GREEK BAPTISMAL TERMINOLOGY
ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACh  Antike und Christentum
ALW  Archiv fur Liturgiewissenschaft
APF  Archiv fur Papyrusforschung
ARW  Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft
DThC  Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
EThL  Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
GGA  Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
HThR  Harvard Theological Review
HUCA  Hebrew Union College Annual
JACCh  Jahrbuch fur 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 fur 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  Romisches 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, Origines Hexapla, Oxford 1875 (Al. Αλέω, Aq. Aquila, Heb. Ἐφραῖος, Quint. Quinta, Sext. Sexta, Sm. Symmachus, Th. Theodotion)


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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 deuterocanonical 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. 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.

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.

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.
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 baptism 2 and are a translation from the Greek.3

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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. 51958.
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.
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, 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. 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. The meaning of the seal in this document agrees best with a Syrian origin at the end of that century.

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 Petri cum 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. His opinion is confirmed by the meaning of the seal in these Acts.

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

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2 See p. 416 f.


4 See p. 297 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. 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. 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. 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

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2. See p. 355.
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.
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.*

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.²

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: ἀλμην ώμοιιν ἀπολούσομαι Homer Od. 6.219. The noun λουτρόν 'a bath' is always found in Homer in the plural: θέρμα λοετρά II. 14.6, but the singular is already found in Hesiod: γυναικείο λουτρῷ χρόα 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

Homer for the dipping of iron into water: πέλεκυν...εἰν ὅδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτη Od. 9.391 f. It seldom occurs in the middle voice: ποταμοῖο ἐβάψατο (sc. ἀ ν ἡ ρ ο ρ η ὦ ) Aratus Phaen. 951, or intransitively: ἐὰν βάπτωσι (sc. αἰ ἐ γγέλου) Aristotle Hist.Anim. 592a18, and thence: ναῦς...ἐβάψεν Euripides Or. 706 f., ‘the ship sank’.

(2) The verb is used particularly for dipping into dye, whence ‘to dye’: εἰμματα...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᾽ ὅδατος τὰ κάλπιδι κηρία βάψαι Theocritus Idyll. 5.127, νὴ...βάπτουσαν ἢδη κῦμα Babrius Fab. 71.1 f. An early instance of this development is the expression in Euripides: βαπτάν κάλπισι ρυτάν παγάν Hipp. 123, which implies the construction βάπτειν ύδωρ κάλπιδα εἰς ὕδωρ or ὅδατι.

(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 γνούς βαπτιζόμενον τὸ μειράκιον Euth. 277d, and in the sense of ‘to drench in wine’, ‘to make drunk’: καὶ γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι τῶν χαῖς 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 νυν τετάρτην ἡμέραν βαπτίζεται νῆστιν πονηρὸν 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): βαπτίζεσθαι 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

Marc. 15.3 (conj. [άν]εβάπτιζον). Strabo knows of a lake in Sicily in which even non-swimmers cannot sink: σοδή γάρ τοῖς ἀκολύμβοις βαπτίζεσθαι συμβαίνει Geogr. 6.2.9. Soranus mentions the plunging of a scalpel into an embryo: εἰς τὰς σφαγάς βαπτίζεσθαι...εἰς τὸ ἐμβρύον Gyn. 2.63. The verb is often used figuratively in expressions like: συμφοραῖς ἀνέκέσταις βαπτίζοντα τὴν ψυχήν Philo Det.Pot. 176, ἐβάπτισαν τὴν πόλιν Josephus Bell. 4.137, βαπτιζομένους ύπο τῶν πραγμάτων Plutarch Mor. 593f, ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ σῶματι 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 ἀφήκε βαπτίσας ἐρρώμενακ fr. Ι4·5· 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: βαπτιζομένης ἐκ πίθων 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 θερμώ 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 βεβαπτίσθην ἀναπνέων Epid 5.03, and Evenus: βαπτίζει δ’ ὅπως 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 MAIDVIC’S correction καθεδίζοντες, adopted in the edition of C LINDSKOG-K. ZIEGLER, Vitae Parallelae, Leipzig 1935, II 2 p 275, is unnecessary

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 καθαρὸς, ἀγνὸς, 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 βάλειν 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:

ή κάθαρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἱατρικὴν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ αἱ τοῖς ἱατρικοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ αἱ τοῖς μαντικοῖς περιθειώσεις τε καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ αἱ περιφράνσεις Crat. 405ab. He uses the

compound ἀπολούειν with an allusion to the name of Apollo who is the purifying god: ὁ καθ' ἀπελευθερούσας καὶ ὁ ἀπολούων τῶν τοιούτων κακών 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: δρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἄφορτεροι Hist. 1.198, and for the Egyptians: μηδὲ ἀλώτως ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱππο ἐσέναι 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: καθαρίζεσθω δὲ ἀπό...[γ]υναικὸς· λουσαμένως δὲ αὐθημερόν 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: ἐναύδα ἀπελούσατο Nat.Anim. 12.30. Another circumstance requiring a purifying bath is female menstruation. Hesiod's words: γυναικεῖω λουτρω Op. 753 refer perhaps to this. This bath is also required by Xanthus: ἐκ τῶν γυναικέων 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 ἁγνὸν λουτρόν Ant. 1201, cf. Homer II. 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: οὶ δ' ἀπελυμαίνοντο II. 1.314. The god Aesclepius cures after a prescribed bath: λουόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἡλγησα 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 II. 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: ὑδρημένη Od. 4.759, and Telemachus washes his hands before invoking the gods: χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολιής 'Αθήνη ib. 2.261. The emperor Julian mentions rules of purification to be followed before entering a temple: οὐ θέμις προσελθεῖν ἐστι πρὶν ἀπολούσασθαι Ep. 76 (77).

Usually the person concerned bathed himself, but in a few cases the intervention of a priest is mentioned: θεῖε ταρτρεῖς καὶ ἀπορραίνεται θαλάσσα 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, 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 ‘Ρειτοί served for the purification of the initiates: Hesychius s.v. ‘Ρειτοί: ὁ δὲ...δὲν τοῖς λουτροίς (MSS. τοῦς λουτρούς) ἁγικεσθαί τοῖς θάμους, and s.v. ὑδρανός: ὁ ἁγιοτής τῶν Ἐλευσίνων, 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 próximas balneas et prius sueto lavacro traditum, praefatus deum ueniam, purissime circumrorans abluit Met. 11.23. Tertullian mentions similar baths for various cults: nam et sacrīs quibusdam per lauacrum initiantur Isidīs 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, ὥς μύστη καθαρτικόν ἐντος 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 ἁσθμα, τὸ καὶ μάγοις νίπτρον δειον. 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 βάπται 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-
pped with orgiastic rites. Eupolis called a play after them according to Lucian, Ind. 27; later, Juvenal knows of them in Rome, Sat. 2.91 ff. 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 ff., ter matutino Tiberi mergetur... caput ablue 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. 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', δι ψεύδη ι πάντα και οι παρά σέ θεοι ομοίως, δι ένβέβληκαν ήμας εις βιλη μεγάλην και ού δυνάμεθα άποθανείν, κάν ίδης δι μέλομεν σωθήναι, τότε βαπτιζόμε&α UPZ 70. The profane meaning of βαπτίζειν is quite sufficient in this context and Reitzenstein’s interpretation has aroused only criticism. He then admitted himself that it was not tenable.

In the Greek pagan terminology for cultic purity we thus find λούειν, λουτρόν for the sacral bath alongside general terms like γυνίζειν 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 μαζ εις δυνάμεθα βαπτιζόμεθα according to the edition in PPar 47
\[4\] See the literature in the edition by U. Wilckcn, UPZ 70, also F. J. Dölger, Die Bedeutung von βαπτίζεσθαι in einem Papyrustom des Jahres 152/151 v Chr., Ach 2, 1930, p 57 ff, and Oepek, art cit., ThW I p 529
\[5\] Cf Reitzenstein, op cit., p 1920, p 85 ff, and op 1927, 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 Νούς and causes to be proclaimed to the hearts of men that they must baptize themselves therein: βάπτισον σεαυτήν ἢ δυναμένη (sc. χαρία) εἰς τούτον τὸν κρατῆρα. Hereupon follows the announcement: ἔβαπτισαν 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 βαπτισθέω 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 παρά σαυτὸν PMag. 7.441 f. (3rd cent. A.D.), καὶ ἐνάλλου τῷ ποταμῷ μεθ᾽ ἡς ἔχεις ἐσθήτος βαπτισάμενος ἀναποθέησαι ἀνέλθε 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: βάπτισαν σεαυτόν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Mor. 166a. In the context σαββατισμοί are mentioned as remedies, which points to Jewish influence.\textsuperscript{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 σεαυτόν βαπτίζειν.

The avoidance by Arrian is even stronger. For the baptism of proselytes he prefers βάπτεσθαι 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: ἐκεῖ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἠρημένου... Epict.Diss. 2.9.20.\textsuperscript{2} The replacement of βαπτίζειν by βάπτειν enables, moreover, a play on words: οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβαπτισταί, λόγῳ μὲν 'Ἰουδαίοι, ἤργῳ δὲ ἄλλῳ τι ib. 2.9.21. The word παραβαπτιστής can be associated with βαπτ(ίζ)ειν '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 λουεῖν instead of βαπτίζειν for the baptism of Christ in a fragment of his True Discourse preserved by Origen: λουομένη, φησί, σοι (i.e. Jesus) παρὰ τῷ 'Ἰωάννη 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.

\textsuperscript{1} Against the conjecture βαπτισμούς for σαββατισμούς, cf DÖLGER, Die Apollinarischen Spiele und das Fest Pelusia, Ach 1, 1929, p 154

\textsuperscript{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
CHAPTER TWO

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 ablation 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 (άπο)λούειν and λουτρόν for ritual washings, sometimes δαίνειν 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.

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(i) Ritual washing and sprinkling in general. - The Hebrew ῥῆς 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: νυψάτωσαν τούς πόδας ὑμῶν Gen. 18.4, and by λούσειν in the other cases: κατέβη λούσασθαι ἐπὶ ποταμόν Ex. 2.5, rarely by other verbs, although ἀπολούσειν occurs once: ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπολούσωμαι χιόν καὶ ἀποκαθάρωμαι χερσίν καθαρὰς Job 9.30, as does χείν: ἐξεόντο μοι αἰ ὄφι βουτύρῳ ib. 29.6. The noun λούτρον remained as rare as its equivalent ῥαχαχ. 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, καθαροί γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν Is. 1.16.

The use of λούσειν and λούτρον 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 προσχείν, the second by ραίνειν and derivatives. For a sprinkling with water zrq occurs in the following cases: for the cleansing of persons who have touched a corpse: περιερραντίσθη Num. 19.13, 20, and Yahweh will cleanse Israel in the Messianic future: ῥανώ ἐφ' ὑμάς ὕδωρ καθαρόν Εζ. 36.25. The Hebrew nzh is used for a sprinkling with water at the cleansing of the Levites: περιρρανθής Num. 8.7, and equally of persons who have touched a corpse: περιρρανθῆ ib. 19.18 f. One may also quote πραντείς (ἡ πι.) με υσσώτω...πλυνεὶς 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: ὃ λελουμένος οὐκ ἔχει χρέειν [εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας] νιψάσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐστιν καθαρὸς διός 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 (νύσσαθαι) 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. John now uses λούειν as the term for the Jewish ritual washing.

Mark probably uses βαπτίζειν 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: εάν μὴ πυγμή νύσσωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν Mk. 7.3, and they sprinkle themselves with water on returning home from the market-place: απ’ αγοράς εάν μὴ βαπτίσωνται (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 βαπτίσωνται 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. This being so, βαπτίσωνται 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.

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

2 See p. 24 ff.; also Heb. 10.22, below p. 62.
3 See p. 2.
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2.143, Spec.Leg. 1.119, 261. For these last, however, he also uses the compound: περιρρανάμενον εις ἀπάξ ὣ 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 ἀπολούσασθαι κηλίδας 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 τῆν ψυχήν ἐκνίπτεσθαι 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 ραίνειν for sprinkling, especially in expressions like: ἀπολούσωνται καὶ περιρρανάμενοι καθ-αρώσι Spec.Leg. 3.89, and in the fixed combination: λουτρόις 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: εὕθυς ὥς ἐλεγε νηθ' ἀπολουσάμενος Ant. π.163, especially after sexual intercourse: μετὰ τὴν νόμιμων 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 λούτρων do occur occasionally but without any connection with ritual ablution, as equivalents of ἵππον 'to swim': καθως ἀναπλώσαι ὁ λουόμενος εἰς τὸ κολυμβήσαι Is. 25.11 Α. (δι τρόπον καὶ αυτὸς ἔταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἄπολέσατι LXX), and of στραβὴς 'wash-pot': Μωάβ λέβης λουτρὸν μου Ps. 59.10 Α. 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 ῥῆς for the ritual washing. It is, however, significant that in the only fragment which offers a translation of ῥῆς the compound ἀπολούειν is used: ἀπὸ ρύπου οὐκ ἀπελούσατο Prov. 30.12 Θ. (ἀπένυψεν 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 Α. (LXX ἁγιαζόμενη, Heb. qôš hithp. 'to purify oneself'). This may indicate that the compound had become a common sacral term among the Jews.

In rabbinic literature ῥῆς is rare in comparison with ἰβλ 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 (רָחִים pi.) their sins' Cant. Rabbah 4.4 § 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 רָחִים.

The Zadokite Documents contain a prescription dealing with the ritual washing: 'Concerning purification with water: Let no man bathe (רָחִים) in water that is dirty or less than the quantity that covers up (מָרִיפל) 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 (מָרִיפל) (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. II.1. 22. A regulation in the Qumran texts concerns washing after battle: 'Next morning they shall launder their garments and wash (רָחִים) 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 (מָיָן nāḥ), nor sanctify himself in streams and rivers, nor clean himself by any water for washing (מָיָן רָחִים)’ 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 (מָיָן nāḥ) and by sanctifying himself with water of purity (מָיָן דָּוְקִי)' 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 (מָיָן nāḥ)' ib. 4.21. We may add that λούειν occurs in apocryphal texts which may be of the same origin: εἴδον τὴν Βάλλαν λουομένην Test.Rub. 3.11, cf. Test.Lev. 9.11, Or.Sib. 4.164.

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: ζωσάμενοι τε σκεπάσμα λινοῖς, οὕτως ἀπολύσονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροὶ οδασι Bell. 2.129, and again before the evening meal, ib. 2.132. They take a bath after

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 ἄπολούειν is always used. On admission to a higher rank, after a time of probation, they acquire a share in 'purer waters': καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἁγνεῖαν ὕδατων 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 γυναιξίν ἀμπεχομέναις ἐνδύματα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν περιζώματι ib. 2.161. The simple form λούειν occurs once in a report on Bannus, the ascète 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 ὅδατι... λουόμενον πρὸς ἁγνεῖαν Vit. II.

In the Hebrew writings we thus find as terms for these ritual ablutions ῥῆς four times, ἀνζ twice, but ἰβι not at all. For μήτι CD 10.11, 13, Schechter proposed in his edition the correction μὴτυλ and he then translates ‘insufficient for immersion’. It is, however, possible to maintain the manuscript reading by connecting the word with ῥη 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 ἄπολούειν 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. Gnīlka, art.cit., p. 189, who disproves the idea of an Initiationstaufe.
3 See p. 81 ff.
2. Ritual immersion

As new terms which refer to the Jewish ritual washing as an immersion we find ἐβάπταμεν ἐν ὑδάτι 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 ἐβάπταμεν 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: ἐβαψεν 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 ἐβάπταμεν which lacks the idea of a perishing, but perhaps with ἐβάπταμεν ‘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 ῥήσις translated every time by λούσιμον. However, when Naaman finally washes himself in the Jordan the Hebrew uses ἐβάπταμεν intransitively, an unusual expression which the Greek renders just as unusually by the middle voice of βαπτίζειν: καὶ κατέβη Νααμαν καὶ ἐβάπτισατο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐπτάκι...καὶ ἀκαθαρσιόθη 1b. 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 ῥήσις does not refer clearly to a complete bath since it is also used for the washing of hands and feet. Now ἐβάπταμεν 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 ὀδατος 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 rhs. 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: βαπτισμοῦς ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων Mk. 7.4, ἐπὶ βρώμασιν καὶ πόμασιν καὶ διαφόροις βαπτισμοῦς 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. OERKE, art.cit., ThW I p. 532.
of later date, but the word itself may have existed much longer.¹

These Jewish purification rites, called βαπτισμοὶ, 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 διδαχής in Heb. 6.2 offers a special difficulty. The author invites his readers: έπί τήν τελειότητα φερώμεθα, μη πάλιν θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι μετανοίας ἀπό νεκρῶν ἔργων, καὶ πίστεως ἐπὶ Θέου, 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 βαπτισμοὶ, 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), ablation 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.
The inter-relation of ideas presents another difficulty. The author distinguishes an elementary instruction which is called: τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λόγων 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 τροφὴ 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 ἀφίέναι 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

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\(^1\) 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 Essene 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 διὸ 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 ζώντα 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. 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, λόγον 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 ἀρκῆς 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 ἐργῶν, all the more so since, according 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 ἁφίέναι, στοιχεῖον, λόγιον, δικαιοσύνη, and above all of βαπτίσμοι 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 ἄφησι 'to rinse' for the cleansing of a copper vessel: σμηχθήσεται καὶ βαπτισθήσεται Lev. 6.28 Al. (ἐκχώρησε LXX). Elsewhere it occurs in its profane meaning as the equivalent of ἡβῶ 'to sink down': έβαπτίσθησαν Ps. 9.16 A. (ἐνεπάγησαν ἐν διαφθορᾷ LXX), ἐβαπτίσθην εἰς ἀπέραντους καταδύσεις Ps. 68.3 Sm. (ἐνεπάγην LXX), ἐβάπτισαν εἰς τέλμα τούς πόδας σου Jer. 45.22 Sm. (καταλύσουσιν LXX), and of ἡβλ: 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.

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

(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

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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 *fbl*. 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 δλον δέμας ἡνάοισιν 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 Hemerobaptists.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 αἵτειοιθε and ιλάσκεσθε 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

² See p. 20 and 28 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: Ὅων 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 Ὑρώδης ἄγαθόν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ὑουδαίους κελεύοντα...βαπτισμῷ συνέναι: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι ib. 18.117. The expression βαπτισμῷ συνέναι ‘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 "τβλ" 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 Ὅμεροβαπτισταί, 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 "τβλ" 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 srytn) 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 "τβλ" as the common Jewish term applied to the rite of the Morning Baptists. 'The Morning Baptists (Twbly srytn) said: We cry out against you, Pharisees, ye who invoke the Name in the morning without having taken a bath (jbyth) 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.
WASHING AND IMMERSION

We found the Hebrew root $\text{rkh}$ 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 $\chi\varepsilon\iota\nu$ in Job 29.6 may still illustrate this. In the same manner the roots $\text{zrq}$ and $\text{nzh}$, and in Greek $\rho\alpha\iota\nu\varepsilon\iota\nu$ 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 $\text{tbl}$ 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 $\text{rkh}$ 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, 1QS 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, 1QM 14.2, CD 10.11.

The use of the compound $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ 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 $\text{tbl}$ and $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, 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. It has been suggested that the verb already has the completely technical meaning of 'to baptize' or even that it is synonymous with (άπο)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. In Hebrew יָ Mines is construed with יִ; the Septuagint translates by βάπτειν εις as was customary in the general language: βάψει εἰς τὸν δάκτυλον εἰς τὸ αἷμα Lev. 4.6. On the basis of the Hebrew prefix one also finds the construction with εἰς: βάψεις τῶν ψωμιῶν σου εἰς τῷ δεξι 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 סָפָּ 'to wet' by βάπτειν for the dew of heaven fallen upon the body: ἄπο τῆς δρόσου τοῦ ὀὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐβάψη Dan. 4.33 (4.30) Th., 5.21 Th.

For βαπτίζειν in the literal sense we may now likewise expect the construction with εἰς 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 επί which may replace εἰς for stylistic reasons after the preceding locative εἰς τὴν παρεμβολή.

The meaning of the verb still presents difficulties in particular cases. When βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμός are used for the cleansing of vessels: βαπτισμοὺς 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. 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 ἀπὸ is an over-literal rendering of μι, cf βάπτειν ἀπὸ (μι) τοῦ αἵματος or τοῦ ἐλαίου Lev. 4.17, 14.16, 'to dip into some blood' or 'some oil'
4 Cf επί and εἰς in Acts 2.38, below p 50 f
5 Cf. F H CHASE, The Lord's Command to Baptise JThS 6, 1903, p 179.
with this procedure: πᾶν σκεύος...εἰς ὕδωρ βαφήσεται (Hebr. bw' 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 έβαπτίζετο 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 ἐσύβαθ, 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 ἡμέρα, θάνατος, 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. 45 and 66.
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 ἀπόλογειν 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 Eglise, 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 ff., (2) for the baptism administered by the disciples of Jesus during His public life, Jn. 3.22, 26; 4.1 ff., (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 ff., 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 \((\text{ἀπο})\text{λούειν}\), '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 \((\text{ἀπο})\text{λούειν}\).\(^2\) René 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 \(\text{παντίζειν}\) instead of \(βαπτίζειν\) does not intimate anything about the meaning of the latter verb.\(^5\) In Lk. 11.38 \(\varepsilonβαπτίσθη\) is the Christian term in the passive applied to a Jewish ritual ablution, which merely indicates that the verb was becoming more technical.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) 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 RENÉ Y ORÓ, *Βαπτίζειν(εσθαι) εἰς τίνα εἰς τὸ δομιά τινος*, Anal Sacra 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 άγίω (και πυρί). 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 δαλάσσῃ τοιαύτη συμβολή (1 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

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1 See p. 48 ff.
2 See p. 62 ff.
3 See p. 13 ff.
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...το βάπτισμα δ εγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήναι;... το βάπτισμα δ εγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε Mk. 10.38 f., and: βάπτισμα δε εχω βαπτισθήναι 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 sacramental 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 βαπτισθήναι 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: ἀπερρίψας (sik hi. ‘to throw’) με εις βάθη καρδίας θαλάσσης Jon. 2.4; in fear of death the psalmist says: ενεπάγην (ib’ ‘to sink down’) εις ίλύν βυθοϋ Ps. 68.3.

Recently Delling has proposed a new interpretation of the expression βάπτισμα βαπτισθήναι, 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 ib’ or sik, 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 βαπτισθήναι 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 βαπτισθήναι, 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 \( \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu \) 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 \( \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu \) and hence of \( \beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha \) 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 \( \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu \)

One difference from the Jewish usage of \( \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu \) 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.\textsuperscript{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: ἕγω χρείαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἐρχὴν 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: αὐτός οὐκ ἐβάπτιζεν ἀλλ’ οἱ μαθηταί 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 ἁβλ, 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’.\textsuperscript{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 ενώπιον αὐτοῦ (D) instead of ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, in conspectu eius (d, e) and coram ipso (b, 1*, 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.\textsuperscript{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-

\textsuperscript{1} Art. cit., p. 324.
\textsuperscript{3} Art. cit., p. 513 ff.
ly. A Pharisee who has invited Christ is astonished that He does not perform the prescribed ablation before the meal: δι' αὐτὸν πρώτον ἐβαπτίσθη (v.l. ἐβαπτίσατο P46, 700) πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου Lk. 11.38. Luke uses the Christian technical term for a Jewish ablation 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: ἀναστάς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας 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: ἀναστάς 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 (9, 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 βαπτίσωνται (v.l. βαπτίσωνται) Mk. 7.4, for a Jewish rite,³ and also in οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι υπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν 1 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 Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσασαν (v.l. ἐβαπτίσασαν) 1 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 ἐβαπτίσασαν is already a correction for the imperfect ἐβαπτίσασαν. 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.  

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: δὲ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ δὲ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τίνες ἄλλοι δύνανται Did. 7.4.

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)λύειν, 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 βαπτίζεται

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'.

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 βαπτίζεται ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Mt. 3.6, Mk. 1.5, ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ 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, είς is also found: ἐβάπτισθη 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: ἠλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς τάς συναγωγάς αὐτῶν Mk. 1.39. This also explains the interchange of the two prepositions in the prescription of the Didache: βαπτίσατε ... ἐν υδατι ζωντι. ἐν δὲ μὴ έχρις υδωρ ζών, εἰς ἀλλο υώρ βάπτισον εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ Did. 7.11. 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: βαπτίζεται ἐν υδατι ... ἐν πνεύματι Mt. 3.11, Jn. 1.26 ff., Mk. 1.8 v.l., υδατι ... πνεύματι Mk. 1.8, 5δατι ... ἐν πνεύματι Lk. 3.16, Acts 1.5; 11.16. The fact that the

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1 Art cit., p. 500 ff
2 Art cit., p. 186 ff
3 Cf F. Blass-A. Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, Gottingen 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 ἀφεσιν 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 ἐμὸν ὄνομα ib. 1.15. In addition, one finds without ὄνομα the expressions: βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν 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 ὄν ἐποταστήσε; 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 Ιησοῦ 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

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1 For this idea in the use of βάπτειν, see p. 14 and 37
Mωϋσην would lead to a second definition of place alongside ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. 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 συνάπτεσθαι 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. One should therefore attribute no local significance to εἰς Χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθη Gal. 3.27, despite the subsequent elucidation: Χριστόν 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 βαπτίσθητε: .. εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα Acts 19.3. The following εἰς τὸ δόμα 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 δόμα with its Hebrew and Aramaic equivalent the problem arises that there are two related expressions: ἐσемые ‘in the name of’, ‘under invocation of the name’, and ἐσемые 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 (יַבָּלָן לְשֵׁם שִׁבָּה) 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 (יַבָּל לְשֵׁם שִׁבָּה) ib. 47b.2

The explanation provided thus of the New Testament expression βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ δόμα or εἰς τίνα 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

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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 Berkh, op cit., II 1 p 39 ff, and H. Bietenhard, “Ονομα, ThW V p 267 and 274 f

3 Cf Oepke, 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 ἐπί τῷ ὄνόματι:
βαπτισθήτω Ικαστος υμών ἐπί (v.l. ἐν) τῷ ὄνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Acts
2.38, and: προσεταξεν σέ αυτούς ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθήκηκεν
ib. 10.48. Both ἐν and ἐπί τῷ ὄνόματι may correspond with a Hebrew
levēm. The Septuagint offers examples of translation by ἐν in Jos. 9.9,
2 Reg. 22.50, and with ἐπί 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 ὄνόματι now precedes the verb. The same
meaning may be attributed to the phrase in Acts 2.38 but it is also
possible that here ἐπί is used in the final sense and before εἰς ἀφεσιν τῶν
ἀμαρτιῶν 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 δὲ ἐκχύζειν Ἰωάννης Acts 10.37,
βάπτισμα μετανοιας 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 βαπτισμων. 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. There still remains the variant βαπτισμός 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.

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 -āḥ. In this manner βάπτισμα may have been coined because of its greater similarity to ḫbilāḥ.

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, 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

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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 ʿahābāh, in A Ceresa-Gastaldo, Ἀγάπη, rei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento, Aegyptus 31, 1951, p. 269 ff
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 ἐκ Χριστοῦ Ἡσυχῶν more closely with the words: ἐκ τῶν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν Rom. 6.3. Subsequently he defines the verb ἐβαπτίσθημεν by: συνετάφημεν οὐ τῷ βαπτίσματος ib. 6.4, cf. Col. 2.12. Since the preposition ἐκ 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

words on dying, being buried, and rising with Christ refer to the descent into the baptismal water and the ascent from it. He assumes that \( \text{βαπτίζειν} \) has become completely technical and that the manner of baptizing is described by \( \text{άπολούειν} \) Cor. 6.11, and \( \text{lουτρόν} \) Eph. 5.26, Tit. 3.5, as a washing. Christian baptism, however, is only called a washing for special reasons and \( \text{βαπτίζειν} \) had certainly not become so technical that Paul was no longer aware of its real meaning. The manner in which in Rom. 6.3 f. \( \text{συνετάφημεν} \) is opposed to \( \text{έβαπτίσθημεν} \) suggests rather a direct reference to it. Paul bases his use of the word upon the Jewish meaning of \( \text{βαπτίζειν} \) 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 \( \text{βαπτίζειν} \), 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: \( \text{εκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ύδωρ} \) Did. 7.3.

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 reflection has elaborated this: \( \text{ἡ κατάδυσις τὸ συναποθανεῖν, ἡ ἀνάδυσις τὸ συναναστήναι} \) Const. 3.17.3, and John Chrysostom: \( \text{καθάπερ γαρ ἐν τινι ταφῷ, τῷ ὑδατὶ καταδύοντων ἡμῶν τὰς κεφάλας, ὃ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος θάπτεται} \) In Jo. 25.2. The two movements implied in the verb \( \text{βαπτίζειν} \) are thus indicated by \( \text{καταδύειν} \) and \( \text{ἀναδύειν} \), 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 \( \text{γρῦ, καταβάειν,} \) \( \text{τῇ, ἀναβάειν,} \) 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: \( \text{ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ύδωρ γέμοντες ἀμαρτίων καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες Ερ. ιι.ιι,} \) and Hermas: \( \text{εἰς τὸ ύδωρ οὖν καταβαίνονσιν νεκροί, καὶ ἀνα-} \)

1 Art cit., RömQ 49, 1954, p. 11 ff.
2 See p. 42 f.
3 But see p. 47 n 1
βαίνουσιν ζώντες 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 ή αγνοείτε; 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: έπεί τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπέρ 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

2 See p. 43.
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 (έν) 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. 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, 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. 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.

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. 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.

Among the opponents of Dix, Lampe in particular returned once more to the theory that the gift of the Spirit is granted in baptism. 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'.

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. 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
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
WASHING AND IMMERSION

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 (έν) ΰδατι... βαπτίζειν (έν) πνεύματι άγίφ (και πυρί) 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 applies 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

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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, ETHL. 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 πυρούται τὸ ἀγρύπνον Zech. 13.9, cf. Mal. 3.2 f. He pours out His wrath as fire and as water: ἐξέχεεν (špq) 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. rûah, Aram. ruḥâ', 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 πνοήν (rûah) ἡξακρουσαν μετὰ θυμοῦ Ez. 13.13, δώσω...πνεῦμα (rûah) καὶ βαγχήσω ib. 13.11, cf. Jer. 23.19, and mentioned along with fire: ἐπισκοπῇ γὰρ ἔσται...καταιγγίς φερομένη (storm-wind and tempest) καὶ φλοξ πυρὸς κατεσίουσα 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. 47.16.

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 ὄργη τοῦ θυμοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἐδεται, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα (rûah) αὐτοῦ ὡς ὄδωρ ἐν φάραγγι σύρον Is. 30.27 f., cf. 4.4; II.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 (ysq, ἐκχεῖν), drawn (imbibed) (s'b) or sprinkled (nsk): ἐγὼ δώσω (ysq) ὄδωρ...ἐπιθήσω (ysq) τὸ πνεῦμα (rûah) μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου Is. 44.3 ἐκχεῖν (špk) ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεῦματος 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 (s'b)

the divine spirit' Gen.Rabbah 70.8, '(God) will utterly destroy the spirit (rwh) of deceit from them and clean His flesh by a holy spirit (rwh) from all ungodly acts. He will sprinkle (nsh) upon it a spirit (rwh) of truth like water for impurity' 1QS 4.20 f., cf. 1QH 19.12.1

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 και πυρί 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

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 οṕι πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἐν 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 ἐν 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'.

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: ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου Tit. 3.5, the children of God are led by the Spirit of God: πνεύματι θεοῦ ἀγιοτατε Rom. 8.14. John says that rebirth is brought about by the Spirit: ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος Jn. 3.5, 6, 8. 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: μονήν παρ’ αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα Jn. 14.23. Paul terms the body of the believer a temple in which God or the Holy Spirit dwell: ναός θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἶκεί 1 Cor. 3.16, τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναός τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἠγίου πνεύματός 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 ναός θεοῦ and (ἐν)οίκείν, also κατοικείν Eph. 3.17, κατουκζείν Jas. 4.5, and κατουκτήριον 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 χρεοάν [εἰ μή τοὺς πόδας] νίψασ&αι 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: ἰεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς καὶ λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὑδατί καθ-αρω Heb. 10.22. The writer emphasizes the inner cleansing of conscience. The expression: ὃς λουσαμένη ἔλς 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: λούσαντι (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 άπολούειν 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 άπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου Acts 22.16; some Christians were sinners but they have been cleansed by ablution: ἄλλα ἀπελύσασθε, ἄλλα ἡγιάσθητε, ἄλλα ἐδικαίωθης I Cor. 6.11; Christ cleansed His Church by the ablution with water: ἵνα αὕτην ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὀδατος 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. In the New Testament we now find in the same way (άπο)λούειν, λουτρόν, and the related terms ραίνειν, καθαρός, καθαρίζειν, ἁγιάζειν, in cases where baptism is considered under the aspect of the forgiveness of sins.

This being so, (άπο)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'.

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.

The Holy Spirit is mentioned in connection with baptism considered as an ablution in one passage: ἄλλα ἀπελύσασθε...ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν I 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 ὄνοματι the causal meaning of ‘for the sake of’ and ἐν τῷ πνεύματι may indicate the operation of the Spirit at baptism. 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.
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 ύδωρ.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: [έβαψεν εις το ήδωρ Act.Paul 3.33, [βεβάμεθα εν ύδασι] P.Oxy. 840.43. Clement of Alexandria uses the verb with an allusion to baptism: ἀκμαίς..βεβαμμέναις Protr. 116.4.2

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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: βαπτισμός δευτέρω (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.\footnote{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.}

Another instance may be seen in the variant τῷ βαπτισμῷ αὐτῶν in Col. 2.12 (P\textsuperscript{46}, 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.\footnote{See p. 13.} It must be considered as a Christian neologism and appears as such for the first time in a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria: ἐπειδή τους αἱρετικοὺς, φησίν, 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 λαμπρύντων 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: τελειούται δὲ τῷ λουτρῷ μόνω Paed. I.25.3, cf. Origen In Jo. 2.11.84, the verb in the middle voice in Hippolytus: ἐκλύσατο 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: ἔξωμεν τοὺς 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 ἰμαρτιῶν διὰ Ἡσαβα
κηρυχθέν 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 ἀμαρτήματα 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: τα τοιούτα 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'módìlā) 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.


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. i.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: ποιος δὲ χρυσός, ἢ ἀργυρός, ἢ χαλκός, ἢ σιδηρός πυρωθεὶς οὐ βαπτίζεται ἡδατί; τὰ ὀυράνια..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 ὑδάτιναις ἄκμαις 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 ἀμαρτίαις, ὡς ἐπράξαμεν Dial. 86.6, cf. 14.Τ. 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 βαπτισθείσα 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 εἶς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι Strom. 3.109.2. Elsewhere the allusion is less clear: ἀνθρωπος ἀγνώριος βεβαπτισμένος Protr. 4.1, cf. Paed. 2.27.2, καῦς βαπτιζομένη κουφίζεται, μόναις ἄγιων εὐχαίς κυβερνομένη Div.Salv. 34.3, τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καταβαπτισμένων Origen In Jo. 28.10.72, ἅλλοις ὑπέρ τῆς διασώζως ὡσπερ βαπτιζομένους ἀνιώμενος Gregory Thaumaturgus Paneg. 171.

With λουεῖν 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 βαλανεῖον υμᾶς ἐπεμύθην Ἡσαϊας ἀπολουσομένους ἔκει..ἀμαρτίας 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: ἥ σύμπασα γῆ δήμβροι καὶ ποταμοῖς λουεται... τὸ δὲ πῶς λουονται μυστικῶς, παρ ἐμοὶ 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 δεὶ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχήν καθαρσίω 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 ἐβαπτίσατο Exe. 36.2, ἐβαπτίσατο μὴ χρήζων Ecl. 7.1. Likewise Origen says that Christ had himself baptized by John: δὲ γὰρ ἐβαπτίσατο In Luc. 28, cf. In Matth. fr. 69, and the Jews: τοῖς βαπτισματοῖς Cels. 1.47, βαπτισόμενοι In Jo. 6.28.146. The Christians also have themselves baptized: ἐν γὰρ τὸ βαπτίσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ Ἰησοῦν In Jo. 6.44.232, cf. 32.7.9, In Matth. 12.20, and they cannot have themselves baptized anew: αὐθεντικῶς βαπτισόμενοι Exh. 30, but in after-life they may need to have themselves baptized in fire: χρείαν ἔχειν βαπτισάσθαι τῷ πυρί In Jer. 2.3. They have themselves baptized in martyrdom: τῷ βάπτισμα βαπτισάμενοι τῷ ἐν γαρ τῷ βαπτίζασθαι 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 (ἀπὸ)λούειν just as in the New Testament.

With the passive the function of the officiant is normally indicated by ὑπὸ, but for the baptism of Jesus παρὰ is found in a fragment from Celsus preserved by Origen: λουομένω... σοὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Cels. 1.41.2 Origen himself alludes to this with: τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιστάσεως τῷ σωτῆρι βαπτιζομένῳ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ περιστεράς ib. 1.40, but also uses παρὰ elsewhere: τῶν περὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτισματῶν 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.
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the same clearly defined manner as obtained in the administration of Christian baptism.  

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

To indicate the liquid the preposition ἐν is current and the instrumental dative: βαπτίζειν (-εσθαι) ἄγιω πνεύματι Justin Dial. 29.1, ὀδητι Melito fr. 8.1, ἐν ψυχρῷ Hippolytus Ref. 9.16.1, ἁγνοις Clement of Alexandria Protr. 4.1, τῷ ἐκτότῳ αἵματι Origen Exh. 39, τοῦ ἐν ὀδητι βαπτίσματος In Jo. 6.31.159. By using the preposition εἰς Clement is able to lay more stress on the idea of immersion: ἐκ σωφροσύνης εἰς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι Strom. 3.109.2, but Origen also says: τίς γάρ ἐς ἄγιον πνεύμα 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 ἅρσην ἄμαρτιων Origen Exh. 30, Clem.Hom. 9.23.2; Π.27.1; Π.7.1, although Clement of Alexandria uses ἐπί: τὸ βάπτισμα ἐπί ἅρσης ἄμαρτιων 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 πατρός καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος Act.Thom. Π.21, 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, βαπτίσασθαι 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 θεόν βαπτίσεθαι εἰς θεόν ἐκχώρησεν... εἰς οὓς ἀναγεννάσθαι. Exc. 76.1. In the same way Clement of Alexandria says: ἀναγεννήθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Paed. 1.49.3, cf. Ignatius Rom. 6.1. The substitution of ἀναγεννάσθαι for βαπτίζειν εἰς makes the final meaning of the preposition clear.

In a few other places βαπτίζειν (ἐν) (τῷ) ὄνοματι is found. Here ‘in the name of’ may have the causal meaning of ‘for the sake’ 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: \( \text{έν τῷ ὄνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ} \) \( \text{ύστερα ἡμέρα βαπτίζομαι... ή μὲν οὖν ἐβαλεν ἑαυτῆς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ} \) Act. Paul. Thecl. 34. Theodotus expounds that the Valentinian is baptized in the same name in which his angel and Jesus were baptized: \( \text{ἐν' ἡ βεβαπτισμένος ὡς τὴν λύτρωσιν κομισάμενος τῷ αὐτῷ ὄνόματι, ὡς ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ προβεβάπτισται} \) Exe. 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: \( \text{βαπτισάσθω ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ὄνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ισού αὐτοῦ} \) 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 \( \text{πνεύματι} \) in Clement of Alexandria, who calls the baptismal forgiveness of sins the work of the Spirit: \( \text{οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, τὰς... ἀμαρτίας τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι... ἀποτριψάμενοι} \) Paed. 1.28.1, or, with reference to Jn. 3.5, the preposition \( \text{ἐξ} \) is changed to \( \text{διὰ} \) in the heretical interpretation of Theodotus: \( \text{τὸ βάπτισμα οὐν διπλοῦν... τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν δι᾽ ὀδατος... τὸ δὲ νοητὸν διὰ πνεύματος} \) Exe. 81.2, by Clement: \( \text{τὸ βάπτισμα γίνεται δι᾽ ὀδατος καὶ πνεύματος} \) Ecl. 8.1, and by Origen: \( \text{sordes peccati, quae per aquam et spiritum ablui deberent} \) 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: \( \text{ἐβαπτισθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθάριση} \) Eph. 18.2,² and Cyprian clearly states: \( \text{peccata enim purgare et hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest nisi habeat spiritum sanctum} \) 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: διό ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἄληθῶς 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 ἄμεν αὐτοῦ ναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν Eph. 15.3, cf. Phil 7.2, 2 Clem. 9.3. Hermes ascribes the indwelling to the Holy Spirit: ἐὰν μακρόθυμος ἐση, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοί καθαρὸν ἐσται Past. 33.2. As a consequence of sin the Holy Spirit must make way before the evil spirit: ἐὰν δὲ ἐξυγολίᾳ τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον...ζητεῖ 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: στολή ν γαρ αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσε το αγιον πνεῦμα τους αφεσιν αμαρτιών λαμβάνοντας, ἐν οἷς αἰε δύναμι μὲν πάρεστι, καὶ ἑαργοὺς δὲ παρέσται ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ παρουσία Dial. 54.1. Tatian says that God dwells within man through the Spirit who represents Him: εἰ μὲν ὡς ναός εἶ, κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸς βούλεται διὰ τοῦ προσβεβουντος 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 habitat in genere humano...renouans eos a vetustate 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: παξ δὲ βεβαπτισμένοις κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τού 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 ἔκαστος τῶν ἁγίων τῷ μετέχειν Χριστοῦ Χριστὸς γεννηθῇ... οἷον εἰς Χριστὸν 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 Bap. 10.1, cf. Cor. 3.2 f. Similarly in the following passage baptism may include the gift of the Spirit: qui acceptam a deo poire 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 Bap. 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 praeparamur 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 poelest pars illuc inanis esse et pars praeculare. si baptizare potuit, potuit et spiritum sanctum tradere* ib. 70.3. In elaborating Tertullian’s comparison of Bap. 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 impositionem 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 plasmavit et tunc insufflavit in faciem eius flatum uitae. nec enim poelest 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 ἁρπάζων ἀποτριψάμενοι, ἐλευθερον. ἡμα τοῦ πνεύματος ἴσχομεν, ὥστε μόνῳ τῷ θείῳ ἐπεισρέοντος ήμῖν τῷ ἄγων πνεύματι* Paed. 1.28.1. The difference in time between the two rites is indicated by the participles ἀποτριψάμενοι and ἐπεισρέοντος.

For Origen baptism in the wider sense includes the imposition of hands and anointing: *in Actibus apostolorum per impositionem manuum apostolicae spiritus sanctus dabatur in baptismo* Princ. 1.3.1, *omnia baptizata simus in aquis istis uisilibus 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: *ἐβάπτισαν γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐδίδον πνεύμα ἄγων In Matth. fr. 570, cf. In Rom. 1.3.7.*

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

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 οὐν ἐτί μοι περιτομῆς λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντι; τίς εἴκενον τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρεία ἁγίῳ πνεύματι βεβαπτισμένω;* 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: *δι' οὗ έκτι δυνατόν...αὕτη βαπτίσασθαι οὐκ οὐκ εἰς πνεύματι εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιώτων* 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 flummine dominus Iesus Christus iuxta flammeam rompheam, ut quicunque post exitum uitae huius ad paradisum transire desiderat et purgatione indiget, hoc eum amne baptizet et ad cupila transmittat, eum uero, qui non habet signum priorum baptismatum, lauacro igneo non baptizet. operet enim prius aliquem baptizari aqua et spiritu, ut, cum ad ignem flumnum venerit, ostendat se et aquae et spiritus lauacra servasse 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 πιστεύσαι, μετὰ τὸ δείκνυμι τὸν άγίου Πνεύματος, πάλιν ἀμαρτηκότα λοΰε ἐν πυρὶ... μακάριος οὖν ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ μὴ δεόμενος βαπτισμάτως τοῦ ἀπὸ πυρὸς... ὁ τιρήσας τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ άγίου πνεύματος In Jer. 2.3. The distinction between baptism in water and the gift of the Spirit may be indicated by the aorists πιστεύεται and δείκνυμι άγίου 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 γαρ ὁ εἰς άγίον πνεύμα βαπτιζόμενον ἀναφέρωμεν τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ βαπτίσων ὡς κριτὴς τῷ πυρὶ τῆς γεέννης; 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 κύτῳ βάπτισμα τοῖς βαπτιζόμενοις εἰς πῦρ καὶ εἰς χρίμα γίνεται, τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίας καταβαίνουσιν εἰς πνεύμα άγίου καὶ σωτηρίαν γίνεται. οὕτως δὲ ὁ βαπτιστὴς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρὶ λέγεται πτύον ἐχεῖν 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 baptismia spiritus, as contrasted with the baptismia aquae: in aliquo claudicet cum baptizatur baptismate aquae, quod minus est, dummodo postea constet in uritate sincera fides in baptismate spiritus, quod non dubie matus 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, 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: *μέλλουσα λούσασθαι μετά τὸν τοκετὸν βαπτισμὸν δευτέρῳ, τοιτέστιν τὸ ἱδίῳ αἷματι* Pass.Perp. 18.3. With reference to the cry of the public: *καλώς ἔλούσω, salue lactum*, a greeting to someone who has taken a bath, this baptism is viewed as a washing: *τοσοῦτον αἷμα ἔρρυθ, ὡς λογισθῆναι δευτέρου βαπτισμοῦ μαρτύριον: καθὼς καὶ ἐπεφώνει ὁ ὅχλος, βοῶν καὶ λέγων: καλώς ἔλούσω, καλώς ἔλούσω. καὶ μὴν ύγιῆς ἤν ὁ τοιοῦτοι τρόπῳ λελουμένος ib. 21.2.*

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: *ὅτι βάπτισμα ἦμιν δίδοται τὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου... τὸ κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον βάπτισμα* Exh. 30, τὸ βάπτισμα...μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας βαπτίσασθε νῦν ib. 37, βαπτισάμενοι τῷ ἑαυτῶν αἷματι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν 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 ποῦ φησιν, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβούσα* Hist. 6.4.3, cf. Mart.Pal. II.1.

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

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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 *salus*; 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 ἀγνὴν τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάσσειν 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 ύμᾶς ὃς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα 2 Clem. 9.3, of the Spirit received at baptism: συντηρεῖν τὸ πνεύμα τοῦ θεοῦ Irenaeus Haer. 5.9.3, of body and soul: animas et corpora sine querela seruauerint ib. 5.6.1, and of man: ἄμιαντον φυλάξωμεν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν 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 ώς δπλα Pol. 6.2, and others that baptism must be preserved: ἡμεῖς ἐδν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἄγνον καὶ ἄμιαντον 2 Clem. 6.9, μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα τηρήσαντες Act.Paul.Thecl. 6, also Origen: μακάριος...ὅ 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 εκ δευτέρου Div.Salv. 42.14. A second baptism in a literal sense, however, is impossible as Origen states: ὃτι οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν κατὰ τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς νόμους αὕθες 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 υδώρ 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’: μὴ τὸ υδώρ δώναται 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 υδάτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ Ep. 11.1. Hermas calls the seal the water in order to say that it is conferred in baptism: ἡ σφραγίς οὖν τὸ υδώρ ἐστίν Past. 93.4, and alludes to baptism as the water: ἡ
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ζωή υμών διὰ ὕδατος ἑσώθη 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 τοῦ ὕδωρ Act.Paul.Thecl. 25. Origen says that one does not always receive the Holy Spirit after the water: πνεύματος...οú πάσιν μετὰ τοῦ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου In Jo. 6.33.169. From Tertullian onwards the same development of aqua is found in Latin: de sacramento aquae nostrae Bapt. i.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 βαντίζειν as current terms for pagan purification rites, which he compares with baptism, from whence he considers them to be derived: βαντίζειν ἑαυτούς...καὶ λούεσθαι Apol. i.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 Apollinaribus 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 λόυειν and derivatives, as does Clement of Alexandria for the bath of the high priest and the Levites: ὁ ἀρχιερεύς...λούεται...ἀπολελουμένων Strom. 5.39.3 f., and for the bath after sexual intercourse: τῆς ὡμίλας 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 Christians terms.

In an apocryphal Gospel fragment λόυειν is employed for these washings: οὐδεὶς ἀλλος εἰ μή 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 Eleusinna for Pelusia, 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 πρὸς βαπτίσθέντων ib. 840.15 f. οὐδὲς λέγεις μὴ βεβαία πτίσθαι ib. 840.42 f.

In his Dialogue Justin Martyr uses βαπτίζειν in the medio-passive and βάπτισμα for Jewish ritual washings: τὸ βαπτίζειν ἀφάμενον τινος... ἦν συνουσία γενόμενος Dial. 46.2, τί γὰρ δρέπας ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος, δ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαραώνει ib. 14.1, τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκεῖνο... οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα τούτο 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: ἐβαπτίσατο, φησίν, εν τ怫 'Ιορδάνη ἔπτακις. οὐ μάτην πάλαι Ναμίν λεπρὸς δὲν βαπτίσθεις ἐκαθαρίστε, 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... ἡ γεννητικὴ καταβολή 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 Μωϋσέως δι' ἐνός περιλαβῶν βαπτίσματος ib. 3.82.6, cf. Const. 6.19.1 (Didasc. 6.15.1).

We may add that in Origen Elijah’s crossing of the river Jordan is called a baptism: ἐν τ怫 'Ιορδάνη 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 ἐξαλα... δεόμενα λουτροῦ ἕνα ἐκκαθαρθῆ, ἑπιφανεντὸς 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.

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

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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 m 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. Hesegippus, Epiphanius, and the Apostolic Constitutions speak of them as a distinct sect. They may be the same as the Τῶβλη σάραρτι, '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 (άπο)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: αὐθίς δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς πάλιν λουόμενοι ἀπερήκαντο τὸ παρελθὸν ἐν τῇ χθεσιν τεθνάναι 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 ὁρίζειν. φάσκων τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ ἀσέλγεια. βαπτίσασθαι λαμβάνειν ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν Ref. 9.13.4, cf. 9.15.1, according to the fragments: βαπτισάσθω εξ δευτέρου ἐν ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ψίλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, <τοῦ> μεγάλου


¹ See also p 35.
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βασιλέως ib. 9.15.1, cf. 9.15.5, βαπτισάσθω σύν παντὶ τῷ φωρέματι 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: βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν ψυχρῷ πεσσαρακοντάκις ἐπὶ ημέρας ἑπτά ib. 9.16.1, ἐπα(οι)δαίς καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ib. 10.29.3; the fragments prescribe for demoniacs: μὴ βαπτίζεσθαι ἄνδρα ἡ 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 ἰبل, 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: βαπτισμοΐς 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 αὐτὸλαμβάνουσα 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 βαπτιζόμενον ib. 30.5.1,
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Furthermore they take a bath after sexual intercourse and after contact with strangers: βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ib. 30.2.4, τῆς τῶν ὕδατων καταδύσεως καὶ βαπτισμοῦ ib. 30.2.5.

Epiphanius thus makes a distinction between βάπτισμα for a baptism that is received once and βαπτισμοὶ 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 βαπτισμοὶ and rejected both bathing and the washing of the hands before a meal: επεί κατά ποίαν αίτιαν ἐμέμφετο τοὺς Φαρισαίους καὶ Γραμματέας, τοὺς βαπτισμοὺς πυγμὴ χρωμένους εκνυτῶν <τε> καὶ ἔστοτων... ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι τούτων ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ νύφαι χείρας περιττὸν εἶναι εἰδικεῖ 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: έκεῖ λουσάμενος, εἴθ’ οὕτως εὐξάμενος Clem.Hom. ΙΟ.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: θαλάσσῃ λουσάμενος εἰσέλθων καὶ σιτίων σὺν προόδοις μεταλαβών... ὑπνώσεν 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 ρής and not for ἰβλ.

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 ἀμαρτιῶν βαπτισθήναι: Clem.Hom. 7.8.1, τρισμακαρίω ἐπονομασίᾳ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν βαπτισάμενοι ib. 9.23.2, cf. II.26.3, and a baptism for the forgiveness of sins committed in ignorance: βαπτισθήναι εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἐν άγνοίᾳ πεπραγμένων ib. II.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: κάν θαλάσσῃ ἀπολουσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ ib. 9.19.4. In the same passages the apostle preaches the ritual bath after sexual intercourse: ἀπὸ
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κοίτης γυναικός λούεσθαι ib. 7.8.1, μετὰ κοινωνίαν βαπτισθεῖσθαι ib. II.30.2, cf. II.33.4, after menstruation: καθαρθείση καὶ βαπτισθείση ib. II.30.1, and ritual purity in general: ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολούεσθαι λύματος ib. 7.4.1, λουτρῶν δὲ πλῦντα τὸ σῶμα ib. II.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: ἄγωσιν ἐφ’ ύδωρ καὶ βαπτίζοντες.. Haer. I.23.3, Clement of Alexandria among the Gnostics in general: τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ αἱρετικὸν Strom. I.96.3, cf. I.46.1; 2.38.1; 3.109.2, and Dionysius of Alexandria says: τὸ βάπτισμα, δ’ παρὰ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς 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 ἀναγένναν and ἀναγέννησις Exc. 25.2; 76.1 ff. With reference to I Cor. 15.29 Theodotus speaks of a baptism which the angels receive for us: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γάρ, φησίν, οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐβαπτίσαντο 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 πρῶτῳ λουτρῷ παραδίδοσιν, τὸ τοιοῦτο καλοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ δ’ ἀπολύτρωσιν καλοῦσιν Ref. 6.41.1, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα έτερον ἐπαγχέλλονται, δὲ κάλουσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν ib. 6.42.2. This writer, however, derives his information from Irenaeus, who uses ἀπολύτρωσις as a general term: δειν γὰρ εἰσὶν ταύτης τῆς γνώμης μυσταγωγοί, τοσαῦτα ἀπολυτρώσεις Haer. I.21.1; with reference to Mk. 10.38 f. and Lk. 12.50 the heretics oppose this ‘redemption’ to the baptism of John, Haer. I.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, ἀνακαινόω, and derivatives, and, as we shall see, παλιγγενεσία also belongs to this group. Re-creation is indicated in the New Testament by καινή κτίσις. Later, one finds ἀνακτίζειν, 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.

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 θέσις, έξις, must change their suffix to -σία, whenever they are made up with a nominal root or with an adverb: υλοθεσία, πλεονεξία. If they are made up with a preposition, the suffix can be -σις and -σία, often with a change of meaning, as in επιστασία, επιστασία and εκκλησία, εκκλησία. 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, επισταστείν, εκκαλεῖν.¹

This being so, the following may be concluded with reference to our terms: άνακαίνωσις is derived from άνακαινούν and άναγέννησις from άναγένναν but παλιγγενεσία is made up of the adverb πάλιν and γένεσις, the verbal noun of γίγνεσθαι. For the meaning it follows that άναγέννησις means 'rebirth' since, and in the measure that, the idea of birth is contained in άναγεννόον. 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 Verbalnominma auf -σια-, -σία, Zeitschr f vergl Sprachforschung 45, 1913, p 160 ff
² Arti cit, ThW I p 685 n 2
³ Op cit, p 4, cf also P GENNICH, 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 GENNICH, however, is aware that the concept of rebirth in the figurative sense closely approaches that of renewal, op cit, p 3
CHAPTER ONE

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 αναγεννάω and αναγέννησις. 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’: εὐγές ὡς ἐκαίνισας θεῶν; Euripides Tro. 889, and καινούν (ι) found in one context with the meaning ‘to use for the first time’, ‘to handsel’: οίκημα, καινούν 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 ανα-, ανακαινίζειν ‘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.

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2 Cf. Liddell-Scott s.v. and J. Behm, Καινός, καινότης, ανακαινίζω, ανακαινόω, ανακαίνωσις, εγκαινίζω, ThW III p. 450 ff.
and not to the introduction of something new: τῆς εξθέρας τῆς πρὸς βασιλέα πάλιν ἀνακαινισμένης Isocrates Or. 7.8, τον ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ Josephus Ant. 9.161. One might now expect that ἀνακαινισθεῖν 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, ἀνακαίνισις and ἀνακαίνωσις are likewise found only once in the profane language, in Suidas s.v. ἀνακαίνισις· ἡ ἀνανέωσις. λέγεται καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις. 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 ἀνακαίνιζεῖν it does not imply the introduction of something new, but the restoration of that which formerly existed: τὴν πατρικὴν φιλίαν 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 word 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 BEHM, Νέος, ἀνανεῶ, 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...καὶ 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 καὶ περιόδοις ἀδιστακτικῶς...μηδέποτε λησταδέοις: 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 καὶ παλιγγενεσίας: ib. 47, cf. 76, 107.

The arguments advanced by Philo against the Stoic cosmology go

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 γίγνεσθαι 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. 1.1.1. 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 Στοικοὶ 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

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\(^1\) *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. OERKE, Ἀποκαθιστᾶμεν, 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 *renovatio 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 ζῷον ἐς γνώμενον ἐσθίεται Hist. 2.123. Pindar refers to it with the words: Φερσέφόνα...ἀνείδοι ψυχάς πάλιν fr. 133. Plato uses similar expressions when expounding his doctrine of transmigration: πάλιν ἔνθεθεν εἰς σῶμα Phaed. 81e, πάλιν ἀναβιώσας ib. 72c, τὴν ψυχὴν...πάλιν γίγνεθαι Men. 81b. Aristotle says of the Pythagorean doctrine: εἰς τὸ τυχόν ἐνδύνεσθαι σῶμα Anim. 407b22. Still later one finds: ἀναβιώσεις In Pind.Ol. 2.104a, ψυχάς εἰς ἑτέρα σώματα εἰσδύνεσθαι ἀναγέννησιν ib. 2.104c, εἰς ἑτέρα ζῶα εἰσέρχεσθαι Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 10.6.1, ἀλλοις ἐνδέισθαι ζώοις Diogenes Laertius Vit. 8.1.14, πάλιν γίνεται Porphyr. 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: μετεμψυχώσιν εἴδοξεις Bibl. 10.6.1, nor when Servius says of him: *Pythagoras nero non metempsýchōsιν sed pαλιγγενεσίαν 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 γίγνεθαι. 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.
The document concerned is a scholium which is assumed to go back to Didymus Chalcércterus 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 ἐπιφανεῖς περὶ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ τῶν καθ᾽ “Αιδοῦ ἐτερατεύετο 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: ἐξ ταῦτα μόνα (sc. ἐν ζώαις) γίνεσθαι τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν Mor. 379ff, ἐν ταῖς παλιγγενεσίαις ib. 998c; the dismemberment of Dionysus refers to transmigration: τὰ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μεμυθεμένα πάθη τοῦ διαμελισμοῦ... ἐστὶ μόθος εἷς 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
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 περιοδὸν 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 Brahmans: 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 ἐφην, 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, μετενσωμάτωσις, μετενσωματοῦσθαι Plotinus Enn. 1.1.12; 2.9.6, and μεταγγίσμος, 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 μετενσωμάτωσιν 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.
tendency to distinguish between μετεμψύχωσις and παλιγγενεσία. Anatolius uses παλιγγενεσία for the return to the original state after a series of migrations which are termed μετεμψυχώσεις: σις έτει τός μετεμψυχώσεις τός άυτώ (i.e. Πυθαγόρα) συμβεβηκυίας έφασαν γεγονέναι. μετά τοσαυτα γον ετη εις παλιγγενεσίαν έλθείν Πυθαγόραν και άναζήσαι Theol.Ar. ρ. 40 Α. 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 μετά-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 diversa corpora transitum faceré statim pro meritis vitae prions. 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. The development indicated also makes it improbable that Servius is noting a peculiarity of the professional philosophical language of his day. 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.
text does not deal directly with the transmigration of souls and is discussed elsewhere. Herodotus merely says that the soul passes into a living being and later returns to occupy a human body: ες άλλο ζωον áei γνόμενον ἐσδύεται... ες άνθρώπου σώμα γνόμενον ἐσδύνειν Hist. 2.123. This occurs at the moment of physical birth (γνόμενον). He does not say that the soul is born but expresses what happens to the soul by ἐσδύειν. 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 ἐσδύειν, ἐνδύειν, ἐσδείσθαι, ἐδέρχεσθαι, μετενσωμάτωσις, μετεμψύχωσις, μεταγγισμός, καλλιμεταβολή, and in Latin transitus, redire cannot be misunderstood. This interpretation must also be retained for ἀναβιώσκεσθαι, ἀναβίωσις, and probably for πάλιν γίγνεσθαι. Plato objects to the use of the term ἀποθνήσκειν 'to die'. The soul only 'ends' this existence and comes again into being: φασί γαρ τήν ψυχήν του ἄνθρωπον εἶναι άθάνατον, και τότε μέν τελευταν — δ δή ἄποθνήσκειν καλοῦσι — τότε δὲ πάλιν γίγνεσθαι 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, ώσπερ, 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

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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 γήνεσθαι 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: δοῦτε πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἶν 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. 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 vocant, rem a nobis, ut ego arbitr Hor, 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. Yet the text gives as little indication of this as that of

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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 έγένοντο ηγεμόνες καὶ δεύτερας άρχηγέται περίοδος Vit.Mos. 2.65. He also compares an individual restoration with the παλιγγενεσία, when he sees in Seth the return of Abel: τὴν ἀσπέρ παλιγγενεσίαν "Αβελ 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: καθ-άπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας άνήγειρας 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 the 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 ἔσομεθα οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί, ἀλλ’ εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὁρμήσομεν 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. 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 Dev, op.cit., p. 27, of δευτέρα γένεσις in: δευτέρας γενέσεως ανθρώπων ἄρχη ib. 2.64, in which case the word would not refer to the renewal of the earth but of the human race.

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 σύγχριτοι ποιότ.) in this incorporeal condition, however, we retain composition and quality (οἱ μετὰ ασωμάτων σύγχριτοι ποιότ.) 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. II.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: ἐπενοεῖ άνοιξίζεσθαι 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: δέξησι χρήσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις Mor. 438d.

Upon a papyrus of the third or fourth century are preserved the address: τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτοκράτορι Κ[αίσαρσι] and the words δώρον 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 ὑπὲρ έξει 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: οἶοτεῖ παλιγγενεσίαν τινᾶ.. αὐτῶις παρεχόμενοι Opif.Mund. 6.6.

As a Stoic term adopted in ordinary speech παλιγγενεσία is again
Synonymous with ἀποκατάστασις. In a political connection ἀποκατάστασις is used for the restoration of a city or people, and for the return home of hostages or other persons: ἀποκατέστησεν τῶν 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 γῇν Ant. ii.2, and for the restoration of the Jewish people: τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως ib. ii.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: καθήπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας νέα ἐφ’ ἡμέρη φρονέοντες, ὡς φησι Δημόκριτος Mor. 722d. 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, he also speaks of the ἀποβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίαι 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: ἀνάσταται καὶ παλιγγενεσία τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ βιος ἀλλος ἐξ ὑπορχῆς 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 ἐξ 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

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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.cit., p. 369, cf. DEV, 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 περιόδος,
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 ὀσπερ τοῖς λαβούσιν ἐπεδωρήσατο 14 p. 305 Κ. Elsewhere
the same writer says of a medicament that it prevents the return of the
disease: τὸ φάρμακόν ἐστι σφόδρα καλόν καὶ παλιγγενεσίας κωλυτικόν 13 p.
83 Κ. 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: ἡπολειφθὲν γὰρ τι μέρος αὐτοῦ
παλιγγενεσίας αἰτίαν καθίσταται ap. Orib.Coll. 45.2.7.

In the first text the addition of ὀσπερ indicates that Galen is
conscious of figurative speech. He uses the word for a solemn affir­
mation, 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 κατιων, χωλυτικόν. A synonym for the first meaning is again ἀποκατάστασις in Aretaeus: ἀφφαλής ἡ ἀποκατάστασις Acut.Morb. 1.10.4, 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 ἐκ 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 Hélos: σὺ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγενοῦς Ἀλδόνος PMag. 7.5.10, and in Nonnus: παλιγγενέος Φύσις ὁλής 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: ἢ μὲν φθορὰ παρὰ τὴν ὠλην, ἢ δὲ παλιγγενεσία διὰ τῶν 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: εἶη δὲ ἐν τῷ καὶ ὄν τῆς γνωστικῆς παλιγγενεσίας, ἢ ἔστιν ἀνάμνησις ib. ρ. 268 Ν., cf. ρ. 66 Ν. 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 εἴναι...τῇ δὲ ἀμετάκτητῃ 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.II.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 (vel spiritus principis) mutata a genita ad ingenitam, cuius non est mater sed pater solus, qui et universonum. 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 *erkrord cnownd*, which are correctly rendered by *secunda natiuitas*. The Greek text of Procopius also speaks of a 'second birth' and not of a 'rebirth': ή δὲ ἀνάκλησι τοῦ προφήτου δευτέρα γένεσίς ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμέινων In Ex. 24.16. Hence we can be sure that Philo himself wrote *deutéra gēnesis*.

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

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. 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 γενναν. 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 σωθηναι
πρό τῆς παλιγγενεσίας Corp.Herm. 13.1, and the noun is found again in
the expressions: δ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λόγος, τρόπος, παράδοσις ib. 13.1,
3, 7, 10, 13, 22, γενεσιοργός τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ib. 13.4, αὐτή ἐστὶν ἡ
παλιγγενεσία ib. 13.13, τὸν ὅμοιον 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'Hermes 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 ἀναγεννᾶν and ἀναγέννησις.\textsuperscript{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.: ὄρκιζω σε τὸν θεόν τὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας Tab.Defix. 4.17 f.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 μεταγεννᾶν. The 'closing prayer', however, speaks of the end of the extasy and the return to normal conditions as follows: κύριε, παλιγγενύμενος ἀπογίνομαι, αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωόγονον γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεῖς πορεύομαι PMag. 4.718 ff. The return is described as a death with the terms: ἀπογίνομαι, τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως... γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθείς. One returns αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθείς, 'being fortified and having been fortified', and this is the result of a preceding birth, the term for which is now παλιγγενύμενος. This term must be translated as 'reborn', for παλιγγίνεσθαι corresponds with a μεταγεννάσθαι 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

\textsuperscript{1} See p. 146 ff
\textsuperscript{2} R. Wensch, Antike Fluchtafeln, Kleine Texte 20, Bonn 1912, p. 17
\textsuperscript{3} A. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, Leipzig-Berlin 1910. 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 γεννάω 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 γεννάω 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 γεννάω, said of the man 'to beget', of the woman 'to bring forth', 'to bear', τίκτειν, which originally also had both meanings but is later the technical term for the child-bearing of a woman, κυείν 'to be pregnant', ὃδινειν 'to be
in travail', 'have labour pains', for example: άνδρες...γεννήσαντες παντοιαν ἀφετήν Plato Symp. 209e, ἡ χρήσις λύπην ἐγέννησεν Philo Det.Pot. i.19, μὴ ἑφάσυς τέχη φόβον Aeschylus Suppl. 489, τίκτει πόλεμον καὶ ἐξήραν Plato Resp. 547a, κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὡδίνων ὀδύνησι Homer Od. 9.415, κυούμεν τι καὶ ὡδίνωμεν..περὶ ἐπιστήμης Plato Theaet. 210b.

The use of ἀποκυεῖν for the metaphor of birth and of ἀναγεννάν and μεταγεννάν 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. 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: κυοφορεί καὶ ὡδίνει καὶ ἀποτίκτει πολλὰ διάνοια. τῶν δὲ ἀποεκουομένων ἐννοημάτων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα Sacr. 103. A similar activity is attributed to justice: ἀποεκουύηκε δικαιοσύνη ψυχῆ γενεάν ἄρρενα, τῶν δίκαιων λογισμῶν Det.Pot. i.121. Cain and Abel are two conflicting concepts borne by one soul: ἀμφοτέρας μὲν ὄνομάν ὡδίνει καὶ ἐκπολέμησεν ἄρρεν, ἀνάγκη δὲ αὐτάς, διακριθηκαί διακριθήκατι Sacr. 3.

Starting from the figurative use of γεννάν one comes to the metaphor of rebirth in the compounds ἀναγεννάν and μεταγεννάν 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 ἀναγεννάν 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[αριθμήτοις συνεχόμενοι] κακοῖς ἀναγεννάνπάλιν έπιστάμεθα κα[κά έπι πολύ] 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: καὶ τοῖς χρυσοῖς σποτίζων ἀναγεννώμενη 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 γεννάν 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. J.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 μακραῖς περιόδοις ἀναλύουσαν τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑκατόν, ἐξ ἧς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου συνίστασθαι προκηρύσσει τοῦ τεχνίου Αετ. 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 ἀναγεννάν.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 μεταγεννάν. 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: μετατοιχιζεται γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγενόμενος Αντ. 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 μετατοιχιζεται or have been fairly well known in general speech. We shall, however, see that one is to some extent justified in supposing that μεταγεννάν 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 saeclorum 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 alic 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 generatie 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 ἀναγεννάν, ἀναγέννησις, and μεταγεννάν 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 γενώνω 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 1936, 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.\footnote{A survey of the discussions and the relevant literature in DEY, op.cit., p. 36 ff.}

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.\footnote{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.}

According to Plutarch the custom exists that a ὅστερόποτος, 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 γυναιξίν ἀπολούσαι 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 Ὑραν.. τὸν Ὑρακλέα προσλαβομένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἀφεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γῆν μιμουμένην τὴν ἀληθινήν γένεσιν Bibl. 4.39. Lycothron calls Hera δευτέρα τεκούσαν Alex. 39. The periphrase of the text and the scholium explain this as an allusion to the adoption of Heracles, In Lycothrn.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

among the Athenians, but does not say what purpose it served, s.v. 
δευτερόποτος - δεύτερον διὰ γυναικείου κόλπου διεδός: ώς ἐδός ἵν παρὰ 
Ἀθηναίοις ἐξ 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 puluinar Iouis Optimi Maximi 
adoptio peracta est Paneg. 8. This rite may also be referred to in the 
Lat. 4 p. 304).

In Greek the usual terms for adoption are υἱοθεσία, υἱοποιεῖσθαι, 
θετός υἱός. The texts quoted, however, speak of the adoption rite as 
a realistic imitation of birth. For this, τίκτειν may have been used meta-
phorically by Lycophron and γεννᾶσθαι in Hesychius, but it does not 
appear from this one text whether ἐξ 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 ὦτος διελκόμενος 
tοῦ 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[έ] 

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 ἐξ 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 DIETEMCH, 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
In a realistic ceremony he is probably also fed with milk: ἕριφος ἐς γάλ' ἐπετον ib. 32c.11, 'as a kid I fell to the milk'.

So he may say that he is one of the family of the blessed: γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὑλίτον εὐχαριστεῖν ib. 32c.3.

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

(a) Eleusis. — For Eleusis Rohde has attempted to detect the idea of initiation as an adoption in a passage from the pseudo-Platonic dialogue Axiophon. Rohde remarks that all the initiates of Eleusis enjoy the privilege of a front seat in Hades: τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἐστί τις προεδρία, but Axiophon in the first place: πῶς οὖν οὐ σοι πρῶτῳ μέτεστι τίς τιμής, δότι γεννήτη τῶν θεῶν; Ax. 37d. The reason why Axiophon is granted this privilege is that he is μεμυημένος and this is again expressed by δότι γεννήτη, whereas πρῶτῳ indicates Axiophon’s 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. Some connection may also be seen with the Eleusinian words transmitted by Hippolytus: υε, κύε Ref. 5.7.34, and: ιερόν ετεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμώ Βριμόν, τουτέστι ισχύρα ισχύρον ib. 5.8.40. If these explanations are correct, then γεννήτης or even γεννάω, 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.
3 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, κτέσις, on account of Clement of Alexandria, Protr. 22.5, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Cur. 7.11. The action (ἐργασάμενος) performed by the mystes according to the synthem 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.
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 ἀναγεννῶν 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.

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 ἀναγεννῶν in Sallust, and not a technical

¹ BÜCHSEL, *art cit*, ThW I p 672
² Cf the use of ὡσπερ and οἷον 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 περικτέρα τῆς γενέσεως πρόοδον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷον έπάνοδος
term from the Isis mysteries. In the same manner Apuleius calls Lucius, when he has recovered his human form, *renatus quodam modo* ib. II.16, and his tongue is then a *renata lingua* ib. II.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 *tradttionem ad instar voluntariae mortis* ib. II.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: διό και το ρήμα τω ρήματι και το έργον τω έργω τω τελευτάν και τελείαται προοδοικε 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. II.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 Aegesilaus Adesiu... taurobolio criobolieque in aeternum renatus aram sacravit* 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. II 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 morturus* 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 24, 8 1, 28 2, it must be seen as a verdict on man given by Firmicus from the Christian point of view. Cf. K. Prüm, *Der christliche Glaube und die altherdnnischen Welt,* Leipzig 1935, I p. 370, Deby, *op. cit.,* p. 83 f.
on an anniversary.\footnote{Cf. DEY, \textit{op cit.}, p. 77, and WAGENVOORT, \textit{op cit.}, p. 143} There is thus not much evidence that the \textit{taurobolium} was originally intended to represent a rebirth, and \textit{in aeternum renatus} is in all probability borrowed from the Christian language.

In several mysteries the priest who performed the initiation was called \textit{pater} or \textit{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.\footnote{\textit{Op cit.}, II p. 421} 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 \textit{αναγεννάν} and \textit{renasci} as terms taken from the mysteries could not be proved. The data, however, can be supplemented from texts in which \textit{γεννάν} 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.

\textit{(b)} 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 \textit{ποιεῖν}, the verbs \textit{σπείρειν} and \textit{γεννάν}: \textit{ο θεός...γεννήσας φυτά τε αὐ καὶ ζώα} Mut. 63, \textit{σπειρομένων ἢνωθεν ἄρανως} τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων Migr. 35. As an explanation of Sarah’s words: γέλωτα μοι ἐποίησεν κύριος Gen. 21.6, Philo says that the verb here means \textit{έγέννησεν} and then adds: \textit{Ἰσαὰχ ἐγέννησε}ν \textit{ὁ κύριος}αὐτὸς καὶ \textit{πατήρ} ἐστι τῆς τελείας φύσεως, \textit{σπείρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννών} τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν Leg.All. 3.219. Of the virtues with which Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah are compared he says: \textit{τίς οὖν ὁ σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς (sc. ταῖς ἀρεταῖς) τὰ καλὰ πλήν ὁ τῶν δντων πατήρ, ἢ ἀγένητος 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: \textit{ὁ μύσται, παραδέξασθε} τελετάς \textit{ιερωτάτας} Leg.All. 3.219. He calls the teaching concerning the virtues a \textit{ἱεροφαντεῖν} of the divine \textit{τελεταί} to the \textit{μύσται}: \textit{τελετάς γὰρ ἀναθανάκομην θεῖας τοὺς τελετῶν ἔξιους τῶν ιερωτάτων μύστας...ἐκείνοις δὲ ὅλη} ιεροφαντήσομεν Cher. 42. The sowing of ideas in man by God is likened to the inspiration of the Corybantes: \textit{ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθεοῦ κορυβαντίαν} Migr. 35. These are all pagan religious terms
which had become current in the general language. If, therefore, γεννάν and σπέραν 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.

(i) Hermetism. – In the thirteenth Hermetic treatise we find, besides παλιγγενεσία and γένεσις, the verb γεννάν 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: ἀγνώ, ὁ Τρισμέγιστε, ἐξ οίας μήτρας ἀνθρώπως ἐγεννήθη (ἐγεννήθη MSS., ἀναγεννήθης cj. Reitzenstein, ἀναγεννήθητῃ ἐν cj. Scott) σπόρας δὲ ποιας 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: ἐγεννήθη τοῦ ἐν τῷ ib. 13.2.

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

(j) The 'Mithras liturgy' – The so-called 'Mithras liturgy' provides in two passages μεταγεννάν as a technical term for rebirth in pagan antiquity: ἵνα νοήματι μεταγεννάν, καὶ πνεύμα τὸ ἐμὸν τὸ ἱερὸν πνεύμα PMag. 4.508 ff., ἐὰν σοι δόξα ἐγένετο μετά τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἀνθρώπως, ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δείνας, γεννώμενος ἐκ θυτῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δείνας καὶ ἱξώδος σπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τοῦτον ὑπὸ σου με τὰ γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τῶν τοσοῦτον μυρίων ἀπαθανατισθεὶς...προσκυνήσαι σε ἄξιοι ib. 4.642 ff.

2 See p. 109 and 129; on 'second birth' in Philo see p. 104 f.
3 See p. 105 f.
4 Cf. Büchel, art.cit., ThW I p. 672.
5 See p. 142.
6 Dieterich’s correction, adopted by Preisendanz; cf. με <γαλοκράτωρ 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: μεταπαραδόνα με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει ib. 4.501, which may be seen as a paraphrase introducing the technical term, and: ἵνα μετά τὴν ἐνεστώσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπείγουσαν με χρείαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθανατον ἀρχήν ib. 4.502 ff.; further down this idea is repeated with the words: ὑπὲρ εἰς εὐστίσης μου πρὸς ἀλλογον τῆς ἀνθρώπινης μου ψυχικὴς δυνάμεως, ἢν ἐγὼ τάλιν μεταπαραλήμψομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσαν με πικρὰν άνάγκην ib. 4.523 ff., and: ἰνα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραλήτητον καὶ κατεπείγουσαν χρείαν ib. 4.533 ff.

It is clear that μετά 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 μεταγενναν 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 μεταγενναν may have been adopted from elsewhere. This then leads to the supposition that the term μεταγενναν 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 γένεσις, on the other, γενναν 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 γενναν 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 γενναν may be supposed along with κύειν and τίκτειν. The feeding with milk in the Attis cult is interpreted as a rebirth by means of ἀναγενναν. 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 REITZEN-STEIN, op cit., p. 39 and 262 ff., established a connection with μεταμορφοφθαιν, reformari.
spiritual process. For this, Philo has δευτέρα γένεσις, the thirteenth Hermetic treatise παλιγγενεσία, γένεσις and γενναν, the 'Mithras liturgy' γένεσις and μεταγεννάν. Of these terms those from Eleusis, μεταγεννάν 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 šwb. 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 καρδιὰν πατρός 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 Dev, op cit p 142 ff
² Cf., however, ἀποστροφή (litubāh) 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 ‘sh ‘to make’, rendered in the Septuagint by ποιεῖν: ἡ σταύρος (br’) γὰρ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν τῶν προτέρων Is. 65.17, ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ (’sh) ib. 66.22. In apocryphal and rabbinic texts, we find ḧāḏš for the renewal of the world: ‘I, God, created (br’) the world from the beginning; I, God, shall once renew (ḥdt) the world for the righteous’ Targ.Jer. 23.23, cf. Qoh.Rabbah 3.15, and the expression bryḥ ḧāḏš ‘new creation’ or even br’ bryḥ ḧāḏš ‘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 (feṭrat ḥāḏās)’ Jub. 4.26, ‘Until the new creation will be created (garā ra geber ḥāḏis) 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 γένεσθαι in a passage of the Septuagint which is a free rendering of the original text: ὁ ποιμενῶ, ἔσω ἐν 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 ὄρμησομεν 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: προδόμως ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐδώκεν ο Θεὸς

\(^1\) See p. 99 f.
\(^3\) Cf. BILLERBECK, op.cit., IV p. 1166 ff.
\(^4\) See p. 99 f.
γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτομῆς Ἀρ. 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 הָעָדָס ‘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, παλαιά ἐκ προσώπου νέων Lev. 26.10, cf. Cant. 7.14. Elsewhere νέος renders να’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 ἡδαί πι. ‘to renew’ in a few passages where a physical or spiritual renewal of man is referred to: ἀνακαινισθ-ήσεται ὡς άετοϋ ή νεότης σου Ps. 102.5, ἀνακαίνισον τοις άνακαίνισον ἐν τοῖς γενάτοις μου Ps. 50.12. Elsewhere spiritual renewal is viewed as the formation of a new heart and a new spirit in man: ποιήσατε (τ’) ἐαυτοῖς καρδίαν καινήν καὶ πνεύμα 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 (ἡδαί) with all the beings’ ΙΩΗ ΙΙ.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 בָּרָה, properly ‘to cut’, but one finds in the same sense qnh, properly ‘to acquire’, yṣr, properly ‘to shape’ like a potter, and the general ṣ’h ‘to make’. The Septuagint translates by κτίζειν, πλάσσειν, and ποιεῖν.⁴

It may be remarked that בָּרָה indicates God’s creative activity in a

¹ Cf. BöCHSEL, art cat., 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 cat., p 70
³ See also next page
⁴ Cf. J. VAN DER PLOEG, Le sens du verb hébreux bârå', 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') αἰνείει τὸν κύριον Ps. 101.19. A similar idea is expressed with the words: ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται (br'), καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς (hds) 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 καθαράν κτίζον (br') εν οἱπός, ὁ θεός, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθές ἐγκαίνισον (hds) εν τοῖς εγκάτοις 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 (ysr) 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 (hds) 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

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1 Cf G. Lindeskog, Studien zum neustamentlichen 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 'šḥ, both with and without
the prefix k- 'as' or k'yhlw '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
('šḥ) 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 neigh-
bours's son is regarded by Scripture as though (k'yhlw) he had made
('šḥ) him' Sanh. 99b (Resh Lakish c. 260), 'He who brings a gentle
near (to God) is as though (k'yhlw) he created (br') him' Gen.Rabha
39.14; 84.4 (R. Eleazar c. 270, in the name of R. Jose b. Zimra c. 220),
cf. Cant.Rabba 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 'šḥ, in the expression br'
('šḥ) bryh hdšḥ, 'to create (make) a new creature (creation)'. The ex-
pression 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'yhlw) you
have been created (br') (as) a new creation (bryyḥ hdšḥ)' 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
('šḥ) as a new creation (kbryyḥ hdšḥ)' Midr.Ps. 18.6 (R. Simon c. 320),
'At the Day of Atonement I shall cleanse you and (create) you (as)
a new creation (bryyḥ hdšḥ)' 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 (bryyḥ hdšḥ)' Lev.Rabba 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 (bryyḥ
hdšḥ), as it is said: And the woman conceived (hrḥ) (Ex. 2.2)' Ex.
Rabbah 3.15 (R. Simon c. 320), 'I make ('šḥ) thee a new creature (bryyḥ
hdšḥ) as a woman conceives (hrḥ) and bears (ylḥ)' 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') thee (as) a new creature (byryh ḥādšh)' 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') him (as) a new creature (byryh ḥādšh)' Pesikta Rabbati 31, cf. Midr. Ps. 2.9, and to resurrection 'Yahweh will create (br') the righteous (as) a new creation (byryh ḥādšh)' 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') them (i.e. people in danger of death) as a new creation (kbryh ḥādšh)' Midr. Ps. 102.3 (R. Juda b. Simon c. 370), 'The Holy One, blessed be He, created (br') them (i.e. people in danger of death) (as) a new creation (byryh ḥādšh)' 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') (as) a new creature (bryrh ḥdṭ')' Cant. Rabbah 8.5 (R. Berekiah c. 420).

It has been asked whether in these texts br' and especially the expression br' bryh ḥādšh are used in a literal or in a metaphorical sense. If it is true, however, that br' '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' 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'yylw 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'yylw in other fourth century texts does not re-establish the literal use of br', 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 ἀναγέννηται is not found in the Septuagint, nor in the later Greek Bible versions. The variant reading ἀναγέννηθείς in Sir. Prol. 28 is wrong for παραγέννηθείς. 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. cit., 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 γαστρί ἔχειν, κύειν, *hyl* (hwl) 'to have labour pains', also *hbl* 'to be in travail, pregnant', usually translated by ὤδίνειν, 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 γεννάω.

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: ὤδίνεν (*hyl*) καὶ ἔτεκεν (*yld*) Σίων τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς Is. 66.8, cf. 54.1, to Moses: μη ἐγώ ἐν γαστρί ἤλαβον (*hrh*) πάντα τὸν λαόν τούτον ἢ ἐγὼ ἔτεκον (*yld*) αὐτούς Num. 11.12, to the land or sea: ὤδίνεν (*hyl*) γῆ Is. 66.8, cf. 23.4, to a stone: εἶπαν...τῷ λίθῳ· Σύ ἔγεννήσας (*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: ὥ μόνη γυνὴ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀποκύγουσα 4 Macc. 15.17. The word ἀποκύγουειν 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: ὤδίνησεν (*hbl*) ἀδικίαν, συνέλαβεν (*hrh*) πόνον καὶ ἔτεκεν (*yld*) ἀνομίαν Ps. 7.15, κύουσιν (*hrh*) πόνον καὶ τίκτουσίν (*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 τι

¹ Cf. Edsman, art.min, p 15 f, and see above, p. 108.
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. 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 (syr) 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 (m$br) were hastened and agonizing pains (hbl) at their birth (msldyn) and a terror to those who are pregnant (hryh) 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 (m$br)’ 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. 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\'ylw) 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\'ylw) 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.

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

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 (ḥqtn) 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 (ḥbs) the sins of Israel and make (ех) 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 γεννηθῆναι (yld) καὶ πλασθῆναι (cj. hyl) τὴν γῆν Ps. 89.2, the raindrops: τίς δὲ ἐστιν ὁ τετοιωμένος (yld) βόλους δράσων; Job 38.28, and man: θεόν (str 'rock') τὸν γεννήσαντα (yld) σου ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος έξεγέννησά σε εγκατέλιπες καὶ ἐπελάθου τοῦ τρέφοντός σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς έγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐκ γαστρος καὶ ἐκράδου τοῦ τρέφοντος (hyl) σου σε Deut. 32.18, υιοὺς ἐγέννησα (gdl 'to bring up') Is. 1.2. The king of Israel is declared son of Yahweh at his enthronement: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέν

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 γεννᾶv 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 γεννᾶv 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 γεννᾶv, Prov. 8.25, and of δΣ 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

literature.\(^1\) With reference to Prov. 8.22 ff., Ben Sirach mentions the creation but not the birth of Wisdom: \(\kappaτίσας \muε\) 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: \(\gammaεννηθεις\) 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: \(\nuόμοι, \ οδς \ αυτὸς \ γεννήσας \ ήμΐν \ \varepsilon\deltaωκεν\) 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 \(γενναν\) and \(σπείρειν\) in Greek.

Concluding remarks. - For eschatological renewal and restoration we have thus found, notably as the equivalents of the root \(\imathωι\), \(\alphaποκαθιστάναι\), \(\alphaποκατάστασις\), and perhaps \(παλιγγενεσία\) underwent a separate development in the Jewish milieu. For the inner renewal the root \(hds\) is found and in Greek \(\alphaνακατανεφεν\) and \(\gammaακατανεφεν\) but not yet \(\alphaνακατανοέων\). With \(br', \ ξτίζειν\), and related terms the inner renewal of man is referred to as a new creation. The root \(yld\) and \(γενναν\) 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.

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\(^2\) 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, ἀνακαίνωσις, 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 Mai. 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 ἀποκαθιστάναις 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: ἐχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεις 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 2 Pet. 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. OEPEKE, art cit., ThW I p. 388 and 390 f.
followed Him. It begins with the words: ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὡς ἐν καθίσματι οὗ νῦν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου ἔπι τρόπον 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 παλιγγενεσίᾳ 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 παλιγγενεσίᾳ 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 παλιγγενεσίᾳ 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 Mattheus, Leipzig-Erlangen 1922, p 604 f, and other commentaries
² See p 112
³ See p 110
⁴ Cf. Behm, art. cit., ThV 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 ἀνακαινισθεῖν and the noun derived from it ἀνακαινώσις: ὁ ἐσώ ήμών (sc. ἄνθρωπος) ἀνακαινισθεῖ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα 2 Cor. 4.16, τὸν ἀνακαινισθέν (sc. ἄνθρωπον) Col. 3.10, μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς 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 ἀνακαινιζεῖν common in the general language and in the Septuagint, because (ἀνακαινίζειν 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 ἀνακαινισθεῖν in order to express the idea that man is thus essentially renewed by baptism that the old man is set aside.

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 μεταμορφοῦμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν 2 Cor. 3.18, μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς 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 ἀνανεοῦσθαι occurs once for renewal through baptism: ἀνανεοῦσθαὶ δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Eph. 4.23 f., and νέος once: τὸν νέον (sc. ἄνθρωπον) τὸν ἀνακαινισθέν 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 ἀνακαινισθὲν.²

1 See ρ 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 φύραμα 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 part, especially Lk 5 39 Such texts provide no evidence for a strict synonymity of the two adjectives, as asserted by HARRISVILLE,
Apart from Paul's term for renewal, \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \) occurs in the pronouncement: ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινιζεῖν 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 \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \) is also not without difficulties. It is used for baptismal renewal and πάλιν \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \) now indicates its repetition. It is, however, surprising to find this verb here, since Paul had introduced the neologism \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \\nu \). 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, \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \) 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 *renouare* 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 \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \\nu \).

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 \( \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \nu \iota \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \) are explained and the author rightly uses this verb instead of the Pauline term for Christian renewal.

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\(^3\) See p. 30 and p. 171 f.
If ἀνακαίνιζειν 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 λοιπόν παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαίνωσεως 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 ἀνακαίνωσις, depend upon λοιπόν. 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 ἀνακαίνωσις, 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 regeneration.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: καίνη κτίσις Gal. 6.15; 2 Cor. 5.17, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ Eph. 2.10, τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεόν κτισθέντα ib. 4.24, and the distinction between Jew and pagan is abolished: ἐν τούς δύο κτισθέντα ἐν κυτῷ εἰς ἐνα 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. 123 f
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 ἀνακτίζειν, 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. 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. 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 πλούσιως Tit. 3.5 f. Attempts have been made to distinguish in this passage between baptism, referred to as λουτρον παλιγγενεσίας, and the postbaptismal gift of the Spirit of which Paul begins to speak with ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος. 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. 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 ἐχεῖν as an expression for this, 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,

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1 See p. 124 f. 2 See also p. 56 ff.
4 See p. 269. 5 See p. 266 ff.
RENEWAL, RE-CREATION, AND REBIRTH

ἀνακαινίζειν does not form part of this terminology, although παλιγγενεσία is a solemn appellation for the Christian renewal. Since the new man, καινός ἄνθρωπος, is the work of God, Paul also calls him a new creature of God, καινὴ κτίσις, κτισθείς. 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’:

εάν μὴ στραφήτε καὶ γένησθε ώς τὰ παιδία Mt. 18.3, ως παιδίον Mk. 10.15, Lk. 18.16. In στραφήτε, which may translate a Hebrew or Aramaic swb (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 στραφήτε 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, ὦιός, and ἄδελφος 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, art cith, ThW I p 660 ff.; DEY, 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 ḳḏl 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 ὀροὺς Σινά, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα Gal. 4.24, and then quotes from Is. 54.1 the words concerning Sion: εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἡ οὐ ντέκτουσα...ἡ οὖξ ὄδυνουσα Gal. 4.27, thus making the origin of his metaphor clear. His metaphor is also biblical when he says that creation is in travail: πάσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει Rom. 8.22. On the other hand, he is familiar with the use of γεννᾶν for the generally

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\(^1\) 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 γεννάω 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: έγώ ύμας έγέννησα ι Cor. 4.15; thus also Onesimus during his imprisonment: τοϋ εμοϋ τέκνου, δν έγέννησα εν τοίς δεσμοίς Philem. 10. For the Galatians he is again in travail, which presupposes that he has already been in labour for their conversion: τέκνα μου, ους πάλιν ώδίνω Gal. 4.19. These texts remind us of the linguistic usage of the Old Testament, and γεννάω, 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: ώς πατήρ τέκνα έαυτοϋ ι Thess. 2.11. For the Thessalonians he is as a mother for her own children: ώς έαν τροφός θάλπη τα έκνυτης τέκνα ι Thess. 2.7; the Corinthians are still only νήπιοι έν Χριστώ and are thus given milk: γάλα ύμΐν έπότισα, ού βρώμα ι Cor. 3.1 ί·. 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: ινα τήν υίο&εσίαν ύπολάβωμεν Gal. 4.5, έλάβετε πνεύμα υίο&εσίας 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 υίο&εσία as the juridical-technical term of pagan

1 See p. 127. 2 See p. 111 f.
antiquity and the expressions υιοί 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: βουληθείς ἀπεκύψεν ἡμᾶς λόγον ἀληθείας εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων Jas. 1.18. The term ἀποκυψεῖν 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. 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 ἀποκυψεῖν 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 ἀποκυψεῖν to convey that passion brings forth sin and sin death: ή επιθυμία συλλαβοῦσα τίκτει ἁμαρτίαν, ή δὲ ἁμαρτία ἀποτελεσθεῖσα ἀποκυψεῖ θάνατον Jas. 1.15. Here ἀποκυψεῖν 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 yld 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 ἀποκυψεῖν, a new verb that was growing popular. If one assumes an early date of composition, this use becomes even more understandable as an early attempt to translate yld. 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 ἀποκυψεῖν 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 ἀποκυψεῖν 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 ἀποκυείν without taking into con-
sideration 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 ἀποκυείν 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
ἀποκυείν 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 ἀπαρχήν τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων refers not to the Chris-
tians 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 δεσπόζῃ 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: δος μαρτύριον
tοῖς ἐν ἀρχή 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 under-
stand 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
⁴ Art. cit., p. 154
⁵ In R. H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford 1913,
 p. 441
of this explanation, are defective. We may therefore maintain that ἀποκύειν is the earliest known Greek term for Christian rebirth. It did, however, not gain ground.

Peter. - In two passages Peter uses ἀναγεννάω as a term for rebirth: ὁ θεός...ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς 1 Pet. 1.3, ἀναγεγεννήμενοι οὖν ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς ἄλλα ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγου ζωντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος ib. 1.23. The root yld, which we supposed in the discourse of Christ and on the basis of ἀποκύειν in James, may also be seen as the equivalent of ἀναγεννάω 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 ἀναγεννάω 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 ἀναγεννάω used in a very weakened figurative sense. 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: ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογένομεν 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 το λογικόν αδολόν γάλα έπιποθησατε 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 ὑπακοής ib. 1.14, Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου ib. 5.13.

John. - From the use of ἀναγεννάω 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 γεννάω

1 See p. 108.
since 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 γεννηθηναι, which now appears as a paraphrase of the compound ἀναγεννηθηναι, intended to introduce the simple form: εάν μή τις γεννηθη άνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ιδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ Jn. 3·3, δεί υμᾶς γεννηθηναι ἀνωθεν ib. 3·7. This form is used everywhere else. Rebirth is brought about from water and the Spirit: εάν μή τις γεννηθη εξ υδάτων καὶ πνεύματος ib. 3·5, τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ib. 3·6, cf. 3·8, and from God: ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννηθησαν ib. 1·13, cf. I Jn. 2·29; 3·9; 4·7; 5·1 ff., and it is contrasted with physical birth: τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς 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'. If, however, the expression ἀνωθεν γεννηθηναι paraphrases ἀναγεννηθηναι, 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.

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, I Jn. 3·1, 2, 10; 5·2. Contrary to what


2 One may compare how John gives a double meaning to: εάν υψωθῶ 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 γεννηθένταν 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 τεκνίον
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
γενναν. 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 ἀποκυείν, possibly as an early attempt to translate γενναν,
for the metaphor of a birth from God. The current Greek verb, however,
becomes ἀναγενναν 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 γεννάν. He introduces this word by
paraphrasing the compound with ἀνωθεν γεννηθέναι.

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, υἱοί 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.

I. 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 γενναν 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 ἀμαρτιῶν Ep. 6.11. Origen uses ἀνακαινούν: μηδὲ ἀνακαινωσθείς μηδὲ ἐνδοσάμενος τὸν κύριον 'Ιησοῦν 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 ἀνακαινισμὸν ib. 3.8, cf. Act.Thom. 48, 132. Ps.-Barnabas uses the paraphrase: ἐγενόμεθα καινοὶ ib. 16.8, Justin Martyr: καινοποιηθέντες Apol. 1.61.1. A Christian neologism is ἀνακαινίσις, used for the conversion of someone who is raised from the dead by the apostle John: ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἀνακαινίσιν 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

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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 ἀνακαινισμὸν...μεταλαβεῖν δυνηθῇ, 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 ἀνακαίνισθείς 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 ὑνομαζόμενον λουτρόν μετὰ ἀνακαινίσεως γινόμενον πνεύματος, τοῦ...οὗ πάσιν μετὰ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐγγινειν 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: καὶνὰ μὲν τὰ πνευματικὰ καὶ δὲ ἀνακαινισμὸν ῥήματι καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν ημέρας καὶ ημέρας In Matth. 10.15. Elsewhere we find in this sense the noun: ἀνακαινισμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς..καὶ τοῦ σώματος Act.Thom. 15.8. Justin Martyr has καινουργεῖν for renewal by God through Jesus: δι’ οὗ δὲ πατὴρ μέλλει καινουργεῖν Dial. 113.5. Clement of Alexandria καινίζειν for renewal through instruction: καινίζων εἰς σωτηρίαν τὸν κατηχούμενον ἦν καί άνακαίνωσιν τῶν πνευμάτων υμῶν Strom. 7.52.2, and ἀνακαίνωσις 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: ἀνακαίνισαι τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν Past. 72.3, cf. 91.3, ἢ ἀνακαίνωσις τῶν πνεύματων ὡμῶν 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: ἀνακαινιζότας τὰ πράγματα Cels. 4.20, ἐπὶ καθαρίσει τῆς κακίας καὶ ἀνακαίνωσε τοῦ παντός ib. 4.21,

Methodius ἀνακαίνισμός in the same sense: πρὸς καθαρσῖν καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν 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: ἄναλαβεῖν 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 ἑκυτοῦ ἀνακαίνισαι 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 ἀνακαίνωσις 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 ἀνακαινώσεις 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. 47. 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 ἐχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεώσαι Past. 19.3, or with that of an old man receiving an inheritance, or of someone who is sad and receives good tidings: ἀναινεοῦται αὕτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα ib. 20.2; 21.2. So it is with those who do penance: ἀναινεώσαι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ib. 22.3, σύντοις καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναινέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ib. 23.2, cf. 62.4; 91.3, and therefore do they become completely rejuvenated: ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἐσονται 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: τῶ μυστήριον τῆς πάλιν γενέσεως ἡμῶν Dial. 85.7, and again when he sees in Christ the origin of a new and reborn race: ἄφες πάλιν ἐλλοι γένους γέγονε, τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ib. 138.2. Irenaeus is the first to use the noun without λουτρόν but he adds an adjective: ὅσοι 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 εξήγησιν Paed. 2.81.3.

If Justin Martyr alludes to our noun, the paraphrasing with γένεσις and the connection with ἀναγεννάω 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' ἐαυτῆς 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: εἴ 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: διά λουτρόν παλιγγενεσίας (Tit. 3.5), ὡς ἐγεννήσαν, 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 ἀναγεννάω: οὐ γὰρ ἐν.. ἀναγεννήσαν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ δύνατο 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: Νῦε πιστοῖς εὑρέθης διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν

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1 See next page.  
2 See p. 105 f.  
3 See p. 91.
κόσμου ἐκήρυξεν ι. 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 ἡ περιστερά δηλοῦσα ὡς ἡ ποτε In Matth. fr. 57.

(b) Second penance as a restoration. – Clement of Alexandria calls the repentance of a boy who erred after baptism a: μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης Div.Salv. 42.15, and that of a harlot: ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα οἶον ἁναγεννηθέεισα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ βίου παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς Strom. 2.147.2.1 In the second text παλιγγενεσία occurs along with ἁναγεννάν 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: τῆς σαρκός.. 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: ἀφελέσθαι 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 capibilem 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 ἀγάθοις Or. 25.3, cf. In Luc. 14. Methodius also knows it: τῆς σαρκός τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν Res. 2.18.10. Origen’s paraphrase with γένεσις may again point to the meaning of ‘rebirth’: ἡ παλιγγενεσία καινὴ τῆς 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: ὄς ἄν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος κύτῳ ἡμᾶς Ἐπ. 6.11, δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν ἢμ. 6.13, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθ-α ἢμ. 6.14. This re-creation is contrasted with first creation: ἡ πλάσις τοῦ 'Αδάμ ἢμ. 6.9, τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν ἢμ. 6.12. The introduction of the compound ἀναπλάσσειν with ὦς, ἢμ. 6.11, betrays its non-technical character. Elsewhere the writer uses κτίζειν as found in Paul: πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι ἢμ. 16.8. The expression πάλιν κτίζειν may be seen as a transition to the compound ἀνακτίζειν which is used for baptismal re-creation by Clement of Alexandria: τὸν δύνατον πατέρα...τὸν ἀναγεννῶντα καὶ ἀνακτίζοντα τὴν ψυχήν 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 ἀνακτίζειν for a re-creation of the Christian which must continue every day: ἀνακτίζειν ἐκατονταῖς ἐν πίστῃ...καὶ ἐν ἐγάπῃ Trall. 8.1, Clement of Alexandria ἀνάκτισται 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: ἡ ἀνθρώπως μεταπλάσται λόγῳ Paed. 3.99.2.

(5) The use of γεννάν and related terms. – In the use of γεννάν and related terms the following meanings may be distinguished.

(a) Baptismal rebirth. – The terms ἀναγεννάν 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: τοῦτον ἀναγεννήσεως, δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννοῦνται Apol. 1.61.3. Tatian speaks of his own conversion as a rebirth: καγώ...ἀναγεννηθείς Or. 5.3, cf. Theophilus Autol. 2.16.

The writers of the second century currently use the compound ἀναγεννάν. In Justin it even replaces the simple form in quotations from Ἰν. 3.3: ὁ Χριστός εἶπεν “Ἀν μὴ ἀναγεννηθήτε Ἀπολ. 1.61.4, and likewise in Irenaeus: ὁ κύριος ἐφη· “Εάν μὴ τις ἀναγεννηθῇ Haer. fr.Gr. 35 (33).

When, however, the contrast with physical birth is stressed the simple forms γεννάν and γέννησις return. Hence Justin Martyr says: τὸν

¹ See p. 141 f. ² See p. 66 f.
μὲν εἰς 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 ύδατος Strom. 1.160.2. Origen too comes to use the simple forms on the model of Jn. 3.5 and with the same effect: γεννηθηναι... ἀνωθεν γεννηθέντι... ἀνωθεν γέννησιν... ἀνανεώσαν γέννησιν... θελαν γέννησιν... ταύτην τὴν γέννησιν In Jo. fr. 35, λουτροῦ... ὁ ἐγεννηθήσαν 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 ἀνακυεῖν, 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, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀνακυκθέντες τιθηνόμεθα, εὐθὺς δὲ ἀνακυκθέντες 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 ἀναγεννάω. He therefore chose a synonym familiar to himself and his contemporaries, both in the literal and the figurative senses. A similar usage occurs in Methodius: ἔστιν ἄνακυκθέντες ἀναγεννηθώσιν 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. 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 πατρός 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 πατὴρ... ἀναγεννήσας εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ήπιός Paed. 1.21.2. Tatian contrasts rebirth with the birth of the Logos from the Father: καθάπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἄρχῃ γεγεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν... οὕτω κἀγὼ 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 ἣν αὐτὸς ἀπεκύκυκσαν δ ἡμέρας ὁδόν σπορική Paed 1.42.2 Cf. Eiseman, art cit., p 21
2 Terminologie, p 108
pinat a deo, in signum autem salutis, datam, quae est ex virgine, 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 purum aperiens unluam 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: εἴλήφατε διὰ τῆς ἐν μοί αναγεννήσεως τοῦ τῆς υοθεσίας πνεύμα, ἵνα χρηματίσητε υἱοί θεοῦ (cf. Rom. 8.14 f.) αδελφοί δὲ ἐμοῦ 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: ἄδελφοι τοὺς τῷ αὐτῷ 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 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δι' ὡδατος Dial. 138.2. Clement of Alexandria mentions the activity of the Logos in several passages: λόγος ἀφθ-αρσίας, ἀναγεννών τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν Protr. ΙΙ7.4, λόγῳ ἀναγεννηθέντας Strom. 2.41.2, δι’ ἐν ἁ σάρξ τημὰ διδατι 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 διά, ἐν, ἐκ, and κατὰ. 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: εἶς γάρ ὁ θεοῦ παις, δι’ οὐ 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’ ἡμετά καὶ πνεύματος ἡ ἀναγέννησις Ecl. 7.1, elsewhere the dative and ἐν: ἀναγεννήσας πνεύματι Paed. 1.21.2, ἐν πνεύματι δὲ ἀνα- γεννώμενον Strom. 2.58.2, Origen κατὰ and ἐκ: τὴν κατὰ πνεύμα καὶ ἀνωθεν γένεσιν In Jo. fr. 35, γεννηθῆναι...ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου In Matth. fr. ΙΙ.

According to Methodius it is the Church which conceives and brings forth the faithful in the bath of rebirth: ὡδίνουσα καὶ ἀναγεννώσα... συλλαβοῦσαν ἐκ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ...τῷ λουτρῷ τοὺς λουμένους 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’ ὡδατος ὑμᾶς ἀναγεννήσαντας Const. (Didasc.) 2.33.2, cf. 2.26.4.

The secondary aspects of the rebirth concept are also developed. The

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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 Ἐπ. 6.11, Irenaeus: ὡς παιδιά νεόγονον πνευματικῶς ἀναγεννώμεθα Haer. fr.Gr. 35 (33), and by Clement of Alexandria: ήν γὰρ μὴ ἀθικῆς ὡς τὰ παιδία γένησθαι 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 ἄλληγορῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν παισίν 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: ἀναγεννήσας δὲ υδατί, αὐξήσαι δὲ πνεύματι, παιδαγωγήσαι δὲ ἡματί 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 Ἐπ. 6.17. According to Clement of Alexandria the milk and honey are the Logos: ὃ ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς ἐκτρέφει τῷ λόγῳ 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 ἐστι τέλειος ἔστιν Paed. 1.25.2. Origen says of Christ’s baptism: τὸ μωσαίμον ἀνέλαβε τῆς ἀναγέννησις 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: ἢ δὲ μετανοήσασα ὁλον ἀναγεννηθείσα...παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς, τεθνηκυίας μὲν τῆς πορνῆς, ἐς βίον δὲ παρελθούσης αὐθεῖς τῆς κατὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν γεννηθείσης Strom. 2.147.2. From the addition of ὁλον 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 ἀναγεννάω 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: ἀναγεννάται καὶ αὐξεῖ εἰς δείγμα τῆς μετεύξεως ἑσασθαί 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 ἀναγεννάω 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 φιλόσοφοι τὸ κατηχήσαί 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: ὧν εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν ὅσιν ἀναγεγεννημένοι ib. 1.21.2. In their view the number six contains the power of creation and rebirth: τὸν τῶν ἔξ ἀριθμῶν, 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 ζωδίων) ἡ γένεσις διοικεῖται, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ ἀναγέννησις ἐφ’ ὁρᾶται Exe. 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 ἀναγεννάω 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 γὰρ, φησί, πάσα ἡ κάτω γένεσις, ἄθανατος δὲ ἢ ἐνω γεννωμένη, γεννᾶται γὰρ ἐξ ὑδάτος 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: ἁγάλματα τοῦ ἄρχανθρώπου 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 γὰρ, φησίν, κτίσις ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν πόνοις...δεύτερα δὲ κτίσις ἐστίν ἢ κατὰ Χριστόν, δι’ ἐς 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 ὑποδέξαμένη τὸ σπέρμα τούτο ἀποκυήσαι Νουν Haer. 1.1.1. The Valentinian Marcus is called the womb of wisdom: Μάρκος...ἀπεκύησεν ib. 1.14.1. The number six brings forth many forms: οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔξεχισαν σεφέντες τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύησαν μορφὰς ib. 1.15.1, cf. 1.16.1 f. The υλὴ brings forth the vault of heaven: ἡ υλὴ ἀπεκύησεν ὅσπερ ὅν τὸν πάντα περιέχοντα σφαιρετήν ἀπεκύησεν οὐρανόν Clem. Hom. 6.5.1. cf. 6.4.3. This usage is also found outside Christian literature: ὁ δὲ Νοῦς, ὁ θεὸς, ἄρρητος ἀπεκύησεν λόγῳ ἑτερόν Νοῦν, δημιουργὸν 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
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.


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


(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 διαφαύσκειν: φωτίζεσθαι τοῖς τῆς σελήνης οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸν ἡ κρύσταλλον ἐλλάμψει καὶ διαφαύσει τοῦ ἥλιου 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: "Αἰδήν...ἀνήλιον οὐχ οἶδ' ὡς αὐτοὶς 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 ἐκλωκότα καὶ πεφωτισμένα Hist. 30.8.1, cf. 15.25.8, μαθών αὐτῶν τὴν δίκιον ἔφωτισεν Josephus Ant. 8.143, φωνή...φωτίζουσα τὸ νουμενον Plutarch Mor. 902d, καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἔφωτισα Vettius Valens p. 271 K, and with an indirect object εὑρέ καὶ ἠμῶν ἔφωτισεν Philo Byblius fr. 5. Diogenes Laertius has the word in the sense of ‘to throw light upon’ a text by a commentary: Σόλων ὁ Ομήρον ἔφωτισεν Vit. I.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 astronomical and other literature for illumination by the sun and the moon: τὸν ἥλιον φωτισμὸν Sextus Empiricus Math. 10.224, and in particular for the phases of the moon: περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης Philo Somn. I.53. Proclus uses φώτισις, coined perhaps on analogy with the preceding ἐνώσις, for the ‘illumination’ by the sun: δίδωσι γάρ τὸ μέν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσιν, 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. Anrich, on the contrary, maintained that φωτισμός is nowhere to be found in the mysteries. Woerbermin subsequently defended the borrowing theory on the grounds of various texts and it has since continued to have the support of religious historians. Nock and Benoit, however, have recently denied that any such borrowing took place. 1


2 G. ANRICH, Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum, Göttingen 1894, p. 125 f


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) 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 Ἱρωμαίοι νομίσαντες ἤδη τὸν χαιρόν παραδίδοναι φωτίζειν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀπόρρητον. The structure of the sentence is confused. Wobbermin considers the clause οἱ δὲ.. παραδίδοναι 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. 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 invicti Osiris neddum sacris inlustratum Met. II.27, principalis dei nocturnis orgis illustratus ib. II.28, felici illo amiclus 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 πάρεστὶ σοι φύσις πόνος ἐγκράτεια, καὶ σεμνὴς γε καὶ ἱερὰς εἰσόδου τυχῶν περιφυσικήν τὴν μυσταγωγήν ἐκήσσω. ἡν φυλάσσειν σε διὰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων δρκων παρακώα καὶ τοὺς ἀνάξιους ἢ ἀμύητους μηδὲ φιλονείας πρὸς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι: ἤμεινον γὰρ ἑστίν σε συγώντα ἄντάσθαι ἢ νικώντα ἄσβεσιν 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 μυσταγωγήν.

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 ψυχήν Congr. ιο6, 1

1 Cf. Bousset, Kisiert Christos, p. 165 n 2, W Vollgraff, Une inscription graude sur un vase cultueil mithriaque, Amsterdam 1955, p. 12 n 6
2 A.-J. Festugière, L’idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile, Paris 1932, 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, Tubingen 1926, p. 451 n 1 For the rest, the author draws different conclusions from it Cf also O. Case, 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 ιερὰ, τὰ μυστήρια or τὴν μυσταγωγίαν φωτίζειν and we have thus yet another expression for this along with τὰ ιερὰ παρέχειν, τὰ ιερὰ φαίνειν, and τὰ μυστήρια δεικνύειν, already indicated by Lobeck: ὁ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ιερὰ μηδὲ τὴν Ἑλευσίνα ἀνοίξαι Philostratus Vit.Apoll. 4.18, φαίνειν μύστας τὰ ιερὰ 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.. φωτίζε φῶς Corp.Herm. 13.19, ἐπιπεφώτισταί μου ὁ νοῦς ib. 13.21, cf. 9.31. The light received is a sacred knowledge: γνῶσις ἁγία, φωτισθείς ἀπὸ σοῦ ib. 13.18. A desire is evinced to illuminate others with this knowledge: φωτίσω τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ γένους μου ἄδελφος, υἱὸς 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

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2 *Kyros Christos*, p 165.
3 See p. 174 f.
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 βαφτιζειν, 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 *wr 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 *ש or '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 *רח hi. 'to direct', 'to teach'. The following cases may be distinguished.

(i) The verb φωτίζειν used as the ordinary translation of *ר intransitive or transitive as in the general language. It is used intransitively of the seven-branched candlestick: φωτισθήσεται οἱ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι Num. 8.2, cf. Ex. 38.13, Num. 4.9, of fire: πυρὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς βία κατείληφεν φωτίζειν Sap. 17.5, of the sun compared with the glory of Yahweh: ήλίος φωτίζειν Sir. 42.16, metaphorically of the paths of the just: προσπορεύονται καὶ φωτίζουσιν Prov. 4.18, of idols: οὐδὲ φωτίσωσιν ὡς σειλήνη Ep.Jer. 66, of the interpretation of Yahweh's words: ἡ δήλωσις τῶν λόγων σου φωτιεῖται Ps. 118.130, and of Yahweh Himself: φωτίζεσι τῷ θαυμαστῷ Ps. 75.5, cf. Mic. 7.8. More often it is used transitively of the pillar of fire: φωτίσαι αὐτὸς τὴν ὁδὸν 2 Esd. 19.12, cf. 19.19, Ps. 104.39, of the sun and moon: φωτιέι σοι τὴν νύκτα Is. 60.9, cf. Dan. 4.11 LXX, metaphorically of the wisdom of man: φωτιέι πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Eccl. 8.1, cf. Sir. 24.32, in the passive of Jerusalem: φωτιζοῦσαι φωτιζοῦν, Ἰερουσαλήμ Is. 60.1; of Yahweh especially it is said that He illuminates the eyes of man in order to give strength: φωτίσαι ὀφθαλμοῦς ἡμῶν καὶ δοῦναι ζωοτόπησιν 2 Esd. 9.8, cf. Ps. 12.4, Sir. 34.17, Bar 1.12; the command of Yahweh also illuminates the eyes: φωτίζουσι ὀφθαλμοὺς 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 ψυκτα Ex. 14.20 Aq. (not in LXX), of lightning: ἐφώτισαν ἀστραπαὶ αὐτὸς Ps. 96.4 Aq.1 (ἐφανεν LXX), of the eyes: ἐφωτίσθησαν Ἰ Reg. 14.27 Aq. (ἀνέβλησεν LXX), of Yahweh: φωτίζον ὅθηλμοι ἀμφότεροι ὁ κύριος Prov. 29.13 Aq. Sm. Th. (ἐπισκοπήν ..ποιεῖται LXX), and intransitively: φωτίσακα αὐτῷ ἐν φωτι ζωντον Job 33.30 Th. (ἐν φωτι αἰνη 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 ψυχος κυριου Sir. 43.9, for r̄h ni. ‘to appear’, said of the rainbow: τόξον φωτιζον ἐν νεφελαις δύξης Sir. 50.7, for ngh hi. ‘to cause to shine’: κύριε..φωτεῖς τὸ σκότος μου Ps. 17.29, for nhr ‘to beam with joy’: καὶ φωτίσῃ Ps. 33.6, καὶ φωτισάτονται Jer. 38.12 Sm. (ἑξουσιον LXX), for pqh ‘to open the eyes’, said of the blind: φωτιζε Ps. 145.8 Quint, (σοφοι LXX), iornyr ‘to till for the first time’ confused with nîr ‘ground tilled for the first time’ and ‘lamp’, and from thence incorrectly: φωτίσατε ἐκαυτοῖς φῶς γνώσεως Os. 10.12.

(3) On the other hand, in some cases a contrary tendency appears to inspire the translators not to render ἦν by φωτίζειν. There must notably have been some objection to translating ἦν hi. in the sense of ‘to kindle’ by φωτίζειν. A more correct translation is: ἀνάψετε Mal. 1.10. One also finds, however: λόγιον μου..φωτεῖς 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 ύμιν Ἰ Reg. 29.10, ἀπο τῆς ἡρας τοῦ διαφωτίαι 2 Esd. 18.3, εις φωτισμον (v.l. φως, φωτίσει) Job 3.9, but elsewhere a clearer translation is provided by διαφαῦσκειν, 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: ἐπιφάνεια κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Num. 6.25, Ps. 30.17; 66.2; 79.4. 8; 118.135, Dan. 9.17 LXX Th., 3 Macc. 2.18. This preference for ἐπιφανεῖν 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 'ûrm in the expression for the consulting of the Urim and Thummim: ἕως ἀναστῆ ἡ ἱερεύς τοῖς φωτίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς τελείους 2 Esd. 2.63, ἕως ἀναστῆ ἡ ἱερεύς φωτίσων ib. 17.65. The Hebrew term, which is unexplained, was taken by the translators to be the plural of 'ûr 'light', 'fire'. The expression is elsewhere translated by: τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἠλπίσειν Ex. 28.30, Lev. 8.8, τὴν κρίσιν τῶν δῆλων Num. 27.21, δήλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠλπίσειν αὐτοῦ Deut. 33.8, ἐν τοῖς δήλοις 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 δήλωσις and δήλος. 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 Ιωδαε ἤμας τὸ δήλον τῆς γῆς τῆς τού τρόπου τούτου ib. 17.27, cf. 17.28, similarly: ἐν νόμω αὐτοῦ φωτίσαι Ἰσραήλ Sir. 45.17, where the Hebrew equivalent is not certain, and for Heb. yrh hi. 'to cause to see', 'to show': οὐκ ἐν ἑδειξεν (A, ἐδείξεν B) ἡμᾶς πάντα ταύτα 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 se Ex. 4.12 Aq. (συμβιβάζαι LXX, ὑποδείξαι Sm.), ἐφώτισεν ib. 15.25 Aq. (ἐδείξεν LXX), φωτίσαι ib. 24.12 Aq. (νομοθετήσαι LXX, ὕποδείξαι Sm.), φωτίζειν Lev. 10.11 Al. συμβιβάζειν LXX, δηλώσασθαι Al.), φωτίσαι ib. 14.57 Al. (ἐξηγήσασθαι 1 See p. 159.
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 ωρή.

1 The noun φωτισμός is found in the poetical writings of the Septuagint as the equivalent of the Hebrew noun όρ in its profane meaning of ‘illumination’, for the fire-light of the pillar of fire: ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρὸς Ps. 77.14, for daylight: εἰς φωτισμόν (v.l. φῶς, φωτίζει) μὴ ἔλθοι Job 3.9, whence metaphorically for the night: νύξ φωτισμός ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ μου Ps. 138.12, for Yahweh: κύριος φωτισμός μου Ps. 26.1, and for His face: ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου Ps. 43.3, once also as the equivalent of mǎδωn ‘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 ωρή, said of God: φωτισμός σου Ps. 75.5 Aq. (φωτίζεις LXX, ἐπιφανῆς Sm., φοβερός Th.),

and as the equivalent of "māvr" for the light of the eyes: φωτισμός Prov. 15.30 Sm. (θεωρόν 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 καὶ τὰς τελειότητας Ex. 28.30 Aq. Sm. Th., τοὺς φωτισμούς καὶ τὰς τελειώσεις Lev. 8.8 Aq. Th., τῶν φωτισμῶν Num. 27.21 Aq. Sm. Th., ἐν φωτισμοῖς 1 Reg. 28.6 Aq. (διὰ τῶν δήλων 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 "wvr" applied to an illumination of the members of the community with divine knowledge: ‘May He enlighten (wvr) thy heart with immortal wisdom (skl) and favour thee with eternal knowledge’ iQS 2.3, cf. 4.2 ff., ‘From the fountain of His knowledge He has released me His light (wvr)’ ib. 11.3, ‘A light (wvr) has come into my heart from His wondrous mysteries’ ib. 11.5, ‘Thou hast illuminated (wvr) my face for Thy covenant’ iQH 4.5. ‘And through me Thou hast illuminated (wvr) 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 wvr 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 skl 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 wvr in nearly all its meanings. As a translation of ᾦριμ for the consulting of the Urim and Thummim it acquires a meta-

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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 ὑπηρτμ. In the Qumran texts the root ἠρω 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.
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: ο λύχνος τη άστραπή φωτίζει σε Ικ. 11.36. The refulgent appearance of an angel enlightens the earth: ή γη έφωτίσθη εκ της δόξης αύτοΥ Αροκ. 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 τα χρυστα του σκότους Ι Κορ. 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: τον φωτισμον του ευαγγελου της δόξης του Χριστου 2 Κορ. 4.4, ο θεός ο ειπών εκ σκότους φως λάμψει, δε ελαμψεν εν ταις καρδιαις ημων προς φωτισμον της γνώσεως της δόξης του θεου ib. 4.6. It recurs later: ο πατηρ της δόξης δώη ύμιν...πεφωτισμενους τους οφθαλμους της καρδιας ημων, εις το ειδεναι Eph. 1.18, 'Ιησου Χριστου...φωτισαντος δε ζωην και αφθαρσιαν δια του ευαγγελου 2 Τιμ. 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 (ευαγγελίου, γνώσις, ειδεναι). 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,

the refulgent appearance of God and of Christ. Thus far Paul's usage concurs with the use of ἔλαμψεν in the Qumran texts.

The words ἔλαμψεν...πρὸς φωτισμὸν 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: φωτίζαι (v.l. add. πάντας) τὸς ἡ ὁικονομα 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. I•II, 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, ἀνακατενοθεὶσθαι τὰς πρώτερον ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἐθλησθεν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων ib. 10·32. The verb occurs twice in the passive as is usually the case with the baptismal terms ἀνακατενοθείσθαι and ἀναγεννάται: 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. 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. Kosmala, for the rest, proposes an

2 See p. 30 and 133.
alternative solution. He refers φωτιζειν 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 addition 1 but, if he denies that φωτιζειν was a technical term for Christian baptism, it is even less clear that is was used for entry into an Essenic community. 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: τό φως το άληθινόν, δ φωτιζει πάντα άνθρωπον 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: τους άπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεάς τῆς επουρανίου καί μετόχους γεννηθέντας πνεύματος αγίου 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.

I. 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: εκκλησία ήγαπημένη 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: οἱ φωτιζόμενοι 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: ἐγρήγορεν ἢρα πρὸς τὸν θεόν 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.
The noun φωτισμός is found as a term for baptism in Justin Martyr: καλείται δὲ τούτῳ τὸ λουτρόν 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 τροφὴ αὐτῇ καλεῖται παρ’ ἡμῖν 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 ἐστι 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: οὖνεκα σή παράκοιτις κέκλημαι II. 4.60 f., ιδιε ἡκίθησονται 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: επὶ τὸ λουτρόν...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 φώτισμα occurs for the first time in Clement of Alexandria in a consideration on baptism: καλείται δὲ πολλάκις τὸ ἐργον τοῦτο χάρισμα καὶ φώτισμα καὶ τέλειον καὶ λουτρόν 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 σφράγις 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, φώτισμα 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 δὲ οὖ τὸ ἄγιον ἔκεινο φῶς τὸ σωτῆριον ἐποπτεύεται Paed. 1.26.2, and subsequently in a rather more technical manner: ἣ μὲν γνώσις 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 νεοφωτιστός 'newly baptized'. It is found already as a technical term in the second century: Μάτωρον, νεοφωτιστὸν μὲν, ἄλλα γενναῖον ἄγωνιστὴν 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: οἷς καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἐκαστὸς ὡς ἡξοριστὴν, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὄνοματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου. οἷς μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνει συνέσεως πνεύμα, οἷς 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 uscitur, ut et anima de deo sagmetur 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 dicst Graecus Johmsa Didasc 6 23 8, must be considered an interpolation by the translator Cf R H CONNOLLY, Didascalia Apostolorum, Oxford 1929, p 237 note ² See p 36 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 οφθαλμοὺς 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 unconnected with baptism: τὸ φωτίζειν καὶ καταλάμπειν τὰ ἡγεμόνικα 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 πατρὸς Or. 6.2.

The noun φωτισμὸς is likewise found for enlightenment by divine knowledge. Clement of Alexandria compares baptismal knowledge with the light that dispels the darkness of ignorance: φωτισμὸς ἡ γνώσις ἡ ἐστὶν Paed. 1.29.3, but the noun is used for any divine enlightenment: φωτισμὸς ἡ μαθητεία κέκληθαι τὰ κεκρυμμένα φανερώσασα Strom. 5.64.4, likewise in Origen: τὸν γὰρ περὶ πλείονων δογμάτων φωτισμὸν In Jo. 10.9.41, cf. 6.49.245, and in Methodius: τὸν φωτισμὸν 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 φωτίζομενοι 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 φωτισμὸς for baptismal enlightenment and for enlightenment of the mind by divine knowledge in general. For baptismal enlightenment φώτισμα and νεοφώτιστος 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 ἀγιὸν ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τούτεστι δι᾿ οὗ τὸ θείον διωμομένον 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 έθνη καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὸν Dial. 122.5, cf. 122.4; 1 See p. 161 f.
3 See p. 174.
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 Pacd. 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: δτε γάρ ἐφωτίσθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος, τότε εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἥλθεν, τουτέστιν ἐκατόν ἐκόσμησεν Exe. 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 ὲλὸς τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς ἐβδομάδος, καὶ εὐαγγελίσατο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ref. 7.26.5, ἔδει λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν καὶ θ' ἡμᾶς φωτισθήναι 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 ὧν ἄλλου σπαρέντα εἰς μορφήν καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν καὶ περιγραφήν ἰδίαν ἄγαγὼν 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 (χείρας ἐπιτιθ-έναι, χειρών ἐπίθεσις, χειροθεσία), as an anointing (χρίειν, χρίσμα), 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. 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. 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, BRANDLING, 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 χείρας 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 (στίζειν), branded with a hot iron (χαράσσειν), painted (χρίειν), or incised with knives (κόπτεσ&αι, 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

\(^{1}\) The incisions are of less importance for our study. Herodotus mentions this practice among the Carians living in Egypt: τά μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρις Hist 2 61, Gregory of Nazianzus in the Phrygian cult of Cybele: τάς Φρυγών ἐκτομάς Or 4 adv Jul i 70, Lucan in the cult of Mâ-Bellona: quos sectis Bellona lacertis saeua mouel Phars. 1 565 f, and Firmicus Maternus in that of Isis: lacerant lacertos, ueterum uulnerum resecant cicatrices Err 2 3. For the Old Testament, see p 243. In the papyri ωκεῖα '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 χείρα(ς) ἐπιτίΟ-έναι is unusual in the language of pagan antiquity, whereas ἀπτεσθ-αι 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 ὑπέχειν are used for the stretching out of the hands. By this gesture Zeus and other gods protect the heroes before Troy: αἴ κ' ἰμμιν ὑπέρσχη χείρα Κρανίων Homer II. 4.249, cf. 5.443. The hands of Artemis protect women in childbed: λεχοὶ δισσάξ

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.

The verb ἄπτεσθαι and related terms are used for the gesture of touching. Alcmene utters a wish while touching the heads of Heracles and Iphicles: ἀπτομένα δὲ γυνὰ κεφαλὰς μυθήσατο παιδῶν 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[σ&]αί οὖ ταῖς [χηρίς] IG 42(3)121.64, cf. Aeschylus Prom. 849, Solon speaks of the healing power in the hands of the physician: τὸν δὲ... ἄψα&μενος χερῶν αἵμα τίθησ’ ὕγιη 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: οἱ χείρες αὐτῷ καταψώσαι 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 ἀφρενας τοὺς ἐξεοδέκτοις ἄκος εἶναι συνεχῶς ἀφαπτομένους 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. Varrò etiamnum esse paucos ibi, quorum saluæ 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 χείρα ἐπιτίθεναι for a blind man who was healed by touching the altar: θείνα τοὺς πέντε δακτύλους ἔπαυν τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἄρα τὴν χείρα καὶ ἐπιτίθεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὀρθαλμοὺς SIG I173.

On the other hand touching may have an inauspicious meaning. Apollodorus uses the expression χερὶ καταλαμβάνειν when telling how Athene punished Tiresias with blindness: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερὶ τοὺς ὀρθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαμβομένην πηρὸν ποιήσαμεν Bibl. 3.6.7. Current meta-
phorical expressions with an inauspicious meaning are in Greek: χειρά ἐπιβάλλειν, and in Latin manum inicere, manus afferre. Euripides, however, approaches the use of χειρά ἐπιτιθέναι in this sense: οὐκ ἐπιθέσομαι κάφα κτύπημα χειρός ὀλούν; Andr. 1210 f., and manum imponere is found in Seneca: ualentior imposuerat infirmiori manum Ep. 90.40.

One may also inquire whether ἀπτεσθαι, χείρας 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 piissimis sacrorum arcanis insinueris' et inecta dextera, senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas foris 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 ἀπτεσθαι. The biblical expression χειράς 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 χειρός ἐπιτιθέναι in Euripides is poetic and has an inauspicious meaning; the expression χειρά ἐπιτιθέναι from the Asclepieum in Rome is used in an accurate description of the gesture of the sick person himself. Of the derivatives ἐπιθέσις assumes several meanings recorded in Liddell-Scott, but χειρόν ἐπιθέσις and χειροθετεῖν are not found, and χειροθέσια 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 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 λουεῖν: ὁτε δὴ μν ἐγὼ λύσεω καὶ χρίον ἐλαίῳ Homer Od. 4.252, but it may also be used of other objects, for example for rubbing a garment with poison: πέπλων ἄρτιώς ἕχριον 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 Cyr. 7.5.22.

Of the derived nouns χρίσις is (1) *nomen actionis*, the ‘rubbing’ with oil: ἡ τῶν ἐλαίου εἰς ἱμάτιον χρίσις Aristotle Probl. 966b35, or with paint: τὰς [χρισίας τῶν [νέων] σκαναμάτων IG 4 2289, or with paint: τὰς [χρισίς τῶν νέων] σκαναμάτων IG 4 2289. (2) It is also the substance applied, ‘colouring’, ‘varnish’: τί δ’ αἰ ποικίλαι χρίσεις; Musonius Rufus fr. 19. On the other hand, χρίμα and the later form χρίσμα are only current in the second meaning of ‘unguent’, ‘oil’: πόθεν ἃν τοῦ το χρίμα (χρίσμα) λάβοι; Xenophon Symp. 2.4, ‘coating’ of a wall, ‘plaster’: τὸ πάχος τοῦ χρίσματος Diodorus Siculus Bibl. 2.9. For the use of this noun as *nomen actionis* Liddell-Scott refers to a passage in Galen: οὗτοι θερμαίνοντες χρίσον χρίσασθέν ἄν νέον τρίψει πολλήν, καθάπερ οὗτος τοῖς λουτροῖς 10 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 ἀλεψία 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 χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ Homer II. 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, *quisbus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat*: θαρρεῖτε, μῦσται Eur. 22.1.

The custom of painting the skin is known among various peoples.1

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Herodotus uses χρίειν where he says that some Lybians do this with red clay: τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μῆλῳ 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 Britannii uitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu Bell.Gall. 5.14.2, and following Pliny the women: plantaginis...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 imponant 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 στίζειν, the mark is called στίγμα, the tattooer στιχεύς, στίκτης. The texts often mention the ink μέλαν, and the needles βελόνη, ῥαφίς, 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)punge ere 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 στίζειν 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 καταστιζειν on the contrary are always non-technical in various meanings. The noun στιγμή once means the ‘spot’ on a bird’s plumage: ἑυκαὶραζος στιγμαῖς...ποικίλος Alexander Mundius ap. Athen.Dipn. 9.39δ. The compound καταστιζειν always means ‘to mark with spots’: καταστικτος κυνός Sophocles fr. 11. It is true that in Strabo some Balkan tribes which have the custom of tattooing are called καταστικτοι 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 καταστιζειν 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. στίξει· το εγκαὕσαι ΐππον. With horses, however, the brand is often a mark of ownership as tattooing is with people. This probably led someone to say: στίξει άππον, 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: το μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενές κέκριται, το δὲ ἀστικτον

1 On these texts, see p. 199, and 202.
2 Cf. PERDRIZET, art cit., ARW 14, 1911, p. 73, H. LILLIEBJÖRN, Über religiose Signierung in der Antike, Uppsala 1933, p. 12; many texts in DÖLGER, art cit., ACh 3, 1932, p. 204 ff.
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystides at se} \\
\text{florigero in prato congreg[em uti] Satyrum} \\
\text{siue canistrer[ae] poscunt sibi Naides aequ[e],} \\
\text{qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas. CIL 3.686.17 ff.}
\end{align*}
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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: οἴον στίζονται παρά Θραξίν οἱ εὐγενεῖς παίδες καὶ παρά Γέταις οἱ δούλοι Ονίρ. 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 Mossynoei 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. I.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 *comppungere* for the tattoos of the Thracians: *conpunctum notis Thraciis* Off. 2.7.25. Pliny uses *illinere* and *inscribere*

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2 Art. cit., 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 a pūd 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 ablu 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, is also indicated by *pingere* in Martial: *pictis...Britannis* Epigr. 14.99.1. Tertullian already speaks of *tā de sōmata stizōntai graφaiς pōikilaiς...ἐθεν 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: *tοις δὲ Θρακί κόσμοι τὰς κόρας στίζεσθαι τοῖς δὲ άλλοις τιμωρία τὰ στίγματα τοῖς ἀδικεύοντι* 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 στίζω σε βελόναισιν τρίσιν* fr. 259. Herodas gives a vivid picture of this form of punishment: *Κόσιν τέ μοι κέλευσον ἐλθείν τὸν στίκτην ἠχοντα ραφίδας καὶ μέλαιν* Mim. 5.65 f., cf. PLillé 29113 ff.; 29ii133 ff. Aristophanes calls a runaway slave *δραπέτης έστιγμένος* 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 έστιγμένον* Hist. 5.6. To refer to the same slave Polyaenus 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 stigmate 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 Κ (calumnia) was marked on the foreheads of the *calumniatores.* 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: *fron tem nequiquam conuulnerandam praebant 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: *έν τω μετώπω το έπιγραμμα Min. 5.79, cf. Diogenes Laertius Vit. 4.46. The text probably mentioned the nature of the misdeed as proposed by Plato:* *έν τω προσώπω και ταξις χερι γραφεις την συμφοράν Leg. 854d. A scholium gives a text for runaway slaves: οι φυγάδες τῶν δούλων ἐστίζοντο τὸ μετωπον, δ ἐστιν ἐπεγράφοντο· κάτεχε 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

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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’: *ss 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 (fugitius) 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: πλεύνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξερξεω Εστιζον στίγματα βασιλεία 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 στίξοντας τὸν Ἐλλήποντον 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: ἄνδραποδώδης καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐστιγμένος αὐτόμολος Or. 2.79, are furnished by the scholiast with the commentary: ή δι᾽ ἐστιζοντο οἱ αὐτόμολοι, έκα γνωρίζοντο καὶ μὴ ἢδυκοῦντο παρὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν, ή ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης Θηβαίους αὐτόμολας ἐστιζεν 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 ἄλλο συμμετέχοντες σαμιλάτους Σαμίων στίζειν κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ εἶναι τὸ στίγμα γλαύκα Var.Hist. 2.9, and this indeed appears more probable than the converse suggestion found in Plutarch: οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυμιζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαύκας καὶ γὰρ ἔκεινος 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 ἵππον εἶς τὸ μέτωπον Nic. 29.2.  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: charactere 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.

With the military mark, also mentioned by Ambrose, we are on surer ground. 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... οία εἰσὶ 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: stigmate hoc est nota publica fabriciensium brachiis, ad imitationem tironum, infligatur, ut hoc modo possent saltem latilantes agnoscī 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. The tessera

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1 Cf. P. Wolters, Ἐλαφόστικτος, Hermes 38, 1903, p. 265 f.
2 For the use of character, see p. 405 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: ήν.. ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἡ χάρα, ἑωτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι Hist. 2.113.3

Elsewhere we find στίζειν and στιγματηφορεῖν. 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 καρποὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐς κυρήνας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἄπαντες Ἀσσυρίωι στιγματη- φορέουσι 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: ἐστιγμένος τὸν δεξιὸν καρπὸν γράμμασι βαρβαρικοῖς δύον 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
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 τίνα δὲ τοῦ σώματος μόρια βελόναις ἐκέντουν, καὶ μέλαν ἐπέβαλον, 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· δ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος· διὰ τὸ φύλλος κισσοῦ καταστίζ&αι, ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι. It will appear that these symbols were not tattooed but branded upon the skin. Here as elsewhere the compound καταστίζειν has a non-technical meaning, 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 sacramundus accipit sfragitidas?
acus minutas ingerunt fornacibus,
his membra pergunt urere, ut ignierint;
quæcumque partem corporis feruens nota
stigmarit, hanc sic consecratam praedicant.

After death the marks are covered with small gold plates:

insignis auri lammina obd Ducit cutem,
tegitur metallo, quod perustum est ignibus Perist. 10.1076 ff.

The discussion which has arisen in connection with this text chiefly concerns the word sfragitides: we shall return to this term later. 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 stigmarit 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, fervens 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 [γραφί]ωι χαράξαντι ἀπ[ο]δούναι PRyl. 160a.6 f., ἀντίγρ[αφον] χαράγματος CPR 4.37, ἀντίγρ[αφον] χαραγμοῦ PRyl. 160a.10.¹

The inscription accompanying a tax receipt dating from the third century A.D. presents a distinct problem: Ἑπείφ δεύτερα β' χωρίς χαρακτήρας Χ Χ Χ Χ Χ '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 tarnen habeat χαρακτήρα.⁵ Just.Dig. 28.1.22.5, and Suidas s.v. σφραγις· τὸ ἐπισημαίνον διὰ χαρακτήρων 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 χαρακτήρθεν..νόμισμα Polybius Hist. 10.27.13, hence: χαρακτήρ in the active sense 'die', 'stamp': ἀλάβαστρον Τύχης IG 2.1408, χαρακτήρ and χάραγμα in the passive 'impress on a coin': ἀργυροῦ. λαμπρὸν χαρακτήρα Euripides El. 559, τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ πλείστου τῶν νομίσματος 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. Ermann, Die Siegelung der Papyrusurkunden, APF 1, 1900, p. 76 n. 1, and art. Signum, PW II A c. 2373 f. (Wegner).
³ In Ermann, 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 πυρί χαράσσειν, χαράσσειν διὰ πυρὸς, πυρὸς χάραγμα, and also by the fact that derivatives of καίειν, like ἐγκαίειν, καυτηρίαζειν, ἐγκαύμα, 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: ομολογώ πεπρακέναι σοι κάμηλον θήλειαν, κεχαραγμένην. Sometimes πυρί is added to the verb: πυρὶ κεχ[αρα]κ[μέ]νη 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 ἐπὶ τῷ μηρῷ δ[ε]ξ[ί]ῳ ἀρα[β]ικὸν χάρ[αγ]μα BGU 453.7 f., and κεχαραγμένην ἀραβικῷ χαρακτηρί PGen. 29.8 f. A fairly long list of brands ends with: καὶ ἐν στήθι καυτήριον 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 ἴσχίοις μὲν ἵπποι πυρὸς χάραγμ’ ἐχουσιν 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 ἰππους λύκον, καὶ κλῃθῆναι 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 ἱεραί.. χαράγματα φέρουσι 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 κοππατίνων 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 ἀγελανδὼν ἀπαλαχθείσων εὐθὺς χαρακτήρα ἐπέβαλλαν καὶ στιγμᾶς τοῖς σώμασιν Bibl. 34/5.2.1, πάντας δὲ τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις χαρακτήρισα κατέστιζον ib. 34/5.2.27.

The fact that these slaves were branded appears from the term χαρακτήρ. This method was rapid (εὐθὺς) and the complicated tattooing would have been almost impracticable. The use of καταστὶζειν and στιγμῆ may suggest this latter technique but they lack the technical meaning of στίζειν 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. cit., ACh 3, 1932, p. 36 ff.
² See p. 188.
servum 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: urity, 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 βασανιζομένων τροχοίς τε καὶ καυτηρίοις 4 Macc. 15.22, cf. 6.27. St. Paul alludes to the branding of criminals: κεκαυστηριασμένων τὴν ἵδαν συνελθήσαν I 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 ἑγκαύματα on their bodies bear witness to the crimes committed in this life: σημεῖα πολλὰ τῶν ἑγκαυμάτων 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 ἑγκαυμάτω κατὰ τὸ μεσόφρυον· ὅ δὲ τύπος τῶν καυτηρίων ἑταίρων ἐστιν ἀλήθεια 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: σημεῖον τινι, ἢγουν σφραγίδι σιδήρα σφραγίζαντες πεπυρακτομένη 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, χαράσσειν 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: Κυλικρϊνες δέ λέγονται, δτι τους ώμους κεχαραγμένοι κύλικας ήσαν αρ. 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: και Αιθίοπες δε τας κόγχας των γονάτων των νέων σιδηρω καυστικω σφραγίζουσι το 'Απόλλωνι 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 χαράσσειν 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: τους τε άπογραφομένους χαράσσεσθαι και δια πυρός εις το σώμα παρασήμω Διονύσου κισσοφύλλω 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

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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
imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing

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 ὄλολυγμος καὶ κρίνων καὶ τυμπάνων ἐγχαράξεις Mor. 56.e.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 Πτολεμαίος· διὰ τὸ φύλλος κισσοῦ καταστίζει, ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι. ἀεὶ γὰρ ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς κισσὸν ἐστεφανοῦντο. 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 κισσὸν ἐστεφανοῦντο 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: ένεατι πρὸς δουλείαν τῶν χειροκμήτων, γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ὡς επί τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐθνός, ἄλλα ἔν τοῖς σώμασι καταστίζοντες κατά συδήρω τεπυρωμένοι 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

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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. Corn in his edition, V p 15, placed ἄλλα 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, i], Opi*. It has been disciphered 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 signât 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 Naziansus too mentions besides the torments, *βάσανοι*, the mystical burnings, *καύσεις*, customary in the Mithras cult: τὰς ἐν Μιθρῷ 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 ἢ μήν καί ἱερέας αὐτοῦ ἀποδεικτύσεσθαι μαστίγων ἢ καυτήρων ἢ πιον 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

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 \( \chiαράσσειν \) 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.

(1) 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 σφραγιδὰς Aud. 801b4. The two words, however, are frequently used without dis-

² Sphragis, p. 1 ff
tinction. In particular cases σφραγίς may refer to the figure which is engraved in the stone: ἔπτα βοῶν σφραγίδα βραχύς εἶχεν ἵστεις 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 σφραγίδων 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 σφραγίδας ἐνάπολείτειν Plutarch Mor. 982b, cf. Hesychius s.v. σφραγίς· χελώνη, to the patches on the skin of an animal: σφραγίδες ἐπὶ χρωτὶ μαρμάρου Oppian Cyn. 2.298 f., and to marks made upon clothes, according to Hesychius s.v. σφραγίδες· 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’.

(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.

1 Cf Dölger, Sphragis, p. 37 f
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: Κύριε, σοφιζομένω μὲν ἐμοὶ σφραγίς ἐπικείσθω τοῖς ἐπεσιν 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 ἦστιν ἐπη 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’ ἡμέτερης γλώττης κείται fr. 5. It is clear that the seal does not lie upon the tongue as does the seal of secrecy. 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.

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: σφραγίς 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’ ἡμείς ἡλίας μοιρῶν σφραγεῖδες ἐπηλθόν 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) Medecines were sealed by the maker in order to garantee their authenticity and, as a result, the remedies themselves were often called σφραγίς, for example in Galen: ἡ Νεαπολίτου σφραγίς, Πακίου 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 προκιμενῶν ἄφουρῶν περὶ κώμην Φιλαδελφίαν τῆς ἐκκτής σφραγίδος BGU 1049.26 and

1 See p. 219 ff.
(e) for a 'registered holding of land': τὸν [ἐ]αυτοῦ κλῆρον τὸν διναὶ ἐν
tρισίσφραγίσι ΠΤεβ. 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 διμεράλος,
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 Timo-
theus' 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 δικταίνοντα
ἔστιν 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: σημάντροσιν ἐσφραγισμένοι

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1 Cf Dölger, Sphrages, 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.
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εφύγομεν Euripides Iph.Taur. 1372, the soul with ideas: έν τῇ αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ σφραγισάμενος...εἰδῆ Philo Opif. 172, the universe: τὸν δὲν εσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἵδει Somn. 2.45;

(2) ‘to close’ words with silence: λόγους στυγ 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 δὲ ἄλλης ὃ πολὺς σφραγίζεται αὐτῶν Archelaus ap. Antig.Caryst. Mir. 89, i.e. the death of one creature is the birth of another, Ὁμηρ... ἀνερχόμενον σφραγίσασθαι ἔλειφ 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 οἰρκο...θυσίαν Bassus Lollius Ant.Pal. 9.236, prosperity: τὸ ἀκλίνες τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίω...σφραγισάμενοι Philo Vit.Mos. 1.30, that which has been discussed: ταῖς ποιητικαῖς φωναίς ὡσπερεί σφραγίζεσθαι τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν λεγόμενον 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 ὡσπερεὶ. 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 σμαίνειν 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 κατασημάνεσθαι med. ‘to enclose something under seal’, σμαίνειν ‘seal’, ‘signet’, γὰ σμαίνειν ‘sealing clay’, σμαίναρτον ‘seal impression’, σμαίναρτηρ (1) ‘seal impression’ but also (2) ‘place for coining money’, ‘mint’, in Harpocratio s.v. ἄργυροκοπεῖον...δ νῦν σμαίναρτηρον τινες καλοῦσιν. Only in this last case do we find a derivative of σμαίνεσθαι used for a technique other than that of sealing. This new word, which some now use after Harpocrario, thus appears less correct. One would be more inclined to expect a derivative of χαράσσειν.

Of the other terms used to indicate the technique of sealing we mention σμεῖν, σμεῖοι, σμαίνεσθαι, and compounds: ἄντι δὲ τοῦ τα
σημεί' ἐὰν τῶν οἰκημάτων & παρεσημηνάμην Demosthenes Or. 42.2. This passage is explained by Harpocratio s.v. σημεία· σύτω λέγουσι τὰς σφραγίδας. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φαίνιππον, and this is repeated in other lexica. Hesychius s.v. σημεῖον· τέρας. ἤ σφραγίς... σημήνασθαι· σφραγίσασθαι, cf. P.Oxy. 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 σφραγίδος τοῦ ἱεροῦ PHib. 72.5 f., and in Greece the state: τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγίδα 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 σφραγίδος 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 ἐχεις κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπώτιν 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 θανητῶν ἄγνων ἄνακτα,
oυράνιον Νόμον, ἀστροθέτην, σφραγίδα δικαίην
πόντου τ' εἰναλίου καὶ γῆς, φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον
ἀκλίνες ἀστειάστην ἄει τηροῦντα νόμοισιν ib. 64.1 ff.

1 Cf. DÖLGER, art.cit., ACh 1, 1929, p. 199.
The idea of the possession of a seal as a sign of power is also contained in the expression: κληΐδας (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: οι δέ γε Πυθαγό-ρειοι τὸν μὲν πόλον σφραγίδα τῆς 'Ρέας άποκαλεΐν ήξίουν ώς 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 φυσικός 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: φορώ γαρ πριάμενος τὸν δακτυλίον τονδί παρ’ Εύδαμου 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 δρακοντυ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα 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: [έδοκε οἳ ἐπιστάς] ο θεός τῶι δακτυλίῳ πίεξαι [στόμα καὶ βίνας καὶ άτα, καὶ υγιῆς] ε]γένετο IG 4·ι·II6 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: δακτυλίον ο Ἀραψ ἐδώκε σιδήρου τοῦ ἐκ τῶι σταυρῶι πεποιημένου 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 garantee 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
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: δεδόσθ·αι δέ και κηρύκειον αύτοΐς [καί] ἐπιβαλείν τήν σφραγίδα τήν κ[(ο)]ινήν τῶν Άμφικτυόνων GDI 2523.19 ff., 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: σφραγίδα 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 μέτροι...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 χρῆσαι πρὸς τόις αὐτῶι μέτρωι κεχαραγμένωι τῶι χαρακτῆρ[ι] πρὸς τόν ἐν τῇ σκιά[δι, μ]ὴ τῶι πραττομένωι χρῆσαι δὲ κα[ὶ] τῷς ἄρχας τοῖς προσφραγισμένοις μέτρωι[, ε]ὰν μὴ τῷς τῶν πωλούντων [ἰ]ν σφραγιστῶι μέτρωι χρήσθαι 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: το 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 χαράσσειν 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
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 μῆτε ἡλικίαν ἄντ’ ἄλλης οἱ παραλαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν ἀπαγάγωσιν, μῆτε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὴν προφασίσωσιν καὶ γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην σφραγίδα χωρὶς τοῦ τιμηθῆναι τὴν κεφαλῆν 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 ἐσφραγίσαν, μῆτ’ πως τινὲς ἑτέραν ἄντ’ αὐτῆς ὑποβάλωσιν 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 ἐγκεχαλινωμένους 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 σημάντρω 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: εάν δὲ πτα[σή]ν τι εὔ [α]μτό[ν κατὰ τῆ]ν ὀδόν, οἶσομεν ύμ[ε]ν τὴν σφρ[α]γιδα καὶ οὔδεν ἀγαθῆς πρὸ[ς] ἡμᾶς PBasel 2.10 ff. The return of the

¹ Acta Sanctorum Maii 4 p. 179, 181.
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[αμήλους θηλείας δύο ἐσφρ(αγμένας) ε[ί]ς τὸν δεξιόν μηρὸν νῦ καὶ ἦτο 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. 869. 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, possible 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: σφραγίζαν ἐπιβάλ[λ]ιν ἓκάστῳ δνῷ ib. 151121 f. Preisigke supposed that this referred to a brand while Deissmann read δνος 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 δνον δπως σφραγισθή PTeb. 419.\(^6\)

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1 Cf. the commentary of the editor E. RAREL, 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 Autolycus, 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 Tzetzes says with more detail that he stole horses, cattle, and sheep by exchanging their seals: κλέπτων γὰρ πάντων ἵππων τε καὶ βόας καὶ ποίμνια, τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτῶν μετεποίει καὶ ἠλάνθανε τοὺς δεσπότας 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. The animals were examined for their cultic purity and were given a seal as proof of this: ώς ἐστιν 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 σφραγισταὶ Plutarch Mor. 363b, μοσχοσφραγισταὶ Chaeremon fr. 4, BGU 250, ίερομοσχοσφραγισταὶ 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 ἐνός θυωμένου 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 περί τα κέρεα εἴλισσω καὶ ἐπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας επιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον Hist. 2.38.

Elsewhere too it was customary to mark the animals singled out for sacrifice but the use of σημείον for these marks does not provide any information as to the technique employed. An inscription concerning the mysteries of Andania prescribed such a mark: σαμείον ἐπιβαλ-λόντω οἱ ιεροὶ 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’ PPassalaqua 1563, 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 lessera; this is strictly speaking a square plate and serves

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1 Cf. Dölger, Sphragis, p. 22 f., art.ctl., ACh 3, 1932, p. 34 ff.
2 S. Witkowski, Epistulae privatae graecae, Leipzig 1911, p. 54.
similar purposes to the symbolon. All these objects may be made of various materials such as bronze, baked clay, and lead.  

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 fugiam* 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. 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 tēg lesu 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. 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.

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.

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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: *ξένους τε πέμπειν σύμβολ', οὐ δράσουσι σ'ἐζ* Med. 613, cf. Aeneas Tacticus Tact. 10.8, OGI 674.22. Cf. L. RADERMACHER, *Exkurse zu Aristophanes' Vögeln*, WS 50, 1932, p. 31 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: ἡμέτερον ἐπιγράφονται Fug. 4, and concerning the adherents of the philosophical schools Lucian says: τῶν Διογένην καὶ 'Αντισθένην καὶ Κράτητα ἐπιγραφομένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων 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. Plato himself uses the noun σφραγίς together with other terms like τύπος and σημείον 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: θές δή μοι λόγου ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ημῶν ενόν κήρυκαν ἐκμαγείον Theaet. 191c, ώσπερ δακτυλίων σημείων ἑνεικονισμένον ib. 191d, ἔχοντα καὶ ἑκείνου τύπου... ἔχει αὑτοῦ 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 οὐν ἐστὶ... τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ... ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν σφραγίδων ὀρφίου ψηφιδίου... ἔχει αὐτοῦ σφραγίδα ib. 192a.

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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 ἄλον ἑσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέῃ, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ Somn. 2.45. The Logos itself is hence called the seal: αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἡ σφραγίς, ἡ τῶν ἄντων ἐκαστον μεμόρφωται Fug. 12, cf. Mut. 135. In their turn the other ideas are called: τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες Opif. 34.

Philo uses the same terminology when referring to the creation of the human soul after God’s image: ή δ’ ἀόρατος (sc. θειότης) ἀόρατῳ ψυχῇ τοις ἑαυτῆς τόπους ἐνσφραγιζέτο 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 ἐντετυπώκεν ο θεός νομίσματος δοκίμων τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ χαρακτήρ εἰςόμεθα Leg.All. 3.05. 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 σημειωθέν καὶ τυπωθέν σφραγίδι θεοῦ, ἢς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄδιός 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 Spec.Leg. 1.59. He also forms nobility in his own soul: ἐνσφραγίσατο (sc. καλοκάγαθίαν) τῇ ψυχῇ χαρακτηρ θείφ τυπωθείση 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 σφραγίδ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ψολήν, ἵνα μή βινώσ’ ἐτ’ ἐκείνας Αν. 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. σφραγίδ’ ἔχεις παρὰ τῶν πελαργῶν; Ι. τί τὸ κακόν;
Π. οὐκ ἔχαμε; Ι. ἑγαίμενες μὲν; Π. οὐδὲ σύμβολον ἐπέβαλεν ὁρνίθαρχος οὐδεὶς σοι παρῶν;
Ι. μὰ Δ’ οὐκ ἐμοῦ τ’ ἐπέβαλεν οὐδεὶς, ὡ 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 συγχωρηθήναι 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 εχειν 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 χείρα, στίγματα, χαρακτήρα, and especially σφραγίδα 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, διὶ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ συνοιτίασαι, δ καὶ ἐνόμισε λέγειν ή Ἰρις, διδ 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 οὔδεις, 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: πλουτεων το καλόν, οὔδε κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς κινέων, ἐθικτ[ο]ς [ἐς] Κυθηρήνιν σφραγίς Mim. 1.54 f.\(^2\)

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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: *λυσαμένη δ' ἄψαυστον έής σφραγίδα κορείης Ἀρτέμις Ὀρφιώνος 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 *βούς*, *δς*, *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: *βούς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατεροὶ πολλὰ ἕπιμπλανον ἵσχε· κατάλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον* Eleg. 1.815 f. It is subsequently found in Aeschylus: *τὰ δ' σιγώ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ 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 *βαίνει* must have formed part of the original expression. This theory is supported by the fact that these two words recur in Menander’s parody: *παχύς γάρ υς εκεῖ επι στόμα* Ir. 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: *χαλινών 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

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muzzles: 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 δεσμούς κημοὺς ἔφηκε διὰ τούτων· καὶ τούσδε κημοὺς 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 χειλικά Plutarch Mor. 613c.

Yet another expression is that of the key on the tongue, found in Aeschylus: ἀλλ' ἐστι 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. ὀμφή) δολχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθείσα χρόνους βέβληται κληίδας ἀμαντεύτοι σιωπῆς Phil. ρ. 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 σιγῆν 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 being tied of the tongue 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: προσέ&ηκε τῶ εκείνου στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα Alex. 39. In an epigram entitled Εἰς μυστήριον Lucian says: ἀφρήτων ἐπέων γλώσσῃ σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω· κρείσσων γαρ μύθων ἡ κτεάνω φυλακή 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: τοιαύτα σιγῆ, ἐπισφραγίζοσθαι Aeth. 6.15, 'to lay the

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: έντειλαι δε μοι, φησί, καί περὶ πραγμάτων άλλων μυστικών καί λόγους άνακοινωσαι μοι καί φυλάξω. ἐπίθες, φησίν, ἣν θέλες σφραγίδα 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: οδις φύσις ἀφθόγγων στομάτων σφρηγίσατο δεσμώ, γλώσσαν ύποσφίγξασα Dion. 26.261 f., χείλεσι δε ἀφθόγγωσιν ἐπεσφηγίσσατο σιγήν ib. 47.218, cf. 45.188. This gives rise to the expression σφραγίς σιωπής in a text from Nonnus’ Christian period: αἰκε φύλαξης χείλεσιν ύμετέροις χείλεσιν σφρηγίδα σιωπής Par. II.144 f., cf. 21.139, and in a passage from Christodorus, who describes a statue of Demosthenes, where: άλλα τε τέχνη χαλκείης ἐπέθησαν υπὸ σφρηγίδα σιωπής Anth.Pal. 2.31.

Although it is tempting to assume a development from the metaphor of Solon culminating in the expression σφραγίς σιωπής 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 σφραγίς, σφραγίζειν, and the obligation to secrecy in the mysteries.1 Koffmane suggested in 1881 that σφραγίζεσθαι 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 σφραγίς 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 σφραγίζεσθαι 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

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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. The theory was vigorously opposed by Anrich, but Wobbermin sought new arguments for the dependence of the Christian terminology. In 1911 Döbler carefully examined the state of the question up to that period and later opposed an attempt on the part of Maass to establish the theory in a new manner. Of the more recent authors we mention Nock and Benoit who opposed the theory that the Christian term was borrowed from the mysteries.

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.

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: ών καὶ χρυσά κλής ἐπὶ γλώσσα βέβακεν προσπόλων Εὐμολπίδαν 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. The construction with κλής 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.

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 instituant, ut optionem suspendio cognitionis aedificent... sequitur iam...
Tertullian uses for the obligation to secrecy at Eleusis *signaculum linguae* and probably *consignare*, to which correspond in Greek σφραγίς γλωττής 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. In this ritual the candidate swears that he will keep secret all that is revealed to him by the Father and the Hieroceryx:

\begin{verbatim}
επόμνυμι

η μην εκ πίστεως άτρεκος συντηρήσειν
εν απορρήτοις τα παραδεδομένα μοι μυστήρια διά τον ευσεβέστατον πατέρα Σαραπίωνα
tε και τόν αιθεσμώτα τον λεοχήρυκα PSI Ι162.4 ff.
\end{verbatim}

In the following lines of the mutilated text we find the words σφραγεΐδες and σημειώσαι:

\begin{verbatim}
κέντροις όξεσιν
χαραχθήσονται ες χείρας δύο σφραγεΐδες
ώστε εἰς τόν άιώνα τόν μύστην σημειώσαι ib. Ι162.15 ff.
\end{verbatim}

This restoration is proposed by Cumont. He also considers (κατα)στιχθήσονται 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 σφραγεΐδες and σημειώσαι 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.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING

φυλάσσειν or (συν)τηρεῖν, corresponding with συντηρήσειν...τα μυστήρια in 1. 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 γλώσσῃ, ἐπὶ στόμα or σωτής and [α]ι] σφραγεῖδες. The object of σημειώσαι in the next line may have been τα 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: ἡτις πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σαυτῆς τὰ οὕτως ἀπόρρητα καὶ σιγῆ καὶ σκότω φυλάττομενα μυστήρια δραν ύπέμεινας... σοφός γαρ τα τοιαύτα σιγῆ 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

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 participauit. eorum quaedam signa et monumenta tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conservo. nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico. uel unius Liberi patris mystae, qui adestis, scitis, quid domi conditum celestis et absque omnibus profanis lacite 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 uidam mirum uideri potest, cui sit uilla memoria religiouis, hominem tot mysteriis deum conscium 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, σφαίρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἐσοπτρον, 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 ἄπορρήτων γὰρ οὔδεν χρή 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 σφραγίδα 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 σφραγίδα Hymn. 34.26, and σφραγίδα δικαίην.. φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον .. τηροῦντα νόμοισιν ib. 64.2 ff.4 In the second text τὸ βέβαιον and not σφραγίδα 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.

2 See p. 214 f.
4 See p. 209 f.
(συν)τηρεῖν for the observation of secrecy as a counterpart of συντηρεῖν μυστήρια ib. ΙΙΙ62.5 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 σφραγίδα 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. 400 WOBBERMIN also refers to CIL 3.686, but see p. 189 MAASS, art cit., p. 257 ff., assumes that sfragistides 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 ὅμως τηρήσει τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα καὶ ἔξειπεῖν μηδενὶ Ref 5.27.2
In dealing with the Old Testament and Jewish non-canonical literature we find (1) χείρα(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.

I. 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 y'd ‘hand’ also in the dualis and in the plural. The corresponding expression to both is in the Septuagint χείρα(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.

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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. 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.

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.

(i) 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: εκτείνας δὲ Ἰσραήλ τὴν χείρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπέβαλεν επί τὴν κεφαλήν Εφραίμ Gen. 48.14. When Joseph sees this he asks his father to lay his right hand upon the head of Manasseh, the first born: ἑπίθες τὴν δεξιὰν σου ἐπί τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ib. 48.18. The verb ἐπιβάλλειν corresponds to the Hebrew ἐπιτ, while the equivalent of ἐπιτιθέναι is ὑμ. 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 ἑπίθεσιν 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:

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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
εξάρας (νε' to lift') Ααρών τάς χείρας (yādāw, qere: yādāw du.) ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐλόγησεν αὐτοῦς 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 (νε') χείρας αὕτου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν υἱῶν Ισραήλ δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίου Sir. 50.20. The Mishnah gives an even more detailed description of this priestly blessing: 'In the provinces the priests raised (νε') their hands (yādāw) as high as their shoulders, but in the Temple above their heads excepting the high priest, who raised (gbh) his hands (yādāw) 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 χείρα ἐπιτιθέναι is the translation of sym yd in various meanings. The expression is frequently used for the placing of the hand before the mouth as an injunction to silence: ἐπίθες τήν χείρα σου ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα σου Jgs. 18.19. Thamar places her hands upon her head as a sign of mourning: ἐπέθηκεν τάς χείρας 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 Ελισαιε τάς χείρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τάς χείρας τοῦ βασιλέως 4 Reg. 13.16. Soldiers lay hands upon Athaliah: ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῆς χείρας ib. 11.16.

Elsewhere the Greek corresponds to syt yd. Yahweh lays His hand on man as on His property: ἐθηκάς ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν χείρα σου Ps. 138.5. An arbitrator lays his hand upon both parties: διακούων (yāsēt yādō) ἀνά μέσον ἀμφοτέρων Job 9.33. Thieves will set upon in the night: ἐπιθήσουσιν χείρα αὐτῶν (from yāṣēt yādām instead of hishtītū dayyām ‘they shall spoil what they want’) Jer. 30.3 (49.9). The Law ordains: οὐ συνεπιτιθέναι (‘α/τâ$et yâd e kâ ‘thou shalt not make common cause’) μετα τοῦ αδίκου Ex. 23.1. Moreover νε‘ to touch’, rendered by προσάγειν and ἀπτεσ&αι, is used for a simple gesture of touching by which someone is reassured: και ἰδού χείρα προσήγαγε μοι Dan. 10.10 LXX (χείρ ἀπτομένη μου Θ.), cf. Ass.Mos. 12.2, and šīh yd, translated by συνεπιτιθέναι, is used for an inauspicious action: μηδὲ συνεπιτιθή 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 χείρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον 4 Reg. 5.11. For the gesture expected by the Syrian eunuch the original text has naph 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'smk ydy ʿṭwhy) that he might live' Gen.Apocr. 20.21 ff., 'And I pressed my hand(s) upon his head (w'smk ydy ʿṭ[yy]šh) 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.

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 (ṣkb 'to lie down') ἐπὶ τὸ παθαρίον 4 Reg. 4.34, and according to the Hebrew text Elijah did the same: ἐνεφύσησεν (midd hthpo. 'to stretch oneself upon') τῷ παθαρίῳ 3 Reg. 17.21. Conversely a dead man is raised to life by the touch of Elisha’s bones: ἕψατο (nb' q. 'to touch') τῶν ὄστεων Ελισαιε 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 χείρα (yādō) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Lev. 1.4, ἐπιθήσουσιν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν (yēdēhem) 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 Ισραήλ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν (yēdēhem) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Num. 8.10, οἱ δὲ Λευίται ἐπιθήσουσι τὰς χεῖρας (yēdēhem) 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 Ἀαρὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ (ṣṭṭē 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 τῇ τοῦ ζῴου κεφαλῆς χεῖρας Spec.Leg. 1.202, and Josephus: ἐπιτιθεντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς κεφαλαὶς τῶν ἱερεῶν αὐτῶς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγέμονες Ant. 9.268. In rabbinic literature this rite is referred to by smk and the noun s'mtkah, cf. Mishnah Men. 9.8.

(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 χείρας 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 χείρας σου (yādekā) ἐπ' αὐτόν Num. 27.18, ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χείρας 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 *semikāt* 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) (smykḥ) and leaning on (of hands) of the elders (smykḥt zqynm)? 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 mnḥ (mn*) pi. and pa. The meaning of mnḥ q. is 'to divide in parts'; thence mnḥ pi. and pa. is translated in the Septuagint by διδόναι 'to give': νύκτες δὲ δόνων δεδομέναι μοι εἰς Ἰσραήλ Job 7.3, by ἐκτάττειν 'to distribute': τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐκτάταντα τὴν βρόσιν ύμῶν Dan. 1.30 LXX Th., cf. 1.5 Th., Ps. 16.5, by προστάττειν 'to command': προσέταξεν κύριος κήτε μεγάλων καταπιείν τὸν

Iωναν Jon. 2.1, cf. 4.6 ff. and by καθιστάναι ‘to appoint’, i.e. ‘to charge with a regular task’: καθισταμένοι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη 1 Par. 9.29, καθέστησον γραμματεῖς καὶ κριτάς 2 Esd. 7.25, cf. Dan. 1.11 Th., 2.24 LXX Th., 2.29 LXX Th., 3.12 LXX Th., only: τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἄρχιευνόυχῳ Ιb. 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 sacramental sense of the word and the derived nouns minnûy, minnûyâh 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 minnûyâh smîkûtâ’ 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, smîk was rendered by χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι and that καθιστάναι was the equivalent of mnîn (mnî) pi. and pa. as it is in the Septuagint.

(6) It has been suggested that the sàltâh too was appointed by leaning on of hands. The sàltâh 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 sàltâh is anyone who at the command of a certain person or community is sent somewhere to fulfill 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 sàltâh. The sàltâh is fully empowered to act as the representative of the person by whom he is commissioned. The Mishnah states: ‘A man’s sàltâh is like to himself’ Ber. 5.5.

The word sàltâh ‘deputy’, ‘agent’, is derived from šîh ‘to send’, regularly translated in the Septuagint by ἀποστέλλειν. Hence the equivalent of the noun sàltâh is ἀπόστολος, although there is no evidence from the texts that this was ever used in this sense. The sàłûthim are called ἄνδρες ἐκλεκτοῖς in a report by Justin Martyr dealing with their activities against the Christians in the diaspora: ἄνδρες ἐκλεκτοῖς... ἐξεπέμψατε 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 sàltâh in the strict sense of the word was

1 Aquila, on the other hand, uses it in a pejorative sense: καὶ ἔγώ εἰμι ἀπόστολος (šîh) 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 ἱλάθητιμ 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 <salta> 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 <salta> 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 Septua-
gint by ἐκλέγεσθαι and this is indeed used in the account of Justin to
denote the ἱλάθητιμ: ἀνδρας ἐκλεξέμενοι τότε ἐκεκλεξα τατε 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 <salta> 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 οὐκ ημείς με ἀπεστάλκατε (silh) ἀπο 'Ιερουσαλήμ, ἀλλ’ ἦ δ ὦ θεός
Gen. 45.8, Philo says that Joseph is not sent by men but is appointed by
God: το φάναι μη πρὸς ἀνθρώποις ἀπεστάλθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονή-
σθαι Migr. 22. Moses is likewise appointed by God: δν ἐχεφοτόνησεν
γέμονα Vit.Mos. 1.198. Justin Martyr, moreover, uses χειροτονεῖν for
the sending out of a <salta> in the strict sense: ἀνθρας χειροτονήσαντες
ἐκλεξώς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψιτε 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: ἐπιθησομεν πάντες σι

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1 K H Rengstorff '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
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άκούσαντες τὰς χείρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ Lev. 24.14. With the same rite the two wicked elders accuse Susanna: ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χείρας 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 ἐπιτίθεναι 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 Δαυίδακου Lev. 23.13 LXX Sm., ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ ἐπίθεσιν ib. 25.27 LXX. In the later versions one moreover finds, especially in Aquila, ἐπιτίθεσθαι for ἐπιθέσθαι: επέθεντο αὐτῷ Ez. 19.8 Sm. (Ἰδώκαν ἐπὶ αὐτόν LXX).

This development leads to a use of ἐπιτίθεναι 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

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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: ἐπερεῖσεται (smk) τὰς χείρας 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 (smykh) (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 (ydyw) on him (that he might become) like a full and piled vessel’ Siphre Num. 27.18 141. 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.

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 ἔπιτιθέναι and ἐπιβάλλειν, at the healing of Naaman probably ῥώπ hì., also translated by ἔπιτιθέναι. Philo too uses only this verb and ἐπίθεσις

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 ἐπιφέρομένου 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: εὐαλλάττει τὰς χείρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθησι τῷ νεωτέρῳ... οἰηθέντος (sc. τοῦ Ἰωσήφ) τὸν πατέρα ἄχοντα σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν Leg. All. 3.90.

The laying on of hands has from an early date its technical term in smk. In rabbinic literature smk and the derived nouns sēmikāh and sēmikūt are strictly technical without the hand or hands still being mentioned.

The Septuagint translates smk ἑρείδειν as χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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. Consequently χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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 heeded 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; 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 (bṣṭy 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 χείρα(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: ἐπιθησεί τὰς χείρας (yâdô) ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Lev. 3.2, 8, 13. The explanation might be that the translator read the dual yâdâw 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 χείρες 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 χείρες from the technical expression may indicate that he has in mind a gesture performed with both hands: τὰς δὲ ἐπιθημένας τῇ τοῦ ζώου κεφαλῆς χείρας δείγμα σαφέστατον εἶναι συμβεβηκε πράξεων ἀνυπατίων...ὡς ἀμα τῇ τῶν χερῶν ἐπιθεσεὶ δύνασθαι τινα παρρηςισκόμενον ἐκ καθάρου τοῦ συνειδότος τοιαύτα εἰπειν αἱ χείρες αὐται οὔτε δῶρον ἐπ᾽ ἄδικοις 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

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 $\psi m (\psi t)$ $yd$ and probably $nwp$ hi. $yd$ 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, $smk$ $yd$ 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 $\psi t$ $yd$ is translated as $\chi e i p a \epsilon m \beta a l l e i n$, the equivalent of both $\psi m$ $yd$ and $smk$ $yd$ is $\chi e i p a (\epsilon) \epsilon p i t i t h e i n a$. 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 $\alpha p i t e o i$.

2. Anointing

For the anointing of persons and objects in order to sanctify them the Hebrew Bible uses, with a few exceptions, the root $msh$. To this is opposed $swk$ for the anointing and smearing with oil as a profane act. The Septuagint retains the distinction by regularly using $\chi r i e i n$ and derivatives as sacral terms, while employing the compounds of this verb and $\alpha l i f e i n$ with its derivatives in the profane sense.¹

In the Septuagint the following cases for the use of $\chi r i e i n$ may be distinguished. (1) As the equivalent of $msh$ the verb is the technical term for the anointing of kings: $\chi r i s a i . . \beta a s i l e \epsilon$ Jgs. 9.8, cf. Is. 61.1. (2) The verb is likewise used for the anointing of priests: $\kappa a i \ A a r o n \ k a i \ t o u s \ \upsilon o u s \ \alpha o t o u \ \chi r i s e i s$ 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: $E l i s a i e . . \chi r i s e i s \ e i z \ \pi r o f i t t h n \ \\alpha n t i \ \alpha o i 3$ Reg. 19.16, cf. 61.1. (4) In two places $\chi r i e i n$ translates a Hebrew $msh$

for a physical anointing which, as an expression of festal joy, is a
profane act: τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι Ἀμ. 6.6, διὰ τούτου ἐχριστέν ἐν ῥ θεός
ὁ θεός σου ἐλαίῳ ἀγαλλίασεως Ps. 44.8, cf. Ἰς. 25.6. (5) Elsewhere χρίειν
used for a profane anointing of the body corresponds to swk: ἐλαιον οὗ
χριστέν Deut. 28.40, ἐχριστεά ἐν ἐλαίῳ Ἐζ. 16.9, cf. ἸΔθ. 10.3, and in a
decree forbidding the misuse of the sacred chrism: ἐπὶ σάρκα ἀνθρώπου
οὗ χρισθήσεται Ἐξ. 30.32. (6) So far as the anointing of objects is
concerned κρίειν is again principally a sacral term as the equivalent of
msh for the anointing of the tabernacle, the altar of burnt offering, and
the vessels for the public worship: κρίσεις τὴν σκηνήν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν
αὐτῇ Ἐξ. 40.9, κρίσεις τὸ ϰυσιαστήριον Ἰβ. 40.10. (7) The verb κρίειν is
sometimes a profane term for the smearing of objects with oil,
where the Hebrew still has msh in this sense: λάγανα ἄζυμα κεχρισμένα
ἐν ἐλαίῳ Ἐξ. 29.2, ϰυσιαστήριον ὅπως δὲ χρισθῇ ἐν ἐλαίῳ 2 Ρέγ. 1.21, cf.
Ἱερ. 22.14. (8) Once κρίειν translates a form of שָׁמַי 'to ruin', for
which the translator may have read a form of ἤθι πί. 'to ruin', for
which the translator may have read a form of msh: κρίσει τὴν πόλιν
Ἐξ. 43.3.

The compounds of κρίειν are always used in a profane meaning. We
quote only: λάγανα ἄζυμα διακεχρισμένα (msh) Ἐξ. 2.4, κατέχρισεν
(hmr 'to cover') αὐτήν ἀσφαλτοπίσση Ἐξ. 2.3.

The verbal adjective χριστός, as the equivalent of the Hebrew noun
mâšîah is (1) frequently used for the king of Israel: τῷ χριστῷ κυρίου Ἴ
Ῥεγ. 24.7, cf. Ps. 2.2. (2) It sometimes refers to the high priest: ὁ
ἱερεύς ὁ χριστός Ἐξ. 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 ἀπετέθη τῶν χριστῶν μου Ps. 104.15, 1 Παρ.
16.22. (4) By extension the kingly title χριστός becomes an appellation
for Cyrus: τῷ χριστῷ μου Κῦρῳ Ἰς. 45.1, cf. Ανα. 9.25 Θ. It is perhaps
also used to refer to the people of Israel, Ηαβ. 3.13.

Along with χρίας and χρίσμα we find χριστός as a translation of
mîšâh 'anointing' in the expression σεμεν ἡμμίςαη 'oil of anointing'.
The usual and literal translation for this in the Septuagint is: τὸ
ἐλαιον τῆς χρίσεως Ἐξ. 29.21. In addition one twice finds τὸ ἐλαιον τὸ
χριστών Ἐξ. 21.10, 12, which may be intended as an attempt at a less
slavish rendering of the original, and in Exodus sometimes χρίσμα is
used: ἐλαιον χρίσμα ἐγίγνη Ἐξ. 30.25 (bis), τὸ ἐλαιον τοῦ χριστάτος Ἐξ.
29.7; 35.12a, 19; 40.9. One may wonder why this noun is not con-
sistently 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. The objection to this choice is to be found in the fact that in the general language χρίσμα is not a nomen actionis but concrete in the sense of ‘unguent’, ‘coating’. In ἐλαιον χρίσμα ἅγιον, as an over-literal rendering of semen mishat qodes, the meaning ‘unguent’ may be retained but the translation with the genitive τὸ ἐλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος forges the meaning of ‘anointing’. The greater external resemblance may also explain why möshah ‘anointing’ is translated by χρίσμα, with the same result for the meaning: χρίσμα ιερατεΐας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Ex. 40.15. We thus find χρίσμα in the meaning ‘anointing’ but this usage remains confined to a few places in Exodus. To complete the résumé it may be added that χρίσις is the incorrect translation of mishäh ‘portion’ in Lev. 7.35, and χρίσμα of māšāh in Dan. 9.26 LXX Th. Once χρίσμα 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 χρίσμα 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: σῶ δὲ λουσὶ καὶ ἀλείψῃ Ruth 3.3. (2) It translates ἀποθετεον ‘to plaster’ for the coating of a wall: ἀλείφουσιν αὐτὸν Ez. 13.10, cf. 22.28. (3) It is used exceptionally for the sacral anointing of persons although the original text has mš: ἀλείψεις αὐτοὺς, δυ τρόπον ἥλειψας τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ex. 40.15, οἱ ἔρεις οἱ ἡλειμμένοι Num. 3.3. (4) The anointing of the stone by Jacob, for which the Hebrew text has mš, is also a sacral act but the Septuagint translates: ἥλειψας μοι ἐκεῖ στήλην Gen. 31.13.

Of the derivatives we mention ἁλειμμα. It occurs as a profane term for semen, the ‘oil’ of gladness: ἁλειμμα εὐφροσύνης τοῖς πενθοῦσιν Is. 61.3, and, without an equivalent, in the already mentioned translation: ἐλαιον ἁλειμμα χρίσεως ἅγιον Ex. 30.31.

The later translators have usually retained the distinction between χρίειν and ἀλείφειν. Of the derivatives χρίσμα is used once in the sense of ‘anointing’: ἐλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Lev. 21.12 Sm., but elsewhere we find: τὸ ἐλαιον τῆς χρίσεως Ex. 35.8 Sm. Th., ἐλαιον το χριστῶν Lev. 21.12 Th. Aquila, however, clearly shows his intention of

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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. He uses ἀλείφειν in the sacral sense: καὶ ἤλειψεν σὺν τῇ σκηνῇ Lev. 8.10 Aq., cf. Dan. 9.24 Aq., replaces χριστός by ἤλειμμένος 1 Reg. 2.35 Aq., cf. Ps. 27.8; 83.10; 88.39, Dan. 9.26 Aq, and calls the sacred chrism: ἔλαιον ἀλείμματος θεοῦ Lev. 21.12 Aq. There are a few exceptions: κεχρισμένος 2 Reg. 3.39 Aq., εἰς σωτηρίαν σὺν χριστῷ σου Hab. 3.13 Aq., ἀποστρέψῃ 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 ἤλειψέ με Is 61.1 Th., in agreement with Aquila. Three other fragments of uncertain origin may therefore also be attributed to Aquila: ὁ ἀλειφθείς 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 semen: ψωμύν ἦλιμμένον Lev. 8.26 Al., for μῆ: ἤλειμμένος 2 Reg. 1.21 Aq., and for τω: ἤλειφον αὐτούς πῆλα Ez. 22.28 Heb. (ἐπέχριον Sm.). On the contrary, τω is once translated by χρίειν for the coating of a wall, although the Septuagint already had ἐξαλείφειν: 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: δὲ λύσῃ καὶ ἀλείψῃ 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: λύσεις αὐτούς ἐν ὑδατι, καὶ λαβὼν τὰς στολὰς ἔνδυσες Ααρών... καὶ χρίσεις αὐτὸν 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 (smn) but not with rose-oil (smn 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 ἐλαιοῦ καὶ ἐπέχεεν (ysq)

1 See p. 2.
έπι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ...καὶ ἔπευξεν αὐτῷ. Οὔχι νέχρισεν σε κύριος; I Reg. 10.1. A report concerning the anointing of David mentions not the pouring out of oil but only the anointing: καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαμουήλ τὸ κέρας τοῦ ἐλαιοῦ καὶ ἐχρίσεν αὐτόν ib. 16.13. Moses pours the oil over the head of Aaron and anoints him: καὶ ἔπέχεεν Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαιοῦ τῆς χρίσεως ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ααρών καὶ ἐχρίσεν 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 msh, 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 χρίσμα is sometimes used in the meaning of ‘ointment’. On the other hand, άλειφειν and derivatives as translations of swk 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 msh 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: *κατατέμνοντο* *(gdd hitpo.) κατά τὸν ἑδισμὸν 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: ὀνόματος οὐ μὴ ποιήσωσιν *(gdd)* Jer. 16.6, πάσαι χείρες κόψονται *(gedudâh)* ib. 31.37 (48.37), but they are forbidden: ἐπὶ τὰς σφόδρας αὐτῶν οὐ κατατεμούσιν *(srī)* ἐντομίδας *(bârât)* 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): *sryth byd*, and those made with an instrument: *gdyâh bkl*y*, 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 *srī* 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 *srī* 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. Ezechiël refers to this practice. Men approach Jerusalem in order to carry out the divine judgment upon the inhabitants; one of them,

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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: δος το σημειον (tâw) ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἁγιῶν 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‘âqa‘. It occurs once in the Old Testament. Here tattoos are forbidden together with the incisions as signs of mourning: γράμματα στικτά (ktwbt qa‘âqa‘) οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν ὑμῖν Lev. 19.28. The contrast to the incisions at least suggests a different technique.

In rabbinic literature qa‘âqa‘ 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 σημείον (‘ôt) τῷ Καίν 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: ἦσται σοι σημείον (‘ôt) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου καὶ μνημόσυνον πρὸ δοφθαλμῶν 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 εἰμί Is. 44.5, and Yahweh marks Sion in His hand in order that He may never forget it: ἴδου ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν μου ἐξωγράφησα
In the Psalms of Solomon a distinction is made between the sign of the righteous and the sign upon the foreheads of the godless: \(\tau\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\tau\theta\mu\epsilon\iota\) ib. 15.6, \(\tau\gamma\alpha\rho\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\tau\theta\mu\epsilon\iota\) ib. 15.9. 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 \(v\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\) \(\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\).

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 \(t\nu\kappa\) hi. \(t\omega\) 'to make a taw' by \(\sigma\tau\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\iota\nu\) \(\tau\delta\delta\nu\alpha\alpha\iota\) 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.

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: \(\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\nu\tau\delta\) \(\tau\theta\mu\alpha\mu\nu\) \(\epsilon\nu\varepsilon\sigma\tau\iota\mu\iota\nu\) \('\omega\tau\) \(\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\omega\nu\iota\) ib. 12.13.

4. The seal

The Septuagint regularly uses \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) and some derivative compounds to translate \(h\iota\mu\tau\) 'to seal', and \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) for \(h\iota\lambda\alpha\iota\) 'seal', whereas \(d\alpha\kappa\tau\upsilon\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\) is used for \(f\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\) 'ring', especially 'signet-ring'.

In the literal sense \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) is the sealing instrument: \(\epsilon\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\tau\iota\) \(\theta\iota\) \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) \(\tau\alpha\iota\upsilon\iota\) 3 Reg. 20.8, and the seal impression: \(\tau\alpha\) \(\theta\iota\mu\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha\iota\) \(\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) Tob. 9.5.

The verb \(v\sigma\varphi\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\iota\nu\) occurs literally for making the seal im-

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1 Cf the tattooing on the wrist in the cult of Atargatus, above p 194
2 On these texts, see also p 251
3 The Greek Bible versions have twice more \(v\sigma\iota\gamma\iota\mu\alpha\) in an unusual meaning, for ornaments of gold with 'beads' of silver \(v\mu\tau\alpha\) \(v\sigma\gamma\iota\mu\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\) \(h\iota\mu\iota\mu\iota\nu\iota\mu\iota\nu\) Cant 1 11, and for two pieces of 'variegated stuff': \(\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\iota\gamma\iota\varphi\iota\lambda\upsilon\theta\iota\) \(v\sigma\iota\gamma\iota\mu\iota\nu\) \(\tau\alpha\iota\upsilon\iota\) Jgs. 5 30 Al. In the latter text the similarity of sound between \(v\iota\gamma\iota\mu\alpha\) and \(v\sigma\iota\gamma\iota\mu\alpha\) may have influenced the choice of the translator. In the first passage \(v\sigma\iota\gamma\iota\mu\alpha\) seems erroneous for \(v\sigma\iota\gamma\iota\mu\iota\nu\), perhaps on account of the equivalent \(h\iota\mu\iota\mu\iota\nu\iota\mu\iota\nu\) ending on the same vowel
4 Cf also 'This is my \(t\alpha\) '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, τηγή ἐσφραγισμένη Cant. 4.12. It is also used for the placing of a seal upon books, letters, and documents: ἔγραψε βιβλίον...καὶ ἐσφραγίσατο 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: ἐσφράγισας δὲ τὰς ἀνομίας ἐν βαλλαντίῳ Job 14.17, and of precious objects in a treasure chamber: ἐσφράγισε ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι 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: τὸν δακτύλιον σου (hôtâm, τὴν σφραγίδα σου Aq.) καὶ τὸν ὅρμισκον 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 δὲ ἀστρῶν κατασφραγίζει Job 9.7, cf. 37.7 Th. He seals the depths with the seal which bears His name: ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος τῷ...όνοματι 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: ἀποσφράγισμα (σφραγίς Aq. Sm. Th.) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου Jer. 22.24, but Zorobabel He will preserve as a seal on His hand: θήσομαι σε ὡς σφραγίδα 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: τῶν δακτύλων, ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδα ῥύζαν εἰς ὅν ὑπέδειξε 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 ('zqtl) on which was graven the Name' Gitt. 68a.

This seal of God also plays a role in the magic papyri: ὀρκίζω σε, σφραγίς[α θεοῦ, δεν πάντες ὁΛύμ[που] ἀθάνατοι φρέσσο[υσι θεοὶ κ]αὶ δακτύλοις PMag. 3.226 ff., cf. 1.306, and with it the seal of Solomon: ὀρκίζω σε κατά την σφραγίς[ος, ής ἔθετο Σολόμων ἐπὶ τὴν γλώσσαν τοῦ Ἰερεμίου, καὶ ἔλαλησεν 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 σφραγίς 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 sbsw'rw), but not with a seal on his garments (hwtm sbsw'tsw). 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 accidently, 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 ἡγατέρες ἐν αἰχμαλώσει πονηρᾷ, ἐν σφραγίδι δὲ τράχηλος αὐτῶν ἐν ἑπισήμῳ 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 ἄγιασμα κυρίου, is also said to be engraved like a seal: ἐκτύπωμα 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 ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ κοσμών χρυσώ…σφραγίς σμαράγδου Sir. 32.5 f. In a list of ornaments the Hebrew ḫhā‘ ‘fibula’ is translated by σφραγίς Ex. 35.22.

In the Talmud now ḥōtam 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 (ḥōtam sbsw‘rw), nor with the seal on his garments (ḥōtm šḥkswtww)’. 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 (ḥōtm) around its neck not with a seal (ḥōtm) on its covering’ Shabb. 58a.

¹ Sphragis, p. 31, art.cit., ACh 1, 1929, p. 291, and see above, p. 211 ff.
Since σφραγίς is the usual equivalent of ἑδάμ 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 Ζώντος Θεοῦ (cf. Apoc. 7.2), φυλαξεὶ τὸν φοροῦντα, and: σφραγίς Σολομώνος. ἀποδίωξεν πάν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος. 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\(^{4}\) B.Mes 39b.

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 (τῇ) many coins with the one seal (ἐντὸν) and they are like one another; but the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, has stamped (τῇ) every man with the seal (ἐντὸν) of the first man, yet not one of them is like the other' Sanh. 4.5.

(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 ἑντὸν that which is enclosed under seal.\(^6\) It is first said that Yahweh seals the sins 'in a bag': ἑφράγισες δὲ μου τὰς ἀνομίας ἐν βαλλαντίῳ Job 14.17, and then quite simply that one seals sins and thus puts an end to them: σφραγίσαι ἄμαρτίας Dan. 9.24a Th. (τὰς ἁμαρτίας σταυρίσαι LXX, τελειώσωσκε ἄμαρτίαν Aq.). The vision and the prophecy will be sealed in the sense that they will be ended or confirmed by their completion: σφραγίσαι δικαίων καὶ

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1 For this procedure, see p. 164 Concerning σύμβολον, see p. 214 ff
2 Texts and representations in G Schlumberger, Anulettes byzantins anciens, REG 5, 1892, p. 73 ff., and P Perdrizet, Σφραγίς Σολομώνος, REG 16, 1903, p. 42 ff
3 Perdrizet, et al 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
 imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing

Of thieves who hide during the day the Septuagint says: έσφράγισαν εαυτούς (hittemû lâmô) Job 24.16. The form hehêtítim 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., ἐσφράγικεν 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: ὅν πιστὴ θανάτου σφραγίς ἐτελέσωσεν 4 Macc. 7.15. The root htm 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, insfirmitas 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 ἐπί στόμα μου φυλακήν καὶ ἐπί τῶν χειλέων μου σφραγίδα πανούργον; Sir. 22.27. Later, however, hōtâm is used for sexual innocence: ‘How many young maidens in Israel are in their seal (htm) until the hour that they come under the canopy!’ Yalk.Num. 766.

It may still be noted that in rabbinic sources the root htm 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 (whhtm, lit. ‘seals’) (the Hallel) with the Ge’ullah’ Pes. 10.6, ‘At each (prayer) one says the concluding benedictions (htwmyhn, 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 (htwmh, lit. ‘sealed’)’ Gitt. 60a.

(5) The seal of circumcision. — The Old Testament is not yet familiar with the metaphor of the seal of circumcision. Yahweh says to Abraham that circumcision will be a ‘sign’ of the covenant: ἐν σημείῳ (’ōt) διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν Gen. 17.11. As far as can be judged from the use of te’emrit ‘sign’ instead of mähâlam ‘seal’ in the Ethiopic version and of signum in the Latin version of the Hebrew or

1 Other translators read forms of the root tmm ‘to be complete’, ‘to be finished’, whence they use τελεῖν and derivatives.
2 Cf. JASTROW s.v.
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: ὃτι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαιῶν ἐς 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 σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πιστείς τῆς ἐν τῇ ἁκροβυστίᾳ 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 (htwm) 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 (hwotm) 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 (hwotmw)' Jelam. 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 ḫālān, 'bridegroom' and may have thought of circumcision as a seal: ἐσφράγισε τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς Ex. 4.26 Heb.⁴

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) quae fidem thesauros auerunt, in the German translation by Violet 'Es' noch versiegelt 'der Schatz der Glauben'.
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, θησαυρίζοντας(-όντων) πίστιν was altered to θησαυρίζοντας(-όντων) πίστιν. 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 χειρα(ς) ἐπιτίθεναι and χειρών ἐπιθέσις 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: ἀψάμενοι 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' ἐμὲ. Apoc. 1.17. In these texts we have a simple gesture of touching, which can be indicated by ἀπτεσθαι and δεξιὰν τιθέναι. The expression χείρας 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 χείρας ἐπιθῇ αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεύξῃται Mt. 19.13, ἐπιθείς τὰς χείρας αὐτοῖς ib. 19.15, ἵνα αὐτῶν ἀπτηται 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 ἀπτηται Mk. 10.13, ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτά κατευλόγει τιθείς τὰς χείρας ἐπ' αὐτά ib. 10.16.

In these texts ἀπτεσθαι and χείρας (ἐπι)τιθ-έναι 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 χείρας 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 χείρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς 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 ἀπτεσθαι and χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι are used as synonyms. They

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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: ἡφαίστο 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 ἐπιτίθεις Lk. 4.39, and a leper by touching: ἐκτείνας τὴν χείρα ἡφαίστο αὐτῶν Mt. 8.3. He raises Jairus’ daughter to life by taking her hand: ἐπιθέες τῆς χειράς αὐτῆς ib. 9.18, ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθήες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς (v.l. ἐθήκε ἧπαξ 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: ἐπιθέες τὰς χεῖρας Mk. 6.5, the deaf and dumb man of the Decapolis by touching him with the use of spittle: ἵνα ἐπιθηθῆναι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ib. 7.32, ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὅτα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἡφαίστο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ ib. 7.33, the blind man at Bethsaida by an imposition of hands with the use of spittle: ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἠψήται ib. 8.22, πτύσας εἰς τὰ δυσματα αὐτοῦ, ἐπιθέες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ib. 8.23, πάλιν ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῦ ib. 8.25, and other blind people by touching them: ἡφαίστο 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, ἐπέχρισεν 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 αὐτῆς τὰς χεῖρας Lk. 13.13, the man afflicted with dropsy by taking him by the hand ἐπιλαβάμενος λάσπατο αὐτῶν ib. 14.4, and the servant of the high priest by touching his ear: ἄφαμενος τοῦ ὅτι τὸν λάσπατο αὐτῶν ib. 22.51. To this list one might add that He touched the

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: ἡψατο 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: ἵνα μόνον ἡψωναι τοῦ χραστεδοῦ τοῦ ἰματίου αὐτοῦ· καὶ δοσι ἡψαντο 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: ἤλειφον ἑλαίῳ πολλοῖς ἀφρώστοις καὶ ἐθεράπευον 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: δοὺς δὲ αὐτῇ χείρα ib. 9.41. Ananias cures Paul's blindness by an imposition of hands: ἐπιθέσει αὐτῷ χείρας (v.l. χείρα) ib. 9.12, ἐπιθείς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰς χείρας ib. 9.17. Paul raises from the dead Eutychus who has fallen from the window, by lying upon him: ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καί συμπεριλαβών... ib. 20.10, and on Malta he cures the father of Publius by an imposition of hands: ἐπιθείς τὰς χείρας αὐτῶ 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: χείρας ἐπιθησουσιν Mk. 16.18.

In addition to χείρας ἐπιθείναι 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 b'yad. 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. 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, ἀπτεσθαι, 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, χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι is a rather solemn expression. The object χείρας 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 χείρας 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 προσευχάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι 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 mšr 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 ἀπτεσθαί and χείρας 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

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1 There are no grounds for supposing that προσευχάσθωσαν 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.

(i) The reconciliation rite. — After baptism the Christian is required
to lead a sinless life but contrasted with this high ideal is the recog­
nition that all make many mistakes, Jas. 3.2. There is even the danger
of relapse or complete apostacy, 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 reconcili­
ation.

In his advice to Timothy he warns him to be extremely careful in
connection with the imposition of hands: χείρας ταχέως μηδὲν ἐπιτίθει,
μηδὲ κοινωνεῖ ἀμαρτίαις ἄλλοτρίαις 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 ἔλεγχε 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 ἄλλοτρίαις ib. 5.22, now
has its ordinary meaning of sharing in the sins of another by main­
taining 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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 μηδενὶ in the admonition χείρας ταχέως μηδενὶ 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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

² See p. 321 ff. and 370 ff.
³ See p. 227 ff.
normal gesture of touching performed with one hand. The plural χειρας 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, χειρας επιτιθέναι, χειρων επίθεσις, an anointing, χρειν, 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’, ‘confering’, and ‘receiving of the Spirit’, τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχείν, 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 ἐπετίθεσαν τὰς χείρας ἐπ' αὐτούς, καί ἐλάμβανον πνεῦμα ἄγιον 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 χειρας ἤλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον ἐπ' αὐτούς ib. 19.6. They speak in many tongues and prophesy.

To these passages the traditional explanation adds another: βαπτισμών διδαχής, επιθέσεως τε χειρων 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 Handaufliegung, Münster 1951.
3 See p. 30.
is found in Paul: ó βεβαιῶν ὡμάς σὺν ἡμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς Θεός, ὃ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοῦς τὸν ἀρραβώνα 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 άγίου 1 Jn. 2.20, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ χρίσμα δ 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 χρίσμα 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι and χειρών 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 opinion\(^4\) 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 χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι and

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1. See p. 258.
2. See p. 340 ff. and also 318.
3. See p. 353 and 357.
5. For this manner of anointing, see p. 241 f. and 351.
χειρών 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...χρίεις ἡμᾶς θεὸς, ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς 2 Cor. 1.21 f. He returns to this twice without mentioning the anointing: πιστεύτωσαν ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἀγίῳ, ὥς ἐστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν Eph. 1.13, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν οἴ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως ib. 4.30. 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.

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. 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. 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: το πνεύμα ἐχεῖν, το πνεύμα διδόναι, το πνεύμα λαμβάνειν, and ἡ δωρεά 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.
Peter holds out the prospect of the ‘gift’ of the Spirit to all those who have themselves baptized: λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος Acts 2.38. The ‘gift’ is poured out over the family of Cornelius: ἡ δωρεά τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος ἔκχευται ib. 10.45. It is the same gift as the Apostles received on Pentecost: τὴν ἰσην 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 ‘confering’ of the Spirit is: τὸ πνεῦμα διδόναι Lk. 11.13, Acts 5.32; 8.18; 15.8, hence τὴν ἰσην δωρεὰν διδόναι ib. 11.17. The ‘reception’ of the Spirit is expressed by: τὴν δόναμιν or τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἄγιου 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 ἐκχείν ib. 2.33, τὴν δωρεὰν ἐκχείν ib. 10.45, that He ‘descends’: ἐπιπίπτειν ib. 1.8, ἐρχεσθαι 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 Ἰκαστος.. καὶ λήμψεσθε 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 ἄγιου πλησθῆσαι Lk. 1.15, cf. 1.41, 67. The expression, however, recurs in the report concerning the descent of Spirit at Pentecost: ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἄγιου Acts 2.4. By the imposition of Ananias’ hands Paul is cured and filled with the Spirit: διὰ τῆς ἁναβλέψης καὶ πλησθῆς πνεύματος ἄγιου 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: πλησθῆς πνεύματος ἄγιου ib. 4.8; 13.9, as are the faithful united in prayer, whereby even the Pentecost phenomena are repeated: ἐπλήσθησαν ἄπαντες τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος ib.

¹ Cf. Elfers, 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 πληροφορία and πλήρης. The faithful of Antioch in Pisidia were filled with the Holy Spirit at the departure of Paul and Barnabas: επληροφορήθη οἱ πισιδιαί καὶ πνεύματος ἄγιου ib. 13.52. Christ is full of the Spirit after the descent of the Spirit at His baptism: πλήρης πνεύματος ἄγιου Lk. 4.1, and likewise other persons baptized: πλήρεις πνεύματος Acts 6.3, cf. 6.5; II.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 πνεύμα (παράκλητον) διδόναι Jn. 3.34; I.14.16, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος διδόναι I Jn. 3.24; 4.13, τοῦ πνεύματος λαμβάνειν Jn. 7.39, τὸ πνεύμα λαμβάνειν ib. 4.17, τὸ χρίσμα λαμβάνειν I Jn. 2.27, and further: δεῖν ἐκδηγή στὸ παράκλητον δὲν ἕγιν τέρμας Jn. 15.26, cf. 16.7. Jesus alludes to this experience when speaking to the Samaritan woman: εἶ δὲς τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ ib. 4.10. John clearly states that the gift in question remains with the faithful: χρίσμα ἔχετε i Jn. 2.20, whence: μένει (sc. τὸ πνεύμα) καὶ ἐν υἱόν έσται Jn. 14.17, διδάσκει πάντα καὶ υπομνήσει ib. 14.26, τὸ χρίσμα...μένει...διδάσκει I 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 πνεύμα ἄγιον 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) πνεύμα (τὸν ἁρπαγμὸν τοῦ πνεύματος) διδόναι occurs five times, (τὸ) πνεύμα 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: δως τὸν ἁρπαγμὸν 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: ή ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκχέχυται 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 θεον τὸν καὶ διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς I Thess. 4·8, partly quoted from Ez. 37·14, and: οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας ἢ 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: θεὸς... δόσῃ 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 ἠλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ I Cor. 2·12, εἰ πνεῦμα ἐπέρευσεν δε οὐκ ἠλάβετε 2 Cor. 11·4. In three other passages, however, the reception of the Spirit is linked with justification and faith: εἰ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἠλάβετε ἢ εἰ ἀκοής πίστεως; Gal. 3·2, οὖν ἐπιχορηγημένοι ἡμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεως ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ ἔργων νόμου ἢ εἰ ἀκοής πίστεως; ib. 3·5. Εἰ 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: διὸ δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ, ἐξαπέστειλεν οὖ 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: οὖ γάρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας...όλλα ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας 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, he uses a technical expression to add immediately that the Spirit is also ‘poured out’ over us: οὖ 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 1 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 ἔστε ἐν σαρκί ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἶκεi ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δὲ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου 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...οἶκεi 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

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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 χείρας 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 δὲ, ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρας...οὓς καταστήσομεν Acts 6.3. The faithful set them before the apostles who lay their hands upon them: ἐξελέξαντο...οὓς ἐστήσαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ προσευχάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας ib. 6.5 f. The term for the election is ἐκλέγεσθαι, for the appointment καθιστάναι, and for the rite χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι.

1 See p. 230 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 ἐστήσαν. 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 Didache³ contains an exhortation to the appointment of deacons: χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἐκ πολλοὺς 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.
⁴ See also p. 275 ff.
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. While the task of the Seven is described by διακονέων τραπέζας Acts 6.2, one also finds διακονία τοῦ λόγου of the apostles themselves, ib. 6.4. In actual fact, διακονέων 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 κοπιώντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νουθετοῦντας Thess. 5.12. He distinguishes those who help from those who administer: ἀντιλήμψεις, κυβερνήσεις Cor. 12.28, those who contribute and do acts of mercy from those who exhort and direct: ὁ παρακαλῶν, ὁ μεταδίδων, ὁ προϊστάμενος, ὁ ἔλεων 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 ηγούμενοι 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 leaping on of hands of the elders. If this is so, it

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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 laying 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. 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. 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 μνηπι. 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, 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: ἄφορίσατε δὲ μοί τὸν Βαρναβᾶν καὶ Σαῦλον Acts 13.2. The verb ἄφορίζειν corresponds to the Hebrew bil 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 ἁφορίζειν Lev. 20.26, and διαστέλλειν 3 Reg. 8.53. Paul is conscious of his vocation and his separation unto the gospel: ἄφορίσας με Gal. 1.15, cf. Rom. i.1, Is. 6.8; 49.1, Jer. 1.5. This vocation is communicated to Paul and Barnabas while they are fasting in Antioch: ἄφορίσατε δὲ 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. i.1; i.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: χειροτονηθείς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησίων 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.
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 recommen-
dation 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 encourage­
ment given him by Paul twice leads to the mention of the rite: μετὰ
ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου I 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 zeqênîm from the Talmud
Sanh. 13b, cf. Tosephta Sanh. 1.1, he sees zeqênîm 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 zeqênîm refers
to a collective body and its Greek equivalent is τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου in 1
Tim. 4.14.1

In support of this explanation J. Jeremías points out that πρεσβυτέ-
ρ(ε)ιον has the meaning of ‘honour’ or ‘privilege of elder’ in Sus. 50 Th.
v.l. 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’: διὰ σοι
δέδωκεν δ’ θεὸς τὸ πρεσβεῖον (B 88 410, πρεσβυτέρ(ε)ιον reliqui) Sus. 50

Th. The codex Vaticanus (B) has a text which is probably older than Theodotion and has no connection with this translator. The reading πρεσβείον 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'.

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

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 (διδάσκαλοι) 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 (διδάσκαλοι) again in Antioch at a following visit,
ib. 15.35. Paul calls himself a preacher, apostle, and teacher I 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 εκλέγεσθαι 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 χείρας
έπιτιθ-έναι, χειρών έπίθεσις. By the addition of του 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 as­
sumption 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 preeminently 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 Ναζαρέτ, ὡς ἐχρισαν 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 χυτόου ἐπ’ ἐμέ, οὐ εἶνεκεν ἐχρισῶν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι 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 ἄγιον παιδά σου Ἰησοῦν, δὲν ἐχρισας 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 ἄγιον παιδά σου and the paraphrase δὲν ἐχρισας 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 ἐχρισας refers to an

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2 On the connection between dying and being baptized, see p 53 ff.
3 Cf. de la Potterie, artic., 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 τούτο ἐχρισάν σε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλίασεως Ἰερ. 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 δν ἐχρισάσας and ως ἐχρίσεν 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: τούτον γαρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός Ἰν. 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 το πνεύμα διδόναι for this descent of

¹ See also p. 263.
² See p. 208, 251 and 288.
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: βαπτίσθης ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ βαπτίσματος 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 διδόναι.

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 ἀλείψαί σου τὴν κεφαλήν Mt. 6.17. Jesus' feet are anointed by the sinful woman: ἔλεψεν 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: ἐλθοῦσαι ἔλεψωσιν αυτόν 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 τους οφθαλμοὺς Jn. 9.11, cf. 9.6 v.l. The Twelve anoint the sick: ἔλειψαν ἐλαίῳ Mk. 6.13, and so later do the presbyters: ἔλειψαντες ἐλαίῳ Jas. 5.14. Here the anointing has become a rite and the verb a sacral term.

(3) The sacral terms χρίειν and χρίσμα are reserved for anointing with the Holy Spirit. Paul uses it for a material anointing of the faithful: δ..χρίσας ἡμᾶς ὁ δεύτερος 2 Cor. 1.21. Referring to this rite John speaks of the Holy Ghost metaphorically as χρίσμα 'anointing oil' 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.
The current Greek terms for physical marks applied to the body according to various techniques recur in the New Testament. Apart from these terms, ορναγις and ορναγιζειν come to be used for the Christian mark of ownership.

Paul uses άποκόπτειν 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: δεξελον και άποκόπτειν 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. Later Paul with a play on words calls circumcision an incision: βλεπετε την κατατομην. ημεες γαρ έσμεν η περιτομη Phil. 3.2 f.

Paul also writes to the Galatians that he bears the ‘tattoos’ of Jesus on his body: έγω γαρ τα στίγματα του Ιησου εν τω σώματι 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. 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.

For all this one may consider the possibility that Paul uses στίγματα, if not literally for tattoos, probably in a metaphorical sense with an

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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 καυτηριά-ζειν metaphorically in order to say that the consciences of the false teachers are branded: ψευδολόγων, καυσαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἑαυτὴν συνείδησιν. 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': ονόματα βλασφημίας. The latter also bears upon her forehead the name 'Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations': ετι τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς ὄνομα γεγραμμένον. The beast from the sea makes all, small and great, rich and poor, free and slave, have a χαραγμα in the right hand or on the forehead: ἵνα δώσιν αὐτοῖς χαραγμα 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 ἐχων τὸ χαραγμα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἄριθμον τοῦ ὄνοματος 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 χαραγμα is commonly translated by a general word like 'mark', but a χαραγμα 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 καυτηρια- ζειν 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.

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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.

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. As an example of persecution this event was appropriate to be referred to in apocalyptic literature.

It is not only the beast and its 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: Ἠχὼν δύναμα γεγραμμένον Αποκ. 19.12. The words ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’ are written upon His robe and upon His thigh (standard?): Ἠχει ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ δύναμα 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: Ἠχουσαὶ τὸ δύναμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δύναμα 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 δύναμα 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: σφραγίζει θεοῦ ζῶντος Αποκ. 7.2. He is charged to mark the servants of God with this seal upon their foreheads: σφραγίζωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν ib. 7.3. One hundred and forty-four thousand are marked with the seal: ἐσφραγισμένοι 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 Ἠχουσίν 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 δύναμα continues to be used for the distinguishing mark of the elect, ib. 14.1; 22.4. The use of δύναμα 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 σφραγιζείν 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 σφραγίσιν επτά ib. 5.1. The pit into which the dragon is cast is closed with a key and sealed: ἐκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἑπάνω 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 σφραγιζείν 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:

εχων την σφραγιδα ταυτην 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: σφράγισαν & 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: τούτο 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 ἠμ 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 έστε 1 Cor. 9.2, and John even uses σφραγίζειν ὅτι in the sense of ‘to confirm’ that God is true: ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι Θεός ἀληθής ἐστιν Jn. 3.33.

1 Cf. A. Deissmann, op.cit., p. 65 ff., L. Radermacher, Σφραγίζεσθαι Rm. 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 χειράς έπιτιθέναι 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, άλείφειν, 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) reconcili­
ation, (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 Testa­
ment 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.

I. 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. 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

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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 χειρα(ς) ἐπιτίθεναι 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: εις χειροθεσίαν εὐλογίας Paed. 1.12.3. By an imposition of hands the apostle Thomas takes leave of a newly married couple: ἐπιθείς αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ... ἀπήλθεν Act. Thom. 10, and of a community: ἐπιθείς 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: ἐσφραγίσε τε τους πάσχοντας τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταύρου Vit. Ant. 80, cf. Mark the Deacon Vit. Porph. 45.

Along with χεῖρας ἐπιτίθεναι Origen uses ἀπτεσθαι and ἀφῇ 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 Ἡσυ, μόνον χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέντος... αὐτοῖς In Matth. 15.6. This touch has a beneficial effect upon the children and wards off evil: δύναμιν ἐναφείς 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: δοσις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτός αὐτοῦ ἀψηται Mart. Pol. 13.2. A woman raised from the dead by the apostle Thomas fearfully seeks protection by touching his clothes: ἐνυδμάτων αὐτοῦ ἢπτετο Act. Thom. 54, cf. Act. Jo. 62.

In these texts we must take it that χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιτίθεναι 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. 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: ἐπιθεὶς αὕτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας εὐλόγησεν ἀυτοῖς Act. Thom. 49, cf. 27. 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: ἐνθ-α δή καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχόντο Vit.Const. 4.61.


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 αὐτούς καὶ ποιήσας κατηχομένους ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ Vit.Porph. 31, cf. 62, 100.

The Latin equivalents assume the same meaning. In a pseudo-Cyprianean 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 postulavit Jud.Incr. 8. It is a well-known rite at the time of Augustine: cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte hodie lamquam 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. 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: τίνι γάρ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐπιθήσει χείρα; τίνι δὲ εὐλογήσει; οὐ τὴν γυναίκα τὴν κεκοσμημένην, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἄλλοτριὰς τρίχας, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κεφαλήν 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: felicitatem eius matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio et obsignat benedictie Ux. 2.8.6.

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. 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 ὄμιλαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς 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

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3 See p. 414.
is still present. Later this is less probable, since blessing is then received with bowed head: κλίνατε 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: conuiuo dignaris, ex quo Iudas ad praditionem 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...κλίνατε 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, κλίναντες εὐλογεῖσθωσαν ib. 8.8.4. Serapion offers a prayer for the imposition of hands at the blessing of the catechumens, entitled: χειροθέσαλα κατηχομένων 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 αὐτὸν 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: κλίνατε 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...benedicit fideles. et post hoc exeunte episcopo de intro cancellos omnes ad manum ei accedunt, et ille eos uno et uno benedicet extiens 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 χείρα ἐκτείνομεν, δέσποτα, καὶ δεόμεθα τὴν χείρα τὴν θείαν καί ζώσαν 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 χείρα 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 χείρας 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 ἀπτεσθαι and κρατεῖν along with χείρας 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 ἀπτεσθαι occurs in apocryphal texts. Christ is told to raise a young man from the dead by touching his breast: ἡψατο τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ Ev.Thom. (Gr. A.) 17.1. By touching her forehead the apostle John brings a woman back to life: ανεγείροντος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτής 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: εκράτησεν του νεανίσκου τήν πεπληγότα πόδα Ev.Thom. (Gr. A.) 10.2.

More usual are χειρα(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 τάς χειρας αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖς μόνον καὶ εὐξάμενος ἱάσατο Clem.Hom. 8.24.2.² On one occasion we find the derived verb: τὸν πολύν ὄγλον χειροθετήσας πρὸς ἱασίν ib. 19.25.1. For χειρών ἐπίθεται Irenaeus may be quoted in a report concerning miraculous cures in

² See also p. 291 and 305.
Elsewhere the object occurs in the singular. Concerning the cure of a leper by Christ Origen says: τὸ γὰρ ἐπιθέσειν τὴν χείρα τῇ λέπρᾳ Ἰν. 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 χείρα αὐτοῦ δ 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 εἰπεν αὐτῇ ... καὶ ἐπιθείς τὴν χείρα αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐτῆς χείρι εἶπεν ... καὶ εὐθέως ἐλκύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν χείρα αὐτῆς ἀναπηδήσασα ἐκαθέσθη ib. 54. Here χείρα ἐπιθέσειν 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 χειρών ἐπιβολαῖς Div.Salv. 34.3; and in Eusebius when he speaks of cures performed by the apostle Thaddaeus at Edessa: τίθημι τὴν χείρα μου ἔπι σε Hist. 1.13.17. εὔχας τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβών έθεραπεύθη 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
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deletes it in his German edition. 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. The use of 'alaba 'to sign' instead of hatama 'to seal' does not contradict this since both verbs are used in Ethiopic versions as the equivalents of σφραγίζειν.

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: και εἶπεν τῷ νεοτέρῳ σφραγίσας αὐτόν Act.Thom. 54, ‘And he sealed (htm) him with the cross’ ib. p. 194 W.

(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, Gespräche Jesu, Leipzig 1910, 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 htmam is not to be expected here on account of its connotation of ‘to close’. The noun hatam, 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 aethiopicae, 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 ἑλαιὸν but not χρίσμα 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. For the second century we do find the blessing of the bread of the Eucharist and of an oil called ἑλαιὸν in Theodotus who mentions it as a custom prevailing among the Valentinians: καὶ ὁ ξύρος καὶ τὸ ἑλαιὸν ἀγιάζεται Exe. 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 ἑλαιὸν 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 υδώρ, καὶ τὸ ἔξορκιζόμενον καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα γινόμενον ib. 82.2.

Hippolytus transmits a prayer for the blessing of the oil following upon the celebration of the Eucharist. In the old Latin version the text reads: ut oleum hoc sanctificans das deus sanctitatem ut enhibus et percipientibus, unde unxisti reges sacerdotes et profetas, sec et omnibus gustantibus confortationem et sanitatem utentibus illud praebet Trad. 5.2.

The term oleum for the oil of the sick corresponds with ἑλαιὸν 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 ff., whence the original text may be restored as follows: περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐωδίας (stinoufe C, τοῦ μύρου Const) οὕτως εὐχρηστάται. Εὐχρηστότατον σοι, πάτερ, (C, θεός δημιουργε τῶν ἑλῶν, καὶ Const) νπέρ τῆς εὐωδίας (stinoufe C) (τοῦ μύρου add Const) καὶ νπέρ τοῦ θεοκράτου αἵόνιος (om C), οὗ εὐγνώμονας ἡμῖν δία Ἰησοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς (uloi 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 stinoufe 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 stinoufe 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 ν. We then find in the text as restored above an archaic prayer concerning the aroma which the Christians are according to Paul Χρίστου εὐωδία ἐμεν το θεό 2 Cor 2 15. With the Constitutor εὐωδία and ἠθανατος εἰλών evoked the idea of the postbaptismal anointing with fragrant oil, cf Const 7 44 1 ff, and he adapted the texts in his usual manner. Cf also F X Funk-K BLEMLER, Die apostolischen Vater, Tubingen 1924, p XX, PETRSON, art cit, RVAC 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. DANIÉLOU, RSR 47, 1959, p 66 ff.

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 utentibus for the external use. For the first utentibus the Ethiopic version has ‘to those who are anointed’ Stat.Ap. 22 (1.23). The translator thus read χριομένοις in the Greek original instead of χρωμένοις, wrongly, as it seems, since the Latin text provides a better train of thought than the Ethiopic. 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 ἀλείψειν.

For the rest, the two prayers for the blessing of the oil preserved by Serapion show just as little sharp distinction. We find ἀλείψεις in the first and χρίειν in the second. The first again follows the celebration of the Eucharist under the title: εὐχή περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἐλαιών καὶ ὑδάτων 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: διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῆ ich. 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: εὐχή εἰς ἑλαιὸν νοσοῦντων καὶ ἄρτον ἔπι τὸ ἑλαιὸν τοῦτο, ἵνα γένηται τὸις χριομένοις ἡ μεταλαμβάνουσιν τῶν κτισμάτων σου ἀποβολήν 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: ἁγίασον τὸ ύδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐλαιόν Const. 8.29.3.

Finally we find ἀλείψειν and not χρίειν in a few texts which mention the practice of the anointing of the sick.

1 But he was right in using qabe’a ‘to smear’ instead of the sacral maseba ‘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: \( \text{άλείψας} \ \text{άυτήν} \ \text{έλαιφ} \ \text{άγίω} \ \text{θεράπευσον} \ \text{άπο} \ \text{τῶν} \ \text{έλκων} \ \text{Act.Thom. 67}. \) The terms \( \text{άλείφειν} \) and \( \text{έλαιον} \) 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 \( \text{χείρα} \ \text{ἐπιτιθέω} \) for the imposition of hands as the gesture of the wonder-worker, \( \text{έλαιον} \) and \( \text{άλειφειν} \) 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: \( \text{παντὶ} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{χείρα} \ \text{ἐπετίθει} \ \text{ή} \ \text{έλαιον} \ \text{εὐλογήσας} \ \text{ἐδίδου}, \ \text{πάσης} \ \text{ἀπαλλάττεσθαι} \ \text{ἄρρωστια} \ \text{Hist.Laus. 12.1}. \) 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: \( \text{έλαίῳ} \ \text{άγίῳ} \ \text{άλειφων} \ \text{ταῖς} \ \text{εαυτοῦ} \ \text{χερσί} \ \text{ib. 18.11}. \) Sozomen again has \( \text{χρίειν} \) for a cure performed by Egyptian monks: \( \text{έλαιῳ} \ \text{τοῦ} \ \text{χρίσαν} \ \text{Hist. 6.20.6}, \) and Chrysostom for the use of the oil by the faithful themselves: \( \text{βσοι} \ \text{μετὰ} \ \text{πίστεως} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{εὐκαίρως} \ \text{έλαίῳ} \ \text{χρισάμενοι} \ \text{νοσήματα} \ \text{έλυσαν} \ \text{In Matth. 32.6}. \)

For the Latin texts it must be remarked that \textit{unguere} is the equivalent of both \( \text{άλειφειν} \) and \( \text{χρίειν} \) so that the distinction lapses. The usual term for the oil is \textit{oleum}. Tertullian mentions the gratitude of the emperor Septimius Severus, the father of Caracalla, for a cure performed by the Christian procurator Proculus: \textit{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 \textit{σφραγίς} and \textit{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 \textit{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. 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 episcoopo 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, cuui est chrisma conficere. nam paenitentibus istud infundere 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 meanings\(^1\) 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 impositionem_ Didasc. 3.8.5, cf. 3.8.1 f. Serapion preserves a prayer for the sick under the title: _χειροθεσία νοσούντων_ 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: _αἴροϋνται μάλλον οὖσιν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἣ χείρα 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 revaluerit 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

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\(^{1}\) 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 extremae unctionis_, Regensburg 1907, p. 40 ff., and A. Malvy, _Extrême-unction 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. 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. 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 ἀποτεθάναι and only once χείρας 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. cit., 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 γάρ 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι, 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 δαίμονοντας καὶ νόσοις ἐγκατελημένους αὐτῶ προσφέρεσθαι, προσενεχθείσα δὲ τὰς χείρας ἐπιθείς καὶ προσευξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν υγιαίνοντας Clem.Hom. 10.26.1.

Serapion’s prayers for the blessing of the oil of the sick, in which we found ἀλείψεως 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: ὡς πᾶς πυρετός καὶ πᾶν δαίμόνιον καὶ πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγή Euch. 17.2, cf. 29.1. In the Apostolic Constitutions the same is asked in a prayer for the blessing of water and oil: δος δύναμιν ὧγειας ἐμποτικῆς, νόσων ἀπελαστικῆς, δαίμονων φυγαδευτικῆ 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.cit., 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 χείρας ἐπιτι&έναι and ἄλειψειν 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: ἐπιθέεις οὖν αὐτῷ χείρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας... ἄλειψας ἄλειψω ἄγιω καὶ ἐπιχέας ὀδωρ 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 vulgaribus enim non dicimus – aut a daemoniis aut a valetudinibus 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 percultur diffidentia signandi statim et adiurandi et unguendi (unguendi MS., ungendi ed.princ., ungaedi, ingerendi, ingerendi 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 inuiti 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 vinctos et tremere captiuos quos tu suspicis et veneraris 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 vehementius 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 praebat...tertium adversus daemones manus impositione consummam* Pass. Proc. 1. 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 vel diacono possint aut debeant consignare* (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 vel a presbytero vel 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 *αλείφειν*. 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. 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 τούτο νηστείαι, δεήσεις, εὐχαί χειρῶν (εὐχαί χειρῶν MSS., εὐχαί, ἐπάρσεις, and θέσεις χειρῶν corr.), γονυκλισίαι Exc. 84. The

1 *Exorzismus*, p. 4 ff.
proposed corrections are unnecessary: εὐχαί 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. 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: διὸ ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐριον ημετέρων ἄρεξασθε καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν χειροθετείσθε 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. 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 ἐλαιον καὶ ιδωρ επί τὸ αὐτό... ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τῶν τελειομένων...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 bath 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 ἐλαιον. 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. 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 addituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompaet 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 urba profitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompe 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 ethnios. si conversi ad dominum uenire voluerint, habent utique regulam ueritatis quam dominus praecepto diuino mandavit apostolis dicens: ite, in nomine meo manum imponite, daemonia expellete (cf. Mt. 10.8; Mk. 16.17 f.). et alio loco: ite et docete gentes tinguentes eae in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti (Mt. 28.19). ergo primo per manus impositionem 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 χειράς επιτίθεναι or χειροθετείν 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.
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 С.) 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 divina 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. 338 and 389.
and ἀλειψέως are the terms for the prebaptismal anointing; the oil is called ἀλειμμα: εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀλειμμα τῶν βαπτιζόμενων Euch. 22 tit., ἀλείφομεν τῷ ἁλειμματί τοῦτῳ ib. 22.1, ἀποκαλύψαι μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἁλείμματος τοῦτου καὶ ἀποθεραπεύσαι...πάν σημεῖον ἁμαρτίας...ινα...διὰ τῆς ἁλείψεως ταύτης ἀναπλασθέντες...ἐξισχύσουσιν κατανικήσαι λοιπόν τάς προσβάλλουσας 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 ἁλείφειν for the prebaptismal anointing can now also be established in the Mystagogical Catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, but the oil is termed ἐλαιόν: εἶτα ἀποδυθέντες, ἐλαίῳ ἁλείψεθαι ἐπορκιστῷ, ἀπ' ἀκρῶν τριγών 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 oleounctionis (msh’ dmsyhwt’) unguendae sunt (msh) 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 γυναικῶς ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐλαιῷ, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἡ διάκονος ἁλείψει αὐτὰς Const. 3.16.2. It is not immediately clear whether χρίσει or ἁλείψει was the term used in the Didascalia for the anointing by the deaconess, but contrary to Funk in his edition we must consider ἁλείψει 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.\footnote{See below, this page.} The oil may then in the Greek original of the Didascalia have been termed ἑλαίον ἀλέίψεως 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: ἄλλα μόνον ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς χρίει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐν τρόπον οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐχρίσαντο... οὕς οὖν, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖνος 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 which 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.\footnote{See p. 361.} 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, ἑλαίον 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.\footnote{See p. 344 f.} 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 αὐτούς τῷ σῷ λουτρῷ καὶ ἀλείψας αὐτούς τῷ σῷ ἑλαίῳ 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
said' ib. p. 166 W., λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ ἐλαιὸν καὶ καταχέας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλειψας 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 ἄλειψειν. 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 ἄλειψαι (msh) αὐτὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλευσεν (msh) τὸν Οὐαζάνην ἄλειψας (msh) δὲ αὐτοὺς κατήγαγεν εἰς δῶρ ib. 157. Persons ask for this anointing, or for the anointing and the bath, as for the seal: δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγίδα (rwsm) ἱκουσάμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος διὸ ὁ θεός δὲν κηρύσσεις διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγίδος (rwsm') ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ὁμοία πρόβατα ib. 26, cf. 49, 87, 118 ff., 131, 150 ff.

A few other Greek texts have ἄλειψειν 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 ἢλειψέ με ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἔδωκε μοι ράβδον. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐλευσε με ἁθαρω, καὶ ἐφώμισεν με ἄρτον καὶ άγιον ἄρτον Test.Lev. 8.4 f. The sequence of the rites is the East Syrian and ἄλειψειν the proper term for the prebaptismal anointing.1

In another late text king Bulpharmnus asks for the seal. After disrobing he receives from the bishop the anointing and baptism: δέομαι, δότε μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα... δὲ ἐπίσκοπος... κατασφραγίσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλειψας ἐλαίῳ καθήκε τε καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα 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 mešaḥ 'to anoint', whence the noun mešáh 'oil'. The verb resăm '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 rušmā to be a mark of ownership: et mysterium aliud Iacob, pater noster, praesignificavit lapidibus istis unctione (mšyhw̪) donatis: populi enim qui in Christum crediderunt, en eos qui unguntur (mšh) Dem. 4.5, signum (rwšm) . . . sacramento iutae, quo perficiuntur Christiani et sacerdotes et reges et prophetæ 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 ršn 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) signauit (ršm) sacerdotes et unctos. spiritus sanctus per oleum (mšh) imprimit (qtm) signum (rwšm) suum super oues suas, sicut anulus, qui in ceram imprimit (qtm) sigillum (tb) suum. etiam sigillum (htm) absconditum spiritus per oleum (mšh) imprimitur (tb) corporibus, quando unguntur (mšh) in baptismo et fiunt signati (ršm) in baptismate 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 unguntur (mšh) in expiationem corpora plena maculis ib. 7.7, cf. 7.9, corporum uestrorum quae oleo (mšh) sanctificantur ut tempa 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; μόροι 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 τοῦ μόρου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, τὴν

1 Cf. E. J. DUNCAN, Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates, Washington 1945
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σφραγίδα ἐπιτιθείς 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, ἀλουφή, and ἔλαιον are used. It is a complete anointing, following the disrobing and immediately preceding the bath: ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα ἀλειφεῖται παρασκευάζει τῷ ἔλαιῳ ἐκείνῳ πνευματικῷ ὡστε πάντα τὰ μέλη διὰ τῆς ἀλουφῆς τειχισθήναι καὶ ἄχειρωτα γενέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίον πεπομένοις 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 meššā damēšštātā ‘oil of anointing’. The first anointing, which remains confined to the forehead, is referred to by the root ršm for which σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν may be assumed in the Greek original: ‘(The priest) signs (ršm) you on your forehead with oil of anointing (meššā dmsyhwēt)’ 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 htm, although it might also translate χαρακτήρ, τύπος, or στίγμα, and derivatives: ‘The sign (rwšm) with which you are signed (rwšm) means that you have been stamped (fhb) 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 mšḥ. It follows the disrobing and is complete: ‘After you have taken off your garments, you are rightly anointed (mšḥ) all over your body with the oil of anointing (mšḥ dmsyhwēt), a sign (ṯw) 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 (mšḥ) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And then the persons appointed for this service anoint (mšḥ) all your body’ ib. 14.8 p. 54 M.

The use of the root mšḥ 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 \(\alpha\lambda\varepsilon\iota\phi\varepsilon\iota\nu\) for the prebaptismal anointing of the body by the deaconess but adds \(\chi\rho\iota\varepsilon\iota\nu\) for the anointing of the forehead with which the deacon begins this rite. Subsequently he uses \(\gamma\varepsilon\iota\rho\omega\theta\varepsilon\sigma\alpha\) and \(\chi\rho\iota\varepsilon\iota\nu\) 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: \(\tau\omega\;\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\;\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\;\varepsilon\iota\;\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\;\tau\omicron\upsilon\;\pi\nu\eta\mu\varepsilon\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) \(\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\) 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.

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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:

εστι τοινυν το μεν βάπτισμα εις τον θανατον του Ιησου διδομενον, το δε οδωρ αντι παραθης, το ελαιον αντι πνευματος άγιου, ή σφραγις αντι του σταυρου, το μουρον βεβαιωσις της ομολογιας Const. 3.17.1, χρισις δε πρωτον ελαιο άγιω, ἐπειτα βαπτισις ουδατι, και τελευταιον σφραγις εις μυρον, ίνα το μεν χρισμα μετοχη του άγιου πνευματος, το δε οδωρ συμβολον του θανατου, το δε μουρον σφραγις των συνθηκων ib. 7.22.2.

It is clear which rites the writer is referring to, for ελαιον and χρισμα indicate the oil of the prebaptismal anointing and μουρον that of the postbaptismal. No confusion need arise from the fact that in the first text σφραγις is baptism with reference to the death on the cross, while in the second σφραγις and σφραγιζειν refer to the postbaptismal anointing with an allusion to the seal as the confirmation of a pact. In a passage of the Didascalia, where έσφραγισθητε is probably a term for the act of baptism, the interpolator refers this sealing to both the prebaptismal anointing with oil and the postbaptismal anointing with myron by adding to the verb: έσφραγισθητε ελαιον αγαλλιασεως (Ps. 44.8) και μουρον συνεσεως, whereas he connects the gift of the Spirit with the prebaptismal imposition of hands: το καινου πνευμα..εδωκεν εν τη χειροθεσια Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3.

In a short baptismal ritual we hear again nothing of a double prebaptismal anointing. The text has χριειν, χρισις, and ελαιον for the anointing with oil following the renunciation and the profession of faith: και το ουκαλουθιαν έρχεται και εις την του ελαιου χρισια Const. 7.42.1, and this rite is explained as a preparation for baptism: ευλογειται δε τοτε παρα του ιερως εις εφεσιν αμαρτιων και προκαταπατευην του βαπτισματος. επικαλειται γαρ ουτος τον άγεννητον θεον..ενοις αγιατο το ελαιον..ώστε τον χρισμον άπολυθεντα πασης αεβεβας εξιον γενεσθαι της μυησεως 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

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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 Cyr rh us in that there is one prebaptismal anointing normally referred to with χρίειν and Ιλαιον, 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. 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 μύρυ ό λείψειν and μυρίζειν, as the New Testament, but also χρίειν and έλαιον. For the prebaptismal anointing the terms are χρίειν and έλαιον, for the postbaptismal σφραγίζειν and μύρον. The question reads: εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τάφου ἡ Μαρία τὸν κύριον τῷ μύρῳ ἥλεψεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τελοῦμεν τὰ σύμβολα, πῶς πρῶτον μὲν ἠλαίων χρύσωσθαι, ἐπείτη δὲ τὰ προλεχθέντα ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τελέσαντες σύμβολα τῷ μύρῳ σφραγίζομεθα ύστερον...εἶ γε πρῶτον ὁ κύριος τῷ μύρῳ ἥλεψατο καὶ ύστερον ἔπαθε; πῶς δὲ καὶ οὗ περιττῇ ἡ χρίσεις τοῦ ἑλαίου προσφέρεται τοῖς βαπτίζομεν; εἰ γε μόνῳ τῷ μύρῳ πρὸς τῷ πάθει ἐχρίσθη ὁ κύριος; and the answer: ή δὲ μακαρία Μαρία πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἐμύρυσε τὸν κύριον...ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου γεγονός πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τούτου ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτίζομένων γίνεται ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ. χρύσωσθαι δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ ἑλαίῳ ἐνα γυνώμεθα χριστοῦ, τῷ δὲ μύρῳ πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τὴν χρίσιν τοῦ μύρου ἐνταφιασμόν 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

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 ἀλείμμα or ἐλαιόν. 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,

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έξομολογεΐσθαι, 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 post-baptismal 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, παρὰ τινων διδασκάλων, ὃτι ἐτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἦστιν εἴ μη 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 αμαρτιών 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 ἔτερον ἐπαγγέλλονται, δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναστρέφοντες κακῶς τοὺς αὐτοὺς παραμένοντας ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, ὡς δυναμένους μετὰ τὸ ἄπαξ βαπτισθῆναι πάλιν τυχεῖν ἄφεσιν 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι 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 γάρ τι φωνή ἀρρήτω, ἐπιθέντες χείρα τῷ τὴν 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 ulterior 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 extreimi delicti factam, ante manum ab episcoopo et clero in paenitentiam impositam, 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 constet hic baptizólos esse et a nobis ad haereticos transisse...satis sit in paenitentia manum inponere Ep. 71.2.* This is pronounced at the Council of Carthage in 256 by the bishops Crescentius a Cirta: *ut per manus impositionem in paenitentia ecclesiae reconcilientur Sent.Episc. 8,* and Cassius a Macomadibus: *eos per manus impositionem 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 preceeds: *nec ad communicationem uenire quis possit nisi prius illi ab episcoopo 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

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\(^1\) *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.

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 fiat ei lacrime suae panes dies 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 mei (Ps. 31.5). in quo impletur et illud quod Iacobus apostolus dicit: si quis infirmatur vocet 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.

It is possible that the final imposition of hands was accompanied by

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1 See p. 329 f.
an anointing. Referring the use of oil at the cleansing of lepers, Lev. 14.10 ff., to the reconciliation of sinners, Origen says: *sic ergo conversis a peccato purificatio quidem per illa omnia datur, quae superius diximus, dominum 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 *άλειψεν* 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: *Ιδωκε λόγον μηκέτι άμαρτησαι μητε λειτουργησαι, άλλα λατινών άρτι άρπάσασθαι κληρόν, και ούτως ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ χείρα* Hist. Laus. 18.21.

*Syria.* – In the Greek original of the Didascalia χείρα(ς) επιτείναι 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 υπέρ αὐτοῦ δεομένης, καί χειροθετήσας* τοῦ*ν* λοιπύν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίω Const. (Didasc.) 2.18.7, χειροθέσαντες (ἐν μνήμῃ) 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 ποιμνίω (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: *recipite eum et tota ecclesia pro eo orante ei manus (manum Syr.) impone ac deinde permite, 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 permittit*).\(^1\)

This *deinde*, however, must be taken to translate a Greek *λοιπόν* in the sense of 'henceforward' as preserved by the Constitutor, and thus *εἰς 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 reconciliation: *quemadmodum igitur gentilem baptizas ac postea recipis, ita et huic manum impones (sm ᾑy_), omnibus πρὸ eo precantibus, ac deinde eum introduces et participem facies ecclesiae, et erit ei in loco baptismi impositio manus (sym ᾑy_); namque aut per impositionem manus (sym ᾑy_) aut per baptismum (m'medt') accipient 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 (rwSm') est sacramenti uitae, quo perficiuntur christiani et sacerdotes et reges et prophetæ; tenebras illuminat, ungit (dhn af. 'to smear') infirmos et per arcanum suum sacramentum paemtentes 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 (*mšh*') in a vessel...like water and oil (*mšh*') 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.

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\(^1\) *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 i.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 ἦμας ἁναγεννῶσι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταύτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἀμαρτήματα. Ἀφθε要看 γὰρ τις, φησίν, ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσευχήσωσαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀλείψαντες αὐτόν ἑλαίῳ 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 ἀλείψεως but also χρίσεως as used by Chrysostom for the application of this oil by the faithful themselves, In Matth. 32.6. 

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 ἐλευθερώσας μετὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, οὕτω καὶ τούτων χειροθετήσας, ὡς ἀν μετανόησαν καθαρσάμενον, πάντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσευχομένων, ἀποκαταστήσεις αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀφάναν αὐτοῦ νομὴν, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ἄντι τοῦ λούσματος ἡ χειροθεσία: καὶ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἡμετέρων χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τὸ πνεύμα τοῦ αἰώνος 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. 

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: ἐπειδή δὲ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς υἱοθεσίας τῷ πνεύματι σφραγίζομεθα, ἐδόθη καὶ ὁ δακτύλιος τῇ νεανίσκῳ, σύμβολον τῆς νοητῆς δωρεᾶς εἰς ὑπὸ 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

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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 respondere rit hanc trinitatem, baptizetur Conc.Arel. (314) 8, cf. Conc.Const. (381) 7.

Cyprian uses terms like (pra)uelere, uerus, integer, inanis for the efficacy of baptism. He can, for instance, say of the efficacy of baptism and of the postbaptismal rite: praeualere (sc. maieslas nominis) in manus impositione, 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

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 unilatem ecclesiae non ualebit* Bapt. 3.17.22. Leo the Great touches upon the same point by distinguishing between the *forma* and the *virtus 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: *uei 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 im- positionem 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 praem fidem baptizari aliquis foris et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit, secundum eandem fidem consequi et spiritum sanctum potuit, et non est nessesse ei uenienti manum inponi ut spiritum sanctum consequatur et signetur. aut utrumque enn fide sua foris consequi potuit aut neutrum eorum qui foris fuerit 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 uos, 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 vel actis continetur ut a quacumque haeresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis inponatur in paenitentiam, conseruetur divina 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-

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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.Arel. (314) 8.

Similar expressions, borrowed from the terminology of the post-baptismal 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 invocacionem spiritus sancti Lucif. 6, cf. 27. Pope Siricius expresses himself in a similar manner: per invocacionem 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 invocata virtute spiritus sancti Ep. 167.18, cf. 159.7; 166.2, and Vigilius: per illam impositionem manus, quae per invocacionem 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 post-baptismal 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 con-
ferring 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
ade dea destructa novum 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 vel
schismaticos idem sit baptismus Christi, non tamen ibi operatur remis-
sionem 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 diligat 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
ualent 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 scit baptismus repeti non potest. quid est enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem? 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 he thus expresses the difference from the postbaptismal imposition of hands: sola invocazione spiritus sancti per impositionem manuum concurring quia formam tatum baptismatis sine sanctificationis virtute 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 baptismate debe re 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 ueniente, tamquam extra omne culpam esse indicaretur 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) tarnen reconciliatio non per illam impositionem manus, quae per invocationem sancti spiritus fit, operatur, sed per illam, quae 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 Eglises 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: *possunt uero dicere de solis hoc Nouatianis esse praecumptum* 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 percipiendum 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 ῥήγητον καὶ γνήσιον ἡδωρ* 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 accipendum spiritum sanctum* as
received by the Samaritans and the disciples of John is not sufficient: 

frustra illi ueniendi 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: εἴ δέοι τοὺς ἑξ οἷς δ' οὖν αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτροῦ καθαίρειν, παλαιοῦ γε τοι κακρατικότος ἔθους ἐπὶ τοιοῦτων 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 ὄνομαζόντων ἕως τοὺς Καθαροὺς ποτε, προσερχόμενων δὲ 

τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐδοξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὡστε χειρο-

καταλαμμένους 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 ὡστε 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

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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 \(\chiρίειν, \chiρίσμα,\) 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 \(\chiρίειν\) 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: \(\chiρίονται δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως μετερχόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸ ἄγιον χρίσμα.\) \(\epsilonπίσκοπος δὲ μόνος τῇ ἀνωθέν χάριτι τελεῖ τὸ χρίσμα\) 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: \(uνdε \ nεc\ \ uνctio\ \ s p i r i t u a l i s\ a p u d\ \ h a e r e t i c o s\ \ p o t e s t\ \ e s s e,\ \ q u a n d o\ \ c o n s t e t\ \ o l e u m\ \ s a n c t i f i c a r i e t\ \ e u c h a r i s t i a m\ \ f i e r i\ \ a p u d\ \ i l l o s\ \ o m n i n o\ \ n o n\ \ p o s s e\) 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, 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 (mšhr ḏqwdš’ ḏmšyḥwtʾ), 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 (mšhr), 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 prebaptismal 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 Cyrrhus employs χρίειν and χρίσμα for the anointing rite by which the Novatians are received: τοῖς ὑπὸ σφών βαπτιζομένοις τὸ πανάγιον οὗ προσφέρουσι χρίσμα. διά τοῦ τούτου καὶ τούτου έκ τῆς άθρόσεως τῶν σωμάτων τῆς ἑκκλησίας συναπτομένων χρίειν οἱ πανεύφημοι πατέρες προστάταιν 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. 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: ustrae plebi unde spiritum, quam non consignat unctus sacros, 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 sacros. 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 sacrodoes 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: το σφάλμα διορθ-οὐται, τῆς μὲν κακοδοξίας τῇ μεταθ-εσει τοῦ φρονήματος, τοῦ δὲ βαπτισμάτος 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: χρισάντας 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 προσερχόμενους χρίεσθαι 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. αὐτοῦς) . . . σφραγίζομένοις ήτοι χρυσίμηνοι πρώτον τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τὸ τε μέτωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς ρίνας καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰ ὅτα. καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς 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

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 αὐτόν τῷ μύρῳ καθός καὶ τούς νεοφώτιστος Rit. Graec. p. 884 G., and of apostates: λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον μύρον χρίει αὐτόν 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 χείρα, 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. 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 *χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι, χρίειν, and σφραγίζειν* as terms denoting the postbaptismal rite, while expressions like *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκχείν, 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.
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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 reprobavi creatoris, qua suos abluit, nec oleum, quo suos ungit, nec mellis et lactis societatem Marc. 1.14.3, signat igitur hominem numquam apud se resignatum, lauat hominem numquam apud se coinquinatum ib. 1.28.3.

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. 1.21.3; others wish to have nothing whatsoever to do with external rites, ib. 1.21.4, but there are

1 See p 56 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 Puniet, 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 ὑποβαλσάμῳ· τὸ γὰρ μύρον τούτῳ τύπον τῆς ὑπέρ τὰ δόξα 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 αὐτῷ τῷ βαλσάμῳ ib. 1.21.4. Irenaeus uses thus ὑποβάλσαμον, μύρον and μυρίζειν for a postbaptismal anointing among some Marciosians 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)υ μύρον ἀφθιτον ἁγνόν CIG 9595.² 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: ὁ δὲ νοητὸν (sc. βάπτισμα) διὰ πνεύματος Exc. 81.2, τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν δοθέν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα ib. 81.3.

Hippolytus mentions bath and anointing in the ritual of the Naassenes: τὸν λουόμενον κατ' αὐτοὺς ἔθανε καὶ χρίσματι ἀλλὰ 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 (mšḥ) me from His own perfection' Od.Sol. 36.5. The reference

¹ See p. 308.
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 χρίσματι λευκῷ 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 ἀγίου 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. 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: ἐπιθεὶς ἐπί αὐτής τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐσφράγισεν αὐτήν εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐσφράγισθησαν μετ’ αὐτής 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. 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, ἐλαιον. 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 (msh) them, and purify them from their uncleanness’ Act.Thom. p. 165 W., καθαρίσας αὐτούς τῷ σῷ λουτρῷ καὶ ἀλείψας αὐτούς τῷ σῷ 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 ἐλαιον, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐλαίου δέξωνται τὴν σφραγίδα. ἤγεγκαν οὖν τὸ ἐλαιόν, καὶ λύχνους ἀνήψαν πολλοὺς· νῦς γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐσφαράγη σῶλον καὶ σφαγήσας αὐτούς· ἀπεκαλύφθη δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος διὰ φωνῆς λέγων· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἀδελφοί· οἱ δὲ φωνῆς μόνον ήκουσαν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ εἴδος αὐτοῦ ὅλως εἶδον. οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦσαν δε-
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. And Judas went up and stood upon the edge of the cistern, and poured oil upon their heads and said: Come, Holy Spirit, and purify their reins and their hearts. And he baptized 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. The Syriac text omits σφραγίζειν which is difficult to translate, 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 άλείψειν 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. 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 κοινάς εύχας mentioned by Justin. 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.

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 arcani, but we need only remark that it is then difficult to understand why Justin mentions other details from the ritual. 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.

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: σύ δὲ οὖ βούλει χρισθῆναι Ελαιον θεοῦ; τοιγαρούν ήμεῖς τοῦτο εἶνεκεν καλούμεθα χριστιανοὶ ὅτι χρίμεθα Ελαιον θεοῦ Autol. 1.12.

Here we find χρίειν as a sacral term for the anointing of the Christian and Ελαιον for the oil. It is often claimed that no material anointing is referred to. 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 pre-baptismal anointing, and the criticism is more easily understood if it refers to a complete anointing.

At about the same time σφραγίζειν perhaps occurs as a term for the anointing of 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: και έσφράγισεν ήμών τάς ψυχάς τω ιδίῳ πνεύματι και τα μέλη του σώματος τω ίδιω αίματι 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 χείρας ἐπιτίθ-έναι 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: οἱ γὰρ ἄν ἐπετίθ-οντο χείρας (sc. οἱ ἁπόστολοι) ἐλάμβανον πνεῦμα άγιον, δ 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 haereditatis nostre (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 ἐκχείν, 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. 393.
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: μετά πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξήλθον Κlem. 42.3, and twice speaks of the pouring out of the Spirit over all the faithful: πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐκχυσεν ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγίνετο ib. 2.2, ἐν πνεύμα ὕπέρ χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθέν 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: σὺς δωρεὰς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε Ep. 1.2, βλέπω ἐν υμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου σὺς την γῆς κυρίου πνεύμα ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 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: ἔφρωσθε ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον κεκτημένον τὸ πνεύμα Pol. 1.3. The expression πνεύμα κεκτησαί is uncommon, but it may indicate a permanent possession of the Spirit as in the New Testament πνεύμα ἔχειν.\(^3\)

The so-called Second Epistle of Clement has expressions which are related to those for the postbaptismal gift: τὸ πνεύμα μεταλαμβάνειν, κοιλάν 2 Clem. 14.3 ff., μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ πνεύμα τοῦ Κυρίου Pol. 1.3. They refer, however, to a future possession of the Spirit as a reward after this life. The verb μεταλαμβάνειν then means ‘to receive afterwards’: τερήσατε τὴν σάρκα, ἵνα τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλάβητε ib. 14.3. Yet the expressions may be derived from the existing πνεύμα 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 περιωσμένη Rom. init.; text see p. 173.
restored through penance. The same is true of the gift of the Spirit but the writer is less interested in this subject: μή θλιβε το πνεύμα το άγιον το εν σοι κατακινήσῃ το σοι τω θεω και αποστη απο σοι. το γάρ πνεύμα του θεου το δοθεν εις την σάρκα ταυτην λυτην ουχ υποφέρει υδατε στενοχωρίαν Past. 41.5 f., cf. 28.1 f., έδωκεν πνεύμα τοις δεξιους ους μετανοιας 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.

Whereas in Justin Martyr we found the presence of the Spirit mentioned as an effect of His operation at baptism, Dial. 54.1, this writer uses elsewhere the expressions δόματα διδόναι, λαμβάνειν and πνεύμα λαμβάνειν for the gift of the Spirit: οι και λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἑκάστου ως δέξιοι εσχεν. ο μν γαρ λαμβάνειν συνέτευος πνεύμα, ο δε βουλης, ο δε λασεος, ο δε προγνωσεως, ο δε διδασκαλιας, ο δε φοβου θεου Dial. 39.2, δοδηκεν δεμν 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. ii.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. 3.11; 3.12 ff., and to all the faithful: donum spiritus...quod in nouissimis temperibus secundum placentem 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. ii.2, without yet

1 See p 71
2 A misunderstanding may be caused by the expressions τα πνεύματα λαμβάνειν, φορεῖν, έχειν used by Hermas to refer to the possession of the 'spirits of the virgins' πάντες το άνομα του υιου του θεου έλαβον, έλαβον δε και την δύναμιν των παρθένων τουτων λαβόντες ου τα πνεύματα τατα ένεδυναμώθησαν Past 90.7 τατα τα πνεύματα έφόρεσαν έσχήκειας 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, το άνομα λαμβάνειν, φορείν, έχειν, 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 tempori-
bus...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 uctione de pristina disciplina qua ungui
oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est;
unde christi dicit a chrismate...sic et in nobis carnaliter currit uctio
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 imposi-
tion 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 nos 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 σφραγίζειν, notably in the following list of baptismal rites: *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 inlumineetur; 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 unguntur oleum in altari sanctificatum. sanctificare autem non potuit olei creaturam qui nec altare habuit nec ecclesiam. unde nec unctio spiritualis 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 tam chrisma uocatur, in quo est suavitatis, 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 impositionem spiritum sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur* ib. 73.9, *nego consignari potest, cui foris posito accessus ad fontem non est* ib. 69.2, *euadere 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 Σ.*)’ 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.
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 rite 1 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 χείρα ἐπιτί&έναι (or χειροθετεϊν), 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. 205 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. 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 ἤν τὰ σμήγματα ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου λόγου ἐντολαί; τι δὲ το ἐλαιον ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δύναμις; αἷς μετὰ τὸ λουτρόν ώς μύρω χρίονται οἱ πιστεύοντες In Dan. 1.16.3, cf. 1.33. The addition of ώς 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.

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. Hanssens, 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 limit eum presbiler de chismate in cerebro et dicit: Deus... te limit chrismate salutis. oratio ad infantes consignandos: Omnipotens sempiterne deus... consigna eos signo crucis Sacr. Greg. 85,11 ff. 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: ού μην οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχεν...τού τε σφραγισθὲναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (nec signaculo chrismatis consummatus sit). τούτων δὲ μὴ τυχών, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἄγιου 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 proper hereticam suasionem Lib.Pont. 1 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 iniaret presbiter crisma leuantum de aqua, propter occasionem transitus mortis ib. 1 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'. 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

consignandis uero infantibus manifestum est, non ab alio quam ab episcopo fieri licere... hoc autem pontificium solis deberi episcopis, ut uel consignent, uel paracletum spiritum tradant, non solum consuetudo ecclesiastica demonstrat uerum et illa lectio Actuum apostolorum... nam presbyteris, siue extra episcopum siue praesente episcopo cum baptizant, chrismate baptismatos 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 presbytero 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 praediscans 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 χρίσω and χρίσμα. After dealing with baptismal rebirth he refers to the anointing which grants incorruptibility and fragrancy: χρίσω ύμας τῷ πίστεως ἄλείμματι, δι' οὗ τὴν φθορὰν ἀποβάλλετε Protr. 120.5, τὸ ἀειθαλὲς εὐφροσύνης <καὶ> ἀκήρατον εὐώδιας ἐπαλειφώμεθα χρίσμα 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 ἀγίον τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν φωτεινὸν ἐπιδεικνύοντος τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι τῇ ἀνέθρῳ ἀγγέλοις. τὸ χρίσμα τῆς ἐναρέσεως λέγω, ποιότητα τῆς διαθήκης τῇ ἐπικειμένην τῇ ψυχῇ κατ' ἐπιχώρησιν τοῦ ἄγιου 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: ἐπεισδέοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος Paed. 1.28.1, ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε, φασίν, ἀπελήφθην 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
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: τοις δε τελειουμένοις συγγίνεται το πνεύμα το ἅγιον... το δε πνεύμα σφραγίς ἐστι 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 ἔδιδοτο τοῖς ἀναγεννώμενοι το πνεύμα το 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 ἔλαιον or χρίσμα. We quote only the prayer for the consecration of the oil, preserved by Serapion: ίνα οἱ βαπτισθέντες καὶ χριόμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ το ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ σημείου τοῦ σωτηριώδους σταυροῦ... μέτοχοι γένωνται τῆς δωρεάς τοῦ ἅγιου πνεύματος καὶ ἄφαλοι διαμείνωσον... 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: και 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...ἐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν δοξησίν...μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ στῆθη 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: ἕτοις ἡ σφραγίς ὑμῶν ἐδόθη τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ ἀγίου 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: Ελαίφ ἐλίπανέ σοι τὴν κεφαλήν...πρῶτον ἐχρίσθη τῇ κεφαλῇ...εἰς τὸ γένος δούλων σφραγίδας, άγιάσμα 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: Φιλιππος διάκονος ὁ ὁκεῖ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τῆς χειροθεσίας τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς διδόναι πνεῦμα ἄγιον 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 ἄγιου 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 diaconissa. primo cum mulieris in aquam descendunt, a diaconissa oleo unctionis (mšh' dmšyhwtra) ungendae sunt (mšh) in aquam descendentes. et ubi mulier ac praesertim diaconissa non inuenitur, baptizantem oportet

¹ See p. 398.
ungere (msh) eam, quae baptizatur. ubi vero mulier est ac praesertim diaconissa, mulieres non decet conspici a viris; praeterquam in manus impositione (sym ‘yd’) ungas (msh) caput solum, quemadmodum olim sacerdotes ac reges in Israel ungebantur (msh). et tu iuxta hanc similitudinem in manus impositione (sym ‘yd’) ungas (msh) caput eorum, qui baptismum accipiunt, siue uirorum siue mulierum; ac postea, cum tu baptizas uel cum diaconis præcipis baptizare uel presbyteris, diaconissa, ut praediximus, ungat (msh) mulieres, uir autem pronuntiet super eam nomina Invocationis dei in aqua. et cum ascendit ex aqua, quae baptizatur, eam suscipiat diaconissa ac doceat et erudiat, infragile esse sigillum (htm) baptismi in castitate et in sanctitate. propterea dicimus ulde 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 έπειτα 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 πρώτον, for the first anointing: primo cum mulieres in aquam descendent, a diaconissa oleo unctionis ungendae 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 χρίειν 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 prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...][43x377]prae[...]
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 (rṣm) you on your forehead and says: So-and-so is signed (rṣm) 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 (rṣm) you he says: So-and-so is signed (rṣm) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so that it may be a sign (rṣ) 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 βεβαιώσεις τῆς ὁμολογίας ib. 3.17.1, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγίζει τῶν συνθήκων 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 Sakramentallehre, Or.Chr.Per. 7, 1941, p. 132 f.
⁴ See p. 6.
In a passage already dealt with, Theodoret of Cyrrhus uses χριέιν, σφραγίζειν, and μύρον for the postbaptismal anointing without being able to indicate its meaning as the rite by which the Spirit is conferred. It is said to be a reminder of Christ’s sepulture: τῷ μύρῳ σφραγίζομεθα ὑστερον... τῷ δὲ μύρῳ (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. Yet he says in his earliest exegetical work that the anointing with myron confers the ‘spiritual grace’ or ‘grace of the Spirit’: μύρον δὲ ἐνταφίακε τὴν ψυχικὴν χάριν, ἣς πλήρως ἐχειμάζον... ἢμῖν 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, 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 ἄγιου μετασχεῖν τίνα καὶ μέλος καταλεχθῆναι Χρίστου Symp. 3-8, κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Χριστον 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 inponendi et ordinandi habent potestatem Ep. 75.7, per solam manus impositionem 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 χριέιν for

1 See p. 318. 2 See p. 379. 3 See p. 350 f.
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the postbaptismal anointing and its purport seems to prescribe the rite in case it is not yet practised: ὅτι δει τοὺς φωτιζόμενους μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα χρίεσθαι χρίσματι ἐπουρανῷ καὶ μετόχους εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χρίστου
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: χρῖσαι 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 αὐτῷ (i.e. Χρίστου) διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἀπεσταθαι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προσενήχεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς τῷ μύρῳ· οὗ γάρ ἐστι τι μέρος δ' γυμνὸν ἐστὶ 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 vulgo 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 $\chiρίειν$ and derivatives, but not $\áλείφειν$, are the technical terms for the postbaptismal anointing with an oil which is called $\chiρίσμα$, $μύρον$, and sometimes $έλαιον$. The Holy Spirit also is called metaphorically $\chiρίσμα$ 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 fragrancy 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 το Πνεύμα ἐκχεῖν, δίδοναι, 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
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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 dis­
tinction 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 πρεσβύ­
tερος 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 ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διακόνους I 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 ἥγουμενοι and προηγούμενοι, which may refer particularly
to the higher authorities although not necessarily to the exclusion of the
lower: ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἥγουμένοις ἡμῶν I Clem. 1.3, τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡμῶν αἵδεσθώμεν ib. 21.6. The apostles knew that discord would
arise about the office of overseer: περὶ τοῦ ἰδικατος τῆς ἐπισκόπης ib.
44.1, cf. 44.4, but where Clement speaks of the rebellion at Corinth he
always calls the local authorities πρεσβύτεροι: οὔτως ἐπηγέρθησαν...οἱ
νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ib. 3.3, στασίζετε 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 σύν 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 ἐπίσκοπῳ 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., 4·1; 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 fulfills 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 πρεσβύτεροι 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: *nos quibus et manus imposuit, 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 ἀπαρχάς αὐτῶν...εἰς ἑπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους* I Clem. 42.4, cf. 43.1; 44.2, τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἣ μεταξὺ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων 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 *χείρας ἐπιτιθεῖν* 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: *sicul Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarwpum 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 nos factum uidemus in Sabini collegae nostri ordinatione, ut...manus et in locum Basilidis imponetur* 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 χειροτονεῖται...ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλεγμένον 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. 11.1 ff., 11.1 ff., 13. Here the Apostolic Constitutions order an imposition of hands but the Epitome disputes this: ἀναγνώστην προχείρισαι ἐπίθεται καθετό τὴν χείρα Const. 8.22.2, ἀναγνώστης καθίσταται, ἐπιδιδόντας καταστήσεις Const. 8.16.2, Epit. 5.2, and the plural in the ordination of deacons: in ponens manus episcopus... in ponat manus 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.

One might expect that Hippolytus, in keeping with the nature of his writing, accurately described the gesture by χείρα(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 orat* Trad. 2.3 ff.1 The singular recurs at the ordination of presbyters: *inponat manum super caput eius episcopus ib. 8.1, τὴν χείρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτιθεῖ Const. 8.16.2, Epit. 5.2, and the plural in the ordination of deacons: in ponens manus episcopus... in ponat manus Trad. 9.1, ἐπιθεῖς αὐτῷ τὰς χειράς 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-

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1 This must be seen as only one imposition of hands which is continued by the bishop who pronounces the prayer of consecration.
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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: contignentibus 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 κληρόν 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: εἰκονική τινι καὶ ματαία χειρεπιθεσία ἐπισκοπήν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ap. Eus.Hist. 6.43.9.

In Egypt Clement of Alexandria has χειροτονεῖν for the ordination rite: οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπων χειροτονοῦμεν Strom. 6.106.2. Dionysius of Alexandria says of his own ordination and that of his predecessor: πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν χειροτονίας, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλῆ καταστάσεως ap. Eus.Hist. 7.9.2. In Serapion the prayers for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops are called: χειρεπιθεσία καταστάσεως Euch. 26 tit. The second of these prayers begins with the words: τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνομεν ib. 27.1. This may be an indication that the gesture was performed with one hand. The plural ἐκτείνομεν 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 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 χείρας ἑπιθείσες Ep.Clem. 19.1, ἑπέθηκεν χείρα τῷ Ζαχχαίῳ 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: δὲ εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἑπιθέσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων Hist. 2.1.1, or because several bishops lay on their hands at the ordination of Origen: χείρας εἰς πρεσβυτέρων αὕτω τεθεῖσαν ib. 6.8.4, but he also uses it without further motive for an episcopal ordination performed by the bishop of Caesarea: χείρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἑπιτέθεισεν 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 ἑπιθεῖαι οἱ τὴν χείρα πειρώμενον Μή γένοιτο, ἠφι, παρὰ τῆς στίς με χειροτονθῆναι χειρῶν Hist.EccI. 4.23.2, ἑπειδὴ στραφεῖς εἴδε τὸν Ἰοβίνον τὴν δεξιάν ἑπιτιθέντα τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀπεσείσατο τε τὴν χείρα 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 τοιούτοις χείρα ἑπιτεθείσης Conc.Nic. (325) 9. Later Basil has the expressions: ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Φαύστον... ἡ χείρ Ep. 122, and: τῆς χειρὸς αὕτων ἐπιβολήν ib. 240.3, Gregory of Nazianzus: τὴν χείρα δίδωσιν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Or. 43.78, Gregory of Nyssa: τὸ μῆ ἀλώναι ποτε τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ιερέως Vit.Greg.Thaum. 909a. With reference to the ordination of the seven deacons Chrysostom says in a homily delivered at Constantinople: ἡ χείρ ἐπίκειται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τὸ δὲ πάν ὅ θεος ἑργάζεται, καὶ ἡ αὕτη χείρ ἐστὶ οὔ άπτομένη 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 ἐφαράγης Παύλος... 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 industrie ib. 9.11, and Serapion: δες εν αυτῳ πνεύμα γνώσεως και 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’: διό καὶ εν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους. Εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικῆν Exe. 22.5. Since a postbaptismal rite is not dis-

tinguished in Theodotus, he may here refer to the baptismal imposition of hands, but the postbaptismal imposition is then probably incorporated in it.  

Another second century text bears witness to the use of χείρα ἐπιτίθεναι 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 ἰπποσευζάμενος ὁ Παύλος ἔπέθηκεν τῇ Ἀρτεμύλλᾳ τὴν χεὶρα καὶ . . . . . . τὸ ὑδωρ ἐν ὠνόματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὡστε τὴν θάλασσαν σφόδρα νεασθαι καὶ φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συχέθεεςαν τὴν Ἀρτεμύλλαν μικροὶ δεῖν ἀπόπληκτον γενέσθαι Act. Paul. 33.1 ff. As a further restoration of the lacuna in the papyrus the editor suggests εὐλόγησεν for a blessing or κατεχεῖν for an effusion of the water, but neither of these solutions appears likely. 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. We may then read: ἐπέθηκεν τῇ Ἀρτεμύλλᾳ τὴν χεὶρα καὶ ἐβαψεν εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ εἰς ὠνόματι 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 bene dictio in a text dealing with the Trinitarian formula of baptism could be a reference to it: habebimus de benedictione eodem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis Baptist. 6.2.4

In the case of Rome we may suppose χείρα ἐπιτίθεναι or χειροδετεῖν 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 See p. 64.
3 See p. 309 and 387.
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.έπισκόπου, ού τὸ ἁγίον πνεύμα ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος ἐδωκεν, σι' οὗ ἁγία δόγματα μεμαθήκατε καὶ θεόν ἐγνώκατε, δι' οὗ ἐγνώσθητε ὑπὸ θεοῦ (Gal. 4.9), δι' οὗ ἐσφραγίσθητε (Eph. 1.13; 4.30), δι' οὗ υἱὸς φωτός (Jn. 12.36) ἐσφραγίσθητε, δι' οὗ κύριος ἐν τῷ φωτισμῷ ὑμῶν, τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χειροθεσίᾳ μαρτυρίῳ, ἐν τῷ ἱερὰν ἔζετενεν φωνῇ λέγων: ὦ Υἱός μου εἰ σὺ, ἐγώ σήμερον γεγεννηκά 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 conversantur 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 repleus est fidelis guidem 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 χείρα ἐπιτίθ-έναι to refer to the baptismal imposition of hands is sam ṭiddā. 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 ‘yd’) 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 accipiimus (qbl), et Christus in nobis habitat (‘mr) . . . praeparemus igitur spiritui Christi, neque ipsam contristemus, ne forte a nobis recedat. memento sermonis apostoli admonentis vos: Nolite contristare spiritum sanctorum in quo signati estis (htm) in die redemptionis (Eph. 4.30). a baptismo enim accipimus (qbl) spiritum Christi . . . ab omnibus enim de corpore natis spiritus abest, donec ad aquae regeneracionem 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 (‘yd’) illius sacerdotis separati Fid. 59.2. He is familiar with the traditional effects of baptism: ecce enim dominus noster innovauit (htd) uestustalem tuam baptismo, corpus uitae, quod per sanguinem suum formauit (qbl) et creauit (br) templum in habitacionem (‘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 dumtaxat impone (sm ‘yd’) 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 ἑφίπτεται τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἄλλος ἀνεσίται Cat. 2.25, τρίτον τὴν κεφαλὴν καθίσαι καὶ ἀνίησι... τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος παρασκευάζων ἐπιφοίτησιν δέξασθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἱερεύς ἐστι μόνος ὁ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεξία 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 δαψιλή 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: έσφραγίσθημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑιοί 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 ιερεὺς καὶ προφήτης ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ... προφήτης δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα μανθάνει καὶ ἔνθες γινώμενος καὶ σφραγισθείς. καθάπερ γὰρ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται... Ἰουδαίοι μὲν γὰρ εἶχον σφραγίδα τὴν περιτομήν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄρρητον 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 χείρα ἐπιτιθέναι as

\(^{1}\) See also p. 314 ff. and 362 ff.  
\(^{2}\) See p. 316 f.
the equivalent of sam ʿiddā in the Syriac translation: ‘The priest...approaches his hand, which he places (sm ʿydʾ) 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 ʿydʾ) 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: τη του ἑπισκόπου χειροθεσία μαρτυρῶν Const. (Didasc.) 2.32.3.¹

Theodore 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 γαρ πεπιστευκότες προσίασι τοῦ θείου βαπτιστῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας χειρός 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 τετυχθής χάριτος...οἷόν τινα σφραγίδα τὴν 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: ἐπιτεθήκα τῷ τοῦ θεράποντος προσέταξε χείρα καὶ ἔδειξε τὸ πανάγιον πνεύμα εν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ αὐτῶν In Num. 47, cf. Εν.Νιε. (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 αὐτὸν έκηρύχθη η σφραγίς αὐτῇ Past. 93.4, ἐδώκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ υἱοῦ γνώματος 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 *nsan* ‘sign’ so that it may be assumed that σφραγίς and σημείον 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 (*nsan*), He gave him circumcision, a seal of the justice (αὐτόπατεν *knik* ‘uncircumcision seal’ MS., *knik* αρδαρωτεν *knik* ‘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 baptisma 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: vocati sumus ad militiaem dei unui iam tunc, cum in sacramenti urcha respondimus Mart. 3.1. For the same reasons he can consider baptism as a contract: testatio fidei Bapt. 6.2, ex fidei conventione; 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: fide (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: earn (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 convertar ipsius signaculi nostri. cum inquam ingressi christianam fidem in legis suae verba profitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompæ et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur Spect. 4.1, pompa diaboli adversus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus ib. 24.2, cf. 24.3, obsignatio baptismi, uestimentum quodammodo fidei Bapt. 13.2, lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei Paen. 6.16, cf. Cor. II.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 impetral 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 vestem priorem, indumentum spiritus sancti, et anulum deno, signaculum lavacri 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 obsessivit* 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 praebetant* 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 tradit 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: *εδωκεν δ' χυριον σφραγιδα τοις εις αυτον πιστεουσιν* Ant. 6, cf. SC» 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: *η φυσις η πιστη το της αληθειας λαβουσα σφραγισα* Exe. 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: *κυριαν ειναι σφραγιδα της γνωσεως, εκ φυσεως και μαθησεως και ασκησεως συνεστωσεν* 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: *ειναι δε αν και αι τρεις ημεραι της σφραγιδος μυστηριου, δι' ας δ' τω δυτι πιστευεται θεος* 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 unus-quisque fidelium, cum primum utit ad aquas baptismi, cum signacula fidei prima suscepit et ad fontem salutaris accessit, quibus ibi tunc usus sit uestis et quid denuntiaverit diablo: non se usurum pompis eius neque operibus In Num. 12.4. The expression is found again in Basil: ἐστι γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα σφραγίς τῆς πίστεως Eunom. 3.5, Epiphanius: τῆς θεότητος... ἐν μιᾷ 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 τρισὶ ἁγίαις σφραγίσιν, δι’ ὅν εἰς σωτηριαν ἀναγεγένηται 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 Chryscephalum 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 Cyprius, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1} See p. 412 f.
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. DE BRUYNE, \textit{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. 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 χείρας 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 praepbyterio 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. (9) Beyond this, the terms are applied to heretical rites. We may conclude here with some remarks which are valid for all these applications.

In the New Testament the plural of the object in *χείρας 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. 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.

C. H. Turner, *Χειροτονία, χειροθεσία, ἐπίθέσις χειρῶν (and accompanying verbs)* JThS 24, 1923, p. 503, quotes for this meaning also a passage from Sophronius of Jerusalem: ὅτι τοῦ ἱδίου πλάσματος βουλή χειροθετεῖται Or. c. 4004a M., but the text refers to the imposition of hands by John at the baptism of Christ.

See p. 425

Texts see p. 291 f., 294, 296 f., 305.
29, 49, but later adopts the singular, ib. 53, 54, 67. 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 χειρὸν 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 χειρὸς 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: εὐχαῖ χειρῶν Exc. 84, and Eusebius uses the solemn expressions: εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρός Hist. 1.13.18, τῷ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχή 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. 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 ablation which cleanses only the body: ταύτα καὶ τὰ τούτων ἁκολουθεὶ έκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὕτη. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἐκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ εὐσεβοὺς ιερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἷς ὀδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ὡς ὁ 'Ιουδαίοι 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 ἐκαστον τούτων as masculine. In this way ἐκαστον 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 imponitur per benedictionem Bap. 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 χρίειν 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.-


2 Most of these texts are dealt with above; see p. 293, 302 f., 351, 357.
Barnabas Ep. 14.9. Ignatius has μύρων for the fragrant oil received by Christ: μύρων 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 ἔλθων Ἡλίας χρίση αὐτῶν Dial. 8.4, cf. 49.1.

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.1

 Ignatius ascribes to the anointing of Christ the additional effects of incorruptibility and indirectly also that of fragrancy; these are transmitted by Christ to His Church: μύρων ἔλαβεν.. ὁ κύριος, ἵνα πνεύμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄφθαρτον, μή άλείφεσθε 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 βασιλεύς καὶ Χριστός καὶ Ἱερεύς καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ διὰ όλα τοιαύτα ἔχει ἡ 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 evangelizandum 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 πάν, εἰτε ἐλαίου εἰτε σταυρίτης εἰτε 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 ἐνδέχετο αὐτὸν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι ἢ τῷ ἐπελθόντος ἐν εἴδει περιστεράς πνεύματος ὁδάμεν αὐτὸν ἐκλυθέναι ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν Dial. 88.4, cf. Irenaeus Haer.

1 Cf. Benoit, op.cit., p. 179 f.
2 See also p. 263.
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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 visibili sed dono gratiae, quod visibili significatur unguento, quo baptizatus ungit ecclesia: nec sane tunc unctus est Christus spiritu sancto, quando super eum baptizatum uelut columba descendit... sed ista mystica et invisibili 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: γυνὴ δὲ...τῷ σωφρονύνης ἀμβρόσιω χρίσματι συναλείφεσθαι, ἀγίῳ τερπομένη μόρῳ τῷ πνεύματι Paed. 2.65.2. (10) With reference to the anointing of Jesus’ feet Clement uses ἐλαιον and ἐλείμμα to say that Christ is ‘the oil’ as contrasted with profane ointments: τὸ ἐλαιον αὐτός ἦστιν 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 ἀλείφεσθαι δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἀρχοντος 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 ἐλαιον, ἦστιν ὁ Ἰουθαγε 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 σφραγίδα τηρεῖν so that we read in his exhortations: ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀμάλαντον 2 Clem. 6.9, τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ σκόλης αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ (Is. 66.24) ib. 7.6, τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν τηρήσαντες ib. 8.4, τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀσπίλων, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν 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 εὐληφότες τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιὴν, ἐπιγνόντες τὰ ἐκατέρω ἑργα μετανοήσαντι, λαβόντες ὥστε σοῦ σφραγίδα Past. 72.3, cf. 68.2, 4.

Hermas goes even further. The seal is necessary for everyone and thus

² See p. 77.
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 δὲ ὅταν ἀναβῆναι, ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν... ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὕτωι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ... ἀπετίθεται τὴν νεκροσίν καὶ ἀναλάμβανε τὴν ζωον ἰβ. 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 σφραγις οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα οὖν καταβαίνοισι νεκροὶ καὶ ἀναβαίνοισι ζωον ἰβ. 93.4.

In these words especially Dölger found proof that in the second century σφραγις was a name for baptism. 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. If, therefore, he was obliged to explain the metaphor of the seal, we must conclude that he uses σφραγις 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 σφραγιζειν as the Pauline term for the postbaptismal anointing, seeing that in Syria and Asia Minor particularly this anointing was closely connected with baptism. 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 σφραγις. Christ promises His apostles: ‘Whosoever shall hear you and believe (πιστεύειν) in Me, shall receive of you the light of the seal (σφραγις) through Me, and baptism (βάπτισμα) 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, 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 σφραγιζειν εἰς ὄνομα. This

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 αὐτὸς ἵνα καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ λόγου δέξωνται· ἥκοκοσμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος διὰ τὸ θεός δὲν κηρύσσεις διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγίδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἱδια 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 σφραγίδα, ἵνα μὴ ύποστρέψῃ εἰς ἐμὲ πάλιν δ ἔχθρας ἐκείνος 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 as a sealing through the Trinity.¹ The seal is a mark of ownership which gives protection against every other power: διὰ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος σφραγισθείς ἀνεπίληπτός ἐστι πάσῃ τῇ ἀλλῇ δύναμει Exe. 80.3. The danger exists that impure spirits may also descend into the water and acquire the seal along with the candidate so that nothing more can be done against them: πολλάκις συγκαταβαίνει τοι καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, <ά> παρακολουθοῦντα καί τυχόντα μετά τοῦ ἄνθρωπον τῆς σφραγίδος ἀνίατα τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεται Exe. 83.

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 εκκλησιαστικοῖς σφραγίδος. .άς τοῦ μὲν τὴν σφραγίδα περιτιθέντος καλούμενης πατρὸς, 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 σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν in Greek. The explanation for this may be that in Syriac the root ḥtm 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 ḥatmā can still be used without this difficulty as the equivalent of σφραγίς for the seal of God which the angels possess as a mark of ownership: ‘For Thy seal (ḥtm)’ is known.

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 *ṭb* ‘to stamp’, ‘to seal’: ‘I took knowledge of them and I stamped/sealed (*ṭb*) 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 *ḥatmā* would not have presented the same difficulty, yet the use of *ʿāṭā* ‘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 *ʿāṭā*, as the normal equivalent of σημεῖον, conjures up the idea of the sign of the cross: ‘For the sign/seal (*Π*) in them is the Lord; and the sign/seal (*Ψ*) 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 *ʿāṭā* 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 baptizavuit 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 ἄφηται μοι πειρασμός. καὶ εἶπεν Παύλος· Θέκλα μακροθυμήσον, καὶ λήψῃ τὸ ἐδωρ 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: [ίν]α Άρτεμύλλα μυηθῆ [τῆς ε]ν κυρίω σφραγίδος Act.Paul. 3.23 f. The uncommon genitive with μουεῖν 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: έκεῖνοι ύμῖν δώσουσιν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα Mart.Paul. 5, έδωκαν 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: λαί>ν δ' είδον έκεῖ λαμπράν σφραγείδαν έχοντα 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 σφραγίζειν 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 φώκαι in the Greek text and not σφραγίδες.

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, 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. 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: ό κύριος σφραγίδα Εδωκεν τοις εις αυτόν πιστεύουσιν, και αυτός δώσει δομοίως Ant. 6. This sealing is the work of the Holy Spirit: το πνεύμα το δ' ουράνιων, δε' οδ σφραγίζονται οι πιστεύοντες ib. 59.

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.  

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: εἰς δὲ τετυχήκως..μετά τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετῆς 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 ἑπαξολούθεται, ἵνα φυλάσσηται τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἄγιον Εcl. 12.9. Here the verb ἑπαξολούθεται 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 ὑφήκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὡς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας, τὴν σφραγίδα 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. 

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

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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.
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τη δικαία ψυχή θεία τις άγαθ-οσύνης δύναμις... ἐγχριπτομένη οἰον ἀπαυγάσματος νωεροῦ καθάπερ ἡλιακής 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: ώστε οὐδὲ βάπτισμα ἐτί εὐλογον οὐδὲ μακάρια 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 ἦτοι σφενδόνη ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται πᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα διὰ μετανοίας ἀναλαμβάνων... ἤν δὲ σφραγίδα τῷ ἀσώτῳ 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: cum uero, qui non habet signum prorium baptismatum, lauacro igneo non baptizet. oportet enim prius aliquem baptizari aqua et spiritu, ut, cum ad ignem fluviwm venerit, ostendat se et aquae et spiritus lauacra seruasse In Luc. 24. If signum habere is synonymous with lauaca 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.
IMPOSITION OF HANDS, ANOINTING, AND SEALING

has in addition σφράγισμα. According to him the emperor Constantine asks for baptism as the σφραγίς which confers immortality and for the salutary σφράγισμα: ὃρα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπολαύσαι τῆς ἀθανατοποιού σφραγίδος, ὃρα τοῦ σωτηρίου σφραγίσματος μετασχεῖν... θείας τε σφραγίδος ἐξουσιοδοθετοῦ ἡγάλλετο Vit.Const. 4.62. Epiphanius has the Jew Hillel demand baptism with the current formula: δώρησαί μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα 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: μεγά τὸ προκείμενον βάπτισμα... ἐνδύμα φωτεινὸν σφραγίς ἀγία ἀκατάλυτον 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 σφραγίδα, ἵνα εὐγνωστοί ἔρχεται τῷ δεσπότῃ 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 σφραγίδα 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 οὐδ’ καθάρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πνεύμα σφραγίζει τὴν ψυχήν 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· ἀνεύ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδύνατον τοῖς ἱεροίς, μή λάβῃ δὲ τὴν δι’ ὕδατος σφραγίδα, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν Cat. 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 ὃ τῷ ὕδατι βεβαπτισμένος, μὴ καταξιωθεῖς δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος, τελείαν ἔχει τὴν χάριν· οὐδὲ κἂν ἐναρέτος τις γενήσεται τοῖς ἔργοις, μὴ λάβῃ δὲ τὴν δι’ ὕδατος σφραγίδα, εἰσελεύσεσται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν Cat. 3.4. The expression δι’ ὕδατος σφραγίδα clearly indicates that Cyril is still referring to baptism. This being so, καταξιωθεῖς 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* (Rm') *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 σφραγίδα 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 pre-baptismal 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: *καθ’άπερ γὰρ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται* In 2 Cor. 3.7, cf. III.Cat. 2.5, In Eph. 2.2. In a homily probably given at Constantinople he calls baptism enlightenment and seal, rebirth and ablution: *χλαύσον τοὺς ἀπίστους...τοὺς χωρίς φωτίσματος ἀπερχόμενους, τοὺς χωρίς σφραγίδος* 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 σφραγίδα* Const. 2.14.8. The Constitutor thus knows τὴν σφραγίδα λαμβάνειν as an expression for the reception of baptism. He then probably thinks of baptism when he adopts τὴν σφραγίδα 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 σειμνοπρεπῶς ἡ μετάδοσις τῆς ἀθραύστου
σφραγίδος 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: ἡ δὲ στηθοδεσμίς έστίν ή πρός θεον αγάπη, ήν εμοί τε καί ύμῳ τόν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδόμενον, τό δέ ύδωρ ἀντί παρθής, τό ἔλαιον ἀντί πνεύματος ἀγίου, ἡ σφραγίς ἀντί τοῦ σταυροῦ, τό μύρον βεβαίωσι 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 τοῦ σταυροῦ το ἀντί τῶν σταιράς, το μύρον βεβαίωσι τής σφαγίδος έστι τό μέν βάπτισμα εις τον θάνατον του Ἰησοῦ διδομενον, το δέ ύδωρ αντί παρθής, το ελαιον αντί πνεύματος ἀγίου, η σφραγίς αντί του σταυροῦ, το μύρον βεβαίωσι 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.\(^1\)

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 δέ αυτούς εκ του υδάτος τού ’Ιορδάνου’ ο μη ἀκοῦων φανερῶς γεννήσεται τοῦτο το σημεῖον ἐστι τῆς μεγάλης σφαγίδος 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 vos ad caelestia regna vocavit. surgite et state et uidete numerum signatorum in convivio 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: των ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδος μεταδόντων αὐτῷ Act.Pot. 6. The Acts are old and may thus possibly serve as evidence for the baptismal seal in Egypt.


(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, recreation, 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 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 γὰρ ἐστὶν φωτὸς άιδίου...καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος άυτοῦ 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, δς εστίν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ 2 Cor. 4.4, ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δοξῆς καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αύτοῦ Heb. 1.3, and re-creation is a transformation and renewal after the image of Christ: δτι οὖς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ θεοῦ αύτοῦ Rom. 8.29, ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον (sc. άνθρωπον) τὸν ἀνακαινόμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αύτοῦ 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 μεταμορφομεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν 2 Cor. 15.49· καθ-ώς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εικόνα τοῦ χοίκου, φορέομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου ι 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 εἰκών, especially μορφή and derivatives, τύπος and derivatives, χαρακτήρ and χάραγμα. The word εἰκών 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 inter-relation, 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: ἐπεί οδν άνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ άφέσει τῶν άμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἐλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς δν δὴ ἀναπλάσσαντος αύτοῦ ἡμᾶς Ep. 6.11.\(^3\)

\(^1\) See p. 216 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: άσπερ γάρ έστιν νομίσματα δύο, ο μέν θεού, ο δέ κόσμου, καὶ έκαστον αὐτῶν έδιδον χαρακτήρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οι άπιστοι τού κόσμου τούτου, οι δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτήρα θεού πατρός διά Β.ισού 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 εἰκών in Mt. 22.20, χαρακτήρ 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: ού κύριος εἶπεν οὐ τίνος τὸ κτήμα, ἀλλὰ τίνος ἡ εἰκών καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή (Mt. 22.20)... οὕτως καὶ ὁ πιστὸς ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὡς εἰκών Exe. 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’: η δύναμις δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς τοῦ βαπτισθέντος οὔ περὶ τοῦ σώμα ib. 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 inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est, et ligauit 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. DÖLGR, 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: καὶ τε χοικοὶ ήμεν καίσαρος ήμεν, καίσαρ δέ έστιν ο πρόσκαιρος ήρχον, ου καὶ εικών χοική ο παλαιός άνθρωπος... άλλο χάραγμα νύν ο κύριος ήμεν καί άλλα δννακα θα γράμματα ένσημανεται Εcl. 24.1 ff.

In another passage it is not apparent upon which of the two sources Clement bases the use of εικών for the image of God that the Christians, unlike the heathens, bear with them: ήμείς έσμεν την εικόνα του θεου περιφέροντες έν τω ζωντι και κινουμένω τουτω άγάλματι, τω άνθρωπω, σύμβουλον εικόνα, σύμβουλον Protr. 59.2. Elsewhere again the mark of the just is compared with the royal χάραγμα on a silver coin: ώς άργυρος πολλάκις άποκαθαρθ-είς είς δοκίμιον καθίσταται ο δίκαιος, νόμισμα κυρίου γενόμενος και χάραγμα βασιλικόν άνδεξάμενος Strom. 6.60.1.1

In the texts quoted εικών, 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 και κατ’ εικόνα γινόμενον του πονηρού πατρός, αρ’ οδ’ ήρχονται και τυπούνται αι άκεινου του χοικού εικόνες 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 δε...έν τη δεξιά του θεου γίνεται τάς ο το κατ’ εικόνα δια μετανοίας άνδαλαμβάνων 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: ουκ άν σφραγισθείη, 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: ουδ’ ούτως άν χωρήσαι την του πνεύματος έπαγγελίας του άγιος σφραγίδα, έρτε ες την άλλθως έκτυπωσι και τράνωσις τουτων & πρέπει έκτυπωσθαι και τρανούσθαι υπο της έπαγγελίας 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 θείαν καὶ ἀρρητόν 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 κολυμβήθρᾳ ἀναγεννώμεθα καὶ σφραγιζόμεθα· ἀνιόντες δὲ ἐνδυόμεθα τέ τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστὸν... καὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄπολαμβανομεν Trin. 2.12, cf. Athanasius Inc. 14.

In Asia Minor Methodius of Olympus calls the baptismal transformation the impression of a mark: τοὺς χαρακτήρας καὶ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρρητότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, τῆς καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν μορφῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτυπωμένης τοῦ λόγου... εἰς γὰρ τάς ἀναγεννώμενον ψυχάς ἀναγκαίην ἐκτυπώσεις καὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ άπολαμβανομεν 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: ή γε τοῦ βασιλείατος δύναμις ἤσοι· καὶ τελειώτης σου τὰς ὁμοίωσιν, ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς 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’ ἡς ἡμέρας μεταποιηθέντων, πάντες εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς χαρακτήρες· μιὰ μορφή πάσα Χριστὸς ἐπιτέθεται 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 inuiarium putes; charactere domini inscribuntur et servuli 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, but Ambrose now links it with the image of Christ possessed by the faithful and for which we found the term χαράκτη ρ 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 charactere domini signare servulum: iuvenis meus candidus. caput eius aurum cephas (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. In the absence of a clear distinction between the validity and the efficacy of baptism, 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’:

\[\text{sicut baptismus in eis ita ordinatio mansit integra}
\]

Pannen. 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 impetraverit, quia eundem characterem, quo sibi satellites congregaret, desertor inexit, aut propterea signa mutanda sunt ouibus, cum dominico gregi sociantur, quia eis dominicum signum fugitius impressit Cresc. 1.30.35. Hence Augustine uses signum, signaculum, and

1 See p. 422.
2 N. M. HARING, St Augustine’s Uso 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 corrupatur 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 quiadem 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. haereticorum et schismaticorum) sed Christi... Donatus non baptizauit in nomine Donati. nam si Donatus, quando schisma fecit, in nomine Donati baptizaret, desertoris characterem infigeret... 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 charactere... praecipit 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. 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, 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) 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.

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 ἄνωμα: 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. 
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άνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός εστιν δὲ λάβη 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 (htm) 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 gnostikon: σφραγίδας έχων καταβήσομαι, αἵωνας θλοὺς διοδεύσω, μυστήρια πάντα δ’ ανοίξω 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 (pṣt) my hands, and I sanctified (them) to my Lord: for the extension (mth) of my hands in His sign (Ψ) Od.Sol. 27.1 f., cf. 42.1 f. As the equivalents of the Syriac terms we may assume σημείον and ἐκπετανύναι, ἐκπέτασις, in accordance with the expression σημείον ἐκπέτασεως 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 ἐκπετανύναι is the translation of prš: ‘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 (nsanak) 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 ἐκπετανύ­ναι 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: περιτέτμηται ο λαός 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): δι’ Ἀβραάμ... εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιέτεμεν, λαβὼν τριών γραμμάτων δόγματα... τὸ δέκαοκτὼ ἱερατικά δεκα, ἤτα δικτῶ· ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. δι’ δὲ τὸ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ ἡμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακόσιους 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: ο σταυρός οὗτος ο τοῦ φωτός ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται δπ’ ἐμοῦ δι’ ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ Χριστός, ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὀδός, ποτὲ ἔρτος, ποτὲ στόρος 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: ἂ δὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιησάμενη 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 κατασφραγίζειν αὐτο... ἔπειν αὐτὸ 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. 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 utraque locutus est... et cum haec dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit 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: και (άτενίσας προς ανατολάς ης εις τόν οὐρανόν ἐδόξασεν τόν θεόν add. PWA, et convenser est ad orientem et glorificavit Syr.) σφραγισάμενος (τε add. PWA) ἐκατον δλον ἐστώς (καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος ἐκατον δλον V, καὶ σφαγίσας ἐκατον ἐστὼς δλον τό σώμα B, σφαγίσας ἐκατον δλον τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ τόπῳ τοῖς τε ἀθελοῖς ἐπιεξάμενος M, lux tanta apparuit super apostolum per unam fere horam, ut nullius eam sufferent aspectus, et signans se totum adstitit Lat., obsignans totum se Armen., stans totus in lumine Syr.)... παρέδωκε τὸ πνεύμα χαίρων Act. Jo. 115.

It may be doubted whether here σφαγίσας 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. The problem now remains

2 See for the gesture of healing p. 298 f., and for the postbaptismal rite p. 347 f.
of how in Greek σφραγις 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 σφραγιζειν as the Pauline name for this rite and, through the close association of bath and anointing in Syria and Asia Minor, also σφραγις 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 σφραγις and σφραγιζειν 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 taw on the forehead of the righteous at the punishment of Jerusalem Tertullian sees a reference to cross and passion: *proinde passum etiam Christum, aequipustos eodem passuros*. *signatos illa nota scilicet, de qua Ezechiel: ...da signum Tau in frontibus uiorum* (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 lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo terminus* Cor. 3.4. The woman who has married a pagan wishes to do this in secret: *latebis ne tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas?* Ux. 2.5.2, this in contrast to Christian couples: *non furtiva 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: καί οὕτως κατα-σφραγισαμένη καί ἕξελθοῦσα ἄφθορος καί ἀμίαντος διασέσωσται απ. 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 adversus diabolum ostendititur Trad. 37.1, frontem et oculos per manum consignantes (σφρα­γίζειν C.) ib. 37.4, cf. 36.11.

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 σημείον.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: μετά 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: τις ούν ἔλλη εἰς ἡ σφραγίς ἢ ἐπὶ μετώπων ἢ τὸ δύναμα 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 taw on the foreheads in Ez. 9.4. The third, who believes in Christ, answers that in the old script the taw 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 ἄρχαία στοιχεία ἐμφέρες εἶχεν τὸ θαύ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαρακτήρι καὶ προφητεύεται περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σημείου, 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 σημείον 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...δόσις ὑπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν...ἐπέβαινε σκάφους ἐπὶ θάλαττησ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ τὸ σημείον 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 πνεύμα σφραγίς ἐστὶ τῶν τελειομένων 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 Altertum, 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.

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: ούμεν οὖν σφραγίσατε ἑαυτούς καὶ ἀπίτε... οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπήρχοντο 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: φανεροὺς ἐσεῖθα συνήθως ἡμῖν τὰ πρόσωπα σφραγίζομένους τῇ τοῦ Χρίστου 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 ḫ̄am ‘to seal’ and ḫabouta ‘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.

This difficulty in translating σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν into Syriac could explain, as we have seen, the use of ḫ̄aṭa and ḫ̄āṭa in the Odes of Solomon for the seal of ownership which represented the name of God. Afterwards ḫ̄asam ‘to sign’ and ḫ̄usmā ‘sign’ became the normal equivalents, whence the seal of the name became the sign of the cross.

As the equivalent of ḫ̄usmā 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 IXOYΣ acrostic from the Sibyline 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. 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

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1 See p. 359.
2 Cf. Smith s.v.; see also p. 298 above concerning the same root in Ethiopic.
3 See p. 393.
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:

σήμα δέ τοι τότε πάσι βροτοίς, σφραγίς ἐπίσημος
to ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τῷ κέρας τό ποθούμενον ἔσται,
ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωή, πρόσκομμα δὲ κόσμου,
ὑδατί φωτίζον κλητοὺς 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 (mšh) their faces, others their beards, and other places; but Judas was praising God, and sealing (htm) the middle of his head; and he moistened his nostrils with a little (of the oil), and put (some) in his ears, and signed (ršm) his heart’ p. 150 W. The use of the root htm alongside ršm 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 ršm. The present Greek text, however, no longer has σφραγίζειν but instead ἀλείφειν and ἐπιχρίειν for a profane anointing: λαβόντες μύρον ἑκαστος, δς μὲν τὴν δψιν αυτοῦ κατήλειφεν, δς δὲ τὸ γένειον, δς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τόπους τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὲ ἀπόστολος τὴν χορυφὴν ἡλείψετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς, καὶ ὀλίγον τι εἰς τοὺς μυκτήρας ἐπέχρισεν ἑαυτοῦ, κατέστατεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀκολαὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, προσήπτε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄδουσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ συνέχρισεν 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

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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. The Syriac text gives an over-literal translation with ḫṯam: ‘And he sealed (ḥtm) him with the cross (ḥslb)’ and said to him’ ib. p. 194 W. The addition of ḫslb would seem to indicate that ḫṯam 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. On one more occasion, however, ḫṯam rightly corresponds to σφραγίζειν for the closing (with seal) of a prison gate: ‘Who opened to you the gate that was closed (ḥtm)?’ ib. 284 W., τίς ὤμεν ἁνοίξεν τὴν ἑσφραγισμένην θύραν τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν; 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: διαχαράσσειν τῷ ἀρτῷ τῶν σταυρῶν. The Syriac text reads: ‘And he signed (rsm) the cross (slyb) on the bread’ ib. p. 190 W. The addition of sHîbâ as object to rēsam ‘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 rsm, Ephraem seems to introduce ḫtm alongside the usual terms. In later Greek texts from Syria σφραγίζειν and derivatives are the current terms for the sign of the cross and for rites performed with it. Hence the author of the Apostolic Constitutions can say: ἡ σφραγίς αντί τοῦ σταυροῦ Const. 3.17.1. 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 ίσον ὄπλον ἡ σφραγίς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνομα 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. 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.
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: ἐνδυσαν με τὴν ἐνδοξὸν στολὴν, τὴν φωτεινὴν σφραγίδα τὴν πάντοτε λάμπουσαν 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. 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'.

(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: αὐτός γαρ ἦ τελεῖα σφραγίς καὶ κλεῖς 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 σφραγίδα καὶ ἐνδοξον 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: ίνα ἡ τοῦ ἀγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ (sc. διαθήκη) ἐγκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἔρ. 48. The writer may have had in mind a contrast with the seal of circumcision with which he is familiar, ib. 9.6, 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 ἐνεφερετεῖν... δημιουργία προσφυγόντως ὁ κόσμος ἐνσφραγίζεται 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... ἐκ τοῦ σχῆμα καὶ τύπων ἐνσφραγιζόμενοι σῶτη ap. Eus. Praep. 7.19.

The metaphor plays a role in the cosmological speculations of some

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1 See p. 424.
2 See p. 216 f.
Gnostics mentioned by Hippolytus: τοῦ τοιούτου αἰῶνος ἐναπεσφράγισται...τὸ ἔκτύπωμα Ref. 8.9.6, ή Ἕδε γέγονε...εἰκόνων καὶ σύμβολον, σφραγίς εἰς αἰῶνα φυλακθησομένη 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: ἕλούσατο δὲ τότε καὶ σφράγισμα λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ὄντι τοῦ γεγεννημένου σώματος ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου ib. 8.10.7, and the simple form σφραγίζειν in an exposition on death: ἀνεὺ δὲ τοῦ σφραγίσαντος (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 ἐπισφραγίζομένου Haer. 1.2.1, Clement of Alexandria: ἐπισφραγίζεται ταῦτα δ ὁ σωτὴρ Strom. 5.80.6, Hippolytus: ἐνσφραγίζει (sc. Άλκεσαί) τα τῶν κακῶν 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 διωγμόν Mart.Pol. 1.1. Christ completes the martyrdom of confessors by their death: ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἔξοδου τῆς μαρτυρίας 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 consignavit?* Scorp. 4-5, cf. Idol. 19.2, and by Cyprian: *tu tantum, quem iam spirtalibus caestis caelestis militia signavit* Donat. 15, cf. Act.Max. 2. Cyril of Jerusalem is probably the first to refer to the military tattoo as a seal: *ex tou emou gar agyoun tov en to stauropi orofagida baxulikian ekastow didonim ton emon stratiosoan exein epi metwpo tou* 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: *kai ta alloya zowa dia orofagidou deixinui tinos estin ekaston, kai ex tis orofagiou ekdotita* Exc. 86.2. The application recurs in many later texts: *o theos...dias tis autoi orofagioudo epitignwsekei ta idia probata* 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 istic Bellonae sectatos 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: ὥσπερ το πρόβατον σφαξεται...καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται...καὶ ὁ Ἰσραήλ σφραγίζεται, τότε ἀφίκετο <ὁ> ἄγγελος πατάσσειν Αἴγυπτ[{ον}] τὴν ἀμύητον τοῦ μυστηρίου...τὴν ἁσφραγιστὸν τοῦ αἰματο[ς] Hom. 16.

In a well-known passage Clement of Alexandria uses σφραγίζειν for Christian baptism considered as an initiation into the mysteries: ὦ τῶν ἄγγεων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὦ φωτὸς ἀκηράτου...ἀγιος γίνομαι μυστήριον, ἱεροφανεὶ δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφραγίζεται φωταγωγῶν Protr. 120.ι. 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: ἐχεις τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ ἔξωρα...τὰ 8’ ἄλλα εἴδους μαθήσης...& καὶ κρύβει παρὰ σαμωτῷ σφραγίζει 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 sfragitisches 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:

\[ \text{ίνα έττιθήση τάς χείρας αύτοΰ έπ' αύτόν καί ευλόγηση αύτόν Asc.Is. app. 1.6, cf. Asc.Is. 6.5.} \]

(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: 

\[ \text{το τοϋ πάσχα έρρύσατο αίμα, το έκατέρωσε τῶν σταθμῶν... χρισθέν. ήν γάρ το πάσχα ο Χριστός Dial. III.3, cf. 40.1, Origen Sel. in Ex. 12.7, but in Melito already the reference is made both to the seal of the Spirit and to the blood of Christ: τότε Μωυσης... έσφράγισεν [τάς τῶν] οἰκιών θύρας Hom. 15, έσφράγισεν υμῶν τάς ψυχ[άς] τυ Εδίω πνεύματι καί τα μέλη του σώματος τυ χίοι αίματι ib. 67, cf. Methodius Symp. 9.1, Basil Hom. 13.4.} \]

(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: \[ καί μὴν περιτέτμηται ο λαός εις 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 καί οι Ἰσραήλιται, ἀλλὰ περιτομῆ, καθάπερ καί τα βοσκήματα καί τα ἡλικχα ἐσφραγίσθησαν.}


(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 χείρα ἐπιτιθέναι for a benediction by imposition of hands practised among the Basilidians in case of temptation: ἀδελφέ, ἐπίθες μοι τὴν χείρα, 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 εὐχαί 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 χείρα 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

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.

(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. According to the Valentinian Heracleon, in a fragment preserved by Clement of Alexandria, some Gnostics received their members by branding their ears: ενιοί δέ, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλέων, πυρὶ τὰ ὀτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημήναντο, οὕτως ἠκούσαντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν Eel. 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 discípulos in posterioribus partibus extantiae dextrae auris Haer. 1.25.6, the Greek text as preserved in Hippolytus only καυτηρίζειν: τούτων τινώς καὶ καυτηρίζουσι τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητάς ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω μέρεσι τοῦ λοβοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ωτάς 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: σφραγίδα δὲ ἐν καυτηρίῃ ὡς ἐπιτηθεύσεως ξυρίου ἐπιτιθέασιν οὕτωι οἱ ἀπὸ Καρποκρᾶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεξιῶν λοβῶν τοῦ ωτῶς 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.Horn. 5, and John Lydus, Mens. 4.53, a similar use can be established without any such allusion being apparent. It would thus seem that for these authors at least σφραγίς and σφραγιζόμενοι 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 Karpokratinen, 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.
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 ṛāḥāṣ 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, ἀνακαίνωσις), een herschepping (καινῇ κτίσις, ἀνακτίζειν) en een wedergeboorte (ἀναγένναν, ἀναγέννησις). Voor de vernieuwing door het doopsel vormt Paulus het werkwoord ἀνακαινοῦν, dat niet zoals ἀνακαίνιζειν 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' יָלָד (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 (χείρας ἐπιτίθεναι, 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 διδόναι, 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 gebar 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 verzoe-ningsritus voor de opname van ketters vereenzelvigd met de post-baptismale handoplegging, hetgeen de kern vormt van het misver-standing in de ketterdoopstrijd.

Nadat Paulus, mogelijk met een zinspeling op het zegel der besnijde-nis, 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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'bt, sign of circumcision, 250
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— new creation of man, 124.
— of the Messiah, 129
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zrq, ritual sprinkling, 22, 36
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msh, profane and sacral anointing, 238 ff
ng, gesture of touching, 229
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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

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 Latijn *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.