical Jewish literature, cf BILLERBECK, *op cit*, III p 256 ff

conversion. The phrase may therefore refer, not to the state of the newly converted, but to a condition which must already be fulfilled before the Kingdom can be entered. In Christ's words to Nicodemus, for the rest, rebirth is also posed as a condition for entry into the Kingdom, Jn. 3.3, 5. This agreement favours the theory which sees a connection with rebirth in Christ's first pronouncement.

The second statement of Christ is found in His discourse with Nicodemus. Here the wording of the Greek, which must be attributed to John and dealt with chronologically after that of James and Peter, has to be distinguished from the content proper of the discourse. We see then that Jesus, speaking of conversion, used the realistic metaphor of birth. Such realistic metaphorical speech was not uncommon in the Old Testament and Judaism,¹ and the existing linguistic usage could as well lead to the entry into the Kingdom of God being called a new birth as a new creation. If the metaphor of a birth from God was indeed unusual, Jesus' metaphor is only that of a birth from water and the Spirit, and in so far He could expect Nicodemus to understand it.

If we now ask what term Christ may have used in Aramaic, it would seem most likely that this was *ylld* as the common root for the metaphor of birth.

Paul. – If Christ postulated that in order to enter the Kingdom of God men had to become as little children or even be born again, we can examine the writings of the apostles to see with what terms they expressed this idea.

In Paul's writings several texts and concepts have been linked with rebirth. One thinks first of all of *παλιγγενεσία* in Tit. 3.5, but we have seen that this word indicates conversion as a renewal.

Interesting from our point of view is the way in which Paul uses the metaphor of birth for his relations with the faithful whom he has converted.² The apostle is, in general, very familiar with this metaphor and his use of it concurs with both biblical and profane linguistic usage. He says that the Old Testament bears children: *μία μὲν* (sc. *διαθήκη*) *ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινά, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα* Gal. 4.24, and then quotes from Is. 54.1 the words concerning Sion: *εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα. ἢ οὐκ ᾠδίνουσα* Gal. 4.27, thus making the origin of his metaphor clear. His metaphor is also biblical when he says that creation is in travail: *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει* Rom. 8.22. On the other hand, he is familiar with the use of *γεννᾶν* for the generally

¹ See p. 125 ff.

² Cf. DEY, *op.cit.*, p. 172 ff.

current and weakened metaphor: γεννώσιν (sc. ζητήσεις) μάχας 2 Tim. 2.23.

The metaphorical use of γεννᾶν is found again when Paul speaks of his work of conversion. Although the Corinthians may have thousands of teachers they have only one father, for Paul has begotten them through the Gospel: ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα 1 Cor. 4.15; thus also Onesimus during his imprisonment: τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς Philem. 10. For the Galatians he is again in travail, which presupposes that he has already been in labour for their conversion: τέκνα μου, οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω Gal. 4.19. These texts remind us of the linguistic usage of the Old Testament, and γεννᾶν, moreover, shows a striking similarity with *yld* in the rabbinic texts dealing with the teaching of the Torah and the bringing up of an orphan.¹

If we compare Paul's linguistic usage with that of Christ speaking to Nicodemus, we find the same origin, but the metaphor is applied differently: Paul employs it for his personal activity as a missionary and not for the inner process of conversion viewed as a new birth. A clear distinction between the two usages thus persists.

Paul is also familiar with the figurative use of terms indicating kinship in order to express human relations. He compares his relationship to the Thessalonians with that of a father to his children: ὡς πατὴρ τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ 1 Thess. 2.11. For the Thessalonians he is as a mother for her own children: ὡς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα 1 Thess. 2.7; the Corinthians are still only νήπιοι ἐν Χριστῷ and are thus given milk: γάλα ὑμῖν ἐπότισα, οὐ βρωῖμα 1 Cor. 3.1 f., cf. Heb. 5.12 ff. These texts link up with the metaphor of birth as Paul employs it for his own work of conversion and not with rebirth as a divine operation in man.

On the other hand, Paul views conversion as an adoption. The Old Testament describes the relationship of God to Israel as that of a father to a son; the New Testament uses this image to express the relationship between God and the faithful. Paul is familiar with this metaphor, Rom. 9.26, 2 Cor. 6.18, and he can now say that the Christian achieves this relationship with God through adoption: ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ὑπολάβωμεν Gal. 4.5, ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας Rom. 8.15, cf. 8.23, Eph. 1.5; this adoptive sonship is one of the effects of baptism, Gal. 3.26 f.

From here it is only a step to compare conversion to a birth, especially if one bears in mind the fact that in pagan antiquity the custom existed of completing adoption by a realistic imitation of birth.² Paul, however, uses only υἰοθεσία as the juridical-technical term of pagan

¹ See p. 127.

² See p. 111 f.

antiquity and the expressions υἱοὶ θεοῦ Gal. 3.26; Rom. 8.14, τέκνα (τοῦ) θεοῦ ib. 8.16; 9.8. Here, too, the idea of a birth is absent.

Paul thus uses the metaphor of birth in many expressions but nowhere can it be established that he speaks of conversion as a birth from God.

James. — According to the current opinion James speaks of a birth from God with the words: βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχὴν τινὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων Jas. 1.18. The term ἀποκυεῖν seems surprising, for it attributes a female activity to God. In explanation parallels are usually quoted from the general language, the Old Testament, and especially from the immediate context.

Our examination has provided many examples of such a metaphor.¹ The Old Testament freely employed it in a realistic manner. A female activity was freely ascribed to a masculine noun, to a male person and, in a few cases, to God. The rise of ἀποκυεῖν in later texts, notably in Philo and in 4 Macc. 15.17, showed that there is nothing surprising in the choice of this verb in the passage of James. The writer himself previously showed that he was familiar with the realistic metaphor of a female activity, by using τίκτειν and ἀποκυεῖν to convey that passion brings forth sin and sin death: ἡ ἐπιθυμία συλλαβοῦσα τίκτει ἁμαρτίαν, ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἀποτελεσθεῖσα ἀποκυεῖ θάνατον Jas. 1.15. Here ἀποκυεῖν forms a climax after the general τίκτειν. It is then used again for a birth from God, ib. 1.18. Both verbs may be the equivalents of the root *ylđ* which can be said of men but is commonly applied to women. James or his scribe, who appears to have a good grasp of Greek, now comes to render this by the more eloquent ἀποκυεῖν, a new verb that was growing popular. If one assumes an early date of composition,² this use becomes even more understandable as an early attempt to translate *ylđ*. On comparing this metaphor with that of Christ, however, the development consists in that the birth from water and the Spirit is now termed a birth from God.

Two attempts have been made to give ἀποκυεῖν as found in Jas. 1.18 another meaning on linguistic grounds. It would then refer, not to the birth of the Christian from God, but to the creation of man by God, considered as a birth.

Extensive investigation into the use of ἀποκυεῖν brings Edsman to the conclusion that the figurative use of the verb as found in Jas. 1.18

¹ See p. 107 ff. and 125 ff.

² Cf. J. B. MAYOR, *The Epistle of James*, London 1913, p. CXLIV ff., and other commentaries.

is very rare in the active voice and with a masculine subject.¹ There are, however, two objections of method to this research. The writer has considered the figurative use of ἀποκυεῖν without taking into consideration the whole group of terms used for the metaphor of birth. He is moreover only disposed to speak of a figurative use in a very limited number of cases. On the basis of our investigation of this metaphor and the rise of ἀποκυεῖν we cannot share the writer's amazement at the use of the term in Jas. 1.18 and consider it unnecessary to quote here in explanation later texts from Gnosticism and Hermetism in which ἀποκυεῖν is employed to express creation by the deity.²

Elliott-Binns bases his arguments chiefly upon the meaning of κτίσμα in Jas. 1.18.³ He considers it likely that elsewhere, in the Septuagint and the New Testament, this word refers to irrational creatures only or at least not to humanity as such. One must therefore assume that ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων refers not to the Christians as the first-fruits of mankind, but to humanity as the first-fruits of creation. One text does seem to suggest this meaning of κτίσμα, for it says that man must rule over other creatures: ἵνα δεσπόζη τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γενομένων κτισμάτων Wsd. 9.2. It is sufficient, however, to ignore the other texts for it is clear from Jas. 1.18 itself that κτίσμα can include humanity. The partitive genitive ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κτισμάτων shows that in any case the first-fruits, i.e. either humanity as a whole or only the Christians, form part of the κτίσματα. A related expression, which James may have had in mind, occurs in the Septuagint: δὸς μαρτύριον τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ κτίσμασίν σου Sir. 36.14. It is not entirely clear to what creatures testimony must be given but with Elliot-Binns we may assume that Israel is referred to.⁴ In any case the κτίσματα are human beings to the exclusion of irrational creatures. Elliot-Binns now prefers to the Revised Version 'Thy creatures in the beginning' the translation of Box and Oesterley 'the first of Thy works'.⁵ The latter, however, introduces a partitive genitive to the effect that human creatures may be considered as part of all creatures.

In spite of this one cannot deny that it is in itself possible to understand Jas. 1.18 as referring to creation, viewed as a birth from God. We must, however, point out that the main arguments advanced in favour

¹ *Art. cit.*, p. 23, see also above, p. 108

² See p. 154

³ L. E. ELLIOTT-BINNS, *James 1.18 Creation or Redemption?* NTS 3, 1956-7, p. 148 ff.

⁴ *Art. cit.*, p. 154

⁵ In R. H. CHARLES, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, I p. 441

of this explanation, are defective. We may therefore maintain that ἀποκυεῖν is the earliest known Greek term for Christian rebirth. It did, however, not gain ground.

Peter. — In two passages Peter uses ἀναγεννᾶν as a term for rebirth: ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς 1 Pet. 1.3, ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος ib. 1.23. The root *gld*, which we supposed in the discourse of Christ and on the basis of ἀποκυεῖν in James, may also be seen as the equivalent of ἀναγεννᾶν in Peter. This was then the common term among Jewish Christians for the birth of the faithful from God. Christian literature from the second century onwards shows that in Greek ἀναγεννᾶν has become the technical term for rebirth. The word must have rapidly gained popularity and the two occurrences in Peter may reflect an already existing linguistic usage.

In Hellenistic Greek we found ἀναγεννᾶν used in a very weakened figurative sense.¹ This offers sufficient explanation for the origin of its figurative use by the Christians and there is no need to seek a connection with the terminology of the mysteries.

This weakened term is now used in order to contrast rebirth with physical birth, 1 Pet. 1.23, which recalls the realistic manner of elaborating this metaphor in the Old Testament and non-canonical Jewish literature and in Christ's discourse with Nicodemus. One may also find a contrast with death, for Peter uses ἀπογίγνεσθαι for a dying to sin: ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν ib. 2.24. The text itself, for the rest, opposes this dying to a new life and there is no evidence that the writer himself thought of it as being so closely connected with the concept of rebirth mentioned before.

Peter does, however, call upon the newly born to preserve their innocence and to bring their newly acquired life to its full growth: ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε ib. 2.2. These words follow on from the mention of rebirth and are intended to be an elaboration of this idea. One may remark that Peter speaks here of βρέφη and does not use the weakened metaphor with terms like τέκνον or υἱός. He does use them elsewhere, but not in connection with rebirth: τέκνα ὑπακοῆς ib. 1.14, Μᾶρκος ὁ υἱός μου ib. 5.13.

John. — From the use of ἀναγεννᾶν in Peter and the popularity which it gained among the second century authors we may deduce that it must already have been fairly current when John was writing at the end of the first century. If this is so, John uses the simple form γεννᾶν

¹ See p. 108.

since the compound was no longer sufficiently expressive. The absence of the prefix *ἀνα-* again throws the stress upon the idea of birth. This emphasis is especially necessary in John's relation of Christ's discourse with Nicodemus. Hence we find here the expression *ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι*, which now appears as a paraphrase of the compound *ἀναγεννηθῆναι*, intended to introduce the simple form: *ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* Jn. 3.3, *δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν* ib. 3.7. This form is used everywhere else. Rebirth is brought about from water and the Spirit: *ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἔξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος* ib. 3.5, *τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος* ib. 3.6, cf. 3.8, and from God: *ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν* ib. 1.13, cf. 1 Jn. 2.29; 3.9; 4.7; 5.1 ff., and it is contrasted with physical birth: *τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκός* Jn. 3.6, cf. 1.13.

For the rest, the use of the simple form *γεννᾶν* has raised fewer problems than the addition of the adverb *ἀνωθεν* in Jn. 3.3, 7, for there is some disagreement as to whether it has here its local meaning 'from above' or its temporal meaning 'again'.¹ If, however, the expression *ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι* paraphrases *ἀναγεννηθῆναι*, it follows that *ἀνωθεν* has the temporal meaning of 'anew' like the prefix *ἀνα-* of the compound. Nevertheless John may have intended more by the paraphrase. It has been observed that he elsewhere uses *ἀνωθεν* in its local meaning, Jn. 19.23, especially to indicate that something comes from heaven, ib. 3.31; 19.11, cf. 8.23. It may therefore be that John, while using *ἀνωθεν* in its temporal meaning, remained conscious of the local, and wished thus to indicate at the same time that rebirth comes from above.²

If the transition from the compound to the simple form is found in Jn. 3.3 ff., it would seem that the other passages in which the simple form occurs were written later. It is easy to assume this of the prologue for it is after all customary to write an introduction only when a work is nearing completion. From the similarity between the Gospel and the first Epistle it has been assumed that they date from the same period. A linguistic peculiarity now makes it possible to determine the interrelation with greater accuracy.

Peter's argument, that the new Christians are as newly born children, is not found in so many words in John. He is, however, familiar with the idea that the faithful are the children of God: *(τὰ) τέκνα (τοῦ) θεοῦ* Jn. 1.12; 11.52, 1 Jn. 3.1, 2, 10; 5.2. Contrary to what

¹ Cf BILLERBECK, *op cit.*, II p 420, PROCKSCH, *art cit.*, p 15, BUCHSEL, "Ἄνωθεν, ThW I p 378, IACONO, *art cit.*, p 377 f

² One may compare how John gives a double meaning to. *ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ* Jn 12 32

we have seen in Paul, this expression seems now connected with rebirth. The connection is not stated explicitly, but τέκνα θεοῦ γένεσθαι is followed by: ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν ib. 1.12 f. Elsewhere too being a child of God and being born from God are mentioned together, 1 Jn. 2.29 f.; 3.9 f.; 5.1 f. This figurative use of terms like τέκνον and τέκνιον may, however, also be unconnected with rebirth, Jn. 13.33, 1 Jn. 2.1, 2 Jn. 1.

The Holy Spirit is mentioned in connection with rebirth when John realistically compares water and the Spirit with a male and female principle of life. He is not thinking of a gift of the Spirit but only means that both water and Spirit contribute to the bringing about of the rebirth, Jn. 3.5.¹

We may resume by saying that in the New Testament some texts consider conversion as a birth and others speak in this connection of conditions related to birth. As point of departure for the first group we have Christ's words to Nicodemus. Here a realistic metaphor of a birth from water and the Spirit is used with reference to the entry into the Kingdom of God. We may assume that the Aramaic term for this was *yld*. Paul does not speak of a rebirth of the Christian, although he applies the metaphor of birth to his own work as a missionary. In James we find ἀποκυεῖν, possibly as an early attempt to translate *yld*, for the metaphor of a birth from God. The current Greek verb, however, becomes ἀναγεννᾶν which is already found in the first Epistle of Peter. Towards the end of the first century John, in search of a more realistic expression, uses the simple form γεννᾶν. He introduces this word by paraphrasing the compound with ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι.

In the second group of terms, words like παιδίον, τέκνον, υἱός, used figuratively throughout the whole of the New Testament to describe human relationships, must generally be left out of consideration. Christ, however, expressly says that men must become as little children in order to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. For Paul the faithful are children of God, υἱοὶ θεοῦ and τέκνα θεοῦ, but, according to him, one becomes a child of God by adoption and not by rebirth. Peter speaks realistically of the persons reborn as βρέφη who need milk. John seems to draw some connection between the Christians as τέκνα θεοῦ and rebirth.

¹ See p. 56 ff., on the connection between adoptive sonship and gift of the Spirit in Paul, see p. 138.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TERMS FOR RENEWAL, RE-CREATION, AND REBIRTH IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

AMONG the Christian writers of the second and third centuries (1) Paul's terms for baptism as a renewal and re-creation occur alongside those of Peter and John for rebirth. (2) Furthermore, the terms for rebirth are applied to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites.

1. *The Christian usage*

In the Christian literature of the second and third centuries renewal, re-creation, and rebirth are expressed (1) by derivatives of *καινός* and (2) of *νέος*, (3) by *παλιγγενεσία*, (4) by *κτίζειν* and related terms, and (5) by *γενῶν* and related terms. These terms may strictly refer to the effects of baptism or to similar effects in a wider sense, they can also denote a transformation in man through second penance and at the end of time.

(1) Derivatives of *καινός*. – Among the derivatives of *καινός* the following meanings may be distinguished.

(a) Baptism as a renewal. – In some cases where derivatives of *καινός* are used it is expressly stated that the renewal is brought about by baptism. Ps.-Barnabas has *ἀνακαινίζειν* and links renewal with the baptismal forgiveness of sins: *ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* Ep. 6.11. Origen uses *ἀνακαινοῦν*: *μηδὲ ἀνακαινωσθεὶς μηδὲ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν* In Matth. 17.16. In Methodius of Olympus *ἀνακαινίζειν* seems rather technical for baptism: *τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνακαινισθέντων* Symp. 8.10, cf. 3.9, and he has the derived noun in this sense: *τὴν ἀνανέωσιν καὶ τὸν ἀνακαινισμόν* ib. 3.8, cf. Act. Thom. 48, 132. Ps.-Barnabas uses the paraphrase: *ἐγενόμεθα καινοί* ib. 16.8, Justin Martyr: *καινοποιηθέντες* Apol. 1.61.1. A Christian neologism is *ἀνακαίνισις*, used for the conversion of someone who is raised from the dead by the apostle John: *ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν βίου* Act. Jo. 78. The noun may be coined on analogy with the preceding *ἀνάπαυσις*.

Irenaeus seems to connect the gift of the Spirit ¹ with baptismal

¹ See p. 56 ff.

renewal: 'The Holy Spirit..who at the end of time has been poured forth in a new manner upon humanity over the whole earth, renewing man to God' Dem. 6, and likewise Methodius: ἵνα τὴν ἀνανέωσιν καὶ τὸν ἀνακαινισμόν..μεταλαβεῖν δυνηθῆ, πνεύματος ἀναπληθεῖς Symp. 3.8. Among writers originating from Asia Minor, however, no clear distinction between the effects of baptism and the gift of the Spirit exists.¹

A similar confusion appears from a passage of Origen but his wording is due only to the connection made between renewal, re-creation, and the Holy Spirit in Ps. 103.30: λαβὼν αὐτὸ (i.e. τὸ πνεῦμα) ἀνακτισθήσεται καὶ <ἀνακαινισθεῖς> σωθήσεται In Jo. 13.24.141. When paraphrasing Tit. 3.5, Origen mentions the bath of rebirth which is accompanied by the renewal of the Spirit and followed by the imparting of the Spirit: τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως..καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ὀνομαζόμενον λουτρὸν μετὰ ἀνακαινώσεως γινόμενον πνεύματος, τοῦ..οὐ πᾶσιν μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου In Jo. 6.33.169. He may thus trace a distinction between renewal through the Spirit and gift of the Spirit.

(b) Baptismal renewal in a wider sense. – In accordance with Paul's words that the renewal of the Christian must continue from day to day, Origen uses ἀνακαινοῦν for this renewal in a wider sense: καινὰ μὲν τὰ πνευματικά καὶ αἰεὶ ἀνακαινούμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἔσω τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀνακαινούμενῳ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμερᾷ In Matth. 10.15. Elsewhere we find in this sense the noun: ἀνακαινισμόν τῆς ψυχῆς..καὶ τοῦ σώματος Act.Thom. 15.8. Justin Martyr has καινουργεῖν for renewal by God through Jesus: δι' οὗ ὁ πατὴρ μέλλει καινουργεῖν Dial. 113.5, Clement of Alexandria καινίζειν for renewal through instruction: καινίζων εἰς σωτηρίαν τὸν κατηχούμενον ἄνθρωπον Strom. 7.52.2, and ἀνακαινώσις for the renewal of Scripture from the Old to the New Testament: τὴν ἀνακαίνωσιν τοῦ βιβλίου Strom. 6.131.5, cf. 6.134.1.

(c) Second penance as a renewal. – In accordance with the custom of applying the baptismal terminology to second penance,² Hermas uses ἀνακαινίζειν and ἀνακαίνωσις for renewal in this sense: ἀνακαινίσαι τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν Past. 72.3, cf. 91.3, ἡ ἀνακαίνωσις τῶν πνεύματων ὑμῶν ib. 16.9, but for the rest he prefers derivatives of νέος.

(d) Eschatological renewal.³ – Origen uses ἀνακαινοῦν and ἀνακαίνωσις for renewal after the world conflagration: ἀνακαινώσαι τὰ πράγματα Cels. 4.20, ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς κακίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ παντός ib. 4.21,

¹ See p. 70 ff.

² See p. 77.

³ Cf. M. SPANNEUT, *Le stoïcisme des Pères de l'Église, de Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1957, p. 350 ff.

Methodius ἀνακαινισμός in the same sense: πρὸς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἀνακαινισμόν Res. 1.47.3. Origen moreover compares resurrection with the work of the potter who like a demiurge makes a new pot when the old is broken: ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνακαινώσαι In Jer. 18.4, and in a passage which deals with the connection between the παλιγγενεσία of baptism and at the end of time he calls the resurrected: τοῖς ἑαυτοῦς ἀνακαινώσασι In Matth. 15.22.

If thus Paul's concept of baptism as a renewal is well known in early Christian writers, his neologisms ἀνακαινοῦν and ἀνακαινώσις could not find general acceptance. The nuance that the apostle wished to express was lost. The influence of his linguistic usage may, however, be seen in ἀνακαινώσις in Hermas Past. 72.3, and Clement of Alexandria Strom. 6.131.5. When Origen, on the other hand, adopts Paul's terms he does so in all meanings and almost without exception.

(2) Derivatives of νέος. – The derivatives of νέος occur in almost the same meanings as those of καινός.

(a) Baptism as a renovation. – To denote baptism as a renovation ἀνανεοῦν and ἀνανέωσις are rare. Hippolytus refers to the baptismal water as: ἀντλίαν . . ἀνανεοῦσαν τοὺς πιστεύοντας Ant. 49. Origen paraphrases ἀναγέννησις as: τὴν ἀνανεοῦσαν γέννησιν In Jo. fr. 35. Methodius uses ἀνανέωσις in a hendiadys followed by ἀνακαινισμός Symp. 3.8.

(b) Renovation in a wider sense. – In Clement of Alexandria we find the noun ἀνανέωσις in a hendiadys with ἀνάκτισις for renewal through the New Testament: τὴν ἐκ τῆς διαθήκης ἀνάκτισίν τε καὶ ἀνανέωσιν Strom. 4.149.5.

(c) Second penance as a renovation. – Hermas prefers derivatives of νέος to those of καινός in his exposition on second penance. The explanation of this can be found in his own argument. He considers the renewal of the spirit after a relapse into sin as a sort of rejuvenation. This becomes evident when he compares it with the rejuvenation for which old people hope in vain: μηκέτι ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι Past. 19.3, or with that of an old man receiving an inheritance, or of someone who is sad and receives good tidings: ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα ib. 20.2; 21.2. So it is with those who do penance: ἀνανεώσατο τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ib. 22.3, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εὐλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ib. 23.2, cf. 62.4; 91.3, and therefore do they become completely rejuvenated: ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται ib. 21.4.

(3) The use of παλιγγενεσία. – The noun παλιγγενεσία assumes the following meanings.

(a) Baptism as a restoration or rebirth. – As the solemn term it was

in Tit. 3.5 *παλιγγενεσία* has become fairly popular to denote baptism in the expression *λουτρόν παλιγγενεσίας*. This often occurs in literal and free quotations from the New Testament passage, for the first time in Theophilus of Antioch, *Autol.* 2.16. Justin Martyr may already refer to this noun with: *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πάλιν γενέσεως ἡμῶν* *Dial.* 85.7, and again when he sees in Christ the origin of a new and reborn race: *ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονε, τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* *ib.* 138.2. Irenaeus is the first to use the noun without *λουτρόν* but he adds an adjective: *υἱοὶ θεοῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τῆς πνευματικῆς γενόμενοι* *Haer. fr.Gr.* 37 (35), cf. 5.15.3, Clement of Alexandria refers to baptism with: *ἐπὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν* *Protr.* 88.2, and even coins an adjective from the noun: *τῆς παλιγγενεσίου οἰκονομίας τὴν ἐξήγησιν* *Paed.* 2.81.3.

If Justin Martyr alludes to our noun, the paraphrasing with *γένεσις* and the connection with *ἀναγενᾶν* would seem already to point to the meaning 'rebirth', but the meaning 'restoration' is more probable for Clement, as we shall see,¹ and for Hippolytus, who seems inclined to explain the word with *ἀνανεοῦν*: *ἀντλίαν δὲ φέρει (sc. ἡ ἐκκλησία) μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ὡς λουτρόν παλιγγενεσίας* (*Tit.* 3.5), *ἀνανεοῦσαν τοὺς πιστεύοντας* *Ant.* 49.

In Origen, however, *παλιγγενεσία* has become incorporated in the terminology of rebirth. That it were better for Judas never to have been born, may refer either to his rebirth or to physical birth: *εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθη, εἴτε τὴν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας γένεσιν. εἴτε καὶ τὴν κοινότεραν νοουμένην* *In Jo.* 32.17.239. The same contrast is made when Origen says that Christ at His baptism assumed the mystery of rebirth in order that the faithful should also cancel physical birth and accept second birth: *ὅτε γὰρ ἐβαπτίσαστο καὶ τὸ μυστήριον ἀνέλαβε τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, ἵνα καὶ σὺ καταργήσης τὴν προτέραν γέννησιν καὶ ἀναβῆς δευτέραν διὰ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας* *In Luc.* 28. In other texts *παλιγγενεσία* appears at least together with terms for rebirth: *διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας* (*Tit.* 3.5), *ᾧ ἐγεννήθησαν, ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη* (*1 Pet.* 2.2.) *In Matth.* 13.27, cf. 15.23, *In Jo.* 6.33.169. Methodius now seems to explain the word with *ἀναγενᾶν*: *οὐ γὰρ ἀν. ἀναγενῆσαι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ δύναιτο τῆς παλιγγενεσίας* (*Tit.* 3.5) *Symp.* 3.8. In all these texts 'rebirth' is the obvious translation, and in this meaning the word was adopted in Hermetism.²

Clement of Rome uses *παλιγγενεσία* in its profane meaning, as found in Philo,³ for the world restoration after the deluge, but he does so with an allusion to baptism, of which the flood was considered a prefiguration: *Νῶε πιστὸς εὐρεθεὶς διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν*

¹ See next page.

² See p. 105 f.

³ See p. 91.

κόσμου ἐκήρυξεν I Clem. 9.4. Origen makes the same connection between the profane and the Christian terms and thus far he too takes the noun still in the sense of 'restoration'. The dove at Christ's baptism, he says, like the dove after the deluge, announces the end of the flood and the restoration of the world: κατακλυσμοῦ λύσιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τοῦ κάτω κόσμου φαίνεται ἢ περιστερὰ δηλοῦσα ὡς ἢ ποτε In Matth. fr. 57.

(b) Second penance as a restoration. – Clement of Alexandria calls the repentance of a boy who erred after baptism α: μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης Div.Salv. 42.15, and that of a harlot: ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα οἶον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν τοῦ βίου παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζώῃς Strom. 2.147.2.¹ In the second text παλιγγενεσία occurs along with ἀναγεννᾶν but, whereas this verb more closely defines μετανοήσασα, our noun is explained by κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν τοῦ βίου, which points to the meaning of 'restoration'. In the first text it has ἀνάστασις as its counterpart, whence Clement again seems to refer to repentance as a restoration.

(c) Eschatological restoration. – Apparently as a result of the eschatological meaning attributed to παλιγγενεσία in Mt. 19.28, the noun becomes a solemn term for resurrection. It occurs in this sense in some fragments attributed to Justin Martyr: ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς . . . παλιγγενεσία Res. 6, cf. 8, 10. Of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne it is reported that their bodies were burnt and the ashes scattered in the Rhône in order to prevent their resurrection: ἀφελῆσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν Ep.Lugd. 1.63. The use of *regeneratio* in the sense of 'resurrection' in the Latin version of Irenaeus can only be the result of a too literal rendering of παλιγγενεσία: *carnis salutem negant et regenerationem eius spernunt, dicentes non eam capabilem esse incorruptibilitatis* Haer. 5.2.1.² This development is also substantiated by the rendering of the Greek noun by *resurrectio* in the old Latin versions of the Bible in Mt. 19.28. Origen is familiar with this meaning: ἐν τοῖς παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀναστάσεως ἀγαθοῖς Or. 25.3, cf. In Luc. 14. Methodius also knows it: τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν Res. 2.18.10. Origen's paraphrase with γένεσις may again point to the meaning of 'rebirth': ἡ παλιγγενεσία καινὴ τις γένεσις In Matth. 15.22.

(4) The use of κτίζειν and related terms. – The following may be remarked on the use of κτίζειν and related terms.

(a) Baptism as a re-creation. – Baptism is considered only rarely as a re-creation, but we do find now the compounds ἀνακτίζειν and ἀναπλάσσειν.

¹ See also p. 152.

² See p. 110.

Ps.-Barnabas uses derivatives of *πλάσσειν* for baptismal re-creation: ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς Ep. 6.11, δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν ib. 6.13, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα ib. 6.14. This re-creation is contrasted with first creation: ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδάμ ib. 6.9, τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν ib. 6.12. The introduction of the compound ἀναπλάσσειν with ὡς, ib. 6.11, betrays its non-technical character. Elsewhere the writer uses *κτιίζειν* as found in Paul: πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι ib. 16.8. The expression *πάλιν κτιίζειν* may be seen as a transition to the compound ἀνακτιίζειν which is used for baptismal re-creation by Clement of Alexandria: τὸν ὄντως πατέρα..τὸν ἀναγεννῶντα καὶ ἀνακτιίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν Strom. 7.93.5.

(b) Re-creation in a wider sense. – In other texts the connection with baptism is only indirect or absent. Thus Ignatius uses ἀνακτιίζειν for a re-creation of the Christian which must continue every day: ἀνακτιίσασθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν πίστει..καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ Trall. 8.1, Clement of Alexandria ἀνάκτισιν for renewal through the New Testament: ἀνάκτισίν τε καὶ ἀνανέωσιν Strom. 4.149.5, and μεταπλάσσειν for the re-creation of man by the Logos: ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεταπλάσσεται λόγῳ Paed. 3.99.2.

(5) The use of *γεννᾶν* and related terms. – In the use of *γεννᾶν* and related terms the following meanings may be distinguished.

(a) Baptismal rebirth. – The terms ἀναγεννᾶν and ἀναγέννησις rapidly became current for the concept of baptism as a rebirth. In the linguistic usage of John an indication could already be found for the spread of the compound at the end of the first century.¹ The terms are absent in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers but as a rule they had little reason to use terms other than βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα. On the other hand, the preference of the Apologists for speaking of baptism as a rebirth may be connected with the intention of giving the rite a philosophical appearance and to avoid using βαπτίζειν.² Justin Martyr in his exposition on baptism even achieves this accumulation: τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται Apol. 1.61.3. Tatian speaks of his own conversion as a rebirth: κἀγὼ..ἀναγεννηθεῖς Or. 5.3, cf. Theophilus Autol. 2.16.

The writers of the second century currently use the compound ἀναγεννᾶν. In Justin it even replaces the simple form in quotations from Jn. 3.3: ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν: Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε Apol. 1.61.4, and likewise in Irenaeus: ὁ κύριος εἶφη: Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἀναγεννηθῆ Haer. fr.Gr. 35 (33).

When, however, the contrast with physical birth is stressed the simple forms *γεννᾶν* and *γέννησις* return. Hence Justin Martyr says: τὸν

¹ See p. 141 f.

² See p. 66 f.

μὲν ἐξ αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, τὸν δὲ ἐκ πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος γεγεννημένον Dial. 135.6, cf. Irenaeus Haer. 5.1.3. Elaborating upon Jn. 3.5, Clement of Alexandria says that God has brought us forth from the womb of water: γεγέννηκεν (sc. ἡμᾶς) ἐκ μήτρας ὕδατος Strom. 4.160.2. Origen too comes to use the simple forms on the model of Jn. 3.5 and with the same effect: γεννηθῆναι... ἄνωθεν γεννηθέντι... ἄνωθεν γέννησιν... ἀνανεοῦσαν γέννησιν... θείαν γέννησιν... ταύτην τὴν γέννησιν In Jo. fr. 35, λουτροῦ... ὧ ἐγεννήθησαν In Matth. 13.27, cf. fr. 11. Again Methodius agrees with him: γεγεννημένοι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ Symp. 3.8, cf. 3.9; 8.7 ff.

The verb ἀποκυεῖν, found in Jas. 1.18 as a term for Christian rebirth, did not become widely used in this sense. It is found once in Clement: τῷ οὖν γάλακτι, τῇ κυριακῇ τροφῇ, εὐθύς μὲν ἀποκυηθέντες τιθηνούμεθα, εὐθύς δὲ ἀναγεννηθέντες τετιμήμεθα Paed. 1.45.1. Clement possibly remembered James's text, but then this verb is all that he borrowed from it. From the context it would seem that he wanted a verb to alternate with ἀναγεννᾶν. He therefore chose a synonym familiar to himself and his contemporaries, both in the literal and the figurative senses.¹ A similar usage occurs in Methodius: ἔστ' ἂν ἀποκυηθέντες ἀναγεννηθῶσιν Symp. 3.8.

In more educated circles the terms for baptism viewed as a rebirth gained great popularity. In Clement of Alexandria they are even commoner than βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα. Harnack has remarked that this concept had the advantage of also expressing the idea of paternity.² The metaphor offers, however, still more opportunities for further elaboration.

Already in 1 Pet. 1.3 rebirth is attributed to God's activity as Father and the concept is vividly expressed in early Christian writings. Clement of Alexandria calls God the Father of those being born and of those being reborn: πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τροφέως καὶ πατρὸς τῶν γεννωμένων καὶ τῶν ἀναγεννωμένων Paed. 1.41.2, cf. Irenaeus Haer. 5.1.3. Hence Clement considers rebirth to imply the adoptive sonship: ὁ πατήρ... ἀναγεννήσας εἰς υἰοθεσίαν ἡπίους Paed. 1.21.2. Tatian contrasts rebirth with the birth of the Logos from the Father: καθάπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ γεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν... οὕτω καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου μίμησιν ἀναγεννηθεὶς Or. 5.2 f., Irenaeus in like manner with the virginal birth of the Immanuel, whence he attributes the bringing about of rebirth to the Blessed Virgin: *in nouam generationem mire et ino-*

¹ The compound must perhaps be restored in a preceding passage τὴν νεολαίαν ἢν αὐτὸς ἀπεκύησεν ὁ κύριος ὡδίνι σαρκικῇ Paed. 1.42.2 Cf. EDSMAN, *art. cit.*, p. 21

² *Terminologie*, p. 108

pinata a deo, in signum autem salutis, datam, quae est ex uirgine, per fidem, regenerationem Haer. 4.33.4, and to the womb of the Blessed Virgin, purified to this end by the Son of God: *purus pure puram aperiens uulvam eam quae regenerat homines in deum, quam ipse puram fecit* ib. 4.33.11.¹ Origen concludes that the reborn are children of God and brethren of Christ: εὐλόγηται διὰ τῆς ἐν ἡμῶν ἀναγεννήσεως τὸ τῆς υἰοθεσίας πνεῦμα, ἵνα χρηματισθῆτε υἱοὶ θεοῦ (cf. Rom. 8.14 f.) ἀδελφοὶ δὲ ἡμῶν Or. 15.4. The Christians also become brothers of each other through rebirth. The idea, already contained in 1 Pet. 1.22, is developed by Clement of Alexandria: ἀδελφούς τοὺς τῶ αὐτῶ λόγῳ ἀναγεννηθέντας προσαγορεύομεν Strom. 2.41.2.

Rebirth is also ascribed to Christ or the Logos. Justin Martyr says that Christ acts through the water: τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος Dial. 138.2. Clement of Alexandria mentions the activity of the Logos in several passages: λόγος ἀφθαρσίας, ἀναγεννῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον Protr. 117.4, λόγῳ ἀναγεννηθέντας Strom. 2.41.2, δι' ὃν ἡ σάρξ τιμία ὕδατι ἀναγεννωμένη Paed. 2.118.5.

In the same manner the Holy Spirit is associated with rebirth.² He operates this effect but is not said to be given Himself, as is indicated by the dative πνεύματι and by the prepositions διὰ, ἐν, ἐκ, and κατά. We find ἐκ in Justin Martyr: ἐκ πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος γεγεννημένον Dial. 135.6. Hippolytus has διὰ when distinguishing between a remote activity of the Logos and the direct operation of the Spirit: εἰς γὰρ ὁ θεοῦ παῖς, δι' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς τυχόντες τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν Ant. 3. Quoting Jn. 3.5, Clement of Alexandria uses διὰ in place of ἐκ: αὐτίκα δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἡ ἀναγέννησις Ecl. 7.1, elsewhere the dative and ἐν: ἀναγεννήσας πνεύματι Paed. 1.21.2, ἐν πνεύματι δὲ ἀναγεννώμενον Strom. 2.58.2, Origen κατά and ἐκ: τὴν κατά πνεῦμα καὶ ἄνωθεν γένεσιν In Jo. fr. 35, γεννηθῆναι... ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου In Matth. fr. 11.

According to Methodius it is the Church which conceives and brings forth the faithful in the bath of rebirth: ὠδίνουσα καὶ ἀναγεννώσα... συλλαβοῦσαν αἰεὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν... τῶ λουτρῶ τοὺς λουομένους γεννώσαν Symp. 8.6, cf. 8.7 ff. The Didascalia says that the bishop who performs the rite brings about the rebirth, although this really destroys the idea of a birth from God: τοὺς δι' ὕδατος ὑμᾶς ἀναγεννήσαντας Const. (Didasc.) 2.33.2, cf. 2.26.4.

The secondary aspects of the rebirth concept are also developed. The

¹ Cf. P. GALTIER, *La Vierge qui nous régénère*, RSR 5, 1914, p. 136 ff.

² See p. 56 ff.

idea that the Christians are new-born children is elaborated from 1 Pet. 2.2 and Mt. 18.3, by Ps.-Barnabas: ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν Ep. 6.11, Irenaeus: ὡς παιδία νεόγωνα πνευματικῶς ἀναγεννώμενοι Haer. fr.Gr. 35 (33), and by Clement of Alexandria: ἦν γὰρ μὴ αὖθις ὡς τὰ παιδιά γέννησθε καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆτε Protr. 82.4, cf. Strom. 3.88.1, although he elsewhere interprets Mt. 18.3 in a wider sense and denies a direct connection with rebirth: οὐ τὴν ἀναγέννησιν ἐνταῦθα ἀλληγορῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν παισὶν ἀπλότητα Paed. 1.12.4.

Clement often speaks of the reborn Christians as νήπιοι Paed. 1.25.1; 1.43.3. They must be fed in order to attain full growth: ἀναγεννῆσαι δὲ ὕδατι, αὐξῆσαι δὲ πνεύματι, παιδαγωγῆσαι δὲ ῥήματι ib. 1.98.2. Milk is already mentioned in this connection in 1 Pet. 2.2. Ps.-Barnabas now refers to the Old Testament promise of the land flowing with milk and honey, Ex. 33.3, and to the ancient custom of first feeding a newly born child with a decoction of honey and only later with mother's milk, in order to support his statement that the food of the new-born Christians is milk and honey: ὅτι πρῶτος τὸ παιδίον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται Ep. 6.17. According to Clement of Alexandria the milk and honey are the Logos: ὁ ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς ἐκτρέφει τῷ ἰδίῳ γάλακτι, τῷ λόγῳ Paed. 1.49.3, τοῦ λόγου . . . ὅς ἐστιν μέλι ib. 1.51.1, and he may already have been acquainted with the supplementary baptismal rite of giving the baptized a mixture of milk and honey as mentioned by Tertullian, Cor. 3.3, and Hippolytus, Trad. 23.2.¹

(b) Christ's baptism as a rebirth. – The verb ἀναγεννᾶν as a technical term for Christian rebirth is sometimes applied to the baptism of Christ. Clement of Alexandria quotes the words ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε from Ps. 2.7 as spoken by the Father at the baptism of His Son and goes on to explain the rite as a rebirth: σήμερον ἀναγεννηθεὶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἤδη τέλειός ἐστιν Paed. 1.25.2. Origen says of Christ's baptism: τὸ μυστήριον ἀνέλαβε τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως In Luc. 28.

(c) Second penance as a rebirth. – Clement of Alexandria uses ἀναγεννᾶν and γεννᾶν for the repentance of a harlot viewed as a rebirth: ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα οἷον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα . . . παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς, τεθνηκυίας μὲν τῆς πορνῆς, εἰς βίον δὲ παρελθοῦσης αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν γεννηθείσης Strom. 2.147.2. From the addition of οἷον it would appear that the experience is only compared with a rebirth, whence the reference may be to second penance.

¹ Cf. J. SCHRIJNEN, *Milch und Honig in der altchristlichen Taufliturgie*, Collectanea Schrijnen, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1939, p. 295 ff.

2. Application to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites

Christian writers of the second and third centuries apply the terms for rebirth to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites.

(1) Paganism. – Theophilus of Antioch uses ἀναγεννᾶν as the Christian baptismal term for the waning of the moon. The moon, he says, dies in a certain sense and is reborn as evidence of future resurrection: ἀναγεννᾶται καὶ αὐξεῖ εἰς δεῦγμα τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἀναστάσεως Autol. 2.15.

Dealing with the bathing at the Apollinarian and Pelusian games Tertullian uses *regeneratio* for these rites: *idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt* Bapt. 5.1. The writer thus applies a Christian baptismal term to pagan rites and from this nothing can be deduced with regard to the terminology of pagan ablutions.¹

(2) Judaism. – Dealing with the use of the metaphor of birth for the origin of knowledge in the soul, Clement of Alexandria uses ἀναγεννᾶν for the imparting of knowledge considered among non-Greek philosophers, i.e. among the Jews and the Christians, as a begetting: καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις φιλοσόφοις τὸ κατηχῆσαι τε καὶ φωτίσαι ἀναγεννήσαι λέγεται Strom. 5.15.3. Clement refers to 1 Cor. 4.15 and now applies the term for Christian rebirth to spiritual paternity viewed under the metaphor of birth.²

(3) Gnosticism. – According to Irenaeus the Marcosians deny Christian baptism as consisting of a rebirth unto God, Haer. 1.21.1, and oppose to it their own conception of rebirth: ἵνα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν ὦσιν ἀναγεγεννημένοι ib. 1.21.2. In their view the number six contains the power of creation and rebirth: τὸν τῶν ἕξ ἀριθμὸν, δύναμιν ποιήσεως καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως ἔχοντα Haer. 1.14.6. Irenaeus may here apply his own terms to a heretical concept but they had indeed been adopted by the sects.

The Valentinian Theodotus uses them currently. He contrasts rebirth governed by the apostles with physical birth ruled by the signs of the zodiac: ὡς γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων (i.e. τῶν ζῳδίων) ἡ γένεσις διοικεῖται, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ ἀναγέννησις <ἐφ>ορᾶται Exc. 25.2, cf. 76.4; 78.2; 80.1.

The Naassene author quoted by Hippolytus also employs the

¹ For the application of the Christian term ἀναγεννᾶν to a pagan rite, see p. 114. For the reading *Pelusiis*, see p. 78 n. 1.

² See p. 127 and 138.

Christian terms for his concept of rebirth from water and the Spirit, contrasted with physical birth: θνητὴ γάρ, φησί, πᾶσα ἢ κάτω γένεσις, ἀθάνατος δὲ ἢ ἄνω γεννωμένη· γεννᾶται γὰρ ἐξ ὕδατος μόνου καὶ πνεύματος πνευματικός Ref. 5.7.40. Two nude figures in the sanctuary of the Samothracians are held to be the images of Adam and of reborn man: ἀγάλματα τοῦ ἀρχανθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ἀναγεννωμένου πνευματικοῦ ib. 5.8.10, cf. 5.8.18. The same terminology is met with in Aratus who speaks, according to Hippolytus, of rebirth as a second creation in contrast with first creation: πρώτη γάρ, φησίν, κτίσις ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν πόνοις. δευτέρα δὲ κτίσις ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ Χριστόν, δι' ἧς ἀναγεννώμεθα ib. 4.48.7, and among the Sethians: ἡμεῖς, οἱ ἀναγεννώμενοι πνευματικοὶ οὐ σαρκικοὶ ib. 5.21.6.

The Gnostics not infrequently speak of birth in a metaphorical sense without any connection with the Christian rebirth concept. The usual verb is then ἀποκυεῖν, so that the distinction is clearly marked.¹ In an exposition on the development of the aeons Irenaeus says that the female first principle brings forth the Nous: ταύτην δὲ ὑποδεξαμένην τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτο. ἀποκυῖσαι Νοῦν Haer. 1.1.1. The Valentinian Marcus is called the womb of wisdom: Μάρκος. ὧδέ πως ἀπεκύησεν ib. 1.14.1. The number six brings forth many forms: οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐξ τετραπλασιασθέντες τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύησαν μορφάς ib. 1.15.1, cf. 1.16.1 f. The ὕλη brings forth the vault of heaven: ἡ ὕλη ἅπασα ὡσπερ ὠὸν τὸν πάντα περιέχοντα σφαιροειδῆ ἀπεκύησεν οὐρανόν Clem.Hom. 6.5.1. cf. 6.4.3. This usage is also found outside Christian literature: ὁ δὲ Νοῦς, ὁ θεός, ἀρρηνόθηλος ὢν. ἀπεκύησε λόγῳ ἕτερον Νοῦν, δημιουργόν Corp. Herm. 1.9, cf. 1.16; 5.9. An echo of Jas. 1.18 may here be seen in the expression λόγῳ ἀποκυεῖν.

¹ See also p. 108, 126, and 139 f.

PART THREE

ENLIGHTENMENT

THE verb φωτίζειν and derivatives are used to refer to Christian baptism as an enlightenment. This usage is based upon that in the general language and has undergone a particular development in the Jewish milieu. Via this milieu the terms are adopted into the New Testament and early Christian literature, but attempts have also been made to establish a connection with the terminology of the mysteries. A careful examination of the course of the semantic development may serve to throw some light upon this question.

In this investigation we intend to confine ourselves to the usage of φωτίζειν and derivatives for, in fact, the concept of baptism as an enlightenment touches upon a much wider field, the considerable light symbolism found in antiquity among pagans, Jews, and Christians.¹

The verb φωτίζειν and derivatives have usually been dealt with briefly in connection with a possible borrowing by the Christians from the usage of the mysteries. A separate study dealing with these terms has recently been published by Segovia,² but the *Theologisches Wörterbuch* is not so far advanced.

¹ Cf R BULTMANN, *Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum*, *Philologus* 97, 1948, p 1 ff, S AALEN, *Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, Oslo 1951, A. J. VERMEULEN, *The Semantic Development of Gloria in early-Christian Latin*, Nijmegen 1956

² A SEGOVIA, *La iluminación bautismal en el antiguo cristianismo*, Granada 1958.

THE TERMS FOR ENLIGHTENMENT
IN PAGAN ANTIQUITY

FOR φωτίζειν and φωτισμός in pagan antiquity a distinction must be made between the profane and religious usage. (1) A brief survey will suffice for the profane meanings of the terms. (2) We shall be obliged, however, to examine in particular whether these words were also religious terms in the mysteries, or whether at least they were used in connection with the mysteries, and, if so, with what meaning. Another source for the religious use of the terms in pagan antiquity is offered by Hermetism.

1. *The profane usage*

A brief survey and a few examples taken from the lexica sufficiently illustrate the profane usage of φωτίζειν and derivatives in pagan antiquity.¹

(1) The verb φωτίζειν is employed intransitively in the earliest texts in the sense of 'to shine', 'to give light'. Aristotle speaks of a ray of light: δῆλον...διὰ τί φωτίζει Anal.Post. 1.31. Theophrastus compares the light emitted by charcoal with that of a flame: οὐ φωτίζει ὡσπερ ἡ φλόξ Ign. 30, cf. Nicander fr. 74.66 f., Philo Dec. 49.

(2) The verb is used transitively in the sense of 'to illuminate' in astronomical and other literature. It is the technical term for the illumination by the sun, moon, and other sources of light, already in Aristarchus of Samos, an astronomer of the third century B.C.: τὸ φωτιζόμενον μέρος τῆς σφαίρας p. 360 H. Plutarch contrasts φωτίζειν in this sense with ἐλλάμπειν and διαφάσκειν: φωτίζεσθαι τοῖσιν τὴν σελήνην οὐχ ὡς ὕελον ἢ κρύσταλλον ἐλλάμπει καὶ διαφάσκει τοῦ ἡλίου πιθανόν ἐστιν Mor. 929b. In the general language this usage occurs in more or less technical expositions dealing with light. Lucian wonders how people represent the illumination of Hades: "Αἰδην...ἀνήλιον οὐκ οἶδ' ἔπωας αὐτοῖς φωτίζεσθαι δοκοῦντα Luct. 2, cf. Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 3.48.4.

(3) The transitive use of the verb gave rise to a metaphorical meaning 'to bring to light', 'to make known'. This meaning is found in

¹ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v.

the general language from Polybius onwards: γράμματα ἐαλωκότα καὶ πεφωτισμένα Hist. 30.8.1, cf. 15.25.8, μαθῶν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισεν Josephus Ant. 8.143, φωνή.. φωτίζουσα τὸ νοούμενον Plutarch Mor. 902d, καὶ τινα τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐφώτισα Vettius Valens p. 271 K, and with an indirect object εὔρε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐφώτισεν Philo Byblius fr. 5. Diogenes Laertius has the word in the sense of 'to throw light upon' a text by a commentary: Σόλων Ὀμηρον ἐφώτισεν Vit. 1.57.

The noun φωτισμός can only be used as a technical term for 'illumination', 'light'. In accordance with the technical use of the verb it is frequent in astronomic and other literature for illumination by the sun and the moon: τὸν ἡλίου φωτισμόν Sextus Empiricus Math. 10.224, and in particular for the phases of the moon: περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης Philo Somn. 1.53. Proclus uses φώτισις, coined perhaps on analogy with the preceding ἔνωσις, for the 'illumination' by the sun: δίδωσι γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν τὴν ἔνωσιν, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος τὴν φώτισιν In Plat. Parm. p. 490 S. The noun φώτισμα is not found in profane literature but in the twelfth century Eustratius uses it in a profane sense for the 'phases' of the moon: τῶν διαφόρων φωτισμάτων. In Arist. Eth. Nic. p. 31 H.

2. *The religious usage*

The verb φωτίζειν and derivatives have been accounted among those terms which early Christianity would have borrowed from the mysteries. This was already suggested by Koffmane and it was later postulated by Harnack and Hatch.¹ Anrich, on the contrary, maintained that φωτισμός is nowhere to be found in the mysteries.² Wobbermin subsequently defended the borrowing theory on the grounds of various texts and it has since continued to have the support of religious historians.³ Nock and Benoit, however, have recently denied that any such borrowing took place.⁴

¹ G. KOFFMANE, *Die Gnosis nach ihrer Tendenz und Organisation*, Breslau 1881, p. 4 and 14, A. VON HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg i.B. 1886, I p. 151 n. 2, but cf. *Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt*, Leipzig 1918, p. 127 n. 2. E. HATCH, *The Influence of the Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, The Hibbert Lectures 1888, London-Edinburgh 1890, p. 295. Cf. also H. USENER, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen I Das Weihnachtsfest*, Bonn 1889, p. 127 n. 2.

² G. ANRICH, *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum*, Göttingen 1894, p. 125 f.

³ G. WOBBERMIN, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristentums durch das antike Mysterienwesen*, Berlin 1896, p. 154 ff. Cf. also W. BOUSSET, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, ²1921, p. 165, R. REITZENSTEIN, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig ³1927, p. 263 ff.

⁴ A. D. NOCK, *Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments*, Mnemosyne IV 5, 1952,

Here we must examine (1) whether the terms formed part of the vocabulary of the mysteries or whether at least they are used in connection with the mysteries, and (2) what is their origin and meaning in Hermetism. The question of a possible influence upon the linguistic usage of early Christianity is to be dealt with later.¹

(1) The mysteries. – One of the few texts which have been referred to for the use of φωτίζειν in the mysteries is Suidas s.v. φωτίζειν εἰς φῶς ἄγειν, ἐξαγγέλλειν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν παραδιδόναι φωτίζειν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀπόρρητον. The structure of the sentence is confused. Wobbermin considers the clause οἱ δὲ . . . παραδιδόναι to be the later addition of a grammarian who wished to apply the expression φωτίζειν τὸ ἀπόρρητον to a definite event, perhaps from Polybius Hist. 23.3.10. This would also have led to the addition of κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν.² The remaining φωτίζειν τὸ ἀπόρρητον would then refer to the revelation of the secret to the initiates, in later times accompanied by a glaring light, whence the verb φωτίζειν.

It is possible but not certain that τὸ ἀπόρρητον in the text of Suidas refers to the secret of one of the mysteries; the word was current in this meaning but may as well refer to any other sort of secret. Linked with τὸ ἀπόρρητον, the verb φωτίζειν has its normal metaphorical meaning which is found in the general language. It can be used in connection with κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν for the bringing to light of a secret that one is pledged not to reveal. It is thus no reason to consider these words as a later addition. If they are now connected with the mysteries, although this does not appear from the context, their most likely interpretation would be a revealing to the uninitiated of matters which should according to the prescriptions remain secret. There is again no evidence that φωτίζειν also came to be used for the revelation of the secret to the initiated but other texts can be found to support this theory. If this revelation was accompanied by a glaring light the verb would be used in both its literal and figurative senses.

Apuleius employs *illustrare* for the initiation of Lucius into the mysteries: *magni dei deumque summi parentis inuicti Osiris necdum sacris inlustratum* Met. II.27, *principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus* ib. II.28, *felici illo amictu illustrari posse* ib. II.29. The Latin *illustrare* has the same literal and figurative meanings as φωτίζειν and may

p. 203 f., A. BENOIT, *Le baptême chrétien au second siècle*, Paris 1953, p. 168 ff. Also A. SEGOVIA, *op.cit.* p. 22 ff.

¹ See p. 177.

² There is certainly no reason for the conjecture κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν proposed by E. MAASS, *Segnen, weihen, taufen*, ARW 21, 1922, p. 257 n. 1.

thus render the Greek verb as a term for the initiation either into the mysteries of Isis or in general.¹

A passage of Vettius Valens also suggests that in this period φωτίζειν was used for the revelation of the secret in the mysteries. At the end of an exposition the writer addresses himself to Marcus, for whom his book is intended, with the words: καὶ γὰρ πάρεστί σοι φύσις πόνος ἐγκράτεια, καὶ σεμνῆς γε καὶ ἱεραῶς εἰσόδου τυχὼν πεφωτισμένην τὴν μυσταγωγίαν ἐκτήσω. ἦν φυλάσσειν σε διὰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὄρκων παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς ἀναξίους ἢ ἀμυήτους μηδὲ φιλονείκως πρὸς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι· ἀμεινον γὰρ ἐστίν σε σιγῶντα ἠττᾶσθαι ἢ νικῶντα ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὰ θεῖα p. 359 K.

This passage gives an example of the manner in which the vocabulary of the mysteries was adopted in the general language. Valens represents his published learning as a secret doctrine from the mysteries; Marcus is bound under oath to keep it secret and he would rather die in silence than commit the crime of treachery. The writer uses a number of terms derived from the mysteries and we are justified in asking whether φωτίζειν can be classed among them. The passage itself offers no proof but in the light of Apuleius' expressions Valens may be considered to have chosen it as a mystery term in πεφωτισμένην τὴν μυσταγωγίαν.

It had long been common to use a number of mystery terms like μύστης, τελέτη, ἐποπτεία, and many others in the general language to impart a mysterious tone to an argument. Festugière has remarked upon this phenomenon and compiled a list of terms from the mysteries which were mostly current in philosophy.² Völker points out how strongly this fashion is manifested in Philo and Clement of Alexandria.³

In Philo one would now expect to find φωτίζειν and φωτισμός alongside other terms borrowed from the mysteries, but, although familiar with the profane literal meaning, he provides only an example of the metaphorical usage in the expression: φωτίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν Congr. 106,

¹ Cf. BOUSSET, *Kyrios Christos*, p 165 n 2, W VOLLGRAFF, *Une inscription gravée sur un vase cultuel mithriaque*, Amsterdam 1955, p 12 n 6

² A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*, Paris 21932, p 129

³ W. VÖLKER, *Der ware Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus*, Berlin 1952, p 148 A list of mystery terms occurring in Philo has been compiled by W BOUSSET, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Tübingen 31926, p 451 n 1 For the rest, the author draws different conclusions from it Cf also O. CASEL, *Zur Kultsprache des heiligen Paulus*, ALW 1, 1950, p. 1 ff DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p 157, already considered συμμύσται in Ignatius Eph. 12.2 and σφραγίζειν in Clement of Alexandria Protr. 120.1 (see p 423) to be terms from the mysteries which were current in the general language Against this view W. VOLLGRAFF, *op.cit.*, p 11

Fug. 139. This is the Jewish metaphorical meaning and Philo thus shows no preference for this word as a term from the mysteries. This does not prove that it did not yet exist as such but it appears more probable that its eventual rise in the mysteries was of a later date.

Wobbermin now wishes to go even further and assumes that the revelation of the secret in the mysteries was known as φωτισμός or φώτισμα.¹ Bousset suggests the name φωτισμός as applied to the Isis mysteries on the basis of *illustrari* in Apuleius Met. 11.27 f.² There is, however, no evidence for a use of these nouns. A metaphorical use of φωτισμός is not found in the general language and φώτισμα is only known up till now as a Christian neologism coined on analogy with βάπτισμα.³

We may conclude that it is not possible to establish with certainty whether φωτίζειν ever formed part of the vocabulary of the mysteries. The verb may, however, have been used in its profane metaphorical meaning for the imparting of the secret of the mysteries to the non-initiated and later to the initiated themselves. The expression might have been τὰ ἱερὰ, τὰ μυστήρια or τὴν μυσταγωγίαν φωτίζειν and we have thus yet another expression for this along with τὰ ἱερὰ παρέχειν, τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνειν, and τὰ μυστήρια δεικνύειν, already indicated by Lobeck: ὁ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερὰ μηδὲ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα ἀνοῖξαι Philostratus Vit.Apoll. 4.18, φαίνειν μύσταις τὰ ἱερὰ Himerius Or. 22.8.766, and Hesychius s.v. ἱεροφάντης: ὁ τὰ μυστήρια δεικνύων.⁴

(2) Hermetism. — Another religious use of φωτίζειν is found in Hermetism. Here man prays to God for spiritual enlightenment: τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν.. φώτιζε φῶς Corp.Herm. 13.19, ἐπιπεφώτισται μου ὁ νοῦς ib. 13.21, cf. 9.31. The light received is a sacred knowledge: γνῶσις ἁγία, φωτισθεὶς ἀπὸ σοῦ ib. 13.18. A desire is evinced to illuminate others with this knowledge: φωτίσω τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ γένους μου ἀδελφούς, υἱοὺς δὲ σοῦ ib. 1.32. A passage from Zosimus Panopolitanus concurs with this concept: φωτίζων τὸν ἐκάστου (MS. ἐκάστης) νοῦν Organ. 8.4.

Here we have not the usual metaphorical meaning of the verb as found in pagan antiquity. The term is used for a spiritual knowledge under the image of an enlightenment as it is found in the Epistles of

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 162 ff., with reference to passages from Clement of Alexandria, see below, p. 177.

² *Kyrios Christos*, p. 165.

³ See p. 174 f.

⁴ CHR. A LOBECK, *Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis*, Königsberg 1829, I p. 61.

Paul and later in Clement of Alexandria and Origen. There can be no reasonable doubt as to the source from which this use of the word is derived. For the Christian usage the development can be traced from the general language via the Old and New Testaments. The use in Hermetism cannot be directly explained from the general language; it is later than the New Testament and must be dependent upon it.¹

¹ Cf. J. DUPONT, *Gnosis*, Bruges-Paris 1949, p. 36 ff. The same has been remarked with regard to βαπτίζειν, see p. 19.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TERMS FOR ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN JUDAISM

IN accordance with their Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents φωτίζειν and φωτισμός obtain a somewhat differentiated use in the Septuagint. The development of the Hebrew terms must be traced further in the Qumran texts, that of the Greek in the later Bible versions.

In establishing the development of the terms we must take into account the literalism of the Bible translators and in particular their tendency to render a Hebrew term as far as possible by one Greek equivalent. The Hebrew *ʿwr* q. 'to become light', 'to be light', 'to shine', however, could not be rendered in all its senses by the same Greek verb but, when the noun *ʾor* 'light' had been translated by φῶς, in most cases φωτίζειν became the translation of the Hebrew verb. As the result of a later development it also becomes the usual rendering of *yrb* hi. 'to direct', 'to teach'. The following cases may be distinguished.

(1) The verb φωτίζειν used as the ordinary translation of *ʿwr* is intransitive or transitive as in the general language. It is used intransitively of the seven-branched candlestick: φωτιοῦσιν οἱ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι Num. 8.2, cf. Ex. 38.13, Num. 4.9, of fire: πυρὸς μὲν οὐδεμία βία κατίσχυε φωτίζειν Sap. 17.5, of the sun compared with the glory of Yahweh: ἥλιος φωτίζων Sir. 42.16, metaphorically of the paths of the just: προσπορεύονται καὶ φωτίζουσιν Prov. 4.18, of idols: οὐδὲ φωτίσουσιν ὡς σελήνη Ep. Jer. 66, of the interpretation of Yahweh's words: ἡ δὴλωσις τῶν λόγων σου φωτιεῖ Ps. 118.130, and of Yahweh Himself: φωτίζεις σὺ θαυμαστῶς Ps. 75.5, cf. Mic. 7.8. More often it is used transitively of the pillar of fire: φωτίσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδόν 2 Esd. 19.12, cf. 19.19, Ps. 104.39, of the sun and moon: φωτιεῖ σοι τὴν νύκτα Is. 60.9, cf. Dan. 4.11 LXX, metaphorically of the wisdom of man: φωτιεῖ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Eccl. 8.1, cf. Sir. 24.32, in the passive of Jerusalem: φωτίζου φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλημ Is. 60.1; of Yahweh especially it is said that He illuminates the eyes of man in order to give strength: φωτίσαι ὀφθαλμούς ἡμῶν καὶ δοῦναι ζωοποίησιν 2 Esd. 9.8, cf. Ps. 12.4, Sir. 34.17, Bar 1.12; the command of Yahweh also illuminates the eyes: φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμούς Ps. 18.9.

The later translations show the same use of the verb. In the frag-

ments preserved it occurs in a few of the places mentioned above. It is also used in some cases where the Septuagint text is missing or employs another verb, transitively of the pillar of fire: ἐφώτισε σὺν τὴν νύκτα Ex. 14.20 Aq. (not in LXX), of lightning: «ἐφώτισαν ἀστραπαὶ αὐτοῦ» Ps. 96.4 Aq.¹ (ἐφαναν LXX), of the eyes: ἐφωτίσθησαν 1 Reg. 14.27 Aq. (ἀνέβλεψαν LXX), of Yahweh: φωτίζων ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀμφοτέρων ὁ κύριος Prov. 29.13 Aq. Sm. Th. (ἐπισκοπῆν . . . ποιεῖται LXX), and intransitively: φωτίσαι αὐτῷ ἐν φωτὶ ζῶντων Job 33.30 Th. (ἐν φωτὶ αἰνῆ LXX). It thus appears that the later translators, and certainly Aquila, tended to render the Hebrew equivalent by φωτίζειν even in places where this had not yet been done by the Septuagint.

(2) In certain cases φωτίζειν with roughly the same meaning has become the translation for other Hebrew equivalents, showing that the word has gained ground. It is found for *zhr* hi. 'to shine', said of the stars: κόσμος φωτίζων ἐν ὑψίστοις κυρίου Sir. 43.9, for *r'h* ni. 'to appear', said of the rainbow: τόξον φωτίζον ἐν νεφέλαις δόξης Sir. 50.7, for *ngh* hi. 'to cause to shine': κύριε . . . φωτιεῖς τὸ σκότος μου Ps. 17.29, for *nhr* 'to beam with joy': καὶ φωτίσθητε Ps. 33.6, καὶ φωτισθήσονται Jer. 38.12 Sm. (ἤξουσιν LXX), for *pqh* 'to open the eyes', said of the blind: φωτίζει Ps. 145.8 Quint. (σοφοῖ LXX), for *nyr* 'to till for the first time' confused with *nir* 'ground tilled for the first time' and 'lamp', and from thence incorrectly: φωτίσατε ἑαυτοῖς φῶς γνώσεως Os. 10.12.

(3) On the other hand, in some cases a contrary tendency appears to inspire the translators not to render *wr* by φωτίζειν. There must notably have been some objection to translating *wr* hi. in the sense of 'to kindle' by φωτίζειν. A more correct translation is: ἀνάψετε Mal. 1.10. One also finds, however: λύχνον μου . . . φωτιεῖς Ps. 17.29.

(4) In other texts the Hebrew root is used as verb and noun for the break of day and here too some objection seems to have been felt to the translation with φωτίζειν. One does find: φωτισάτω ὑμῖν 1 Reg. 29.10, ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ διαφωτίσαι 2 Esd. 18.3, εἰς φωτισμόν (v.l. φῶς, φωτίσαι) Job 3.9, but elsewhere a clearer translation is provided by διαφάσκειν, διαφώσκειν Gen. 44.3, Jgs. 16.2; 19.6.

(5) In addition, φωτίζειν made no progress at all as the translation of the normal equivalent where it is said that God causes His face to shine: ἐπιφάναι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Num. 6.25, Ps. 30.17; 66.2; 79.4, 8, 20; 118.135, Dan. 9.17 LXX Th., 3 Macc. 2.18. This preference for ἐπιφάνειν is understandable, since φωτίζειν would merely indicate that Yahweh illuminated His face but not that light radiated from it.

¹ C. TAYLOR, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, Cambridge 1910, p. 59.

(6) On the other hand, φωτίζειν did obtain in the Septuagint a new meaning, which resembled the metaphorical use of the word in the general language, as the equivalent of *urim* in the expression for the consulting of the Urim and Thummim: ἕως ἀναστῆ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῖς φωτίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς τελείοις 2 Esd. 2.63, ἕως ἀναστῆ ὁ ἱερεὺς φωτίσων ib. 17.65. The Hebrew term, which is unexplained, was taken by the translators to be the plural of *ur* 'light', 'fire'. The expression is elsewhere translated by: τὴν δῆλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν Ex. 28.30, Lev. 8.8, τὴν κρίσιν τῶν δῆλων Num. 27.21, δῆλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ Deut. 33.8, ἐν τοῖς δῆλοις 1 Reg. 28.6, cf. 14.41.

The use of φωτίζειν in this connection imparts to the verb the new meaning of 'to bring something to light' as is also intended by the translation with δῆλωσις and δῆλος. The verb φωτίζειν hence acquires the same metaphorical meaning which it had in Hellenistic Greek from the time of Polybius and one might assume that this development did not occur independently. The supposition is supported by the fact that the translators use the verb although the Hebrew has a noun. The noun φωτισμός is indeed not found in the general language in a metaphorical sense.¹

(7) Finally φωτίζειν has, in certain passages of the Septuagint, been used as the translation of *yrh* hi. in the sense of 'to direct', 'to teach', for the instruction given to the parents of Samson: φωτισάτω (A, συμβιβασάτω B) ἡμᾶς τί ποιήσωμεν Jgs. 13.8, of the young king Joas: ἐφώτισεν αὐτὸν Ἰωδαε ὁ ἱερεὺς 4 Reg. 12.3, and of strangers who have settled in Samaria: φωτιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γῆς ib. 17.27, cf. 17.28, similarly: ἐν νόμῳ αὐτοῦ φωτίσαι Ἰσραηλ Sir. 45.17, where the Hebrew equivalent is not certain, and for Heb. *r'h* hi. 'to cause to see', 'to show': οὐκ ἂν ἐφώτισεν (A, ἔδειξεν B) ἡμᾶς πάντα ταῦτα Jgs. 13.23.

The new usage is not yet fully established in the Septuagint as appears from the large number of verbs which are employed to translate the Hebrew term. In the attempt always to render a Hebrew word by the same Greek equivalent φωτίζειν ousted the other verbs in the later versions, in Aquila certainly and, to judge from the fragments, in the other translations as well. Only Symmachus rejected the Greek word in this meaning: φωτίζειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Gen. 46.28 Aq. (συναντῆσαι LXX, δηλώσαι Sm.), φωτίσαι σε Ex. 4.12 Aq. (συμβιβάσω LXX, ὑποδείξω Sm.), ἐφώτισεν ib. 15.25 Aq. (ἔδειξεν LXX), φωτίσαι ib. 24.12 Aq. (νομοθετῆσαι LXX, ὑποδείξαι Sm.), φωτίζειν Lev. 10.11 Al. συμβιβάζειν LXX, διηγῆσασθαι Al.), φωτίσαι ib. 14.57 Al. (ἐξηγήσασθαι

¹ See p. 159.

LXX), φωτίσωσι Deut. 17.11 Aq. (εἴπωσιν LXX), φωτισάτω Jgs. 13.8 LXX (A), Th. (συμβιβασάτω LXX (B)), φωτιῶ 1 Reg. 12.23 Al. (δείξω LXX), φωτίσει Ps. 24.8 Aq. (νομοθετήσει LXX, ὑποδείξει Sm.), φωτίσον με ib. 26.11 Aq. Th. Quint. Sext. (νομοθέτησον LXX, ὑπόδειξον Sm.), ἐπιστημῶσω σε καὶ φωτίσω σε ib. 31,8 Aq. Quint (συνετιῶ καὶ συμβιβῶ LXX, συνετίσω σε καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι Sm.), φωτίσει σε ib. 44.5 Aq. (ὀδηγήσει LXX, ὑποδείξει Sm.), ὁ φωτίζων ib. 83.7 Quint. (ὁ νομοθετῶν LXX, πρῶϊμος Aq., ὁ ὑποδείκτης Sm., ὁ διδάσκων Sext.), φωτίσον με ib. 85.11 Aq. (ὀδήγησον LXX, ὑπόδειξον Sm.), φωτίσον με ib. 118.33 Aq. Th. (νομοθέτησον LXX, ὑπόδειξον Sm.), ἐφωτίζον με Prov. 4.4 Aq. (ἐδίδασκον LXX), φωτιζόντων με ib. 5.13 Aq. Sm. Th. (παιδεύοντος LXX), φωτίσει Job 12.7 Aq. (εἴπωσι LXX, δηλώσει Sm.), φωτιοῦσιν ἡμᾶς Mic. 4.2, quoted by Justin Martyr Dial. 109.2 (δείξουσιν LXX),¹ and similarly for *וַח* hi. 'to kindle' (branches), taken in the sense of 'to instruct' (a town): γυναῖκες ἐρχόμεναι φωτίζουσιν αὐτήν Is. 27.11 Aq. (ἀπὸ θεᾶς δεῦτε LXX, δηλοῦσαι αὐτήν Sm., δηλοῦσαι αὐτῇ Th.).

In explanation of this use of φωτίζειν in the sense of 'to enlighten', 'to teach', one may remark that the metaphor is an obvious one and is found in many languages. It thus seems not impossible that this metaphorical meaning originated independently from that which the verb acquired in the general language. Moreover, one striking difference can be remarked: the verb in the Septuagint does not contain the idea that something is revealed which was hitherto secret, whereas this idea is very prominent in the general language and was still noticeable in cases where the verb was used for the consulting of the Urim and Thummim. This being so, it appears possible that the verb was first employed in the latter sense and on the basis of this usage was applied to *וַח* hi.

(1) The noun φωτισμός is found in the poetical writings of the Septuagint as the equivalent of the Hebrew noun *וֹר* in its profane meaning of 'illumination', for the fire-light of the pillar of fire: ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρός Ps. 77.14, for daylight: εἰς φωτισμὸν (v.l. φῶς, φωτίσαι) μὴ ἔλθοι Job 3.9, whence metaphorically for the night: ὡς φωτισμὸς ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ μου Ps. 138.12, for Yahweh: κύριος φωτισμός μου Ps. 26.1, and for His face: ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου ib. 43.3, once also as the equivalent of *mā'or* 'luminary': εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου ib. 89.8. The Jews thus became familiar with the term. It continues to be used by the later Bible translators, once rendering *וַח* hi., said of God: φωτισμός σου Ps. 75.5 Aq. (φωτίζεις LXX, ἐπιφανής Sm., φοβερός Th.),

¹ Cf. P. KATZ, *Justin's Old Testament Quotations and the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll*, *Studia Patristica* I, Berlin 1957, p. 348.

and as the equivalent of *mā'ôr* for the light of the eyes: φωτισμός Prov. 15.30 Sm. (θεωρῶν LXX, φωστήρ Aq.).

(2) Even in texts dealing with the Urim and Thummim the noun is now used instead of the verb as being closer to the Hebrew: φωτισμούς και τὰς τελειότητας Ex. 28.30 Aq. Sm. Th., τὸς φωτισμούς και τὰς τελειώσεις Lev. 8.8 Aq. Th., τῶν φωτισμῶν Num. 27.21 Aq. Sm. Th., ἐν φωτισμοῖς 1 Reg. 28.6 Aq. (διὰ τῶν δῆλων Sm.). Thus the noun acquires a metaphorical meaning corresponding with that of the verb in the general language.

In the Qumran texts we find the root *ʾwr* applied to an illumination of the members of the community with divine knowledge: 'May He enlighten (*ʾwr*) thy heart with immortal wisdom (*škl*) and favour thee with eternal knowledge' IQS 2.3, cf. 4.2 ff., 'For from the fountain of His knowledge He has released me His light (*ʾwr*)' ib. 11.3, 'A light (*ʾwr*) has come into my heart from His wondrous mysteries' ib. 11.5, 'Thou hast illuminated (*ʾwr*) my face for Thy covenant' IQH 4.5, 'And through me Thou hast illuminated (*ʾwr*) the faces of the many and Thou hast become mighty infinitely, for Thou hast made known to me Thy wondrous mysteries' ib. 4.27 f. This is a hidden knowledge and thus the metaphorical use of *ʾwr* approaches that of φωτίζειν in the general language for the bringing to light of a secret.

It may moreover be pointed out that *yrh* hi. is used for the teaching of knowledge by God: 'Thou hast taught all knowledge' IQS 11.17 f., and from this root the 'Teacher (*mwrh*) of Righteousness' derives his name. After the development which started in the Septuagint, φωτίζειν may be supposed as its Greek equivalent, but it is difficult to find a derivative corresponding to *mwrh*, if not ὁ φωτίζων, cf. Ps. 83.7 Quint., Prov. 5.13 Aq. Sm. Th.

One might also be tempted to refer for enlightenment in Qumran to the frequent use of *škl* hi. 'to have insight'. In some translations of the Scrolls this root is rendered 'to enlighten', 'to illuminate', whence the members of the sect are termed 'the enlightened'. In actual fact, such translations introduce a metaphor of light which the Hebrew root does not convey. Accordingly the Septuagint renders by νοεῖν, συνιέναι, σύνεσις, and related terms.¹

Our examination has thus shown that in the Septuagint and the later Bible versions φωτίζειν gained unexpected popularity since it was chosen to translate *ʾwr* in nearly all its meanings. As a translation of *ʾúrîm* for the consulting of the Urim and Thummim it acquires a meta-

¹ Cf. KOSMALA, *op.cit.*, p. 117 ff.

phorical meaning similar to that found in the general language and perhaps not independent of it. At this stage it comes to be employed as a translation of *yrh hi.* in the sense of 'to teach', and becomes its usual rendering in the later versions. The noun φωτισμός, which in the general language only had a technical meaning, is used in the poetical writings of the Septuagint both literally and metaphorically. In the later versions it even occurs as the equivalent of *'urim*. In the Qumran texts the root *'wr* is used for the revelation of a hidden knowledge and a similar metaphor may arise on translating *yrh hi.* into Greek, but it is certainly absent in *skl*.

THE TERMS FOR ENLIGHTENMENT
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN the New Testament φωτίζειν and φωτισμός are mainly used in a metaphorical sense to convey the concept of the Christian belief as an enlightenment. The following meanings can be distinguished.¹

(1) In its profane literal meaning the verb occurs in a comparison: ὁ λύχνος τῆ ἀστραπῆ φωτίζει σε Lk. 11.36. The refulgent appearance of an angel enlightens the earth: ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ Apoc. 18.1, cf. 21.23; 22.5. This usage resembles that of the Old Testament, but it may also approach the profane metaphorical meaning when Paul says that at the last judgment the Lord will bring to light all that is hidden: φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους 1 Cor. 4.5.

(2) Both verb and noun are used to express Paul's concept of conversion as an enlightenment. This use is found for the first time in the second Epistle to the Corinthians: τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ 2 Cor. 4.4, ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπών· ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, δς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ib. 4.6. It recurs later: ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης δάη ὑμῖν.. πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι Eph. 1.18, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.. φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 2 Tim. 1.10.

This group of texts mentions an enlightenment which is the work of God or of Christ. It takes place at man's conversion but no explicit connection is made with baptism. Both φωτίζειν and φωτισμός are used metaphorically for the communication of a form of knowledge (εὐαγγέλιον, γνώσις, εἰδέναι). The verb has the metaphorical meaning which it obtained in the Greek Bible as the equivalent of *yrh*. The nuance of the revelation of a secret which is inherent in the profane metaphorical meaning may be present but is not explicitly indicated. Nor is it the writer's intention to use a weakened metaphor; he insists on the literal meaning of the terms by the contrast between darkness and light (σκότος, λάμπειν); his Gospel grants knowledge of the δόξα,

¹ Cf. D. DEDEN, *Le 'Mystère' paulinien*, EThL 13, 1936, p. 405 ff., J. DUPONT, *op.cit.*, p. 36 ff.

the refulgent appearance of God and of Christ. Thus far Paul's usage concurs with the use of *נור* in the Qumran texts.

The words *ἔλαμψεν..πρὸς φωτισμόν* may be considered as a paraphrase of a weakened *φωτίζειν* in the metaphorical sense. This helps to explain the introduction of *φωτισμός*. The Jewish milieu was to a certain extent familiar with the literal and metaphorical use of this noun and the metaphorical use had certainly not become weakened. In Paul the noun occurs twice in the earliest passage concerning the enlightenment and it may be merely by chance that it does not recur after this but, more probably, the noun was avoided on account of its profane technical connotation.

(3) In describing his own task Paul uses *φωτίζειν* for yet another concept of enlightenment: *φωτίσαι* (v.l. add. *πάντας*) *τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου* Eph. 3.9. This enlightenment is the work of the apostle in the propagation of the faith. This activity is not ignored in the preceding concept, 2 Cor. 4.5, 2 Tim. 1.11, but the enlightenment was considered as the work of God in man. Paul's work consists in the revelation of the secret which has remained hidden up to this time. We find the same connection with the Jewish and profane metaphorical usages.

(4) The enlightenment is also mentioned in two passages of the Epistle to the Hebrews: *τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας..καὶ παραπεσόντας* Heb. 6.4, *ἀναμιμνήσασθε τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων* ib. 10.32. The verb occurs twice in the passive as is usually the case with the baptismal terms *ἀνακαινοῦν* and *ἀναγενᾶν*: the emphasis falls on the inner process in man and not on the person who brings it about. The use of the aorist tense indicates a particular event and this cannot be repeated. The passages are thus commonly taken to refer to the enlightenment at the acceptance of faith, notably at baptism. The use of the verb without further explanation may indicate that it has already become fairly technical in this meaning.

Kosmala has rightly pointed to the connection of the expressions used here, 'being enlightened', 'tasting of the heavenly gift', and 'partaking of the Holy Spirit', with the language of Qumran.¹ In the explanation proposed by Collins this means that the author warns Christian Jews of Essenic origin in terms with which they are acquainted from their old community.² Kosmala, for the rest, proposes an

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 117 ff.

² See p. 30 and 133.

alternative solution. He refers φωτίζειν Heb. 6.4; 10.32 to the enlightenment as experienced on entry into the Essenic community. He may be right in considering ib. 6.6b as a later addition¹ but, if he denies that φωτίζειν was a technical term for Christian baptism, it is even less clear that it was used for entry into an Essenic community.² And whereas the Christian terminology rapidly developed, the Essenic was already established. If Kosmala refers ib. 10.32 to the sufferings endured on entry into the Essenic community, it is more lucid to think of the struggle and pains which followed their transition from Essenism to a Christian community.

(5) John uses at the end of the first century the verb in its Jewish metaphorical meaning for an enlightenment in a broader sense which he attributes to the Logos: τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον Jn. 1.9.

The enlightenment of man at his conversion to Christianity and the enlightenment in a broader sense are termed the work of God and of Christ. In one passage, however, baptismal enlightenment and partaking of the Spirit are mentioned together: τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου Heb. 6.4. 'Partaking of the Holy Spirit' is not a technical expression for the postbaptismal rite but, if the enlightenment in this passage refers to baptism, the writer probably adds a reference to the postbaptismal gift. The 'tasting of the heavenly gift' may then be seen as an Essenic expression for the imparting of divine knowledge, used here as a paraphrase for the effect of baptismal enlightenment.³

We have thus seen that the New Testament speaks of an enlightenment which takes place on the acceptance of the Christian belief. It is on the one hand the work of God and Christ, on the other of the preacher of the faith. To a certain extent the verb may have become a term for baptism but it remains possible to speak of an enlightenment in a wider sense unconnected with baptism. The gift of the Spirit is distinct from the baptismal enlightenment. The terms have the Jewish metaphorical meaning which can be supplemented by the profane metaphorical. This is sufficient explanation of their origin.

¹ *Op cit*, p 17 ff KOSMALA argues from the assumption that the author of the Epistle cannot deal hardly with non-converted Essenes but in the case of a relapse a severe warning, even if it deviates from the author's ordinary style, cannot be said to be very inappropriate

² See p 168

³ See p 56 ff and 168, and cf KOSMALA, *op cit*, p 118 f

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TERMS FOR ENLIGHTENMENT IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

APART from (1) the Christian usage of φωτίζειν and derivatives in the writers of the second and third centuries, we have to deal separately with (2) the applications of the terms to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites.

1. *The Christian usage*

The use of φωτίζειν and derivatives in early Christian literature shows roughly the same pattern as in the New Testament.

(1) Baptismal enlightenment. – The verb φωτίζειν is found as a technical term for baptism from the second century onwards. Ignatius of Antioch addresses the Romans as the beloved and enlightened community: ἐκκλησία ἡγαπημένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη Rom. inscr. The writer views the enlightenment as an acquired condition in which the Christian possesses the true knowledge, the faith. If one asks when this knowledge was acquired, the answer indicates baptism. This connection is not stressed but Ignatius probably presupposes the use of φωτίζειν as a technical term for baptism.

This usage is clear in Justin Martyr. He explains baptism to his pagan readers as a rebirth and an enlightenment; the candidates for baptism are called those being enlightened: ὁ φωτιζόμενος λούεται Apol. 1.61.13, cf. 1.65.1, Dial. 39.2. Elsewhere enlightenment is referred to as a condition which begins at baptism: ἡμᾶς τοὺς διὰ Ἰησοῦ πεφωτισμένους Dial. 122.1, cf. 122.3. Clement of Alexandria also refers to baptism under the aspect of enlightenment: βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα Paed. 1.26.1, cf. Strom. 5.15.3. The technical character of the word becomes apparent when he uses it in the story of a boy who after conversion is finally baptized by a presbyter: τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισε Div.Salv. 42.4. The perfect participle again refers to the condition acquired at baptism: ἐγγήγορεν ἄρα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁ πεφωτισμένος Paed. 2.79.3. Methodius uses the verb as a technical term without referring in the context to the aspect of enlightenment: οἱ φωτιζόμενοι Symp.

8.8, τῶν φωτισθέντων ib. 8.10, οἱ πεφωτισμένοι ib. 3.8, cf. Res. 1.41.2.

The noun φωτισμός is found as a term for baptism in Justin Martyr: καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός Apol. 1.61.12. Since Justin states that the bath is called 'enlightenment' his words have often been quoted as proof that the noun was already technical in this meaning in the second century. Such an argument, however, is not conclusive.

Justin may use the passive καλεῖσθαι in order to communicate technical terms: ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία Apol. 1.66.1, cf. 1.66.3. He says, however, what a thing is called in order to explain to his readers what it is and the verb εἶναι is sometimes added: ἐν καλεῖται καὶ ἔστι σῶμα Dial. 42.3. In fact, this passive καλεῖσθαι is current in a meaning which approaches that of 'to be', especially with words expressing a kinship or status, as early as Homer: οὐνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις κέκλημαι Il. 4.60 f., υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται Mt. 5.9, cf. Lk. 1.32. Hence, in order to explain what something is, one can with καλεῖσθαι use nouns which are certainly not technical. Justin says that baptism is called a φωτισμός in order to explain the meaning of the rite. For this it is sufficient that the corresponding verb is used for baptismal enlightenment. The noun is not necessarily technical although it is certainly gaining ground. It is used for baptism without further explanation by Clement of Alexandria: ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν φωτισμόν Protr. 94.2, by Origen: μετὰ τὸν φωτισμόν In Jo. 20.12.90, and Methodius: πρὸς τὴν μόρφωσιν ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ τὸν φωτισμόν Porph. 1.5. The exclusively technical use of the noun in the profane language may originally have been felt as an objection.

The noun φῶτισμα occurs for the first time in Clement of Alexandria in a consideration on baptism: καλεῖται δὲ πολλάκις τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάρισμα καὶ φῶτισμα καὶ τέλειον καὶ λουτρὸν Paed. 1.26.2. The passive καλεῖσθαι now introduces four names of baptism. Clement uses them to clarify various meanings of baptism and to this end proceeds to explain the four names separately. He has no reason to communicate to his readers the technical terms for baptism. It is therefore not surprising that terms like ἀναγέννησις or σφραγίς are missing from his list, or that baptism is called χάρισμα and τέλειον, although these terms are not used anywhere else in Clement as technical terms for baptism.¹ In fact, φῶτισμα is coined on analogy with βάπτισμα and must be considered as a Christian neologism.

¹ DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 159, supposed in τέλειον a substitute of σφραγίς. In Latin, however, *gratia* does occur as a term for baptism from Cyprian onwards; cf. A. BLAISE-H. CHIRAT, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Strasbourg 1954, s.v.

Clement uses this noun again in explaining it: φώτισμα δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται Paed. 1.26.2, and subsequently in a rather more technical manner: ἡ μὲν γνῶσις ἐν τῷ φωτίσματι ib. 1.29.3, cf. 1.30.1. The noun does not appear, however, to have been adopted in the third century nor does Clement himself use it again.¹ It may therefore be considered as his personal invention.

Another Christian neologism is νεοφώτιστος 'newly baptized'. It is found already as a technical term in the second century: Μάτουρον, νεοφώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστήν Ep.Lugd. 1.17, cf. Const. (Didasc.) 5.6.4, Methodius of Olympus Symp. 8.6.

The gift of the Spirit is not connected with the baptismal enlightenment.² Two texts, however, present a difficulty. Justin Martyr links the enlightenment and the sevenfold gift of the Spirit when he speaks of the people who are still daily converted to Christ: οἱ καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἕκαστος ὡς ἄξιοί εἰσι, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνει συνέσεως πνεῦμα, ὁ δὲ βουλής.. Dial. 39.2. One might take it that Justin is here speaking of a sevenfold gift at baptism in water, but two other explanations are possible. If the enlightenment in the name of Christ is baptism, it remains possible that the gift of the Spirit is granted by a succeeding rite. In this case the present φωτιζόμενοι may indicate that Justin considered the two rites as one whole. Another explanation is that the writer terms the granting of the Holy Spirit an enlightenment of the mind since the verb is by no means exclusively used for baptism.

This second explanation is certainly applicable in a text by Tertullian. He calls the enlightenment by the Spirit the aim of the post-baptismal imposition of hands. The artificial construction of the passage may have led to this phrasing: *sed et caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur; caro unguitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut [et] anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut [et] anima spiritu inluminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur, ut et anima de deo saginetur* Res. 8.3.

(2) Enlightenment in a wider sense. – The verb φωτίζειν continues to be used in a wider sense for enlightenment of the mind by divine knowledge. This enlightenment may be brought about by the preaching of the Gospel to the unbelievers. This is what Thecla does when she

¹ The clause *quod dicit Graecus Iotisma* Didasc. 6 22 9, must be considered an interpolation by the translator Cf R H CONNOLLY, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford 1929, p. 237 note

² See p. 56 ff

enlightens many with the word of God: πολλούς φωτίσασα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ Act.Paul.Thecl. 43. Apollonius, who was martyred in Rome in 185, hopes for the conversion of the prefect as an enlightenment of his soul: πεφωτίσθαι σου τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμούς Act.Apoll. 44, cf. Melito Hom. 41 f., Irenaeus Haer. 1.10.2, Act.Xanth. 3. Origen in particular uses the verb for an enlightenment by divine knowledge unconnected with baptism: τὸ φωτίζειν καὶ καταλάμπειν τὰ ἡγεμόνια τῶν ἀνθρώπων In Jo. 1.27.181. The Logos enlightens the prophets: φωτίζει τοὺς προφήτας τῷ φωτὶ τῆς γνώσεως ib. 2.1.10, cf. 6.13.74. Origen himself has need of such an enlightenment for his work as a writer: τοῦ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο φωτίζοντος πατρός Or. 6.2.

The noun φωτισμός is likewise found for enlightenment by divine knowledge. Clement of Alexandria compares baptismal knowledge with the light that dispels the darkness of ignorance: φωτισμός ἄρα ἡ γνῶσις ἐστίν Paed. 1.29.3, but the noun is used for any divine enlightenment: φωτισμός ἡ μαθητεία κέκληται τὰ κεκρυμμένα φανερώσασα Strom. 5.64.4, likewise in Origen: τὸν γὰρ περὶ πλείονων δογμάτων φωτισμόν In Jo. 10.9.41, cf. 6.49.245, and in Methodius: τὸν φωτισμόν τοῦ μυστηρίου Res. 1.58.6.

The enlightenment in general is considered to be the work of God, of Christ or the Logos, and in particular of the Holy Spirit. Hippolytus says: ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος φωτιζόμενοι In Dan. 4.12.1, and Origen: διὰ τοῦ φωτισμοῦ τοῦ πνεύματος In Jo. 6.43.225, cf. In Matth. 14.5, Princ. 4.2.7.

Concluding remarks. – The enlightenment by divine knowledge is an idea which interested the more educated Christians especially. The verb φωτίζειν and derivatives are therefore not to be found in the popular writings but among the more educated authors who like also to refer to baptism as a rebirth. They use φωτίζειν and φωτισμός for baptismal enlightenment and for enlightenment of the mind by divine knowledge in general. For baptismal enlightenment φῶτισμα and νεοφῶτιστος are coined as Christian neologisms. The terms are used in the Jewish metaphorical meaning for the communication of knowledge. This knowledge, however, is revealed by God and thus the meaning may approach the profane metaphorical for the revelation of a secret. This aspect, for the rest, seems rather secondary and the origin of the terms must be sought in the New Testament. The metaphor is certainly not weakened. Time and again a contrast is made with the literal use of the terms and with the terms for darkness.

2. Application to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites

As Christian terms φωτίζειν and derivatives may be applied to pagan rites, notably to an enlightenment in the mysteries, and to Jewish and heretical concepts and rites.

(1) Paganism. – To the assertion of Koffmane that φωτίζειν as a Christian term for the ‘act of initiation’ was derived from the language of the mysteries, one may reply that the Christian usage goes back to the New Testament period, whereas in the mysteries, if used at all, it is probably later than Philo.¹

In the opinion of Harnack and Hatch φωτισμός as found in Justin Martyr, Apol. 1.61.12, is a technical term for baptism which is derived from the language of the mysteries.² It seemed to us, however, that Justin’s use of the noun instead of the verb is to some extent conditioned by the phrasing of the sentence.³

It is still possible to share Wobbermin’s opinion that Clement of Alexandria uses φωτίζειν and derivatives under the influence of the mysteries or at least alludes to the use of the verb in the mysteries.⁴ Even though his use of φωτίζειν and φωτισμός does not differ essentially from that of Justin or the New Testament and the noun φώτισμα is probably his personal neologism, one may point out that Clement’s writings clearly illustrate the fashion current in his time of drawing upon the language of the mysteries which had become generally known. If Clement was familiar with the use of φωτίζειν as a term for the revelation of the secret to the initiates, this fact may be reflected in his use of the word as a current Christian term. One may then point to some texts which establish a connection between the enlightenment and the contemplation of the Divine: φώτισμα δὲ δι’ οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τουτέστιν δι’ οὗ τὸ θεῖον ὄξυωποῦμεν Paed. 1.26.2, cf. 1.28.1. It is not possible, however, to deduce with certainty from the use of ἐποπτεύειν that Clement, when using φώτισμα, has the language of the mysteries in mind.⁵

(2) Judaism. – Justin Martyr provides an example of the application of φωτίζειν to Judaism when he combats the opinion that Judaism could bring about an enlightenment of the Jewish people: εἰ νόμος εἶχε τὸ φωτίζειν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτόν Dial. 122.5, cf. 122.4;

¹ See p. 161 f.

² HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, I p. 151 n. 2, HATCH, *op.cit.*, p. 295.

³ See p. 174.

⁴ *Op.cit.*, p. 159 ff.

⁵ More clearly Clement does this in the case of σφραγίζειν; see p. 423.

123.2. Clement of Alexandria says that the Jewish people is not enlightened: οὐ πεφώτισται τὸ σκοτισμὸν Paed. 2.73.6.

(3) Gnosticism. – One might expect a frequent use of the verb in heretical writings concerning the gnosis, yet the texts are comparatively rare. With reference to Jn. 1.9 Theodotus explains the enlightenment of man in the sense that he composes himself by putting from him the passions which obscure his will: ὅτε γὰρ ἐφωτίσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τότε εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἦλθεν, τουτέστιν ἑαυτὸν ἐκόσμησεν Exc. 41.4. In an exposition of the doctrine of Basilides found in Hippolytus it is said that the light descends from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad and so to Jesus. This enlightenment is accompanied by the proclamation of the Gospel: ἐφωτίσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῆς ἐβδομάδος, καὶ εὐαγγελίσατο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ref. 7.26.5, ἔδει λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν καθ' ἡμᾶς φωτισθῆναι ib. 7.26.7. Origen quotes Heracleon, who uses the noun to refer to the work of the Logos in that which has been created by the demiurge: τὰ ὑπ' ἄλλου σπαρέντα εἰς μορφήν καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν καὶ περιγραφὴν ἰδίαν ἀγαγών In Jo. 2.21.137.

PART FOUR

IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING

IN the preceding parts we have seen time and again that in the New Testament and early Christian literature a distinction must be made between baptism and the gift of the Spirit. This gift is the effect of a separate rite which is referred to as an imposition of hands (χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι, χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις, χειροθετεῖν, χειροθεσία), as an anointing (χρίειν, χρῖσμα), and as a sealing (σφραγίς, σφραγίζειν). It is generally held that these groups of terms refer to three distinct rites, and this gives rise to many complications. By a semantic investigation we intend to show that there is but one rite, which is referred to by different names.

Another cause of confusion is the fact that the terms for sealing have not been sufficiently distinguished from those indicating related techniques, tattooing (στίζειν), and stamping, coining, or branding (χαράσσειν). We must therefore include these terms in our examination.

The term σφραγίς has given rise to various discussions. Opinions especially differ concerning the origin of this term and the question of whether it refers to baptism or to the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit.

The terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are also applied to prebaptismal rites, and in many texts it is difficult to decide whether the terms refer to a baptismal rite or to rites of reconciliation and ordination. A semantic examination may serve to clarify these problems.

There is an extensive literature dealing with the terms discussed here, but we are indebted to two authors especially. F. J. Dölger has made an investigation of σφραγίς and related terms.¹ It is our intention to arrange anew the wealth of material which he collected and this will often lead us to different conclusions. For the imposition of hands we have been able to draw upon the work of J. Coppens.² A semantic investigation, however, will establish more clearly the relationship of the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing.

¹ F. J. DÖLGER, *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihrer Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums*, Paderborn 1911. For pagan antiquity, cf. also P. PERDRIZET, *La miraculeuse histoire de Pandare et d'Échéodore, suivie de recherches sur la marque dans l'Antiquité*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 54 ff., and art. *Signum* PW II A c. 2361 ff. (WEGNER).

² J. COPPENS, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et*

CHAPTER ONE

THE TERMS FOR TOUCHING, ANOINTING, TATTOOING, BRANDING, AND SEALING IN PAGAN ANTIQUITY

THE terms discussed in this part do not all demand an equally extensive research in order to establish their meaning in pagan antiquity.

(1) The laying on of hands is a gesture of touching which Jews and Christians referred to with *χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives. Pagan antiquity was also familiar with this gesture but in Greek other expressions are used. A brief examination will therefore suffice.

(2) The use of *χρίειν* and derivatives is frequent in the profane language but presents no particular difficulties so that once again a brief mention will suffice.

The terms *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν* assume many meanings in pagan antiquity.

A seal can be set not only upon objects but also upon men and animals by means of a cord or collar. There are, in addition, other means of marking the body: a metal plate (*σύμβολον*, *tessera*) can be hung about the neck, the skin may be tattooed with ink (*στιίζειν*), branded with a hot iron (*χαράσσειν*), painted (*χρίειν*), or incised with knives (*κόπτεσθαι*, *ἐντόμιδες*).¹

All these signs may be resumed here under the name of 'physical marks'. They often consist of letters or signs indicating to whom the bearer belongs: the animal and slave to their master, the soldier to the king, the man to a tribe or a deity. In this way the Christian too bears the mark of God. The sign is a 'mark of ownership'; it renders the bearer recognizable as the property of another while he for his part may

l'Église ancienne, Wetteren-Paris 1925 The subject was dealt with previously by J. BEHM, *Die Handauslegung im Urchristentum nach Verwendung, Herkunft und Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1911, and P. GALTIER, *L'imposition des mains*, DThC VII c 1302 ff

¹ The incisions are of less importance for our study Herodotus mentions this practice among the Carians living in Egypt τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι Hist 2 61, Gregory of Nazianzus in the Phrygian cult of Cybele τὰς Φρυγῶν ἑκτομάς Or 4 adv Jul 1 70, Lucan in the cult of Mâ-Bellona quos sectis Bellona lacertis saeva mouet Phars 1 565 f, and Firmicus Maternus in that of Isis lacerant lacertos, ueterum uulnerum resecat cicatrices Err 2 3 For the Old Testament, see p 243 In the papyri οὐλίαι 'scars' and other physical marks are often mentioned as personal distinguishing signs, cf J. HASEBROEK, *Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin 1921

count upon protection from his master. This mark is not dishonouring for the bearer like other physical marks which were given as punishment, as in the case of a runaway slave.

Especially important for us are tattooing and branding. Not only are the two techniques often insufficiently distinguished but Dölger has even defended the thesis that σφραγίζειν can just as well be used for these techniques as στίζειν and χαράσσειν.¹ This has given rise to a great deal of confusion, and in the interests of clarity we shall deal briefly (3) with στίζειν and derivatives for tattooing, and (4) with χαράσσειν and derivatives for branding, before proceeding to (5) a discussion of σφραγίς and derivatives.

1. *The gesture of touching*

The biblical expression for the gesture of touching χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι is unusual in the language of pagan antiquity, whereas ἅπτεσθαι and a few related terms are extremely common in referring to this gesture. The hand, human or divine, emits by touching or even by merely being extended a power which may be auspicious or inauspicious. In general thus we are dealing here with a 'gesture of transmission'. The intention is more closely determined by the circumstances in which it is applied. Principally, however, we find it as a gesture of healing. The touching may be a passing of the hand over the sick part of the body and accompanied by the use of saliva. The right hand is used by preference, even for an inauspicious gesture. The gesture of healing is said to be performed especially by gods, physicians, rulers, wise men, and even by certain tribes. The classical texts relating to this matter have been assembled by Weinreich.² We shall confine ourselves here to mentioning a few examples, which give an idea of the terminology and the application of the gesture.

The verbs ὑπερέχειν, τείνειν, and ὀρέγειν are used for the stretching out of the hands. By this gesture Zeus and other gods protect the heroes before Troy: αἶ κ' ὕμιν ὑπέρσχη χεῖρα Κρονίων Homer II. 4.249, cf. 5.443. The hands of Artemis protect women in childbed: λεχοῖ δισάς

¹ This synonymity with στίζειν was based on Ps.Sal. 2.6, see below p. 248, that with χαράσσειν on Clement of Alexandria Exc. 86.2 (see p. 422), PBasel 2, BGU 87, 151121, PTeb. 419 (see p. 213 f.), and BGU 763 (see p. 197). For the explanation of a few exceptions, see p. 422 f. and 426.

² O. WEINRICH, *Antike Heilungswunder*, Giessen 1909, cf. also F. J. DÖLGER, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual*, Paderborn 1909, p. 134 f., BEHM, *op.cit.*, p. 102 ff., COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 24 ff., 83 ff. and 361 ff.

ὑπερέσχεσ χεῖρας Ant.Pal. 6.271. Asclepius heals by stretching out his hands: ἐπ' ἡπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἀναξ, τείνας Herodas Mim. 4.18, ὀρέγει οἱ τὴν παιώνιον χεῖρα Aelianus fr. 99.

The verb ἄπτεσθαι and related terms are used for the gesture of touching. Alcmena utters a wish while touching the heads of Heracles and Iphicles: ἀπτομένα δὲ γυνὰ κεφαλᾶς μυθήσατο παίδων Theocritus Idyll. 24.6. The gesture of touching is especially common in healing. Asclepius heals by touching the sick part of the body with his hand: ἄψα[σθ]αί οὐ τᾶι [χηρί] IG 4²(3)121.64, cf. Aeschylus Prom. 849, Solon speaks of the healing power in the hands of the physician: τὸν δὲ... ἄψάμενος χεροῖν ἀψα τίθησ' ὑγιῆ Eleg. fr. 13.62. In Philostratus, Apollonius sees how Jarbas, the wise man of the Brahmans, heals a cripple by passing his hands over his legs: αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῷ καταψῶσαι τὸν γλουτόν Vit.Ap. 3.39. Apollonius himself halts a funeral procession in Rome and brings the dead girl back to life by touching her while pronouncing some words indistinctly: προσαψάμενος αὐτῆς ib. 4.45. According to Strabo the men of the Ophiogenes in the region of the Hellespont are able to cure snake bite by touch: τοὺς ἄρρενας τοῖς ἐχεοδέκτοις ἄκος εἶναι συνεχῶς ἐφαπτομένους Geogr. 13.1.14.

The Latin equivalent *contingere* is used by Apuleius for a gesture of touching in magic, where he defends himself against the accusation of having performed magic practices with a boy: *cuius caput contingam* Apol. 1.3. Pliny uses *contactus* and *manum imponere* in his report on the Ophiogenes, and he also knows of a method of healing by means of spittle: *Ophiogenes... serpentium ictus contactu leuare solitos et manu inposita uenena extrahere corpori. Varro etiamnum esse paucos ibi, quorum salinae contra ictus serpentium medeantur* Nat.Hist. 7.2.13, cf. Tacitus Hist. 4.81.1, Persius Sat. 2.31 ff.

The gesture of touching may also be performed by the persons themselves who seek healing or deliverance. Arrian tells how Alexander's soldiers, who had thought him dead, want to touch him: οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτῆς ἀπτόμενοι Anab. 6.13.3. An inscription from the Asclepieum on the insula Tiberina in Rome uses the expression χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι for a blind man who was healed by touching the altar: θεῖναι τοὺς πέντε δακτύλους ἐπάνω τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὀφθαλμούς SIG 1173.

On the other hand touching may have an inauspicious meaning. Apollodorus uses the expression χερσὶ καταλαμβάνειν when telling how Athene punished Tiresias with blindness: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην πηρὸν ποιῆσαι Bibl. 3.6.7. Current meta-

phorical expressions with an inauspicious meaning are in Greek: χεῖρα ἐπιβάλλειν, and in Latin *manum inicere*, *manus afferre*. Euripides, however, approaches the use of χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι in this sense: οὐκ ἐπιθήσομαι κάρη κτύπημα χειρὸς ὀλοόν; Andr. 1210 f., and *manum imponere* is found in Seneca: *valentior imposuerat infirmiori manum* Ep. 90.40.

One may also inquire whether ἄπτεσθαι, χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι or related terms were used for a rite of touching as part of an initiation into the mysteries. For the literary tradition we may refer to a passage of Apuleius. Before his initiation into the mysteries Lucius is brought in by an old man who lays his hand upon his head: and will perform the rite through his own hands: '*per istas meas manus piisimis sacrorum arcanis insinueris*' et *inecta dextera, senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores aedis* Met. 11.22. Another resemblance to biblical customs may be found in the installation of Numa Pompilius. According to Livy the priest on this occasion laid his right hand upon Numa's head while pronouncing a prayer: *dextra in caput Numae imposita precatus est ita: Iupiter pater, si est fas, hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse* Ann. 1.18.8.

The gesture of touching with the hand was thus very common in antiquity, especially in healing. The usual verb is ἄπτεσθαι. The biblical expression χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι is not even found among the later authors who are acquainted with the Gospel and who, Philostratus among them, draw upon it for inspiration. On the other hand, κτύπημα χειρὸς ἐπιτιθέναι in Euripides is poetic and has an inauspicious meaning; the expression χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι from the Asclepieum in Rome is used in an accurate description of the gesture of the sick person himself. Of the derivatives ἐπίθεσις assumes several meanings recorded in Liddell-Scott, but χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις and χειροθετεῖν are not found, and χειροθεσία only once, in a fragment of the historian Artemon, for the 'application by hand' of an instrument, ap. Athen. Dipn. 14.637c. In Latin, however, *manum imponere* was not uncommon.

2. Anointing and painting

The anointing of the body was taken as a matter of course in pagan antiquity. It was notably done before and after bathing and it found application in healing. The most common verbs denoting this action are χρίειν and ἀλείφειν. It will be sufficient here to discuss briefly the meanings of these verbs and their derivatives.¹

¹ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v., H. SCHLIER, 'Ἀλείφω, ThW I p. 230 ff.

The verb χρίειν means 'to touch lightly the surface of the body', hence 'to rub' or 'anoint' with oil or ointment. It is most commonly used of the human body and then often in combination with λούειν: ὅτε δὴ μιν ἐγὼ λόεον καὶ χρῖον ἐλαίῳ Homer Od. 4.252, but it may also be used of other objects, for example for rubbing a garment with poison: πέπλον ἀρτίως ἔχριον Sophocles Trach. 674 f. In particular it can be taken to mean the application of colour, whence 'to paint', said equally of the skin and of objects: θύραι..ἀσφάλτῳ..κεχριμέναι Xenophon Cyt. 7.5.22.

Of the derived nouns χρῖσις is (1) *nomen actionis*, the 'rubbing' with oil: ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου εἰς ἱμάτιον χρῖσις Aristotle Probl. 966b35, or with paint: τὰς [χ]ρίσιος τῶν [νέων] σκαναμάτων IG 4²(1)109128. (2) It is also the substance applied, 'colouring', 'varnish': τί δ' αἰ ποικίλαι χρῖσις; Musonius Rufus fr. 19. On the other hand, χρῖμα and the later form χρῖσμα are only current in the second meaning of 'unguent', 'oil': πόθεν ἄν τις τοῦτο τὸ χρῖμα (χρῖσμα) λάβοι; Xenophon Symp. 2.4, 'coating' of a wall, 'plaster': τὸ πάχος τοῦ χρῖσματος Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 2.9. For the use of this noun as *nomen actionis* Liddell-Scott refers to a passage in Galen: οὔτε θερμαίνουσι χρῖσμασιν οὔτε τρίψει πολλῇ, καθάπερ οὔτε τοῖς λουτροῖς IO p. 892 K. The text, however, is comparatively late and the meaning 'ointment' is not incompatible with the context.

Besides χρίειν the verb ἀλείφειν is used for the anointing of the body, whence ἀλείψις the action of anointing, and ἀλειμμα anything used for anointing, 'unguent', 'oil'.

It may be assumed that the body was also anointed in the case of a ritual bath. One example is mentioned by Pausanias: αὐτὸν..ἐλαίῳ χρίουσι καὶ λούουσι δύο παῖδες Descr. 9.39.7. Similarly a corpse was washed and anointed: λούσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ Homer Il. 24.587, cf. 18.350.

We may also note here the sacral use of the Latin equivalent *unguere* by Firmicus Maternus for the anointing of the throat in the mysteries of Attis: *tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat*: θαρρεῖτε, μύσται Err. 22.1. ¹

The custom of painting the skin is known among various peoples.²

¹ Cf. G. ANRICH, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, Göttingen 1894, p. 104 and 209, DÖLGER, *Evorzismus*, p. 154 f., COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 323 f., SCHLIER, *art.cit.*, p. 231.

² Cf. DÖLGER, *Religiöser oder profaner Charakter der Stammestätowerung?* ACh 3, 1932, p. 204 ff.

Herodotus uses χρίειν where he says that some Lybians do this with red clay: τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μιλτῷ Hist. 4.191. In Latin this custom is referred to by various non-technical terms, *inficere*, *oblinere*, *notam imponere*. According to Caesar among the Britons the men paint themselves blue with woad: *omnes uero se Britanni uitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu* Bell.Gall. 5.14.2, and following Pliny the women: *plantagini . . . toto corpore oblitae* Nat.Hist. 22.2.1, cf. Tacitus Germ. 43. Later texts mention a British tribe which is named *Picti* on account of this custom. By such methods it is also possible to make signs upon the skin which may have been marks of ownership, but it is not evident that this was the purpose of skin painting among the barbarians.

Columella provides an example of the marking of animals. He advises that pigs should be given distinguishing marks with pitch: *pice liquida eandem notam scrofae et porcis imponat* Rust. 7.9.

We may conclude that χρίειν and derivatives are used for the rubbing of human and animal skin, but a distinction must be made between anointing and painting; this painting should not be confused with tattooing and branding.

3. Tattooing

The technique of tattooing consists in the application of ink with a needle under the upper layer of skin so that the mark is practically impossible to remove. The technical term in Greek is στιζειν, the mark is called στιγμα, the tattooer στιχεύς, στικτης. The texts often mention the ink μέλαν, and the needles βελόνη, ραφίς, and περόνη, so that there can be no doubt as to the technique employed, although the literature on this subject and the lexica with the exception of the new edition of Liddell-Scott do not usually distinguish between tattooing and branding.

Latin borrowed *stigma* and *stigmare* from the Greek, but in *(com)pungere* and *punctum* it possesses its own terms which accurately describe the technique. The verb *pingere* is also used and in the sense of *acu pingere*, 'to embroider with a needle' it is equally suitable to denote tattooing but it easily gives rise to confusion with the technique of painting the body. For the rest, we often find general terms like *nota*, *(in)scribere*, *inscriptus* and *litteratus*, which give no indication of the technique employed.

The verb στιζειν and derivatives have other non-technical meanings

which are found clearly resumed in Liddell-Scott. In the case of *στίζειν* itself and *στίγμα* these non-technical senses are rare, while *στιγμή* and *καταστίζειν* on the contrary are always non-technical in various meanings. The noun *στιγμή* once means the 'spot' on a bird's plumage: *ῥυπαραῖς στιγμαῖς. ποικίλος* Alexander Mundius ap. Athen. Dipn. 9.398d. The compound *καταστίζειν* always means 'to mark with spots': *καταστίκτου κυνός* Sophocles fr. 11. It is true that in Strabo some Balkan tribes which have the custom of tattooing are called *καταστικτοί* Geogr. 7.5.4, and this may be considered an exception. The word need, however, not have here the technical meaning of 'tattooed' but the writer uses the compound deliberately in order to indicate the colourful character of this decoration or perhaps to express his aversion for this custom. It is important to establish this contrast with the technical terms for tattooing, since we will find *στιγμή* and *καταστίζειν* also to indicate the gaudy and shameful character of brands.¹

An exception to the established distinction might yet be seen in Photius Lex. s.v. *στίξαι*: *τὸ ἐγκαῦσαι ἕππον*. With horses, however, the brand is often a mark of ownership as tattooing is with people. This probably led someone to say: *στίξαι ἕππον*, which may then have been intended metaphorically to denote the technique of branding.

The verb *στίζειν* and derivatives literally denote (1) various customs of tattooing among the barbarians, (2) tattooing as a punishment among the Greeks and later also among the Romans, (3) tattooing as a non-ignominious mark of ownership in the Roman Empire, and (4) as a sacral rite in certain religions, especially in that of Cybele-Attis. With the help of the data available we can thus draw a fairly accurate picture of the rise and spread of tattooing in antiquity.

(1) Tattooing among barbarian tribes. — In ancient authors we find *στίζειν* and related terms in the first place for tattooing among various barbarian tribes. In some cases the skin is richly ornamented but the marks are not considered shameful for the bearer. They originated rather as marks of ownership with a religious-magic significance. They may indicate that a man belongs to a particular tribe or deity from which he expects protection.²

The best known tattoos in antiquity were those of the Thracians. Herodotus says of them: *τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον*

¹ On these texts, see p. 199, and 202.

² Cf. PERDRIZET, *art. cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 73, H. LILLIEBJÖRN, *Über religiöse Signierung in der Antike*, Uppsala 1933, p. 12; many texts in DÖLGER, *art. cit.*, ACh 3, 1932, p. 204 ff.

ἀγεννές Hist. 5.6. For the Greeks, who considered the tattoos as marks of ignominy, those of the Thracian women are even more remarkable.¹

In this connection Dölger refers to a Latin inscription of the third century A.D. found in the neighbourhood of Philippi. It is an epitaph in which a dead boy is imagined as being in the festive retinue of Dionysus in the company of the initiates in the Elysian fields:

*Nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystides at se
florigero in prato congreg[em uti] Satyrum
sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequ[e,
qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas* CIL 3.686.17 ff.

Dölger recognizes in the *mystides* the maenads who accompany the god but he refuses to see in *signatae* a reference to their tattoos as they appear on the representations. He points out that these marks vary considerably and cannot thus be a sure sign of initiation into the mysteries of Dionysus; moreover it does not appear from any other source that these figures are connected with this cult.² For all this, however, it remains possible that the initiates mark their skin with various signs in honour of the god,³ and the late classical writer may allude to the old custom without still knowing its significance.

The custom of tattooing was widespread in the Balkans. According to Strabo it was practised by the Illyrians and Japodes, Geogr. 7.5.4, and Artemidorus mentions the tattoos of Thracians and Getae: οἱον στίζονται παρὰ Θραξίν οἱ εὐγενεῖς παῖδες καὶ παρὰ Γέταις οἱ δοῦλοι Onir. 1.8. His assumption that among the latter tribe the slaves were tattooed is, for the rest, not in accordance with the general custom of this region. In Asia Minor the Mossynoeci are tattooed according to Xenophon, Anab. 5.4.32, and so, according to Sextus Empiricus, are many Sarmatians and Egyptians, Pyrrh. 3.202, and some Ethiopians, ib. 1.148.

The Greek authors employ στίζειν and derivatives when speaking of the barbarian customs and one may assume that they accurately report the technique employed by peoples they knew well, the Thracians for example. With the Latin authors one cannot be quite so sure. Cicero rightly uses *compungere* for the tattoos of the Thracians: *compunctum notis Thraciis* Off. 2.7.25. Pliny uses *illinere* and *inscribere*

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Zur Frage der religiösen Tatowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 107 ff.

² *Art rit*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 115 f 201 f

³ Cf. the brands in the Egyptian cult of Dionysus, below p.

to distinguish between the painting of the body and tattooing: *inlinunt certe aliis (sc. herbis) aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae; maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt* Nat.Hist. 22.1.2. Pomponius Mela employs *pingere* and in order to avoid confusion he refers to the indelibility of the marks: *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt...et sic ut ablui nequeant* Chor. 2.2.10. Virgil speaks quite simply of *picti*: *pictique Agathyrsi* Aen. 4.146, cf. Georg. 2.115, correctly explained by Servius as: *stigmata habentes* In Verg.Aen. 4.146.

On the other hand the painting of the Britons, clearly described as such by Julius Caesar and Pliny,¹ is also indicated by *pingere* in Martial: *pictis...Britannis* Epigr. 14.99.1. Tertullian already speaks of the *stigmata Brittonum* Virg.Vel. 10.2, and similarly Herodian: τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις...ἔθεν οὐδὲ ἀμφιέννυνται Hist. 3.14.7, cf. Isidore Etym. 19.23.7.

(2) Tattooing as a mark of disgrace among Greeks and Romans. – The Greek writers mention the custom of tattooing obtaining among neighbouring peoples as a peculiarity which they themselves view with aversion: τοῖς δὲ Θραιξὶ κόσμος τὰς κόρας στίζεσθαι τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τιμωρία τὰ στίγματα τοῖς ἀδικέοντι Dialex. 2.13, cf. Herodotus Hist. 5.6, Sextus Empiricus Pyrrh. 3.202. These tattoos were thus considered as marks of disgrace which the Greeks themselves only applied as a punishment, especially for runaway slaves.

It is thus that from the sixth century onwards we find *στίζειν* and derivatives in a pejorative sense for a dreaded method of punishment. In a fragment from the fifth century comic writer Eupolis the threat is uttered: ἐγὼ στίξω σε βελόναισιν τρίσιν fr. 259. Herodas gives a vivid picture of this form of punishment: Κόσιν τέ μοι κέλευσον ἔλθεῖν τὸν στίκτην ἔχοντα ῥαφίδας καὶ μέλαν Mim. 5.65 f., cf. PLille 29113 ff.; 291133 ff. Aristophanes calls a runaway slave *δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος* Av. 760. As early as the sixth century B.C., however, Asius uses the technical term *στιγματίας* for the tattooed slave, fr. 1. This word has a pejorative meaning. When the tattoo is not a mark of disgrace, for example when the slave of Histiaeus brings the report to Aristagoras tattooed upon his head, Herodotus says: τὸν ἐστιγμένον Hist. 5.6. To refer to the same slave Polyaeus uses *or coins*: *στιγματοφόρος* Strat. 1.24, and Lucian employs *στιγματοφορεῖν* for the wearing of sacral tattoos by the pilgrims of Hierapolis, Syr. 59.

The Romans also tattooed their slaves, especially after they had tried to run away. In the description of Petronius the tattoos are

¹ see p. 187.

imitated in order to suggest that a crime had been committed: *sequar ego frontes notans inscriptione sollerti, ut uideamini stigmatē esse puniti* Sat. 103.2. Suetonius mentions the tattooing of free persons in a report on Caligula but in this case the tattooing entails loss of liberty: *multos honesti ordinis deformatos prius stigmatum notis ad metalla et munitiones uiarum aut ad bestias condemnauit* Calig. 27.3.

The borrowing by the Romans of the technical term *stigma* may indicate that they also adopted the technique from the Greeks, especially since branding was of old the customary punishment for slaves in Rome. Consequently, it is not always clear which of the two techniques is referred to when general terms like *nota* and (*in*)*scribere* are used. The writers may often not have bothered about the distinction. According to a *Lex Remnia* the letter K (*calumnia*) was marked on the foreheads of the *calumniatores*.¹ One justifiably assumes here a brand as being the old Roman custom. Of the texts, however, which refer to this custom, only a passage in Pliny the Younger mentions the technique and then we find a term for tattooing: *frontem nequiquam conuulnerandam praebeant punctis et notas suas rideant* Paneg. 35.3.²

The tattoo mark of slavery was inscribed principally upon the forehead or upon the entire face but might also be found upon other parts of the body, the arm, hand, or leg. It often appears that a certain text was written upon the skin. Herodas says: ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Mim. 5.79, cf. Diogenes Laertius Vit. 4.46. The text probably mentioned the nature of the misdeed as proposed by Plato: ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γραφεῖς τὴν συμφορὰν Leg. 854d. A scholium gives a text for runaway slaves: οἱ φυγάδες τῶν δούλων ἐστίζοντο τὸ μέτωπον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπεγράφοντο· κάτεχέ με· φεύγω In Aesch.Or. 2.79, cf. Cod.Theod. 9.40.2.³

(3) Tattooing as a mark of ownership in the Graeco-Roman world. – The verb *στίζειν* and related terms acquire a new meaning when, among the Greeks and Romans, they are used to indicate a mark of ownership. The texts available indicate that this usage is found sporadically in

¹ Cf. TH. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899, p. 494 f., art. *Signum* PW II A c. 2369 (WEGNER).

² DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 26 ff., is of the opinion that *inscriptus* and *litteratus* were in Latin technical terms for slaves, which would indicate that the custom of marking slaves was widespread, if not general. It appears, however, that the terms are used ironically to denote a peculiar token of disgrace. Thus Plautus uses *litteratus* with an allusion to its real meaning of 'scholar': *si hic litteratus me sinat* Cas. 401, cf. Apuleius Met. 9.12, Juvenal 14.24, Martial Epigr. 8.75.9.

³ PERDRIZET, *art.cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 82, rightly opposed the opinion that the runaway slaves were marked with a Φ (*φυγάς*) or F (*fugitivus*) since this is not supported by the texts.

Greece in the classical period but became widespread in Roman times.

According to Herodotus the Thebans, who first sent earth and water and then fought with the Greeks against the Persians, were tattooed at Xerxes' command after they had changed sides: πλεῦνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα Hist. 7.233. This must have been a shameful punishment in the eyes of the Greeks. Xerxes, however, had the Thebans inscribed with a royal mark, probably his own name, and thus his primary intention was to indicate to which side the changeable Thebans now belonged. We are therefore concerned with an eastern custom of tattooing as a means of marking property. When a storm destroys the bridges over the Hellespont, Xerxes has the water scourged and Herodotus has heard that he even caused the Hellespont to be tattooed: καὶ στιγέας . . . ἀπέπεμψε στιζοντας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον Hist. 7.35. The Greeks perhaps considered such an action only as a punishment but for the oriental it may have been a means of expressing to whom the Hellespont belonged. This conception is further evident in the action of Artemisia, wife and successor of her brother Mausollus as satrap of Caria. According to Vitruvius she caused two statues to be erected after her conquest of Rhodes, one of the city of Rhodes and another of herself, while she had the city tattooed: *Rhodorum ciuitati stigmata imponentem* Arch. 2.8.15.

These texts also show how the Greeks came in contact with such eastern ideas, which they themselves from time to time adopted in the classical period.

The words of Aeschines: ἀνδραποδώδης καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐστιγμένος αὐτόμολος Or. 2.79, are furnished by the scholiast with the commentary: ἢ ὅτι ἐστιζοντο οἱ αὐτόμολοι, ἵνα γνωρίζοντο καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἢ ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξεος Θηβαίους αὐτομολήσαντας ἔστιζεν In Aesch.Or. 2.79. Aeschinus' words may have been inspired only by Xerxes' measure against the Thebans, or the Greeks did themselves sometimes tattoo deserters, probably following the Persian example. The scholiast himself was no longer certain.

In the war of 440 the Athenians and Samians tattooed an owl and a σάμαινα, a Samian ship, upon the foreheads of their prisoners of war. Aelianus is aware that the owl was found on the foreheads of the Samians: τοὺς γε μὴν ἀλισκομένους αἰχμαλώτους Σαμίων στίζειν κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ εἶναι τὸ στίγμα γλαῦκα Var.Hist. 2.9, and this indeed appears more probable than the converse suggestion found in Plutarch: οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν Pericl. 26.4.

Plutarch elsewhere reports that the Syracusans tattooed a horse upon the foreheads of the captive Athenians after the failure of the Sicilian expedition: τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν στίζοντες ἕππον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον Nic. 29.2.¹ All these are clearly marks of ownership: the owl, ship and horse are also found upon the coins of these cities. The Greek aversion for these marks made them all the worse for the prisoners of war.

It may be that prisoners of war were tattooed on other occasions but the texts are not sufficient to justify the conclusion that this was a general custom. Plutarch adds that the tattooed Athenians were sold as slaves in Sicily. The horse, however, could only serve to indicate that they were the property of the city of Syracuse. It is thus difficult to conclude that a custom existed of tattooing slaves with a mark of ownership.

It is only much later that St. Ambrose refers to a custom of marking slaves in this manner: *characterē domini inscribuntur et servuli et nomine imperatoris signantur milites* Obit. Val. 58. The bishop says nothing of the technique applied but assumes a mark of ownership indicating the name of the master. Since no parallels have been found for this remark one must be careful in drawing conclusions from it, but it is possible that it refers to an eastern custom which had become common in the Roman Empire.²

With the military mark, also mentioned by Ambrose, we are on surer ground.³ It is a mark of ownership which contains the name of the emperor. Towards the end of the fourth century Vegetius describes it as a tattoo: *non statim punctis signorum scribendus est tiro dilectus... signatis itaque tironibus* Epit. 8.1, cf. 2.5. The Greek technical term for this military mark is found in a late text of Aëtius: στίγματα... ὅτ' εἰσι στρατευομένων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Tetr. 8.12. Certain workers in the service of the emperor, who were compared with soldiers, had to be tattooed in the same manner: *stigmatē hoc est nota publica fabricensium brachiis, ad imitationem tironum, infligatur, ut hoc modo possent saltem latitantes agnosci* Cod. Theod. 10.22.4, cf. Cod. Just. 11.43.10.

Preceding the custom of tattooing, another method of marking soldiers was practised in the Roman armies. As we shall see, it consisted of hanging a lead tessera around the neck of the recruits.⁴ The tessera

¹ Cf. P. WOLTERS, Ἐλαφόστικτος, Hermes 38, 1903, p. 265 f.

² For the use of *character*, see p. 405 ff.

³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sacramentum militiae. Das Kennmal der Soldaten, Waffenschmiede und Wasserwächter*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 268 ff., and PERDRIZET, *art.cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 124 ff.

⁴ See p. 215.

therefore probably gave way to the tattoo, which was certainly more practical, but this assumes too that tattooing had in the interval ceased to be viewed with disfavour by the Graeco-Roman world. The allusion to a soldier's identification mark in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 12.8,¹ probably refers already to the tattoo as mentioned by Vegetius. The earliest text then originates in the East and eastern influence may indeed have led to tattooing being viewed in a new light and practised by the Greeks and Romans.²

(4) Tattooing in some eastern religions, especially in the cult of Cybele-Attis. – If we look for a sacral use of *στίζειν* and derivatives it may be generally pointed out that many of the forms of tattooing already mentioned may have had, originally at least, a religious significance as the dedication to a deity. Such a usage can notably be established with regard to various cults, including the cults of Atargatis and of Cybele-Attis.

Herodotus already offers an example of *στίγμα* for sacral tattooing. By having himself tattooed with sacred marks a slave, who has fled to a temple of Heracles on one of the Nile mouths, passes into the possession of the god by whom he is now protected: ἦν . . . ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρά, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι *Hist.* 2.113.³

Elsewhere we find *στίζειν* and *στιγματῆφορεῖν*. Lucian, or Ps.-Lucian, reports that the pilgrims who visited the sanctuary of the Syria Dea Atargatis in Hierapolis had themselves tattooed so that, he says, all Syrians bear tattoos on their wrists or neck: *στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματῆφορεύουσι* *Syr.* 59.⁴ A papyrus requesting the capture of a runaway slave and dating from 156 B.C. contains the information that the slave is of Syrian origin and has two barbarian, i.e. Aramaic, letters tattooed on his right wrist: *ἔστιγμένους τὸν δεξιὸν καρπὸν γράμμασι βαρβαρικοῖς δυσὶν* UPZ 121. It is very improbable that the slave was thus tattooed after an earlier attempt to run away. The resemblance with Lucian's report is striking even though no connection between the two texts can be

¹ See p. 422.

² Cf. PERDRIZET, *art cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 127 f. The author, however, does not distinguish between tattoo and tessera, whence he thinks the new practice of tattooing to go back to the second century.

³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur*, ACh 3, 1932, p. 257 ff.

⁴ Cf. DÖLGER, *Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatskult in Hierapolis in Syrien*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 297 ff. Related archaeological materials in PERDRIZET, *art cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 118.

established. Such practices still exist later in Syria. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, speaks of them as a dedication to idols, practised by the Greeks: καὶ τινὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος μόρια βελόνας ἐκέντουν, καὶ μέλαν ἐπέβαλλον, εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν δαιμόνων In Lev. 28.

In another Asiatic religion, that of the mother goddess Cybele, the Galli probably practised tattooing in order to dedicate themselves to the goddess. Evidences of this, however, are not so clear as is generally assumed. An indirect indication is the report that Ptolemy IV Philopator covered his body with representations of the Dionysus symbol, the ivy, and was therefore called a Gallus; this according to the Etym. Magn. s.v. Γάλλος· ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος· διὰ τὸ φύλλοις κισσοῦ κατεστίχθαι, ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι. It will appear that these symbols were not tattooed but branded upon the skin.¹ Here as elsewhere the compound καταστίζειν has a non-technical meaning,² but the choice of the compound only becomes significant if it refers to the simple form for a literal tattooing among the Galli. Thus the nick-name is given in order to compare the brands with the tattoos so despised in the Greek culture.

For evidence of tattooing in the Cybele-Attis cult it is customary to refer to a passage by the Christian poet Prudentius who gives the following description of an initiation into the mysteries:

*quid, cum sacrandus accipit sfragitidas?
acus minutas ingerunt fornacibus,
his membra pergunt urere, ut igniuerint;
quamcumque partem corporis feruens nota
stigmatit, hanc sic consecratam praedicant.*

After death the marks are covered with small gold plates:

*insignis auri lammina obducit cutem,
tegitur metallo, quod perustum est ignibus* Perist. 10.1076 ff.³

The discussion which has arisen in connection with this text chiefly concerns the word *sfragitides*: we shall return to this term later.⁴ It is, to say the least, remarkable that the other terms used by Prudentius to describe the technique of marking caused no surprise. The words *acus minutas* and *stigmatit* refer to a process of tattooing but, on the other hand, the passage contains a series of terms which refer to a process of

¹ See p. 201 f.

² See p. 188.

³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Die religiöse Brandmarkung in den Kybele-Attis-Mysterien*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 66 ff.

⁴ See p. 226 n. 1 and 423.

branding: *fornacibus, urere, igniuerint, feruens nota, perustum ignibus*, and finally *tormenta inuri* ib. 10.1090. The result is that the poet speaks of a tattooing with red hot needles, making it clear that he confuses the two techniques.

It is now difficult to decide to which cult Prudentius is referring. In connection with the martyrdom of Romanus he describes the bloody rites among the pagans: the *taurobolium*, practised in the cult of Cybele and in that of Mithras, the hecatomb, the *lectisternium*, whereby flesh is offered to the gods, the mutilations of the Galli in honour of the mother goddess, and finally the passage quoted. One may therefore assume that in so far as a tattooing is spoken of, Prudentius' description goes back to the cult of Cybele-Attis. This cult, however, does not practise branding, so that this element may rather be derived from the Mithras cult.¹

4. *Stamping, coining, and branding*

The verb *χαράσσειν* 'to make pointed', 'to scratch', and derivatives indicate particularly the marking by various techniques according to the nature of the material: the carving of an inscription in stone, the coining of metal, the stamping of papyrus with ink, and the branding of human or animal skin. The mark itself is called *χάραγμα*, *χαραγμός*, *χαρακτήρ*, and *χάραξις*. Of these *χάραξις* is also the act of marking, and *χαρακτήρ* is sometimes used in the active sense for the person or instrument performing the action. Moreover, *χαράσσειν* and derivatives are used in various metaphorical meanings which are not of interest for our study.²

Some of the techniques indicated by *χαράσσειν* and derivatives are related to tattooing and sealing. This has led to confusion concerning the technique applied. We shall therefore discuss briefly (1) the use of the terms for the marking of objects by stamping and coining, (2) for the branding of animals with a mark of ownership, (3) for the branding of human beings as punishment, and (4) the sacral use of the terms for branding in certain cults.

(1) Stamping and coining. – The technique of stamping, i.e. the making of an impression with ink upon papyrus, must be distinguished from the impressing of a seal in clay or wax. In Greek the distinction is made by the use of *χαράσσειν* as contrasted with *σφραγίζειν* and *σημαί-*

¹ See p. 202 f.

² Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v.

νειν. The distinction was noted early on but modern authors continue to employ the terms inaccurately, speaking of a stamp where a seal is meant and vice versa.

Various stamps in red ink have been preserved on papyri, for example on PFreib. 10; others speak of a stamp of which no traces can be found. The stamp, like the seal, may indicate the person or authority to which it belongs. It may, moreover, in order to make the task of the writer easier, convey reports which occur repeatedly, as in the case of endorsement: τῶι πρὸς τῶι [γραφέ]ωι χαράξαντι ἀπ[ο]δοῦναι PRyl. 160a.6 f., ἀντίγρ(αφον) χαράγματος CPR 4.37, [ἀντίγρ(αφον) χ]αραγμοῦ PRyl. 160a.10.¹

The inscription accompanying a tax receipt dating from the third century A.D. presents a distinct problem: 'Ἐπειφ δευτέρα β' χωρὶς χαρακτῆρος × × × × × 'the second 2nd of the month Epeiph, without a mark' BGU 763. Preisigke assumed that the five crosses are used in place of a stamp.² Wilcken already remarked that they replace the seal as distinguished from a stamp made with red ink.³ He quotes in this connection similar documents upon which he has found seal impressions. This being so, Dölger appears justified in quoting this text in support of his theory that χαρακτήρ and σφραγίς are interchangeable.⁴ The noun in question, however, occurs nowhere else with the meaning of 'seal' but has often a wider meaning and can thus indicate signs or letters in general. It may also have this general meaning in BGU 763. Elsewhere it is used for the signs found upon a seal. Ulpian says of a signet-ring that it can be used: *dum tamen habeat χαρακτῆρα* ap. Just. Dig. 28.1.22.5, and Suidas s.v. σφραγίς: τὸ ἐπισημαῖνον διὰ χαρακτῆρων τὰ φυλαττόμενα.

In addition, χαράσσειν and derivations are technical terms for the minting of coins. We quote only: ἐν νομίσματι αὐτὸν ἐχάραξεν Aristotle fr. 528, τὸ χαραχθὲν . . . νόμισμα Polybius Hist. 10.27.13, hence: χαρακτήρ in the active sense 'die', 'stamp': ἀλαβ[αστοθήκη] . . . ἐν ἧι οἱ χαρακτῆρες IG 2².1408, χαρακτήρ and χάραγμα in the passive 'impress on a coin': ἀργύρου . . . λαμπρὸν χαρακτῆρα Euripides El. 559, τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ πλείστου τότε νομίματος Plutarch Lys. 16.4. From an artistic and technical point of view it is easy to establish a relationship between seals and

¹ Cf. WILCKEN in E. ERMAN, *Die Siegelung der Papyrusurkunden*, APF I, 1900, p. 76 n. 1, and art. *Signum*, PW II A c. 2373 f. (WEGNER).

² F. PREISIGKE, *Das σημεῖον*, Archiv für Stenographie, 56, 1905, p. 309.

³ In ERMAN, *art.cit.*, p. 75 f.

⁴ *Sphragis*, p. 21.

ancient coins. For this reason it is noteworthy that here too a sharp distinction exists in the terminology; the terms do not appear to have been interchangeable.¹

(2) The branding of animals. – Used for the marking of human and animal skin, *χαράσσειν* and derivatives refer to the technique of branding. This is clearly shown by the addition of *πῦρ* in the expressions *πυρὶ χαράσσειν*, *χαράσσειν διὰ πυρός*, *πυρὸς χάραγμα*, and also by the fact that derivatives of *καίειν*, like *ἐγκαίειν*, *καυτηριάζειν*, *ἐγκαιμα*, *καυτήρ*, *καυτήριον*, are also used. The custom of marking animals in this manner, especially horses and camels, is often mentioned.²

The contracts of sale of camels, many examples of which have been preserved on papyri, display an established formula in which the brand of the animal is referred to by *χαράσσειν*: *ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι σοι κάμηλον θήλειαν . . . κεχαραγμένην*. Sometimes *πυρὶ* is added to the verb: *πυρὶ κεχ[αραγμένην]* BGU 453.20, also PGen. 30.8. A more accurate description of the letters burnt in the animal's hide often follows. This sometimes gives occasion for the use of the nouns *χάραγμα*, *χαρακτήρ*, and *καυτήριον*: *[κ]εχ[αρα]κ[μέ]νη ἐπ[ὶ τ]ῷ μηρῷ δεξιῆς ἀρα[β]ικόν χάρ[α]γμα* BGU 453.7 f., and *κεχαραγμένην . . . ἀραβικῷ χαρακτήρι* PGen. 29.8 f. A fairly long list of brands ends with: *καὶ ἐν στήθι καυτή[ρ]ιον* BGU 469.7.

Horses too have their particular brand. For this we again find *χαράσσειν* and derivatives along with derivatives of *καίειν* and, in Latin, (*in*)*urere*: *ἐν ἰσχίοις μὲν ἵπποι πυρὸς χάραγμα' ἔχουσιν* Anacr. 27.1 f., cf. In Arist.Nub. 23. Strabo speaks of a herd of horses which are caught and branded with a wolf: *καυτηριάσαι τε τὰς ἵππους λύκον, καὶ κληθῆναι λυκοφόρους* Geogr. 5.1.9.

We find the same terminology when this custom is reported in connection with other animals. Plutarch says that among the peoples on the far side of the Euphrates sacrificial animals are allowed to wander at liberty but that they are branded with a torch, which is the sign of the goddess: *βόες ἱεραὶ . . . χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα* Luc. 24, cf. Arrian Anab. 5.3.4.

This branding of livestock is above all intended as a mark of ownership. Dölger has pointed out that the letters with which some camels are marked coincide with the first letters of their owners' names.³ It also

¹ But see Philo, below p 217.

² Numerous texts in DÖLGER, *Profane und religiöse Brandmarkung der Tiere in der heidnischen und christlichen Antike*, ACh 3, 1932, p. 25 ff.

³ *Art. cit.*, ACh 3, 1932, p. 30 f.

appears from the passage of Strabo quoted that horses which are not branded have no owner: anyone may appropriate them and brand them with his own mark, Geogr. 5.1.9. The brands may also indicate the race, whence such names as τὸν βουκέφαλον καὶ κοππατίαν Aristophanes fr. 42, cf. Virgil. Georg. 3.158, or the destination of the animal, like the τρυσίππιον Eupolis fr. 318, cf. Virgil Georg. 1.263; 3.159. Racehorses were branded with magical signs.¹

(3) Branding of people as a punishment. — Owing to the neglect of the distinction between tattooing and branding, a branding of people has been assumed when in fact they were tattooed. Such a branding is not found originally among the Greeks but it was certainly practised by the Romans. It is an indelible mark of disgrace sometimes indicating the nature of the crime.

Diodorus Siculus gives as the cause of the slave rebellions in Sicily the fact that increasing wealth led to the buying of large numbers of slaves who were very badly treated. To make matters worse they were driven like cattle from their slave barracks and assaulted with branding irons: (sc. οἰκέταις) ἐκ τῶν σωματοτροφείων ἀγεληδὸν ἀπαλαχθεῖσιν εὐθύς χαρακτηῖρα ἐπέβαλλον καὶ στιγμάς τοῖς σώμασιν Bibl. 34/5.2.1, πάντας δὲ τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις χαρακτηῖρσι κατέστιζον ib. 34/5.2.27.

The fact that these slaves were branded appears from the term χαρακτηῖρ. This method was rapid (εὐθύς) and the complicated tattooing would have been almost impracticable. The use of καταστιζειν and στιγμή may suggest this latter technique but they lack the technical meaning of στιζειν and στίγμα.² The writer merely intends to convey how the bodies of the slaves were spotted with the marks of the brands.

The comparison with a herd of cattle, even though it does not directly refer to the brands, might suggest a mark of ownership. This, however, was certainly not the case. We are concerned with a Roman custom of branding as punishment. It is for this reason that Diodorus shows his indignation and gives the custom of branding as one of the reasons for the revolt.

A similar use of the branding iron is mentioned in Roman literature. The iron is called *ferrum*, the action (*in*)*urere*. Cicero alludes to this custom when inveighing against Catalina: *quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est?* Cat. 1.6.13, cf. 1.13.32. Valerius Maximus mentions a slave who bears a brand consisting of letters:

¹ *Art.crit.*, ACh 3, 1932, p. 36 ff.

² See p. 188.

seruum uinctum inexplicabilique litterarum nota inustum Mir. 6.8.7, cf. Juvenal Sat. 14.23 f. For the rest, branding was one of the normal torments which the gladiators were obliged to endure; in their oath they had declared themselves willing to suffer this trial: *uri, uinciri, ferroque necari* Petronius Sat. 117.5, cf. Horace Sat. 2.7.58, Seneca Ep. 7.5. On account of this Roman custom we may suppose that the letter K imposed on the forehead of the calumniators was also a brand.¹

It is only comparatively late that reports from the East refer to branding of human beings. The terms are derivatives of *καίειν*. The earliest texts are not found in pagan sources. Branding with hot irons is mentioned as a torment endured by the Maccabean martyrs: τῶν υἱῶν βασιανίζομένων τροχοῖς τε καὶ καυτηρίοις 4 Macc. 15.22, cf. 6.27. St. Paul alludes to the branding of criminals: κεκαυστηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν 1 Tim. 4.2. Lucian tells how the dead are examined on their arrival in Hades; the traces of the *στίγματα* especially, but also of the *ἐγκαύματα* on their bodies bear witness to the crimes committed in this life: *σημεῖα πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκαυμάτων* Cat. 24, cf. Julian the Apostate Caes. 309c.

Lucian also proposes that Philosophy should imprint a mark upon her disciples in order to distinguish them from false philosophers: *ἐπιβαλεῖν γνώρισμα καὶ σημεῖον* Pisc. 43. The writer probably means a sort of badge attached to the clothing as a distinguishing mark,² but he goes further and wishes to punish the false philosophers with a tattoo upon the forehead or even with a brand between the eyebrows: *ἐπὶ τὸ μετώπου στίγματα ἐπιβαλέτω ἢ ἐγκαυσάτω κατὰ τὸ μεσόφρυον ὁ δὲ τύπος τοῦ καυτήρος ἔστω ἀλώπηξ ἢ πίθηκος* ib. 46. The brand was to consist of a fox or an ape and Lucian may have wished hereby to allude to the marks of ownership of horses.

A late text attributed to Gregentius mentions the branding iron, called *σημεῖον* and *σφραγίς σιδήρα*, as an instrument of punishment for a convicted thief among the Homeritans, a people living in Yemen: *σημεῖω τινί, ἤγουν σφραγίδι σιδήρα σφραγίσαντες πεπυρακτωμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου* Leg.Hom. 5. The brand may have indicated the nature of the crime.³

(4) Branding in the Egyptian cult of Dionysus and in the Mithras cult. – The terms for branding are also used in a sacral sense, for one could dedicate oneself to a deity by a brand and expect his protection, just as could be done with a tattoo. Various examples are known from

¹ See p. 191.

² See p. 216.

³ On the use of *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν*, see p. 426.

pagan antiquity but, in particular, *χάρασσειν* and derivatives are used for branding in the Egyptian cult of Dionysus and *cauteriare* (*καυτηριά-ζειν*) in the Mithras cult.

Polemon reports that the Cyclicranes, a people living near Trachis, the later Heraclea Trachinia, had a cup, *κύλιξ*, branded upon their shoulder: *Κυλικράνες δὲ λέγονται, ὅτι τοὺς ὤμους κεχαραγμένοι κύλικας ἦσαν* ap. Athen. Dipn. 11.462a, cf. Hesychius s.v. *Κυλικράνων*. It has rightly been suggested that the report is merely a folk etymological explanation of the name of the people.¹ The branding of a cup upon the shoulder is reminiscent of the manner in which race horses were marked and this may explain why a brand was assumed instead of a tattoo.

According to a late report of John Lydus the Ethiopians dedicated their children to a god, who is considered equivalent to Apollo, by a brand on the knee-pan: *καὶ Αἰθίοπες δὲ τὰς κόγχας τῶν γονάτων τῶν νέων σιδηρῶ καυστικῶ σφραγίζουσι τῶ Ἀπόλλωνι* Mens. 4.53. The author clearly refers to a brand.² We have seen, however, that according to Sextus Empiricus the Ethiopians practised tattooing and among the neighbouring Homeritans branding appeared to exist as a form of punishment.³

In the Graeco-Roman world *χάρασσειν* and derivatives are used for sacral branding in the Egyptian cult of Dionysus. The Ptolemies traced their line back to this god and promoted his cult. Remarkable details have been preserved concerning king Ptolemy IV Philopator. From various texts it appears that he was accustomed to have himself and others branded with religious symbols: the lily, the kettle-drum, and the ivy are mentioned.⁴

Following an incident in Jerusalem the king decides to take measures against the Jews at Antioch. They are obliged to be incorporated in the census lists and will lose the privileges they have acquired. Those who are registered will moreover be branded with an ivy leaf as a symbol of Dionysus: *τοὺς τε ἀπογραφομένους χάρασσεσθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμῳ Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ* 3 Macc. 2.29. In order to mitigate these measures, however, the king offers the citizenship of Antioch to those who allow themselves to be initiated into the mysteries of the god, *ib.* 2.30. The branding with the ivy leaf is thus to be distinguished from the

¹ Cf. WOLTERS, *art cit.*, p. 269

² For the use of *σφραγίζειν* see p. 426.

³ See p. 189 and 200

⁴ Cf. DOLGER, *Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tatowierung im ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 100 ff., and see below, p. 286

initiation. The remaining texts also suggest that the branding was more common than the initiation and independent of it. With reference to the same king, Plutarch mentions the custom of branding with figures in the form of a lily and a kettle-drum: τὴν Πτολεμαίου θηλύτητα καὶ θεοληψίαν καὶ ὀλολυγμοὺς καὶ κρίνων καὶ τυμπάνων ἐγχαράξεις *Mor.* 56e.¹ In any case the king covered himself with brands to such an extent that he acquired the sobriquet of Γάλλος. This according to the *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Γάλλος· ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος· διὰ τὸ φύλλοις κισσοῦ κατεστίχθαι, ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι. αἰεὶ γὰρ ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς κισσῶ ἔστεφανοῦντο. This text does not allow the conclusion that the king had himself tattooed. This would be in conflict with the other details known and is improbable in view of the distaste of the Greeks for this practice. The compound is not a technical term for tattooing. Here it is used for branding with reference to the tattoos of the Galli and thus expresses disapproval at the conduct of the Ptolemy.²

It would be interesting to know to what extent the custom of branding had spread among the population. The words κισσῶ ἔστεφανοῦντο do not fit well in the context and one would expect another verb such as καταστίζειν or even the technical χαράσσειν for a general custom of branding among the participants in the Dionysus festivals. That the custom was fairly widespread may be deduced from the indignation with which Philo still opposes some Jews who allow themselves to be branded as a token of subjection to the idols: ἔνται πρὸς δουλείαν τῶν χειροκμήτων, γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐκ ἐν χαρτιδίοις, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἔθος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καταστίζοντες αὐτὰ σιδήρῳ πεπυρωμένῳ πρὸς ἀνεξάλειπτον μονήν *Spec. Leg.* 1.58.³ Philo speaks plainly of a brand but he too expresses his aversion with the verb καταστίζειν. He does not say to which cult he alludes but the data available allow no other conclusion than that the practices concerned are still those of the Dionysus cult.

The application of a brand, but in this case expressed by derivatives of καίειν, formed part of an initiation ceremony in the Mithras cult.⁴ We can now be certain of this thanks to an inscription found in the Mithreum of Santa Prisca on the Aventine. The text occurs on the edge

¹ Concerning the meaning of τύμπανον, cf DÖLGER, *art cit.*, *ACh* 2, 1930, p. 105 f.

² See also p. 188 and 195.

³ L. COHN in his edition, V p. 15, placed ἀλλ' before ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, but DÖLGER, *art cit.*, *ACh* 2, 1930, p. 101 n. 2, rightly opposed this correction.

⁴ Cf F. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1899, I p. 319, DÖLGER, *Die Sphragis der Mithrasmysterien*, *ACh* 1, 1929, p. 88 ff., W. VOLLGRAFF, *Une inscription gravée sur un vase cultuel mithriaque*, Amsterdam 1955.

along the opening of a jar which contained the coals with which the branding iron was heated. The inscription on the edge is the dedication formula: *te cauterio. i Saturne, i, Ata[r, ē], Opi*. It has been deciphered and commented on by W. Vollgraff in a recent publication.¹

This branding ceremony may be linked with the famous words of Tertullian: *et, si adhuc memini, Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos* Praesc. 40.4.² The branding of the forehead may thus have formed part of the promotion to the grade of Miles. Gregory of Nazianzus too mentions besides the torments, βάσανοι, the mystical burnings, καύσεις, customary in the Mithras cult: τὰς ἐν Μίθρου βασάνους καὶ καύσεις ἐνδίκους τὰς μυστικάς Or. 4 adv. Jul. 1.70, and for this reason Cumont already concluded that Tertullian was referring to a brand.³

In some other texts we find branding mentioned as a ritual act without its being related to a particular cult. Lucian has Proteus mockingly assure that Peregrinus will certainly obtain priests with scourges and branding irons and a nocturnal feast with torch light: μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἦ μὴν καὶ ἱερέας αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι μαστίγων ἢ καυτηρίων ἢ τινος τοιαύτης τερατουργίας Peregr. 28. Prudentius speaks of branding (*feruens nota, in-, per-, urere*) but, as we have seen, confuses it with tattooing, Perist. 10.1076 ff.⁴ In Pelagius, Paul's words *ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua* are commented upon: *dum sibi in sacramentis eorum cauteria et combustiones infligunt* In Rom. 1.24. In a later adaptation, transmitted under the name of Primasius of Hadrumetum and now ascribed to the School of Cassiodorus, this text reads: *dum sibi characteres et ustiones infligunt in consecrationibus idolorum* In Rom. 1.24. In Jerome the superior of a monastery says to a monk who prefers freedom: *uideo, ait, te, fili, Satanae cauterio notatum* Vit. Malch. 3.

The writers are too far removed in time and place from the Egyptian Dionysus cult of the Ptolemies for their report to be connected with it. They may all, however, have been fairly familiar with Mithraism and ritual branding is not known from any other cult to which they could be referring.

From the assembled texts it may now be deduced that in Mithraism *cauteriare* (καυτηριάζειν) and other terms derived from the same root were current for the brand. This word group occurs in all texts which

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 2.

² For the reading *Mithra* and the meaning of *illic*, cf. W. VOLLGRAFF, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

³ *Op.cit.*, I p. 319. DÖLGER, however, supposed an anointing rite, *art.cit.*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 90.

⁴ See p. 195 f.

employ Greek terms, except in the adaptation of Pelagius' text. This being so, the linguistic usage forms a contrast with that in the Egyptian Dionysus cult, where *χαράσσειν* and derivatives are always used for the brand.

The shape of the brand in the Mithras cult was probably a cross. A number of Roman portraits, known as the heads of the 'Scipio' type, bear this sign upon their foreheads and are taken to be representations of members of the cult.¹

5. *The seal*

The impression of a seal in wax or clay is a special technique for which Greek commonly uses *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν*. The seal was usually attached to objects and must not be confused with the technique of stamping with ink. The seal, however, may also be attached to persons and animals, and this easily leads to confusion with tattooing and branding.

An extensive survey of the meanings of *σφραγίς* and derivatives is found in Liddell-Scott. Dölger began in his well-known monograph with an examination of the seal in pagan antiquity.² J. Diehl added a few conclusions.³ It appears to us, however, that the results are still capable of improvement.

The noun *σφραγίς* is in the literal sense both the sealing instrument and the impression made by it. The figurative use may be based on three ideas. Commonly the idea is that something is marked as with a seal but the metaphor may also be based on the idea that something is closed or confirmed as if with a seal. Moreover, various objects may be called seals, usually because the name of the seal impression has been transferred to the object sealed. On the basis of this usage we can give the following outline.

(I) The noun *σφραγίς* is the instrument used for sealing, a 'seal' or 'signet-ring'. When the seal is contained in a ring a distinction can be made between *δακτύλιος*, the ring itself, and *σφραγίς*, the sealing stone which it contains; thus Aristotle: *τὰς τῶν δακτυλίων σφραγιῶδας* Aud. 801b4. The two words, however, are frequently used without dis-

¹ Cf DÖLGER, *Die antiken Köpfe mit dem stehenden und liegenden Kreuz*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 281 ff, LILLIEBJÖRN, *op. cit.*, p. 27 and 57 ff. A relief of a Mithraic meal shows four loaves marked with this cross, cf CUMONT, *op. cit.*, I p. 175 pl. 10, LILLIEBJÖRN, *op. cit.*, p. 28 pl. 6.

² *Sphragis*, p. 1 ff.

³ J. DIEHL, *Sphragis Eine semasiologische Nachlese*, Giessen 1938.

tingtion. In particular cases σφραγίς may refer to the figure which is engraved in the stone: ἐπτά βοῶν σφραγιῖδα βραχὺς εἶχεν Ἰασπις Ant.Pal. 9.746.

The seal represents the power of its owner. A special power may sometimes be attributed to it and thus it plays a role in magic. We shall return to this subject in a separate section.

(2) The same noun also denotes the 'impression' made by a seal: τῶν σφραγιῖδων τὰς λύσεις Lucian Alex. 20. This seal was attached to all sorts of objects and also to people and animals. In some cases this has given rise to confusion; this question too will be dealt with in a separate section.

(3) A metaphorical use of the noun based on the idea of marking something as with a seal is found when certain figures are compared with the impression made by a seal. We find this metaphor applied to the whip lashes of Thoas on the back of Odysseus: σφραγίς μενεῖ Θόαντος ἐν πλευραῖς Lycophron Alex. 780, to the impression made by a tortoise turned on his back in the sand: τύπους ἰδίους καὶ σφραγιῖδας ἐναπολείπειν Plutarch Mor. 982b, cf. Hesychius s.v. σφραγίς· χελώνη, to the patches on the skin of an animal: σφραγιῖδες ἐπὶ χρωτὶ μαρμαίρουσι Oppian Cyn. 2.298 f., and to marks made upon clothes, according to Hesychius s.v. σφραγιῖδες· αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλίων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱματίων σημεῖα. It is evident that the metaphor may be weak in some cases but we are not justified in assuming that σφραγίς was current in the general meaning of 'sign'.¹

(4) In philosophy, marking as with a seal plays a role in elucidating Plato's theory of perception. It is, however, principally the explanation of his theory of ideas which leads to a use of σφραγίς and derivatives which must be dealt with separately.

(5) The idea of closing something as if with a seal is found in the metaphorical use of the terms for the seal of chastity and (6) the seal of secrecy. (7) The latter expression moreover forms part of the language of the mysteries. These meanings will be discussed separately.

(8) The meaning of our noun has been violently disputed in two ancient texts which, however, are of little importance for our research.² We probably find a metaphorical use of σφραγίς based on the idea that

¹ Cf DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 37 f

² Cf F JACOBY, *Theognis*, SAB 1931, p. 90 ff, reviewed by M POHLENZ, GGA 194, 1932, p. 417 ff, L RADERMACHER, *Nachträgliches zur σφραγίς des Kritias*, WS 50, 1932, p. 184 f, O IMMISCH, *Die Sphragis des Theognis*, RhM 82, 1933, p. 298 ff, DÖLGER, *Die Sphragis des Theognis und Timotheos*, ACh 5, 1936, p. 288 ff

something is confirmed as if with a seal. In the sixth century B.C. Theognis introduces himself at the beginning of his poem and thereby claims his work for himself with the words: Κύρνε, σοφίζομένω μὲν ἔμοι σφραγίς ἐπικείσθω τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν Eleg. 1.19 f. As he himself says, this seal is destined to protect the property of the poet from theft and deterioration. According to a current explanation this seal consists of the words which follow: Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως ib. 1.22 f.

In an elegy written to Alcibiades, Critias boasts that he is responsible for the decision leading to the former's recall from exile and adds: σφραγίς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώττης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κεῖται fr. 5. It is clear that the seal does not lie upon the tongue as does the seal of secrecy.¹ It is rather impressed with the tongue. Critias says thus that with his tongue, i.e. with his words, he has set his seal upon this event; he has confirmed it just as a decree was ratified with a seal. Critias' words show some resemblance to those of Theognis, and one may agree with Pohlenz that Critias alludes to them. He then considers himself as having brought about the event and claims the spiritual property for himself.

(g) Finally, σφραγίς came to denote various objects.

(a) Since precious stones are used for the making of seals, Aristotle may apply the noun to such stones in general: ἡ σφραγίς, ὁ καλούμενος ἀνθραξ Meteor. 4.9. Lucian uses it for ornaments with which a cither is decorated: σφραγῖσι δὲ καὶ ποικίλοις κατακεκοσμένην Ind. 8.

In other cases σφραγίς in the sense of 'seal impression' is transferred to the object sealed.

(b) Once the noun is applied to a sealed document. In the epitaph of a child it refers to the decree of fate: ἐν δ' ὥραις ὀλίγαις μοιρῶν σφραγεῖδες ἐπῆλθον Epigr.Gr. 314.11 (Smyrna, 3rd cent. B.C.). There is for the rest no evidence that the word really became technical in this sense.

(c) Medicines were sealed by the maker in order to guarantee their authenticity and, as a result, the remedies themselves were often called σφραγίς, for example in Galen: ἡ Νεαπολίτου σφραγίς, Πακκίου σφραγίς 12 p. 751 K. A famous remedy from antiquity was a tablet of Lemnian medicinal earth, Λεμνία γῆ. It was certified by the seal of the Lemnian priestess of Artemis and was therefore called σφραγίς Λεμνία Dioscorides Mat.Med. 5.97.1, Galen 12 p. 751 K.

(d) In the papyri σφραγίς is a technical term for a 'governmentally defined and numbered area of land': τῶν προκιμένων ἀρουρῶν περὶ κώμην Φιλαδελεῖαν τῆς ἑκκτῆς σφραγιδος BGU 1049.26 and

¹ See p. 219 ff.

(e) for a 'registered holding of land': τὸν [ἐ]αυτοῦ κληρ[ο]ν τὸν ὄντα ἐν τρισ<ι> σφραγῖσι PTeb. 106. It is assumed that the boundaries of the land were determined by a sealed document or by a sealed boundary stone and that the name was thence transferred to the piece of land itself.¹

(f) This typically Egyptian use of the word perhaps explains how Eratosthenes came to give it a new technical meaning. For this Alexandrian scholar σφραγίς is a 'numbered area' on a world map, Strabo Geogr. 2.1.22.

(g) In Onom. 4.66 Pollux resumes the parts of the nome for cither playing. He ascribes this classification to Terpander but it is more probable that in its elaborate form it is of later date. According to this, the part following the central section of the poem, the ὀμφαλός, and preceding the epilogue is called σφραγίς.² This section possibly had a more personal character in the sense that the poet introduces himself to his public and claims the spiritual ownership of his work. In Timotheus' poem, which is a true nome for cither playing, one does find a passage of the same tenor shortly before the end, Pers. 241 ff. We may now assume a certain development. That which is expected in this part of the nome, Theognis did at the beginning of his poem in the passage quoted above, Eleg. 1.19 f. Therefore his use of σφραγίς may have given rise to the technical name for the penultimate section of the nome for cither playing.³

The meanings of the verb σφραγίζειν concur with those of the noun. In the literal sense it normally has as object that which is sealed and only in exceptional cases that which is enclosed under seal: ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος Aeschylus Eum 828, cf. BGU 248.22 f., 249.21 f. In this sense κατασημαίνεσθαι is current.

Used metaphorically σφραγίζειν indicates that something has been marked, closed, or confirmed as with a seal. The following examples may be quoted:

(1) 'to mark' persons with wounds: σημάτωντροισιν ἐσφραγισμένοι

¹ Cf DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p 17

² Cf art *Sphragis*, PW III A c 1757 f (ALY)

³ On the papyrus dating from the fourth century B C. upon which the greater part of Timotheus' poem has been preserved, the lines 241-8 have next them a figure in red ink resembling a bird (see the edition by WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF) If the sign is connected with this part of the poem and is intended to safeguard the poet's property, it must be remarked that, perhaps for practical reasons, not a seal but a stamp is applied. It is improbable, however, that such a stamp gave rise to the name of this section

ἐφύγομεν Euripides Iph.Taur. 1372, the soul with ideas: ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ σφραγισάμενος..εἶδη Philo Opif. 172, the universe: τὸν δλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνη καὶ ἰδέα Somn. 2.45;

(2) 'to close' words with silence: λόγους σιγῇ Solon ap. Diog.Laert. Vit. 1.58, a scar: ἐσφραγισμένην ἀκριβῶς οὐλήν Galen 12 p. 215 K.; in addition Liddell-Scott quotes two passages from pagan antiquity in which this 'closing' acquires the meaning of 'to set an end' or 'limit' to: πάντα δι' ἀλλήλων ὁ πολὺς σφραγίζεται αἰὼν Archelaus ap. Antig.Caryst. Mir. 89, i.e. the death of one creature is the birth of another, 'Ρώμην.. ἀνερχομένῳ σφραγίσαι ἡελίῳ Antipater Ant.Pal. 9.297, i.e. to give Rome a limit in the East through the war against the Parthians;

(3) to 'confirm' or 'ratify' a sacrifice by oaths: ἐσφράγισαν οἴρκιοι.. θυσίην Bassus Lollius Ant.Pal. 9.236, prosperity: τὸ ἀκλινές τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίῳ..σφραγισάμενοι Philo Vit.Mos. 1.30, that which has been discussed: ταῖς ποιητικαῖς φωναῖς ὡσπερὶ σφραγίζεσθαι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενου Sextus Empiricus Math. 1.271.

It may be noted that the metaphorical use of the simple verb is poetic. In prose it is rare; Philo's usage may be due to Semitic influence. Galen uses the verb in a solemn statement and Sextus Empiricus does not forget to add ὡσπερὶ. For the rest, compounds are normally used in metaphorical senses.

Of the derivatives we mention only σφράγισμα, which is not unknown to the pagan authors in the meaning of 'seal impression': ἐπιστολήν..σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν Xenophon Hist. 1.4.3.

In addition we refer to σημαίνειν and derivatives; examples are given in Liddell-Scott. The verb commonly has general meanings like 'to show by a sign', 'to signify', but when used in the medial voice or in the passive it can also mean that a particular object has been given a sign or mark, in which case the reference is to the technique of sealing. In this way it is used as a synonym of σφραγίζεσθαι. Of the derivatives we mention κατασημαίνεσθαι med. 'to enclose something under seal', σημαντήρ 'seal', 'signet', γῆ σημαντρίς 'sealing clay', σημάντρον 'seal impression', σημαντήριον (1) 'seal impression' but also (2) 'place for coining money', 'mint', in Harpocratio s.v. ἀργυροκοπεῖον..δ νῦν σημαντήριόν τινες καλοῦσιν. Only in this last case do we find a derivative of σημαίνεσθαι used for a technique other than that of sealing. This new word, which some now use after Harpocratio, thus appears less correct. One would be more inclined to expect a derivative of χάρασσειν.

Of the other terms used to indicate the technique of sealing we mention σημειῖον, σημειοῦν, σημαίνεσθαι, and compounds: ἀντι δὲ τοῦ τὰ

σημεῖ' ἔαν τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀ παρεσημηνάμην Demosthenes Or. 42.2. This passage is explained by Harpocratio s.v. σημεῖα· οὕτω λέγουσι τὰς σφραγιδας. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φαίνιππον, and this is repeated in other lexica. Hesychius s.v. σημεῖον· τέρας. ἢ σφραγίς... σημήνασθαι· σφραγίσασθαι, cf. POxy. 1803.16 f. (fragment of a lexicon, 6th cent. A.D.) and Photius Lex. s.v. σημεῖον. One is not justified in assuming that σημεῖον and σφραγίς could also be used interchangeably in other meanings.¹

The following meanings of σφραγίς and related terms are to be dealt with especially.

(1) The sealing instrument as a symbol of power. – The instrument used in sealing plays an important role in ancient civilisations.² Countless of these objects in the form of a cylinder or a ring have been preserved from ancient times. Men and sometimes women have their seal, and so do official bodies like the temples: περὶ τῆς σφραγιδος τοῦ ἱεροῦ PHib. 72.5 f., and in Greece the state: τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγιδα Aristotle Ath.Pol. 44.1. The course of our research provides further examples illustrating the frequency with which the seal was used. In modern society a good lock or the sticking down of a letter often offers sufficient guarantee of security. In other cases the stamp and signature have replaced the seal.

The use of precious stones and the engraving meant that the seal was often a costly instrument. Through the engraved figure or inscription it may also acquire a strongly personal character by which it represents its owner and above all his power. The ruler marks his decrees with a seal: his signet-ring is the symbol of his power. When king Philip goes to war he delegates the government of Macedonia to the young Alexander who then becomes, as Plutarch expresses it: κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σφραγιδος Alex. 9.1, cf. Polybius Hist. 16.22.11.

In the Orphic literature one reads that Apollo has a seal which is a symbol of his power over the cosmos: παντὸς ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγιδα τυπῶτιν Hymn. 34.26. In a similar manner the Nomos is personified and called the righteous seal of the sea and the earth:

ἀθανατῶν καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἄγνον ἀνακτα,
οὐράνιον Νόμον, ἀστροθέτην, σφραγιδα δικαίην
πόντου τ' εἰναλίου καὶ γῆς, φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον
ἀκλινὲς ἀστασίαστον ἀεὶ τηροῦντα νόμοισιν ib. 64.1 ff.

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *art.cit.*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 199.

² Cf. R. BONNER, *The Use and Effect of Attic Seals*, Classical Philology 3, 1908, p. 399 ff.

The idea of the possession of a seal as a sign of power is also contained in the expression: κληϊδας (κατ)έχειν ib. 18.4; 25.1; 58.4. Proclus for his part says that the Pythagoreans called the vault of heaven the seal of Rhea since through it the deity transmitted her power: οἱ δὲ γε Πυθαγόρειοι τὸν μὲν πῶλον σφραγιδα τῆς Ῥέας ἀποκαλεῖν ἤξιον ὡς τῆς ζωογόνου θεότητος ἀρρητον καὶ δραστήριον δύναμιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦτο προιεμένης In Eucl. p. 90 F.¹

In this connection we may also mention rings to which a magic power was attributed. Such a ring was called a φυσικὸς δακτύλιος but not a σφραγίς. Aristophanes already knows of these rings: Dicaeus is not afraid since he carries a ring which he bought for a drachma from a certain Eudamus: φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος τὸν δακτύλιον τονδὶ παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς Plut. 883 f. The scholiast remarks that this Eudamus sells magical rings as a protection against demons, snakes and similar menaces: φυσικοὺς δακτυλίους ποιῶν πρὸς δαίμονα καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα In Arist.Plut. 883.

Among the cures in Epidaurus is the case of an epileptic; in his dream he saw the god who pressed his ring upon him' and thus he was cured: [ἐδόκει οἱ ἐπιστάς] ὁ θεὸς τῷ δακτυλίῳ πίεξαι [στόμα καὶ ῥίνας καὶ ὄτα, καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐ]γένετο IG 4².123.116 f.² Lucian too knows of such rings. He has Eucrates relate that he has seen demons times without number but is now no longer frightened of them, mainly thanks to an iron ring: δακτύλιον ὃ Ἄραψ ἔδωκε σιδήρου τοῦ ἐκ τῶν σταυρῶν πεποιημένον Philops. 17, cf. 38, Navig. 42 f. We are here concerned simply with rings without any clear indication that an instrument for sealing is referred to.

(2) The seal impression attached to objects, people, and animals. – It was the custom in antiquity to attach a seal to all manner of objects in order to close something or as a guarantee of authenticity. In this way one sealed doors, or more precisely the lock of a door, sacks of corn, ointments, measures, writing tables, letters, wills, and other objects.

There is in general no doubt as to the method employed; a seal is impressed in the sealing clay upon the object or else upon the thread with which the object is tied. Doubt has sometimes arisen or may arise concerning the technique employed, especially when σφραγίζειν

¹ The idea expressed in the Orphic Hymns and especially in Proclus shows a connection with that found in philosophy, whereby the Logos as archetype is termed the seal of the universe, see p 216 f., cf also Yahweh's seal as a token of power, below p. 246

² Cf. R. HERZOG, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus*, Leipzig 1931, p. 32.

and related terms are used for the attaching of a seal to living beings. These texts must be reviewed more closely.

To begin with, some doubt has been expressed concerning the technique applied in connection with two Delphic inscriptions which mention the granting of a *κηρύκειον*, a 'herald's wand', to persons of merit: *δεδοσθαι δὲ καὶ κηρύκειον αὐτοῖς [καὶ] ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν σφραγιδα τὴν κ(ο)ινὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων* GDI 2523.19 f., cf. 2517.16 ff. According to Wegner these texts must be taken as referring to a stamp rather than to a seal.¹ There is, however, no reason to assume that the mark in question was not a real seal. One should compare a measure by Pompey, taken to ensure that his soldiers should not misuse their daggers while on the march; according to Plutarch he had the daggers sealed and anyone who lost the seal was punished: *σφραγιδα ταῖς μαχαίραις αὐτῶν ἐπέβαλεν* Pomp. 10.14.

The control of weights and measures by standard types was well known in antiquity.² Inscriptions found on weights testify to this. Measures could be checked by attaching a seal. A law passed by Ptolemy II Philadelphus requires the use of *μέτροις...ἐξετασμένοις καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοις* PRev.Laws 25.8 ff. An Athenian decree concerning weights and measures ends with a ruling on sealing and checking: *[τοῦ]ς ἄρχοντας χρῆσθ[αι] τῶι αὐτῶι μέτρῶι κεχ[α]ραγμένῳ τῶι χαρακτῆρ[ι] πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῆι σκιά[δι, μ]ὴ πλεῖον πραττομένους τριωβόλου· χρῆσθαι δὲ κα[ὶ τ]ὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς προεσφραγισμένοις μέτρο[ι]ς, ἐὰν μὴ τις τῶ[ν] παλούντων [ἢ ὄνουμένων] σφραγιστῶι μέτρῳι χρῆται* IG 2².1013.63 ff. Here too it appears customary to attach a seal to measures. A seal impression can, however, be made in melted lead, as reported by Hippolytus: *τὸ σφραγίσαι μόλυβδον τετηκότα* Ref. 4.34.2, cf. Origen In Jo. 20.24.208, Mart. Matth. 25. In this case the technique resembles that used in the coining of metal and this may explain the use of the terms *χαρακτῆρ* and *χαρασσειν* in the inscription along with *σφραγίζειν*.

The custom of attaching a seal to people and animals by means of a cord or neck-chain is found in the ancient world in various lands and in different periods. Unfamiliarity with this custom has led to a wrong interpretation of several texts; it has even been thought that *σφραγίζειν* is now used for the technique of branding. For this reason we shall begin by quoting a late text in which this form of sealing and its purport is spoken of in detail.³

¹ Art. *Signum*, PW II A c. 2367.

² Cf. art. *Signum*, PW II A c. 2366

³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Zum zwesten Salomonschen Psalm*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 291 ff.

Saint Sira was martyred in Persia in 559. The magi send her to the king but not before they have put a seal upon her neck. According to the Acts their intention is to exclude a double possibility for fraud: the exchange of the prisoner or her release under the pretext that she has died during transportation, for it is after all impossible to deliver the seal undamaged without cutting off the head: ἐπεμψαν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· σφραγίσαντες τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς κρατοῦσαν συνήθειαν, ἵνα μήτε ἄλλην ἀντ' ἄλλης οἱ παραλαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν ἀπαγάγωσιν, μήτε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὴν προφασίσωσιν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην σφραγίδα χωρὶς τοῦ τμηθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν Act.Sirae 2.17. After she has been condemned to death her neck is sealed once again in order to prevent exchange: τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῆς πάλιν ἐσφράγισαν, μήπως τινὲς ἐτέραν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὑποβάλλωσιν ib. 3.23.¹ For this safety measure a collar made of strong material with a seal on the fastening sufficed.

The sealed neck chain was a custom well known in the East and evidence for it is found as early as Herodotus. After the conquest of Egypt Cambyses has the son of the Pharaoh Psammenitus and 2000 highly born Egyptians parade before their parents with a rope around their necks and a bit in their mouths: τοὺς τε αὐχένας κάλω δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλιωμένους Hist. 3.14. They have been condemned to death and the rope, if sealed, can now be considered as intended to prevent interchange during transport.

Xenophon supposes this practice to be known to his readers when he suggests the renting of Athenian state slaves to citizens for work in the silver mines. The slaves should only be sealed with the state seal against alienation: ἀνδράποδα δὲ σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάτρῳ Vect. 4.21.²

The same practice is found in connection with animals. The texts have given rise to various interpretations but in the light of the preceding texts the meaning seems clear.

Camels especially were given a seal as a guarantee in transport. In a papyrus dating from the year 190 A.D. camel drivers confirm the arrival of three camels and the money for their keep. They will deliver these animals at their destination but if one of them should die on the way they will return the seal and will not be held further responsible: ἐὰν δὲ πτα[ίσ]η τι ἐξ [α]ὐτῶ[ν κατὰ τῆ]ν ὁδόν, οἴσομεν ὑμ[ε]ῖν τὴν σφρ[α]γεῖδα καὶ οὐδὲν ζη[τηθῆ]σεται πρὸς[ς] ἡμᾶς PBasel 2.10 ff. The return of the

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Maii* 4 p. 179, 181.

² Cf. BONNER, *art.cit.*, p. 402.

undamaged seal on the collar is evidence that the animal died.¹ As a special mark of guarantee in transport this seal must be distinguished from the brand which was used to indicate to whom an animal belonged.²

In 144 A.D. Taouetis of Soknopaiou Nesos sells two camels which bear a seal on their right thigh with the letters N and H: κ[αμ]ήλους θηλείας δύο έσφραγισμένας ε[ί]ς τὸ[ν δεξιὸν] μηρὸν νῦ και ἤτα BGU 87.12 f. Taouetis herself repeats these words, ib. 87.26 ff. A papyrus dating from 155/6 A.D. mentions the registration of five camels bearing a seal, the property of this same Taouetis: κα[μήλους] τελείους πέντε σφραγιστούς ib. 86g. The difficulty is that there is no question here of a transport. The first text speaks of a seal on the thigh whereas according to other similar contracts of sale it appeared customary to brand animals on this spot with a mark of ownership. In such circumstances it is very tempting to think of Taouetis' mark as a brand. Dölger finds here evidence that σφραγίζειν is interchangeable with χαράσσειν in the meaning of 'to brand'.³ At the most we might consider this as an exception to normal linguistic usage. The different wording in the contract of sale is, however, so striking that it cannot be accidental. We must thus assume that this woman marks her animals with a seal, possibly attached by a cord, on the place where the brand was usually placed. Branding may have struck her as being too painful an operation altogether.⁴

Other papyri mention the attaching of a seal to an ass. In the decree of a viceroy it is stated that every ass driver must keep three asses which must be provided with a seal by the governor: σφραγιῖδαν ἐπιβάλλ[λ]ιν ἐκάστῳ ὄνῳ ib. 15iii21 f. Preisigke supposed that this referred to a brand while Deissmann read ὄνος as 'ass's burden' and thought of the sealing of sacks. It is, however, much more likely that the text refers to the usual seal of guarantee in transport.⁵ In like manner a certain Tribounos, probably the owner, wishes to seal an ass: πέμψον τὴν ὄνον ὅπως σφραγισθῆ PTeB. 419.⁶

¹ Cf the commentary of the editor E. RABEL, p 16, and DÖLGER, *art cit*, ACh 3, 1932, p 31 f

² See p 198 f

³ *Sphragis* p 20, *art cit*, ACh 3, 1932, p 31

⁴ Possibly the letters were applied with something like pitch, whence one could speak of a sealing in the wider sense, cf above p 187

⁵ PREISIGKE, *art cit*, p 308, A DEISSMANN, *Neue Bibelstudien*, Marburg 1897, p 65 f ; cf also DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p 20 n 3, *art cit*, ACh 3, 1932, p 32 f

⁶ Cf the commentary of the editors, B P GRENFELL and others, II p 296, and DÖLGER *Sphragis* p 20 n 4, *art cit*, ACh 3, 1932, p 32

There is reason to think that such seals were also found on other animals as marks of ownership. This theory is supported by a late report on Autolyclus, the grandfather of Odysseus, who already in Homer *Od.* 19.395 f. and Hesiod fr. 112 was said to excel in theft and trickery. In the twelfth century Isaac Tzetzēs says with more detail that he stole horses, cattle, and sheep by exchanging their seals: κλέπτων γὰρ πάντων ἵππους τε καὶ βόας καὶ ποιμνία, τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτῶν μετεποιεῖ καὶ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς δεσπότης αὐτῶν In Lycophr. Alex. 344.

The custom of attaching a seal to calves before they are sacrificed falls into a different category. In Egypt this was for centuries a distinct occupation.¹ The animals were examined for their cultic purity and were given a seal as proof of this: ὡς ἔστιν καθαρὸς . . . καὶ ἐσφραγίσθαι BGU 250.17 f. The seal is thus not intended as a mark of ownership. The examination was performed by a special college of priests who were called σφραγισταί Plutarch *Mor.* 363b, μοσχοσφραγισταί Chaeremon fr. 4, BGU 250, ἱερομοσχοσφραγισταί PGrenf. 2.64; the regulations governing their work are contained in the βιβλία μοσχοσφραγιστικά Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 6.37.1; if Wilcken's supplementing is correct the act was called σφραγισμός: σφρ(αγισμοῦ) μόσχου ἐνὸς θυομένου BGU 356 (Wilcken *Chr.* 88). Herodotus gives a description of how the seal was attached. After the examination the priest wraps a papyrus around the animal's horns; upon this papyrus he impresses his signet-ring in sealing clay: σημαίνεται βύβλω περὶ τὰ κέρα εἰλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον *Hist.* 2.38.

Elsewhere too it was customary to mark the animals singled out for sacrifice but the use of σημεῖον for these marks does not provide any information as to the technique employed. An inscription concerning the mysteries of Andania prescribed such a mark: σαμεῖον ἐπιβαλλόντω οἱ ἱεροί SIG 736.71, cf. Porphyry *Abst.* 1.15.

As appears from the texts already discussed the seal attached to objects, people, and animals may hang loose on a cord. In this they come to resemble those objects called σύμβολον in Greek. These objects may have many functions. They may serve as a proof of identity: τὸ σύμβολον τῶν ΕΓ 'the tally with the letters ΕΓ' PPassalacqua 1563,² or as a proof of presence, for example in the Boule in Athens, giving the right to a partial compensation; in the theatre they are also tickets. Similar objects are known in Roman antiquity under the name of *tessera*; this is strictly speaking a square plate and serves

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 22 f., *art.cit.*, *ACH* 3, 1932, p. 34 ff.

² S. WITKOWSKI, *Epistulae privatae graecae*, Leipzig ²1911, p. 54.

similar purposes to the symbolon. All these objects may be made of various materials such as bronze, baked clay, and lead.¹

Symbolon and seal may show a great similarity in appearance and function. We must therefore investigate a few cases in which confusion may arise by these objects being attached to people and animals.

The Romans had collars for runaway slaves and dogs upon which hung plates bearing inscriptions like: *tene me ne fugia(m)* CIL 15.7173. They also had the custom of hanging a lead tessera around the neck of recruits as appears from third century Christian texts of African origin. The terms for this are *signum*, *signaculum*, and *signare*. The most important passage is found in the Acts of Maximilian. This young man was martyred in Numidia (12 March 295?) after having refused to do military service.² The Acts record the discourse between the proconsul and the young Christian: *Dion ad Maximilianum: milita et accipe signaculum. respondit: non accipio signaculum... Dion ad officium dixit: signetur. cumque reluctaret, respondit: non accipio signaculum saeculi et si signaueris rumpo illud, quia nihil ualet. ego christianus sum, non licet mihi plumbum collo portare post signum salutare domini mei Iesu Christi Act. Max. 2.*

The expression *plumbum collo portare* indicates that Maximilian is referring to a lead tessera. This may have borne the name of the emperor. Maximilian bases his strict attitude towards military service on the contrast between this *signaculum* of the emperor and the Christian seal. A few passages in Tertullian and Cyprian make the same contrast between the *signum* of the soldiers and that of Christ, and we must assume that they are referring to the custom of marking soldiers with a tessera.³ This being so, we cannot quote the writings of these authors in support of the theory that in this period already the Roman soldiers were tattooed. Indications of this are found only later.⁴

The symbolon or tessera is similarly used in the East. The plainest evidence of this occurs in a passage from the Babylonian Talmud which we shall discuss below.⁵ It will appear that these objects were worn by animals and people hanging on the garment or about the neck, and notably by pupils of a school. Lucian appears to allude to this custom

¹ The symbolon may also be a written document, but this is not always clear from the context. In Euripides, *Medea* promises symbola to Jason: ξένοις τε πέμπειν σύμβολ', οὐ δράσουσι σ' εὖ *Med.* 613, cf. Aeneas Tacticus *Tact.* 10.8, OGI 674.22. Cf. L. RADERMACHER, *Exkurse zu Aristophanes' Vögeln*, WS 50, 1932, p. 31 ff.

² Cf. PERDRIZET, *art.cit.*, ARW 14, 1911, p. 125, DÖLGER, *art.cit.*, ACh 2, 1930, p. 268 ff., J. COUSIN, *Signaculum saeculi*, *Revue de Philologie* 69, 1943, p. 162 ff.

³ See p. 422.

⁴ See p. 193.

⁵ See p. 248.

albeit without mentioning a technical term for the object. Philosophy complains to Zeus about the pseudo-philosophers: ἀξιοῦσι γοῦν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τάττεσθαι καὶ τοῦνομα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐπιγράφονται *Fug.* 4, and concerning the adherents of the philosophical schools Lucian says: τῶν Διογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ Κράτητα ἐπιγραφομένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ κυνὶ ταττομένων *ib.* 16. The verb ἐπιγράφεσθαι may be taken literally to mean that the philosophers or at least their pupils could be recognized since they bore the name of the school to which they belonged. This may have been due to the wearing of a symbolon as a badge. Moreover, τάττεσθαι may be used as a military term to allude to the fact that soldiers could be recognized by the name of the emperor which they wore, as appeared from the Acts of Maximilian.

(3) The seal in philosophic terminology. – In philosophy the comparison with a seal impression serves to elucidate two concepts of Plato, his theory of perception and his theory of ideas, and thence, later, Philo's concept concerning the creation of the cosmos and of the human soul. It is thus that we find σφραγίς and derivatives used metaphorically in philosophical terminology.¹

Plato himself uses the noun σφραγίς together with other terms like τύπος and σημεῖον in order to elucidate the perception of the human spirit. These perceptions, he says, are impressed in the human soul as in a lump of wax: θεὸς δὴ μοι λόγου ἕνεκα ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐνὸν κήρινον ἐκμαγεῖον *Theaet.* 191C, ὥσπερ δακτυλίων σημεῖα ἐνσημαινομένους *ib.* 191D, ἔχοντα καὶ ἐκείνου τύπον... ἔχει αὐτοῦ σφραγίδα *ib.* 192a.

Plato's explanation found supporters and opponents among later philosophers and the comparison with a seal recurs in their arguments. Once again we find σφραγίς and related terms. Cleanthes is a supporter: φαντασία οὖν ἐστὶ... τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ... ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν σφραγίδων ὀρῶμεν *fr.* 484, and Chrysippus an opponent: οὐδὲ γὰρ δεκτέον τὴν τύπωσιν οἶονεὶ τύπον σφραγιστῆρος *fr.* 55. Philo adopts Plato's theory: αἰσθήσεις... τοὺς τύπους ἐκάστων ἐνσφραγιζόμενα *Opif.* 166, while Plotinus opposes it: τὰς αἰσθήσεις οὐ τυπώσεις οὐδ' ἐνσφραγίσεις *Enn.* 4.6.1.

In order to explain the Platonic theory of ideas Arius Didymus, an Alexandrian philosopher of the first century B.C., uses σφραγίς metaphorically to compare the ideas with a seal. One idea produces many perceptible forms in the same way as one seal gives many impressions: ὃν τρόπον σφραγίδος ἐκμαγεῖα γίνεσθαι πολλὰ... οὕτως καὶ μιᾶς ἐκάστης ιδέας αἰσθητῶν σωμάτων φύσεις παμπληθεῖς *fr.* I.

In Philo of Alexandria the comparison returns also in a slightly

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 65 ff.

different form when he uses the terms in order to explain his opinions concerning the origin of the cosmos. The Logos is the idea of ideas after which God forms the universe as with the figure of a signet-ring: τὸν δλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέα, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ Somn. 2.45. The Logos itself is hence called the seal: αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ σφραγίς, ἥ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον μεμόρφωται Fug. 12, cf. Mut. 135. In their turn the other ideas are called: τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες Orif. 34.

Philo uses the same terminology when referring to the creation of the human soul after God's image: ἡ δ' ἀόρατος (sc. θεϊότης) ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τύπους ἐνεσφραγίζετο Det.Pot. 86. He also compares the soul with a coin struck in God's image and this image is again the Logos: τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐντετύπωκεν ὁ θεὸς νομίσματος δοκίμου τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ χαρακτήρ εἰσόμεθα Leg.All. 3.95. Philo here rightly terms the image on the coin a χαρακτήρ but one may take exception to his metaphor when he says that this coin is struck with God's seal: νόμισμα σημειωθὲν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγιῶν θεοῦ, ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ὁ αἰδὶος λόγος Plant. 18.

In other cases too Philo uses the metaphor of a seal impression in the soul. Women are urged to impress purity in their souls: τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγνείαν (sc. ταῖς ψυχαῖς) ἐπισφραγιεῖσθε Virt. 37. Moses desires to impress his pupils with the truth: ἐγχαράττειν καὶ ἐνσφραγίζεσθαι (sc. ἀλήθειαν) ποθεῖ Spec.Leg. 1.59. He also forms nobility in his own soul: ἐνεσφραγίσασατο (sc. καλοκάγαθίαν) τῇ ψυχῇ χαρακτῆρι θεῷ τυπωθείσῃ Virt. 52. It is thus evident that Philo is extremely familiar with the metaphorical use of σφραγίς and derivatives.

(4) The seal of chastity. – There is but little evidence for the use of σφραγίς in a figurative sense for the seal of chastity. Aristophanes' phantasy makes Pisetairos propose to the birds that they should not allow the gods to pass any more through their kingdom. In the event of the gods still wishing to descend to mortal women they will be given a seal on their virile member in order to prevent sexual intercourse: ἐπιβάλλειν σφραγιῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ψωλὴν, ἵνα μὴ βινῶσ' ἐτ' ἐκεῖνας Av. 559 ff. When later the goddess Iris wishes to pass through the territory of the birds she is detained and brought before Pisetairos. He asks her whether she has a seal and, when she answers that she has not, whether anyone has attached a symbolon to her:

Π. σφραγιῶν ἔχεις παρὰ τῶν πελαργῶν; I. τί τὸ κακόν;

Π. οὐκ ἔλαβες; I. ὑγιαίνεις μὲν; Π. οὐδὲ σύμβολον
ἐπέβαλεν ὀρνίθαρχος οὐδεὶς σοι παρών;

I. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐμοιγ' ἐπέβαλεν οὐδεὶς, ὦ μέλε ib. 1213 ff.¹

¹ Cf. RADERMACHER, *art.cit.*, WS 50, 1932, p. 26 ff.

It is usually assumed that σφραγίς here means a sealed document and the line is considered a sarcastic comment upon the passport difficulties of the period. The word σφραγίς, however, although often used in Greek for a sealed object is found only in one late text for a sealed document. The usual word in Athens for such a transit permit was σύμβολον, whether it consisted of a metal plate or a sealed document.¹ The scholiast also uses this word in order to explain σφραγίς in the sense of 'transit permit': οἷον σύμβολον ἐπὶ τῷ συγχωρηθῆναι παρελθεῖν In Arist. Av. 1213. Pisetairos may indeed refer to such a document as a σφραγίς. Iris evidently understands it in this sense and indignantly rejects the assumption that she, a goddess, should need such a pass. There must, however, be a reason for this uncommon use of σφραγίς. This we find in the supposition that the poet, in using this term, intends to suggest a parallel with the seal which Pisetairos wished to attach to passing gods.

By the use of ἐπιβάλλειν instead of ἔχειν Pisetairos' second question suggests yet another obscene allusion. We have repeatedly come across ἐπιβάλλειν as the established verb for the attaching of an object to something else in constructions like χεῖρα, στίγματα, χαρακτῆρα, and especially σφραγιδα ἐπιβάλλειν. By the addition of this verb to σύμβολον Pisetairos suggests the impress of an object, and the scholiast has grasped the obscene intention lying behind this; he is still familiar with the expression σύμβολον ἐπιβάλλειν for sexual intercourse: πρὸς τὸ ἐπέβαλεν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ συνουσίασαι, δ καὶ ἐνόμισε λέγειν ἢ Ἰρις, διὸ παραιτεῖται In Arist. Av. 1216. The scholiast, however, thinks that the goddess is also aware of this meaning but this appears unlikely; in any case she is unfortunate enough to repeat the fatal verb: οὐκ ἔμοιγ' ἐπέβαλεν οὐδεὶς, whereby the ridicule achieves its climax. Pisetairos subsequently reveals his true intentions with respect to the goddess by becoming aggressively amorous, Av. 1253 ff.

The passages quoted from Aristophanes are certainly not indicative of a current metaphorical use of σφραγίς in connection with chastity, but it is possible that in the course of the third century people came to speak of a seal in this sense. In Herodas a procuress sums up the good qualities of a new lover: he is rich, good-natured, and a seal untouched in love: πλουτέων τὸ καλόν, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς κινέων, ἄθικτ[ο]ς [ἔς] Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς Mim. 1.54 f.²

¹ See p. 206 and 214 f.

² This is the usual interpretation. If, however, one places a colon before σφρηγίς, a new quality is added by this noun, perhaps that of a taciturn character; thus DIEHL, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

For Rome it is possible to refer to Horace who establishes a relationship between seal and sexual purity when he addresses himself to his book with the words: *odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico* Ep. 1.20.3.

Finally, the metaphor of the seal of chastity is found plainly formulated in a passage of Nonnus: *λυσάμενη δ' ἄψαυστον ἔης σφραγιδα κορείης Ἄρτεμις Ὀρίωνος ἀναγκαίη δάμαρ ἔστω* Dion. 2.305 f.¹

We can thus quote a number of texts in which the seal is connected with chastity or where such a connection may be assumed. It is not possible, however, to establish with certainty to what extent the various texts are related to each other.

(5) The seal of secrecy in the general language. – Various metaphors existed in Greek to denote the imposition of an obligation to secrecy. Before examining the metaphorical use of *σφραγίς* and derivatives in this connection we must mention a few related metaphors with *βοῦς*, *ὄς*, *χαλίνα*, *στόμιον*, *κημός*, and *κλής*, used respectively for the ox, the swine, the bridle or bit, the muzzle, and the key upon the tongue or in the mouth.

The metaphor of the ox on the tongue is an old popular proverb. The earliest literary record of this is found in Theognis: *βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῶ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον* Eleg. 1.815 f. It is subsequently found in Aeschylus: *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν* Ag. 36 f., and Strattis: *βοῦς ἐμβαίνει μέγας* fr. 36. The expression is often discussed by the lexicographers of antiquity and by the paroemiographers.² In his commentary on the passage of Aeschylus Fraenkel has remarked upon the popular character of the proverb with its vivid exaggeration: the great ox is the biggest and heaviest animal known. The writer thinks that *μέγας* and *βαίνειν* must have formed part of the original expression. This theory is supported by the fact that these two words recur in Menander's parody: *παχὺς γὰρ ὄς ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ στόμα* fr. 21.³

Another expression of similar meaning is that of the bridled mouth. According to Aeschylus Iphigenia's mouth was stopped when she was sacrificed: *χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδω μένει* Ag. 238. In Sophocles Hercules uses a bit of steel set with stones in order to prevent himself from crying out with pain: *χάλυβος λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον* Trach. 1259 f. Of people condemned to death Herodotus says that they had a bit in their

¹ For the rise of *σφραγίς* as a proper name for women, cf. F. BECHTEL, *Die attischen Frauennamen*, Göttingen 1902, p. 129, and DIEHL, *op.cit.*, p. 14 f.

² Cf. H. AHRENS, *Studien zum Agamemnon des Aeschylus*, Göttingen 1860, p. 229 ff.

³ E. FRAENKEL, *Aeschylus. Agamemnon*, Oxford 1950, II p. 23.

mouths: τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους Hist. 3.14. He may here be referring to bands affixed to the mouth externally and which are compared with a bit. Aeschylus may have the same custom in mind when he speaks figuratively of a muzzle, according to the scholiast: ἀλληγορικῶς τοὺς δεσμοὺς κημῶν εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων· καὶ τοῦσδε κημῶν στόματος (fr. 125) In Arist. Eq. 1150. From Euripides onwards command over the organ of speech is figuratively referred to as a bridled or unbridled mouth: ἀχαλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα fr. 495, cf. Bacc. 386, τῆς γλώττης τὰ χαλινά Plutarch Mor. 613c.

Yet another expression is that of the key on the tongue, found in Aeschylus: ἀλλ' ἔστι κάμοι κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσση φύλαξ fr. 316. In an oracular saying preserved by Porphyry, mention is made of the keys of silence which lie upon an old obscured prediction: (sc. ὀμφῆ) δολιχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοις βέβληται κληῖδας ἀμαντεύτοιο σιωπῆς Phil. p. 174 W.

A similar concept now lies behind the use of σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν for the metaphor of a seal on the mouth or tongue. The image is that of a seal impressed upon a cord with which the mouth is fastened or the tongue tied but only in the later texts is this expressly mentioned. Viewed in this manner the resemblance to the idea of the bit and muzzle becomes even greater.

The earliest text is a saying of Solon: σφραγίζου τοὺς μὲν λόγους σιγῆ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ ap. Diog. Laert. Vit. 1.58. Here the metaphor consists as yet in the sealing of words. Theognis, on the other hand, refers to the impossibility of speaking as a being tied of the tongue but without any mention of a seal on the cord: γλώσσα δὲ οἱ δέδεται Eleg. 1.178. The metaphor of a seal on the mouth is found for the first time in Timotheus. A captured barbarian breaks the seal on his mouth and loudly implores his conqueror: διάτορον σφραγίδα θραύων στόματος Pers. 159 f.¹

The other texts are of a much later date. Plutarch, who does not mention the metaphor, reports the placing of a seal on the mouth as a symbolic action by which king Alexander imposes the obligation to secrecy upon his favourite Hephestion: προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκείνου στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα Alex. 39. In an epigram entitled Εἰς μυστήριον Lucian says: ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσση σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω· κρείσσων γὰρ μύθων ἢ κτεάνων φυλακὴ Epigr. 11. He is thus thinking of the seal on the tongue but Heliodorus again speaks merely of the sealing of that which must remain secret: τοιαῦτα σιγῆ... ἐπισφραγίσασθαι Aeth. 6.15, 'to lay the

¹ Cf. RADERMACHER, *art. cit.*, WS 50, 1932, p. 30.

seal of silence upon such things'. The scholiast, who explains a passage of Sophocles as a recommendation to secrecy, does not say whether he imagines the seal to be upon the thing or upon the person: ἐντειλαι δέ μοι, φησί, καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων ἄλλων μυστικῶν καὶ λόγους ἀνακοίνωσαί μοι καὶ φυλάξω. ἐπίθες, φησίν, ἣν θέλεις σφραγιῖδα In Soph.Trach. 623. Nonnus is familiar with the metaphor and also mentions the cord upon which the seal is placed and which fastens the mouth or the lips: οὐς φύσις ἀφθόγγων στομάτων σφρηγίσσατο δεσμῶ, γλῶσσαν ὑποσφιγξασα Dion. 26.261 f., χεῖλεσι δ' ἀφθόγγοισιν ἐπεσφρηγίσσατο σιγῆν ib. 47.218, cf. 45.188. This gives rise to the expression σφραγὶς σιωπῆς in a text from Nonnus' Christian period: αἶκε φυλάξης χεῖλεσιν ὑμετέροισιν σοφῆν σφρηγιῖδα σιωπῆς Par. 11.144 f., cf. 21.139, and in a passage from Christodorus, who describes a statue of Demosthenes: ἀλλὰ ἐ τέχνη χαλκείης ἐπέδησεν ὑπὸ σφρηγιῖδα σιωπῆς Anth.Pal. 2.31.

Although it is tempting to assume a development from the metaphor of Solon culminating in the expression σφραγὶς σιωπῆς which we find in the later texts, the origin and development may have been more complicated. In the first place we must take into account that this metaphor, in view of the meaning of the seal in antique culture, may have developed independently in various places. The situation is rendered even more complicated by the fact that the expression of the seal, and perhaps that of the key and the ox, are also used in the mysteries. It is therefore important to determine whether the use of these metaphors in the language of the mysteries and in the general language can be explained by reciprocal influence.

(6) The seal of secrecy in the mysteries. – In 1829 Lobeck already established a connection between σφραγὶς, σφραγιζεῖν, and the obligation to secrecy in the mysteries.¹ Koffmane suggested in 1881 that σφραγιζεσθαι as a term for the act of initiation was borrowed by the Christians from the language of the mysteries.² In 1886 Harnack gave as his opinion that σφραγὶς as a term for baptism in the Apostolic Fathers was probably taken from the language of the mysteries.³ A year later Heinrici sought to find a relationship between σφραγιζεσθαι in St. Paul and the terminology of the mysteries.⁴ In 1888 Hatch established that the name 'seal' as used for baptism in the second century comes both

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 36 note d. The author already collected most of the texts discussed in this and the preceding sections.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 4 and 14

³ *Dogmengeschichte*, I p. 151 n. 1.

⁴ G. HEINRICI, *Erklärung der Korintherbriefe*, Berlin 1887, II p. 121.

from the mysteries and from some forms of foreign cult.¹ The theory was vigorously opposed by Anrich, but Wobbermin sought new arguments for the dependence of the Christian terminology.² In 1911 Dölger carefully examined the state of the question up to that period³ and later opposed an attempt on the part of Maass to establish the theory in a new manner.⁴ Of the more recent authors we mention Nock and Benoit who opposed the theory that the Christian term was borrowed from the mysteries.⁵

In this section we shall confine ourselves to the question whether and in what meaning *σφραγίς* and derivatives occurred in the language of the mysteries. The possible adoption of this word in the Christian terminology will be dealt with later.⁶

The first text of any interest is a passage in which Sophocles speaks of the golden key of the Eumolpides upon the tongue of the initiates at Eleusis: *ὦν καὶ χρυσέα κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβακεν προσπόλων Εὐμόλπιδᾶν* Oed. Col. 1047 f. The use of *βαίνειν* here leads to the surprising metaphor that the key 'has gone' on the tongue. This verb fits well into the expression of the ox on the tongue.⁷ The construction with *κλῆς* might therefore be explained by assuming that 'the key on the tongue' is a toned-down version of the earlier expression. If this is correct, it would follow that the expression of the ox on the tongue from the popular language also formed part of the vocabulary of Eleusis. The toned-down version now either originates from Eleusis itself, as Fraenkel assumes, in which case the key on the tongue in Aeschylus fr. 316 may also allude to it, or else it is a personal invention of Sophocles to substitute here the golden key of the Eumolpides for the ox.⁸

However this may be, we do not yet find evidence for the use of *σφραγίς* at Eleusis. Only much later is Tertullian aware of a seal of secrecy in these mysteries: *nam et illa Eleusinia, haeresis et ipsa Atticae superstitionis, quod tacent pudor est. idcirco et aditum prius cruciant [diutius initiant] quam consignant, cum epoptas ante quinquennium instituunt, ut optionem suspendio cognitionis aedificent... sequitur iam*

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 295.

² ANRICH, *op.cit.*, p. 120 ff., WOBBERMIN, *op.cit.*, p. 144 ff.

³ DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 148 ff.

⁴ MAASS, *art.cit.*, p. 241 ff., DÖLGER, *art.cit.*, ACH I, 1929, p. 66 f.

⁵ NOCK, *art.cit.*, Mnemosune 4.5, 1952, p. 203 f., BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 100 ff.

⁶ See p. 422 f. ⁷ See p. 219.

⁸ FRAENKEL, *op.cit.*, II p. 23, sees a counterpart in *εὐφημία* 'religious silence' during sacred rites, frequent from Sophocles Trach. 178 onwards, which may be toned down from *εὐκαμία* (Doric from *κημός* 'muzzle', 'gag'), now turned up in Sophron: *εὐκαμίαν* *ἄν παρέχεσθε* PSI 11.1214a14, cf. Etym.Magn. s.v. *εὐκαμία*: *ἡσυχία, ἦτοι εὐφημία*.

silentii officium. adtente custoditur quod tarde inuenitur. ceterum tota in adytis diuinitas, tota suspiria epoptarum, totum signaculum linguae: simulacrum membri uirilnis reuelatur Val. 1.1 ff.¹ Tertullian uses for the obligation to secrecy at Eleusis *signaculum linguae* and probably *consignare*, to which correspond in Greek σφραγίς γλωττῆς and σφραγίζειν or a related verb. He suggests a definite ritual act to impose the obligation but does not say in so many words of what this consists. It seems probable, however, that after the metaphor of the ox on the tongue and perhaps of the key were common the metaphor of the seal also made its entry at Eleusis.

Whereas Tertullian connects the expression of the seal on the tongue only with Eleusis, a papyrus text may show that the formula was also known in other mysteries for the imposition of the obligation to secrecy, possibly under the influence of Eleusis. The papyrus concerned is ascribed by the editor to the third century A.D. Cumont has shown that it contains a fragment of an initiation ritual.² In this ritual the candidate swears that he will keep secret all that is revealed to him by the Father and the Hieroceryx:

ἐπόμνυμι
ἡ μὴν ἐκ πίστεως ἀτρεκ]οῦς συντηρήσειν
ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τὰ παραδ]εδομένα μοι μυστή-
ρια διὰ τὸν εὐσεβέστατον] πατέρα Σαραπίωνα
τε καὶ τὸν αἰδεσιμώτα]τον ἱεροκῆρυκα PSI 1162.4 ff.

In the following lines of the mutilated text we find the words σφραγεῖδες and σημειῶσαι:

κέντ]ροις δξέσειν
χαραχθῆσονται ἐς χεῖρας δύο] σφραγεῖδες
ὥστε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μύστην] σημειῶσαι ib. 1162.15 ff.

This restoration is proposed by Cumont. He also considers (κατα)στιχθῆσονται possible in l. 16 but is of the opinion that the general meaning is guaranteed by the use of σφραγίς for sacral tattooing according to Dölger's investigations. To our mind it is already sufficiently clear that the terms σφραγεῖδες and σημειῶσαι give no reason to think of a tattoo or a brand. They are, however, completely appropriate in a text dealing with the imposition of the obligation to secrecy in the mysteries. As verb in l. 16 we may now assume a passive form of

¹ Departing from KROYMANN's edition we place a colon after *linguae* in order to do fuller justice to the sentence structure.

² F. CUMONT, *Un fragment de rituel d'initiation*, HThR 26, 1933, p. 151 ff.

φυλάσσειν or (συν)τηρεῖν, corresponding with συντηρήσειν. .τα μυστήρια in l. 5 f., or, less probably, a form of βαίνειν from the old formula of the ox on the tongue. We may further supplement by ἐν γλώσση, ἐπὶ στόμα or σιωπῆς and [αἰ] σφραγεῖδες. The object of σημειῶσαι in the next line may have been τὰ μυστήρια. In the preceding line Cumont's restoration [κέντ]ροις lapses. The supposed connection of the text with Mithraism may be correct but the text does not refer to the branding practised in this cult.¹

In discussing the terms for enlightenment we have already pointed out that a number of terms from the mysteries found their way into general circulation; they can be used deliberately by pagan and Christian writers in order to lend a certain cachet to an argument.² We now come across examples of this in connection with the seal of secrecy.

In Heliodorus a mother attempts to make the body of her dead son speak again. The corpse finally speaks and reproaches her her magic as the practising of mysteries in the presence of the non-initiated; one of the witnesses, however, is a priest who, being a wise man, does not reveal such matters: ἦτις πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σαυτῆς τὰ οὕτως ἀπόρητα καὶ σιγῇ καὶ σκότῳ φυλαττόμενα μυστήρια δρᾶν ὑπέμεινας... σοφὸς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα σιγῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀνεκλάλητον ἐπισφραγίσασθαι Aeth. 6.15. The writer appears to allude to the seal of secrecy in the mysteries. It is therefore possible that the same holds good for some of the above collected texts for the seal of secrecy in the general language, for example, In Soph.Trach. 623, although this is not evident from the context.³

Tertullian sarcastically compares the Thyestean banquets and the incest of which the Christians are accused with an initiation into the mysteries: *talia initiatus et consignatus uiues in aeuum* Apol. 8.4. Dölger thinks that *consignare*, since it follows upon *initiare*, here means 'to initiate definitely' and hence also in Val. 1.2.⁴ The verb may be explained in both texts, however, as a reference to the imposition of the seal of secrecy. In the context of Val. 1.2 the emphasis falls upon the obligation to secrecy and this interpretation is also more suited to the context of Apol. 8.4: the Christians are obliged to keep secret the crimes they commit by way of initiation.⁵

¹ Cf. W. VOLLGRAFF, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

² See p. 161.

³ See p. 221.

⁴ *Sphragis*, p. 158 ff.

⁵ One notices the use of *consignare* in these texts, whereas (*ob*)*signare* is Tertullian's

Our investigation thus only indicates a use of σφραγίς and derivatives in the language of the mysteries for the obligation to silence. This does not exclude that these words may have had yet another meaning. In this connection Koffmane and Harnack have remarked upon the use of the term *signa* in a passage of Apuleius which reads: *sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participavi. eorum quaedam signa et monumenta tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conseruo. nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico. uel unius Liberi patris mystae, qui adestis, scitis, quid domi conditum celetis et absque omnibus profanis tacite ueneremini* Apol. 55.¹ What Apuleius means by these *signa et monumenta* which are kept at home is made clear by another passage in which he speaks of the keeping of *crepundia* 'rattling metal figures', 'amulets': *etiamne cuidam mirum uideri potest, cui sit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis deum consciuum quaedam sacrorum crepundia domi adseruare?* Apol. 56. These objects are called in Greek not σφραγίς but σύμβολον,² and under this name they are known to Clement of Alexandria who gives a list of them: τὰ ἄχρεια σύμβολα . . ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος Protr. 18.1, cf. 22.5.

It must finally be mentioned that the emperor Julian uses the expression of the ox on the tongue for the binding to silence in the mysteries of Dionysus: τὸν βοῦν δὲ ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν Or. 7.218a. He may, however, merely be employing a well-known phrase and we cannot conclude that this was a current formula in the cult of Dionysus.

The texts dealing with the seal in the mysteries have not provided us with any concrete evidence for the expression τὴν σφραγιδα τηρεῖν 'to preserve the seal'. Wobbermin wished to infer the use of this formula in the language of the mysteries from the Orphic literature.³ Here, however, we found the seal spoken of only as a symbol of power in the words: ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγιδα Hymn. 34.26, and σφραγιδα δικαίην . . φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον . . τηροῦντα νόμοισιν ib. 64.2 ff.⁴ In the second text τὸ βέβαιον and not σφραγιδα is the object of τηρεῖν so that the expression under discussion does not even occur. There only remains the proposed restoration of σφραγεῖδες in PSI 1162.16 with a passive form of

usual term for the Christian seal, see p. 381 and 413. For further evidence from Christian authors for the seal of secrecy in the mysteries, see p. 423.

¹ KOFFMANE, *op.cit.*, p. 4, HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, I p. 151 n. 1, opposed by ANRICH, *op.cit.*, p. 121, and DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 167 f.

² See p. 214 f.

³ *Op.cit.*, p. 149, cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 163 ff.

⁴ See p. 209 f.

(συν)τηρεῖν for the observation of secrecy as a counterpart of συντηρεῖν μυστήρια ib. II62.5 f.¹

It thus appears that σφραγίς and related terms do occur in the language of the mysteries, but only for the obligation to secrecy. The existence of the expression τὴν σφραγιῶδα τηρεῖν cannot, however, be established with certainty. The expression of the ox on the tongue was perhaps the earliest used in Eleusis to denote this duty of silence and may have been followed by that of the key and the seal. This last may have spread from Eleusis to be adopted in other mysteries. On the other hand, we found the expressions of the ox, the key, and the seal on the tongue in the profane language without being able to establish any dependence upon the language of the mysteries, and it is noteworthy that the examples were always earlier than those found of a usage which could be connected with the mysteries. If all this is not decisive with regard to the interdependence of the general language and that of the mysteries, it is in any case not so certain that Eleusis was original and did not adopt the expressions from the general language.

¹ Still other texts have been referred to for the seal in the mysteries WOBBERMIN, *op cit*, p 145 ff seeks evidence in the seal as found in the hymn of the Naassenes, Hippolytus Ref 5 10 2, in the second Book of Jeu and the Pistis Sophia, but these seals are magical marks of protection, cf DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p 160 ff, and below p 409 WOBBERMIN also refers to CIL 3 686, but see p 189 MAASS, *art cit*, p 257 ff, assumes that *sfragitides* in Prudentius Perist 10 1076 has been borrowed by the cult of Cybele-Attis from Eleusis, but concerning this word see p 423 It may, however, be remarked that Hippolytus mentions the expression τηρεῖν τὰ μυστήρια in an oath formula of the Gnostics of Justin which recalls the custom and language of the mysteries ὁμνῶ τηρῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα καὶ ἐξαιρεῖν μηδενί Ref 5 27 2

CHAPTER TWO

THE TERMS FOR IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN JUDAISM

IN dealing with the Old Testament and Jewish non-canonical literature we find (1) χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι as a new biblical expression for the gesture of touching. (2) The verb χρίειν and some derivatives acquire a sacral meaning as terms for the anointing of priests, kings, and prophets. (3) Various terms are used to denote the marking of the body according to different techniques. (4) Finally, σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν are frequently used, and in accordance with their Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents assume meanings which are found rarely or not at all in the general language.

The use of these terms and the semantic development found here are of importance in understanding the terms in the New Testament. In addition, they occasionally offer an interesting supplement to the data discussed in the preceding chapter.

1. *Laying on and leaning on of hands*

To denote the gesture of touching Hebrew has *šym* 'to put' and *smk* 'to lean' with the object *yad* 'hand' also in the dualis and in the plural. The corresponding expression to both is in the Septuagint χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι. Thence an examination of the terminology confronts us with the problem of the distinction between 'laying on' and 'leaning on' as expressed in the Hebrew text but lacking in the Greek.¹

It is also of interest to decide whether the gesture of laying on or leaning on was performed with one or with two hands. This problem has been posed principally with regard to the New Testament and the early Church, for it appears striking that in nearly all cases where the gesture is mentioned in the New Testament the plural 'hands' is used, whereas early Christian literature shows a preference for the singular.

¹ Cf. BILLERBECK, *op cit*, I p. 807 f., II p. 607 ff., COPPENS, *op cit.*, p. 2 f., 104 ff., 162 ff., E. LOHSE, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, Göttingen 1951, p. 19 ff., 28 ff., D. DAUBE, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1956, p. 224 ff.

This fact is capable of two explanations. Coppens has elaborated Behm's suggestion that the New Testament practice of laying on both hands became among the early Christians a gesture with one hand; whenever the plural is found in the post-apostolic period it is either intended as a distributive, denoting that the hands are imposed by more than one person, or it is a relic of biblical usage.¹ On the other hand, Schrijnen-Mohrmann have supported the theory that the practice remained unaltered. The gesture continued to be performed with both hands and a growing preference for the collective singular would explain the change in the linguistic usage.²

It appears difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion in this matter from linguistic data, for it seems always possible to have recourse either to the collective singular or to the distributive plural. It will none the less appear that the gesture of laying on was normally performed with one hand but the leaning on at a later time with two. This custom was carried on in the New Testament and usually retained in the early Church. In χειρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι the plural of the object comes to form part of the fixed expression in the Septuagint and especially in the New Testament but afterwards the preference for the singular prevails.

In the Old Testament and rabbinic literature the following applications of the terms for laying on and leaning on of hands may be distinguished.

(1) The laying on of hands as a gesture of blessing is described in detail when Jacob lays his hands on the sons of Joseph. He places his right hand upon the head of Ephraim and his left upon the head of Manasseh: ἐκτείνας δὲ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν ἐπέβαλεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραϊμ Gen. 48.14, cf. 48.17. When Joseph sees this he asks his father to lay his right hand upon the head of Manasseh, the first born: ἐπίθεε τὴν δεξιάν σου ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ib. 48.18. The verb ἐπιβάλλειν corresponds to the Hebrew *šyt*, while the equivalent of ἐπιτιθέναι is *šym*. The story proves that the gesture was known as a means of blessing but, although blessing is often spoken of later, the gesture is not mentioned for other cases. Philo speaks of the blessing of Jacob as τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν Leg.All. 3.90.

A different gesture is described when Aaron blesses the people. He cannot touch everyone and so raises both hands over the crowd:

¹ BEHM, *op cit*, p 8 n 1, 98 n 1, COPPENS, *op cit*, p 16

² J SCHRIJNEN-CHR MOHRMANN, *Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian*, Nijmegen 1936, p 48 ff

ἐξάρας (*ns'* 'to lift') Ααρων τὰς χεῖρας (*yādāw*, qere: *yādāw du.*) ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς Lev. 9.22, cf. Ex. 17.11. The high priest Simon uses the same gesture. While the people prostrate themselves in order to receive the blessing, he raises his hands: καταβάς ἐπῆρεν (*ns'*) χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίου Sir. 50.20. The Mishnah gives an even more detailed description of this priestly blessing: 'In the provinces the priests raised (*ns'*) their hands (*ydyhm*) as high as their shoulders, but in the Temple above their heads excepting the high priest, who raised (*gbh*) his hands (*ydyw*) only as high as the frontlet' Sot. 7.6, cf. Tam. 7.2.

(2) In a number of texts which are less directly connected with our research χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι is the translation of *šym yd* in various meanings. The expression is frequently used for the placing of the hand before the mouth as an injunction to silence: ἐπίθεες τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα σου Jgs. 18.19. Thamar places her hands upon her head as a sign of mourning: ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς 2 Reg. 13.19. To transmit a divine power the dying Elisha lays his hands upon those of king Joas while he is shooting with his bow: ἐπέθηκεν Ελισαῖε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ βασιλέως 4 Reg. 13.16. Soldiers lay hands upon Athaliah: ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῇ χεῖρας ib. 11.16.

Elsewhere the Greek corresponds to *šyt yd*. Yahweh lays His hand on man as on His property: ἔθηκας ἐπ' ἐμέ τὴν χεῖρά σου Ps. 138.5. An arbitrator lays his hand upon both parties: διακοῦων (*yāšēt yādō*) ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων Job 9.33. Thieves will set upon in the night: ἐπιθήσουσιν χεῖρα αὐτῶν (from *yāštu yādām* instead of *hišhittū dayyām* 'they shall spoil what they want') Jer. 30.3 (49.9). The Law ordains: οὐ συγκαταθήσῃ (*'al tāšet yādēkā* 'thou shalt not make common cause') μετὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου Ex. 23.1. Moreover *ng'* 'to touch', rendered by προσάγειν and ἅπτεσθαι, is used for a simple gesture of touching by which someone is reassured: καὶ ἰδοὺ χεῖρα προσήγαγέ μοι Dan. 10.10 LXX (χειρ ἅπτομένη μου Th.), cf. Ass.Mos. 12.2, and *šlh yd*, translated by συνεπιτιθέναι, is used for an inauspicious action: μηδὲ συνεπιτιθῆ ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν Obad. 13.

(3) For the imposition of hands as a gesture of healing one is referred to the words which Naaman uses to indicate how Elisha should cure his leprosy: ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον 4 Reg. 5.11. For the gesture expected by the Syrian eunuch the original text has *nwh hi. yd* 'to move to and fro'. This is a gesture of healing which the Greek text more fully describes as the placing of the hand upon the spot to be cured.¹

¹ Another explanation in COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 104 f.

Another example of a healing gesture has now turned up in the Genesis Apocryphon. It tells how Abraham cures the Pharaoh of a plague by praying and pressing his hand(s) upon the Pharaoh's head: 'To come and to pray for the king and to press my hand(s) upon him (*w'smwk ydy 'lwhy*) that he might live' Gen. Apocr. 20.21 f., 'And I pressed my hand(s) upon his h[ead] (*wsmkt ydy 'l [r'y]sh*) and the plague departed from him' ib. 20.29. The use of *smk* 'to press', 'to lean', points to an intensive form of touching. The second passage, moreover, seems to provide an indication of its origin, since 'to lean the hand(s) upon the head' is the fixed Old Testament expression for the leaning on of hands on the head of the sacrifice. It does therefore not appear that this gesture was commonly applied in healing.¹

In addition we mention the raising of dead persons to life by touching. Elisha raises a dead boy to life by lying upon the corpse: ἐκοιμήθη (*škb* 'to lie down') ἐπὶ τὸ παιδαρίον 4 Reg. 4.34, and according to the Hebrew text Elijah did the same: ἐνεφύσησεν (*mdd* hithpo. 'to stretch oneself upon') τῷ παιδαρίῳ 3 Reg. 17.21. Conversely a dead man is raised to life by the touch of Elisha's bones: ἤψατο (*nb' q.* 'to touch') τῶν ὀστέων Ελισαίε 4 Reg. 13.21.

(4) A 'leaning on of hands', in which the ἐπιτιθέναι of our expression always corresponds to *smk*, is performed as a sacrificial rite. The person offering a sacrifice must press his hand upon the head of the animal: ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα (*yādō*) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Lev. 1.4, ἐπιθήσουσιν... τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν (*yedēhem*) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ex. 29.10. At the segregation of the tribe of Levi as representatives of the first born of Israel, the Israelites lean their hands upon them and in their turn the Levites lean their hands upon young bulls: ἐπιθήσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν (*yedēhem*) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Num. 8.10, οἱ δὲ Λευῖται ἐπιθήσουσι τὰς χεῖρας (*yedēhem*) ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ib. 8.12. Upon the Day of Atonement Aaron places both his hands upon the head of the scapegoat who is to be burdened with the sins of the community and thus sent into the wilderness: ἐπιθήσει Ἀαρὼν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ (*šettē yādāw*, qere: *yādāw*) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Lev. 16.21.

The leaning on of hands as a sacrificial rite is later mentioned by Philo: τὰς δὲ ἐπιτιθεμένας τῆ τοῦ ζώου κεφαλῆ χειῖρας Spec. Leg. 1.202, and Josephus: ἐπιτιθέντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἱερείων αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγέμονες Ant. 9.268. In rabbinic literature this rite is referred to by *smk* and the noun *semikāh*, cf. Mishnah Men. 9.8.

¹ Cf. D. FLUSSER, *Healing through the Laying-on of Hands in a Dead Sea Scroll*, Isr. Expl. Journ. 7, 1957, p. 107 f.

(5) The terms for leaning on of hands are also applied to a rite of ordination. By this rite Moses appointed as his successor Joshua who thereby became filled with the spirit: ἐπέθηκεν γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ (*yādāw* du.; vl. *yādō* sg. 2 MSS. Sam.) ἐπ' αὐτόν Deut. 34.9. A fuller account says that Joshua was already filled with the spirit and by the leaning on of hands was made a sharer in the honour of Moses. Now the rite is mentioned twice: ἐπιθήσεις τὰς χεῖράς σου (*yādēkā*) ἐπ' αὐτόν Num. 27.18, ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ (*yādāw* du.; v.l. *yādō* sg. 2 MSS. Sam. Pesh.) ib. 27.23. No rite is mentioned for the appointment of the judges, Ex. 18.23 ff., and of the Elders, Num. 11.16 ff., although the latter are said to become sharers in the spirit which is upon Moses.

In rabbinic literature the leaning on of hands is mentioned as the principal rite at the ordination of a rabbi and this custom is traced back to the appointment of Joshua. It is not certain when this practice originated, but if it is the rite referred to in the Mishnah, Hag. 2.2, its existence may go back to the beginning of the first century B.C. It seems more probable, however, that this text refers to the leaning on of hands on the sacrifice. In this case the earliest reference would be the report from the Talmud Yerushalmi that R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained his pupils R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, Sanh. 1.19a. This R. Johanan died around 80 A.D. and the ordination probably took place before 70 A.D. From this it appears that the rite was known in the latter half of the first century A.D. It fell into disuse in the course of the third century.¹

Rabbinic literature has two names for this rite. On account of the gesture it was called a leaning on of hands and in this case the technical term is the root *smk*. Of the derived nouns *semikūt* only refers to the ordination rite, whereas *semikāh* may also refer to the sacrificial rite. Hence the Talmud says: 'What is meant by leaning on (of hands) (*smykh*) and leaning on (of hands) of the elders (*smykwōt zqnyim*)? R. Johanan said: (The latter refers to) the leaning on (of hands) of the elders (*mysmk sby*)' Sanh. 13b. The second name refers to the rite in its meaning of ordination.

The other technical term for the rite is *mnh* (*mn*) pi. and pa. The meaning of *mnh* q. is 'to divide in parts'; thence *mnh* pi. and pa. is translated in the Septuagint by διδόναι 'to give': νόκτες δὲ ὀδυνῶν δεδομένοι μοι εἰσιν Job 7.3, by ἐκτάττειν 'to distribute': τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐκτάξαντα τὴν βρωῶσιν ὑμῶν Dan. 1.30 LXX Th., cf. 1.5 Th., Ps. 16.5, by προστάττειν 'to command': προσέταξεν κύριος κῆτει μεγάλῳ καταπιεῖν τὸν

¹ Cf. LOHSE, *op.cit.*, p. 29 ff., and J. NEWMAN, *Semikhah. Ordination*, Manchester 1950.

Ἰωανν Jon. 2.1, cf. 4.6 ff. and by καθιστάναι 'to appoint', i.e. 'to charge with a regular task': καθεσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη 1 Par. 9.29, κατὰστησον γραμματεῖς καὶ κριτὰς 2 Esd. 7.25, cf. Dan. 1.11 Th., 2.24 LXX Th., 2.29 LXX Th., 3.12 LXX Th., only: τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἀρχιευνοῦχῳ ib. 1.11 LXX. Since the appointment of a rabbi is performed by a fixed rite the verb may in this case also be translated by 'to ordain' in the sacral technical sense of the word and the derived nouns *miḥnūy*, *miḥnūyāh* by 'appointment' or 'ordination'. This name for the rite was preferred in Palestine and the Talmud Yerushalmi shows that the divergent usage was known: 'There (in Babylonia) they call the *miḥnūyāh* *semikūtā*' Sanh. 1.19a.

There is unfortunately no Greek text in which the Jewish ordination rite is mentioned but it may safely be assumed that here, as for the other meanings, *smk* was rendered by χειρὰς ἐπιτιθέναι and that καθιστάναι was the equivalent of *mnh* (*mn*?) pi. and pa. as it is in the Septuagint.

(6) It has been suggested that the *šāltāh* too was appointed by leaning on of hands. The *šāltāh* in the strict sense intended here is a rabbi, usually already ordained, who is sent to the diaspora with a commission from the authorities in Jerusalem. One example is St. Paul who at the command of the high priest was sent to Damascus, Acts 9.1 f. In a broader sense a *šāltāh* is anyone who at the command of a certain person or community is sent somewhere to fulfil a clearly defined task. In addition, those who act at God's command, like the priests in general or Moses striking water from the rock, may be called His *šāltāh*. The *šāltāh* is fully empowered to act as the representative of the person by whom he is commissioned. The Mishnah states: 'A man's *šāltāh* is like to himself' Ber. 5.5.

The word *šāltāh* 'deputy', 'agent', is derived from *šlh* 'to send', regularly translated in the Septuagint by ἀποστέλλειν. Hence the equivalent of the noun *šāltāh* is ἀπόστολος, although there is no evidence from the texts that this was ever used in this sense. The *šelūḥim* are called ἄνδρες ἐκλεκτοί in a report by Justin Martyr dealing with their activities against the Christians in the diaspora: ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτούς.. ἔξεπέμψατε Dial. 17.1, cf. 108.2. He possibly avoids using ἀπόστολος in speaking of these opponents on account of the high esteem in which the word was held by the Christians.¹

The supposition that the *šāltāh* in the strict sense of the word was

¹ Aquila, on the other hand, uses it in a pejorative sense: καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀπόστολος (*šlh*) πρὸς σέ 3 Reg. 14.6 Aq. See also p. 2.

appointed by a leaning on of hands is based by Rengstorf upon the use of χειροτονεῖν in Justin's account of their activities, Dial. 108.3, but he wrongly takes this verb in the sense of 'to lay hands upon'.¹ Lohse has advanced the argument that Paul and Barnabas were also sent out as *š'elūhīm* by leaning on of hands, Acts 13.1 ff., and he thence assumes that this mission was of a limited and temporary nature.² A more acceptable theory is that of Daube who thinks that the *šālīah* was not appointed by leaning on of hands since in Judaism this rite remained confined to the cases in which it had a direct Mosaic sanction.³

The sending out of a *šālīah* implies his election and may even have been effected by voting when he was the representative of a community. The Hebrew verb *bhr* 'to choose' is regularly translated in the Septuagint by ἐκλέγεσθαι and this is indeed used in the account of Justin to denote the *š'elūhīm*: ἀνδρας ἐκλεκτούς ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκλεξάμενοι τότε ἐξεπέμψατε Dial. 17.1, cf. Acts 15.22. For appointment by election, the Greek verb χειροτονεῖν is especially appropriate. It means literally 'to stretch out the hand' for the purpose of giving one's vote in the assembly, 'to vote by show of hands', whence 'to elect' and, more generally, 'to appoint'.⁴ In using this verb for the sending out of a *šālīah* the idea of an election is implied. Thus, commenting Joseph's words who considers himself as having been sent out not by his brothers but by God: νῦν οὖν οὐχ ἡμεῖς με ἀπεστάλλατε (*šlh*) ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ θεός Gen. 45.8, Philo says that Joseph is not sent by men but is appointed by God: τὸ φάναι μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπεστάλλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονῆσθαι Migr. 22. Moses is likewise appointed by God: ὃν ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγέμονα Vit.Mos. 1.198. Justin Martyr, moreover, uses χειροτονεῖν for the sending out of a *šālīah* in the strict sense: ἀνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτούς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε Dial. 108.2. This need not be a reflection of Jewish linguistic usage but it becomes clear that the use of χειροτονεῖν may have been preferred in cases where the appointment implied the idea of an election. It is in this that it differs from καθιστά-ναι which we assumed to be the term for the appointment of a rabbi, which was determined by a preliminary training.

(7) Leaning on of hands is in the third place the technical name for a judicial rite. The members of the community lean their hands upon the head of the blasphemer before he is stoned: ἐπιθήσουσιν πάντες οἱ

¹ K H RENGSTORF 'Απόστολος, ThW I p. 417

² *Op cit*, p. 62 f and 71 ff

³ *Op cit*, p. 229 f

⁴ Cf LIDDELL-SCOTT s v

ἀκούσαντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ Lev. 24.14. With the same rite the two wicked elders accuse Susanna: ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς Sus. 34. The story illustrates the danger inherent in this form of jurisdiction and serves as a recommendation for the method successfully applied by the young Daniel, ib. 31 ff., cf. Mk 14.55 ff.

(8) Our attention is finally drawn to a semantic development of ἐπιτιθέναι and derivatives although in this case unconnected with the imposition of hands. In the general language the middle voice ἐπιτίθεσθαι may have the meaning 'to attack', whence the noun ἐπίθεσις 'attack'. The Septuagint provides an example of this: συνιδόντες δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Λυσιμάχου 2 Macc. 4.41. Both verb and noun, however, acquire a slightly different meaning when they are used in the Greek Bible to translate *qšr* 'to conspire' and *qešer* 'conspiracy': ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἐπιτίθεσθε 2 Par. 23.13 LXX Sm., ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ ἐπίθεσιν ib. 25.27 LXX. In the later versions one moreover finds, especially in Aquila, ἐπιτίθεσθαι for *rmh* pi. 'to deceive': ἐπέθου μοι Gen. 29.25, 1 Reg. 28.12 Aq. (παρελογίσω με LXX, ἐνήδρευσάς με Sm.), ἐπίθεσις and once even ἐπιθεσία for *mirmāh* 'deceit': ἐν ἐπιθέσει Gen. 27.35 Aq. (δόλου LXX, δι' ἐνέδρας Sm.), ῥήματα ἐπιθεσιῶν λογίζονται Ps. 34.20 Aq. (δόλους LXX, λόγους δολίους Sm., ῥήματα δόλια Quint.), ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιθέσεως καὶ παρανομίας ib. 42.1 Aq. (ἀδίκου καὶ δολίου LXX), ὄφλημα καὶ ἐπίθεσις ib. 54.12 Aq., ἐπίθεσιν Sm. (δόλος LXX), ζυγοὶ ἐπιθέσεως Prov. 11.1 Aq. Sm. (ζυγοὶ δόλιοι LXX), ἐπίθεσις ib. 12.17 Aq. (δόλιος LXX, δόλος Sm.), ἐπίθεσις ib. 14.8 Aq. Th. (ἐν πλάνῃ LXX, δόλος Sm.), ἐπίθεσιν ib. 26.24 Aq. (δόλους LXX), in addition ἐπιθέτης 'plotter' for *lēš* 'scorner': ἐν καθέδρᾳ ἐπιθετῶν Ps. 1.1 Sm. (λοιμῶν LXX, χλευαστῶν Aq. παρανόμων Quint. Sext.) and ἐπιτίθεσθαι for *ntn* 'to give', hence intr. 'to set against': ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ Ez. 19.8 Sm. (ἔδωκαν ἐπ' αὐτόν LXX).

This development leads to a use of ἐπιτιθέναι and derivatives which may differ from that of the general language without achieving a better rendering of the original text. We are therefore justified in assuming that especially Aquila again intended to use in a pejorative sense words which had become appreciated as technical terms among the Christians.¹

Recently Daube has laid special emphasis upon the distinction between laying on and leaning on of hands.² The laying on is a gesture

¹ See p. 2.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 224 ff. In German the difference is usually made clear by the translation 'Hand aufstutzen'.

of a gentle nature of which the essence is the touch. It symbolizes the transition of power from one person to another. This gesture is found for blessing and healing. The usual Hebrew root is *šym*.

Leaning on of hands, on the contrary, is accompanied by a certain pressure of the hand. In this way a person presses his hands against the wall when fleeing before an animal: ἐπερείσεται (*smk*) τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τοίχον Am. 5.19. Rabbinic authorities are still conscious of this peculiarity. In the Talmud the lawfulness of the leaning on of hands on the head of an animal on a festival day is objected to because it is performed with all one's strength. This means that the performer makes use of an animal, which is forbidden on a festival day as on the sabbath: 'You can deduce from this that the leaning on (*smk*) (of hands) must be done with all one's strength (*bkl khw*) for if you suppose that one's whole strength is not required, what (work) does one do by leaning on (*smk*) (of hands)?' Hag. 16b. In order to explain that Joshua received the spirit by the leaning on of hands although he was already filled with the spirit it is said: 'He (Moses) pressed (*smk*) his hands (*gdyw*) on him (that he might become) like a full and piled vessel' Siphre Num. 27.18 141.¹ This gesture is intended to symbolize the transference of one's qualities or of one's personality to another in order to create a substitute. It is used in sacrifice, ordination, and jurisdiction.²

The relationship between the laying on and the leaning on of hands cannot, however, be viewed merely as a contrast. The leaning on must be considered as one of the ways in which the general gesture of touching may be given a more intensive form in keeping with the special meaning attributed to it. This greater intensity can be achieved not only by the application of pressure with the hand but also by the use of both hands as prescribed in the case of the scapegoat, Lev. 16.21, and by contact with the whole body as practised by Elijah and Elisha in raising a dead person to life, 3 Reg. 17.21, 4 Reg. 4.34.

As terms for the laying on of hands the Hebrew text has at the benediction of Jacob *šym* and *šyt*, rendered in the Septuagint by ἐπιτιθέναι and ἐπιβάλλειν, at the healing of Naaman probably *nwp* hi., also translated by ἐπιτιθέναι. Philo too uses only this verb and ἐπιθεσις

¹ According to DAUBE, *op cit*, p. 231 f., the verb ἐπιφέρειν in Philo also provides an indication of the manner in which the gesture was performed. He seems to refer to βίου ἐπιφερομένου Spec Leg 1 202, but these words do not allow such an interpretation.

² Only the meaning of the judicial leaning on of hands is not clear, cf. DAUBE, *op cit*, p. 227.

in a comment on the benediction of Jacob: ἐναλλάττει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθεισι τῷ νεωτέρῳ . . . οἰηθέντος (sc. τοῦ Ἰωσήφ) τὸν πατέρα ἄκοντα σφαλῆσαι περὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν Leg.All. 3.90.

The leaning on of hands has from an early date its technical term in *smk*. In rabbinic literature *smk* and the derived nouns *semikāh* and *semikūt* are strictly technical without the hand or hands still being mentioned.

The Septuagint translates *smk yd* as χεῖρας ἐρείδειν in the case of someone who presses his hands against the wall in fear, Am. 5.5, but for the ritual pressure of the hand χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι was apparently considered a sufficient rendering. This is understandable if one was not aware of such a contrast between the two gestures that it should be expressed in the translation.¹ Consequently χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι and χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις are in the New Testament used for both the laying on and leaning on of hands.

The laying on of hands in blessing is described as a placing of one hand only on the head of each of the sons of Joseph, Gen. 48.14. The gesture of healing with which Naaman imagines his cure to be accomplished by the prophet is likewise a touching of the place to be healed or a moving over it with one hand, 4 Reg. 5.11.

For the leaning on of hands as a sacrificial rite the Hebrew Bible has the singular when it is said that one person performs the gesture, Lev. 1.4; 3.2, 8, 13; 4.4, 24, 29, 33, and the plural when more are mentioned, Ex. 29.10, 15, 19, Lev. 4.15; 8.14, 18, 22, Num. 8.12, Par. 29.23. If in the first group of texts a collective singular is used, this would also be expected in the second. It is therefore more likely that the plural is distributive, which means that all the texts refer to a gesture performed with one hand. Thence a distributive plural must also be assumed for the leaning on of hands on the Levites, Num. 8.10. When in the case of the scapegoat the use of both hands is expressly prescribed, Lev. 16.21, this confirms the assumption that the rite was normally performed with one hand.

In contrast to this, one passage from the Mishnah expressly states that two hands must be leaned on the head of the sacrifice: 'All may perform the leaning on (*smk*) (of hands) . . . (This occurs) with both hands (*bšty ydym*) upon the head; and in the place where they lean on (*smk*) (the hands) there they slaughter the beast' Men. 9.8. Thus the rite may have developed into a gesture performed with two hands. This after all satisfies a normal tendency to use both hands when exercising

¹ Cf. DAUBE, *op.cit.*, p. 224.

some pressure. The case of the scapegoat is the first example of this.

In using χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι the Septuagint has adopted the singular and plural of the original text with the exception that the singular is three times translated by the plural. It is now said of one person offering a sacrifice: ἐπιθήσει τὰς χεῖρας (*yādō*) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Lev. 3.2, 8, 13. The explanation might be that the translator read the dual *yādāw* in the Hebrew text, or he may have adapted the reading to the existing practice of using both hands. Another possibility is still that he already uses the plural χεῖρες as part of the fixed expression as it is in the New Testament.

In a comment on the sacrificial leaning on of hands Philo says that the hands of him who offers a sacrifice must be a token of inward purity. The use of the plural χεῖρες from the technical expression may indicate that he has in mind a gesture performed with both hands: τὰς δὲ ἐπιτιθεμένας τῇ τοῦ ζώου κεφαλῇ χεῖρας δεῖγμα σαφέστατον εἶναι συμβέβηκε πράξεων ἀνυπαιτίων. ὡς ἅμα τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσει δύνασθαι τινα παρρησιασάμενον ἐκ καθάρου τοῦ συνειδότος τοιαῦτα εἶπειν· αἱ χεῖρες αὐται οὔτε δῶρον ἐπ' ἀδικοῖς ἔλαβον Spec. Leg. 1.202 ff.

For the leaning on of hands at the appointment of Joshua the Hebrew text has both the singular and the dual, Num. 27.18, 23, Deut. 34.9. The singular is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Peshitta, whence Behm concludes that the gesture was performed with one hand.¹ This is the more probable since it appeared of old to be the manner of leaning on in the sacrificial rite. The tradition which mentions a rite with two hands has then replaced the old manner by the new intensive form. The latter we found ascribed to Moses in Siphre Num. 27.18 141.

We may now assume that the leaning on of hands at the ordination of a rabbi was also performed with two hands, although this is not attested in the texts. One passage of the Talmud seems even to state the contrary: 'R. Aha (d. 419), the son of Raba, asked R. Ashi (d. 427): Must they ordain (*smkyn*, lit. 'lean on') him by the literal (leaning on of a) hand (*byd'*)? (No,) he answered; they must ordain (*smkyn*) him by calling his name and by giving him (the title of) rabbi' Sanh. 13b. This text, however, dates from a time that the leaning on of hands had already fallen into disuse. The singular may therefore be intended to detract from the significance of the gesture with regard to the ordination by merely conferring the title of rabbi.²

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 124 n. 1.

² Cf. LOHSE, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

From the few instances found for the judicial leaning on of hands nothing can be deduced as to the manner in which the gesture was performed, but we may assume that it did not differ from the leaning on of hands in the sacrificial and in the ordination rite.

We have thus found the expression *šym* (*šyt*) *yḏ* and probably *nwp* *hi. yḏ* for a gesture of touching which is normally performed with one hand and intended as a transmission of power; it is used in blessing and healing. On the other hand, *smk yḏ* refers to an intensive form of touching, accompanied by a certain pressure of the hand. It occurs for a gesture of healing in one text and is the technical expression for the leaning on of hands applied in sacrifice, ordination, and jurisdiction. It is intended as a transmission of one's qualities or of one's personality to another. As an intensive form of touching this rite may have naturally developed into a gesture performed with two hands.

Whereas *šyt yḏ* is translated as *χεῖρα ἐπιβάλλειν*, the equivalent of both *šym yḏ* and *smk yḏ* is *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι*. This expression thus becomes current for the 'leaning on' of hands without denoting that the gesture was performed with a certain pressure, and for the 'laying on' of hands although for a simple gesture of touching the normal Greek verb was *ἄπτεσθαι*.

2. Anointing

For the anointing of persons and objects in order to sanctify them the Hebrew Bible uses, with a few exceptions, the root *mšḥ*. To this is opposed *swk* for the anointing and smearing with oil as a profane act. The Septuagint retains the distinction by regularly using *χρίειν* and derivatives as sacral terms, while employing the compounds of this verb and *ἀλείφειν* with its derivatives in the profane sense.¹

In the Septuagint the following cases for the use of *χρίειν* may be distinguished. (1) As the equivalent of *mšḥ* the verb is the technical term for the anointing of kings: *χρῖσαι... βασιλέα* Jgs. 9.8, cf. Is. 61.1. (2) The verb is likewise used for the anointing of priests: *καὶ Ἀαρων καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ χρίσεις* Ex. 30.30, cf. 29.7. (3) Metaphorically the appointment of Elisha as a prophet is called an anointing in analogy with the anointing of King Jehu: *Ἐλισαίε... χρίσεις εἰς προφήτην ἀντὶ σοῦ* 3 Reg. 19.16, cf. 61.1. (4) In two places *χρίειν* translates a Hebrew *mšḥ*

¹ Cf. SCHLIER, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 230 ff., and *Ἐλαιον, ThW II p. 468 ff., and D. Lys, *L'onction dans la Bible*, Étud.Théol.Rel. 29, 1954, p. 3 ff.

for a physical anointing which, as an expression of festal joy, is a profane act: τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι Am. 6.6, διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε ὁ θεός ὁ θεός σου ἐλαίῳ ἀγαλλεάσεως Ps. 44.8, cf. Is. 25.6. (5) Elsewhere χρίειν used for a profane anointing of the body corresponds to *swk*: ἔλαιον οὐ χρίσῃ Deut. 28.40, ἔχρισά σε ἐν ἐλαίῳ Ez. 16.9, cf. Jdth. 10.3, and in a decree forbidding the misuse of the sacred chrism: ἐπὶ σάρκα ἀνθρώπου οὐ χρισθήσεται Ex. 30.32. (6) So far as the anointing of objects is concerned χρίειν is again principally a sacral term as the equivalent of *mšh* for the anointing of the tabernacle, the altar of burnt offering, and the vessels for the public worship: χρίσεις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ Ex. 40.9, χρίσεις τὸ θυσιαστήριον ib. 40.10. (7) The verb χρίειν is sometimes a profane term for the smearing of objects with oil, where the Hebrew still has *mšh* in this sense: λάγανα ἄζυμα κεχρισμένα ἐν ἐλαίῳ Ex. 29.2, θυρεὸς Σαουλ οὐκ ἐχρίσθη ἐν ἐλαίῳ 2 Reg. 1.21, cf. Jer. 22.14. (8) Once χρίειν translates a form of *šht* pi. 'to ruin', for which the translator may have read a form of *mšh*: χρίσαι τὴν πόλιν Ez. 43.3.

The compounds of χρίειν are always used in a profane meaning. We quote only: λάγανα ἄζυμα διακεχρισμένα (*mšh*) Lev. 2.4, κατέχρισεν (*hmr* 'to cover') αὐτὴν ἀσφαλτοπίσση Ex. 2.3.

The verbal adjective χριστός, as the equivalent of the Hebrew noun *māšīah* is (1) frequently used for the king of Israel: τῷ χριστῷ κυρίου 1 Reg. 24.7, cf. Ps. 2.2. (2) It sometimes refers to the high priest: ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστός Lev. 4.5. (3) It is not used metaphorically of the prophets, but the patriarchs, who are so called, are referred to in the same verse as prophets: μὴ ἄπτεσθε τῶν χριστῶν μου Ps. 104.15, 1 Par. 16.22. (4) By extension the kingly title χριστός becomes an appellation for Cyrus: τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρω Is. 45.1, cf. Dan. 9.25 Th. It is perhaps also used to refer to the people of Israel, Hab. 3.13.

Along with χρῖσις and χρῖσμα we find χριστός as a translation of *mīšhāh* 'anointing' in the expression *šemen hammišhāh* 'oil of anointing'. The usual and literal translation for this in the Septuagint is: τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως Ex. 29.21. In addition one twice finds τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ χριστόν Lev. 21.10, 12, which may be intended as an attempt at a less slavish rendering of the original, and in Exodus sometimes χρῖσμα is used: ἔλαιον χρῖσμα ἁγίου Ex. 30.25 (bis), τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος Ex. 29.7; 35.12a, 19; 40.9. One may wonder why this noun is not consistently employed. It has the two vowels and three out of the four consonants in common with its Hebrew equivalent, albeit not entirely in the same sequence: in this it best satisfies the translators' tendency

to literalism.¹ The objection to this choice is to be found in the fact that in the general language χρῖσμα is not a *nomen actionis* but concrete in the sense of 'unguent', 'coating'.² In ἔλαιον χρῖσμα ἅγιον, as an over-literal rendering of *šemen mišhat godeš*, the meaning 'unguent' may be retained but the translation with the genitive τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος forges the meaning of 'anointing'. The greater external resemblance may also explain why *mōšhah* 'anointing' is translated by χρῖσμα, with the same result for the meaning: χρῖσμα ἱερατείας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Ex. 40.15. We thus find χρῖσμα in the meaning 'anointing' but this usage remains confined to a few places in Exodus. To complete the resumé it may be added that χρῖσις is the incorrect translation of *mišhāh* 'portion' in Lev. 7.35, and χρῖσμα of *māšīah* in Dan. 9.26 LXX Th. Once χρῖσμα is used as a profane term for the 'glaze' which the potter confers on his work, Sir. 38.30.

What we have said concerning the similarity in sound between χρῖσμα and its Hebrew equivalents, is also true to a lesser degree of χρίειν and derivatives in general. This may, therefore, have been one reason why they were preferred as terms for the sacral anointing to ἀλείφειν and derivatives.

In the use of ἀλείφειν in the Septuagint the following cases may be distinguished. (1) The verb is usually the translation of *swk* for a profane anointing of the body: σὺ δὲ λούση καὶ ἀλείψῃ Ruth 3.3 (2) It translates *ṭwh* 'to plaster' for the coating of a wall: ἀλείφουσιν αὐτόν Ez. 13.10, cf. 22.28. (3) It is used exceptionally for the sacral anointing of persons although the original text has *mšh*: ἀλείψεις αὐτούς, δν τρόπον ἡλειψάς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ex. 40.15, οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἡλειμμένοι Num. 3.3 (4) The anointing of the stone by Jacob, for which the Hebrew text has *mšh*, is also a sacral act but the Septuagint translates: ἡλειψάς μοι ἐκεῖ στήλην Gen. 31.13.

Of the derivatives we mention ἄλειμμα. It occurs as a profane term for *šemen*, the 'oil' of gladness: ἄλειμμα εὐφροσύνης τοῖς πενθοῦσιν Is. 61.3, and, without an equivalent, in the already mentioned translation: ἔλαιον ἄλειμμα χρίσεως ἅγιον Ex. 30.31.

The later translators have usually retained the distinction between χρίειν and ἀλείφειν. Of the derivatives χρῖσμα is used once in the sense of 'anointing': ἔλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Lev. 21.12 Sm., but elsewhere we find: τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως Ex. 35.8 Sm. Th., ἔλαιον τὸ χριστόν Lev. 21.12 Th. Aquila, however, clearly shows his intention of

¹ For more examples, see p. 52 and 245 n. 3.

² See p. 186.

avoiding *χρίειν* and derivatives as terms which had become too precious to the Christians.¹ He uses *ἀλείφειν* in the sacral sense: *καὶ ἤλειψεν σὺν τῇ σκηנῇ* Lev. 8.10 Aq., cf. Dan. 9.24 Aq., replaces *χριστός* by *ἡλειμμένος* 1 Reg. 2.35 Aq., cf. Ps. 27.8; 83.10; 88.39, Dan. 9.26 Aq, and calls the sacred chrism: *ἐλαίον ἀλείμματος θεοῦ* Lev. 21.12 Aq. There are a few exceptions: *κεχρισμένος* 2 Reg. 3.39 Aq., *εἰς σωτηρίαν σὺν χριστῶ σου* Hab. 3.13 Aq., *ἀποστρέψης τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ χριστοῦ σου* Ps. 131.10 Aq., but there is cause to doubt the authenticity of these fragments on the grounds of the extreme consequence of Aquila's translation technique. In the last fragment, moreover, the addition of articles is in conflict with his manner of translating. The other translators show almost no evidence of avoiding this particular term. Theodotion only once has *ἡλειψέ με* Is 61.1 Th., in agreement with Aquila. Three other fragments of uncertain origin may therefore also be attributed to Aquila: *ὁ ἀλειφθεὶς* Lev. 4.3; 6.15 Al., *ἤλειψεν* Lev. 7.36 Al.

For the rest one finds *ἀλείφειν* rightly used in the later versions in the profane sense for *šemen*: *ψωμὸν ἡλιμμένον* Lev. 8.26 Al., for *mšh*: *ἡλειμμενος* 2 Reg. 1.21 Aq., and for *twh*: *ἤλειφον αὐτοὺς πῆλῳ* Ez. 22.28 Heb. (*ἐπέχριον* Sm.). On the contrary, *twh* is once translated by *χρίειν* for the coating of a wall, although the Septuagint already had *ἐξάλειφειν*: *χρίσουσι* Lev. 14.42 Al. We have reason to suspect again the hand of Aquila.

Unction as physical culture after taking a bath is extremely common in the Old Testament. It is thus that bathing and anointing are often mentioned together: *σὺ δὲ λούση καὶ ἀλείψη* Ruth. 3.3, cf. 2 Reg. 12.20. Some connection may also be established between the two as ritual acts when Aaron is dressed and anointed after a bath: *λούσεις αὐτοὺς ἐν ὕδατι, καὶ λαβῶν τὰς στολάς ἐνδύσεις Ααρων. . καὶ χρίσεις αὐτόν* Ex. 29.4 ff., cf. Lev. 14.8 ff.

Apart from the normal physical culture anointing is applied in case of sickness. Pain occasioned by wounds is lessened by oil, Is. 1.6. The terms *χρίειν* and *ἀλείφειν* are missing in this sense in the Septuagint, but the Mishnah has the profane *swk*: 'If his loins pain him he may not rub (*swk*) thereon wine or vinegar, yet he may anoint (*swk*) them with oil (*šmn*) but not with rose-oil (*šmn wrd*)' Shabb. 14.4.

At the anointing of kings and priests it is customary for the oil to be poured over the head. Samuel takes an oil flask and empties it over the head of Saul: *καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαμουηλ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ ἐπέχεεν* (γsg)

¹ See p. 2.

ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. . . καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Οὐχὶ κέχρικέν σε κύριος; 1 Reg. 10.1. A report concerning the anointing of David mentions not the pouring out of oil but only the anointing: καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαμουηλ τὸ κέρασ τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ ἔχρισεν αὐτόν ib. 16.13. Moses pours the oil over the head of Aaron and anoints him: καὶ ἐπέχεεν Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου τῆς χρίσεως ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ααρων καὶ ἔχρισεν αὐτόν Lev. 8.12, cf. Ex. 29.7. The texts may be understood in such a way that the anointing is already contained in the pouring out of oil but, with reference to Lev. 8.12, the Talmud distinguishes between pouring over and anointing: 'One (Tanna) reported that oil was poured upon his head first and afterwards some oil was applied between his eyelids, but another (Tanna) reported that first some oil was applied between his eyelids and afterwards oil was poured upon his head'. In the same passage it is mentioned that the anointing of kings and priests occurred respectively in the shape of a circle and of a cross: 'Our Rabbis taught: How were the kings anointed? – In the shape of a wreath. And the priests? – In the shape of a chi. What is meant by the shape of a chi? R. Menashya b. Gadda replied: In the shape of a Greek X' Hor. 12a, cf. Ker. 5b.

In this way *χρίειν* and derivatives are in the Septuagint, as translations of the root *mšḥ*, the technical terms for the anointing of kings and priests; they are also used for an anointing in a metaphorical sense of prophets.¹ On account of its greater resemblance to the Hebrew equivalent *χρῖσμα* is sometimes used in the meaning of 'ointment'. On the other hand, *ἀλείφειν* and derivatives as translations of *swḥ* are terms for a profane anointing destined to promote physical well-being and for medical purposes. Among the later translators Aquila avoids *χρίειν* and derivatives as sacral terms but perhaps uses them deliberately in a profane sense. At the ritual anointing the oil is poured over the head. The act of anointing may already be contained in this pouring out of the oil but it is later reported that the anointing was a distinct act which took place in the shape of a circle or of a cross (chi).

3. *Physical marks*

The Israelites were not unfamiliar with certain customs, also existing among the surrounding peoples, of applying marks to the body. We give here a survey of the data taken from the Old Testament and

¹ For the metaphorical use of *mšḥ* in CD 2.12, possibly for the members of the community, cf. KOSMALA, *op.cit.*, p. 277 ff.

rabbinic literature on the basis of the various techniques mentioned for the application of these marks.¹

Physical marks often mentioned in the Old Testament are incisions. This practice must be distinguished from that of tattooing. The prophets of Baal, introduced into Israel by Achab, are familiar with this custom. When on mount Carmel their god does not bring fire in order to set the sacrifice alight, they cut themselves with knives until they drip with blood: *κατετέμονοντο* (*gdd hitpo.*) *κατὰ τὸν ἐδισμόν αὐτῶν ἐν μαχαίραις* 3 Reg. 18.28. This practice may have been common as well among the prophets of Yahweh: a man who does not wish to be recognized as a prophet explains his wounds (*πληγαί*) by saying that they were obtained in the house of his friends, Zech. 13.6. King Achab recognizes a prophet as soon as he removes the bandage from his eyes, 3 Reg. 21.41 (20.41).

Incisions are further mentioned among the mourning practices of Israelites and neighbouring peoples: *οὐδὲ ἐντομίδας οὐ μὴ ποιήσωσιν* (*gdd*) Jer. 16.6, *πᾶσαι χεῖρες κόψονται* (*g^edudāh*) ib. 31.37 (48.37), but they are forbidden: *ἐπὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν οὐ κατατεμοῦσιν* (*šrt*) *ἐντομίδας* (*šārāšet*) Lev. 21.5, cf. 19.28, Deut. 14.1. The interdiction is discussed a few times in rabbinic literature. In this connection the Talmud makes a distinction between incisions made with the hand (nails): *šryth byd*, and those made with an instrument: *gd̄ydh bkly*, Makk. 21a.

The Greek terms *κατατέμνειν*, *ἐντομίς*, and *κόπτειν* clearly indicate that a technique of incision is referred to. In Hebrew this meaning for *gdd hitpo.* is already evident from the mention of the swords and the blood in the story of the prophets of Baal. Koehler gives as meanings for *šrt* both 'to make incisions' and 'to tattoo'.² This does not appear correct. In the interdiction of Lev. 19.28 tattoos are mentioned separately after the incisions, and elsewhere *šrt* refers to wounds caused by scratching, Zech. 12.3.³

Also to be distinguished from tattoos are the signs made with ink on the surface of the skin in such a way that they may later be removed. Ezechiel refers to this practice. Men approach Jerusalem in order to carry out the divine judgment upon the inhabitants; one of them,

¹ Cf. B STADE, *Das Kainszeichen*, ZAW, 14, 1894, p. 250 ff., and DÖLGER, *Die religiöse Tatouierung im palastinschen Judentum und bei den heidnischen Nachbarstämmen*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 197 ff

² L. KOEHLER-W. BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leyden 2 1958, s.v.

³ In this meaning the verb also occurs in rabbinic sources, cf. M JASTROW s.v.

however, has writing materials and is commanded by Yahweh to mark with a *taw* those who are to be spared: *δὲς τὸ σημεῖον (tāw) ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν* Ez. 9.4, cf. 9.6. Later the Talmud mentions the custom of writing the name of God upon the skin: 'If one has the Divine Name written (*ktb*) upon his skin, he must not bathe' Shabb. 120b, cf. Yom. 8a. The discussion concerns the possibility that the name would be effaced by the ritual bath and there is thus no question of a tattoo.

The technical term for the tattoo is *qa'āqa'*. It occurs once in the Old Testament. Here tattoos are forbidden together with the incisions as signs of mourning: *γράμματα στικτὰ (ketōbet qa'āqa')* οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν ὑμῖν Lev. 19.28. The contrast to the incisions at least suggests a different technique.

In rabbinic literature *qa'ēqa'* recurs, usually in connection with the interdiction of Lev. 19.28, but the sign which a slave received in his hand at his emancipation is called a 'tattooed inscription (*ktwbt q'q'*)' Gitt. 20b. The argument assumes that it is an indelible mark, which again suggests the tattooing technique. This also explains a passage from the Mishnah prohibiting tattoos which consist of an inscription. We may translate: 'If a man wrote (on his skin) a tattooed writing (*ktwbt q'q'*) (he is culpable). If he wrote (*ktb*) without tattooing (*q'q'*) or tattooed (*q'q'*) without writing (*ktb*), he is not culpable, but only if he writes (*ktb*) and tattoos (*q'q'*) with ink, eye paint, or aught that leaves a lasting mark. R. Simeon b. Judah (c. 200) says in the name of R. Simeon (c. 150): He is not culpable unless he writes (*ktb*) there the name (of a god)' Makk. 3.6, cf. Lev. Rabbah 19.6.

In some Old Testament passages the terms used do not clearly indicate which technique is referred to. God places a mark on Cain which is to protect him against blood vengeance: *ἔθετο σημεῖον (ōt) τῷ Καὶν* Gen. 4.15. Nothing is said concerning the shape of the sign or the technique applied, but one may compare it with the tattoos found among various tribes. The Israelites must conserve the memory of the liberation from Egypt as a sign in the hand and on the forehead: *ἔσται σοι σημεῖον (ōt) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου καὶ μνημόσυνον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου* Ex. 13.9, cf. 13.16. A permanent mark is mentioned and for this tattooing would be the proper technique. Isaiah too appears in two passages to allude to the existence of such a custom. In the Messianic time, he says, men will write the Name of Yahweh upon their hands: *ἐπιγράψει· Τοῦ θεοῦ εἶμι* Is. 44.5, and Yahweh marks Sion in His hand in order that He may never forget it: *ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν μου ἔζωγράφησά*

(*hqq*) σου τὰ τείχη *ib.* 49.16.¹ In the Psalms of Solomon a distinction is made between the sign of the righteous and the sign upon the foreheads of the godless: τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίου Ps.Sol. 15.6, τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς ἀπολείας ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῶν *ib.* 15.9.²

It thus appears that the Jews were familiar with physical marks made upon the skin according to different techniques. The decrees forbidding such marks are already sufficient indication that they did occur. The incisions are often mentioned with plain technical terms. For tattoos Hebrew and Aramaic have the root *q'q'* and the Septuagint once γράμματα στικτά.³ Some general terms give no indication of the technique applied. Most texts say just as little concerning the shape of the physical marks. The original text of Ez. 9.4, 6 says, however, that those to be spared are marked with the letter *taw*. The translation of *twh* hi. *tw* 'to make a *taw*' by σημεῖον διδόναι in the Septuagint causes this detail to be lost. In the old Hebrew alphabet the *taw* had the shape of a cross, and such a cross is generally used as an identification mark.⁴

In many cases the signs on the body are intended as marks of ownership. The name of Yahweh or of an idol, the mark of Cain, and the *taw* mark are used in this way. The blood on the houses of the Israelites in Egypt is also intended as such a protective sign: ἔσται τὸ αἷμα ὕμῃν ἐν σημεῖω (᾽ὄτ) ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν Ex. 12.13.

4. The seal

The Septuagint regularly uses σφραγίζειν and some derivative compounds to translate *hlm* 'to seal', and σφραγίς for *hōtām* 'seal', whereas δακτύλιος is used for *ṭabba'at*, any 'ring', especially 'signet-ring'.

In the literal sense σφραγίς is the sealing instrument: ἐσφραγίσαστο τῇ σφραγίδι αὐτοῦ 3 Reg. 20.8, and the seal impression: τὰ θυλάκια ἐν ταῖς σφραγῖσιν Tob. 9.5.

The verb σφραγίζειν occurs literally for the making of a seal im-

¹ Cf the tattooing on the wrist in the cult of Atargatis, above p 194

² On these texts, see also p 251

³ The Greek Bible versions have twice more στίγμα in an unusual meaning, for ornaments of gold with 'beads' of silver μετὰ στιγμάτων (*n^equiddōt*) τοῦ ἀργυροῦ Cant 1 11, and for two pieces of 'variegated stuff': ἐστηλώθη στίγματα (*riqmālayim*) ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ Jgs. 5 30 Al In the latter text the similarity of sound between *riqmāh* and στίγμα may have influenced the choice of the translator In the first passage στίγμα seems erroneous for στιγμή, perhaps on account of the equivalent *n^equiddāh* ending on the same vowel

⁴ Cf also 'This is my *tāw*' Job 31 35, explained as 'this is my signature' or, since it is the last letter of the alphabet, as 'this is my last word'.

pression upon buildings and other places in order to close them off. A garden and fountain are sealed by attaching a seal on the lock of the enclosure: κήπος κεκλεισμένος, πηγή έσφραγισμένη Cant. 4.12. It is also used for the placing of a seal upon books, letters, and documents: έγραψε βιβλίον... και έσφραγισατο 3 Reg. 20.8.

The Hebrew verb sometimes takes as its object not the thing upon which the seal is impressed, but directly that which is locked away under seal: the storage place may then be indicated by a definition of place. The translators have adopted this although it is unusual in Greek. They speak thus of the sealing up of sins in a bag: έσφράγισας δέ μου τας άνομιίας έν βαλλαντίω Job 14.17, and of precious objects in a treasure chamber: έσφράγισται έν τοίς θησαυροίς μου Deut. 32.34.¹

(1) The sealing instrument. – The many places in the Old Testament in which sealing is mentioned show that this custom was just as well known in Israel as among the neighbouring peoples. Herodotus mentions that in Babylonia each one carries with him a seal and staff, Hist. 1.195, and the same was probably true in Israel. As pledge of his promise Judah gives Tamar his seal with cord and his staff: τόν δακτύλιόν σου (hótiām, τήν σφραγιδα σου Aq.) και τόν όρμισκον Gen. 38.18, cf. 38.25.

The Old Testament is familiar with the idea that Yahweh, like every ruler, has a seal. He places it upon the stars so that they cease to shine: κατά δέ άστρων κατασφραγίζει Job 9.7, cf. 37.7 Th. He seals the depths with the seal which bears His name: ό κλείσας τήν έβυσσον και σφραγισάμενος τω... όνόματί σου Pr.Man. 3. Elsewhere His seal is spoken of as a precious gem which is carefully preserved. Even though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, was a seal upon Yahweh's right hand, He would tear him off: άποσφράγισμα (σφραγίς Aq. Sm. Th.) έπί τής χειρός τής δεξιās μου Jer. 22.24, but Zorobabel He will preserve as a seal on His hand: θήσομαι σε ως σφραγιδα Sir. 49.11, cf. 17.22, Ass.Mos. 12.9, Talmud Shabb. 55a.

Jewish superstition knew rings with a magical power, which is traced back to the wisdom of Solomon. Josephus relates that a certain Eleazar succeeds in driving out a demon in the presence of Vespasian and his retinue. He did this by holding against the nostrils of the man possessed a ring in which a root was fixed according to the indications of Solomon: τόν δακτύλιον, έχοντα υπό τή σφραγιδι ρίζαν έξ ών υπέδειξε Σολομών Ant. 8.47. The Talmud mentions a magical ring with the name

¹ See p. 207 and 249 f.

of God, used by Solomon in order to catch the prince of devils: 'A ring (*'zqt'*) on which was graven the Name' Gitt. 68a.

This seal of God also plays a role in the magic papyri: ὀρκίζω σε, σφραγῖδ[α θ]ε[οῦ], ὃν πάντες Ὀλύμ[που] ἀθάνατοι φρίσσο[υσι θεοὶ καὶ] δαίμονες PMag. 3.226 ff., cf. 1.306, and with it the seal of Solomon: ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγίδος, ἧς ἔθετο Σολομῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἰερεμίου, καὶ ἐλάλησεν ib. 4.3039 ff.¹ The texts may be of Jewish or Christian origin. Thus the Testament of Solomon, which is a Christian composition from the third century, deals with a magic ring, having as inscription the pentalpha, which Solomon receives from God. The ring is referred to as: ὁ δακτύλιος τοῦ θεοῦ Test.Sol. 7.3, and σφραγὶς τοῦ θεοῦ ib. 10.6.

(2) The seal impression. – In the Babylonian Talmud the question arises of what objects a person may wear when going out on the sabbath.² Among other things is specified: 'No scholar of the Resh Galutha may go out with a cloak bearing a seal (*srbly htymy*)' Sabb. 58a. The Resh Galutha (exilarch) is the head of Babylonian and Persian Jewry. The pupils evidently wore a badge on their cloaks which identified them as belonging to his retinue. The reason for the interdiction is that the seal may snap off, thus obliging its owner to fold up his cloak in order to conceal its absence, a work which is forbidden on a sabbath.

For slaves the same page mentions a similar distinguishing mark and the sealed neck collar: 'Surely Samuel (d. 254) said: A slave may go out with a seal round his neck (*hwtm šbšw'rw*), but not with a seal on his garments (*hwtm šbkswtw*). There is no difficulty: in the one case (the reference is) where his master set it upon him; in the other where he set it upon himself'. The seal upon the garment is a distinguishing mark intended to prevent the slave's passing for a free man in the street. He attaches it himself. It is for this reason that he will dare to remove it or, if it falls off accidentally, fold up his garment in order to prevent his master from accusing him of having removed it deliberately. Both removal and folding are forbidden on the sabbath. The seal on the neck, on the other hand, is attached by the master himself who impresses it upon the collar with his signet-ring. The slave, therefore, will not dare to remove it.

¹ For the explanation of this action, cf P PERDRIZET, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*, Strasbourg-Paris 1922, p 33 n 7, wrongly LAMPE, *op cit*, p 123

² Cf DÖLGER, *art cit*, ACh 1, 1929, p 292, and the commentary to the English translation of Shabb 58a by H. FRIEDMAN, p 270 f

For this sealed collar which we have already come across in various texts of pagan antiquity as a safety measure for slaves and in the transportation of persons and animals, we also find a Greek text of Jewish origin. It concerns a transport of prisoners of war, and the passage has been taken to refer to the capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.: οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πονηρᾷ, ἐν σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν ἐν ἐπισήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Ps.Sol. 2.6. Dölger first thought that σφραγίς here referred to a tattoo but later arrived at the correct interpretation.¹

(3) Marking as if with a seal. – In common with its normal Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents σφραγίς becomes also the name for the tessera as a metal object resembling a seal. In the Old Testament this development is not yet clearly evident either for the Greek. The ephod and the breastpiece of the high priest are set with precious stones engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; this work is compared with engraving on seals but the objects themselves are not yet spoken of as seals: γλύμμα σφραγίδος Ex. 28.11, cf. 28.21; 36.13, 21. The gold plate worn upon the forehead of the high priest and bearing the inscription ἀγίασμα κυρίου, is also said to be engraved like a seal: ἐκτόπωμα σφραγίδος Ex. 28.36, cf. 36.37. Jesus Sirach often speaks of signet-rings, also considered in one passage as precious stones set in gold, and the consciousness of their real function thus becomes obscured: σφραγίς ἄνθρακος ἐπὶ κοσμηῶ χρυσοῦ. σφραγίς σμαράγδου Sir. 32.5 f. In a list of ornaments the Hebrew *hāh* ‘fibula’ is translated by σφραγίς Ex. 35.22.

In the Talmud now *hōtām* is used also for metal objects resembling seal impressions. Concerning the wearing of seals by slaves on a sabbath yet another opinion is mentioned: ‘A slave may not go out with the seal around his neck (*hwtm sbšw’rw*), nor with the seal on his garments (*hwtm šbkswtw*)’. The explanation of the interdiction is that, whereas the preceding passages dealt with clay seals, the seals referred to here are of metal. If such a seal falls off the slave will not dare to leave it on account of its value and will take it home, which is forbidden: ‘In both cases his master has set it upon him, but one refers to a metal (seal) while the other refers to a clay (seal)’. From the same passage it also appears that animals wear seals both on their collars and on their coverings. Both are forbidden on the Sabbath because they are made of metal: ‘An animal may not go out with a seal (*hwtm*) around its neck not with a seal (*hwtm*) on its covering’ Shabb. 58a.

¹ *Sphragis*, p. 31, *art.cit.*, ACh I, 1929, p. 291, and see above, p. 211 ff.

Since σφραγίς is the usual equivalent of *hôtām* one may also expect it where the latter term refers to a metal object, although the Greek name for such an object is really σύμβολον.¹ That this development did indeed take place may be deduced from the name σφραγίς given to charms of the Byzantine period depicting Solomon seated on a horse and piercing a female demon.² These round objects of bronze or haematite which may be worn on a cord bear inscriptions like: σφραγίς τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ (cf. Apoc. 7.2). φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα, and: σφραγίς Σολομῶνος. ἀποδιώξον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντο(ς). The texts show both Jewish and Christian influences, but the meaning of σφραγίς concurs more with the Jewish usage.³

The Hebrew and Aramaic usage which calls these objects a seal may be considered the result of an extension of meaning whereby this name was given to objects resembling a seal. According to this process other objects were also figuratively termed seals, for example the oblate side of some objects, and the manly expression conferred by a beard is called in the Talmud 'the seal of the beard (*htymt zqn*)' B.Mes 39b.⁴

The Mishnah provides an example of the metaphor of marking with a seal as it developed in the Greek philosophical language and particularly in Philo: 'For man stamps (*tb'*) many coins with the one seal (*hwtm*) and they are like one another; but the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, has stamped (*tb'*) every man with the seal (*hwtm*) of the first man, yet not one of them is like the other' Sanh. 4.5.⁵

(4) Closing as if with a seal. – The metaphor of closing something as with a seal must be considered as a peculiarly Semitic development, brought about by the tendency of using as object to *htm* that which is enclosed under seal.⁶ It is first said that Yahweh seals the sins 'in a bag': ἐσφράγισας δέ μου τὰς ἀνομίας ἐν βαλλαντίῳ Job 14.17, and then quite simply that one seals sins and thus puts an end to them: σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας Dan. 9.24a Th. (τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι LXX, τελειῶσαι ἁμαρτίαν Aq.). The vision and the prophecy will be sealed in the sense that they will be ended or confirmed by their completion: σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ

¹ For this procedure, see p. 164 Concerning σύμβολον, see p. 214 ff

² Texts and representations in G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Amulettes byzantins anciens*, REG 5, 1892, p. 73 ff, and P. PERDRIZET, *Σφραγίς Σολομῶνος*, REG 16, 1903, p. 42 ff

³ PERDRIZET, *art cit*, REG 16, 1903, p. 57 ff, and *op cit*, p. 34, inferred from the double name of the charms that Solomon is here called God, but from the contexts in the inscriptions it is sufficiently clear that indeed God and not Solomon is referred to

⁴ Cf. JASTROW s v

⁵ See p. 216 f

⁶ See p. 207 and 246

προφήτην ib. 9.24b Th. (συντελεσθῆναι τὰ ὄραματα LXX, τελέσαι ὄραματισμόν Aq.).¹

Of thieves who hide during the day the Septuagint says: ἐσφράγισαν ἑαυτούς (*hittemû lāmô*) Job 24.16. The form *hehetim* in: 'he has sealed (i.e. obstructed) his genital organ by his flux' Lev. 15.3, is rendered in Greek in various ways since the translators hesitate to use σφραγίζειν in the sense of 'to close': συνέστηκε LXX, ἐσφραγίσθη Aq., περιπήγνυται Sm., ἐσφράγιεν Th. Man's end is irrevocable, shut off as with a seal: κατεσφραγίσθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναστρέφει Wsd. 2.5. The seal of death closes the life of Eleazar: ὄν πιστὴ θανάτου σφραγὶς ἐτελείωσεν 4 Macc. 7.15. The root *hitm* in the sense of 'to close off' is also at the basis of a few passages from the Ezra Apocalypse: *radix signata est a nobis, infirmitas extincta est a nobis* 4 Esd. 8.53, cf. 6.5, 20; 10.23.

In this connection one might also expect the metaphors of the seal of silence and of chastity. Ben Sirach says that the seal on the mouth is an aid to keeping silence, but this only approaches the metaphor: τίς δώσει ἐπὶ στόμα μου φυλακὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειλέων μου σφραγίδα πανούργου; Sir. 22.27. Later, however, *hōlām* is used for sexual innocence: 'How many young maidens in Israel are in their seal (*hitm*) until the hour that they come under the canopy!' Yalk.Num. 766.

It may still be noted that in rabbinic sources the root *hitm* often means nothing more than 'to conclude', 'to finish', so that the idea of sealing may even have been lost. In the Mishnah it is used for the concluding benediction of a prayer: 'And one concludes (*whitm*, lit. 'seals') (the Hallel) with the Ge'ullah' Pes. 10.6, 'At each (prayer) one says the concluding benedictions (*hitmyhn*, lit. 'seals')' Taan. 2.3. In the Talmud the question is raised of whether the Torah was transmitted in single sheets or as a complete whole: 'The Torah was transmitted entire (*hitwmh*, lit. 'sealed')' Gitt. 60a.²

(5) The seal of circumcision. – The Old Testament is not yet familiar with the metaphor of the seal of circumcision.³ Yahweh says to Abraham that circumcision will be a 'sign' of the covenant: ἐν σημείῳ (ὄτ) διαθήκης ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν Gen. 17.11. As far as can be judged from the use of *te'emrt* 'sign' instead of *māhatam* 'seal' in the Ethiopic version and of *signum* in the Latin version of the Hebrew or

¹ Other translators read forms of the root *tmim* 'to be complete', 'to be finished', whence they use τελεῖν and derivatives

² Cf. JASTROW 5 v

³ Cf. ANRICH, *op cit.*, p. 122, DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 51 ff., A. VON STROMBERG, *Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der Taufe*, Berlin 1913, p. 92 ff.

Aramaic original, the Book of the Jubilees in the second century B.C. still referred to circumcision as a 'sign': *et amplius non est super eum signum (te'emrt) ut sit deo, sed exterminii et perditionis a terra* Jub. 15.26. The sign of circumcision is now considered as a mark of ownership which is a protection against divine punishment. A text from the first century B.C. mentions the sign of God which protects the righteous: ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίους εἰς σωτηρίαν Ps.Sol. 15.6. In contrast sinners bear the sign of destruction on their foreheads, ib. 15.9.¹ No place is indicated for the sign of the righteous but, if one compares the wording with that of Jub. 15.26, there appears reason to suppose that 'the sign of God' is a veiled allusion to circumcision.

The earliest text in which circumcision is called a seal is now found in Paul. He explains the sign of Abraham's circumcision as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he already possessed in uncircumcision: σημεῖον ἔλαβε περιτομῆς σφραγιδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστία Rom. 4.11.

The first question to be dealt with is in what respect the apostle speaks of circumcision metaphorically as a seal. He may have in mind a marking, closing, or confirming as with a seal. If he compares circumcision with a seal in so far as it is a 'mark' on the body, it is viewed as a sort of physical mark, a point of view already indicated in Jub. 15.26. The context in Paul, for the rest, provides no evidence that he had this aspect in mind. On the other hand, he must have been aware that circumcision, as a seal, 'confirmed' the covenant between God and Abraham. The most important point in his argument, however, is that circumcision, as a seal, 'concludes' justification. He can easily stress this point since the metaphor was current for the Semitic equivalents in the Jewish milieu. Paul's argument is thus that circumcision as a conclusion only occurs after the justification which Abraham had already received in his uncircumcised state.

Another problem concerns the origin of the metaphor. Had the writers of Jub. 15.26 and Ps.Sol. 15.6 been familiar with the metaphor of the seal of circumcision they would gladly have used it. But even if they did not know the metaphor it can still be earlier than Paul. The apostle then employs an existing phrase in order to convey that circumcision was merely a seal confirming Abraham's justification and following it. His argument even becomes more forceful if his opponents also considered circumcision as a seal. The wording of Rom. 4.11, however, where σφραγίς is added to σημεῖον as predicative adjunct

¹ See p. 245.

seems strongly to indicate that it is precisely here that the transition is made from the sign to the seal. Before seeking in this text the origin of the metaphor, however, we must bear in mind that Paul's letter was preceded by and is the reflexion of an extensive discussion with the Jews.¹ To Paul's point of view as expressed in Rom. 4.11 the Jews may have opposed the value of circumcision considered as a seal. It need not have been clear who first formulated the metaphor in the discussion.

This metaphor, for the rest, did not achieve among the Jews the popularity one might have expected. This fact is easily explainable as a reaction to the success which the metaphor of the seal gained among the Christians.² If the Jews attributed the metaphor to Paul who, moreover, had derived from it an argument against the value of circumcision, they would probably not have adopted it at all. On the other hand, the metaphor is so attractive in connection with circumcision that it persisted in Jewish literature.

In rabbinic texts circumcision is termed a seal since it confirms the covenant with God.³ In the Babylonian Talmud a baraita reads: 'He set a statue in his flesh and his offspring he sealed (*htm*) with the sign (*wt*) of the holy covenant' Shabb. 137b, cf. Talmud Yerushalmi Ber. 14a, Tosephta Ber. 7. This seal is also considered as a mark of ownership: 'God ordained a feast . . . but He commanded: unless the seal (*hwtm*) of Abraham is on your flesh, you cannot taste thereof' Ex. Rabbah 19.5. It serves as a protection against demons: 'And each of them had the seal of circumcision (*htymt mylk*) upon his flesh, as it was sealed (*htm*) upon the flesh of Abraham; and thence they were as strong as a man . . . and thence they feared not the arrows of the demons who roam by night' Targum Cant. 3.8, cf. Pirke R. El. 10. In a late text God calls circumcision 'His seal (*hwtmw*)' J. Lam. 5 p. 162 J.

The following fragment from a later Bible version may be considered as Greek evidence for the Jewish use of the metaphor. In connection with the circumcision of their son, Zippora calls Moses a 'bridegroom of blood'. The translator read a form of *htm* for *hātān*, 'bridegroom' and may have thought of circumcision as a seal: ἐσφράγισε τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς Ex. 4.26 Heb.⁴

¹ Cf. J. JEREMIAS, *Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen*, Studia Paulina hon. J. de Zwaan, Haarlem 1953, p. 146 ff.

² See p. 2.

³ Cf. BILLERBECK, *op cit*, IV p. 32 f.

⁴ A passage from the Ezra Apocalypse is also quoted in this connection *antequam consignarentur* (other MSS add *eorum merita*) *qui fidem thesaurisauerunt*, in the German translation by VIOLET 'Eh' noch versiegelt †der Schatz der Glaubigen†' 4

We thus find σφραγίς and derivatives used in common with their Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents for the signet-ring, especially of Yahweh, and for the seal impression. A development peculiar to the Jewish milieu is the application of the terms to objects resembling seals, which may be worn by persons and animals. The metaphor of closing something as with a seal appeared to be very widespread, in many cases perhaps without the idea of sealing still being present. The metaphor of the seal of circumcision may have originated in the discussion between Paul and the rabbis concerning the value of circumcision. For this reason perhaps and on account of the high appreciation the Christians had for their seal it remained comparatively rare in Jewish literature.

Esd. 6.5. Violet supposes that in the Greek version, which underlies the other versions, θησαυρόν(-ους) τῶν πιστῶν was altered to θησαυρίζοντας(-όντων) πιστοῖν. If this is correct, the idea of a sealing of persons is additional and possibly arose under the influence of Apoc. 7.2 ff. For Christian texts mentioning the seal of circumcision, see p. 424.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TERMS FOR IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN the New Testament the expressions *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* and *χειρῶν ἐπιθεσις* denote a gesture or rite of imposition of hands applied (1) in blessing, (2) healing, (3) reconciliation, (4) in the conferring of the Spirit, and (5) in ordination.

Among the terms for anointing a distinction must be made between (1) the use of *ἀλείφειν* and *ἐπιχρίειν* for a gesture or rite of healing, (2) of *χρίειν* for the rite of the gift of the Spirit, and (3) of *χρίειν* in the metaphorical sense denoting the anointing of Christ with the Spirit.

By *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν* we find indicated as a sealing (1) the rite of the gift of the Spirit, (2) probably the descent of the Spirit upon Christ, and (3) an eschatological mark of ownership.

This survey shows that the three groups of terms may be used for the same gesture or rite. It is therefore of particular importance to study in this and the following chapter the relationship of the terms to each other. It will then appear that the imposition of hands as a gesture of touching may be accompanied by an anointing and termed a sealing.

In this chapter we must deal with the use of the terms in the New Testament (1) for blessing and healing, from which we will obtain a better insight into the meaning of the imposition of hands and its relation to the anointing, (2) for the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit as distinguished from the reconciliation and ordination rites, (3) for the anointing and sealing of Christ, and (4) for the eschatological seal and other marks of ownership.

1. *Blessing and healing*

In two passages of the New Testament the imposition of hands is shown in its most general form. When at the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor the apostles cast themselves to the ground in fear, Christ reassures them and Matthew adds that He touches them: *ἀψάμενος αὐτῶν* Mt. 17.7. When the Lord appears to John on the island of Patmos, he too falls fearfully to the ground and Christ reassures him by

placing His right hand on him: ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ Apoc. 1.17. In these texts we have a simple gesture of touching, which can be indicated by ἄπτεσθαι and δεξιὰν τιθέναι. The expression χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι does not occur and would, for the rest, have been too technical in this case, for we are concerned merely with the gesture of touching in its most general form as it may be made spontaneously everywhere. It is here a gesture of transmission by which one person attempts to reassure another. It is normally performed with one hand, preferably the right, as is mentioned in Apoc. 1.17.¹

(1) The gesture of blessing. – At request Jesus blesses children. His gesture is termed a touching and laying on of hands: ἵνα τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθῆ αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεύξηται Mt. 19.13, ἐπιθεις τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ib. 19.15, ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄπτηται Lk. 18.15. Mark even describes it in more detail. Jesus takes the children in His arms and blesses them by laying His hands upon them: ἵνα αὐτῶν ἄπτηται Mk. 10.13, ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ κατευλόγει τιθεις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά ib. 10.16.

In these texts ἄπτεσθαι and χεῖρας (ἐπι)τιθέναι are synonymous. Mark even uses them next to each other. The laying on of hands is a gesture of touching, and the use of one hand is sufficient. At any rate we need not assume that Christ lays both hands upon each child. The object χεῖρας in the plural forms part of the fixed expression.²

The gesture performed by Jesus is called by Mark a blessing. None the less it may not be so clearly distinguishable from the gesture of healing. Jesus might in the first place have been asked to touch the children on account of the salutary effect which was associated with touching as a gesture of healing. For this reason the episode cannot be taken as proof that the imposition of hands as a gesture of blessing was generally known.

Before His Ascension Jesus blesses the disciples by lifting up His hands: ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς Lk. 24.50. This, at any rate, is certainly a familiar gesture. We found the lifting up of hands in the temple service as the rite by which the priests blessed the multitudes.³

We can only presume that in the apostolic age the imposition of hands was used more frequently for the blessing of individuals and perhaps the raising up of hands for the blessing of groups. For the first gesture ἄπτεσθαι and χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι are used as synonyms. They

¹ See also Dan. 10.10, above p. 229.

² See p. 237 and 385.

³ See p. 228 f.

denote a simple gesture of touching, which may be performed with one hand.

(2) The gesture of healing. – In discussing the gesture of healing in the New Testament we must distinguish between the use of the terms for a freely chosen gesture with which Christ and the apostles performed cures, and for a rite of healing which was practised in the early Christian community.

The free gesture is described as a taking of the hand or a touching upon the spot to be healed and as an imposition of hands. It may, however, also consist of an anointing or, at least, something in the nature of a salve may be used in touching the part to be healed.¹

We give first the numerous texts for this gesture. Jesus cures Peter's mother-in-law at Capernaum by touching her hand: ἤψατο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς Mt. 8.15, κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς Mk. 1.31, and in the same place He cures many people after sunset by laying His hands upon them: ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθεῖς Lk. 4.40, and a leper by touching: ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ Mt. 8.3. He raises Jairus' daughter to life by taking her hand: ἐπίθες τὴν χεῖρά σου ib. 9.18, ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῆς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆ (v.l. ἐλθὲ ἄψαι αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου) Mk. 5.23, ἐκράτησεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς Mt. 9.25 parr. He heals some sick people in Nazareth by laying His hands upon them: ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας Mk. 6.5, the deaf and dumb man of the Decapolis by touching him with the use of spittle: ἵνα ἐπιθῆ αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα ib. 7.32, ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὕδα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἤψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ ib. 7.33, the blind man at Bethsaida by an imposition of hands with the use of spittle: ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἄψηται ib. 8.22, πτύσας εἰς τὰ ὄμματα αὐτοῦ, ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ib. 8.23, πάλιν ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοῦς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ib. 8.25, and other blind people by touching them: ἤψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν Mt. 9.29; 20.34, by an imposition of hands with the use of clay and spittle: ἐπέθηκεν (v.l. ἐπέχρισεν) αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Jn. 9.6, ἐπέχρισέν μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ib. 9.11. He cures a boy possessed by a devil by taking him by the hand: κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ Mk. 9.27, the woman with the twisted back by an imposition of hands: ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῆ τὰς χεῖρας Lk. 13.13, the man afflicted with dropsy by taking him by the hand ἐπιλαβόμενος ἴασατο αὐτόν ib. 14.4,² and the servant of the high priest by touching his ear: ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου ἴασατο αὐτόν ib. 22.51. To this list one might add that He touched the

¹ Cf. J. B. UMBERG, *Die Schriftlehre vom Sakrament der Firmung*, Freiburg i.B. 1920, p. 145 f., and COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 28 ff.

² Unless ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι must be taken here in the sense of 'to take aside'; cf. Mk. 8.23.

bier at the raising to life of the widow's son at Naim: ἤψατο τῆς σοροῦ ib. 7.14.

The gesture is also performed in reverse: many sick people are cured by touching Jesus or at least the fringe of His garment: ἕνα μόνον ἄψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὄσοι ἤψαντο διεσώθησαν Mt. 14.36. The same method of healing is also mentioned ib. 15.30, Mk. 3.10, Lk. 6.19, and especially in the case of the woman suffering from a hemorrhage, Mt. 9.20 par.

The apostles also perform cures. When the twelve have been sent out they cure many sick people by anointing them: ἤλειπον ἐλαίω πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευσον Mk. 6.13. A gesture of touching is mentioned in a few cures which are performed after Pentecost. Peter cures a paralysed man by taking his hand: πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρός Acts 3.7, and he raises Tabitha to life by giving her his hand: δούς δὲ αὐτῇ χεῖρα ib. 9.41. Ananias cures Paul's blindness by an imposition of hands: ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ χεῖρας (v.l. χεῖρα) ib. 9.12, ἐπιθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας ib. 9.17.¹ Paul raises from the dead Eutychus who has fallen from the window, by lying upon him: ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν . . . ib. 20.10, and on Malta he cures the father of Publius by an imposition of hands: ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ib. 28.8. Others upon the island are then cured without a gesture being mentioned, ib. 28.9. Even the shadow of Peter heals, ib. 5.15, and contact with the clothing of Paul, ib. 19.12. The end of the Markan gospel contains the promise that all who believe will have power to heal the sick by imposition of hands: χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν Mk. 16.18.²

In addition to χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι we find a number of verbs all indicating that someone touches the sick or deceased person, or takes him by the hand. The terms are interchangeable. Jairus asks for an imposition of hands and Jesus takes the girl by the hand, Mt. 9.18, 25 par. The people also ask for an imposition of hands for the deaf and dumb man of the Decapolis; Jesus complies with their request by putting His fingers in the man's ears and touching his tongue, Mk. 7.32 f. Jesus is asked to touch the blind man of Bethsaida and the answer is now a laying of hands upon the eyes, ib. 8.22 ff. The laying on

¹ There is no reason to suppose that this gesture conferred the gift of the Spirit before Paul was baptized; cf. below, p. 267 and 277.

² The instances may be extended by taking into account the places mentioning that miracles are performed 'by the hands' of Jesus and the apostles: διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Mk. 6.2, Acts 5.12; 14.3; 19.11. The expression may contain a reference to the gesture of touching and must at least be distinguished from διὰ χειρός, ἐν χειρὶ as semitisms translating *byad*. Cf. COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 34 n. 1.

of hands is nothing other than a gesture of touching. The spot touched is usually the part to be healed or else the person is taken by the hand.

In a few passages it is mentioned that Jesus combines the gesture of touching with the use of something in the nature of an ointment. In curing the deaf and dumb man he takes spittle and touches the man's tongue with it, Mk. 7.33. The gesture of touching thus becomes a sort of anointing. The blind man of Bethsaida is cured in a similar manner. Jesus spits on his eyes and lays His hands upon him, ib. 8.23. This gesture must be thought of as a touching of the place to be healed and here too thus we have a form of anointing. For the man born blind Jesus makes a mixture of clay and spittle and lays this upon the eyes, Jn. 9.6. The healed man himself calls this touching with clay and spittle an anointing, ib. 9.11, cf. 9.6 v.l. It thus becomes clear that an imposition of hands may be accompanied by an anointing and that an anointing may already imply a laying on of hands; both are realized by the same gesture. One now sees the connection between the report that the Twelve heal by anointing, Mk. 6.13, and other passages which only speak of an imposition of hands, for example, ib. 16.18.

The descriptions of the gesture of touching used in performing cures indicate that this gesture was commonly performed with one hand.¹ The healing of a leper is described in detail: Christ stretches out His hand and touches the sick man, Mt. 8.3 par. In other cases too this is the normal procedure, especially when the imposition is accompanied by a form of anointing. Circumstances, however, may again have led to the use of both hands when the ears or eyes are touched. In raising Eutychus from the dead Paul imitates Elijah and Elisha by throwing both his arms about the dead boy, ib. 20.10. We may assume that in general the right hand was preferred. One indication of this is that Peter grasps a paralysed man by his right hand, Acts 3.7.

In comparison with the other verbs, *ἄπτεσθαι*, *κρατεῖν*, *ἐπιλαμβάνειν*, and *πιάζειν*, which have no object to express that the gesture was performed with the hand, and with which it is thus easier to indicate which part of the body is touched, *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* is a rather solemn expression. The object *χεῖρας* is currently used in the plural whereas the gesture was performed with one hand. The plural thus appears to form part of the fixed expression. A distributive plural might only be supposed for the imposition of hands to be performed by the faithful, Mk. 16.18. Apart from a variant in Acts 9.12 the singular *χεῖρα* is found only in Mt. 9.18 and Mk. 7.32; it then occurs in a request made to

¹ See p. 227 f.

Jesus, which is perhaps made to appear less demanding by the use of the singular.

There is one more passage in which anointing is mentioned as a gesture of healing. James exhorts his readers in case of sickness to call in the presbyters of the community: *καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἔλαιον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου* Jas. 5.14. The resemblance to the other texts becomes clearer now that we have seen that the anointing implied an imposition of hands.¹ There is, however, an important distinction. This anointing is not a freely chosen gesture of the healer but a rite, known in the community and of which the officiants are named. In addition, this anointing performed with prayer is expected not only to heal but also to grant forgiveness of sins, ib. 5.15.

In the terminology of this rite the choice of *ἀλείφειν* is remarkable. We found this verb used to report that the Twelve sent out by Jesus cured many people by anointing, Mk. 6.13, and *ἐπιχρίειν* for the use of clay and spittle, Jn. 9.11; 9.6 v.l. The early Christians must have been sensitive to the distinction between these verbs and the simple form *χρίειν* as the sacral term for the anointing of Christ and the baptismal unction which they themselves had received. Jewish Christians were aware of the same distinction between the roots *mšh* and *swk*. When Jas. 5.14 refers to an existing practice of the early Christian community we may assume that the current term for this rite was *ἀλείφειν*.

In healing, even more clearly than in blessing, it thus becomes evident that the gesture consisted of a simple touch of the hand, usually of one hand. It now appears moreover that this gesture may be accompanied by an anointing or the use of something in the way of ointment. The synonyms *ἄπτεσθαι* and *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* are used interchangeably for this gesture. The latter appears to be a current biblical expression with the object in the plural for a gesture with one hand. The use of an ointment is indicated by *ἀλείφειν* and *ἐπιχρίειν* but not with the sacral term *χρίειν*.

2. Reconciliation, postbaptismal gift of the Spirit, and ordination

The imposition of hands, whether or not accompanied by an anointing and sealing, may also indicate a reconciliation rite, a postbaptismal

¹ There are no grounds for supposing that *προσεύχεσθαι* indicates an imposition of hands which is distinct from the anointing, as does GALTIER, *art.cit.*, DThC VII c. 1313 ff.

rite which confers the Holy Spirit, and an ordination rite. Thence the difficulty arises, albeit to a lesser degree in the New Testament than in early Christian literature, of discerning between the application of the terms to three rites of imposition of hands. We have therefore to deal with them separately.

(1) The reconciliation rite. – After baptism the Christian is required to lead a sinless life but contrasted with this high ideal is the recognition that all make many mistakes, Jas. 3.2. There is even the danger of relapse or complete apostasy, and it thus becomes necessary that one should be able to obtain forgiveness of sins committed after baptism. As means of postbaptismal forgiveness works of mercy are quoted, ib. 2.13, also mutual confession and prayer, ib. 5.16. An example of a sinner who is banished from the community and received again is offered by 2 Cor. 2.6 ff., cf. Did. 15.3, but no rite is mentioned for this reception and forgiveness. In another passage, however, Paul seems to refer to the imposition of hands as the proper rite for such a reconciliation.

In his advice to Timothy he warns him to be extremely careful in connection with the imposition of hands: *χειρας ταχέως μηδενι ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἀμαρτίαις ἄλλοτριαις* 1 Tim. 5.22. Of the meanings which may be attributed to the imposition of hands only two must here be taken into account. Paul may be referring either to a rite of ordination or to a rite of reconciliation. The first of these explanations is most commonly accepted, but solid linguistic arguments have been advanced in favour of the second.¹ The expression *τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγε* ib. 5.20, one says, is a general reference to the treatment of sinners. If this verse is linked with the preceding one, which deals with a complaint against a presbyter, this would suggest a special jurisdiction for sinful presbyters, which is not found anywhere else. There is no conjunction and the apostle springs from the singular *κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου* to the plural *τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας*. Here thus a new passage begins, dealing with the action to be taken against the sinners in the community. The expression *κοινωνεῖν ἀμαρτίαις ἄλλοτριαις* ib. 5.22, now has its ordinary meaning of sharing in the sins of another by maintaining contact with a sinner. This expression might be taken to refer to the responsibility occurred by the over-hasty administration of ordination but no early evidence can be quoted for this explanation.

¹ Cf. P. GALTIER, *La réconciliation des pécheurs dans saint Paul*, RSR 3, 1912, p. 448 ff., *La réconciliation des pécheurs dans la première épître à Timothée*, RSR 39, 1951, p. 317 ff., and for the opposite view COPPENS, *op cit*, p. 125 ff.

Finally it is pointed out that the earliest tradition too has regarded the imposition of hands in this passage as a reconciliation rite.

One objection to this explanation is that the use of the expression *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* would seem to plead for an ordination rite. In addition, Coppens has combated the tradition which sees here a reconciliation rite for, according to him, this tradition is based only upon a personal interpretation of Tertullian and was hence confined to the African Church and a few persons dependent upon it, especially the Asiatic circles of Firmilian of Caesarea.¹ An examination of the expression in the passage discussed, however, will add new evidence to the opinion that the imposition of hands is the reconciliation rite.

With *μηδενί* in the admonition *χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενί ἐπιτίθει* Paul refers to any of the sinners already mentioned, *ib.* 5.20, and even if these sinners were to be viewed as sinful presbyters, an imposition of hands upon them is a reconciliation rite. If an ordination rite were referred to, this would mean that Paul is making a rapid transition to a subject which has been fully dealt with previously, *ib.* 3.1 ff. Such a transition must be immediately evident from the context and this is only true here if *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* without further addition is for Paul and his readers a truly technical expression for the ordination rite. There is no evidence for this in the New Testament nor in early Christian literature, but from the third century onwards the imposition of hands is a current name for both the ordination and the reconciliation rites. This being so, the expression in *1 Tim.* 5.22 must have readily been taken as a reference to the latter rite and Tertullian's explanation in *Pud.* 18.9 cannot be considered as peculiar to him. On the other hand, the expression gradually became more technical for the ordination than for the reconciliation rite and one thus understands why later generations so easily seized upon the other interpretation.²

With regard to the imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite the question still remains whether, according to the Old Testament distinction, we are concerned with a laying on or a leaning on of hands.³ In support of the second possibility one might refer to the imposition of hands in Jewish jurisdiction, but this rite can certainly not be interpreted as a reconciliation. Paul's imposition of hands shows more resemblance to the anointing in *Jas.* 5.14, for this rite implies an imposition of hands and serves at the same time as a rite for the forgiveness of sins. The reconciliation rite, thus, was probably a

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 129.

² See p. 321 ff. and 370 ff.

³ See p. 227 ff.

normal gesture of touching performed with one hand. The plural *χεῖρας* must be taken as forming part of the fixed expression. We may postulate it in the New Testament period as the usual rite for the reception of sinners into the community.

(2) The postbaptismal gift of the Spirit. – The Holy Spirit who descended upon the apostles on the morning of Pentecost was subsequently given to all who received baptism. The rite by which this is accomplished is referred to in the New Testament as an imposition of hands, *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι*, *χειρῶν ἐπιθεσις*, an anointing, *χρῆναι*, and a sealing, *σφραγίζειν*. On account of its effect the rite is spoken of as ‘the gift of the Holy Spirit’, *ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* ‘the pouring out’, ‘conferring’, and ‘receiving of the Spirit’, *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν*, *διδόναι*, *λαμβάνειν*. An examination of this linguistic usage among the New Testament authors will show that the rite referred to is always that of the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit.¹

In two passages the rite is termed an imposition of hands.² After the conversion of the Samaritans by Philip, the apostles Peter and John journey to Samaria in order to confer the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands: *τότε ἐπετίθεισαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐλάβανον πνεῦμα ἅγιον* Acts 8.17, *διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν* ib. 8.18, cf. 8.19. The rite is accompanied by the granting of special *charismata*, for Simon ‘sees’ the Spirit descending. By the same rite Paul confers the Spirit upon the disciples of John after they have been baptized: *ἐπιθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Παύλου χεῖρας ἦλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτούς* ib. 19.6. They speak in many tongues and prophesy.

To these passages the traditional explanation adds another: *βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς, ἐπιθέσεώς τε χειρῶν* Heb. 6.2. This was, however, in our opinion a summary of Jewish doctrine although adapted in such a way that it shows the greatest possible resemblance to the Christian doctrine. In this case the text contains an indirect reference to the use which the Christians make of this rite on various occasions. The author may think of the ordination rite which has a counterpart in Judaism but, by mentioning the rite in connection with the doctrine concerning baptisms, he may also refer to the postbaptismal imposition of hands.³

With these passages others must be compared from which it may appear that the same rite is known as an anointing. The most important

¹ For this problem and the most important literature, see p. 56 ff.

² Cf. also N. ADLER, *Taufe und Handauflegung*, Münster 1951.

³ See p. 30.

is found in Paul: ὁ βεβαιῶν ὑμᾶς σὺν ἡμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός, ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν 2 Cor. 1.21 f.

The three participles in the aorist, contrasted with the present βεβαιῶν indicate an event in the past which all the faithful went through. Nor does Paul exclude himself. The object ἡμᾶς indicates that he too experienced this event. It is described as an anointing and more closely defined as a sealing and a gift of the Holy Spirit.¹

As long as the contrary is not proved we must take it that χρίειν is used in its normal sense for a material anointing. None the less it is generally held that the verb is here used in a metaphorical sense for a non-material anointing. The only argument upon which this opinion can be based is the New Testament use of χρίειν for a non-material anointing of Christ. Further examination will show that this usage in special circumstances does not justify such a far-reaching conclusion.² On linguistic grounds we have therefore to maintain that Paul knew a gift of the Holy Spirit of which the rite was a material anointing. One might only speak of a metaphorical use of χρίειν in so far as the act of anointing is transferred from the minister to God.

Two passages in John confirm this conclusion: ὑμεῖς χρίσμα ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου 1 Jn. 2.20, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ χρίσμα ὃ ἐλάβετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μένει ἐν ὑμῖν...τὸ αὐτοῦ χρίσμα διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ib. 2.27. The noun χρίσμα means 'ointment'. The exceptions in which it acquires the meaning of 'anointing' proved to be extremely rare. In pagan literature a dubious example was found in Galen; a few examples in the Septuagint are due to particular circumstances but even then χρίσις in the sense of 'anointing' retains preference.³ In 1 Jn. 1.20, 27 the meaning 'ointment' is moreover most suited to the context.⁴ The Spirit is metaphorically called 'the ointment' since He is communicated by a rite of anointing. This event is indicated by the aorist χρίσμα ἐλάβετε, while the presents ἔχετε, μένει, and διδάσκει point to a condition which has since come into being. Thus χρίσμα is a metaphorical name for the Holy Spirit, but this metaphor is based upon the fact that the Spirit was previously granted by a material anointing.

¹ Cf COPPENS, *op cit*, p 271 f.

² See p 282 It is even more difficult to view χρίσας in 2 Cor 1 21 as a counterpart of ἀκούσαντες in Eph 1 13, as suggested by I DE LA POTTERIE, *L'onction du chrétien dans la foi*, Biblica 40, 1959, p 12 ff Thus χρίειν would be a metaphorical term for the acceptance of faith.

³ See p 186, 240 and 389

⁴ Cf R SCHNACKENBURG, *Die Johannesbriefe*, Freiburg 1 B 1953, p 134

Our conclusion may be that in the New Testament a gift of the Spirit is granted by an imposition of hands and an anointing. It is not necessary, however, to assume two separate rites, for it was already apparent that the imposition of hands is a gesture of touching which may comprise an anointing.¹ It must moreover be noted that the old Christian practice of a complete postbaptismal anointing, as found from the second century onwards,² cannot be explained merely as an adoption of the Old Testament anointings of the head. It apparently continues also the complete anointing of the body after taking a bath, as was a matter of course in pagan antiquity. It is therefore not difficult to assume that the imposition of hands performed by Paul after the baptism of the disciples of John implied an anointing, Acts 19.6. In the case of the conversion of the Samaritans one might now suppose that, as a result of the lapse of time between their baptism and the granting of the Spirit, the laying on of hands became separated from such an anointing after the bath, *ib.* 8.17. We should thus have here a very similar situation to that which persists later in most Churches in the West. Such a disconnection of baptism and the conferring of the Spirit might now explain why Luke, or his source, correctly designated the rite as a laying on of hands. For the same reason the appellation persists later in the West.³

We now find the Jewish sacral terms *χρίειν* and *χρῖσμα* used to refer to the Christian rite as an anointing. In this manner the rite is linked with the Old Testament anointing of priests, kings, and prophets, and with the anointing of the Messiah.

As far as the expressions *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* and *χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις* are used, the question may be raised of whether this appellation is based upon an Old Testament laying on or leaning on of hands. Daube opted for the second opinion⁴ but, on account of the relationship assumed between the anointing and imposition of hands, the contrary is more probable. The rite is really an anointing performed by a simple gesture of touching in the oil which may have been previously poured over the head.⁵ There is no reason to believe that the nature of the gesture would be changed if oil were not used or were used a considerable time beforehand.

We have to assume that the gesture of touching and anointing was normally performed with one hand. Once again, in *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* and

¹ See p. 258.

² See p. 340 ff. and also 318.

³ See p. 353 and 357.

⁴ *Op.cit.*, p. 241 ff.

⁵ For this manner of anointing, see p. 241 f. and 351.

χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις, the plural must be considered part of the fixed expression.

The rite of the gift of the Spirit has yet a third appellation, peculiar to Paul. In the passage already quoted he refers to the anointing more particularly as a sealing: ὁ . . . χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός, ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς 2 Cor. 1.21 f. He returns to this twice without mentioning the anointing: πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὃς ἐστὶν ἄρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν Eph. 1.13, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως ib. 4.30.¹ The verb σφραγίζειν is three times used in the aorist tense and refers to the act by which the faithful received the Holy Spirit.

It is difficult to determine in what sense σφραγίζειν is used in these passages. The apostle may be thinking of a 'marking', a 'confirming', or a 'closing' of something as with a seal. There may also be a connection with special developments created by the use of the terms in the pagan language and in Judaism.²

In so far as σφραγίζειν in 2 Cor. 1.21 f. is intended as a definition of χρίειν, one may assume that at the imposition of the hand in the ointment Paul is thinking of the making of a seal impression. We find then the metaphorical meaning of 'to mark' something as with a seal. It is not necessary that Paul was already familiar with the custom of performing the anointing in a certain form, although this would make the metaphor more understandable.³ The expression σφραγίζειν (ἐν) πνεύματι Eph. 1.13; 4.30, elaborates the image: the Spirit is compared with a sealing instrument, the gift of the Spirit is its impression in the soul.

This concept of the seal as a mark in the soul shows some similarity with the metaphor of the seal in philosophy, especially with the seal of the Logos in Philo.⁴ For the rest, Paul may have arrived at the same image independently.

The marking of the faithful as with a seal can be elaborated in yet another direction. The subject of σφραγίζειν in 2 Cor. 1.22 is not the officiant of the rite but God, and the verb is used in the middle voice: the faithful are sealed by God and are thus marked as His property. Paul may therefore have viewed the seal of the Spirit as a mark of

¹ Cf. H. SCHLIER, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, Düsseldorf 1957, p. 70 ff.

² See p. 204 ff. and 248 ff.

³ If according to rabbinic tradition priests and kings were anointed in the form of a circle or a chi, the sign of the cross was indicated for the Christian anointing rite and may have been introduced very soon. See also p. 242, 366 and 412.

⁴ See p. 217.

ownership, in any case the idea is an obvious one. This means a further development with regard to the Old Testament and later Jewish literature where it is still only said that man bears a 'sign' of election.¹

It is also possible that Paul intends to link the sealing with the idea of 'confirming' something as with a seal, in so far as the seal is a guarantee which gives the right to an inheritance, 2 Cor. 1.22, Eph. 1.13. Nor is the idea of a 'closing' as with a seal necessarily absent, although it occurs in the last place: that which is sealed must be conserved until the day of redemption, Eph. 4.30.

It is easy now to establish the similarity between the seal of the Spirit and the seal of circumcision. Here too the seal is a physical mark, possibly thought of as a mark of ownership, it confirms and concludes justification. We have sought the origin of this metaphor in the discussion between Paul and the Jews preceding the Epistle to the Romans, whence the apostle himself may have coined it.² The two metaphors of the seal of circumcision and the seal of the Spirit would then have originated at roughly the same time but there is one circumstance which seems to indicate that the first one is the older. It arises from a direct need for arguments for and against the value of circumcision. In this connection the fact is stressed that circumcision concludes Abraham's justification and is thus subsequent to it. Similarly Paul may now refer to the gift of the Spirit as the rite which marks the candidate, gives him a guarantee and preserves him until the day of redemption.

The effect attributed by the New Testament to the postbaptismal rite of the imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing is the gift of the Spirit. This effect is referred to with the expression 'baptizing with the Holy Spirit' which has already been discussed.³ The other expressions are mainly: τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν, τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν, and ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. In the apostolic age they were current and unambiguous appellations for the postbaptismal rite, distinguished from the expressions for the operation of the Spirit at baptism in water and for His indwelling as an effect of that rite.⁴

We find an elaborate terminology in the writings of Luke. At Pente-

¹ See p 244 f The custom of referring to tattoos and brands as 'seals' of ownership cannot be advocated in explanation here, since it is a later Christian development, cf SCHLIER, *op cit*, p 70 n 3, and see below, p 422

² See p 251 f

³ See p 58 ff

⁴ Most of the texts are discussed in this connection by F H CHASE, *Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*, London 1909, p 69 ff, UMBERG, *op cit*, p 99 ff, and COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 255 f, 258 ff.

cost Peter holds out the prospect of the 'gift' of the Spirit to all those who have themselves baptized: *λήμψετε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* Acts 2.38. The 'gift' is poured out over the family of Cornelius: *ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκέχυται* ib. 10.45. It is the same gift as the Apostles received on Pentecost: *τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν* ib. 11.17. The Spirit is given by God; it is thus that Peter speaks to Simon of this gift as the gift of God: *τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ* ib. 8.20, with a subjective genitive. The normal expression, however, is 'the gift of the Holy Spirit', with an objective genitive.

The fixed expression for the 'conferring' of the Spirit is: *τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι* Lk. 11.13, Acts 5.32; 8.18; 15.8, hence *τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν διδόναι* ib. 11.17. The 'reception' of the Spirit is expressed by: *τὴν δύναμιν* or *τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαμβάνειν* ib. 1.8; 2.38, and also by (*τὸ*) *πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν* ib. 8.15; 17.19; 10.47; 19.2. Other expressions say, with reference to Joel 3.1 f. quoted in Acts 2.17 f., that the Spirit is 'poured out': *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν* ib. 2.33, *τὴν δωρεὰν ἐκχεῖν* ib. 10.45, that He 'descends': *ἐπιπίπτειν* ib. 10.44; 11.15, and that He 'comes': *ἐπέρχεσθαι* ib. 1.8, *ἔρχεσθαι* ib. 19.6.

For Luke the 'giving' and 'receiving' of the Holy Spirit are fixed expressions and we must assume that he uses them consistently to refer to the same gift even if this is not clearly indicated in the context. It is therefore impossible to view Peter's exhortation: *βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος . . . καὶ λήμψετε τὴν δωρεὰν* Acts 2.38, in the sense that the reception of the Spirit is an effect of baptism in water.¹

Luke is very familiar with yet another expression: *πίμπλασθαι πνεύματος* 'to be filled with the Spirit', but this is not strictly technical for the postbaptismal gift. John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zachariah are 'filled' with the Spirit: *πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται* Lk. 1.15, cf. 1.41, 67. The expression, however, recurs in the report concerning the descent of Spirit at Pentecost: *ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου* Acts 2.4. By the imposition of Ananias' hands Paul is cured and filled with the Spirit: *ὅπως ἀναβλέψης καὶ πλησθῆς πνεύματος ἁγίου* ib. 9.17. This may be taken in a broader sense and is probably not a reference to the gift of the Spirit to be received after baptism. In their actions Peter and Paul are filled with the Holy Spirit: *πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου* ib. 4.8; 13.9, as are the faithful united in prayer, whereby even the Pentecost phenomena are repeated: *ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* ib.

¹ Cf. ELPERS, *art.cit.*, p. 335, who with reference to BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *op.cit.*, § 442.2, wishes to give *καὶ* in this passage a consecutive sense; cf. also BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 104.

4.31. Related terms are πληροῦσθαι and πλήρης. The faithful of Antioch in Pisidia were filled with the Holy Spirit at the departure of Paul and Barnabas: ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου *ib.* 13.52. Christ is full of the Spirit after the descent of the Spirit at His baptism: πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου Lk. 4.1, and likewise other persons baptized: πλήρεις πνεύματος Acts 6.3, cf. 6.5; 11.24. If persons are thus filled with or full of the Spirit this may refer to the reception of the Spirit after baptism, but if they are filled anew this means that this possession now becomes evident in a special manner or that the measure in which the Spirit is possessed may be greater or smaller.

The 'giving' and 'receiving of the Holy Spirit' are also fixed expressions in the writings of John: τὸ πνεῦμα (παράκλητον) δίδοναι Jn. 3.34;¹ 14.16, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοναι 1 Jn. 3.24; 4.13, τοῦ πνεύματος λαμβάνειν Jn. 7.39, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν *ib.* 4.17, τὸ χρίσμα λαμβάνειν 1 Jn. 2.27, and further: ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω Jn. 15.26, cf. 16.7. Jesus alludes to this experience when speaking to the Samaritan woman: εἰ ᾔδεις τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ *ib.* 4.10. John clearly states that the gift in question remains with the faithful: χρίσμα ἔχετε 1 Jn. 2.20, whence: μένει (*sc.* τὸ πνεῦμα) καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται Jn. 14.17, διδάξει πάντα καὶ ὑπομνήσει *ib.* 14.26, τὸ χρίσμα . . . μένει . . . διδάσκει 1 Jn. 2.27. The only possible exception concerns a gift of the Holy Spirit to the apostles preceding Pentecost and destined for the forgiveness of sins: λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον Jn. 20.20. For the rest, John has a fixed terminology which corresponds with that in the Lucan writings. We must therefore assume that he is referring to the same postbaptismal gift of the Spirit.

In Paul the expression (τὸ) πνεῦμα (τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος) δίδοναι occurs five times, (τὸ) πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν seven times, and, in addition, one finds a number of related verbs. In some passages he connects this 'conferring' and 'receiving' of the Spirit with justification and the adoptive sonship. This may lead to the opinion that according to the apostle the Spirit is already received at baptism in water, but Paul uses the same terminology as Luke and John. These were currently known expressions in the apostolic age and we shall have to attribute to them the same meaning everywhere as long as the context permits. Paul himself, moreover, appears to be familiar with the distinction between baptism and the gift of the Spirit.

Paul's words: δούς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος 2 Cor. 1.22, repeated *ib.* 5.5, indicate the meaning of the anointing received by the faithful.

¹ See also p. 282 f.

If a material anointing is meant, the gift of the Spirit is here the effect of a rite distinct from baptism.

Another passage appears more difficult: ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν Rom. 5.5. The verb ἐκχεῖν with the object ἀγάπη is not a technical expression for the gift of the Spirit. Paul says that this 'outpouring' of charity is performed by the Spirit and we took this to be a reference to the operation of the Spirit in baptism.¹ The apostle now adds that the Spirit is also 'given', using the expression for the gift of the Spirit with which everyone was familiar.

If τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι is part of an established linguistic usage the following passages too must be considered as references to the post-baptismal gift of the Spirit: τὸν θεὸν τὸν καὶ διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς 1 Thess. 4.8, partly quoted from Ez. 37.14, and: οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ 2 Tim. 1.7. The gift of the Spirit may also be considered as a possession which can be activated or increased, in the wish: ὁ θεὸς.. δῶθη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως Eph. 1.17, and above all in the admonition: πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι ib. 5.18.

The expression τὸ πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν occurs twice as a generally known reference to the reception of the Spirit: ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ 1 Cor. 2.12, εἰ.. πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε 2 Cor. 11.4. In three other passages, however, the reception of the Spirit is linked with justification and faith: ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; Gal. 3.2, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; ib. 3.5, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ib. 3.14. One might conclude that the gift of the Spirit is thus conferred at baptism in water but the contexts present no difficulty if one considers the reception of the Spirit as occurring by a distinct rite. Paul may rightly refer to it since this gift, with its striking charismata, can in any case not be the result of the operation of the law. As a technical expression τὸ πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν could not be misunderstood.

Paul also connects the adoptive sonship with the gift of the Spirit, but more accurately this sonship is considered to be the reason why God sends the Spirit, so that the gift is supposed to follow later: ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Gal. 4.6. This confirms the distinction found elsewhere, and the close connection thus

¹ See p. 61.

established between the two rites may also explain why Paul can speak of the Spirit received after baptism quite simply as the Spirit of sonship: οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας. . . ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας Rom. 8.15.

Elsewhere too Paul establishes a close connection between the two events. Having attributed the baptismal renewal to the operation of the Holy Spirit: διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου Tit. 3.5,¹ he uses a technical expression to add immediately that the Spirit is also 'poured out' over us: οὐ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως ib. 3.6.

It is probable that Paul refers to the gift of the Spirit when he speaks of an 'imbibing' of the Spirit: πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν I Cor. 12.13. The passage distinguishes from this gift the operation of the Spirit as we have already seen above.²

Paul also speaks of a 'possession' of the Holy Spirit along with the indwelling of the Spirit: ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δὲ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ Rom. 8.9. Thereupon he deals again with the indwelling of Christ and of the Spirit: εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ib. 8.10, εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα . . . οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ib. 8.11. One might therefore conclude that the possession of the Holy Spirit concurs with the indwelling. We have already seen, however, how inclined Paul is to mention the gift of the Spirit together with the operation and indwelling, and we may therefore assume that this is also his intention here. The possession of the Spirit may then refer to the gift of the Spirit or rather in a broader sense to both the gift and the indwelling. Related expressions are: τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ib. 8.23, cf. 2 Cor. 4.13, ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος 2 Cor. 13.13, cf. Phil. 2.1. Finally a reference to the postbaptismal gift may still be seen in the expression: μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου Heb. 6.4.³

The main conclusion we can derive from the examination of the terminology of the postbaptismal rite is that this rite is a gesture of touching which is called an imposition of hands and an anointing.⁴ Paul terms the anointing rite a sealing, which leads to the increased use of σφραγίς in Christian literature. Apart from 'to baptize with the Spirit', the expressions 'to pour out', 'to give', and 'to receive the Spirit' refer unambiguously to the postbaptismal rite on account of its effect. We are concerned with an established linguistic usage which is

¹ See p. 135.

² See p. 61.

³ See p. 172.

⁴ This explanation is old; see p. 365.

distinguished from the expressions for the operation of the Spirit at baptism in water and the indwelling of the Spirit in the baptized.

(3) The ordination rite. – In the Old Testament it was possible to distinguish from the laying on of hands a rite of leaning on which was used in sacrifice, in ordination, and in jurisdiction.¹ There is no evidence in the New Testament of an adoption of the sacrificial rite, nor of the leaning on of hands in jurisdiction. The New Testament ordination rite does, however, display similarity with the leaning on of hands at the appointment of rabbis and must therefore be distinguished from the cases of laying on already discussed.²

From a linguistic point of view we are here interested in the expression *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* as used for the ordination of various ministers, the extent to which it became technical, and the indications it might provide of the manner in which the rite was performed. In view of the scarcity of data it is also important to pay attention to the passages where the New Testament, even when no rite is mentioned, speaks of the appointment of various ministers with the verbs *καθιστάναι* and *χειροτονεῖν*.

The ministers of whom the New Testament says that they are appointed in their office by an imposition of hands, or at least that they receive an appointment without a rite being mentioned, can be divided into three groups: (a) local authorities destined for the care of the poor, called deacons, (b) higher local authorities called 'overseers' but not yet 'presbyters' in a narrower sense, and (c) authorities of an even higher rank, as it seems, originally not attached to a certain community. The primary difficulty is, however, that in the New Testament the appellations for the offices requiring an appointment are still in process of development.

(a) The deacons. – The Twelve leave to the faithful of Jerusalem the election of seven men whom they will appoint for the care of the poor: *ἐπισκέψασθε δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρας..οὓς καταστήσομεν* Acts 6.3. The faithful set them before the apostles who lay their hands upon them: *ἐξελέξαντο..οὓς ἕστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστολῶν, καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας* ib. 6.5 f. The term for the election is *ἐκλέγεσθαι*, for the appointment *καθιστάναι*, and for the rite *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι*.

¹ See p 230 ff

² Cf COPPENS, *op cit*, p 133 ff, H VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen 1953, E SCHWEIZER, *Gemeinde und Gemeindeordnung im Neuen Testament*, Zülich 1959, H W BEYER, *Διάκονος*, ThW II p 88 ff, 'Ἐπίσκοπος, ThW II p 604 ff, G BORNKAMM, *Πρέσβυς, πρεσβυτέριον*, ThW VI p 651 ff

Usually this rite is viewed as an appointment to the office of deacon, although a few objections to this explanation can be made. The appointment might concern a temporary commission, although this is less in keeping with the idea of the Twelve that they are transmitting part of their office, *ib.* 6.2 ff. The care for temporary needs too is rather of a permanent nature. Even if one considers the later actions of Stephen, *ib.* 6.8 ff, and of Philip, *ib.* 8.4 ff., 21.8, not to be in keeping with their office of deacon it still does not follow that the work of the Seven is at an end. They are not necessarily obliged to confine their activities to the care of the poor and it is also possible that in view of the rapid increase of the disciples their commission was quickly extended and others appointed for the care of the poor. It stands to reason that in the difficulties between the Hellenists and the Hebrews the most capable of the disciples were chosen in the first place.¹

According to Daube no diaconal ordination is intended since in his opinion the faithful themselves perform the gesture: by a leaning on of hands they appoint the Seven as their representatives.² His argument is that it is natural that the subject of *ἐπέθηκαν* be the same as for the preceding verbs *ἐξελέξαντο* and *ἔστησαν*. In a general way this is certainly true but a transposition of the subject is by no means uncommon. It is said that the faithful chose the Seven and set them before the apostles. These are now expected to do something and must be considered as the subject of the next verb. They are moreover expressly told to reserve the appointment to themselves, *ib.* 6.3. Nor are the Seven the representatives of the community but they relieve the Twelve of their office.

A passage from the *Didache*³ contains an exhortation to the appointment of deacons: *χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους* *Did.* 15.1. It is the writer's intention to point out the task incumbent upon the community in this respect. He mentions only the election by the community and not an eventual ordination rite by a higher authority. The term for the election is, however, not *ἐκλέγεσθαι* as in Acts 6.5, but *χειροτονεῖν*. This verb may indicate more clearly, in case of a subsequent imposition of hands, that the election by the community is part of the appointment.⁴

¹ For the objection found in Acts 11 30, see p. 274.

² *Op cit*, p. 237 ff.

³ Cf. AUDET *op cit*, p. 194 ff, 203 ff, 439 ff, and DANIELOU's review, RSR 47, 1959, p. 72

⁴ See also p. 275 f.

The New Testament originally has no name for the office of deacon. This leads to the ambiguity in the report concerning the appointment of the Seven but is at the same time an argument for its antiquity. It is therefore possible that the early writings of the New Testament contain more references to the office of deacon than may clearly appear from the terms.¹ While the task of the Seven is described by *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις* Acts 6.2, one also finds *διακονία τοῦ λόγου* of the apostles themselves, ib. 6.4. In actual fact, *διακονεῖν* and derivatives are originally the technical terms for the ministry in general and only later *διάκονος* obtains its technical meaning of 'deacon'. The deacons are then named together with the overseers, are lower in rank than the latter, and are attached with them to the local community, Phil. 1.1, 1 Tim. 3.1 ff., Did. 15.1.

(b) The overseers and presbyters. – The attempt to gain an accurate insight into the practice of appointing overseers or presbyters is again complicated by the fact that in the beginning no technical name for these ministers existed.

Already in his first letter Paul mentions the authorities in the community: *τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νοουθετοῦντας* 1 Thess. 5.12. He distinguishes those who help from those who administer: *ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις* 1 Cor. 12.28, those who contribute and do acts of mercy from those who exhort and direct: *ὁ παρακαλῶν..ὁ μεταδιδούς..ὁ προϊστάμενος..ὁ ἐλεῶν* Rom. 12.8, cf. Eph. 4.11, 1 Tim. 5.17, Heb. 13.7. Here already we can see the distinction between the care for needy brothers incumbent on the ministers who are later called deacons, and a higher administrative task. The higher local authorities are elsewhere called *ποιμένες* Eph. 4.11, cf. 1 Pet. 2.25; 5.2, Acts 20.28, and *ἡγούμενοι* Heb. 13.7. A technical name for them, as distinguished from the deacons, becomes *ἐπίσκοποι* 'overseers' Phil. 1.1, Acts 20.28, Did. 15.1.

It is more difficult to determine what the New Testament understands by *πρεσβύτεροι*. The absence of the term in the lists of offices in the early Pauline Epistles may indicate that the word was not yet a technical term for particular ministers. The texts which mention presbyters in the early community of Jerusalem also agree better with the idea of a general name for the members of an administrative college after the Jewish model to which various persons may have belonged by virtue of their age or worth, but especially those who had been ordained after the model of the leaning on of hands of the elders. If this is so, it

¹ See p. 274 f.

was not exclusively the presbyters in the narrower sense who received the relief of Paul and Barnabas, Acts 11.30, and who acted with the apostles at the council of Jerusalem, ib. 15.2 ff., 16.4. In a wider sense too one may take it that it was the presbyters who were present at the meeting of Paul and James, ib. 21.18, cf. Jas. 5.14.

Thus *πρεσβύτεροι* in the wider sense may have been adopted by Luke as a Palestinian term which he continues to use for the local authorities in the early communities of the diaspora. One might indeed wonder whether deacons were not also appointed in the communities of Pisidia, Acts 14.23, and whether there were no deacons among the 'presbyters', who, at Paul's invitation, came from Ephesus to Miletus, ib. 20.17. Luke, however, uses the term 'overseer' when Paul addresses a special admonition to the higher local authorities, who must feed the flock, ib. 20.28. One may suppose that Luke intends to equate in this passage the presbyters of the community with the overseers, thus trying to reconcile the existing difference of terminology, but this is not necessary.

In the same manner one does not understand why Peter should admonish the presbyters of the communities to the exclusion of the deacons. It is the higher local authorities whom he exhorts to tend the flock without ambition, but the deacons may rather be in danger of avarice, 1 Pet. 5.1 ff. As an administrative college of 'elders' they deserve the respect of the younger people, ib. 5.5.

When *διάκονος* arose soon as a technical term for the deacons, *πρεσβύτεροι* may have been used in a narrower sense for the higher local authorities to the exclusion of the deacons, but nowhere in the New Testament are the presbyters distinguished from the deacons as are the overseers.¹

In the Pastoral Epistles too it seems more suitable to take the term *πρεσβύτεροι* in a wider sense. Paul may include all the local authorities when he praises the 'presbyters' who rule well and especially those who labour in preaching and teaching, 1 Tim. 5.17. These presbyters are worthy of their hire, and no charge against them may be admitted except on the evidence of two or three witnesses, ib. 5.18 f. It is again not clear why these privileges should be reserved for the higher local authorities to the exclusion of the deacons. When it is Titus' task to appoint presbyters in Crete, Tit. 1.5, this may likewise refer to all the ministers necessary in a local community.

¹ See p. 367 ff..

It may now even be that *πρεσβύτεροι* refers to all those who have been appointed on the model of the leaning on of hands of the elders, including the higher authorities who are not attached to a local community. This would at least appear to be so if, as we shall see, *πρεσβυτέριον* in 1 Tim. 4.14 is used in the sense of 'office of presbyter' in order to determine the imposition of hands received by Timothy.¹ In this case Peter has even more right to call himself *ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος* 1 Pet. 5.1, cf. 2 Jn. 1, 3 Jn. 1.

In this light one now understands better the meaning of *ἐπίσκοπος* in the Pastoral Epistles. The use of this noun in the singular in contrast with the plural *πρεσβύτεροι* has long been remarked upon as an objection to the theory which equates in these writings both kinds of ministers. Whereas the first Epistle to Timothy praises the presbyters in general and maintains their privileges, a distinction is made between the deacons and 'the overseer' with regard to the requirements demanded for their appointment, 1 Tim. 3.1 ff. Likewise one finds after the enumeration of the virtues generally required in the presbyters to be appointed by Titus the special requirements demanded of 'the overseer', Tit. 1.5 ff. It would thus seem that in the communities in which Timothy and Titus had to appoint presbyters the college of 'elders' is supposed to consist of several deacons but only one overseer. The use of the singular may point to a monarchic leader assisted only by deacons without presbyters in the strict sense. This is possible since, wherever the larger communities were already organized, the task of Titus and Timothy probably concerned the setting up of smaller communities.

The New Testament, for the rest, does not mention an ordination rite for presbyters and overseers as the higher local authorities, unless one considers as such the imposition of hands in 1 Tim. 5.22.² The reports of the appointments of these ministers are therefore all the more interesting. Paul and Barnabas appoint presbyters in Pisidia: *χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους* Acts 14.23, Titus in Crete: *ἵνα...καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους* Tit. 1.5, and the Didache exhorts the faithful themselves to see to the appointment of overseers: *χειροτονήσατε...ἐπισκόπους* Did. 15.1.

The verb *χειροτονεῖν* in the Didache may, as we have seen, refer to the election by the faithful as part of the appointment. In the report concerning Pisidia *χειροτονεῖν* denotes directly the task of the missionaries but this does not necessarily exclude an election made by the

¹ See p. 278 f.

² See p. 260 f.

community. The verb *καθιστάναι*, on the other hand, is the equivalent of *mnh* pi. as the technical term for the appointment of elders by a leaning on of hands. The use of this verb along with *πρεσβύτερος* suggests that the appointment of presbyters also took place by an imposition of hands. This assumption is confirmed by the resemblance of the appointment to that of deacons and of authorities not attached to a local community.

(c) The non-local authorities. – A third group of texts mention the appointment by election and imposition of hands of ministers who are not attached to a particular community, and it appears to be part of their task to appoint the local authorities.

To this particular group belong, first and foremost, Paul and Barnabas. They are set apart by the community of Antioch for the work for which the Holy Ghost has destined them. After fasting, prayer, and an imposition of hands, they are allowed to go: *τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν* Acts 13.3.

A long tradition regards this imposition of hands as an ordination rite. The great objection to such a supposition is, however, that it is not clear who would have performed the ordination. Luke does not appear to have devoted any attention to the matter. He only mentions the names of five prophets and teachers in Antioch; these include Barnabas and Paul themselves. It is difficult to understand how they can receive a higher ordination from fellow ministers of the same rank.

It is none the less sufficient that the report only mentions the remaining prophets and teachers, since it assumes that two things are known, namely that, as we shall see, it was quite possible for prophets and teachers to have received the appointment by imposition of hands of the higher authorities without being attached to a local community,¹ and that an ordination by leaning on of hands according to the Jewish conception could only be performed by someone who had himself been ordained.

If one takes these suppositions into account, no further indication that Barnabas and Saul receive their ordination from the remaining prophets and teachers, or at least from one of them, is necessary. There only remains the question of why Barnabas is mentioned first. He is, however, the most important man in Antioch. When the faithful from Jerusalem settled there, Barnabas was sent to them. He fetched Saul from Tarsus and for a whole year the two were received in the com-

¹ See p. 279 f.

munity of Antioch and taught there, Acts 11.22 ff. His position becomes even clearer if the five prophets and teachers still include the prophets who arrived in Antioch from Jerusalem shortly before, ib. 11.27.¹

There is thus every reason to view the imposition of hands here as an ordination rite. Of the other meanings which the gesture may have in the New Testament only the blessing can be considered as an alternative, but it is difficult to see why such an event should then be described here with so much emphasis, whereas it is not mentioned at any other departure, for example in Acts 15.22, 40.²

Paul is not counted as an apostle in the strict sense of the word. He had himself baptized like all those who were converted and may have afterwards received the gift of the Spirit by anointing and the imposition of hands. In addition he now receives ordination at the beginning of his missionary work. For this work he is 'separated', which may indicate that his appointment is for life: ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν Βαρναβᾶν καὶ Σαῦλον Acts 13.2. The verb ἀφορίζειν corresponds to the Hebrew *bal* hi. 'to separate'. This root is used for the separation of the Levites and then translated in the Septuagint by διαστέλλειν Num. 8.14; 16.9, and for the separation of Israel as God's people when it is translated by ἀφορίζειν Lev. 20.26, and διαστέλλειν 3 Reg. 8.53. Paul is conscious of his vocation and his separation unto the gospel: ὁ ἀφορίσας με Gal. 1.15, cf. Rom. 1.1, Is. 6.8; 49.1, Jer. 1.5. This vocation is communicated to Paul and Barnabas while they are fasting in Antioch: ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι Acts 13.2. Whenever Paul's authority is questioned he refers to his vocation by God and to the approval by James, Cephas, and John, Gal. 1.1; 1.11 ff., 2.9. Reference to an ordination rite which others also received would have been useless.

The New Testament also mentions an appointment by election or imposition of hands for some of Paul's closest collaborators who do not appear to have been attached to a local community.

Paul recommends a brother to the Corinthians, and he may be alluding to Luke, who was appointed by the communities as his travelling companion: χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν 2 Cor. 8.19. The use of χειροτονεῖν corresponds to the verb used in Did. 15.1 for the election of deacons and overseers by the community. On

¹ Cf. E. PETERSON, *La λειτουργία des prophètes et des didascales à Antioche*, RSR 36, 1949, p. 577 ff.

² Cf. G. SEVENSTER, *De wijding van Paulus en Barnabas*, *Studia Paulina in hon. J. de Zwaan*, Haarlem 1953, p. 191 ff., SCHWEIZER, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

the same grounds as were suggested there we may assume that the election of this companion formed part of the appointment and was followed by the imposition of hands. Paul thus bases his recommendation not only upon the choice of certain communities but refers indirectly to the ordination received by this brother. He now receives his mission to Corinth from Paul but his appointment as the apostle's collaborator is rather a lifelong commission.

Among Paul's other collaborators Titus is instructed to appoint presbyters in the island of Crete, Tit. 1.5. If, as we assumed, this was done by an imposition of hands, it must according to the Jewish idea have been preceded by the appointment of Titus himself by an imposition of hands although such an appointment is not mentioned in the texts. Of Timothy, on the other hand, it is not said that he must appoint presbyters but this is insinuated by a description of the requirements for the office of deacon and overseer, 1 Tim. 3.1 ff. Neither is the appointment of Timothy mentioned but the encouragement given him by Paul twice leads to the mention of the rite: *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου* 1 Tim. 4.14, *διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου* 2 Tim. 1.6.

It is generally thought that the similarity in the details mentioned indicates that the same rite is referred to twice although it is felt as an objection that the first text mentions an imposition of hands by the assembled presbyters and the second by Paul. The details, however, may supplement each other. In his first more official letter, one says, Paul mentions the share of the presbyters in the rite; the second communication is more personal and mentions only the imposition of hands by Paul himself.

The contrast between the two texts is eliminated in the explanation given by Daube. In the expression *semikat zeqēnim* from the Talmud Sanh. 13b, cf. Tosephta Sanh. 1.1, he sees *zeqēnim* as an objective genitive indicating that this leaning on of hands purports the reception of the candidate into the ranks of the elders. The plural *zeqēnim* refers to a collective body and its Greek equivalent is *τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου* in 1 Tim. 4.14.¹

In support of this explanation J. Jeremias points out that *πρεσβυτέρο(ε)ιον* has the meaning of 'honour' or 'privilege of elder' in Sus. 50 Th. v.1. It is here said that the two elders invite Daniel to take his place amongst them since God has given him the 'privilege of elder': *ὅτι σοὶ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πρεσβεῖον* (B 88 410, *πρεσβυτέρο(ε)ιον reliqui*) Sus. 50

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 244.

Th. The codex Vaticanus (B) has a text which is probably older than Theodotus and has no connection with this translator. The reading *πρεσβεῖον* is undoubtedly the correct one but Jeremias thinks that the variant testifies to the existence of *πρεσβυτέριον* in the sense of 'privilege of elder' in Jewish Hellenistic usage. At least a Christian origin for the variant seems less likely since in the Christian usage from the beginning of the second century onwards *πρεσβυτέριον* is a technical term for the college of presbyters. We may thus take *τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου* in 1 Tim. 4.14 to be an objective genitive and translate it by 'the imposition of hands for the dignity of presbyter'.¹

We must bear in mind that the New Testament has no technical term for such a minister with a higher ordination. This already explains why Paul has recourse to a Jewish term. In order to distinguish for his readers the ordination rite from other applications of the imposition of hands he could find no better word than a derivative of *πρεσβύτερος* as a general term for anyone who has been ordained.

We see from this that the ordination of higher authorities who are not attached to a local community can be traced back to the early apostolic period. It is first mentioned in connection with Paul and Barnabas but in this case it is considered rather as an already existing rite.

On the basis of the data gathered here concerning the appointment by election and imposition of hands of various ministers in the New Testament, these may now be distinguished from other ministers including the apostles in the wider sense, the prophets, teachers, and evangelists, whose appointment is nowhere mentioned. It would, however, be wrong to consider this distinction as absolute for the one does not necessarily exclude the other. There is indeed reason to suppose that some prophets and teachers had received an appointment by imposition of hands and since they usually journey from one place to another it must be assumed that their appointment did not imply attachment to a local community.

The Didache indeed bases its exhortation to the appointment of deacons and overseers upon the fact that they render the same service as the prophets and teachers: *ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων* Did. 15.1. They are not so highly esteemed, ib. 15.2, but must be preferred because they are attached to the local community which is thus assured of their service. The special charismata of the prophets and teachers are not intended

¹ J. JEREMIAS, *Πρεσβυτέριον ausserchristlich bezeugt*, ZNW 48, 1957, p. 127 ff.

for the administration of the local community. If they, however, can perform the same service as the deacons and overseers, we must suppose that they had likewise received an ordination by imposition of hands, be it without attachment to a local community.

The case of Paul and Barnabas may be considered to illustrate this situation. They teach (διδάξαι) in Antioch where they are hospitably received by the community for a whole year without being definitely attached to it, Acts 11.26. For this reason they are listed among the prophets and teachers (διδάσκαλοι) at Antioch, ib. 13.1. After their ordination they travel further as teachers who have received an ordination without being attached to a local community and in this capacity they teach (διδάσκοντες) again in Antioch at a following visit, ib. 15.35. Paul calls himself a preacher, apostle, and teacher 1 Cor. 1.1, 1 Tim. 2.7, 2 Tim. 1.11, and Timothy, although he has certainly received the ordination, must do the work of an evangelist, 2 Tim. 4.5. Philip, who was one of the Seven, later lives in Caesarea as evangelist, Acts 21.8. This does not exclude the possibility that he acted as deacon in Caesarea or had received a higher ordination in the meantime.

Concluding remarks. – If we collate the New Testament data for the appointment of ministers by election and an imposition of hands we find ἐκλέγεσθαι and χειροτονεῖν for an election by the community, the latter verb indicating more clearly that the election forms part of the appointment. We also find an appointment by a higher authority for which the verb is either χειροτονεῖν or καθιστάναι. The appointment by a higher authority being performed by a rite we may speak of an ordination; the two verbs then mean ‘to ordain’. As an ordination rite the imposition of hands is conveyed by the fixed expression χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι, χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις. By the addition of τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου a distinction is probably made from the other meanings of the imposition of hands.

On the basis of its Jewish origin, we must assume that the ordination rite was performed as a true leaning on of hands whereby, according to the later practice, both hands were pressed on the head of the candidate. The Jewish origin also leads us to assume that from the very beginning people were conscious that the rite could only be performed by someone who had received it himself. This is never said in so many words but the report of Acts 13.1 ff. seems to be based on this assumption as are the other references to the ordination rite.

The distinction between several degrees of ordination is rendered especially difficult by the fact that the ordination of these ministers is

older than the technical names for their offices. By the ordination they are distinguished from other ministers such as apostles in a wider sense, prophets, teachers, and evangelists, with the assumption, however, that among the latter there were many who had also been ordained.

3. *The anointing and sealing of Christ*

Matthew introduces the Messiah to his readers as Jesus who is called Christ: Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός Mt. 1.16. The title which was pre-eminently that of the Old Testament kings, but also of the priests and prophets, thus passed to Him. An anointing of Christ is mentioned in the New Testament in four places and the use of the aorist tense would seem to indicate that the writers had a particular event in mind.¹

Peter, speaking in the house of Cornelius, mentions the anointing in a survey of Christ's life: His appearance in public after the baptism preached by John, His being anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power, and His going about doing good: Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει Acts 10.38. In this summary it is generally thought that the anointing is the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Christ after His baptism by John. The context is partly derived from Is. 61.1: the anointing is performed with the Holy Spirit and power with a view to the proclamation of the good news and the performing of miracles. It is thus a prophetic anointing.

This conception of the anointing recurs when in the synagogue of Nazareth Jesus applies to Himself the words of Is. 61.1 f.: πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελισασθαι Lk. 4.18.

The context is different in the prayer of the community after the release of Peter and John by the Sanhedrin. The kings and rulers quoted from Ps. 2.2 are referred to Herod and Pilate. Jesus is the servant who is destined to suffer: συνήχθησαν.. ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρισας Acts 4.27.² The reference to Ps. 2.2 suggests that a royal anointing is meant. It is true that by the change of κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ into ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου and the paraphrase ὃν ἔχρισας stress is laid upon Jesus as the suffering servant but this should not lead one to assume a distinct anointment of the suffering servant for which there is no basis in the tradition.³ The aorist ἔχρισας refers to an

¹ Cf. J. KOSNETTER, *Die Taufe Jesu*, Vienna 1936, p. 135 ff., and I. DE LA POTTERIE, *L'onction du Christ*, NRTh 80, 1958, p. 225 ff.

² On the connection between dying and being baptized, see p. 53 ff.

³ Cf. DE LA POTTERIE, *art.cit.*, NRTh 80, 1958, p. 239 ff.

event in the past, probably the descent of the Spirit at the baptism in the Jordan. This is also indicated by the resemblance to the wording of Acts 10.38.

Finally, the anointing of Christ is mentioned with the words of Ps. 44.8: *διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως* Heb. 1.9. The writer wishes to demonstrate by a number of quotations the superiority of the Son to the angels. The anointing is thought of as the reward for the work of justice which Christ has accomplished on earth. He now reigns there on His throne for eternity. It is a royal anointing although in point of fact the psalm only speaks of an anointing as an expression of joy. The context suggests that this anointing occurred at Christ's Ascension when He took His place at the right hand of the Father.

In the New Testament thus the anointing of Christ refers above all to the descent of the Holy Spirit at His baptism in the Jordan. In any case *χρίειν* is used metaphorically for a non-material anointing. Likewise the term *Χριστός* only retains a metaphorical meaning. Thence *ὁ ἐχριστός* and *ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτόν*, as paraphrases of *Χριστόν*, which is to be expected in addition to *Ἰησοῦν*, Acts 4.27 and 10.38, lay emphasis on the fact that Jesus has after all been anointed. It also appears from this that the metaphorical use of the verb was not current in any context but this. We are therefore not justified in concluding that in other places of the New Testament *χρίειν* must be used metaphorically for a non-material anointing, notably where the anointing of the faithful is referred to.¹

One passage of John mentions a sealing of Christ by the Father: *τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός* Jn. 6.27. Possibly under Semitic influence the simple *σφραγίζειν* is used metaphorically in the sense of 'to confirm' as with a seal. In Paul, however, we came across the Greek verb as a term for the anointing of the faithful with the Holy Spirit.² The metaphor rapidly gained favour and at the end of the first century John may therefore have intended to refer to the anointing of Christ as a sealing. At least the use of the aorist tense indicates that a particular event is referred to. The descent of the Spirit accompanied by the voice of the Father is an event which can rightly be termed the confirmation as with a seal of Jesus' Messianic mission.

Finally one finds the expression *τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι* for this descent of

¹ See also p. 263.

² See p. 208, 251 and 286.

the Holy Spirit if one considers τὸ πνεῦμα as the object in the clause: οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν (v.l. add. ὁ θεός) τὸ πνεῦμα Jn. 3.34.¹

The descent of the Spirit referred to as the anointing and sealing of Christ follows immediately upon the baptism of repentance administered to Him by John. The two events are closely linked but at the same time clearly distinguished. Matthew and Mark both mention that Christ first rises from the water after His baptism: βαπτισθεὶς . . . εὐθὺς ἀνέβη Mt. 3.16, cf. Mk. 1.10; Luke indicates that Jesus is in prayer after His baptism when heaven was opened: βαπτισθέντος καὶ προσευχομένου Lk. 3.21. Here we find a distinction between the baptism of Christ and the descent of the Spirit in the same way as Christian baptism was distinguished from the gift of the Spirit. The evangelists describe the baptism of Christ on the analogy of Christian baptism. This similarity extends to the use of χρίειν and also perhaps of σφραγίζειν and τὸ πνεῦμα δίδόναι.

A survey of the terms for anointing. – The examination of the terms for anointing in this and the preceding sections allows us to give the following survey.²

(1) The verb ἀλείφειν is, as in the Septuagint, the profane term for the anointing intended for the care of the body. Contrary to the existing ascetic practices Christ recommends it when one fasts: σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἀλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν Mt. 6.17. Jesus' feet are anointed by the sinful woman: ἤλειψεν τῷ μύρῳ Lk. 7.38, cf. 7.46, Jn. 11.2; 12.3. The women wish to anoint His body after it has been laid in the tomb: ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλειψῶσιν αὐτόν Mk. 16.1, cf. 14.8.

(2) The same verb and ἐπιχρίειν are used for anointing as a gesture of healing. Christ uses spittle as an ointment: ἐπέχρισέν μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς Jn. 9.11, cf. 9.6 v.l. The Twelve anoint the sick: ἤλειπον ἐλαίῳ Mk. 6.13, and so later do the presbyters: ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ Jas. 5.14. Here the anointing has become a rite and the verb a sacral term.

(3) The sacral terms χρίειν and χρῖσμα are reserved for anointing with the Holy Spirit. Paul uses it for a material anointing of the faithful: ὁ . . . χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός 2 Cor. 1.21. Referring to this rite John speaks of the Holy Ghost metaphorically as χρῖσμα 'anointing oil' 1 Jn. 2.20, 27. Moreover χρίειν is used metaphorically for the descent of the Spirit upon Christ at His baptism, Acts 4.27; 10.38, Lk. 4.18, and for His Ascension, Heb. 1.9. John perhaps refers to the descent of the Spirit as a sealing, Jn. 6.28.

¹ See also p. 268.

² Cf. SCHLIER, *art.cit.*, ThW I p. 230 ff.

4. *Marks of ownership*

The current Greek terms for physical marks applied to the body according to various techniques recur in the New Testament. Apart from these terms, σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν come to be used for the Christian mark of ownership.

Paul uses ἀποκόπτειν and κατατομή as technical terms for incisions with reference to circumcision. Of the supporters of this rite he sarcastically remarks that they should even go so far as to mutilate themselves: ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται Gal. 5.12. For the Galatians, who were familiar with the religious incisions and mutilations practised in their region, there can have been no doubt as to what the apostle was alluding to.¹ Later Paul with a play on words calls circumcision an incision: βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσμεν ἡ περιτομή Phil. 3.2 f.

Paul also writes to the Galatians that he bears the 'tattoos' of Jesus on his body: ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω Gal. 6.17. These 'tattoos' are marks of ownership intended to protect the apostle from annoyance. They are usually interpreted metaphorically as referring to the scars upon the apostle's body caused by the persecutions he had suffered. One objection to this theory is that Paul would be speaking of them as marks of Jesus, whereas they were actually caused by the enemies of Jesus. And according to ancient ideas these wounds now become religious incisions. As we have just seen, Paul himself shows his aversion to this practise by comparing with it circumcision.

Like the Greeks and Romans, modern man dislikes the marking of the human skin, but the Galatians may readily have seen in Paul's words an allusion to the religious tattoos which were held in honour in Asia Minor.² They at least would not have been surprised at the idea that the apostle bore the name of Jesus tattooed on his skin.

The Jews too were familiar with physical marks although it seldom appears that the technique employed is that of tattooing. Isaiah had foretold that at the end of time people would have the name of Yahweh written on their hands, Is. 44.5, and the rabbis considered it a normal custom to write the name of God upon one's skin with washable ink.³ For all this one may consider the possibility that Paul uses στίγματα, if not literally for tattoos, probably in a metaphorical sense with an

¹ See p. 182 n. 1.

² See p. 195.

³ See p. 243 f.

allusion to pagan religious practices for the name of Jesus or other marks applied to the skin with washable ink.¹

Paul also shows that he is familiar with branding. He uses *καυτηρία-ζειν* metaphorically in order to say that the consciences of the false teachers are branded: *ψευδολόγων, κεκαυστηριασμένων την ιδίαν συνειδη-σιν* 1 Tim. 4.2. If he has a mark of ownership in mind he would mean that with this mark the bearers place themselves under someone's protection, perhaps that of the devil. It is more probable, however, that Paul is merely thinking of branding as a punishment according to the old Roman custom.²

In the Apocalypse both the opponents and the followers of the Lamb are recognizable by distinguishing marks, usually referred to as 'names' which are worn but also as brands and seals.

Among the opponents of the Lamb are the beast with seven heads which rises up from the sea and the great harlot. They bear blasphemous 'names': *ὀνόματα βλασφημίας* Apoc. 13.1; 17.3. The latter also bears upon her forehead the name 'Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations': *ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς ὄνομα γεγραμμένον* ib. 17.5. The beast from the sea makes all, small and great, rich and poor, free and slave, have a *χάραγμα* on the right hand or on the forehead: *ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα* ib. 13.16. None may buy or sell but those who have this mark which consists of the name of the beast or the number of its name: *ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ* ib. 13.17. This mark is mentioned six times more, always in connection with the adoration of the beast or of its image, ib. 14.9, 11; 16.2; 19.10; 20.4.

In these passages the term *χάραγμα* is commonly translated by a general word like 'mark', but a *χάραγμα* applied to the human or animal skin is always a brand.³ This gives a fuller meaning to the text and leads us to examine whether the writer has in mind any particular custom of branding.

One solution might be found in a connection with the sacral branding of the Mithras cult. The writer may have known of this usage but in this case *καυτήριον* would be expected as the technical term of the cult.⁴ For the rest, the conflict between Christianity and the Mithras cult is of a later date.

¹ It is difficult to conclude from this that *στίγμα* is borrowed from the language of the mysteries, as does W VOLLGRAFF, *op cit*, p 14, with reference to MOULTON-MILLIGAN s v

² See p 199 f

³ See p 196

⁴ See p 202 f.

It seems more likely from the historical point of view that the writer has been inspired by the sacral branding in the Egyptian cult of Dionysus. The noun *χάραγμα* agrees with the terminology of the brand current in this cult, and both marks convey the same purport. Those who do bear the mark of the beast are cast out from society like the Jews in Alexandria according to 3 Macc. 2.28 ff.¹ As an example of persecution this event was appropriate to be referred to in apocalyptic literature.

It is not only the beast and his followers who are recognizable by a distinguishing mark. Christ Himself comes from heaven, seated upon a white horse, and He bears a name known to no one but Himself: *ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον* Apoc. 19.12. The words 'King of kings and Lord of lords' are written upon His robe and upon His thigh (standard?): *ἔχει ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον* ib. 19.16. The hundred and forty-four thousand who accompany the Lamb have His name and the name of His Father written upon their foreheads: *ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν* ib. 14.1. In the same way the servants of the Lamb in the New Jerusalem wear His name upon their foreheads: *τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν* ib. 22.4.

In one passage this mark of the elect is called a seal. An angel, ascending from the rising of the sun bears the seal of the living God: *σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζῶντος* Apoc. 7.2. He is charged to mark the servants of God with this seal upon their foreheads: *σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν* ib. 7.3. One hundred and forty-four thousand are marked with the seal: *ἔσφραγισμένοι* ib. 7.4 ff. The seal is given before the four angels who stand at the corners of the earth execute the divine judgment. It protects against the plague of locusts which breaks out after the fifth trumpet has sounded; only those who have not the seal of God upon their foreheads are hurt: *οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* ib. 9.4. The seal of God is a mark of ownership: its bearers are marked as God's property and receive His protection. The mark contains an indication of God's name but no further information is given.

The seal as a mark of ownership became increasingly important in Christian literature. In the Apocalypse it occurs only ib. 7.2 ff. and 9.4, while elsewhere *ὄνομα* continues to be used for the distinguishing mark of the elect, ib. 14.1; 22.4. The use of *ὄνομα* as the technical term for distinguishing marks in the Apocalypse may easily have led to the

¹ See p. 200 ff.

idea that the righteous are marked with the name of God as with the seal of God. The development of σφραγίς in Jewish literature and in the New Testament made this term even more appropriate for the transition from the name to the seal. We found the inscriptions upon the garment of the high priest compared with engravings upon seals, Ex. 28.36; other inscriptions are also referred to as 'seals', 2 Tim. 2.19; in the Talmud the tessera is termed a 'seal', Shabb. 58a, and so is circumcision from Rom. 4.11 onwards. More important, however, may be the fact that Paul had already spoken of a sealing with the Holy Spirit, 2 Cor. 1.22, Eph. 1.13; 4.30.¹ The eschatological aspect was not absent from this seal and it could easily be looked upon as a mark of ownership. It therefore appears possible that a certain development of the baptismal seal at the end of the first century influenced the rise of the eschatological seal of ownership in the Apocalypse.

From all this we may conclude that the New Testament is familiar with physical marks. Paul alludes to the religious incisions and tattoos common in Asia Minor and he himself wears on his skin the 'tattoos' of Jesus. He is also familiar with the practice of branding as a punishment. It is, however, in the Apocalypse especially that we find references to marks of ownership, including a religious brand for the followers of the beast, and the seal of God upon the foreheads of the followers of the Lamb.

A survey of the terms for sealing. — We now arrive at the following survey of the meanings of σφραγίς and derivatives in the New Testament.

(1) The noun σφραγίς is literally the sealing instrument of God and the seal impression upon the foreheads of the followers of the Lamb, while σφραγιζειν is the act of sealing, Apoc. 7.2 ff. Other examples of the literal usage can be added. The scroll to be opened by the Lamb is sealed with seven seals: κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτὰ ib. 5.1. The pit into which the dragon is cast is closed with a key and sealed: ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ib. 20.3, and the tomb of Christ is sealed: σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον Mt. 27.66.

(2) The metaphorical use of the terms and especially of the simple form σφραγιζειν for the marking, closing, or confirming of something as with a seal is strongly developed and can only be explained by the influence of the Jewish milieu.

(a) We have discussed the seal of circumcision, Rom. 4.11,² (b) the

¹ See p. 248 f., 251, 265 f., and 288.

² In the preceding chapter, above p. 251 f.

sealing of the faithful with the Holy Spirit, 2 Cor. 1.22, and (c) the sealing of Christ, Jn. 6.27.

(d) In addition, the two inscriptions on the sure foundation of God are termed a seal in accordance with the wider Jewish linguistic usage: ἔχων τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην 2 Tim. 2.19.

(e) We still find in a few texts the meaning of 'to close as with a seal'. Thus words are sealed in order to keep them secret: σφράγισον & ἐλάλησαν Apoc. 10.4, μὴ σφραγίσης τοὺς λόγους ib. 22.10. Concerning the ending of the collection for the faithful in Jerusalem Paul says that he will 'seal' for them the fruit: τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιτελέσας, καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον Rom. 15.28. In order to explain this use of the verb a comparison has been made with the sealing of corn sacks or it has been suggested that Paul uses a technical financial term.¹ It is, however, much simpler to take the verb as the equivalent of *hlm* in the meaning of 'to close' or 'to conclude'. It is thus synonymous with the preceding ἐπιτελεῖν, and 'to seal the fruit' means nothing but 'to end the collection'.

(f) The Corinthians who 'confirm' Paul's mission are called the seal of his apostleship: ἡ σφραγίς μου τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε 1 Cor. 9.2, and John even uses σφραγίζειν ὅτι in the sense of 'to confirm' that God is true: ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἐστίν Jn. 3.33.

¹ Cf. A. DEISSMANN, *op.cit.*, p. 65 f., L. RADERMACHER, Σφραγίζεσθαι Rom. 15.28, ZNW 32, 1933, p. 87 ff., and DÖLGER, Zu σφραγίζεσθαι Rom 15.28, ACh 4, 1934, p. 280.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TERMS FOR IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

THE terms for the imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing assume a great number of meanings in early Christian literature. The most important of these are the following.

The expression *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives are used for a gesture or rite performed (1) in blessing, (2) healing, (3) and exorcism, (4) in the reconciliation of sinners and heretics, (5) at the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit, (6) in ordination, and (7) at the act of baptism.

With regard to the terms for anointing a distinction must be made in the use of (1) *χρίειν*, *ἀλείφειν*, and derivatives for healing, (2) exorcism, and (3) reconciliation, and (4) of *χρίειν* and derivatives for the gift of the Spirit and (5) in the metaphorical sense for the anointing of Christ.

The terms for sealing, *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν*, indicate (1) a gesture or rite performed in blessing, (2) healing, (3) exorcism, (4) reconciliation, (5) and the conferring of the Spirit; (6) they denote the baptismal confession of faith, and (7) especially the Christian mark of ownership.

From this survey it appears that even more than in the New Testament the three groups of terms are used for the same rite. Especially where the gift of the Spirit is concerned, established opinion considers the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing to be names for three rites which were originally distinct. On a closer examination, however, it will appear more clearly than in the New Testament that the three groups of terms may be the name for one gesture. The terms for imposition of hands refer to a gesture of touching which, except in ordination, is performed with one hand. If this rite is at the same time called an anointing this means that it consists of a placing of the hand in the oil which is poured over the head. The anointing is thus performed by an imposition of hands. If a rite of imposition of hands, which may or may not be an anointing, is called a sealing this means that the sign of the cross is made at the placing of the hand upon the head. The plurality of names thus points to a complicated liturgical act.

This being so, we have to deal in this chapter with the following meanings. (1) The use of the terms in blessing, healing, and exorcism

must be considered with a view to the origins of the prebaptismal rites of exorcism. Special complications arise in this connection by the incorporation of the postbaptismal rite into the prebaptismal in some eastern liturgies. (2) The use of the terms for the postbaptismal rite confronts us with the problem of distinguishing this rite from the rites of reconciliation and ordination. (3) The use of the terms for the act of baptism and the seal of faith is again complicated in some eastern liturgies by the coincidence of the postbaptismal rite with the baptismal imposition of hands. (4) Beyond this we intend to discuss the use of the terms for the anointing of Christ, and (5) for the Christian seal and mark of ownership. (6) Finally we shall deal with the application of the terms to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites, but it may be noted that, owing to the scarcity of data for the second century, we shall be obliged to refer to heretical sources also as indirect evidence for the orthodox linguistic usage.

1. *Blessing, healing, and exorcism*

The use of the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing to refer to rites of blessing, healing, and exorcism is closely connected. A prophylactic force was attributed to a gesture or rite of blessing and it is even clearer that a gesture of touching as a healing rite implies an exorcism, in so far as illness was attributed to the noxious influence of the demons. Nevertheless it is possible to make a distinction for those cases in which the terms are used for a rite which is exclusively directed against demonic influence. We have therefore to deal subsequently with the use of the terms (1) for a gesture or rite of blessing, (2) of healing, and (3) of exorcism whether in general or before baptism.

(1) The gesture and rite of blessing. – The details provided by the Old and New Testaments for the imposition of hands as a gesture of blessing were few and we could thus merely suppose that the Jews were of old familiar with the use of the expression for such a gesture.¹ Early Christian literature, however, provides numerous instances for a gesture or rite of blessing which is termed an imposition of hands and also, from the third century onwards, a sealing.

An examination of the terminology is especially valuable in providing details of the manner in which the blessing was performed. It may be a gesture with one hand or two, performed by stretching out the hand or

¹ See p. 228 f. and 255.

by touching, and it may or may not be accompanied by the sign of the cross. Additional evidence will be provided by some examples of early Christian art.

The terms are used (*a*) for a gesture of blessing ascribed to Christ, the apostles, preachers, and saints, and (*b*) for a rite of blessing performed by the minister of the church on entry into the catechumenate, (*c*) at the blessing of a woman and of bride and bridegroom, and (*d*) at the blessing of groups of persons, especially during the celebration of the Eucharist.

(*a*) The gesture of blessing ascribed to Christ and others. – The expression *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives indicate a free gesture of blessing which is ascribed to Christ, the apostles, and others who were entitled to bless by reason of their function or personal sanctity.

Clement of Alexandria already uses the derived noun *χειροθεσία* for the blessing of the children by Jesus: *εἰς χειροθεσίαν εὐλογίας* Paed. 1.12.3. By an imposition of hands the apostle Thomas takes leave of a newly married couple: *ἐπιθεῖς αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. ἀπῆλθεν* Act. Thom. 10, and of a community: *ἐπιθεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα* ib. 67, and Peter of the multitudes: *τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος ἀπέλυεν* Clem.Hom. 16.21.5.¹

In later texts *σφραγίζειν* is the technical term for this gesture. Athanasius uses this verb for the gesture with which St. Antony blesses the sick: *ἐσφράγισέ τε τοὺς πάσχοντας τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταύρου* Vit.Ant. 80, cf. Mark the Deacon Vit.Porph. 45.

Along with *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* Origen uses *ἄπτεσθαι* and *ἀφή* where he intends to point out that the blessing of the children by Christ is a gesture of transmission of which the touching is the essential part: *ἄπτεται γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ δύναμις Ἰησοῦ, μόνον χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέντος. αὐτοῖς* In Matth. 15.6. This touch has a beneficial effect upon the children and wards off evil: *δύναμιν ἐναφεῖς τοῖς παιδίοις διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς* ib. 15.8, *καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ἄπτεται τι τῶν χειρόνων* ib. 15.6.

The verb *ἄπτεσθαι* is also used in reverse cases where the faithful attempt to touch a person for a salutary effect. In this manner people are eager to touch St. Polycarp: *ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται* Mart.Pol. 13.2. A woman raised from the dead by the apostle Thomas fearfully seeks protection by touching his clothes: *ἐνδυμάτων αὐτοῦ ἤπτετο* Act.Thom. 54, cf. Act.Jo. 62.

In these texts we must take it that *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* indicates a simple gesture of touching which, although the object *χεῖρας* is in the

¹ The other passages add that Peter heals by this gesture; see p. 296.

plural, was normally performed with one hand.¹ The use of σφραγίζειν bears testimony to the custom of performing the gesture in the form of a cross.

(b) Blessing on entry into the catechumenate. – The terms for the imposition of hands and sealing refer in particular to the rite by which converts were admitted into the catechumenate. The Acts of Thomas offer perhaps an early instance. The apostle drives out a demon which has taken up his abode in a woman. Many of those standing about believe. Thomas then prays for their conversion and blesses them by an imposition of hands: ἐπιθεις αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας εὐλόγησεν αὐτοῖς Act. Thom. 49, cf. 27.² The rite is followed by baptism and the Eucharist. There is no place in such a story for a catechumenate proper but the imposition of hands may be placed here on the basis of a practice with which the writer was familiar from his own times. Eusebius indeed mentions this in a historical report. When the emperor Constantine feels his end drawing near he desires to receive baptism in order to obtain forgiveness of his sins. He comes as a suppliant to the church and asks first for the imposition of hands: ἐνθα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἤξιοῦτο Vit.Const. 4.61.

In the West we find the Latin equivalents with the same meaning. The earliest instance comes from Spain: *gentiles si in infirmitate desiderauerint sibi manum imponi, si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte honesta uita, placuit eis manum imponi et fieri christianos* Conc.Elib. (c. 305) 39, cf. Conc.Arel. (314) 6. Sulpicius Severus provides examples from the life of St. Martin: *in medio ut erant campo, cunctos inposita uniuersis manu catechumenos fecit* Dial. 2.4, cf. Vit.Mart. 13.

Later σφραγίζειν emerges in this meaning. Mark the Deacon reports that Porphyry admitted converts to the catechumenate by conferring on them the seal: ὁ δὲ μακάριος σφραγίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιήσας κατηχουμένους ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ Vit.Porph. 31, cf. 62, 100.

The Latin equivalents assume the same meaning. In a pseudo-Cyprianic letter which contains excerpts from the second century apologist Aristo it is said that the Jew Papiscus asks for the seal: *credidit et ut signaculum sumeret deprecatus Iasonem postulauit* Jud.Incr. 8. It is a well-known rite at the time of Augustine: *cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte hodie tamquam in poste signandus es* Cat.Rud. 20.34, cf. Serm. 302.5.3, Jerome Vit.Hil. 25, Pass.Paul. 19.

There may be some doubt as to whether the imposition of hands and sealing have in this case the meaning of a blessing. Coppens assigns

¹ See p. 227 f.

² See p. 345.

some of the texts mentioned to the prebaptismal rite of exorcism.¹ It is, however, sufficient to see here a gesture of blessing. Although the idea is implied that the touch and sign of the cross have the power to ward off evil, no special emphasis is laid on this factor.

From the third century onwards at least we must imagine the gesture as being performed in the form of a cross. Augustine says that it was made upon the forehead.

(c) The blessing of a woman and of bride and bridegroom. – It is interesting to compare two passages which speak of the blessing of women as an established rite in the Church. Clement of Alexandria mentions this rite in an argument directed against the wearing of wigs. For, he reasons, upon whom does the priest really lay his hand and who does he bless? the hair of another and thus a different head: *τίνοι γὰρ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐπιθήσει χεῖρα; τίνοι δὲ εὐλογήσει; οὐ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν κεκοσμημένην, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας τρίχας, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κεφαλὴν* Paed. 3.63.1. The writer explicitly says that the rite concerned is a blessing but does not indicate upon what occasion it is performed. One is tempted to assume a wedding ceremony. In the other text Tertullian does speak of the blessing of bride and bridegroom on that occasion and uses the Latin equivalent of *σφραγίζειν*: *felicitationem eius matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio et obsignat benedictio* Ux. 2.8.6.²

The gesture of blessing referred to by Clement as an imposition of hands may already have been performed in the form of a cross. Clement, however, is not yet familiar with the use of *σφραγίζειν* to denote such an imposition of hands as a sealing.³ Tertullian, on the other hand, uses the Latin equivalent as a current term in this sense.

(d) The blessing of groups of persons. – In a number of texts the terms for the imposition of hands and sealing are used for a blessing given to groups of persons on various occasions, mostly during the celebration of the Eucharist.

The faithful receive a blessing given after the celebration of the Eucharist. This may already be referred to in a passage mentioning a discourse of the apostle John followed by prayer, 'thanksgiving', and an imposition of hands: *μετὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν συνεδρευόντων* Act. Jo. 46. The idea of an individual imposition of hands

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 50 ff.

² Cf. E. DEKKERS, *Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der liturgie*, Brussels-Amsterdam 1947, p. 232 n. 1.

³ See p. 414.

is still present. Later this is less probable, since blessing is then received with bowed head: κλίνετε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε Const. 8.15.6, cf. Hippolytus Trad. 7 (authenticity doubtful) and Serapion Euch. 18 tit.

Other texts mention a blessing before the breaking of the bread: ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς Act. Thom. 29, cf. Serapion Euch. 15 tit. In the West Hilary is probably referring to this blessing when he says that the emperor Constantius is unworthy to bow his head to receive it: *caput benedictioni submittis, ut fidem calces: conuiuio dignaris, ex quo Iudas ad proditorem egressus est* C. Const. 10.

The catechumens, the energumens, the *illuminandi*, and the penitents received the blessing at their dismissal. A description of this ceremony is given in the Apostolic Constitutions. They are requested to stand up and bow their heads: ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι. κλίνετε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε Const. 8.6.8, cf. 8.7.3; 8.8.4; 8.9.6. The gesture of the bishop is not mentioned but it is said of the *illuminandi* that on receiving the blessing they make the sign of the cross κατασφραγισάμενοι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλιναντες εὐλογεῖσθωσαν ib. 8.8.4. Serapion offers a prayer for the imposition of hands at the blessing of the catechumens, entitled: χειροθεσία κατηχουμένων Euch. 4 tit. Here again they bow their heads, ib. 4.1. Hippolytus moreover mentions an imposition of hands at the blessing which the catechumens receive each time after instruction: 'After the prayer of <the catechumens> let the teacher lay hands upon them and pray and dismiss them' Trad. 19.1, and likewise: ὁ χειροθετῶν αὐτόν Const. 7.39.4. The last text assumes an individual blessing. For Africa the blessing of the penitents at their dismissal is mentioned by Augustine: *quando illis imponitur manus, fit ordo longissimus* Serm. 232.8.¹

The faithful are also blessed by an imposition of hands at the morning service; again they must bow their heads: κλίνετε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ Const. 8.37.4; 8.39.1. In the description given by Etheria of this service in Jerusalem the collective blessing is distinguished from an individual blessing which each can subsequently receive: *sic benedicet catechumenos. item. . benedicet fideles. et post hoc exeunte episcopo de intro cancellos omnes ad manum ei accedunt, et ille eos uno et uno benedicet xiens iam, ac sic fit missa iam luce* Peregr. 24.2.

The stretching out of the hand is expressly mentioned with the verb ἐκτείνειν in two prayers of Serapion. The motive behind this, however, is that it is more often asked that the hand of God may reach out from

¹ This blessing was probably an old and widespread practice, but we cannot find references to it in Cyprian and Origen; see below, p. 322 f.

heaven in blessing. It is therefore not possible to derive from the use of this verb conclusions concerning the manner in which the gesture was performed. The first text, for the rest, does refer to the blessing of a group: τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνομεν, δέσποτα, καὶ δεόμεθα τὴν χεῖρα τὴν θείαν καὶ ζῶσαν ἐκταθῆναι εἰς εὐλογίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ Euch. 4.1, but the second has to do with the imposition of hands at the ordination of a presbyter: τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνομεν. . ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ib. 27.1.

The texts thus offer very few details concerning the manner in which groups of persons were blessed. It may generally be assumed that the touching of all present was omitted. An indication of this was found in the fact that all who are to receive the blessing are asked to bow their heads. The imposition of the hand now becomes a stretching out but the custom of making the sign of the cross may have been retained or, where it did not yet exist, it may soon have been introduced. The fact that the faithful make the sign of the cross on receiving the blessing would appear to point in this direction. The gesture therefore appears to be unrelated to the synagogal method of blessing by the raising of both hands.

Our conclusions concerning the manner in which the gesture was performed are confirmed by some representations of it in early Christian art. They have been collected and discussed by de Bruyne. A sarcophagus lid in the Catacombs of Callixtus shows Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph, the sarcophagus with the trees in the Louvre represents the blessing of Shem and Japheth by Noah, the nave mosaic in the Maria Maggiore in Rome the blessing of Jacob by Isaac, and the Vienna Genesis twice the blessing of Jacob by the angel.¹

The first representation follows the story in Gen. 48.17 ff. Jacob crosses his hands and places his right hand upon the head of Ephraim who thus receives the more important blessing and is shown larger. In the remaining cases the Bible says nothing of a gesture, ib. 9.26 f.; 27.1 ff.; 32.22 ff. It is therefore remarkable that the artists chose nevertheless to depict the imposition of hands. Noah places one hand upon each of his sons; there is no evidence that the right hand is preferred. Isaac and the angel also use one hand, the right. It would thus appear that the artists are only familiar with the blessing of one person by the imposition of one hand and they consider it normal that this should be the right. The hand of God which gives the blessing its

¹ L. DE BRUYNE, *L'imposition des mains dans l'art chrétien ancien*, RivAC 20, 1943, p. 119 ff. and pl. 1 ff.

efficacy appears from heaven upon the nave mosaic depicting the blessing of Jacob by Isaac.

To resume, we may say that *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives, when used for the imposition of hands in blessing, indicate a gesture of touching which is usually performed by placing the right hand upon the head of the person to be blessed. The use of *σφραγίζειν* for this gesture proves that the rite was performed in the form of a cross. At a collective blessing the gesture becomes a stretching out of the hand and this too was probably done in the form of a cross.

(2) The gesture and rite of healing. – Where in early Christian literature the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are used to refer to a gesture or rite of healing, a distinction must be made between (a) the use for a gesture attributed to Christ, the apostles, and later wonder-workers, and (b) the use for a rite of anointing with blessed oil which may be performed both by the priests and by the faithful.¹

(a) The gesture of healing ascribed to Christ and the wonder-workers. – For a free gesture of healing we find as in the New Testament the terms *ἄπτεσθαι* and *κρατεῖν* along with *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives. They are used to refer to the touching of the sick person or, more particularly, of the part to be healed. They may also be used for the touching of a corpse in order to raise it to life.

The use of *ἄπτεσθαι* occurs in apocryphal texts. Christ is told to raise a young man from the dead by touching his breast: *ἤψατο τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ* Ev.Thom. (Gr. A.) 17.1. By touching her forehead the apostle John brings a woman back to life: *ἀψάμενος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῆς* Act.Jo. 23. For *κρατεῖν* a text may be cited in which it is said that Christ takes the foot of a boy and cures it: *ἐκράτησεν τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν πεπληγότα πόδα* Ev.Thom. (Gr. A.) 10.2.

More usual are *χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι* and derivatives. With the object in the plural it is the fixed expression for Peter's gesture of healing in the Clementine Homilies. Since the apostle lays his hands on the multitude no distinction seems to be made between blessing, healing, and exorcizing: *Πέτρος τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖς μόνον καὶ εὐξάμενος ἴασατο* Clem.Hom. 8.24.2.² On one occasion we find the derived verb: *τὸν πολὺν δῆλον χειροθετήσας πρὸς Ἰασιν* ib. 19.25.1. For *χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις* Irenaeus may be quoted in a report concerning miraculous cures in

¹ Cf. COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 35 ff., and A. CHAVASSE, *Étude sur l'onction des infirmes dans l'Église latine du IIIe au XIe siècle*, Lyons 1942.

² See also p. 291 and 305.

general: ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται Haer. 2.32.4.

Elsewhere the object occurs in the singular. Concerning the cure of a leper by Christ Origen says: τὸ γὰρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν χεῖρα τῇ λέπρᾳ In Jo. 6.47.244. By a complicated action the apostle Judas Thomas brings back from the dead a woman who has been murdered by a young man. He first lays his hand on her while praying: ἐπέθηκεν δὲ αὐτῇ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀπόστολος Act.Thom. 53. Then he orders the murderer to grasp her hand. The young man indeed lays his hand upon hers and draws her upright: ἀπελθε καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς εἶπε αὐτῇ... καὶ ἐπιθεις τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐτῆς χειρὶ εἶπεν... καὶ εὐθέως ἐλυκίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἀναπηδήσασα ἑκαθέσθη ib. 54. Here χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι is synonymous with λαμβάνειν in the sense of 'to grasp'.

Related non-technical expressions are found in a report by Clement of Alexandria concerning miraculous cures in general: νόσος ἀκμάζουσα δαμάζεται χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς Div.Salv. 34.3, and in Eusebius when he speaks of cures performed by the apostle Thaddaeus at Edessa: τίθημι τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σέ Hist. 1.13.17, εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβῶν ἐθεραπεύθη ib. 1.13.18.

As the Latin equivalent we find *manum imponere*. It is used in the Latin version of the Acts of Peter for a cure performed by the apostle: *et continuo uidit et uidua* (MS. *uiduam*) *imponentem sibi Petrum manum* Act.Petr.Sim. 20, cf. Pass.Theod. 3.

The terms for anointing are not found in the early reports of cures performed by wonder-workers. Later, however, they tend increasingly to use blessed oil and water in the same manner as the faithful were accustomed to do. For this reason the texts will be discussed below together with the passages dealing with the anointing of the sick by the faithful.

In tracing the rise of σφραγίζειν as term for the gesture of healing two texts are of particular importance. The first is a passage from the Epistle of the Apostles concerning the healing of Paul by Ananias. The Ethiopic version of the lost Greek original reads with the principle variants in English translation: 'And his eyes shall be blinded, and they shall be signed/sealed ('ataba ABC, but by an error due to the similarity of *t* and *q* in Ethiopic 'aqaba 'protected' L; 'with spittle' add. ABC; 'with hope' add. S) by your own hand ('ed sg.)' Ep.Apost. 31.

Two details are added to the report in Acts 9.12, 17, the use of spittle and the performing of the gesture in the form of a cross. Some doubt may be felt concerning the authenticity of the first, and Schmidt

deletes it in his German edition.¹ In any case it is no more than a borrowing from the manner in which Christ anoints in Mk. 8.23 and Jn. 9.6. It may be, however, that according to the original text this imposition of hands was already performed in the form of a cross. This would show that in the second century the sign of the cross had been adopted into the imposition of hands as a gesture of healing. If we assume that the Epistle was composed in Syria at the end of the second century, the use of σφραγίζειν for this sign of the cross would correspond with the semantic development of the verb as it will be traced below.² The use of 'ataba 'to sign' instead of *hatama* 'to seal' does not contradict this since both verbs are used in Ethiopic versions as the equivalents of σφραγίζειν.³

For the second text we must return to the story of the woman who is raised from the dead by the apostle Thomas with the help of the murderer. We saw that the gesture of the murderer, referred to as an imposition of hands, consisted of a taking of the woman's hand. He first, however, receives the power required through being touched by the apostle in the form of a cross, and we may consider this as the proper healing gesture of the apostle. Both in the Greek and Syriac texts this gesture is referred to as a sealing: καὶ εἶπεν τῷ νεοτέρῳ σφραγίσας αὐτόν Act. Thom. 54, 'And he sealed (*htm*) him with the cross' ib. p. 194 W.⁴

(b) Healing by the faithful and the priests. — In addition to the gesture of the wonder-worker a rite of healing is found which may be performed both by the priests and the faithful. We must here bear in mind the existing practices. In cases of sickness the faithful used blessed oil and holy water, both internally and externally. Our interest lies in the terminology for the external use of the blessed oil. In so far as this anointing was performed by the faithful themselves we should like to speak of a rite in a wider sense on the basis of the similarity with the anointing by the priest. An examination of the terminology, however, will also show the difference between the two, for only the priestly anointing appears to be termed an imposition of hands and a blessing. As the technical term for the anointing ἀλείφειν and not χρίειν is to be

¹ C SCHMIDT, *Gesprache Jesu*, Leipzig 1919, p. 96.

² From a supposed Edessene origin of the Epistle DE ZWAAN, *art. cit.*, *Amicitiae Corolla* p. 344, concludes to a Syriac original. This is not necessary but, if correct, the verb *hetam* is not to be expected here on account of its connotation of 'to close'. The noun *hatmā*, however, without this connotation, might then be on the basis of the seal, ib. 41 (32). See p. 391 and 416.

³ Cf. CH. F. DILLMANN, *Lexicon linguae aethiopsicae*, Leipzig 1856, s. v.

⁴ On this text, see also p. 418.

expected on the basis of the New Testament usage and hence for the oil *ἐλαιον* but not *χρῖσμα* or *μύρον*.

The earliest sources are the prayers for the blessing of the oil of the sick which is situated traditionally after the celebration of the Eucharist.¹ For the second century we do find the blessing of the bread of the Eucharist and of an oil called *ἐλαιον* in Theodotus who mentions it as a custom prevailing among the Valentinians: *καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἐλαιον ἀγιάζεται* Exc. 82.1. We may assume that the oil was destined for the anointing of the sick and that the sect after its separation retained the term *ἐλαιον* along with the Christian practice. It has been supposed that the baptismal oil is referred to, but Theodotus at least does not distinguish two oils or two functions of the oil as he distinguishes between the exorcized water and the baptismal water: *οὕτως καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ ἐξορκιζόμενον καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα γινόμενον* ib. 82.2.²

Hippolytus transmits a prayer for the blessing of the oil following upon the celebration of the Eucharist.³ In the old Latin version the text reads: *ut oleum hoc sanctificans das deus san<ct>itatem utentibus et percipientibus, unde unxisti reges sacerdotes et profetas, sic et omnibus gustantibus confortationem et sanitatem utentibus illud praebeat* Trad. 5.2.

The term *oleum* for the oil of the sick corresponds with *ἐλαιον* as

¹ A possibly very old prayer for the blessing of the oil after the Eucharist has been seen in a passage from the Didache, following on Did 10 7 It has been preserved in the Coptic fragment, and the amplified Greek text is found in Const 7 27 1 f, whence the original text may be restored as follows *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐωδίας (stinouje C, τοῦ μύρου Const) οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ, (C, θεᾶ δημιουργῆ τῶν ὄλων, καὶ Const) ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας (stinouje C) (τοῦ μύρου add Const) καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος (om C), οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός (υἱοῦ C) σου* With reference to the edition of the Coptic fragment by L TH LEFORT, CSCO 136, p 26 n 13, A ADAM, *art cit*, p 8 ff, rightly stresses the fact that *stinouje* means 'aroma' and not 'ointment', whence it cannot be considered the equivalent of *μύρον* The solution of the problem, however, becomes less complicated than is suggested by this author, if we take *stinouje* to translate a Greek *εὐωδία* as it does in the Sahidic and Bohairic versions of 2 Cor 2 15, cf W E CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, s v We then find in the text as restored above an archaic prayer concerning the aroma which the Christians are according to Paul Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν τῷ θεῷ 2 Cor 2 15 With the Constitutor *εὐωδία* and *ἀθάνατος αἰών* evoked the idea of the postbaptismal anointing with fragrant oil, cf Const 7 44 1 f, and he adapted the texts in his usual manner Cf also F X FUNK-K BIHLMEYER, *Die apostolischen Vater*, Tubingen 2 1924, p XX, PETERSON, *art cit*, RivAC 27, 1951, p 46 ff (for the author's suggestion that the Novatians suppressed the passage since they abandoned the postbaptismal anointing, see also below, p 337), AUDET, *op cit*, p 67 ff, reviewed by J DANIELLOU, RSR 47, 1959, p 66 f

² Cf F SAGNARD *Clément d'Alexandrie Extraits de Théodote*, Paris 1948, p 207 n 2

³ Cf CHAVASSE, *op cit*, p 89, and the editions by G DIX *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus of Rome*, London 1937 p 10, and B BOTTE, *Hippolyte de Rome La Tradition apostolique*, Paris 1946, p 33 f

found in Theodotus, the Greek verb in the original was probably *χρίειν*. In contrast to *percipientibus* and *gustantibus* for the internal use the Latin translation twice has *uentibus* for the external use. For the first *uentibus* the Ethiopic version has 'to those who are anointed' Stat.Ap. 22 (I.23). The translator thus read *χρισμένοις* in the Greek original instead of *χρωμένοις*, wrongly, as it seems, since the Latin text provides a better train of thought than the Ethiopic.¹ If thus *χρωμένοις* is the probable reading of the original, nothing may yet be deduced concerning the rise of *χρίειν* as a term for the anointing of the sick. The prayer compares, however, the oil of the sick with that used in the Old Covenant for the anointing of kings and prophets. The verb *unxisti* here naturally translates a form of *χρίειν* and this comparison, which is already not so applicable to the anointing of the sick, would be rendered even more difficult if people, in Rome at least, were still well aware of the distinction between *χρίειν* and *ἀλείφειν*.

For the rest, the two prayers for the blessing of the oil preserved by Serapion show just as little sharp distinction. We find *ἄλειψις* in the first and *χρίειν* in the second. The first again follows the celebration of the Eucharist under the title: *εὐχὴ περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἐλαίων καὶ ὕδατων* Euch. 17 tit. It serves for the blessing of oil and water as gifts of the faithful intended for internal and external usage against every fever, demon, and sickness: *ὅπως . . . πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῆ* ib. 17.2.

The second prayer differs from the first in that here a healing power is asked not only for the expulsion of illness and demons but also for the forgiveness of sins. This prayer is placed at the end of the collection together with that for burial. The title reads: *εὐχὴ εἰς ἔλαιον νοσούντων ἢ εἰς ἄρτον ἢ εἰς ὕδωρ* ib. 29 tit. This may indicate that the prayer could also be used for the blessing of bread and water although in the text which now follows only oil for internal and external usage is mentioned: *ἐκπέμψαι δύναμιν ἰατικὴν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦτο, ἵνα γένηται τοῖς χρισμένοις ἢ μεταλαμβάνουσιν τῶν κτισμάτων σου τούτων εἰς ἀποβολὴν πάσης νόσου* ib. 29.1.

The Apostolic Constitutions preserve a prayer for the blessing of water and oil against diseases and demons without any mention of an internal or external usage: *ἀγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον* Const. 8.29.3.

Finally we find *ἀλείφειν* and not *χρίειν* in a few texts which mention the practice of the anointing of the sick.

¹ But he was right in using *gabe'a* 'to smear' instead of the sacral *maseha* 'to anoint'.

In his prayer for a community the apostle Thomas asks God to heal the flock of sores by anointing it with blessed oil: ἀλείψας αὐτὴν ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ θεράπευσον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλκῶν Act.Thom. 67. The terms ἀλείφειν and ἔλαιον are used metaphorically but we may see here a reference to the practice of the anointing of the sick.

In the miraculous cures reported by Palladius we find, along with χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι for the imposition of hands as the gesture of the wonder-worker, ἔλαιον and ἀλείφειν for the external use of blessed oil. The stories especially illustrate the internal and external use of oil and water as a daily practice of the faithful. The monk Benjamin in the Nitrian desert cures by an imposition of hands or gives the sick people oil blessed by himself: παντὶ ᾧ ἂν χεῖρα ἐπετίθει ἢ ἔλαιον εὐλογήσας ἐδίδου, πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἀρρωστίας Hist.Laus. 12.1. It is not said that the monk anoints; the sick themselves may use the oil internally or externally. Macarius of Alexandria, however, cures a paralysed girl by anointing her with blessed oil: ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ ἀλείφω τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ ib. 18.11. Sozomen again has χρίειν for a cure performed by Egyptian monks: ἐλαίῳ τοῦτον ἔχρισαν Hist. 6.20.6, and Chrysostom for the use of the oil by the faithful themselves: ὅσοι μετὰ πίστεως καὶ εὐκαίρως ἐλαίῳ χρισάμενοι νοσήματα ἔλυσαν In Matth. 32.6.

For the Latin texts it must be remarked that *ungere* is the equivalent of both ἀλείφειν and χρίειν so that the distinction lapses. The usual term for the oil is *oleum*. Tertullian mentions the gratitude of the emperor Septimius Severus, the father of Caracalla, for a cure performed by the Christian procurator Proculus: *qui eum per oleum aliquando sanauerat* Scap. 4.5, cf. Sulpicius Severus Dial. 3.2; 3.3, Vit.Mart. 16, 19, Jerome Vit.Hil. 32.

In the reports concerning the anointing of the sick we look in vain for the terms σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν or their Latin equivalents. There is also no indication in any other way that this anointing was performed in the form of a cross. One may only assume that this custom soon penetrated as was the case with other anointings. The possibility remains, however, that the oil was simply spread over the place to be healed, which would explain why the terms for sealing as a reference to this gesture could not become technical to any extent.

The terminology for the anointing of the sick as performed by the faithful and by wonder-workers does not so far give any reason for distinguishing a special application by the priest from the general usage although this is precisely the rite referred to in Jas. 5.14 f. One might refer to the second prayer for the blessing of the oil in Serapion's

collection placed before that said at the funeral service, Euch 29. The oil may thus be intended for cases of serious illness and the forgiveness of sins is linked with the anointing but, on the other hand, the prayer also takes into account an internal usage by the faithful and the title even refers to an application of the prayer for the blessing of bread and water. Nevertheless a distinction is found in East and West between the anointing by the faithful themselves and a priestly anointing in that the latter is referred to as an imposition of hands and a blessing.

The most important text is a pronouncement of Innocent I.¹ In his letter to the bishop of Eugubium he proposes in contrast to the theory which, referring to Jas. 5.14 f., considers the anointing of the sick as reserved for priests, that all the faithful and thus certainly also the bishops may perform it. His explanation of the biblical passage reads: *quod non est dubium de fidelibus aegrotantibus accipi uel intelligi debere, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi possunt, quod ab episcopo confectum, non solum sacerdotibus, sed et omnibus uti christianis licet, in sua aut in suorum necessitate unguendum. ceterum illud superfluum esse uidemus adiectum, ut de episcopo ambigatur, quod presbyteris licere non dubium est. nam idcirco 'presbyteri' dictum est, quia episcopi occupationibus aliis impediti ad omnes languidos ire non possunt. ceterum si episcopus aut potest, aut dignum ducit aliquem a se uisitandum, et benedicere et tangere chrismate, sine cunctatione potest, cuius est chrisma conficere. nam paenitentibus istud infundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti. nam quibus reliqua sacramenta negantur, quomodo unum genus putatur posse concedi?* Ep. 25.8.11.

Three expressions are of interest to us. Innocent proposes that all Christians may use the oil consecrated by the bishop to anoint themselves and their relatives, and his expression for this is *oleum chrismatis uti unguendum*. He wishes to point out that the Christians have as good a right to do this as the priests and therefore the internal usage is not mentioned. But when he excludes the penitents from the blessed oil, the expression is *paenitentibus oleum infundere*. In contrast to these practices of the faithful, the anointing which the bishops have as much right to perform as the priests is referred to with *benedicere et tangere chrismate*.

The last expression is usually considered as referring to two distinct rites of blessing and anointing. The sick person may naturally have also received a blessing on the occasion of the anointing and this would have been valued all the more if the anointing was considered as a rite which

¹ Cf. CHAVASSE, *op.cit.*, p. 89 ff.

everyone could perform. In Latin, however, *benedicere* and *benedictio* are current to indicate the rites of the imposition of hands and anointing in their various meanings¹ and thus *benedicere* in the pronouncement of Innocent I must be understood as referring to the anointing itself. By the addition of this verb the anointing by bishops and priests is distinguished from a usage by the faithful which cannot be called a blessing. Such a reference is sufficient in the case of an existing distinction which is not under discussion.

Some other Greek and Latin texts mentioning an imposition of hands upon the sick or a blessing must be considered in this light. According to the Didascalia the imposition of hands upon the sick belongs to the ministry of the widows: *ut facias super eos ieiunium et orationem adhuc et manus inpositionem* Didasc. 3.8.5, cf. 3.8.1 f. Serapion preserves a prayer for the sick under the title: χειροθεσία νοσοῦντων Euch. 8 tit. Hence the prayer was pronounced during an imposition of hands.² Athanasius praises the faithful who in the case of sickness during persecution go without spiritual aid rather than accept an imposition of hands by the Arians: αἰροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω νοσεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἢ χεῖρα τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. Ep. Enc. 5. Ambrose calls the imposition of hands upon sick people a blessing and asks the Novatians how they can believe in this rite: *cur ergo manus imponitis et benedictionis opus creditis, si quis forte reualuerit aegrotus?* Paen. 1.8.36. Possidius mentions Augustine's custom of visiting the sick and laying his hand upon them: *si forte ab aegrotantibus ad hoc peteretur ut pro eis in praesenti dominum rogaret eisque manus imponeret, sine mora pergebat* Vit. Aug. 27.

In these texts there is nowhere mention of an anointing. Yet the use of the oil of the sick was generally known and it appeared from Innocent I that an anointing by a priest or bishop was even especially valued. It is therefore not likely that in the texts quoted only a rite of blessing is intended, whereas the anointing would have been performed by the faithful themselves. On the other hand, it is improbable that any possible anointing performed by priest or bishop would have remained unmentioned. The explanation may then be either that the texts do not mention the use of ointment as being self-evident, or else its usage is supposed to be superfluous since it is applied beforehand by the faithful themselves.³ By referring to the rite performed by the priest or

¹ See p. 387.

² See p. 386.

³ For such a connection between imposition of hands and anointing, see p. 357 Cf. J. KERN, *De sacramento extremæ unctionis*, Regensburg 1907, p. 40 ff., and A. MALVY, *Extrême-onction et imposition des mains*, RSR 7, 1917, p. 519 ff

the bishop as an imposition of hands or a blessing its peculiar character is stressed.

Our knowledge of the gesture of healing can be supplemented with the help of representations found in early Christian art. The paintings and sculptures discussed by de Bruyne show the gesture as performed by Christ at the healing of a leper, of the woman with the twisted back and above all of blind people.¹ The gesture is also represented, without being mentioned in the New Testament, at the healing of a paralytic and of the woman suffering from hemorrhage. It appears that the artists usually think of the gesture of healing as being performed with one hand. The right hand is used by preference. If circumstances seem to require it, however, the gesture may also be performed with the left hand. By depicting the gesture even where it is not mentioned by the New Testament the artists show that they find it self-evident for healings in general.

Another detail emerges on a comparison of the representations with data from the New Testament.² At the healing of a blind man Jesus is more often shown laying His hand upon the head than upon the eyes whereas, according to the New Testament, it is always the eyes which are touched. The term there is regularly ἄπτεσθαι and only once χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι which, however, is then clearly used for the touching of the eyes, Mk. 8.23. For this placing of the hand upon the head of the blind man a practical consideration may have been that the artist wished as far as possible not to cover the face of the blind man. This at least may explain why on some representations the eyes are only touched with the index and middle finger. Nevertheless it is also possible that the hand is often depicted upon the head simply because the New Testament meaning of the imposition of hands had been lost and the expression now only calls up the idea of a laying of the hand upon the head, just as do the equivalents in modern languages.

We arrive at the conclusion that the terms for the imposition of hands, but originally not those for the anointing, refer to a gesture of healing performed by Christ, the apostles, and wonder-workers. There is hardly any evidence that such a gesture was termed a sealing. For the anointing of the sick, performed by the faithful themselves, by the later wonder-workers, and by the priests, ἀλείφειν, and later also χρίειν, are used in Greek, while *unguere* and *oleum* are current in Latin. The terms for the imposition of hands and in Latin *benedicere* probably

¹ *Art.crit.*, p. 129 ff. and pl. 4 ff.

² See p. 256 ff.

point to the peculiar meaning attributed to the anointing of a sick person performed by a priest or a bishop.

(3) The rites of exorcism. – The use of the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing in exorcism has no direct basis in the New Testament. Christ Himself uses only a word of command when He is concerned with driving out demons: *παρήγγελλεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελθεῖν* Lk. 8.29, cf. 9.42.¹ Similarly, whenever the disciples drive out evil spirits and cure the sick, a gesture of healing is mentioned but not a specific gesture for the expulsion of devils, Mt. 10.1, 8; Mk. 6.13; 16.17; Lk. 9.1. Consequently there is in the post-apostolic period not an already fixed terminology to refer to a rite of exorcism, but various rites are introduced, each of which may have a different name. We are here interested in those rites which are referred to as an imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing. We find them applied (a) as rites of exorcism in general and (b) especially as a preparation for baptism.²

(a) The rites of exorcism in general. – In the literature of the second century we do not yet meet any terms which refer to a gesture for the driving out of evil spirits, but from the third century onwards we find among others the terms for touching, imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing used in this connection. Examples may be found in the apocryphal and hagiographic literature and in the prayers for the blessing of the oil of the sick.

In one passage of the Clementine Homilies *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι*, as the fixed expression for the gesture with which Peter blesses the multitudes and heals the sick,³ refers also to the healing of demoniacs: *ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς δαιμονῶντας καὶ νόσοις ἐγκατελημμένους αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι, προσενεχθεῖσι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖς καὶ προσευξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ὑγιαίνοντας* Clem.Hom. 10.26.1.

Serapion's prayers for the blessing of the oil of the sick, in which we found *ἀλείφειν* and *χρίειν* as terms for the external use,⁴ implore a power for the oil whereby the illness will be healed and the demons driven out: *ὄπως πᾶς πυρετὸς καὶ πᾶν δαιμόνιον καὶ πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῇ* Euch. 17.2, cf. 29.1. In the Apostolic Constitutions the same is asked in a prayer for the blessing of water and oil: *δὸς δύναμιν ὑγείας ἐμποιητικὴν, νόσων ἀπελαστικὴν, δαιμόνων φυγαδευτικὴν* Const. 8.29.3.

¹ Early Christian art is conscious of this fact and depicts Christ in these cases as using the gesture of speaking: cf. DE BRUYNE, *art.crit.*, p. 158 f.

² Cf. COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 48 ff.

³ See p. 291 and 296.

⁴ See p. 300.

These prayers may only refer to the evil spirits as the origin of sickness. In practice, however, the same terminology is used for the cure of possession in the strict sense. Palladius gives an example of this in his use of *χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι* and *ἀλείφειν* in a report dealing with the cure of a demoniac performed by Macarius of Alexandria. The saint lays his hand upon the boy's head and heart; he then anoints him and pours water over him: *ἐπιθείς οὖν αὐτῷ χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας.. ἀλείψας ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ* Hist.Laus. 18.22.

In the West the Latin equivalents are applied in the same manner. Tertullian refers to the cures and exorcisms performed by the Christians at the behest of their pagan fellow-citizens: *quanti honesti uiri – de uulgaribus enim non dicimus – aut a daemoniis aut a uoletudinibus remediati sunt* Scap. 4.5. The exorcism is performed by the Christians, in faith sealing and anointing the 'heel of the beast': *nobis fides praesidium, si non et ipsa percutitur diffidentia signandi statim et adiurandi et unguendi (unguendi MS., ungenti ed.princ., ugenti, ingerendi, iniciendi corr.) bestiae calcem* Scorp. 1.3. The corrections are unnecessary. Tertullian may well be using *unguere* to refer to an anointing with the oil of the sick as a rite of exorcism; *adiurare* is the technical term for exorcizing and *signare* then refers to a sealing as a separate rite of exorcism or rather indicates that the anointing itself was performed in the form of a cross. Elsewhere Tertullian mentions as a rite of exorcism only the gesture of touching together with the insufflation: *ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro..de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inuicti et dolentes et uobis praesentibus erubescentes* Apol. 23.16. The term *contactus* suggests a simple touching with the hand without the use of ointment and not yet in the form of a cross. It is probably in this sense too that we must understand the expression *sub manu*, used by Cyprian to refer to the rite of exorcism: *uidebis sub manu nostra stare uinctos et tremere captiuos quos tu suspicis et ueneraris ut dominos* Demetr. 15.

The driving out of demons may be performed by any Christian but it is particularly the work of the exorcists who are enabled to perform this act by a charismatic gift or by virtue of an ecclesiastical ordination. The expressions for the imposition of hands indicate the gesture employed. Origen sees in Jos. 19.47a a reference to the hand of the exorcists: *uel exorcistarum, ut diximus, manus impositione uehementius imposita grauari dicitur super immundos spiritus manus Effrem* In Jes.Nav. 24.1. This imposition of hands formed part of the ministries

performed by the martyr Procopius: *tria ministeria praebebat...tertium aduersus daemones manus impositione consummans* Pass.Proc. I. Innocent I, on being questioned by the bishop of Eugubium, points out that the clergy must have permission from the bishop to exorcize someone who has become possessed after baptism: *est sollicita dilectio tua si a presbytero uel diacono possint aut debeant consignari* (designari one MS.)... *quod hoc, nisi episcopus praeceperit, non licet. nam eis manus imponenda omnino non est, nisi episcopus auctoritatem dederit id efficiendi. ut autem fiat, episcopi est imperare, ut manus eis uel a presbytero uel a ceteris clericis imponatur* Ep. 25.6.9. The words *consignare* and *manum imponere* refer to one gesture, an imposition of hands in the form of a cross. The first term may have been used by the questioner; Innocent then repeats this word in the exposition of the problem and himself subsequently employs the second term.

The contexts in which the terms for these rites of exorcism occur repeatedly point to the link between exorcism and healing. The oil and water are used for someone possessed as for a sick person. In both cases Palladius' term for the anointing is ἀλείφειν. The same origin may be assumed for the imposition of hands although in this case there may also exist some connection with the rite of blessing. We must assume a gesture performed with one hand as indicated by *contactus* and *sub manu*. The use of *signare* and *consignare* points to the introduction of the sign of the cross.

(b) The prebaptismal rites of exorcism. – As Dölger has examined in some detail baptism itself was, in the original concept of the early Church, a great exorcism: it expelled the evil spirits and brought about the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.¹ Soon, however, the exorcizing effect of baptism began to be expressed in separate rites which preceded the bath. Some texts trace the origin of this custom back to the second century. From the third century onwards the exorcisms are established parts of the baptismal liturgy in East and West. Among others the terms for the imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are used to refer to these rites.

The second century. – For the terminology of the prebaptismal imposition of hands and anointing in the second century we may refer first of all to a gnostic source. Theodotus mentions the imposition of hands among the preparations for baptism which serve to repel the evil spirits: διὰ τοῦτο νηστεῖται, δεήσεις, εὐχαὶ χειρῶν (εὐχαὶ χειρῶν MSS., εὐχαί, ἐπάρσεις, and θέσεις χειρῶν corr.), γονυκλισίαι Exc. 84. The

¹ *Exorzismus*, p. 4 ff.

proposed corrections are unnecessary: εὐχαὶ χειρῶν is quite in keeping with other non-technical expressions for the imposition of hands which indicate that such a rite is accompanied by a prayer.¹ Here we have thus a name for a prebaptismal rite of exorcism which, we may assume, was retained by the sect on its separation from the Church.

It is interesting to compare with this a use of χειροθετεῖν in another gnostic text, although of later date. In the Clementine Homilies Peter exhorts the converts to fasting and a daily imposition of hands as a preparation for baptism: ὅσοι ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐριον νηστεύειν ἄρξασθε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν χειροθετεῖσθε Clem.Hom. 3.73.1. Fasting and imposition of hands may here have the same significance as in Theodotus although this is not said in so many words.

In Irenaeus' report concerning the initiation rites among the Marcosians we perhaps find a reference to the prebaptismal anointing.² Some of these Gnostics consider it superfluous to take their converts to the water; they baptize them with a mixture of oil and water, followed by an anointing with myron: μίξαντες δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ.. ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τῶν τελειουμένων.. μυρίζουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ βαλσάμῳ Haer. 1.21.4. The notable striving of the early Church in Syria and Asia Minor to make the baptismal anointings coincide with the bath³ may explain how some Gnostics came to baptize with a mixture of oil and water. This use of oil might be borrowed from the postbaptismal rite but, since it is followed by an anointing with myron, one should rather think of a prebaptismal anointing with oil, adopted by the sect and transformed after its separation. The oil was then probably called ἔλαιον. A term for the act of anointing is not mentioned.

From the third century onwards. – We possess more information concerning the terminology of the prebaptismal rites of exorcism in the Churches of East and West from the third century onwards.

Africa. – At the time of Tertullian and Cyprian the prebaptismal rites of exorcism in the African Church were as yet little developed. There is no mention of a prebaptismal anointing and sealing.⁴

Tertullian has the expression *sub manu* for an imposition of hands by the bishop during a renunciation of Satan which takes place some time before baptism: *aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius* Cor. 3.2. We may assume a simple gesture of touching, not yet in

¹ See p. 386.

² See also p. 342.

³ See p. 340 f.

⁴ Cf. DEKKER, *op.cit.*, p. 214 ff.

the form of a cross, as we already did for the exorcism in Africa performed independently of baptism.

Tertullian does not mention any imposition of hands at the second renunciation which takes place immediately before the bath while the candidate is already standing in the water: *cum aquam ingressi christianam fidem in legis suae uerba profiteremur, renuntiassse nos diabolo et pompae et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur* Spec. 4.1. Nevertheless the rite may have been the same as at the first renunciation and for exorcism in general. We must indeed bear in mind that the second renunciation is closely linked with the profession of faith during which the candidate is thrice immersed. If now the immersion during the profession of faith was accompanied by an imposition of hands,¹ there developed practically one gesture by which both the renunciation and the profession of faith were performed.

The technical *manum imponere* for the prebaptismal imposition of hands occurs in the pronouncement of Vincentius a Thibari at the Council of Carthage in 256. He considers this rite equally necessary with baptism for the reconciliation of heretics: *haereticos scimus esse peiores quam ethnicos. si conuersi ad dominum uenire uoluerint, habent utique regulam ueritatis quam dominus praecepto diuino mandauit apostolis dicens: ite, in nomine meo manum inponite, daemonia expellite* (cf. Mt. 10.8; Mk. 16.17 f.). *et alio loco: ite et docete gentes tingentes eas in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* (Mt. 28.19). *ergo primo per manus inpositionem in exorcismo, secundo per baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem peruenire* Sent.Episc. 37. Whether this refers to one prebaptismal rite of exorcism or more, the imposition of hands is inseparably linked with this ceremony. By freely quoting Mt. 10.8 and Mk. 16.17 f., Vincentius connects the rite with the imposition of hands as a gesture of healing. From the absence, however, of a reference to the anointing by which the apostles heal, Mk. 6.13, it would appear that he is not yet familiar with a prebaptismal anointing.

Rome. – In comparison with the African liturgy that of Hippolytus shows an important extension of the prebaptismal exorcisms. He uses among others the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing and that with reference to distinct rites. As Greek equivalents in the original document we may assume χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι or χειροθετεῖν for the imposition of hands, χρίειν for the anointing, and for the sealing σφραγίζειν, still preserved in the Coptic version. The Greek name for the

¹ See p. 375.

oil was probably ἔλαιον ἐξορκισμοῦ in contrast to the ἔλαιον εὐχαριστίας for the postbaptismal anointing.

During the days preceding baptism a daily imposition of hands as rite of exorcism takes place: 'From the day they are chosen, let a hand be laid on them and let them be exorcized daily' Trad. 20.3. On Easter Saturday the bishop exorcizes them by imposition of hands and then by insufflation and sealing: 'And laying his hand on them he shall exorcize every evil spirit . . . And when he has finished exorcizing, let him breathe on their faces and seal (σφραγίζειν C.) their foreheads and ears and noses' ib. 20.8. On the following morning, when the candidates have disrobed themselves and the oils are consecrated, the presbyter takes each of them aside for the renunciation; after this they are anointed with the oil of exorcism and descend into the water: 'And when the presbyter takes hold of each one of those who are to be baptized, let him bid him renounce, saying: I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works. And when he has said this let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism saying: Let all evil spirits depart from thee' ib. 21.9 f. There is no mention of an imposition of hands unless a veiled reference to it may be seen in the taking hold of the candidate. It is also possible, however, that the imposition of hands has been incorporated in the anointing which follows the renunciation and precedes the profession of faith during the immersion.

There is no need here to examine further the terminology of the rite of exorcism in the western liturgies. We only quote a passage in which Firmicus Maternus speaks of the unguent which Christ received from His Father and gives to the faithful. It is an ointment made up of fragrant spices but it also frees man from the snares of death: *unguentum, quod deus pater unico tradidit filio, quod filius credentibus diuina numinis sui maiestate largitur. Christi unguentum immortali compositione conficitur et spiritalibus pigmentorum odoribus temperatur: hoc unguentum a mortalibus laqueis putres hominum artus exuit, ut sepulto primo homine ex eodem statim homine homo alius felicius nascatur* ERR. 23.1. The writer refers in turn to the anointing of Christ, to the postbaptismal anointing of the Christians, and to the prebaptismal.

Egypt. – In the considerations which Clement of Alexandria devotes to the anointing of the Christians it is difficult to detect any explicit reference to a prebaptismal exorcism.¹ It is only in the fourth century that we find the terminology for this rite in Egypt, in the prayer for the blessing of the oil of exorcism transmitted by Serapion. Here ἀλείφειν

¹ See p. 358 and 389.

and ἀλειψις are the terms for the prebaptismal anointing; the oil is called ἀλειμμα: εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀλειμμα τῶν βαπτιζομένων Euch. 22 tit., ἀλείφομεν τῷ ἀλείμματι τούτῳ ib. 22.1, ἀποκαλύψαι μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἀλείμματος τούτου καὶ ἀποθεραπεῦσαι . . . πᾶν σημεῖον ἁμαρτίας . . . ἵνα . . . διὰ τῆς ἀλείψεως ταύτης ἀναπλασθέντες . . . ἐξισχύσουσιν κατανικῆσαι λοιπὸν τὰς προσβαλλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας ib. 22.2. The prayer asks that the oil be given the power to cure, which may serve again to show the connection with the anointing of the sick. Furthermore forgiveness of sins and recreation are requested in a manner which shows that the effects ascribed to the prebaptismal anointing are only a prelude to those of the bath itself.

Jerusalem. – The use of ἀλείφειν for the prebaptismal anointing can now also be established in the Mystagogical Catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, but the oil is termed ἔλαιον: εἶτα ἀποδουθέντες, ἐλαίῳ ἠλείφεσθε ἐποριστῶ, ἀπ' ἄκρων τριχῶν κορυφῆς ἕως τῶν κάτω Cat.Myst. 2.2. This passage refers to a rite of exorcism: the anointing is intended to efface the traces of sin and dispel the power of the evil spirits. It is a complete anointing which takes place after the disrobing and immediately before the descent into the water.

Eastern Syria. – The deviations of the East Syrian baptismal liturgy constitute a problem which has frequently intrigued scholars.¹ In dealing with the postbaptismal rite the examination of an important passage in the Didascalia concerning the usefulness of the deaconess at the baptism of female candidates will make clear the origin of this ritual and at the same time provide an explanation for it.²

The passage of the Didascalia referred to begins with the mention of an anointing by the deaconess at the descent of the female candidates to the water. The old Syriac version reads in the Latin rendering by Funk: *primo cum mulieres in aquam descendunt, a diaconissa oleo unctionis (mšh' dmšyhwṭ') unguendae sunt (mšh) in aquam descendentes* Didasc. 3.12.2. The original Greek verb is more difficult to establish since the interpolator of the Apostolic Constitutions inserts an anointing of the forehead by the deacon: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναῖκας ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτάς Const. 3.16.2. It is not immediately clear whether χρίσει or ἀλείψει was the term used in the Didascalia for the anointing by the deaconess, but contrary to Funk in his edition we must consider ἀλείψει as the original on account

¹ See the literature below, p. 341 n. 2.

² See p. 360 ff.

of its usage for the prebaptismal anointing in the Greek Acts of Thomas.¹ The oil may then in the Greek original of the Didascalia have been termed *έλαιον ἀλείψεως* or *ἀλείμματος*. We find thus the same contrast with the terminology of the postbaptismal rite as in Jerusalem and Egypt.

After this the Didascalia uses the terms *χειροθεσία* and *χρίειν* in speaking of a prebaptismal anointing which the bishop performed by laying his hand upon the head of the candidate. Without the interpolations the Greek text in the Constitutions reads: *ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς χρίσει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν τρόπον οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τὸ πρότερον ἐχρίοντο... σὺ οὖν, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐκείνω τῷ τύπῳ χρίσεις τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν βαπτιζομένων* Const. 3.16.3 f. (Didasc. 3.12.2 f.).

This rite of imposition of hands and anointing is mentioned after the anointing by the deaconess and this may indeed have been the proper sequence for, as we shall see, the anointing by the bishop is really the postbaptismal rite which had come to be linked with the bath and now already takes place before it. Part of that anointing rite had been the anointing which the deaconess continues to perform during the bath: *ac postea, cum tu baptizas... diaconissa, ut praediximus, ungat mulieres* Didasc. 3.12.3.² In reality thus the Didascalia reflects a complicated method of anointing but one which is well on the way to the simple ritual as it became current in Eastern Syria: it then consists of only one anointing which precedes baptism but can, having been begun by the minister on the head, be completed by others.

The Greek terminology of the East Syrian prebaptismal anointing is found in the Acts of Thomas. Here *ἀλείφειν* is the technical term for the anointing, *έλαιον* for the oil, and *σφραγίς* for the seal of ownership which is conferred by this rite.

In the first of the five passages from the Acts which mention the baptismal ceremony the actual Greek text seeks to do away with the East Syrian ritual by situating the prebaptismal anointing after the bath.³ Nevertheless *ἀλείφειν* has been retained, but once *χρίειν* has been added. Before baptism the apostle prays according to the Syriac Acts: 'And anoint (*mšh*) them, and purify them from their uncleanness' Act.Thom. p. 165 W. The Greek text now reads: *καθαρίσας αὐτοὺς τῷ σῶ λουτρῷ καὶ ἀλείψας αὐτοὺς τῷ σῶ ἔλαιῳ* ib. 25. The anointing is subsequently described as follows: 'And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern, and poured oil (*mšh*) upon their heads, and

¹ See below, this page.

² See p. 361.

³ See p. 344 f.

said' ib. p. 166 W., λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ καταχέας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλείψας καὶ χρίσας αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο λέγειν ib. 27. In the three following passages there is no term for the anointing but in the last it is again ἀλείφειν. Mygdonia disrobes the female candidates and girds them. The apostle pours oil over the head of the king's son Ouazanes and over the heads of the women, then he allows Mygdonia to anoint the women while he does the same for Ouazanes: πρῶτον μὲν τῇ κεφαλῇ Οὐαζάνου ἐπέχεεν, ἔπειτα ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν, λέγων... καὶ ἐκέλευσεν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ ἀλείψαι (*mšh*) αὐτάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἤλειψεν (*mšh*) τὸν Οὐαζάνην· ἀλείψας (*mšh*) δὲ αὐτοὺς κατήγαγεν εἰς ὕδωρ ib. 157. Persons ask for this anointing, or for the anointing and the bath, as for the seal: δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγιδα (*rwšm*)· ἡκουσάμεν γάρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δν κηρύσσεις δια τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγιδος (*rwšm*) ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα ib. 26, cf. 49, 87, 118 ff., 131, 150 ff.

A few other Greek texts have ἀλείφειν for a prebaptismal anointing followed by the bath and without any postbaptismal anointing being mentioned, but it is difficult to establish with certainty that the writers intended to refer to the East Syrian ritual.

In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs we find the following allusion to anointing, baptism, and the Eucharist: καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἤλειψέ με ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι ῥάβδον. καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος ἔλουσέ με ὕδατι καθαρῷ, καὶ ἐψώμισέν με ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον ἅγιον Test. Lev. 8.4 f. The sequence of the rites is the East Syrian and ἀλείφειν the proper term for the prebaptismal anointing.¹

In another late text king Bulphamnus asks for the seal. After disrobing he receives from the bishop the anointing and baptism: δέομαι, δότε μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγιδα... ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος.. κατασφραγίσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλείψας ἐλαίῳ καθήκεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Mart. Matth. 27, cf. Act. Xanth. 2, Recogn. 3.67, Ev. Nic. 3 (Act. Pil. 19).

In Syriac texts from the fourth century onwards the prebaptismal anointing is often mentioned. The verb used is always *mēšah* 'to anoint', whence the noun *mēšhā* 'oil'. The verb *rešam* 'to sign' and *rušmā* 'sign' are used as the equivalents of σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν. The anointing is compared with the anointing of Christ, and the *rušmā* is the Christian mark of ownership, but, however highly the prebaptismal rite is esteemed, the gift of the Spirit is not linked with it. A few examples will suffice.

In the History of John the Son of Zebedee the story of the baptism of the procurator by John is told as follows. After the disrobing first the

¹ Cf. DE JONGE, *art. cit.* p. 234.

forehead is anointed in the form of the cross and then the whole body: 'And when he had stripped, the holy (man) drew nigh and took the oil (*mšh'*) in his hand, and made him a cross on his forehead and anointed (*mšh'*) his whole body' Act.Jo.Zeb. p. 40 W. This is followed by the triple immersion in a cistern, the putting on of white clothes, and the kiss of peace, but there is no postbaptismal anointing.

Aphraates compares the prebaptismal rite with the anointing of the stone at Bethel by Jacob, Gen. 28.18, and with the Old Testament anointings of priests, kings, and prophets; he takes the *rušmâ* to be a mark of ownership: *et mysterium aliud Iacob, pater noster, praesignificavit lapidibus istis unctione (mšyhwt') donatis: populi enim qui in Christum crediderunt, en eos qui ungentur (mšh')* Dem. 4.5, *signum (rwšm') . . sacramenti uitae, quo perficiuntur christiani et sacerdotes et reges et prophetae* ib. 23.3, *traditio signi (rwšm')*, *cum baptismo iuxta ritum* ib. 12.13, cf. 6.1; 23.63.¹

This usage recurs in Ephraem, but along with forms of the root *ršm* we now find those of *htm*, whereby this writer introduces in Syriac the metaphor of sealing for the prebaptismal anointing: *per id* (i.e. *per oleum, mšh'*) (*spiritus*) *signavit (ršm) sacerdotes et unctos. spiritus sanctus per oleum (mšh') imprimit (qtm) signum (rwšm') suum super oves suas, sicut anulus, qui in ceram imprimit (qtm) sigillum (tb^c) suum. etiam sigillum (hwtm^a) absconditum spiritus per oleum (mšh') imprimitur (tb^c) corporibus, quando ungentur (mšh') in baptismo et fiunt signati (ršm) in baptisate* Virg. 7.6.

The prebaptismal anointing is considered as a preparation for the effects of baptism itself, forgiveness of sins and indwelling of God, which are already attributed to the anointing: *oleo (mšh') enim sacro ungentur (mšh') in expiationem corpora plena maculis* ib. 7.7, cf. 7.9, *corporum uestrorum quae oleo (mšh') sanctificantur ut templa fiant deo* In Epiph. 3.9.

Western Syria. — From the end of the fourth century onwards we are informed on the terminology of the West Syrian baptismal liturgy. In the newly discovered Catechetical Homilies of John Chrysostom, which he delivered in Antioch shortly after 388, we find two distinct prebaptismal anointings. Both ἀλείφειν and χρίειν are used for the first; μύρον is the oil, and σφραγίς the mark of ownership which it confers. The anointing follows the renunciation and is confined to the forehead: ἀλείφει (sc. ὁ ἱερεὺς) ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῷ μύρῳ τῷ πνευματικῷ, τὴν

¹ Cf. E. J. DUNCAN, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates*, Washington 1945

σφραγιῖδα ἐπιτιθεῖς καὶ λέγων· Χρίεται ὁ δεῖνα Cat. 2.22, cf. 2.23. The second anointing is an athletic anointing strengthening the candidate for the fight against the evil spirits. For this ἀλείφειν, ἀλοιφή, and ἔλαιον are used. It is a complete anointing, following the disrobing and immediately preceding the bath: ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἀλείφεσθαι παρασκευάζει τῷ ἔλαιῳ ἐκείνῳ πνευματικῶ ὥστε πάντα τὰ μέλη διὰ τῆς ἀλοιφῆς τειχισθῆναι καὶ ἀχείρωτα γενέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου πεμπομένοις βέλεσι ib. 2.24, cf. 3.9, In Col. 6.4. The gift of the Spirit is conferred by the imposition of hands at the immersion and there is no trace of a post-baptismal rite.¹

Theodore of Mopsuestia describes in his Catechetical Homilies a baptismal liturgy which has much in common with that of Chrysostom. The two prebaptismal anointings are performed with the same oil, called in the old Syriac version *mešhā damēšihūtā* 'oil of anointing'. The first anointing, which remains confined to the forehead, is referred to by the root *ršm* for which σφραγίς and σφραγιζέειν may be assumed in the Greek original: '(The priest) signs (*ršm*) you on your forehead with oil of anointing (*mšh' dmšyhwt'*) and says: So-and-so is signed (*ršm*) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' Hom. 13.17 p. 46 M. This anointing confers the seal of ownership. In the elaboration of this idea the Syriac translation alternates *ršm* with the root *ḫb'*, 'to immerse', 'to stamp', 'to seal'. This may have been chosen merely to avoid the root *ḫtm*, although it might also translate *χαρακτήρ*, *τύπος*, or *στίγμα*, and derivatives: 'The sign (*rws'm'*) with which you are signed (*ršm*) means that you have been stamped (*ḫb'*) as a lamb of Christ, as a soldier of the heavenly King' ib. 13.17 p. 46 M., cf. 13.18 p. 47 M.

The second anointing is only indicated by the root *mšh*. It follows the disrobing and is complete: 'After you have taken off your garments, you are rightly anointed (*mšh*) all over your body with the oil of anointing (*mšh' dmšyhwt'*), a sign (*'t'*) and a mark that you will be receiving the covering of immortality, which through baptism you are about to put on... (The priest) begins and says: So-and-so is anointed (*mšh*) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And then the persons appointed for this service anoint (*mšh*) all your body' ib. 14.8 p. 54 M.

The use of the root *mšh* for the second anointing is in itself no proof that the Greek text had *χρίειν* and not *ἀλείφειν*, although this is possible since this anointing was originally the postbaptismal. Theodore

¹ See p. 378.

now appears to be at pains to attribute some meaning to this rite and explains it as a sign of the immortality conferred by baptism.

As far as the double prebaptismal anointing is concerned, the ritual of Theodore agrees with that found in the Catechetical Homilies of Chrysostom. Theodore differs, however, from Chrysostom in that he knows a postbaptismal rite by which the Holy Spirit is conferred. His homilies, therefore, can hardly originate from his Antiochene period until 392. We may safely assume that he delivered them as bishop of Mopsuestia and is referring to the liturgy of that town.¹

The author of the Apostolic Constitutions has rewritten the passage from the Didascalia concerning the usefulness of the deaconess at the baptism of female candidates.² As we have seen, he retains ἀλείφειν for the prebaptismal anointing of the body by the deaconess but adds χρίειν for the anointing of the forehead with which the deacon begins this rite. Subsequently he uses χειροθεσία and χρίειν for the anointing of the forehead by the bishop and omits the remark that the deaconess continues to anoint during the actual bath, Const. 3.16.2 f.

According to the Constitutor thus two prebaptismal anointings take place. The first is complete and is performed by the deacon and the deaconess, the second, performed by the bishop, is confined to the forehead. It may, however, be doubted whether a distinct prebaptismal anointing was ever administered by a deacon, and as a complete anointing it could certainly not be separated from the bath. It would therefore seem that the author intends to describe practically one prebaptismal anointing. This is a complete anointing performed either by the deacon or the deaconess and started on the forehead whilst the candidate goes down into the water, so that the bishop thereupon confines himself to an anointing of the forehead. Elsewhere indeed the author mentions only one prebaptismal anointing and he does not attribute a special meaning to the diaconal anointing.

The Constitutor elaborates upon the comparison of the prebaptismal anointing with the Old Testament anointings, Const. 3.16.3 f., but adds the assertion that the bishop anoints with the holy oil after the manner of the baptism of the Spirit: τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ εἰς τύπον τοῦ πνευματικοῦ βαπτίσματος Const. 3.16.4. In his view thus the Spirit is conferred by this anointing. After the bath he mentions the anointing with myron without a meaning being attributed to it.

¹ H. LIETZMANN, *Die Liturgie des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, SAB 1933, p. 915, assumed this without giving an argument; for the opposite view QUASTEN, *op.cit.*, III p. 409, and R. TONNEAU, *Les homilies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Vatican 1949, p. XVI.

² See p. 311 f.

In two passages the Constitutor resumes the principal rites of baptism with mention of their meanings. With the prebaptismal anointing he links the gift of the Spirit, to the bath he refers as a dying with Christ, and in the postbaptismal anointing he merely sees a confirmation of the baptismal profession of faith or of the contracts: ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδόμενον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγίς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας Const. 3.17.1, χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ, ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχὴ ᾖ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγίς τῶν συνθηκῶν ib. 7.22.2.

It is clear which rites the writer is referring to, for ἔλαιον and χρίσμα indicate the oil of the prebaptismal anointing and μύρον that of the postbaptismal. No confusion need arise from the fact that in the first text σφραγίς is baptism with reference to the death on the cross, while in the second σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν refer to the postbaptismal anointing with an allusion to the seal as the confirmation of a pact. In a passage of the Didascalia, where ἐσφραγίσθητε is probably a term for the act of baptism,¹ the interpolator refers this sealing to both the prebaptismal anointing with oil and the postbaptismal anointing with myron by adding to the verb: ἐσφραγίσθητε ἐλαίῳ ἀγαλλίασεως (Ps. 44.8) καὶ μύρῳ συνέσεως, whereas he connects the gift of the Spirit with the prebaptismal imposition of hands: τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.. ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3.

In a short baptismal ritual we hear again nothing of a double prebaptismal anointing. The text has χρίειν, χρίσις, and ἔλαιον for the ointing with oil following the renunciation and the profession of faith: κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἔρχεται καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου χρίσιν Const. 7.42.1, and this rite is explained as a preparation for baptism: εὐλογεῖται δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ προκατασκευὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος. ἐπικαλεῖται γὰρ οὗτος τὸν ἀγέννητον θεόν.. ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ τὸ ἔλαιον.. ὥστε τὸν χριόμενον ἀπολυθέντα πάσης ἀσεβείας ἄξιον γενέσθαι τῆς μύσεως ib. 7.42.2 ff. After the blessing of the water and the bath follows an anointing with myron but the gift of the Spirit is not mentioned at all.²

The author's opinion that the Holy Spirit is conferred by the prebaptismal anointing may have been held by others in Syria although we find no evidence for this anywhere else. In any case, the transposition of the postbaptismal rite could easily give rise to such a theory.

The Constitutor presents a form of the West Syrian baptismal

¹ See p. 376.

² See p. 363 f.

liturgy which is different from that of Chrysostom in Antioch and of Theodore at Mopsuestia. It agrees, however, with the liturgy later mentioned by Theodoret of Cyrrihus in that there is one prebaptismal anointing normally referred to with *χρίειν* and *έλαιον*, and a postbaptismal anointing referred to with *χρίειν* and *μύρον* but not, or not unambiguously, considered as the rite which confers the Holy Ghost.

Theodoret mentions the prebaptismal anointing and compares it with the postbaptismal in a passage from the pseudo-Justinian *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* now attributed to him.¹ The question is asked why Christ was anointed by Mary with myron before His death, whereas we are anointed with oil before baptism and only afterwards with myron. The answer is that we are anointed with oil before baptism in order to become Christians, and the anointing with myron, which in the case of Christ was performed before His death but in view of His later burial, is with us administered at the proper time. For the anointing of Christ the text uses *μύρω ἀλείφειν* and *μυρίζειν*, as the New Testament, but also *χρίειν* and *έλαιον*. For the prebaptismal anointing the terms are *χρίειν* and *έλαιον*, for the postbaptismal *σφραγιζέειν* and *μύρον*. The question reads: *εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τάφου ἡ Μαρία τὸν κύριον τῷ μύρω ἤλειψεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τελοῦμεν τὰ σύμβολα, πῶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐλαίῳ χριόμεθα, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ προλεχθέντα ἐν τῇ κολουμβήθρᾳ τελέσαντες σύμβολα τῷ μύρω σφραγιζόμεθα ὕστερον. .εἴ γε πρῶτον ὁ κύριος τῷ μύρω ἤλειψατο καὶ ὕστερον ἔπαθε; πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ περιττὴ ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ ἐλαίου προσφέρεται τοῖς βαπτίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν, εἴ γε μόνῳ τῷ μύρω πρὸς τῷ πάθει ἐχρίσθη ὁ κύριος; and the answer: ἡ δὲ μακαρία Μαρία πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἐμύρισε τὸν κύριον. .ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου γεγονός πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτιζομένων γίνεται ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ. χριόμεθα δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ ἐλαίῳ ἵνα γινώμεθα χριστοί, τῷ δὲ μύρῳ πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ μύρου ἐνταφιασμὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογιζομένου Quaest. 137.*

Concluding remarks. – The terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are thus used for rites of exorcism which may be generally applied against the harmful influence of the evil spirits and especially as a preparation for baptism. In both cases the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing may refer to distinct gestures or rites, originating from those practised in blessing and healing, although the practice of a complete anointing may carry on the profane custom of anointing the body before bathing. When the imposition of hands is

¹ Cf. QUASTEN, *op.cit.*, III p. 548 f.

accompanied by an anointing or is performed in the form of a cross, the terms for imposition of hands are disposed to fall into disuse. The proper terms for the anointing are ἀλείφειν and derivatives; the oil is called ἄλειμμα or ἔλαιον. The use of χρίειν and μύρον in Syrian texts may be due to the confusion arising from the transposition of the post-baptismal anointing. The use of σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν in these texts points to the conception that the prebaptismal anointing confers the seal of ownership, in general it indicates that the rite was performed in the form of a cross.

2. *Reconciliation, postbaptismal gift of the Spirit, and ordination*

An outstanding problem among those posed by the terminology of the postbaptismal rite in early Christian literature is that of the distinction between this rite and the rites of reconciliation and ordination. Confusion has arisen in antiquity and modern scholarship as yet has not arrived at an unanimous interpretation of the texts. We intend therefore to deal subsequently with the terminology of the reconciliation rite, the postbaptismal rite, and the ordination rite.

(1) The reconciliation rite. – From the third century onwards in East and West the terms for imposition of hands are currently used to refer to a rite by which sinners are reconciled. Sinners here must be taken to include the apostates, i.e. those who lapsed after baptism and joined a sect. They are, however, to be distinguished from the heretics in the strict sense who received baptism in a sect. The latter too were originally viewed as sinners and received back into the Church by an imposition of hands considered as a reconciliation rite. The terminology of this rite, however, follows its own distinct development as a result of the confusion which arises between this and the postbaptismal rite. It must therefore be dealt with separately.

(a) The reconciliation of sinners. – For the faithful the danger exists of relapse into sin, accompanied by a loss of the indwelling of the Spirit, and the return of the evil spirits.¹ Where Christian writers speak of the possibility of restoration we find, just as in the New Testament, the terms for conversion, like ἐπιστρέφειν, μετανοεῖν,

¹ See p 62 and 70 ff Numerous texts in GALTIER, *Absolution ou Confirmation? La réconciliation des hérétiques*, RSR 5, 1914, p 207 ff Concerning the reconciliation of sinners, cf also COPPENS, *op cit*, p 374 ff, B POSCHMANN, *Paenitentia secunda*, Bonn 1940, and J GROTZ, *Die Entwicklung des Bussstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche*, Freiburg i B 1955.

ἔξομολογεῖσθαι, ἁμαρτίας ἀφιέναι, καταλλάσσειν, and derivatives applied to a conversion, penance, confession, forgiveness, and reconciliation posterior to baptism.

Such a use of the same terms for the baptismal and for various manners of postbaptismal forgiveness of sins may easily have given rise to misunderstanding because the impossibility of obtaining the baptismal forgiveness a second time could be considered as an impossibility of receiving any forgiveness after baptism. This may have contributed to the rise of rigoristic concepts which consider a postbaptismal forgiveness either completely out of the question or at least impossible for certain sins.

There is no direct evidence to support this supposition but an important passage in which Hermas explains his standpoint with regard to second penance is characteristic. Replying to some teachers who deny the possibility of such a penance or at least object to its application, he states that it is first necessary to make a clear distinction between baptismal and postbaptismal μετάνοια: ἡκουσα, φημί, κύριε, παρά τινων διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἐτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων Past. 31.1. The sequel of his argument shows none the less how difficult it was in his time to discuss the μετάνοια. Without any evidence but the context he uses in the baptismal sense ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν ib. 31.2, 3, and μετάνοια ib. 31.6, with on the other hand μετάνοια ib. 31.3, 4, 5 (bis), and μετανοεῖν ib. 31.6, in the postbaptismal sense.

One may also detect a chance for misunderstanding in the terms with which Hippolytus opposes a postbaptismal redemption which was proclaimed in the sect of the Valentinian Marcus: οἷς γὰρ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἕτερον ἐπαγγέλλονται, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναστρέφοντες κακῶς τοὺς αὐτοῖς παραμένοντας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, <ὡς> δυναμένους μετὰ τὸ ἅπαξ βαπτισθῆναι πάλιν τυχεῖν ἀφέσεως Ref. 6.41.2. If we take this in the strict sense the writer in his opposition comes to the formulation of an absolute impossibility of obtaining forgiveness of sins after baptism. But Hippolytus is opposing a practice which he sees as a second baptism since it would grant absolute forgiveness without preceding penance. He merely means thus that the baptismal forgiveness cannot be obtained a second time after baptism. Elsewhere it appears that he does accept a postbaptismal forgiveness; the bishops receive the power to grant this at their ordination, Trad. 3.5.

The second century. – We found it extremely probable that 1 Tim.

5.22 already contains the expression *χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι* used for the imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite.¹ For the second century there is no direct evidence for the expression in this sense. An indirect indication, however, might be derived from the already mentioned report of Hippolytus concerning the redemption in the sect of the Valentinian Gnostic Marcus who worked around 180 A.D. in Asia Minor. According to Hippolytus this redemption was granted after baptism by an imposition of hands accompanied by very secret words. It may only be given to very reliable disciples or at the hour of death: λέγουσι γὰρ τι φωνῇ ἀρρήτῳ, ἐπιθέντες χεῖρα τῷ τῆν ἀπολύτρωσιν λαβόντι Ref. 6.41.4. Even though Hippolytus considers this as a second baptism, the rite need be no more than a further development of the imposition of hands granted in the Church at the hour of death as a reconciliation rite and adopted by the sect at its separation.²

One may find it surprising that Hermas provides no expressions for the reconciliation rite in a document dealing explicitly with second penance. His interest, however, is not directed at this rite. Irenaeus does not mention it either although he repeatedly exhorts the faithful to a postbaptismal conversion, especially those who have left the Church for a sect. It appears indeed an unlikely assumption that at the end of the second century he did not know of the imposition of hands in this sense. One passage rather assumes its existence already for a considerably earlier period. Irenaeus quotes the words of a presbyter from whom he himself had received instruction. This presbyter warns the Christians of the danger they run of receiving no further forgiveness after a relapse into sin: *ipsi timere* (sc. *debemus*) *ne forte post agnitionem Christi agentes aliquid quod non placet deo remissionem ultro non habeamus delictorum, sed excludamur a regno eius* Haer. 4.27.2. The emphasis falls upon the danger that a sinner will miss the postbaptismal forgiveness. This danger is only real when the idea is not that of an inner conversion of the sinner but supposes the intervention of a minister and thence a rite of reconciliation.

From the third century onwards. – Both in East and West the terms for imposition of hands appear generally current for the reconciliation rite from the third century onwards. We shall deal first with the Latin equivalents since the earliest texts originate from Africa.

Africa. – In one passage Tertullian has *manus imponere* for the reconciliation rite and he at the same time establishes a connection

¹ See p. 260 f.

² On the rites of the Marcosians, see also p. 308 and 341 f.

with the New Testament usage. In the latest of his writings that has come down to us he wishes to exclude certain sins from the post-baptismal reconciliation. In support of this point of view he refers to the warning words of Paul in 1 Tim. 5.22: *item ad Timotheum: manus nemini cito imponas neque communices delictis alienis* Pud. 18.9. For Tertullian thus this imposition of hands is the reconciliation rite.

At the time of Cyprian *manum imponere* and *manus impositio* appear to be completely technical in Africa in this sense, often with the addition *in paenitentia(m)* in order to distinguish this imposition of hands from other applications. After the term of penance has been fulfilled, the penitent makes his confession and receives the imposition of hands of the bishop and clergy for the admission to communion; then he partakes in the celebration of the Eucharist. Cyprian opposes any deviation from this procedure: *ante actam paenitentiam, ante exomologesim grauissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab episcopo et clero in paenitentiam inpositam, offerre pro illis et eucharistiam... profanare audeant* Ep. 15.1, cf. 16.2; 17.2; 18.1; 19.2; 20.3, Laps. 16. In the controversy on rebaptism it is agreed that this is the imposition of hands by which the apostates must be reconciled: *quod nos quoque hodie obseruamus, ut quos constat hic baptizatos esse et a nobis ad haereticos transisse... satis sit in paenitentia manum imponere* Ep. 71.2. This is pronounced at the Council of Carthage in 256 by the bishops Crescentius a Circa: *ut per manus inpositionem in paenitentia ecclesiae reconcilientur* Sent. Episc. 8, and Cassius a Macomadibus: *eos per manus inpositionem restituendos* ib. 22.

According to Grotz it is doubtful whether at this time people were aware of the difference between the blessings by imposition of hands received during the term of penance, and a final imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite.¹ He stresses the meaning of *prius* in one passage to find here not the imposition of hands which confers the communion but one which precedes: *nec ad communicationem uenire quis possit nisi prius illi ab episcopo et clero manus fuerit inposita* Ep. 17.2. In this text, however, the use of *uenire* should be noted as well: *ad communicationem uenire* may then refer to the new place to be obtained by the penitents and the partaking of the Eucharist 'after' the granting of the communion by the imposition of hands. This rite has its special place after the exomologesis and before the celebration of the Eucharist as the

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 80 ff. and 150 ff. The author assumes also an imposition of hands at the admission to penance but this is nowhere attested, notably not in Didasc. 2.18.7; see below, p. 324 f.

rite which admits persons to the communion. It would seem that Cyprian intends to stress its significance by the addition *in paenitentiam* even in passages where it is already sufficiently clear from the context that this rite is meant. It is true that Cyprian once mentions an imposition of hands after the sacrifice but this sequence may merely be due to reverence for the latter: *ante exomologesim factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis* Laps. 16.

Rome. — We find by now the same expression to refer to the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of sinners in Rome as in Africa. There is no difficulty on this subject in Cyprian's correspondence with Rome concerning the treatment of the lapsed. In the rebaptism controversy too people understood each other very well on this point. Pope Stephan uses the expression *manum imponere in paenitentiam* in order to demand the admission of heretics with the reconciliation rite for sinners, ap. Cypr. Ep. 74.1.¹

Egypt. — The earliest witness in the East comes from Alexandria. Origen uses the expression in his already mentioned list for the seventh manner in which sins can be forgiven: *est adhuc et septima, licet dura et laboriosa, per paenitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lauat peccator in lacrimis stratum suum et fiunt ei lacrimae suae panes die ac nocte* (Ps. 6.7; 41.4), *eum non erubescit sacerdoti domini indicare peccatum suum et quaerere medicinam, secundum eum qui ait: dixi, pronuntiabo aduersum me iniustitiam meam domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei* (Ps. 31.5). *in quo impletur et illud quod Iacobus apostolus dicit: si quis infirmatur uocet presbyteros ecclesiae, et imponant ei manus ungentes eum oleo in nomine domini, et oratio fidei saluabit infirmum, et si in peccatis fuerit, remittetur ei* (Jas. 5.14 f.) In Lev. 2.4.

The context indicates that Origen is referring to a reconciliation rite and not to a healing rite. He applies two passages from the Scriptures to repentance, then one to the exomologesis, and finally the text of James to the reconciliation rite. The last text is made suitable for this end by replacing the prayer mentioned in it by an imposition of hands. Origen speaks of this imposition as a reconciliation rite, and there is no reason for the assumption of Grotz that Origen is not aware of the difference between this rite and the numerous blessings by imposition of hands which the penitents may have received in Alexandria as well as in Africa and in Syria.²

It is possible that the final imposition of hands was accompanied by

¹ See p. 329 f.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 297, and see above, p. 294.

an anointing.¹ Referring the use of oil at the cleansing of lepers, Lev. 14.10 ff., to the reconciliation of sinners, Origen says: *sic ergo conuersis a peccato purificatio quidem per illa omnia datur, quae superius diximus, donum autem gratiae spiritus per olei imaginem designatur* In Lev. 8.11. The reference to a material anointing is not certain but, if so, we must assume that the imposition of hands and anointing were two distinct rites. Otherwise Origen would not have been obliged to insert the imposition of hands in the text of Jas. 5.14.

The anointing of the penitents appears to be based on the idea of sin as a moral sickness and thus probably derives from the anointing of the sick. Thence ἀλείφειν was the proper term for this rite although, by saying that the anointing restores the 'gift of the grace of the Spirit', Origen may suggest some connection with the postbaptismal anointing.

According to Palladius, the monk and priest Macarius of Egypt absolves by imposition of hands a priest who confesses his sin of fornication; the penance imposed is his degradation to the lay state: ἔδωκε λόγον μηκέτι ἀμαρτῆσαι μητὲ λειτουργῆσαι, ἀλλὰ λαϊκὸν ἀρπάσασθαι κλῆρον, καὶ οὕτως ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ χεῖρα Hist.Laus. 18.21.

Syria. – In the Greek original of the Didascalia χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι or χειροθετεῖν must have been the technical term to refer to the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of sinners: προσκλαύσαντα εἰσδέχου πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένης, καὶ χειροθετήσας (*sm 'yd'*) αὐτὸν ἕα λοιπὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ Const. (Didasc.) 2.18.7, χειροθήσαντες (*sm 'yd'*) αὐτὸν προσδέξασθε ib. 2.43.1.

In the first text a contrast is made between εἰσδέχου, referring to the admission of the sinner to penance, and εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ (*ut in ecclesia sit* Syr.), which is his definite reception among the faithful. The Greek text refers δεομένης to the first and χειροθετήσας to the second, whence the prayer of the faithful is connected with the admission to penance and the imposition of hands with the final reconciliation. In the old Syriac version, however, prayer and imposition of hands are both connected with this reconciliation. The passage reads in Funk's translation: *recipe eum et tota ecclesia pro eo orante ei manus (manum Syr.) impone ac deinde permitte, ut in ecclesia sit* Didasc. 2.18.7. The connection of prayer and imposition of hands recurs in the text to be quoted next and must be considered the original reading. Grotz now, basing himself on the Latin version, stresses the meaning of *deinde* so as to see a distinction being made between the blessing of the penitent, accompanied by the prayers of the community at his admission to

¹ Cf. GROTZ, *op.cit.*, p. 303 f.

penance (*manum impone*), and the final reconciliation (*deinde permitte*).¹ This *deinde*, however, must be taken to translate a Greek λοιπόν in the sense of 'henceforward' as preserved by the Constitutor, and thus ἔα λοιπόν εἶναι denotes the effect of the imposition of hands as the reconciliation rite. The explanation is again strengthened by the agreement of this passage with the following.

The Didascalia here attempts to compare the effects of baptism and of reconciliation: *quemadmodum igitur gentilem baptizas ac postea recipis, ita et huic manum impones (sm ʿydʿ), omnibus pro eo precantibus, ac deinde eum introduces et participem facies ecclesiae, et erit ei in loco baptismi impositio manus (sym ʿydʿ); namque aut per impositionem manus (sym ʿydʿ) aut per baptismum (mʿmwdtʿ) accipiunt participationem spiritus sancti* Didasc. 2.41.2. This imposition of hands, accompanied by the prayers of the faithful, is certainly the reconciliation rite. In judging the comparison of the writer, however, we must bear in mind that he ignores the distinction between the indwelling of the Spirit and the gift of the Spirit.² As a result he simply proposes that the gift of the Spirit, received at baptism and lost through sin, is restored by the imposition of hands.

In the middle of the fourth century Aphraates mentions the use of the oil at the reconciliation of sinners: (*sc. oleum*) *signum (rwšmʿ) est sacramenti uitae, quo perficiuntur christiani et sacerdotes et reges et prophetae; tenebras illuminat, ungit (dhn af. 'to smear') infirmos et per arcanum suum sacramentum paenitentes reducit* Dem. 23.3. Other texts show that it is the oil of the sick which is used for the penitents.

One of the canons attributed to Maruta, bishop of Maipherkat, supplies more details. It prescribes the following ritual at the reconciliation of certain apostates: 'Then let the priest bless water and oil (*mšhʿ*) in a vessel...like water and oil (*mšhʿ*) are blessed for the sick. Let him <anoint them therewith and> take the water and sprinkle them whilst they repent their sins, and let him pray over them and absolve them' Can. 35,³ cf. Test.Dom 1.24. It thus appears that the anointing is distinct from the absolution proper which may have been performed by an imposition of hands. Narsai intimates that this gesture was performed in the form of a cross: 'And everyone that has repented and returned from unorthodox heresy, until he is signed (*ršm*) he shall not partake of the mysteries of the Church' Hom. 17 p 2 C.

¹ *Op cit*, p 387 and 389 f

² See p 71 f and 376

³ Cod nunc Vat syr 82. Text restored with the help of the Arabic version in O. BRAUN, *De sancta Nicaena Synodo*, Munster 1.W 1898, p. 84 n. 4.

Just as Origen In Lev. 2.4, Chrysostom views sin as a moral sickness by referring Jas. 5.14 f. to the forgiveness of sins by the priests: οὐ γὰρ ὅταν ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννώσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ τις, φησὶν, ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ Sac. 3.6. It is now probable that in Antioch also this conception led to the introduction of an anointing with the oil of the sick. The term for this rite may have been ἀλείφειν but also χρίειν as used by Chrysostom for the application of this oil by the faithful themselves, In Matth. 32.6.¹

The Constitutor, for the rest, only uses χειροθετεῖν for the reconciliation rite when altering the passage from the Didascalia which compares the effects of baptism and of reconciliation: ὡσπερ τὸν ἐθνικὸν λούσας εἰσδέχη μετὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον χειροθετήσας, ὡς ἂν μετανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένον, πάντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσευχομένων, ἀποκαταστήσεις αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτοῦ νομήν, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ λούσματος ἡ χειροθεσία· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἡμετέρων χειρῶν ἐδίδοτο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς πιστεύουσιν Const. 2.41.2. The two small additions at the beginning do not change the meaning but by calling baptism an ablution the author excludes from it the prebaptismal rite which, according to his own opinion, confers the Spirit.² He may now compare the baptismal ablution with the imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite but does not see what the gift of the Spirit has to do with it; in the next clause ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν is a solemn biblical expression and it may be that the Constitutor, now that he has lost the thread of his argument, means only to say with reference to Acts 8.18 that the Spirit was communicated to the faithful by the imposition of hands.

Asia Minor. — Referring to the ring of the prodigal son Asterius of Amasea in Pontus views about 400 A.D. the reconciliation rite as a restoration of the baptismal seal: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς υἰοθεσίας τῷ πνεύματι σφραγιζόμεθα, ἐδόθη καὶ ὁ δακτύλιος τῷ νεανίσκῳ, σύμβολον τῆς νοητῆς δωρεᾶς εἰς ἣν ἀποκαθίσταται Hom. 1 p. 114 B.

(b) The reconciliation of heretics. — With the problem of the reconciliation of heretics we touch upon a question which in the early Church raised fierce discussions between those who required all converts baptized in a sect to be rebaptized and those who stood for their reception by mere imposition of hands. Even now the arguments

¹ See p. 301.

² See p. 316 f.

advanced on both sides are obscure on a number of points upon which we hope to throw more light by means of a linguistic examination.¹

Africa in the third century. – Tertullian already combats heretical baptism, *Bapt.* 15.1 ff., and in 220 a Council under the direction of bishop Agrippinus at Carthage ratified the practice of rebaptizing those who had received baptism in a sect. The unsavoury discussion to which this practice gave rise is preserved in the correspondence of Cyprian and in the anonymous *Liber de rebaptismate*. It is generally agreed that the origin of the controversy lies in two misunderstandings. On both sides the writers show an insufficient insight into the requirements for what is now called the 'validity' of baptism, and consequently they lack a clear distinction between this 'validity' and the 'efficacy' of baptism. In our opinion a third misunderstanding arose because the positive effects of baptism and of the postbaptismal rite were not sufficiently distinguished, and yet another because the imposition of hands as a rite of reconciliation was confused with that of the gift of the Spirit.

The first two of these misunderstandings may be dealt with briefly. To indicate the 'invalidity' of heretical baptism Cyprian simply says that it is no baptism at all: *baptisma nullum foris esse* Ep. 73.24, cf. 74.4, Secundinus a Carpis *Sent.Episc.* 24. It is therefore not accurate to speak of a 'rebaptism': *nos autem dicimus eos qui inde ueniunt non rebaptizari apud nos sed baptizari* Ep. 71.1. At the Council of Arles the Africans succeeded in obtaining that the heretical baptism be only accepted if it was performed in the name of the Trinity; otherwise the heretic is supposed to be unbaptized: *quod si interrogatus non responderit hanc trinitatem, baptizetur* *Conc.Arel.* (314) 8, cf. *Conc.Const.* (381) 7.

Cyprian uses terms like (*prae*)*ualere*, *uerus*, *integer*, *inanis* for the efficacy of baptism. He can, for instance, say of the efficacy of baptism and of the postbaptismal rite: *praeualet* (sc. *maiestas nominis*) *in manus inpositione, quam ualuisse contendunt in baptismi sanctificatione* Ep. 74.5, cf. 70.3. Without knowing, however, what constitutes the 'validity' of baptism one cannot distinguish the efficacy from it and this brings us to the second misunderstanding. Tertullian had already formulated an argument against heretical baptism which passes over this distinction. According to him there can be no baptism outside the

¹ Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Das Sakrament der Firmung historisch-dogmatisch dargestellt*, Vienna 1906, p. 130 ff., GALTIER, *art.cit.*, RSR 5, 1914, p. 201 ff., 339 ff., 507 ff., with mention of the earlier literature, and J. MACDONALD, *Imposition of Hands in the Letters of Innocent I*, *Studia Patristica* II p. 49 ff.

Church, because baptism is one: *non idem deus est nobis et illis nec unus Christus, id est idem: ergo nec baptismum unum quia non idem* Bapt. 15.2. Cyprian repeatedly returns to this standpoint and he now reasons simply that if a person can be baptized in a sect he can also share in the positive and negative effects of this baptism: *nam si baptizari quis apud haereticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, sanctificatus est: si sanctificatus est, templum dei factus est* Ep. 73.12.

Augustine later solves this problem by using the term *integritas* for the validity of the heretical baptism, which he recognizes, and *ualere* for the efficacy, which is unobtainable outside the Church: *sacramenti autem integritas ubique cognoscitur sed ad peccatorum illam irreuocabilem remissionem extra unitatem ecclesiae non ualebit* Bapt. 3.17.22. Leo the Great touches upon the same point by distinguishing between the *forma* and the *uirtus sanctificationis* of baptism: *formam tantum baptismi sine sanctificationis uirtute sumpserunt* Ep. 159.7.

A third misunderstanding arises in the African discussion through the conviction of both parties that the Holy Spirit is not outside the Church. Cyprian postulates: *illic sanctus spiritus non est, quia unus est* Ep. 74.4. His opponents concur: *uel hoc tamen confitentur quod uniuersi siue haeretici siue schismatici non habeant spiritum sanctum* ib. 69.10; his anonymous opponent declares: *quia spiritus sanctus extra ecclesiam non sit* Rebapt. 10.

The remarkable thing about this formulation is that the operation and indwelling of the Spirit as effects of baptism are not distinguished from the gift of the Spirit. It is thus that at the beginning of his document Cyprian's opponent can formulate the African problem as follows: if there is no Holy Spirit outside the Church either the baptism received elsewhere must be repeated in order to confer the Spirit or the imposition of hands by the bishop is sufficient to this end: *utrum.. tantummodo imponi eis manum ab episcopo ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum sufficeret* Rebapt. 1. The writer's argumentation consists in an attempt to prove that the gift of the Spirit is not conferred by baptism but by the postbaptismal imposition of hands, whence the practice of rebaptizing appears to be useless. He applies the expression *baptizare spiritu* in Mt. 3.11 parr. to the postbaptismal rite by referring it to the same words in Acts 1.5; 11.16, Rebapt. 2. He deals likewise with the expression *nasci ex spiritu* in Jn. 3.5, Rebapt. 3, and *tinguite eos in nomine..spiritus sancti* in Mt.

28.19 would mean 'to baptize for the sake of Rebapt. 7.¹ His far-reaching conclusion is that the Holy Spirit has nothing to do with baptism in water so that there is no reason to repeat this rite; the conferring of the Spirit by the post-baptismal rite must be considered sufficient: *per solam manus impositionem episcopi...possit homini paenitenti atque credenti etiam spiritus sanctus tribui* ib. 4, cf. 10.

Cyprian, on the other hand, postulates that without the Holy Spirit the negative and positive effects of baptism in water cannot be obtained either. If these effects can be received outside the Church then so also can the effect of the postbaptismal rite: *quod si secundum pravam fidem baptizari aliquis foris et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit, secundum eandem fidem consequi et spiritum sanctum potuit, et non est necesse ei uenienti manum inponi ut spiritum sanctum consequatur et signetur. aut utrumque enim fide sua foris consequi potuit aut neutrum eorum qui foris fuerat accepit* Ep. 73.6, cf. 74.5.

This discussion has already led us to the centre of the fourth and greatest misunderstanding in the African controversy: the confusion of the rite of reconciliation with the postbaptismal rite. In order to understand this we must take the terms for the imposition of hands with the additions like *in paenitentiam* and *ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* in the meanings by which we know them from other contexts. They are thus respectively names for the reconciliation rite and the postbaptismal rite. If we take this as our starting point it appears from the texts we have just quoted, Rebapt. 1, 4, 10, Cyprian Ep. 73.6; 74.5, that in the African controversy the imposition of hands as a rite of reconciliation no longer plays a role. One party insists that baptism must be repeated and thus naturally the postbaptismal rite, while the other considers a repetition of the latter sufficient. The two meanings are formulated by Nemesianus a Thubunas at the Synod of Carthage: *male ergo sibi interpretantur, ut dicant quod per manus impositionem spiritum sanctum accipiant et sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia catholica* Sent.Episc. 5.

Pope Stephan's answer to Cyprian, preserved in Cyprian's letter to Pompeius, appears now to contain a condemnation of both points of view. Neither baptism nor the postbaptismal rite must be repeated. Those who have been baptized in a sect must, according to the tradition, be received with the *manus impositio in paenitentiam*, i.e. the reconciliation rite: *qui ergo a quacumque haeresi uenient ad nos, nihil*

¹ On these texts see p. 49 f., 58 ff., and 142 f.

innouetur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illis inponatur in paenitentiam Ep. 74.1.

One can understand Cyprian's horror, and his rejection of this idea is short and sharp. Nowhere in the writings of the New Testament, he says, is the reconciliation rite prescribed for such heretics: *si ergo aut in euangelio praecipitur, aut in apostolorum epistolis uel actis continetur ut a quacumque haeresi uenientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis inponatur in paenitentiam, conseruetur diuina haec et sancta traditio* ib. 74.2, cf. 74.3. Having thus dealt with Stephan's point of view Cyprian goes on to defend his own standpoint according to the typically African formulation of the problem, ib. 74.5.

From this exchange it is evident that a remarkable confusion arose between the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of heretics and the postbaptismal imposition of hands. We do still find a trace of the original concept in the passages quoted from Rebapt. 4, 10, which mention a period of penance as preceding the imposition of hands. On the other hand, the opponents of rebaptism must have found themselves obliged to show that the Holy Spirit, who is not outside the Church, was given at the traditional imposition of hands for the reconciliation of heretics. The distinction of this rite from the gift of the Spirit proper now could easily become obscured in Africa since the postbaptismal imposition of hands had become separated from the anointing.¹ Confusion could have been avoided by the addition of phrases like *in paenitentiam* and *ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* to distinguish the two meanings of the imposition of hands. These technical names, however, are not found in Tertullian and the mistake had probably already been made by the time they came into use. For the rest, the additions are not entirely satisfactory since they attribute the granting of the Spirit exclusively to the postbaptismal rite. They obscure the consciousness that the *manus impositio in paenitentiam* confers both the indwelling of the Spirit and gift of the Spirit, whether they had been lost through sin after baptism or because the heretical baptism was not efficacious.

Further development in Africa and Rome. – The African problem of the reconciliation of heretics made its influence felt upon the terminology for the ritual throughout the whole Church.

In Rome we hear for the first time of a dispute concerning rebaptism when Hippolytus accuses pope Callistus of having introduced it, Ref. 9.12.26. Pope Stephan's verdict in the African controversy subse-

¹ See p. 351 ff.

quently illustrates the Roman position that these heretics must be admitted with the *manus impositio in paenitentiam*. There must have been little understanding in Rome of the African controversy on the *manus impositio ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* for the postbaptismal rite had remained an anointing with the result that the terms for the imposition of hands to refer to this rite fell into disuse.¹ In the struggle against rebaptism it now becomes customary, however, when referring to the imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite, to use expressions which indicate that the Holy Spirit is conferred by this imposition of hands.

The Council of Arles, at which many African bishops were present, offers an example of this. It was decreed that the heretics who must not be rebaptized should be admitted merely through an imposition of hands for the conferring of the Spirit: *manus ei tantum imponatur ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* Conc. Arles. (314) 8.

Similar expressions, borrowed from the terminology of the postbaptismal rite, remain current from now on. In Jerome's Dialogue the Luciferian says concerning the admittance of Arian laymen: *ego recipio laicum paenitentem per manus impositionem et inuocationem spiritus sancti* Lucif. 6, cf. 27. Pope Siricius expresses himself in a similar manner: *per inuocationem solam septiformis spiritus, episcopalis manus impositione* Ep. 1.2, as do Innocent I: *spiritus sancti sanctificatione per manus impositionem* Ep. 24.3.4, Leo the Great: *per manus impositionem inuocata uirtute spiritus sancti* Ep. 167.18, cf. 159.7; 166.2, and Vigilius: *per illam impositionem manus, quae per inuocationem sancti spiritus fit* Ep. 2.4.

The African controversy thus resulted in the rite by which heretics are admitted being termed an imposition of hands for the conferring of the Spirit. This means that a name is given to the reconciliation rite which had been and in Africa still was customary for the postbaptismal, and the question has been raised of whether or not the Council of Arles and later texts do refer to a readministration of the postbaptismal rite. It is probable, for that matter, that the African bishops understood the canon of Arles in this sense since from their point of view the discussion concerned merely a repetition of baptism or at least of the postbaptismal imposition of hands. For various reasons, however, it appears that in general the name was only changed in order to express that the reconciliation rite does confer the Holy Spirit. In the East, moreover, the ritual was adapted to the postbaptismal rite but even

¹ See p. 353 ff.

this does not appear to have led to a current conviction that the post-baptismal rite is now readministered.

We already pointed out that in Rome at least confusion was unlikely since the postbaptismal rite had remained an anointing. The decisive factor appears to be, however, that, even though the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of heretics was called a rite for the conferring of the Spirit, other effects were attributed to it than to the post-baptismal rite. It is said to be primarily intended to confer upon the converted heretics the positive and negative effects of the baptism in water which must not be repeated.

In Jerome's Dialogue both the Luciferian and his orthodox partner take the point of view that an Arian layman must be admitted into the Church by the imposition of hands since the Holy Spirit cannot be conferred by a heretical rite, but the latter postulates in addition that without the Spirit the positive and negative effects of baptism cannot be achieved: *nam, cum . . . baptizatus homo templum domini fiat, cum ueteri aede destructa nouum trinitatis templum aedificatur, quomodo dicis sine aduentu spiritus sancti apud Arianos posse peccata dimitti?* Lucif. 6, cf. 9. This presupposes that the imposition of hands at the admission of heretics brings about all those effects of which they were still deprived after heretical baptism.

In Augustine this meaning of the imposition of hands becomes even clearer since he distinguishes better between the validity and the efficacy of heretical baptism. It is again expected of the rite that it should confer the effects of baptism: *quamuis apud haereticos uel schismaticos idem sit baptismus Christi, non tamen ibi operatur remissionem peccatorum* Bapt. 3.13.18, *remissio peccatorum quoniam non datur nisi in spiritu sancto, in illa ecclesia tantummodo dari potest, quae habet spiritum sanctum* Serm. 71.17.28.

With these words Augustine intervenes in the confusion arisen in the African controversy between the effects of baptism in water and the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit as a result of the position that there is no Holy Spirit outside the Church. The positive effect of baptism in water is charity and with reference to Rom. 5.5 and 1 Cor. 13.1 ff. he calls this charity a gift of the Spirit: *non autem habet dei caritatem, qui ecclesiae non diligit unitatem, ac per hoc recte intellegitur dici non accipi nisi in ecclesia catholica spiritus sanctus* Bapt. 3.16.21, cf. Serm. 71.12.19. This gift, which is even the 'greatest gift of the Spirit', is now granted to heretics by the imposition of hands: *propter caritatis copulationem, quod est maximum donum spiritus sancti, sine quo non*

valent ad salutem quaecumque alia sancta in homine fuerint, manus haereticis correctis inponitur ib. 5.23.33. Unlike baptism this imposition of hands may be repeated: *manus inpositio non sicut baptismus repeti non potest. quid est enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem*² ib. 3.16.21.

Leo the Great states that the imposition of hands under the invocation of the Holy Spirit grants the sanctifying virtue which heretical baptism lacks; despite the use of *confirmare*¹ he thus expresses the difference from the postbaptismal imposition of hands: *sola inuocatione spiritus sancti per impositionem manuum confirmandi sunt, quia formam tantum baptismatis sine sanctificationis uirtute susceperunt* Ep. 159.7, cf. 166.2.

The imposition of hands for the admission of heretics appears, moreover, to be considered as a penitential rite, even though one is conscious that it differed from the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of sinners.

In Jerome's Dialogue the Luciferian accepts the conclusion that all heretics should be admitted to penance without baptism: *haereticis sine baptisate debere paenitentiam concedi* Lucif. 24, cf. 25. Augustine shares this opinion but his wording also points to the difference between this rite and that for the reconciliation of sinners: *manus inpositio, si non adhiberetur ab haeresi uenienti, tamquam extra omnem culpam esse iudicaretur* Bapt. 5.23.33, cf. Ep. 185.10.43. Innocent I expresses the distinction by saying that the imposition of hands is granted to heretics *sub imagine paenitentiae* Ep. 24.3.4, cf. Leo the Great Ep. 159.6. Pope Vigilius confirms tradition when he distinguishes two forms of penance: *quorum (i.e. apostatarum) tamen reconciliatio non per illam impositionem manus, quae per inuocationem sancti spiritus fit, operatur, sed per illam, qua paenitentiae fructus acquiritur* Ep. 2.4.

That the imposition of hands for the conferring of the Spirit upon heretics was considered as a reconciliation rite is made especially clear by the fact that it involved irregularity for the reception of holy orders and degradation of clerics to the lay state. When, as an exception, clergy are admitted without deposition or with only partial degradation, this can easily give rise to confusion, because the imposition of hands may now be taken for a reordination.

Augustine defends himself against the objection that at their conversion the Donatist clergy, although considered as penitents, are

¹ This is a new term for the postbaptismal rite, which is now applied to the reconciliation rite, cf. D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Notes sur les rites postbaptismaux dans les Églises d'Occident*, *Antonianum* 14, 1939, p. 257 ff

not degraded: *quomodo post istam paenitentiam apud uos clerici uel etiam episcopi permanemus?* Ep. 185.10.44, and Innocent I expressly states that the exception made at Nicaea with regard to the degradation of the Novatian clerics does not apply to other heretical clergy: *possum uero dicere de solis hoc Nouatianis esse praeceptum* Ep. 17.5.10, cf. Jerome Lucif. 27.

On the other hand, Innocent energetically defends the rule with regard to those clerics who were ordained by bishop Bonosus in Illyrium after his condemnation; by this imposition of hands they 'wounded their heads' and the reception of the penitential imposition of hands as a remedy implies their definitive deposition and irregularity: *atqui ubi paenitentiae remedium necessarium est, illic ordinationis honorem locum habere non posse... damnationem utique quam habuit (sc. Bonosus) per prauam manus impositionem dedit: et qui comparticeps factus est damnationis, quomodo debeat honorem accipere inuenire non possum* Ep. 17.3.7.

The same position is adopted by Innocent with regard to the Arian clergy. He takes the line that the heretics do not possess the *perfectio spiritus*; their laymen are therefore *imperfecti* and their priests *profani sacerdotes*. The terms *perfectio* and *perfectus* derive from the post-baptismal terminology but the demand for the deposition of the clergy is based on the fact that they now receive the Holy Spirit by means of a reconciliation rite: *qui fieri potest ut eorum profanos sacerdotes dignos Christi honoribus arbitremur, quorum laicos imperfectos ut dixi ad sancti spiritus percipiendam gratiam cum paenitentiae imagine recipiamus?* Ep. 24.3.4.

The East. – Doubt concerning heretical baptism appears in the East for the first time in the writings of Clement of Alexandria who calls it an unsuitable water: τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ αἰρετικὸν οὐκ οἰκείον καὶ γνήσιον ὕδωρ Strom. 1.96.3. This idea must have been widespread in Asia Minor. At the Synods of Iconium and Synada (c. 230-240) the same attitude regarding heretical baptism was adopted as in Africa, as appears from Eusebius Hist. 7.7.5.

In a letter to Cyprian, Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, testifies to his agreement with the former's attitude towards Stephan. This document, of which the Latin version has been preserved in Cyprian's correspondence, shows exactly the misunderstandings we have already noted in Africa. One may therefore wonder to what extent Firmilian is merely repeating Cyprian's arguments. For the admission of a heretic a *manus impositio ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* as

received by the Samaritans and the disciples of John is not sufficient: *frustra illi uenienti ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum manus inponitur* Ep. 75.12, cf. 75.8.

Although Dionysius of Alexandria pleads for a moderate attitude, Stephen also adopts firm measures in the East. In his report on this question Eusebius is the first writer to transmit the Greek expression for the rite of imposition of hands by which the heretics were of old received. He does not, however, discuss the meaning of the rite: εἰ δέοι τοὺς ἐξ οἴας δ' οὖν αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτροῦ καθαίρειν. παλαιοῦ γέ τοι κεκρατηκότος ἔθους ἐπὶ τοιούτων μόνη χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ Hist. 7.2.

A little later the Nicene Council speaks in a disputed canon of this imposition of hands with reference to the admission of the Novatian clergy: περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων ἑαυτοὺς Καθαροὺς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετούμενους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Conc.Nic. (325) 8.

Four meanings have been given to the imposition of hands in this passage.¹ It has been referred to the ordination received by the Novatian clergy in the sect, but this explanation is far-fetched and in conflict with the customary wording of the canons whereby ὥστε indicates what is prescribed.

Secondly, the imposition of hands has been considered as the reordination of the Novatian clergy. This explanation was widely held in the East in antiquity but is nowadays generally rejected. The Novatian bishops took part in the conferences and it is thus unthinkable that the Council should have entertained any doubts concerning the validity of their ordination.

A third meaning given to the imposition of hands is that of the postbaptismal rite. The Council would thus have ordained a 'reconfirmation' of the Novatian clergy. This fits in with the current theory that the Novatians had abandoned this rite, but the two texts upon which this theory is based do not allow of such a conclusion.² Moreover, both in Rome and in the East, the postbaptismal rite was no longer termed an imposition of hands but an anointing. It also appears unlikely that the validly ordained Novatian bishops had yet to receive the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit.

The fourth explanation, which sees in the imposition of hands the rite for the reconciliation of heretics, must not only be assumed to be

¹ Cf. CH J. HEFELE-H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, Paris 1908, II p. 582 f.

² See p. 337.

correct on the grounds of a process of elimination. It is in accordance with the theological concepts and disciplinary usages of the time. The Council requires merely an imposition of hands such as was consistently proposed by Rome since the rebaptism controversy. Since this is a penitential rite it implies the deposition of the clergy, and the special benevolence of the Council towards the Novatian clerics consists precisely in the exception made to this rule.¹ The only thing to be avoided is that there would be two bishops in one see; in such a case the Catholic bishop takes precedence.

Later development in the East. – Although in the East too we originally find the Roman idea that an imposition of hands suffices to admit heretics into the Church, a change takes place in this rite during the course of the fourth century. The terms for the imposition of hands are replaced by those for the anointing and sealing. From this it appears that the imposition of hands was expanded into an anointing in the form of a cross. The use of *χρίειν*, *χρῖσμα*, and *μύρον* and the formula mentioned exclude any possibility of doubt that from now on the rite is the same as the postbaptismal. To all appearances, therefore, the postbaptismal rite is now repeated in the East at the admission of heretics. Yet we should like to assume that this anointing and sealing with myron, although derived from the postbaptismal rite, continues in general to be intended as a reconciliation rite.

Alexandria. – At the end of the fourth century *χρίειν* is in Alexandria the term for an anointing rite by which heretics are received. Didymus the Blind says that all heretics must be anointed since they do not possess the holy chrism: *χρίονται δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ πάσης αἰρέσεως μετερχόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸ ἅγιον χρῖσμα. ἐπίσκοπος δὲ μόνος τῇ ἄνωθεν χάριτι τελεῖ τὸ χρῖσμα* Trin. 2.15. Didymus can scarcely mean that chrism is not used in any sect. But the heretics do not possess the 'holy' chrism because, he adds, only bishops can consecrate it. Cyprian already argued that the postbaptismal rite must be repeated as well as baptism because the heretics had not the power to consecrate the chrism: *unde nec unctio spiritualis apud haereticos potest esse, quando constat oleum sanctificari et eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse* Ep. 70.2. Didymus' reasoning, however, is rather a posterior justification of an existing practice, the origin of which may be sought in the conviction that the imposition of hands as a reconciliation rite must confer the Holy Spirit. When, for this reason, the rite was adapted to the postbaptismal this may have been accompanied by a confusion of both or

¹ In this sense the canon was understood by Innocent I and Jerome; see p. 334.

may at least have given rise to such a confusion. Didymus provides us with an example of this but other writers in the East consider the anointing as a reconciliation rite.

Eastern Syria. – In the canons attributed to Maruta of Maipherkat,¹ two rites are distinguished for the admission of those heretics who are not to be rebaptized. The first is intended, amongst others, for the Arians; they must be anointed and their clergy demoted one degree: ‘Then let the bishop or priest take the holy oil of anointing (*mšh’ dqwds’ dmšyhwt’*), let him sign (*ršm*) (him) three times and pray over him’. For the other group, which included the Novatians, prayer and absolution are sufficient; their clergy are not degraded: ‘They must not be signed (*ršm*) with oil (*mšh’*), nor be baptized, nor be demoted one degree, but everyone must be received just as he is, merely through prayer and absolution’. They are compared with sinners: ‘Let him be received as a sinner who has erred, not as the gentiles and Jews’ Can. 1. This absolution was possibly accompanied by an imposition of hands.

The terms for the anointing rite concur with those for the pre-baptismal anointing of the East Syrian rite. This does not necessarily mean that this anointing is now repeated but still less does it refer to a postbaptismal anointing which was unknown in this area. Both methods of receiving heretics are in the writer’s view penitential rites; thence the degradation of the clergy is dispensed with in full or in part.

Western Syria. – In the middle of the fifth century Theodoret of Cyrthus employs *χρίειν* and *χρίσμα* for the anointing rite by which the Novatians are received: τοῖς ὑπὸ σφῶν βαπτιζομένοις τὸ πανάγιον οὐ προσφέρουσι χρίσμα. διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας συναπτομένοις χρίειν οἱ πανεύφημοι πατέρες προσέταξαν Comp. 3.5. According to Theodoret this is necessary since Novatian’s successors not only introduced rigoristic innovations by prohibiting second marriage and abolishing second penance, but also suppressed the postbaptismal rite.² If this is correct, they may have

¹ See also p. 325 n. 3.

² The other text quoted in support of the opinion that the Novatians suppressed the postbaptismal rite, is from Pacian of Barcelona. He objects to these heretics: *uestrae plebi unde spiritum, quam non consignat unctus sacerdos, unde aquam, quae a matrice discessit?* Ep. 3.3. If the bishop denies that the Novatians are sealed, *unctus* is added as complimentary epithet for the bishop who omits this rite. Pacian says, however, that the Novatians are sealed but not by an *unctus sacerdos*. He disputes the efficacy of their baptism (*unde aquam*) and postbaptismal rite (*non consignat unctus*) and this on the same grounds as Innocent I who called the Arian priests *profani sacerdotes* in the passage just quoted, Ep. 24.3.4. Cf SALTET, *op.cit.*, p. 36 n. 2, DÖLGER, *Sakrament*, p. 135, and recently PETERSON, *art.cit.*, RivAC 27, 1951, p. 51, AUDET, *op.cit.*, p. 68 n. 3.

done so since Novatian himself did not receive this rite, according to Eusebius Hist. 6.43.15. Theodoret, however, may quite simply have drawn the wrong conclusion from the existing practice of anointing the Novatian converts and from the explanation as it was put forward by Didymus the Blind for the anointing of all heretics. It is then better understood why, according to Maruta, the Novatians must not be received with an anointing, Can. 1.

In the pseudo-Justinian *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, now attributed to Theodoret, the writer answers the question of why baptism and ordination are not repeated at the reconciliation of heretics by saying that the defect of baptism is made good by the anointing with myron and that of ordination by the imposition of hands: τὸ σφάλμα διορθοῦται, τῆς μὲν κακοδοξίας τῇ μεταθέσει τοῦ φρονήματος, τοῦ δὲ βαπτίσματος τῇ ἐπιχρίσει τοῦ ἁγίου μύρου, τῆς δὲ χειροτονίας τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ Quaest. 14. Theodoret does not presuppose that the anointing implies an imposition of hands. He is referring to two distinct rites in rather the same way as Maruta. His idea that one of these restores baptism and the other ordination is perhaps somewhat artificial and may be explained as meaning that a simple reconciliation by imposition of hands without anointing does not involve degradation. In any case the imposition of hands and the anointing do not repeat the rites already received; they are intended to restore them and are thus reconciliation rites.

Asia Minor and Constantinople. – The introduction of the anointing in the ritual for the admission of heretics appears for the first time in Asia Minor from the use of χρίειν and χρίσμα in one of the Canons of Laodicea concerning the admission of some heretics, the Novatians among them: χρισθέντας τε τῷ ἁγίῳ χρίσματι οὕτω κοινωνεῖν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ Conc.Laod. (c. 341-381), and in the first Canonical Letter of Basil the Great: τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ ἐκείνων προσερχομένους χρίσθαι Ep. 188.1.

A canon of the Council of Constantinople which is probably only a fragment from a letter from the Church of Constantinople to Martyrius of Antioch, dating from the middle of the fifth century,¹ gives a description of the rite: δεχόμεθα (sc. αὐτούς) . . . σφραγιζομένους ἦτοι χρισμένους πρῶτον τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τὸ τε μέτωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς ῥίνας καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰ ὦτα. καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτούς λέγομεν. Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου Conc.Const. (381) 7. The terms χρίειν, σφραγίζειν, σφραγίς, and μύρον, the ritual, and the formula concur with those of the

¹ Cf. HEFELE-LECLEQ, *op.cit.*, II p. 38 f.

postbaptismal rite. There was no intention, however, of repeating this latter. Galtier has rightly pointed out that in the Byzantine rite this ritual was used both for the reconciliation of heretics: *καὶ χρίει αὐτὸν τῷ μύρῳ καθὼς καὶ τοὺς νεοφωτίστους* Rit.Graec. p. 884 G., and of apostates: *λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον μύρον χρίει αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν βαπτιζομένων* ib. p. 880 G. In the latter case there can be no doubt of its penitential character.

Concluding remarks. – The use of the terms for the imposition of hands to refer to the rite for the reconciliation of sinners could be established from the second century onwards. The object *χεῖρα*, and in Latin *manum*, used in the singular forms part of the fixed expression. The plural, on the other hand, gives a biblical and solemn impression.¹ It is not possible to determine from these data how the gesture was performed but the use of the terms for sealing points to a gesture with one hand in the form of a cross. This practice may have occurred at an early date although the texts make it appear comparatively late.

During the third century a controversy arises in Africa concerning the application of the rite at the reconciliation of heretics. Misunderstanding arises not only concerning the validity of the sacraments as distinguished from their efficacy. The standpoint of both parties, namely that there is no Holy Spirit outside the Church, obscures the distinction between the effects of baptism and of the postbaptismal rite and in particular the penitential imposition of hands is now confused with the postbaptismal. As a result of the controversy great emphasis was placed on the fact that the penitential imposition of hands confers the Holy Spirit who is not outside the Church. This led to expressions being applied to this rite which were current for the effect of the postbaptismal rite. In the East there is moreover a return of the terms for anointing and sealing with chrism or myron to refer to a reconciliation rite which entirely corresponds with the postbaptismal.

Even outside Africa this development may have incidentally led to a confusion of the reconciliation rite with the postbaptismal. In general, however, this did certainly not occur. The rite must restore the effects of baptism in water; it is regarded as a penitential rite and, thus, its reception normally implies irregularity for the reception of orders and degradation to the lay state. When later some heretics are admitted without imposition of hands or anointing, this may be explained by a tendency to avoid the implications connected with the admission to penance. Pope Gregory the Great can distinguish three

¹ See p. 385.

methods of reconciling heretics, all of which he approves: *aut unctione chrismatis, aut impositione manus, aut sola professione fidei ad sinum matris ecclesiae reuocentur* Ep. 67.

The retention of the terms for the imposition of hands in the West may be a result of the old controversy but Cyprian and the author of *De rebaptismate* also call the rite which they identify with the post-baptismal a sealing.¹ In their time thus the gesture was performed with one hand and in the form of a cross. This provides indirect evidence that also the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of sinners was already performed in this manner.

(2) The postbaptismal gift of the Spirit. – In the New Testament we found *χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι, χρίειν*, and *σφραγίζειν* as terms denoting the postbaptismal rite, while expressions like *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν, διδόναι, λαμβάνειν* indicated its meaning as the rite which confers the Holy Spirit. In the second century the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are mainly found in heretical sources. The primary importance of these texts is that they give indirect evidence for the linguistic usage which existed in the early Church before the sects broke away. The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists seldom refer to the rite as an imposition of hands, anointing, or sealing, but they nearly all appear familiar with the expressions for the conferring and receiving of the Spirit. From the third century onwards the data are numerous and an examination of the terms now enables us above all to establish the development of the postbaptismal liturgy in various regions.

On the basis of the triple denomination for the postbaptismal rite most authors have assumed that three distinct rites of imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing originally existed, and this has made the problem extremely complicated. From an examination of the terminology it will appear that the names indicated originally only one rite.

Even more complications have arisen from changes which were introduced in the original rite for one practical consideration. It appears to have been felt as an objection that in the case of a complete postbaptismal anointing the candidates had to stand naked before the bishop when receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit. Special proof of this will be found for the Syrian liturgy but the same applies to all Churches. In Africa and in Rome this difficulty was resolved by postponing the rite which confers the Spirit until, after the bath and the complete anointing, the candidate had dressed himself. In Egypt and Jerusalem

¹ See p. 353.

the complete anointing itself was abandoned, whereas in Syria and Asia Minor attempts were made to have the postbaptismal anointing, like the prebaptismal, coincide with the bath.

The texts which we shall deal with have often been collected and discussed before. A few studies must be added to the literature already mentioned above.¹ Lorentz, Elfers, Dix, and de la Potterie have sought explanations for the particular developments of the rite in Syria and in Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition.² The development in the western liturgies has been the subject of an extensive exchange of views between Galtier and de Puniet.³

The second century. Heretical sources. – It has been suggested by Lampe that the second century sects did not retain the material anointing at their separation from the Church but that, on the contrary, it spread from the sects throughout the Church. The writer himself, however, mentions the gnostic depreciation of material things as an objection to his theory.⁴ We may add that the works of Justin Martyr and Theophilus show that the pagans also disapproved of the anointing of the body as a sacral act. On the other hand, the linguistic usage of the sects can only be explained on the basis of the New Testament and the orthodox milieu of the second century.

According to Tertullian Marcion retained the baptismal rites, including bath, anointing, and sealing: *usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit, nec oleum, quo suos ungit, nec mellis et lactis societatem* Marc. I.I4.3, *signat igitur hominem numquam apud se resignatum, lauat hominem numquam apud se coinquinatum* ib. I.28.3.

According to Irenaeus the disciples of the Valentinian Gnostic Marcus included some among whom the initiation consists of the celebration of a spiritual wedding, Haer. I.2I.3; others wish to have nothing whatsoever to do with external rites, ib. I.2I.4, but there are

¹ See p 56 ff

² R LORENTZ, *De Egyptische Kerkordering en Hippolytus van Rome*, Haarlem 1929, H. ELFERS, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom*, Paderborn 1938, G DIX, *Confirmation, or the Laying on of Hands*² Theology, Occasional Papers 5, London, 1936, DE LA POTTERIE, *L'onction du chrétien dans la foi*, Biblica 40, 1959, p. 12 ff Cf also B BOTTE, *Le baptême dans l'Église Syrienne*, Or Syr 1, 1956, p 137 ff, and A RAES, *Où se trouve la Confirmation dans le rite syro-oriental?* Or Syr 1, 1956, p 239 ff

³ P GALTIER, *La consignation à Carthage et à Rome*, RSR 2, 1911, p 350 ff, *La consignation dans les églises d'Occident*, RHE 13, 1912, p 257 ff, *Onction et Confirmation*, RHE 13, 1912, p 467 ff, P DE PUNJET, *Onction et Confirmation*, RHE 13, 1912, p 450 ff Cf also BOTTE, *Le vocabulaire ancien de la Confirmation*, La Maison-Dieu N° 54, 1958, p. 5 ff

⁴ *Op cit.* p. 120

also some who bring those who have to be perfected to water and baptize them while pronouncing various formulas; after this they anoint them with myron, the symbol of heavenly fragrance: μυρίζουσι τὸν τετελεσμένον τῷ ὀποβαλάσῳ: τὸ γὰρ μύρον τοῦτο τύπον τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄλλα εὐωδίας λέγουσιν *ib.* 1.21.3. Others again consider it superfluous to take them to the water and pour a mixture of oil and water over their heads while pronouncing the formulas mentioned; ¹ this is followed by an anointing with myron: μυρίζουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ βαλάσῳ *ib.* 1.21.4. Irenaeus uses thus (ὀπο)βάλασμον, μύρον and μυρίζειν for a postbaptismal anointing among some Marcosians but there is no conclusive evidence to show what terms were current in the sect itself. The term μυρίζειν might be chosen in order to disapprove the use of fragrant oil.

In agreement with this is the use of χρίειν and μύρον in a Roman epitaph of Valentinian or at least of gnostic origin and dated in the third century. The husband reminds his dead wife of the anointing with the everlasting myron which she received at baptism so that now she can contemplate the aeons: λουτροῖς χρεισαμένη Χ(ριστο)ῦ μύρον ἄφθιτον ἄγνόν *CIG* 9595a.² Apparently this anointing was more highly esteemed than the bath.

Theodotus, on the contrary, seems rather to belong to the Valentinians among whom baptism in water is highly esteemed. There are scarcely any traces of a postbaptismal rite. It may be that a postbaptismal imposition of hands is included in the baptismal imposition, *Exc.* 22.5.³ On one occasion the blessing of bread and oil is mentioned but this would seem to refer rather to the oil of the sick, *ib.* 82.1.⁴ Accordingly, the operation of the Spirit is mentioned along with the gift of the Spirit: τὸ δὲ νοητὸν (*sc.* βάπτισμα) διὰ πνεύματος *Exc.* 81.2, τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν δοθὲν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα *ib.* 81.3.

Hippolytus mentions bath and anointing in the ritual of the Naassenes: τὸν λουόμενον κατ' αὐτοῦς ζῶντι ὕδατι καὶ χριόμενον ἀλάφῳ χρίσματι *Ref.* 5.7.19. It is possible that χρίειν and χρίσμα were also the terms of the sect.

The Odes of Solomon appear to allude in one passage to an anointing which is accompanied by or follows upon a renewal: 'And like His own newness (*hwdt'*) He (i.e. God) renewed (*hdt*) me; and He anointed (*msh*) me from His own perfection' *Od.Sol.* 36.5. The reference

¹ See p. 308.

² Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Die Firmung in den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums*, RömQ 19, 1905, p. 9.

³ See p. 374 f.

⁴ See p. 299.

may be to two distinct rites and *χρίειν* may have been the term for the anointing in the Greek original.

Other Gnostics retained the postbaptismal anointing at the expense of the baptism in water. Origen has preserved a report by Celsus concerning a sect in which the ritual consists of an anointing which is at the same time a sealing: τοῦ σφραγιζομένου . . . ἀποκρινομένου· Κέχρισμαι χρίσματος λευκῶ ἐκ ξύλου ζωῆς Cels. 6.27. There is at least no mention of a bath.

In the Acts of Thomas also, despite the interpolations which have been introduced in the Greek and Syriac texts, a baptismal liturgy can be recognized consisting only of an anointing followed by the celebration of the Eucharist. The anointing is at the same time a sealing and is administered with the formula: σφραγίζειν εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. The Acts are attributed to the first half of the third century but may be dealt with here on account of the similarity in this ritual to older gnostic sources, notably the Gnostics of Celsus.

The ritual is described in five passages of the Greek and Syriac Acts. On a comparison of the texts we take it for reasons which are given elsewhere and find their confirmation here, that the Syriac Acts are a translation of the Greek.¹ We shall keep the first account, which has suffered most from interpolations, until the last.

In the second report a woman who has been cured of possession and many bystanders receive after their conversion a blessing by imposition of hands. The woman then asks for the seal and the apostle seals her and the others by an imposition of hands while pronouncing the Trinitarian formula: ἐπιθεις ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐσφράγισεν αὐτὴν εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐσφραγίσθησαν μετ' αὐτῆς Act. Thom. 49. The Greek text may have been preserved from interpolation since *σφραγίζειν* was later considered not as referring to an anointing rite but as a technical term for baptism in water.² The actual Syriac text has the normal term for 'to baptize' and adds a clarifying clause: 'And they went to a river which was close by there, and baptized (*md*) her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and many were baptized (*md*) with her' ib. p. 188 W.

In the three descriptions which follow both the Greek and Syriac texts mention after the anointing the baptism in water but in such a manner that one might think of a later addition. When Mygdonia asks for the seal the apostle pours the oil over her and orders the nurse to

¹ See p. 417 f.

² See p. 391 f.

undress her and to put a cloth round her loins. After this one expects the complete anointing of the body but instead the apostle and Mygdonia make their way to a nearby spring for the baptism in water. When the nurse afterwards becomes converted she asks for and receives only the seal, *ib.* 121. In the next description the apostle pours the oil over Siphor and his wife and daughter. Once again this is not followed by an order to complete the anointing. A vessel is fetched for the baptism in water while everything necessary for the anointing and the Eucharist has already been brought earlier, *ib.* 132. In the last report Iuzanes, Mnesara, and Tertia receive the full anointing after the pouring out of the oil but it is added that the apostle then leads them down into the water, *ib.* 157.

These data suggest that the Acts of Thomas in the original Greek text had only an oil baptism which was later expanded into the normal East Syrian ritual of anointing and bath. The terms for the oil baptism are σφραγίς, σφραγίζειν and ἀλείφειν, ἔλαιον. If ἀλείφειν is original and not substituted for χρίειν, it would seem that the sect retained the pre-baptismal anointing rather than the postbaptismal.

On the basis of this an acceptable explanation can be given of the interpolations in the first report. A second interpolator appears to have worked on the Greek text and to have made a clumsy attempt to transpose the sequence of anointing and bath.

The apostle prays to God for the anointing and the bath of king Gundaphorus and his brother Gad. The Syriac text has retained the correct sequence, presumably introduced by the first interpolator, but in the Greek text ἀλείφειν has become a term for the postbaptismal anointing: 'And anoint (*mšh*) them, and purify them from their uncleanness' Act. Thom. p. 165 W., καθαρίσας αὐτούς τῷ σῶ λουτρῷ καὶ ἀλείψας αὐτούς τῷ σῶ ἐλαίῳ *ib.* 25. When, subsequently, the king and his brother have asked for the seal the ritual is described as follows:

καὶ ἐκέλευσεν προσενεγκεῖν αὐτούς
ἔλαιον, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐλαίου δέξωνται
τὴν σφραγῖδα. ἤνεγκαν οὖν τὸ ἔλαιον,
καὶ λύχνους ἀνῆψαν πολλούς· νύξ γὰρ
ἦν. καὶ ἀναστάς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐσφρά-
γισεν αὐτούς· ἀπεκαλύφθη δὲ αὐτοῖς
ὁ κύριος διὰ φωνῆς λέγων· Εἰρήνη
ὑμῖν ἀδελφοί. οἱ δὲ φωνῆς μόνον
ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ
οὐκ εἶδον. οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦσαν δε-

'And the king gave orders that the bath should be closed for seven days, and that no man should bathe in it. And when the seven days were done, on the eighth day they three entered into the bath by night that Judas might baptize them. And many lamps were lighted in the bath. And when they had entered into the bath-

ξάμενοι τὸ ἐπισφράγισμα τῆς σφραγίδος. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ καταχέας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλείψας καὶ χρίσας αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο λέγειν· Ἐλθὲ..τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ καθάρισον τοὺς νεφροὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἐπισφράγισον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος *ib.* 26 f.

house, Judas went in before them. And our Lord appeared unto them, and said to them: Peace be with you, my brethren. And they heard the voice only, but the form they did not see, whose it was, for till now they had not been baptized (*'md*). And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern, and poured oil (*mšh'*) upon their heads and said: Come.. Holy Spirit, and purify their reins and their hearts. And he baptized (*'md*) them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And when they had come up out of the water, a youth appeared to them' *ib.* p. 166 W.

We can establish that the two reports have only an anointing rite in common. This is preceded in the Greek text by the apostle's request that oil should be fetched as being the only requisite for the ritual. Instead of this the Syriac text has a story concerning the preparation of the bath-house. In the Greek text the rite proper is preceded by a sealing as a gesture of blessing, just as *ib.* 49, cf. 54.¹ The Syriac text omits σφραγίζειν which is difficult to translate,² so that the first appearance of the Lord takes place, without further preliminaries, on the entry to the bath-house. The candidates hear the Lord's voice but cannot see Him yet since they are not yet baptized. This occurs in the Syriac text and probably did so in the Greek, but the second interpolator took σφραγίζειν to be a technical term for the seal of the baptism in water and asserts now that the apparition is incomplete since they have not yet received the added sealing, i.e. the seal of the post-baptismal rite. In the anointing which now follows the Syriac text places the apostle on the edge of a cistern, while the second interpolator of the Greek text adds χρίειν to ἀλείφειν which is no longer appropriate. After this the Syriac text mentions the baptism in water, an addition which may have already been made in the Greek text by the first interpolator but is then suppressed by the second.

Our conclusion that the original gnostic ritual of the Acts of Thomas

¹ See p. 292 and 298.

² See p. 416.

knew no bath but only an anointing is strengthened by the fact that the Acts currently mention only one effect of 'baptism': the ceremony is intended to confer the seal by which the candidate is incorporated in the Lord's flock. The idea that the seal represents the cross may be new but is assumed to be well known.¹ This again points to an original Greek redaction of the text, presumably early in the third century.

The Apostolic Fathers and Apologists. – In the orthodox writings of the second century too the terms for the imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing are used to indicate the rite by which the gift of the Spirit was granted, but no direct reference to the rite is found in the Apostolic Fathers.

In Justin Martyr the technical terms for the rite might be expected in the passage of his first Apology which gives a description of the manner in which the convert dedicates himself to God: after the bath he is conducted into the community; then follow communal prayers, the kiss of peace, and the celebration of the Eucharist, Apol. 1.65.1 ff. We cannot agree with Coppens that this passage contains a veiled reference to the postbaptismal rite in the *κοινωνία εὐχάρις* mentioned by Justin.² The gift of the Spirit is not a communal prayer and in the ritual of Hippolytus which shows great similarity to that of Justin these prayers are mentioned separately after the postbaptismal rite, Trad. 22.5.³

If, therefore, Justin was familiar with the gift of the Spirit, he avoided making any mention of it. We need not consider this as excluded because at the beginning of his exposition he says that he is speaking about baptism and the Eucharist so as to avoid the reproach that he has omitted something, Apol. 1.61.1. With this he exactly reveals his aversion to mentioning something but, after all, does not deny himself the right to refrain from reporting any detail. He may have considered the anointing such a detail if it still formed a natural whole with the bath, so that baptism and the Eucharist were the two main rites as in Did. 7, 9. In any case we may not yet expect from him a separate treatment of the postbaptismal rite.

A motive which may have led Justin to refrain from mentioning the rite has been sought in the *disciplina arcana*, but we need only remark that it is then difficult to understand why Justin mentions other details from the ritual.⁴ Among the pagans, however, bath and meal were held in high esteem as ritual acts, whereas the anointing was for them no more than an everyday and at the best effeminate form of skin care.

¹ See p. 416 ff.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 287.

³ See p. 353.

⁴ Cf. BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 139 ff.

That Justin may have feared such a criticism appears now from the manner in which, shortly after him, another apologist takes it upon himself to defend this rite.

Theophilus of Antioch replies to the criticism of his pagan friend by saying that it is not ridiculous to be called a Christian. To support his argument he gives a survey of the profane meanings of *χρίειν*. This verb refers to treatments which are both useful and agreeable and thus in no way ridiculous: ships and buildings are 'painted', the human skin is 'anointed', all sorts of tools are 'greased' or 'oiled', the air and the entire sky are in a certain sense 'anointed' by the light and the wind. Thus the Christians derive their name from the anointing with the oil of God: *σὺ δὲ οὐ βούλει χρισθῆναι ἔλαιον θεοῦ; τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς τούτου εἴνεκεν καλούμεθα χριστιανοὶ ὅτι χρισίμεθα ἔλαιον θεοῦ* Autol. 1.12.

Here we find *χρίειν* as a sacral term for the anointing of the Christian and *ἔλαιον* for the oil. It is often claimed that no material anointing is referred to.¹ The only possible argument in support of this theory is the metaphorical use of the verb for the anointing of Christ. When dealing with 2 Cor. 1.21, we have already disputed the value of this argument since the metaphorical usage for the anointing of Christ is an isolated case to which such consequences may not be attached. Theophilus now does not defend himself against criticism by pointing out that the Christians derive their name from an anointing in a metaphorical sense. Nor does he refer to the anointing of Christ. He only wishes to show that *χρίειν* in its literal profane meaning of 'to anoint' and 'to paint' does not convey anything ridiculous. His defense is directed against those who mock at the value which the Christians attach to a material anointing. This probably was the postbaptismal if not also the prebaptismal anointing, and the criticism is more easily understood if it refers to a complete anointing.²

At about the same time *σφραγίζειν* perhaps occurs as a term for the postbaptismal rite in a passage from Melito. The blood upon the door-posts at the Exodus leads him to the pronouncement that Christ seals both our soul with His Spirit and our body with His blood: *καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχ[ὰς] τῷ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι* ib. 67. The expression *σφραγίζειν πνεύματι* for the gift of the Spirit may be taken from Paul, Eph. 1.13. The reference to the blood upon the door-posts is even more suggestive if the anointing

¹ Cf., for example, BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 178, but rightly COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 325 f.

² See also p. 263.

was performed in any particular form, perhaps in the form of a cross.¹

In the writings of Irenaeus there are a few indications that the author is familiar with imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing as terms for the gift of the Spirit. Two passages may be quoted for *χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι* in this meaning. The first, which has only been preserved in the old Latin version of the *Adversus haereses*, contains no more than a reference to Simon Magus and teaches us nothing of the time of Irenaeus himself: *per impositionem manuum spiritu sancto adimplere* Haer. 1.23.1. The second text too is directly concerned only with the apostolic age. In an explanation of 1 Cor. 3.2 Irenaeus assumes that the apostles regularly granted the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands: οὗς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτίθουν χειρᾶς (sc. οἱ ἀπόστολοι) ἐλάβανον πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὃ ἐστὶ βρώμα ζωῆς Haer. 4.38.2. The writer may have been aware of the connection with the rite in his own times.

Neither is the term *χρίειν* used directly for this rite, but Irenaeus remarks that the faithful participate in Christ's anointing with the Spirit: *spiritus ergo dei descendit in eum . . . ut de abundantia unctionis eius nos percipientes saluaremur* Haer. 3.9.3, cf. Dem. 47. The author thus alludes to an anointing of the faithful, and we may assume that this was a material anointing for which the technical term was *χρίειν*.

For *σφραγίζειν* as referring to this rite in Irenaeus we may turn to a quotation from Paul who calls the sealing with the Spirit a pledge for eternal life: *nunc autem partem aliquam a spiritu eius sumimus, ad perfectionem et praeparationem incorruptelae paulatim assuescentes capere et portare deum: quod et pignus dixit apostolus . . . dicens: . . . in quo credentes signati estis spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae* (Eph. 1.13 f.) Haer. 5.8.1. The mention of the sealing is, for the rest, incidental; the writer's real interest is the pledge.

Our evidences for the postbaptismal rite in the orthodox writings of the second century are not herewith exhausted. In most of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists we find a constant use of expressions like τὸ πνεῦμα ἔχειν, διδόναι, λαμβάνειν. As long as there is no evidence to the contrary we must take it that they are referring to a distinct postbaptismal gift of the Spirit as appeared to be the case in the New Testament. Notably Benoit in his study of baptism in the second century has without sufficient proof identified this gift with the

¹ See p. 424. It must, however, be doubted whether this seal was distinguished from the seal of baptism; see p. 395.

indwelling of the Spirit and thus linked both with the baptism in water.¹

In the Epistle of Clement the expressions for the indwelling do not occur but the writer refers to the descent of the Spirit on the apostles: μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξῆλθον 1 Clem. 42.3, and twice speaks of the pouring out of the Spirit over all the faithful: πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντα ἐγένετο ib. 2.2, ἐν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ib. 46.6. We are not justified in understanding these expressions as referring to anything other than a separate postbaptismal gift of the Spirit. For the rest, the metaphor of the outpouring is not very compatible with that of the indwelling in a temple.

Dealing with the gift of the Spirit Ps.-Barnabas uses with a somewhat wider development the expressions current in the New Testament: τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε Ep. 1.2, βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ib. 1.3. Later he appears to be familiar with the terminology of the indwelling, ib. 6.11 ff., 16.8.² He links the indwelling with baptism but again we are in no way justified in identifying the gift with the indwelling.

The same can be said for Ignatius of Antioch. He is familiar with the expressions for God's indwelling in the Christian, Eph. 15.3, Phil. 7.2.² In another connection he points out that the Christians possess a special Spirit: ἔρωσθε ἐν ὁμοιοῖα θεοῦ κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Magn. 15, γρηγόρει ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος Pol. 1.3. The expression πνεῦμα κεκτηθῆσθαι is uncommon, but it may indicate a permanent possession of the Spirit as in the New Testament πνεῦμα ἔχειν.³

The so-called Second Epistle of Clement has expressions which are related to those for the postbaptismal gift: τὸ πνεῦμα μεταλαμβάνειν, κολλᾶν 2 Clem. 14.3 ff., μεταλαμβάνειν ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ib. 14.5. They refer, however, to a future possession of the Spirit as a reward after this life. The verb μεταλαμβάνειν then means 'to receive afterwards': τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα, ἵνα τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλάβητε ib. 14.3. Yet the expressions may be derived from the existing πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν and in so far we still find a reference to the postbaptismal reception of the Spirit.

The expressions for the baptismal indwelling of the Spirit appeared to be frequent in Hermas and were connected with an elaborate doctrine: the indwelling can increase or be entirely lost and it may be

¹ Cf. BENOIT, *op.cit.*, index s.v. *Don de l'Esprit and Temple*.

² See p. 71.

³ Cf. the perfect participle πεφωτισμένη Rom. init.; text see p. 173.

restored through penance.¹ The same is true of the gift of the Spirit but the writer is less interested in this subject: μή θλίβε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μήποτε ἐντεύξηται κατὰ σοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ σοῦ. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δοθὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα ταύτην λύπην οὐχ ὑποφέρει οὐδὲ στενοχωρίαν Past. 41.5 f., cf. 28.1 f., ἔδωκεν πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀξίοις οὓσι μετανοίας ib. 72.1. The indwelling leads Hermas to speak of the gift, but in view of the existing distinction we may not deduce from this that he considers them to be identical.²

Whereas in Justin Martyr we found the presence of the Spirit mentioned as an effect of His operation at baptism, Dial. 54.1,¹ this writer uses elsewhere the expressions δόματα δίδοναι, λαμβάνειν and πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν for the gift of the Spirit: οἱ καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἕκαστος ὡς ἀξιοί εἰσι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνει συνέσεως πνεῦμα, ὁ δὲ βουλῆς, ὁ δὲ ἰσχύος, ὁ δὲ ἰάσεως, ὁ δὲ προοργώσεως, ὁ δὲ διδασκαλίας, ὁ δὲ φόβου θεοῦ Dial. 39.2, δοῦναι ἡμῖν δόματα ib. 39.4, cf. 39.5; 87.5. Quotations from Ps. 67.19 and Joel 3.1 in Dial. 39.4; 87.6, point out the connection between these gifts and the experience of Pentecost. Moreover, in the passage quoted, ib. 39.2, Justin is the first to distinguish a sevenfold gift. He does this by combining the list in Is. 11.2 with the χαρίσματα mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 12.7. Elsewhere he makes separate mention of these charismata which are granted to some, Dial. 82.1; 88.1.

In the writings of Irenaeus the expressions for the granting and receiving of the Spirit occupy a considerable place. Using the New Testament and related expressions he speaks of the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost and the granting of the Spirit to the Samaritans and the family of Cornelius, Haer. 3.1.1; 3.12.1 ff., and to all the faithful: *donum spiritus... quod in nouissimis temporibus secundum placitum patris effusum est in humanum genus* ib. 3.11.9, *partem aliquam a spiritu eius sumimus* ib. 5.9.1. Irenaeus also mentions the charismata accompanying the gift, but he seems to know them only by hearsay, ib. 2.32.4; 5.6.1. He enumerates a sevenfold gift as in Is. 11.2, without yet

¹ See p 71

² A misunderstanding may be caused by the expressions τὰ πνεύματα λαμβάνειν, φορεῖν, ἔχειν used by Hermas to refer to the possession of the 'spirits of the virgins' πάντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλαβον, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν παρθένων τούτων λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν Past 90.7 ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν ἐσχίκεισαν ib 92.6 The possession of these spirits accompanies the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and is an effect of baptism. The expressions used correspond with those for the receiving, possessing, and bearing of God's Name, τὸ ὄνομα λαμβάνειν, φορεῖν, ἔχειν, likewise considered as an effect of baptism. They have no connection with the postbaptismal gift

including the charismata, Haer. 3.17.3. Nevertheless he does not clearly distinguish the gift of the Spirit from the effects of baptism such as indwelling of the Spirit, adoptive sonship, and renewal: *hunc (sc. spiritum) enim promisit per prophetas effundere in nouissimis temporibus... unde et in filium dei descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano... renouans eos a uetustate in nouitatem Christi* ib. 3.17.1, cf. 5.6.1 ff., 5.12.2, Dem. 41 f. The explanation is found in the close link which existed between the baptismal bath and anointing throughout Asia Minor and Syria. By this the distinction between the effects of two rites was naturally obscured, as it will appear among all writers who originate from this area.¹

From the third century onwards. – In the early third century sound information concerning the development of the terminology comes from the West. We therefore begin with a short investigation of the linguistic usage as found in Africa and Rome before turning to the Churches of the East.

Africa. – Tertullian is already familiar with an important change in the ritual as appears from the following description: *exinde egressi de lauacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina qua ungui oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est; unde christi dicti a chrismate... sic et in nobis carnaliter currit unctio* Bapt. 7.1 f., *dehinc manus inponitur per benedictionem aduocans et inuitans spiritum sanctum* ib. 8.1.

Here *chrisma*, and derivatives of *ungere* are used for an anointing on leaving the baptismal water. This anointing probably still began with the pouring of the oil over the head of the candidate. Tertullian at least recalls this Old Testament method of anointing (*oleo de cornu*). The oil then runs (*currit*) over the body, so that we are obliged to assume a complete anointing (*perungimur*).

It is only after this that we find *manum inponere* for an imposition of hands by which the Spirit is conferred. In the ceremony as described by Tertullian this is a distinct rite. The dressing of the newly baptized must naturally be inserted after the anointing and before the imposition of hands. Tertullian does not yet attribute any symbolic value to this detail and refrains from mentioning it. While the dressing marks the separation of the anointing and imposition, it also provides an explanation for it: since the placing of the bishop's hand in the oil is postponed, the candidate no longer has to stand naked before him.

¹ See p. 71 and 364 f.

As a result of this development Tertullian here attributes to the anointing only secondary meanings of the postbaptismal rite. Elsewhere, however, he can also link the gift of the Spirit with it: *Christus Iesus, qui uos spiritu unxit* Mart. 3.4. In this case the conferring of the Spirit may be termed an anointing rite as long as one bears in mind that the imposition of hands takes place in the oil which has previously been poured out.

In addition to these terms *signare* is used as the equivalent of $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, notably in the following list of baptismal rites: *et caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut [et] anima muniatur; caro manus inpositione adumbratur, ut [et] anima spiritu inluminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur, ut et anima de deo saginetur* Res. 8.3. The seal is thought of as a physical mark which must protect the candidate, and for Tertullian it already has the form of a cross.

It is understandable that in this summary one has taken the sealing as an independent rite but we have seen time and again that a sealing indicates no more than an imposition of hands or an anointing in the form of a cross. Here then it is probably the imposition of hands and not the complete anointing that is called a sealing. For the sake of the climax Tertullian situates the sealing before the imposition of hands whereas Cyprian later has the reverse order.

There are no essential changes in the terminology of the later African writers, from which we may conclude that the rite too remained basically the same.

The verb *ungere* and derivatives remain the technical terms for the postbaptismal anointing. The oil is called *oleum*, *chrisma*, and *eucharistia*. Cyprian poses that no anointing with the Spirit is possible among the heretics since they cannot consecrate the oil: *ungi quoque necesse est eum qui baptizatus est, ut accepto chrismate id est unctione esse unctus dei et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. porro autem eucharistia est unde baptizati ungentur oleum in altari sanctificatum. sanctificare autem non potuit olei creaturam qui nec altare habuit nec ecclesiam. unde nec unctio spiritalis apud haereticos potest esse* Ep. 70.2. The consciousness that the imposition of hands is performed in the oil which has previously been poured upon the head makes it possible to link the gift of the Spirit with the anointing. Optatus of Milevis explains this by saying that the oil prepares a seat for the Holy Spirit: *oleum... confectum iam chrisma uocatur, in quo est suauitas, quae... sedem spiritui sancto parat* Schism. 7.4.

The expressions *manum imponere* and *manus impositio*, often with additions like *ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* to distinguish it from the imposition of hands as a rite of blessing, reconciliation, and ordination, are the common names for the postbaptismal rite in Cyprian and *De rebaptismate*. The pronounced preference is explained by the transposition of the imposition of hands after the dressing but is also due to the fact that in the rebaptism controversy this rite was confused with the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of heretics.¹

For the sealing connected with the imposition of hands the Latin terms are (con)signare, signum, signaculum, and sigillum. Cyprian sometimes adds them to the expressions for the imposition of hands but also uses them independently: *manum inponi ut spiritum sanctum consequatur et signetur* Ep. 73.6, *per nostram orationem ac manus inpositionem spiritum sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur* ib. 73.9, *neque consignari potest, cui foris posito accessus ad fontem non est* ib. 69.2, *evadere solos posse qui renati et signo Christi signati fuerint* Demetr. 22, and his opponent says likewise: *haec manus inpositio signum fidei iteratum atque consummatum* Rebapt. 1, cf. 6. The imposition of hands itself is thus at the same time a sealing.

Rome. – Justin Martyr has been considered as the earliest witness for the Roman ritual on the assumption that his description of baptism and the Eucharist is based upon the rites he had seen performed during his stay in Rome. In any case the enumeration in Apol. 1.65.1 ff. of bath, introduction of the newly baptized into the community of the faithful, communal prayers, and kiss of peace, corresponds with the description later given by Hippolytus, on the assumption that Justin avoids making mention of any anointing. As we have pointed out, this omission is more understandable if the anointing still formed a natural whole with the bath.² Hippolytus' description then shows that on this point a considerable change has taken place.

The ceremony begins with the consecration of the oil which is called oil of thanksgiving to distinguish it from the oil of exorcism used for the prebaptismal anointing: 'And at the time determined for baptizing the bishop shall give thanks over the oil and put it into a vessel, and it is called the oil of thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία C.)' Trad. 21.6.

The description of the rites following the baptism is preserved in the old Latin version. On leaving the water the candidate is anointed by the priest: *et postea cum ascenderit ungueatur a presbytero de illo oleo quod sanctificatum est, dicente: Ungueo te oleo sancto in nomine Iesu Christi*

¹ See p. 329.

² See p. 346.

ib. 21.19. The newly baptized dry themselves, dress and enter the church. The bishop lays his hand on them while pronouncing a prayer: *manu(m) illis inponens inuocet* ib. 22.1. It does not appear whether this is an individual imposition of hands but in either case it may be considered as forming already part of the subsequent rite¹ which is described as an imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing: *infundens de manu et inponens in capite dicat: Ungueo te sancto oleo in domino patre omnipotente et Christo Iesu et spiritu sancto. et consignans in frontem offerat osculum et dicat: Dominus tecum. et ille qui signatus est dicat: Et cum spiritu tuo* ib. 22.2 f.

There is little difficulty in recognizing the original Greek terms. We find *unguere* as the equivalent of *χρίειν* for the traditional anointing on leaving the water. It is performed before the dressing, from which we may assume an originally complete anointing. Next, *manum imponere*, *unguere*, and *(con)signare*, as the equivalents of *χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι* (or *χειροθετεῖν*), *χρίειν*, and *σφραγίζειν*, indicate the partial anointing which follows the dressing. The three terms seem to be carefully chosen in order to describe the gesture made by the bishop. They may suggest three distinct rites but in actual fact the bishop's gesture is much simpler. He need do no more than make the sign of the cross with his hand in the oil which he has poured over the candidate's head. Had Hippolytus intended to distinguish the imposition of the bishop's hand from the anointing this would only mean that he was no longer aware of the biblical significance of 'imposition of hands'. The custom of performing the anointing in a certain form, notably that of a cross, was probably long established.² The present participle *consignans* is therefore misleading. It must translate an aorist participle in the Greek original, referring to an act which precedes the kiss of peace. The sealing is thus performed by the making of a cross in the oil which can hardly be distinguished from the anointing proper.

In the light of all this the development of the postbaptismal rite in Rome appears comparatively simple. Not only the imposition of hands but also the pouring of the oil was postponed until after the dressing. This shows more clearly that the imposition of hands by the bishop must be at the same time an anointing. This, however, detracts considerably from the first anointing performed by the priest. Hippolytus does not go any deeper into the meaning of that rite; it later appears that no meaning was in fact known.

¹ Cf. the continuation of the imposition of hands during prayer at the ordination of a bishop, ib. 2.3; see p. 371 n. 1.

² See p. 265 and 412 ff.

The double postbaptismal anointing is typically and exclusively Roman. It does not fit in with the development of the ritual in any other region in East or West. It can notably not be attributed to Alexandria as recently proposed by Hanssens.¹ Rome, however, retained the peculiar ritual even though no satisfactory explanation could be given for it.

It is not surprising that the terms for the imposition of hands to refer to the postbaptismal rite are absent in other Roman texts of the third century. Hippolytus himself associates the gift of the Spirit with the anointing when he makes a comparison between the unguents of Susanna and the oil with which the faithful are anointed as with myron: *τίνα δὲ ἦν τὰ σμήγματα ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου λόγου ἐντολαί; τί δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δύναμις; αἷς μετὰ τὸ λουτρὸν ὡς μύρω χρίονται οἱ πιστεύοντες* In Dan. 1.16.3, cf. 1.33. The addition of ὡς makes it appear that μύρον is not the name for the oil used in Rome but it is possible that a fragrant oil was already used. This is later alluded to by Firmicus Maternus in a work which he wrote in Rome, Err. 23.1.²

In a letter to Fabius which has been preserved by Eusebius, pope Cornelius writes that Novatian, after having received clinical baptism during an illness, was not sealed by the bishop and therefore did not receive the Holy Spirit. If the gift is now connected with the sealing, it would appear that anointing and sealing form only one rite as is

¹ J. M. HANSENS, *La liturgie d'Hippolyte*, Rome 1959, p. 471 ff. The author has not seen the relation between imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing. If one does not accept the Apostolic Tradition as a Roman source, the double postbaptismal anointing is anyway attested as a Roman usage by Innocent I in his letter of 416 to Decentius, Ep. 25.3.6 (see p. 356), and indirectly in Conc. Araus. (441) 2 (see p. 357). It is true that John the Deacon, Ep. ad Sen. 6, mentions only one postbaptismal anointing. This is, however, the anointing which immediately follows the bath and the writer refrains from speaking about the rite which confers the Spirit. The only possible difficulty may then be found in the Gregorian Sacramentary; after the postbaptismal anointing the Holy Spirit is conferred by the sign of the cross without a second anointing being mentioned: *baptizat et linit eum presbiter de chrismate in cerebro et dicit: Deus...te linit chrismate salutis... oratio ad infantes consignandos: Omnipotens sempiterna deus...consigna eos signo crucis* Sac. Greg. 85.11 f. Since a rubric for this *consignatio* is absent, it does not appear whether or not this was performed with chrism. It is impossible, on the other hand, to attribute the double postbaptismal anointing of the Apostolic Tradition to any other Church in East or West. Against the theory of an Alexandrian origin it must especially be noted that this is not in agreement with the meaning of the seal in the Apostolic Tradition, for this is already the sign of the cross as found in the second century in Syria and in the West but not yet in Egypt; see p. 412 ff. Cf. also A. SALLES, *La Tradition apostolique est-elle un témoin de la liturgie romaine?* Rev. Hist. Rel. 148, 1955, 181 ff., and A. G. MARTIMORT, *La Tradition apostolique et le rituel baptismal antique*, Bull. Litt. Eccl. 60, 1959, p. 57 ff.

² See p. 310.

expressly stated in Rufinus' translation: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχεν.. τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (*nec signaculo chrismatis consummatus sit*). τούτων δὲ μὴ τυχῶν, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχεν; Hist. 6.43.15.

The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions the interference of pope Sylvester with the postbaptismal rite at the beginning of the fourth century. The consecration of the chrism is reserved for the bishops and they obtain the privilege of sealing the baptized with it: *crisma ab episcopo confici et privilegium episcopis ut baptizatum consignent propter hereticam suasionem* Lib.Pont. I p. 76 D. The second edition adds that he commanded the priests to anoint the baptized on leaving the water: *hic et hoc constituit ut baptizatum liniret presbiter crisma leuatum de aqua, propter occasionem transitus mortis* ib. I p. 171 D.

These decisions have been understood in the sense that Sylvester introduced the postbaptismal anointing, according to Galtier in order to win over the Novatians, although *propter hereticam suasionem* may mean 'on account of the persuasion by the heretics' as well as 'of the heretics'.¹ The motive suggested for the first postbaptismal anointing is no clearer; *propter occasionem transitus mortis* can scarcely mean 'on account of the danger of dying' before having received the sealing by the bishop, but we may perhaps translate 'on the occasion of (baptism as) a passage through death'. A better motivation might be expected for serious liturgical renewals and, if the consecration of the chrism and the conferring of the Spirit are reserved for bishops, this merely sanctions an old tradition. The decree concerning the anointing by the priests may be understood in the same light. The measures thus are destined to maintain or to restore the old liturgy. The two reports, whether authentic or not, try to find a motivation for practices of which no sufficient explanation could be given.

Almost a century after Sylvester, in a letter dated 416, Innocent I expounds the Roman standpoint to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium in Umbria. The gift of the Spirit is reserved for the bishop. The rite consists of an anointing, which is at the same time a sealing, referred to as *oleo signare* and *consignare*. There is no mention of an imposition of hands but Innocent sees no conflict with Acts 8.17. After the baptism the priests may anoint with the chrism consecrated by the bishop although this is not considered to be of any great importance: *de*

¹ P. GALTIER, *La 'Tradition Apostolique' d'Hippolyte. Particularités et initiatives liturgiques*, RSR 13, 1923, p. 511 ff., also DÖLGER, *Sakrament*, p. 63, COPPENS, *op.cit.*, p. 334.

consignandis uero infantibus manifestum est, non ab alio quam ab episcopo fieri licere... hoc autem pontificium solis deberi episcopis, ut uel consignent, uel paraclatum spiritum tradant, non solum consuetudo ecclesiastica demonstrat uerum et illa lectio Actuum apostolorum... nam presbyteris, siue extra episcopum siue praesente episcopo cum baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum, non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradunt spiritum Ep. 25.3.6. The conjunction *uel* has its ordinary post-classical meaning of 'and', hence *uel...uel* 'both...and'.

The Gelasian Sacramentary has preserved the ritual as in the Apostolic tradition; we even find the three traditional terms for the bishop's gesture: *postea cum ascenderit a fonte infans signatur a presbitero in cerebro de chrismate... deinde ab episcopo datur eis spiritus septiformis. ad consignandum inponit eis manum in his uerbis... postea signat eos in fronte de chrismate* Sacr.Gelas. 449 ff. The bishop must place his hand upon the forehead of the candidate while pronouncing the prayer and after this he makes the sign of the cross. There arises now some degree of distinction between imposition of hands and sealing in the gesture of anointing.

Outside Rome we find in the West a terminology of the postbaptismal rite which is everywhere basically the same as in Africa: not the anointing but the imposition of hands and the sealing are postponed and remain the prerogative of the bishop. This ritual is assumed by Jerome, Lucif. 8, 9, it is described by Ambrose for Milan, Sacr. 2.24; 3.1, 8, Myst. 29 f., 42, and this was probably also the original situation in Spain, Conc.Elib. (305) 38, 77, Pacian Ep. 1.6; 3.3, Bapt. 6, Conc. Tolet. (400) 20. We quote only a canon from the first Council of Orange since it shows to what extent in Gaul one remained conscious of the connection between the anointing with chrism and the postponed imposition of hands. The custom of anointing only once is retained and therefore, when the priest has not anointed after baptism, the bishop is obliged to use chrism at the imposition of hands: *nullum ministrorum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel chrismari. de eo autem, qui in baptismate quacumque necessitate faciente non chrismatus fuerit, in confirmatione sacerdos commonebitur. nam inter quoslibet chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est: non ut praeiudicans quidquam, sed ut non necessaria habeatur repetita chrismatio* Conc.Araus. (441) 2. A repetition of the anointing is not considered necessary. The motivation of this is given by *chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio*. Since *benedictio* is a

technical term for the imposition of hands, it is propounded that there is only one anointing anywhere, whether it is repeated or not, and in either case the imposition of hands is connected with it.¹

Egypt. – The terminology of the postbaptismal rite in the Egyptian authors presents fewer complications, since we find the three names used for only one rite.

Clement of Alexandria, for the rest, gives hardly any information. Nowhere does he mention an imposition of hands in this connection, but in a few passages which may refer to the postbaptismal anointing he uses *χρίειν* and *χρῖσμα*. After dealing with baptismal rebirth he refers to the anointing which grants incorruptibility and fragrancy: *χρίσω ὑμᾶς τῷ πίστεως ἀλείμματι, δι' οὗ τὴν φθορὰν ἀποβάλλετε* Protr. 120.5, *τὸ ἀειθαλὲς εὐφροσύνης <καὶ> ἀκήρατον εὐωδίας ἐπαλειφώμεθα χρῖσμα* Paed. 1.98.3, cf. 1.84.3, Strom. 3.103.2. Clement interchanges these terms with derivatives of *ἀλείφειν*. He may therefore refer to the prebaptismal anointing as well or, probably, does not intend to use the technical terms at all.

The terms *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν* in Clement probably always refer to baptism.² It may even be that he wishes to reserve them for this rite and therefore uses *χαρακτήρ* for the postbaptismal anointing in a passage where *σφραγίς* would have been quite appropriate. He calls the oil of acceptance through which the Holy Spirit enters the soul not a 'seal' but a 'mark' of righteousness; like a sacred tally it aids the Christian to pass the stern guards on his journey to paradise: *σύμβολον ἅγιον τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν φωτεινὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἀγγέλοις. τὸ χρῖσμα τῆς εὐαρεστήσεως λέγω, ποιότητα τῆς διαθέσεως τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῇ ψυχῇ κατ' ἐπιχώρησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος γεγανωμένη* Strom. 4.116.2. Clement does not, as Coppens presumes, think of the possession of the Spirit as an indelible mark in the soul.³ If it could not be lost, it would also help sinful Christians to pass. For the rest, it may even be doubted whether Clement wishes to refer to a material anointing.

Elsewhere Clement at least refers to a gift of the Spirit which is distinct from baptism: *ἐπεισρέοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* Paed. 1.28.1, *ἀλλ' οὐδέπω, φασίν, ἀπέληφεν τὴν τελείαν δωρεάν* ib. 1.28.3.⁴

Origen terms the postbaptismal rite an imposition of hands in reference to the New Testament: *deinde idcirco per impositionem*

¹ Cf. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Le deuxième canon du Concile d'Orange de 441 sur la chrismation*, Rech Théol Anc Méd 9, 1939, p. 97 ff., and see below, p. 387

² See p. 395 ff

³ *Op cit.*, p. 327

⁴ See also p. 73

manuum apostolorum post baptismi gratiam et renouationem sanctus spiritus tradebatur (Acts 8.18) Princ. 1.3.7, cf. 1.3.2, In Matth. fr. 52. Elsewhere he uses the terms for anointing: *quamuis . . . omnes baptizati simus in aquis istis uisibilibus et in chrismate uisibili* In Rom. 5.8, cf. In Lev. 6.5; 8.11. Contrary to the current linguistic usage the effect of the anointing is also termed an indwelling of the Spirit: *χρῖσμα ἐστὶν ἐνοίκησις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* Sel. in Ez. 16, cf. In Lev. 8.11, In Jo. 9.33.169.

For the seal as a term for this rite in Origen we may perhaps refer to a passage in which he postulates that in order to qualify after this life for a purification through baptism in fire one must have retained the *signum* of the baptisms in water and in the Spirit: *habet signum priorum baptismatum . . . aquae et spiritus lauacra seruasse* In Luc. 24.¹ It is no longer possible to make out from the Latin word whether Origen has spoken of a baptismal and postbaptismal σφραγίς or used another term as did Clement in Strom. 4.116.2.

It is not until Theognostus that we find evidence of σφραγίς as a term for the gift of the Spirit in Alexandria. This author distinguishes between the imperfect, to whom the Son speaks, and the perfect who possess the Spirit as a seal: *τοῖς δὲ τελειουμένοις συγγίνεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον . . . τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σφραγίς ἐστὶ τῶν τελειουμένων* fr. 3.

In the fourth century the terms for the imposition of hands are still used with reference to biblical texts. Athanasius freely quotes Acts 8.18: *ἐνθεν οὖν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ἀναγεννωμένοις τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* Ep. ad Serap. 1.6. On the other hand, *χρίειν* and derivatives are generally current, and also σφραγίς and derivatives. The oil is not called *μύρον* but *ἐλαιον* or *χρῖσμα*. We quote only the prayer for the consecration of the oil, preserved by Serapion: *ἵνα οἱ βαπτισθέντες καὶ χριόμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ σημείου τοῦ σωτηριώδους σταυροῦ . . . μέτοχοι γένωνται τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀσφαλισθέντες τῇ σφραγιδι ταύτῃ διαμείνωσιν . . . ἀβλαβεῖς* Euch. 25.2, cf. Athanasius Ep. ad Serap. 1.23, Didymus the Blind Trin. 2.1, 14.

The terms for the imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing all refer to the gift of the Spirit and we must consider them a triple name for one ceremony. Just because the imposition of hands is not an independent rite this name falls into disuse. It is normal to speak of an anointing or to call this anointing a sealing since it was done in the form of a cross. We hear nothing of a complete anointing of the body after baptism, nor of the complications to which such a custom elsewhere had

¹ See also p. 74 f. and 397.

given rise. From this we may deduce that the rite in Egypt was early confined to a partial anointing.

Palestine. — Our earliest sources for Jerusalem are the Catecheses of Cyril and the Mystagogical Catecheses attributed to him. The post-baptismal rite is again only termed an imposition of hands with reference to biblical usage: καὶ Πέτρος διὰ χειροθεσίας δίδωσι τὸ πνεῦμα (cf. Acts 8.18) Cat. 16.26, cf. 14.25; 17.25, 30. Normally χρίειν is used to refer to the rite as an anointing which appears to have been performed on forehead, ears, nose, and breast; the oil is called χρίσμα, μύρον, and ἔλαιον: πρῶτον ἐχρίσθη ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον. . . ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν. . . μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ στήθη Cat. Myst. 3.4, περὶ βαπτίσματος καὶ χρίσματος ib. 5.1, ὑμεῖς δὲ μύρω ἐχρίσθητε ib. 3.2. The terms σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν, although more frequently used for baptism,¹ may also refer to the gift of the Spirit: ὅπως ἡ σφραγίς ὑμῶν ἐδόθη τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Cat. 18.33. With reference to Ps. 22.5 it is said that Christ anoints the forehead for the sake of the seal; by this anointing the candidate receives an impression of the seal of God: ἔλαιω ἔλιπανέ σοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ μετώπου διὰ τὴν σφραγιδα ἣν ἔχεις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα γένη ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος, ἁγιασμα θεοῦ (Ex. 28.36) Cat. Myst. 4.7.

We have again the three names for one rite of anointing which remains confined to head and the sense-organs. We may therefore assume that, just as in Egypt, complications were avoided by the early abandoning of the complete anointing of the body.

The same development is possible although not certain in Epiphanius of Salamis. He employs χειροθεσία with reference to biblical usage: Φίλιππος διάκονος ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τῆς χειροθεσίας τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς δίδόναι πνεῦμα ἅγιον Haer. 21.1.4. He may thus know that the gift of the Spirit is conferred by a distinct rite, although elsewhere he seems to connect the bath and the gift: καταξιωθήσονται <τῆς> πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ [τῆς] δωρεᾶς ib. 51.20.6.

Eastern Syria. — For the development of the postbaptismal rite in Syria one passage from the Didascalia is of particular importance. The writer intends to show the usefulness of the deaconess by pointing out the task which she fulfils at the administration of baptism. In the Latin rendering by Funk the old Syriac version of the Greek original reads: *nam et in multis aliis rebus necessarius est locus mulieris diaconissae. primo cum mulieres in aquam descendunt, a diaconissa oleo unctionis (mšh' dmšyhwt') ungentae sunt (mšh) in aquam descendentes. et ubi mulier ac praesertim diaconissa non inuenitur, baptizantem oportet*

¹ See p. 398.

ungere (mšh) eam, quae baptizatur. ubi uero mulier est ac praesertim diaconissa, mulieres non decet conspici a uiris; praeterquam in manus impositione (sym ʾydʾ) ungas (mšh) caput solum, quemadmodum olim sacerdotes ac reges in Israel ungebantur (mšh). et tu iuxta hanc similitudinem in manus impositione (sym ʾydʾ) ungas (mšh) caput eorum, qui baptismum accipiunt, siue uirorum siue mulierum; ac postea, cum tu baptizas uel cum diaconis praecipis baptizare uel presbyteris, diaconissa, ut praediximus, ungat (mšh) mulieres, uir autem pronuntiet super eas nomina inuocationis deitatis in aqua. et cum ascendit ex aqua, quae baptizatur, eam suscipiat diaconissa ac doceat et erudiat, infragile esse sigillum (htmʾ) baptismi in castitate et in sanctitate. propterea dicimus ualde desiderari et maxime necessarium esse ministerium mulieris diaconissae Didasc. 3.12.2 ff.

The difficulty is that the writer does not intend to describe the baptismal rite but assumes it to be familiar to his readers. On the descent into the water an anointing takes place which is begun by the bishop with an imposition of hands and which for the female candidates must be completed by the deaconess. According to the current assumption the writer of the Didascalia is only familiar with this one anointing by the bishop and the deaconess. His ritual then consists merely of anointing and baptism as it was customary in Eastern Syria.

It appears to us that this explanation does not attribute enough significance to the words: *ac postea, cum tu baptizas. ., diaconissa, ut praediximus, ungat mulieres* Didasc. 3.12.3. If one contrasts *postea*, which goes back to a Greek ἐπειτα preserved in Const. 3.16.4, with the bishop's imposition of hands at the prebaptismal anointing, then the writer is mentioning once again an anointing by the deaconess which she begins after this imposition. In any case the writer intimates that the deaconess now anoints during baptism, whereas she first anointed at the descent into the water. It therefore seems preferable to place *postea* in contrast with this *primo*, preserved in Const. 3.16.2 as πρῶτον, for the first anointing: *primo cum mulieres in aquam descendunt, a diaconissa oleo unctionis ungentae sunt in aquam descendentes* Didasc. 3.12.2. If this is correct, the author is aware that a distinction must be made between an anointing by the deaconess at the descent into the water and one during baptism, even though this distinction may easily have become obscured in practice. This alters the meaning which must be attributed to *ut praediximus*. The writer now means that the same holds good for the second anointing as for the first: once again, for

modesty's sake, a deaconess or another woman must anoint the female candidates.

The writer's expressly propounded principle that the women must not be seen by men may now explain the peculiarities in the ritual. The candidates did probably not remove their clothing until after the imposition of hands by the bishop in the oil which was poured over their heads. The women must now immediately descend into the water, being thus hidden from view, and it is the writer's desire that the complete prebaptismal anointing should not begin until after the descent has begun. The originally postbaptismal anointing must also be performed while the women are standing in the water, i.e. during baptism, so that they can be met by the deaconess immediately after leaving the water and helped with dressing. The detail of the double anointing by the deaconess now explains how in the East Syrian ritual the postbaptismal anointing could gradually become incorporated in the prebaptismal.

For the rest, this passage of the Didascalia does not offer much information concerning the terminology of the postbaptismal rite. We might suppose $\chi\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ for the second anointing by the deaconess, but the Greek verb has disappeared in Const. 3.16.4. Terms for an imposition of hands or anointing by which the bishop confers the Spirit do not occur. One might assume from *ut praediximus* that the anointing during baptism, like that during the descent, also began with an imposition of hands by the bishop but this is probably more than the writer intended to say. Where the prebaptismal anointing and the postbaptismal threatened to coincide, it was perhaps no longer customary to repeat the pouring out of the oil at the beginning of the second anointing. One may, therefore, wonder whether the postbaptismal anointing, as performed by the minister, was still distinct from the custom of the minister placing his hand upon the head of the candidate during the triple immersion. Elsewhere the writer probably refers to this baptismal imposition of hands with $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ and $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ as the rite which effects both the adoptive sonship and the gift of the Spirit, Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3; 2.33.2. In the same manner other writers from Eastern Syria link the gift of the Spirit with the act of baptism.¹

Western Syria. – The attempt to link the postbaptismal anointing with the act of baptism as observed in the Didascalia is equally on the basis of the liturgies in Western Syria. There, however, the postbaptismal anointing was either incorporated in the prebaptismal or

¹ See p. 376 f.

continued to exist as a second prebaptismal anointing. Moreover, χρίειν, σφραγίζειν, and μύρον come into use for a new postbaptismal anointing and sealing. This development can be observed from the end of the fourth century onwards.

In his Antioch period John Chrysostom is familiar with a double prebaptismal anointing, whereas he connects the gift of the Spirit with the act of baptism.¹ No trace can be detected of a distinct postbaptismal rite.

Theodore of Mopsuestia's ritual differs from that of Chrysostom and dates therefore, as we have suggested, from his time in Mopsuestia.² He knows of a distinct postbaptismal rite which confers the Holy Spirit. To judge from the old Syriac version the technical term for this was σφραγίζειν: 'The priest draws nigh and signs (*ršm*) you on your forehead and says: So-and-so is signed (*ršm*) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' Hom. 14.27 p. 68 M. It is very possible that after the transposition of the postbaptismal anointing only a sealing of the forehead remained but, in that case, Theodore is extremely conscious that this sealing, as a rite conferring the Spirit, takes place in the oil which has previously been applied to the forehead: 'When the priest signs (*ršm*) you he says: So-and-so is signed (*ršm*) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so that it may be a sign (ʾ) and an indication to you that it is in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit that the Holy Spirit descended on you also, and you were anointed (*mšh*) and received (Him) by grace' ib. 14.27 p. 68 M.³

The author of the Apostolic Constitutions employs in addition to the text of the Didascalia χρίειν and μύρον for a postbaptismal anointing: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χριέτω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ Const. 3.16.4. Since he connects the gift of the Spirit with the prebaptismal anointing he can only attribute secondary meanings to the anointing with myron, and in this he agrees once again with Theodoret of Cyrrhus.⁴ The postbaptismal anointing is now said to be a 'confirmation of the confession' and a 'seal of the contracts': τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας ib. 3.17.1, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγίς τῶν συνθηκῶν ib. 7.22.2; it causes the fragrance of Christ to remain with the baptized: χρισάτω

¹ See p. 314 f. and p. 378.

² See p. 315 f.

³ Cf. W. DE VRIES, *Der 'Nestorianismus' Theodors von Mopsuestia in seiner Sakramentlehre*, Or.Chr.Per. 7, 1941, p. 132 f.

⁴ See p. 6.

μύρω ἐπίλεγων· Κύριε.. τοῦτο τὸ μύρον δὸς ἐνεργὲς γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ βαπτίζομένῳ, ὥστε βεβαίαν καὶ πάγιον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐωδίαν μεῖναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ib. 7.44.I f.

In a passage already dealt with, Theodoret of Cyrrihus uses χριέν, σφραγίζειν, and μύρον for the postbaptismal anointing without being able to indicate its meaning as the rite by which the Spirit is conferred.¹ It is said to be a reminder of Christ's sepulture: τῷ μύρω σφραγίζόμεθα ὕστερον... τῷ δὲ μύρω (sc. χριόμεθα) πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τὴν χρίσιν τοῦ μύρου ἐνταφιασμὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογιζομένου Quaest. 137. Elsewhere he connects the gift of the Spirit with the baptismal imposition of hands.² Yet he says in his earliest exegetical work that the anointing with myron confers the 'spiritual grace' or 'grace of the Spirit': μύρον δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ τὴν πνευματικὴν χάριν, ἧς πλήρης ὑπάρχων.. ἡμῖν δέδωκεν In Cant. 1.2. The expression is not technical for the 'gift of the Spirit' but may recall the proper significance of the rite.

Asia Minor. – The second century data led us to assume that the close connection between bath and anointing caused the correct interpretation of the postbaptismal rite to become obscured in Asia Minor as well,³ and what little information may be obtained from the following period confirms this.

In Methodius of Olympus the terms for the postbaptismal imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing do not occur; on the other hand he has non-technical expressions for a gift of the Spirit which is not distinguished from the effects of baptism in water: τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου μετασχεῖν τινα καὶ μέλος καταλεχθῆναι Χριστοῦ Symp. 3.8, κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Χριστὸν βεβαπτισμένων ib. 8.8.

In his letter to Cyprian Firmilian of Caesarea identifies the imposition of hands for the reconciliation of heretics with the postbaptismal imposition of hands: *et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi habent potestatem* Ep. 75.7, *per solam manus inpositionem uenientibus haereticis dare spiritum sanctum* ib. 75.8. This agreement with the African standpoint is more easily understood if in Caesarea the postbaptismal imposition of hands was performed without an anointing. This is then probably not as in Africa the result of a postponing of the imposition of hands but of the transposition of the anointing. The ritual of Caesarea in Cappadocia may thus have had many points in common with that of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.

In the fourth century one of the canons of Laodicea uses χριέν for

¹ See p. 318.

² See p. 379.

³ See p. 350 f.

the postbaptismal anointing and its purport seems to prescribe the rite in case it is not yet practised: ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα χρίσθαι χρίσματι ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ μετόχους εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Conc.Laod. (c. 341-381) 48. Again the proper meaning of the rite is not indicated.

The Cappadocian Fathers employ χρίειν for a postbaptismal anointing with an oil which is called χρίσμα and μύρον, but there are still equivocal expressions for the gift of the Spirit as the effect of this rite. We quote only Basil the Great: χρίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν χρίσματι ἁγίῳ, ἵνα μέτοχος γένη Χριστοῦ Jej. 1.2, cf. In Ps. 44.8, Gregory of Nazianzus: σημειωθείς καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα τῷ χρίσματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι Or. 40.15, cf. 40.4, and Gregory of Nyssa: τῷ μέλλοντι αὐτοῦ (i.e. Χριστοῦ) διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἄπτεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προσεντυγχάνειν διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς τῷ μύρῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι μέρος ὃ γυμνόν ἐστι τοῦ πνεύματος Maced. 16.

Concluding remarks. – From many texts in early Christian literature it became clear that the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing originally refer to only one gesture as the rite by which the Spirit is conferred. This linguistic fact, in conjunction with the practical consideration that for reasons of decency the ritual could not be maintained in its original form, have given us a better insight into the development both of the terminology and of the ritual itself.

In the East the terms for the imposition of hands fall into disuse but may still be employed with reference to biblical usage. In the West, however, outside Rome, the terms remain current since the imposition of hands without anointing is postponed until the candidate is dressed. That this imposition of hands is connected with the preceding anointing is put forward in Gaul. In Rome, on the other hand, the postbaptismal anointing and sealing is still called an imposition of hands in the descriptions of the ceremony given in the Apostolic Tradition and the Gelasian Sacramentary. These facts may have kept alive the consciousness that the three traditional names essentially refer to one rite. Later Bede put this into words: *quatenus fideles omnes cum impositione manus sacerdotalis, qua spiritus sanctus accipitur, hac unctione signentur* In Cant. 2, *illa unctio quae per manus impositionem fit ab episcopo et uulgo confirmatio dicitur* In Ps. 26. Other authors in the early Middle Ages and later share this point of view. The texts have been assembled by theologians who based upon them the supposition that of old the rite of the imposition of hands was comprised in the anointing but the theory was abandoned for lack of linguistic evidence.¹

¹ Cf., for example, UMBERG, *op.cit.*, p. 149 n. 1.

The verb *χρίειν* and derivatives, but not *ἀλείφειν*, are the technical terms for the postbaptismal anointing with an oil which is called *χρῖσμα*, *μύρον*, and sometimes *έλαιον*. The Holy Spirit also is called metaphorically *χρῖσμα* and *μύρον*. The rite originally consisted of a complete anointing which began with the pouring of the oil over the head. In Rome this pouring out of the oil was postponed, together with the imposition of hands, until after the candidate had dressed, so that the terms are now used for a double postbaptismal anointing. Whereas in Egypt and Palestine the rite is confined to a partial anointing, in Syria and Asia Minor an attempt was made to link the anointing so closely with the bath that it was either incorporated in the prebaptismal anointing or persisted as a second prebaptismal anointing. In Western Syria and perhaps also in Asia Minor this led moreover to the introduction of a new postbaptismal anointing.

The terms are used for a material anointing compared with the Old Testament anointings of priests, kings, and prophets, but also with the non-material anointing of Christ. Thus the Christians derive their name *χριστιανοί* from Christ and also from the anointing with chrism. The similarity between the anointing of the Christians and of Christ lies in the conferring of the Spirit and in two secondary aspects, the fragrantcy and incorruptibility, which are conferred upon both Christ and the faithful. Ignatius says in this connection that the anointing of Christ was performed with myron, Ep. 17.1, and this idea possibly explains why soon fragrant oil came to be used for the postbaptismal anointing, according to Irenaeus already in the second century among the Marcosians, Haer. 1.21.3 f., and later generally throughout Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and the West.

The use of *σφραγίς* and derivatives goes back to Paul although the development is difficult to follow during the second century. In the third century it can be either a continuation of the Pauline usage or the ordinary name for the sign of the cross with which the anointing has come to be performed. The metaphorical use of the terms is based upon the idea that the Christian is marked, seldom that an agreement is confirmed, as with a seal. Hence *σφραγίς* becomes a name for the Holy Ghost who is both the sealing instrument and the seal impression.

The effect proper of the postbaptismal rite is the conferring of the Holy Spirit. The New Testament expressions *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχεῖν*, *διδόναι*, *λαμβάνειν*, remain current in this sense but from the second century onwards the close association of bath and anointing in Syria and Asia Minor leads writers from these regions to use a number of non-technical

and equivocal expressions from which it appears that the gift of the Spirit is no longer known as the effect of a distinct rite.¹

(3) The ordination rite. – After the examination of the reconciliation rite and the postbaptismal rite we may now be able to trace a distinction between the use of the terms for imposition of hands to refer to these rites and to the ordination rite.

The second century. – The examination of the terms for the imposition of hands as an ordination rite in the second century is complicated by the fact that the meaning of the terms *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* to refer to the local authorities appointed by this rite is still in process of development. A study of these terms, however, confirms our findings for the New Testament period.²

Clement of Rome distinguishes deacons and overseers as the lower and higher local authorities appointed by the apostles: *εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους* 1 Clem. 42.4, cf. 42.5. The use of *ἐπίσκοποι* in the plural indicates that here the same ministers are referred to as in the New Testament, Phil. 1.1, Acts 20.28, and in Did. 15.1. The local authorities are also called *ἡγούμενοι* and *προηγούμενοι*, which may refer particularly to the higher authorities although not necessarily to the exclusion of the lower: *ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν* 1 Clem. 1.3, *τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν* ib. 21.6. The apostles knew that discord would arise about the office of overseer: *περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* ib. 44.1, cf. 44.4, but where Clement speaks of the rebellion at Corinth he always calls the local authorities *πρεσβύτεροι*: *οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν..οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους* ib. 3.3, *στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους* ib. 47.6, *ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις* ib. 57.1, cf. 1.3; 21.6. The explanation of this is that Clement demands respect for the authority because the presbyters are 'elders', whereas the rebels are denounced as 'youths'. In these texts therefore the *πρεσβύτεροι* are not an age group but the local authorities considered as a college of elders. This does not necessarily exclude the deacons.

The use of the terms *ἐπίσκοποι* and *πρεσβύτεροι* does not convey the impossibility that one authority occupied the highest position in the college of elders. Clement himself is proof that in Rome at least such a leader existed. Had his Corinthian colleague been an equally forceful personality the crisis would probably not have occurred at all. That the man is not mentioned may be due to the actual situation; it was perhaps merely a method of sparing him.

¹ For the postbaptismal rite in early Christian art, see p. 384.

² See p. 271 ff. and the literature mentioned there.

Hermas still uses the same terminology as Clement. He distinguishes *διάκονοι* and *ἐπίσκοποι* who care for the needy and dispense hospitality, Past. 103.2; 104.2. The apostles and teachers are people from the past, ib. 93.5; 102.2, but the deacons and overseers are listed together with them: *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι* ib. 13.1. The local authorities together form the college of presbyters. It does not appear that the overseers belong to it to the exclusion of the deacons. Hermas has to deliver to the presbyters a booklet dealing with penance: *τὸ βιβλίον δέδωκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις* ib. 8.2, and he must read it aloud with them: *σὺ δὲ ἀναγνώσῃ . . . μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προϊσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας* ib. 8.3, cf. 9.8. They are also called: *τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας* ib. 6.6; 17.7. There is still no separate term for a one-headed administration of the college but this authority does exist in the person of Clement who is responsible for the dispatch of the booklet dealing with penance, ib. 8.3.

Polycarp of Smyrna uses the term *πρεσβύτεροι* in a wider sense: *Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι* Ep.Phil. inscr. There is at least no reason to assume that the deacons are here excluded. On the other hand it appears from Polycarp's wording that he considers himself to belong to the presbyters. This does not involve that a one-headed administration of the community was still unknown in Smyrna, for Polycarp's wording makes it equally clear that he considers himself in this capacity to be distinct from the other presbyters.

For the rest, Polycarp also appears to be familiar with the use of the term *πρεσβύτερος* in the narrower sense as a name for the higher local authorities to the exclusion of the deacons. He resumes separately the virtues which must be possessed by the deacons, ib. 5.2, and by the presbyters, ib. 6.1, cf. 11.1; they constitute two classes of local authorities which must be obeyed: *ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις* ib. 5.3. Consequently the presbyters and deacons whom Polycarp by now assumes to exist at Philippi are the equivalents of the overseers and deacons who were there at the time of Paul, according to Phil. 1.1. The only difference is one of terminology.

Through the replacement of the term *ἐπίσκοποι* by *πρεσβύτεροι* in the narrower sense, the singular *ἐπίσκοπος* is free to become the name for the person who is the head of the combined local authorities. It is very possible that this usage was still unknown to Polycarp but the fact that the term does not occur in the beginning of his letter is by no means a proof of this.

Ignatius of Antioch meanwhile already shows this following stage

in the development. He distinguishes the *διάκονοι* from the *πρεσβύτεροι*, and equally the *πρεσβύτεροι* from the *ἐπίσκοπος*. In his first three letters written at Smyrna the deacons are sometimes absent from the list of local authorities which may mean that they are still included among the *πρεσβύτεροι* or the *πρεσβυτέριον*: *ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ* Eph. 2.2, cf. 4.1; 20.2, Magn. 3.1; 6.2; 7.1, Trall. 13.2. On the other hand, the deacons are mentioned separately already in Magn. 2.1; 6.1; 13.1, Trall. 2.2 f., 3.1; 7.2, and always in the letters written at Troas, Phil. inscr., 4; 7.1; 10.1, Smyrn. 8.1; 12.2, Pol. 6.1.

Ignatius emphatically reserves the term *ἐπίσκοπος* for the monarchic head of the community. This fits in with the assumption that in actual fact the monarchic leadership was known elsewhere as well as in Antioch but not yet the use of the term *ἐπίσκοπος* to refer to this function nor the theological reflections on the meaning of the office.¹

We found a one-headed leadership in the communities of Rome and Smyrna just as well as in Antioch and it is reasonable to assume that from the very beginning someone in the college of presbyters or among the overseers in the community became head, even if only for practical reasons. James fulfils this function among the presbyters in Jerusalem, Acts 21.18. Another indication may be provided by the use of *ἐπίσκοπος* in the singular in 1 Tim. 3.2, Tit. 1.7, possibly for a monarchic leader assisted only by deacons.²

One may now suppose that the monarchic bishop received the same ordination as the higher local authorities or rather one comparable with that of the higher authorities who in the New Testament are not yet attached to a local community.

Be this as it may, it is clear that the rise of the term *πρεσβύτερος* in Jerusalem and of *ἐπίσκοπος* in the diaspora in the apostolic and post-apostolic periods cannot be explained by the assumption that there was originally a contrast between a presbyterial and episcopal administration of the communities which gradually merged into one. In actual fact, only a differentiation arose between the meanings of the

¹ It is surely not by chance that Ignatius, in his letter to the Romans, maintains a complete silence concerning this subject so dear to his heart. The explanation may be found in Ignatius' doctrine itself. As a man with a bent towards unity, to use his own words, Phil. 8.1, he strongly emphasizes the unity of the community about the bishop, but he is not certain how to deal with the attitude of the separate communities towards that of Rome. Here he could have drawn the conclusion from his doctrine but instead he attacks the problem of the relationship only in an indefinite manner, Rom. inscr., and passes over his beloved subject in silence.

² See p. 275.

two terms, resulting from the need for unambiguous names for functions which had long been in existence.¹

Only one second century text mentions the imposition of hands as an ordination rite. The Acts of Peter assume that Christ ordained the apostles in this manner: *uos quibus et manus inposuit, quos et elegit* Act.Petr.Sim. 10. Without mentioning the rite, however, Clement of Rome employs καθιστάναι for the appointment of overseers and deacons, and of presbyters, by the apostles or by other men of repute. He rightly uses this verb for it is his intention to distinguish between the appointment by higher authorities and the consent of the community: καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν . . . εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους I Clem. 42.4, cf. 43.1; 44.2, τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἔλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης ib. 44.3, τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων ib. 54.2.

From the third century onwards. – In the texts dating from the third century and later both καθιστάναι and χειροτονεῖν are technical terms for the appointment of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, although the latter gradually becomes the more popular. The rite is referred to as an imposition of hands by χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι and derivatives. The Latin equivalents are *ordinare*, *manum imponere*, and *manus impositio*.²

In the West Tertullian employs *ordinare* when in speaking to the heretics he appeals to the apostolic succession: *sicut Smyrnaeorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Iohanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum est* Praescr. 32.2, cf. 41.6. He makes no mention of the rite itself.

Cyprian distinguishes between the election of the bishop and his ordination: *episcopo Cornelio . . . cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato* Ep. 68.2. In a letter to the clergy and faithful of Spain he establishes that there the imposition of hands as an ordination rite is applied in the same way: *quod et apud uos factum uidemus in Sabini collegae nostri ordinatione, ut . . . manus ei in locum Basilidis inponeretur* Ep. 67.5.

The singular *manus* must be considered as forming part of the fixed expression in *manum imponere* and *manus impositio*. It is not obvious from Cyprian whether the gesture was indeed performed with one hand or whether *manus* is a collective singular for a gesture with two hands.³

¹ Cf. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *op.cit.*, p. 84, and BORNKAMM, *art.cit.*, p. 675.

² Numerous texts in G. M. VAN ROSSUM, *De essentia sacramenti Ordinis*, Freiburg i.B. 1914.

³ See p. 227 f.

The latter seems the more probable since Augustine still uses the plural in a less technical expression: *ego autem nullo modo adducerer ei homini . . . manus ordinationis inponere* Ep. 78.3. The African Church then retained the gesture as a 'leaning on' of both hands.

In Rome Hippolytus used καθιστάναι and χειροτονεῖν for the ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The choice of terms is evident from the transliteration in the old Coptic (Sahidic) version and from the adaptation in the Apostolic Constitutions and the Epitome of the Apostolic Constitutions: *episcopus ordinetur electus ab omni populo* Trad. 2.1, cf. 2.5, ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι . . . ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλελεγμένον Const. 8.4.2, Epit. 3.2, *cum autem praesbyter ordinatur* (καθιστάναι C.) Trad. 8.1, cf. 9.2, 8, πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν Const. 8.16.2, Epit. 5.2, *diaconus uero cum ordinatur* (καθιστάναι C.), *eligatur* Trad. 9.1, cf. 9.5, διάκονον καταστήσεις Const. 8.17.2, Epit. 7.2.

Hippolytus, for the rest, reserves χειροτονεῖν 'to ordain' for these three ordinations, whereas καθιστάναι 'to appoint' is also used for the appointment of other ministers: 'The reader is appointed (καθιστάναι C.) by the bishop's handing him the book. For he is not ordained (χειροτονεῖν C.)' Trad. 12, cf. 10.1 f., 11.1 ff., 13. Here the Apostolic Constitutions order an imposition of hands but the Epitome disputes this: ἀναγνώστην προχειρίσαι ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα Const. 8.22.2, ἀναγνώστης καθίσταται, ἐπιδιδόντος αὐτῷ βιβλίον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθετεῖται Epit. 13.

One might expect that Hippolytus, in keeping with the nature of his writing, accurately described the gesture by χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι and did not use χειροθετεῖν. The Latin version now says that at the ordination of a bishop those bishops present lay on 'their hands', after which one of them lays on 'his hand' while the ordination prayer is pronounced: *inponant super eum manus . . . ex quibus unus de praesentibus episcopis ab omnibus rogatus inponens manum ei qui ordinatur episcopus oret* Trad. 2.3 ff.¹ The singular recurs at the ordination of presbyters: *inponat manum super caput eius episcopus* ib. 8.1, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει Const. 8.16.2, Epit. 5.2, and the plural in the ordination of deacons: *inponens manus episcopus . . . inponat manus* Trad. 9.1, ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας Const. 8.17.2, Epit. 7.2, cf. Trad. 10, 14 f., Const. 8.19.2; 8.21.2; 8.46.9, Epit. 9.2; 11.2.

The use of the plural for the ordination of deacons is a deviation from the fixed expression which cannot easily be explained as a re-

¹ This must be seen as only one imposition of hands which is continued by the bishop who pronounces the prayer of consecration.

version to biblical usage. It is rather intended to indicate that in this case the gesture is really performed with both hands. For the ordination of bishops and priests one may now explain the interchange of the singular and the plural by assuming either a gesture with two hands and a collective singular, or a gesture with one hand and a distributive plural. In the first case the rite has undergone a change, in the second the writer, or at least the Latin translator, has not accurately indicated how the gesture was performed. In both cases it is now probable that in Rome little attention was paid to this detail of the ritual.

At the ordination of a presbyter the presbyters present lay on their hands after the bishop: *super praesbyterum autem etiam praesbyteri superinponant manus propter communem et similem cleri spiritum* Trad. 9.6. The gesture is also referred to as a touching: *contigentibus etiam praesbyteris* ib. 8.1. This may indicate that the gesture was performed with one hand and certainly not in the form of a cross. The object *manus* is a distributive plural in a non-technical expression.

Later writers from Rome and Italy regularly employ the singular as forming part of the fixed expression. Pope Cornelius uses it for the ordination of Novatian in a letter preserved in Cyprian's correspondence: *ei manum quasi in episcopatum inponi* Ep. 49.1, and in a letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, preserved by Eusebius: τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρα εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κληρον Hist. 6.43.17, similarly Innocent I: *per illam manus impositionem* Ep. 17.3.7, and Jerome even with reference to 1 Tim. 5.22: *ad impositionem impletur manus* In Is. 58.10, cf. Ambrosiaster In Tim. 4.14. In order to express his disapproval of the ordination of Novatian Cornelius coins a new noun: εἰκονικῆ τιμὴ καὶ ματαιὰ χειροπεθεσία ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ap. Eus.Hist. 6.43.9.

In Egypt Clement of Alexandria has χειροτονεῖν for the ordination rite: οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων χειροτονούμενος Strom. 6.106.2. Dionysius of Alexandria says of his own ordination and that of his predecessor: πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως ap. Eus.Hist. 7.9.2. In Serapion the prayers for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops are called: χειροθεσία καταστάσεως Euch. 26 tit. The second of these prayers begins with the words: τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνουμεν ib. 27.1. This may be an indication that the gesture was performed with one hand. The plural ἐκτείνουμεν is customary in these prayers and cannot be considered, as suggested by Funk, as an indication that the presbyters present also lay on their hands.¹

¹ *Didascalia et Constitutiones*, Paderborn 1905, II p 189.

For Syria and Palestine we may refer to the Clementine literature which provides instances for the use of both plural and singular at the ordination of a bishop: τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθείς Ep.Clem. 19.1, ἐπέθηγεν χεῖρα τῷ Ζακχαίῳ Clem.Hom. 3.72.1. Eusebius has the plural, possibly under biblical influence or in the distributive sense, for the ordination of the seven deacons: δι' εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων Hist. 2.1.1, or because several bishops lay on their hands at the ordination of Origen: χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασιν ib. 6.8.4, but he also uses it without further motive for an episcopal ordination performed by the bishop of Caesarea: χεῖρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτέθεικεν ib. 7.32.21, so that he is probably still thinking of a gesture performed with two hands. Later, however, Theodoret of Cyrrhus uses the singular in a non-technical expression and even speaks of the right hand when the candidate sees that a heretical bishop lays on his hand with the others: ἐπειδὴ.. τὸν Λούκιον εἶδεν ἐπιθεῖναι οἱ τὴν χεῖρα πειρώμενον· Μὴ γένοιτο, ἔφη, παρὰ τῆς σῆς με χειροτονηθῆναι χειρὸς Hist.Eccl. 4.23.2, ἐπειδὴ στραφεὶς εἶδε τὸν Ἰοβῖνον τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπιτιθέντα τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀπεσείσατό τε τὴν χεῖρα ib. 4.15.10, cf. Hist.Rel. 19.

From the fourth century onwards texts from Asia Minor and Constantinople provide many non-technical expressions from which it appears that the ordination rite was performed with one hand. For this reason, in a canon of the Nicene Council, the singular of the technical expression for a gesture performed by several bishops can already be understood in this sense: τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χεῖρα ἐπιτεθείκασι Conc.Nic. (325) 9. Later Basil has the expressions: ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Φαῦστον.. ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ Ep. 122, and: τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιβολήν ib. 240.3, Gregory of Nazianzus: τὴν χεῖρα δίδωσι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Or. 43.78, Gregory of Nyssa: τὸ μὴ ἀλῶναι ποτε τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ἱερέως Vit.Greg.Thaum. 909a. With reference to the ordination of the seven deacons Chrysostom says in a homily delivered at Constantinople: ἡ χεὶρ ἐπίκειται τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ χεὶρ ἔστιν ἡ ἀπτομένη τῆς κεφαλῆς In Act. 14.3, and in another homily delivered in the same city he even says that the laying on of hands now takes place in the form of a cross: χειροτονία διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ In Phil. 13. One may compare with this a late apocryphal text in which the ordination of Aristoclian is called a sealing: ὃν καὶ ἐσφράγισε Παῦλος.. εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Act.Barn. 20.

Concluding remarks. – We may conclude that in Africa the laying on of hands as an ordination rite probably remained a gesture performed with two hands, indicated by the collective singular *manus*. This is perhaps also true of some ordinations in Rome but there little attention

was paid to this detail. In the East this gesture was later performed with one hand and in Constantinople at least this appears to have led to the introduction of the sign of the cross. Until this occurs, the ordination rite is distinguished from the other impositions of hands which were always performed in the form of a cross and in this manner the gesture continues the Old Testament leaning on of hands.

From the third century onwards the effect of the imposition of hands as an ordination rite is referred to as a conferring of the Spirit, but the expressions for this are generally not the strictly technical ones which were current for the postbaptismal rite. We quote only Hippolytus who says in the prayer for the ordination of a bishop: *descensionem spiritus* Trad. 2.4, *principalis spiritus* (Ps. 50.14) Trad. 3.3, *spiritu primatus sacerdotii* ib. 3.5, of a presbyter: *spiritum gratiae et consilii* ib. 8.2, and of a deacon: *non accipiens communem praesbyterii spiritum* ib. 9.4, *da spiritum sanctum gratiae et sollicitudinis et industriae* ib. 9.11, and Serapion: δὸς ἐν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ διακρίσεως Euch. 26.2, cf. 27.1; 28.1.¹

3. *The act of baptism and the seal of faith*

At the administration of baptism by immersion the minister lays his hand upon the head of the candidate and plunges him three times under the water. Meanwhile the Trinitarian formula or the Trinitarian profession of faith is pronounced. In early Christian literature this gives rise to a new usage of the terms for imposition of hands and sealing. (a) The terms for imposition of hands and in Syria to a certain extent those for sealing refer to the gesture made by the officiant; in Syria, moreover, this is now the rite which confers at once the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit. (b) On the other hand, the terms for sealing refer to the confirmation of faith through the immersion rite, notably in the expression 'the seal of faith'.

(a) The baptismal imposition of hands. The second century. — An early reference to the baptismal imposition of hands may be found in the use of χειροθεσία by Theodotus. The Valentinian receives baptism, which confers the 'redemption', in the same name as his angel, whence the prayer at the imposition of hands is closed with the words 'unto the angelic redemption': διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους· Εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν Exc. 22.5. Since a postbaptismal rite is not dis-

¹ Cf. J. LÉCUYER, *Episcopat et presbytérat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte de Rome*, RSR 41, 1953, p. 30 ff.

tinguished in Theodotus, he may here refer to the baptismal imposition of hands, but the postbaptismal imposition is then probably incorporated in it.¹

Another second century text bears witness to the use of χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι for the baptismal imposition of hands. In an episode belonging to the Acts of Paul it is said that the apostle baptized Artemylla at night in the sea: καὶ [προσευξάμενος ὁ Παῦλος] ἐπέθηκεν τῇ Ἀρτεμύλλῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὥστε τὴν θάλασσαν σφόδρα κυμαίνεσθαι καὶ φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συσχεθεῖσα[ν τὴν Ἀρτεμύλλαν] μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπόπληκτον γενέσθαι Act. Paul. 3.31 ff. As a further restoration of the lacuna in the papyrus the editor suggests εὐλόγησεν for a blessing or κατέχευεν for an effusion of the water, but neither of these solutions appears likely.² If a blessing of the water were referred to, this would occur after the imposition of hands which is the only baptismal act to be mentioned in the text. According to the other alternative Paul and Artemylla would have gone to the sea for a baptism by effusion, whereas Artemylla is almost swept off her feet by the waves. We may rather expect in the lacuna a verb indicating the immersion, βαπτίζειν or, more emphatically and given the lack of space in the lacuna, βάπτειν.³ We may then read: ἐπέθηκεν τῇ Ἀρτεμύλλῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔβαψεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ.

From the third century onwards. – From the third century onwards in both East and West the terms and expressions for the imposition of hands are used to refer to the gesture performed by the minister at the baptismal immersion but evidence of this usage is rare outside Syria.

The West. – Tertullian provides no direct evidence for the baptismal imposition of hands in Africa. We have, however, made the assumption that the imposition of hands of the renunciation was continued during the immersion, in which case the term *benedictio* in a text dealing with the Trinitarian formula of baptism could be a reference to it: *habebimus de benedictione eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis* Bapt. 6.2.⁴

In the case of Rome we may suppose χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι or χειροθετεῖν for the baptismal imposition of hands in the Greek original of the Apostolic Tradition. The passage in question is still preserved in part in the old Latin translation: 'Let him who baptizes lay his hand upon him saying thus: Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And he who is being baptized shall say: I believe' Trad. 21.12 f., *manum*

¹ See p. 342 and 392.

² C. SCHMIDT, *Acta Pauli*, Hamburg 1936, p. 34.

³ See p. 64.

⁴ See p. 309 and 387.

habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet eum semel ib. 21.14, cf. 21.16, 18.

The East. – Whereas evidence from Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor for the baptismal imposition of hands is lacking, it abounds in Syria since, in Eastern and partly at least in Western Syria, this imposition of hands has acquired a special meaning as the rite which confers the Holy Spirit.¹

Eastern Syria. – The earliest instance for this development in Syria is a passage from the Didascalia. The baptismal act is termed an imposition of hands and perhaps also a sealing, and its effects are both the adoptive sonship and the gift of the Spirit. The writer asks respect for the bishop on account of his functions. Omitting the interpolations, the Greek text in the Constitutions reads as follows: ἐπισκόπου . . δι' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν, δι' οὗ ἅγια δόγματα μεμαθήκατε καὶ θεὸν ἐγνώκατε, δι' οὗ ἐγνώσθητε ὑπὸ θεοῦ (Gal. 4.9), δι' οὗ ἐσφραγίσθητε (Eph. 1.13; 4.30), δι' οὗ υἱοὶ φωτὸς (Jn. 12.36) ἀνεδείχθητε, δι' οὗ κύριος ἐν τῷ φωτισμῷ ὑμῶν, τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χειροθεσίᾳ μαρτυρῶν, ἐφ' ἑκατέρων τὴν ἱερὰν ἐξέτεινεν φωνὴν λέγων· Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε (Ps. 2.7) Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3, cf. 2.33.2.

By quoting Ps. 2.7 the writer links with the imposition of hands the effect of the adoptive sonship. One may therefore detect in this gesture nothing other than the baptismal act itself. The quotation, however, also refers to the baptism of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit so that at the same time the gift of the Spirit appears to be considered as linked with the baptismal act. There is in fact no other rite in the liturgy of the Didascalia which could possibly be referred to and elsewhere too the writer calls the gift of the Spirit (*qbl pa*, 'to receive') an effect of baptism itself: *per baptismum enim sanctum spiritum accepimus (qbl), qui cum his qui iuste conuersantur semper est* Didasc. 6.21.1, There is no place for a distinction between indwelling of the Spirit and gift of the Spirit: *quoniam omnis homo repletus est fidelis quidem de sancto spiritu, infidelis autem de immundo. . qui uero per baptismum reiecit et deposuit et liberatus est ab immundo spiritu, sancto repletur* ib. 6.21.4 f.²

The question remains as to which function of the bishop the Didascalia refers with the verb ἐσφραγίσθητε. It could be a reference to the prebaptismal anointing but more likely it is derived from Eph. 1.13; 4.30. The writer may then consider the gift of the Spirit and thus refer to the baptismal act itself.

¹ See also the terminology of the prebaptismal and postbaptismal rites, p. 311 ff. and 360 ff.

² See also p. 71 f.

We may conclude that in the Didascalia the gift of the Spirit has been ranged among the effects of baptism in water but must more accurately be attributed to the baptismal imposition of hands which, with reference to Paul, is probably termed a sealing. In Eastern Syria in the fourth century this is the usual meaning of the baptismal imposition of hands, as is witnessed by Syriac texts.

The Syriac equivalent for *χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι* to refer to the baptismal imposition of hands is *sm ʿidā*. A description of the gesture occurs in the History of John the Son of Zebedee in the story of the baptism of the procurator: 'Then the holy man drew near, and placed his hand (*sm ʿydʿ*) on the head of the procurator, and dipped him once, crying out: In the name of the Father; and the second time: In the name of the Son; and the third time: In the name of the Holy Spirit' Hist. Jo. Zeb. p. 40 W.

Aphraates' Demonstrations do not mention the baptismal imposition of hands but as in the Didascalia we find among the effects of baptism the gift of the Spirit together with the indwelling (*mr* 'to dwell') of Christ or of the Spirit: he also applies the Pauline sealing (*htm*) with the Spirit to baptism: *idcirco, carissime, de spiritu Christi nos etiam accepimus (qbl), et Christus in nobis habitat (mr) ... praeparemus igitur templa nostra spiritui Christi, neque ipsum contristemus, ne forte a nobis recedat. memento sermonis apostoli admonentis uos: Nolite contristare spiritum sanctum in quo signati estis (htm) in diem redemptionis (Eph. 4.30). a baptismo enim accipimus (qbl) spiritum Christi ... ab omnibus enim de corpore natis spiritus abest, donec ad aquae regenerationem accedant; tunc accipiunt (qbl) spiritum sanctum Dem. 6.14, cf. 9.4.*

Ephraem mentions the baptismal imposition of hands without the technical expression with reference to the Arian clergy: *ne baptizet te manus (ʿydʿ) illius sacerdotis separati Fid. 59.2.* He is familiar with the traditional effects of baptism: *ecce enim dominus noster innouauit (hdt) uetustatem tuam baptismo, corpus uitae, quod per sanguinem suum formauit (gbl) et creauit (brʿ) templum in habitationem (wmr) suam Virg. 1.2,* but the gift of the Spirit is also included: *populi gentium in baptismo immersi crediderunt et spiritum sanctum acceperunt (qbl) In Epiph. 1.16.*

At the baptism of Christ which Ephraem, seeing in it a model of Christian baptism, assumes to have been administered in the same manner, John performed the imposition of hands, while the Father in the place of the officiant pronounced the words: *age, manum tuam dumtaxat impone (sm ʿydʿ) mihi, et pater loco sacerdotis proclamabit quid oportet de filio suo In Epiph. 14.42.*

Western Syria. – The expressions for the baptismal imposition of hands recur in the West Syrian authors and once more the gift of the Spirit may be attributed to it.¹

In his newly discovered Baptismal Catecheses John Chrysostom uses non-technical expressions for this imposition of hands: it is performed by the bishop during the pronouncing of the baptismal formula and brings about the descent of the Holy Spirit: τότε λοιπόν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τῆς τούτου χειρὸς ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις ἐπίπταται τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἄλλος ἀντ' ἄλλου ἀνεισι Cat. 2.25, τρίτον τὴν κεφαλὴν καθίησι καὶ ἀνίησι... τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος παρασκευάζων ἐπιφοίτησιν δέξασθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐστὶ μόνος ὁ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεξιά ib. 2.26. As the last of the ten effects of baptism Chrysostom names the indwelling of the Spirit: τὸ κατοικητήριον γενέσθαι τοῦ πνεύματος ib. 3.6 and, in another context, the gift: πνεύματος ἁγίου δαψιλῆ χορηγίαν In Matth. 11.

In other texts the gift of the Spirit is linked with the seal. We are sealed as sons in a different manner from the Israelites, not with circumcision but with the Spirit: ἐσφραγίσθημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' υἱοὶ πνεύματι In Eph. 2.2. Chrysostom continues with a quotation from Joel 3.1; he is evidently referring to the adoptive sonship as well as to the gift of the Spirit. The comparison with the Old Testament anointings, which is traditional for the postbaptismal rite, is now also applied to baptism. This may mean that people were still to some extent aware that the baptismal imposition of hands is performed in the oil which has previously been poured over the head. The candidate becomes king, priest, and prophet 'in the bath' since the Spirit is impressed as a seal and a pledge: οὕτω καὶ σὺ γίνῃ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ... προφήτης δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα μανθάνων καὶ ἔνθους γινόμενος καὶ σφραγισάμενος. καθάπερ γὰρ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται... Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ εἶχον σφραγίδα τὴν περιτομὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος In 2 Cor. 3.7. If Chrysostom is referring to a gift of the Spirit conferred by the baptismal imposition of hands, the allusion to an anointing rite and the fact that, according to the East Syrian conception, the seal is conferred by the prebaptismal anointing may easily have led to a misunderstanding, such as found in Const. 3.16.4.²

Theodore of Mopsuestia describes the gesture of the minister at the triple immersion. The Greek original probably had χεῖρα ἐπιτιθένα as

¹ See also p. 314 ff. and 362 ff.

² See p. 316 f.

the equivalent of *sam ʿidā* in the Syriac translation: 'The priest... approaches his hand, which he places (*sm ʿyā*) on your head, and says: So-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' Hom. 14.14 p. 58 M., 'The priest places his hand (*sm ʿyā*) on your head and says: In the name of the Father, and with these words he causes you to immerse yourself in the water' ib. 14.18 p. 62 M.

In the passage of the Didascalia dealing with the functions of the bishop the interpolator of the Apostolic Constitutions uses explanatory additions to alter the meaning of the terms according to his own lights. He does, however, retain *χειροθεσία* for the imposition of hands as the rite which confers the adoptive sonship: τῆ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χειροθεσία μαρτυρῶν Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3.¹

Theodoret of Cyrrhus uses a non-technical expression when speaking of the baptismal imposition of hands as the rite by which the grace of the Spirit is conferred: οἱ γὰρ πεπιστευκότες... προσίασι τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς χειρὸς ὑποδέχονται τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος In Hebr. 6.2. To this grace he applies the Pauline expression of the sealing with the Spirit: τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τετυγήκατε χάριτος... οἷόν τινα σφραγίδα τῆν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκομίσασθε δωρεάν In Eph. 1.13. Hence at the baptism of Christ too a connection is made between the imposition of hands performed by John and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove: ἐπιτεθῆναι αὐτοῦ τῆ κεφαλῇ τὴν τοῦ θεράποντος προσέταξε χεῖρα· καὶ ἔδειξε τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῶν In Num. 47, cf. Ev. Nic. (Act. Pil.) 18.2.

(b) The seal of faith. – From the second century onwards a few texts bear witness to the rise of the expression 'the seal of faith'. This seal refers to the confirmation of faith at the baptismal immersion through the pronouncing of the Trinitarian formula or the Trinitarian profession of faith. It is not considered therefore as a mark of ownership although the earliest texts do indicate that it originated from the baptismal seal of ownership.

The second century. – Hermas can be taken to provide the first indication of the rise of the expression. For him the seal is the Christian mark of ownership received at baptism but his argument leads him to mention the proclamation of this seal: κακείνοις οὖν ἐκηρύχθη ἡ σφραγίς αὕτη Past. 93.4, ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος ib. 93.5. In this manner at least the seal of ownership is linked with the proclamation of the faith.²

¹ Text see p. 317 and 376.

² See also p. 390 f.

Three passages in Irenaeus' *Demonstration* provide further evidence. The old Armenian version distinguishes between *knik'* 'seal' and *nšan* 'sign' so that it may be assumed that σφραγίς and σημεῖον were likewise distinguished in the Greek original.

At the beginning of his work Irenaeus points out the importance of the faith by resuming the principal points. He begins with baptism in the name of the Trinity as the rite by which sins are forgiven, the seal conferred and rebirth granted: 'Now this is what faith does for us... First of all it admonishes us to remember that we have received baptism for remission of sins in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate and died and was raised, and in the Holy Spirit of God; and that this baptism is the seal (*knik'*) of eternal life and is rebirth unto God' Dem. 3. As yet the seal is no more than the baptismal sign of ownership.

In a following passage, in order to stress the importance of faith, Irenaeus quotes Paul's argument that Abraham was justified by faith before his circumcision: 'And that the excellence of his faith might be acknowledged by a sign (*nšan*), He gave him circumcision, a seal of the justice (*ant'lpatowt'eann knik'* 'uncircumcision seal' MS., *knik' ardarowt'eann* 'seal of justice' corr.) of his faith in uncircumcision (cf. Rom. 4.11)' Dem. 24. Although the text is not established with complete certainty, the seal is here none other than that of circumcision. The context, however, places less emphasis upon justice than in Paul and therefore it would seem but a short step, by compressing Paul's expression σφραγίς τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως 'the seal of justification by faith', to calling circumcision simply σφραγίς τῆς πίστεως 'the seal of faith'.

At the end of his work Irenaeus makes a direct connection between the baptismal seal and the Trinitarian formula since he sees all errors as being in some way in conflict with it; for this reason they are a violation of the baptismal seal: 'So error with respect to the three articles of our seal (*knik'*) has brought about much wandering away from the truth. For either they despise the Father, or they do not accept the Son... or they do not accept the Spirit' ib. 100. The seal can still be considered as the baptismal mark of ownership but it may now have become a direct reference to the Trinitarian profession of faith.

From the third century onwards. The West. – In Tertullian the 'seal of faith' has become an established expression of his baptismal terminology. The writer strongly emphasizes the profession of faith made at baptism, so much indeed that *fides* by itself can be taken to refer to

baptism: *etiam post fidem lapsis* Pud. 18.13, *quae ante fidem, quae ante baptismum* ib. 18.15. For him renunciation and profession of faith are one and lead him to compare baptism with the taking of an oath as does a soldier on entering military service: *uocati sumus ad militiam dei uiui iam tunc, cum in sacramenti uerba respondimus* Mart. 3.1. For the same reasons he can consider baptism as a contract: *testatio fidei* Bapt. 6.2, *ex fidei conuentione; pactus es enim renuntiasse* Anim. 35.3. This concurs with the concept of a seal which confirms the renunciation and profession of faith. The expressions for this are: *fidem (ob)signare, obsignatio fidei, signaculum fidei, obsignatio baptismi*.¹

In one text, possibly the earliest, Tertullian says that with the water Rome authenticates the faith as with a seal: *eam (i.e. fidem) aqua signat, sancto spiritu uestit, eucharistia pascit* Praescr. 36.5. The metaphor is not found again in this form. We may perhaps see in it the transition from the concept that baptism impresses a seal of ownership as found in Hermas and Irenaeus. The metaphor has then changed in Tertullian: the emphasis now falls, not upon the marking, but upon the confirmation as with a seal.

The *signaculum fidei* is the seal which ratifies the renunciation and profession of faith: *ad principalem auctoritatem conuertar ipsius signaculi nostri. cum in aquam ingressi christianam fidem in legis suae uerba profiteremur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompae et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur* Spect. 4.1, *pompa diaboli aduersus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus* ib. 24.2, cf. 24.3, *obsignatio baptismi, uestimentum quodammodo fidei* Bapt. 13.2, *lauacrum illud obsignatio est fidei* Paen. 6.16, cf. Cor. 11.4, Idol. 12.1.

In these texts the idea of the water which impresses the seal is no longer present but in one passage this role appears to be attributed to the baptismal imposition of hands, if, at least, the term *benedictio* contains a reference to this rite: *abolitione delictorum quam fides impetrat obsignata in patre et filio et spiritu sancto. nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne uerbum dei, quanto magis donum? habebimus de benedictione eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis* Bapt. 6.1 f.²

In his last work Tertullian elaborates the metaphor differently. He takes a stand against second penance whereby the apostate, like the prodigal son, receives the signet-ring: *recuperabit igitur et apostata uestem priorem, indumentum spiritus sancti, et anulum denuo, signaculum lauacri* Pud. 9.11. With this Tertullian has arrived at the rather strange

¹ Concerning the meaning of these terms see also p. 412.

² See p. 375.

conclusion that the seal conferred by baptism is a ring. He goes on to elaborate that baptism confers a signet-ring with which the candidate seals the contract of faith: *anulum quoque accipit tunc primum, quo fidei pactionem interrogatus obsignat* ib. 9.16.

The new meaning of the terms for sealing, as developed by Tertullian, gained comparatively little favour. If we remain in Africa we see that Cyprian's anonymous opponent in the rebaptism controversy applies the expression *signum fidei* to his conviction that the *manus impositio ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum* is sufficient for the reconciliation of heretics. As a *signum fidei iteratum* this rite is a readministration of baptism, as a *signum fidei consummatum* it confers the gift of the Spirit: *utrum...tantummodo imponi eis manum ab episcopo ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum sufficeret et haec manus impositio signum fidei iteratum atque consummatum eis praestaret* Rebapt. 1. The rite is therefore exalted to a *signum fidei integrum* when the writer says: *signum quoque fidei integrum hoc modo et hac ratione tradi in ecclesia merito consuevit* ib. 10. Optatus of Milevis is closer to the original meaning. By the *sigillum integrum* he understands the orthodox faith which the heretics do not possess: *quia soli sigillum integrum, id est symbolum catholicum, non habentes ad fontem uerum aperire non possunt* Schism. 2.8.

In the meantime Hippolytus in Rome establishes a connection between the seal as a baptismal mark of ownership and faith, but he does not go any further than the texts of Hermas already quoted. The Lord gives the seal to those who believe: *ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος σφραγίδα τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν* Ant. 6, cf. 59,¹ Ambrose In Luc. 7.231.

The East. – In the East too we find in the beginning only texts which establish some connection between the baptismal seal and faith. Theodotus speaks of baptism as the seal of truth: *ἡ φυχή ἡ πίστις τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας λαβοῦσα σφράγισμα* Exc. 86.2, Clement of Alexandria as the seal of knowledge; the three patriarchs are a reference to this seal which is authentic if it is formed of nature, education, and practice: *κυρίαν εἶναι σφραγίδα τῆς γνώσεως, ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μαθήσεως καὶ ἀσκήσεως συνεστῶσαν* Strom. 1.31.5. The three days after which Abraham sees the place where he must sacrifice his son, Gen. 22.4, also have a hidden meaning and refer to the seal through which He who is truly God is believed in: *εἶεν δὲ ἂν καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι τῆς σφραγίδος μυστήριον, δι' ἧς ὁ τῷ ὄντι πιστεύεται θεός* Strom. 5.73.2. Clement is led to these

¹ See p. 395.

considerations by the number three, which may be a reference to the Trinitarian form of the baptismal formula.¹

The Latin translation of a passage from Origen suggests that the writer used σφραγίδες τῆς πίστεως in the plural: *recordetur unusquisque fidelium, cum primum uenit ad aquas baptismi, cum signacula fidei prima suscepit et ad fontem salutaris accessit, quibus ibi tunc usus sit uerbis et quid denuntiauerit diabolo: non se usurum pompis eius neque operibus* In Num. 12.4. The expression is found again in Basil: ἔστι γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα σφραγίς τῆς πίστεως Eunom. 3.5, Epiphanius: τῆς θεότητος. . ἐν μᾶ σφραγίδι ὀνομάτων πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος τοῖς φωτιζομένοις κηρυττομένης Haer. 76.20.12, Ps.-Athanasius: ἔχων τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἁγίαις σφραγῖσιν, δι' ὧν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀναγεγέννηται Sabell. 8, cf. Eutyches Conc.Chalc.Act. 1 (ACO 2.1 p. 91 S.), Eulogius of Alexandria ap. Phot.Bibl. 280 fr. 3. Ps.-Clement of Alexandria ap. Macarium Chrysocephalum In Luc. 11.6, and Ps.-Hippolytus Cons.Saec. 42. Epiphanius rightly remarks that this seal consists of the names of the Trinity. This idea may explain why the one seal has become three in Ps.-Athanasius and perhaps why Origen already used the plural.

Concluding remarks. – The baptismal imposition of hands performed by the minister is a natural gesture when the baptism by immersion is no longer the unaided act of the candidate, but just because it is such a natural gesture it is understandable that it is seldom mentioned except in liturgical texts describing the rite. The use of the terms for imposition of hands in this case must be considered the least technical. In the East Syrian rite, however, and in Western Syria in the works of John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, the terms acquire a new meaning since the baptismal imposition of hands is now at the same time the rite which confers the Spirit. It is therefore not surprising that it is often mentioned in Syria and even attributed to John baptizing Christ. The rite is a gesture of touching which has not taken on the form of a cross.

The expression σφραγίς τῆς πίστεως, although closely approached by Paul in Rom. 4.11, gains favour only gradually in the course of the second century. Then we find the seal as a baptismal mark of ownership linked with the Trinitarian formula and the baptismal profession of faith. The metaphor of the seal which confirms faith at baptism is elaborated by Tertullian and it may be that he alludes at the same time to the baptismal imposition of hands as the gesture by which this

¹ See also p. 396.

seal is impressed. After him the expression is found again in East and West but gained comparatively little favour. This fact may be explained in the West by the difficulty with the Latin equivalents.¹ In Greek the baptismal seal was generally taken to be, not something that confirmed, but simply the Christian mark of ownership.

In early Christian art the imposition of hands appears on the representations of baptism either of Christ or of a catechumen and it is a disputed question whether this rite is the baptismal or the post-baptismal imposition of hands.² Two representations in the Roman catacombs have all characteristics of an initial attempt. On a painting in the crypt of Lucina the dove approaches whilst the officiant takes the hand of the candidate on leaving the water. Thus the postbaptismal descent of the Holy Spirit is depicted albeit in close connection with the baptism in water. In room A3 of the catacombs of Callistus the officiant places his hand on the head of the candidate and since this rite is accompanied by an effusion of water the baptismal imposition of hands must be meant. The connection with the postbaptismal rite is, however, indicated by the dove which approaches from behind the officiant. In the next room A2 the imposition of hands is again the baptismal rite as now may appear from the absence of the dove.

The intention, which appears from the two earliest attempts, of depicting in one representation both baptism and the gift of the Spirit has led to a fixed composition in which the imposition of hands by the officiant is constantly specified by the water of baptism and the nudity of the candidate on the one hand, and by the dove of the postbaptismal rite on the other. As a result the imposition of hands acquires for artistic reasons the double meaning it had for practical considerations in the East Syrian liturgy.

This old tendency of representing both rites in one composition is still shown on a Roman glass fragment from the fifth century. While the water flows and the dove approaches, the little female candidate is already dressed in a white garment. Two hands are represented. At the right a person, having now disappeared, places his hand on the candidate's head, whereas on the left the bishop dressed in tunic and pallium stretches forth his hand. The first hand cannot be attributed, as does de Bruyne, to the godmother or a deaconess since such a rite is

¹ See p. 412 f.

² Cf. DE BRUYNE, *art.cit.*, p. 212 ff. and pl. 24 ff., with a survey of earlier opinions. The author arrives at the conclusion that the imposition of hands represents the postbaptismal rite.

not attested anywhere else.¹ This hand must be connected with the jets of water and thus belongs to the minister of baptism, while the hand of the bishop and the dove represent the postbaptismal rite.

A survey of the terms for imposition of hands. – In this and the preceding sections we have found χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτιθέναι and derivatives for an imposition of hands which is applied in (1) blessing, (2) healing, (3) and exorcizing, (4) in the reconciliation rite, (5) in the postbaptismal rite, (6) in the ordination rite, and (7) in the act of baptism. (8) We can add an instance for the imposition of hands as a sacrificial rite. In the old Latin version of Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition the bishop lays his hands upon the sacrifice and begins the anaphora: *illi* (i.e. *episcopo*) *uero offerant diacones oblationem quique inponens manus in eam cum omni praesbyterio dicat* Trad. 4.2. It is tempting to see in this rite a continuation of the sacrificial leaning on of hands from the Old Testament but the text represents an isolated instance and thus admits no certain conclusions.² (9) Beyond this, the terms are applied to heretical rites.³ We may conclude here with some remarks which are valid for all these applications.

In the New Testament the plural of the object in χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι appeared to be current for a gesture which was normally performed with one hand, except in the case of leaning on of hands as an ordination rite. The frequent use of the object in the singular in early Christian literature must therefore be viewed as an adaptation of the expression to the existing practice. The plural is now found especially in texts which are in some way related to the New Testament. It occurs notably in apocryphal literature, in the Clementine Homilies, for example, and in texts which deal with New Testament cases of imposition of hands, as Origen In Matth. 15.6 ff.⁴ The plural thus gives increasingly a biblical and solemn effect. In Latin the singular forms part of the fixed expression in such a manner that it may even be used as a collective singular for an ordination rite which is performed with two hands, and for any imposition of one hand by several persons.

A typical example for the rise of the singular may be found in the Acts of Thomas. The Greek text uses first the plural in Act. Thom. 10,

¹ *Art.cit.*, 241.

² C. H. TURNER, *Χειροτονία, χειροθεσία, ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν* (and accompanying verbs) *JThS* 24, 1923, p. 503, quotes for this meaning also a passage from Sophronius of Jerusalem: ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλάσματος βουλῆ χειροθετεῖται. Or. c. 4004a M., but the text refers to the imposition of hands by John at the baptism of Christ.

³ See p. 425

⁴ Texts see p. 291 f., 294, 296 f., 305.

29, 49, but later adopts the singular, *ib.* 53, 54, 67.¹ The singular first occurs in a passage in which the writer wishes to describe the gesture fairly accurately: the apostle lays 'his hand' upon a murdered woman, *ib.* 53, and then orders the murderer to lay 'his hand' upon the hand of the woman, *ib.* 54. This episode may thus have led the writer to adopt the use of the singular.

The derivative *χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις* is rare and only appears as a biblical and solemn expression. Consequently the genitive is usually retained in the plural but, with reference to Acts 8.17, Origen writes *διὰ χειρῶς ἐπιθέσεως* In Matth. fr. 52. Clement of Alexandria uses the non-technical expression *χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς* Div.Salv. 34.3, perhaps in order to avoid the plural of *ἐπίθεσις*.

The verb *χειροθετεῖν* occurs from the time of Origen In Matth. 15.7, Const. (Didasc.) 2.18.7; 2.41.2, and the noun *χειροθεσία* is already found in Act.Jo. 46, Theodotus Exc. 22.5, Clement of Alexandria Paed. 1.12.3. They have soon become current technical terms in early Christian literature. The verb is not found in profane literature and the noun only once.²

By extension *χειροθεσία* becomes a name for the prayer accompanying an imposition of hands. Theodotus calls such a prayer: *εὐχαὶ χειρῶν* Exc. 84, and Eusebius uses the solemn expressions: *εὐχὰς τε διὰ χειρός* Hist. 1.13.18, *τῆ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῆ* *ib.* 7.2, and *τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν* Vit.Const. 4.61. An early instance for *χειροθεσία* as denoting the prayer itself may go back to Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition but it is of dubious authenticity: 'And the presbyter shall say the prayer of laying on of hand after they have received' Trad. 7. In the fourth century *χειροθεσία* is a technical name for the eight prayers of Serapion's Euchologion which are pronounced during an imposition of hands. Most of the prayers contain an allusion to the rite since they speak of God or the person performing the prayer stretching out his hand. Five prayers are blessings, successively of the catechumens, the people, the sick, and the people during and after the celebration of the Eucharist, Euch. 4, 6, 8, 15, 18 tit., the remaining three are the prayers at the imposition of hands for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops, *ib.* 26, 27, 28 tit. The word *εὐχή* on the other hand is the common name for the other prayers of the Euchologion pronounced over persons and things without any allusion being made to an imposition of hands.

In a difficult passage of the Apostolic Constitutions for which

¹ Texts see p. 291 f., 294, 297 f., 343.

² See p. 185.

different explanations have been proposed, χειροθεσία has, to our mind, the same meaning.¹ After mentioning the prayers which must be said at the baptismal rites the author underlines the necessity for these prayers, and he makes his point clear by an illustration. A baptism without the prescribed prayers would be no more than a Jewish ritual ablution which cleanses only the body: ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα λεγέτω· ἐκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὕτη. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Const. 7.44.3. We may then translate: 'He must say that and that which follows after it, for each (prayer) has that power of the (prayer pronounced during an) imposition of hands (at the anointings and at the act of baptism). For if such an invocation is not performed upon each of them (who are baptized) by the dutiful presbyter, the candidate goes merely down into the water as the Jews'. The writer is not too happy in his expression in which case there appears to be no objection to taking ἐκάστου as neutral and then ἕκαστον τούτων as masculine. In this way ἕκαστον corresponds with ὁ βαπτιζόμενος.

For the Latin equivalents we may remark that *manum imponere* with the object in the singular and *manus impositio* have been the technical expressions from an early date, whereas *manus imponere* and *manuum impositio* give an archaic and biblical effect.

For the prayer which accompanies an imposition of hands Latin has *benedicere* and *benedictio* as technical terms. Of the many instances illustrating this development we cite Tertullian: *manus inponitur per benedictionem* Bapt. 8.1, cf. Ux. 2.8.6, Ambrose: *ut eius* (i.e. *Ananiae*) *benedictione Saulo refundentur oculi* Paen. 1.8.34, *manus imponitis et benedictionis opus creditis* ib. 1.8.36, Innocent I: *per benedictionem ordinationis* Ep. 17.4.8, *benedicere et tangere chrismate* ib. 25.8.11, *cum chrismate et benedictione consignari* Conc.Araus. (441) 1.²

4. The anointing of Christ

Early Christian writers often use χρίεν and derivatives in a metaphorical sense for a non-material anointing of Christ. Ps. 44.8 and Is. 61.1 are currently cited in this connection, the latter already in Ps.-

¹ Cf. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Baptême et Confirmation d'après les Constitutions apostoliques* 7.44.3, RSR 27, 1937, p. 196 ff., GALTIER, *Imposition des mains et bénédictions au baptême*, RSR 27, 1937, p. 464 ff., PETERSON, *art.cit.*, RivAc 27, 1951, p. 52.

² Most of these texts are dealt with above; see p. 293, 302 f., 351, 357.

Barnabas Ep. 14.9. Ignatius has μύρον for the fragrant oil received by Christ: μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος Eph. 17.1. The anointing is performed by God as it is stated in Ps. 44.8 and Is. 61.1. Justin Martyr quotes Ps. 44.8 thrice, Dial. 56.14; 63.4; 86.3, but also reflects a Jewish tradition, according to which Elijah will come to anoint the Messiah: μέχρις ἂν ἐλθῶν Ἡλίας χρίσῃ αὐτόν Dial. 8.4, cf. 49.1.¹

The anointing of Christ is a prefiguration of the anointing of the Christian and grants similar effects. Christ receives the Holy Spirit, as says Irenaeus: *unctus est a patre spiritu* Haer. 3.9.3, cf. 3.6.1. Hence the Holy Spirit is called 'the oil': *significans et ungentem patrem et unctum filium et unctionem qui est spiritus* ib. 3.18.3, cf. Dem. 47. Here *unctio* must be taken as a translation of χρίσμα which denotes not the act of anointing but the oil itself.²

Ignatius ascribes to the anointing of Christ the additional effects of incorruptibility and indirectly also that of fragranciness; these are transmitted by Christ to His Church: μύρον ἔλαβεν . . . ὁ κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. μὴ ἀλείψεσθε δυσωδίαν Eph. 17.1, cf. Clement of Alexandria Paed. 2.65.3. It is a priestly, kingly, and prophetic anointing. It is referred to the Old Testament anointings of priests and kings by Justin Martyr: καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλαβε τὸ βασιλεὺς καὶ Χριστὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἔχει ἢ ἔσχε Dial. 86.3, cf. Origen In Jo. 1.28.191. The prophetic anointing is put forward by Irenaeus in reference to Is. 61.1: *unguebatur ad euangelizandum humilibus* Haer. 3.9.3, cf. 3.17.1.

According to Justin Martyr any 'chrism', whether consisting of ordinary oil or of perfumed oil, was His: τὸ χρίσμα πᾶν, εἴτε ἐλαίου εἴτε στακτῆς εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς συνθέσεως τοῦ μύρου χρισμάτων, τούτου ἦν Dial. 86.3. Clement of Alexandria also uses other than the technical terms in reference to profane anointing: τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος συναλείφεται τῷ μύρῳ Paed. 2.65.3, cf. 2.62.3.

In accordance with the postbaptismal anointing of the faithful the anointing of Christ took place after His baptism in the Jordan. Justin Martyr, however, opposes the heretical conception that Jesus only became the Messiah at His baptism, by pointing out that He did not need this baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit: καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐνδεᾶ αὐτόν τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ἢ τοῦ ἐπελθόντος ἐν εἶδει περισσεύας πνεύματος οἶδαμεν αὐτόν ἐληλυθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν Dial. 88.4, cf. Irenaeus Haer.

¹ Cf. BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 179 f.

² See also p. 263.

3.9.2. Hence Augustine places the anointing of Christ at the moment of His incarnation and clearly states that the anointing has taken place with an invisible oil which is grace: *unxit enim deus spiritu sancto, non utique oleo uisibili sed dono gratiae, quod uisibili significatur unguento, quo baptizatos ungit ecclesia. nec sane tunc unctus est Christus spiritu sancto, quando super eum baptizatum uelut columba descendit.. sed ista mystica et inuisibili unctione tunc intelligendus est unctus, quando uerbum dei caro factum est* Trin. 15.26.46.¹

A survey of the terms for anointing. – Apart from the profane usage we have found in this and the preceding sections (1) ἀλείφειν, but gradually also χρίειν, and derivatives used literally for anointing in healing, and (2) in exorcizing, (3) notably as a prebaptismal rite; (4) in Syria and probably in Egypt this anointing was adopted in the ritual for the reconciliation of sinners. (5) On the other hand, χρίειν and derivatives are the proper terms for the postbaptismal anointing and from there (6) they came to be used in the ritual for the reconciliation of heretics. (7) Metaphorically χρίειν, seldom ἀλείφειν, and derivatives denote the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Christ considered as His anointing. (8) The terms acquire new meanings by their application to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites.²

Occasionally other metaphorical meanings are given to both groups of terms. (9) The Holy Spirit is called 'the oil' with reference to the postbaptismal rite and the anointing of Christ, whence by Clement of Alexandria merely in contrast with profane ointments: γυνή δὲ... τῷ σωφρονύνης ἀμβροσίῳ χρίσματι συναλειφέσθω, ἀγίῳ τερπομένη μύρῳ τῷ πνεύματι Paed. 2.65.2. (10) With reference to the anointing of Jesus' feet Clement uses ἔλαιον and ἀλειμμα to say that Christ is 'the oil' as contrasted with profane ointments: τὸ ἔλαιον αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος ib. 2.62.3, Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀλείμματος βασιλικοῦ ib. 2.65.2. (11) Ignatius uses ἀλείφειν for the anointing of the faithful with the evil smelling doctrines of the devil: μὴ ἀλείφεσθε δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου Eph. 17.1, and Clement of Alexandria assimilated Judas to the profane ointment with which Jesus' feet were anointed: τὸ δὲ μύρον, δεδολωμένον ἔλαιον, ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰούδας Paed. 2.62.3.

¹ Cf. WELTE, *op.cit.*, p. 19 f., and BENOIT, *op.cit.*, p. 179 f.

² See p. 421 ff.

5. *The seal and the mark of ownership*

The idea found in Apoc. 7.2 ff. that the name on the foreheads of the elect is imprinted with the seal of God, led to a name for the Christian mark of ownership which immediately gained great favour in the post-apostolic period. (1) From the second century onwards σφραγίς is the 'seal' received by all Christians at baptism and thence becomes a name for baptism itself. (2) On the other hand, various terms, though preferably not σφραγίς, are used to indicate an indelible 'mark' received in baptism. (3) Independently of baptism σφραγίς and derivatives became technical terms for the sign of the cross as the Christian mark of ownership in general.¹

(1) The seal of baptism. The second century. – The literature of the second century is rich in expressions indicating that the condition achieved by baptism must be preserved. Of these we have already mentioned τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν σάρκα, τὸν ναὸν τηρεῖν.² The writer of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement is moreover familiar with the expression: τὴν σφραγιδα τηρεῖν so that we read in his exhortations: ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον 2 Clem. 6.9, τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγιδα ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει (Is. 66.24) ib. 7.6, τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν τηρήσαντες ib. 8.4, τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν καὶ τὴν σφραγιδα ἄσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν ib. 8.6.

In all probability the seal is here originally nothing more than the mark of ownership of the elect from Apoc. 7.2 ff. but its application in this case establishes a connection with baptism as the rite by which the seal is conferred. The meaning remains that of a seal of ownership and Dölger goes too far when he concludes that the seal here is baptism.³ The most one can say is that σφραγίς, βάπτισμα, and σάρξ are used to refer to the same obligation.

If those baptized have the duty of preserving their seal this implies that it is possible to lose it. In such a case they will be obliged to strive for a new one and Hermas elaborates the expression in this sense. Those who have broken their seal may acquire a new one through second penance: ἵνα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγιδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιῆ, ἐπιγνόντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα μετανοήσωσιν, λαβόντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σφραγιδα Past. 72.3, cf. 68.2, 4.

Hermas goes even further. The seal is necessary for everyone and thus

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, Paderborn 1911, W. HEITMÜLLER, *Σφραγίς*, Neutestamentliche Studien, Leipzig 1914, p. 40 ff., DANIELOU, *Bible et Liturgie*, Paris 1958, p. 76 ff.

² See p. 77. ³ *Op.cit.*, p. 70 ff.

also for those who have died. In the allegory of the tower this means that in order to be incorporated in the building their stones must pass the surrounding water in order to receive the seal: ἀνάγκην, φησίν, εἶχον δι' ὕδατος ἀναβῆναι, ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν... ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ... ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα, ἀποτίθεται τὴν νεκρῶσιν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ζωὴν *ib.* 93.2 f. In order to make it clear that in this manner they receive a sort of baptism Hermas follows with his statement that the seal is the water: ἡ σφραγίς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν· εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσι νεκροὶ καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι ζῶντες *ib.* 93.4.

In these words especially Dölger found proof that in the second century σφραγίς was a name for baptism.¹ Hermas, however, does not intend to convey the meaning of the term in his time. On the contrary, it appears that he does not consider it necessary to explain to his contemporaries that 'the water' is a name for baptism.² If, therefore, he was obliged to explain the metaphor of the seal, we must conclude that he uses σφραγίς in a sense with which his milieu was not familiar.

In the meantime the baptismal seal does make its appearance in the East, at least in Syria and Asia Minor. This seal is the mark of ownership from Apoc. 7.2 ff., but there is the possibility that it is also dependent on σφραγίζειν as the Pauline term for the postbaptismal anointing, seeing that in Syria and Asia Minor particularly this anointing was closely connected with baptism.³ For the rest, Paul's term is then retained without his concept of a sealing with the Holy Spirit, for the baptismal seal is merely a mark of ownership.

An early instance for Syria may be seen in a passage from the Epistle of the Apostles, preserved in an old Coptic version which has transliterated the term σφραγίς.⁴ Christ promises His apostles: 'Whosoever shall hear you and believe (πιστεύειν C.) in Me, shall receive of you the light of the seal (σφραγίς C.) through Me, and baptism (βάπτισμα C.) through Me' Ep. Apost. 41 (32). The strangeness of the expression 'the light of the seal' may point to the rise of the new meaning.

In two passages from the Acts of Thomas, which may be considered as forming part of the work in its earliest form,⁵ a baptismal rite is preserved which consists only of an anointing, followed by the celebration of the Eucharist. The anointing rite is performed as a sealing in the name of the Trinity with the formula σφραγίζειν εἰς ὄνομα. This

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 70.

² See p. 77 f.

³ See p. 340 ff.

⁴ See also p. 297 f.

⁵ See p. 4 and 343 ff.

may possibly be Paul's term for sealing, although the concept is that of a mark of ownership.

In the first text king Gundaphorus and his brother Gad ask for this anointing as the seal by which God recognizes His sheep: ἐδεήθησαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἵνα καὶ τὴν σφραγιδα τοῦ λόγου δέξωνται. . . ἤκούσαμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὃν κηρύσσεις διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγιδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα Act.Thom. 26. In the second the woman who has been delivered from an evil spirit asks for the seal in order to be protected against fresh attacks: δός μοι τὴν σφραγιδα, ἵνα μὴ ὑποστρέψῃ εἰς ἐμὲ πάλιν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐκεῖνος ib. 49.

Two other gnostic texts show a similarity with these passages although their Syrian origin has not been established. Theodotus is familiar with a baptism in the name of the Trinity, connected perhaps with an anointing rite, and performed with the formula σφραγίζειν διὰ ὡς ἡ σφραγιδα τοῦ λόγου δέξωνται. . . ἤκούσαμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὃν κηρύσσεις διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγιδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα Act.Thom. 26. In the second the woman who has been delivered from an evil spirit asks for the seal in order to be protected against fresh attacks: δός μοι τὴν σφραγιδα, ἵνα μὴ ὑποστρέψῃ εἰς ἐμὲ πάλιν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐκεῖνος ib. 49.

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The Gnostics of whom Celsus speaks in a fragment preserved by Origen have an anointing rite, perhaps without any bath at all.² The rite is also called a seal or the conferring of a seal and we may assume that it was a mark of ownership: τῆς καλουμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς σφραγιδος. . . ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὴν σφραγιδα περιτιθέντος καλουμένου πατρός, τοῦ δὲ σφραγιζομένου λεγομένου. . . υἱοῦ καὶ ἀποκρινομένου. Κέχρισμαι. . . Cels. 6.27.

For Syria we may moreover refer to the Odes of Solomon. Here various terms are used in places where we might have expected σφραγις and σφραγίζειν in Greek. The explanation for this may be that in Syriac the root *hṯm* did not gain favour originally as a term for the Christian seal because people were too aware of its connotation of 'to close' something as with a seal.³

In the first passage the noun *hṯmā* can still be used without this difficulty as the equivalent of σφραγις for the seal of God which the angels possess as a mark of ownership: 'For Thy seal (*hṯm*) is known. . .

¹ See p. 342.

² See p. 343.

³ See p. 416.

and Thy hosts possess it' Od.Sol. 4.8.¹ In a second passage, however, the use of the verb *htm* as the equivalent of *σφραγίζειν* would have implied the idea of 'closing' someone's face as with a seal. This explains the use of *tb'* 'to stamp', 'to seal': 'I took knowledge of them and I stamped/sealed (*tb'*) their faces. I fashioned their members... and they shall not be detached from my name' ib. 8.16 ff. In a third passage the noun *hatmâ* would not have presented the same difficulty, yet the use of *'atâ* 'sign' must be explained as an avoidance of it for another reason. The mark of ownership in this and the preceding passages represents the name of God whereas now *'atâ*, as the normal equivalent of *σημεῖον*, conjures up the idea of the sign of the cross: 'For the sign/seal (*'t'*) in them is the Lord; and the sign/seal (*'t'*) is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord; put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him' ib. 39.6 f., cf. 29.7; 42.25 f. This use of *'atâ* seems rather to suggest a translator who does not adequately render the thought of the poet than a poet who himself seeks Syriac equivalents for the Greek technical terms.²

In another connection we already found in the Odes an allusion to baptismal renewal and anointing.³ We may now add an allusion to the baptismal seal. It is true that the first of the texts quoted speaks only of the seal of God which the angels possess, Od.Sol. 4.8, but the others refer to a mark of ownership worn by the faithful. In ib. 39.6 f., the mark of ownership helps the faithful to cross the stream which is an image of the divine judgment, and the exhortation to receive this seal can now be explained as an incitement to baptism. The baptismal seal is a mark of ownership as in Apoc. 7.2 ff., but an assumed use of the verb *σφραγίζειν* might once again go back to the Pauline term for the postbaptismal anointing.

Other examples of the baptismal seal originate from Asia Minor. The Acts of Peter contain the story that during a sea voyage the captain of the ship, Theon, asks the apostle for the 'immersion with the seal of the Lord'. Peter climbs down a rope and baptizes him in the sea. In a prayer recited during the celebration of the Eucharist baptism is spoken of as a 'sealing with the seal'. The old Latin version suggests the use of *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν* in the lost Greek original: *si uis me dignum habere quem intingas in signo domini, habes occasionem... Petrus per funem descendens baptizauit Theonem in nomine patris et filii et*

¹ See p. 409.

² See the literature above, p. 3 n. 4.

³ See p. 342.

spiritus sancti... in tuo nomine mox lo[cu]tus et signatus est sancto tuo signo Act.Petr.Sim. 5. The peculiar wording may indicate a primitive stage in the development.

In the Acts of Paul the new meaning has already become established. The episode of Paul and Thecla which forms part of these Acts tells how Thecla, having narrowly escaped death by fire, asks for the seal as a help in trial; from the answer of the apostle it appears that it will be granted to her through baptism: *καὶ εἶπεν Θέκλα· Μόνον δὲς μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, καὶ οὐχ ἄφεται μοι πειρασμός. καὶ εἶπεν Παῦλος· Θέκλα μακροθύμησον, καὶ λήψη τὸ ὕδωρ* Act.Paul.Thecl. 25.¹ Another episode from the Acts is preserved on a papyrus fragment. Here the baptism of Artemylla is called an initiation which confers the seal: *[ἐν]α Ἀρτεμύλλα μνηθῆ [τῆς ἐν] κυρίῳ σφραγίδος* Act.Paul. 3.23 f. The uncommon genitive with *μυεῖν* might be taken as a partitive genitive in the sense of 'to obtain a share in'.

In the Martyrdom, which formed the conclusion of the Acts, Paul before his death asks the prefect Longus and the centurion Cestus to go to his tomb; there they will find Titus and Luke who will give them the seal in the Lord: *ἐκεῖνοι ὑμῖν δώσουσιν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα* Mart.Paul. 5, *ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα* ib. 7. Thus *τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ (ἐν κυρίῳ) σφραγίδα* διδόναι has already become a fairly technical expression for the administration of baptism.²

At the end of the second century Abercius, the bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia, says in his epitaph that he has seen in Rome a people with a splendid seal: *λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγιδαὶν ἔχοντα* Epith. Aberc. 9. According to the linguistic usage of Asia Minor he refers to the seal of baptism.

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons but originating from Asia Minor, is also familiar with this meaning of *σφραγίς*: 'It (i.e. faith) admonishes us to remember that . . . baptism is the seal (*knik'*) of eternal life and is rebirth unto God' Dem. 3, cf. 100.

Just as in Syria, the baptismal seal in Asia Minor is the mark of ownership from Apoc. 7.2 ff. and on the basis of the close connection between bath and anointing the influence of *σφραγιζειν* as the Pauline term for the sealing with the Spirit may also be assumed. The early use

¹ LAMPE, *op.cit.*, p. 106, finds another instance for the seal of baptism in the dramatic report of Thecla's self-baptism: she casts herself into a pond full of water containing ferocious 'seals', ib. 34. These seals, however, are fishes, called *φῶκαι* in the Greek text and not *σφραγιδες*.

² This confirms the opinion that the Acts of Paul are later than the Acts of Peter and depend upon them; see p. 4.

of the verb in Act. Paul. Sim. 5 seems to point in this direction. Moreover, in a quotation from Eph. 1.13 concerning the sealing with the Spirit, Irenaeus no longer appears to distinguish between indwelling and gift as the effects of different rites, Haer. 5.8.1,¹ and Melito of Sardes, in connection with the blood on the door-posts, thinks of the sealing with the Spirit as the conferring of a mark of ownership, Hom. 67.²

From the third century onwards. — We can deal briefly with the further development in the West since there the seal of baptism did not gain favour. In the East, however, σφραγίς soon became generally known as a term for the baptismal mark of ownership and thence as a name for baptism itself. Both verb and noun occur in this sense in the writers of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, although principally in reports of conversions, in popular sermons, and in the baptismal instructions for the catechumens. This usage is also frequent in anonymous sources, above all in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. We are concerned here, not with an important theological concept, but with an idea of baptism which appealed especially to the common people.

The West. — Although we could already deduce from Hermas and Irenaeus the rise of the baptismal seal in the West, it is completely absent from the writings of the Latin authors from the third century onwards. One explanation for this is that it was difficult to render the Greek terms in Latin.³ Nevertheless the Latin writers may have been aware of the development undergone by σφραγίς in Greek and in this way the seal of faith in Tertullian may refer back to the seal of baptism. We need only add that Hippolytus of Rome has the Greek terms for the baptismal seal. The Lord gives a seal to those who believe, as will the Antichrist: ὁ κύριος σφραγιδα ἔδωκεν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς δώσει ὁμοίως Ant. 6. This sealing is the work of the Holy Spirit: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, δι' οὗ σφραγίζονται οἱ πιστεύοντες ib. 59.⁴

The East. Egypt. — If there was no evidence for the seal of baptism in second century texts from Egypt, this seal appears all at once to occupy a special place in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and he now seems to take Hermas and the popular usage from Asia Minor as his sources. For the rest, it has been assumed for some texts in Clement that the seal refers, not to baptism but to the postbaptismal rite. The author's indebtedness to the usage of Hermas and Asia Minor already

¹ See p. 350 f.

² See p. 347 f.

³ See p. 412 f.

⁴ For these texts see also p. 382.

renders this less likely. He moreover does not make any connection between the seal and the gift of the Spirit or an additional meaning of the postbaptismal rite. Some uncertainty must, however, remain since Clement in his considerations does not enter into the details of the ritual.¹

Clement shows his familiarity with the baptismal seal of Hermas by a quotation from Past. 93.5 ff. concerning the proclamation of the seal to those who have died without baptism, Strom. 2.44.2 f. In two other texts the seal does appear to be the baptismal enlightenment as it is found in the Second Epistle of Clement and in Hermas. The first text mentions a possible relapse into sin after the reception of seal and redemption: εἴη δὲ τετυχηκῶς. .μετὰ τὴν σφραγιδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετής τιςιν ἁμαρτήμασιν Div.Salv. 39.1. A variant of this may be the idea that the seal conserves that which is holy after the soul has been emptied of evil at baptism and is filled with the goodness of God: πληρωθέντων γὰρ τῶν κενῶν, τότε ἡ σφραγίς ἐπακολουθεῖ, ἵνα φυλάσσηται τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἅγιον Ecl. 12.9. Here the verb ἐπακολουθεῖν might suggest a separate rite following on baptism but the meaning of the seal remains that of a mark of ownership.

Clement shows a relationship to the popular baptismal seal of Asia Minor in his account of a boy entrusted by the apostle John to a presbyter in a certain city which may be Smyrna. The presbyter, also called a bishop in the same report, enjoys more peace of mind when he has finally administered baptism, since now he has placed upon the young man the complete safeguard, the seal of the Lord: τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑφῆκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὡς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας, τὴν σφραγιδα τοῦ κυρίου Div.Salv. 42.4. The seal is here nothing more than the mark of ownership conferred by baptism according to the meaning current in Asia Minor. It has been rightly remarked that ὡς. .ἐπιστήσας does not refer to a new rite but merely gives a motivation for what has gone before: believing that the seal is conferred by baptism the presbyter's care is eased.²

With this concept concurs Clement's idea of the mark of ownership as a gleaming seal from which light radiates as from Moses' face; it impresses a divine power of goodness upon the soul as a sort of intellectual radiance comparable with the splendour of the sun: οὕτως καὶ

¹ A full discussion of these passages in H. A. ECHLE, *The Terminology of the Sacrament of Regeneration according to Clement of Alexandria*, Washington 1949, p. 13 ff.

² Cf ECHLE, *op cit.*, p. 24 ff.

τῇ δικαίᾳ ψυχῇ θεία τις ἀγαθοσύνης δύναμις. ἐγχιπτομένη οἷον ἀπαυγάσματος νοεροῦ καθάπερ ἡλιακῆς ἀλέας ἐνσημαίνεται τι, δικαιοσύνης σφραγίδα (cf. Rom. 4.11) ἐπιφανῆ Strom. 6.104.1.

To the disciples of Basilides, who deny free will, Clement points out that in that case repentance and forgiveness of sins become impossible so that baptism, the seal, the Son, and the Father are rendered meaningless: ὥστε οὐδὲ βάπτισμα ἔτι εὐλογον οὐδὲ μακαρία σφραγίς οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ Strom. 2.11.2. The sequence of seal, Son, and Father seems only intended to indicate the meaning of baptism. If βάπτισμα and σφραγίς denote a distinction between two rites of bath and anointing, it might be expected that the Holy Ghost would be mentioned for the anointing after the Son is mentioned in connection with the bath.¹

It concurs with these findings that in two other texts Clement appears to connect the seal with the baptismal profession of faith or the Trinitarian formula, Strom. 1.31.5; 5.73.2.²

There is little evidence for the baptismal seal in the works of Origen and the later Alexandrians. This may be explained by the theological nature of their works, and we are therefore not justified in assuming that the baptismal seal was little known.

In a commentary on Jer. 22.24 ff., Origen refers to the ring which Coniah is on the right hand of God and to that which the prodigal son receives from his father, as the seal which everyone is granted on being converted: σφραγίς δὲ ἔτοι σφενδόνῃ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται πᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα διὰ μετανοίας ἀναλαμβάνων... ἦν δὲ σφραγίδα τῷ ἄσωτῳ υἱῷ δέδωκεν ὁ πατήρ ἐπιστρέψαντι In Jer. fr. 14, cf. In Eph. 1.13. The writer has in mind a seal which can be lost and then regained.³

It is possible that *signum* in the Latin translation of a homily also goes back to σφραγίς. Origen then says that one must possess the seal of baptism in water and of baptism in the Spirit in order to be purified by Christ in the next world through a baptism in fire: *eum uero, qui non habet signum priorum baptismatum, lauacro igneo non baptizet. oportet enim prius aliquem baptizari aqua et spiritu, ut, cum ad igneum fluiuium uenerit, ostendat se et aquae et spiritus lauacra seruasse* In Luc. 24. If *signum habere* is synonymous with *lauacra seruasse*, we are again concerned with a seal which can be lost and must be preserved.⁴

Palestine. — Writers of Palestinian origin use σφραγίς and sometimes σφραγίζειν for the reception of baptism as a seal; Eusebius of Caesarea

¹ Cf. ECHLE, *op.cit.*, p. 22 ff.

² See p. 382 f.

³ See also p. 404.

⁴ On this text see also p. 74 f. and 359.

has in addition σφράγισμα. According to him the emperor Constantine asks for baptism as the σφραγίς which confers immortality and for the salutary σφράγισμα: ὦρα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀθανατοποιοῦ σφραγιδος, ὦρα τοῦ σωτηρίου σφραγισματος μετασχεῖν... θείας τε σφραγιδος ἀξιούμενος ἠγάλλετο Vit.Const. 4.62. Epiphanius has the Jew Hillel demand baptism with the current formula: δώρησαί μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγιδα Haer. 30.4.6, cf. Anc. 8.7 ff.

This meaning of the seal is the most usual in the Catecheses of Cyril. In a list of terms which give the meaning of baptism he calls this rite an unbreakable seal: μεγὰ τὸ προκείμενον βάπτισμα.. ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν· σφραγίς ἀγία ἀκατάλυτος Procat. 16. This seal is above all a mark of ownership by which the Lord recognizes His own and which repels the evil spirits: προσέλθετε εἰς τὴν μυστικὴν σφραγιδα, ἵνα εὐγνωστοὶ ᾖτε τῷ δεσπότη Cat. 1.2, cf. 1.3; 17.26, 36.

This seal does not confer the Holy Spirit but it is received through the operation of the Spirit: ἀγίῳ πνεύματι τὴν σφραγιδα λαβόντες Cat. 4.32, cf. 5.6. Cyril uses the verb to say that the act of sealing is performed by the Spirit: τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ καθαίρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σφραγίζει τὴν ψυχὴν ib. 3.4, cf. 3.3; 16.24. The water and the operation of the Spirit are both necessary: μὴ τῷ φιλῷ τοῦ ὕδατος πρόσεχε· ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκδέχου· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδύνατόν σε τελειωθῆναι ib. 3.4. In support of this theory Cyril refers to Christ's demand for rebirth through water and the Spirit, Jn. 3.5, and he concludes that water without the Spirit or without the seal is not sufficient to gain entrance to the kingdom of Heaven, even though one be virtuous: οὐδὲ ὁ τῷ ὕδατι βεβαπτισμένος, μὴ καταξιωθεὶς δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος, τελείαν ἔχει τὴν χάριν· οὐδὲ κἂν ἐνάρετός τις γένηται τοῖς ἔργοις, μὴ λάβῃ δὲ τὴν δι' ὕδατος σφραγιδα, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν Cat. 3.4. The expression δι' ὕδατος σφραγιδα clearly indicates that Cyril is still referring to baptism. This being so, καταξιωθεὶς refers to the operation of the Spirit, although the verb is a more appropriate term for the gift of the Spirit. To conclude, Cyril maintains in this passage that, even after they had received the Holy Ghost, Cornelius and his family had to be baptized. This eliminates any possibility of confusion between the seal of baptism and the gift of the Spirit.

Eastern Syria. – The close connection between bath and anointing in Syria had as a result that from the third century onwards in Eastern Syria the conferring of this seal was attributed to the prebaptismal anointing.¹

¹ See p. 311 ff. and 360 ff.

According to the Didascalia the deaconess had the duty of pointing out the obligations arising from the baptismal seal to the women as they left the water: *et cum ascendit ex aqua, quae baptizatur, eam suscipiat diaconissa ac doceat et erudiat, ut infragile sit sigillum (htm) baptismi in castitate et sanctitate* Didasc. 3.12.3, cf. Const. 3.16.4. This may be a seal which is conferred by baptism itself or by the baptismal imposition of hands, but in another passage the writer already appears to view the receiving of the seal and being baptized as two separate rites following one upon the other. He does not allow communion with converted pagans until, after the reception of the seal, they have been perfected: *μέχρις οὗ τὴν σφραγιδα λαβόντες τελειωθῶσιν* Const. (Didasc.) 2.39.6. The perfection can only be baptism; if the seal is granted beforehand this is brought about by the prebaptismal anointing.

The explanation of this development may be that the conferring of the seal continued to be linked with the postbaptismal anointing which coincides first with the act of baptism and afterwards with the prebaptismal anointing.

Western Syria. – In Western Syria Theodore of Mopsuestia maintains that the seal is conferred by the first of the two prebaptismal anointings. In thus far he is in agreement with the East Syrians whereas other western writers cling to the idea that the seal is granted by baptism itself.

In Antioch John Chrysostom holds that the baptismal imposition of hands also confers the gift of the Spirit, and the reception of the seal of ownership coincides with this: *καθάπερ γὰρ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται* In 2 Cor. 3.7, cf. Ill.Cat. 2.5, In Eph. 2.2. In a homily probably given at Constantinople he calls baptism enlightenment and seal, rebirth and ablution: *κλαῦσον τοὺς ἀπίστους. . τοὺς χωρὶς φωτίσματος ἀπερχομένους, τοὺς χωρὶς σφραγιδος* In Phil. 3.4, cf. In Hebr. 13.4.

In the Apostolic Constitutions the seal of ownership is mentioned in four places. Simon Magus received the seal in the Lord: *ἔλαβεν. . Σίμων ὁ μάγος τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγιδα* Const. 2.14.8. The Constitutor thus knows *τὴν σφραγιδα λαμβάνειν* as an expression for the reception of baptism. He then probably thinks of baptism when he adopts *τὴν σφραγιδα λαβόντες* from the Didascalia in the passage just quoted, Const. (Didasc.) 2.39.6. In his description of the baptismal liturgy he retains to a large extent the words of the Didascalia concerning the unbreakable seal. This is received before leaving the water, probably at the baptism itself: *ὅπως σεμνοπρεπῶς ἢ μετάδοσις τῆς ἀθραύστου*

σφραγῖδος γένηται Const. 3.16.4, cf. Didasc. 3.12.3. He then resumes the baptismal rites in order to give their meanings; after baptism and water he mentions oil, seal, and myron: ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδόμενον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας Const. 3.17.1. Placed between oil and myron, the seal is baptism considered as the mark of ownership in the form of a cross.¹

Asia Minor. — After the comparatively numerous data concerning the rise of the baptismal seal in Asia Minor, those for the third century are extremely scarce. A passage in Methodius of Olympus recalls the obligation of preserving the seal. With reference to Jer. 2.32 the bishop refers to the breast-band of the maidens as the love which Christ gives us to keep unto the end with unbroken seal: ἡ δὲ στηθοδεσμός . . . ἔστιν ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπη, ἣν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμὴν Ἰησοῦς . . . ἄρρηκτόν τε καὶ ἐσφραγισμένην μέχρι τέλους τηρῆσαι παράσχοι Symp. 4.6.

Basil the Great mentions the unassailable seal in a list of baptismal names: βάπτισμα . . . ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν, σφραγὶς ἀνεπιχειρήτος In Bapt. 13.5, cf. 13.4. The baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch he calls the seal of the Spirit: οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ πνεύματος ib. 13.6. This expression need not refer to the gift of the Spirit but rather to His activity at the conferring of the seal. Gregory of Nazianzus points out the danger of children dying without the seal of baptism: ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφραγίστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα Or. 40.28. Without further definition σφραγὶς and σφραγίζειν are names for baptism: σὺ δέδοικας τὴν σφραγῖδα ib. 40.17, τῇ καθάρσει σφραγίσθητι ib. 40.18, but Gregory is also familiar with the idea of the baptismal seal which must be kept: σφραγῖδα δὲ ὡς συντήρησιν ib. 40.4.

Anonymous literature. — Of the anonymous sources we mention first a text which is a Christian interpolation in the *Paralipomena Jeremiae*, also called the Rest of the Words of Baruch, a Jewish apocryphal writing from the beginning of the second century. The end section was rewritten under Christian influence. The men and women who return from the Babylonian Exile are required to leave their pagan spouses. As they approach the Holy Land Jeremiah is commanded by God to institute an investigation near the Jordan. The present text, however, demands an investigation 'on account of' the water and the possession of the seal which is then probably baptism: δοκιμάσεις δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ὁ μὴ ἀκούων φανερὸς γενήσεται· τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖόν ἐστι τῆς μεγάλης σφραγῖδος Par. Jer. 6.23.

Another apocryphal text, preserved in various translations, says in

¹ See also p. 316 f. and 363 f.

an exhortation by Ezra to the Israelites that the elect wear a seal at the Lord's table: *commendatum domini accipite et iocundamini gratias agentes ei qui uos ad caelestia regna uocauit. surgite et state et uidete numerum signatorum in conuiuio domini* 4 Esd. 2.37 ff. The passage shows dependence on the New Testament; that which follows is based upon the vision of the multitude of the redeemed in Apoc. 7.9 ff. The text may therefore refer not to circumcision but rather to the mark of ownership of the baptized which qualifies one for partaking in the celebration of the Eucharist.¹

The Acts of Potamiaena and Basilides preserve the story of a Roman soldier who after his conversion refused military service and was martyred at Antioch in 202/3 on the day after the brothers had given him the seal in the Lord in prison: τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγιδος μεταδόντων αὐτῷ Act.Pot. 6. The Acts are old and may thus possibly serve as evidence for the baptismal seal in Egypt.

In the later Acts of the Apostles expressions like τὴν σφραγιδα διδόναι, λαμβάνειν, and σφραγίζειν recur frequently for the administration and reception of baptism: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγιδα Act.Phil. 29, cf. Act.Petr.Andr. 21, Act.Xanth. 13.

(2) The 'mark' of baptism. — Various terms related to σφραγίς, although preferably not σφραγίς itself, are used in the first centuries for an impression made upon the soul at baptism; in order to distinguish it from the seal we shall name it a 'mark'.² If one wishes to formulate the distinction in its sharpest form, the seal is a losable sign of ownership in the form of the divine name and later of the cross, whereas the 'mark' is an indelible impression of God's image in the soul. In actual fact, however, the idea that the seal can be lost disappears and the indelibility of the mark is not always borne in mind. Nevertheless there is reason to assume an essential difference since the terms for the baptismal 'mark' have a completely different origin. They go back to those which refer to the baptismal transformation of man as a renewal, re-creation, and rebirth.

The re-creation especially is important here since it gives rise to the conception that the baptismal transformation occurs after the image of Christ.³ The first creation, indeed, took place after God's image and likeness: κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Gen. 1.26. In

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 80 n. 2.

² Many texts have been assembled by LAMPE, *op.cit.*, p. 247 ff., although under the misleading name of 'the seal of the divine image'.

³ See p. 131 ff.

Hellenistic Judaism Wisdom, which takes part in creation, is itself effulgence and image of God: ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστὶν φωτὸς αὐδίου. .καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ Wisd. 7.26.

In the philosophical terminology developed by Philo in this connection μορφή, τύπος, χαρακτήρ, and especially σφραγίς and derivatives are current for the creation of the universe and the human soul after the image of the Logos.¹

In the New Testament Christ is the image, effulgence, and impress of the Father: τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ 2 Cor. 4.4, ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ Heb. 1.3, and re-creation is a transformation and renewal after the image of Christ: ὅτι οὐδὲ προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Rom. 8.29, ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον (sc. ἀνδρωπων) τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν Col. 3.10. The glory which shines from Christ's image must penetrate ever deeper into man until his body shall be glorified after the image of heavenly man: τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν 2 Cor. 3.18, καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοῦκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου 1 Cor. 15.49.²

In early Christian literature re-creation after the image of Christ is called a moulding, marking, and stamping. The terms for this are, in addition to εἰκὼν, especially μορφή and derivatives, τύπος and derivatives, χαρακτήρ and χάραγμα. The word εἰκὼν itself, together with μορφή and derivatives, continues the linguistic usage of Paul. Evidence for χαρακτήρ might be found in Heb. 1.3, but its use here is really more proof that terms like χαρακτήρ and τύπος may be expected automatically in such a connection, especially when the comparison with the effigy on a coin has once been introduced. It is none the less striking that the whole terminology shows a great similarity to that of Philo, with this difference that σφραγίς and derivatives, which are predominant in Philo, are almost absent in the Christian authors. If one assumes indebtedness to Philo this implies an avoidance of the terms for the seal which had already been used in another connection. This interrelation, however, is difficult to prove.

The second century. — Ps.-Barnabas is the first to use τύπος in order to express the idea that through baptismal renewal, re-creation, and rebirth God makes man into another form or stamp: ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναπλάσσαντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς Ep. 6.II.

¹ See p. 216 f.

² Cf. G. LINDESKOG, *op.cit.*, p. 226 ff.

Here the baptismal 'mark' has already obtained a better formulation than in the following writers.

In a number of texts indeed the image of the Christian is compared with the effigy on a coin but usually the connection with the baptismal transformation is not clearly brought out. We find this for the first time in Ignatius. He contrasts the coin of the Christians having the image of God to that of the unbelievers bearing the impress of this world: ὡςπερ γάρ ἐστιν νομίσματα δύο, ὁ μὲν θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Magn. 5.2. No source is indicated for this comparison but, if it should go back to the coin of the emperor in Mt. 22.15 ff., this immediately explains why Ignatius already contrasts God's coin and that of the world. In this case there need be no connection with the baptismal re-creation after God's image nor with the philosophical terminology of Philo. Instead of εἰκῶν in Mt. 22.20, χαρακτῆρ is used as a common technical term for the effigy on a coin.¹

An excerpt from Theodotus shows that the above mentioned episode of the emperor's coin was indeed developed in this sense from early times. Theodotus does not develop the contrast between the two coins but for the coin of God the image and inscription are now described in more detail: ὁ κύριος εἶπεν οὐ τίνος τὸ κτῆμα, ἀλλά· τίνος ἡ εἰκῶν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή (Mt. 22.20)... οὕτως καὶ ὁ πιστός· ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν ἔχει διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὡς εἰκόνα Exc. 86.1 f. There again appears to be no direct connection with re-creation but the text goes on to speak of baptism and another excerpt mentions the idea that baptism is a 'transformation': ἡ δύναμις δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς τοῦ βαπτισθέντος οὐ περὶ τοῦ σώμα ἰβ. 77.1.

Irenaeus makes a similar comparison. The image and inscription constitute an element which goes back to the emperor's coin, but the emphasis now falls upon the two denarii of the good Samaritan, Lk 10.35, while a reference is also made to the talents from Mt. 25.15: *commendante domino spiritui sancto suum hominem, qui incidemat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est, et ligavit uulnera eius, dans duo denaria ut per spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem patris et filii accipientes fructificemus creditum nobis denarium* Haer. 3.17.3.

From the third century onwards. – As perhaps Theodotus had already done, Clement of Alexandria establishes a connection between the baptismal transformation of man after God's image and the bearing

¹ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 113, and BENOIT, *op.cit.*, 73 f.

by the Christian of the effigy upon God's coin. From Paul's terminology of renewal and re-creation he borrows the expressions of the old and earthly man who now bears the image of the emperor; the Christian, on the other hand, bears another mark, other names, and other letters: *ὅτε χοϊκοὶ ἦμεν καίσαρος ἦμεν, καῖσαρ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ πρόσκαιρος ἀρχων, οὗ καὶ εἰκῶν χοϊκὴ ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος... ἄλλο χάραγμα νῦν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ ἄλλα ὀνόματα καὶ γράμματα ἐνσημαίνεται* Ecl. 24.1 ff.

In another passage it is not apparent upon which of the two sources Clement bases the use of *εἰκῶν* for the image of God that the Christians, unlike the heathens, bear with them: *ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ζῶντι καὶ κινουμένῳ τούτῳ ἀγάλματι, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, σύνοικον εἰκόνα, σύμβουλον* Protr. 59.2. Elsewhere again the mark of the just is compared with the royal *χάραγμα* on a silver coin: *ὡς ἀργυρος πολλαίς ἀποκαθαρθεὶς εἰς δοκίμιον καθίσταται ὁ δίκαιος, νόμισμα κυρίου γενόμενος καὶ χάραγμα βασιλικὸν ἀναδεξάμενος* Strom. 6.60.1¹

In the texts quoted *εἰκῶν*, *χάραγμα*, and *χαρακτήρ* do not appear to be connected with the compounds of *σφραγίζειν* and *χαράσσειν* which Clement, like Philo, uses in a metaphorical philosophical sense. On the other hand Clement does not link them with *σφραγίς* which is his term for the baptismal seal. From this, however, it is not yet certain that we find here a distinct terminology for an indelible mark of baptism.

It is even probable that according to Origen at least the mark as well as the seal can be lost. Through sin the Christian becomes a child of the devil and moulded after his image: *μορφούμενον καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα γινόμενον τοῦ πονηροῦ πατρὸς, ἀφ' οὗ ἔρχονται καὶ τυποῦνται αἱ ἐκείνου τοῦ χοϊκοῦ εἰκόνες* In Jo. 20.22.181. Hence the loss of the baptismal seal can be compensated by resuming through penance the existence in accordance with the image of God: *σφραγίς δὲ... ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται πᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα διὰ μετανοίας ἀναλαμβάνων* In Jer. fr. 4.

On the other hand Origen refers the mark of baptism to Paul's sealing with the Spirit considered as the conferring of a seal impression and a mark through the operation of the Spirit. He who hears and does not believe cannot be sealed: *οὐκ ἂν σφραγισθεῖη*, but he who believes and does not hear the word of truth cannot either receive the seal of the Spirit which is the 'mark' of the Spirit: *οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν χωρήσαι τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σφραγιδα, <ἦ>τις ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἐκτύπωσις καὶ τράνωσις τούτων ἃ πρέπει ἐκτυποῦσθαι καὶ τρανοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας πνεύματος* In Eph. 1.13 (JThS 3, 1902, p. 243 G.).

Later Alexandrian writers have similar expressions. With reference

¹ Cf. also the use of *χαρακτήρ* in Strom. 4.116.2; text see p. 358.

to the first creation Serapion calls the baptismal re-creation and rebirth a transformation after the divine image: μόρφωσον πάντας τοὺς ἀναγεννωμένους τὴν θεϊαν καὶ ἄρρητόν σου μορφήν Euch. 19.3, and Didymus the Blind calls it in the same connection a being sealed after God's image and likeness: καταδύοντες μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρα.. ἀναγεννώμεθα καὶ σφραγιζώμεθα· ἀνιόντες δὲ ἐνδύομεθά τε τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστόν.. καὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπολαμβανόμεν Trin. 2.12, cf. Athanasius Inc. 14.

In Asia Minor Methodius of Olympus calls the baptismal transformation the impression of a mark: τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρρηνωπίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, τῆς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν μορφῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτυπουμένης τοῦ λόγου... εἰς γὰρ τὰς ἀναγεννωμένων ψυχὰς ἀναγκαῖον ἐξομοργνύμενον ἐκτυποῦσθαι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας Symp. 8.8, cf. 3.8; 8.6; 8.9 f., Porph. 1.5.

Gregory of Nazianzus makes a comparison with a golden and an iron signet-ring; if they bear the same image of the king, they make the same impression in wax. Thus it makes no difference by whom one is baptized; the power of the baptism is the same and care must only be taken that the minister is transformed in the same belief: ἢ γε τοῦ βαπτίσματος δύναμις ἴση· καὶ τελειοποιός σοι πᾶς ὁμοίως, ὁ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει μεμορφωμένος Or. 40.26. Nor does it make any difference with whom one is baptized, for all are transformed after the same image of Christ: ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας μεταποιῆ, πάντες εἴξαν οἱ παλαιοὶ χαρακτῆρες· μιᾷ μορφῇ πᾶσι Χριστὸς ἐπιτίθεται ib. 40.27, cf. 40.7. On the other hand Methodius and Gregory know the 'seal' of baptism as a losable mark which must be preserved.¹

In the West a passage of Ambrose's funeral oration on Valentinian II refers to both the mark and seal of baptism as found in the East. The emperor was murdered in 392 at an early age after he had expressed a desire to be baptized. Ambrose therefore does not doubt that he has received the grace of baptism, Obit.Val. 51, and applies to him certain passages from the Song of Songs; they really refer to Christ, he thinks, but this application is justified since the emperor possessed the image of Christ and because, like slaves and soldiers, he wore the mark of ownership of his master: *Valentinianus meus, iuuenis meus, candidus et rubeus* (Cant. 5.10), *habens in se imaginem Christi – talibus enim prosequitur ecclesia in Canticis Christum; nec iniuriam putes; caractere domini inscribuntur et seruuli et nomine imperatoris signantur milites* Obit.Val. 58. The comparison with the mark of ownership of

¹ See p. 400.

soldiers and animals is traditional in connection with the seal of baptism,¹ but Ambrose now links it with the image of Christ possessed by the faithful and for which we found the term *χαρακτήρ* in the East. For the rest, the question of whether or not this *imago Christi* and *character* is indelible does not arise. Neither is the connection with baptism established in so many words. Ambrose's idea is rather that he himself attributes this *character domini* to Valentinian by applying to him quotations from the Song of Songs: *licet ergo et mihi caractere domini signare seruuulum: iuuenis meus candidus..caput eius aurum cephaz* (Cant. 5.10 f.) Obit.Val. 59.

It is generally held that Augustine was the first to give to the mark of baptism the clearly defined meaning it has retained ever since, although it has recently been denied by Haring that in Augustine *character* is already a technical term for this mark.²

In the absence of a clear distinction between the validity and the efficacy of baptism,³ Augustine does stress the validity by saying that 'baptism' or the 'sacrament of baptism' is also present when received in a sect and that it remains on relapse into sin or apostacy. The same is true of 'ordination' or the 'sacrament of ordination': *sicut baptismus in eis ita ordinatio mansit integra* Parmen. 2.13.28, *ipsi explicent, quomodo sacramentum baptizati non possit amitti et sacramentum ordinati possit amitti* ib. 2.13.30, cf. Bapt. 1.1.2, Serm.Mor.Denis 8.2. In such a case baptism is not nothing: *baptismus ille etiam in illo qui nihil est non est nihil* In Jo. 6.14.

In support of this concept Augustine repeatedly compares the abiding quality in baptism with the tattoos of soldiers and the brands of sheep. Since such a mark is indelible the bearer is easily identified and since it contains the name of the owner it must be acknowledged even when it is applied by unqualified persons: *intueantur etiam similitudinem notae militaris, quae extra militiam a desertoribus et haberi et accipi potest* Bapt. 1.4.5, *neque enim propterea mutandus uel improbandus est regius character in homine, si erroris sui ueniam et militandi ordinem a rege impetrauerit, quia eundem characterem, quo sibi satellites congregaret, desertor infixit, aut propterea signa mutanda sunt ouibus, cum dominico gregi sociantur, quia eis dominicum signum fugitiuus impressit* Cresc. 1.30.35. Hence Augustine uses *signum*, *signaculum*, and

¹ See p. 422.

² N. M. HARING, *St Augustine's Use of the Word character*, Mediaeval Studies 14, 1952, p. 79 ff.

³ See p. 327 f.

character to denote that which is indelible in baptism: *sic enim error corrigendus est ouis, ut non in ea corrumpatur signaculum redemptoris* Ep. 185.6.23, *unum signum habemus; quare non in uno ouili sumus?* Serm. ad Caes. 4, *si autem non habet (sc. caritatem), characterem quidem impositum habet, sed desertor uagatur* In Jo. 5.6.

Augustine does not argue from the basis of renewal, re-creation, and rebirth as the permanent transformation of man after the image of God, but merely from the comparison with tattoos and brands which in the East was traditionally linked with the seal of baptism. As a result he speaks of a mark which is not the divine image nor the seal of the cross. His argumentation, however, leads to the idea that it contains the names of the Trinity.

For baptism to be valid in fact, it had to be administered in the name of the Trinity; the *sacramentum* is then confirmed by the Trinitarian formula and rebaptism is not necessary after a later lapse into error: *numquid denuo baptizatus est? quid ita? quia illa sanctitas sacramenti uerbis euangelicis consecrata super eum integra permanebat* Bapt. 3.14.19. This also applies to the *sacramentum* of heretical baptism: *quamobrem si euangelicis uerbis: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* (Mt. 28.19) *Marcion baptismum consecrabat, integrum erat sacramentum* ib. 3.15.20. Augustine returns to this point in his sermon for the Donatists of Caesarea. They possess the *baptismus* because they are baptized in the name of the Trinity and not in the name of Donatus; their *character* must therefore be acknowledged even though they are deserters, for it consists of the three divine names: *baptismus non est ipsorum (i.e. haeticorum et schismaticorum) sed Christi... Donatus non baptizauit in nomine Donati. nam si Donatus, quando schisma fecit, in nomine Donati baptizaret, desertoris characterem infingeret... ego quando uenio ad fratrem meum, et colligo errantem fratrem meum, attendo fidem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti: iste est character imperatoris mei. de isto caractere... praecepit dicens: ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* (Mt. 28.19) Serm. ad Caes. 2.

We thus find *signum*, *signaculum*, and especially *character* as equivalents of *baptismus* and *sacramentum* to denote that which is permanent in baptism. If, therefore, Augustine concludes that this *character* contains the names of the Trinity this does not mean, as argued by Haring, that it is only a name for the Trinitarian form or the external rite of baptism in contrast to *baptismus* and especially *sacramentum* which would be the Augustinian equivalent for *character* as used in

scholastic theology.¹ In the texts quoted *baptismus* and *sacramentum* are linked as well with the Trinitarian formula.

Whereas in Greek tattoo and brand, when compared with baptism, are called σφραγίς, Augustine has a pronounced preference for *character* in place of *signum* and *signaculum*. To explain this we must take into account the fact that Latin possessed no clear equivalent for σφραγίς,² but in Latin Christian literature before Augustine *character* is extremely rare. His choice may thus possibly have been influenced by the way in which Ambrose had spoken of the Christian mark of ownership as a *character* in Obit. Val. 58.³

(3) The seal of the name and the seal of the cross. – The use of σφραγίς and derivatives have become very common to refer to the Christian mark of ownership in general, independent of baptism. This development, however, started only after the concept of the seal had changed from the divine name to that of the cross. In actual fact, this means that σφραγίς developed into a metaphorical name for the sign of the cross.⁴

In order to examine this seal of the cross we must have regard to all the meanings of the seal dealt with up till now, for the new concept gradually penetrates every field. The rites of blessing, healing, exorcism, and reconciliation can be called a sealing, after the sign of the cross has been introduced in the gesture of imposition of hands and anointing. In Paul the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit is already called a sealing but it is probable that in this name too the reference to a gesture in the form of a cross was speedily seen. We are principally concerned, however, with the seal of baptism since herein the rise of the concept can best be observed.

The second century. – In general it can be established for the second century that the seal is still associated with the name of God, if at least any concept of it was formed. On the other hand, the sign of the cross is not called a seal in contexts where this would have been possible and is done later.

In Hermas the seal of baptism is the name of God's Son, to such an extent that σφραγίς interchanges with ὄνομα: πρὶν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν

¹ *Art. cit.*, p. 83.

² See p. 412 ff.

³ Now *character* as well as *signum* can denote the sign of the cross; see HARING, *art. cit.*, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. E. STOMMEL, Σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως (*Did.* 16.6), *RömQ* 48, 1953, p. 21 ff., F. J. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens*, *JACH* 1, 1958, p. 5 ff., and 2, 1959, p. 15 ff., 3, 1960, p. 5 ff., W. MICHAELIS, *Zeichen, Siegel, Kreuz*, *Theol. Zeitschr.* 12, 1956, p. 505 ff.

ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστίν· ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα.. Past. 93.3, cf. 93.5. The Odes of Solomon may be cited for the East. Here σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν were possibly the original terms for a baptismal seal which in any case represented the divine name, Od.Sol. 8.16 ff., 39.6 f.¹

For the seal as the Christian mark of ownership in general only few texts can be quoted. The Odes of Solomon attribute this seal to the angels: 'For Thy seal (*hlm*) is known and Thy hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it' Od.Sol. 4.8. This is an application of the seal from Apoc. 7.2 ff. and perhaps of the baptismal seal as it is found elsewhere in the Odes. The concept of the seal, although not indicated, is then probably also that of the divine name.

In the hymn of the Naassenes transmitted by Hippolytus Jesus asks the Father to be sent down to earth. Bearing seals He will descend through the aeons in order to reveal to man the secrets of the gnosis: σφραγίδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι, αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω, μυστήρια πάντα δ' ἀνοίξω Ref. 5.10.2. The seals are magical marks of ownership which are to protect Jesus on His journey through the aeons. We must assume the origin and concept of the seals to be the same as for the seal of the angels in the Odes of Solomon.²

On the other hand, the fact exists that in second century texts the cross is not yet called a seal. The Odes of Solomon say of the stretching out of the hands in the form of a cross as an attitude of prayer: 'I extended (*ḫšī*) my hands, and I sanctified (them) to my Lord: for the extension (*mth*) of my hands in His sign (*'t*)' Od.Sol. 27.1 f., cf. 42.1 f. As the equivalents of the Syriac terms we may assume σημεῖον and ἐκπεταννύναι, ἐκπέτασις, in accordance with the expression σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως which already denotes the sign of the cross in Did. 16.6.

Irenaeus refers to the sign of the cross a passage from the Septuagint in which ἐκπεταννύναι is the translation of *ḫrs*: 'And again, concerning His Cross, Isaiah says: I have stretched forth my hands all the day to a stubborn and contrary people (Is. 65.2); for this is a sign (*nšanak*) of the cross' Dem. 79. Here the Armenian noun must go back to σημεῖον. For the rest, σφραγίς is not to be expected in so far as σημεῖον and ἐκπεταννύναι formed a fixed locution.

A clearer indication is perhaps provided by Ps.-Barnabas in an argument directed against circumcision. He points out the Old Testament requirement of an inner circumcision, Ep. 9.4 f. The Jewish

¹ See p. 392 f.

² Cf. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 161 ff.

defence is that circumcision is performed with a view to the seal: *περιτέμνεται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγίδα* ib. 9.6, but the author asserts in reply that other peoples are also familiar with this custom. His third argument is that Abraham was only circumcised on Jesus' account, for by circumcising the 318 members of his household he accepted the doctrine concerning Jesus (IH = 18) and the cross (T = 300): *ὅτι Ἀβραάμ. . εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιέτεμεν, λαβῶν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα. . τὸ δεκαοκτῶ ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτώ· ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ὅτι δὲ τὸ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταῦ ἡμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους* ib. 9.7 f. The seal of the covenant is hereby contrasted with the cross but not yet with the seal of the cross. Had the writer been familiar with this concept, he would probably have employed it for his argument as do later authors.¹

The Acts of John contain a passage in which Jesus shows to John a luminous cross; in order to indicate the meaning of this cross it is given a number of names, among which *σφραγίς* might be expected but does not yet occur: *ὁ σταυρὸς οὗτος ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ Χριστός, ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὁδός, ποτὲ ἄρτος, ποτὲ σπόρος* Act. Jo. 98.²

In the Acts of Paul the expression *τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιεῖν* occurs for the making of the sign of the cross. Thecla ascends the pyre while making this gesture: *ἡ δὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιησαμένη ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων* Act. Paul. Thecl. 22. Later the sign of the cross is regularly called a seal in such contexts. This is therefore a good indication that in Asia Minor at least the seal of the cross was yet unknown in the latter half of the second century.

On the other hand, two passages from the Acts of John which would seem to indicate an early rise of the seal of the cross in this region are of little value. The first is in the episode of the cup of poison which John drains without harmful results. The story is preserved in various forms in which even the circumstances show notable variations. The Greek text has been transmitted in two forms of which the first makes no mention at all of a seal or sign of the cross. The second has the compound *κατασφραγίζειν* for the sign of the cross which the apostle makes over the poison before drinking it: *ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸ φάρμακον καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος αὐτὸ. . ἔπιεν αὐτό* Act. Jo. 9. The absence of this detail in the first form leads one to suppose a later addition. M. R. James calls the Greek text in both forms distinctly late and for this reason in his English translation of the Acts adopts the story as it appears in the

¹ See p. 424.

² Concerning the meaning of *καλεῖσθαι*, see p. 174.

Historia Apostolica of Abdias.¹ In this form, however, the story seems even more adapted and elaborated. The apostle now makes the sign of the cross twice, the first time evidently over the poison and then, after pronouncing a long prayer, over himself: *accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens ita locutus est... et cum haec dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armauit signo crucis et bibit quod erat in calice* Hist.Abd. 5.20.

The other episode is the conclusion of the Acts which relates the death of the apostle. He lays his clothes in a trench which has been made for him and raises his hands for the pronouncing of a long prayer; then he seals himself all over his body, lays himself down in the trench, utters his last words, and gives up the ghost. With the principal variants from the many Greek manuscripts and the versions in which the end is preserved the text reads: *καὶ (ἀτενίσας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς οἱ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν add. PWA, et conuersus est ad orientem et glorificauit* Syr.) *σφραγισάμενος (τε add. PWA) ἑαυτὸν ὅλον ἐστῶς (καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος ἑαυτὸν ὅλον V, καὶ σφραγίσας ἑαυτὸν ἐστῶς ὅλον τὸ σῶμα B, σφραγίσας ἑαυτὸν ὅλον τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπῳ τοῖς τε ἀδελφοῖς ἐπευξάμενος M, lux tanta apparuit super apostolum per unam fere horam, ut nullius eam sufferret aspectus, et signans se totum adstitit* Lat., *obsignans totum se* Armen., *stans totus in lumine* Syr.)... παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα χαίρων Act. Jo. 115.

It may be doubted whether here *σφραγίσας* goes back to the original text. The participle is missing only in the Syriac version but it could easily be inserted in the context and the whole of the conclusion of the Acts has been subjected to much elaboration. Another argument against its being original is that here and in the episode of the cup of poison the apostle seals his entire body. According to the third century texts, which follow, the old custom was to seal only the forehead. We must conclude that for the second century in general the seal of ownership still represented the name of God, if at least a particular image was thought of, and not the sign of the cross.

From the third century onwards. – We have seen that already in the second century the ‘sign’ of the cross was known as a Christian mark of ownership. The custom of signing oneself with the cross was also familiar and the sign of the cross had perhaps penetrated into some rites of imposition of hands and anointing.² The problem now remains

¹ M. R. JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1953, p. 228 and 262.

² See for the gesture of healing p. 298 f., and for the postbaptismal rite p. 347 f.

of how in Greek σφραγίς and derivatives became terms for the sign of the cross and for any gesture performed in the form of a cross.

The explanation might be found in a practical circumstance. It is possible that already in the second century the postbaptismal anointing was performed in the form of a cross. This would mean that σφραγίζειν as the Pauline name for this rite and, through the close association of bath and anointing in Syria and Asia Minor, also σφραγίς as the term for the baptismal mark of ownership would have been linked at an early date with the sign of the cross. This could have led to the idea that the seal represented a cross. This supposition is, however, purely hypothetical: there is no evidence for it in the texts.

It is striking, on the other hand, that the earliest data originate from the West and from Syria. The contact of Greek with Latin and Syriac does indeed give rise to circumstances which may explain this peculiar development. In order to translate the Greek terms for 'seal' Latin and Syriac employ equivalents which mean as well or exclusively 'sign', and may refer to the sign of the cross. Consequently the metaphor of the seal of the cross may arise on translation but is likely to disappear. Through the contact with these languages the Greek terms for the seal can now be associated with the sign of the cross, which amounts again to a concept of the seal of the cross.

Such a rise of the seal of the cross is already possible from the middle of the second century when the baptismal seal becomes known, and the earliest texts dating from the beginning of the third century do indeed make it appear that in the West and in Syria the development goes back to the second century, whereas it remains unknown in Egypt for a long time. As far as Palestine and Asia Minor are concerned there are no data to determine more closely the period at which this term became common.

The West. — In Latin the normal equivalents of σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν are *signum*, *signaculum*, *sigillum* and *signare*, *consignare*, *obsignare*. Of these *signum* and *signare* can be used for every technique of making a mark but in the diminutives and compounds mentioned this is always the technique of sealing. If, therefore, the Greek terms as names for the Christian mark of ownership are translated in Latin by *signum* and derivatives, the association with the *signum crucis* is almost inevitable. The result must have been that in both languages the seal came to be represented as the cross and that the seal became a metaphorical name for the sign of the cross in general. The third century texts from Africa and Rome show a situation in which this development has already been

completed. Whereas now in Greek the seal of the cross gains popularity, Latin is faced with the difficulty that the metaphor of the seal may be either present or absent with *signum* and *signare*. It was therefore easy for it to fade again into the background.

Africa. – Tertullian is familiar with the signing of the cross on the forehead as a common and frequent custom of the faithful. He calls the sign a seal and the gesture a sealing without it being apparent that this usage was in any way new.

In the law on the forehead of the righteous at the punishment of Jerusalem Tertullian sees a reference to cross and passion: *proinde passum etiam Christum, aequè iustos eius eadem passuros... signatos illa nota scilicet, de qua Ezechiel: ... da signum Tau in frontibus uirorum* (Ez. 9.4). *ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis, quam portendebat futuram in frontibus nostris* Marc. 3.22.5 f. In addition to *signare* he also uses *signaculum* in order to convey to Marcion that with him too this seal on the forehead is customary: *quae omnia cum in te quoque deprehendantur, et signaculum frontium et ecclesiarum sacramenta* ib. 3.22.7. For the rest, the terms used are to be attributed to Tertullian. They give no evidence that the metaphor of the seal was also common among the Marcionites.

In a well-known passage Tertullian specifies the occasions on which the faithful have their foreheads sealed: *ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad uestitum, ad calciatum, ad lauacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus* Cor. 3.4. The woman who has married a pagan wishes to do this in secret: *latebisne tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas?* Ux. 2.5.2, this in contrast to Christian couples: *non furtiua signatio* ib. 7.8.8.

In another connection we have already mentioned the introduction of the sign of the cross and of the metaphor of the seal in blessing: *lectulum signas* Ux. 2.5.2, *matrimonium... obsignat benedictio* ib. 2.8.6, in healing or exorcism: *signandi et unguendi bestiae calcem* Scorp. 1.3, and in the conferring of the Spirit: *caro signatur* Res. 8.3, cf. Praescr. 40.4.¹

It is noteworthy that in these texts Tertullian uses *signum* once in a biblical quotation and for the rest always has *signaculum*, in which the metaphor of the seal is certainly present; when employing a verb he gives the preference to *signare*. Here too the metaphor of the seal may now be assumed.

¹ See p. 293, 306, 352.

Rome. – Whereas for Hermas the seal of ownership still was the name of the Son of God, by the time of Hippolytus the new concept is already completely established. A fragment preserved in Greek illustrates the custom of crossing oneself and confirms the use of σφραγίζειν or a derivative compound as the technical term for this. A girl succeeds in fleeing from a brothel dressed in boy's clothes; she makes the sign of the cross and departs unharmed: καὶ οὕτως κατασφραγισαμένη καὶ ἐξελθοῦσα ἀφθορος καὶ ἀμίαντος διασέσωσται ap. Pallad.Hist.Laus. 65.4 (I 2 p. 277 A.).

The last chapter of the Apostolic Tradition is devoted to this custom: *semper tempta* (πειράζειν 'when tempted' C.) *modeste consignare* (σφραγίζειν C.) *tibi frontem. hoc enim signum passionis aduersus diabolium ostenditur* Trad. 37.1, *frontem et oculos per manum consignantes* (σφραγίζειν C.) ib. 37.4, cf. 36.II.

Sealing is further mentioned as a name for the sign of the cross in the prebaptismal exorcism: 'Let him... seal (σφραγίζειν C.) their foreheads and ears and noses' ib. 20.8, and in the postbaptismal rite: *consignans* (σφραγίζειν C.) *in frontem... qui signatus est* ib. 22.3.¹

The verb *consignare* is the rendering of a Greek σφραγίζειν, which is also preserved in the Coptic (Sahidic) version, or of a derivative compound. Then *signare* may be based upon the simple form σφραγίζειν as the Pauline term for the sealing with the Spirit. On the other hand, in Trad. 37.1, *signum* used along with *consignare* may just as well be the translation of σημεῖον.²

Egypt. – In the texts already quoted Clement of Alexandria links σφραγίς as the term for the seal of baptism with the Trinitarian formula but not with the cross.³ This is a reliable indication that he is at least vaguely familiar with the old concept of the seal of the name but is completely ignorant of the new.

An early instance for the seal of the cross in Egypt might be seen in a passage from the Testament of Job, composed perhaps in this area in the second or third century. It mentions the sealing by an angel as a protection against the evil spirits: μετὰ τὸ σφραγισθῆναι με ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου Test.Job 5. It does not appear, however, whether the text already refers to the sign of a cross or merely repeats the act of sealing from Apoc. 7.2 ff., as do two passages from the old Coptic version of the

¹ See p. 310 and 354.

² Cf. the use of both terms in Cyril of Jerusalem Cat. 4.14.

³ See p. 382 f.

Apocalyps of Elijah: 'I shall write My name on their foreheads and seal (σφραγίζειν) their right hands' Apoc.El. 20.18 ff., cf. 39.3 ff.

Origen refers Apoc. 7.2 ff. to ib. 14.1 in order to prove that the seal of the elect contains the name of the Lamb and His Father's name: τίς <ἀν> οὖν ἄλλη εἴη ἡ σφραγίς ἢ ἐπὶ μετώπων ἢ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρνίου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ In Jo. 1.1.6. This concept of the seal may thus be obsolete but the new one is not mentioned in the few texts dealing with the seal which could be found in Origen.¹ The term σφραγίς is missing even in the following passage where it might be expected for the seal of the cross.

Origen has inquired of Jewish scholars the meaning of the law on the foreheads in Ez. 9.4. The third, who believes in Christ, answers that in the old script the law resembles the cross and refers to the sign of the cross on the forehead of the Christians which they make on commencing any task: ἔλεγε τὰ ἀρχαῖα στοιχεῖα ἐμπερές ἔχειν τὸ θαυ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαρακτήρι καὶ προφητεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σημεῖου, ὅπερ ποιοῦσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες πάντες οὐτινοσοῦν προκαταρχόμενοι πράγματος Sel. in Ez. 9. In this text χαρακτήρ is used correctly to refer to the cross as a letter, but instead of σημεῖον we might have expected σφραγίς as this is elsewhere and later also in Egypt customary for the seal of the cross.

The same holds good for Peter of Alexandria at the end of the third century. In a letter preserved by Theodoret of Cyrrhus he mentions the sign of the cross on the head of a Roman deacon who is condemned to work in the mines in Egypt and who is conveyed as a prisoner on board ship: ὁ διάκονος.. ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεθείς.. ἐπέβαινε σκάφους ἐπὶ θαλάττης παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῦ θεοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ σημεῖον ἐπὶ μετώπου χαρακτηρίσας Hist.Eccl. 4.22.28. The deacon, who is chained, cannot make the sign of the cross himself and the verb χαρακτηρίζειν may thus rightly be used in order to indicate that this sign was written in some way or other upon his forehead.² Once again, however, the sign itself in such a context might have been called a seal.

Accordingly there are no Egyptian texts from the third century in which the various rites of imposition of hands and anointing are called a sealing although very probably they were already generally performed in the form of a cross. Only Theognostus calls the gift of the Spirit a seal: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σφραγίς ἐστί τῶν τελειουμένων fr. 3. This usage may be

¹ See p. 397.

² For the custom of marking the sign of the cross on the forehead by tattooing and other techniques, cf. Mark the Deacon Vit.Pyth. 82 and DÖLGER, *Die Kreuz-Tätowierung im christlichen Allertum*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 202 ff.

entirely based on that of Paul but the use of the noun emphasizes the concept of the seal as a mark of ownership and might thus point to the seal of the cross.¹

Among the Egyptian authors of the fourth century the seal is a generally accepted name for the sign of the cross and the rites in which the sign of the cross has been incorporated. We quote only Athanasius: ὑμεῖς οὖν σφραγίσατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἄπιτε... οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπῆρχοντο τετειχισμένοι τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ Vit.Ant. 13, cf. 80.

Palestine. – We have been unable to follow the rise of the seal of ownership in Palestine but in the beginning of the fourth century Eusebius of Caesarea knows the seal as an established name for the sign of the cross: φανερούς ἔσεσθαι συνήθως ἡμῖν τὰ πρόσωπα σφραγίζομένους τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδι Dem. 9.14.3, cf. Cyril of Jerusalem Cat. 4.14, 13.36, Epiphanius Haer. 30.7.7.

Syria. – As the Syriac equivalents of σφραγίς and derivatives in their Christian meanings *ḥetam* ‘to seal’ and *ḥatmā* ‘seal’ might be expected but these two words did not find favour in the beginning. The explanation may lie in the fact that these terms indicate in the main that something is closed with a seal or even without a seal and a metaphorical use in the Christian sense would conjure up the wrong image.²

This difficulty in translating σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν into Syriac could explain, as we have seen, the use of *ṭebaʿ* and *ʾātā* in the Odes of Solomon for the seal of ownership which represented the name of God.³ Afterwards *rešam* ‘to sign’ and *rušmā* ‘sign’ became the normal equivalents, whence the seal of the name became the sign of the cross.

As the equivalent of *rušmā* σφραγίς could now, in the Syrian milieu, become a name for the sign of the cross. The rise of this usage may perhaps be observed in a passage from the famous IXΘΥΣ acrostic from the Sibylline Oracles. This is in agreement with a dating of the acrostic in the second half of the second century when the fish symbolism was becoming extremely popular in East and West.⁴ The Syrian origin of the poem has not been established but if it is dated early no other region in the East can be considered for the seal of the cross.

The lines of the acrostic on the word σταυρός begin by saying that the

¹ See p. 359.

² Cf. SMITH s.v.; see also p. 298 above concerning the same root in Ethiopic.

³ See p. 393.

⁴ Cf. J. GEFFCKEN, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig 1902, p. 42 ff.

wood of the cross, the desired horn, will be a sign for all mortals, a clear seal, life for the devout, a scandal for the world and a means of baptismal enlightenment:

σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφραγίς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἔσται,
ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωή, πρόσκομμα δὲ κόσμου,
ὑδασι φωτίζον κλητούς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς Or.Sib. 8.244 ff.

The word σφραγίς is added in a way which suggests that the seal of the cross was known but also that it was still new.

In Celsus' True Discourse, written c. 178 A.D., σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν are established terms for a gnostic anointing rite, ap. Orig.Cels. 6.27.¹ At the end of the second century σφραγίζειν may have been used as a term for a gesture of healing in Ep.Apost. 31.² The form of the seal is not specified but the texts assume that a gesture of sealing is carried out in the form of the cross. The same is true for the Acts of Thomas.

On his arrival in India the apostle Judas Thomas is present at the wedding of a king's daughter. The oil which has been brought so that the guests may anoint themselves is used by the apostle in order to sign himself with the cross: 'Both oil and dried fruits were brought into them and they took (thereof). Some were anointing (*msh*) their faces, others their beards, and other places; but Judas was praising God, and sealing (*hitm*) the middle of his head; and he moistened his nostrils with a little (of the oil), and put (some) in his ears, and signed (*rsm*) his heart' p. 150 W. The use of the root *hitm* alongside *rsm* is surprising but may be explained by the supposition that the Syriac here is a too literal rendering of a Greek text which already had σφραγίζειν as the technical term for the sealing with the cross.³ The second time this verb is translated in the normal manner by *rsm*. The present Greek text, however, no longer has σφραγίζειν but instead ἀλείφειν and ἐπιχρῖειν for a profane anointing: λαβόντες μύρον ἕκαστος, δς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ κατήλειπεν, δς δὲ τὸ γένειον, δς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τόπους τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τὴν κορυφὴν ἤλειψεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς, καὶ ὀλίγον τι εἰς τοὺς μυκτῆρας ἐπέχρῖσεν ἑαυτοῦ, κατέσταξεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, προσῆπτε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ συνέχρῖσεν ἐπιμελῶς ib. 5. We may assume that σφραγίζειν was dropped in a later rewriting whence the apostle's gesture lost its original meaning.

The other texts lead to the same conclusion. On one occasion σφραγίζειν by itself is the technical term for a cruciform gesture by

¹ See p. 342.

² See p. 297.

³ See p. 4.

which the apostle enables a youth to raise to life the woman whom he has killed: *καὶ εἶπεν τῷ νεωτέρῳ σφραγίσας αὐτόν* Act.Thom. 54. The Syriac text gives an over-literal translation with *h^etam*: 'And he sealed (*htm*) him with the cross (*bšlyb*) and said to him' ib. p. 194 W. The addition of *b^ešlibā* would seem to indicate that *h^etam* had not the technical meaning of the Greek equivalent. In two instances *σφραγίζειν* is the term for the heretical oil baptism in which the verb refers to an anointing in the form of a cross, ib. 27, 49. Equivalents are lacking in the adapted Syriac text.¹ On one more occasion, however, *h^etam* rightly corresponds to *σφραγίζειν* for the closing (with seal) of a prison gate: 'Who opened to you the gate that was closed (*htm*)?' ib. 284 W., *τίς ὑμῖν ἤνοιξεν τὴν ἐσφραγισμένην θύραν τοῦ ἐξελεῖν*; ib. 151.

With the use of *σφραγίζειν* for the sign of the cross it is not in conflict that *διαχαράσσειν* is once found in this sense. The apostle makes the cross in the bread of the Eucharist and for this *διαχαράσσειν* is the correct term: *διεχάραξεν τῷ ἄρτῳ τὸν σταυρόν* Act.Thom. 50. The Syriac text reads: 'And he signed (*ršm*) the cross (*slyb*) on the bread' ib. p. 190 W. The addition of *š^elibā* as object to *r^ešam* 'to sign a cross' is unusual but may now be explained as a literal translation from the Greek.

For the rest, the Syriac usage later changes. Whereas Aphraates still has the root *ršm*, Ephraem seems to introduce *htm* alongside the usual terms.² In later Greek texts from Syria *σφραγίζειν* and derivatives are the current terms for the sign of the cross and for the rites performed with it. Hence the author of the Apostolic Constitutions can say: *ἡ σφραγίς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ* Const. 3.17.1.³

Asia Minor. — For the form of the seal and its application as 'a mark of ownership in general our information from Asia Minor dates only from the fourth century. The Greek terms are then established in the Cappadocian Fathers for the sign of the cross and for rites performed with it. We quote only Gregory of Nyssa who says that for Gregory Thaumaturgus the seal and the name of Christ are the weapons against the evil spirits: *καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴσον ὄπλον ἢ σφραγίς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα* Vit.Greg.Thaum. c. 952 M.

Anonymous literature. — The apocrypha and acts of the martyrs show how much the seal of the cross is at home in the popular milieu.⁴ Whereas Thecla still makes the 'sign' of the cross as she ascends the pyre, it is said of the martyr Conon that he 'seals' himself before he

¹ See p. 343 ff.

² See p. 314.

³ See p. 317.

⁴ For some apocryphal texts of Syrian origin, see p. 416 ff.

expires: σφραγίσαζ ἑαυτὸν εὐθέως ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα Pass.Con. 6.5. According to the Acts, Conon was martyred in Pamphilia under Decius or Valerian and this text is thus possibly the earliest evidence for the seal of the cross in Asia Minor. When dying the apostle Philip asks for the brilliant seal which is to protect him on his way to heaven: ἔνδυσόν με τὴν ἔνδοξόν σου στολήν, τὴν φωτεινὴν σου σφραγιδα τὴν πάντοτε λάμπουσάν Act.Phil. 144, cf. Act.Xanth. 8.

A survey of the terms for sealing. – In his study dealing with the seal in early Christian literature Lampe arrives at the conclusion that the theories of many Fathers on this subject are confused and inconsistent.¹ Some uncertainty may indeed remain with regard to the interpretation of a few texts but on the basis of our semantic investigation it can now be established that σφραγίς and derivatives have clearly defined meanings of which the development in general lines is obvious. If we leave out of consideration the profane literal use of the terms as it is continued in the Christian writers, we can give the following survey. We take as our points of departure two meanings from the New Testament, the sealing with the Spirit and the seal of the elect:

(1) In the second century the seal of the elect becomes the mark of ownership that all receive in baptism and thence a name for baptism itself. In Syria and Asia Minor this baptismal seal is not distinguished from the sealing with the Spirit. As a baptismal term it expresses the simple concept that all the baptized possess their mark of ownership and as such it belongs in the popular milieu. In this it differs from renewal, re-creation, and rebirth, which, because of the baptismal theology of which they are the expression, belong to a more cultivated milieu.

(2) From the seal of baptism *χαρακτήρ* and related terms must be distinguished as denoting the 'mark' of baptism. Their origin may be sought in the terminology of baptismal re-creation after God's image as a unique and permanent transformation of man. It is an indelible mark but the idea that the seal can be lost disappears and with it the distinction between seal and mark. Augustine uses the comparison of the 'seal' with the tattoos of soldiers and the brands of sheep in order to illustrate the indelibility of the 'mark'.

(3) The seal of the elect as the Christian mark of ownership in general only becomes widespread after the contact of the Greek terms with their Latin and Syriac equivalents leads to the 'seal of the name' being changed into the 'seal of the cross'.

¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 309.

(4) From this on, *σφραγίς* and derivatives are used to refer to rites of imposition of hands and anointing in the form of a cross, notably in blessing, (5) healing, (6) exorcism, (7) reconciliation, (8) conferring of the Spirit, (9) at the act of baptism, and (10) in ordination.

(11) A number of new meanings develop through the application of the terms to pagan, (12) Jewish, and (13) heretical concepts and rites.

In all the meanings mentioned *σφραγίς* and derivatives are used in the metaphorical sense of 'marking' something as with a seal.

(14) The metaphorical use of the terms in the sense of 'to confirm' as if with a seal only occurs in the metaphor of the 'seal of faith' which, for the rest, gained little favour.

Independently of this group of meanings we find *σφραγίς* and derivatives applied to some other Christian concepts.

(15) Hippolytus uses *σφραγίς* in the sense of 'sealing instrument' for Christ: *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡ τελεία σφραγίς καὶ ἡ κλείς* In Dan. 4.34.1.

(16) The meaning of 'seal impression' is referred to, when a late text says that virginity has a glorious seal: *ἔχει μεγάλην σφραγιδα καὶ ἔνδοξον* Act.Phil. 142.

(17) The noun *σφραγίς* and the compounds of *σφραγίζειν* are often used metaphorically in the sense of 'to mark' something as with a seal. The simple form, however, is as unusual in this meaning as it was in the general language. Ps.-Barnabas uses *ἐγκατασφραγίζειν* when saying that Moses broke the stone tablets so that the covenant of Jesus might be impressed on our hearts: *ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ (sc. διαθήκη) ἐγκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν* Ep. 4.8. The writer may have had in mind a contrast with the seal of circumcision with which he is familiar, *ib.* 9.6,¹ but there are no grounds for assuming an allusion to the seal of baptism. He shows no knowledge of this and, in view of the development of this meaning, probably possessed none.

In other texts the metaphor leads to conformity with the philosophical use of the terms in pagan antiquity, notably in Philo and perhaps under his influence.² With reference to creation after God's image and likeness Clement of Alexandria points out the rational likeness which God imprints in the soul: *τὴν πρὸς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. . ὁμοιότητα προσηκόντως ὁ κύριος ἐσφραγίζεται* Strom. 2.102.6, cf. 7.16.7, Protr. 107.2, Origen In Cant. 8.6. Dionysius of Alexandria employs Philo's philosophical terminology for the creation of matter by God: *τὸ. . ἑαυτοῦ σχῆμα καὶ τύπον ἐσφραγίζόμενος αὐτῇ* ap. Eus.Praep. 7.19.

The metaphor plays a role in the cosmological speculations of some

¹ See p. 424.

² See p. 216 f.

Gnostics mentioned by Hippolytus: τοῦ τοιοῦτου αἰῶνος ἐναπεσφράγισται.. τὸ ἐκτύπωμα Ref. 8.9.6, ἡ Εὐα γέγονε.. εἰκῶν καὶ σύμβολον, σφραγίς εἰς αἰῶνα φυλαχθησομένη τῆς Ἐδέμ ib. 5.26.9, cf. 5.14.1; 5.19.10 ff. We find σφράγισμα in a Docetic speculation for the impression of the body that Christ adopts on His baptism in the Jordan: ἐλούσατο δὲ τύπον καὶ σφράγισμα λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ γεγεννημένου σώματος ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου ib. 8.10.7, and the simple form σφραγίζειν in an exposition on death: ἀνεῦ δὲ τοῦ σφραγισαντος (sc. θεοῦ) τὸ σφραγισθὲν (sc. σῶμα) οὐ λύεται Clem.Hom. 16.19.4.

(18) The noun σφραγίς and compounds of σφραγίζειν are also used in the sense of 'to confirm' something as with a seal. This usage concurs with that in the general language and has no direct connection with the Christian meanings of the seal. Irenaeus says: τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπισφραγιζομένου Haer. 1.2.1, Clement of Alexandria: ἐπισφραγίζεται ταῦτα ὁ σωτήρ Strom. 5.80.6, Hippolytus: ἐνσφραγίζει (sc. Elkesai) τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ Ref. 9.15.2, cf. 5.24.2. In this manner the imposition of hands performed by the presbyters at the ordination of a presbyter can be explained by Hippolytus as a sealing: *clerum non ordinat; super praesbyteri uero ordinatione consignat* (σφραγίζειν C.) *episcopo ordinante* Trad. 9.8. Although the Coptic version has the simple form, Hippolytus may have used a compound. By this imposition of hands, which is a simple gesture of touching: *contingentibus etiam praesbyteris* ib. 8.1, the presbyters 'confirm' the choice of the ordinand and his adoption into their college.

(19) In two early texts we find, possibly under biblical influence, the metaphorical use of the terms in the sense of 'to close' something as with a seal, whence 'to end', 'to complete'. The martyrdom of Polycarp ends the persecution: ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσεν τὸν διωγμὸν Mart.Pol. 1.1. Christ completes the martyrdom of confessors by their death: ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ep.Lugd. 2.3.

6. Application to pagan, Jewish, and heretical concepts and rites

In early Christian literature we find the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing applied to concepts and rites belonging to pagan antiquity, to the Old Testament and Judaism, and to heretical milieus. Most of these texts have already been dealt with in other connections.

(1) Pagan antiquity. – We do not find the terms for imposition of

hands applied to concepts or rites from pagan antiquity, but with regard to the terms for anointing and sealing the following cases can be distinguished.

(a) Sacral anointing in the mysteries. – In a passage already dealt with, Firmicus Maternus mentions the anointing of the throat in the mysteries of Cybele-Attis, Err. 22.1.¹ For the rest, the Christian authors do not find any connection between their anointing rites and those in pagan antiquity.

(b) The military 'seal'. – The comparison of the Christian seal of ownership with the military mark is a current theme in early Christian literature. As we have seen, this military mark is a lead tessera according to third century texts from Africa, while later on it consists of a tattoo.² Both tessera and tattoo may now be termed a seal with reference to the Christian mark of ownership. The tessera is thus spoken of by Tertullian: *et signum postulabit* (sc. miles) *a principe, qui iam a deo accepit?* Cor. 11.3, *quis hunc militi suo exitum uoluit, nisi qui tali sacramento eum consignauit?* Scorp. 4.5, cf. Idol. 19.2, and by Cyprian: *tu tantum, quem iam spiritalibus castris caelestis militia signauit* Donat. 15, cf. Act.Max. 2. Cyril of Jerusalem is probably the first to refer to the military tattoo as a seal: ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ σφραγιδα βασιλικὴν ἐκάστῳ δίδωμι τῶν ἐμῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ μετώπου Cat. 12.8, cf. John Chrysostom Ill.Cat. 2.5. The authors refer to the seal received in baptism or, according to the Syrian conception, in the prebaptismal rite.³

(c) The 'seal' of animals. – In the same way the terms for the Christian seal are applied to the brand of animals,⁴ and this has caused the technique of sealing to be confused with that of branding. The earliest instance is found in an excerpt from Theodotus, but the wording may partially at least be due to Clement of Alexandria: καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα διὰ σφραγιδος δείκνυσι τίνος ἐστὶν ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σφραγιδος ἐκδικεῖται Exc. 86.2. The application recurs in many later texts: ὁ θεὸς . . . διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγιδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα Act.Thom. 26, cf. Chrysostom In Eph. 2.2.⁵

(d) The seal in the mysteries. – As we have seen, Tertullian uses *consignare* and *signaculum* for the seal of secrecy in the mysteries of Eleusis, Val. 1.2 f., and *consignare* also for the Thyestean banquets as the mysteries of which the Christians are accused: *talia initiatus and*

¹ See p. 186.

² See p. 193 f. and 215.

³ See also p. 311 ff. and 390 ff.

⁴ See p. 198 f.

⁵ See also p. 406 f. and 424 f.

consignatus uiues in aeuum Apol. 8.4.¹ In the latter text at least an allusion may be meant to the Christian seal, although Tertullian's term for this is (*ob*)*signare*. The same allusion is possible when Tertullian uses *signare* for the incisions practised in the cult of Bellona: *hodie istuc Bellonae secatos sanguis de femore proscisso palmula exceptus et usui datus signat* ib. 9.10. The allusion is plainly made in a passage which compares the Mithraic initiation rites to baptism, the postbaptismal seal, and the Eucharist: *et, si adhuc memini, Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos* Praesc. 40.4.²

In the East, an early example is offered by Melito of Sardes. When applying the terms for sealing to the anointing of the door-posts,³ he also makes an allusion to the seal of the mysteries; while the mystery is performed, Israel is sealed with the blood but unsealed Egypt remains uninitiated: ὀπότ[ε τὸ πρό]βατον σφάζεταιται. . . καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται. . . καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ σφραγίζεται, τότε ἀφίκετο <ὁ> ἄγγελος πατάσσειν Αἴγυπτ[ον] τὴν ἀμύητον τοῦ μυστηρίου. . . τὴν ἀσφ<ρ>άγιστον τοῦ αἵματο[ς] Hom. 16.

In a well-known passage Clement of Alexandria uses σφραγίζειν for Christian baptism considered as an initiation into the mysteries: ὃ τῶν ἁγίων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὃ φωτὸς ἀκηράτου . . . ἅγιος γίνομαι μουόμενος, ἱεροφαντεῖ δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφραγίζεται φωταγωγῶν Protr. 120.1. The text has been quoted as proof that the seal as a name for baptism originated from the mysteries but, after our investigations, it may be clear that Clement merely intends to establish a connection between this seal and the seal of the mysteries.⁴

Gregory of Nazianzus makes the same connection and he still appears to know that the seal of the mysteries is a seal of secrecy: ἔχεις τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ ἔκφορα . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα εἴσω μαθήση. . . ἃ καὶ κρύψει παρὰ σεαυτῷ σφραγιῶδι κρατούμενα Or. 40.45.⁵

When Prudentius, in a passage already discussed, confuses the techniques of tattooing and branding as initiation rites, he may term such physical marks *sfragitides* (sc. *notae*) with an allusion to the Christian seal but, by using a derivative of σφραγίς, he stresses the inferiority of the pagan practices.⁶

(2) Old Testament and Judaism. – Christian authors apply their terms for anointing and sealing to Old Testament and Jewish concepts

¹ See p. 222 ff.

² See p. 203.

³ See next page.

⁴ See p. 221 ff.; concerning the use of terms from the mysteries in the general language, see p. 161.

⁵ See p. 195 f.

⁶ See p. 195 f. and 226 n. 1; cf. DÖLGER, *Zu sfragitidas bei Prudentius*, ACh 1, 1929, p. 317.

and rites, or at least make an allusion to the Jewish meanings of the terms, in the following cases.

(a) The imposition of hands. – In a Greek legend, which is a later version of parts of the Ascension of Isaiah, king Ezekiah implores the prophet to bless his son Manasseh: ἵνα ἐπιθήσῃ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ εὐλογήσῃ αὐτόν Asc.Is. app. 1.6, cf. Asc.Is. 6.5.

(b) The anointing of priests, kings, and prophets. – From Justin Martyr onwards we find the terms for the anointing of Christ and for the postbaptismal anointing applied to the Old Testament anointings of priests, kings, and prophets. After the transposition of the postbaptismal anointing in Syria, authors from this area make the connection with regard to the prebaptismal anointing.¹ In Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition the use of the oil of the sick is even referred to the Old Testament anointings, Trad. 5.2.²

(c) The 'anointing' and 'sealing' of the door-posts. – The blood smeared on the door-posts at the Exodus from Egypt, Ex. 12.22, is considered to refer to the blood of Christ, but also to the Christian seal, whether this is received in baptism, in the postbaptismal rite, or, according to the Syrian conception, in the prebaptismal rite. Thence the Christian terms for anointing and sealing are applied to this smearing of the blood on the door-posts. Justin Martyr only sees the connection with the blood of Christ: τὸ τοῦ πάσχα ἐρρύσατο αἷμα, τὸ ἐκατέρωσε τῶν σταθμῶν . . . χρισθέν. ἦν γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστός Dial. 111.3, cf. 40.1, Origen Sel. in Ex. 12.7, but in Melito already the reference is made both to the seal of the Spirit and to the blood of Christ: τότε Μωυσῆς . . . ἐσφράγισεν [τὰς τῶν] οἰκιῶν θύρας Hom. 15, ἐσφράγισεν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχ[άς] τῷ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ib. 67, cf. Methodius Symp. 9.1, Basil Hom. 13.4.

(d) The seal of circumcision. – After Paul had termed the sign of circumcision a seal, Rom. 4.11, σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν continue to be used in this sense by Christian authors.³ Thus Ps.-Barnabas says: καὶ μὴν περιτέμνεται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγίδα Ep. 9.6, cf. Irenaeus Dem. 24, Tertullian Apol. 21.2. They may now establish a connection between this seal and the Christian seal of ownership, as does Cyprian: *tunc quod illud signaculum feminis non proficit, signo autem domini omnes signantur* Test. 1.8, and Chrysostom: ἐσφραγίσθησαν καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀλλὰ περιτομῇ, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλογα· ἐσφραγίσθημεν

¹ See p. 312, 351, 378, 388.

² See p. 299.

³ See p. 250 ff., and cf. J. DANIELOU, *Circumcision et baptême*, Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift M. Schmaus, Munich 1957, p. 755 ff.

καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' υἱοὶ πνεύματι In Eph. 2.2, cf. Epiphanius Haer. 30.26.1.

(3) Gnosticism. – Especially in sources from the second and the early third centuries we find the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing applied to heretical concepts and rites. Most of the texts have been dealt with above, since they provide indirect evidence for the linguistic usage and practices of the early Church at the time before the sects broke away. In other texts the heresiologists apply their own terms to heretical rites, but it may generally be assumed that their usage concurs with that of the sects. We now arrive at the following survey.

(a) Benediction. – Clement of Alexandria uses *χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι* for a benediction by imposition of hands practised among the Basilidians in case of temptation: ἀδελφέ, ἐπίθες μοι τῆν χεῖρα, ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτήσω Strom. 3.2.5.

(b) Healing. – We have already mentioned the use of *ἔλαιον* by Theodotus, Exc. 82.1, for the blessing of an oil which is probably the oil of the sick.¹

(c) Exorcism. – As an early reference to the prebaptismal imposition of hands we have quoted *εὐχαὶ χειρῶν* in Theodotus Exc. 84, cf. Clem. Hom. 3.71.1, and *ἔλαιον* for the anointing rites of the Marcosians in Irenaeus Haer. 1.21.4. In Act. Thom. 25 ff. we found the anointing rite referred to with *ἔλαιον*, ἀλείφειν, σφραγίς, and σφραγίζειν.²

(d) Reconciliation. – In Hippolytus we found *χεῖρα ἐπιτιθέναι* for an imposition of hands which was practised among the Marcosians and may have been a deformation of the reconciliation rite, Ref. 6.41.4.³

(e) The postbaptismal rite. – The use of the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing to denote the postbaptismal rite, or a deformation of it, could be assumed among the Marcionites, Tertullian Marc. 1.14.3; 1.28.3, the Marcosians and other Valentinians, Irenaeus Haer. 1.21.3 ff., CIG 9595a, the Naassenes, Hippolytus Ref. 5.7.19, in Od. Sol. 36.5, among the Gnostics of Celsus, Origen Cels. 6.27, and in Act. Thom. 25 f., 49.⁴

(f) The baptismal imposition of hands. – As a possible reference to the baptismal imposition of hands we have quoted a passage from Theodotus, Exc. 22.5.⁵

(g) The seal of baptism. – Although the distinction from the sealing in the prebaptismal and the postbaptismal rites was not always clear, we have quoted several passages for the seal of baptism in gnostic

¹ See p. 299.

² See p. 307 f. and 312 f.

³ See p. 312.

⁴ See p. 341 ff.

⁵ See p. 374.

milius, Act.Thom. 26, 49, Theodotus Exc. 80.3; 83, Origen Cels. 6.27, Od.Sol. 8.16; 29.7; 39.6.¹

(h) The seal of ownership in general. – In two early texts we have found a seal of ownership, probably still consisting of the divine name, which is worn by the angels, Od.Sol. 4.8, and by Jesus, Hippolytus Ref. 5.10.2.²

(i) The 'seal' of the Carpocratians. – The words from the Gospel concerning the baptism with the Holy Spirit and with fire, led to a remarkable practice.³ According to the Valentinian Heracleon, in a fragment preserved by Clement of Alexandria, some Gnostics received their members by branding their ears: ἔνιοι δέ, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλέων, πυρὶ τὰ ὠτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημήναντο, οὕτως ἀκούσαντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν Ecl. 25.1. Those being received in this manner are called οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι, but it does not appear whether this term is used in the sect or whether they are given this name by Heracleon.

Irenaeus attributes this practice to some Carpocratians. The old Latin version has *signare* and *cauteriare* for a brand on the right ear-lobe: *alii uero ex ipsis signant cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus extantiae dextrae auris* Haer. 1.25.6, the Greek text as preserved in Hippolytus only *καυτηριάζειν*: τούτων τινὲς καὶ καυτηριάζουσι τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω μέρεσι τοῦ λοβοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὠτός Ref. 7.32.8. Thus *signantes* may have been added by the translator or render a Greek *σφραγιζόμενοι*, which then was deleted by Hippolytus. The latter seems more probable on account of Heracleon's fragment.

The report recurs in Epiphanius. In his opinion the mark on the right ear-lobe may have been a brand, an incision, or a tattoo, and in any case it is called a seal: σφραγιῖδα δὲ ἐν καυτῆρι ἢ δι' ἐπιτηδεύσεως ξυρίου ἢ ῥαφίδος ἐπιτιθέασιν οὗτοι οἱ ἀπὸ Καρποκράτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν λοβὸν τοῦ ὠτός Haer. 27.5.9.

When Epiphanius employs *σφραγίς* for a mark of ownership consisting of a tattoo, brand, or incision, he may still do so with reference to the Christian seal, but in two passages already quoted from Gregentius, Leg.Hom. 5, and John Lydus, Mens. 4.53, a similar use can be established without any such allusion being apparent.⁴ It would thus seem that for these authors at least *σφραγίς* and *σφραγίζειν* became terms denoting any physical mark.

¹ See p. 391 ff.

² See p. 409.

³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Die Sphragis als religiöse Brandmarkung im Einweihungsakt der gnostischen Karpokratianer*, ACh I, 1929, p. 73 ff.

⁴ See p. 200 f., and DÖLGER's statement concerning the interchangeability of the terms for branding and sealing, above p. 183 n. 1.

SAMENVATTING

DE benamingen in het oudchristelijk Grieks ter aanduiding van het doopsel en de daarop volgende ritus van geestverlening kunnen in vier groepen onderscheiden worden.

Op grond van de rituele act heet het doopsel een afwassing (λούειν, λουτρόν) en een onderdompeling (βαπτίζειν, βάπτισμα). De termen die voor de afwassing gebruikt worden zijn de algemeen gangbare voor het profane en rituele bad in de heidense oudheid. Zij komen als vertaling van het Hebreeuwse *rāḥaṣ* in gebruik voor het Joodse rituele bad, in latere teksten echter voornamelijk om te wijzen op de betekenis van deze ritus als een reiniging van zonden. Hiertegenover is de onderdompeling een nieuwe benaming die in de Hellenistische tijd opkomt en waarmee de nadruk gelegd wordt op de eis van een volledig bad tegenover een bestaande praktijk van wassen en besprekelen. In aansluiting op dit spraakgebruik heet de proselietendoop een onderdompeling, maar de voorkeur van Johannes de Doper voor dezelfde benaming moet eerder gezocht worden in zijn opvatting van het rituele bad als een innerlijke omkeer, die bewerkt wordt door het afdalen in en het opstijgen uit het water als de zee van de dood. Verondersteld mag worden dat om deze reden in het Nieuwe Testament ook het christelijk doopsel bij voorkeur een onderdompeling heet, terwijl het slechts een afwassing genoemd wordt wanneer gewezen wordt op het effect van de zondevergeving.

Met verwijzing naar de blijvende omvorming die het doopsel in de mens bewerkt, heet de ritus verder een vernieuwing (ἀνακαινοῦν, ἀνακαινώσις), een herschepping (καινή κτίσις, ἀνακτίζειν) en een wedergeboorte (ἀναγεννᾶν, ἀναγέννησις). Voor de vernieuwing door het doopsel vormt Paulus het werkwoord ἀνακαινοῦν, dat niet zoals ἀνακαινίζειν het herstel van het oude aangeeft, maar de bewerking van iets nieuws dat het oude opheft. Voor deze gedachte is παλιγγενεσία een plechtig woord dat aan de algemene taal ontleend is.

De terminologie van de herschepping en wedergeboorte kan teruggevoerd worden op het overdrachtelijk gebruik van de termen voor

scheppen en voor geboren worden in het Oude Testament en de Joodse traditie. Er bestaat daar evenwel bezwaar tegen de metafoor van een geboorte uit God, omdat het Hebreeuwse werkwoord voor 'verwekken' *yālad* (hi.) letterlijk betekent '(een vrouw) doen baren' en daardoor te zeer de gedachte aan een vrouwelijke activiteit insluit. Het Nieuwe Testament laat nu zien hoe naast de metafoor van een herschepping door God die van een wedergeboorte uit God kan opkomen via de voorstelling van een geboorte uit water en Geest.

Het doopsel wordt tenslotte een verlichting (*φωτίζειν, φωτισμός*) genoemd op grond van de kennis die het de mens schenkt. Het Griekse werkwoord verenigt hier in zich het Joodse overdrachtelijk gebruik voor het verlichten van het verstand en het profaan-overdrachtelijke voor het aan het licht brengen van iets dat verborgen is. Indien het in de laatste betekenis ook gebruikt werd voor het openbaren van het geheim in de mysteriën, was dit waarschijnlijk pas het geval in de tijd na Philo.

De ritus waardoor aan de gedoopten de Heilige Geest wordt verleend, heet op grond van de rituele act een handoplegging (*χειρας ἐπιτιθέναι, χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις*), een zalving (*χρίειν, χρίσμα*) en een verzegeling (*σφραγίς, σφραγίζειν*), en op grond van het effect een geven en ontvangen van de Heilige Geest (*τὸ πνεῦμα δίδοναι, λαμβάνειν*). Sommige problemen komen hier voort uit het feit dat men zich niet altijd voldoende bewust is geweest van het onderscheid tussen de termen voor het geven en ontvangen van de Geest als het effect van deze ritus en die voor de werking van de Geest bij het doopsel. Vooral echter zijn handoplegging, zalving en verzegeling ten onrechte beschouwd als benamingen voor drie afzonderlijke riten. Handoplegging is in feite een bijbelse naam voor een eenvoudige aanraking, toegepast bij zegen en genezing; in het tweede geval kan het gebaar tevens een zalving zijn. Terwijl nu Lukas de geestverlening aan de Samaritanen en aan de leerlingen van Johannes een handoplegging noemt, heet deze ritus bij Paulus een zalving en noemt Johannes onder verwijzing daarnaar de Heilige Geest de zalfolie. De handoplegging bij Lukas kan echter moeilijk geheel los gezien worden van een zalving op grond van de algemene praktijk om het lichaam te zalven na het nemen van een bad. Weliswaar wordt in het Nieuwe Testament een volledige zalving na het doopsel niet vermeld, maar zij mag op grond van een oude traditie worden verondersteld, want alleen het bestaan van een volledige zalving als een gevestigde traditie in de tweede eeuw kan de eigenaardige ontwikkeling van de postbaptismale ritus verklaren. Om

redenen van welvoegelijkheid wordt namelijk in het Westen de handoplegging als de ritus waardoor de bisschop de Geest verleent, uitgesteld totdat de kandidaat zich na de zalving heeft bekleed; in Rome wordt bovendien de zalving van het hoofd uitgesteld of herhaald. Waar in het Oosten de zalving niet wordt beperkt tot het hoofd en de zintuigen, is het streven merkbaar om de zalving van het lichaam te verrichten terwijl de kandidaat nog in het doopwater staat. In Syrië heeft dit tot gevolg dat de ritus van de geestverlening wordt samengevoegd met de handoplegging waarmee de bedienaar tijdens het doopsel de onderdompeling verricht.

Door het gebruik van de termen voor handoplegging ter aanduiding van andere riten treedt in bepaalde gevallen verwarring op met de postbaptismale ritus. Met name wordt na het uiteenvallen van de postbaptismale zalving en handoplegging in Noord-Afrika de verzoeningsritus voor de opname van ketters vereenzelvigd met de postbaptismale handoplegging, hetgeen de kern vormt van het misverstand in de ketterdoopstrijd.

Nadat Paulus, mogelijk met een zinspeling op het zegel der besnijdenis, de ritus van de geestverlening een verzegeling met de Heilige Geest genoemd heeft, wordt in de Apocalyps de naam van God op het voorhoofd van de uitverkorenen opgevat als het zegel van God. Vandaar wordt in de oudchristelijke literatuur het zegel het christelijk eigendomsmerk dat allen in het doopsel ontvangen. In de loop van de tweede eeuw vormt zich de voorstelling dat dit zegel het kruisteken bevat met als gevolg dat het een benaming wordt voor het kruisteken zelf en voor alle riten in de vorm van een kruis verricht. Het christelijk zegel wordt nu vooral vergeleken met het eigendomsmerk van soldaten en dieren, met het zegel van de zwijgplicht in de mysteriën, met het bloed op de deurposten bij de Uittocht uit Egypte en met het zegel van de besnijdenis.

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The meanings added to the terms refer to the usage as found I in pagan sources, II in the Old Testament and in Jewish non-canonical sources, III in the New Testament (and the *Didache*), and IV in early Christian literature. For compound and derivative words the reader is also referred to the simple forms.

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- ʿwr*, enlightenment, 164 ff
 – with divine knowledge, Qumran, 168
ʾdt, sign of circumcision, 250
brʾ, to cut, to create, 122
 world restoration, 121
 new creation of man, 124.
 – of the Messiah, 129
gdđ hitpo, incisions, 243
hrh, metaphor of birth, 126 f
zrq, ritual sprinkling, 22, 36
hbl, metaphor of birth, 126 f
hds, renewal of man, Qumran, 122
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 the seal of God, 246
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 ritual immersion, 27 f, 36 ff, 45
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tbʿ, to sink down, 27, 32
 – into the the realm of the dead, 43
 to stamp with seal of the first man, 249
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ylđ, metaphor of birth, 126 ff
yšq, to pour out (the spirit), 59.
yšr, to shape, to create, 122
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mrʿyl, derived from *rʿl*, 25 f
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ngʿ, gesture of touching, 229
nwp h1 *yd*, gesture of healing, 229, 235
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 sprinkling of the spirit, 59
nsʾ, gesture of blessing, 229
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qtn, aspect of rebirth, 128
qnh, to acquire, to create, 122
qʿqʿ, religious tattooing, 244
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 spirit, 59
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škb, gesture of healing, 230, 235
šlh, *šāliah*, agent, not ordained, 232 f
šm, *bešēm*, in the name of, 50
lešēm, by reason of, with a view to, 50 f

špk, to pour out (the spirit), 59
tāw, physical mark, 244
tynuq, aspect of rebirth, 128
ʿšūbāh, repentance, 38

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dhn af, anointing of the sick, 325
hdt, (baptismal) renewal, 342
him, sealing,
 healing rite, 2nd cent, 298
 prebaptismal exorcism, 314
 act of baptism, 377
 seal of baptism, 2nd cent, 392 f
 – later, 399
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STELLINGEN

I

Het gebruik van σφραγίς ter aanduiding van het voorlaatste deel van de 'nomos voor citherspel' volgens Pollux, Onom. 4.66, moet gezien worden als het resultaat van een betekenisontwikkeling die begint in Theognis, Eleg. 1.19.

II

Het koord om de hals van de door Darius I overwonnen vorsten die staan afgebeeld op het monument te Behistun, is een voorbeeld van de verzegelde halsband zoals die gebruikelijk was bij het transport van mens en dier.

III

Ten onrechte leest R. KEYDELL in zijn uitgave van Nonnos, Berlijn 1959, Dion. 4.227, παλίντονα in plaats van παλίμπορα.

IV

In zijn vertaling van het Oude Testament mijdt Aquila niet alleen termen die een nieuwe christelijke betekenis gekregen hebben, maar hij tracht ze ook in een pejoratieve zin te gebruiken.

V

In het Nieuwe Testament betekenen: παλιγγενεσία Matth. 19.28, Tit. 3.5, 'herstel' (niet 'wedergeboorte'), σφραγίζεσθαι Rom. 15.28, 'voltooien', μηδενί 1 Tim. 5.22, 'aan geen enkele (zondaar)', ἀφιέναι Hebr. 6.1, 'prijsgeven', βαπτισμῶν διδαχή Hebr. 6.2, 'een leer over (Joodse) doopsels', χρῖσμα 1 Joh. 2.20, 27, 'zalfolie', χάραγμα Apoc. 13.16 e.v., 'brandmerk'.

VI

In de apostolische tijd is 'presbyter' de benaming voor alle gezagsdragers die hun aanstelling ontvangen hebben door een ritus van handoplegging. De tegenstelling die sommigen zien tussen een presbyteriale en een episcopale organisatie van de apostolische gemeenten, is slechts schijnbaar en wordt veroorzaakt door het feit dat de benamingen voor de onderscheiden gezagsdragers nog in ontwikkeling zijn.

VII

De ritus waardoor de gedoopten de Heilige Geest ontvangen, heet vanaf het Nieuwe Testament een handoplegging, zalving en verzegeling. De ontwikkeling van het ritueel wordt verklaard door de uiteenlopende wijzen waarop men tegemoet kwam aan het praktische bezwaar van een volledige zalving.

VIII

Uit de ontwikkeling die de ritus van het vormsel heeft doorgemaakt, blijkt niet dat de Kerk de materie van dit sacrament heeft gewijzigd.

IX

Het merkteken van het doopsel gaat niet terug op een oudchristelijke betekenis van het woord 'zegel', maar vindt zijn fundament in de opvatting dat het doopsel een blijvende herschepping is naar Gods beeld.

X

De passage die in het Koptische fragment van de Didache volgt op 10.7, bevat een authentiek dankgebed voor het 'reukwerk' van Christus dat de gelovigen zijn voor God (vgl. 2 Cor. 2.15).

XI

J. M. HANSSENS, *La liturgie d'Hippolyte*, Rome 1959, miskent de waarde van de Verona-fragmenten als een betrouwbare Latijnse vertaling, waarin een aanmerkelijk deel van de 'Apostolische Traditie' bewaard is gebleven.

XII

Ten onrechte meent J. GROTZ, *Die Entwicklung des Bussstufenwesens*, Freiburg 1955, p. 297, dat de ritus van de zondevergeving die Origenes in Or. 28.10 aanduidt als 'het gebed van de priester', reeds plaats vond voor de afloop van de boetetijd.

XIII

De opvatting van D. NORBERG, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, Uppsala 1943, p. 161, dat in het Laatlatijn *esse* reflexief gebruikt kan worden, is onvoldoende bewezen.

XIV

Het gebruik van de termen *baptizare* en *confirmare* voor het wassen en zalven van het altaar bij de kerkwijding in Ordo Romanus XLII 6, 18 (4 p. 399, 402 ANDRIEU) kan verklaard worden door de overname van het in het Oosten levend gebleven thema dat het altaar een afbeelding is van Christus, die bij Zijn doop in de Jordaan met de Heilige Geest werd gezalfd.

XV

De cyclus van voorstellingen in de oudchristelijke kunst die betrekking heeft op redding uit de nood, verwijst in de catacomben en op de oudchristelijke sarcofagen vooral naar het doopsel.

XVI

De terminologie en de iconografie van het doopsel geven op eenvoudige en diepgaande wijze de betekenis aan van dit sacrament.

