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Ein Prediger muss nicht allein *weiden*, also dass er die Schafe unterweise, wie sie rechte Christen sollen sein, sondern auch daneben den Wölfen *wehren*, dass sie die Schafe nicht angreifen und mit falscher Lehre verföhren und Irrtum einföhren.

Luther

Es ist kein Ding, das die Leute mehr bei der Kirche behält denn die gute Predigt. — *Apologie, Art. 24*

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? — 1 Cor. 14:8

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ΒΑΠΤΙΖΩ

A Lexicographical Study

It is a sad fact that men, swayed by a fatal bias, will make rash statements about, and posit propositions in regard to, Baptism which can be maintained neither in the face of the Scriptures nor before the forum of history. This is true, for instance, in reference to the question of immersion in the administration of Holy Baptism. The importance of the subject demands that we consider soberly what the Bible and the early history of the Church teach us in regard to the mode of baptism.

Because the mode of baptism hinges on the word βαπτίζειν and its cognates and derivatives, it will be necessary to make a study of these words, in order that we might see clearly whether or not they must be rendered by terms signifying "immersion." Our word "baptize" is derived from, in fact, it is a transliteration of, the Greek word βαπτίζειν, which is used in the great commission of our Lord to baptize: Matt. 28:19, 20; Mark 16:15, 16.

The early Christian Church had no serious controversy on the mode of baptism, as it did, *e. g.*, on the deity of Christ. "The controversy on the mode of baptism is of comparatively modern date. Baptism by aspersion or sprinkling was always practiced by the ancient Church, especially for the sick, though immersion was early introduced, as more complete and, therefore, preferable." (*A Compend of Baptism*, by W. Hamilton, p. 9.) When immersionists now claim that aspersion or sprinkling is a late invention in the Christian Church, they are making a rash statement, which they cannot hold.

I do not hope to settle this controversy to the satisfaction of all concerned (that is impossible as long as men are governed by their prejudices), but I do hope to adduce the evidence available on this subject, so that proper conclusions can be arrived at.

Since it is contended that the word βαπτίζειν and its cognates and derivatives compel us to baptize by means of immersion, we must in the first place learn what these words really do denote. In his book *Immersion, the Act of Christian Baptism*, 1893, J. T. Christian, who claims that his book is "the result of long and patient investigation" (p. II) and who shows his colors in these words of the Preface of the seventh edition: "Since the publication of the first edition of this book the British Bible Society has determined to print a Congo edition of the Bible in which βαπτίζειν is translated by a word which means 'immerse.'"

This is a triumph of scholarship [*sic*]” (p. III), says concerning this word: “If the commission of Christ means immersion, we cannot depart from the letter and allow any other act. If it were ‘possible’ or even ‘probable’ that sprinkling or pouring was the act of baptism, yet they could not be admitted, since immersion is ‘the historical or primary’ sense of the word βαπτίζειν. No room is left for construction, and we are to take the Scriptures just as they read. We are not to read meanings into the word of the living God.” (p. II.)

From a survey of the words derived from the root βατ and the meanings of these words as given in Passow, *Handwoerterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*; Liddell & Scott, *Greek Lexicon*; or any other dictionary of the Greek language, it is evident that both βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν, the two words which especially apply, have not only the meaning “to immerse,” even if we must grant that that is the radical meaning, just as the German word *taufen*, (*tief machen*), means “to immerse.” Cf. P. I. Fuchs, *Deutsches Woerterbuch*, s. v. However, it is a well-known truth that words, at times, by usage change their meaning, in fact, change to the very opposite of their etymological sense; e. g., a valetudinarian is infirm, seeking to recover health, an invalid, who lacks health, although the word is derived from the Latin *valetudo*: health, from *valeo*: be strong. Hence it is rash to argue: βάπτειν literally means “to immerse”; hence βαπτίζειν, which is derived from the same root, βατ, must always mean “to immerse.” *Usus tyrannus est*, holds also as to meanings of words. Hence we must study the use of these words in classical Greek, in Septuagint Greek, in New Testament Greek, and other Hellenistic Greek.

It is significant that the immersionists, who stoutly contend that both words βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν, never mean anything else than “immerse,” are not at all agreed. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 11—13; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

As we study the use of these words in the classical Greek in the books of the immersionists and the aspersionists, we find that the former, as a rule, quote only those passages from the classical authors which favor their side, while some of the latter do the very same thing as to their side of the question. Accordingly, e. g., J. T. Christian quotes from the classics only such statements as in some way can be made to say that βαπτίζειν means “to dip,” and then ends the chapter with the words: “We can, therefore, say without doubt that βαπτίζειν in classical writers means ‘to dip.’” *Op. cit.*, p. 30 Hamilton (*op. cit.*, p. 14) errs on the other side in that he suppresses some examples from the classics which favor the idea of immersion. In discussing the two words βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν, we hope to include in our study all the passages

we can find in which these words are used and not to make a selection of those only which favor our position.

We now follow each word through classical Greek, Septuagint Greek, and New Testament Greek.

BAΠΤΕΙΝ

Classical Usage

Since the point to be proved at this time is merely that the Greek words βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν do not mean only "to dip," or "to immerse," but do have other meanings, no special effort is made to give the statements in chronological order.

Aristotle in his *Politics*, VII, 15:2 says concerning infants: "Hence among many non-Greek races it is customary in the case of some people to wash the children at birth by dipping them into a cold river." "To wash by dipping" is the rendering of ἀπο βάπτειν. Loeb, *Classical Library*, p. 627.

In the last line of the first *Idyl* of *Moschus* of *Syracuse*, a bucolic poet, who lived about 250 B. C., we read: "Do not at all touch deceitful gifts; for they are all dipped (βέβαπται) in fire." Didot's edition, p. 77. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

In "Homer's" *Batrachomyomachia* we read of a frog: "He fell and rose no more, and the lake was baptd (tinged) with blood" (ἐβάπτετο). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16; Summers, *Baptism*, p. 221.

Aristophanes in his *Acharnians* (l. 115) says: "Lest I dye (βάψω) you a Sardinian dye." Cf. Aristophanes, *The Peace*, 1174 f. Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, 108 f.

Again the same author says in *The Birds* (288, 289): "Here's a bird of brilliant hue (βαπτός ὄρνις)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, 154, 155.

Apollonius Rhodius (b. 3 B. C.) says of Euphemus, most swift-footed of men: "He was wont to skim the swell of the gray sea and wetted (βάπτεν) not his swift feet." *Argonautica*, B. I, 183—185, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15. Cf. *ibid.* B. IV, 56—58, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309.

Homer in the *Odyssey*, 9:391: "And as when a smith dips an ax in chill water (ῥῥασι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ)." Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Again, Aeschylus says in *Agamemnon* (612): "Of pleasure from other man or voice of scandal I know no more than of dyeing (βαψάς) bronze." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 f. Cf. *Agamemnon* 230 and 933.

Euripides in his *Hippolytus* (123) says: "A welling spring filling (βαπτάν, lit. "dipped") pitcher after pitcher.

Callimachus, a celebrated Alexandrine grammarian (d. about 240 B. C.), in his hymn *The Bath of Pallas* (ll. 45, 46) says: "Ye water-carriers, dip (βάπτετε) not your pitchers today." Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 116 f.

Aratus of Soli in Cilicia (fl. ca. 270 B. C.) in his *Phenomena* (l. 858) says of the sun: "But if without a cloud he dip (βάπτει) in the western ocean." Loeb, *op. cit.*, 446 f.

Lycophron, a grammarian and poet, native of Chalcis on Euboea, who lived in Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—247 B. C.), in his *Alexander* (ll. 1120—1122) says: "But the whelp, seeking vengeance for his father's blood, shall with his own hand plunge (βάψει) his sword in the entrails of the viper." Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 586 ff.

Herodotus (VII, 67) says concerning the dyeing of clothes: "The Sarange made a brave show with dyed (βεβαμμένα) garments and boots knee-high." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 380 f. Cf. Merriam's edition, p. 108. Cf. Herodotus, III, p. 22, Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 28 f.

Euripides (480—406 B. C.) says in his *Φοινίσσαι* II, 1577 f.: "And the bronze-hammered blade through the bosom she thrust (έβαπεν)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 472 f.

Hippocrates, the most celebrated physician of antiquity, born about 460 B. C., speaking of cutting a bone, says in his treatise *On Wounds in the Head* (XXI, 19 f.): "While trephining, you should frequently take out the saw and plunge (ένανοβάπτειν) it into cold water to avoid heating the bone." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 48 f.

Athenaeus, a learned Greek grammarian, of Naucratis in Egypt, who lived about 230 A. D., says in his book *Deipnosophistae* (i. e., Banquet of the Learned), II, 48: "The most admirable Homer (*Odyssey* I, 130) says that the bedclothes under the body were 'smooth,' that is, white, not dyed or embroidered (βεβαμμένα)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 210, 211.

Again, the same author says in II, 48: "To the Spartan Antalcidas he sent his own chaplet after dipping (βάψας) it in perfume." Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, p. 212 f.

Again, he says in III, p. 89, quoting Apollodorus (second century B. C.) in his *Commentary on Sophron*: "and says that according to some authorities it is derived from the dye (βάμματος)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, 282 f.

Again, Athenaeus, quoting Menander (342—291 B. C.) in *Temperament*, says in IV, 165: "And I will have my hair dyed (βάψομαι)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 252 f.

Quoting Eupolis (ca. 446—ca. 411 B. C.), Athenaeus says in IV, 183: "Eupolis in *The Dyers* (Βάπταις) says: "Who nicely beats the tambourine and sounds the strings of the triangle." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 310 f.

Dio Chrysostom, born at Prusa in Bithynia about the middle of the first century of our era (some say he lived 50—112 A. D.), says of a certain man: "Very much like a pander, who in the garb as well as in character is shameless and niggardly, dressed in

a colored mantle (βαπτόν), the finery of one of his harlots." Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

"So pregnant are these proofs that Dr. Carson, a great immersionist, is obliged to admit that βάπτω has other meanings, and literal meanings, too, besides that of 'plunging,' which some have the temerity to say is its only meaning. This learned writer says: 'Hippocrates used βάπτω to denote 'dyeing' by dropping the dyeing liquid on the thing dyed. When it drops upon the garment, they are dyed (βάπτεται). This surely is not dyeing by dipping. Nearchus relates that the Indians dye (βάπτονται) their beads. βάπτω signifies to dye by sprinkling as properly as by dipping, though originally it was confined to the latter. Nor are such applications of the word to be accounted for by metaphor as Dr. Gale asserts. They are as literal as the primary meaning. It is by extension of the literal meaning, and not by figure of any kind, that words come to depart so far from their original signification.'" Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

Septuagint Usage

According to the count of the *Concordance for the Septuagint*, by Abraham Trommius, the word βάπτω occurs eighteen times in the LXX. In Lev. 11:32 it is the translation for the Hebrew בֹּחַל in hophal, בֹּחַלִּי.

In Ps. 68:23 it is the Greek rendering for the Hebrew טָחַץ. In Dan. 4:30 (LXX) and 5:21 it renders the Aramaic צָבַע. In all of the remaining passages it is the Greek for the Hebrew טָבַל.

The eighteen occurrences of the word are found in order in Ex. 12:22; Lev. 4:6; 9:9; 14:6, 16, 51; Num. 19:18; Deut. 33:24; Josh. 3:15; Ruth 2:14; 1 Sam. 14:27; 2 Kings 8:15; Job 11:30, 31; Ps. 68:23; Ezek. 23:15; Dan. 4:30; 5:21.

While it is true that in the majority of instances the word here is translated "to dip," certainly "to moisten," "to wet with dew," is just as fitting a translation as "to bathe." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 19, says: "'It is somewhat remarkable,' says Dr. Wilson, 'that the Baptists, the fast friends of literal translation, cannot approach these verses without displaying an ardent, if not suspicious, affection for the beauties of trope and figure. But is there not a cause? The literal exposition, it is evident, possesses no affinity for the modal sense of βάπτω; nor is it practicable either to force or flatter these discordant elements into a state of reconciliation. The dew manifestly fell upon Nebuchadnezzar [Dan. 4:33]; its diamond pearls or drops were not collected into a pond or other receptacle, that the monarch might be plunged into its crystal depths. The advocates of a figurative immersion should beware lest this interpretation open the door to a figurative or, it may be, neological infliction of other judgments against Nebuchadnezzar.'"

New Testament Usage

In the New Testament the word βάπτω is found in Luke 16:24; John 13:26 (Lachmann here reads ἐμβάπτω); Rev. 19:13, ἐμβάπτω in Matt. 26:23 and Mark 14:20. Cf. Hibbard, *Christian Baptism*, p. 46.

From the discussion thus far we may conclude that βάπτειν has other meanings besides "immerse," e. g., "to stain," "to moisten," "to dye," etc.

BAIITIZEIN

Classical Usage

"Taking βαπτίζω for a frequentative of βάπτω, the earlier glossaries ascribe to it the meaning of *mergito*, as is stated by Vossius in his *Etymologicum*: 'Cum autem βάπτω sit *mergo*, βαπτίζω *commode vertamus mergito*; and adds respecting the Christian ordinance: *Praesertim, si sermo de Christianorum, qui trina fit, immersione.*' If this view were correct, it would be necessary to a right administration of Baptism that the subject of it should not only be immersed in water, but should be immersed several times; so that not immersion only but repeated immersion would be the constitutional form." Fairbairn, *Hermeneutical Manual*, p. 295.

While derivative words may retain their primitive force, they may assume new shades of meanings. It will be necessary to study the use of this derivative word in order that we might arrive at its true meaning. Although the actual meaning of the word βαπτίζειν can be determined only by usage, we may quote a lexicon or two on the assumption that they are not biased.

Suidas, a Greek lexicographer of about 970 A. D., renders βαπτίζειν with "to sink," "to plunge," "to immerse," "to wet," "to wash," "to cleanse," "to purify."

Stephanus of Byzantium, the author of a valuable lexicon, who lived after the time of Arcadius and Honorius and before that of Justinian II, renders βαπτίζειν by "to dip," "to immerse," "to dye," "to merge," "to submerge," "to cover with water," "to cleanse," "to wash."

The quotations from classical authors which follow are not given in chronological order but are enumerated as found.

Pindar, in the second *Pythian Ode*, ll. 145—147, Edition O. Schroeder, p. 96, says: "For as when the rest of the tackle is trailing deep in the sea, I, as a cork above the net, am undipped (ἀβάπτιστος) in water." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Plato writes in his *Banquet*, 176 B, Aristophanes being the supposed speaker: "I was one of those who yesterday were overwhelmed (βαπτιζομένων) with or in wine." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

In the *Homeric Allegories* (ca. 400 B. C.) we read: "The mass of iron, drawn red-hot from the furnace, was dipped (βαπτίζεται) in water." Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Summers, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 223.

In a little ode of Julian one reads: "I baptized (ἐβάπτισ') him into wine and took and drank him." *Greek Anthology*, Loeb, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 388 f. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

From the commentary of Dionysius on Homer's *Iliad*, Book 16:333, where the poet describes the death of Cleobulus by the stroke of Ajax's sword on his neck, we have this: "The sword was so dipped (βαπτισθέντος) in blood that it was heated by it." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

Plutarch, the biographer and philosopher, born at Chaeronea, in Boeotia, probably in the reign of Claudius, in the first century A. D. writes in his life of Theseus (XXIV, 5), quoting an oracle of the Sibyl respecting the city of Athens, foretelling her continued existence under all her calamities: "A bladder, thou mayest be baptized (βαπτίξῃ), but thou art not destined to sink." Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 54 f. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

Athenaeus, quoting Eubulus in *Nausicaa*, says, VII, 307: "Why! This is the fourth day he has been soaking himself (βαπτίζεται), wearing out the fasting life of a mullet." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 382. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 24. For another quotation of Plutarch see Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Evenus of Paros (B. C. 250) in fifteenth epigram says: "Bacchus [wine] baptizes (βαπτίζει) with sleep, the neighbor of death." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Why translate βαπτίζειν with "plunge in sleep" as J. T. Christian, when there is no "in" there, when we do not "plunge" into sleep, but rather sink into the arms of slumber?

Julian, the Apostate, emperor of Rome, says in a letter to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt (ca. Oct., 362 A. D.): "By all the gods, there is nothing I should be so glad to see as that Athanasius has been expelled beyond the frontiers of Egypt. Infamous man! He has had the audacity to baptize (βαπτίσαι) Greek women of rank during my reign. Let him be driven forth!" Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 142 f. For other quotations from Julian see Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 392, 402, 412.

Philo Judaeus, born at Alexandria, sent to Rome in 40 A. D. on an embassy to Caligula, in his Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis, III, 6, 18, says: "He [Jacob] crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns (βαπτίζοντα) the soul under the flood of passions." Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 312 f.

Polybius, a Greek historian, native of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born ca. 204 B. C., describing the loss of a body of cavalry in a marsh, says: "Themselves baptized (βαπτιζόμενοι) by themselves and sinking in the marshes, were all useless, and many of them perished." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

For other statements of Polybius see Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Dion Cassius, Cocceianus, historian, born A. D. 155, at Nicaea, in Bithynia, says in his *Roman History*: "And he [Archimedes] would lift up ships even those equipped with towers by means of other appliances which he dropped upon them; and raising them aloft, would let them drop suddenly, so that when they fell into the water they were sunk (βαπτίζεσθαι) by the impact." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 170, 171. For other statements by Dion see B. XLI, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 72, 73; B. LXXV, 13, 3, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 190, 191; B. XLIX, 3, 5, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 346, 347; B. L, 18, 6; in Loeb, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 476, 477; B. L, 32, 6, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 506, 507; B. L, 32, 8, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 506, 507; B. L, 35, 3, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 514, 515.

Strabo, the geographer, a native of Amasia in Pontus, born ca. 64 B. C., says: "To one who throws down a dart from above into the channel the force of the water resists so much that it is hardly baptized (βαπτίζεσθαι)." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

Diodorus, surnamed Siculus, of Agyrium, in Sicily, celebrated historian (fl. ca. 60 B. C.), says: "The river rushing down with the current increased in violence, immersed (ἐβάπτισε) many." "They do not overwhelm (βαπτίζουσι) the common people with taxes." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 25; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Josephus, born at Jerusalem in 37 A. D., says in his *Jewish Wars*, B. I, 22, 3: "There according to command, being baptized (βαπτιζόμενος) by the Gauls in a swimming bath, he dies." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 476. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

On the passages referred to, Hamilton makes the following notations: "What becomes of the later statements of Alexander Campbell 'I will say with Mr. Carson that absolutely baptizo (βαπτίζω) means to immerse without the idea of emersion'? and the similar statement of Dr. Conant 'The idea of emersion is not included in the meaning of the Greek word'? What is immersion without emersion but simple drowning?" Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Philo, comparing the intellectual powers of those who live gluttonously, and those who are frugal, says: "The sober and those contented with little excel in intelligence; but those, on the contrary, who are glutted with food and drink are least intelligent, as though the reason were baptized (βαπτιζομένου) with the things coming upon it." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Again, Philo says: "I know some who, when they become slightly intoxicated, before they are thoroughly baptized (drunk, βαπτισθῆναι), make provision by contribution and tickets for tomor-

row's drinking." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Clearly βαπτίζεσθαι, compared with "slightly intoxicated," here means simply "to be drunk."

Epictetus of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a celebrated Stoic philosopher (fl. ca. 50 A. D.), says: "You would not wish, sailing in a large and polished and richly gilded ship, to be submerged (βαπτίζεσθαι)." Fr. 47 (Schw. fr. 14) in Schenkl, *Epict.* Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Demetrius, the Sidonian (ca. 50 A. D.), says: "She is not wholly dipped (βεβαπτίσθαι), but rises above." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Alciphron, the most distinguished of Greek epistolary writers (fl. ca. 180 A. D.), says: "If I am to see all rivers, life to me will be whelmed (βαπτισθήσεται)." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Polyaenus, a Macedonian (fl. ca. 150 A. D.), author of a work on stratagems in war, which is still extant, says: "Philip did not give over dipping (διαβαπτιζόμενος) in a match with the pancratiasts." Edit. Woelflin, IV, 2, 6, p. 160; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Dion Cassius, mentioned above, narrating the defeat of the Roman general Curio by Juba, King of Mauritania, and describing the fate of the captives, says: "Crowds perished in flight, some embarking on the boats, thrown down by the jostling, others in the vessels were baptized by their own weight (ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν βαπτισθέντες)." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 26 for another saying of the same author.

Plotinus, the founder of the Neo-Platonic system (born in Egypt ca. 203 A. D.), says: "Death to her, while yet immersed (βεβαπτισμένα) in the body, is to be sunk in matter. But now, since part of us is continued by the body, as if one has the feet in the water but with the rest of the body stands out above, towering up by what is not immersed (βαπτισθέντι) in the body, we by this are attached as to our own center with that which is the center of all. He does not continue happy, whelmed (βαπτισθείς) either with disease or with acts of magicians." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Aristophanes of Byzantium, an eminent Greek grammarian, who lived ca. 264 B. C. and who introduced the use of accents in the Greek language, says: "Then whelming (βαπτίσας) potently with wine, he set me free." Christian *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Porphry, a Greek philosopher, born 233 A. D., describing the Lake of Probation in India, used by the Brahmans for a test of innocence or guilt, says: "When the accused answers to it, if he is guiltless, he goes through without fear, having the water as far as the knees; but if guilty, after proceeding a little way, he is immersed (βαπτίζεται) unto the head." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 27; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

A certain Himerius (315 A. D.) says: "He was great at Salamis; for there, fighting, he whelmed (ἐβάπτισε) all Asia." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Libanius, a distinguished Greek Sophist and rhetorician, teacher of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, a friend of Emperor Julian, born at Antioch about 314 A. D. and died ca. 395 A. D., says: "I myself am one of those immersed (βεβαπτισμένον) by the great wave." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Themistius, a distinguished rhetorician and philosopher, a Paphlagonian (fl. fourth century A. D.), has this expression: "Overwhelmed (βαπτιζόμενον) by grief." Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28.

Heliodorus (fl. third century B. C.), a Greek writer of romance, author of *Aethiopica*, still extant, has this remark among other statements: "Slaying some on land and plunging (βαπτιζόντων) others, with their boats and huts, into the lake." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Philo, speaking of evil lusts, says: "All these things, seeing that they plunge (βαπτίζοντα) the soul in disaster for which there is no remedy, would properly incur the most extreme vengeance and punishment." Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 218, § 176.

Proclus, celebrated teacher of the Neo-Platonic school, supporter of paganism in death struggle with Christianity, born at Byzantium, 412 A. D., and died 485, says: "The Euoi-Bacchus was sung at festivals and sacrifices of Bacchus, immersed (βεβαπτισμένον) with much wantonness." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Achilles Tatius, second or third century A. D., author of a Greek romance, *The Story of Clitophon and Leucippe*, III:1, 3, says: "We all, therefore, changed our position to the higher part of the ship, that we might lighten the baptized (βαπτιζόμενον) part of the ship." Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 134; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 27. For other statements by the same author see B. II, § 11, sec. 4, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75; B. II, § 11, sec. 5, 6, 8, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77; B. III, § 7, sec. 3, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 149; B. III, § 10, sec. 1, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157; Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 198; B. IV, § 18, 6, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 232; B. IV, § 7, sec. 1, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 316 f.; B. III, § 19, sec. 5, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 340 f.; B. III, § 1, sec. 5, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 135; B. II, § 14, sec. 9, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87; B. III, § 21, sec. 4, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 178; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Athenaeus in his *Philosophical Banquet* says: "You seem to me, O guests, to be flooded with vehement words and to be baptized (βεβαπτισθαι) with unmixed wine." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Alexander of Aphrodisias, in Caria, most celebrated commentator on Aristotle, who lived about 200 A. D., says: "Why is it that many die of those who drink wine to excess? Because the abun-

dance of wine baptizes (καταβαπτίζει) the physical and vital powers." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Chariton of Aphrodisias (fourth century A. D.), author of the Greek romance *The Loves of Chaereas and Callirhoe*, in eight books, uses the expressions "overwhelmed (βαπτίζομενος) by design"; "overwhelmed (ἐβαπτίζετο) as to the soul"; "overwhelmed (βαπτίζομενον) in a calm." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

A certain Conon (first century A. D.), narrating how Thebe destroyed her husband Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, to pretend murder of her three brothers, says: "Having baptized (βαπτίσθη) Alexander with much wine and put him to sleep, she dismissed the guards." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Βαπτίζειν here clearly means "make drunk with wine."

Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* B. X, chap. 9) says: "Seeing him in this condition and baptized into (βεβαπτισμένον εἰς) insensibility and sleep by drunkenness, Ishmael, leaping up with his ten friends, slays Gedaliah and those reclining with him at the banquet." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 32. This passage from Josephus is important, because it furnishes an early example of the use of the preposition εἰς, into, with βαπτίζειν. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Achilles Tatius in B. II, § 31, sec. I, 2, in Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 114, says: "But Leucippe had another chamber servant, Satyrus, whom having baptized (καταβαπτίσας) by the same drug, he comes to the door-keeper." Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36. It is plain that the person concerned was not dipped into the medicine, but that the potion overwhelmed the person when he took the medicine into himself.

Plutarch says: "Why do they . . . say that fishermen received an oracle commanding to baptize (βαπτίζειν) Bacchus at the sea." "The wine was not plunged into the water, nor did the water overwhelm the wine. It simply mingled with it, reduced its strength, thereby baptized it. How manifold are the forms of Greek baptism!" Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Josephus (*Jewish Wars*, B. IV:3,3) says: "Who, even independently of the sedition, afterwards baptized (ἐβάπτισεν) the city." Loeb, *op. cit.*, III, p. 40 f.

A curious example of "epibaptism" is mentioned by Josephus in *Jewish Wars* (B. I:27, 1) where he tells of the manner in which two sons of Herod by Mariamne were persecuted to death by their stepmother Salome. Speaking of their mock trial and condemnation, he says: "This as a final storm epibaptized (ἐπεβάπτισεν) the tempest-beaten youth." Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, p. 535. Cruel persecution epibaptized them. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 44. For other statements of Josephus cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41; 43, 44.

Finally we come to a very important but much controverted

passage of Josephus respecting the purification of the heifer's ashes. We read in *Jewish Antiquities* IV:4, 6: "Those, therefore, defiled by a dead body, introducing a little of the ashes and hyssop-branch into a spring, and also baptizing (βαπτίζαντες) by this ashes put into spring water." Loeb, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 314 f.

Septuagint Usage

In the Old Testament proper the word is used but twice. In 2 Kings 5:14 ἐβαπτίσατο is rendered in the Authorized Version "dipped"; but Jerome in the Vulgate renders it *lavit in Jordane*. In Is. 21:4 βαπτίζει is rendered "overwhelms."

Usage in the Apocrypha

It is used in Jud. 12:7 and Ecclus. 31:25. Cf. Hibbard, *On Baptism*, II, p. 65; Fairbairn, *op. cit.*, p. 298; Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

New Testament Usage

According to Dr. A. L. Graebner (*Theol. Quart.*, V:6) the word βαπτίζειν, and its derivatives βαπτισμός, βάπτισμα, and βαπτιστής occur 122 times in the New Testament.

According to Schmidt's *Concordance to the New Testament*, as abridged by D. Greenfield, βαπτίζειν occurs in the following places in the New Testament: Matt. 3:11 (2), 13, 14, 16; (20:22 (2), 23 (2), in *t. r.*, but omitted in Nestle); 28:19; Mark 1:4, 5, 8 (2), 9; 6:14; 7:4; 16:16; 10:38 (2), 39 (2); Luke 3:12, 16 (2), 21 (2); 7:29, 30; 11:38; 12:50; John 1:25, 26, 28, 31, 33 (2); 3:22, 23 (2), 26; 4:1, 2; 10:40; Acts 1:5 (2); 2:38, 40; 8:12, 13, 16, 36, 38; 9:18; 10:47, 48; 11:16 (2); 16:15, 33; 18:8; 19:3, 4, 5; 22:16; Rom. 6:3 (2); 1 Cor. 1:13, 14, 15, 16 (2), 17; 10:2; 12:13; 15:29 (2); Gal. 3:27. βάπτισμα occurs Matt. 3:7; (20:22, 23 in *t. r.*, but omitted in Nestle, etc.); 21:25; Mark 1:4; 10:38; Luke 7:29; 12:50; Acts 1:22; 10:37; 13:24; 18:25; 19:3, 4; Rom. 6:4; Eph. 4:5; Col. 2:12; 1 Pet. 3:21. βαπτισμός occurs Mark 7:4, 8; Heb. 6:2; 9:10; βαπτιστής Matt. 3:1; 11:11, 12; 14:2, 8; 16:14; 7:13; Mark 8:28; Luke 7:20, 28, 33; 9:19.

From an analysis of the New Testament passages we notice that the A. V. and Luther's version in almost all instances use "baptize," *taufen*; "baptism," *Taufe*; "Baptist," *Taeufer*, for rendering βαπτίζειν and its derivatives. In Mark 7:4 βαπτισμούς is rendered "washings" by the A. V. and *zu waschen* by Luther; and in Mark 7:8 βαπτισμούς, in *t. r.*, but omitted by Nestle and others, is rendered "washing" by the A. V. and *zu waschen* by Luther. Heb. 9:10 βαπτισμοῖς is rendered "washings" by the A. V. but *Taufen* by Luther. From this it is apparent that we can learn very little from an analysis such as this is, since it is manifest

that the word "baptize," practically a transliteration of βαπτίζειν, is so translated as a convenience. We must therefore investigate what the word *must* mean in certain passages. It might be well at this time to remember this observation by Hamilton (*op. cit.*, p. 22): "The word βαπτίζω is never in the Scriptures found in connection with the phrase εἰς ὕδωρ: into water." For investigations on this matter cf. Dr. A. L. Graebner in *Theol. Quart.*, V:7 ff.; J. T. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 63 ff.; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 84 ff., 148, 159 f., 166 f.; Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 79 f., 100 f., 11, 68; Summers, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 81, 99, 227; Fairbairn, *op. cit.*, pp. 303, 309.

To take but one passage, let us note how some abuse the words. In Acts 8:36 ff. we have the record of the baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch. Because Dr. J. T. Christian here finds the prepositions εἰς and ἐκ, he is overjoyed to the extent that he concludes his argument before he starts it; for he says at the outset: "This example is overwhelmingly in favor of immersion. The force of the preposition in this narrative can not be overstated. They went down into the water, and they came up out of the water. There is not a child ten years old that does not know what is meant here and exactly what took place. It takes a wise man to explain away this passage; and when he gets through explaining, immersion is there still. From whatever standpoint we look at this passage, it can mean nothing but immersion." *Op. cit.*, p. 88. But when a horse has been ridden into a watering-place and ridden out again, was he immersed as to his body? "The fact seems to have been that the chariot stopped at (ἐν) the water, Philip and the Eunuch stepped down into (εἰς) the water, and Philip baptized him. The *going into the water applies to both*, as also the going out; and the prepositions εἰς and ἐκ would be appropriate if the water had not been more than a few inches deep." Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

The least that can be said is that βαπτίζειν in the New Testament as well as in the Old Testament does not only mean "dip," "immerse," or the like, but that "wash" and "sprinkle" also apply.

Testimonies from Extra-Biblical Authors

In recording the various testimonies which have a bearing on the mode of baptism, especially immersion, we shall follow roughly chronological lines, giving quotations from the so-called Apostolic Fathers and then coming down the centuries to about the sixth or seventh century.

We shall, first of all, quote from the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a copy of which was found by Bryennios in 1875, in the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem at Constantinople. This is considered one of the most important discoveries of the

second half of the nineteenth century. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 119. "There are several references in early Christian literature to a book with this or a similar title, and by applying the method of comparative criticism to documents which had probably made use of it, especially the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Church Ordinances*, a rough reconstruction of some of its features had been obtained." *Apostolic Fathers*, Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, p. 305. Many critics place its date between 90 and 100 A. D. and none later than 160 A. D. The famous chapter of "Baptism," chapter VII, has the following, in the translation which Dr. Lake gives: "1. Concerning baptism (βαπτίσματος), baptize (βαπτίσατε) thus: Having first rehearsed all these things, baptize (βαπτίσατε) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost in running water; 2. but if thou hast no running water, baptize (βάπτισον) in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. 3. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 4. And before the baptism (βαπτίσματος) let the baptizer (ὁ βαπτίζων) and him who is to be baptized (ὁ βαπτιζόμενος) fast, and any others who are able. And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptized (τὸν βαπτιζόμενον) fast on two days before." *Didache*, Loeb, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 319, 320. Cf. C. F. Drewes in *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 66; *Lehre und Wehre*, 57, p. 268; Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 119—127; Bingham, *Antiquities*, B. I, p. 539.

Barnabas (born ca. 100 A. D.) in his Epistle, XI:8, 11 says: "Blessed are those who hoped on the cross and descended into the water (κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ)." Loeb, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381, 382. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 109; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, p. 144; *L. u. W.*, 57, p. 66.

According to J. Septimus Florens Tertullianus (born at Carthage about the middle of the second century A. D.), who wrote in Latin, but thoroughly understood Greek, the oldest of the Latin Fathers extant, the word βαπτίζειν does not necessarily mean "to dip" or "to immerse." We shall quote a few of his statements and refer to more. He says (*De Spectaculis*, c. 4): "Cum aquam ingressi christianam fidem in legis suae verba confitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompae et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur." Guericke, *Christl.-Kirchl. Archaeologie*, p. 285 n. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 115; *Theol. Quart.* XVIII, p. 67; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, p. 04; Guericke, *op. cit.*, p. 278 n.

Again Tertullian says (*De Baptismo*, c. 4 P): "Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo, diluatur." *L. u. W.* 57, p. 269. Cf. *Theol. Quart.* XVIII, p. 66; Bingham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 539.

Again Tertullian (*On Repentance*, chap. 6) says: "Quis enim tibi tam infidae poenitentiae viro aspergionem unam cujus libet

aquae commodabit." Bingham suggests that Tertullian here refers to aspersion in Baptism. Cf. *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 67; Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 539 n.; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 57; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Sim. IX, XVI, 2, 3, probably written about 110 to 140, certainly before 148 A. D., we read: "They go down then into the water (εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσι) dead and come up alive." *Apostolic Fathers*, Loeb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 262. Cf. *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 66; Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111; Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 35; *L. u. W.* 57, p. 67; Bingham, II, p. 491 and n.

Justin Martyr (died 165 A. D.) says in his first *Apology*, which was written ca. 150 A. D., in 62, 1; "And when the demons had heard, through the preaching of the prophets, of this *loutron*, they required their worshipers to sprinkle themselves (ἐκσπένδειν ἑαυτούς)." *The Apologies of Justin Martyr*, by B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 58; cf. also *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, p. 138; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 109; *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 66; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 67, 200; Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 117; *L. u. W.*, 57, p. 68.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 5, 7, 30, we read: "Having received the commandment . . . to teach all nations and to baptize (βαπτίσαι) into his death." Quoted in *Hermetica*, Edit. Scott, II, p. 16.

Zosimus, the alchemist (300—350 ? A. D.), 3, 51, 8 in II, 8 in *Testim* says: "And having been baptized (βαπτισθεῖσα τῷ κρανίῳ) with the mixing-bowl, he went against his own race or class." Quoted in *Hermetica*, II, p. 17.

Titus Flavius Clement of Alexandria (born about 150 and died ca. 220 A. D.), one of the most important of the Greek Fathers of the Church, says: "Und wenn jemand ein Fischer ist, so moege er denken an einen Apostel und an die Kindlein, welche aus dem Wasser gezogen werden (τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπασμένων παιδίων)." *L. u. W.*, 57, p. 69. Cf. also Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 87, 202; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. XXI, p. 217.

For statements on the matter by Clement of Rome see *L. u. W.*, 57, p. 112; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII, p. 290. For statements from Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (died 258 A. D.), see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII, p. 116; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 64, 199, 66; *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 68; Baier, Vol. III, p. 446, Ed. Walther; Walther's *Pastorale*, p. 118 ff.; Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Guericke, *op. cit.*, p. 285; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. V, pp. 400, 401; *L. u. W.*, 57, pp. 310, 311.

Concerning Origen (184—254 A. D.), a pupil of Clement of Alexandria and a contemporary of Tertullian, Eusebius tells us that he spoke of a woman who received the baptism of fire, martyrdom, for we read: "And among the women Heraïs, who was still under

instruction for membership, baptism, as Origen himself says somewhere, received the baptism (τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ διὰ πυρός) of fire," and so ended her life." Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, Book VI, 4. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 72. For other statements by Origen see Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 64, 71, 74, 78; Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

For statements by Hippolytus (160, some 170—235, some 236 A. D.) see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. V, p. 236; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 67. For statement by Gregory Thaumaturgos, or Wonderworker (240 A. D.), see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VI, p. 70; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Eusebius (born about 264 A. D.) says in his *Eccl. Hist.*: "Being delivered by the exorcist, he fell into a severe sickness; and as he seemed about to die, he received Baptism by affusion, on the bed where he lay; if, indeed, we can say such a one did receive it." *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I, pp. 288, 289. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

For Canon 12 of Council of Neo-Caesarea, held 314 A. D., see *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 69; *L. u. W.*, 57, p. 268. For decree of Council of Nice, held 325 A. D., see Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169. For decree of Council of Laodicea, held ca. 360 A. D., see *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 71. For decree of Council of Carthage, 400 A. D. (some say 348 or 398 A. D.) see Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

Basil, Bishop of Caesarea (fl. ca. 329—379 A. D.), says: "By the three immersions and by the like number of invocations the great mystery of Baptism is completed." Cf. *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 70; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

For a statement by Gregory of Nazienzen (born in the early part of fourth century) see *L. u. W.* 57, p. 265; for statements by Didymus Alexandrinus see Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 63, 64, 77.

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (Born 315 and died 386 A. D.), says: "Likewise to you who have come up from the bath (κολυμβήθρας) . . . is given the ointment." Guericke, *op. cit.*, p. 287. For other statements by same author cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 55; *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 70; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 64, 66.

Jerome (born c. 340, died 420 A. D.) says: "And thrice were we immersed (*mergimur*) that there may appear one Sacrament of the Trinity." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Guericke, *op. cit.*, p. 285; Bingham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 540. For other statements by Jerome see Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Fairbairn, *op. cit.*, p. 295; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Chrysostom (347—407 A. D.) says: "To be baptized (τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι) and to sink down (καταδύεσθαι), then to rise again, is a symbol of descending into the grave and coming from it again." *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 79. Cf. Bingham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 537; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For other statements by the same author see

Guericke, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Bingham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 563.

Zeno Veronensis, Bishop of Verona in the third or fourth century, says "Rejoice, for you went down (*demergitis*) naked into the font." *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 71; cf. Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

The Church of that age baptized men, women, and children naked. There was no indecency about this, since they were baptized separately, or in different rooms, and deaconesses assisted in the baptism of women.

St. Augustine, died 430 A. D., baptized 387 A. D., says: "After you professed your belief, three times did we submerge (*demersimus*) your heads in the sacred font." *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 71. Cf. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Theodoret (died 457 A. D.) says: "It is not necessary that the man who is baptized (τὸν βαπτίζομενον) be immersed three times (τοῖς καταδύειν)." Bingham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 540.

Pope Pelagius in *Epistola ad Gaudentium* says that the Gospel teaches "trine immersion" (*trina immersione*). Bingham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 540.

Leo the Great, made Pope in 440 A. D., died 461 A. D., says: "The trine immersion (*demersio*) is an imitation of the three days' burial." Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

Gregory the Great in his *Sacramentary* says: "Let the priests baptize with trine immersion (*trina immersione*)." Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 450; Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

The *Ordo Romanus*, a ritual of the eighth century, has: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father (and immerse once) and of the Son (and immerse a second time) and of the Holy Ghost (and immerse the third time)." Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Bingham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 538, remarks: "For it appears from the *Ordo Romanus* and Gregory's *Sacramentarium* that infants as well as others were baptized by immersion."

St. John Damascene (born 676 and died ca. 754—787 A. D.) says in the story *Barlaam and Joasaph*, which is ascribed to him, the following concerning baptism (he is speaking concerning the baptism of one of the heroes): "When Barlaam had thus spoken and taught the king's son the creed which was set forth at the Council of Nicaea, he baptized (ἐβάπτισεν) him in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in the pool of water which was in the garden." Chap. XIX:167, Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

Again we read: "When some of them also thought fit to receive yet another baptism (βάπτισμα); I mean that which is by blood and martyrdom. For this, too, is called baptism (βάπτισμα),

the most honorable of all, inasmuch as its waters are not polluted by fresh sins, which also our Lord underwent for our sakes and rightly called it baptism (βάπτισμα)." *Barlaam and Joasaph*, XII: 100; Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169. For other expressions by the same author see Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 151, 504, 534, 502, etc.

Fennadius of Marseilles (495 A. D.), comparing Baptism and martyrdom, says: "The one after his confession is either sprinkled (*aspergitur*) with water or else plunged into it (*intingitur*)." *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 71.

Epigraphs and Inscriptions

We shall also consider some epigraphs which speak of Baptism. In these epigraphs certain terms are used to designate Baptism. In his book on Christian epigraphs, called *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Karl Maria Kaufmann, Freiburg, 1917, says: "Fuer sie [die Taufe] haben die epigraphischen Texte die Ausdruecke: *percepit, suscepit, accepit* (d. h., *fidem*, bzw. *gratiam*) uebernommen. Dem *accipere gratiam* beim Eintritt ins (uebernatuerliche) Leben entsprach der Terminus *reddere (animam)* im Augenblicke des Todes. Beide Termini vereinigt das Epitaph eines Kindes aus der Priscilla-Katakombe, der Tyche, die 1 Jahr, 10 Monate, 15 Tage lebte, am Achten vor den Kalenden des . . . die Taufe empfang (*accepit*) und (ihre Seele) am selben Tage (*die supra scripta*) zurueckgab (*reddidit*)." P. 180.

Two more epigraphs of 269 and 338 A. D., respectively, are recorded by Kaufmann on pp. 181, 191.

About the end of the fourth century A. D. another designation of Baptism appears, namely, ἐσθῆς φωτιστικῇ, *in albis*, respectively *albatus*.

An inscription on a tombstone at Cologne reads, in translation by Kaufmann: "Hier ruht ein Knabe namens Valentinianus, der 3 Jahre und . . . Monate und 16 Tage lebte und im Frieden im Taufkleide heimging (*in albis recessit*)." Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

The newly baptized were called: *neofitus, neofita*, also *nofitus, nofita*, and *niofitus*.

The well-known sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, a masterpiece of early Christian plastic art, which now is in St. Peter's in Rome, has the following inscription in Kaufmann's translation: "Junius Bassus, der erlauchte Herr, der 42 Jahre 2 Monate lebte, ging gerade waehrend seiner Amtszeit als Stadtpraefekt als Neugetaufter (*neofitus*) zu Gott, am Achten vor den Kalenden des September unter den Konsuln Eusebius und Bypatius." Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

For descriptions of other epigraphs and inscriptions see Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 187, 188; *Theol. Quart.*, XVIII, p. 72.

Pictures and Engravings on Baptism

Pictures and drawings which have been discovered by recent archeological research, or which have been known for some time, shed some light on the mode of baptism. Immersionists would make pictures which would favor immersion, and others would make others.

Orceneth Fisher in his book *Christian Baptism*, p. 34 ff., gives five out of the twelve which a certain M. Taylor gives.

1. *Baptism of Christ in Jordan*. This representation is in the center, as the center-piece, of the dome of the baptistry at Ravenna. This building was erected and decorated in 454 A. D. John the Baptist is drawn as standing on the bank of the river in his camel-hair coat, holding in the right hand a shell, from which he pours water upon the head of Christ, who is standing naked, waist deep, in the water. Over the head of Jesus is the crown of glory and the figure of a dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit. The name "Jordanu" is written over the head of a mythological figure which, according to the custom of the ancients, represents the river. Whatever argument may be drawn from the picture in favor of the notion that our Savior was actually baptized in the River Jordan, nothing can be proved from it in favor of immersion as now practiced. It is clear that John is pouring on water and is not touching Jesus. Summers (*op. cit.*, p. 243) also mentions this picture and gives it. K. M. Kaufmann (*op. cit.*, p. 434) mentions this picture and calls it a mosaic in the baptistry of San Giovanni in Fonte, at Ravenna, 430 A. D.

2. *Baptism of a Heathen King and Queen*. The picture represents the king and the queen in a family bath which could cover them up to the waist. A man in military habit is pouring water on them from a vase. Attendants are around. This is found in Chigi, near Naples. It is supposed to be the baptism of Argululfus, the king, and Theolinda, the queen, of the Longobardi, who occupied Beneventum in the sixth century. The pouring is evident as well as the impossibility of total immersion.

3. *Administration of Baptism*. This picture depicts 1. the candidate kneeling down and praying near the bath of water, and a hand issues from a cloud above him, to denote divine approval; 2. Baptism is administered by pouring water out of a vase on the persons who are kneeling on the ground and are not immersed at all. Immersion is certainly not thought of here. This same picture is also shown by Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

4. *Laurentius Baptizing Romans*. This representation is in the Church of Lawrence, *extra muros*, at Rome. Lawrence, the martyr preacher, is depicted as formally administering Baptism

in a regular baptistry by pouring. St. Lawrence was martyred August 2, 258 A. D., about 150 years after the death of the Apostle John. This was no doubt apostolic baptism and was by pouring.

5. *Baptism of the Emperor Constantine.* The Emperor, receiving Baptism, is immersed waist-deep in the bath, metaphorically called the "laver of regeneration"; and Eusebius performs the rite of Baptism by pouring water on the Monarch's head. This was Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, Palestine, who was born ca. 270 and died ca. 340 A. D. The first Christian emperor is represented as being baptized by pouring.

6. *Font in Baptistry in Catacomb of Pontianus.* Summers (*op. cit.*, p. 241) shows a picture of the catacomb of Pontianus, outside of the Portese gate of Rome. This baptistry must have been made shortly after the martyrdom of the apostles. "The size of the baptistry obviously excludes or precludes the idea of plunging in administering the sacred rite." Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 242. K. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archaeologie*, Paderborn, 1922, tells us that the basin in the catacomb of St. Pontianus is 2 m. in diameter and 1 m. deep (1 meter equals 39.37 inches). Cf. p. 228.

7. *Baptism of Christ by John.* On the walls of the baptistry of Pontianus there is a picture, rudely painted, representing the baptism of Christ by John. The Baptist stands on a rock on the bank, pouring water on the head of the Savior, who is standing in the river, immersed up to the waist, the Holy Dove descending on Him, the emblematic Lamb standing meekly by, and the angel witnessing the solemn scene. Beneath the picture is the cross, studded with gems, having suspended on the transverse beam the symbolic A and Ω (Alpha and Omega). Cf. Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

8. *Picture from the Church on the Via Ostiensis at Rome.* The outside of the representation is a plate of brass covering a substance of wood. The figures are partly in relief, partly engraved. Some of the hollows are inlaid with silver. The inscription is in Greek. The door which it covers is dated 1070, but the plate is much older than the door; and to judge from the letters, it is manifestly of Greek origin and very ancient workmanship. John the Baptist appears to be baptizing Jesus by pouring. Cf. Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

9. *S. S. Pietro e Marcellino.* On the ceiling of S. S. Pietro e Marcellino, second century A. D., we find a scene of the baptism of Jesus in which the baptizer pours water on Jesus. Cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 333. In plastic art the baptism of Christ was often represented.

10. *Santa Maria Liberatrice.* A sarcophagus, which was found

in 1901, when the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice was wrecked, and which is manifestly early and was brought from the cemetery in the city, shows among other scenes the baptism of Jesus. Jesus stands ankle-deep in the water and has water poured on His head in baptism. Cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 333. Says Kaufmann (*op. cit.*, p. 400): "Die sakramentale Taufe ist auf Zoemeterial-fresken bisher viermal nachgewiesen, wovon als aeltestes Exemplar das Bild auf der Hinterwand der Sakramentskapelle unzweifelhaft der zweiten Haelfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts angehört. Ihre Darstellung weicht zunaechst nicht wesentlich von denen der Taufe Christi ab. Die Kuenstler schildern die im Zeitalter der Verfolgung vorherrschende *immersio*, die sich nach Ausweis der Denkmaler allerdings verschieden vollziehen liess, dass sich die Flut von oben herab aus einer Roehre oder einem Brunnen auf den in einem Bassin Stehenden ergiesst. Das geschieht auf jenem Grabstein mit der Taufe Christi aus Aquileja, ferner auf einem 1876 gefundenen Glasboden mit der Taufe eines Maedchens, und auch einige aeltere Mosaiken verbinden so *immersio* und *infusio*. Cf. C. R. Rogers, *Baptism and Christian Archeology*, Oxford, 1902.

An ancient ivory diptych has a presentation of the baptism of Christ showing Him standing knee-deep in water. This is in Milan. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 531. An enameled cross of the fifth or sixth century A. D., from Asia Minor, now in Rome, shows Christ baptized by pouring. Cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

A Syrian censer of the sixth century, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin, has engraved, among other scenes, a baptism in which the baptizer lays hands on a boy who is not in the water. Cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 581.

"Die alte Taufpraxis schloz der Gebrauch kleiner Becken von vorneherein fast aus, und die klimatischen Verhaeltnisse erlauben nicht ohne weiteres die Taufe im Freien, so wenig wie die politischen." Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

As to the mode of baptism we may draw some information from the statement of Kaufmann "So wird man annehmen koennen, dasz bald nach dem Kirchenfrieden eigene Taufkirchen (βαπτιστήριον, φωτιστήριον, *fons, fons baptisteri*) entstanden, um so mehr, als die Menge der zu Taufenden oft nach Hunderten zaehlte, wie aus dem Briefe des Chrysostomus an Innocentius ersichtlich ist. Auch in den Katakomben sind Baptisterien nachgewiesen. Das klassischste, *ubi Petrus baptizabat*, wurde wiederholt erwaeht. Es ist ein fuer die Verhaeltnisse der unterirdischen Nekropolis grosses viereckiges Wasserbassin von 1.40 m. Tiefe." *Op. cit.*, pp. 225, 226.

Concerning pictures presenting the baptism of Christ, Kaufmann says: "Das aelteste dieser Bilder, im Hypogaeum der Lucina,

stammt spaetestens aus der ersten Haelfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts und gibt den Moment nach der Taufe wieder: Christus, sonst als Kind gedacht, tritt hier als nackter Juengling auf; der Taeufer erscheint bartlos, in geguerteter Exomis; links in der Hoehe erblickt man die Taube. . . . Getreuer ist die Darstellung schon auf jenem Abb. 163 wiedergegebenen Deckenfresco der Kammer 54 in S. S. Pietro e Marcellino, welches ebenfalls noch dem zweiten Jahrhundert angehört, und ferner in den Taufszenen der sogenannten Sakramentskapellen, wo der Taeufing gleichfalls nackt erscheint und der Taeufer (Kammer A, 3) bereits die Taufe durch Aufgieszen des Wassers vollzieht." Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 434, shows the picture of the baptistry of San Giovanni in Fonte, referred to above, which might illustrate immersion and affusion, or pouring, at the same time.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that there never was a time in the Church of God when baptizing by sprinkling or pouring was entirely unknown, as far as this investigation reaches; that the words βάπτειν and βαπτίζειν in the majority of the cases cited has the meaning "to dip," or "to immerse"; that there are, however, very clear instances in which "to dip," or "to immerse," is not the meaning; that hence we must not say that any special mode of baptism is demanded by God's Word or by the testimony of the early Church, but must admit that *per se* baptism by sprinkling is just as valid as baptism by immersion, and *vice versa*.

This does, of course, not mean that we Lutherans now could without any further ado drop our mode of baptism by sprinkling and assume the mode of baptism by immersion. The matter of confession plays a rôle here. However, it is not our purpose here to discuss this matter.

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