

A STUDY OF BAPTISM IN THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

A RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE AND EXEGETICAL
STUDY OF BAPTISM IN THE
EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

By

ARTHUR GERALD PATZIA, B.A., B.D., Th.M.

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AUTHOR: Arthur Gerald Patzia, B.A. (University of Manitoba)
B.D. (North American Baptist Seminary)
Th.M. (Princeton Theological
Seminary)

SUPERVISOR: Professor E. P. Sanders

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis is primarily a study of the doctrine and role of baptism in the Epistle to the Ephesians. The central argument is that the Epistle is a treatise on the unity between Jew and Gentile in the Church and that the author utilizes the language and teaching of baptism to develop this theme. Careful attention, therefore, is given to an exegesis of the text in order to determine how the teaching of baptism contributes toward this purpose. Consideration is also given to the catechetical, liturgical, ethical and eschatological aspects of baptism as they emerge in the Epistle. Jewish and Hellenistic rites are examined within the context of their possible influence upon the teaching of baptism in Ephesians.

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this classification was far too vast to be covered within the confines of a thesis. This then led to the selection of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

A final word of thanks goes to my wife Dorothy for her patience and encouragement during these years of graduate study.

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INTRODUCTION

An uncritical and superficial reading of the Epistle to the Ephesians may lead one to the general conclusion that the Apostle Paul is writing a doctrinal (chapters 1-3) and practical (chapters 4-6) letter to a group of Christians in Ephesus. In the doctrinal section, which includes the address and prayer of thanksgiving (1:1-14), he speaks on such themes as God, Christ, redemption, the unity between Jew and Gentile, the mystery of the Gospel, and the Church. The ethical elements of Christianity include both the personal and social virtues that should characterize one's life as well as how one can live this type of life in a hostile world.

The entire history of scholarship on Ephesians, on the other hand, testifies to the fact that such simple solutions and outlines are far from adequate. An intensive study of Ephesians presents one with a host of problems concerning such matters as authorship, destination, style, purpose, theology, and its relationship to other books of the New Testament, particularly the greater Pauline letters. This state of affairs is aptly expressed by the title of H. J. Cadbury's¹ article on Ephesians. Although the thrust of Cadbury's article is largely directed toward the problem of authorship, the myriad theories that have been proposed on various aspects of the Epistle show that

¹
H. J. Cadbury, "The Dilemma of Ephesians," NTS, 5(1958-9), pp. 91-102

the "dilemma" remains or at least that it has not been solved to the satisfaction of everyone.

It is not necessary to present a summary and evaluation of all the theories that have been written on the study of Ephesians. Such research has received considerable attention by scholars and is readily accessible in various articles, books and commentaries.² On the other hand, it is appropriate to make some introductory remarks about the purpose of the Epistle as it relates to our thesis.

In Ephesians, the author, a deuter-Paulinist, is dealing with the problem of the unity of the Church. It is his specific intention to show that both Jew and Gentile have been united as one new man in Christ (2:5-10; 13-22) and thus constitute Christ's Body, the Church (1:22-3; 3:6; 4:12; 5:30) over which he is Head (1:22; 4:16; 5:23). All divisions, therefore, have been broken down in Christ who is God's agent in bringing peace to mankind and to the world.

There has been considerable speculation as to the definite situation that occasioned such a direct treatise on the unity between Jew and Gentile in the Church. H. Chadwick has suggested that the letter was written to correct a spiritual misunderstanding that had arisen within post-Pauline Christianity.³ Apparently the Gentile

²Cf. P. N. Harrison, "The Author of Ephesians," Studia Evangelica, 2(1964), pp. 595-604; J. C. Kirby, Ephesians: Baptism and Pentecost (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), Part I; C. L. Mitton, The Epistle to the Ephesians (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1951); E. Percy, Die Probleme der Kolosser-und Epheserbrief (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946).

³H. Chadwick, "Die Absicht des Epheserbriefes," ZNW, 51(1960), pp. 145-153; also his "Ephesians," in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black & H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1962), pp. 980ff.

congregations had divorced themselves from the salvation-history of the Jewish Christians and considered themselves as a separate spiritual entity. According to Chadwick, Ephesians claims a definite continuity of Gentile Christianity with Judaism and teaches that both Jew and Gentile have been united in Christ and now constitute, as the Church, a new creation or "species."⁴

Chadwick's interpretation is somewhat similar to the view of E. Käsemann, who believes that the author of Ephesians needs to remind the Gentile Christians of their roots and the origin of the Gospel because they were despising their Jewish brethren. In this respect, the Epistle elaborates upon a theme which is briefly discussed by Paul in Romans 11--i.e. the incorporation of Gentiles into Jewish Christianity.⁵

All this, however, does not give us any clue as to what occasioned such strained relations between Jewish and Gentile believers. W. Grundmann attempts to make a historical connection with the migration of Jewish Christians to Asia Minor after the Jewish war and argues that the influx of this Jewish-Christian circle into the predominantly Gentile-Christian churches of Asia Minor led to a split which a Pauline pupil sought to bridge in Ephesians by the application of Pauline

⁴He refers to the Church as "ein drittes Geschlecht" (op. cit., p. 147), but not in such a way as to be discontinuous with the old covenant.

⁵Cf. E. Käsemann's "Epheserbrief," RGK, Vol. 2, 3rd. ed., 1962, pp. 517-20; "Ephesians and Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L. E. Keck & J. L. Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), pp. 288-297; "Paul and Nascent Catholicism," Distinctive Protestant and Catholic Themes Reconsidered. Journal for Theology and the Church, Vol. 3, ed., R. W. Funk & G. Ebeling (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), pp. 14-26. A somewhat similar interpretation is given by R. P. Martin in his "An Epistle in Search of a Life-Setting," ET, 79(1968), pp. 296-302.

thoughts on the unity of these two groups.⁶

But such a view is highly conjectural, and one must agree with W. G. Kummel that we do not know "what concrete occasion there was for the transformation of the Pauline preaching through the emphasis upon the unity of the church made up of Gentiles and Jews. . . ." ⁷ Stig Hanson's suggestion that Ephesians is probably connected with the theological speculation of the Pauline circle rather than a particular crisis is also commendable at this point.⁸ Failure to identify the concrete situation which occasioned the Epistle does not, however, detract from the fact that unity is its dominant theme.

This thesis is primarily a study of the doctrine and role of baptism in the Epistle to the Ephesians. In the thesis the attempt is made to demonstrate that the author utilizes the language and teaching of baptism to develop the theme of unity. He considers baptism to be the rite by which one participates in Christ (2:5-10) and thus partakes of all the blessings of God (1:3-14; 2:13ff.; 5:8ff.). Furthermore, the appearance of the one baptism in 4:5 as one of the foundational principles of the unity of the Church demonstrates the importance of this sacrament for the author and his agreement with the tradition of the early Church in considering baptism a sacrament of unity (I Cor. 1:13ff.; 12:12-13; Gal. 3:27-8; Col. 3:10-11).

⁶W. Grundmann, "Die ΝΗΠΙΟΙ in der Paränese," NTS, 5(1958-9), p. 194, n. 1.

⁷W. G. Kummel, Introduction to the New Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 14th. revised edition, 1965), pp. 256-7.

⁸Stig Hanson, The Unity of the Church in the New Testament (Lexington: The American Library Association, 1963), p. 108.

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⁷W. G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 14th. revised edition, 1965), pp. 256-7.

⁸Stig Hanson, The Unity of the Church in the New Testament (Lexington: The American Library Association, 1963), p. 108.

The act of baptism is also used to describe the change of status from pagan to believer. The author accentuates this change by contrasting what his readers "once" were (2:1ff.; 11f.; 5:8a) and what they have "now" become in Christ (2:4ff.; 13ff.; 5:8bff.). This also is in keeping with the view of the early Church which interpreted baptism as participation in the events of Christ (Indicative) and the beginning of a new ethical life (Imperative--cf. Rom. 6:1-11; I Cor. 6:11; 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 3:3; Tit. 3:5-7). The Epistle also contains a large amount of paraenetic material (4:1-3; 4:17-5:20; 5:21-6:9) which probably belonged to a common catechetical tradition of the early Church. The author uses these exhortations to expound upon the nature of the new life "in Christ" and to show the unifying effect this ethical action is to have upon all human relationships in the Church (4:3; 15-16, 25-32; 5:21-33).

In Part I an exegesis of the Epistle is made in order to determine all the direct and indirect references to baptism. This involves an examination of "baptism" in 4:5 as well as specific words, phrases, concepts and passages for their possible connection to this sacrament. The list includes such motifs as sonship (1:5), redemption (1:7), sealing (1:13; 4:30), illumination (1:7), circumcision (2:11-12), cleansing and sanctification (5:26), baptism and the Word (5:26), the "in Christ" formula (2:5-10), and the possible hymnic (1:3-14, 20-23; 2:1-10, 13-18, 19-22) and catechetical material (4:1-3; 4:17-5:20; 5:21-6:9).

Considerable attention is also given throughout this section to the secondary literature which stresses the liturgical, catechetical

and baptismal nature of the Epistle. Although the exegesis does not support such theories that Ephesians was written specifically as a baptismal treatise or liturgy, it does lead to the conclusion that a significant amount of material in the Epistle is directly connected with the baptismal rite.

Since some aspects of the baptismal nature of the Epistle are only briefly discussed in Part I, another section (Part II) is devoted to a more thorough examination of such topics as eschatology, ethics and the existence of baptismal catechisms and liturgies in the early Church. It is hoped that a deeper understanding of these aspects of baptism in the New Testament will assist in placing the material in Ephesians in its proper perspective.

Part III deals with the religionsgeschichtliche question in order to determine whether the initiatory rites and liturgies of these non-Christian religions are of any assistance in reconstructing and understanding the language and thought of the Epistle. This is especially significant in the study of baptism since it is often claimed that the Christian sacrament can be traced to Jewish and/or Hellenistic practices.

PART I

STUDY AND EXEGESIS OF EPHESIANS

CHAPTER I

I. Ephesians 1

A. The Opening Hymn 1:3-14: A great deal of significant scholarship has been done on the hymnic nature of vv. 3-14,¹ and although there is almost unanimous agreement that this section is basically hymnic, not all scholars agree on the strophic outline.² However, it is not our intention to present a detailed critique of the hymn and the way in which scholars have determined its structure. Nor does it really matter

1

J. Cambier, "La Bénédiction d'Eph I, 3-14," ZNW, 54(1963), pp. 58-104; J. Coutts, "Ephesians I. 3-14 and I Peter I. 3-12," NTS, 3-4 (1956-8), pp. 115-127; N. A. Dahl, "Adresse und Proömium des Epheserbriefes," ThZ, 7(1951), pp. 241-264 (Hereafter cited as "Proömium."); R. Deichgräber, Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, Vol. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967); M. Diebelius and D. H. Greeven, An Die Kolosser, Epheser, Philemon. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Vol. 12, 3rd. ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953), hereafter cited as Handbuch; Th. Innitzer, "Der 'Hymnus' im Epheserbriefe (I, 3-14)," ZKTh, 28(1904), pp. 612-621; E. Lohmeyer, "Das Proömium des Epheserbriefes," ThB, 5(1926), pp. 120-125; J. T. Sanders, "Hymnic Elements in Ephesians 1-3," ZNW, 56(1965), pp. 214-232.

2

This can be demonstrated, for example, by contrasting the views of Innitzer and Lohmeyer. Innitzer divided the hymn into three basic stanzas: I. (vv. 3-6); II. (vv. 7-12); III. (vv. 13-14). Cf. his article, op. cit., pp. 617-18. E. Lohmeyer, on the other hand, op. cit., divided the hymn into four stanzas; I. (vv. 3-4); II, (vv. 5-8); III. (vv. 9-12); IV. (vv. 13-14). As interesting as the reasons for such divisions may be they have no particular bearing upon our investigation of the theological content and purpose of the hymn.

whether one calls the section (vv. 3-14) a Lobpreis,³ a Loblied,⁴ or an Initiationslied.⁵ The working position adopted here is that the passage is hymnic and that its primary purpose is to thank God for the blessings of redemption. N. A. Dahl proposes that it is an introductory eulogy to God for all that he has done through Christ to those who have believed.⁶

Although v. 3 begins with Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς , and one could, perhaps, rightfully say that the entire hymn is a great paean to God, one cannot help but notice the emphasis that is also given to the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit. By referring to God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the author may be showing that all three persons of the Trinity are important in the work of redemption.⁷ The emphasis, however, is upon Christ as God's agent in the redemptive process. E. Percy sums it up well when he states: ". . . ist ja doch der ganze erste Teil des

³W. Bieder, Die Verheissung der Taufe im Neuen Testament (Zürich: EVZ Verlag, 1966), p. 221, hereafter cited as Verheissung. Deichgräber, op. cit., states: "Die Briefeingangseulogie ist als Lobpreis für die Erlösung gestattet" (p. 65). H. Schlier refers to the hymn as a "Lobpreis des Segen Gottes." Cf. Der Brief an die Epheser (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1962), pp. 38-9, hereafter cited as Epheserbrief.

⁴W. Ochel, Die Annahme einer Bearbeitung des Kolosser- Briefes im Epheser-Brief. Inaugural Dissertation, Philips- Universität zu Marburg, 1934, p. 27.

⁵G. Schille, Liturgisches Gut im Epheserbrief. Dissertation, University of Göttingen, 1953, p. 62 (Hereafter cited as LitG). "Unter einem Initiationslied verstehen wir den Dankhymnus eines Einzelsängers (urchristlich einer Gemeinde), der auf das Geschehen der eigenen Erlösung zurückblickt. . . wobei dies Geschehen speziell die eschatologische Errettung in der Initiation meint."

⁶Dahl, "Proömium," pp. 250-261.

⁷Cf. I Cor. 6:11. For the suggestion that Eph. 1:3-14 may be a hymn to the Trinity, cf. C. R. Erdman, The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1931), p. 27. Here Erdman refers to the section as "Paul's Hymn of Praise to the Redemptive work of the Trinity."

Epheserbriefes ein einziger gewaltiger Hymnus über die Größe der göttlichen Heilstat in Christus."⁸ Jervell, noting that Christ's victory over the spiritual powers is brought out in vv. 21-23, refers to 1:3-14 as a Christological victory hymn analogous to Col. 1:15-20 and Phil. 2:6-11.⁹

One could very well say that this opening eulogy serves as an excellent preface to the remaining doctrinal section ending with chapter three.¹⁰ The idea of redemption is prominent in the phrases dealing with the exaltation of Christ (1:15-22), salvation by faith (2:1-10), the unity between Jew and Gentile (2:11-22), and the revelation of the mystery of Christ (3:1-12). But is there a deeper purpose and meaning to this Lobpreis? When it is viewed within the context of the entire Epistle rather than as an isolated unit, is it possible that it provides a clue to the composition of the entire letter? Various opinions have been offered in answer to this question.

⁸Percy, op. cit., p. 26-. Also Dahl, "Proömium," pp. 260-61 where he states: "Das 'Proömium' des Epheserbriefes ist ein Briefeingangs-Eulogie, in der Gott im Hinblick auf das Glaubenwerden der Briefempfänger für alles gepriesen wird, was in Christus den Gläubigen geschenkt hat."

⁹Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei. Gen 1, 26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Vol. 76 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 237. J. T. Sanders, op. cit., also believes that Eph. 1:3-14 bears a close relationship to Col. 1:3-23 and explains it by the fact that Ephesians is probably dependant upon Colossians (pp. 227-8) for much of its hymnic and liturgical material (p. 232). The relationship of Ephesians to other books of the New Testament and its dependence upon traditional liturgical and catechetical material will be discussed throughout the course of the thesis.

¹⁰Petr Pokorny, "Epheserbrief und gnostische Mysterium," ZNW, 53-4(1962-3), p. 178 probably had this in mind when he states that chapter I contains much "liturgisches Gut" which is widely commented upon.

C. Maurer considers the hymn to be the key to the entire Epistle for in it the author immediately seizes hold of the problem facing the Church. This problem is Gnosticism, and according to Maurer, the author is consciously seeking to halt its influence.¹¹ Much the same position is taken by Pokorny who sees the author struggling against the influence of the Gnostic "Urmensch-Mythus."¹² Schattenmann, on the other hand, does not specifically identify the problem as Gnosticism. The author, he states, "entfaltet das christliche Mysterium und stellt es in Antithese zu den Mysterien der Hellenistischen Umwelt."¹³

Although we have concluded that the hymn is essentially a redemptive eulogy there does not appear to be enough evidence in the Epistle to warrant the conclusions of Maurer and Pokorny. The emphasis upon the pre-eminence and exaltation of Christ need not be directed against any Gnostic threat. While the author may be conscious of some type of heretical threat to the Christian Church in such passages as 1:22-3; 2:1-3; 3:9-10; 4:14; 6:12, this appears to be a minor concern and should not be understood as the main purpose of the letter.

¹¹C. Maurer, "Der Hymnus von Ephesus I als Schlüssel zum ganzen Briefe," EvTh, 11(1951-2), pp. 151-72. On p. 168 Maurer states: "Der Verfasser greift wohl Probleme auf, die in der Umwelt der Gnosis und vor allem durch den Zusammenstoß der christlichen Gemeinde mit gnostischer Lehre auftauchen, packt sie aber zum vornherein von einem durchaus nicht-gnostischen Standpunkt an. Er redet stellenweise wie ein Gnostiker, steht aber der Gnosis klar abgrenzend gegenüber."

¹²Pokorny, op. cit., pp. 167ff.

¹³J. Schattenmann, Studien zum neutestamentlichen Prosahymnus (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 10.

Another view of the hymn centers around the interpretation of Ephesians as a baptismal treatise or liturgy. N. A. Dahl's understanding of Ephesians is outlined in several of his important works on the subject.¹⁴ His basic conclusion is that the letter was written to instruct Christians as to the meaning and significance of their baptism, and considers the possibility that the "Proßmium" may be modeled after the form of a Jewish baptismal eulogy. Just as the Jews had a blessing on the occasion of their ritual bath, so Ephesians may look back to a benediction at baptism.¹⁵ In Dahl's opinion, it is entirely possible "dass das Proßmium des Epheserbriefes nicht nur als eine Briefeingangs-Eulogie, sondern genauer als ein sich an die Form und den Inhalt der

14

In order of their appearance they are: (1) "Dopet I Efesierbrevet," Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift, 21(1945), pp. 85-103 (hereafter cited as "Dopet"); (2) "Anamnesis," Studia Theologica (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1948), pp. 69-95; (3) "Proßmium," op. cit.; (4) "Christ, Creation and the Church," in The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube in honor of C. H. Dodd (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 422-443; (5) "Bibelstudie über den Epheserbrief," in Kurze Auslegung des Epheserbriefes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), pp. 7-83 (hereafter cited as Epheserbrief); For the translation of the Swedish article "Dopet," I am indebted to Mr. Douglas Knight, doctoral candidate at the University of Göttingen. This article is crucial to Dahl's treatment of baptism in Ephesians and failure to take it into account, as in Kirby's book (op. cit.) for example, seriously weakens one's understanding of Dahl's position.

15

Here Dahl finds a fitting analogy in Pesachim 7b where a benediction was used with the administration of the rite. "Es scheint mir unbedingt wahrscheinlich zu sein, dass die Benediktion beim Untertauchen der Urzell der christlichen Taufgebete ist" ("Proßmium," p. 263). Kirby is of like opinion. For him, the hymn is Jewish in origin and attitude although many of the ideas have been "baptized into Christ. . ." (op. cit., pp. 127-8).

Tauf-Eulogien anlehnende Briefeingangs-Eulogie aufzufassen ist."¹⁶

Both Dahl and Schille arrive at their conclusions by appealing to various baptismal motifs that appear throughout the passage. Our next concern, therefore, will be to examine the hymn for its possible allusions to baptism.

B. Baptism and Ephesians 1:3-14:

1. The blessing (v. 3): The opening verse of the hymn states that God has blest us (ὁ εὐλογῆσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ). Both Dahl and Deichgräber believe that the aorist (εὐλογῆσας) refers to one specific time in the life of these Christians, namely baptism, when they received this spiritual blessing.¹⁷ Bieder develops this thought a bit more by linking vv. 3 and 4 so as to combine event and purpose--i.e. the church has received this blessing εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ . These two verses, he writes, remind us of baptism as the "Ereignis der Mitte, dem ein göttlichen Werk vorangegangen ist und dem menschliche Antwort im Glaubengehorsam der Kirche folgen soll."¹⁸ Abbott considers that this blessing may have occurred

¹⁶"Proömium," p. 264. Cf. also G. Schille, LitG, op. cit., p. 23 where he considers that the hymn is one of thanksgiving for the gift of salvation and the blessings which ensue through the act of baptism. "Offenbar, was jenes Geschehen, das ins 'Los' führte, die Taufe."

¹⁷Dahl, "Dopet," p. 86; Deichgräber, op. cit., states: "Sicher ist der einmaliges Faktum bezeichnende Aorist εὐλογῆσας (v. 3) auf den in der Taufe empfangenen Segen zu beziehen" p. 76.

¹⁸Bieder, Verheissung, p. 222. It is significant to note that ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους appear in 5:27 in connection with the baptism of the Church and its presentation before Christ.

"at the time of our becoming members of the Christian Church or simply on sending His Son."¹⁹

2. Sonship (vv. 5-6): In vv. 5-6 we encounter the phrase προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν ... ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ . The idea of adoption in the New Testament has a wide history of meaning and interpretation. For our purpose, however, we are drawn to the account of Jesus' baptism (Mt. 3:13-17; Mk. 1:9-11; Lk. 3:21-22) and transfiguration (Mt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35). In these Gospel accounts, as in Eph. 1:5-6, baptism and sonship are closely related and Christ is given the title "beloved" (ὁ ἀγαπητός) .²⁰

Here we have what appears to be the first definite reference to baptism in Ephesians. The similarity of thought and language between the Gospel accounts and Ephesians 1:5-6 (υἱοθεσία, εὐδοκία, ἀγαπητός) is striking and leads one to suspect that this reference to the election and adoption of the Christian may have some connection to the time of Christ's adoption at his baptism. Thus one could say that as Christ was proclaimed "son" at his baptism, baptism is also the event whereby the Christian obtains his sonship. This thought is

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T. K. Abbott, Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1924), p. 4.

20

In the accounts of Jesus' baptism the texts read ὁ υἱός ὁ ἀγαπητός . The transfiguration is described as οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.

Note the similarity:

Gospels-	ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.
Eph. 1:5-6 -	υἱοθεσίαν ... ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ.
Col. 1:13-	τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ.

definitely confirmed in Gal. 3:26-7 which states that "in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through faith. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ...." J. Coutts, in this connection, affirms that the ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ of v. 6 "recalls our Lord's baptism, and the clause as a whole would imply that in baptism the Christian shares the baptismal experience of Christ."²¹

3. Redemption (v. 7): Since adoption occurs through baptism, and since adoption and forgiveness are so closely linked (vv. 5-7), can one conclude that baptism and redemption (ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων) are connected? Both Dahl and Deichgräber answer in the affirmative. There is ample evidence,

²¹J. Coutts, op. cit., p. 124; J. A. T. Robinson, "The One Baptism as a Category of New Testament Soteriology," SJTh, 6(1953), p. 263 claims that the choice of this title for Christ "may indicate that the ground of our sonship rests in the baptism of Jesus." An interesting piece of exegesis in this connection appears in an article by P. von der Osten-Sacken on Rev. 1:5f. which he understands as "ein geprägter, christologischer Lobpreis mit der Taufe als 'Sitz im Leben'" ("Christologie, Homologie, Taufe--Ein Beitrag zu Apc. Joh. 1:5f.," ZNW, 58(1967), pp. 255-266). In Rev. 1:5 Osten-Sacken argues for the variant reading λουσάντι (washed) rather than λυσάντι (freed): "Es kann nicht bezweifelt werden, dass diese Lesart die Taufe als das Geschehen versteht, auf das der Vers. anspielt" (p. 258, n. 17). Then, on the basis of similarities in language and thought between Rev. 1:5f., Gal. 2:20, Eph. 1:5-6, a Thess. 2:13 which convey a baptism-love-salvation motif, he concludes: "Wie Gott Christus in der Taufe zum 'geliebten Sohn' proklamiert hat, so erfährt der Glaubende in ihr [Taufe] die Liebe Gottes die eins ist mit der Liebe des Christus, der sich für uns dahingegeben hat" (p. 258). Finally, Osten-Sacken connects baptism and redemption (Rom. 3:24, 8:18ff.; I Cor. 1:14; Eph. 1:7; Heb. 9:11ff.), concluding that ἀπολύτρωσις is a term that is firmly anchored in baptism and serves the purpose "die Bedeutung des Taufgeschehens zu bekennen" (p. 260). Cf. also E. Lohse, "Taufe und Rechtfertigung bei Paulus," Kerygma und Dogma, 11(1965), pp. 308-24. On Eph. 1:5 note Deichgräber: "Die Kindschaft (v. 5) zu der Gott die Christen im Voraus bestimmt hat, wird in der Taufe empfangen" (op. cit.), p. 263. Bieder links the theme of adoption to his over-all theme of Freude, claiming that this adoption is the "ewige Grund der Tauffreude" (Verheissung, pp. 22-3).

they claim, that the early church conceived of the forgiveness of sins as taking place in baptism.²² Pokorny believes that references to "redemption through his blood" (Eph. 1:7; 2:13; Col. 1:20) express a definite Christian motif against Gnostic spiritualism and probably stems from "einer die Sündenvergebung zusagenden Taufformel."²³

The phrases ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας and τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν (v. 13) may refer to the proclamation of the "Word" in baptism.²⁴ Schlier argues that the act of faith which is indicated by the participle πιστεύσαντες refers to the moment of baptism and would thus be connected with the idea of redemption and the forgiveness of sins in vv. 5-7. Baptism, claims Schlier, "zu der der Glaubensakt des Bekenntnis zu Christus gehört, erhebt den Getauften in die Dimension Christi."²⁵

4. Sealing (v. 13): A significant number of scholars agree that the ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ (v. 13) is a clear allusion to the rite of baptism.²⁶ This conclusion

²² Cf. references viz. Gal. 3:26f., 4:5; Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3; Acts 2:38. Deichgräber adds Col. 1:14. For additional material and discussion cf. Osten-Sacken, op. cit.; Lohse, op. cit.

²³ Pokorny, op. cit., p. 180.

²⁴ Deichgräber, op. cit., p. 76. More will be said about the concept of "Word" and its relation to baptism in the section dealing with the exegesis of Eph. 5:26.

²⁵ H. Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 70. A. F. Stromberg takes the idea of becoming a Christian as "ihr habt die Taufe empfangen..." (Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der Taufe. Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, Vol. 18 (Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1913), p. 90.

²⁶ Cf. Bieder, Verheissung, p. 223; Deichgräber, op. cit., p. 76; Dahl, "Dopet," pp. 86, 94; Flemington, The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism (London: S.P.C.K., 1948), p. 67; Schlier, Epheserbrief, although he also leaves room for the probability of "handauflegung" through which the Spirit was mediated (p. 70); E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians (London: Hodder and Stoughton,

is largely reached on the basis of passages in the New Testament which connect baptism, faith and the Holy Spirit,²⁷ and the fact that σφραγίς became a technical term for baptism in the second century. This idea of the reception of the Spirit at baptism is well stated by Schnackenburg when he writes: "Der Geist wurde wie ein Siegel dem Christen bei seiner Taufe aufgedrückt und wurde ihm so zu einem Teilbesitz (Angeld) der das künftige Vollehe mit Grund und Recht erwarten lässt (1, 13f.)."²⁸

The concept of sealing has an important eschatological function. In v. 14 the sealing is a guarantee (ἀρραβὼν) of our inheritance until we finally possess it; in 4:30, it is used in connection with the day of redemption. It would appear that if sealing occurs at baptism, baptism is the occasion when the eschatological promise to the Christian begins to be fulfilled.²⁹ Mollat considers that these two Ephesian

1958 ed.), pp. 148, 223; Stromberg, op. cit., states: "Unter σφραγίς oder unter dem σφραγίζεσθαι versteht Paulus die mit dem Taufakt zusammenfallende Geistmitteilung" (p. 91); R. Bultmann, The Theology of the New Testament (London: S.C.M. Press, 1965 ed.), p. 137 (hereafter cited as Theology); J. C. Kirby, op. cit., p. 153; For a detailed discussion of sources cf. J. Ysebaert, Greek Baptismal Terminology (Nijmegen: Kekker & Van der Vegt, 1962), especially Part IV, pp. 182-426. The work by F. J. Dölger, Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehung zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Altertums, Vol. 5, 3-4, Paderborn, 1911, remains a classic reference.

²⁷ Cf. such references as Acts 2:37f., 8:12-13, 15, 35, 15:7; 19:5f.; 2 Cor. 1:22. That the Spirit is given both at baptism and/or by the laying on of hands shows that there is no uniform practice in the early Church.

²⁸ R. Schnackenburg, "Er hat uns mitauferweckt. Zur Tauflehre des Epheserbriefes," Liturgisches Jahrbuch, 2(1952), p. 174 (hereafter cited as "Tauflehre"). On pp. 174-177 he discusses "Die Taufe als Ort der 'Versiegelung' mit dem Geiste."

²⁹ Ibid., p. 175.

passages refer to sealing as marking the Christian for the day when God will finally give full possession of the inheritance to all.³⁰ Even Beasley-Murray, although he acknowledges the use of "seal" in the sense of present ownership, affirms that "the really characteristic application of the figure is eschatological. . . . The believer therefore who has the Spirit is 'sealed' as Christ's in the Kingdom that now is and for the Kingdom that is to be."³¹

2 Cor. 1:22 may also be taken as casting further light upon the Ephesian passage. Here it states that "he has put his seal upon us (σφραγισμένος) and has given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee (ἄρραβων)." E. Dinkler has a detailed examination of this Corinthian text and on the basis of his research concludes: "Nun hat es den Anschein, als würde im Epheserbrief eine bereits gefestigte Taufterminologie aufgenommen und mit σφραγίζω der gesamte Akt der Taufe und nicht etwa ein Motiv innerhalb desselben genannt."³² Mollat also concurs that both Ephesians and Corinthians use the symbol of the seal as a reference to baptismal initiation. In 2 Cor. 1:22 the eschatological aspect is also prominent in the concept of guarantee (ἄρραβων). The sealing, states Mollat, "marks Christians out for the messianic inheritance and already gives them the first fruits of their inheritance, thanks to the presence of the Spirit."³³

³⁰D. Mollat, "Baptismal Symbolism in St. Paul," in Baptism in the New Testament, ed. A. George (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1964), p. 81.

³¹G. R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1962), pp. 175-6. Hereafter cited as Baptism.

³²E. Dinkler, "Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor. 1, 21f.," Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 6(1962), p. 185.

³³Mollat, op. cit., p. 81.

Not all scholars, however, agree on the association of the seal of the Spirit with baptism. D. M. Stanley considers the sealing motif, at least as it occurs in the Pauline letters, as probably connected with the theme of circumcision.³⁴ This view, however, is against the clear connection between sealing and receiving the Spirit in 2 Cor. 1:22. It further implies a positive evaluation of circumcision which Paul is not likely to have made.

The use of sealing as a term of property or ownership has led W. Heitmüller to make a connection with baptism "in the name." For Heitmüller, baptism "into the name" meant "dass der Täufling in das Verhältnis der Zugehörigkeit, des Eigentums Jesu tritt."³⁵ Bultmann indicates that in the post-apostolic church "receive the seal" was equivalent to "receive the name" because in baptism the candidate was placed "under the authority and protection of the Name. . . ."³⁶

The entire issue of baptism and the Spirit has been the theme of a lively discussion, particularly in Britain, between proponents and opponents of the rite of Confirmation. Gregory Dix, for example, is one of the leading proponents of the school of thought which separates the gift of the Spirit from water baptism and locates it in Confirmation.³⁷

³⁴D. M. Stanley, "The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism: An Essay in Biblical Theology," Theological Studies, 18(1957), p. 186.

³⁵W. Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), p. 127.

³⁶Cf. Theology, Vol. I, pp. 137-8. Bultmann refers to Hermas sim. VIII 6, 3; IX 16,3: 17,4.

³⁷G. Dix, The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism (Plymouth: Dacre Press, 1946). On this subject cf. also. B. Neunheuser, Baptism and Confirmation (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1964).

Dix, it must be admitted, drew most of his conclusions from The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and Tertullian's De Baptismo. Thus he is rightly criticized by such scholars as Oulton, Lampe and Beasley-Murray who question such an exclusive utilization of later sources to support the baptismal theology of the first century.³⁸

Beasley-Murray reacts against the theory of confirmation as well as against scholars who place an undue emphasis upon the spiritual effects of baptism. In his discussion of such passages as Eph. 1:13, 4:30, and 2 Cor. 1:22, he states: "Thus the 'seal of the Spirit' is neither baptism in water, nor a baptism of the Spirit divorced from the rite of baptism; it is 'the baptism of the Spirit' in association with the laying of the Name of Jesus on a believer in the rite of baptism."³⁹ By linking the 'seal of the Spirit', i.e. possession of the Holy Spirit with the baptismal event, Beasley-Murray rejects the need for any further act such as confirmation for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit.

The concept of sealing and its use in pagan, Old Testament, New Testament and early Christian literature, has been studied in detail by J. Ysebaert in his Greek Baptismal Terminology.⁴⁰ Although Ysebaert's investigation has an important bearing upon the entire study of sealing,

³⁸J. E. Oulton, "Second Century Teaching on Holy Baptism," Theology, 50(1947), pp. 86-91; Beasley-Murray, Baptism; G. W. H. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit (London: S.P.C.K., 2nd ed., 1967) and his "The Place of Confirmation in the Baptismal Mystery," JThS, 6(1955), pp. 110-16; also Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 57.

³⁹Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 174. Cf. also his article "The Holy Spirit, Baptism, and the Body of Christ," Review and Expositor, 63(1966), pp. 177-185, where he expands upon some of his earlier ideas.

⁴⁰Op. cit., pp. 182-426.

we shall limit his findings to those aspects which specifically contribute to our understanding of Eph. 1:13 and 4:30.

a. The seal of circumcision: According to Ysebaert, "the Old Testament is not yet familiar with the metaphor of the seal of circumcision."⁴¹ The earliest appearance of this connection is by Paul in Rom. 4:11 where the apostle appears to be making the transition from sign to seal. Here Paul explains Abraham's circumcision as something that simply confirms the righteousness through faith that was already present καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς, σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως

Fitzer interprets the σημεῖον περιτομῆς as a verification of faith: "Es ist klar, dass hier nicht die Beschneidung selbst als σφραγίς , als Kennzeichnung der Gottzugehörigkeit, angesehen wird, sondern als eine Bestätigung der auf eine andere Weise erfolgten Heimholung in die Gottesgemeinschaft."⁴² As to the origin of this particular metaphor, Ysebaert suspects that it "may have originated in the discussion between Paul and the rabbis concerning the value of circumcision."⁴³ After Paul had made this designation, σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν continue to be used by Christian authors in this sense.⁴⁴

⁴¹Ibid., p. 23.

⁴²G. Fitzer, " σφραγίς , σφραγίζω ," ThWNT, Vol. 7, p. 949.

⁴³Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 253. Beasley-Murray, Baptism, suggests that the term in Rom. 4:11 "may be a spontaneous extension of Gen. 17:11 ..." (p. 175). Perhaps the seal of circumcision is external and the seal of the Spirit is an internal possession (ibid.).

⁴⁴Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 424.

b. 2 Cor. 1:22: Ysebaert considers this verse to be a reference to the sealing of the faithful with the Holy Spirit. The "gift of the Holy Spirit," according to him, is postbaptismal, i.e. although the Spirit is present and operative in baptism (cf. I Cor. 6:11, 12:13; Rom. 5:5, 8:14; Tit. 3:5; Jn. 3:5, 6, 8) it is conferred by the imposition of hands and anointing.⁴⁵ It is Paul, however, who introduces the term "sealing" for the gift of the Spirit in 2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:3, 4:30 and which ultimately leads to the increased use of σφραγίζ in Christian literature.⁴⁶

Although Ysebaert admits the difficulty of determining the correct use of σφραγίζω in these passages (marking, confirming, or closing), he believes "Paul is thinking of the making of a seal impression" where "the Spirit is compared with a sealing instrument, the gift of the Spirit is its impression in the soul."⁴⁷ In 2 Cor. 1:22 God is referred to as the one who administers the sealing: "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 ownership. . . ."⁴⁸ On the basis of Paul's interpretation of the seal of circumcision as a mark of ownership which confirms justification, Ysebaert argues that Paul's concept of the gift of the Spirit is "the rite which marks the candidate, gives him a guarantee, and preserves him until the day of

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 262-4. But they need not be two separate rites: "...the terms for imposition of hands, anointing, and sealing originally refer to only one gesture as the rite by which the Spirit is conferred" (p. 365).

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 265 as well as 270.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 265.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 265-66.

redemption."⁴⁹

c. Sealing in early Christian literature: One of the strong arguments in favor of linking sealing with baptism in the New Testament is the evidence from 2nd-4th century sources.⁵⁰ The use of the terms σφραγίς and σφραγίζω is not uniform, however, as Ysebaert's extensive survey of this vast body of literature shows. Here the words are applied to the following areas:

- (1) a gesture or rite performed in blessing, (2) healing, (3) exorcism, (4) reconciliation, (5) and the conferring of the Spirit; (6) they denote the baptismal confession of faith, and (7) especially the Christian mark of ownership.⁵¹

It is thus evident that great care must be exerted when one interprets the appearance and use of these concepts by various authors.⁵²

The first definite reference to the "seal of baptism" occurs in "The Second Letter of Clement" where the author states: "For of those who have not kept the seal of baptism, it says..." (7:6). And in 8:6 ". . .Keep the flesh pure and the seal of baptism unstained, so that we may receive eternal life."⁵³ Another clear reference is found in the Similitudes of Hermas: "'For before a man,' saith he, 'has borne the name of the Son of God, he is dead; but when he has received the

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 266.

⁵⁰Cf. the work by Dölger, op. cit., pp. 70ff.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 288.

⁵²Cf. Ysebaert, ibid., pp.341-366 for its use by various authors.

⁵³Quoted from The Apostolic Fathers by Edgar J. Goodspeed (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1950). Goodspeed dates 2 Clem. ca. the "second quarter of the second century."

seal, he layeth aside his deadness, and resumeth life. The seal then is the water; so they go down into the water dead, and they come up alive'" (IX, 16). Whether or not the same equation can be made with the New Testament texts is open to question. Ysebaert, although he traces the use of σφραγίς and its derivatives back to Paul, admits that a consistent development is difficult to follow in the succeeding centuries.⁵⁴

A good number of scholars deny that baptism and sealing are equated in the New Testament. Salmond remarks that in ecclesiastical Greek, "baptism came to be regarded by the term σφραγίς ; but there is no instance of that in the NT."⁵⁵ H. Schlier affirms that "Erst 2 Clem. 7,6; 8,6; vgl. 9,6 und P. Herm. sim. 9,16; 17, 4; 8, 6, 3, heisst die Taufe σφραγίς ."⁵⁶ Schnackenburg interprets the Ephesian passages as a "figurative mode of speech for the reality of the Spirit" and is convinced that by the time of Paul, σφραγίς is not a designation of baptism.⁵⁷

The significant conclusion to be gained from Ysebaert's comprehensive study is that "from the second century onwards σφραγίς is

⁵⁴Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 366. Nor is the association of the gift of the Holy Spirit with the baptismal rite itself as opposed to a postbaptismal rite easy to trace in early Christian literature. Ysebaert conjectures that it began in the regions of Syria and Asia Minor as the result of the close association of bathing and anointing (cf. pp. 366-7, 374, 391, 419).

⁵⁵S. D. F. Salmond, "Ephesians," The Expositor's Greek Testament (Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), p. 268. Cf. also P. W. Evans, "Sealing as a term for Baptism," The Baptist Quarterly, 16(1955-6), pp. 171-5.

⁵⁶Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 72.

⁵⁷R. Schnackenburg, Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), pp. 86-91. Hereafter cited as Baptism. For further discussion and bibliography cf. pp. 83-91 of Schnackenburg's book.

the 'seal' received by all Christians at baptism and thence becomes a name for baptism itself."⁵⁸ However, even such statements are tempered with a certain amount of reservation. Ysebaert notes that in 2 Clem. and in Hermas "seal" may be used in the sense of ownership. This is especially true of Syria and Asia Minor where the baptismal seal was not distinguished from the sealing of the Spirit.⁵⁹ Only in the east is there a second century appearance of the baptismal seal and from the third century onwards "σφραγίς" soon became generally known as a term for the baptismal mark of ownership and thence as a name for baptism itself."⁶⁰ In the west, however, there is almost a complete absence of the concept. One possible reason for its absence, speculates Ysebaert, "is that it was difficult to render the Greek terms in Latin."⁶¹

d. The use of sealing in the Mysteries: Ysebaert does not give much credence to theories that claim the Christian use of σφραγίς was influenced by the Mystery religions.⁶² According to his research, "σφραγίς and related terms do not occur in the language of the mysteries, but only for the obligation to secrecy."⁶³ Even the passage in Clem. of Alex. Protr. 120.1, which has often been cited as proof that the seal as a name for baptism originated from the mysteries, is

⁵⁸Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 390.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 390-1.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 391; cf. pp. 391-5 for examples.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 395.

⁶²Cf. his bibliographical references on this subject pp. 221-2.

⁶³Ibid., p.226.

dismissed by Ysebaert. He interprets Clement as merely intending "to establish a connection between this seal and the seal of the mysteries."⁶⁴

Even after this rather lengthy "excursus" on the subject of sealing and baptism it is obvious that not all of the difficulties and controversies have been resolved. If anything, the discussion shows that there is no simple solution to the problem; and the appearance of the term "sealing" in and of itself, cannot prove that the author necessarily had baptism in mind when he wrote 1:13 and 4:30. But it should be noted that no more satisfactory explanation of the term has been offered.

In the preceding discussion we have seen that "seal" is used in connection with circumcision (Rom. 4:11) and the gift of the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. 1:22 and possibly Eph. 1:13 and 4:30). As far as the New Testament is concerned, there is nothing definite to indicate that σφραγίς is connected with baptism in the way in which it appears in the second century. What is significant, however, is that sometime before A.D. 150 the term passed from circumcision to baptism (2 Clem., Hermas). Although the precise origin is obscure, the transition may have arisen from the fact that baptism was considered as the true circumcision in the early Church (cf. Col. 2:11-12; Eph. 2:11).⁶⁵

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 423.

⁶⁵For further discussion cf. the exegesis on Eph. 2:11-12, pp. 49-59. Also H. Sahlin, "Die Beschneidung Christi," Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, Lund, 12(1950), pp. 5-22.

This, together with the tradition which linked baptism and the Spirit (Acts 2:38; I Cor. 6:11, 12:13; Tit. 3:5-8; Jn. 3:5-8),⁶⁶ may account for the rise of σφραγίς as a technical term for baptism.

It is not impossible that the author of Ephesians was aware of such an application of σφραγίς . The gap between 2 Clem. and Ephesians has been narrowed considerably by ascribing the authorship of the Epistle to a deutero-Paulinist and its date of composition somewhere near to the end of the first century.⁶⁷ This factor, along with the appearance of the term in a hymnic section heavily laden with baptismal motifs, leads us to the conclusion that the author probably had the baptismal rite in mind.⁶⁸

Summary: This discussion on sealing brings to a close the exegesis of the opening hymn and its baptismal motifs. Our analysis has shown that these are instances in the early Christian literature in which the terms and concepts discussed above (sonship, redemption, and sealing) are connected with baptism. The most likely explanation of the appearance of these terms in Eph. 1:3-14 is that the author was drawing on baptismal terminology. If the passage is regarded as a hymn, it is possible that it was a baptismal hymn. In any case, the probability

⁶⁶On Rom. 8:14-15 in this connection cf. T. M. Taylor, "'Abba, Father; and Baptism," SJTh, 11(1958), pp. 62-71.

⁶⁷For a more thorough discussion of authorship and composition cf. Part II, pp. 197-214.

⁶⁸Cf. Fitzner, op. cit., p. 950; E. Dinkler, "Taufe- Im Urchristentum," RGG, Vol. 6, p. 634; R. Bultmann, Theology, Vol. 1, p. 137. Bultmann's comment is that even if Paul "does not necessarily imply the actual use of the noun, 'seal' (σφραγίς) for baptism, at any rate, behind the cognate verb used by him lies the idea that did lead to this terminology in later sources." On the basis of our conclusion one could say that this took place in the post-Pauline church, possibly near the turn of the century.

is quite strong that the author was consciously alluding to baptism.

Although the origin of the hymn is unknown, it is likely that the author adopted ideas and motifs from early Christian baptismal hymns and liturgies and incorporated them into his redemptive eulogy. The "Proßmium," as well as the other liturgical sections of the Epistle, has led Schille to the following conclusion: "Die Hymnen und das Gebet am Eingang des Eph weisen mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf den Teil einer urchristlichen Tauf liturgie zurück, der nach der Tauchung zur Mitteilung des neuen Geistes bestimmt ist."⁶⁹

These baptismal motifs have been so convincing to various scholars that they have concluded the Sitz-im-Leben of the entire Epistle to be directly connected with the practice of baptism. Bieder indicates that "Es scheint naheliegend hier an ein Tauffest der Kirche zu denken."⁷⁰ Deichgräber is of a similar opinion when he writes: "So zeigt Eph. 1: 3-14 dass der Lobpreis für die Erlösung gerade zum Taufgeschehen gehört."⁷¹ Dahl and Schille, we have noted,⁷² are convinced that the

⁶⁹LitG, p. 158. Schille believes that 1:20-22a has parallels to Col. 2:12-13. On the basis of this, as well as parallels to I Pet., he asks "ob die Gemeinsamkeit der Motive auf den Sitz der Eph-Hymnen in der Tauf liturgie weist" (p. 116). Cf. also E. Dinkler, Taufe-Im Urchristentum, op. cit., pp. 633-4, as well as his "Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor. 1,21f.," op. cit., pp. 173-191; J. T. Sanders, op. cit., p. 222; Osten-Sacken, op. cit., p. 262; Dahl, "Proßmium," pp.241-264.

⁷⁰Bieder, Verheissung, p. 221.

⁷¹Deichgräber, op. cit., p. 76. Yet Deichgräber exerts considerable caution at this point when he mentions that one cannot think exclusively of baptism. "Von einer ausschliesslichen Beziehung auf die Taufe wird man freilich nicht sprechen dürfen. Solcher Lobpreis kann sehr wohl auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten gesprochen sein" (p. 76). It is not inconceivable that such a hymn of praise could have been used on the occasion of the Eucharist.

⁷²Cf. the previous discussion above, pp. 12-13 where the views of Dahl and Schille were mentioned.

letter was written as a baptismal treatise or liturgy and that its use would fit into some type of baptismal setting in the Church.

From the baptismal nature of this opening hymn it does not necessarily follow that the purpose of the letter is to instruct the readers as to the meaning of their baptism. If this were the purpose, one might expect baptism to be mentioned more definitely. Rather, the author finds the baptismal motifs and language appropriate to describe all the blessings that God has bestowed upon the readers ἐν Χριστῷ . Baptism is the act which expresses this blessing because in it the believers have received their adoption, redemption and sealing. Thus it was sufficient for him to allude to baptism but not directly to define its meaning.

C. Ephesians 1:15-23:

After the introductory eulogy the author goes into a prayer of thanksgiving and petition for his readers (vv. 15-19) where he also commends them for their "faith in the Lord" and their love "toward all the saints."⁷³

The author's prayer for his readers is that they may have a greater spiritual understanding of their position in Christ. This includes increased wisdom and knowledge (v. 17), enlightenment to understand the hope of their calling and the riches of their inheritance (v. 18), and the greatness of God's power to all believers (v. 19) as it is exemplified by the resurrection and enthronement of Christ (vv. 20-23).

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Much the same type of prayer appears in 3:14-19.

Appearing within this section (1:15-23) are two concepts which may be connected to the sacrament of baptism. Proponents of the baptismal theory of Ephesians, for example, argue rather forcibly that the perfect participle *πεφωτισμένους* (v. 18) and the section on the enthronement of Christ (vv. 20-23) are definite baptismal motifs in the early Church, and that their appearance in the Epistle fits into the context of the hymnic nature of Chapter I. It is to these two motifs that we now direct our attention in the following section.

1. Enlightenment (v. 18): The terms *φωτίζειν* and *φωτισμός* have an interesting usage and development in secular and religious thought.⁷⁴ Their appearance in the New Testament and early Christian literature has led to various theories of their source of origin. Scholars who lean towards a Jewish influence upon Christianity stress that the terms were adopted into the New Testament via the Septuagint where the verb *φωτίζειν* acquired the meaning of "to bring something to light."⁷⁵ Others are led to some of the striking parallels in the Qumran texts where, according to Ysebaert, "the root 'wr is applied to an illumination of the members of the community with divine knowledge. . . ."⁷⁶

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Cf. especially Ysebaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-169 where he discusses *φωτίζειν* and *φωτισμός* in profane literature, the Septuagint, and the Qumran texts. Schlier also has a useful discussion in his *Epheserbrief*, pp. 78-80.

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Ysebaert, *ibid.*, p. 166.

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Ibid., p. 168. He illustrates this by a compilation of texts from the Qumran material: "'May he enlighten ('wr) thy heart with immortal wisdom (skl) and favour thee with eternal knowledge' IQS 2.3, cf. 4.2ff., 'For from the fountain of His knowledge He has released me His light ('wr) ib. 11.3, 'A light ('wr) has come into my heart from His wondrous mysteries' ib. 11.5, 'Thou hast illuminated ('wr) my face

A significant number of scholars have linked the concept of φωτίζειν to the Mystery Religions. J. Leipoldt suggests that this idea of illumination or enlightenment comes from the carrying of torches in the Eleusinian procession.⁷⁷ Pokorny claims that the entire "Vorstellungskomplex" of enlightenment is taken over from the Gnostic Mysteries where the inner illumination takes place when the ἐνέργεια νοητικῇ excludes or replaces all sense perception ("wo die innere Erleuchtung durch die Ausschaltung der Sinne geschieht"). In Ephesians, however, illumination is made possible by the gift of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) and leads to faith (πίστις).⁷⁸ E. Hatch, at least as far as Mystery influence in the post-apostolic period is concerned, states: "So early as the time of Justin Martyr we find a name given to baptism which comes straight from the Greek mysteries--the name 'enlightenment' (φωτισμός, φωτίζεσθαι)."⁷⁹

for Thy covenant IQH 4.5....And through me Thou has illuminated (ʾwr) the faces of the many and Thou hast become mighty infinitely, for Thou hast made known to me Thy wondrous mysteries" ib. 3.27f.

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J. Leipoldt, Von den Mysterien zur Kirche (Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1961). "Sie geht im Griechentum darauf zurück, dass man dem Neuling ein Fackel in die Hand drückt, die in Verlaufe der Feier, angezündet wird" (p. 84). Cf. also G. Wobbermin, Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristentums durch das antike Mysterienwesen (Berlin: E. Eberling Verlag, 1896), pp. 154-172. For further discussion cf. Part III, pp. 282-285.

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Pokorny, op. cit., p. 181.

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E. Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church (London: Williams and Norgate, 1890), p. 295. On Justin cf. p. 33 below. For agreement, cf. Ysebaert, op. cit.; H. A. Echle, "Sacramental Initiation as a Christian Mystery-Initiation according to Clement of Alexandria," Vom Christlichen Mysterium: Gesammelte Arbeiten zum Gedächtnis von ODO CASEL OSB (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1951), pp. 54-65. It is permissible to say that post-Apostolic Christianity was interpreted and explained by the "mystery terminology" of the age but this is quite different from saying that Christianity is indebted to the Mystery religions for its concepts and terminology. Cf. Part III, pp. 282-287.

The use of this terminology in the Mysteries has been extensively reviewed by Ysebaert. The results of his investigation lead him to 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."⁸⁰ And the appearance of φωτίζειν for "spiritual knowledge" in the Hermetic literature is probably dependent upon the New Testament.⁸¹

The entire issue of the interdependence of Christianity and the Mystery religions is still very much open to question. This certainly applies to conceptual and terminological parallels other than "enlightenment." A. D. Nock has concluded that any use of mystery terminology in the New Testament is "usually incidental" and involves more "generalities" than specifics.⁸²

More serious attention must be given to the early Christian literature where φωτίζειν and φωτισμός appear in connection with baptism. Particularly suggestive in this respect are:

⁸⁰Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 162. G. Anrich claims "Der Ausdruck φωτισμός begegnet in der Mysterienterminologie nie und nirgends" (Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Reprecht, 1894), p. 125).

⁸¹Ysebaert, op. cit., pp. 162-3.

⁸²A. D. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 135; cf. also his "The Vocabulary of the New Testament," JBL, 52(1933), pp. 131-139; B. M. Metzger, "Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," Harvard Theological Review, 48(1955), pp. 1-20.

I Clem. 36:2 - "through him we fix our eyes on the heights of heaven. In him we see mirrored God's faultless and sublime face; through him the eyes of our mind have been opened, through him our foolish, darkened understanding springs up to light (τὸ φῶς); through him the Master has willed that we should taste immortal knowledge...."

Justin's Apol. I- "This washing is called illumination (φωτισμός) since those who learn these things are illuminated (φωτιζομένων) within. The illuminand (ὁ φωτιζόμενος) is also washed in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets foretold everything about Jesus' (61)

"We, however, after thus washing the one who has been convinced and signified his assent, lead him to those who are called brethren, where they are assembled. They then earnestly offer common prayers for themselves and the one who has been illuminated (τοῦ φωτισθέντος) and all others everywhere, that we may be made worthy, having learned the truth, to be found indeed good citizens and keepers of what is commanded, so that we may be saved with eternal salvation' (65).

Odes of Solomon- "And the traces of the light were set upon their hearts; And they walked in my life and were saved, And they became my people for ever and ever. Halleluja" (10:6).

"In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day; ears have become mine and I have heard his truth" (16:3).

"To the blessed the joy is from their hearts, And light from Him that dwells in them;" (32:1)

"(The Spirit) brought me forth before the face of the Lord. And although a Son of Man, I was named the Luminary, the Son of God;" (36:3).

On the basis of such early Christian witnesses, Ysebaert concludes that the verb φωτίζειν "is found as a technical term for baptism from the second century onwards. . . , " although it also continues "to be used in a wider sense for enlightenment by divine knowledge."⁸³ In the case of the noun (φωτισμός), the evidence is not conclusive.⁸⁴

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Ysebaert, op. cit., pp. 173-8.

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Ibid., p. 174. Although Apol. I,61 appears sufficiently conclusive.

In the New Testament there is considerable evidence to indicate that φωτίζειν and φωτισμός are used to express the results of a spiritual encounter. In Jn. 1:9 Christ is that true light (τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν) which enlightens (φωτίζει) mankind. In 2 Cor. 4:4 Paul speaks of the light of the gospel (τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) while in 4:6 God's light has shone (ἔλαμψεν) in our heart in order to give light (φωτισμὸν) of the knowledge of God.... In 2 Tim. 1:10 the gospel is the means of bringing life and immortality to light (φωτίσαντος). Illumination comes through the reception of the truth of the Gospel and there is no basis for considering these passages as baptismal. Perhaps nothing more is meant by Eph. 1:18 (πεφωτισμένους) and 3:9 (φωτίσαι) than its use as a metaphor for the communication of spiritual knowledge.⁸⁵

However, the appearance of φωτίζειν in Heb. 6:4 and 10:32, as well as φῶς in I Pet. 2:9, are strong indications that the concept of enlightenment may be connected with the rite of baptism by the New Testament writers. The likelihood of this becomes even greater when one considers the possible late dating of these two Epistles and the fact that Heb. 6:4 appears within the context of discussion on "ablutions" (βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆς -6:2) and I Peter could be

Cf. Ysebaert, *ibid.*, p. 172; Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, p. 245; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: Pickering and Inglis Ltd., 1961), pp. 39-40 (Hereafter cited as *Ephesians*). Bruce, for example, considers it very "unlikely" that the use of the word in Eph. 1:1- "has any direct reference to the early Christian use of 'enlightenment' in the sense of baptism."

interpreted as a baptismal homily.⁸⁶ These texts, including the Epistle to the Ephesians, are not widely separated in time from Justin's Apology where the equation between baptism and illumination is definitely made.

A. W. Argyle considers that for Justin, "illumination is especially associated with the teaching of the Gospel, and its suitability as a name for baptism arises both from the fact that those who are baptized are instructed believers and from the fact that they receive in baptism the Holy Spirit of wisdom and understanding whose work it is to guide them into all truth and the vision of God."⁸⁷ Jervell claims that "Das φωτισμός -Motiv gehört zu den verbreitetsten Taufmotiven der alten Kirche."⁸⁸

Although we agree that the New Testament speaks of enlightenment in a sense unconnected with baptism, we have also seen that there is some textual evidence to indicate that a connection was made. On the basis of the possible allusion to baptism in Heb. 10:32 and 6:4, the conception of baptism as a transition from darkness to light as reflected in fragments of early baptismal liturgies (I Pet. 2:9; Eph.

⁸⁶On baptism in I Peter cf. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: The Macmillan Co., 1946); M. E. Boismard, "Une liturgie baptismale dans la Prima Petri," Revue Biblique, 63(1956), pp. 182-208; 64(1957), pp. 161-183; W. Bornemann, "Der erste Petrusbrief-eine Taufrede des Silvanus?" ZNW, 19(1919-20), pp. 143-165; F. M. Cross, I Peter--A Pascal Liturgy? (London: Mobergs, 1954); R. Perdelwitz, Die Mysterienreligionen und das Problem des I Petrusbriefes (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1911); C. F. D. Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter," NTS, 3(1956-7), pp. 1-11. For an excellent, although brief summary of some of the above interpretations, cf. R. P. Martin, "The Composition of I Peter in Recent Study," Vox Evangelica, 1(1962), pp. 29-42. The connection between Heb. 6:4 and baptism is not new and is discussed in most commentaries on the Epistle.

⁸⁷A. W. Argyle, "Baptism in the Early Christian Centuries," Christian Baptism, ed. A. Gilmore (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959), p. 197.

⁸⁸J. Jervell, op. cit., pp. 196-97.

5:8-14),⁸⁹ and the definite connection between baptism and enlightenment in the second and third centuries, it is most likely that the πεφωτισμένων of Eph. 1:18 refers to baptism.

2. Enthronement (vv. 20-23): Chapter I ends with a great climactic hymn of praise about the ascended Christ. The similarity of these verses with Col. 1:12-20, 2:9-15; Phil. 2:9-11; I Cor. 15:12-28 is obvious, making it likely that such hymns or confessions of the exalted Christ were well known in the New Testament churches. From such a similarity, especially on the basis of the baptismal motif in Col. 2:11f., it has been argued that Eph. 1:20ff. also relates to baptism.⁹⁰

Schille takes 1:17ff. to be a hymn emphasizing Inthronisation, and believes this motif is connected with baptism: "Wie Kreuz und Taufe schon fröh verbunden wurden, so kann man entsprechend eine enge Verknüpfung von Erweckung bzw. Erhöhung Christi und Taufe beobachten."⁹¹ This thought is then further developed in 2:5-7 where the believer's resurrection and exaltation are linked to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ.

Emphasis upon Christ's cosmic sovereignty and enthronization may also serve as a rebuff to the heresy which is mildly alluded to in the Epistle. Pokorny, for one, makes such a connection, suggesting that the author is emphasizing Christ's power over the elements of fate

⁸⁹On Eph. 5:8-14 cf. below, pp. 92-109.

⁹⁰J. T. Sanders, op. cit., pp. 221-22: "It is then precisely in connection with this reference to baptism (Col. 2:12f.) that parallels to Eph. 1,20ff. and 2,4ff. are to be found."

⁹¹Schille, LitG, p. 117. Cf. Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12; I Pet. 1:3, 3:21; Acts 5:31.

which the Gnostics lost by their relationship to the earth but which they sought to regain through initiation. Here baptism becomes central for Pokorny, for in it the Gospel is imparted and confession of faith in Christ is made: "Bei der Taufe wird also, ohne dass ekstatische Vorgänge mitspielen, im (Glaubens-) Bekenntnis zu Christus das Evangelium mitgeteilt, welches das gnostische Geheimnis überragt."⁹² Then in vv. 22b-23 cosmology receives an ecclesiastical interpretation. The enthroned Christ is made head over all things for the Church, and to him, the Church is united. Baptism, according to Pokorny, is a sign of the Christian's relation to Christ: "Die Taufe ist dann ein Zeichen für die sich daraus ergebende (Glaubens-) Souveränität des Christen, nach der die Mysterien strebten."⁹³

True, the idea of Christ's enthronement is closely related to baptism (Schille), and in baptism, confession of faith in Christ is made (Pokorny). But neither of these facts appears to be in the author's mind at this point. A connection between the believer's resurrection and exaltation by virtue of his baptism in Christ is not brought out until 2:5-7 where the doctrine of ἐν Χριστῷ is presented.⁹⁴ Nor is there any indication that vv. 20-23 are to be located in the act of baptism where the candidate would confess his faith in Christ. Although the baptismal motif of enthronement is present, the main purpose of this section is, as the author himself indicates (v. 20),

⁹²Pokorny, op. cit., pp. 181-2.

⁹³Ibid., p. 182.

⁹⁴As we shall see below, the author had baptism in mind when he used the "in Christ" formula in 2:5-7.

to show that God's power is manifested in the resurrection and exaltation of Christ.

Thus it appears that in 1:15-23 there is one good possibility of the appearance of a baptismal motif (enlightenment) and one doubtful one (enthronement).

CHAPTER II

II. Ephesians 2

A. Eph. 2:1-10: Verses 1-4 speak of the past sinful condition of man who was given over in his Wandel to worldly powers and whose ethical life was characterized by passions, lust and enmity towards God. But a great change has taken place in man (vv. 5-10). Here we are introduced to a merciful and loving God who saved man from his sinful condition and gave him an exalted position with Christ in the heavenlies. Man is again reminded that his new status (vv. 8-9) is not the result of his own doing; it is the result of God working through Christ. Finally, the section ends with the admonition that man is created for "good works" (v. 10) and thus it becomes his responsibility to characterize his life with the things God intended him to possess.

Although baptism is not specifically mentioned in vv. 1-10 it is clear that the author is using baptismal thought and language to address his readers. His understanding of baptism as implying a change of status (cf. Rom. 6:1-11; I Cor. 11; 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 3:3; Tit. 3:5-7) lies behind the verses describing the change from paganism to Christianity and is connected, in this section, with the doctrine of baptism as participation ἐν Χριστῷ.

It is not clear from where the author is drawing this material. Dahl entertains the possibility "dass der Apostel einen Taufhymnus

zitiert."¹ Conzelmann suggests that 2:1-10 has its origin in the Taufvorbereitung, the goal of which is to show "wie wir durch die Taufe in dieses Christus-Geschehen hineingekommen sind."² While both of these suggestions have some merit, it is obvious that the passage has little resemblance to a hymn, such as 1:3-14, for example. And while baptismal instruction in the early Church certainly included the doctrinal aspects of the rite, there is little evidence to indicate, as Conzelmann claims, that the Sitz-im-Leben of the Epistle is the Taufgottesdienst.

1. Participation in Christ (vv. 5-9): The doctrine of baptism as participation or incorporation into Christ is an important theme in the New Testament. In Rom. 6:3ff. Paul speaks of baptism into Christ's death (ἐβαπτίσθημεν) and burial (συνετάφημεν); and he expresses the hope of a future resurrection (ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα) and life (συζήσομεν) with him. In Col. 2:11ff. the author speaks of death with Christ by the metaphor of circumcision (περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ) or simply death with Christ (ἀπεθάνετε σὺν Χριστῷ v. 20), burial (συνταφέντες), resurrection (συνηγέρθητε), and "being made alive together" (συνεζωοποίησεν) with Christ. The Ephesian passage mentions the believer's being made alive (συνεζωοποίησεν), his

¹N. A. Dahl, Epheserbrief, p. 65.

²H. Conzelmann, "Der Brief an die Epheser," Die Kleineren Briefe des Apostels Paulus. Das Neue Testament Deutsch, Vol. 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), p. 65. Hereafter cited as Epheserbrief. Conzelmann claims that the author, a pupil of Paul, has a definite understanding of the "Heilsgeschehen" and its significance for the Christian life (p. 65). On Conzelmann and the deutero-Pauline hypothesis cf. below, Part II, pp. 203-204.

resurrection (συνήγειρεν) and enthronement (συνεκάθισεν) with Christ. The following table shows the occurrence of these concepts in the three Epistles:³

	Rom. 6	Col. 2	Eph. 2
death	εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν (v.3)	ἀπεθάνετε σὺν Χριστῷ (v.20)	
burial	συνετάφημεν... διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσ- μεναι (v.4)	συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτισματί (v.12)	
resurrection	ἀναστάσεως ἐσ- όμεθα (v.5)	συνηγέρθητε (v.12)	συνήγειρεν (v.6)
made alive	συζήσομεν αὐτῷ (v.8)	συνεζωοποίησεν (v.13)	συνεζωοποίησεν (v.5)
enthronement			συνεκάθισεν (v.6)

It is especially noteworthy that Ephesians makes no mention of the believer's death or burial with Christ in the way in which it is presented in Rom. 6:3-4; Col. 2:20; 3:3; and Gal. 2:20. The death of which Ephesians speaks is not the mystical participation in Christ's death but the natural state of mankind as being dead in trespasses and in sins (2:1-5). But even though the reference is to people who were "dead" in their sins, it is through union with Christ that they have

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Notice Col. 3:1-4 where the same themes appear: v. 1 = συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ ; v. 1b = τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ... καθήμενος (implication(?) of the believer's exaltation); v. 3 = ἀπεθάνετε γὰρ ... σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ; v. 4 = ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε.

been "made alive."⁴

The emphasis on enthronement with Christ in the heavenlies is also unique and goes beyond anything suggested in Romans or Colossians in connection with baptism. What was previously said of Christ--i.e. his resurrection and exaltation (1:20-22)--is now true of the believer ἐν Χριστῷ. Another important difference is the verb tense used for the resurrection of the believer, for whereas Romans speaks of resurrection and "being alive" in the future, Ephesians and Colossians use the aorist, thereby giving the believer possession of these spiritual realities now.⁵

On the basis of the baptismal nature and teaching of Rom. 6:3ff. and Col. 2:11-12, 20; 3:1-4, it is not unreasonable to assume that the author of Ephesians has the baptismal event in mind when he speaks of the Christian's participation in Christ.⁶ Although he does not explicitly mention the rite, his readers would recognize that the language of dying and rising with Christ alludes to baptism. This doctrine of participation in Christ may also have been an essential

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Cf. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 783. Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, pp. 141-2 notes that the terminology is along the line of the baptismal mystery but the ideas has been somewhat "paled."

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Cf. "Baptism and Eschatology," Part II, pp. 153-167.

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Note the similar thoughts in I Pet. 1:3-5, 21; 3:21-22; 2 Tim. 2:11-13.

element of baptismal instruction in the early Church.⁷

We may now consider the views of other scholars who have found baptismal allusions in 2:5-9, especially in the series of *συν*-verbs and the idea of ascension or exaltation. A. Grail, for example, sums up the view of many of these scholars when he writes "Le chapitre 2 présente le même caractère de résumé des effets de l'initiation chrétienne."⁸ Agreement is especially uniform that the verbs *συνεζωοποίησεν*, *συνήγειρεν* and *συνεκάθισεν* (vv. 5-6) express the fact that in baptism the Christian shares in Christ's resurrection and exaltation.⁹

⁷Paul's *ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε* (Rom. 6:3) appears to imply that the readers should already know what baptism is and involves as far as participation in Christ is concerned. The New Testament doctrine of baptism, as opposed to Jewish concepts of baptism for example, is most clearly distinguished by its absolute connection to Christology. A good example of this is brought out by Schille regarding baptism and forgiveness in Eph. 2:4ff. "Das Neue gegenüber spätjüdischen Taufkreisen... ist jedoch nicht dass man in der Taufe Vergebung empfängt, sondern dass man diese Vergebung und daher auch die Taufe mit der Christologie eng verknüpft." (*LitG*, p. 116); cf. also his *Frühchristliche Hymnen* (hereafter cited as *Hymnen*), (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), pp. 85ff. Cf. also E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild: Eine Untersuchung zu den paulinischen Taufe und Eikontexten* (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1962). Here Larsson investigates the New Testament concept of "Nachfolge Christi" and seeks to demonstrate the connection between Christ (as *Vorbild*) and his followers in baptism. The description in Ephesians of God's action in Christ, he writes, "ist Ursache und Vorbild für das, was sich in der Taufe vollzieht" (p. 107). Cf. also his exegesis of Rom. 6, pp. 48ff.

⁸A. Grail, "La place du baptême dans la doctrine de saint Paul," *La Vie Spirituelle*, 352(1950), pp. 570-571.

⁹N. A. Dahl, "Dopet," pp. 88-9; H. Schlier, *Epheserbrief*, p. 109; Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," pp. 167ff. and *Baptism*, pp. 75ff.; D. M. Stanley, *Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology*. *Analecta Biblica*, Vol. 13 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1961), p. 223; J. Jervell, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Osten-Sacken, *op. cit.*, p. 257; J. Kirby, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-6; G. Schille, *Hymnen*, p. 53 and *LitG*, p. 119; A. Wickenhauser, *Der Christus Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1956), p. 79. E. Larsson, *op. cit.*, appropriately sums up the sentiment of

M. Meinertz believes that the $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\zeta\omega\sigma\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ is characteristic of the Pauline mysticism that occurs between Christ and the Christian in baptism. Hence he states that ". . . in Christus hat jeder Christ die Auferweckung und Versetzung in den Himmel prinzipiell bereits erreicht."¹⁰ For Schlier, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\theta\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ characterizes baptism as a sort of Himmelfahrt: "Das, was durch die Taufe- aus Gnade kraft der Liebe des erbarmenden Gottes- an uns geschehen ist, ist ein In-Christus-mit-Christus-in die Himmel versetzt worden- Sein."¹¹ Larsson thinks it significant that the author describes the effect of baptism not only as Lebendigmachen but also as an "Inthronisation mit ihm," or a type of heavenly journey.¹²

In the preceding chapter,¹³ we noted that Ephesians may encompass a minor polemic against the Gnostic heretics who were threatening the Church. Emphasis upon the ascension of the "Redeemer" (Christ) to heaven and his exaltation and triumph over demonic principalities and powers (1:21, 2:2, 6:12) would avoid any confusion of the Christian and the Gnostic systems. Käsemann, for one, interprets baptism in all of the deutero-Pauline literature in terms of its Gnostic background.

these scholars when he writes: "Die Umwandlung des Menschen, die diese Texte beschreiben, kann daher in vielen Fällen als eine Konsequenz des Taufgeschehens betrachtet werden, als eine Fortsetzung der sakramentalen Nachfolge" (p. 110).

¹⁰M. Meinertz, Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Heiligen Paulus (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), p. 74.

¹¹Schlier, Epheserbrief, pp. 100-111.

¹²Larsson, op. cit., p. 106.

¹³Cf. above, pp. 36-38.

According to him, the baptized are ascended into the heavens

(συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) and constitute along with the ascended Christ, the heavenly body of the Anthropos ("die himmlische Grösse des Christusleibes").¹⁴ What happened to Christ on the cross occurs to the believer in baptism: "Die Taufe," states Käsemann, "ist Leben und Auferstehung, sofern sie Himmelfahrt ist."¹⁵

Pokorny, who deals with 2:4-10 as a Tauflied, considers chapter 2 to be more of a personal application of the "mystery" that was set out at the end of chapter 1. The Gnostic experiences union with the supra-personal (Überpersönlichen) body of the Primal Man by initiation and ascends through the spheres of the gods of fate in a state of mystical ecstasy.¹⁶ Christians are appropriated to an objective reality through the proclamation about Christ, the confirmation of which occurs in baptism.¹⁷ However, in contrast to the Mysteries, there stands faith (a gift of God, vv. 8-10) and the emphasis upon good works. The latter recalls the danger of the ethical negativism in the Gnostic systems.¹⁸

A direct, or for that matter indirect allusion to Gnostic or Mystery ideas, cannot be demonstrated from the text. The ideas of ascension and exaltation could be the logical consequences of the

¹⁴E. Käsemann, Leib und Leib Christ. Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, Vol. 9 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933), p. 143. Hereafter cited as Leib.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 143. Cf. Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 110.

¹⁶Pokorny, op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁷Ibid. "Dem Christen wird durch die Christusverkündigung eine objektive Realität zugeeignet, die durch die Taufe bestätigt wird."

¹⁸Ibid.

ethical and eschatological significance of baptism. Admittance to heavenly glory through baptismal union with Christ is interpreted by Stanley as stressing "Paul's realization of the Christian's present possession of the messianic blessings and his definite triumph over the forces of evil."¹⁹

Schnackenburg also reacts against Schlier's use of Gnostic terminology and considers the teaching of 2:1-10 to be the result (Gewinn) of Pauline conceptions.²⁰ On the basis of this reaction he makes the following conclusion with respect to the Ephesian passage: (1) The baptized attain a close union with Christ and follow in this fellowship with Christ in such a way that permits him to attain the heavenly realm with Christ. (2) Baptism does not take the Christian out of this world but promises him victory and triumph with Christ over all cosmic Unheilmächte. (3) The gaze (Blick) of the Christian from the time of his baptism is directed towards the final completion of salvation (Heilsvollendung), which, in spite of the victorious view of faith,

¹⁹ Stanley, *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism*, op. cit., p. 206. F. Mussner rightly objects to Käsemann's and Schlier's Gnostic interpretation which, he claims, can only be correct if the Anthropos Myth is behind Eph. 2:6 and the ἐν Χριστῷ formula. According to Mussner's analysis of 4:13 (ἄνθρωπος τέλειος) and 1:15b (εἰς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος), this myth played no significant role and the passage is best interpreted from Col. 1:3-4. Nor is there any ecclesiastical significance in 2:5f. (Christus das All und die Kirche. *Trierer Theologische Studien*, Vol. 5, 1955, pp. 91-2).

²⁰ Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," pp. 169-174. This should not be taken to mean that Schnackenburg entirely eliminates allusions to Gnosticism. In his Baptism he writes: "Gnostic ideas perhaps provided the material" the author uses against any Gnostic misinterpretation (p. 75). In this connection Percy, op. cit., considers the teaching on baptism so Pauline and so in line with the "in Christ" formula that he states: "Entweder stammt die Formulierung in Eph 2,6 von Paulus, oder ein anderer hat den innersten Sinn der paulinischen Heilslehre besser zu treffen gewusst als der grosse Apostel selbst" (p. 290).

still remains incomplete. (4) The realization of the illuminating triumph in baptism depends upon the ethical verification (Bewährung) of the Christian: "Die Werke, die Gott zum Vollbringen vor ihn hinstellt, muss er auch wirklich mit den ihm verliehenen Kräften in den Tat umsetzen."²¹

J. C. Kirby also considers chapter 2 to be dominated by the baptismal motif but differs from the above interpretations by placing it within the framework of Jewish ideas on death and baptism. First of all, he finds it strange that the author has taken the Pauline metaphor of death and resurrection to mean that the Christian's life before his conversion was a "living death" (Col. 2:13; Eph. 2:5). Then, on the basis of an interpretation by D. Daube,²² Kirby claims that the reason lies in the fact that "It was widely held in Judaism that a Gentile, before he became a proselyte, was spiritually dead, and his conversion was regarded as passing from death to life."²³ This idea of "making alive," therefore comes from Judaism which considered the baptized proselyte as one who had risen from the grave.²⁴ The Christian Church took over this concept and gave it a Christological interpretation along the pattern of the death and resurrection of the Lord.²⁵ .

²¹Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 174.

²²Cf. D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 109ff. Kirby, op. cit., acknowledges his indebtedness to Daube on p. 188, n. 69.

²³Ibid., p. 155.

²⁴Ibid., p. 156.

²⁵Ibid.

The idea that the concepts of "death" and "life" come from the Jewish practice of proselyte baptism has certain merit considering that the author is speaking to Gentile Christians about their connection to Judaism (cf. Introduction) and that some of the language in the Epistle (particularly 2:11-12, 19) appears to describe Gentiles coming over into Judaism.

But while it is quite possible that the author is using some Jewish liturgical material, it cannot be his intention to use the analogy of proselyte baptism to illustrate the unity between Jew and Gentile. The Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη) are not considered to be Jewish proselytes. It is not by baptism that they are incorporated into Judaism. Rather, the mystery about which the author speaks is that these Gentiles share in the same hope and promise as the Jews (2:13ff., 3:6) by virtue of their being in Christ. The division between races has been broken down (2:14) and in their place one new man has been created in Christ (2:14-16).²⁶

26

F. Mussner has drawn a comparison between the teaching of baptism as participation in Christ in Ephesians and some of the ideas of the Qumran community. "Wie die Angehörigen der Qumrangemeinde durch die Aufnahme in die 'Gemeinschaft der Einung' in den 'Standort mit der Herrschar der Heiligen eintreten' (IQH, III, 21), so lässt Gott die durch die Taufe mit Christus Erweckten 'mitsitzen' im himmlischen Bereich in Jesus Christus. Das ist ja nicht in dem Sinn gemeint, als ob die Getauften schon in den Himmel aufgefahren wären, sondern sie sind in den im auferweckten Christus in der Kirche und als Kirche schon anwesenden himmlischen 'Bereich' aufgenommen, der identisch mit dem eschatologischen Tempelheiligtum ist" ("Beiträge aus Qumran zum Verständnis des Epheserbriefes," Neutestamentliche Aufsätze. Festschrift für J. Schmid (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), p. 190). The analogy, however, is remote and makes no contribution to our understanding of the passage in Ephesians.

B. Eph. 2:11-22: This section of the Epistle basically is comprised of two main thoughts: the first is the changed position of the Gentiles by virtue of their being in Christ (vv. 11-18); the second is the imagery of the heavenly building into which both Jews and Gentiles grow (vv. 19-22). Since each of these sections has its own theme, we shall examine each one separately for its particular teaching and setting in the Epistle.

1. Eph. 2:11-18: The entire theme of this section deals with those (τῶ ἔθνει) who were once distant, alienated and hopeless, but have been drawn near, are fellow-citizens of the household of God and now possess a great hope. All this has happened through Christ and is best understood as occurring in baptism. Baptism signifies a total change of existence (Rom. 6:1-11; I Cor. 6:11; 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 3:3; Tit. 3:5-7). There are also strong allusions to baptism in passages dealing with the transfer from darkness to light (Heb. 6:4, 10:32; I Pet. 2:9; Eph. 1:18, 5:8-14), from death to life (Eph. 2:1-10) and from Satanic power to the heavenly sphere in Christ (Eph. 2:5-7).²⁷ Baptism is also the place where one is incorporated into the family of God, the Church. Thus W. Nauck rightfully asks: "Denn wo anders geschieht dieses 'Nahewerden,' die Aufnahme in das Gottesvolk, als in der Taufe?"²⁸

N. A. Dahl proposes that this passage may have its background in the terminology of Jewish proselytism where the proselytes were

²⁷Cf. Dahl, "Dopet," p. 101.

²⁸W. Nauck, "Eph. 2:19-22; ein Tauflied?" Evangelische Theologie, 7/8(1953), p. 365.

brought near, incorporated into Israel and given access to worship.²⁹ Thus he states: "Eph. ii. 13-18 is a kind of 'midrash' on Isa. lvii. 19, a passage which in Judaism was referred to those Gentiles 'far off' who had become proselytes--or to the penitents--and the Israelites who were near; it is here applied to Gentiles and Jews in the Church, to whom Christ has brought peace through his work of reconciliation."³⁰

John Kirby likewise refers to vv. 11-22 as a midrash on Isa. 57: 19 and concludes that the author of Ephesians used ideas from "the Jewish teaching on baptism in his exposition of Christian baptism."³¹ Here he places considerable emphasis upon the analogy of circumcision, suggesting that "Just as the Gentile is brought near to Israel and is made a proselyte by the blood of circumcision, so by the blood of Christ the Gentiles are brought near and made members of God's household, real citizens of Israel."³² P. Carrington understands Ephesians to be dominated by the baptismal theme--or tōrah--as he prefers to call it. In the Epistle, he claims, Paul is addressing newly baptized Gentiles, insisting that they are no longer gērīm (strangers), but are to be regarded "as the homeborn (Lev. xix, 33ff.)."³³

There is also a remarkable similarity between Eph. 2:11 and Col. 2:11, and since the Ephesian author may be drawing upon the Colossian

²⁹N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," op. cit., p. 436.

³⁰Ibid., p. 437.

³¹Kirby, op. cit., p. 158.

³²Ibid., p. 157.

³³P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism (Cambridge: The University Press, 1940), p. 74.

letter it is quite possible that the verse could serve as a hermeneutical key for our interpretation of Eph. 2:11.

Col. 2:11

ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ
ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδόσει
τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ
περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ...

Eph. 2:11

Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ
ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί, οἱ
λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ
τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς ἐν
σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου...

Such similarity has not gone unnoticed by Dahl,³⁴ Mollat,³⁵ Percy,³⁶ and others. Percy, however, also stresses the possible influence of Phil. 3:3, which reads "we are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit, and glory in Christ Jesus, and put no confidence in the flesh." To this Percy adds:

...es ist nämlich denkbar, dass die Bezeichnung χειροποίητος, ebenso wie das ἐν σαρκί, die körperliche Beschneidung in Gegensatz zu solchem stellt, was überhaupt dem Gebiet des πνεῦμα gehört und nicht von Menschenhänden gemacht ist. Denkbar ist aber auch, dass dem Verfasser des Eph bei τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς κτλ. der Gedanke an die Taufe als die wahre περιτομή vorschwebt (vgl. ausser Kol 2:11 auch Phil 3:3), ohne dass er dabei von Kol 2:11 abhängig wäre.³⁷

One of the most intensive studies on the question of circumcision and its relation to baptism in Ephesians has been done by H. Sahlin in his article "Die Beschneidung Christi."³⁸ In this particular context, Sahlin attempts to go somewhat farther than Dahl. Dahl, it will be

³⁴Dahl, "Dopet," pp. 89-90.

³⁵Mollat, op. cit., p. 78.

³⁶Percy, op. cit., pp. 391-2.

³⁷Ibid., p. 392.

³⁸H. Sahlin, op. cit., pp. 5-22.

recalled, believes that the Ephesian letter in its entirety deals with baptism. In 2:11-22 he suggests that baptismal motifs are to be found in the reference to circumcision, the "drawing near" as related to proselytism, and the traditional relationship between baptism and the pneumatic Temple.³⁹

Sahlin, on the other hand, is much more specific in his discussion, and believes he can justify his claim that the Ephesian passage is built upon the conception of baptism as the "circumcision of Christ." The author, he affirms, "betrachtet die christliche Taufe als eine 'Beschneidung Christi', der die jüdische Beschneidung entspricht."⁴⁰ He sets Christian baptism against Jewish circumcision in order to show that this "beschneidung Christ," i.e. baptism, replaced the old Jewish circumcision.⁴¹ Thus in v. 11 according to Sahlin, the author, by belittling the "circumcision made with hands" is, by implication from Col. 2:11ff., thinking of baptism, the "circumcision not made with hands."⁴²

Sahlin seeks to support his argument by tracing certain developments in which the rite of circumcision was "spiritualized" and consequently linked to baptism. Evidence of such spiritualizing is found in the Gospel references of the true followers of Abraham (Mt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8), the "repentance baptism" of John the Baptist, and the Pauline

³⁹Dahl, "Dopet," pp. 89f.

⁴⁰Sahlin, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 12, n. 1.

⁴²"Die Beschneidung ohne Hände, die Beschneidung Christi, ist offenbar die christliche Taufe" (ibid., p. 7).

conceptions of the true Israel in such passages as Rom. 9:6-8 and 2:29 which intimate a circumcision of a higher spiritual nature.⁴³

Ephesians and Colossians represent a further development of Pauline thought. "Während Paulus dort [Römerbrief] nur daran denkt, was es bedeutet, im geistigen Sinne beschnitten zu sein, ist es in Eph. und Kol. davon die Rede, wie man in diesem Sinne beschnitten wird."⁴⁴ In Romans, Paul does not think of baptism, whereas in Ephesians and Colossians, on the contrary, the logical consequences are drawn from his conception of the "circumcision of the heart" - die wahre 'Beschneidung' ist die christliche Taufe."⁴⁵

Further evidence is forthcoming from historical developments which link circumcision and baptism. In the case of proselytes, for example, circumcision and baptism, together with sacrifice, were parts of the rite of admission. Baptism, claims Sahlin, could replace or at least be equivalent to circumcision.⁴⁶ Much the same is true in the early Christian church where baptism replaced circumcision.⁴⁷

⁴³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁷Ibid. "...die Taufpraxis der Kirche entspricht der jüdischen Beschneidungspraxis." As a Jewish boy was circumcised on the eighth day, so the church, in a corresponding way, performed baptism on infants of Christian parents. Or, as an adult proselyte was circumcised as an adult, so did the church baptize adults when they were admitted into Christianity."

Finally, although it does not occur directly in our text, Jewish circumcision was conceived of as a new birth. "Die jüdische Beschneidung wurde als eine neue Geburt betrachtet, eine Geburt in den Zustand der Heiligkeit hinein. Ein Proselyt galt mithin, religiös gesehen, als ein Neugeborener."⁴⁸ From this so-called "Theologumenon" Sahlin explains the Christian interpretation of baptism as a new birth in such passages as Jn. 3:3-8; Tit. 3:5; I Pet. 2:2 and the Western reading of Lk. 3:22. Here Sahlin reasons that since the connection between new birth and baptism is nowhere explained in the New Testament, the readers must have been acquainted with such an idea.⁴⁹

One must agree with Dahl, Kirby, Sahlin and others, that there are some striking parallels between Jewish proselytism and this passage in Ephesians. The description of the Christian before baptism sounds very much like the heathen proselyte before he became a Jew. Both were considered the uncircumcision--the proselyte in a physical sense, the Christian spiritually; both were alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, were strangers to the covenant of promise, sojourners, etc. The proselyte's baptism removed these negative aspects and initiated him into the people of the covenant so that he became a partaker of their blessings.

By analogy, much the same is true of Christian baptism because it too signifies a change of status. But in Ephesians the writer gives

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Ibid., pp. 21-22. For more detailed discussion cf. Part III on Jewish proselyte baptism, pp. 216-231.

49

"die neutestamentlichen Verfasser haben offenbar damit rechnen können, dass schon eine flüchtige Andeutung von der Beziehung Taufe-Neugeburt für die christlichen Leser völlig begreiflich war" (ibid., p. 22). Mussner considers Sahlin's explanation very unlikely: "Der Gedanke der Taufe als 'Christusbeschneidung' (wie Kol 2,11) spielt dabei überhaupt kein Rolle" (Christus das All und die Kirche, op. cit., p. 86, n. 44).

a decisive Christian interpretation to the Jewish pattern. The unbaptized were separated from Christ (2:12); they have been brought near in the blood of Christ (2:13); it is Christ who has broken down the wall of hostility and brought peace (2:18); it is through Christ that one has access to the Father (2:18) and it is into Christ that the Christian grows (2:19-22).

Pokorny traces the background of this section to the Gnostics, believing that the emphasis is upon the union of the Urmensch (vv. 15f.), the combination of the "inner" and "exalted" man, and the annulment of the bodily wall (der in der Leiblichkeit bestehenden Mauer) which blocked the way to heaven. Similarly, the concept of peace is related to the two natures of man in the Gnostic system. According to Pokorny, one nature is sensual, material and womanly; the other nature is spiritual and manly. The Gnostics sought to annul this dualism through union with God.⁵⁰

In Ephesians, Pokorny believes that the author reworked a Gnostic hymn by giving it a "heilsgeschichtliche-soziologische" interpretation. Emphasis upon the advent (v. 17) of Christ $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (v. 14) in contrast to the "spiritual mysteries" is brought out by referring to his blood (v. 13) and the cross (v. 16). Sociologically, Jew and heathen have been united into one body. Every schism, therefore, would be a denial of baptism through which we are incorporated into the concrete body of Christ (cf. 3:6, 4:4-5).⁵¹

50

Pokorny, op. cit., pp. 182-3. In reference to the "one new man" (v. 15b) Mussner suggests that the $\epsilon\nu$ has a "mystic" meaning and could be related to a baptismal text when one asks the question where the creation of the "new man" occurs: "...der 'eine neue Mensch' wird durch den pneumatisch-sakramentalen 'Eintritt in die Christusgemeinschaft' erschaffen" (op. cit., p. 85).

51

Pokorny, op. cit., p. 183.

W. Nauck has a short discussion of vv. 11-18 in connection with his analysis of the Tauflied in vv. 19-22.⁵² He accepts Käsemann's position that Col. 1:12-20 is a baptismal hymn⁵³ and makes the following comparison between the two passages.

1. ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Eph. 2, 13) = διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ (Kol. 1,20).
2. ποιῶν εἰρήνην (Eph. 2,15) = εἰρηνοποιήσας (Kol. 1,20).
3. ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἓνα καὶ ἓνα ἄνθρωπον (Eph. 2,15) = ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθῃ τὰ πάντα (Kol. 1,15); τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκτίσται (1,16).
4. ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ Θεῷ (Eph. 2,16) = καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν (Kol. 1,20); vgl. v. 22: ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.
5. ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι (Eph. 2,12) = ἀπηλλοτριωμένους (Kol. 1,21).
6. ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν (Eph. 2,16) = ἔχθρους τῇ διανοίᾳ (Kol. 1,21).
7. πρὸς τὸν πατέρα (Eph. 2,18) = εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ (Kol. 1,12).⁵⁴

These striking similarities lead to the conclusion that the author of Ephesians borrowed ideas from the Colossian baptismal hymn and incorporated them into his treatise on unity.⁵⁵ The similarities, however,

⁵²

W. Nauck, op. cit., p. 365f.

⁵³

Cf. E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy," Essays on New Testament Themes. Studies in Biblical Theology # 41 (London: S.C.M. Press, 1964), pp. 149-168.

⁵⁴

Nauck, op. cit., pp. 366-7. Nauck acknowledges that although baptism and Christ's death are connected in Rom. 6, the relation between baptism and the blood of Christ is not common in the N.T. Nevertheless, in Heb. 10:22 we have the idea of "drawn near" connected with the "αἵμα-Formel" (v. 22). Cf. also προσερχόμενοι I Pet. 2:4; ἐγενήθητε ἐγγύς in Eph. 2:13. For other parallels between the tradition behind Heb. and Eph. cf. Nauck, p. 366, n. 15 and 16. Nauck concludes, "dass sich die Worte εἰς... βάπτισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ auf die Taufe beziehen, scheint mir eindeutig zu sein" (p. 366).

⁵⁵Although Käsemann's article has its critics (for example, cf.

should not cloud some of the notable differences.

Nauck has observed that the baptismal liturgy of Colossians has the cosmic effect of Christ's revelation as the subject of its hymnic declarations. Christ, the hymn states, has reconciled all things (das All) in and through himself for he is the first-born of the entire creation under whom all the powers in heaven and earth are subjected.⁵⁶

E. Percy, "Zu den Problemen des Kolosser-und Epheserbriefes," *ZNW*, 43 (1950-51), pp. 184-7; Dibelius-Greeven, *Handbuch*, pp. 11f.), his thesis that Col. 1:15-20 is a pre-Christian hymn which has been "transformed by a liturgical redaction into a Christian homology," or baptismal liturgy (p. 159; cf. also pp. 152-3, 164), has been widely accepted. Käsemann places the pre-Christian origin of the hymn squarely within the context of Gnostic and Stoic thought, arguing that it is permeated with mythological motifs and terminology. Particularly striking is the appearance of the Gnostic Archetypal man appearing as the Redeemer in the image of God (pp. 154-56) and the teaching of the restored creation in which the "All is reconciled" by becoming incarnate in the Redeemer (pp. 158-9). Evidence of a Christian redaction, states Käsemann, is obvious from such glosses as τῆς ἐκκλησίας (v. 18) and διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ (v. 20). And the ὅς at the beginning of v. 13 bears a liturgical stamp and "is only comprehensible if the writer is here harking back to a confession of faith already in the community" (p. 154). The baptismal content of the hymn, according to Käsemann, is to be found in such concepts as sonship (τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ v. 13), the deliverance from darkness into God's kingdom (v. 13), redemption (ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν v. 14), and the connection between such words as μερίζω, κληρος, ῥύομαι, and μεθεστιθῆναι with the Exodus motif in I Cor. 10:2 (pp. 159-161). But apart from these allusions in the text itself, Käsemann argues that the total context of the Epistle alludes to baptism in such a way that its accumulative effect serves to support his thesis (cf. 2:11-12, 3:1-4, 3:9-10). The hymn (1:15-20), states Käsemann, serves as a confession of faith to repel the false teachers who were threatening the Church (pp. 164-6). Baptism "is the foundation of the Christian's standing" because it is a message of forgiveness through Christ, the act by which his Lordship is proclaimed, and the place where the once-for-all separation is made between the cosmic powers and the Cosmocrator (p. 166).

⁵⁶Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

The situation in Eph. 2:11-18 is completely different. Here, in spite of verbal borrowings from a hymn of the Hellenistic community,⁵⁷ there is no conscious attempt to meet the challenge of the Gnostic system, as Pokorny argued. Nauck puts it very succinctly when he notes that in Ephesians the gnostic-mythic, cosmological explanation of Christ's revelations is de-mythologized and historicized with the help of a salvation-history interpretation. The cosmological dualism between heaven and earth is carried over to the immanent level of "Heilsgeschichte." Christ has broken down the enmity between God's people and the heathen: "die kosmische Wirkung seines Todes wird als ökumenische Wirkung interpretiert. Die ἀπολύτρωσις von den ἐξουσίαι τοῦ σκότους (Kol. 1,13f.) wird geschichtlich interpretiert: λύσας τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ ... τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν καταργήσας ."⁵⁸

For our purpose, however, the use of baptismal terminology from Colossians (and perhaps, as Käsemann thinks, indirectly from a Hellenistic hymn or liturgy) in Ephesians 2:11-18 shows that the author turned to baptismal language to support his theological assertion of the

⁵⁷Cf. Schille, Hymnen, p. 103; In his LitG he states: "Danach ist es wahrscheinlich, dass in Eph 2, 14-18 ein Erlöserlied der Hellenistischen Gemeinde Aufnahme gefunden hat. Der Vf. hat es durch einige Interpretamente auf sein Thema hin zugespitzt, wobei das Lied als Zitat den Fortgang dieses Themas sichern soll" (p. 9). To this one may add the view of J. T. Sanders, op. cit., p. 218: "One may then with a considerable degree of certainty say that Eph 2, 14-16 is an early Christian hymn or part of a hymn quoted by the author as an expression of God's divine saving action, and that the hymn did not entirely serve the author's purpose, so that it was necessary for him to expand and interpret it somewhat." But to say that the author is using liturgical material does not necessarily mean that 2:11-18 has to be considered as a "Tauflied," as Schille, for example, believes (Hymnen, p. 103).

⁵⁸Nauck, op. cit., p. 367.

unity between Jew and Gentile as "one new man" in Christ (2:14-16). From this, one may safely infer that baptism was widely regarded as a sacrament of unity; that is, the author's ability to use baptismal language to support the "theology of unity" was not accidental.⁵⁹

2. Eph. 2:19-22: The thoughts in vv. 19-22 on the incorporation of the Gentiles into the heavenly building conclude the section (vv. 11-22) on Christian unity. The ἄρα (v. 19) has the effect of pointing back to what was said in the previous verses and linking it to what follows. The thought is that because the Gentiles are now in Christ and have access in one Spirit to the Father, they are no longer strangers (ξένοι) and sojourners (πάροικοι) in the sense of proselytes but συμπολιταὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. By their faith in Jesus Christ (the corner-stone) they are like an edifice which is built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets and which grows εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν κυρίῳ .

This section on the heavenly temple has such a strong liturgical ring that it leads Conzelmann to affirm that "man hat sie schon direkt als Tauflied angesprochen."⁶⁰ Dahl claims that there is an appearance of such building and temple imagery in later baptismal liturgies.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cf. especially I Cor. 12:13: "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body--Jews or Greeks...." Gal. 3:27-8: "...baptized into Christ... there is neither Jew nor Greek... for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Col. 3:9-11: "...you have put off... and have put on the new nature... Here there cannot be Greek or Jew...."

⁶⁰ Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 65.

⁶¹ Dahl, "Dopet," p. 90. Dahl refers to I Pet. 2:1ff. Hermas Vis. III, 2.9; 7.3; Sim. IX, 3:3,16. Cf. also Nauck, op. cit., p. 370.

Bieder likewise connects the passage to baptism and fits it into the dominant theme of his book--namely, that baptism is the act or source of joy.⁶² He finds vv. 19-22 characterized by the theme of joy in that the homeless have found a home, both Jews and Gentiles are citizens of the Kingdom of God, and all grow together into a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.⁶³ Baptism, therefore, is the great "Freudenakt" of the Church. "Bei der Taufe der Kirche wird immer wieder das Fundament sichtbar, das ihr gegeben ist. Bei der Taufe wird sich die Kirche ihrer Wachsenden Existenz bewusst."⁶⁴

The most serious attempt, however, to understand this Ephesian passage in terms of its baptismal teaching is the article by W. Nauck.⁶⁵ And since Nauck's ideas are so crucial to the exegesis of this passage they will be fully developed in the following discussion.

In discussing the background of the concepts in 2:19-22, Nauck investigates rather extensively the Gnostic concepts and theories which have linked the teaching of Ephesians to Gnostic sources.⁶⁶ He readily admits that the problem of origins is difficult to solve because there are some allusions to Gnostic terminology in all of Ephesians, particularly 2:11-18 and the "οἰκοδομῆ-Begriffes."⁶⁷

⁶²Bieder, Verheissung, heads chapter 10 "Die Taufe als Akt gottesdienstlicher Freude" (p. 215).

⁶³Ibid., pp. 227-8.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 228-9.

⁶⁵Nauck, op. cit.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 370f.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 362.

Yet Nauck is attracted by the observations of E. Percy who noted that the author of Ephesians links the building up of the church to concrete and Welthaften personalities such as apostles and prophets.⁶⁸ He thus arrives at the conclusion that the concepts of "building" and "holy temple" are not to be explained out of Gnostic motifs but rather as originating from "spezifisch jüdisch-christlicher Überlieferung."⁶⁹

Nauck exhibits the same type of caution in his discussion of Col. 1:15-20. Here, although he agrees that Käsemann was right in identifying the hymn as originally Gnostic, he is somewhat disenchanted by some attempts at comparing the two Epistles. Hence he takes issue with the idea presented by M.A. Wagenführer that the Christology of Colossians has been changed to ecclesiology in Ephesians. Nauck prefers to use the word "interpreted" rather than "changed," stating that the "kosmisch interpretierte Christologie des Kol.-Textes ist in der Eph.-Parallele ekklesiologisch interpretiert."⁷⁰

Nauck minimizes any Gnostic background and influence in Eph. 1:19-22. A convincing fact for him is the similarity of the text with I Pet. 2:4ff. which, he adamantly affirms, is not, nor has anything to do with the "gnostic Bau-Allegoristik."⁷¹ The amazing fact in all of this is that although the author of Ephesians is acquainted with the Gnostic system and alludes to its concepts and imagery on various

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 368.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 370. Cf. discussion below, pp. 64-66.

occasions, he does not do so here! For Nauck, this is a good example "wie die verschiedensten religionsgeschichtlichen Vorstellungen und Interpretationsmöglichkeiten nebeneinander hergehen, ja ineinander übergehen können."⁷²

Now that we have considered Nauck's approach to the origin of the material we can turn specifically to his arguments for the baptismal nature of the passage. Here we shall consider (a) parallels with I Pet. 2:4ff., (b) parallels with Col. 1:12-20, and (c) the text itself.

(a) Eph. 2:19-22 and I Pet. 2:4ff.- The following comparison which is reproduced from Nauck provides us with an adequate point of reference:⁷³

1. Der Grundgedanke: Christus und die Christen sind lebendige Bausteine in dem Bau der Gemeinde Gottes.
2. Der Begriff ἀκρογωνιαίος .
3. οἶκος πνευματικῶς (I Pet.) = καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι (Eph.).
4. οἰκοδομεῖσθε (I Pet.) = συνοικοδομεῖσθε, ἐποικοδομῆντες (Eph.).
5. ἱεράτευμα ἁγίων (I Pet.) = ναὸς ἅγιος and ἅγιοι (Eph.).
6. αὐξηθῆτε (I Pet. 2,2) = αὕξει (Eph.).

Nauck accepts E. G. Selwyn's position that the concepts in I Pet. 2:4-10 are rooted in the Old Testament even though their hymnic character, at times, is not recognizable from the Old Testament parallels.⁷⁴ The Petrine hymn, whose subject is the relation of Christ to the Christian in the family of God, "ist nun offenbar ein liturgischer Höhepunkt innerhalb einer urchristlichen Gemeindetauffeier."⁷⁵ And when one

⁷²Ibid., p. 370.

⁷³Ibid., p. 363.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 364. Cf. Isa. 28:16 = I Pet. 2:6; Psal. 118:22 = I Pet. 2:7; Isa. 8:14-15 = I Pet. 2:8.

⁷⁵
Ibid.

approaches Eph. 2:19-22 with this in mind one readily notices a hymnic construction of three stanzas which respectively speak of the new being, the foundation, and the goal of the Christian.⁷⁶

Both the Petrine and Ephesian passages also express similar thoughts. I Peter speaks of the builders who rejected the "Stone," but which has become the elected cornerstone in Zion to the believing heathen; in Ephesians there is the confirmation that the heathen readers, who were at one time far off, distant from the commonwealth of Israel, have been brought near and have become one with the people of God. I Peter 2:9-10 speaks about those who have been called out of darkness into light and have now become the people of God; in Ephesians this idea of the Gentiles becoming God's people is emphasized throughout vv. 11-22 although the imagery of darkness and light is not used until 5: 8-14 (cf. Col. 1:12-13). On the basis that the form and content of Eph. 2:19-22 resembles the baptismal hymn in I Pet. 2:4ff. Nauck concludes:

Wenn sich nun wahrscheinlich machen lässt, dass auch Eph. 2, 19ff. in einem Zusammenhang mit dem Taufgeschehen steht, so hätten wir in diesen Versen einen zu I Pt. 2, 6ff. analogen Hymnus zu sehen, der jeweils in dieser oder jener oder in einer ähnlichen Form bei einer urchristlichen Tauffeier in der hellenistischen Gemeinde rezitiert wurde und die Gnade der in der Taufe sich vollziehenden Aufnahme der Heiden in das Gottesvolk preist.⁷⁷

(b) Eph. 2:19-22 and Col. 1:12-20- We have already noted that Nauck accepts the position of Käsemann that Col. 1:12-20 is a baptismal

⁷⁶Ibid. Nauck also notes that the transmission of stanza 2 (vv. 20-21) is in participial form, a further indication of its hymnic tradition.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 365.

liturgy.⁷⁸ We have also looked at his comparison of Col. 1:12-20 and Eph. 2:11-18 and how he used this to support the baptismal nature of our text under consideration.⁷⁹ The significant fact here is that Nauck places vv. 19-22 within the context of vv. 11-18. Hence it would appear that the Colossian hymn only effects vv. 19-22 rather indirectly.

Nevertheless, Nauck presses the issue a little farther at this point. He notes that in Ephesians, Christ is the cornerstone of the building--i.e. the Church. In Colossians, this concept is expressed by the mythical-cosmological terminology αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος [τῆς ἐκκλησίας] (1:18).⁸⁰ And on the basis of Eph. 4:15ff., Nauck believes that the author is acquainted with the cosmic meaning: "Und dass er hier die uns in 2,21 begegnenden Worte ἀνέξωμεν (bzw. ἀνέξοις), οἰκοδομή und συναρμολογούμενον gebraucht, legt die Annahme nahe, dass er sich selbst bewusst gewesen ist, in dem Tauflied 2,19-22 eine Parallele zu der uns im Kolosserbrief noch erhaltende TaufLiturgie zu bieten."⁸¹

(c) The text of Eph. 2:19-22-- Finally we turn to the text itself and examine the arguments that Nauck proposes to strengthen his thesis. First of all, he establishes that ἀνέανειν and ἀνέειν (v. 21) have an established place in the baptismal terminology of I Pet.

⁷⁸For a brief description of Käsemann's article, cf. above, pp. 56-57, n.55.

⁷⁹Cf. above, pp. 56-59.

⁸⁰Nauck, op. cit., p. 370.

⁸¹Ibid. Pokorny states that the author of Ephesians is deliberately rejecting the Gnostic "selbstgenugsame Hypertrophie des religiösen Individualismus und Egoismus" by exalting the unity of the Church (op. cit., p. 184).

2:2.⁸² Secondly, there is the consideration of οἰκοδομεῖν . The ἐποικοδομηθέντες (v. 20) and συνοικοδομεῖσθε (v.22) are used in the baptismal hymn in connection with θεμέλιον . The same can be said of Col. 2:7, claims Nauck, "wo ἐποικοδομοῦμενοι eindeutig in Verbindung mit einer Erinnerung an die Taufe gebraucht ist: παρελάβετε "Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον" (v. 6; Bekenntnisformel) und καθὼς ἐδιδάχθητε (v. 7; Taufunterweisung)."⁸³ Nauck is of the conviction that, on the basis of Col. 1:23, the idea of "being set upon the foundation" (τιθέναι θεμέλιον) relates to baptism.⁸⁴ Another important concept is κληρονομία:⁸⁵ "Dass κληρονομία ein Sticksword im Taufzusammenhang ist, zeigt Kol. 1,12 (vgl. ad 3)."⁸⁶ Finally, we turn to ἅγιοι and οἰκεῖτοι τοῦ Θεοῦ . The idea that baptism places one in the position of "des ἁγίος-Seins" is found in all of the examined texts (I Pet. 2:5, 9; Eph. 2:19, 21; Col. 1:12, 22).⁸⁷

We have now seen how Nauck has used conceptual and linguistic parallels from Colossians and I Peter to explain the text of Ephesians. But while it cannot be denied that his exegesis presents a strong case for the baptismal nature of 2:19-22, one fails to see that this necessitates calling it a baptismal hymn. Our knowledge of first century

⁸²Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 369. Cf. also I Cor. 3:6; Col. 1:10.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁸⁴The τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἐδραῖτοι in Col. 1,23 "eindeutig auf die Tauf liturgie rückbezieht" (p. 369).

⁸⁵Cf. Acts 20:30 where the "Word" has power to "build you up and to give you the inheritance...."

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

liturgical hymns is very limited, and to divide this passage into three or four stanzas is extremely arbitrary.⁸⁸

The author is not utilizing traditional "liturgisches Gut" to present a hymn for the celebration of baptism in the Church. His purpose, rather, is to take this baptismal terminology and apply it to his discourse on Christian unity. 2:19-22 represents the final phase of this unity, the incorporation of the Gentiles as *συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων* into the spiritual temple. His use of the language shows that baptism signifies the incorporation of all people into the household of God (*οἰκεῖται τοῦ Θεοῦ*) of which Jesus Christ is the cornerstone.

In this concept of the "spiritual temple" the author of Ephesians goes beyond anything suggested in Rom. 9-11. In a sense, the Gentiles to whom he writes are like the branches which have been grafted into the vine (Rom. 11:17ff.). But in Ephesians the vine imagery is replaced by an architectonic conception of the Church as a permanent and universal structure ("eine metaphysische Grösse"⁸⁹) into which the Gentile believers are also incorporated.

⁸⁸Note Schlier's objection, *Epheserbrief*, p. 140, n. 1: "Freilich, dass hier wiederum ein Hymnus vorliegt oder gar ein Taufhymnus, ist nicht bewiesen. Es müssen schon konkretere Anspielung an die Taufe sichtbar sein, um einen Taufhymnus wahrscheinlich zu machen." Schlier thinks that if a hymn lies in the background it probably had four stanzas. This passage, according to him, simply shows that Paul time and again lapses into a hymnodic style. The passages in *Hermas* (cf. above, n. 61), which contain references to building and temple bear no resemblance to either I Peter or Ephesians, and cannot be used to support the view (as Dahl) that this imagery formed part of the early liturgies.

⁸⁹Cf. Chadwick, "Die Absicht des Epheserbriefes," *op. cit.*, p. 149.

CHAPTER III

III. Ephesians 3

A. Eph. 3:1-13: At first glance Eph. 3:1-13 appears to be a rather lengthy parenthesis on the vindication of Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles. Here a number of scholars are of the opinion that this section interrupts the continuity of thought between 2:22 and 3:14 and can hardly be the occasion for the prayer beginning at 3:14.¹ Kirby, for example, considers 1:3-14, 2:1-22 and 3:14-21 to be a coherent whole because these sections "follow the same themes throughout: what God has done for believers and what he still may do."²

The author of Ephesians is clearly borrowing from Col. 1:24-29 at this point.³ In both Epistles, Paul is in prison and is suffering (Eph. vv. 1, 13; Col. v. 24); he is considered the minister to the Gentiles (Eph. vv. 1-3, 7-8; Col. vv. 25-6); the "mystery" has been hidden but is now revealed (Eph. v. 5; Col. v. 26); this mystery is identified as the inclusion of the Gentiles in God's plan of salvation (Eph. v. 6; Col. v. 27), and is the message which Paul has been commissioned to preach (Eph. v. 9; Col. vv. 25-6, 29).

¹Kirby, op. cit., p. 130; Abbott, op. cit., p. 93; F. W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Ephesians," The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 10 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1953), p. 674.

²Kirby, op. cit., p. 129.

³Cf. Mitton, op. cit., pp. 291-95 for a comparison of these two texts.

There are, however, some notable differences between these two texts. In Colossians, the call of Paul as a missionary to the Gentiles (vv. 25-6) is not as specific as in Ephesians, where he is definitely identified as ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν ἔθνων (3:1) and that his preaching is directed to them (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι -3:8). The goal of Paul's preaching also has a slight variation: in Colossians the proclamation is given ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάντα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ (v. 28); in Ephesians it is specifically oriented towards the revelation of the "mystery" (καὶ φωτίσαι τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ... -v. 9). The author of Ephesians does not touch upon the aspect of Christian maturity until 4:13.

But the main difference centers upon the nature of this mystery which Paul has been called to preach. The brief mention of this in Col. 1:27 almost goes unnoticed and hardly gives any indication of what the "mystery" is all about. Ephesians, however, is definitely concerned about defining the "mystery" (v. 6) and presenting Paul as its chief exponent.

While there is a certain amount of validity in seeing this section as an interpolation (Kirby), it does not necessarily destroy the unity of the Epistle. The writer has been speaking about the unity of the Jew and Gentile in Christ and how the Gentiles are legitimate heirs of God's salvation (2:11-22). The καθὼς προέγραφα ἐν ὀλίγῳ (v. 3) probably refers to what was written a short time ago, i.e. immediately above in the preceding verses,⁴ but for some reason the

⁴ Abbott, op. cit., p. 80; F. Foulkes, The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1963), p. 92.

author finds it necessary to define more precisely this mystery and the human agent through whom it is revealed.

The writer's definition of the mystery (v. 6) also extends some of the imagery that was used above. There the Gentiles were considered as *συμπολῖται* (2:19) who were fitted (*συναρμολογουμένη*) and built (*συνοικοδομεῖσθε*) together into a holy temple. In 3:6 the theme of unity is emphasized by the use of other *συν*-expressions. These Gentiles are joint heirs (*συγκληρονόμα*), sharers in one body (*σῶσωμα*) and partakers (*συμμέτοχα*) of God's promise.

There is no indication in the Epistle why Paul is specifically exalted as the apostle to the Gentiles. H. Chadwick believes that all of chapter 3 is a personal exposition of the particular place of Paul in the execution of God's plan of salvation to incorporate the heathen as citizens (*Bürger*) of the true Israel.⁵ The universal Church, claims Chadwick, is made up of Jews and Gentiles, but the Gentile churches look specifically to Paul as their singular representative. In other words, "der Epheserbrief ist auf eine Situation gerichtet, in der den vielen Heidenkirchen ein Gefühl des Zusammenhalts und der persönlichen Loyalität gegenüber Paulus gegeben werden muss, auch wenn sie ganz unabhängig entstanden sind."⁶

Klummel, although he accepts Chadwick's analysis of the Ephesian problem, considers the idea of Paul as the unique representative of the Gentiles "hardly demonstrable."⁷ But Chadwick's idea is not as farfetched

⁵Chadwick, "Die Absicht des Epheserbriefes," *op. cit.*, pp. 152-3.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁷Klummel, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

as one may think. Paul often refers to himself as an apostle to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:13, 15:16; Gal. 1:16, 2:7) and on one occasion greets the church at Rome on behalf of all the Gentile churches (16:4). There is also a definite tradition in the early Church connecting Paul as a missionary to the Gentiles (cf. Acts 18:6, 22:21).

But even more striking is the fact that Ephesians presents a detailed theological solution of a theme which Paul has discussed briefly in the Epistle to the Romans (cf. especially 11:17ff., 15:27). In the post-Pauline period a spiritual crisis must have arisen within the Gentile congregations that necessitated a lengthy exposition on the unity of the Church.⁸ Ephesians teaches that the Gentile church is not an independent fellowship, but together with the Jewish Christians, constitutes one new body in Christ. A pupil of Paul, conscious of his master's mission to the Gentiles, presents him as the final interpreter of this great "mystery."⁹

B. Eph. 3:14-21: Verses 14-19 consist of a prayer for spiritual growth and unity. The reason (*Τοῦτο χάρις*) which triggered the prayer either refers to the preceding exposition on the "mystery" or, if Kirby is correct,¹⁰ could be tied in with the thoughts of chapter 2. At any rate, the writer is led to prayer by the realization of the unity into which Jews and Gentiles have been brought.

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Cf. the "Introduction," pp. 2-4.

⁹For further discussion of the "deutero-Pauline hypothesis" cf. Part II, pp. 197ff.

¹⁰Kirby, op. cit., p. 129.

The specific requests include a strengthening of the reader's "inner man" by God's Spirit (v. 16), the indwelling of Christ in their hearts through faith (v. 17a), a strong grounding in love (v. 17b), comprehension of the love of Christ (v. 18-19a), and to be filled with the "fullness of God" (v. 19b). In some ways these requests are not unlike his earlier mention of wisdom (1:17), knowledge (1:17) and enlightenment for the readers (1:18).

There is no specific reference to the problem of the unity of the Church. Here, as Beare rightly suggests, there is an emphasis on love rather than knowledge.¹¹ Mention of the Fatherhood of God (v. 15) and the comprehension of Christ's love with all the saints (v. 18) does, nevertheless, serve to remind us that our unity in Christ is to result in a unified Christian fellowship. The writer uses the expression οἱ ἅγιοι on a number of occasions in the sense of "belonging" or "togetherness" (1:1, 15, 18; 2:19; 3:18; 6:18).

The concluding benediction (vv. 20-21) points out that God is able to do far more than we request in our petitions because the power of Christ is at work within us. The mention of the Church is significant, for it is the sphere of the outworking of God's purpose on earth as well as in heaven (3:10). Foulkes stresses the significance of the ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ in this closing verse: "Christ the Beginning, Christ the Saviour, Christ the Source of unity--that has been the apostle's theme in these chapters."¹²

¹¹Beare, op. cit., p. 674.

¹²Foulkes, op. cit., pp. 106-7.

CHAPTER IV

IV. Ephesians 4

Chapter 4 begins what is often referred to as the ethical or practical section of the Epistle. If one could say that chapters 1-3 provide the theological basis for Christian unity, then chapters 4-6 contain the practical instruction for its maintenance.¹ In other words, unity has been established; now it becomes the duty of the believers to strengthen and maintain it in their Christian fellowship.

In the opening admonition (vv. 1-3), the writer immediately defines the nature of his concern: the readers did not manifest the virtues that should characterize their new life in Christ. Whether or not the Gentile Christians were looking upon their Jewish brethren with a certain amount of spiritual pride and superciliousness is not certain (cf. Introduction). But the nature of chapters 1-3, and the mention of the need for humility, meekness, patience and love for the specific purpose of unity (σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης) suggests that this was the basic problem of the Church. This admonition is then followed by a list of all the unifying elements of the Church: ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν· εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα· εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν (vv. 4-6).

¹

Although the theological discussion continues into chapter IV. Cf. p. 87.

Our primary interest is in the appearance of the *ἐν βάπτισμα* as one of the foundational principles of Christian unity. Here we shall examine various interpretations of the phrase (4:5), its possible use in the Church, and its origin:

A. The *ἐν βάπτισμα* (4:5): One possible way of interpreting the "one baptism" is in connection with several Scripture references which appear to speak of Christ's death as a baptism for the entire world. This is especially true of the Synoptics. In Mk. 10:38-9 Jesus speaks of his baptism in the sense of a death, and in Lk. 12:49 he affirms: "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how I am constrained until it is accomplished."

This particular interpretation of *ἐν βάπτισμα* was largely developed by O. Cullmann and now more recently popularized by J. A. T. Robinson.² Robinson offers no significant changes from Cullmann's position but conceives of his work as an attempt "to explore the extent to which this conception of the work of Christ as a single, prevenient and all-inclusive baptism is in fact to be found in Christianity."³

The basic thrust of Robinson's argument is that the baptism, i.e. death that Jesus undertook for the sins of the whole world, stands behind Christian baptism.⁴ And concerning Eph. 4:5 he states: "Indeed, the fundamental reason why baptism 'makes one' is that it brings men

²O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1950); J. A. T. Robinson, "The One Baptism as a Category of New Testament Soteriology," *SJTh*, 6(1953), pp. 257-274.

³Robinson, *ibid.*, p. 258. In this connection Robinson examines the above-mentioned texts plus Acts 1:4f.; Col. 2:11-15; Eph. 5:25-7; I Cor. 1:13; 10:1f.; Tit. 3:4-7; Heb. 10:19-23; I Pet. 1:2; Rev. 14:19f.; 19:11-16; 16:17-19. On the Gospel accounts cf. Mt. 3:13-17; Jn. 7:38f.; 13:8-10; 19:34f. and I Jn. 5:6-8.

⁴
Ibid., p. 257.

under a baptism 'once made.'"⁵ Christian baptism, according to Robinson, "simply reproduces in the life of the Christian the one baptism of Jesus begun in Jordan and completed in the Resurrection."⁶

The above interpretation sounds attractive, especially when one considers that Christian baptism is a baptism into the death of Christ (Rom. 6; Col. 2). However, Cullmann's and Robinson's proposals are not particularly illuminating for the exegesis of the passage. We have already noticed (2:5-6) that the author of Ephesians does not isolate any one aspect of Christ's ministry but gives due emphasis to Christ's resurrection and exaltation as well.

A second interpretation is one that takes the connection between baptism and the entire salvation-event seriously. Green, although he fails to develop this idea, hints at it by his paraphrase "one Christ-event, one act of faith in it, one baptism into it."⁷ It has also been stressed⁸ that our passage expresses the idea of baptism ἐν Χριστῷ or εἰς κύριος.⁹ With κύριος standing at the beginning of the

⁵Ibid. Cf. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 23. H. Green, "The One Baptism," Theology, 68(1965), offers a similar interpretation and adds that like Christ's death on the cross, baptism belongs to the category of the ephapax" (p. 458).

⁶Robinson, op. cit., pp. 262-3. A detailed critique of Robinson's exegesis and methodology is offered by W. E. Moore, "One Baptism," NTS, 10(1964), pp. 504-516. Since it is impossible to develop Moore's counter-attack at any length, suffice it to say that he considers Robinson's conclusions to be the direct result of a methodology which removes verses from their context and reads into the texts words and concepts which have, "or are assumed to have, baptismal significance" (pp. 513-515).

⁷Green, op. cit., p. 458.

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G. Delling, Die Taufe im Neuen Testament (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1963), pp. 121-22.

⁹

W. Schmidt, Handbuch über den Brief an die Epheser. Meyer Kommentar (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1886), p. 191.

formula and πίστις interpreted as the one faith in the one Lord, it would be natural to conceive of the "one baptism" as fitting into this stream of thought. Beasley-Murray interprets the one baptism as "the common confession of that which Biblical baptism points, namely the redemption of God in Christ and participation in it through the Holy Spirit by faith."¹⁰ Elsewhere, he paraphrases it as "One Lord, the object of Faith's confession in Baptism."¹¹

Bieder places baptism and faith together and considers that the Christ who commands baptism and who calls to faith, stands above both. He then proceeds to relate the appearance of baptism to his over-all emphasis of "Freude" in Ephesians, stating that its function in 4:5 is to give the Church an occasion, "ihr stets gefährdete Freude wieder zu gewinnen."¹²

¹⁰G. R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism Today and Tomorrow (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), p. 160. In this way Beasley-Murray connects the Holy Spirit and faith to the act of baptism.

¹¹Baptism, p. 200. Some scholars tend to make temporal distinctions between the seven possessions of the Christian mentioned in vv. 4-5. Green, for example, suggests that the grouping implies such a distinction between present realities and past accomplishments. "The present realities are the Body and the Spirit and the shared eschatological hope; Lord, faith and baptism all belong to the once-for-all past" (p. 458). F. F. Bruce, on the other hand, sees the "one baptism" as an expression which sort of puts all the parts of the salvation event into a nutshell: "It must be remembered that in New Testament times repentance and faith, regeneration and conversion, baptism in water, reception of the Holy Spirit, incorporation into Christ, admission to Church fellowship and first communion were all parts of a single complex of events which took place within a very short time, and not always in uniform order. Logically they were distinguished, but in practice they were all bound up with the transition from the old life to the new" (Ephesians, p. 79).

¹²

Bieder, Verheissung, p. 229.

It is our conviction that ἓν βάπτισμα must be tied to the εἷς κύριος and μία πίστις, for by itself it cannot express the unity about which the entire passage (vv. 4-6) speaks. Christians believe (πίστις) in one Lord, and into this one Lord they were baptized. Schnackenburg expresses this by his phrase "Der eine Glaube und die eine Taufe unterstellen alle Christen dem einen Herrn."¹³ Dahl notes that since "one baptism" is closely linked together with faith, baptism is not considered as an isolated rite, "sondern im Glauben zu eigen gemacht und im neuen Gehorsam des alltäglichen Lebens verwirklicht werden sollte."¹⁴

It is doubtful that the connotation of ἓν carries the idea that baptism is unrepeatable or that it is a polemic against other baptismal practices current at the time.¹⁵ The one, proper, or correct baptism is the baptism into Christ. Baptism is a sacrament of unity because it expresses a common faith in the one Lord. Moore states that the readers are being reminded of "their water-baptism in the name of Jesus as Lord

¹³Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 178.

¹⁴Dahl, Epheserbrief, p. 58. Cf. also Moore, op. cit., pp. 513ff.

¹⁵Moore, ibid., takes "one" to be a polemic against the many existing baptisms and amidst this multiplicity the author appeals to their own baptismal experience "constituted by the Name of the One Lord" (p. 515). Käsemann believes that 4:5 is derived from a baptismal rite and "is obviously directed against heretical groups" ("Ephesians and Acts," op. cit., p. 292). But we have already noted that there is little evidence that either Jewish or Hellenistic ritual practices were threatening the Church at this time (cf. 4:14; 5:6). Dahl correctly believes that the significance of this "one baptism" is didactic, stressing the Church's unity created through baptism and not as a polemic against repeated baptismal handlings ("Dopet," p. 93).

. . . but it is not baptism which creates this unity, rather 'the One Name of the One Lord.'¹⁶ Interpreted in this way, one can agree with Marsh that baptism is the sign of the unity of the Church,¹⁷ and with Grail that the entire phrase is ". . . un logion d'unité."¹⁸

This aspect of unity leads into an interpretation of baptism as a "sacrament of unity." It is the rite of initiation through which all Christians pass. Meinertz summarizes this idea well when he states: "Der eine, allen gemeinsame Glaube verbindet die Christen untereinander, und durch das eine Taufsakrament werden sie in die Christus-gemeinschaft eingegliedert."¹⁹

The idea of baptism as a sacrament of unity is not without Scriptural precedent. Behind Paul's sarcastic remark to the Corinthians as to whether $\eta \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron \delta \theta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha \Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ (I Cor. 1:13) lies the implication that their baptism into Christ should unify rather than divide. This is even more forcibly expressed in I Cor. 12:13 where there is a direct reference to $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\nu} \epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ The direct mention of "Jews and Greeks" here, as well as in Gal. 3:27-8 and Col. 3:10-11, fits well into the entire Ephesian theme of unity.²⁰

¹⁶Moore, op. cit., pp. 514-5. Schnackenburg goes too far by ascribing to Ephesians a view in which faith becomes "ein objektive Gegebenheit" and baptism receives the character of "einer Einrichtung" ("Tauflehre," p. 178).

¹⁷

H. G. Marsh, The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism (Manchester: The University Press, 1941), p. 149.

¹⁸

A. Grail, op. cit., p. 570.

¹⁹

Meinertz, op. cit., p. 85.

²⁰

Cf. D. Kidner, "The Meaning and Efficacy of Baptism," Theology, 68(1965), p. 464; W. F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 63; S. Hanson, op. cit., pp. 75-9. The same unifying effect is also attributed to the Lord's

By the $\epsilon\nu$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ the writer is definitely alluding to the unity between Jew and Gentile when they become "one body" in Jesus Christ.²¹

Stig Hanson has noted that the seven "ones" mentioned in vv. 4-6 all have some relation to baptism. Man is incorporated by baptism into the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$; he becomes a partaker of the Spirit; the eschatological character is expressed by hope; faith is proclaimed and confessed in baptism as well as in the Lord. The $\epsilon\lambda\zeta$ $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is probably "the Shema". . . attached at the end.²² Hanson believes that "faith" is the key element (cf. 1:13) even though the situation discussed is baptism. This "one faith" according to him, serves two purposes: first of all, it has "influenced the other members, so that the Lord confessed is said to be one as well as the baptism into which the confession is made."²³

Supper in I Cor. 10:17 and 11:17ff. One can only speculate as to why it is not mentioned here in connection with the unity of the Church. Meinertz (op. cit., p. 85) reasons that "Die Taufe als erstes und grundlegendes Sakrament genügte in dieser skizzenhaften Aufzählung." Foulkes, on the suggestion of Wescott, considers that baptism is mentioned because the apostle is speaking of the initial conditions of the Christian life whereas the Lord's Supper belongs to the support and development of it (op. cit., p. 113). Abbott, op. cit., shares a similar view when he conjectures that the reason for its omission may be because the Lord's Supper "is not a ground or antecedent condition of unity but an expression of it" (p. 109). Johnson explains its absence on the basis of the author's dependence upon Colossians where it is not mentioned (cf. his article "Ephesians," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 114). Another explanation may lie in the fact that Ephesians is a baptismal treatise (Dahl, Schille). But whatever the reason, the significant fact for this thesis is that baptism is mentioned in connection with unity.

²¹Cf. A. Klöpper, Der Brief an die Epheser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1891), p. 123.

²²Hanson, op. cit., p. 151.

²³Ibid., p. 151; cf. also p. 153.

Secondly, "μία πίστις" guards against sectarianism, syncretism, and, on the whole against the disintegrating influence of foreign religions."²⁴ Nevertheless, Hanson does not forget the importance of baptism for the unity of the Church. Through baptism, the individual becomes a member of the body of Christ. "By baptism, unity has its limits defined. And baptism is one since it gives participation in the Body of Christ which is one."²⁵

Hanson's idea that the "one faith" suggests some type of formulation²⁶ leads us to wonder whether or not the entire phrase εἰς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα could be taken as a baptismal formula. The possibility of this is not so remote if one considers the definite relationship among Lord, faith and baptism, and the fact that some scholars have placed the Epistle within a liturgical setting.

The opening reference to ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι τῆς κλήσεως

²⁴Ibid., p. 151. Cf. above, n. 15 where we questioned whether there were any "foreign" threats to the Church. His idea of "sectarianism," however, is well taken in light of the internal problem between Jew and Gentile. With respect to "faith," it should be pointed out that Hanson leans in the direction of the "objective nature" of faith, and suggests that πίστις is approximately equivalent to a confession of faith, or pure and true doctrine as occurs in the Pastorals. Thus in 4:5, "The faith proclaimed and confessed is the same in all congregations ...consequently, μία πίστις means one faith fixed with regard to its context (and possibly with regard to its formulation)" p. 154. On the other hand, Hanson notes that in 1:13, 15, 19, 2:8; 3:12, 17; 6:16, 23 it is subjective, implying faith in Christ, the way of salvation and a gift of God (p. 153).

²⁵

Ibid., p. 155. Cf. also Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 127: "The one Spirit, who unites the believer with Christ in baptism, incorporates him also in the 'Body of Christ' and therein joins all the members of Christ together. Therefore the laconic statement can be made (in Eph. iv, 4), 'one Body and one Spirit! We cannot belong to the Lord without faith and baptism, but by this means we also belong to the unity in Christ of all who believe and are baptized (cf. Eph. iv. 5). Thus faith is completed in baptism."

²⁶Cf. above, n. 24.

ἡς ἐκλήθητε (v. 1) has been taken to refer to the new life received in baptism.²⁷ Dahl even goes so far as to claim that the entire section of vv. 1-16 is grounded in the baptismal event and that the style of vv. 4-5 suggests some type of baptismal acclamation or confession.²⁸ If this be true, the candidate may have recited such a confession during his baptism or the witnessing congregation may have repeated it as an acclamation or hymn while someone was being baptized.²⁹ E. Simpson, in phrases almost as poetic as the hymn itself, states: "The collocation of the three genders . . . with their relevant nouns strongly confirms the supposition of a metrical source of this quadrisyllabic traid. It reads like a mnemonic cadence in currency among the Gentile believers or catechumens."³⁰

There is a possibility that the phrase originates from some early baptismal confession or catechism in the Christian Church. But the appearance of this formula in Ephesians does not necessarily mean that

²⁷L. Nieder, Die Motiv der religiös-sittliche Paränese in den paulinischen Gemeindebriefen. Münchener Theologische Studien, Vol. 12 (München: Karl Zink Verlag, 1956) p. 37 states: "Diese Eingliederung hat für ihn Öffentlichkeitscharakter und erhält ihre Nachweislichkeit durch den Empfang der Taufe."

²⁸Dahl, "Dopet," p. 92. Cf. also Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 75; Dinkler, "Taufe. Im Urchristentum," op. cit., p. 634.

²⁹Dahl, "Dopet," p. 92. For further discussion on baptismal confessions and catechisms cf. exegesis on Eph. 5:26, pp. 125ff. and Part II, pp. 181-192.

³⁰E. K. Simpson, "The Epistle to the Ephesians," Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott Ltd., 1957), p. 89. Cf. also G. H. P. Thompson, The Letters of Paul to the Ephesians, to the Colossians and to Philemon (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967), who considers it an early Christian hymn (p. 63).

the Epistle is a baptismal treatise or liturgy. Its application here simply conforms to the author's purpose of describing the unity of the Church. And behind the formula lies the idea of baptism as the "sacrament of unity," the rite by which Jew and Gentile have been made one body in Christ.

Not all scholars, however, agree that the origin of the phrase is either the author's own composition or a baptismal formula from an early Church liturgy. Kirby believes that the formula "has much in common with Jewish affirmations on unity which had been developed from the basic affirmation of the Shema: 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One.'"³¹ In contrast to Kirby, others emphasize the Hellenistic background of vv. 4-6 and parallel statements such as Rom. 11:36; I Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16f.; Heb. 2:10. According to Bultmann, such Hellenistic or Stoic formulations were used by the early Church "to describe God's creatorhood and ruleship of the world."³²

M. Dibelius has attempted to show by the religionsgeschichtliche method how an Einheitsformel originally expressing the unity of the κόσμος was carried over to express the unity of the Church.³³ Here he was attracted by the similarity between the εἷς and the πάντες that occurs both in Eph. 4:5-6 and in Marcus Aurelius' "... κόσμος τε γὰρ εἷς ἐξ πάντων καὶ θεὸς εἷς διὰ πάντων..." (Meditations VII, 9).

Dibelius believes that in this quotation Marcus Aurelius is not

31

Kirby, op. cit., p. 151.

32

Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, p. 70. Bultmann claims that in Eph. 4:6 "the originally cosmological formulation is probably to be understood of the Church." Bultmann is primarily relying on the use of the phrase τὰ πάντα whereas Kirby was emphasizing the "one" motif.

33

M. Dibelius, "Die Christianisierung einer Hellenistischen Formel," Botschaft und Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze II (Tübingen: J. C. B. 1956), pp. 14-29.

postulating something new but is simply reproducing an existing formula.³⁴

In Colossians, Dibelius observes that Paul attempts to bring all cosmic powers into union with Jesus Christ. In Ephesians, however, the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου are not the focus of attention. "Wenn der Autor des Epheserbriefes seinen Gott verkündet, als den ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πάσιν, so ruht sein und unser Blick auf den πάντες der christlichen Gemeinde. Das ist seine 'Welt'."³⁵

The change from a cosmic to a cultic formula in Ephesians brings us to Dibelius' application of the religionsgeschichtliche method. He believes this change took place within the environment of hellenistic Judaism and uses material from Josephus and Philo to show that this cultic Einheitsformel was widespread.³⁶ Dibelius considers hellenistic Judaism to be sort of a mediator between Hellenistic culture and early Christianity in this respect. Thus in connection with the Ephesian formula he concludes:

Aus diesen hellenistischen „Synagogen in Jerusalem selbst wie in Syrien, Kleinasien und Agypten haben Christen wie Paulus ihre rhetorische Technik mitgebracht; aus ihnen mögen gewisse philosophische Gedankengänge wie der vom Gewissen ins Urchristentum eingedrungen sein; mit Hilfe der Sprache dieser Synagogen haben die Christen auch ihre erste kultische Sprache geschaffen; auch unsere 'Einheitsformel' ist offenbar von daher übernommen.³⁷

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Thus he notes "dass Marc Aurel an der genannten Stelle offenbar ältere Gedanken wiedergibt; ja, die gedrungene Ausdrucksweise und die mancherlei Anklänge an bereits geprägte Termini können die Vermutung wecken, dass es sich um freie Reproduktion einer formelhaften Wendung handle" (p. 19). In the Oriental religions, especially those influenced by astrology, there is evidence of attempts to understand the Cosmos and to control its power. Cf. Dibelius, ibid., p. 19; F. Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York: Dover Publications, 1960 ed.).

35

Dibelius, op. cit., p. 20.

36

Ibid., pp. 22-26.

37

Ibid., p. 28.

Dibelius nowhere elaborates on the use of this "Einheitsformel" other than indicating that it may have been spread by the teachers of the synagogue "oder durch einen Missions- Katechismus."³⁸

B. The Spiritual Gifts of the Church (4:7-16): We have noticed that chapter 4 began with an ethical admonition (vv. 1-3) and led into a statement or formula of the basic elements which comprise the Church's unity (vv. 4-6). From here, the author now introduces the idea of "spiritual gifts" and affirms that these individual gifts within the Christian Church are to work towards its unity (v. 13).

The inclusion and meaning of vv. 8-10 is puzzling. First of all, it appears to be irrelevant to the course of the author's discussion since the introduction of the giving of gifts (v. 7) is nicely picked up by the "And his gifts were . . ." in vv. 11. Secondly, there is no unanimity among Biblical scholars as to the meaning of the text itself.

Verse 8 is obviously a quotation from Psalm 68:18 and vv. 9-10 the author's commentary upon the verse. Kirby discusses this section of Ephesians in connection with the Jewish Pentecost and claims that Psa. 68 was used on that occasion.³⁹ The rabbis took this psalm which spoke of God's triumph (68:18) and interpreted it as Moses ascending Mount Sinai to receive the gift of the Torah. The author of Ephesians, claims Kirby, took over this tradition, replaced Moses by Christ, and associated the ascension of Christ with the gift of the Spirit.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 26. Cf. also Dibelius-Greevan, Handbuch, p. 79.

³⁹Kirby, op. cit., p. 145.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 146.

G. B. Caird views this passage as a Christianized piece of Rabbinic exegesis of Psalm 68 in which the author, who works "uncommonly like the mind of Paul,"⁴¹ speaks of Christ's return at Pentecost to bestow his spiritual gifts on the Church.⁴² Thus Caird concludes: "Psalm 68 is no longer to be regarded as a Jewish Pentecostal psalm, commemorating the ascent of Mount Sinai by Moses and his subsequent descent to bestow the Torah upon Israel; it is a Christian Pentecostal psalm, celebrating the ascension of Christ and his subsequent descent at Pentecost to bestow spiritual gifts upon the church."⁴³

The "ascension" of Christ in this passage recalls a previous emphasis given to the exaltation or enthronement (cf. 1:20f., 2:6). The "descension" of Christ in this verse, however, adds a new dimension to Christ's life and may refer to either his incarnation or his descent into Hades. Bultmann probably represents the majority of opinion when he states that descension "means the pre-existent Son's journey to earth."⁴⁴

Pokorny gives this passage his usual Gnostic interpretation, claiming that Psalm 68 is cited for the allegorical interpretation of the Christ-Urmensch.⁴⁵ The fate of the Urmensch which the initiates

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G. B. Caird, "The Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4,7-11," Studia Evangelica, Vol. 2, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964), p. 454.

⁴²

Ibid., pp. 537-541.

⁴³

Ibid., p. 541.

⁴⁴

Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, p. 174. Cf. also Vol. II, p. 151.

⁴⁵

Pokorny, op. cit., p. 185; also Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 76. Here Conzelmann suggests that a "Vorbild" for ideas on descension, ascension and redemption as travel through the cosmic spheres is prepared for in Gnosticism (cf. Col. 2:15 and I Pet. 3:22).

experience in their initiation is here attributed to Christ. Hence the stress on the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (vv. 10-11) as well as the objectivity of the ascension and descension. Pokorny also emphasizes that these events have a specific meaning for every Christian which he can personally execute at his baptism: "4:8-9 ist in diesen Zusammenhang als Ätiologie des liturgischen Abstiegs und Aufstiegs aus dem Wasser bei der Taufe zu begreifen."⁴⁶

Although baptism is explicitly connected with the events of Christ's death, resurrection and exaltation in such places as Romans 6:1-11, Colossians 2:11-12 and 3:1-4, and implicitly connected in Eph. 2:5-6, it is doubtful that such a connection can be made in this passage. The verses are linked to the giving of the spiritual gifts, and the author's primary intention is to link the giving of these gifts upon the Church at Pentecost. Had the author had baptism in mind, as Pokorny suggests, it is strange that he would resort to such a quotation when he has already described the Christian's participation in Christ in clearer and more direct terms (cf. 2:5ff.). And even if the entire ethical section (vv. 1-16) is grounded in the baptismal event, it is difficult to make any direct application to the rite from vv. 7-10.

This "midrash" on Psa. 68:18 has no direct bearing on the theme of unity except that the author links the bestowal of spiritual gifts to the ascension of Christ.⁴⁷ The main emphasis is upon the gifts

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Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 185. While such symbolism may be present in Rom. 6, there is no evidence here of a baptism into Christ.

⁴⁷

Beare, *op. cit.*, indicates that this section is introduced as a polemic "aside" and serves "to combat the accepted rabbinical interpretation of the psalm by showing that the words apply accurately only to Christ" (p. 688).

themselves and the purpose for which they were given. Christ has given apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers to the Church for

(a) πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων (b) εἰς ἔργον
διακονίας (c) εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

This, in turn, is to lead the Church into a unity of faith (τὴν
ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως) and maturity in Christ (καὶ τῆς
ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον
ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁴⁸

Although v. 14 may refer to some specific outside threat, it is better linked to the concept of maturity and unity in vv. 13, and 15-16. These spiritual gifts have been given so that the readers may grow εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον (v. 13) in Christ and not remain as νήπιοι .⁴⁹ Verse 16 reiterates the thought of 2:19-22 and serves again to emphasize the type of growth and unity συναρμολογοῦμενον καὶ συμβιβάζομενον) that is to characterize the Christian Church.

⁴⁸The word ἐνότης occurs only in Eph. 4:3 and 4:13.

⁴⁹Cf. W. Grundmann, op. cit., who examined the concept of νήπιοι and its cognates, and concludes that there is a definite Christian "parānese" in the New Testament which speaks of growth and maturity.

CHAPTER V

V. The New Life in Christ (4:17-5:20):

Up to this point in the Epistle there have been only occasional references to the ethical life of the Christian (2:10; 4:1-3, 15). In 4:1 it appeared that the author was preparing to begin a lengthy description of the new life in Christ; but this led, instead, into a further exposition on the unifying elements of the Church. At 4:17, however, there is a clear break with the theological aspects of unity and a turn to the Christian's ethical life. It begins by admonishing the readers not to walk (ethically) as the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη)¹ and continues with a detailed catalogue of vices and virtues.²

In the following pages an attempt will be made to show that 4:17-5:20 consists of ethical material quite similar to the baptismal catechisms of the early Church. Special attention, therefore, will be given to passages with baptismal motifs (particularly 4:17-24 and 5:8-14) in order to show that the author is utilizing baptismal terminology to develop his theme: the readers are admonished to put away those negative vices which destroy the unity of the Church and do not characterize their new life in Christ; they are to put on those positive virtues which promote unity and are pleasing to the Lord.

¹ τὰ ἔθνη is here understood as "pagan."

² Cf. S. Wibbing, Die Tugend-und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament. ZNW Beiheft # 25 (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1959).

The scholar who must receive most of the credit for the theory of an early Christian catechism is P. Carrington, former archbishop of Quebec. As early as 1934,³ he developed the thesis that the similarities, particularly in the exhortative sections of Colossians, Ephesians, and I Peter, are best accounted for by the existence of a common tradition rather than by borrowing from one another.⁴ Carrington reasoned that this common "source" was a body of catechetical instruction which had its ultimate origin in Leviticus 17-20 and was received into the Christian Church as a "baptismal tōrah" by way of Jewish proselytism.⁵

Carrington classified this catechetical material into various divisions which include admonitions to put off evil (Deponentes), submission (Subiecti), watchfulness (Vigilate) and resistance (Resistite).⁶ All these various aspects formed part of the instruction given to the baptismal candidates. Although we shall not discuss the details of this catechism until later,⁷ it should be noted here that

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Cf. his article, "The Baptismal Pattern in the New Testament," Theology, 25(1934), pp. 162-64.

4

Carrington accounts for differences on the basis of the author's use and interpolation of the material. Col. and Eph., for example, are characterized by a Pauline arrangement of material of which there is no parallel in James or Peter. Or, James and Peter speak of birth or rebirth by 'a word', whereas Paul refers to the new creation. In this latter case, both texts "represent two independent but closely related modes of referring to the great change of status and condition which occurs in connection with baptism..." (The Primitive Christian Catechism, op. cit., p. 33; cf. also pp. 35-6, 60-61).

5

Ibid., p. 174. Cf. also pp. 16 and 23. For further discussion of Carrington and related views cf. Part II, pp. 185-189.

6

Ibid., p. 30ff.

7

Cf. Part II, pp. 188-189.

E. G. Selwyn builds upon the work of Carrington and likewise tabulates various aspects of baptismal catechisms that existed in the early Church.⁸

A. The Putting Off and the Putting On (4:17-24): The dominant characteristic of this passage is the contrast between the life of the heathen (vv. 17-19) and the life of the Christian (vv. 20-24). The *μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ*, according to Carrington,⁹ is a common catechetical opening and leads directly into a description of the type of life *τὰ ἔθνη* live (cf. vv. 18-19). But exactly the opposite is to be true of the Christian because he has received a new life in Christ which is directed towards righteousness and holiness.

Since baptism was the occasion for instruction about the "things of Christ" in the early Church, it is clear the *ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν*, *αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε* and *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε* refer to instruction which Christians received at the time of their baptism. A connection with baptism is also born out by the imagery of "put off the old nature" (*ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον*) and the "put on the new nature" (*ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον* ...). The appearance of this imagery in Gal. 3:27ff. in connection with baptism, together with the allusion to baptismal instruction in the preceding verse, makes it certain that the author is utilizing baptismal material (cf. also

⁸ Cf. Selwyn's commentary on I Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 363ff., 390ff.

⁹ Carrington, *op. cit.*, p. 16. He believes that such a phrase comes from Lev. 18: 1-5, 24-30.

Col. 3:8-10; Rom. 13:12-14; 2 Cor. 5:17).

Dahl considers that the language of this hortatory section definitely contrasts the "Wandel" of the pagan and the baptized.¹⁰

Conzelmann notes that the comparison between the old and the new man belongs to baptismal instruction and specifically refers to baptism as "der Akt der Schöpfung des neuen Menschen."¹¹ Jervell takes the

aorist participle *κτισθείς* to imply "das die Taufe auch die Neuschöpfung ist,"¹² but carries this thought a bit farther and ties

it in with his concept of "Vorbild" so that "das 'Zum-Bilde-Werden' mit dem Gedanke der Erschaffung des neuen Menschen in der Taufe

zusammengehört. . . ."¹³ Hanson, on the other hand, approaches the contrast between the "old" and the "new" man as an antithesis between

Adam and Christ. "The 'old man' is Adam. . . Christ is the New Man

. . . to 'put on Christ' implies to be taken out by baptism from the sphere of the old man, from the aeon of sin, and to be put into the

New Aeon, the Church, which is the Body of Christ."¹⁴

¹⁰Dahl, "Dopet," p. 93.

¹¹Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 80.

¹²Jervell, op. cit., p. 237. Schlier, Epheserbrief, speaks about man being newly created in baptism: "Sein Leben ist bis ins einzelne hinein immer neue existentielle Wiederholung des Taufgeschehens, immer neues Ergreifen und Darstellen des mit der Taufe im Glauben erschlossenen Seins (p. 223). Cf. also G. H. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 73, who puts emphasis upon the symbolism of immersion as a sign of death and rising from the water as a sign of new life.

¹³Jervell, op. cit., p. 248; also p. 240 where he adds: "Somit gehört also zu der urchristlichen Taufbelehrung und-ermahnung die Vorstellung von der Neuschöpfung des Menschen zum Bilde Gottes, die in der Taufe stattgefunden hat." Cf. pp. 256ff. dealing with resurrection and God-likeness.

¹⁴Hanson, op. cit., p. 80.

Some scholars believe that the baptismal nature of this passage is further illuminated by the symbolism of the baptismal garment. R. R. Williams concludes that this imagery is "almost certainly related to the literal putting off of clothes before baptism and the putting on of new clothes (which eventually developed into the special baptismal robe or chrison)."¹⁵ A similar position is taken by Dahl: "Diese Ausdrücke spielen höchstwahrscheinlich auf einen Kleiderwechsel an, der notwendig wurde, als die Taufe in Form eines vollen Untertauchens vollgezogen wurde. Ein besonderes Taufkleid wurde bald gebräuchlich und erhielt eine symbolische Interpretation."¹⁶ But this is certainly a later development and it is unlikely that the garment symbolism is in the mind of the author.¹⁷

Perhaps the most significant teaching of this section is the close relationship between baptism and ethics. The point is quite clear that what was begun at baptism must be continued in the experience of the Christian. Baptism, in other words, is the beginning of a new ethical way of life.¹⁸

15

R. R. Williams, *The Pauline Catechesis*, "Studies in Ephesians," ed. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1956), p. 93.

16

Dahl, *Epheserbrief*, p. 58.

17

Pokorny indicates that the imagery corresponds to the gnostic putting off his fleshly (*sarkischen*) existence and putting on the garment of light (*Lichtkleid*) by initiation (*op. cit.*, p. 186). Cf. also his *Der Epheserbrief und die Gnosis* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 118-19. There is also a theory that the idea of the garment came from the Mysteries, particularly the Egyptian, where at the end of his consecration Isis puts on the robe of Osiris and thereby becomes Osiris. Cf. J. Leipoldt, *Von den Mysterien zur Kirche*, *op. cit.*, p. 74: "Das Bild ist uns aus der Isis-religion vertraut: wer das göttliche Gewand anlegt, wird dadurch selbst zum Gotte." For a more detailed account of sacramental ideas and usages in the Mysteries and their possible influence upon Christianity cf. Part III, pp. 282-287.

18

Cf. the chapter on "Baptism and Ethics," Part II, pp. 168-176.

4:25-5:7 list the various vices that the readers are to put away (Διδ ἀποθέμενοι ...) and the virtues that should characterize their life as Christians (especially 4:32-5:2). But even though the author is largely dependent upon traditional exhortative material, there are several places where an application to the problem of unity can be made. Truth is admirable not only for its own sake but ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη (4:25); conversation is to be edifying and should impart grace to the hearers (4:29); bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor and malice are to be removed ἀφ' ὑμῶν (4:31) and in its place kindness (ἀλλήλους χρηστοί), tenderness and forgiveness (χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς) should rule (4:32); and even in their worship there should be a unity (λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς) of praise and thanksgiving (5:19-20).

B. Darkness and Light (5:8-14): In 5:8-14 the author contrasts the former (πότε) and present (νῦν) life of his readers by the imagery of darkness and light. Since they are no longer σκότος they are not to participate in τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀνάρμοις τοῦ σκότους . They are now φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ and the life that they are to live ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς is characterized by goodness, truth and whatever is pleasing to the Lord. He then ends this brief exhortation with a quotation from a hymn. It is generally conceded that this hymn may be called either a Wekruf,¹⁹ a Zuruf,²⁰ a Tauflied,²¹ or a

19

W. Bieder, Verheissung, p. 232; Deichgräber, op. cit., pp. 21-22; Pokorny, "Epheserbrief und gnostische Mysterium" op. cit., p. 187; Schille, Hymnen, pp. 95-6; Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, p. 175.

20

G. Delling, op. cit., p. 77; K. Staab, Die Thessalonischerbriefe, Die Gefangenschaftsbriege. Regensburger Neues Testament, Vol. 7 (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1959), p. 155.

21

M. Haug, "Kinder des Lichts," Kurze Auslegung des Epheserbriefes

Heilsruf,²² and that it is definitely connected with baptism. We shall now turn to an examination of this hymn and give special attention to its origin, meaning, and use within the setting of early Christianity.

1. The Origin of the Hymn (5:14):

a. The Old Testament Sources- It has often been assumed that Eph. 5:14 is a rather free citation of such Old Testament passages as Isa. 9:2, 26:19, 51:9, 60:1-2; Psalms 44:25-6. The two most likely possibilities are Isa. 26:19 and 60:1-2. Opinions of their influence upon this text, however, range all the way from affirmation to denial. J. T. Beck, for example, boldly states that the hymn "ist freies Zitat aus Isa. 60:1ff. . . ."²³ A. Klöpper, on the other hand, toys with the idea of influence, but concludes: "Soviel ist sicher, unmittelbar auf eine altestamentliche Stelle wird hier nicht verwiesen."²⁴

A close examination of the two Isaiah passages reveals several interesting parallels with and differences from Eph. 5:14:

(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), p. 151; Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 85; Käsemann, Leib, p. 142; K. G. Kuhn, "Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte," NTS, 7(1960-61), p. 342; E. Repo, Der Begriff 'Rhema' im Biblisch-Griechischen. Eine Traditionsgeschichtliche und Semasiologische Untersuchung. II. 'Rhema' im Neuen Testament. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsinki, Ser b, Tom. 88, I, 1954, p. 91; B. Noack, "Das Zitat in Ephes. 5, 14," Studia Theologica. Ordinum Theologorum Scandinavicum, Vol. 5 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1952), p. 58; Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 160.

²²Cf. E. Käsemann, "Formeln: Liturgische Formeln im NT," RGK, Vol. 2, p. 994. Hereafter cited as "Formeln."

²³J. T. Beck, Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Epheser (Glücksloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1891), p. 216.

²⁴A. Klöpper, Der Brief an die Epheser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1891), p. 168.

Isa. 26:19

Αναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ
ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς
μνημείοις, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται
οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ.

Eph. 5:14

Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ
ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ
ἐπιφάσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

Isa. 60:1-2

1. Φωτίζου Φωτίζου Ἰερου-
σαλήμ, ἦκει γὰρ σου τὸ Φῶς,
καὶ ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ
ἀνατέταλκεν.
2. Ἴδού, σκότος καλύψει γῆν,
καὶ γνόφος ἐπ' ἔθνη, ἐπὶ δὲ σέ
φανήσεται Κύριος, καὶ ἡ δόξα
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ ὀφθήσεται.

The similarities with Isa. 26:19 are quite obvious: there is the occurrence of resurrection; the dead are called νεκροί; and οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ or οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις could be compared with ὁ καθεύδων.²⁵ Isa. 26:19 is descriptive and factual; Eph. 5:14 appears as an imperative and is probably intended as an exhortation. There is also no correspondence between the last lines of both texts.²⁶

In Isa. 60:1-2, one is impressed by the similarities of φανήσεται and ἐπιφάσει, the change from Κύριος to Χριστός, as well as the play between darkness and light that one also finds in Eph. 5:10-13. There is lacking, however, the exhortation to awake or to arise in order to be illuminated by the Lord.

The similarities between Eph. 5:14 and the two Isaiah passages may lead one to suspect that our text is a combination of the two Old Testament passages. From Isa. 26:19 it takes the motifs of "awake" and "arise" from the dead; from Isa. 60:1-2 it adds the idea of Christ

²⁵ B. Noack, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁶ Ibid.

giving light to those who have heeded this call. Noack dismisses this latter possibility and, in fact, finds the entire argument from Old Testament passages "wenig überzeugend."²⁷

Our research is complicated by the fact that the writer indicates (διὸ λέγει) that he is quoting from some extant source. One could say that his intention is not to quote verbatim but rather to give the idea or substance of thoughts that are expressed, as for example, in the Old Testament passages. If this be true, then the previously examined parallels may have provided the source for his composition.²⁸

b. Apocryphal Sources- Dissatisfaction with the Old Testament analogies has led some scholars to the Apocryphal literature. E. Haupt states that "es handelt sich um irgend eine apokryphe Stelle,"²⁹ but admits his failure in identifying it. Noack also notes that various possibilities have been proposed but that all of them have proved to be unsatisfactory.³⁰

²⁷

Ibid.

²⁸

Noack believes the author wants the citation to be understood "als altestamentliches" (p. 53) and that the author himself thought the words were to be found in Scripture, if not literally in their cited form, then at least so clearly that the readers would recognize it. The whole purpose of the quotation is to give authority to the entire exhortation.

²⁹

E. Haupt, Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe. Meyer Kommentar, 7th. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), p. 202.

³⁰

Noack, op. cit., p. 55. Cf. also Dahl, Epheserbrief, p. 65 who suggests it may come from an "Apokryphen Sammlung." A. M. Hunter, in this connection states: "To regard it as a bit of lost Jewish apocalypse is to explain obscurum per obscurius." Cf. his Paul and his Predecessors (London: S.C.M. Press Ltd., revised ed., 1961), p. 39. Note also J. A. Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (London: Macmillan & Co.,

Thus he concludes on this rather negative note: "Leider sind sie [die Worte] in keiner Apokalypse und in keinem Bruchstück einer solchen gefunden worden, und auch die Vermutung, sie können aus dem urchristlichen Jeremiabuch stammen, ist unbestätigt geblieben."³¹

c. Hellenistic Sources- Scholars who have sought for the origin of the hymn in Hellenistic sources have generally turned to the idea of the Gnostic Weckruf³² in which the soul is called to awaken from its state of sleep and drunkenness (Schlaftrunkenheit) and return to its original state of light and life. The soul has forgotten its true home, the heavenly Light-world, and is unaware of its pneumatic "self." Then the Gnostic redeemer calls it to awaken from this sleeping-drunkenness, to arise from the bodily prison and find salvation.³³ Bultmann indicates that the terminology of 5:14 is to a large extent Gnostic and its mythology characterizes "man's situation in the world. . . ."³⁴ Other scholars are attracted to Reitzenstein's original hypothesis of a relationship to the Iranian Heilsspruch.³⁵

2nd ed., 1909), where he claims "attempts to assign the quotation to an apocryphal writing are probably mere guesses" (p. 201).

³¹Noack, op. cit., p. 55.

³²Pokorny, op. cit., p. 187; also Deichgräber, op. cit., p. 21, n. 3.

³³Cf. the discussion by Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 163.

³⁴Theology, Vol. I, p. 175.

³⁵Cf. R. Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium (Bonn: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, 1921); Dibelius-Greeven, Handbuch, p. 91; Pokorny, op. cit., pp. 187-8. Regarding Reitzenstein's view note Schnackenburg: "Das manichäische Fragment, das Reitzenstein für eine Vorlage von Eph 5, 14 hält, ist im diesem Sinne zu interpretieren: 'Schüttle ab die Trunkenheit, in die du entschlummert bist, wach auf und sieh auf mich; Heil über dich aus der Welt der Freude, aus der ich deinetwegen gesandt bin'" (op. cit., p. 164).

The thought of the passage has also been identified as lying somewhere between Gnosticism and the Mysteries. Here Pokorny believes that the "vain" words (5:6) and the "unfruitful works of darkness" (5:11ff.) connect to the "Legomena" and "Dromena" of the Gnostic cult. Then at the end of the Mystery initiation a Weckruf is cited and man is called to awake from the sleep of ἀγνώσις.³⁶ Schattenmann goes so far as to consider this verse to be similar to the "Mysterienformeln."³⁷

Another scholar who has contributed to the question of origins is J. Leipoldt. In an article entitled "Die altchristliche Taufe religionsgeschichtlich betrachtet," he claims Eph. 5:14 reminds him of an Eleusinian baptismal song.³⁸ And in an important book he proposes a line of development of the hymn which has its origin in the Mysteries, its adoption and transformation in Christianity and finally, its confirmation (Fortsetzung) in the Church. He summarizes this development in the following way:

In einem Falle lässt sich wahrscheinlich machen, dass eine liturgische Entlehnung stattfindet: ein griechisches Mysterienlied wurde zu einem christlichen Taufliede umgestaltet. Das altgriechische Lied lässt sich aus den "Frühschen des Aristophanes gewinnen; der Anfang des christlichen ist im Epheserbriefe überliefert, die Fortsetzung bei Klemens von Alexandria.³⁹

³⁶Pokorny, op. cit., p. 187.

³⁷J. Schattenmann, op. cit., p. 7.

³⁸Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig, 3(1953-4), pp. 45-56.

³⁹Von den Mysterien zur Kirche, op. cit., p. 84. The passage from Aristophanes reads: "Εγείρε· Φλογέας ἐν χερσὶ γὰρ ἦκει τινάσσων,
"Ἰακχ", ὦ "Ἰακχε,
νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ·
Φλογὶ φέγγεται δὲ λειμῶν...

The Ephesian and the Eleusinian texts, however, with the exception of

Serious objection to the theory of Gnostic influence on this passage has been raised by Kuhn. The thought of Ephesians, he shows, is much different from the Gnostic systems. Ephesians is not concerned about a knowledge of the nature of the "true self," rather a decision of the will, a change in one's way of life (Wandel), away from sin and towards the deeds of God. This, for Kuhn, "ist etwas sehr anders als der gnostische Weckruf."⁴⁰

Just how far one can follow such hypotheses of Hellenistic influence is open to question. Theories of Christianity's dependence upon the Mysteries is seriously doubted on the basis of dating and the lack of reliable sources.⁴¹ Perhaps the safest position to take on the question of origin is the one adopted by H. Schlier. Even though Schlier favours a Gnostic background to the text he nevertheless concedes that "Es leitet ein Zitat ein, dessen Herkunft dunkel ist."⁴²

d. The Qumran Literature- Kuhn's investigation of the Qumran literature has shown that there is a close affinity between the speech, concepts, thoughts and ideas of Qumran and the Epistle to the Ephesians.

the word ἔγερσε, are so dissimilar that the possibility of dependence is very unlikely.

⁴⁰

Kuhn, op. cit., p. 342. Note also Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 164: "Nicht Eph 5, 14 ist von diesen gnostischen Texten her zu erklären; eher hat umgekehrt der Gnostizismus diese Stelle aufgegriffen und in seinem Sinne verstanden. Noch weniger können Analogien aus dem Griechentum zu Erklärung herbeigezogen werden." Along with Kuhn, Schnackenburg also notes the lack of any moral or ethical teaching in the Greek texts. A further difference is in the concept of light. The Christian is spoken of as having been illuminated by Christ. In Gnosticism, the light of the Redeemer has only enlightened the light (die Gnosis) already in us (Cf. ibid., p. 165).

⁴¹

Cf. Part III, pp. 282-287.

⁴²

Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 240; Dibelius-Greeven, Handbuch, p. 90.

For Kuhn, this similarity is so striking that he even wonders whether some type of "Traditionszusammenhang" between late Palestinian Judaism and Ephesians is possible.⁴³ Especially obvious are such parallels as life, sin, forgiveness, light and darkness.⁴⁴ Kuhn's interpretation of 5:4 and its relation to baptism is best stated in the following quotation:

... hier ist die Taufe, in der Christus dem Täufling strahlend aufgeht, verstanden als das Ende des bisherigen Totseins in Sünden, als Umkehr, die sich in einem neuen Wandel, im Tun des Gott Wohlgefälligen von nun an manifestiert. Mit diesem Gedanken ist das Zitat die Begründung zu dem vorher Gesagten: Das ἐλέγχειν ist so Aufruf an den Sünder zur Umkehr, zu einem neuen Wandel, d.h. faktisch zur Taufe, in der dem bisherigen Sünder Christus strahlend aufgeht und mit der das neue Leben von nun an unter den Gehorsam gegenüber Gottes Willen, unter den ethischen Imperative, gestellt ist.⁴⁵

The clear similarity between Ephesians and the religious system and literature of Qumran has not gone unnoticed by other scholars. Wibbing discusses Eph. 5:3-5, 9 under the section "Die dualistische Struktur der paulinischen Tugend- und Lasterkatalogue" and concludes that these verses are anchored in the type of ethical dualism that is presented in Qumran.⁴⁶ Particularly striking in similarity, for example, is the presentation of the light-darkness motifs in The Manual of Discipline 3:19ff. and the exhortation of Eph. 5:8-14. Schille, after a lengthy examination of the Qumran material, concluded that the early Christian baptismal liturgy, "auf dem Hintergrund spätjüdischer

⁴³Kuhn, op. cit., p. 334.

⁴⁴Ibid. Cf. p. 344 for complete references.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 345.

⁴⁶Wibbing, op. cit., pp. 108ff.

Taufersekten entsteht."⁴⁷

Although the evidence is not conclusive, one cannot help but concur with the thought of Schnackenburg when he writes: "The primitive Church thus thought of the step that was taken in baptism, from the sphere of ruin into the realm of salvation, in terms of the contrast of light and darkness, and in this respect the Christians possibly were not uninfluenced by similar ideas in Qumran."⁴⁸ With this in mind we are led to the consideration of Eph. 5:14 as a baptismal hymn of the early Church.⁴⁹

By stating that our author is quoting a baptismal hymn of the early Christian Church we in no way eliminate the question of origin, for it is unlikely that the imagery and language of the text is an entirely unique creation. Nevertheless, the best one can say is that we are dealing with the citation of an accepted and perhaps authoritative baptismal statement of the Church the ultimate origin of which is unknown.

2. The Meaning of the Hymn (5:14):

A significant number of New Testament scholars identify Eph. 5:14 as a baptismal hymn or at least as a fragment of a baptismal hymn.⁵⁰

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G. Schille, LitG, p. 143.

⁴⁸

Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 81.

⁴⁹

Just who first suggested this theory is unknown. Noack, op. cit., p. 55, indicates that this "ansprechendste" explanation was originally proposed by Theodoret von Kyrrhos.

⁵⁰

Cf. Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 85; Dahl, Epheserbrief, p. 65; Käsemann, Leib, p. 142 and "Liturgy," p. 162; Haug, op. cit., p. 51; Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 240; Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 160ff. and Baptism, p. 81.

According to A. M. Hunter, "the one theory which fits the facts is that it is an early (pre-Pauline) Christian baptismal hymn."⁵¹ Haupt similarly argues that because of its hymnic form and Christian character it was prepared by the Christian Church.⁵²

There are obvious factors within this section (5:8-14) that suggest a relation to baptism. First of all, there is the strong possibility that the Church was in possession of a fixed catechetical form which was based upon the motifs of darkness and light.⁵³ These motifs play an important part in the passage and it is quite likely that the author of Ephesians is borrowing thoughts from such an existing exhortation.

Secondly, there is the contrast between the "then" and the "now." This, as we noted in the Introduction, ties into the concept of baptism as a change of status for the individual. The same readers who had been strangers, alienated from God (2:12-22), subject to the powers of the world (2:1-2), had also lived in darkness (5:8, 11). Now, however, in addition to having been brought near to God (2:13ff.), being victorious and experiencing salvation in Christ (2:5-9), they are characterized as "light in the Lord" (5:8) and are admonished to walk as "children of light" (5:9). The light imagery reaches a climax in v. 14 with the affirmation that Christ is the instrument of light (ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός).

⁵¹ Hunter, op. cit., p. 39.

⁵² Haupt, op. cit., p. 202.

⁵³ Cf. Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 375-82. Especially useful is Selwyn's "Table II," pp. 376-8 which he calls "Further Catechetical Material: The Children of Light (Filii Lucis)."

The idea of light (φωτισμός) has occurred in 1:18, where we discussed the use of this metaphor for describing spiritual realities in relation to baptism.⁵⁴ And on the basis of such passages as 2 Cor. 4:4-6; 2 Tim. 1:10; Heb. 6:4, 10:32; Eph. 1:18 and 5:8-14, one can heartily concur with Schnackenburg that it appears "dass die Urkirche schon zeitig die ganze Heilszeit als "licht" betrachtet hat...."⁵⁵

The conviction of Christ being the light, or Christ "shining upon you" (ἐπιφάσκει σοι ὁ Χριστός) reminds one of the symbolism in the Fourth Gospel. To follow Christ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου means to have τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς and οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ (Jn. 8:12; cf. also 3:19ff., 9:5, 12:35-6). In John 12:46 Jesus says ἐγὼ φῶς εἶς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθα, ἵνα πᾶς πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ μὴ μένῃ. One can only speculate as to where the origin of such symbolism is to be found. Kuhn, and others, we have seen, have found striking parallels in the Qumran material.⁵⁶ Some have found fitting allusions in Gnostic and Mystery literature.⁵⁷

Still another suggestion is offered by R. Orlett in this connection. Working from the basis that Christian writers often turned to

⁵⁴Cf. discussion above, pp. 34-36.

⁵⁵Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 165. He entitles his discussion of this passage "Die Taufe als Schritt von der Finsternis ins Licht" (p. 160). Cf. also Foulkes, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-53; Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

⁵⁶
Cf. above, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁷
Cf. above, pp. 31-32 ; Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Schlier, *Epheserbrief*, especially p. 241. Schlier prefers to call Eph. 5:14 a "Kultsprache." That it is related to baptism is shown by the context (v. 8) as well as parallel texts which reveal similar baptismal terminology. In this connection Schlier states: "Ist der Kultspruch 5, 14 auf die Taufe zu beziehen, so ist diese, die als ein der τελετή analoger Vorgang verstanden ist, im Sinn des Spruches der Augenblick, an dem der

the Old Testament when writing about baptism,⁵⁸ Orlett concludes that the themes of light and life in baptism are based upon the story of creation when God penetrated the chaos with light and created life. In baptism, "we overcome all that 'darkness' implies . . . Through baptism, therefore, we become new creatures, sons of God, 'sons of light'."⁵⁹ Something analogous to this appears to be the case in 2 Cor. 4:4-6 where in a similar context Paul obviously has Gen. 1:3 in mind. Hence Paul states: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness.' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6).

In the history of Christianity there is evidence that the Church solidified this symbolism.⁶⁰ However, this does not mean that Eph. 5:14 can be understood in the same way as it appears in later Christian sources. Schnackenburg, in this respect, offers a sane restraint when he states: "Von Spekulation oder auch einem vollentwickelten liturgischen Anschauungsbild kann für Eph 5, 14 noch nicht die Rede sein."⁶¹

in den Wottenschlaf Versunken erwacht und der dem Todesschlaf Verfallene aufsteht" (p. 242).

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Such stories as creation, flood, promise to Abraham, exodus, wandering in the wilderness, covenant through Moses and the marriage between God and Israel. Cf. also D. M. Stanley, "The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism," op. cit., pp. 182ff. Probably the best book to consult in this regard is Per Lundberg, La Typologie Baptismale dans l'Ancienne Eglise (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1942).

59

R. Orlett, "Awake Sleeper," Worship, 35(1961), p. 105.

60

Cf. discussion above on 1:18, pp. 32-36.

61

Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 166.

The second metaphor concerns sleep and death. H. Conzelmann in this context affirms: "Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um einen Taufspruch oder ein Bruchstück aus einem Tauflied; den die Taufe ist sowohl 'Erweckung' als 'Erleuchtung'."⁶² Consequently, many commentators refer to the hymn as a Weckruf or Aufruf.⁶³ As an "Aufruf," claims Schille, "Der Ruf will die zum Empfang der Gottheit notwendig Haltung erwecken und ruft den Initianden daher aus seinem bisherigen Wesen, aus Schlaf und Tod, heraus. Er bereitet die Erleuchtung direkt vor."⁶⁴ Staab vividly describes it as "ein Erwachen aus dem Schlaf, ein Auferstehung aus dem Tod, ein Eintritt in das Licht Christi."⁶⁵

3. The Use of the Hymn (5:14);

a. At Baptism- It has already become apparent that the hymn is directly connected with baptism.⁶⁶ Our present task is to determine more specifically when such a hymn may have been used. Here the first thing that comes to mind is the actual baptismal service where such

⁶²Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 85; Dahl, "Dopet," p. 94 and Epheserbrief, pp. 64-5.

⁶³Cf. above, n. 19.

⁶⁴Schille, Hymnen, p. 96.

⁶⁵Staab, op. cit., p. 155.

⁶⁶Cf. previous discussion on this section, pp. 100-104. There is also a striking similarity between Eph. 5:14 and Ode 15: 1-2: "As the sun is the joy to them that seek it my Sun and His rays have made me rise up; and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face." On baptism in the Odes cf. J. H. Bernard, The Odes of Solomon. Texts and Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912. Reprinted by Kraus Reprint Ltd., Nendeln/Lichtenstein, 1967).

a hymn may have been recited or sung. We know that the early Church created and used many songs in their worship services (Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 3:16; I Tim. 3:16; Eph. 5:19) and there is no reason to doubt that some hymns could have been used on the occasion of baptism as a "Zuruf" upon the candidates.⁶⁷

G. H. P. Thompson figures that an appropriate time for the hymn to be sung would be when the candidate came up out of the water after his immersion. He had been regarded as dead, but is now summoned to rise to a new life.⁶⁸ Another possible reconstruction of this setting is descriptively stated by A. M. Hunter:

As the convert rises from the baptismal wave--fit symbol of burial and death with the Lord with whom he is now united--the onlooking congregation break out into this hymn of exhortation... The convert rising from the baptismal wave in which he has washed away his sins is welcome into the new life. Christ will henceforth shine upon him and renew him.⁶⁹

Apart from such liturgical application, which is at best highly speculative, one could also conceive of the hymn in terms of a catechetical exhortation or admonition which would include the preceding verses (8-13) and thus give full force to the imperatives *ἐγείρεσθε* and *ἀνύστα*. Repo, for example, correctly emphasizes this when he states:

⁶⁷ Cf. G. Delling, *Die Taufe im Neuen Testament*, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Käsemann, "Formeln," p. 994.

⁶⁸ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Note also Mollat, *op. cit.*, who adds: "At baptism Christ associates man with his own resurrection and delivers him from the kingdom of darkness and death, of ignorance and sin, in order to make him live in the light of God" (p. 82).

⁶⁹ A. M. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Although it is placed within a Gnostic setting, a somewhat similar interpretation is given by Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

"Die Stelle, die die Erweckung zu einem Kind des Lichtes betont (5, 8-14), sowie die andre Rh[ēma]-Abschnitt (6, 10-18) der die geistlichen Waffen erläutert, passen gleichfalls ihrem Thema nach ausgezeichnet gerade in die Taufparänese."⁷⁰

It is also possible to consider the passage in a broader perspective. The author may primarily have newly baptized Christians in mind, but his words could also be directed to the more mature Christians as a form of renewal or challenge. Perhaps they, like the Christians in Rome (Rom. 13:11) and Thessalonica (I Thess. 5:6) may have "fallen asleep" and become lethargic in their own life as well as in their missionary concern.⁷¹

Schnackenburg suggests that at such a Tauffeier the apostle wants to remind the Christians of the hour when they heard the Gospel and thus challenge them to lead their pagan neighbours (Mitbürger) to the same type of Christian experience.⁷² A similar interpretation is implied in Bieder's concept of baptism as an act of "Freude." Baptism should not become an esoteric feast by which the heathen are excluded, but rather an opportunity for Christians to illuminate their great joy to others.⁷³

⁷⁰Repo, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Schnackenburg's paraphrase "You were darkness once, but now you are light in the Lord" gives the verse an exhortative effect (Baptism, p. 81).

⁷¹So Bieder, Verheissung, p. 232: "Es droht die Lethargie einer schlafenden, einer toten, einer sich mit der Welt vermischenden Kirche."

⁷²Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 161.

⁷³Verheissung, p. 233.

b. At Easter- The ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν may also be taken more literally than heretofore suggested and refer to the resurrection of the body, or even to Christ's resurrection. This is not to divorce the hymn entirely from baptism, because we have noted that baptism and resurrection are inextricably united. This fact must at least partially account for the observance of baptism during the Easter celebration of the early Church.

c. O'Neill has suggested that Eph. 5:14 "is the Easter hymn of the Church," because as the Church celebrates the resurrection of Christ (Easter!) she at the same time celebrates the resurrection of her members with Him.⁷⁴ This could be interpreted futuristically, but according to 2:6 Ephesians links baptism to a realized eschatology. Hence it refers to the believers as being alive, resurrected, and exalted with Christ.

c. An Eschatological Hymn- Up to this point in the discussion we have occasionally referred to Noack's article in support of the "baptismal-hymn" hypothesis. This is not an inconsistency, for up to page 58 of his article he himself follows the possibility that "Ephes. 5, 14 dürfte mit grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit als Taufhymnus zu erklären sein."⁷⁵ From this point on, however, Noack's argument takes a decided turn and he is led to the conclusion of a "Parusie- oder Auferstehungshymnus."⁷⁶

⁷⁴C. O'Neill, "Baptism: Resurrection with Christ," Doctrine and Life, 12(1962), p. 279.

⁷⁵Noack, op. cit., p. 58.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 64. J. A. T. Robinson's conjecture that it may be a hymn commemorating "the descent of Christ into the underworld" is not too widely accepted (op. cit., p. 119).

First of all, Noack believes that the ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν is a summons to rise up from the grave--i.e. the dead. Secondly, he interprets ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων as "wach auf aus dem Todesschlaf."⁷⁷ ἔγειρω is New Testament terminology for the resurrection of the dead and except for Rom. 13:11, does not carry the meaning of a spiritual or a moral awakening. When Ephesians, as well as Colossians, speaks of a spiritual awakening, claims Noack, it uses (συ)ζωποιεῖσθαι and not ἔγειρεσθαι or ἀναστῆναι.⁷⁸ Thirdly, the ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός is a promise to those who rise from the dead that Christ will shine upon them at his second Advent (cf. I Thes. 4:16; Jn. 5:25, 11; 43). These points of exegesis lead Noack to the conclusion that 5:14 is most certainly "ein eschatologischer Hymnus. . . ."⁷⁹

All this, however, is not to deny that the hymn is also a type of baptismal exhortation that could have been used on the occasion of baptism. "Im Gegenteil," affirms Noack: "wenn das Lied auch kein Taufhymnus in engeren Sinn ist, so lässt sich der Gebrauch als Taufhymnus doch leicht erklären: ist es ein Parusie- oder Auferstehungshymnus, so konnte es auch bei der Taufe Verwendung finden, die eine Auferstehung aus dem Tode und aus dem 'Begrabensein mit Christus' ist."⁸⁰

Conclusion- With this we bring to a close our discussion of 5:8-14 and conclude that the author is utilizing a catechetical tradition of the

⁷⁷Noack, op. cit., p. 59.

⁷⁸Ibid. Cf. Eph. 2:5 and Col. 2:13.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 62.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 64.

early Church which expressed the Christian life in terms of the metaphors of darkness and light. Although the origin of the exhortation is unknown, it is likely that it has some direct relationship to the type of thought expressed in the Qumran material.

It definitely appears that the author is consciously alluding to baptism and that his readers would catch this allusion in the material he is utilizing. His purpose, however, is neither to create nor to provide a baptismal liturgy to be used on the occasion of baptism even though the material he uses is so oriented. The exhortation of 5:8-14 falls within the context of a larger section (4:17-5:20) and demonstrates the author's use of traditional catechetical material. His quotation from an existing baptismal hymn emphasizes the fact that Christ is the source of all spiritual light. Now that Christians are $\phi\omega\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ they are to $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\nu\alpha \phi\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$. This, he goes on to say, includes wisdom (v. 15), an understanding of God's will (v. 17), fullness of the Spirit (v. 18) and joyfulness and thanksgiving (vv. 19-20).

CHAPTER VI

VI. Domestic Relationships (5:21-6:9):

This next section for specific consideration is the so-called Haustafel of 5:21-6:9. Undoubtedly, and notwithstanding the opinion of J. Coutts to the contrary,¹ this Ephesian section is dependent upon Col. 3:18-4:1 which in turn originates in some common catechetical material.² The striking difference, however, is that the verses dealing with the husband-wife relationship in Colossians (3:18-19) are expanded into a lengthy section (5:22-33) in Ephesians.

A. The Husband-Wife Relationship (5:22-33):

One must rightfully question the reason for such a lengthy exposition on the relationship between husband and wife in the Epistle. Is it the writer's primary intention to (1) offer domestic guidance regarding the husband-wife (as in the case of 6:1-9 with the child-parent, master-slave) relationship? Or (2), is he using the example of husband and wife for an ecclesiological purpose, i.e. to portray the nature of the relationship between Christ and the Church? Or (3), is he using Christ's relationship to the Church as the prototype for an

¹J. Coutts, "The Relationship of Ephesians and Colossians," NTS, 4(1958-9), pp. 201-7.

²Cf. Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 427-33 for "tables."

ideal Christian marriage?

It appears that the author's primary intention is to emphasize the unity that should exist between husband and wife. In order to do this properly, and thus bring out the deepest implications of the marriage relationship, he resorts to the analogy of Christ and the Church. And what could be a more fitting analogy! As Christ is head of the Church, the husband is head of the wife (v. 22); as the Church is subject to Christ, the wife is to be subject to her husband (v.24); husbands are to love their wives with the same self-giving (παρέδωκεν) love as Christ who cherishes and nourishes the Church, his body (vv. 25, 29).

Appearing within this context is the rather enigmatic and seemingly unnecessary v. 26: ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι . At first glance, vv. 26 and 27 almost appear as an interpolation because the thoughts of v. 25 and v. 28 join so nicely together. Yet, there is no textual evidence that the verse itself is under question nor is there any suggestion that it does not fit into the context of the writer's discussion on Christ and the Church. It appears that the mention of Christ's death for the Church (v. 25) triggered certain thoughts the author had in mind about baptism so that in vv. 26-7 he briefly discusses the nature and effect of this rite.

1. The Baptism of the Church (vv. 26-7):

a. The Terminology-

i. καθαρός : καθαρός , and its various cognates, is used in three distinct ways in the New Testament.³ First of all, it denotes

³F. Hauck, " καθαρός ," TDNT, Vol. 3, pp. 413-431.

what is physically clean such as cups and linen in Mt. 23:26-6, 27:59; Lk. 11:39, 41, 27:59. The ὁ λελουμένος in Jn. 13:10 may refer to a physical bath but is differentiated from νίπτω, a word ordinarily used for physical washing.⁴ A second, and more predominant use of καθαρός, is in a ritual or cultic context. Hence it is used to describe the lepers who were cleansed (Mt. 8:2-3, 10:8, 11:5; Mk. 1:40, 42, 44; Lk. 4:27; 5:12-14; 7:22; 17:14, 17); foods ritually clean (Mk. 7:19; Acts 10:15, 11:9); sundry purifications according to the law (Lk. 2:22; Jn. 2:6, 3:25; Heb. 9:22-3); while in Tit. 1:15a the phrase πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς probably refers to material things in general.

Thirdly, καθαρός is used to describe moral or ethical purity. One finds this usage in such passages as Mt. 5:8; Jn. 13:10-14, 15:3, 17:14ff.; Acts. 15:9, 18:6, 20:26; 2 Cor. 7:1; Eph. 5:26; I Tim. 1:5, 3:9; 2 Tim. 1:3, 2:22; Tit. 1:15b, 2:14; Heb. 1:3, 9:14, 10:2, 10:22, Jas. 1:27, 4:8; I Pet. 1:22; 2 Pet. 1:9; I Jn. 1:7, 9. The most notable fact arising out of these passages is that during the apostolic period, the ritual and cultic concept was replaced by a moral one.⁵ Hauck suggests that this concept of moral purity, although not to overlook the ethical nature of prophetic teaching, arose because of Christ's death. "It is his efficacious sacrifice which expiates sin and creates a new purity for those who are pledged thereto."⁶

⁴F. Hauck, "νίπτω," *TDNT*, Vol. 4, pp. 946-8. Another New Testament word for cleansing is ἀγνίζω. It has both cultic (Jn. 11:55) and moral (I Pet. 1:22) connotations.

⁵Cf. Hauck, "καθαρός," *op. cit.*, pp. 418-423 for Rudolf Meyer's contribution to this discussion under "Clean and Unclean Outside the NT: Part II. Judaism."

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 425.

ii. λουτρόν : Apart from its general usage for bathing in the Hellenistic world, and a few scattered references in the New Testament (cf. Acts 9:37, 16:33; 2 Pet. 2:22), λουτρόν is used primarily in a moral context. Oepke's historical analysis of the word led him to conclude that the "progressive feature in the Greek world is the distinctiveness and special significance of the moral element."⁷ Here again, as in the case of καθαρός , and with the exceptions noted above, it would appear that the "bath" received new significance within the context of Christ's life and ministry.⁸ The Christian λουτρόν may have resembled the Jewish and pagan rites, but the rite was given new and unique significance both in terms of its ethical purification and moral commitment.

This aspect is clearly demonstrated in the New Testament texts which link λουτρόν (baptism) with the forgiveness of sins. The ὁ λελουμένος in Jn. 13:10 may refer to Jewish ritual washing, but it makes more sense if it implies Christian baptism. The effect upon the individual is that ἐστὶν καθαρὸς ὅλος . Acts 2:38 links repentance and baptism for the forgiveness of sins. In Acts 22:16 Ananias exhorts Paul to be baptized καὶ ἀπολῶσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου . I Cor. 6:11 refers to washing (ἀπελούσασθε) in the same context as being sanctified (ἡγιασθητε) and (ἐδικαιώθητε).

There is also a possible connection between the washing of the body (λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα) in water and the cleansing of the heart in Heb. 10:22. I Pet. 3:20-21, in reference to Noah, claims

⁷A. Oepke, " λούω ," TDNT, Vol. 4, p. 300. Also confirmed by Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 62ff.

⁸Although there is a figurative use of washing from moral defects in Isa. 1:16, 4:4; Ezek. 16:9.

those in the ark were saved through water(διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος) and that baptism ". . . now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a clear conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ."⁹

There are two other passages that merit consideration. Tit. 3: 5 indicates that this bath saved us from our sinful state: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου . And concerning the work of Christ and the Church, Eph. 5:26 explains: ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι . Here again, a connection is made between baptism and the forgiveness of sins. Ysebaert suggests that "(ἀπο) λούειν and λουτρόν must be viewed as technical terms for baptism but to a lesser degree than βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμα . They only replace these terms to bring out the symbolism of the washing away of sins."¹⁰

iii. ῥῆμα : ῥῆμα and λόγος are two Greek words that are used interchangeably and there is no apparent differentiation in the New Testament.¹¹ Thus we find ῥῆμα used in such connections as the word of faith (Rom. 10:8); word of Christ (Rom. 10:7); word of God

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We have already discussed the interesting textual variant (λούσαντι) in Rev. 1:5 and the view set forth by Osten-Sacken (cf. above, pp. 14-15). Note also the disputed ending of Mark which reads: ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται.

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Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 63.

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At least in respect to the sayings of Jesus. Cf. G. Kittel, "λέγω . . .," TDNT, Vol. 4, p. 105; On the distinctions between λόγος and ῥῆμα cf. Repo, op. cit., pp. 186-201. Compare S. D. F. Salmond's useful analysis, op. cit., pp. 368-9 where he classifies the various ways in which "word" appears in the New Testament. On the possible meaning of ῥῆμα in 5:26 cf. discussion below, pp. 125-133.

(Eph. 6:17; Heb. 6:5, 11:3); word of Christ's power (Heb. 1:3); the word of a witness (2 Cor. 13:1); sayings (Acts 10:44, 11:14); Jn. 6:63 speaks of $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ which are "spirit" and "life"; and in I Pet. 1:25, $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ is closely identified with the Gospel ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\delta\ \rho\eta\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\delta\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$).

$\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ is used in much the same way. It is the word of life ($\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$, Phil. 2:16); the word of truth (Col. 1:5; 2 Tim. 2:15); the word of God (I Tim. 4:5; I Pet. 1:23; 2 Pet. 3:5-7); and in Mt. 8:16 Jesus casts out demons by a "word."

iv. $\Upsilon\delta\omega\rho$: It is both impossible and unnecessary to go into the literal and symbolical use of water in the Bible. Hence it should suffice, for our purpose, simply to acknowledge water as the natural element for bathing, washing or baptizing.¹²

b. The Marriage Imagery-

The marriage or bridal imagery that the author of Ephesians uses is certainly not an original concept of his. In the Old Testament the metaphor of marriage is used to describe the relationship between Jahweh and Israel (cf. Hos. 1-3; Isa. 49:18, 54:1ff., 62:4-5; Jer. 2:2; Ezek. 16:1ff.).¹³

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For a detailed study on the subject cf. L. Goppelt, " $\Upsilon\delta\omega\rho$," ThWNT, Vol. 8, pp. 317-333; L. Beirnaert, "The Mythic Dimensions of Christian Sacramentalism," Cross Currents, Winter, 1951, pp. 68-86; F. Reymond, "Wasser," RGG, Vol. 6, p. 1550; G. Spaltmann, Das Wasser in der religiösen Anschauung der Völker (Bonn: Köllen Verlag, 1939).

13

Cf. Stig Hanson, op. cit., p. 139 when he states: "For concerning the idea of the Church as the Bride of Christ, the author of Ephesians has a fixed tradition in the O.T., Judaism, and the Primitive Church to connect up with." A detailed examination of the history behind the "bridal imagery" is provided by C. Chavasse, The Bride of Christ

In the New Testament Christ is often spoken of as the bridegroom (cf. Mk. 2:19; Jn. 3:29) as well as having his relationship to the Church portrayed in nuptial imagery (I Cor. 6:16ff., 11:3). In 2 Cor. 11:2 Paul says he betrothed (ἀρμόζω) the Corinthians to Christ as a pure bride, (παρθένον ἄγνην), the implication being that Christ is the husband of the Church. But in spite of such obvious parallels in both the Old and New Testaments, it is quite possible that the author was influenced by similar ideas in Hellenistic thought.

The concept of a λεῖδος γάμος was a familiar one in Classical Greek religion, the Mystery religions, and certain forms of Gnosticism that existed before and during the founding of the Christian

(London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1939). Chavasse affirms "that the Nuptial Idea in primitive Christian thought is a legitimate inheritance from the Old Testament" (p. 49). Ezek. 16:9, for example, is "a source of the Sacrament of baptism" (p. 105). Other scholars who connect the Ephesian passage to the O.T. bridal imagery cf. J. Gibley, "Baptism--The Sacrament of Incorporation into the Church according to St. Paul," in Baptism in the New Testament, ed. A. George (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1956), p. 184; D. M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, op. cit., believes Ezek. 16:8-9 "may have inspired the present conception in Paul..." (p. 230); Mussner, Christus das All und die Kirche, op. cit., p. 158; Dahl, Epheserbrief, p. 70; Regarding this concept in later Jewish exegesis cf. Hanson, op. cit., p. 139 where he notes: "The Rabbis eulogized the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai as a marriage between JAWH and his people. The Torah is the marriage contract, Moses is the one who leads the Bride, and JAWH meets Israel in the same way as the bridegroom his bride." At this point Kirby, op. cit., takes a clue from the rabbinic tradition which connected Pentecost, sinlessness and marriage (p. 180). Kirby refers to the "Midrash on the Song of Songs, IV, 4. 1." Thus he conceives that the "marriage of God and Israel at Pentecost "may have been in the Ephesian author's mind, "for in rabbinic thought the day when God would make a new covenant with a restored and purified Israel would be the day of a new and true marriage" (p. 149). However, it is doubtful if any of these later rabbinic interpretations can be used to explain the Ephesian passage.

Church.¹⁴ R. Batey has suggested that the nuptial symbolism in Ephesians, which is very similar to the symbolism in Justin the Gnostic's book Baruch, was influenced by a type of Jewish Gnosticism behind which stands a Greek cosmogenic myth. Hence in Ephesians and in Baruch there is the parallel thought, namely, "a divine relationship viewed as human, which at the same time forms and gives meaning to the human sphere."¹⁵

In this myth, Baruch, an angel of Elohim (the Father of all), is sent to deliver and comfort men from the power of Eden (passion and evil). Only those who received Baruch's "saving knowledge" are "freed from the torrents of Eden. . . ." Those who were liberated then ascended to Elohim "and were bathed in the heavenly waters, as was Elohim himself. Having received this catharsis the pneumatikoi dwelt in resplendent light with Good and Elohim."¹⁶

According to Batey, both writers used this myth for different purposes. Justin used it "to hang beads from other Greek mythologies and the O.T.," while in Ephesians, "the categories supplied by such a mythical Weltbild have been presupposed as a basis for employing an early Christian Haustafel to serve the purpose of ecclesiology."¹⁷ However, as we have noted above,¹⁸ the primary intention of the

¹⁴Cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962 ed.), p. 53ff.; R. Batey, "Jewish Gnosticism and the 'Hieros Gamos' of Eph. V:21-33," NTS, 10(1963), pp. 121-27; E. Stauffer, "γάμῳ, γάμος," TDNT, Vol. 1, pp. 653-4; Schlier, Epheserbrief, pp. 264-76.

¹⁵Batey, op. cit., p. 124.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁸Cf. pp. 110-111.

Ephesian writer in 5:22-33 does not appear to be ecclesiological. E. Stauffer's suggestion, that the writer "offers a Christological basis for the two main parts of the early Christian marriage catechism, for the subordination of the wife to the husband and the overriding love of the husband for the wife," is to be preferred.¹⁹

H. Schlier, in an extended treatment of the "Hieros Gamos" concept, also suggests that its origin is in an Hellenistic-Jewish Gnosticism. Thus in his concluding remarks about the various ecclesiastical and heretical texts (which are spread from the first century B.C. to the second half of the second century A.D.) he states: "Sie [the texts] kommen meist aus dem Umkreis einer mit einem hellenisierten Judentum zusammenhängenden 'Gnosis'."²⁰ H. Conzelmann follows a similar interpretation when he adds: "Die hellenistische Idee von der 'heiligen Hochzeit' scheint durch Vermittlung des hellenistischen Judentums einzuwirken."²¹

This Gnostic idea of the divine marriage (συζυγία) has been further elaborated upon by Bultmann and Pokorny.²² Pokorny understands

¹⁹ Stauffer, "γάμῳ," op. cit., p. 656.

²⁰ Epheserbrief, p. 275.

²¹ Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 87.

²² Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, p. 179; Pokorny, op. cit., p. 189. On the Mysteries, note Heigel, "Antike Mysterienreligionen und Urchristentum," Biblische Zeitfragen, Münster, 13(1932), p. 8: "In der Mysterien wurde öfters auch eine Hierogamie, d.i. eine 'heilige Hochzeit' agiert. Der ἱερός γάμος wurde ursprünglich wirklich vollzogen, später symbolisch dargestellt."

the exhortation here in Ephesians to be a polemic against the Gnostic conception where the mystery unites with the bisexual deity (mann-weiblich Gottheit), thus devaluating physical marriage. This devaluation had led to libertinism in the cultic life and to the breaking down (Disqualifizierung) of family life. In Ephesians, the author presents Christ in his relationship to the Church. He thus shows that Christians are united to Christ by a sacrificial love (v. 25 ἀγάπη) which included the women and should not lead to an under-evaluation of the family union.²³

Although the Gnostic idea of the ἱερὸς γάμος does provide an interesting parallel, it is dangerous to press the analogy too far.

E. Best has noted several things which indicate to him that the author is guarding against a fully Gnostic interpretation:

(i) his use of ἀγάπη rather than ἔρω; (ii) his reference to the sacrifice of Christ, a definite historical event of the just immediate past, and not repeatable, as were Gnostic conceptions with their basis in nature myths; (iii) there is no absorption of the human by the divine or vice versa, the Church remaining distinct from Christ and subject to him.²⁴

Others follow the same type of reasoning and stress that the imagery can be explained without the Gnostic background. Mussner, for one, takes serious exception to proponents of the Gnostic view, claiming that the theology of the passage can be sufficiently explained out

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Cf. also R. P. Martin, "An Epistle in Search of a Life-Setting," op. cit., p. 299 where Martin argues that this passage on the sacred mystical union of Christ and the Church "was presumably called forth by such an erroneous devaluation of the marital state...."

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E. Best, One Body in Christ (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 172.

of the tradition.²⁵ He personally favours the Old Testament parallels to the marriage imagery, claiming that "das Verhältnis Christus-Kirche wird ganz in Analogie zum natürlichen Verhältnis Mann und Frau in der Ehe gesehen, genau wie im AT das Verhältnis Jahwe-Israel. . .

."26 The significant difference is that Ephesians goes farther than the Old Testament by giving the concept a mystical connotation.

According to Mussner, "es ist die Kreuzespredigt und Tauf-mystik des Apostels, die diese Tiefe schafft (vgl. 5, 25-7)."²⁷

Jeremias also expresses considerable caution in the application of this concept to Ephesians. While he does conjecture that the Hellenistic (especially Gnostic) reference "of the *συμφύσις* image to the Soter exerted some influence on the N.T. Christ/*συμφύσις* allegory" as found in Paul, he is quite certain that "only in the post-N.T. period did mysticism seize the allegory, divest it of its eschatological content, and fatally link with it instead the sensual content of *ἱερὸς γάμος* ideas. . . ."²⁸

²⁵ "Die gnostische Interpretation von Eph 5, 22-3 muss abgelehnt werden; die Theologie des Abschnittes erklärt sich genügend aus der Tradition" (*op. cit.*, p. 159). Cf. also Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," p. 181: "Das Neben-und Ineinander bildhafter Vorstellungen braucht also nicht auf gnostische Denkungsart zurückzugehen, sondern erklärt sich wohl einfacher durch die eigene Gedankenbewegung des Apostels." Above all, the type of opposition voiced by Chavasse is to be avoided when he speaks of the disgrace and horrors of heathenism (*op. cit.*, pp. 121-2).

²⁶ Mussner, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁸ J. Jeremias, "ἑνότης, *συμφύσις*," *TDNT*, Vol. 4, pp. 1105-6. It should be noted that Batey does not hold to an exclusive dependence upon the Gnostic myth for he also believes the writer drew from the O.T. Cf. the significant differences he points out between Eph. and Baruch (*op. cit.*, pp. 121-2).

Apart from the nuptial imagery, there is an additional problem regarding the λουτρῶ τοῦ ὕδατος , its primary meaning and relation to the rest of the passage. Because v. 26 is placed within the context of nuptial symbolism, it is possible that the λουτρῶ τοῦ ὕδατος may be an allusion to the bridal bath. The existence of such a practice is well attested historically.²⁹ According to W. J. Woodhouse, "the most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of a bath (λουτρὸν νύμφικον),"³⁰ the water of which came from a

²⁹Cf. E. Westermarch, A Short History of Marriage (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), who explains this custom by which the bride is purified (among the Muhammadans also the bridegroom) by bathing. In modern Greece, "the bride's bath still forms part of the nuptials" (p. 203). Also Oepke, "λοῦω," op. cit., pp. 296-7. An even more detailed description is found in an article by Odo Casel, "Die Taufe als Brautbad der Kirche," Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, 5(1925), pp. 144-47. Casel bases his findings on the work of P. Sterianopulos, Die Lutra und ihre Verwendung bei der Hochzeit und im Totenkultus der alten Griechen (Athens, 1922). Casel indicates that the bridal pair took this bath before the wedding. It was regarded as a holy cleansing (καθάρσις) and consecration of the marriage. It was especially important for the bride who now entered into a new sex relationship and dedicated herself to the gods of her husband.

³⁰W. J. Woodhouse, "Marriage (Greek)," Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 446. In Troas, for example, "the bride bathed in the river, saying λαβέ μου, Στάμανδρε, τὴν παρθενίαν " (p. 446 n. 3). Cf. Dahl, Epheserbrief, who adds: "... im antiken Nahen Osten gehörte ein Bad offenbar zu den Vorbereitungszeremonien, denen sich die Braut zu unterziehen hatte, ehe sie ihrem Mann übergeben wurde" (p. 70). It should be noted that Dahl does not claim that the Ephesian author had this practice in mind, as G. Kittel, for example, does. In Kittel's discussion of the Ephesian passage he concludes: "Everything strange disappears when we remember that the marriage custom of the country was in the mind of the Apostle. The husband required a pure wife. Hence it was the custom that the bride to be took a bath before the day of marriage. Christ required a pure church (verse 27) but because it could not purify itself, he purified it Himself by the bath of blood of His self-sacrifice" ("The Influence of Christian Water-Baptism according to the New Testament," The Review and Expositor, Part III, 11(October, 1914), p. 510).

sacred spring. Following this bath, the bride, clad in her lovely garments, would present herself before the bridegroom.

Since the Ephesian passage deals with marriage, the appearance of baptism is quite unexpected unless it was presumably suggested by the rite of the nuptial bath.³¹ Mussner develops this thought by suggesting that the author conceives of baptism as the bridal bath which sanctifies the Church.³² Neuhäusler believes that baptism without the bridal motif is impossible because the marriage between Christ and the Church occurs in baptism.³³ Bieder also considers it a fitting analogy when he writes: "Die Brautbad ist ein Vorbereitungsakt für das Leben im neuen Stand der Ehefrau. So ist die Taufe auch als eine reinigende Instandstellung der ehemaligen Heiden für ihren Christenlauf gedacht."³⁴

Scholarly reaction to such an allusion in Eph. 5:26 is varied.

³¹Cf. references above, n. 30. To this one can also add A. George, "A Literary Catalogue of New Testament Passages on Baptism," Baptism in the New Testament, op. cit., pp. 19-20; Foulkes, op. cit., p. 159.

³²"Nach dem Text von Eph 5, 26. 27 hat das 'Wasserbad' (der Taufe) den unmittelbaren Zweck (vgl. ὕδα), die Kirche 'herrlich' hinzustellen (nämlich für ihre 'Ehe' mit Christus); also scheint die Tauf- hier doch als 'Brautbad' verstanden zu sein" (op. cit., p. 150, n. 351).

³³E. Neuhäusler, "Das Geheimnis ist gross. Einföhrin die Grundbegriffe der Eheperikope Eph 5, 22-29," Bibel und Leben, 4(1963), p. 167, n. 10.

³⁴Verheissung, p. 166. Cf. Leipoldt, "Die altchristliche Taufe religionsgeschichtliche betrachtet," op. cit., p. 54: "Wahrscheinlich föhrt Eph. 5, 25ff. eine feste Vorstellungsverbindung von der Ehe zur Taufe." Also W. Schmidt, op. cit., who claims there is both an allusion to baptism and the bridal bath (p. 278).

Meyer,³⁵ Thornton,³⁶ and Rawlinson,³⁷ leave it as a remote possibility but stress that the writer intended to make a connection with baptism and not the bride's pre-nuptial bath. Beasley-Murray,³⁸ Salmond, and Abbott deny there is any allusion to the bridal bath. Abbott argues that "there is no particle of comparison," while Salmond believes that the analogy breaks down because in Ephesians Christ is the subject who cleanses by water. It was not the bridegroom "who administered the pre-nuptial bath to the bride," he affirms.⁴⁰

Apart from the above objections, however, a significant number of scholars find the allusion to the bridal bath convincing. G. Findlay describes it in the following way: "As the maiden's bath on the morning of her marriage betokened the purity in which she united herself to the betrothed, so the baptismal laver summons the church to

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H. A. W. Meyer, The Epistle to Ephesians and Philemon (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880), p. 295.

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L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1944), p. 221.

³⁷

A. E. J. Rawlinson, "Ephesians," A Commentary on the Bible, ed. A. S. Peake (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1920), p. 867.

³⁸

Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 204.

³⁹

Abbott, op. cit., p. 169.

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Salmond, op. cit., p. 368. J. A. Robinson claims there is no ground for thinking Paul refers to the ceremonial bath taken by the bride before marriage. He finds such O.T. passages as Ruth 3:3; Ezek. 23:40 or such legendary accounts as "Joseph and Asenath" irrelevant (op. cit., p. 207); Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," considers it problematic to bring in the idea of the bridal bath to explain the reference to baptism in 5:26: "Nicht Verlobten, sondern Verheirateten stellt Paulus Christi Liebe zur Kirche als Vorbild hin. Es wäre wenig sinnvoll, wenn der Apostel denen, die schon in einem ehelichen Verhältnis stehen, nur das frühere Verhalten Christi zur Kirche vor Augen führte" (p. 181). Cf. also E. F. Scott, op. cit., p. 240.

present herself a 'chaste virgin unto Christ' (II Cor. 11:2)."⁴¹ R. Batey, whose thesis we presented above, draws a similar conclusion: "The washing of Elohim and the pneumatikoi in the heavenly waters," he remarks, "points out a sacramental strain not unlike the cleansing of the church by the washing of water (Eph. V:26)."⁴²

Odo Casel similarly believes that this marriage custom throws light on Eph. 5:26. In the Epistle, according to Casel, the marriage of Christ and the Church stands out as a bath which cleanses (καθαρίσας) and sanctifies (ἁγιάσῃ) the Church.⁴³ He examined the thought of "Methodios of Olympos" who, claims Casel, picked up and developed this Pauline concept in which baptism was understood as a bridal bath through which the church was qualified to receive the impregnating or fructifying (befruchtende) Spirit of Christ.⁴⁴

In the Roman Epiphany liturgies, Casel finds further examples that reflect back to Ephesians. The ritual of these liturgies is patterned after a wedding ceremony. The significance for our study,

⁴¹G. Findlay, "Ephesians," Expositor's Bible (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), p. 371.

⁴²Batey, op. cit., p. 125.

⁴³Casel, op. cit., p. 144.

⁴⁴Ibid. In his Symposium, Methodios compares Christ and the Church with Adam and Eve. Also, for the will of the Church, the Logos left his father in heaven and descended in order to receive his wife. During the process he dies in the ecstasy of suffering so that he could present the church glorious and pure after he had cleansed her through the bath.... The church receives and models him in a feminine manner in order to reap and preserve her virtue.

he states, is that the bath and the wedding stand together.⁴⁵ From this, as well as from the east-Syrian liturgies, Casel concludes that the bridal consecration and the wedding of a chosen "Jungfrau" with Christ, symbolizes the marriage between Christ and the entire Church.⁴⁶

The appearance of such interpretations in later baptismal liturgies, however, does not necessarily mean such thinking was in the mind of the author. It is most likely that he conceived of the marriage between Christ and the Church on the basis of the nuptial imagery that appears in the Old and New Testaments. Then, when he speaks of Christ giving himself up for the Church (v. 25), he thinks of baptism as the rite which expresses or symbolizes this death and by which the Church is sanctified "by the washing of water with the word."

c. Baptism and the Word-

Our brief consideration of ῥῆμα has revealed a number of ways it is used in the New Testament. In Eph. 5:26, the reference to τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι has generally been taken as expressing some relation between baptism and the "word." Opinion as

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 145. "Es ist also die Hochzeit eines Königs; seine Vasallen nahen mit Geschenken; die Hochzeitsgäste freuen sich des köstlichen Weines; der König hat sich eine Braut errungen; sie thront neben ihm, nachdem sie sich durch ein Bad gereinigt und bereitet hat; der Bräutigam selbst ist zuerst in das Wasser hinabgestiegen, um ihm heiligende und reinigende Kraft zu geben und so seine Braut sich herrlich und rein hinzustellen; er hat sich also erniedrigt, ist der Niedriggeborenen ähnlich geworden, um sie mit sich und zu sich zu erhöhen" (p. 145).

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 146. Cf. Casel, pp. 145-7 for additional information regarding the "ostsyrischen" liturgy. These texts indicate that Christ was betrothed to the Church at his baptism in the Jordan.

to its precise relationship and meaning, however, is varied. At least four possibilities may be considered:

1. ῥῆμα as Gospel: It is possible that the reference to baptism signifies the rite as attended or conditioned by a Gospel utterance. This could include the proclamation of Christ himself, the sayings of Jesus, or the εὐαγγέλιον about the person and work of Christ. Both Meyer and Salmond strongly support the view that ῥῆμα is the Gospel, and argue that ῥῆμα can stand as a proper noun without an article in much the same way as occurs with νόμος or χάρις.⁴⁷ The phrase, suggests Salmond, was "so well understood and constant a term par excellence that it would dispense with the article."⁴⁸ Repo claims that 5:26ff. stems from the baptismal liturgy of the Church and that ῥῆμα definitely conveys the idea of Gospel. "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach gebrauchte man nämlich Rh in der Taufparänese in der Bedeutung 'Evangelium' (Eph 5, 16-26, I Pt 1, 25a...)." ⁴⁹

This interpretation is strongly contested by T. K. Abbott in his commentary on Ephesians. He notes that ῥῆμα is not specifically defined as Gospel,⁵⁰ whereas elsewhere in the New Testament it is the ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ (Rom. 10:17); the ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως (Rom. 18:8); the ῥῆμα θεοῦ (Eph. 6:17); or simply single sayings (Acts 10:44,

⁴⁷ Meyer, op. cit., p. 296; Salmond, op. cit., p. 396.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 396.

⁴⁹ Repo, op. cit., p. 180. He also states that Heb. 6:5 as well as passages in Hermas and Clement of Alexandria place Rh in close connection with baptismal terminology. Cf. Foulkes, op. cit., who arrives at the same conclusion on the basis of Rom. 10:8 and I Pet. 1:25 (p. 158).

⁵⁰ Abbott, op. cit., p. 169. However, I Pet. 3:21 comes close, at least by implication.

11:14).

ii. ὁ ἦμα as Confession: This interpretation, although it lacks definite Scriptural reference.⁵¹ has found support among some commentators. John A. Allan⁵² and Stig Hanson⁵³ are cautious at this point and suggest it only as a possibility. F. F. Bruce admits the possibility of a word spoken over the candidate in the sense of a formula but prefers an interpretation in which the candidate "confesses his faith and invokes the Lord."⁵⁴ More definite, however, is L. S. Thornton, who finds evidence of this in early Christian literature. He believes that I Pet. 3:21 ("appeal to God for a clear conscience") implies repentance, faith and prayer on the part of the candidate.⁵⁵

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With the possible exception of I Pet. 3:21. Acts 8:37 also suggests a movement in this direction. For further discussion, cf. Part II, pp. 177ff.

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John Allan, The Epistle to the Ephesians. Torch Bible Commentary (London: S.C.M. Press, 1951), p. 133.

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Hanson, op. cit., p. 138.

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Bruce, op. cit., p. 116. Cf. also W. Flemington, op. cit., p. 65; G. H. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 86; E. F. Scott, op. cit., p. 240. J. A. Robinson admits the possibility of some "solemn utterance" (op. cit., pp. 125, 206-7). D. M. Stanley refers to Rom. 10:8-9 and Heb. 6: 5 and says: "Both texts show that rhema is the ordinary expression for the baptismal profession of faith; and this is probably what the Ephesian text refers to also" ("The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism," op. cit., p. 214); A. R. C. Leaney, The Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. Torch Bible Commentary (London: S.C.M. Press, 1960), links it to Rom. 10:8f. and suggests the affirmation may be something like "Jesus is Lord" (p. 127). Cf. also Kirby, op. cit., pp. 151-2; W. Bieder, Verheissung, p. 166.

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Thornton, op. cit., p. 232. Here F. M. Rentorff connects confession of faith and confessing of sins when he states: "Mit dem Glaubenbekenntnis war ein Sündenbekenntnis verbunden" (Die Taufe im Urchristentum im Lichte der neueren Forschungen (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1905), p. 50). Cf. also J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 41-2. Hereafter cited as Creeds.

In post-Apostolic baptism, at least as reflected in The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and Justin Martyr's Apology, Thornton understands the candidate to have gone through a type of "interrogatory creed" involving questions and answers.⁵⁶ E. C. Whitaker substantiates this opinion with evidence from the Patristic literature. The candidate, he says, would undergo "Trinitarian interrogations."⁵⁷ If a positive answer was given, the individual was then baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Such evidence leads Thornton to conclude that $\rho\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ "refers not only to what was said and done by the minister of baptism, but also what was said and done by the candidate."⁵⁸

The confession is significant in that it also expresses the subject matter of the candidate's faith. Just what the individual may have expressed is uncertain, but there is every possibility that it may have included Christological assertions viz. the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ.⁵⁹

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Thornton, op. cit., p. 233. For a comparison of texts cf. E. C. Whitaker, Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy (London: S.P.C.K., 1960).

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E. C. Whitaker, "The History of the Baptismal Formula," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 16(1965), p. 5.

58

Thornton, op. cit., p. 233. Such an impression is also given by Moffat's translation of the New Testament. Here Eph. 5:26 reads: "In order that he might consecrate her by cleansing her in the bath of baptism as she utters her confession...."

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Cf. A. Seeberg, "Die Taufe im Neuen Testament," Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen, Berlin-Lichterfelds, 1913, pp. 1-32. A detailed examination of the "Glaubensformel" is to be found in Seeberg's Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, republished 1966, Theologische Bücherei, Vol. 26). Dibelius-Greeven, Handbuch, think Rom. 6:4 and Col. 2:12 are in the background because the prerequisite of baptism is the "Selbsthingabe Christi" (p. 94).

iii. ῥῆμα as Catechism: Although catechism and confession are closely related in the Christian faith, the emphasis in this interpretation is on pre-baptismal instruction rather than on the candidate's confession. It is conceivable that such instruction was given in some cases in the New Testament. In Acts 2:41, those who ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν.⁶⁰ The eunuch's response to Philip (τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; Acts 8:36) also suggests such instruction. Lydia's baptism (Acts 16:15) was preceded by instruction from the Apostle Paul. Schnackenburg also speculates that Heb. 6:2 shows that the instruction of catechumens included a distinction between Christian baptism and other existing ritual baths.⁶¹

iv. ῥῆμα as Baptismal Formula: Various New Testament passages refer to baptism as being directly into the name of Christ (Acts 2:38, 8:16, 19:5, 22:16; I Cor. 6:11) in relation to the work of Christ (Rom. 6:3; Gal. 2:27; Col. 2:12; I Pet. 3:21), and into

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Cf. also Acts 2:48, 18:18, 19:4. Paul's ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε certainly implies that his readers should have received the proper teaching on baptism (Rom. 6:3). Cf. Part II, pp. 211-212.

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Schnackenburg, Baptism, pp. 8-9. Catechisms became increasingly prominent in post-apostolic times. Whitaker, "The History of the Baptismal Formula," op. cit., mentions that in the Ethiopic version "... the candidate stood in the water and was instructed in the words of an affirmative creed" (p. 3). C. A. Poirier, in "The Sacrament of Baptism and the Word," Canadian Journal of Theology, 9(1963), suggests that as Christianity moved more and more into the pagan world, catechismic instruction for baptism became increasingly necessary so that by the end of the second century, "the making of a Christian became something far more complicated" (pp. 78-9). Whitaker, op. cit., notes that in the eastern (Syrian) type Churches, the Trinitarian formula is pronounced by the officiant alone. The Western credal formularies, however, were of an interrogative kind and called for a response from the candidate (p. 6).

the Trinity (Mt. 28:19). Thus very early in the history of the rite, it appeared that baptism was ineffective unless the name of Christ or the Trinitarian formula was used. This is shown, for example, by the Didache (ca. A.D. 150) which reads βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος....

This also was the understanding of the early Greek commentators. Chrysostom, in his "Homilies on Ephesians" (specifically v. 26), states: "By the word," said he. What word? "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."⁶² J. N. D. Kelly has found such parallel views in Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Ambrose, and concludes from his study that "unless a catechumen is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive the remission of sins or imbibe the gift of spiritual grace."⁶³

Many of the more recent scholars also favour this interpretation.⁶⁴ Some, such as Heggelbacher, believe in some type of accompanying word but fail to make any specific identification.⁶⁵ H.

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Cf. The Nicean and Post Nicean Fathers (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), Vol. 13.

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Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (London: Adam & Charles Black, 3rd. ed., 1965), p. 525. Also, compare Whitaker's examination of the early Church Fathers, African, Egyptian and Syrian baptismal tractates, formularies of faith and interrogations with specific reference to the baptismal formula (op. cit.).

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Cf. H. J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, Vol. I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1911), p. 445; Meinertz, op. cit., p. 97; Rendtorff, op. cit., p. 48; Scott, op. cit., p. 240; Staab, op. cit., p. 159.

65

"Wenn Eph 5, 26 einfach von einer Reinigung 'durch das Wasserbad mit dem Wort' spricht, wird diese Vokale 'Wort; ohne Artikel und Beisatz am besten von den die Handlung begleitenden Worten verstanden" (Die christliche Taufe als Rechtsakt nach dem Zeugnis der frühen Christenheit (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1953), p. 38).

Schlier considers such possibilities as word in general; word of installation (Einsetzungswort); word of God; word of Christ; instruction of Christ; Gospel; and even a testimony of faith (Glaubensbekenntnis), but eliminates them as inadequate. With this in mind he concludes: "Die Reinigung der Kirche also, die ihre Heiligung bewirkt, geschieht nach unserer Epheserstelle im Vollzug des Bades mit Wasser, bei dem das ῥῆμα, d.h. der Name Christi (innerhalb der Taufformel), laut wird."⁶⁶ W. Bousset, in a similar discussion, states that "Der Name Jesu ist geradezu das bei der Taufe (neben dem Wasser) wirksame Gnadenmittel."⁶⁷ Hauck connects ἐν ῥήματι with τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος and takes it to mean the efficacious word of baptism.⁶⁸

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Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 257.

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W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), p. 227.

68

Hauck, "καθαρός," op. cit., p. 425, n. 79; Cf. also Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 6; Abbott, op. cit., p. 169. H. -W. Bartsch, "Die Taufe im neuen Testament," Evangelische Theologie, 8(1948-9), identifies "word" as "die Nennung des Namens Jesu Christi...." (p. 97). Cf. also G. Harder, "Taufe, Wasser, Geist," in Begründung und Gebrauch der heiligen Taufe, ed. O. Perels (Berlin und Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1963), who concludes: "Das Bad ist also durch das Wort, die Verklärung und Nennung des Namens Christi in seiner Bedeutung und Vollmacht gekennzeichnet" (p. 79). P. Brunner is also quite definite at this point in his Aus der Kraft des Werkes Christi. Zur Lehre von der heiligen Taufe und vom heiligen Abendmahl (München: Kirchlich-Theologische Hefte, Vol. 9, 1950), where he states: "Sicher soll unter Wort nicht allgemein 'Evangeliumverklärung' verstanden werden, sondern ein bestimmtes bei der Taufe ausgesprochenes Wort" (p. 75, n. 55). Brunner does this by making a distinction between λόγος and ῥῆμα. "Im Unterschied zu λόγος das mehr auf den Ausdruck des Gedankeninhalts geht, unterstreicht ῥῆμα die Tatsache, dass das Wort ein willensmäßig ausgesprochenes Wort ist" (p. 76, n. 56). Gibley, op. cit., claims the "choice of the word rhēma and the absence of the article rule out the hypothesis of a reference to the Gospel. The reference is to a divine word which gives the rite its effect" (p. 185, n. 1).

But "Word" has come to mean more than a baptismal formula, whether solely into the $\theta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$ τοῦ κυρίου 'Ιησοῦ or into the Trinity as in Mt. 28:19. In the New Testament, "word" and "act" go together, so that behind the word of Christ stands the work of Christ. Christ's word is "a working and active Word."⁶⁹ In the apostolic age, claims Kittel, "there is no autonomous Word of Jesus separate from christological reality as a whole. . . they are viewed with his $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$. . . and seen and estimated in the light of the crucifixion and resurrection. . . and related to the contemporaneity of the work of the ascended and heavenly Lord and his $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$."⁷⁰

Hence $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$, in this context, looks back and appeals to the

⁶⁹Kittel, " $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$," op. cit., p. 107. In this connection J. Schneider makes a rather unique, although unsupported statement that Christ himself speaks the word of forgiveness to the believer: "Es kann aber daran gedacht sein, dass der in der Taufe gegenwärtige Christus selbst den Gläubigen das sündenvergebende Wort zuspricht." Cf. his "Der historische Jesus und die urchristliche Taufe," in Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus. Hrsg. von H. Ristow und K. Matthiae (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), p. 514. It appears B. Weiss had the same idea when he stated: "Die Taufe wird bezeichnet als das im Wasser vollzogene (vgl. Hebr 10,22) Bad, das aber nicht kraft dieses Wassers reinigt, sondern auf Grund eines (Natürlich seins, weil Christus Subj. des $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$) Wortes..." (Die paulinischen Briefe und der Hebräerbrief (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), p. 407).

⁷⁰Kittel, op. cit., p. 107. The same is true with the Hebrew which indicates, at least on many occasions, that there is no distinction between word and event (cf. Gen. 22:1, 24:66; Psalms 33:9; Isaiah 40:8, 48:3, 55:10-11). God's Word is a dynamic entity; it determines events and effects history. Cf. Bultmann, Theology, Vol. II, pp. 60ff.; L. Richard, "The Word and the Sacraments: An Ecumenical Approach to the Sacraments," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 2(1965), p. 244, observes: "The sacraments should be understood in relation to the actions of God in the Old and New Testaments. God acts, and his actions are the 'mirabilia' events of salvation.... The sacraments are simply the continuation of God's actions in the life of the Church."

accomplished act of Christ, the entire revelation of salvation as a basis of cleansing. Moule rightly remarks that baptism "in connection with that revelation and the reception of it, is 'the laver of new birth'" ⁷¹ Marcus Barth provides a similar view but with the addition of some vital elements. For him, " ῥῆμα ist als Hinweis auf die Rechtfertigung aus Gnade durch den Glauben (vgl. Eph. 2, 6, 8) oder auf das 'Wort vom Kreuz' und seine 'Kraft' (vgl. I Kor. 1:18; Joh. 15, 3) zu verstehen." ⁷² Thus the power of baptism is thought to lie in the word of Christ, but a word that is grounded in his total revelation. The sanctification and the cleansing of which the writer speaks are only possible by virtue of Christ's death.

d. Some Grammatical and Theological Considerations-

On the basis of the preceding discussion, we can now analyze the syntactical construction of v. 26. With what is ἐν ῥήματι to be connected? The nature of this problem is well stated and introduced by Dibelius-Greeven:

Die Verbindung von ἐν ῥήματι ist mit grammatischen Argumenten nicht sicherzustellen.... ῥῆμα kann sich auf das bei der Taufe gesprochene Wort beziehen... oder es kann eine nähere Bestimmung zu καθάρσις enthalten im Sinne von 'Wasser tut's freilich nicht' und wurde dann so allgemein wie I Petr 1, 25 zu fassen sein, oder es gehört im Sinne von Jo 17, 17 zu ἁγίασθαι ⁷³

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C. F. D. Moule, Ephesians. Cambridge Bible Series (Cambridge: University Press, 1935), p. 141.

72

M. Barth, Die Taufe- Ein Sakrament? (Zollikon- Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1951), p. 472. Cf. also. O. Casel, op. cit., p. 144: "Es ist offenbar das Bad der Taufe, das durch das ῥῆμα, den Logos, wirksam wird, d.h. durch die im Namen Christi darüber gesprochenen, dessen Kraft enthaltenden Worte."

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Dibelius-Greeven, Handbuch, p. 94. Also Haupt, op. cit., p. 213; W. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 278.

From this we see that there are at least three possible answers:

i. Meyer suggests that ἐν ῥήματι should go together with ἁγιάση, hence showing that "sanctification by the word must of necessity be something other than the cleansing by baptism."⁷⁴ For additional support Meyer refers to I Cor. 6:11 where the cleansing by means of baptism precedes sanctification (ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε). Bleek's interpretation is also favourable in this respect: Höchst wahrscheinlich ist das ἐν ῥήματι mit ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάση zu verbinden und mit καθάρσας nur das τῷ λούτρῳ τοῦ ὕδατος zusammenzunehmen."⁷⁵

To this one could also add Jn. 17:17 where the word of God (λόγος) is equated with truth and Jesus prays ἁγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ . Salmond, however, resists such syntax because of the remoteness of the defining phrase from the verb and the hesitancy to regard ἐν as an instrumental dative.⁷⁶

ii. Perhaps ῥῆμα is to be connected with καθάρσας and thus similar in meaning to Jn. 15:3 which reads: ἤδη ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε διὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν λελάληκα ὑμῖν . A significant number of New Testament passages do speak in terms of a divine "begetting" through the instrumentality of the divine word. For example, James 1:18: "Of his own will he brought us forth (ἀποκεῖω)

⁷⁴Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 294. Cf. Osten-Sacken, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁷⁵F. Bleek, *Vorlesungen über die Briefe an die Kolosser, den Philemon und die Epheser* (Berlin: Bruck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1865), p. 288.

⁷⁶Salmond, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

by the λόγῳ ἀληθείας" In 1:21 it is the "implanted λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν . Beck believes that ῥῆμα relates best to καθάρσας , and is supported by the opinions of Abbott and Salmond.⁷⁷ Meyer, on the other hand, criticizes this interpretation as "arbitrary" because καθάρσας already has a "modal definition."⁷⁸

iii. The third possibility is to have ῥῆμα modify λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος , meaning that the bath of water is by the word, i.e. a divine command.⁷⁹ Klöpper finds it difficult to connect ῥῆμα with ἀγιάσῃ because the two are separated by a participial phrase. According to him,

Es bleibt daher nichts anderes übrig, als ἐν ῥήματι eng mit dem vorhergehenden Begriff τῷ λουτρῷ ὕδατος zu verbinden. . . sodass das hier gemeinte Wasserbad durch ἐν ῥήματι als ein solches charakterisiert wird, welches auf einem bestimmten Wort, Mandat, natürlich dessen, der den Reinigungsakt vollzieht, basiert, ein auf Christi Anordnung sich stützender Reinigungsritus ist.⁸⁰

"Grammatically," adds Schnackenburg, "ἐν ῥήματι is best linked with τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ; the expression then denotes the accompanying circumstances, the fashion and the manner in which the bath of water becomes effective."⁸¹

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J. T. Beck, Erläuterung des Briefes Pauli an die Epheser (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1891), p. 223. Cf. also Abbott, op. cit., pp. 168-9; Salmond, op. cit., pp. 368-9; Schlier, Epheserbrief, p. 257; K. Braune, Die Briefe St. Pauli an die Epheser, Kolosser, Philipper (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Belhagen und Klafing, 1867), p. 147.

78

Meyer, op. cit., p. 296.

79

Followed by Augustine (cf. Abbott, op. cit., p. 168) and Luther, who translated it "By water-bath in the word" (cf. Meyer, op. cit., p. 257). Harder's reason for connecting ῥῆμα with λουτρῷ, he claims, is that ἀγιάσῃ stands too far away and καθάρσας is already connected with λουτρῷ (op. cit., p. 79).

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Klöpper, op. cit., p. 179.

81

Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 6.

Both Abbott and Salmond recognize that ἐν ῥήματι is anarthrous, and in order for such an interpretation to stand, the Greek would require either τῷ or τοῦ ἐν ῥήματι ,⁸² or ἐν ῥήματι Χριστοῦ , if the bath is resting on a command.⁸³ For Schlier, ἐν ῥήματι belongs neither to ἁγιάζειν nor to καθαρίζειν . It belongs much more to bath and is "als 'unter Begleitung von' zu verstehen."⁸⁴

Regardless of what position one may take, it is absolutely certain that the text avoids any magical conception of baptism. The outward bath by itself has no cleansing power. Hence Foulkes rightly comments that "any thought of the external rite itself automatically conveying the inward spiritual grace is excluded by the addition of by the word."⁸⁵

It may be possible that ῥῆμα modifies the entire phrase καθάρσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος , thus making it the integral factor of the cleansing.⁸⁶ But, as we noticed above, sanctification

⁸²Salmond, op. cit., p. 296.

⁸³Abbott, op. cit., p. 168.

⁸⁴Epheserbrief, p. 257.

⁸⁵Foulkes, op. cit., p. 158. Cf. also Braune, op. cit., p. 147; Bruce, op. cit., p. 116; Beck, op. cit., p. 223; Rendtorff, op. cit., p. 48. For scholarly work on the general area of "Word" and "Sacrament": cf. Poirier, op. cit., pp. 75-81; Richard, op. cit., pp. 234-50; D. N. MacMillan, "Baptism and the Word," Canadian Journal of Theology, 8 (1962), pp. 190-96; E. Schillebeeckx, Christ, The Sacrament of the Encounter with God (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963); G. Harbsmeier, "Wort und Sakrament," ETTh, 6(1953), pp. 241-267.

⁸⁶Cf. Repo, op. cit., p. 88.

and cleansing are grounded in the death of Christ. This relation between "word" and "sacrament" may be emphasized in several different ways, but all testify to the fact that it is not the water that cleanses or gives power to baptism but rather the accompanying "word" whether in the form of a baptismal formula or the naming of the name of Christ.⁸⁷ Meinertz explains this relationship as it appears in Eph. 5:26 in the following way: "Das Mittel ist die Taufe, die mit Rücksicht auf das altchristliche Untertauchen des ganzen Körpers wirklich ein Bad genannt werden kann. . . . Das Bad reinigt, ja eben, freilich das Taufbad. . . nur in Verbindung mit dem dabei gesprochenen Wort. . . d.h. der Taufformel."⁸⁸ I Peter 1:23 also speaks of a rebirth (ἀναγεγεννημένοι) by the Word of God (διὰ λόγου ζῶντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος) although it is doubtful if a connection can be made with the baptismal formula in this case.

Summary: We began by proposing that section 5:22 fits into a context of practical Christian instruction, but when the writer endeavors to illucidate the husband-wife relationship, he reverts to the analogy of

⁸⁷Cf. J. Schneider, op. cit., p. 541, as well as his Die Taufe im Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: K. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), pp. 62-3. English transl. by E. A. Payne, Baptism and Church in the New Testament (London: Carey Kingsgate Press Ltd., 1957). Dahl, Epheserbrief, states: "Nicht das Wasser, aber der Name des Herrn Christus und der Geist Gottes machen es zu einer Weihehandlung" (p. 71).

⁸⁸Meinertz, op. cit., p. 97. Brunner goes a bit farther in his sacramentalism than some. He claims the water takes up and becomes the bearer of the cleansing power of the Word, thus itself becoming an instrument for the "übergeordnete" means of the Word" (op. cit., p. 76, n. 56). Cf. also T. Süss, "Zur theologischen Bedeutung der Sakraments," ThZ, 16(1960), pp. 470-80.

Christ and the Church. Husbands and wives are to relate to one another in the same way that Christ relates to his Church. Then in vv. 26-7 the analogy breaks down. Husbands may, as far as is humanly possible, love their wives with the same "self-giving" and "forgiving" love of Christ (v. 25) so that the wife is able to present herself as "pure," "holy," and "blameless" before the husband. But what about the "sanctifying," "cleansing," and "washing?"

The allusion to the bridal bath, in spite of its attractive possibilities, is at best a remote intention of the writer. His reference to the redemption of Christ is connected with the rite of baptism as the means by which the Church is sanctified or cleansed. "Word," although it has various implications, definitely refers to a spoken word in baptism either in the form of a confession or baptismal formula. But even more significant is the fact that baptism is grounded in the redemptive act of Christ. Behind the spoken ῥῆμα lies the incarnate, suffering, resurrected and exalted Λόγος. Thus it is that one is baptized into Christ (Rom. 6:3-4; Gal. 3:27; Col. 2:12; Eph. 2:5-7).⁸⁹

The new, or perhaps unusual idea of Ephesians at this point is that the entire Church receives this bath. The passage does not mention the individual entering the Church by baptism but rather the Church as a whole being baptized. This idea of a corporate baptism

⁸⁹For an emphasis upon the relationship between the Christ-event and baptism cf. J. Schneider, Die Taufe im Neuen Testament, op. cit., pp. 62-3 and "Der historische Jesus und die urchristliche Taufe," op. cit., p. 541f.; Bleek, op. cit., p. 289; Haupt, op. cit., p. 213; Delling, op. cit., p. 101. Stromberg, op. cit., p. 61; Brunner, op. cit., pp. 33, 75. G. Harder sums up the thoughts of all these scholars: "Das Sakrament ist Auswirkung und Fortsetzung seines irdischen Handelns und Leidens" (op. cit., p. 79).

may have its origin in the preceding discussion on the unifying elements of the Christian Church (4:4-6) where, among other things, the writer mentions the ἔν σῶμα (4:4) and the ἔν βάπτισμα (4:5). Although baptism is ordinarily received by the believer, its application to the Church as a whole is justified on the basis of the Church's corporate and unified nature.

On this basis it is unnecessary (in Eph. 5:26) to argue for a once-for-all baptism of the Church at Golgotha,⁹⁰ or a baptism of the Church at Pentecost when it was cleansed and sanctified by the Spirit.⁹¹ Hanson points out that in Ephesians there "has been a mutation from the individual to the Church."⁹² Beasley-Murray suggests that here we have an instance "whereby all cases of a kind are reduced under a simple aorist. The Church is consecrated as its members are cleansed in baptism

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Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 7. For the theory of the baptism of the Church cf. Cullmann, op. cit., where he states: "... according to the New Testament, all men in principle received Baptism long ago, namely on Golgotha, at Good Friday and Easter. There the essential act of Baptism was carried out, entirely without our co-operation, and even without our faith" (p. 23). J. A. T. Robinson adds that the "baptism of all men in the work of Jesus can therefore be described equally as the baptism of the Church" (op. cit., p. 258, n. 1). Specifically on Eph. 5:26 Robinson states: "Here the clearly baptismal language of the laver and credal formula is used to describe what has been done to the Church once in the single and sufficient oblation of Christ. The sacramental act only sets forth and sets forward what the Cross as the One Baptism has in principle already perfected" (p. 268).

91

As Thornton, op. cit., pp. 221, 227. Eph. 5:26 is clear that cleansing is by water and the word!

92

Hanson, op. cit., p. 138, also pp. 85-6. Scholars who place special emphasis upon this include Flemington, op. cit., p. 65; F. B. Norris, "Water and the Word; the liturgy of Baptism in the light of Sacred Scripture," The Bible Today, 1(1963), p. 419; Scott, op. cit., p. 240; Mollat, op. cit., p. 70; Schnackenburg, "Tauflehre," pp. 183ff. and Baptism, pp. 7, 178ff.; Kirby, op. cit., p. 152; O. Kuss, "Zur paulinischen und nachpaulinischen Tauflehre im Neuen Testament," Theologie und Glaube, 42(1952), p. 418.

with the word, on the basis of the efficacious death of Christ."⁹³

One must also note the three-dimensional aspect of baptism in this passage. Baptism is (1) a past event in that it is grounded in and refers back to the redemption of Christ (ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς); it (2) continues to be a present reality by which individuals are baptized into the body of Christ and by which they are cleansed; and (3) it reveals an eschatological and ethical dimension as well (ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μὴ ἔχουσαν στίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἢ τι τῶν τοιοῦτων). Sanctification and cleansing lead to the Church's ultimate glorification and splendor (v. 27).⁹⁴

After this brief statement on Christian baptism (vv. 25-7), the author returns to his teaching on the relationship between husband and wife (vv. 28-33). This relationship, as already indicated (vv. 21,25), is basically one of love, respect and unity based upon the example that Christ has set (vv. 21, 25, 29).

Although we stated that the author's intention was to use the analogy of Christ and the Church to give instruction to husbands and wives, there are some things about vv. 28-33 which show that the marriage relationship also illuminates the nature of Christ's relationship to the Church. Just as a man nourishes and cherishes his own body,

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Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 203. Cf. also H. Windisch, Taufe und Sünde im Ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908), who states: "Was von der Gemeinde gesagt, gilt natürlich erst recht von den Einzelnen. Reinheit, Heiligkeit, Fleckenlosigkeit, Untadeligkeit, sind die Attribute, die die Taufe überträgt" (p. 210). Cf. also 2 Tim. 2:14: "Who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds."

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On the aspect of baptism and eschatology cf. Part II, pp. 153-167.

Christ nourishes and cherishes his (the Church); and the mystery of man and wife leaving their respective families and joining together in marriage as one (οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν) is analagous to the mystery of Christ's relationship to the Church (v. 32) and the creation of the "one new man," i.e. the Church (2:15-16) from Jew and Gentile. In v. 33, however, he returns to his counsel on love and respect between the married partners.

B. The "Haustafel" continued (6:1-9):

In 6:1-9 there is a continuation of these rules of conduct as they apply to children and parents (vv. 1-4) and slaves and masters (vv. 4-9). As in the section on the husband-wife relationship, there is the specific emphasis that the ethical life of the Christian is both grounded in and directed toward the Lord. The ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ of 5:21 serves as a superscription for the entire Haustafel. Children are to obey their parents ἐν κυρίῳ; fathers are to raise their children ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου (vv. 1-4); slaves are to obey their earthly masters ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ and ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ or ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ (vv. 5-8); the masters, likewise, are to let Christ govern their attitude and conduct towards their slaves (v. 9).

While it may be possible that such rules of conduct were given as part of the catechetical instruction to newly baptized believers, it is not necessary to conclude that the author is here addressing the congregation of the baptized.⁹⁵ His primary concern is to demonstrate the

⁹⁵ Cf. Dahl, "Dopet," p. 96. Nor does the inclusion of children in such instruction mean children were baptized!

type of personal unity and understanding that should exist among Christians in the Church. The reference to baptism (5:26) is strictly an exposition on the effect of the rite for the believer and the Church.

CHAPTER VII

VII. Final Exhortations (6:10-24):

A. The Christian's Armor (6:10-18):

Since the imagery of war and armor is quite prominent throughout the New Testament, this section in Ephesians does not specifically represent any new teaching. Paul speaks of his own Christian life as a spiritual fight (2 Cor. 9:24-27). The author of the Pastorals encourages Timothy to "fight the good fight of faith" (I Tim. 6:12) and in an age of apostasy to "wage a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience. . ." (I Tim. 1:18-19).

On several occasions Paul even identifies the weapons that the Christian is to use. Because the battle is a spiritual one, he says, "the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds" (2 Cor. 10:4). Then he reminds these same Corinthians that the weapons which he used in coming to them were "the weapons of righteousness. . ." (2 Cor. 6:7). To the Romans he uses the imagery of the "armor of light" (13:12) while his admonition to the Thessalonians is "to be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet, the hope of salvation (I Thess. 5:8).

There are at least two possible sources of origin for this type of imagery. The original source of inspiration behind it may be the pieces of armor that various armies employed. Abbott, for example, states that "St. Paul was, no doubt, thinking of the Roman soldiery,

as his readers also would, although the Jewish armour was essentially the same."¹ But although the Roman military power is the nearest at hand, the author is undoubtedly working from concepts that had been fairly well established in the Church.

The most obvious starting point of this Biblical imagery lies in Isa. 59:17 where God is pictured as the warrior who arms himself for battle:

He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon his head; he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and wrapped himself in fury as a mantle.

In the prophecy of Isa. 11:5 it is the Messiah who comes for war and judgment:

Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins.

This imagery is carried into the Apocryphal literature where the coming Lord and even all of creation will be armed for battle:

The Lord will take his zeal as his whole armor, and will arm all creation to repel his enemies; he will put on righteousness as a breastplate, and wear impartial justice as a helmet; he will take holiness as an invincible shield, and sharpen stern wrath for a sword, and creation will join with him to fight against the madmen ("Wisdom of Solomon" 5:17-20).

The idea of the heavenly armor originates in these Old Testament sources and reaches its fully developed form in the New Testament picture of the Christian warrior.

Apart from the idea that the Christian life can be considered as a battle or as a fight, it is likely that these exhortations were

¹Cf. Abbott, op. cit., p. 181; also Salmond, op. cit., p. 382.

particularly useful during circumstances involving some type of persecution. This is particularly suggestive of I Peter 4:1, which fits into the context of suffering so that the Christians are admonished to "arm themselves" (spiritually) for the suffering that awaits them.² Selwyn also suggests that the call to arms in I Thess., Rom. 13:12 and I Peter can be placed within an eschatological context.³

In Ephesians, the Christian warrior is exhorted to put on the armor with which God himself is clothed (ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ -cf. Isa. 59:17) as he goes to do battle against the forces of wickedness. Here there is no indication of persecution or suffering. The exhortation is clearly intended for the present life of the Church although the appearance τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηροῦ in 6:13 brings in the futuristic element as well. The author also indicates that this is his final exhortation (τοῦ λοιποῦ) to the readers. They who are already ἐν Χριστῷ by virtue of their baptism now continue to find their strength ἐν κυρίῳ .

The numerous references to στῆναι (6:11, 13, 14) emphasize the theme of watchfulness and steadfastness that characterizes this early catechism (cf. Col. 4:12; Jas. 4:7; I Pet. 5:8-9; I Cor. 16:13).⁴ Although the New Testament often speaks about an "inner warfare" caused by the "passions of the flesh" (I Pet. 2:11; Jas. 4:1; Rom. 7:23; Gal. 5:17), the enemies that the Ephesian Christian are to resist

²On persecution in I Peter cf. Selwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 454ff.; E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief," *ZNW*, 45(1954), pp. 68-89.

³Selwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

⁴Cf. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3 for a table of texts which he classifies under the title "Resistite,"

are spiritual in nature and include the devil, principalities, powers, rulers of darkness and spiritual hosts (v. 12).

There is very little evidence to indicate whether such an exhortation was specifically connected with baptism. Dahl, however, believes that there was a tradition in the early Church which considered baptism to be the occasion of the giving of this spiritual armor to fight against Satan and temptation.⁵ The most tangible evidence in this respect is found in Ignatius' letter "To Polycarp" where it states:

Let your baptism be your arms; your faith, your helmet;
your love, your spear; your endurance, your armor" (6:2).

From this and later liturgical sources,⁶ Dahl reasons that such a baptismal motif may be present in Ephesians.

Such evidence, however, is inconclusive. The most one can say is that the author's final exhortation to his readers is built upon traditional imagery of the Christian warrior and early catechetical material on steadfastness and watchfulness in the Christian life. Although the language of the exhortation is not inappropriate for newly baptized Christians, there is no indication that such material was ever used as a baptismal catechism or that it is being used in this way in Ephesians.

B. Personal Requests and Greetings (6:19-24):

Verses 19-24 bring out a few personal things about the apostle

⁶ Dahl refers to a similar usage of this exhortation in Cyril's Mystagogical Catecheses III, 4 and Hippolytus' commentary on the Song of Solomon 4, 4 (ibid., p. 96).

Paul which repeat what has already been said in chapter 3. Here again, Paul is presented as a prisoner (cf. 3:1) but definitely called as the apostle of the "mystery of the Gospel," which, as he has previously explained (3:6), is the inclusion of the Gentiles into the Church. The readers are now admonished to pray so that Paul can continue to proclaim this mystery.

These last verses are obviously taken from Col. 4 and are utilized to present Paul as the missionary to the Gentiles.⁷ In Col. 4:2 there is the same type of exhortation for steadfastness, prayer and watchfulness as in Eph. 6:18-20. And even though Paul is in prison, he requests prayer for a continued opportunity to preach "the mystery of Christ" (Col. 4:3-4). Finally, it is also Tychicus who brings encouragement and information to the readers of both Epistles (Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7-8).

In the final greeting,⁸ the author picks up three of the great themes of the letter (peace-love-grace) for special mention and prays that his readers may possess them. Peace and love are to govern their conduct toward the brethren of the Church. All of these spiritual blessings have their source in God the Father and are mediated through the "Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. also 1:1-14).

⁷Cf. previous discussion in chapter 3, pp. 67-71.

⁸On the final greeting note Abbott: "A truly apostolic benediction as to substance, but differing in form from St. Paul's final benedictions" (op. cit., p. 190).

CONCLUSION

By way of summary, several important things can be concluded about the doctrine of baptism which one may infer from the way in which the author makes use of baptismal language, the one place where baptism is explicitly mentioned (4:5) and the "washing" passage (5:26). First of all, baptism means participation "in Christ." To this extent, Ephesians only emphasizes what is true of the early Church's teaching concerning baptism (cf. Rom. 6; Col. 2)--namely, that the life of the believer is inextricably linked to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ into whose name he is baptized. The new feature about Ephesians is that it places the believer in the heavenlies along with his exalted Lord. By doing this the author shows that the fullness of life "in Christ" includes all that has occurred to Christ, including enthronement.

This doctrinal aspect of baptism is used by the author to show how his readers have become partakers of salvation. The opening redemptive eulogy, which describes what God has done through Christ, shows that baptism is the means of the believers' redemption, adoption and sealing. However, it is in 2:5-10 where the "in Christ" formula is discussed and where the author demonstrates how one comes to participate in the entire redemptive activity of Christ.

Secondly, and closely related to the doctrine of participation in Christ, is the teaching that baptism means a total change of existence for the believer. Here again, the author is drawing upon

early Church baptismal theology which made a definite connection between baptism and ethics (cf. Rom. 6:1-11; I Cor. 6:11; 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 3:3; Tit. 3:5-7). The writer uses this dimension of baptism to demonstrate to the readers the difference between what they "once" were and what they "now" are by virtue of their being in Christ. Their baptism has meant a change from death (2:1) to life (2:5); from separation and hopelessness (2:11-12) to a life of hope as inclusion in God's people (2:13f.), and from darkness (5:8a) to light in the Lord (5:8bff.).

Since baptism in Christ (Indicative) effects a change of status, it becomes the point of departure for a new ethical way of life (Imperative). It is on this basis that one is to understand the large amount of ethical or catechetical material in the Epistle. Those who are now in Christ have put off their old manner of life and are summoned to "put on" the new nature which is characterized by righteousness and holiness.

For his catechetical material the writer is largely dependent upon the pattern of instruction that already existed in the early Church. But in Ephesians a new dimension is given to the Christian's ethical behaviour. Not only is the believer to be holy and do what is pleasing to the Lord (2:10; 4:24; 5:1, 10); the ethical pattern is to be a means of strengthening and maintaining the unity of the Church. Thus the readers are admonished to forbear one another in love (4:2), to maintain the unity of the Spirit (4:3), to speak the truth, etc. because they are "members of one another" (4:25). They are to put away those negative vices which destroy unity and are to

put on those positive virtues which create and foster unity in the Church.

Thirdly, baptism is the sacrament which expresses the unity of the Church. Although the idea of the unifying nature of baptism is not new (cf. I Cor. 1:13; 12:13; Gal. 3:27-8; Col. 3:10-11), the writer finds it a fitting symbol of the fact that both Jew and Gentile have been united in Christ. The dividing wall between the races has been broken down (2:14); hostility has been brought to an end on the cross (2:16); a completely "new" entity has been created (2:15). Jew and Gentile, in other words, now constitute the body of Christ, the Church.

Throughout the thesis we have suggested that Ephesians may have been occasioned by a post-Pauline crisis which saw the Gentile Church separating itself from its Jewish brethren. The author then tries to correct the problem by showing the Gentiles that they stand in the same salvation-history as the Jews and that they, together with the Jews, constitute the Church (2:11-18). This theological development reaches its climax in 2:19-22 where the incorporation of the Gentiles into the spiritual temple demonstrates the final phase of unity.

The classical formulation of unity appears in 4:6 where the author includes baptism as one of the foundational principles of the unity of the Church. Here it was seen that baptism is the "sacrament of unity" because it expresses a common faith in the one Lord and it is the rite of initiation through which all Christians pass.

Fourthly, baptism is the means of the cleansing of the Church (5:25-7) in order that she may be holy and blameless before her Lord.

The new teaching of Ephesians at this point is that the entire Church receives this baptism. The conclusion that we reached was that although baptism is received by the individual believer, its application to the Church as a whole is justified on the basis of the Church's corporate and unified nature.

In all of the above points it is significant that the author uses the doctrine of baptism as a basis for his treatise on Christian unity. So prevalent is baptismal terminology that it appears that the author consciously had baptism in mind. He not only used the common conceptions but may have developed them as well. Baptismal theology is used to explain how the readers participate in the life, death, resurrection and exaltation of Christ. In an allusive way, he argued that baptism is the basis for a new ethical existence which, in turn, is to lead to unity on a personal level. And finally, the writer shows that baptism "into Christ" means the end of all divisions and the creation of one "new man" in Him.

The exegesis of the Epistle has opened several areas of interest concerning the practice and theology of baptism which appear in Ephesians and which merit further discussion. In Part II of the thesis we shall discuss baptism and eschatology, baptism and ethics, the liturgical material in Ephesians and the deutero-Pauline hypothesis. Part III is devoted to the religionsgeschichtliche problem in order to determine whether Jewish and Hellenistic baptismal practices are of any assistance toward the reconstruction of the baptismal thought of Ephesians.

PART II

FURTHER BAPTISMAL THOUGHT IN RELATION TO EPHESIANS

CHAPTER I

BAPTISM AND ESCHATOLOGY

On several occasions throughout Part I mention was made of the eschatological teaching of Ephesians, and thus in consequence, the relationship between baptism and eschatology.¹ The baptized are sealed "with the promised Holy Spirit" ὅς ἐστιν ἄρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως (1:13). A similar eschatological aspect is implied by the ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως ... of 4:30. Thus sealing of the Holy Spirit has both a present and future function, for in addition to marking the individual now as God's possession, it guarantees him participation in the eschatological reality or day of redemption that is yet to be.²

In 2:5-7 Ephesians speaks of the believer's relationship to Christ in terms of συνεζωοποίησεν (v.5), συνηγείρεν (v.6), and συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (v.6). Especially significant in this respect is that the author consciously had baptism in mind because in baptism the Christian shares in Christ's resurrection and exaltation (Rom. 6:1-11; Col. 2:11-13).

There is a further eschatological ring in connection with the cleansing of the Church (5:26-7). The sanctification (ἁγιάση) of the Church is given an eschatological direction in v. 27 ἵνα παραστήσῃ

¹ Cf. pp. 16-27.

² Especially pp. 17-18.

αὐτοὺς ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Not that the Church already possessed this holiness and sanctification, but rather that she lives in hope and promise. The primary emphasis is on the cleansing of the Church; the secondary emphasis is on the Church as she will be presented to her bridegroom.³

In addition to the above eschatological realities mention must also be made of the "theology of hope" and the expectation of a future time of eschatological fulfillment. Christians are called to a "hope" (εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ(1:18), or, in other words, their calling is one of hope (καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν 4:4). The statement of sealing "for the day of redemption" (4:30) is paralleled by a reference to the coming ages (ἐν τοῖς αἰώσιν τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις) in 2:7. These passages appear to indicate that the author has both a "realized" and "futuristic" concept of eschatology. This means that although the believer has been made alive, is resurrected and exalted with Christ in the heavenlies, he nevertheless only possesses this in hope.⁴

The eschatological controversy in Ephesians, and also in Colossians for that matter, has centered around several important

³ Cf. I.A. Muirhead, "The Bride of Christ," *SJTh*, 5 (1952), p. 184 where he states: "The Bride of Christ is preeminently, essentially an eschatological idea.... It is the Church as she shall be presented in glory to her bridegroom." Muirhead claims that in the O.T. the theme is marriage restored, while in the N.T. the climax of history is the marriage of the Bridegroom and Bride (cf. pp. 176-7).

⁴ We have also noted a possible connection between baptism and eschatology in our discussion of 5:14 (cf. pp. 107-8). One could also take 5:6, 6:8 and 6:13 as pointing to a future day of reckoning.

differences with the Pauline homologumena. In Romans, for example, the believer's participation in Christ's resurrection is spoken of in the future (ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ^{ἐσόμεθα} / in 6:5b and (πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ) in 6:8. Ephesians and Colossians, on the other hand, speak of the believer's past resurrection with Christ.⁵ Furthermore, only Eph. 2:6 presents the idea of being seated with Christ in the heavenlies.⁶

One explanation of this eschatological incongruity between Paul on the one hand, and Colossians-Ephesians on the other, has been made by suggesting that these two Epistles are deutero-Pauline and that they present a doctrine of eschatology quite different from the genuine Pauline Epistles. E. Lohse, for example, has argued that in Colossians, eschatology recedes into the background because the expectation of the return of the Lord that was so characteristic of the early Church is lost.⁷ So rather than a future expectation of divine fulfillment,

⁵ Eph. 2:6= καὶ συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ...; Col. 2:12= ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνεγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ...; Col. 3:1= Εἰ οὖν συνεγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ....

⁶ Although it could possibly be argued that, by implication at least, the "things above" (Col. 3:1) demonstrate that the life of the believer is, in a sense, a heavenly life.

⁷ Cf. his main work Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon. Meyer Kommentar, 14th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968). Hereafter cited as Kommentar. For a brief summary of Lohse's views on Colossians in the English language cf. "Pauline Theology in the Letter to the Colossians," NTS, 15 (1969), pp. 211-220. Hereafter cited as "Pauline Theology." For additional comments on Colossian eschatology and ethics cf. E. Grässer, "Kol. 3, 1-4 als Beispiel einer Interpretation secundum homines recipientes," ZThK, 64 (1967), pp. 139-168. The crux of the entire argument is that with the problem of the delayed parousia a new time concept arose which greatly modified the Pauline view. But one can already see this occurring in the time of Paul himself who

Colossians presents a view of time that is spatially oriented. "Der Kairos ist nicht mehr der Zeitpunkt, dem sich die Glaubenden voller Sehnsucht entgegenstrecken, sondern die Zeitraum, den es auszukaufen gilt (4:5)."⁸ Lohse also believes that there is a reinterpretation of hope (ἐλπίς) in the Epistle. In place of hopeful expectation Colossians speaks of the possession of hope (Hoffnungsgut) which is referred to as the content of preaching (Inhalt der Predigt) and faith (1:5, 23, 27) and is already "laid up" for the Christian in heaven (1:5).⁹

A similar view is expressed by a number of authors. Conzelmann observes that in Colossians and Ephesians there is a "zunehmende Eliminierung der Zeit" so that references to the future in Paul, such as

outlines a number of events that must take place before the Lord comes (I Thess. 4:15; I. Cor. 15:51). Also by the author of 2 Peter, who explains that "with the Lord one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day" (3:8). On the eschatology of 2 Peter, cf. Käsemann, "An Apology for Primitive Christian Eschatology," in Essays on New Testament Themes. Studies in Biblical Theology #41 (London: S.C.M. Press, 1964), pp. 169-95. Some scholars claim that this future expectation is lost because of the increasing sacramentalism of the church which conceived of the coming Lord as present in the sacraments. Cf. Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Vol. 8 (Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), especially p. 122. In Bultmann's concept of eschatology there is also the danger of removing a future parousia by an over-emphasis upon the believer's existential encounter with Christ.

⁸ Lohse, Kommentar, p. 252. G. Bornkamm also believes that Colossians no longer thinks in "Zeiten" but rather "Machtsphären" in his "Die Hoffnung im Kolosserbrief- Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage der Echtheit des Briefes," Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik. Festschrift für E. Klostermann. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Vol. 77 (Berling, 1961). pp. 56-64. Cf. also P. Stuhlmacher, "Christliche Verantwortung bei Paulus und seine Schülern," EvTh, 28 (1968), p. 180: "Die zeitlich orientierte Eschatologie wird zunehmend verdrängt von einer sphärischen Eschatologie."

⁹ Lohse, Kommentar, p. 252.

Rom. 6:5, are placed in the past in Col. 2:8ff. and Eph. 2:4ff.¹⁰

Grabner-Haider, although he acknowledges that there is a tension between present and future eschatology in these letters, notices that there is a reluctance to use the future, although this is not the case in such passages as Rom, 5:9b, 6:4c, 6:5b; 2 Cor. 13:4d or Paul.¹¹ "Es herrscht," he concludes, "schon gedämpfte Zukunftserwartung und schon keine Naherwartung mehr."¹² The awaiting of the Kyrios is no longer the decisive thing. Christians center their life in the Hoffnungsgut that has been prepared for them in heaven. The eschatological future is not, as in Paul, completion of the eschatological present, rather its unveiling.¹³ Much the same, claims Grabner-Haid~~er~~, is true of Ephesians where the awaiting, observing and hoping of the future is not expressed. Rather, the future "wird... durch ferngedrückte Verheissungs- und Hoffnungsglätter beschrieben."¹⁴ Eschatology is still split, but present and future stand

¹⁰ H. Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," NTS, 12 (1965-66), p. 234.

¹¹ A. Grabner-Haider, Paraklese und Eschatologie bei Paulus. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, 4 (Münster: Verlag Aschendorf, 1968), pp. 98-99.

¹² Ibid., p. 100. G. Harder is even stronger at this point when he says: "Es fehlt hier die für Paulus kennzeichnende eschatologische Spannung" (op. cit., p. 81). For the views of two notable scholars who argue for a present and future eschatology cf. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time (London: S.C.M. revised ed., 1962); W.G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfillment (London: S.C.M., 1957); also Kummel's article "Futuristic and Realized Eschatology in the Earliest Stages of Christianity," Journal of Religion, 43 (1963), pp. 303-14.

¹³ Grabner-Haider, op. cit., p. 200. "Die eschatologische Zukunft ist nicht, wie bei Paulus, Vollendung der eschatologischen Gegenwart, sondern deren Aufdeckung."

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

more next to each other than in tension with each other.¹⁵

From such an interpretation of eschatology several implications for baptism can immediately be drawn. Since Colossians no longer teaches a futuristic eschatology, the believers are said to have been raised (2:12, 3:1) and made alive with Christ (2:13). "Die Auferstehung zum neuen Leben ist schon erfolgt, so dass das zukünftige Geschehen nicht mehr Auferweckung der Toten, sondern Offenbarwerden des Lebens genannt wird, das schon zuteil geworden ist und noch $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ verborgen ist (3:3)."¹⁶ Conzelmann also finds it noteworthy that both Colossians and Ephesians change the Pauline future into the past tense.¹⁷ With respect to Colossians he states: "Kol. arbeitet die Tauflehre von Röm VI in eine zeitlose Phänomenologie der Existence des geretteten Menschen um. . . ."¹⁸ In baptism, eschatological existence is present reality.

¹⁵ Cf. A. Sint, "Awaiting and Deferment of the Parusia in Paul," Theology Digest, 13 (1965), pp. 214-220. On p. 220 he states: "Time expressions, which for Paul were at first favored and given a strongly apocalyptic vividness and schedule, gradually give place to more adequate assertions of the status of personal communication in which the present and the future of Christian existence fuse."

¹⁶ Lohse, Kommentar, p. 252.

¹⁷ Cf. his "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel I. Kor. 15, 3-5," EvTh, 25 (1965), pp. 1-11. Elsewhere he writes: "Die Taufe als das Mitsterben mit Christus verbürgt die Hoffnung auf das künftige Mitauferstehung mit ihm (Röm 6): in den Deuteropaulinen (Kol und Eph) wird sie sogar bereits zum Vollzug der Auferstehung Kol 2, 12; Eph 2, 6" ("Eschatologie- Im Urchristentum," RGK, Vol. 2, p. 669).

¹⁸ Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," op. cit., p. 234. E. Schweizer arrives at a similar conclusion when he states "dass die Taufe als Eintritt in eine schon vorweggenommene eschatologische Existenz, in das Gottesreich oder das apokalyptische 'Sein mit Christus' verstanden wurde" ("Die 'Mystik' des Sterbens und Auferstehens mit Christus bei Paulus," EvTh, 26 (1966), p. 246). An English although somewhat abbreviated version of this article has appeared in NTS, 14 (1967), pp. 1-14, as "Dying and Rising with Christ".

Before we analyze the doctrine of eschatology in Ephesians as an attempt to criticize the above interpretations, it may prove helpful to discuss some general aspects of Pauline eschatology. One of the most significant aspects of Paul's understanding of eschatology is that he, unlike his Jewish contemporaries, conceived of the eschatological process as having begun in the life, death and resurrection of Christ. For him these events represented God's breaking into the world and the inauguration of his reign on earth. In Christ, therefore, the apocalyptic process has begun and "the eschatological promises were already in the process of being fulfilled."¹⁹

The fact that there is an "inauguration" of the eschatological process does not, however, eliminate the futuristic element.²⁰ Paul retains the conviction that the eschatological process now begun is moving forward towards a final day of consummation.²¹ This fact has a significant

¹⁹ H.-W. Bartsch, "Paul's Eschatology and Its Meaning Today," Brethren Life and Thought, 12 (1967), p. 5. Cf. also C.K. Barrett, "Jewish and Pauline Eschatology," SJTh, 6 (1953), pp. 136-155.

²⁰ A word or concept that has found favourable acceptance in the attempt to keep both the realized and future aspects of eschatology in proper perspective is "proleptic eschatology." The word comes from προλήψις (προλαμβάνω) and basically means to anticipate something. Used eschatologically, one could say that in Jesus' words and deeds the signs of the Messianic age were to be seen by anticipation. There is a sense in which the Kingdom has come but even this is proleptic to the extent that it anticipated a future consummation. Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming (London: S.C.M. Press, 1957). For its use in connection with baptism cf. Flemington, op. cit., p. 73; Hunter, op. cit., p. 110.

²¹ Kimmel sums it up well when he states: "It may be concluded therefore, that the oldest recognizable tradition of the preaching of Jesus and of the earliest Christian community, and the concept of faith that Paul took over and thought through theologically, all point in the

bearing upon Paul's theology because it placed the individual in a form of existential tension between the two aeons- the one inaugurated with the coming of Christ and the one yet to come at his Parousia. The Christian, so to speak, occupies a position between the times because the Kingdom has come and is yet to come. One could characterize this position as the "Now" and the "Not Yet" of Christian existence--one of the great paradoxes of the Christian faith.

Various phases of this paradox are brought out in the Pauline letters. Christ has come (I Cor. 15:3ff.), yet he will come again (I Thess. 4:16); the Christian has died to sin (Rom. 6:6), yet he is still in the flesh (I Cor. 3:3); our commonwealth is in heaven (Phil. 3:20a), yet we await a Savior (Phil 3:20b); the Christian is a new man, a new creation (2 Cor. 5:17), yet he is to become a new man at every moment of his life (Rom. 12:1-2); even though we have the first fruits of the Spirit (Rom. 8:23a), we groan inwardly "as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies" (Rom. 8:23b); here we glory in Christ (Phil. 4:19), and yet there is a glory that is to be revealed (Rom. 8:18). One may also note that the concept of inheritance is both an "already" and a "not yet."²²

same way to a combination of beliefs: on the one hand; the expectation of the imminent coming of the eschatological fulfillment of salvation and, on the other hand, the beginning of this fulfillment in God's action in Jesus Christ, which is experienced through faith" (*Futuristic and Realized Eschatology in the Earliest Stages of Christianity*, *op. cit.*, p. 311).

²² Cf. J.D. Hester, *Paul's Concept of Inheritance*. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Occasional Papers #14 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), p. 98: "Properly speaking, there is no one aspect of Inheritance that should be classified as either 'already' or 'not yet,' for all of them contain elements of both...for it is the essence of Inheritance that it is, and yet is not."

Although the above list by no means represents all that could be said about Paul, it does show that there is a polarity in his eschatological thought. Much the same can be said about the thought in Ephesians and Colossians even though they may not be from Paul's hand. Here there is no longer the apocalyptic language of such passages as I. Thessalonians, I Cor. 15:51ff., but the certainty of the Parousia and the hope of God's people is retained. Lohse, Conzelmann, Grabner-Haider et al.²³ suggested that in the deutero-Pauline literature linear eschatology is replaced by spatial or spheric and attention is given to the Christian's position in Christ, particularly in resurrection and exaltation (Col. 3:1-4; Eph. 2:5f.). However, such an interpretation, governed as it is by a Gnostic concept of eschatology, does not do justice to all the facts and overlooks a basic thought of the two Epistles--namely, that both possess a hope for a future consummation and teach that the fulfillment of the things Christ inaugurated is yet to come.

In Colossians, the Christian has died with Christ (3:1a) but this new life is hid with Christ in God--i.e. its fullness will be revealed at the Parousia;²⁴ he is also resurrected with Christ (2:12, 3:1) but is,

²³ Cf. above, pp. 155ff.

²⁴ Cf. Percy, op. cit., pp. 115-6 where he comments: "Dabei werden die beiden Seiten des christlichen Heilsglaubens- das Heil als ein gegenwärtiger Besitz in Christus einerseits und als ein noch zu erwartender Gegenstand der Hoffnung anderseits- Kol 3, 1-4 direkt miteinander verbunden, wenn es dort heisst, dass das Leben der Gläubigen mit Christus in Gott verborgen ist und erst bei der Offenbarung Christi in der Parusie selbst offenbart werden wird."

nevertheless, admonished to seek the things above, "where Christ is seated at the right hand of God" (3:1).²⁵

In Ephesians, the baptized, who are born anew by the Spirit (cf. Rom. 8:14; I Cor. 6:11, 12:13; Tit. 3:5), and are in possession of the Spirit, only possess this as a first installment, a guarantee (ἀρραβών) of a future inheritance (1:13, 4:30).²⁶ The Church has been redeemed, but still awaits her final glorification (5:27); the baptized have undergone a final judgement and have risen to a new life,²⁷ and yet a future day of reckoning is implied in 5:6 and 6:8. We have been delivered from the evil powers (2:1-3) and yet find it necessary to arm ourselves against principalities, powers etc. (6:12). Finally, even as was true in Colossians, the Christian has been made alive and has been raised with Christ (2:5-6a). With respect to Colossians, Tremel rightly suggests that Paul gave special emphasis to Christ's triumph and to his Lordship as the Head of Powers and of the Church and of the cosmos.²⁸

²⁵ Cf. W. Matthias, "Der alte und der neue Mensch in der Anthropologie des Paulus," *EvTh*, 17 (1957), p. 388: "Gott hat die Wirklichkeit des neuen Lebens schon aufgetan, aber die ζωή ist zugleich in Niedrigkeit und Sterben verhüllt."

²⁶ So Schille, *Hymnen*, p. 105. Cf. also H.-D. Wendland, "Das Heilsgeschehen in Christus und die Predigt im Neuen Testament," *Schriften des Theologischen Konvents Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, Vol. 7, 1955), p. 149.

²⁷ C.F.D. Moule, "The Judgment Theme in the Sacraments," *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube in honor of C.H. Dodd (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 464-481.

²⁸ Tremel, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Ephesians, on the other hand, goes one step beyond anything thus far encountered by adding the enthronization of the Christian $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \text{'I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\ (2:6b)$. What must not be forgotten, however, is that the writer immediately follows this up with a statement about the "coming ages" ($\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\text{-}\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$) when the fullness of God's grace will be revealed (2:7). Hence it is a mistake to conclude that in the deutero-Pauline literature, hope, in the sense of expectation is lost (as Lohse) or that the present entirely replaces the future. The abandonment of the doctrine of the imminent return does not mean there is no eschatology.²⁹ E. Percy has described this eschatological tension in the New Testament most adequately by the terms "Heilsbesitz" and "Heilshoffnung."³⁰

When the author of Ephesians states that the believer is alive and resurrected (2:5-6) he is simply spelling out what it means to be $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$ but with the addition of one further step--namely, that this also means the believer is exalted with Christ in the heavenlies. The fullness of life $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$, therefore, includes all that has occurred to Christ, including enthronement (1:20). The "putting on" of the heavenly Christ in baptism accomplishes this exaltation with him.³¹

²⁹ On the eschatology of the Pastorals, cf. C.K. Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 23ff. Note the expressions of hope in Heb. 3:6, 6:11, 10:23 and I Pet. 1:3, 13. On I Pet. cf. E.G. Selwyn, "Eschatology in I Peter," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube in honor of C.H. Dodd (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 394-401.

³⁰ Percy, op. cit., p. 116.

³¹ Cf. Part I, pp. 89-92. Also Mussner, op. cit., p. 93; J. Schneider, "Der historische Jesus und die unchristliche Taufe," op. cit.,

Ephesians and Colossians state more clearly what is already implied in Rom. 6 and other Pauline writings, i.e. that the Christian's resurrection and exaltation is an accomplished fact but one which still awaits its final manifestation (Col. 3:4). By its imperative to walk "in newness of life," Romans implies that this new life is a present possession. 2 Cor. 4:10 and Phil. 3:10 also give the impression that the believer already participates in the resurrection of Christ. The new life that he experiences in Christ is indeed the resurrected life with Christ.³²

But the fact that the resurrection and exaltation of the believer is a logical development of Pauline mysticism does not mean that Ephesians was necessarily written by Paul. Percy falls into error

p. 540. K  semann, it will be recalled, gave this a Gnostic interpretation, claiming that baptism is life, resurrection and "Himmelfahrt" (Leib, p. 143). For him, there is an identification of the redeemed with the redeemer so that what occurred to Christ on the Cross is experienced by the believer in baptism. "Die Himmelfahrt des Christus und die Taufe der Gl  ubigen konstituieren die himmlische Gr       des Christusleibes nach den Deutero-paulinen" (p. 143).

³² Cf. also concepts of "new life" and "new creation" in such places as 2 Cor. 5:17; Rom. 6:11, 13; Gal. 2:19, 5:25. Note Percy's comment: "... sind sie aber in Christus als den Auferstandenen eingegliedert, dann m  ssen sie auch schon jetzt an seiner Auferstehung und seinem darauf folgenden neuen Leben teilhaben" (op. cit., p. 112). This idea is also pursued by R.C. Tannehill except that he is of the conviction that the reference to a past resurrection in Col. is more primitive than that of the future in Rom. Tannehill argues that Paul presupposes (on the basis of the ethical commands in 6:11, 13) a past resurrection with Christ even though he uses the future to speak of rising with Christ. Cf. his Dying and Rising with Christ: A Study in Pauline Theology. ZNW Beiheft #32 (Berlin: Verlag Alfred T  pelmann, 1966), p. 10. Also L. Nieder, op. cit., p. 36, 128. These views are to be preferred to that of Mussner, op. cit., pp. 93-4, who endeavours to reconstruct the idea of "Inthronisation" (Eph. 2:6) from the eschatological concept of Jewish apocalypticism where the righteous will reign with Christ, as for eg., Mt. 19:28; Rev. 20:4, 22:5, 3:21; 2 Tim. 2:12; Dan. 7:18,22.

at this point simply by his unwillingness to acknowledge that the thought of Eph. and Col. could be a development of the Pauline. He is offended by the idea that a different writer could have understood and developed these thoughts better than Paul himself: "Entweder stammt die Formulierung in Eph 2, 6 von Paulus, oder ein anderer hat den innersten Sinn der paulinischen Heilslehre besser zu treffen gewusst als der grosse Apostel selbst."³³ But it is quite possible that the writer was a deutero-Paulinist who, although he stood firmly in the tradition of his master, pushed the believer's participation in Christ to its final stage. On the other hand, it is not necessarily a thought which Paul himself would have found objectionable, as H. Küster, for example, asserts.³⁴

The importance of baptism and its relationship to eschatology can now be further expanded. Baptism, we have repeatedly seen, is the means by which the believer participates in Christ and thus partakes of Christ's death, resurrection and exaltation.³⁵ Consequently, death and resurrection have already happened to the believer because they have happened to Christ. Baptism, in this respect, can be said to be a sacrament of "realized eschatology" because in it the decisive acts of God have already occurred and in principle, we are living in the blessings

³³ Percy, op. cit., p. 290; cf. also p. 113.

³⁴ H. Küster, "The Purpose of the Polemic of a Pauline Fragment (Philippians iii)," NTS, 8 (1961-2), p. 329. Yet one heartily agrees with him that the differences between the Pauline and Eph. and Col. should not be overlooked.

³⁵ H. Schlier, Epheserbrief, summed this up well in his comment on Eph. 2:6: "Das Mit-ihm-zusammen-lebendig-gemacht-Werden ist ein Mit-ihm-zusammen-auferweckt-Werden, ja ein Mit-ihm-zusammen-in-die-Himmel-versetzt-Werden" (p. 110).

of the New Age.³⁶ It serves as entry into the eschatological order of a new creation. Yet these verities of the Christian life now, await their final manifestation in a future age.³⁷ The sacraments, states Schnackenburg, "continually convey to us the blessings and powers of the salvation that belongs to the future aeon; but they do not bring to us the aeon itself."³⁸ They rather "press on to" and demand "the (bodily) resurrection with Christ at his parousia."³⁹ This, therefore, accounts for the note of expectation and hope in Ephesians. "Baptism," affirms Beasley-Murray, "means hope!"⁴⁰ It is hope in Christ because what we are and what we shall become is always in Christ.

Man stands between the times--between fulfillment and promise. In one sense the "new life" in Christ can be regarded just as complete as the "death" in Christ. Yet, because of the existence of man in the world, Ephesians, as well as Colossians and Romans, lays great stress upon the ethical dimension of existence. Those baptized into Christ are "to walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6:4) or are admonished to "seek"

³⁶ Cf. Stromberg, op. cit., p. 161: "... was in vollendeter Herrlichkeit noch Gegenstand der Hoffnung ist, wirkt sich in überweltigender Kraft und Fülle schon in der Gegenwart aus.... In der Taufe werden göttlichen Gnadenratsschluss am einzelnen und darum auch an der Gemeinde die Heilsgüter des neuen Bundes realisiert. Diese Vorstellung liefert der Gemeinde die Formen, in die das Tauberlebnis gefasst wird."

³⁷ Cf. F.F. Torrance, "The Meaning of Baptism." Canadian Journal of Theology, 2 (1956), p. 133.

³⁸ Schnackenburg, Baptism, pp. 194-5.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 200. Cf. also Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 293: "Dying and Rising with Christ in baptism points to the day of the Resurrection."

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 296.

and to "set" their minds on "things that are above" (Col. 3:1-2). In Ephesians, the author is no less explicit about the Christian's walk. They, i.e. the baptized, are "created in Christ Jesus for good works" (2:10) and are to "lead a life worthy of their calling" (4:1). In the following chapter we shall develop the ethical pattern in Ephesians and explain more fully the relationship between baptism and ethics.

CHAPTER II

BAPTISM AND ETHICS

At the end of the previous chapter it was indicated that the believer's position ἐν Χριστῷ carries with it the moral imperative for a new way of life (Rom. 6:4; Col. 3:1-2; Eph. 2:10; 4:1ff.). When the believer died with Christ in baptism he died to sin, and because he is alive and resurrected with Christ, his life is to reflect such an exalted position. Baptism, in other words, is closely interrelated with ethics; it is a religious-moral sacrament.¹

Baptism and ethics have been inseparable since the beginning of Christianity. John the Baptist came "preaching a baptism of repentance and the forgiveness of sins" (Mk. 1:4), and those baptized by him were told to "bear fruit that befits repentance" (Mt. 3:8; Lk. 3:8). Some of the exhortations in the early Church are characterized by the phrase "repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins..." (cf. Acts 2:38). Much the same can be said about the content of such Epistles as Romans, Colossians and I Peter. Baptism is the symbol of participation in Christ's death and life and this, in turn, implies a certain pattern of ethical behavior.

The situation is no different in Ephesians which, as we have already noted, is thoroughly permeated with exhortative material, particularly the ethical sections in chapters 4-6. Christians are to be

¹ Cf. Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 284; Schnackenbury, Baptism, p. 187; Wibbing, op. cit. pp. 122-7.

"holy and blameless" and "live to the praise of God's glory" (4:4, 12); they have been created in Christ Jesus for good works (2:10) and are, therefore, to lead a life worthy of their calling (4:1ff.). This implies such things as speaking the truth (4:15, 25-32), walking in love (5:2ff.) and light (5:8ff.). All the things that belonged to their old nature or former existence have been "put off" (4:22ff.) when they "put on" Christ (4:24). This Christian ethic is to penetrate into every relationship of life (5:22-6:9), as the Haustafel so adequately demonstrate.

In the relationship between baptism and ethics we encounter the same dialectical tension that exists between baptism and eschatology. Scholars generally prefer to speak of this as the tension between the Indicative and the Imperative or the "are" and the "ought" of Christian existence. In commenting upon the relationship between justification and ethics in Paul, H.-D. Wendland writes: "Sie ist zugleich eine Ethik des Seins und des Sollens--nämlich auf dem Grunde des in Christus zur Gerechtigkeit des Menschen Geschehenden, aber zugleich auch unter dem eschatologischen Imperative."²

It is not possible for us to go into all the ramifications of New Testament ethics, particularly the Pauline, although a few comments are pertinent to the discussion of Ephesians.³ The tension between the

² H.-D. Wendland, Die Mitte der paulinischen Botschaft (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935), p. 40.

³ For discussion in this area of theological thought cf. G. Bornkamm, "Taufe und Neues Leben bei Paulus," ThB, 18 (1938), pp. 233-42 or in his collected essays Das Ende des Gesetzes: Gesammelte Aufsätze, Vol. I (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1952), pp. 34-50; R. Bultmann, "Das Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," ZNW, 23 (1924), pp. 123-140 and his Theology, Vol. 2 pp. 203ff.; E. Dinkler, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," ZThK, 49 (1952), pp. 167-200; N. Gähmann, Taufe und Ethik nach Römer 6. Beiträge

indicative and imperative is obvious in such passages as Rom. 6:1-4, 11-12, 17; 8:9-17; 13:14; Gal. 5:24-25; I Cor. 6:8-11; 6:19-20; 2 Cor. 5:17-21; Col. 1:9-15 and 3:1-4. A good example is Col. 3:1 which claims that the Christian has been raised with Christ (*συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ*) but is, nevertheless, summoned to "seek" and to "set his mind" on heavenly things (*τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε... τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε*) (3:1, 2), and to put certain things to death (*νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* ... 3:5). In commenting upon a similar exhortation in Rom. 6, Schnackenburg writes: "You have died sacramentally to the power of sin, consequently you can no longer ethically live to sin: you have entered into a new, divine sphere of life and must reflect this in your walk of life."⁴ In Romans there is the prospect of a future resurrection,

zur Evangelischen Theologie, #47 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1967); C. Haufe, *Die Sittliche Rechtfertigungslehre des Paulus* (Halle: Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1957); Jervell, *op. cit.*, especially p. 236, n. 231; O. Merk, *Handeln aus Glauben. Die Motivierung der paulinischen Ethik*. Marburger Theologische Studien, Vol. 5, 1968; L. Nieder, *op. cit.*; K. Niederwimmer, "Das Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," *ThZ*, 24 (1968), pp. 81-92; H. von Soden, "Sakrament und Ethik bei Paulus," *Marburger Theologische Studien*, 1 (1931), pp. 1-40; H.-D. Wendland, "Ethik und Eschatologie in der Theologie des Paulus," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 41 (1930), pp. 757-811; V.P. Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968). In addition to these works cf. A. Oepke, *Der Brief an die Galater*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vol. 9 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 3rd. ed., 1964), pp. 144-5; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*. Meyer Kommentar (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 13th. ed., 1965), pp. 264-7. Schlier entitles his "exkurs" as: "Indikativ und Imperativ bei Paulus." Oepke's discussion falls under the title "Indikative und Imperativ in der paul. Paränese Exk 9." Both of these sources are particularly useful as an introduction to and explanation of the ethical teaching of Paul. Bornkamm and Gähumann, however, have made the most extensive application of ethics to baptism.

⁴ Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, p. 191.

but at the same time the resurrection is the present possession of the new ethical life which the Christian is to express.⁵

The relationship between baptism and ethics simply means that although a change has taken place in baptism, the Christian life must manifest that change by a proper ethic. Baptism is the founding of a new existence. G. Bornkamm ends his discussion of baptism and the new life with this appropriate aphorism: "Denn die Taufe ist die Zueignung des neuen Lebens, und das neue Leben ist die Aneignung der Taufe."⁶

In Ephesians, there are several sections where baptism and ethics are especially prominent. First of all, there are the ethical implications to be drawn from the $\epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ formula of 2:5ff. The reasons for considering this passage to contain baptismal thoughts has already been considered,⁷ and need no further elaboration at this point. There is a similarity in Rom. 6 and Col. 2 and 3 of what it means to be $\epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ with the exception that Ephesians does not refer to dying $\epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ but does mention the believer's heavenly enthronment. As previously indicated, this latter assertion is an explicit statement of

⁵ Cf. Nieder, op. cit., p. 128. Note also Tannehill, op. cit., who observes: "The conclusion which Paul wishes to assert is that the believers are no longer slaves to sin (vs. 6), and that they may and must 'walk in newness of life' (vs. 4), a present participation in life which is connected with the full participation at the future resurrection (vss. 5, 8-9)" (p. 14).

⁶ Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 242. Note also Wibbing, op. cit., p. 127: "Das Zueinander von neuem Sein und neuer Tat ist nicht zu trennen: Der Imperativ ist im Indikativ begründet, die ethische Forderung wurzelt im Sakrament." Cf. also Gähumann, op. cit., p. 65f.

⁷ Cf. Part I, pp. 40-43.

a thought Paul failed to develop in Romans.

Although dying ἐν Χριστῷ is not mentioned as in Rom. 6:4 (baptism into death) and Col. 2:12 (buried with him in baptism) or 2:20 (with Christ you died), the author speaks of the Christian's former state of deadness (2:1, 5) from which he has been taken and made "alive." Hence this entire section (2:1-10) becomes a wonderful example of the issue under discussion. It begins with the indicatives συνεζωοποίησεν, σεσωσμένοι, συνηγειρεν, συνεκάθισεν of Christian existence and ends with the exhortation to walk in good works. Undoubtedly the indicative is the basis for the following exhortations throughout the entire Epistle, viz. 4:1ff, 5:8ff. etc. The pattern here is similar to others throughout the New Testament, as, for example, Col. 3:1-2. The Christian is in Christ; therefore he has a new position and is given a new direction. Beasley-Murray sums this thought up well when he states: "At baptism the convert learns that his participation of Christ is the means of his deliverance, the pattern of his living, the fount of his renewal and the anticipation of the goal for which he was created."⁸

A second correlation between baptism and ethics is vividly portrayed by the command to "put off your old nature" and to "put on the new nature" (4:20-24). In our previous discussion of this passage we determined that it is a baptismal exhortation.⁹ Here again, the new creation in Christ is seen as a pre-requisite for the ethical life. Both

⁸ Beasley-Murray, Baptism Today and Tomorrow, op. cit., p. 79; also Baptism, p. 290.

⁹ Cf. Part I, pp. 89-92.

Col. 3:9 (μὴ φεύδεσθε) and Eph. 4:25 (λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἑκαστος) follow this up with several imperatives concerning ethical behavior. In Ephesians, the things to be put off are identified as falsehood, dishonesty, evil speech, bitterness, wrath, clamor, slander and malice (vv. 25-31): the new nature that has been put on in baptism, since it has been created after the likeness of God, is to be characterized by righteousness, holiness, kindness, and forgiveness (4:24, 32).

The exhortations on the new life in Christ continue to 5:20 where the author gives further instructions about the type of life expected of the Christian. The οὖν (5:1), just like the Διὸ in 4:25, points back to the position of the baptized as a new creation (4:24). Thus, here again, baptism and ethics are shown to be closely interrelated. Creation (κτισθεῖς) in Christ is presented as the basis of the Christian's περιπατεῖν.

In a third exhortation (5:8-20), the tension between indicative and imperative is expressed by the imagery of light and darkness. In previous discussion on this section, particularly of 5:14, it was concluded that the evidence points to the likelihood that this is a baptismal hymn of the early Church which probably had a liturgical and catechetical function.¹⁰ As to the latter, several things are noteworthy: At one time the readers were darkness; now, however, they are "light in the Lord," i.e. baptized. From this position one can appreciate the full force of the imperatives ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε (v. 8b),

¹⁰Cf. Part I, pp. 104-106, 108-109.

ἔγειρε (5:14), ἀνάστα (5:14) and βλέπετε (5:15). To the fact that the writer interprets the baptismal event as an Aufruf, K.G. Kuhn comments: "Er [the author] interpretiert den sakramentalen Indikative des in der Taufe mit Christus Gestorben-und Auferstandenseins als ethischen Imperativ; und der zitierte V. 14 ist eben die Entfaltung dieses ethischen Imperativs."¹¹

Fourthly, much the same can be said about the baptism of the Church--i.e. baptized individuals who make up the Church.¹² From the Church's position as a cleansed (καθαρῖσας) body, there goes out an eschatological expectation as well as an ethical summons to be holy and without blemish (5:27).

Finally, there is the concluding exhortation for the Christian to arm himself for the onslaughts of the devil (6:10-20). We have discounted the possibility that this exhortation is used in a baptismal context in Ephesians even though the language is appropriate for new Christians and the theme is not out of harmony with the rest of the Epistle. Those who are in the Lord are to put on (ἐνδύσασθε v. 11) or take (ἀναλάβετε v. 13) τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ which includes truth, righteousness, the gospel of peace, faith, salvation and prayer-

¹¹ Kuhn, op. cit., p. 343. In addition to what has already been said in Part I, two other passages suggest that the motifs of light and darkness belong to an early catechetical tradition. Cf. I Thess. 5:5-7: "For you are all sons of light and sons of the day; we are not of the night or darkness. So then let us not sleep, as others do, but let us keep awake and be sober...." Also Rom. 13:12: "... let us then cast off the works of darkness and put on the armor of light."

¹² Cf. the discussion, Part I, pp. 111-141.

and are to stand up against (στήναι) the devil's wiles (vv. 11, 13, 14). Especially significant is the fact that the armor which the Christian is to employ in his Christian life is already in his possession by virtue of his being in Christ.¹³

At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that the relationship between baptism and ethics has always been an integral part of the Church's κήρυγμα and διδασχῆ . Although the details of the catechetical tradition will not be examined until the following chapter, it is fair to state that since baptism was the occasion for a certain amount of practical instruction, it is quite natural to find ethical and baptismal language in such proximity to each other. It is also certain that a large percentage of this ethical material is pre-Pauline and existed as a relatively fixed tradition in the Christian community.¹⁴

In this way, Ephesians is no different from a number of New Testament Epistles by its incorporation of so much paraenetic material. But the striking and unique feature about Ephesians is the occasion which elicited these exhortations and the purpose which they serve.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. Part I, pp. 145-146.

¹⁴ Especially significant are the findings of Selwyn, Carrington and Seeberg as presented in Part I. For further discussion on the baptismal liturgy and catechism in Eph. cf. the following chapter. An excellent topical arrangement of the ethical-moral texts in the New Testament is provided by Nieder, *op. cit.* in Part I of his book. Dinkler, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," *op. cit.*, also considers that the phrase "the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 6: 9; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5, 6b; Col. 3:6; I Thess. 4:6) to be an established liturgical formula (p. 196).

¹⁵ One should perhaps qualify this by including I Peter. However, much of the material in this Epistle is directed toward the situation of suffering and persecuion. E. Lohse's comment is well taken at this

Ephesians is basically a treatise on the unity of the Church. Just as the author found it appropriate to use the doctrine of baptism to explain how Jews and Gentiles became "one" in Christ, he utilizes catechetical material connected with baptism as a basis for maintaining this unity in the Church.

point: "Denn die Bezugnahmen auf die Taufe beschränken sich fast ausschliesslich auf den ersten Teil des Briefes 1, 3-2, 10 und klingen in den folgenden Kapiteln nur gelegentlich noch einmal an" ("Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief," op. cit., p. 70).

CHAPTER III

LITURGICAL MATERIAL IN EPHESIANS

There are several significant factors upon which this discussion of the catechetical, creedal and hymnic material in Ephesians is based. First of all, it has been adequately demonstrated by such scholars as Carrington¹ and Selwyn² that the early Church was in possession of an extensive body of ethical-exhortative material and that the large number of parallels between texts indicates the utilization of such material by various writers of the New Testament.

Secondly, there is the existence of various creedal formulas or confessions that were used on various occasions in the life of the early Church.³ Here the scholarly world is indebted to several important studies⁴ which have shown how certain affirmations about Jesus, viz. "Jesus is Lord" (I Cor. 12:3; Phil 2:11), "Jesus is the Christ" (Mk. 8:30; Mt. 16:16; I Jn. 2:22), and "Jesus is the Son of God" (Acts 8:36-7;

¹ Carrington, op. cit.

² Selwyn, op. cit.

³ Occasions such as worship, preaching, exorcism, persecution, and as polemical material against heretics. Cf. O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions (London: Butterworth Press, 1949), p. 18. Hereafter cited as Confessions. Kelly, Creeds, pp. 30-1.

⁴ Cf. J. Crehan, Early Christian Baptism and the Creed (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1950); Cullmann, Confessions; C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963 ed.); Kelly, Creeds; Seeberg, op. cit.; E. Lichtenstein, "Die älteste christliche Glaubensformel," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 63 (1950-1), pp. 1-59; H. Leitzmann, "Die Anfänge des Glaubensbekenntnisses," Festgabe für D. Dr. A. von Harnack (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Verlag, 1921).

I Jn 4:15, 5:5), were used as creedal confessions. Not all creeds or confessions were as simple as those just mentioned. More elaborate ones can be traced in Acts 10:38-42; I Cor. 15:3-4; I Thess. 1:9-10; I Tim. 3:16; 2 Tim. 2:8f. etc. These describe in some detail the central events of Christ's life such as his death, burial and resurrection.

Certain creeds were used on the occasion of baptism.⁵ Baptism in the early Church was performed "in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 2:38, 8:16; I Cor. 6:11) until the triad of Father, Son and Holy Spirit was introduced (Mt. 28:19; Didache 7:1). The implication to be drawn from this early stage of baptismal practice is that the formula was spoken by the officiant of the rite.⁶

That some type of a confession is made by the candidate himself is shown by the late variant reading of Acts 8:37: "And he [the eunuch] replied, πιστευω τον υιον τον θεου ειναι τον Ιησουν Χριστον. Even though this reading does not reflect the original practice of the Church, it does show that confessions of this nature may have been made

⁵ Cf. V.H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions. New Testament Tools and Studies, Vol. 5 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), p. 62: "It is possible and perhaps probable that confession of Jesus as Lord was made in connection with the rite of Baptism." Cf. also our discussion of ῥῆμα in 5:26 as "Gospel," "Confession," "Catechisms," "Formula," in Part I, pp. 125-33. While the passage undoubtedly refers to the baptismal event, the precise meaning of ῥῆμα is less certain.

⁶ Note also James 2:7 which has "... τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπι- κληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ." This verse can be translated "Is it not they who blaspheme that honorable name which was spoken over you." This would then have to be taken as a definite reference to baptism. Note the German Züricher Bibel where this reading is accepted ("... den schönen Namen der über euch ausgesprochen worden ist").

by the candidate at a relatively early date.⁷ We have already argued that the ῥῆμα in Eph. 5:26 probably refers to some type of confession or formula by the candidate on the occasion of his baptism. And there is strong evidence to suggest that the "good confession" (τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν) I Tim. 6:12) and the ὁμολογία in Heb. 3:1, 4:14, 10:19ff. are baptismal confessions.⁸ The important, although tentative conclusion that one can draw from this is that the early Church had formulated certain creeds or confessions of faith and that baptism was at least one occasion where they were uttered. J.N.D. Kelly goes so far as to suggest that "the true and original use of creeds, their primary

⁷ Cf. O. Cullmann, "Traces of An Ancient Baptismal Formula in the New Testament," in his Baptism in the New Testament, op. cit., pp. 71-80. Hereafter cited as "Formula". This article originally appeared as "Les traces d'une vieille formule baptismale dans le Nouveau Testament," Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, 1937, pp. 424-434. A German translation is to be found as "Spuren einer alten Taufformel im neuen Testament," Oscar Cullmann. Vorträge und Aufsätze 1925-1962, ed. Karl-fried Fröhlich (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1966), pp. 524-531. T.M. Taylor has suggested that the phrase ἁββα, ὁ πατήρ in Gal. 4:6 and Rom. 8:15 is a formula which the candidates would have pronounced at their baptism. Cf. his "'Abba, Father' and Baptism," SJTh, 11 (1958), pp. 62-71. Kelly, Creeds, makes an important distinction between "declaratory creeds" and "baptismal interrogations." The declaratory creeds, which he believes had no role until after the 4th century, "are short statements, couched in the first person, asserting belief in a select group of facts and doctrines regarded as vitally important" (p. 31). Baptismal interrogations, on the other hand, are "professions of faith in the form of answers to a questionnaire" (p. 43). Contrary to what one may expect, Kelly regards the creeds and confessions of the early Church to be interrogatory in nature so that an affirmation of faith was "the candidate's response to the officiant's interrogation" (p. 48), as for example Acts 8:36-8. For an opposite view cf. R.P.C. Hanson, Tradition in the Early Church (London: S.C.M. Press, 1962), pp. 64ff.

⁸ On I Tim. 6:12 cf. most Commentaries. On Hebrews, cf. especially G. Bornkamm, "Das Bekenntnis im Hebräerbrief," Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum, Vol. 2 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1959), pp. 188-203.

raison d'etre, was to serve as solemn affirmations of faith in the context of baptismal initiation."⁹

Thirdly, the early Church not only inherited a hymnic tradition from its Jewish contemporaries but also created its own hymns and liturgy in order to give expression to its particular faith. Luke's Magnificat (1:46-55), Benedictus (1:68-79), and Nunc dimittis (2:29-32) are several good examples of Gospel material. Phil. 2:5-11 and I Tim. 3:16 affirm some basic truths about Christ in hymnic form, while 2 Tim. 2:11-13 expresses the Christian's hope and joy in Christ.¹⁰

On several occasions in the New Testament hymns are mentioned: In I Cor. 14:26 Paul reminds the enthusiastic Corinthians that even their ψαλμὸν are to be edifying; in Col. 3:16 and Eph. 5:19 the writer refers to the singing of psalms (ψαλμοῖς), hymns (ὕμνοις) and spiritual songs (ὧδαῖς πνευματικαῖς) of the worshipping congregation. Acts 4:24f. appears to be a unified chorus of joy although singing is not explicitly mentioned; and even while in prison, Paul and Silas find comfort in prayer and in the singing of hymns (Acts 16:25).

It is neither possible nor necessary to go into a lengthy discussion on the origin, composition and structure of New Testament

⁹ Kelly, Creeds, p. 31.

¹⁰ A.M. Hunter, op. cit., p. 37 also mentions Rev. 4:11, 5:9-10, 11:17f., 15:3-4, 19:6-8 as hymnodic chants of praise. Cf. also L. Mowry, "Revelation 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage," JBL, 71 (1952), pp. 75-84.

hymns.¹¹ Suffice it to say that the early Church was in possession of such hymns and that they were used in the Church on various occasions. One result of our study in Part I has been the observation that the author of Ephesians utilizes hymns that were probably parts of baptismal liturgies. Especially significant in this connection are the following sections: 1:3-14, 17-23; 2:14-18, 19-22 and 5:8-14. These passages will be given more attention in the following pages.

A. The Catechetical Material:

In a preceding section it was established that a close connection exists between baptism and ethics. The conclusion of that study revealed that one's position "in Christ" (Indicative) was also the occasion for moral instruction and admonition (Imperative). It was also noted that Ephesians is quite unique among the Epistles of the New Testament in its utilization of so much paraenetic material.

The study of a baptismal catechism or liturgy is complete and controversial. First of all, one is continually frustrated by the lack of New Testament evidence even though one realizes that baptism was a

¹¹ Some important works on this subject include: A.M. Hunter, op. cit., pp. 36-44; J. Kroll, Die christlich Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandria (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2nd ed., republished, 1968); J.M. Robinson, "Die Hodayot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums," Apophoreta. Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen. Beiheft zur ZNW, #40 (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), pp. 194-235; J.T. Sanders, op. cit., pp. 214-232; Schille, Hymnen; Deichgräber, op. cit.; Schattenmann, op. cit.; H.J. Gabathuler, Jesus Christus. Haupt der Kirche-Haupt der Welt. Der Christushymnus Kolosser I, 15-20 in der letzten 130 Jahren. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Vol. 45 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1965). One may also consult the many references made in the discussion of Eph. 1:3-14, Part I, pp. 8-13. The study of hymns is complicated by the fact that scholars differ as to their understanding of what constitutes a hymn.

universally practiced and important rite of the Church. Secondly, since there is a rapid development of baptismal liturgies in later centuries (particularly the 2nd - 4th), scholars are often tempted to read too much back into the New Testament period with the ensuing result of overstatement and misrepresentation.

Technically, there is no catechumenate in the New Testament in the manner in which the term came to be used in the later Church as an elaborate period of instruction and observation before baptism.¹² The most primitive pattern appears to be along the order of hearing God's Word, repenting of one's sins and then being baptized (Acts 2:38; 2:41; 8:12; 9:18; 16:15, 33; 18:18; Eph. 1:13) into the name of Jesus. The only aspect of teaching or instruction in this case would be the content of the κήρυγμα which the hearer accepted. Even in the case of Philip and the eunuch (Acts 8:35-8), the "preaching" or the telling of the "good news of Jesus" (εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν), probably contains little more than the κήρυγμα mentioned in other cases.

A later development within the period of the New Testament can perhaps be traced to the rise of brief creeds and confessions. Whereas

¹² In comparison, for example, with The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus ca. A.D. 215. The only appearance of κληρονομή in the N.T. where a catechumen might be inferred is the passive participle κληρονομούμενος in Gal. 6:6. Here, however, it is not used technically as one set aside for special instruction but simply means anyone who is taught. With respect to the catechumen Kelly states: "But the catechumenate itself, in its evolved and fully articulated form, was a relatively late development... that is, to the second generation of the third century at the earliest" (Creeds, p. 49). Cf. also E. Molland, "A Lost Scrutiny in the Early Baptismal Rite," Studie Patristica, Vol. 5. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, ed. F. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), p. 105.

in the earliest stage the officiant may have made some comment about baptizing "in the name," it is likely that later the candidate himself may have uttered such a brief confession as "Jesus is Lord," "Jesus is Christ," or "Jesus is the Son of God."¹³ I Tim. 6:12 speaks of Timothy's confession that he made (at baptism) in the presence of many witnesses. The confession of Rom. 10:9 that Jesus is Lord (ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματι σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν), undoubtedly belongs to the time of baptism. Although the evidence is weak, W. Robinson's suggestion that I Cor. 15:3-5 "... was probably the baptismal creed of the Church at Damascus when St. Paul was baptized..." is noteworthy.¹⁴

Oscar Cullmann, who attempted to prove the existence of an ancient baptismal formula in the New Testament on the basis of the appearance of κωλύω in Acts 8:36; 10:47; Mt. 3:13f. and a passage in the Gospel of the Ebionites as quoted in Epiphanius 30. 13, arrived at the following conclusion: "As early as the first century, whenever someone who had come to faith was brought for Baptism, enquiry was made whether any hindrance existed, that is, whether the candidate had really fulfilled the conditions demanded."¹⁵ Cullmann's conclusion, however, is

¹³ Cf. discussion above, pp. 177-78. Note I Jn. 4:15: "Whoever confesses that Jesus is the Son of God...." Also Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:6-11. On Phil. 2:6-11 in connection with baptism cf. Jervell, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-8.

¹⁴ W. Robinson, "A Historical Survey of the Church's Treatment of New Converts with reference to Pre- and Post- Baptismal Instruction," *JThS*, 42 (1941), p. 43. Cf. also J. Crehan, *op. cit.*, p. 38. On the nature of confession in post-apostolic times cf. the discussion on 5:26, Part I, pp. 127-128.

¹⁵ Cullmann, "Formula," p. 75.

suspect because there is no indication the ~~that~~ use of κωλύω in Acts 10:47 and 11:17 was liturgical or catechetical in nature or that it was used as a safe-guard in admitting people into the Church. Further, the existence of it in the later and variant reading of Acts 8:36f. merely establishes a later practice which may not necessarily have been true during the first century.¹⁶ He definitely goes too far by concluding that the word is a "terminus technicus", taken from the baptismal formula"¹⁷ If anything, instruction of candidates in the early Church probably followed rather than preceded the act of baptism because those who joined the Church would continue in the study of the Word (cf. Acts 2:41-42).¹⁸

From the above discussion it might be inferred that nothing more can be said about the baptismal catechisms of the early Church. Naturally one must be cautious at this point and heed the warnings of such scholars as Carpenter¹⁹ and Thornton²⁰ not to base first century

¹⁶ Cullmann himself concludes that this "simple ritual" is replaced in the later Church by a more elaborate form of instruction and regulation ("Formula," pp. 79-80). For further detail, cf. Molland, op. cit., who writes: "This scrutiny at the beginning of the baptismal act disappeared because its purpose, to keep away undesirable persons, was safeguarded in a much better way by the institutions developed in the second century, sponsorship and catechumenate" (p. 108).

¹⁷ Cullmann, "Formula," p. 75.

¹⁸ Notice the order of events as recorded in the ending of Matthew 28:19. πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, (20) διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν....

¹⁹ H.J. Carpenter, "Creeds and Baptismal Rites in the First Four Centuries," JThS, 44 (1943), pp. 1-11.

²⁰ T.C.G. Thornton, "I Peter, A Pascal Liturgy?" JThS, 12 (1961), pp. 14-26.

practice upon second-fourth century evidence. But at the same time one can avoid the radical scepticism of such writers as R.P.C. Hanson who states that "there is virtually no material available that gives us the opportunity of tracing the earliest stages of the creed."²¹ Significant advances in this area have been made by further study in the paraenetic, liturgical, and hymnic sections of the New Testament texts.

In terms of catechetical material, the most significant contributions have been made by Carrington and Selwyn. Carrington discovered a common pattern of catechetical material in some New Testament letters (Colossians, Ephesians, I Peter and James) which he divided into several categories and called "the baptismal pattern (didactic and ritual) of the Christian gentile mission,"²² or a baptismal torah.²³ Selwyn's investigation is carried out along the same line except that it is more extensive in scope. The primary result of his study is the isolation of common catechetical material which he accordingly tabulates as "Traces of First Baptismal Catechism-B¹ - Based on a Christian Holiness Code."²⁴ Table IV²⁵ is called "Baptism: Its Basis in the Word, Truth, Gospel," and Table V²⁶ "Baptism: Its Nature Described."

²¹ Hanson, op. cit., p. 59.

²² Carrington, "The Baptismal Pattern in the New Testament," op. cit., p. 162.

²³ Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, op. cit., p. 74.

²⁴ Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 370-71. For further catechetical material not specifically related to baptism cf. pp. 363ff.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 390.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 391. Cf. also his summary, pp. 388-89. One should also refer to M.E. Boismard's article on the baptismal liturgy of I Peter, op. cit. Boismard makes some important comparisons between Col., I Pet.,

The significance of all this is the establishment of a large body of catechetical material which was used on the occasion of baptism. W.D. Davies, who is especially indebted to Carrington at this point, concluded that the best interpretation one can give to the paraenetic passages common to Col., Eph., I Pet. and James is one "which sees in them baptismal catechetical material that was used by the early Church."²⁷ A.M. Hunter similarly agrees that Carrington and Selwyn are justified in talking of a "catechesis, i.e. moral instruction for catechumens...."²⁸

Apart from the fact that Carrington and Selwyn may be guilty of assuming too much on certain points, and without implying that the baptismal catechism was as developed and unified as they believe it was,²⁹ it must

Titus and I Jn. On Col. and I Pet. for example, he states: "Col., III, 1-4 ressemble à I Petr., I, 3-5, par une convergence de thèmes semblances plus que par de véritables contacts littéraires" (p. 205).

²⁷ W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K. Press, 1965 ed.), p. 128. Davies also agrees with Carrington that much of Paul's ethical teaching has its origin in Jewish catechetical material (p. 136) and that Paul was guided by the Rabbinical practice of instructing proselytes (p. 129).

²⁸ Hunter, op. cit., p. 128.

²⁹ Note E. Lohse's disagreement with some of Selwyn's reconstruction in his "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrus-brief," op. cit., p. 389. Selwyn himself expresses a few reservations about Carrington's work on pp. 414ff. and 439ff. One should add that a comparison of texts with certain themes, motifs, etc. is one thing; dividing them into sections such as Selwyn and Carrington have done is more arbitrary. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the research that has been carried out in this area. In addition to his study on Ephesians, Schille, for example, has investigated both Hebrews and Barnabas for their liturgical content. In his article "Zur urchristlichen Tauflehre. Stilistische Beobachtungen am Barnabasbrief," ZNW, 49 (1958), pp. 31-52, Schille claims that the author is writing to the newly baptized in the form of a baptismal catechism (pp. 32-6), which he recorded in order that it may be distributed to a number of other readers (p. 51). Especially significant are the close connections of the catechetical sections of Barnabas to Eph., Col., I Pet., and Hebrews. This leads Schille to

be said that their scholarship marked an important development in the search for liturgical and catechetical beginnings. As early as 1949 J.N.D. Kelly stated that "There is no task in the field of liturgies which deserves higher priority to-day than the sorting out of the baptismal and associated rites, and the elaboration of a constructive theory of their evolution."³⁰ Although his book does not purport to be a study of creeds and catechisms in New Testament times, one is, nevertheless, disappointed in his chapters dealing with this period. Either he was unaware of the work of Selwyn and Carrington or he did not believe that their results were significant for the research he undertook.

Carrington, whose topical arrangement is largely followed by Selwyn, divided this common catechetical material into several main divisions, each characterized by an appropriate Greek word. For the purpose of organization and classification we shall adopt Carrington's division of the material even though the arrangement of the Ephesian

believe that even Barnabas is closely connected to this early catechetical tradition: "Eine ganze Reihe von Zügen des Katechetischen Lehrstiles begegnet bereits im Epheser-, Kolosser- und I Petrusbrief, so dass sich die Wahrscheinlichkeit erhöht, dass auch diese Schreiben mit der urchristlichen Katechetik verwandt sind. Zugleich weisen diese Parallelen, dass der Lehrstil schon vor Barn-Hebräerbrief im Urchristentum gelbt wurde, wenn auch vielleicht noch nicht so ausgebildet wie in diesen Schreiben" (p. 52). Much the same opinion is expressed in his article of Hebrews, entitled "Katechese und Tauf liturgie. Erwägungen zu Hbr 11," ZNW, 51 (1960), pp. 112-131. The thrust of his argument is expressed in this following quote: "Wir dürfen nunmehr die Frage stellen, ob die Vorlage von Hbr 11 einmal am Anfang einer Tauf liturgie gestanden hat, indem sie- der täuferischen 'Verkündigung' ähnlich- auf die Aufnahme der Täuflinge in die Vaterschar bzw. in das Gottesvolk vorbereiten sollte" (p. 129).

³⁰ Kelly, Creeds, p. 38.

passages will be more extensive and vary considerably. Once this task is completed, a further inquiry as to the relationship of this catechetical material to baptism can be made.

Catechetical Divisions:

1. Deponentes (ἀποθέσθαι): This includes the negative implications or the renunciations. Here the Ephesian author has a long list of vices that do not conform to the pattern of Christian living. One could say that these are the characteristics of the old nature which Christians are to "put off" (ἀποθέσθαι). Their former pagan life meant futility, ignorance, callousness, licentiousness, greed and uncleanness (4:17-19); falsehood (2:25), anger (4:26), evil talk (4:29), bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor, slander and malice (4:31) are to be things of the past. The basis upon which these exhortations are given, or perhaps one should say the reason they are given at all, goes back to what the writer has said about their former life as τὰ ἔθνη (2:11, 4:17ff.) when they were dead in sin (2:1-3, 5), lived in darkness (5:8), and were strangers, alienated from God (2:12, 13, 17, 19).³¹ Now, because they are no longer those sinful "Gentiles". they are to "put off" the type of life that belongs to their former nature.

2. Subiecti (ὑποτάσσειν): This category includes the submission, duties and virtues which should characterize the new life

³¹ This contrast between the "once" and the "now" is especially noticeable in Ephesians. πότε occurs six times in Eph. in this connection as compared to twice in Col. (1:21; 3:7) and twice in I Pet. (2:10; 2:20). This also suggests some common catechetical motif. The heavy use of it in Eph. fits well into the author's purpose of drawing a contrast between what the readers were and what they now are in Christ.

and which largely correspond to the new nature which Christians put on (ἐνδύσασθαι) in baptism. First of all, one may notice certain general exhortations.³² On the basis of what they now are (2:13, 15, 17, 19-22; 5:8) in Christ, they receive these positive admonitions to holiness (4:1), lowliness, meekness, patience, forbearance, love, peace (4:2-3), kindness, tenderheartedness and forgiveness (4:32). This, basically, is the new nature created after the likeness of God in 4:24. But their being ἐν Χριστῷ also includes a social ethic which is expressed in the Haustafel of 5:22-6:9. These household rules set forth the type of behavior that is to characterize various personal and social relationships and, in the case of Ephesians, to maintain unity in the Church.³³

3. Vigilate (γρηγυρεῖν) and Resistite (στῆναί):³⁴ This is the exhortation to watchfulness and steadfastness which is found in 6:10-19a. Here the readers are admonished to stand firm in their faith, to be alert, to resist the devil and to persevere in prayer and supplication for all the saints, including the apostle. This exhortation, we have concluded, is built upon traditional imagery of the Christian warrior and early catechetical material of the Church.³⁵

³² Cf. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 389. Note also Wibbing's list of vices and virtues, op. cit., p. 78f.

³³ Cf. the discussion of the Haustafel in Part I, pp. 110-11, 141-2. Notice Eph. has no reference to civil obedience as one finds in such passages as I Pet. 2:13-17; Rom. 13:1-7; I Tim. 2:1-3; Tit. 3:1-3, 8.

³⁴ Carrington has these listed as two separate divisions, but for practical reasons they can be linked together because of their similarity.

³⁵ Cf. Part I, pp. 143-146.

The Catechetical Pattern:

In some ways the catechetical process in the New Testament parallels what was given to the proselytes wishing to join the Jewish community, although it is explicitly stated that most of the proselyte's instruction came before or during the bath, the one notable exception being the benediction pronounced at the conclusion of the rite. However, there is little evidence in the New Testament to justify the claim for the existence of a catechumenate along the line of proselytes being admitted to Judaism or what appears in later baptismal liturgies with respect to Christianity.

In Judaism the proselyte was presented to the officials, examined, and asked why he desired to become a proselyte.³⁶ In the Didache, baptism is to take place after a period of instruction: "Give public instruction on all these points [i.e. the precepts regarding the way of life etc. in the previous chapters], and then baptize in running water, 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'" (7:1). In Justin there is the following account: "As many as are persuaded and believe that these things which we teach and describe are true, and undertake to live accordingly, are taught to pray and ask God, while fasting.... Then they are led by us to a place where there is water... (Apol. 61). By the time of Hippolytus (cf. The Apostolic Tradition ca. A.D. 215) the period of examination and instruction lasted for three years (17:1).³⁷

³⁶ Cf. Part III, pp. 219ff.

³⁷ Molland believes that although The Apostolic Tradition was not compiled until the third century, "it may doubtless be considered as a codification of the liturgical usage of the Roman Church at the end of the second century" (op. cit., p. 104).

One could perhaps argue (as Cullmann) that the textual variant in Acts 8:37 dealing with Philip and the eunuch reflects a cursory examination of a baptismal candidate at a relatively early date. But apart from being an isolated incident, the time Philip and the eunuch spent together must have been very brief.³⁸ It is most likely that the nature of the early Church, with its itinerant teachers and rapid missionary expansion, precluded the possibility of any lengthy period of instruction before baptism apart from the content of the κήρυγμα which the candidate heard and some short creedal confessions which the officiant or candidate may have recited. As the Church became more settled and organized, and as the danger of apostasy increased, it was quite natural that more attention should be given to those wishing to join the Church.³⁹ But there is no evidence to suggest that the Epistle to the Ephesians was written for such a purpose and should, therefore, be considered as a baptismal tract or homily.⁴⁰

Ephesians makes no substantial contribution toward the reconstruction of the stages through which a candidate passed before he was admitted into the Church. All one can gather from the Epistle is that

³⁸ Schille places considerable emphasis upon this passage in his reconstruction of the "Prüfung" in "Elemente neutestamentlicher Tauf-liturgie" (LitG, pp. 148ff). Chapter 4 in his Dissertation entitled "Das Problem der Tauf-liturgie," does not appear in his Hymnen.

³⁹ Cf. previous discussion on 5:26, Part I, pp. 125-33, especially the view of Poirier in n. 61.

⁴⁰ As Dahl, Conzelmann and Schille, for example. Cf. Part I where the views of these scholars were presented.

the readers heard the word of truth (ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας), believed in Christ (ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες) and were sealed with the Holy Spirit (ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ 1:13). The fact that they learned of Christ (4:20) and were taught in him (4:21) shows that some type of instruction did take place, although these references do not demonstrate the existence of a catechumenate. The brief confessions of 4:6 (εἶς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν Βάπτισμα) and 5:26 (ῥῆμα) conform to the existing practice of the early Church. This does not mean that a more regulated liturgy was non-existent or unimportant. It simply testifies to the fact that Ephesians, in spite of its containing baptismal terminology, concepts and motifs, shows a remarkable lack of interest in liturgical regulations.

B. The Hymnic Material:

Although the evidence forced us to a rather negative conclusion as far as liturgical order is concerned, the fact still remains that the Epistle contains a large amount of hymnic material. Our next concern is to examine the hymnic sections and to determine their contribution to the letter as a whole.

In the course of the exegesis (Part I) it was observed that Ephesians contains a number of hymn-like sections⁴¹ (1:3-14; 1:20-23; 2:1-10; 2:13-18; 2:19-22; 5:14) which may have been used in a baptismal

⁴¹ Since opinion is so varied as to what constitutes a "hymn" it may be more correct to speak in terms of "hymn-like" sections. Cf. below, notes 45 and 46.

setting by the early Church. 1:3-14 is an opening hymn of thanksgiving (Lobpreis) for the blessings of redemption and serves as a preface to what follows. Here the author finds baptismal motifs and language appropriate to describe all the blessings that God has bestowed upon the readers in Christ. 1:20-23 is a hymn to Christ much along the analogy of Phil. 2:5ff. and Col. 1:12-20 and 2:12-15, and shows that God's power is manifested in the resurrection and exaltation of Christ. The enthronement of Christ also becomes the basis for the Christian's exalted position in Christ (cf. 2:5-6). 2:1-10, or possibly only vv. 4-10, reflect the view that the Christian's participation in Christ is accomplished through baptism. Also noteworthy is the contrast between the past life of the Christian and the action of God ("And you... were... but God... made 2:5).

2:13-18 is a praise to God for what he has done through Christ. Here again, the hymn is prefaced by a section (vv. 11-12) describing the past life of the Gentiles which may quite possibly belong to the hymn itself. The thoughts of vv. 13-18 are continued in the hymn of the heavenly building (2:19-22). Nauck has isolated these verses as constituting a separate hymn,⁴² but on the basis of the continuation of thought with the preceding section, it may be better to think of vv. 13-22 as a unit. The "So then you are no longer..." (v. 19) goes back to the "But now in Christ Jesus..." (v. 13) and brings out the contrast between the once and the now.

Much the same is true of our last hymn, 5:14. Here, although

⁴² Cf. Part I, pp. 60ff.

the author is probably quoting only a fragment of an existing hymn, the context reveals his particular pattern (with the exception of the opening hymn) of contrasting the two ways or natures (4:22-4) of life. Once the readers were "darkness": (5:8a), but now they are "light in the Lord" (5:8b). Thus comes the call "... Awake, O sleeper, and Christ shall give you light" (5:14).

Although most New Testament hymns were probably original creations of the early Church, composed in order to give expression to its particular faith, some, as was already noted, were pre-Christian, and subsequently Christianized to fit a particular situation in life.⁴³ Hymns may also have developed from certain Christian creeds (viz. 2 Tim. 2:11-13) which in turn were the product of the early Christian $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$.

J.T. Sanders, for one, suggests that elements of Christian preaching were incorporated into the liturgy of primitive Christianity. With respect to the hymn in Eph. 1:20ff. he states: "That Eph. 1:20ff. can be so very similar to I Cor. 15, 12ff., and that Col. 2:12f. has phraseology related to the Ephesian passage--again with the mention of the central theme of the preaching, that God raised Christ from the dead--in a text heavily loaded with baptismal terminology should be evidence enough to show that elements that originally belonged to the preaching could be taken into the liturgy."⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. especially Schille, Hymnen, in his discussion of "Erlöslieder" etc. E. Käsemann's discussion on Col. 1:15-20 ("Liturgy") is also a good case in point. On Col. cf. also Gabathuler, op. cit. Another example is G. Friedrich, "Ein Tauflied hellenistischer Judenchristen I Thess. 1:9f.," ThZ, 21 (1965), pp. 502-516.

⁴⁴ Sanders, op. cit., p. 222.

There appear to be no uniform criteria or standards among scholars by which hymns are to be determined. Consequently, at least with respect to baptism, claims are made for hymns in the most unlikely places and often without apparent justification.⁴⁵ A.M. Hunter, for one, admits that much hymnic detection is speculative when he affirms: "We have no infallible criteria enabling us to pronounce such and such a passage a hymn in the strictest sense of the word, i.e. something sung by a Christian congregation as an act of worship. . . . Nevertheless, there are certain marks or traits which we may expect in any hypothetical hymn: a certain rhythmical quality; correspondence between words and phrases; parallelismus membrorum; perhaps clearly-defined strophes; homoioteleuton, etc."⁴⁶

It is not within the scope of this paper to subject all the Ephesian passages to Hunter's suggested criteria in order to determine whether or not they may technically qualify as early Christian hymns. 1:3-14; 1:20-23 and 2:1-10, on the basis of content and cadence alone, certainly qualify as hymnic praises to God. The unique feature about the remaining hymns (2:11-18; 2:19-22; 5:14) is that they are directed

⁴⁵Several examples, although no judgment is being passed, include: E. Dinkler, "Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor. 1:21f.," op. cit.; G. Friedrich, op. cit., as well as his "Das Lied vom Hohenpriester im Zusammenhang von Hebr. 4:14-5:10," ThZ, 18 (1962), pp. 95-115; W. Nauck, Die Tradition und der Charakter des ersten Johannesbriefes. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Vol. 3 (Tübingen: Verlag J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1957), where he discusses baptismal hymnic elements in I John; K.C. Echart, "Urchristliche Tauf- und Ordinationsliturgie (Kol 1: 9-20; Act. 16:18)," Theologia Viatorum, 8 (1961-2), pp. 23-37. Numerous proposals viz. Tit. 3:5-7; I Pet. 1:3ff.; Phil. 2:6-11; 2 Thess. 2:13ff; Rev. 1:5f.; Rom. 8:1-17 etc. have also been made by various scholars.

⁴⁶ Hunter, op. cit., pp. 37-8.

towards man by describing what he has become in Jesus Christ. Their richness in baptismal language and imagery leads one to conclude that they must have been used in connection with baptism.

But there is no specific indication in Ephesians as to how these hymns may have been used in the Church. Suggestions that 2:19-22 was part of the catechetical instruction (Part I, pp. 59ff.) or that 5:14 was sung by the congregation as the candidate emerged from the water (Part I, pp. 104-5) are at best speculative. The most that one can say is that their appearance in the Epistle testifies to their existence and use in the baptismal liturgy of the early Church. The author finds their content appropriate for describing the changed status and present life in Christ of the Gentiles.

CHAPTER IV

EPHESIANS AND THE DEUTERO-PAULINE HYPOTHESIS

Up to this point in the thesis there has been no attempt to discuss the authorship of Ephesians nor to explain the commonly used phrase "deutero-Pauline." Instead of making a positive identification we have chosen to speak of the "writer" or "author" of Ephesians, except in those cases where the scholar under consideration has made a definite identification of authorship either as Paul, a deutero-Paulinist, or a disciple of Paul etc.

The question of authorship is subordinate to the main argument of the thesis and no attempt at identification will be made. Nevertheless, it is felt that some brief explanation of the history and meaning of the term "deutero-Pauline" is necessary since it is so often used in connection with Ephesians. A further concern of this study will be to determine whether our understanding of the author's use of baptismal terminology makes any contribution toward the question of authorship.

It is difficult to determine exactly when the term "deutero-Pauline" was introduced into the history of New Testament studies.¹ Undoubtedly, it is closely connected with the rise of critical scholarship in the area of authorship, particularly of the so-called Pauline

¹ The term "Deuteropaulinismus" occurs as early as 1911 in H.J. Holtzmann's *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 195. However, Käsemann's *Leib* (1933) probably represents one of the earliest attempts to make a clear distinction between Pauline and deutero-Pauline thought.

Corpus, which at one time numbered 14 letters.² The most serious attack on Pauline authorship began with the Pastoral Epistles. As any extensive critical commentary on these books will reveal, the question of authorship is debated over such areas as chronological setting, church organization, doctrine, vocabulary and style, and the nature of the false teachings involved.³ The results of research into these areas of thought have been so convincing in favor of non-Pauline authorship that it is quite difficult to find any serious scholar arguing for their Pauline composition.⁴

A second area of attack on Pauline authorship has centered upon Ephesians and Colossians. Ephesians was the first of these Epistles to be subjected to a critical analysis of its stylistic, literary, historical and doctrinal elements.⁵ The net result, although not nearly as unanimous as in the case of the Pastorals, was that Ephesians, if not

² For a brief survey of the main problems and relevant literature cf. W.G. Kummel, Introduction to the New Testament, op. cit., especially on the Pauline material.

³ Cf. E.K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles (London: The Tyndale Press, 1954); P.N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles (London: Oxford University Press, 1921); C.F.D. Moule, "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles: A Reappraisal," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 47 (1964-5), pp. 430-452.

⁴ This is not to question the intent and ability of scholars who do hold to the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals, as for example, E. Ellis in Paul and His Recent Interpreters (Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1961); B. Metzger, who replies to Harrison's attack on the Pauline authorship in "Reconsiderations of Certain Arguments v. the Pauline Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles," ET, 7 (1958), pp. 91-94.

⁵ Cf. E. Percy, op. cit.; also Mitton, op. cit.

written by the Apostle himself, was at least written by someone well acquainted with Paul's letters and thoughts. Goodspeed, who has listed 21 objections to Pauline authorship, considered Ephesians to be a cover letter for the Pauline Corpus, which, however, reads like "a great rhapsody on the worth of the Christian salvation."⁶ P.N. Harrison proposed quite another theory by suggesting that Ephesians was written by Onesimus to replace the lost "letter to Laodicea."⁷ Usually, however, scholars do not attempt to identify the author and are content to state that he was someone well acquainted with Paul and his thought.

The authorship of Colossians has been questioned much along the same lines as that of Ephesians. The most recent critical commentary that one should consult on this matter is by E. Lohse. Among other things, Lohse's investigation of the Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, and doctrine of baptism have led him to conclude that Colossians, although Pauline in many respects, has many differences that can only be explained by the hypothesis of another author.⁸ E.P. Sanders, who entitled his brief study "Literary Dependence in Colossians," argued that the factor of "dependence," together with the linguistic, stylistic, and theological arguments, speaks strongly against Pauline authorship.⁹ Now, in spite of Percy's arguments to the contrary, there has been a

⁶ E.J. Goodspeed, The Meaning of Ephesians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 3. For a list of the objections cf. his The Key to Ephesians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

⁷ P.N. Harrison, "The Author of Ephesians," op. cit., pp. 603-4.

⁸ Lohse, Kommentar, as well as his "Pauline Theology."

⁹ Cf. JBL, 85 (1966), pp. 28-45.

growing tendency, particularly among Continental scholars, not to regard Paul as the author of this Epistle which bears his name (Col. 1:1).¹⁰

The phrase "deutero-Pauline" is significant because it takes into account the Pauline characteristics, presuppositions, theology and phraseology even though the authorship is questioned. Lohse, for example, comments upon Colossians: "Zwar trägt die Gedankenführung des Kolosserbriefes durchaus paulinische Züge; doch die Unterschiede, die gegenüber der Theologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe bestehen, sind nicht zu übersehen."¹¹ The term, therefore, means that even though Paul was not responsible for the actual composition of these Epistles, they do, nevertheless, stand firmly in the Pauline tradition. But how is one to account for their similarity to Paul's Hauptbriefe and yet deny him the authorship? If these letters are to be pseudonymous, are they then the work of a forger and imitator or that of an admirer and disciple?

Scholars holding to the Pauline authorship have often argued that differences in style, vocabulary, and content can be accounted for by such considerations as that Paul was aging, maturing in his theology, or that he was writing to a specific situation that demanded a certain type of vocabulary and argumentation. Also, Paul may have dictated his basic thoughts to an amanuensis, so that an Epistle should still be considered Pauline even though its final outcome may manifest some minor

¹⁰ Cf. Percy's commentary, op. cit. Percy's book is probably the most serious and detailed defense of the Pauline authorship. Käsemann's review of Percy's commentary ("Bespr. von E. Percy. Die Problem Kol-Eph-1946," Gnomon 21 (1949), pp. 178-194) provoked Percy to respond with "Zu den Problemen des Kolosser- und Epheserbriefes," op. cit., pp. 178-194.

¹¹ Lohse, Kommentar, p. 253.

changes in style and vocabulary.

But it is not the minor stylistic or linguistic differences that have given rise to the deutero-Pauline hypothesis. Scholars of this persuasion are genuinely concerned about major differences--i.e. differences which apparently cannot be harmonized with the central elements of Paul's theology. Explanations such as the aging Paul or the use of an amanuensis who completed Paul's thought are inadequate in the face of circumstances that reflect situations and developments more characteristic of early Catholicism than of the period in which the apostle Paul had his ministry.¹²

Some positive attempts have been made towards an explanation of the deutero-Pauline concept. The acquaintance of the writer(s) with

¹² This is what C.F.D. Moule, for example, does with the authorship of the Pastorals when he identifies the amanuensis as Luke (op. cit.). For additional research on the various aspects of deutero-Pauline research cf. J.A. Allan, "The 'In Christ' Formula in Ephesians," NTS, 5 (1958-9), pp. 54-62; G. Bornkamm, "Die Hoffnung im Kolosserbrief--Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage der Echtheit des Briefes," op. cit.; E. Käsemann's Leib, "Epheserbrief," and "Kolosserbrief," RGK, Vol. 3, pp. 1727-8; E. Grässer, op. cit.; Lohse's "Christologie und Ethik im Kolosserbrief," Apophoreta. Festschrift für E. Haenchen. Beiheft zur ZNW, Vol. 30, 1964, pp. 156-68; "Christusherrschaft und Kirche im Kolosserbrief," NTS, 11 (1964-5), pp. 203-16; "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief," op. cit.; E. Schweizer, "Zur Frage der Echtheit des Kolosser- und des Epheserbriefes," Neotestamentica (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), p. 429; D. Lührmann, Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Vol. 60 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965); B. Wellmann, Das Erbe der paulinischen Verkündigung. Definition und Imitation des paulinischen Apostolates in der nachpaulinischen Schule (Epheser und Kolosser). Th. D. Dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, 1969. This list is by no means complete. Additional information can also be found in recent critical commentaries on either Ephesians or Colossians, as for example, Conzelmann's Epheserbrief. At the present time New Testament scholarship lacks a concise treatment of the history and use of the concept "deutero-Pauline."

the theology and letters of Paul, together with the fact that Epistles such as Colossians and Ephesians were written to meet specific Church situations, precludes the possibility that they are the prank of some imposter. E.P. Sanders states it well with respect to the Colossian heresy when he writes: "These phrases show a later disciple of the apostle who wished to meet a new challenge as Paul would have done. His imitation of Paul is not that of a charlatan. He wished to say nothing other than what Paul himself would have said, and to that end he used Paul's own words."¹³ What we are dealing with in Colossians, therefore, is the conscious attempt of someone to represent the theology of Paul and apply it to a new situation that arose in the Church.

But the fact that advances beyond and differences from Paul's thought have been noted demonstrates that the author is more than a mere traditionalist who simply wanted to reproduce what the great apostle himself would have said in a similar situation. It is precisely at this point that an important distinction must be made. Not all scholars who support the deuterio-Pauline hypothesis are content to represent the author of Ephesians or Colossians as an imitator or copier of Pauline theology or as one who only wishes to perpetuate the views of his master in every respect. He is, to use Lohse's words, "an independently acting and judging theologian of Pauline stamp."¹⁴

¹³ Sanders, op. cit., p. 44 Cf. also Lohse, Kommentar, p. 254.

¹⁴ Lohse, "Pauline Theology," p. 218.

A recent, although incomplete attempt to clarify the deutero-Pauline hypothesis has been H. Conzelmann's proposal of a Pauline school tradition, or a type of theological society in which Paul's letters were read and studied. Conzelmann reasons that Paul himself would have established such a school in Ephesus in which theology was practiced as a schooling in wisdom. Thus he states: "Man wird sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen und annehmen können, dass im Hintergrund ein von Paulus bewusst organisierter Schulbetrieb, eine 'Schule des Paulus', zu erkennen ist, wo man 'Weisheit' methodisch betreibt bzw. Theologie als Weisheitsschulung trecht."¹⁵ Conzelmann believes that certain traces of this type of schooling are to be found in such books as Hebrews, the Pastorals, and several pericopes in letters otherwise by Paul viz. 2 Cor. 3:7ff., I Cor. 1:18ff., and Rom 1:18ff.

Another attempt to examine the Pauline school has been made by Peter Stuhlmacher.¹⁶ He considers the pupils (Schülern) of Paul to be faced with the question as to how they can preserve and make fruitful the inheritance of their teacher in an age when the eschatological orientation has been lost, the Christological pattern has been altered, and the ethical demand radically secularized. The bulk of Stuhlmacher's article deals with an examination of how the authors of Colossians, Ephesians and the Pastorals met this challenge.

¹⁵ H. Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," op. cit., p. 233. Conzelmann lists Col., Eph., Pastorals, and 2 Thess. as "Dokumente des Stils der Schule" (p. 234).

¹⁶ "Christliche Verantwortung bei Paulus und seinen Schülern," op. cit., pp. 165-186.

What then are the implications of this research, particularly that of Conzelmann and Stuhlmacher, for the study of Colossians and Ephesians? Quite possibly the author of Colossians comes out of such a school tradition. Similarities in thought and phraseology with the genuine Pauline Epistles can be accounted for either by direct borrowing from letters that would have been available at the school, or perhaps the author knew most of Paul's works by memory. Differences in emphasis and theology can be explained by the writer's attempt to interpret--and perhaps reinterpret--basic Pauline ideas and use them to expose and rebuff the φιλοσοφία that was threatening the Colossian Church.¹⁷ The style, claims Lohse, "can be traced back to the fact that liturgical phrases and various elucidations have been taken up into the formulations worked out by the school tradition and combined with them."¹⁸

Much the same can be said for Ephesians, which is usually considered together with Colossians in any discussion of the deutero-Pauline material. Of course there are some scholars who continue to

¹⁷ Lohse, *Kommentar*, p. 256. Note: I regret that I was unable to obtain Wellmann's Dissertation (*op. cit.*) in time to read it and comment upon his views. The following quotation, however, taken from his "conclusion" (p. 202), gives us an idea of the nature of his study: "Die vorliegende Arbeit versucht zu zeigen, dass die beiden Briefe an die Epheser und Kolosser ihrer Intention nach nicht als Weiterbildung der paulinischen Theologie zu verstehen sind, sondern als Übernahme des paulinischen Verkündigungsauftrages. Sie geht damit von der Beobachtung aus, dass der Gebrauch des Paulusnamens und die Verwendung des paulinischen Briefformulars, in diesen Briefen einer Definition unterstellt ist, die paulinische Missionspredigt mit Hilfe des Revelationsschemas als Offenbarungsvermittlung charakterisiert (Eph. 3:2ff. und Kol. 1:24ff.). Die Theologie der Briefe ist daher in erste Linie als Definitionsversuch zu begreifen".

¹⁸ "Pauline Theology," p. 218; cf. *Kommentar*, p. 256.

hold to Pauline authorship until more convincing evidence is forthcoming. Larsson considers Ephesians to be so close to the acknowledged Pauline Epistles that he claims it should be considered part of his writings.¹⁹ Cadbury finds it difficult to be dogmatic on the issue of authorship.²⁰ However, Conzelmann probably expresses the views of most present day critics when he writes: "Fasst man alle Beobachtungen zusammen, so legt sich das Urteil nahe, der Brief sei von einem Schüler verfasst, in dem das Erbe des Meisters mit ungewöhnlicher Kraft lebendig ist."²¹

As a theory, the deutero-Pauline hypothesis does no more than provide a general solution to the question of authorship. Its strength lies in the attempt to explain how similarities and differences of Pauline thought can occur in the same Epistle. To this extent the suggestion of a Pauline school tradition has certain merits.

One significant result of our study has been the observation that the teaching of ethics and eschatology in Ephesians does not stand in contradiction to Paul even though it represents a fuller development

¹⁹ "Der Epheserbrief gehört ideologisch so nahe zusammen mit den anerkannten paulinischen Schriften, dass er auf jeden Fall im Zusammenhang mit diesen behandelt werden muss" (op. cit., p. 105).

²⁰ Op. cit., p. 101: "It is harder to decide whether what is said is consistent with what we know of Paul than to decide whether how it is said is inconsistent, I do not find it easy to say dogmatically that certain thoughts in Ephesians are unthinkable for Paul, or unthinkable for someone else. Even in ordinary life it is hard to be a mindreader."

²¹ Conzelmann, Epheserbrief, p. 58. Note also Pokorny in his Der Epheserbrief und die Gnosis, op. cit., pp. 15-16 where he states: "Der Epheserbrief ist also wahrscheinlich von einem schöpferischen kleinasiatischen Paulusschüler in den achtziger oder neunziger Jahren geschrieben worden."

of ideas that were implicit in his teaching. This is not to say, therefore, that Paul is the author of Ephesians; it merely places these doctrines of ethics and eschatology in their proper perspective and questions the theory that they are necessarily "un-Pauline."

Several other factors remain to be mentioned as far as the authorship of Ephesians and Colossians is concerned. First of all, there is the religionsgeschichtliche aspect. Scholars have often argued that the heresies that are combated in Ephesians and Colossians were unknown in Paul's time and represent later (possibly second century) development of thought.²² The force of this argument has been weakened considerably by recent research which has shown that certain Gnostic or Jewish-Hellenistic "concepts" existed much earlier than was previously suspected.²³ Here again it must be pointed out that this is not necessarily an argument for Pauline authorship; it simply demonstrates that such heretical "thought-forms" may have been rampant in Paul's time and that he may have been personally instrumental in opposing them.

²² Cf. G. Bornkamm, "Die Härese des Kolosserbriefes," ThLZ, 73 (1948), pp. 11-20; Käsemann, Leib; Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief. Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, Vol. 6 (Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930); For extensive bibliographical references and thorough discussion on the nature of the Colossian heresy cf. Lohse, Kommentar.

²³ Cf. R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1958); H. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, Part I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 3rd. ed., 1964); J. Munk, "The New Testament and Gnosticism," in Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation. Essays in honor of O. Piper, ed. W. Klassen and G. Snyder (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), pp. 224-38; R. Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium (Bonn: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, 1921); H.-M. Schenke, "Der Widerstreit gnostische und kirchlicher Christologie im Spiegel des Kolosserbriefes," ZThK, 61 (1964), pp. 391-403.

A second consideration centers around the relationship between Ephesians and Colossians. One rather popular argument against Pauline authorship has been to demonstrate the literary dependence of Ephesians upon Colossians, and from this, to conclude that Paul would not have repeated himself in this way even if he wrote both Epistles closely together.²⁴ But it is precisely at this point that the theories of Selwyn and Carrington concerning a common paraenetic tradition in the early Church need to be applied. Hence it is not that Ephesians necessarily borrows from Colossians; the fact is that Ephesians and Colossians, as well as other New Testament Epistles (viz. I Peter, James, I Thess. and perhaps Hebrews) borrow rather extensively from this common source of catechetical and paraenetic material.

The various tables of comparison that have been mentioned throughout the thesis²⁵ clearly demonstrate that a large percentage of the parallels between Ephesians and Colossians fall into the area of such practical exhortations. G. Schille has made the acute observation that practically all the so-called "un-Pauline" thoughts of Ephesians and Colossians are to be found in the liturgical citations and in paraenetic phrases and thoughts that can be traced back to the catechetical situation at baptism. Thus he concludes: "Hingegen tragen die Zusätze und Korrekturen des Verfassers zur Tradition, hinsichtlich der Form und

²⁴ For comparisons etc. between the two Epistles cf. especially the commentaries by Mitton, (*op. cit.*, pp. 55ff. and 279ff). and Percy (*op. cit.*, pp. 360ff.). Note also G. Schille's objection to such statistical analysis in "Der Autor des Epheserbriefes," *ThLZ*, 82 (1957), pp. 325-334.

²⁵ Cf. above, pp. 185-189.

des Wortschatzes, echt paulinisches Gepräge."²⁶

Thirdly, there is the matter of style. The heaping up of genitival connectives, synonyms etc. that characterizes the opening chapters of Ephesians does not necessarily weigh heavily against Pauline composition. The hymnic nature of these passages, together with the existence of other liturgical material throughout Ephesians, accounts for a departure from the style which one encounters in Paul's genuine letters. It is not, therefore, inconceivable that Paul could have written the Epistle; but if he is the author, the differences in style and content are best explained by his utilization of current hymnic, catechetical and liturgical material.

Schille ends his provocative article on an impasse,²⁷ although it is clear that he favors the Pauline authorship. However, there are several aspects in Schille's discussion which argue against the composition of the letter during the time of Paul. The first one is Schille's own interpretation of Ephesians as a baptismal liturgy. Such a developed and sophisticated liturgy was only accomplished by elaborate documentation from second and third century sources.²⁸

One must seriously question the application of this later liturgical evidence to the worshipping community of the first century, most of all to the time of the apostle Paul. True, the early Church

²⁶ Schille, op. cit., p. 331.

²⁷ "Damit ist die These begründet, das der Eph. echt sein kann. Das bedeutet noch nicht, dass er es sein muss" (ibid., p. 334).

²⁸ Sources such as the Acts of Thomas, the Odes of Solomon, and reference to such writers as Justin and Irenaeus.

practiced baptism and, as we have seen, possessed some type of primitive liturgy consisting of creeds, confessions and hymns. But the liturgical situation during the middle of the first century was not necessarily as developed as at the end of this century or the beginning of the second. If Ephesians is to be considered as a baptismal treatise, its content is more reflective of a later period of Church worship and practice than of Paul's time.

A second factor is the nature of first century hymns. In his article on authorship, Schille makes the assertion that the hymns of Paul's generation are clearly immersed in mythological color while the hymns of the second and third generation, viz. Heb. 5:5-10, 7:1-3; Acts 4:24ff., and some in I Pet. and the Pastorals, are strongly characterized by Old Testament imagery. His theory is that these later generations deleted the mythical material and replaced it with Old Testament-Christian thoughts.²⁹ But such a theory can only be supported by a careful selection of desired material. There are several Old Testament allusions in the hymns of Eph. 2:19-22 and 5:8-14 as well as some second-third generation hymns such as I Tim. 3:16, 2 Tim. 2:11-13 and Tit. 3:5-7 that are not filled with Old Testament imagery. It also appears strange that the Church would demythologize its hymns in favor of Old Testament imagery at a time when relationships between Church and synagogue were weaker than in previous generations.

A third argument for the lateness of the composition of

²⁹ Schille, op. cit., p. 330.

Ephesians centers upon the baptismal terminology itself. In the discussion of such concepts as "sealing" and "illumination" it was observed that the definite equation of these terms with baptism first occurs in the second century.³⁰ Yet it was concluded that the appearance of these concepts in Ephesians indicates that they are at least on their way to becoming standard baptismal terminology. This would be even more likely if the date of Ephesians were placed somewhere nearer to the end of the first century.

A final consideration in the question of authorship concerns a certain amount of scepticism regarding Paul's interest in baptism. By the time of his apostolic ministry the early Church practiced, and no doubt possessed, quite a developed doctrine of baptism. The accounts in Acts of Paul administering the rite (16:15; 16:33; 18:8; 19:3-5) do not reveal any development beyond what the early Church believed about baptism.

In Corinth, Paul explicitly minimizes his role in baptism, mentioning that Christ did not send him to baptize but rather to preach (I Cor. 1:14-17). In the reference to the Red Sea baptism (I Cor. 10:2) he makes no connection to the New Testament rite. I Cor. 12:13 mentions baptism in connection with unity but even here the application of this truth to the factious situation at Corinth is not applied in any detail. I Cor. 6:11 looks more like an adopted formula and represents nothing new in the connection of baptism-sanctification-Holy Spirit. And in 15:19, although Paul wonders why some Corinthians baptize on behalf of the dead,

³⁰ Cf. Part I, pp. 16-27, 30-36.

he never really condemns the practice.

The most famous of all Pauline passages on baptism is Romans 6:1-11, where, it is often believed, Paul sets forth the deepest implications of Christian baptism.³¹ But even here there is no way to

³¹ In addition to commentaries on Romans there are many significant studies on chapter 6. Cf. L. Fazekas, "Taufe als Tod in Röm. 6, 3ff" *ThZ*, 22 (1966), pp. 305-18; E. Fuchs, *Die Freiheit des Glaubens. Römer 5-8 ausgelegt* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1949); J. Gewiess, "Das Abbild des Todes Christi (Röm 6,6)," *Theologie aus dem Geist der Geschichte. Festschrift für Berthold Altaner* (München-Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber, 1958), pp. 339-346; W.T. Hahn, *Das Mitsterben und Mitaufstehen mit Christus bei Paulus* (Glücksloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1937); C. Kearns, "The Interpretation of Romans 6,7", *Analecta Biblica. Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus*, Vol. I (Rome, 1963), pp. 301-7; K.G. Kuhn, "Zu Röm 6,7", *ZNW*, 30 (1931), pp. 305-10; O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief*. Vol. I, Röm 1,1-6,11; Vol. II, Röm 6,11-8,19 (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963); *ibid.*, "Zur vorpaulinischen Tauflehre im neuen Testament," *Theologie und Glaube*, 41 (1951), pp. 189-309; "Zu Röm 6,5a", *Theologie und Glaube*, 41 (1951), pp. 430-7; *ibid.*, "Zur paulinischen und nachpaulinischen Tauflehre im neuen Testament," *Theologie und Glaube*, 42 (1952), pp. 401-25; G. Matern, *Exegese von Römer 6*. Inaugural Dissertation, der Theologischen Fakultät der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg n.d.; K. Mittring, *Heilswirklichkeit bei Paulus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der 'unio cum Christo' in den Paulusbriefen*. Neutestamentliche Forschungen, Vol. 5 (Glücksloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1929); F. Mussner, "Zusammengewachsen durch Ähnlichkeit mit seinem Tode. Der Gedankengang von Röm 6,1-6", *ThZ*, 63 (1954), pp. 257-65; F. Neugebauer, *In Christus (EN ΧΡΙΣΤΩ)*. Eine Untersuchung zum paulinischen Glaubensverständnis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); K.H. Schelkle, "Taufe und Tod. Zur Auslegung von Römer 6, 1-11", *Vom Christlichen Mysterium: Gesammelte Arbeiten zum Gedächtnis von ODO CASEL OSB* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1951), pp. 9-21; H. Schlier, "Die Taufe-Nach Röm. 6", *Die Zeit der Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1956), pp. 47-56; *ibid.*, "Die Taufe nach dem 6. Kapitel des Römerbriefes," *EvTh*, 1938, pp. 335-47; R. Schnackenburg, "Todes- und Lebensgemeinschaft mit Christus. Neue Studien zu Röm. 6, 1-11", *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 6 (1955), pp. 32-53; J. Schneider, *Die Passionsmystik des Paulus*. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Vol. 15 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929); H. Schwarzmann, *Zur Tauftheologie des Hl. Paulus in Röm 6* (Heidelberg: F.H. Kerle Verlag, 1950); R. Scroggs, "Romans VI. 7. Ο ΓΑΡ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΩΝ ΔΕΔΙΚΑΙΩΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ", *NTS*, 10 (1963-4), pp. 104-8; E. Stommel, "'Begraben mit Christus' (Röm. 6,4) und der Taufritus," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 49 (1954), pp. 1-20; *ibid.*, "Das 'Abbild seines Todes' (Röm

determine how much this interpretation of baptism ἐν Χριστῷ is specifically Pauline. His reference to ἡ ἄγνοεῖτε (6:3) suggests that the Roman Christians were already aware of what it meant to be baptized into Christ, and since the apostle had never been to Rome (15: 22), it is reasonable to assume that they heard this from someone other than Paul. This is not to deny that Paul gave a deeper significance or dimension to the "in Christ" formula. This is obvious from the emphasis that he gives to the connection between baptism and ethics, for example. What this discussion shows is that Paul perhaps played a minor role in the development of the theology of baptism and that much of what he taught concerning the rite is taken from the tradition and practice of the early Church. One finds it difficult to see how, in Schille's opinion, Paul could be the author of a baptismal liturgy.³²

6,5) und der Taufritus," Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, 50 (1955), pp. 1-21; S. Stricker, "Der Mysteriengedanke des hl. Paulus nach Römerbrief 6,2-11", Liturgisches Leben, 1 (1934), pp. 285-296; Tannehill, op. cit., especially pp. 7-43; G. Wagner, Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Römer 6, 1-11. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Vol. 39 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1962). English trans. by J.P. Smith, Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1967); V. Warnach, "Die Tauflehre des Römerbriefes in der neueren Theologischen Diskussion", Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, Vol. 5, 1958, pp. 274-332; Ibid., "Taufe und Christusgeschehen nach Römer 6", Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, 3 (1954), pp. 284-366; E.W. Wilson, "The Development of Paul's Doctrine of Dying and Rising Again with Christ," ET, 42 (1931), pp. 562-5.

³² The author, unlike Paul, would probably have lived nearer to the turn of the century where there is more evidence of the composition and utilization of liturgies by the worshipping community. Cf. Didache (ca. A.D. 110); Justin's Apology (ca. A.D. 160); The Apostolic Tradition (ca. A.D. 215).

In the "Introduction" it was indicated that Ephesians was written in response to a spiritual crisis in post-Pauline Christianity which centered around the unity of the Church. A possible reconstruction of the problem was the suggestion that Jewish Christianity was being pushed aside and despised by a steadily growing Gentile Christianity. Thus the author found it necessary to emphasize the inclusion of the Gentiles in God's plan of salvation and their connection to the salvation-history of their Jewish brethern. Both races have been united as one new "creation" in Christ and now constitute his Body, the Church.

Our thesis is built around the view that the author largely accomplishes his purpose by explicitly employing the language and thus invoking the theology of baptism. Baptism is the means by which the Gentiles participate in Christ; it symbolizes their change of status; it is the sacrament of unity for the Church; its ethical exhortations assist in maintaining the unity among the believers. All this, however, offers no new insights into the problem of authorship. Nor is there any conclusive evidence which links him or the content of the Epistle to the Ephesian Community.³³ All one can say is that the author was a deutero-Paulinist who sought to present the Apostle as the great missionary to the Gentiles and as the final interpreter of the "mystery" of the Church.³⁴

With this study on authorship we conclude the treatment of "topics" related to our study of the Epistle. In the next section we

³³ As Kirby, for example, does. Cf. discussion below, pp. 252-54.

³⁴ Cf. Part I, chapter III, pp. 67-71.

propose to examine the Jewish and Hellenistic initiatory rites and literature in order to determine whether they make any contribution toward our understanding of baptism in Ephesians. We have already noted throughout Parts I and II that a significant number of scholars belong to the "religionsgeschichtliche Schule" and believe that much of the terminology and theology of Christian baptism can be explained by these non-Christian rites. Their opinions were discussed and evaluated at the appropriate places in the exegesis of the text.

The purpose of Part III is to go beyond the cursory treatment of individual texts by investigating the Jewish and Hellenistic rites in more detail. Specific attention will be given to the nature, function, and interpretation of these rites in each religious community. On the basis of such a study it is hoped that a proper evaluation of the significance of these baptismal rites for the study of baptism in Ephesians can be made.

PART III

EPHESIANS AND A RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE STUDY OF BAPTISM

CHAPTER I

JEWISH PROSELYTE BAPTISM

A. The Jewish Bath:

The rites of purification that are codified in Leviticus 11 - 15, Numbers 19 and other Old Testament passages were an essential element in Israel's religion. These passages prescribe a definite use of the bath or a tebilah as the natural method of cleansing the body from various kinds of uncleanness and defilement. For example, if a person touched a defiled bed he was a transgressor and was to "wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be clean until the evening" (Lev. 15:5). Num. 19:20 shows the utmost importance of such ritual washing: "But the man who is unclean and does not cleanse himself, that person shall be cut off from the midst of the assembly, since he has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord; because the water of impurity has not been thrown upon him, he is unclean."

As important as these lustrations were, the religious use of water is not limited to such baths. Washing, or at least the figure of washing, assumes a deeper meaning with explicit moral implications in the prophetic books. Ezekiel uses the imagery of such purifications to describe God's restoration of the house of Israel: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleanness, and from all your idols I will cleanse you (36:25). Isaiah says to his people, "Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; cease to do evil, learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression; defend the fatherless,

plead for the widow (1:16f.). Zechariah speaks of a fountain opening to cleanse the inhabitants of Jerusalem from sin and uncleanness in 13:1. Repentance is also described by Jeremiah in vivid imagery as he summons the people to "pour out your heart like water before the presence of the Lord (Lamentations 2:19).

Many scholars believe that proselyte baptism was a direct and necessary outgrowth of the tebilah. Plummer, for example, concludes:

...the baptizing of proselytes would follow of necessity from the regulations which require a Jew to bathe in order to recover Levitical purity....If the mere possibility of contact with pollutions requires such purification, how much more would one who had lived in heathen pollution require a complete purification before he was admitted to full membership in the House of Israel.¹

To a certain extent, Plummer's reasoning is sound and justified. There is no doubt that the Jews would have and did require the proselyte to undergo certain rites of purification before admission to their religion was granted. However, to conclude that proselyte baptism is a mere outgrowth of the "bath" and is no different from other Levitical lustrations with the exception of its being the proselyte's first tebilah, is to make an incorrect limitation upon the rite. It is quite certain that proselyte baptism, in its origin and historical development, incorporated characteristics quite distinct from the tebilah and that it was more than just another lustration.

It is quite possible, though not necessarily so, that the

¹ A. Plummer, "Baptism", A Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), p. 240.

idea of proselyte baptism originated in the Jewish purification rites. Yet, in spite of all the investigation by scholars, no one has adequately determined when proselyte baptism ceased to be a bath solely for ritual purity and received its own importance as a rite of admission. Lustrative baths were carried out even after the immersion of proselytes became an established practice, and the matter is further complicated by the fact that a single word (tebilah) describes private ablution and initiatory rites.

The material dealing with proselyte baptism does not specifically date the origin of the rite.² Hence the results of

² There is no unanimity among Biblical scholars as to the date of proselyte baptism and weighty arguments have been proposed for both a pre-Christian and post-Christian origin of the rite. Those arguing for an early origin of the rite include: T. Torrance, "Proselyte Baptism," NTS, 1 (1954), p. 150; E. Schlürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885), p. 31; L. Finkelstein, "The Institution of Baptism for Proselytes," JBL, 52 (1933), p. 211; J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries (London: S.C.M. Press, 1960), p. 26; D. Daube, op. cit., pp. 111-2; W.D. Davies, op. cit., p. 121; Gäumann, op. cit., p. 38; J. Crehan, op. cit., p. 3; J. Delorme, "The Practice of Baptism in Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era," in Baptism in the New Testament, ed., A. George (Baltimore: The Helicon Press, 1963), p. 30; E. Lerle, Proselytenwerbung und Urchristentum (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), pp. 52ff.; J. Heron, "Christian Initiation," Studia Liturgica, 1 (1962), p. 34; T.W. Manson, "Baptism in the Church," SJTh, 2 (1949), p. 342. n.7; H.H. Rowley, "Jewish Proselyte Baptism," Hebrew Union College Annual, 15 (1940), p. 320.

Most of the arguments center around the Rabbinical sources Pesahim 8:8 and Yebamoth 46a. Scholars argue that since proselyte baptism was a matter of controversy by the end of the first century A.D. it must have been a long prevailing practice. Jeremias, op. cit., puts considerable emphasis upon Test. Levi. 14:6. In spite of the many difficulties regarding the dating of the passage, he is convinced of its Jewish origin and conjectures that the author "opposes the introduction of proselyte baptism because he fears that it encourages mixed marriages... and that it lacks scriptural support" (p.27).

Scholars opposing a pre-Christian practice generally find the

scholarship have often taken a path of speculative and hypothetical reasoning which, in many cases, has led to unwarranted conclusions. One cannot simply conclude that proselyte baptism was an outgrowth of the tebilah without overlooking other factors that demand consideration, especially the difference in function between the two rites.

B. The Rite of Baptism:

Maimonides, the great Jewish scholar of the twelfth century, summarizes what Torrance calls a "mosaic of passages" from the different tractates of the Talmud, particularly Yebamoth, Berakoth, Kerithoth, Kethuboth, Shabbath and Abodah Zarah. According to Maimonides:

By three things did Israel enter into the Covenant, by circumcision, and baptism and sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt, as it was written, 'No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof' (Exod. xii.48). Baptism was in the wilderness just before the giving of the Law: as it is written, 'Sanctify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their clothes' (Exod. xxiv.5). And so in all ages when a Gentile is willing to enter into the Covenant, and gather himself under the wings of the Shekinah of God, and take upon him yoke of the Law, he must be circumcised and be baptized and bring a sacrifice. As it is written, 'As you are, so shall the stranger be' (Num. xv.15). How are you? So likewise the stranger (or Proselyte) through all generations: by circumcision and baptism, and bringing of a sacrifice. And what is the stranger's sacrifice? A burnt offering of a beast, or two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, both of them for a burnt offering. And at this time when there is no sacrificing, they must be circumcised and be baptized; and when the Temple shall

Rabbinical material inconclusive. According to S. Zeitlin, "A Note on Baptism for Proselytes," JBL, 52 (1933), "There is nothing in the Tannaitic literature or in the Hellenistic literature before the destruction of the Temple to indicate that baptism was a requisite for conversion to Judaism" (p. 79). Similar views are expressed by: T.M. Taylor, "The Beginnings of Jewish Proselyte Baptism," NTS, 2 (1956), p. 196; W. Michaelis, "Zum jüdischen Hintergrund der Johannestaufe," Judaica, 7 (1951), p. 100 and his "Die jüdische Proselytentaufer und die Tauflehre des Neuen Testaments," Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, 105 (1949), pp. 34-7.

be built, they are to bring the sacrifice. A stranger that is circumcised and not baptized, or baptized and not circumcised, is not a proselyte till he be both circumcised and baptized: and he must be baptized in the presence of three.... Even as they circumcise and baptize servants that are received from the heathen into the name of servitude.... The Gentile that is made a proselyte and the slave that is made free, behold, he is like a child new born.³

Although this description by Maimonides is not sufficiently complete for our study, it does, nevertheless, introduce us to the history and understanding of the rite. For a more precise treatment of the practice we turn to Yebamoth and Gerim where it is possible to outline the rite in more detail and distinguish the stages through which the proselyte passed before becoming a Jew.⁴

1. Presentation and Examination of the Candidate: An individual wishing to join the Covenant is first of all asked why he desires to become a proselyte:⁵

One who comes to be made a proselyte in the present time is to be asked: 'Why dost thou come to be made a proselyte? Dost thou not know that at this time Israel is afflicted, buffeted, humiliated and harried, and that sufferings and sore trials come upon them?' If he answer 'I know this, and am not worthy,' they are to accept him immediately (Yeb.47a).

³ Quoted from Torrance, op. cit., p. 150.

⁴ On Gerim, cf. the text, translation and commentary by G. Polster, "Der Kleine Talmudtraktat über die Proselyten," Angelos, 2 (1926), pp. 3-38. On pp. 17ff. he gives an explanation of the "Traktat" itself. Crehan, op. cit., believes Gerim was composed "in order to form a manual where all the ancient teachings on the reception of proselytes could be found in a schematic form" (p. 2). Cf. also H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Vol I, 1922), pp. 110-112 under the title "Der Vollzug der Proselytentaufe."

⁵ Quotations from The Babylonian Talmud (London: The Soncino Press, 1960-67). Daube refers to this as the "test" which was given to the candidate (op. cit., pp. 113-117).

One who desires to be made a proselyte is not to be received immediately, but they are to ask him: 'What makes thee desire to become a proselyte? Behold, seest thou not how the People is humbled and afflicted among the nations of the world, how many ills and sufferings come upon them, how they bury their sons and grandsons, and how they are put to death for Circumcision, Baptism, and all other Ordinances, and do not conduct their lives openly and freely like all the other peoples?' If he answer: 'I am not worthy to give my neck to the yoke of Him Who spake the word and the world came into existence,' they are to accept him immediately. If not, he is dismissed and goes on his way (Gerim I. 1-2).

2. The Instruction of the Candidate: In this period of instruction the candidate is made aware of some of the rules and regulations of Jewish life:

They are to instruct him in some of the lighter and some of the weightier commandments; and inform him as to the sins in regard to the corner of the field, the forgotten sheaf, the gleaning, and the tithe for the poor. Then shall they teach him the penalties for transgression: 'Know well that up until the time that thou hast come hither thou hast eaten the forbidden fat of cattle without incurring the sentence of excommunication; that thou hast profaned the Sabbath without incurring the penalty of lapidation. But from now on if thou eat the forbidden fat of cattle thou wilt be excommunicated; if though profanest the Sabbath thou wilt be stoned.' In the same way as they instruct him about the penalties of transgression shall they teach him the rewards for observance of the commandments and shall say to him: 'Knowest thou that the world to come was made only for the righteous, but Israel at this present time may not experience very great good or very great afflictions.' Yet one must not multiply words or go too much into detail (Yeb 47 a,b).⁶

This brief catechism is considered a very essential element of the ceremony and together with this spiritual exhortation the candidate is made aware of the important step he is taking.

⁶ Cf. the quotation below from Gerim which makes a more definite connection to instruction during baptism. Cf. also Polster, op. cit., pp. 18-19, 21-23.

The scholarly world is indebted to Professor Daube for his helpful and penetrating study of the proselyte's baptismal catechism.⁷ Daube divides the catechism into several topics which illuminate the passage quoted above from Yeb. 47 a and b. First of all, there are the commandments, for the candidate must "hear about the kind of things God has told the Jews to do or not to do. . . . He will concentrate on basic obligations. He will, for instance, inculcate the duties of a loving God with all one's heart, soul and might, and of commemorating the exodus every year. . . ."8

Secondly, the reference to the "corner of the field," the "forgotten sheaf, the gleaning, and the tithe for the poor," Daube calls the instruction of charity.⁹ Thirdly, there are the penalties¹⁰ and these are listed in Yeb. as lapidation and excommunication. Finally, there is instruction on rewards and the future world.¹¹ Here Daube claims that "the entire catechism is set in an eschatological framework. It is instruction as to man's purpose, task and hope in the passing phase of this world."¹²

3. Circumcision: It was essential that the male proselyte be circumcised, and "as soon as he is healed arrangements are made for his immediate ablution" (Yeb. 47b). Considerable controversy centered around the necessity of the bath (baptism) after circumcision had been

⁷ "A Baptismal Catechism," pp. 106-140.

⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 127-30.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 131-33.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 133-38.

¹² Ibid., p. 134.

performed, or the necessity of circumcision after one had been baptized. R. Eliezer and other "Sages" were firm believers in the necessity of circumcision, but on the analogy that the ritual ablution was sufficient for female proselytes, contended that a male could be a "proper proselyte" without the prescribed ritual ablution. Other Rabbis agreed that the ritual ablution could be effective without circumcision (Yeb. 46b). R. Jose, on the other hand, affirmed that the "proper proselyte" had to be circumcised and perform the prescribed ritual bath: "A man cannot become a proper proselyte unless he has been circumcised and has also performed ritual ablution; when, therefore, no ablution has been performed he is regarded as an idolater" (Yeb. 47b).

From Sabbath 137 b we know that a benediction was also recited at the time of circumcision. The one who circumcised the proselyte says: "Blessed are Thou, O Lord our God, the King of the Universe, who didst sanctify us by the commandments and enjoin upon us Circumcision." And the one who recited the benediction says: "Thou who didst sanctify us by thy commandments and enjoined us to circumcise proselytes and to extract from them (him) a drop of the blood of the Covenant, for were it not for the blood of the Covenant heaven and earth would not maintain."

4. Baptism: Once the individual is found worthy of baptism and, in the case of the male, circumcised, the proselyte can proceed to the baptism. During the actual performance of the bath there was a further period of instruction:

If he accept, he is to be circumcised immediately... and when healed brought to baptism immediately. Two learned

in the Law shall stand near him and instruct him as to some of the lighter and some of the weightier commandments... He immerses himself and when he comes up he is in all respects an Israelite (Yeb. 47b).

In case he assume (the obligation) upon himself they bring him down to the baptistry, and cover him with water to his genitals. They recite to him certain particular commandments; that he should begin to give the corner of the field, the forgotten sheaf, the gleaning, and the tithe.¹³ As they instruct a man, so they instruct a woman: that she should begin to be scrupulous in regard to the regulations as to purification, the priest's share of the dough, and the kindling of the Sabbath light. He immerses himself, and when he comes up they address him (with) 'comforting works' (Gerim I. 3-5).

Certain scholars have questioned whether the bath required of the proselyte implies complete immersion of the body. According to Rogers,¹⁴ the Rabbinic statements in the Mishnah and Talmud are not decisive indications that submersion was required in the first century. On the other hand, Abrahams believes "that there is no adequate ground for doubting that Jewish baptism in the first century was by total immersion."¹⁵ While the account in Yeb. 46a may not reflect the rite as practiced in the first century, it definitely confirms complete immersion by the time of its composition. In the baptism of slaves, for example, special care was taken that the water touched every part of the body: "In order that there might be no interposition" (Yeb. 46a), the chain around the slave's neck was loosened. On the basis of no

¹³ Note the similarity here to the quotation from Yeb. in #2. Daube feels that the central part of the instruction was repeated during the act of immersion (ibid., p. 106).

¹⁴ C.F. Rogers, "How did the Jews Baptize?" JThS, 12 (1911), pp. 437-445.

¹⁵ I. Abrahams, "How did the Jews Baptize?" JThS, 12 (1911), p. 612.

decisive evidence to the contrary, it is safe to assume that complete immersion characterized the bath by at least the first century.

With every proselyte initiation three male witnesses were required: "In the case of a woman proselyte, women make her sit in the water up to her neck, while two learned men stand outside and give her instruction. . ." (47b) or, "one who becomes a proselyte is like a child newly born: (Yeb. 22a, 62a). Once a "true Israelite," he would also be expected to perform the many other regulations governing the religion of his brethern.

When a proselyte accepted baptism and became a Jew it was quite natural, owing to the corporate nature of the family, that the children were also baptized.¹⁶ However, the children who were baptized as members of a proselyte family were not regarded as "true Israelites," and could, upon reaching maturity, renounce the relationship entered into by his parents. Children born into a family after the parents had become proselytes were not required to be baptized since they were the offspring of "true Israelites," and were themselves regarded as full members of the House of Israel: "Born again out of heathendom, they were new creature, no longer aliens and strangers, but fellow citizens of the commonwealth of Israel in the family of God."¹⁷

Finally, the act of baptism was an act of dedication to the

¹⁶ This fact has received enthusiastic attention by apologists for Christian infant baptism, particularly J. Jer  mias, Cf. his exegesis in Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, op. cit., pp. 24 ff.

¹⁷ Torrance, op. cit., p. 168

God of Israel. The candidate had received the necessary instructions regarding the importance of his decision. His submission to this rite testifies that he acknowledges the requirements of his new faith and dedicates himself to the service of God.

5. Benediction: The final stage of the entire rite is the pronouncement of a benediction, or what Gavin prefers to call the "Address of Congratulation."¹⁸ Gerim I. 5b reads: "To whom thou hast joined thyself? Happy (art) thou! To him who spake the word and the world came into existence, for the world was created only for Israel's sake, nor are there any called 'sons' save Israel, and all the words which we spake unto thee we have said only in order to increase thy reward." In Pesahim 7b it is explicitly stated that a benediction was spoken after the ritual bath: "When one has a ritual bath and ascends (from the bath), on his ascending he recites: 'Blessed (art Thou)...who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments and has commanded us concerning tebilah.'"

C. The Interpretation of the Rite:

There is no unanimity among scholars on the interpretation of proselyte baptism. The disagreement largely revolves around the question of whether the rite has a sacramental or ritual significance. The tying of the rite to the once-for-all requirements for Israelites entering the covenant distinguishes proselyte baptism from the different rites of repeated ablution. According to Rowley, the rite goes

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 35

"fundamentally beyond lustration. . . and was clearly directed to something deeper than physical purification."¹⁹ The ritual baths, it is true, were not symbolical of an entrance into a wholly new life, and did not signify a change of heart or morality. Proselyte baptism, on the other hand, affirms Rowley, is "an act of self dedication to the God of Israel, involving spiritual factors as well as physical with a fundamental sacramental character."²⁰

A significant number of scholars find sacramental overtones in the expression describing the candidate as a "child newly born." For J. Jeremias, the phrase means, "dass Gott dem Proselyten (beim Uebertritt) alle seine Sünden vergebe."²¹ Gavin describes it in the following way:

in his relationship to God, now constituted by his conversion to Judaism, he is free from sin, guilt, and punishment so far as concerns the acts of his pre-conversion life; in his relationship to God's People, the Fellowship of Israel, he is thought of as making a fresh start, a new beginning, entirely severed from all relationships with his past, incorporated as by birth into a new society, beginning life again.²²

¹⁹ Rowley, op. cit., p. 326

²⁰ Ibid., p. 329.

²¹ J. Jeremias, "Proselytentaufe und Neues Testament," ThZ, 5 (1949), p. 426. Cf. also J. Leipoldt, "Die altchristliche Taufe religionsgeschichtlich betrachtet," op. cit., where he refers to the baptism as "Sündenbekenntnis," and "Sündenvergebung" (p. 46).

²² Gavin, op. cit., p. 58, Cf. also pp. 52-3. Gavin discusses sacramentalism in Judaism pp. 1-25. On the basis of the 'non-dualistic' thought of the Jews, he argues that while there is no explicit formulation of sacramental thought (p.4), there is an implied "rudimentary and germinal sacramentalism" (p.5). The Jews, he says, made no distinction between physical and moral uncleanness, and all rites of purification were efficacious in removing sin. P. Harrell, "Jewish Proselyte Baptism," Restoration Quarterly, 1 (1957), claims that negatively, the bath "removed the noahide sins of the candidate" (p. 162). For Daube, the aspect of the convert having the status of a new born child (Yeb. 48b),

For Gavin, there can be no doubt that this interpretation of proselyte baptism profoundly influenced the belief and practice of early Christian baptism.

Daube is another scholar who questions those who interpret proselyte baptism as merely purificatory rather than moral, spiritual and sacramental, although he admits there are some passages which lead to the former view. He places considerable weight upon the phrase "he who separates himself from the uncircumcision is like him who separates himself from the grave" (Pes. 91b) as reflecting the spiritual attitude that conversion "meant a passage from death to life." To be a heathen was like being in a tomb and consequently, to come out of heathenism "was like rising from the dead."²³ Daube appreciates the symbolic value of the immersion by reminding us that Yeb. 47b states: "When he has undergone baptism and come up, tabhal we'ala, he is like an Israelite in all respects."²⁴ J. Heron notes that even though proselyte baptism may have begun as a ritual or symbolic purification "it undoubtedly had become, by the time of the New Testament, a symbolic or ritual death and rebirth."²⁵

especially the female since no circumcision was involved, "would be quite incompatible with the notion of baptism as a merely purificatory act. . . ." (op. cit., p. 112). For opposite, or non-sacramental views, Cf. E. Fascher, "Taufe," Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Vol.2, Reihe 8, Halbband (Stuttgart, 1932), pp. 2501-2518; Gähmann, op. cit., p. 38.

²³ Op. cit., p. 110.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 111.

²⁵ J. Heron, op. cit., p. 35. Cf. also his "The Theology of Baptism," SJTh, 8 (1955), p. 40; T.E. Glasson, similarly believes that the idea of death was associated with proselyte baptism ("Dying and Rising with Christ," London Quarterly and Holborn Review, 186 (1961), pp. 287-8).

One final aspect in favour of a more spiritual interpretation of the rite, according to Daube, is the matter of instruction or catechism. Here Daube believes that "instruction in the commandments would not be a fitting accompaniment of a primitively levitical ceremony. It should also be observed that not one commandment dealing with levitical purity is singled out for mention."²⁶

Just how far one can go in any sacramental interpretation is difficult to determine. Rowley and others appear to place too much emphasis upon the sacramental and in doing so go far beyond what the Jews intended it would signify. Several factors, at least, appear to mitigate against describing proselyte baptism as a sacrament.

First of all, there is the question as to whether sacramental thinking was not entirely foreign to Jewish thought. Even if one grants with Gavin that there is a "rudimentary and germinal sacramentalism"²⁷ there certainly are no cultic observations which are grounded in the fate of a deity, as in the Mysteries, or rites through which spiritual grace is transmitted.²⁸

Secondly, baptism is only part of the entire admission ceremony, and as noted, there was considerable debate as to its singular importance. It does not appear to be more than a cleansing bath from

²⁶ Daube, op. cit., p. 121.

²⁷ Gavin, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁸ Cf. Gähmann, op. cit., p. 37.

ritual uncleanness which, in connection with circumcision, gave the individual full membership in the fellowship of Israel.²⁹

Finally, there is the difficult interpretation of the view that conversion from paganism to the Jewish faith implied a new life in terms of a dying or rising again (Pes. 91b) or a new birth (Yeb. 62a). Perhaps it is circumcision and not the bath which is the decisive element here.³⁰ In terms of religious meaning, there is no supporting evidence to assert that proselyte baptism was any different from the other rites of cleansing which had no relationship to the "inner man" and his ethical renewal.³¹ One can say no more than that proselyte baptism remains as a cleansing ceremony for the attainment of levitical purity which the heathen did not have and which the Jew required of him.

To be sure, proselyte baptism transcends all other lustrations in function, but it was primarily regarded as a rite of initiation into "Israel's faith, into instruction of the Torah, into understanding of

²⁹ Many scholars, in fact, place more emphasis upon the importance of circumcision rather than the bath in this connection. Cf. Lerle, op. cit., p. 54 who regards that the circumcision of the proselyte was regarded as death of the old and birth of the new man. Beasley-Murray makes the following interpretation of the Rabbinic literature: "The newly circumcised has come from a grave and must endure the customary seven days period of uncleanness and then bathe himself: the decisive turn from 'death' therefore, was the circumcision already undergone, not the bath taken seven days later" (Baptism, pp. 28-9).

³⁰ As noted above in n. 29 by Beasley-Murray. Cf. also Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 15.

³¹ So A. Oepke, op. cit., p. 533; E. Fascher, op. cit., pp. 2205-6; S. Sjöberg, op. cit., p. 50.

the Truth and communion with God."³² One rather suspects that the attempts to give the rite a sacramental meaning stem from enthusiasts who hold a similar view of New Testament baptism and who seek to interpret this rite in terms of its Jewish predecessor.

³² Torrance, op. cit., p. 151; Beasley-Murray states: "The proselyte's bath enabled the freshly made Jew to enter upon his privileges of worship; did not make the heathen a Jew" (Baptism, p. 29).

CHAPTER II

BAPTISM IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

Introductory Comments:

Careful unearthing of the area inhabited by the Qumran sect has revealed one of the most intricate and complicated water systems known to have existed in a wilderness area. Findings have shown numerous storage tanks where water evidently had been kept for specific purposes--both domestic and religious. In addition to such large repositories, numerous cisterns and pools were found throughout the Community. The area occupied by the steps leading into these pools suggests that access into the pool was important. At least one explanation for this may be that they were used for baptismal or lustrational rites.¹

Not everyone interprets the existence of pools and cisterns as definitive evidence for postulating theories of elaborate baptismal rites. While the pools seem admirably designed for bathing rites, F.M. Cross claims that they are "typical examples of water reservoirs well known from other sites. . . two or three small pools are probably baths. . . probably the ritual baptisms called for the living waters of the Jordan. . . In any case we do not believe they immersed them-

¹ Cf. O. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," RQ, 1 (1958), pp. 214-15; J. Pryke, "Sacrament of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran," RQ, 5 (1966), p. 543; Cf. also Josephus' account of the Essenes in "Wars of the Jews," Book II, 8; C. Fritsch, The Qumran Community (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956).

selves in their drinking water."² J. Allegro is also aware of the cisterns and seriously questions their use as baptistries. He agrees with Cross that the sectarians would have preferred the running water of the Jordan or even "the Ain Feshka to the south."³ But, regardless of the position taken on the use of these pools, the important fact is that the Community did observe purificatory rites of no small importance.

A. The Baptismal Rites:

It is not unusual that the Qumran Community observed various baths of purification or baptisms. So common were lustrations, washings and baptismal rites among the Jewish people that only the absence of such practices would cause amazement. In many cases, lengthy prescriptions are recorded regarding the use of water and the meaning of the rites. A typical example in this case is a passage from The Damascus Document which reads:

Let no man bathe in dirty water or in a quantity too little to cover a man completely. Let no man purify a vessel with little water. And any pool in a rock in which there is not enough water to cover (a Man) completely, if an unclean person has touched it he defiles the water of the pool (as) he would defile the water in a vessel (X, 11-13).⁴

The general opinion regarding the establishment of the Qumran

² F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1958), p. 50.

³ John Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Christianity (New York: Criterion Books, 1957), p. 90; Cf. also Pryke, op. cit., p. 543.

⁴ All quotations in this section are taken from the translation by A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1962).

Community is that it came into operation near the middle of the second century B.C. when the site was rebuilt and enlarged by the sectarians.⁵ At Qumran, the group maintained a rigid adherence to the study and practice of the Law in order to purify themselves for the coming of the Messianic Kingdom. The members of the sect were able to carry out the commanded and necessary ritual lustrations in spite of separation from

⁵ The history of the Essenes and the Qumran Community is by no means clear. O. Betz, "Dead Sea Scrolls," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), Vol. I., p. 793 suggests a history of the site that goes back to the seventh or eighth century B.C. and after a series of destructions and abandonments was finally rebuilt in the first century B.C. W.R. Farmer, in his article on "Essenes" in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, II, pp. 143-148, suggests that after a series of moves to and from Jerusalem, the headquarters were finally established at Qumran about 36 B.C. It should be noted that the Essenes are equated with the Qumran Community. While such an identification is not without objection, the majority of scholars agree that the Essenes inhabited the regions of Qumran. To this F.M. Cross states: "There is now sufficient evidence... to identify the people of the scrolls definitively with the Essenes. The Community at Qumran was an Essene settlement" (op. cit., pp. 38-9). M.H. Gottstein objects to such an identification claiming great religious divergences between the Essenes and the Dead Sea Covenanters in "Anti-Essene Traits in the Dead Sea Scrolls," Vetus Testamentum, 4 (1954), pp. 141-47. Gottstein even goes so far as to rule out a "sister-sect" theory on the basis of the 'diametrically opposed conception of purity and purification" (p. 145). He claims that the Essenes were a sect of the "twice Born" type because the novice was initiated only once after his probation. The Dead Sea Covenanters on the other hand were of the "annual birth" type because they practiced initiation year after year, thus showing an important typological difference between the two sects (p. 146). The truth may lie somewhere between the assertions of Cross and Gottstein. Compare H.H. Rowley, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T.W. Manson, ed. (A.J.B. Higgins Manchester: University Press, 1959), pp. 219-220. Rowley identifies the sects, but "with the recognition that in the Scrolls we see them at an earlier age of their history than in the first century writers, and that therefore their practice was not in all points the same in the two periods."

the cultic life of their "Brethren." However, the sect did not limit itself to the ritual observances prescribed in the Old Testament. The Manual of Discipline testifies that they went far beyond the Old Testament, both in the number and interpretation of the cleansing rites and in their determination to maintain complete ritual purity. It is exactly this observation which has led many scholars to trace the origin of the group back to the priesthood or the Chasidim. Beasley-Murray maintains that it is reasonable to suppose that the movement "sprang directly from a spontaneous application of the Levitical rites by priestly enthusiasts to a wider area of life than was envisaged in the Law."⁶

The aforesaid theory helps in part to explain the adoption and expansion (in practice and interpretation of the Old Testament cleansing rites). As "priestly enthusiasts" they were already committed to the performance of lustrative rites familiar to them. The further development and interpretation of baths and lustrations unknown to the normative Judaism of the time may be due to the separation from the cultic system. A. Büchler postulates that the Essene idea of taking a daily ablution may have been an adaptation of the daily guilt offerings sacrificed in the Temple in their day. It seems probable, he continues, "that the three significant points connected with John's baptism, repentance, confession and forgiveness, were borrowed from the sin-offering, as the Essenes seem to have declared their daily immersion to

⁶ Beasley-Murray, Baptism p. 12; Cf. also H.H. Rowley, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," op. cit., p. 220.

have the same atoning effect as the atoning sin-offering."⁷ It could be, therefore, that their earnest desire for purity of body and soul led them to develop a practice that later became popular among the Jews, was copied by John the Baptist, and eventually culminated in Christian baptism.

B. Interpretation of the Baptismal Rites:

The Qumran literature reveals that the wilderness sect aspired to something more than ceremonial purity in the performance of the ritual baptisms. To this extent there is a development of the Old Testament concept. However, as has been suggested with proselyte baptism,⁸ the distinction between ceremonial and moral cleanliness is not always easy to determine.

In Qumran, as in all of Judaism, there appears to be a definite relationship between the external rite and the inward spiritual condition of the individual.⁹ The rite in itself is ineffective in cleansing a person because repentance and a spirit of submission must precede the baptism. In The Manual of Discipline¹⁰ V, 13bf. it states:

Let not (the wicked) enter the water to touch the Purification of the holy, for a man is not pure unless he be converted

⁷ A. Buchler, Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1928) p. 369.

⁸ Cf. above, pp. 226-231

⁹ F. Gavin, op. cit., pp. 1-5; J. Steinmann, Saint John the Baptist and the Desert Tradition. Transl. from the French by M. Boyes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 66.

¹⁰ Hereafter abbreviated Manual. We shall also refer to the Manual even though Dupont-Sommer calls it The Scroll of the Rule.

from his malice. For he is defiled for as long as he transgresses His word.

Dahl understands this passage as an ordinance "not to let any unworthy person be admitted to the ritual baths of the community, which are the precondition for personal, bodily contact with its members. The ablution will not profit him as long as he has not really repented."¹¹

One of the most crucial passages in the Manual is III, 4 - 9:

He shall not be absolved by atonement, nor purified by lustral waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor cleansed by all the waters of washing. Unclean, unclean shall he be for as long as he scorns the ordinances of God and allows not himself to be taught by the Community of His Council. For by the Spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man shall all his sins be atoned when he beholds the light of life. By the Holy Spirit of the Community, in His truth, shall he be cleansed of all his sins; and by the Spirit of uprightness and humility shall his iniquity be atoned. By his soul's humility towards all the precepts of God shall his flesh be cleansed when sprinkled with lustral water and sanctified in flowing water. And he shall establish his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways of God....

Here the emphasis upon cleansing and atonement from sin is obvious.

Noteworthy, however, is the function of "Spirit" and "Truth" as the agents of cleansing and not the element of water. The tenor of the passage appears to be that whoever joins the Community is first of all cleansed by the Spirit of God and the Truth (Law). After this has

¹¹ N.A. Dahl, "The Origin of Baptism," Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel (Oslo: Fabritius & Sønner, 1955), p. 43. The emphasis upon repentance bears a striking resemblance to some of the admonitions in the O.T. (Ezek. 14:6, 18:30) and John the Baptist (Mt. 3:2, 3:8; Lk. 3:8; Mk. 1:5; Jn. 1:23).

occurred, the individual submits to a baptism.¹²

The efficacy of baptism, therefore, is not in the forgiveness of sins. According to Gnilka, permission to undergo the baptism of the Community gives the individual the consciousness that he stands in the grace of God and walks in the perfection of his ways. Rather than cleansing from sin they assure man that his sins have been forgiven and his guilt atoned. "Die Bäder sind für ihn, der in der Gemeinschaft der Gemeinde steht, das untrügliche Zeichen der Gottwohlgefälligkeit seines Wandels und seiner Sühnung."¹³ Thus in Qumran, the baths become a source of ethical incentive, a rule of the individual's "walk" and a sign of the perfection of the elect.¹⁴

Apart from the ethical aspect, there is also the indication that baptism was practiced in preparation for an impending judgment. This eschatological emphasis is a development beyond the common Levitical illustrations which neither represented an entry into a new Covenant nor prepared the devotee for the coming judgement.

¹² Cf. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," op. cit., pp. 216ff.; J. Gnilka, "Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe," RQ, 2 (1961), pp. 193-4; J.E. Mantey, "Baptism in the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," Review and Expositor, 51 (1954), p. 524; Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 49.

¹³ Gnilka, op. cit., p. 195.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 195-6. Wibbing, on the other hand, stresses the sacramental character of the bath and that it qualifies man for acts of obedience to God: "Die besondere Bedeutung des Reinigungsbades liegt darin, dass es sakramentalen Charakter hat und so in einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit der Tat des Frommen tritt" (op. cit., pp. 69-70).

Although eschatological allusions are found in several places (Manual I, 24-6; IV, 12-13, 19-22, 25; IX, 10-11; Hymn Scroll VI, 29ff.) our primary concern is its appearance in connection with cleansing:

God has set an end for the existence of Perversity; and at the time of the Visitation He will destroy it for ever. Then Truth shall arise in the world for ever; for (the world) has defiled itself in the ways of wickedness under the dominion of Perversity until the time of final Judgment. Then God will cleanse by His Truth all the works of man, and will purify for Himself the (bodily) fabric of every man, to banish all Spirit of perversity from his members, and purify him of all wicked deeds by the Spirit of holiness; and He will cause the Spirit of Truth to gush forth upon him like lustral water. All lying abominations shall come to an end, (and) defilement by the Spirit of defilement. The just will comprehend the Knowledge of the Most High, and the perfect of way will have understanding of the wisdom of the Sons of Heaven. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of the Man is theirs. Perversity will exist no more; shame upon all the works of deceit!

Opinion is fairly unanimous that the imagery of this passage is derived from the Old Testament, particularly Ezek. 36:25-27¹⁵ where a great eschatological cleansing is spoken of.¹⁶ Here water is used as a symbol of the cleansing that will take place by the Spirit.

All the efforts of the Qumran Community concerning cleansing and holiness are temporary in nature and are oriented toward the end-time when God himself will perform the final cleansing through his Spirit.

¹⁵ Gnika, op. cit., p. 196; Betz, op. cit., p. 221.

¹⁶ "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances."

Betz states that "Das Bad beim Bundeseintritt ist auf die grosse Reinigung ausgerichtet, die Gott in der Endzeit an den Erwählten vollzieht."¹⁷ And since he considers the bath at the time of entrance to the Community a "proselyte baptism," he uses the analogy to describe the eschatological baptism. "Der Proselytentaufe der Gegenwart, wird von der Proselytentaufe der Endzeit übertroffen. . . ."¹⁸ The first baptism is a sign of the proselyte's new being as manifested in his new ethic; in the eschatological baptism a higher form of being is reached: "Der Geist Gottes, der für den Proselyten der Sekte vor allem ethische Bedeutung hat, hat für den Proselyten des Gottesreiches auch substantielle Wirkung, denn er verändert dessen äussere Gestalt."¹⁹

C. Entrance into the Community:

Entrance into the Qumran Community was made possible by an elaborate period of probation and initiation. Unfortunately, the texts dealing with entrance are not complete and since they are also scattered throughout the entire body of literature, accurate reconstruction of the novitiate is hazardous.

It is generally accepted that the novice had to go through three stages of initiation before he was fully admitted into the Community. Josephus indicates that anyone wishing to join the sect is first of all placed on probation for a year. After he successfully passed this probationary period he could partake of the waters of purification. Then he is tested for another two years before finally

¹⁷ Betz, op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 220-221.

being admitted into the society.²⁰

Manual I, 16- II, 18 probably describes the first stage of entry into the Community. It reads much like some type of liturgical procession which includes a confession of sins (I, 24-26), the promise of the novice to obey God's commands (I, 16-17) and blessings, curses and recitations by the priests and the Levites (I, 19-23; II, 1-18). VI, 14-15 indicates that the individual is also examined as to his intellectual and moral suitability to join the Covenant.

After successful completion of this probationary period (V, 13-14) the novice is admitted to the "Purity of the Many" (VI, 16-17). Here he partakes of the purificatory baths and is given proper instruction in such matters as the correct handling of food, vessels and contact with other people. After a year he is finally admitted as a full member of the Community which includes, among other things, participation in the Banquet (Drink) of the Many.²¹

Upon completion of this stage he is examined by the "Many". Although the texts do not expand at this point (perhaps VIII, 10b-12), Josephus indicates that the individual was obliged to take tremendous oaths to exercise piety toward God, justice toward men, to hate evil, etc.²² If the "Many" come to a favourable decision, and "if fate decrees that he approach the Community, he shall be regularly inscribed in his

²⁰ "Wars of the Jews," II, 8.

²¹ There is certain ambiguity at this point. Pryke claims it may be either "wine" or "meal" (op. cit., p. 544).

²² "Wars of the Jews," II, 8.

rank among his brethren in whatever concerns the Law and justice and Purification and the mingling of his property; and he may give his opinion to the Community together with his judgment" (VI, 22-230).

There is considerable controversy among Biblical scholars whether a certain unrepeatable baptismal rite marked the formal entry of the novice into the sect and finally qualified him as belonging to the company of "Holy Men." Those wishing to establish a definite relationship with Christian baptism or the baptism of proselytes have been somewhat over-anxious in contending for an initiatory baptism, either when the candidate entered the community for the first time, or after he successfully passed his probation and was ready to participate completely in the entire communal life.

In this connection J.A.T. Robinson makes the following comment:

"The solemn moment when a man was 'brought into the covenant, to turn from the truth and to turn away from all perversity'... was also that of his first entry into the water. And it would indeed be very strange, if, with all their stress on water for purification, the covenanters had not used it to mark the initial break with the corrupt world."²³ Beasley-Murray is even more adamant in his interpretation. For him it is beyond doubt that the man "who enters for the first time the purity of the holy men is thereby purified and becomes one of their number."²⁴ The assump-

²³ J.A.T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," Harvard Theological Review, 50 (1957), p. 182. Note Pryke's objections to this type of interpretation (op. cit., pp. 544, 546-7).

²⁴ Beasley-Murray, Baptism, p. 16; Cf. also W.H. Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," The Biblical Archeologist, 13 (1950), pp. 69-71.

tion made is that the first ablution had the function of an initiatory rite.

Otto Betz has put forth an elaborate argument in favor of a type of "proselyte baptism" in the Qumran Community. He connects III, 4-9 with the preceding section dealing with entry into the Covenant (I, 16- II, 18) and argues that this bath should be considered as the proselyte's baptism.²⁵ He considers this to be a separate rite apart from the daily washings to which the candidate was admitted in the second stage of initiation.

To bring out the idea of "proselyte," Betz puts considerable emphasis upon the fact that it is the "Willing" or the "Volunteer" who comes to baptism (V, 1, 8; VI, 13f.)-- i.e. whoever is willing to place himself under the truth of God by which the sect lives.²⁶ A significant factor here is that the Jews would be required to take this bath because anyone wishing to join the Community was considered as unclean as a heathen.²⁷ After the baptism the individual properly belonged to the Qumran "Gemeinde," and he, together with the priest, Levites, and the sons of Israel constituted the four classes of Community members (The Damascus Document XIV, 3).

In addition to this position on the initiatory bath, Betz interprets the entire section (III, 4-6) as a type of "Taufparänese" quite similar to the repentance baptism of John the Baptist.²⁸ In Qumran, emphasis is upon the "Truth of God" and the "Spirit of God."

²⁵ Betz, op. cit., p. 218

²⁷ Ibid.,

²⁶ Ibid., p. 219

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 218, 220.

"Mit diesem Bad wird nicht etwa der Geist Gottes 'empfangen', obwohl er die innere Reinigung bewirkt. Das Geist ist an das Wort Gebunden, er ist wie die Wahrheit in der Satzung der Sekte gleichsam investiert und hlutert den Geist des Menschen, der dem Gebot gehorcht."²⁹

Certainly this was an important bath. But Betz goes far beyond the textual evidence by isolating it from the rest of the purifications and giving it the singular importance of a proselyte baptism. It is very doubtful whether the initiate's first bath can be considered as an initiation rite such as we find in proselyte baptism or even Christianity.

H.H. Rowley is willing to concede that the first admission to the ablutions of the sect "would have a special character: but they are not comparable to baptism as an unrepeatable rite of admission."³⁰ He further notes that even after the probationer has been admitted into the "purer kind of water" reserved only for the members of the sect, he could, because of unfaithfulness or transgression, be excluded from "the purity of the sect."³¹

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 218-19.

³⁰ Rowley, op. cit., p. 222; Cf. Pryke, op. cit., p. 544. Gnika also raises some strong objections to the proselyte bath theory (op. cit. pp. 189-191). He takes V, 13f. to refer to the daily bath before the meals. "Die Parhnese kann sich unmöglich auf eine Proselytentaufe beziehen, denn ein Initiationsritus ist nicht nur ein sakraler, sondern auch ein juristischer, nur in Gegenwart von Zeugen gültiger Akt, während die hier beschriebenen Waschungen gerade die Möglichkeit bieten, selbständig, privat gelbt zu werden, und eben vor den Waschungen ausserhalb der Gemeinde wird gewarnt." Also Schnackenburg, Baptism, comments: "There is no proof that the Qumran community knew an initiatory baptism similar to the Christian one; the frequent ablutions have another significance: they serve the cultic purity and presuppose also adherence to the community and the possession of the Spirit" (pp. 16-17).

³¹ Rowley, op. cit., pp. 220-222.

Although the Qumran rites went beyond the Old Testament illustrations in the eschatological emphasis, it is also fallacious to designate one of them, on the basis of a supposed initiatory aspect, as an eschatological baptism.³² The literature of the sect merely indicates that the baptismal rites, together with their symbolism of an inward change due to repentance, prepared the covenanter for the coming eschatological judgment.

³² As Betz, for example, has done.

CHAPTER III

JEWISH ANTECEDENTS AND EPHESIANS

Our concern at this particular juncture in the thesis is to determine whether the discussion on Proselyte and Qumran baptism can be of any assistance toward the reconstruction of the baptismal thought of Ephesians. It should be noted that this is not an attempt to provide a detailed study of all the theological concepts or practices of these Jewish antecedents and to compare them with those of Ephesians. Studies of this nature have already been made by scholars working in this area and we have referred to such projects whenever applicable to our study on baptism.¹ Nor is this an attempt to trace the history of baptism chronologically. As interesting as such a process may be, one cannot consider all the ramifications of these Jewish baptisms, their possible

¹ Cf. such studies as O. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumran-sekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," op. cit., pp. 213-234; O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL, 74 (1955), pp. 213-226; D. Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," Scripta Hierosolymitana, Vol. 4, 2nd ed., edited by C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Press, 1965), pp. 215-266; K.G. Kuhn, "Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte," op. cit.; F. Mussner, "Beiträge aus Qumran zum Verständnis des Epheserbriefes," op. cit.; S. Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," ZThK, 56 (1959), pp. 155-85; Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," Studia Theologica, 4-5 (1950-51), pp. 44-85; Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," Studia Theologica, 9 (1955), pp. 131-36; J.E. Wood, "Pauline Studies and the Dead Sea Scrolls," ET, 78 (1967), pp. 308-11; J. Becker, Das Heil Gottes. Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumran-texten und im Neuen Testament. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, Vol. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

influence upon John the Baptist and the rite of baptism as practiced by the early Christian Church.²

By way of summary it may be well to indicate the two main areas of similarity that have been noted in Part I between Ephesians and the Jewish antecedents. The first area deals with the nature of catechetical instruction. Carrington, Davies and Selwyn suggested that the early Church was in possession of a common source of paraenetic material and that this tradition was used, with minor alterations, by the various writers of the New Testament.

The substantial similarity of ideas and words in various Epistles of the New Testament, together with the noticeable parallels to Leviticus 17-19, have led all three of these scholars to speak of this primitive Christian catechism as a "baptismal tōrāh,"³ or a type of Christian "Holiness Code."⁴ Davies, for example, links Christian baptism to Jewish proselyte baptism and concludes that the Christian rite would be "the occasion of moral instruction like its counterpart in Judaism."⁵ Consequently he thinks that Paul regarded himself as a Christian Rabbi "charged to be a steward not only of a κήρυγμα but of

² In this case one should consult W.H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," 9 (1955), Interpretation, pp. 71-90; Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," op. cit., pp. 50-72; Dahl, "The Origin of Baptism," op. cit.; J. Jeremias, "Der Ursprung der Johannaestaufer," ZNW, 28 (1929), pp. 312-320; J.A.T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," op. cit.; Torrance, "The Origins of Baptism," SJTh, 11 (1958), pp. 158-171.

³ Cf. Carrington, op. cit., p. 74 and W.D. Davies, op. cit., p. 145.

⁴ Selwyn, op. cit., p. 370.

⁵ Davies, op. cit., p. 136

a διδαχή , a New Torah to be applied, expounded and transmitted."⁶

The views of G. Schille were also noted in this connection. Although his main emphasis is upon the liturgical elements of Ephesians, it should be recalled that he believed that the outer forms of the Christian baptismal liturgy had their origin in late-Jewish baptismal sects. Thus Schille concludes "Dass die Äussere Gestalt der Liturgie analog der Form bei den Hymnen-Gattungen vorchristlichen Täuferkreisen nachgebildet wurde, während die sachlich Prägung ein Werk urchristlichen Verkündigung wäre."⁷

A second area of similarity between Ephesians and the Jewish antecedents was noted in connection with the vocabulary, imagery and concepts. It was observed that several scholars endeavoured to connect the concept of dying and rising with Christ in baptism with the Jewish proselyte baptism where the baptized proselyte was considered as one who had risen from the grave.⁸ Others found striking parallels in the phraseology describing the past condition and present position (the "once" and the "now") of the people to whom the letter is addressed. Hence it was suggested that many of the ideas expressed in 2: 11-22 (viz. Gentiles in the flesh, uncircumcised, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenant, sojourners and those brought near)

⁶ Ibid., p. 145

⁷ Schille, LitG, p. 135. A more detailed treatment of Schille's views was already given in Part I.

⁸ Cf. Part I, pp. 47-8; also Part III, chapter I on "Jewish Proselyte Baptism."

are to be explained on the basis of Jewish analogies.⁹ Further allusions in Ephesians to either Old Testament, Qumran or to Proselyte baptism were noted in the exegesis of 4:5,¹⁰ 4:8-10,¹¹ 5:14,¹² and 5:25-27.¹³

A rather simple table of comparison will show that there are various similarities between the reception of proselytes into the people of Israel and admission into the Qumran Community and the Christian Church:

<u>Proselyte Baptism</u>	<u>Qumran Baptism</u>	<u>Christian Baptism</u>
1. Coming of the proselyte (volunteer)	Coming of the prospective candidate (volunteer)	Hearing of the Word (volunteer)
2. Interrogation and examination	Confession, instruction, examination	Repentance and confession
3. Instruction		Some brief instruction (creeds and confessions)
4. Circumcision		
5. Baptism and further instruction	Purification and 1 year probation	Baptism, joining the Church and more instruction
6. Benediction	Further instruction and probation	

The most significant inference to be drawn from these similarities is that baptism was the occasion for considerable moral and religious instruction. In the case of proselyte baptism and entrance into the

⁹ Both Dahl and Kirby considered this a type of midrash on Isa. 57:19 (cf. Part I, pp. 50-1); Sahlin, Part I, pp. 51-4; Nauck, Part I, pp. 62-3.

¹⁰ Cf. Part I, p. 81.

¹¹ Cf. Part I, pp. 83-86.

¹² Cf. Part I, pp. 93-100.

¹³ Cf. Part I, pp. 111-125.

Qumran Community the evidence is rather convincing. With respect to Christianity two things must be kept in mind. First of all, early baptismal practice involved the use of certain simple creeds and/or confessions. Secondly, the catechetical pattern in the New Testament as well as in succeeding generations leads us to conclude that the early Church placed increasing emphasis upon the instruction of baptismal candidates.

What then is one to make of these parallels? Schille concluded that the liturgy of Christian baptism is best explained within the context of these Jewish sects. And Nauck, who interprets I John as a type of baptismal Epistle, also favours the possibility that the nature of Christian baptism can be traced back through John the Baptist and into Jewish proselyte baptism.¹⁴ The assumption made in both cases is that when a religionsgeschichtliche study is made of baptism or baptizing groups parallels indicate either influence upon or borrowing from one group to another. It must be remembered, however, that in the case of similarities, analogy does not necessarily mean genealogy. This is a methodological principle too often forgotten by scholars of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule.¹⁵

¹⁴ Nauck, Die Tradition und der Charakter des ersten Johannes-briefes, op. cit. Nauck subtitles his study "Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Taufe im Urchristentum und in die alten Kirche."

¹⁵ It is not unusual for religions or religious sects to have certain rites de passage as requirements for entering a tribe, cult, community or religious society. Observances such as circumcision, castration, mortification, fasting, masking, etc. have been discovered throughout the world. Cf. M. Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958). Note: I am personally indebted at this point to Professor Dr. C. Colpe of the University of Göttingen,

At the same time one cannot be completely negative in this matter. These Jewish sects were both pre-Christian and contemporary with early Christianity. And since Christianity is indebted to Judaism for so much of its early belief and practice,¹⁶ there is every possibility that some of its ideas on the administration of baptism came via these baptizing sects. It is also possible that there were many Jews living in Ephesus and other Christian communities who were familiar with the thought and practice of these groups. What is important is that a distinct Christian interpretation and emphasis was given to the rite. Christian baptism may have been an initiatory rite like proselyte baptism, but it was clearly specified that it was a baptism into the name of Jesus. The implications of this brief formula were then further developed by the "in Christ" doctrine.

The Christian catechism may or may not have been shaped by outside influence. On the one hand it would be natural for any religion to require a certain amount of knowledge and training before membership

Germany, for permission to audit his Religionsethnologisches Seminar: Initiationsriten, 1968-9. For detailed histories and descriptions of baptizing sects in Palestine and surrounding regions consult J. Thomas, op. cit.; K. Rudolph, Die Mandäer (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, Vol. I, 1960; Vol. II, 1961); E. Segelberg, "The Baptismal Rite According to Some of the Coptic-Gnostic Texts of Nag-Hammadi," Studia Patristica, Vol. 5, ed. F.L. Cross (Berling: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), pp. 117-128; Segelberg, Mašbūtā. Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1958); Segelberg, "The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel According to Philip and Its Sacramental System," Numen, 7 (1960), pp. 189-200.

¹⁶ Cf. F.C. Grant, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1960).

is granted to a prospective candidate. But on the other hand, one cannot deny the close similarity with the imagery and vocabulary of Judaism in such New Testament books as Hebrews, I Peter and Ephesians.

Schille, however, goes too far toward the reconstruction of a New Testament baptismal liturgy. By using Jewish prototypes, questionable second-third century sources,¹⁷ and selective Biblical sources without any regard to context, he proposes stages consisting of (1) Die Prüfung, (2) Das Schuldbekenntnis, (3) Das Glaubenbekenntnis, (4) Die Epiklese, (5) Eine eucharistische Schlusshandlung (?), and (6) Der Schlussegen.¹⁸ While all such elements may be present in The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, for example, their existence at the time of the New Testament is extremely hypothetical.

A somewhat similar criticism can be made of Kirby's book, whose basic thesis is "that Ephesians has close connections with Jewish liturgical forms and with Jewish and Christian traditions of Pentecost in the late first century."¹⁹ A great deal of Kirby's study is given over to the entire Jewish liturgical tradition, of which, it must be admitted, little is known.

In reconstructing the composition of Ephesians, Kirby makes several interesting conjectures. First of all, he places the letter's origin in Ephesus, where, according to tradition, Paul spent three

¹⁷ That is, one questions the extent to which such literature like The Acts of Peter, The Acts of Thomas or the Ethiopic Enoch contributes to the understanding of baptism in the first Christian century.

¹⁸ Schille, LitG, pp. 148-155.

¹⁹ Kirby, op. cit., p. 149.

years, and where, according to Kirby, Paul had presided at their worship.²⁰ When the author of Ephesians writes his Epistle, he is not so much dependent on the letters of the Pauline Corpus as he is upon the worshipping tradition of the Ephesian Church.

Next, Kirby speculates as to the sources of the writer's material. On the one hand there were the familiar oral prayers of Paul which he had said and which they probably continued to use. Then later, "some of the phrases from his letters were incorporated into the service,"²¹ probably from memory. Even some of the liturgical pieces that members of the local church composed found their way into the community's worship.

But the decisive fact that gives Ephesians its distinctive character, claims Kirby, is that of covenant renewal: "One of the features of the worship of the church in Ephesus was a Christianized form of the renewal of the covenant; the Ephesian leader decided to use this pentecostal ceremony as the basis of his letter. Though it had been used in one particular community, there was nothing in it which could not apply to all Christians everywhere, and it did sum up in magnificent language both the privileges and responsibilities of the Christian life."²²

Kirby, however, bases too much of his thesis upon suppositions. In addition to our lack of knowledge concerning Jewish and early Christian liturgical forms, there is no evidence that the church at Ephesus had a

²⁰ Ibid., p. 169

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p. 170

Christianized form of covenant renewal. And his conclusion "that the main part of Ephesians 1-3 is a berakah for use in public worship, possibly at the Eucharist,"²³ appears somewhat strange since this sacrament is not even mentioned in the Epistle.

The question of theological influence of the Jewish antecedents upon Ephesians poses another problem. Could the idea of Christian baptism as a sacrament or as a death and resurrection have originated from the proselyte baptism?²⁴ In our discussion on the interpretation of proselyte baptism, however, it was felt that the sacramental aspect of this rite had been given unwarranted attention. Although the imagery between Ephesians and the proselyte as "being dead" and "made alive" (2:1) is striking, it is more likely that the Ephesian passage (2:5ff.) corresponds to the doctrine of baptism "in Christ" as illustrated by Romans 6 and Colossians 2. The events and language connected with initiation into the Qumran community are even less helpful towards a reconstruction of the nature and content of Ephesians.

We conclude by repeating that there are some minor parallels between Christian baptism and its Jewish antecedents. All three may be considered as initiatory in function; their liturgies demonstrate a certain basic pattern of form and content with respect to initiation into the group; in each a certain amount of instruction is given. But beyond these minor points the similarity ends, and apart from these

²³ Ibid., p. 138

²⁴ As Daube, Heron, Glasson and Kirby. Cf. the discussion in Part I, pp. 47ff.

broad analogies, none of the Jewish material and terminology helps to identify any of the proposed baptismal passages in Ephesians as baptismal passages.²⁵

There is nothing in Ephesians to indicate that the doctrine of baptism stands in a closer relationship to these Jewish practices than it does any other New Testament Epistle. Nor is there any indication that the author is making a conscious effort to link Christian baptism to these rites. The allusions to Jewish language and imagery were already part of the Church's catechetical material and the rather frequent occurrence of such terminology in the Epistle is best explained by the author's attempt to show that the Gentiles stand in the same history of salvation as the Jews and that both have now been united in Christ.

²⁵ With the possible exception of 2:11-18, although the distinction must be maintained that the author does not consider his readers to be Jewish proselytes. Cf. discussion above, p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

BAPTISM IN THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS

Introduction:

The term "Mystery Religion" is one which lends itself to description, but by the very nature of its variableness, defies definition. Generally speaking, it is the name given to a number of religious cults of ancient origin and syncretistic tendencies and practices which prevailed anywhere from the eighth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

Various theories have been propounded regarding the origins of the Mysteries. M.P. Nilsson has suggested that they are all grounded in the vegetation cycle and are characterized by their hope in immortality.¹ This view is also shared by W.K.C. Guthrie, who finds the Homeric conception of the hereafter a basic doctrine of the cults which became popular in Greek-speaking lands.² Farnell finds the need for union and intimacy with the deity as the main controlling force in all the Mysteries,³ a need which certainly resulted in the concept of a

¹ M.P. Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1957). At the same time he suggests that some of the rites may simply have been initiated as a pretext for enjoyment and therefore do not pose as a mystery association. It is not entirely uncommon to provide a religious pretext for one's personal desires. Mohammed, for example, justified his polygamy on the basis of revelation and many Christians support their racial prejudice from Biblical exegesis.

² W.K.C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods, op. cit., chapter II.

³ L. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1907).

blessed after-life. G. Mylonas agrees with all that has been said, but believes that the real meaning and significance of the Mysteries lies in the fact that they satisfied all the deepest longings of the human heart, including immortality.⁴ Others will claim that the Mysteries stem directly from the agricultural rituals centered on the death and resurrection of the divinity who controlled the fertility of the land.⁵ It is from these basic theories that scholars such as Angus,⁶ Kennedy,⁷ Halliday,⁸ Willoughby,⁹ J. Thomas,¹⁰ and A.D. Nock¹¹ have provided extensive descriptions of the various Mystery cults.¹²

⁴ G. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

⁵ This idea is expressed by nearly all writers on the Mysteries. Cf. also M. Eliade, Birth and Rebirth (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958).

⁶ S. Angus, The Mystery-Religions and Christianity (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).

⁷ H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913).

⁸ W.R. Halliday, The Pagan Background of Early Christianity (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925).

⁹ H. Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

¹⁰ J. Thomas, Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (Gembloux: J. Duculot, Editeur, 1935).

¹¹ A.D. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background, *op. cit.*

¹² For additional sources cf. E. Briem, Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der hellenistischen Mysterien (Lund: Hakan Ohlsson's Buchdruckerei, 1928); also Les Sociétés Secrètes de Mystères (Paris: Payot, 1941); A. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie (Leipzig und Berlin: Otto Weinreich, 3rd, ed., 1923. Reprinted by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1966); K. Kerényi, Die Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur in Religionsgeschichtlicher Beobachtung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962); O. Kern, Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927);

Although some variations naturally occur within the cults themselves during their stages of development within the Graeco-Roman world, they are generally characterized by a number of similar beliefs and practices. One may say that in spite of accommodation, conciliation, syncretism, adaptation and diversity, the cults retained a certain permanence and stability. Some of the more basic features of the Mysteries are: a belief in immortality; communication with the deity, expressed by such means as baptism, meals or orgiastic dances; purification, obtained through washings and baptism; an elaborate mythology which was expressed in sacred dramas and rituals; new birth or regeneration, thus realizing the need for personal salvation; and various initiation rites which provided entrance into the societies and brotherhoods, many of which were secret. C.K. Barrett has summarized the doctrines and practices of the Mystery religions in the following manner:

The object of the mystery cults was to secure salvation for men who were subject to moral and physical evil, dominated by Destiny, and unable by themselves to escape from the corruption that beset the material side of their nature. Salvation accordingly meant escape from Destiny, release from corruption and a renewed moral life. It was effected by what may broadly be called sacramental means. By taking part in the prescribed rites the worshipper became united with God, was enabled in this life to enjoy mystical communion with him, and further

also his Die Religion der Griechen, Vol. I (Berling: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1963); M. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion (Berlin: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Vol. I, 2nd ed., 1955 and Vol. 2, 1961); K. Prümm, Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der Altchristlichen Umwelt (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1954); Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, op. cit.; P. Wendland, Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren beziehung zu Judentum und Christentum. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Vol. I, Part 2 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1907).

was assured of immortality beyond death. This process rested upon the experiences (generally including the death and resurrection) of a Saviour-God, the Lord (κύριος) of his devotees. The myth, which seems often to have been cultically represented, rested in many of these religions upon the fundamental cycle of agricultural fertility; but the rites which probably were in earlier days intended to secure productiveness in field and flock were now given an individual application and effect.¹³

The rapid expansion and acceptance of the Religions can best be explained in the basis of their characteristics. They offered the individual something for which he was seeking and which his traditional religious practices did not provide, especially the realization of a personal religious experience and the satisfying results which ensued. This satisfaction of needs, together with the appeal of their rituals, combined to make the Mysteries a tremendous religious force which largely supplanted both the Greek and Roman national religions and in the form of Mithraism rivaled Christianity as late as the fourth century A.D.

It must always be realized that there are countless problems in regard to the origin and practice of the Mysteries. First of all, there is the lack of uniformity among the cults themselves. One cannot speak of a "Mystery Religion" as if it were one universal entity. It is much more accurate to use the term "Mysteries." even though this can be misleading at times. Although the name implies something mysterious, hidden or secret, "secrecy" was not the distinguishing element of the cults. Mithraism, for example, was not characterized by great secret

¹³ C.K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), p. 91.

societies and esoteric doctrines which were made known only after a succession of graduated initiations as was the case in the Eleusinian cult.

Albert Schweitzer was one who realized this danger and cautioned against any such theory of a "universal Mystery" in Paul's day. Those scholars who engage in comparative study, he asserts, "are rather apt to give the Mystery-religions a greater definiteness and articulation of thought than they really possess, and do not always give sufficient prominence to the distinction between their own hypothetical reconstruction and the medley of statements on which it is based." One heartily agrees with this quotation from Schweitzer¹⁴ and his plea for more scholarly objectivity in this area of research.

A second difficulty is simply a lack of information. Our knowledge of many of the rites and doctrines is meagre in the extreme and in most cases there is no trace of their essential meaning. Some sceptics have satisfied themselves by maintaining that the "secrets" would not have been so well kept if there had been anything of intrinsic worth to reveal. Others, who have been unable to revert to such suspicions, have either accepted the facts as they are, or have, and unfortunately so, endeavoured to supply missing details on the basis of conjecture.

Another problem is the time factor. By the time we hear of some of the Mysteries, so much development and syncretism has taken

¹⁴ A. Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p. 192.

place that it is difficult to determine the original characteristics from those which were later adopted. A specific example is Nilsson's "The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age," in which he has shown how the Dionysiac Mystery developed and changed in its historical movement throughout Greece and Rome. The same process is evident in the cults of Eleusis, Isis, Cybele and Mithra. And so there is added to the problem of discovering the presence of certain rites and doctrines the additional difficulty of determining exactly what they meant at various stages of the cult's historical progression.

The general area of the Mystery religions has occupied the attention of serious scholarship for nearly a century. Many of these scholars have studied the Mysteries for their own value and merit, thus seeking to provide information without comparative evaluation and interpretation. On the other hand, however, a great number of scholars, notably those of the religionsgeschichtliche school, have investigated the cults in relation to their possible influence upon Christianity. From this school of thought has come the statement and defense of the hypothesis that Christianity is dependent upon the Mystery religions for many of its essential doctrines and practices. It would be fair to say that since the turn of the century most studies in this area have either defended or denied this basic hypothesis.

A significant area in the controversy relating to the Mystery religions and Christianity is the cultic ritual of washing, lustration, baptism, and the resulting conceptions of renewal, new-birth or regeneration. In this chapter we propose to investigate the "so-called"

baptismal practices of the more significant mystery cults in order to discover their purpose and meaning. From this we hope to determine whether or not these baptisms are of any significance for the study of the New Testament doctrine of baptism, and consequently, whether this will illuminate our study of baptism in Ephesians in any way.

A. Dionysos:

In dealing with the cult of Dionysos we are combining practices which have also been placed under Bacchic or Orphic headings. This procedure appears justified on the basis of recent scholarship in which the "Bacchanalia" appears as another name for the Dionysiac "orgia"¹⁵ and the claim that Orphism is a "reform of the Dionysian excesses."¹⁶

One main characteristic of the Dionysiac cult was the communion and identification with the god. This was realized in a number of ways. One such way was through the common "orgia" which would produce a type of spiritual ecstatic intoxication. Another was the ritual of the sacred dance. The effect of this was to induce a spiritual experience of divine possession in which "the violent spirits which caused their (the participants) enthusiasm entered into them."¹⁷ The most realistic means of communion, however, was attained by the "omophagia," the

¹⁵ Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age, op. cit.

¹⁶ Willoughby, op. cit., especially ch. IV. The different names will be used whenever particular characteristics of the religion bearing that name occur. On Dionysos cf. also W.F. Otto, Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus. Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultus der Antike, Vol. 4, Tübingen, 1933.

¹⁷ Willoughby, op. cit., p. 80.

practice of eating the raw flesh of an animal representing the god. Through such communion the participant assured himself of immortality and the enjoyment of a happy after-life.

From the paucity of evidence, it would appear that ritual cleansings and baptisms assumed only a minor significance in the Dionysiac mystery. Willoughby, in his Pagan Regeneration, has little to say regarding initiation rites and simply entitles his chapter on the cult "Dionysian Excesses." He finds more to say about the orgia of spiritual ecstasy than about baptism.

However, one does get the impression that the drinking of wine is tantamount to a religious sacrament. Angus, in reference to Livy's Pure lautum XXXIX, 9., quotes: "After ten days' castimonia the Dionysiac candidate was thoroughly cleansed before initiation."¹⁸ Leipoldt has commented upon an inscription discovered in Rome which, he asserts, "Zeigt uns eine bakchische Taufe."¹⁹ Apart from these few scattered references nothing significant can be said for Dionysiac purification or regeneration involving water.

Willoughby is the only scholar who attributes a sacramental quality to the wine which the participants used. The resulting ecstatic

¹⁸ Angus, op. cit., pp. 81-2. Unfortunately Angus does not go on to explain this text. The same can be said about H. Rahner who states that the mystery of Dionysos knew of a sanctifying bath but he presents no evidence to support such a claim. Cf. his "The Christian Mystery and the Pagan," "The Mysteries: Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks" (Pantheon Books, New York, 1955), p. 388. Such generalizations are not uncommon among other scholars as well.

¹⁹ J. Leipoldt, "Darstellungen von Mysterientaufen," Angelos, 1 (1925), pp. 46-47.

intoxication, he believes, was, in a very real sense, a new birth for those who experienced it: The wine they drank was for them potent with divine power--it was the god himself, and the very quintessence of divine life was resident in the juice of the grape. This the devotees of Bacchus knew as a matter of personal experience when, after drinking the wine, they felt a strange new life within themselves.²⁰ If this is indeed what the worshippers experienced, then it would be legitimate to claim that in the Dionysiac mystery, wine produced a greater effect than water in the other cults, where it cannot be said with absolute certainty that baptism was any more than a ritual purification.

In the description of Orphism one encounters similar difficulties. T. Wilson states that "Orphism has its rites of initiation, which to some extent suggest Christian baptism."²¹ Kennedy claims "the Orphic rule of life was based on an elaborate cathartic ritual."²² In similar fashion Angus writes: "Orphism was steeped in sacramentarianism. . . . Salvation was by sacrament, initiatory rites, and by esoteric doctrine."²³ But even if Orphism may have had such an elaborate ritualistic system including prayers, sacrifices, fastings, asceticism and purifications, it is not by any means certain if there

²⁰ Willoughby, op. cit., pp. 74-5; cf. also p. 81.

²¹ T. Wilson, St. Paul and Paganism (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), p. 173.

²² Kennedy, op. cit., p. 229.

²³ Angus, op. cit., p. 154. Cf. Leipoldt, Dionysos, Angelos, Beihefte #3, 1931 where he refers to the baptism as "ein reinigendes Bad" (p. 25). Cf. also his Die urchristliche Taufe im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte, op. cit., pp. 41-3.

was any rite of baptism which fostered the possibility of regeneration. Certainly the Orphic devotees must have lived a life of ceremonial cleanliness and holiness. Yet there is no basis on which one can invest their ritual with a deeper or sacramental meaning.

In this respect both Willoughby and Macchioro go too far in their interpretation. Willoughby states: "By washing and aspersions, at once symbolic and sacramental in character," the devotee, "sought to purge away the taint of his bodily nature, the 'ancient woe' inherited from the Titans."²⁴ Macchioro, certainly one of the greatest contributors to the study of Orphism, claims that the Orphic initiation was supposed to make a man a new creature, giving him the feeling of being endowed with a new essence.²⁵ Unfortunately, such statements reflect more conjecture than proved fact.

B. Eleusis:

The Eleusinian mysteries consisted of both public and private initiation and are distinguished by the terms "lesser" and "greater" mysteries. While our knowledge of the public ceremonies is quite extensive, we know very little about the practice and significance of the secret rites performed in the "telesterion." Mylonas has classified these private rites as the telete and the epopteia, and within them has been able to distinguish three main elements of the initiation.

²⁴ Willoughby, op. cit., p. 103.

²⁵ Vittorio Macchioro, From Orpheus to Paul (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930), p. 102. Macchioro's discussion assumes that there was an Orphic cult. For another view, see I.M. Linforth, The Arts of Orphens (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941),

The first rite is the dromena, a type of ritual drama related to the myth of Demeter through which the candidates for initiation could identify themselves with the deity. Secondly, there was the deiknymena, a presentation of certain objects or relics that were shown to the mystae. Another element consisted of the legomena, in which certain words or phrases of a liturgical nature were spoken. Unfortunately little is known of the secrets of the telesterion and there is little hope that further research will be any more illuminating.

Fortunately, however, more is known about the public ritual commonly referred to as the katharsis and sustasis, a series of preparatory rites, preliminary purifications and public sacrifices. These rites of the "lesser" mysteries were essential for anyone desiring to continue into the secret rites of the telesterion.²⁶ Willoughby comments concerning the existence of these rites by frankly stating that "there is an abundance of testimona to prove the worldwide reputation of the Eleusinian rites themselves at the beginning of the common era."²⁷ Especially noticeable are the ceremonies of purification and cleansing from defilement.

The entire religious celebration lasted nine days (from Boedromion 15-23). But for our purpose, the significant act is that which occurred on the second day, the sixteenth of Boedromion. Knowledge

²⁶ Mylonas, op. cit. For additional material cf. F. Speiser, "Die eleusinischen Mysterien als primitive Initiation," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 60 (1928), pp. 362-72; L. Deubner, Attische Feste (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), especially pp. 75ff. dealing with purity; Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 655-667; F. Wehrli, "Die Mysterien von Eleusis," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 31 (1934), pp. 77-104

²⁷ Willoughby, op. cit., p. 39

of this rite is obtained from the Homeric "Hymn to Demeter," a literary source which scholars consider to have been composed around 600 B.C.²⁸

From this text Mylonas gives the following description:

Early in the morning the heralds would order all participants in the sea and the shout 'to the sea, oh mystai' would fill the city.... Each of the initiates carries with him a small pig, which also had to be washed in the sea, and was accompanied by his mystagos.... The sea was considered immaculate; it cleansed and purified man from all evil.... After cleansing themselves and their pigs...they would return to Athens.²⁹

This great day of cleansing in the sea (ἄλαδε μύσται) was not the only rite of purification. In his discussion of the functionaries of the cult, Mylonas classifies the Hydranos as the official in charge of purification. This purification was performed by sprinkling or pouring water over the candidates.³⁰ Inscriptional evidence for this practice has also been discovered. A stele³¹ shows a small naked man beside a larger figure who holds a dish in his right hand. The large figure is quite certainly that of a god.³² Leipoldt claims that in the "Mysterientaufe" the functioning priest was represented

²⁸ Mylonas, op. cit., pp. 3, 267.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 249. O. Kern, Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit, op. cit., calls this "ein allgemeines Sühnbad" (p.16).

³⁰ Mylonas, op. cit., p. 236

³¹ Cf. Mylonas, fig. 70, and the possible interpretation given by J. Leipoldt, "Darstellungen von Mysterientaufe," op. cit., pp. 46-7.

³² Mylonas suggests Persephone. Leipoldt indicates it could be Kora but admits identification is impossible: "Nicht leicht ist es, der grossen Gestalt einen Namen zu geben" (op. cit., p. 46). He gives no definite reason why the figure necessarily has to be "eine Göttin."

by a god: "... für die Schätzung der Mysterientaufe ist wichtig, dass man in der Sprache der Kunst eine Göttin an Stelle des Priesters setzte."³³

Apart from the "Hymn to Demeter" there is actually no other reliable source of information on Eleusinian ritual. Aristophanes' Frogs may have been written with the Eleusinian cult in mind but is limited as an historical source by the very nature of its poetic language. And perhaps even less reliable than the Frogs is Tertullian's De baptismo 5, a treatise which has come under the scrutiny of the critics. The relevant portion of Tertullian's text, as translated by Evans, reads:

'But', you object, 'the gentiles, strangers to all understanding of spiritual things, ascribe power of equal effectiveness to their idols.' They tell themselves lies, for their waters are barren. In certain sacred rites they are initiated by means of a bath (so as to belong to) Isis perhaps or Mithras. Also they carry their gods out (in procession) for washings. Moreover they ritually purify their country and town houses, their temples, and whole cities by carrying water about and sprinkling it. Certainly at the Appollinarian and Pelusian games they get baptized wholesale, and suppose that they are doing this with a view to rebirth and release from their broken oaths.³⁴

The textual controversy centers around the substitution of Eleusiniis for Pelusiis in many of the editions of the treatise. Only if this variant is justifiable can Tertullian be considered as a source of information for the Eleusinian Mysteries.

This textual change was proposed by Ursinus before 1600 and makes its first appearance in the edition of Rigaltius (Paris, 1641).

³³ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁴ E. Evans, Tertullian's Homily on Baptism (London: S.P.C.K. 1964) p. 13.

The change has been accepted with varying responses.³⁵ While A.D. Nock admits that it "has been commonly accepted,"³⁶ Dölger adamantly affirms his position by stating that Tertullian cannot be used as a testimony for a baptism in the mysteries of Eleusis.³⁷ He finds the substitution both unnecessary and unacceptable. This "sogenannte Verbesserung des Ursinus," is, for him, a crude "Verschlimmerung,"³⁸ and he rightly regrets that so many editions of Tertullian's text have followed Ursinus' error.

The interpretation that Tertullian gives to the baptismal rite (Eleusinian or Pelusian) has caused as much debate as the textual problem. What exactly did he mean by stating that the participants bathe "with a view to rebirth and release from their broken oaths"?³⁹ This interpretation of baptism as a potent agency for spiritual cleansing cannot be left unquestioned. It is quite likely that he (Tertullian) was attributing a quality to pagan baptism which rightfully belonged to his Christian orientation.

³⁵ Cf. F.J. Dölger, "Tertullian kein Zeuge für eine Taufe in den Mysterien von Eleusis," Antike und Christentum, 1 (1929), p. 148.

³⁶ A.D. Nock, "Pagan Baptisms in Tertullian," JThS, 28 (1926-27), p. 289.

³⁷ Note the title of his article, op. cit., J. Dey follows Dölger's arguments in his Palingenesia. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religions-geschichtlichen Bedeutung von Tit 3, 5. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Vol. 17, 5 Heft (Münster, 1937).

³⁸ Dölger, op. cit., p. 148. The reasons behind this change are obscure. Perhaps at the time of the change the rites of Eleusis were more commonly known than those of Pelasiis. According to Nock (op. cit.) there was a festival at Pelusia which did practice ceremonial bathing, so one cannot help but sympathize with Dölger's contentions.

³⁹ Quotation from Evan's text, op. cit., p. 13.

Willoughby, for one, seriously doubts Tertullian's statement, and suggests that the baptism was no more than a cathartic ritual of purification to wash away the stains of the old life.⁴⁰ Once the candidate had been purified he could then approach the two goddesses which were prepared for spiritual renewal. Baptism would, therefore, be considered as a means to rebirth, rather than as a rite which effects it. Lampe also believes that Tertullian is exaggerating the resemblance between pagan and Christian baptism by "explaining in his own terms what may well have been only a purificatory lustration."⁴¹

Another valuable contributor to the problem is G. Wagner in his historical treatment of Romans 6:4. He too believes that researchers have drawn too many inferences from the available sources, especially those of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule such as Pfleiderer, Leipoldt, Schneider, Reitzenstein and Bultmann. Scholars of this type of theological persuasion tend to interpret the Eleusinian rite as a sacramental regenerative bath of cleansing from sin which effects the new birth. Wagner concludes that such an interpretation has no foundation on the basis of the textual evidence that is available.⁴²

The conclusion to which one comes is that the Eleusinian baptism merely served as a ritual of cleansing and preparation for the initiations that were yet to follow, the apex of which was reached on the nineteenth of Boedromion. In no way can it be interpreted as a sacrament of spiritual renewal. Any attempts to compare it with the

⁴⁰ Op. cit., p. 66.

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 94.

⁴² G. Wagner, op. cit., p. 79.

New Testament concept of baptism, particularly the Pauline, claims Wagner, are untenable.⁴³

A significant number of scholars do interpret the Eleusinian rite as a bath of regeneration. E. Hatch, for example, explains that as the candidates for initiation bathed in the pure waters of the sea, "the manner of bathing and the number of immersions varied with the degree of the guilt which they had confessed. They came from the bath new men. It was a καθαρσις, a λουτρὸν, a laver of regeneration."⁴⁴ This idea is further exemplified by Paul Schmitt, a representative of the Catholic interpretation of the Mysteries. Schmitt sees a mystical and symbolical meaning in the rite. "This was a great day of purification and atonement on which the mystai cleansed themselves of all stain in the vast sea, a ceremony rich in symbolism flowing from the primordial depths of the soul."⁴⁵ But while a certain amount of symbolism cannot be denied, Schmitt tends to see too much with his sacramental spectacles when he interprets the ritual in the

⁴³ Ibid., p. 81. Cf. also pp. 271-2. This idea is directly opposed to Wilson's idea that the trials of the Eleusinian initiation can be compared to Paul's mention of a baptism for the dead in I. Cor. (op. cit., p. 174). Ysebaert also recognizes the sacral baths of all the cults but considers them as part of the initiation rites that served the purpose of "preliminary purification" (op. cit., p. 17).

⁴⁴ Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity, op. cit., p. 287. Also Wilson, op. cit., p. 174, n. 3, although he gives no supporting evidence.

⁴⁵ P. Schmitt, "The Ancient Mysteries in the Society of their Time." The Mysteries. Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955), p. 101.

cultic sense of an outward action and as a sacred rite (ἱερὸν) enacted within the soul.⁴⁶ It is highly doubtful that the Eleusinian mystery had such a developed sacramentalism. Textual evidence does not permit one to arrive at such a conclusion.

C. Isis:

The worship of Isis and Osiris originated in Egypt, and has, therefore, been referred to as the "mystery of Egypt."⁴⁷ There can be little doubt that Isis is a personification of the mother goddess and that Osiris represents the vegetation cycle. In later Hellenistic times, Osiris was replaced by the Greek Serapis, an inventive political move which was calculated to solidify relations between Egypt and Greece. This move also proved to be very advantageous for the spread of the Egyptian cult throughout the Graeco-Roman world. Its development and characteristics are well stated by Dibelius:

In der Tat, ein Ägyptischer Kult, auf griechischen Boden verpflanzt, in lateinischer Sprache geschildert die Linie, die von Osten nach Westen führt, scheint deutlich zu sein. Und sodann: eine alte nationale Religion, durch Mystik vergeistigt, durch synkretistischen Universalismus entschrankt man sieht, wie die grossen Tendenzen sich begegnen.⁴⁸

The cult of Isis is permeated with impressive rites of prayers, meditations and baptisms. These rites fostered intimacy with the devotee

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 101-2, n. 18.

⁴⁷ For purposes of this discussion we shall follow the customary designation and refer to the cult as the "mystery of Isis" since the goddess was given prominence.

⁴⁸ M. Dibelius, "Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiations-Riten," Botschaft und Geschichte, 1956, p. 30.

and the goddess and while many were performed at various annual public festivals, others were private in nature. Here, as in all the mystery cults, the student is hampered by the solemn "aura of secrecy" which surrounded the initiations. Consequently, much of what is said and written is done by speculation, imagination and arguments from silence.

It is well known that membership into the Isiac community "was contingent upon participation in certain prescribed initiatory rites. . . ."49 The fact that these rites were taken seriously is well attested by the historian Juvenal, who states: "... the devotee of Isis will dive into the chilly waters of the Tiber, and shivering with cold, will drag herself around the temple upon her bleeding knees: if the goddess commands, she will go to the outskirts of Egypt to take water from the Nile and empty it within the sanctuary."50

It is reasonably safe to state that no other religion of that time placed as much emphasis upon the religious use and meaning of water as did the Egyptian. Water was very essential to Egypt's entire existence, and consequently Nun, the priomordial deep, and the Nile were given great prominence. These beliefs then led to the development of sacramental ideas and usages in ancient Egypt, a process which covers

49 Willoughby, op. cit., p. 186

50 Quoted from F. Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), p. 41. The immediate significance of this act is uncertain. It may simply show the great devotion of the devotee to the cult goddess although the waters of the Tiber and the Nile must have had some religious importance as well.

a number of centuries and about which there is a variety of opinion.⁵¹

The most significant piece of literary evidence at our disposal is the account of the initiation of Lucius Apuleius into the mysteries of Isis.⁵² This text dates from around the middle of the second century A.D. but it is generally assumed that the ritual itself presupposes a long history of tradition. Lucius is not permitted to reveal all the secrets of his initiation but in regard to the baptismal purifications, he states:

⁵¹ While it may be helpful and interesting to study Isiac initiation in terms of its ancient origin, such a detailed analysis falls beyond the scope of this section. Let it suffice to say that there is both continuity and change in the ritual thought and practice. For a detailed presentation of this cf. A. Blackmann, "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt," Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archeologie egyptiennes et assyriennes, 39 (1921), pp. 44-78. Blackmann has a lengthy discussion on the lustrations of the sun-god, the ceremonial washing of the king, the daily funerary liturgy, the importance of the Nile, and the Osirian lustrations. Of particular importance is the concept of "lustral water" which Blackmann claims acquired a different significance in later times. Ancient accounts presented the sun god, and therefore the king, as having been "reborn with a new body as a result of this lustration.." (pp. 44-9). In the Osirian lustration, the significance was no more than "revivication" (p. 50). The change from regeneration to revivication may or may not be significant. It could simply be another case of Egyptian "conservatism and disregard for logic" (p. 50), or, one brought about by the "identification of the dead king with Osiris" (p. 52). "Thus the water was not, in this aspect, regarded as regenerating the king or as imbuing him with Solar qualities, but, considered as the vital fluid of Osiris, who manifested his vitality in the annual inundation and in the life of trees and plants, it was possibly thought to intensify the vitality of the king" (p. 65).

⁵² Cf. The Golden Ass, also known as The Transformation of Lucius or The Metamorphoses. One may refer to the Penguin Classics edition, 1950, translated by R. Graves. Graves also provides a helpful introduction to the book which gives a brief outline of Lucius' life, adventures and religious quests. Cf. also A.-J. Festugière, Personal Religions Among the Greeks (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 68-84 for descriptions and explanations.

And now, the time drawing near and requiring it, as he said, the priest conducted me with an escort of the religiously-minded to the nearest baths; and when I entered the bath, where it is customary for the neophytes to bathe, he first prayed to the gods to be gracious to me and then sprinkled me with purest water and cleansed me. He then led me back to the temple, and since the day was now more than half over he placed me at the feet of the goddess herself; then, after confiding certain secret orders to me, those which were too holy to be spoken, he openly, before all who were present, bade me for ten successive days to abstain from all pleasures of the table, to eat no meat and drink no wine.⁵³

This text, although it is a valuable source for our understanding of the Isiac ritual of baptism, has been subject to a variety of scholarly interpretations. Dibelius cautions that in the cultic deeds of this mystery more is implied than written because the language and arrangement of Lucius' initiation is as difficult as its meaning. "Er tut es mit Worten, deren Gliederung im einzelnen ebenso problematisch ist wie ihr Bedeutung im ganzen...."⁵⁴ Willoughby certainly goes to one extreme when he gives a regenerative effect to the rite, claiming that the waters of the Nile had a life-giving effect and that "Isiac baptism was in effect regarded as a regenerative rite that meant new life to the one who experienced it."⁵⁵

Willoughby attempts to qualify his statement by adding that the regeneration of the initiate was effected by more than baptism. In the enacted drama of salvation, for example, "the initiate was made to feel he was passing through an experience that would transform his very being and make a new man out of him"⁵⁶ Thus Willoughby is rather ambiguous

⁵³ Quoted from F.C. Grant, Hellenistic Religions (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1953), p. 141.

⁵⁴ Dibelius, op. cit., p. 32.

⁵⁵ Willoughby, op. cit., pp. 187-8.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 192.

as to whether or not the baptism actually effects regeneration or is simply a means, together with others, towards this goal. No doubt this baptism was credited with a powerful efficacy, but it is not clear from Apuleius' account that it served any more than a means of purification.

Knox is one who finds it difficult to believe that the idea of regeneration figured prominently in any of the Mystery cults.

Commenting upon the reference in the Metamorphoses, he states:

The passage refers not to Lucius' regeneration by initiation but to his 'new birth; by his miraculous restoration to human form...it is difficult to see that the description of his initiation as a 'birthday' implies that the rite has habitually interpreted as a 'new birth'; the account of it implies that it was rather an approach to death in the form of a visit to the lower world and a more or less miraculous return.⁵⁷

R. Reitzenstein has distinguished two main elements in the rite. One is the "Reinigungsbad" and the other a "Taufe," -- "Ein Überrieseln mit einzelnen Tropfen einer heiligen und heilgenden Flüssigkeit."⁵⁸ He does not find it difficult to conclude that on the basis of this ancient Egyptian practice new life was closely linked with baptism. In similar fashion, J. Leipoldt has interpreted the Isiac baptism as "Reinigung" and "Wiedergeburt."⁵⁹

Günther Wagner is quick to take issue with these two representatives of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule and their "Verbindung zum

⁵⁷ W.L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 91.

⁵⁸ R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, op. cit., p. 41.

⁵⁹ Leipoldt, Die urchristliche Taufe im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte, op. cit., pp. 53ff.

Mysterium." There is nothing in the text, he insists, that can be interpreted as a new birth (ἀναγέννησις); nor is the sprinkling of the king or the washing of the dead more than a "Gliedervereinigung." Thus he concludes: Man kann deshalb in der Waschung des Lucius nicht mehr sehen als eine Reinigung, die von einer Absolution begleitet ist. Sie stellt die kultische Reinheit her und hilft dem Einzuweihenden, die kommende Vorbereitungszeit in der richtigen Haltung zuzubringen."⁶⁰

This conclusion is further explained in Wagner's discussion of the sprinkling rites (Besprengungsriten).⁶¹ Once again he takes issue with Leipoldt who has gone so far as to suggest that their purpose was to convey cleansing and eternal life and also serve as one of the ways of effecting the deification of the king.⁶² These Besprengungsriten were certainly an essential ingredient in the temple cult, but, in Wagner's opinion, they served no further purpose than purification.⁶³

⁶⁰ Wagner, op. cit., p. 112. His criticism also applied to the interpretation given by Alfred Loisy who states: "As Osiris was plunged into the waters of the Nile in order to revive him, so the novice receives a baptism whereby he is regenerated" ("The Christian Mystery," Hibbert Journal, 10 (1911), p. 48). Loisy, like Reitzenstein and Leipoldt, makes the mistake of equating ancient and later practices, a procedure which is not completely justified. One must not forget that original conceptions were often transformed in the course of expansion. Cf. Cumont, op. cit., pp. 91-2; H. Bonnet, "Die Symbolik der Reinigungen im Ägyptischen Kult," Angelos, i (1925), pp. 103-121. For example, claims spiritual conception of cleansing (p. 107f).

⁶¹ Wagner, op. cit., pp. 137-145.

⁶² Leipoldt, op. cit., p. 48f.

⁶³ Wagner, ibid., p. 137. Cf. also C.J. Bleeker, "Guilt and Purification in Ancient Egypt," Numen, 13 (1966), pp. 81-7. The answer, claims Bleeker, is negative, ie. "the texts provide no evidence that a link existed between the sense of guilt and purification" (p. 86).

The texts cannot be used to support a theory of regeneration in Isiac baptism.

D. The Great Mother:

In the mystery of the Magna Mater, or Cybele, as she was often called, and to which the cult of Attis was later attached, we encounter another curious amalgamation of belief and practice. Unfortunately, however, little is known about the rites of purification and their subsequent meaning for the devotees of the cult.

Strangely enough, in one of the rites, it is the statue of the goddess that is washed and not the initiates. This ritual, known as the Lavatio, consisted in taking the goddess down to the Almo river and there washing her⁶⁴ in the water. Willoughby understands this to be a "post-nuptial purification: which was necessary for the goddess after she had been mystically united with her ministers."⁶⁵

As far as one is able to determine, water does not have any significance beyond purification. Even later, when the cult centered around the worship of Attis, both ritualistic and sacramental concepts are absent. By participating in the Attis festival the initiate attained identification and union with the deity. "He himself became Attis, a god, mystically united. . . and he found therein the assurance of a happy future life."⁶⁶ For the initiate this was an experience of a new

⁶⁴ Cf. Cumont, op. cit., p. 57. Willoughby, op. cit., p. 128. On the history of the cult cf. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 640-657.

⁶⁵ Willoughby, ibid., p. 128.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 129.

birth, a ὥστερ ἀναγεννώμενων . There is no evidence that this experience was produced by a baptism or by any other water rituals.

E. Mithra:

Water played a very important role in the cult of Mithra.⁶⁷ Open vaults have been found which undoubtedly served as baptismal tanks. The obligations for purity and perfection which were placed upon the adherents were achieved by means of various lustrations and ablutions. So extensive was this practice, and so similar to the Christian rite, that Tertullian was forced to call the Mithraic rite a forgery of the devil.

Mithraic ceremonies, claims Willoughby, "consisted either of sprinkling with cold water, or of complete immersion as in the Isiac practices."⁶⁸ Cumont further acknowledges that "repeated ablutions were prescribed to neophytes as a kind of baptism designed to wash away their guilty stains."⁶⁹ Hence it is evident that the Mithraic baptism served as a rite of purification. Willoughby asserts that it "promised purification from guilt and the washing away of sins,"⁷⁰ thus inducing a spiritual renewal. Even Tertullian's comment that baptism is performed with a "View to rebirth and release from their broken oaths,"⁷¹ implies

⁶⁷ On the history of the cult cf. M.J. Vermaseren, Mithras (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965); Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae (Netherlands: Martinus Mijhoff, Vol. I, 1956: Vol. II, 1960); F. Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra (New York: Dover Publications, 1956).

⁶⁸ Willoughby, op. cit., p. 159.

⁶⁹ Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, op. cit., p. 156.

⁷⁰ Willoughby, ibid., p. 159

⁷¹ Evans, op. cit.

such a concept although there is no universal agreement at this point.⁷²

Both in Mithraism and in the cult of the Great Mother, a rite known as the taurobolium was observed. The rite is often referred to as a "blood baptism" or "blood bath" because the initiate descended into a pit into which the blood of a slain bull or ram would drip. The individual is literally immersed in the blood. This became a very realistic and symbolic way of demonstrating his union with the god.

The scholastic controversy regarding the taurobolium centers around the experience of a "new birth," in which the initiate is spoken of as being re-born into eternity (in aeternum renatus). Quite a number of scholars believe that the blood actually conveys the transmission of a new life into the soul of the initiate. Willoughby, for one, supports this idea. The initiate, he says, "came up out of the trench reborn to a new kind of existence. In effect the bath of blood was believed to purify him from the sins and evils of his old life and make him a new man, or rather a divinized human."⁷³ Thus the blood, in this particular

⁷² Cf. Cumont, ibid, p. 157: "Mithraic baptism wiped out moral faults; the purity aimed at was believed to wash away sins." Also T. Wilson, op. cit., p. 174: "The initiate of Mithraism underwent a baptism by total immersion, which was believed to wash away their sins." For an opposing view cf. Schnackenburg, Baptism, p. 14. Even though Tertullian uses the expression "regeneration," Schnackenburg interprets it merely as an "introductory bath of cleansing." Nor does the concept of regeneration in the so-called Mithrasliturgie of the 4th. century A.D. show that baptism is anything more than a bath of water. On this text cf. Wagner, op. cit., p. 76 who refers to it as neither liturgical nor Mithraic; Dey, op. cit., p. 102f.; Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 106.

⁷³ Willoughby, op. cit., p. 132. Cf. also Prüllm, op. cit., p. 263.

rite, may have performed the same function as did water in some of the other rites. This striking relationship between water and blood has led to a number of hotly contested arguments concerning Mithraic and Christian baptism.

Scholars in the religionsgeschichtliche tradition believe that the Mithraic taurobolium influenced the Christian concept of baptism. Reitzenstein, for example, claims that the "phrygischen Bluttauf" provides a good background for Paul's teaching in Romans 6.⁷⁴ Various other parallels have been made to show such dependence. The Mithraic descent into the pit, the purification of the blood and the birth into eternity represent the descent of the Christian into the baptismal water unto eternal life. However, beyond these rather superficial similarities, there is no supporting evidence that Christian baptism is dependent upon the Mithraic rite.

What is more probable, is that Mithraism borrowed some of its concepts from Christianity. There is no textual or inscriptional evidence to indicate that the taurobolium was performed as a rite of personal initiation until around the third century A.D. And the relationship of this rite with the mediation of the new birth is even later. Hence Wagner states: "Der Gedanke einer Wiedergeburt durch das Taurobolium taucht erst gegen Ende des 4. Jhs. vereinzelt auf."⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 81-2.

⁷⁵ Wagner, op. cit., p. 263, 280. Cf. also pp. 257-67; Dey, op. cit., pp. 65-86.

Ysebaert's investigation has led him to a similar conclusion: "There is thus not much evidence that the taurobolium was originally intended to represent a rebirth, and in aeternum renatus is in all probability borrowed from the Christian language."⁷⁶

Evaluation and Conclusion:

It is fairly obvious by now that this study on baptism in the Mystery religions leads to a rather sceptical conclusion. In just about all of the "Mysteries" we have had to admit that there is little or no evidence to consider that the baptisms and lustrations had any sacramental significance. The rites were, for the most part, rites of purification. Attempts to interpret them as sacraments conveying new birth or regeneration are not based on sound textual evidence.

If anything, the preceding discussion shows how little is actually known about the cultic practices of the Mysteries, and how cautious one must be in making any connection between Christianity and these rites. It is also quite clear that scholars following a religions-geschichtliche methodology have gone too far in their interpretation of these rites and in the claim that Christianity is dependent upon them.

⁷⁶ Ysebaert, op. cit., p. 116. Cf. also B.M. Metzger, "Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," op. cit.; Statements like Ysebaert's however, should not be taken to mean that all later Mithraism was influenced by Christianity. S.H. Hooke raised a good caution at this point when he states: "But while Mithraism was undoubtedly influenced by certain Christian ideas and practices, nevertheless, the main stock of Mithraic myth and ritual is derived from elements which are far older than Christianity" ("The Way of the Initiate," Judaism and Christianity, 1 (1937), p. 229).

Since the idea that some aspects of Christian baptism can be traced back to the Mystery religions arose several times in the exegesis of Ephesians (Part I), it was felt that a study of these rites was necessary. However, it is neither possible nor necessary to discuss all the areas of relationship between Christianity and the Mysteries.⁷⁷ But for the purpose of this thesis, several additional comments concerning the vocabulary, ritual observance and interpretation of the rites are in order.

Reference has already been made in Part I to the appearance of certain words and concepts that are common both to the Mysteries and to Christianity. In the case of sealing (σφραγίς), it was concluded that this term can definitely be connected with baptism at the beginning

⁷⁷ This subject has been thoroughly researched with the result that the scholarly world remains divided on such issues as origin, dependence etc. For scholars who hold to the dependence of Christianity upon the Mysteries cf. R. Bultmann, Theology, Vol. I, pp. 40ff. and his "Anknüpfung und Widerspruch. Zur Frage nach der Anknüpfung der neutestamentlichen Verkündigung und die natürliche Theologie der Stoa, die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen und die Gnosis," ThZ, 2 (1946), pp. 401-18; Bousset, Kyrios Christos, op. cit.; Bousset, "Christentum und Mysterienreligion," Theologische Rundschau, 15 (1912), pp. 41-61; H. Gunkel, Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910); Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, op. cit.; Heitmüller, Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903); for J. Leipoldt cf. all the works previously referred to or as listed in the bibliography; Macchioro, op. cit.; Perdelwitz, op. cit.; for Reitzenstein, cf. his works listed in the bibliography; Wobbermin, op. cit.; For scholars who oppose, or at least claim a very minimal borrowing from the Mysteries cf. Anrich, op. cit.; C. Clemen, Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources (Edinburgh: T. & G. Clark, 1912); B. Heigl, op. cit.; H.A.A. Kennedy, op. cit.; J.G. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921); A.D. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background, op. cit.; K. Prüllm, op. cit.; H. Rahner, op. cit.; J. Schneider, Die Passionsmystik des Paulus, op. cit.; E.G. Selwyn, op. cit., in a section pp. 305-11 specifically concerned with I Peter.

of the second century A.D.⁷⁸ At the same time, there is no evidence that the identification of σφραγίς and baptism originated in the Mysteries and subsequently found its way into Christianity.⁷⁹ Research into φωτισμός produced a similar result. Although the term appears in the Mysteries, there is no evidence that either φωτισμός or σφραγίς had any cultic significance or that they had any influence upon Christianity until later centuries.⁸⁰

It cannot be denied that there are certain similarities in terminology between the Mysteries and parts of the New testament. This is at least partially due to the common language of the day. But the really important consideration here is how far the appearance of mystery terminology in the New Testament involves the adoption of the ideas which it expresses, and whether, in fact, the common words meant the same thing for both religions.

Opponents of the "dependence hypothesis" are almost unanimous in stating that one cannot make any significant inferences from terminology as to the adoption of Mystery concepts. Hooke, in commenting upon Christianity, goes so far as to state that "we are justified in claiming that it owes nothing to the Mystery-cults of the period save a superficial resemblance in terminology."⁸¹ And this resemblance, it has been suggested, may be due to the common religious language of the time.

78 Part I, pp. 23-25.

79 Part I, pp. 25-26

80 Part I, pp. 31-32.

81 Hooke, op. cit., p. 248.

More surprising, however, is the large ignorance and/or avoidance of the technical terminology of the Mysteries. Bruce Metzger points out that every-day words and correlates of contemporary pagan religions such as μύστης, μυστικὸς, μυσταγωγός, καθαρμός, καθάρσια, κάθαρσις, τελεῖν, ἱεροφάντες, ὄργια, κάτοχος, ἔνθεος...ἐνθουσιάζειν, "are conspicuous by their absence from the New Testament."⁸²

One of the most thorough investigations into the terminological problem has been by A.D. Nock. Writing around the time when the historical-religious school was at its peak, Nock especially challenged certain conclusions by an examination of the vocabulary. In a section entitled "Mysteries in the Hellenistic Period: The Metaphorical Use of Mystery Terminology," he demonstrates the fluidity of terminology and how certain words like mysteria and telete have "a persistent unity which transcended varieties of meaning. . ."⁸³ and were used without ritual or ceremonial association, thus acquiring a generic quality and universal appeal. He also shows how the metaphor of initiation (mysterion) was used in Hellenistic Judaism, especially by Philo.⁸⁴

⁸² Metzger, op. cit., p. 11. Cf. also Nock, "The Vocabulary of the New Testament," op. cit., pp. 133-4.

⁸³ In Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Sources, op. cit., p. 117. The same point is made by H.A. Echle, op. cit., who shows that Clement of Alexandria uses the word "mysterion" and its cognates some 91 times but in only one-third of these instances is it used in direct reference to the heathen mystery cults and their rites (p. 54).

⁸⁴ Nock, op. cit., p. 132.

With respect to first century Christianity Nock asserts: "Any idea that what we call the Christian sacraments were in their origin indebted to pagan mysteries or even to the metaphorical concepts based upon them shatters on the rock of linguistic evidence."⁸⁵ The permanent value of Nock's research is in showing that any adaptation or application of Mystery terminology to the Christian sacrament of baptism was negligible before the fourth century A.D.⁸⁶

A similar "Sackgasse" is reached with respect to the word "mystery." Once the Greek word *μυστήριον* was translated as sacramentum in Latin it was not long before the title "mysteries" was generally attributed to the sacraments.⁸⁷ This, in turn, led to considerable confusion because the usage of *μυστήριον* in the New Testament has no sacramental overtones. In Ephesians, for example, we have seen that "mystery" refers to the inclusion of the Gentiles into the salvation plan of God (3:3-9; 6:19) and the union of Christ and the Church (5:32).

Although the Mysteries must have had extensive initiation ceremonies, it is almost impossible to reconstruct them in any detail.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 132. Cf. also his "Vocabulary of the New Testament," op. cit., pp. 133-34.

⁸⁶ Other important studies on vocabulary and conceptual similarities include Dey, op. cit., and Ysebaert, op. cit., especially his summary, pp. 118-9.

⁸⁷ Cf. Leipoldt, Von den Mysterien zur Kirche, op. cit., p. 81: "In der nachapostolischen Zeit wird die Wendung der Kirche zum Mysterium immer entschiedener. Man darf die frühe katholische Kirche etwa den vierten Jahrhunderts als eine Mysterienreligion auf christlicher Grundlage ansprechen."

Many of them had prayers, sacrifices, fastings and purifications.

According to Mylonas, the private rites at Eleusis included a re-enactment of the myth of Demeter (dromena), a presentation of certain sacred objects (deikynmena), and some type of liturgy (legomena). The purifications which the devotees had to undergo in order to qualify for these secret rites took place during the previous ceremonies and were more public in nature. Various stages are also discernable in Lucius' initiation and include his being led to the bath by a priest, prayer, the bath itself, and the confiding of certain secrets.

It seems highly unlikely that Christianity drew its inspiration for the catechumenate from the Mysteries even if one grants that some of the textual evidence could be pre-Christian. Anrich correctly states that by the time the Mysteries had any influence upon Christianity, baptismal instruction and the catechumenate were already well established practices.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the radical differences between Christian baptism and the Mystery rites also precludes the possibility of borrowing.⁸⁹ We conclude by affirming that the marriage between Christianity and the Mysteries was a late development. Christian writers of the time found it helpful to use some of the concepts and terminology of their pagan environment in order to present Christianity as the great or superior "mystery" religion.

⁸⁸ Anrich, op. cit., pp. 170-71.

⁸⁹ Such differences are discussed by most scholars dealing with the subject as listed in n. 77. Lists of comparison can also be found in some commentaries on Romans. Cf. for example, the differences between Paul and the Mysteries as discussed by Althaus, Der Brief and die Römer, op. cit., pp. 64-67; E. Gaugler, Der Römerbrief, Part I (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1958), pp. 156-61.

CONCLUSION

Many of the topics that are discussed in Parts II and III are a continuation and further development of matters which have appeared in the exegesis (Part I) and which are germane to the argument of the thesis. At this point we shall add a brief summary of the thought and conclusions that have been made.

The eschatology of Ephesians is not radically different from the eschatology of Paul, or the rest of the New Testament for that matter. The Christian is presented as standing between the present and future aeons, between the "Now" and the "Not Yet," or between fulfillment and promise. Baptism is interpreted as a sacrament of "realized eschatology" because in baptism the decisive acts of God have already occurred in principle even though they await their final manifestation in a future age. Thus it is incorrect to claim that in Ephesians all hope is lost, that the present entirely replaces the future or that linear eschatology is replaced by a spatial or spheric eschatology. Although the Christian shares in the blessings of the future aeon through baptism, this is only as a first instalment or guarantee (1:13; 4:30) of a future inheritance.

Baptism is also the founding (Indicative) and the necessity (Imperative) of a new existence. Hence the author of Ephesians shows how one's changed position "in Christ" is to lead to a new pattern of ethical behaviour. Baptism means that the old manner of life has been put away and that the Christian life is to be characterized by holiness and righteousness. The unique aspect about this doctrine in Ephesians is that the author sees this ethical pattern as a means for maintaining

the unity of the Church. Ethical action is, therefore, given a horizontal dimension.

Our study of the liturgical and catechetical material led to the conclusion that the early Church was in possession of a rather extensive body of ethical or catechetical material that was suitable for the instruction of baptismal candidates. Although one realizes that baptismal liturgies may have existed in the first century, there is no evidence of a catechumenate or the type of sophisticated baptismal liturgies that one finds in following centuries. Our reconstruction of the New Testament period demonstrated that the confessions, creeds and hymns of the early Church were relatively simple in nature.

This thesis is built around the theme that the author uses the doctrine of baptism to write a letter on Christian unity, specifically the unity between Jew and Gentile in the Church. Hence we disagreed with scholars who interpreted the letter exclusively as a baptismal treatise, homily or liturgy intended for the instruction of new converts. On the other hand, we have differed from those who have not found baptismal elements in Ephesians. The author does utilize material of the early Church connected with baptism, but it is not his intention to produce a baptismal treatise. We have already stated that Ephesians, in spite of its baptismal nature, shows a remarkable lack of interest in liturgical regulations.

No serious attempt was made to identify the author of the Epistle. The most one can say is that he is a deuterio-Paulinist, writing near the end of the first Christian century. This means that he is neither an impostor nor a traditionalist. To use Professor Lohse's

words, the author is "an independent acting and judging theologian of Pauline stamp."

Even though the content of the letter did not permit a precise identification of the Jewish-Gentile problem, we proposed that it may center around the isolation or separation of the Gentile Church from the Jewish Christians. On the basis of this "hypothetical" reconstruction of the problem, and together with the brief discussion of the incorporation of the Gentiles in the Church in Romans 11, the author is led to demonstrate that the Gentiles stand in the same history of salvation as the Jews and that together with them they now constitute the Church. This inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church is identified as the "mystery of Christ" (3:6).

The place given to Paul by the author can possibly be accounted for by Paul's own life as a missionary to the Gentiles (cf. Part I, chapter III) and the fact that Ephesians presents a detailed theological development of a theme which Paul discussed briefly in the Epistle to the Romans. In Ephesians, a pupil of Paul, conscious of his master's mission, writes in his name in order to present him as the final interpreter of this great "mystery":

The religionsgeschichtliche study of baptism is largely descriptive in nature and reveals what is known and what cannot be known about Jewish and Hellenistic baptismal practice and thought. Parallels of thought and imagery were discussed and evaluated for their usefulness in our understanding of Ephesians. As far as the Jewish rites are concerned, it does not appear that there is a conscious effort on the part of the author to link Christian baptism to these practices. The

connections that exist were already part of the Church's understanding and terminology and had already received a decisive Christian interpretation. By its understanding of baptism as participation in Christ, a change of status, and the sacrament of unity, Ephesians stands firmly in line with other New Testament texts. It is the use to which the doctrine of baptism is put that gives Ephesians its distinctive character.

In the study of the Mysteries a rather sceptical conclusion was reached. The little that is known about the rites shows that they are largely purificatory in nature. Attempts to interpret them as sacraments of new birth or regeneration are not based on sound evidence. As with the Jewish rites, certain verbal and conceptual parallels were noted. However, the appearance of mystery terminology and ideas in Christian sacramentalism is a development of the second-fourth centuries A.D. With respect to the religionsgeschichtliche method it must be emphasized that analogy, whether it be vocabulary, imagery, or practice, does not necessarily mean genealogy.

The rather extensive footnotes and bibliography in the thesis indicate that there are many areas open for further study and research. In the case of Ephesians more work needs to be done, for example, on such topics as Jewish-Gentile relations near the end of the first century or the relation between the theology of Ephesians and the Pauline. Nor may this thesis have answered all the questions about baptism in the Epistle. We have sought to demonstrate that baptism plays an important role in Ephesians and that the many allusions to the rite are best explained by the author's purpose of using baptism to show how Jew and Gentile have been united in Christ and how this unity can be maintained.

ABBREVIATIONS

ET-	Expository Times
EvTh-	Evangelische Theologie
JBL-	Journal of Biblical Literature
JThS-	Journal of Theological Studies
NTS-	New Testament Studies
RGG-	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., 1962
RQ-	Revue de Qumran
SJTh-	Scottish Journal of Theology
TDNT-	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited G. Kittel, transl. G.W. Bromiley
ThB-	Theologische Blätter
ThLZ-	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThWNT-	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
Trier ThZ-	Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift
ZKTh-	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie
ZNW-	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
AThK-	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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