

Baptism in Early Christian Groups: Its Adoption, Transformation and Development¹⁾

Jayhoon Yang*

1. Introduction

Baptism is one of two main sacraments in the Protestant Church along with the Eucharist. Baptism traces its origin back to Levitical purity law which stipulates what/who is pure or impure and how to make the impure the pure (Lev. 11-18). Baptism and purity law share many common features: sin and atonement (e.g., Lev. 12:7-8; 14:18, 20, 31; 15:30), act of cleansing, use of water (and/or) oil (e.g., Lev. 15:5-8, 10-13, 16-17, 21, 26-27; 16:26, 28; 14:7, 14-18, 25-29, 51; 16:14-19), (sexual) morality (Lev. 18), holiness (Lev. 11:44), and the relationship between God and people (Lev. 11:44-45), etc. The purity/impurity was primarily of the religious ritual regulations in Leviticus which mainly concerns with the physical state of a person or things. But it is a complicated matter in which various elements are involved: physical, emotional, religious, political, and social relationship, etc.

The understanding of purity/impurity and the rituals for purity has developed in the 2nd Temple period, shifting its focal points for instance from sexual morality to morality (e.g.,

* Professor of the New Testament and Early Christianity at Hyupsung University.

1) This work was supported by Hyupsung University Research Grant of 2022-0039 and presented at the workshop co-organized by CISMOR and IKTINOS: *Purity Law in Contexts: From the Ancient World to Modern Times* (Jan 14, 2023)

Isa. 1:16-17), emphasizing its function as a mark of renewed covenant between God and the Israelites (e.g., Ezk. 36:25-31), and spiritualizing the cleansing practices (e.g., 1QS 3.3-9). They were taken over by John the Baptist, and the early Christians also developed John's baptism, forming their own understanding of purity and the practices of lustration ritual. This paper examines how the early Christians understood the idea of purity and impurity with regard to baptism; what significance the Christian baptism has and how it worked amongst the Christian groups of the first three centuries.

I will explore the Christian baptism of the first century focusing on the book of Acts and 1 Corinthians. For the baptism of the 2nd and the 3rd century Christian groups I will examine *Didache*, *Apostolic Traditions* by Hippolytus of Rome, and *Didascalia Apostolorum*. I will also examine some extra canonical writings such as of Gnostic and New Testament Apocryphal groups. The survey of lustration rituals like above will tell us how the early Christians adopted, transformed, and developed the baptism.

2. Baptism and Ideology

As I mentioned above, purity/impurity is not just a matter of religious regulations or practices. That someone or something is pure implies that some others are impure, and the pure claim to be distinguished from the impure. The Levitical purity law instructs that the impure must be separated from the pure, and that the impure should be cleansed, i.e., should be proved pure in order to join the pure (11:32, 40; 12:4-5; 13:1-18:30). Purity/impurity is relative; we learn something is pure by comparing it with some other things that are less pure. The relationship between the pure and the impure is adversarial,

and the pure exhibit positive significance while the impure negative. Therefore, one often asserts that s/he is pure, and the one that is believed purer than the other claims its relative superiority. This produces the competition amongst the ideological primary groups,²⁾ and they make use of purity/impurity to claim their ideological interests, which implies that baptism can be a means of ideology.

Ideology does not merely refer to a world view but complicate dynamics in the inter-person/community relationship. T. Eagleton provides 16 definitions of ideology (a-p), and the following five articles are noteworthy:

- c. ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power
- g. forms of thought motivated by social interests
- h. identity thinking
- k. the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world
- l. action-oriented sets of beliefs³⁾

The definition of ideology Eagleton suggests above contains a few key characteristics: power, interests, and legitimation. Ideology is about a struggle for having power which helps one enhance his/her interests. So, Eagleton refines the concept of ideology as six items, and the following three are significant:

- 3. Promotion and legitimation of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests

2) An ideological primary group" refers to a 'characteristic and primal' group/individual who retains an ideology. Its members maintain comrade affinity and solidarity and exhibit loyalty to its ideology. They are characterized by exclusive boundary-marking that distinguishes them from outsiders and opponents. See, E. Shils, "Ideology: The Concept and Function of Ideology," in D.L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7 (London: Macmillan Co, 1968), 66-76 (70).

3) T. Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 1-2.

4. The promotion and legitimation of the interests of the dominant group
5. Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation.⁴⁾

Ideological primary groups pursue their own interests, and the process of pursuing interests inevitably includes competition amongst the groups. They try to remove their competitors to monopolize their power and hegemony over the opposing ideological groups. One of the strategies to achieve this goal is to promote their interest maximum and to legitimize their possession of power. Distortion and dissimulation are useful methods to eliminate the enemies. In this sense, Eagleton contends that “ideology is a production of socio-historical realities.”⁵⁾

Literary productions are one of the best tools to pursue the interest of the ideological primary group. They claim their power and hegemony, silence the opponent’s voices, legitimize their interests, suppress the ideologically opposing primary group’s challenge, and the literary production is useful to achieve this goal. For this reason, F. Jameson compares literary productions to the battlefield where the ideological primary groups struggle for the power.⁶⁾ The powerful want to keep their *status quo* and they defend what they enjoy; they try to remain in the centre making the powerless/less-powerful marginalized, and believe that the shift of centre from their locus to others’ is dangerous. The powerful contend their discourse is central and that of the opponents/competitors is

4) Eagleton, *Ideology*, 28-31.

5) T. Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory* (London: Verso, 1976), 68.

6) F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 13.

peripheral.⁷⁾ That the value of purity and impurity is relative indicates that it is ideological. Likewise, baptism had been used ideologically amongst the early Christian groups. I will examine how they used baptism ideologically.

3. John's Baptism: the beginning of the Christian Baptism

The authors of gospels record the baptism of John the Baptist (Mk 12-11; Matt. 3:1-17; Lk. 3:1-17; Jn 1:19-34), and each connects baptism with repentance. But there is a difference between Matthew and two other gospels in understanding John's baptism. Matthew states baptism in water into/for repentance (Matt. 3:11; βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν), while the other gospels state "baptism of repentance into/for the forgiveness of sins" (Mk 1:8/ Lk. 3:3; βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν). For Matthew, baptism is for repentance.⁸⁾ Matthew understands that baptism done in water by John leads the baptized to repentance; it may seem that a person is required to repent as a result of baptism. Mark and Luke, on the other hand, understand that the baptism of repentance gives the baptized the forgiveness of sins; that is, the baptism for Mark and Luke is a kind of expression that they have repented, and the forgiveness of sins are sealed by their baptism.

However, the difference of Matthew's "baptism for repentance" and "baptism of repentance (into the forgiveness of sins)" of Mark and Luke is not much meaningful. We can find a parallel between Matthew and Luke in that John the

7) D. Jobling, "Writing the Wrongs of the World: The Deconstruction of the Biblical Text in the Context of Liberation Theologies," *Semeia* 51 (1990), 81-118.

8) G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 34-35.

Baptist in both gospels warns and demands to bear “fruit in keeping with repentance” first to those who came in order to be baptized (Matt. 3:7-10// Lk. 3:7-9). Furthermore, Matthew introduces John proclaiming “Repent!” (3:2) even before he talks about John’s baptism for repentance. That is, “βαπτίζω εἰς μετάνοιαν” does not necessarily mean baptism for repentance but an overall connection between baptism and repentance, and in this regard D. Hagner translates it “a baptism associated with repentance.”⁹⁾ Regardless of whether repentance is a prerequisite or result of baptism, it is sure that they are closely related to each other. However, baptism and the forgiveness of sins are not necessarily conjoined.¹⁰⁾ Rather, the forgiveness of sins for Matthew is not by John’s baptism but by the sacrifice of Jesus (Matt. 26:28 cf. 1:21).¹¹⁾ This suggests that the first century Christians had different understanding concerning the function of John’s baptism, and this is supported by Luke’s report of Paul’s mission in Ephesus which will be discussed below.

Secondly, John’s baptism in the Synoptics is eschatological.¹²⁾ John in Matthew proclaims the imminent advent of the heavenly Kingdom (Matt. 3:2). The quotes from Isaiah 40:3 and Malachi 3:1 are also eschatological.¹³⁾ The eschatology in these quotes is twofold: both of judgment and redemption;¹⁴⁾ Isaiah 40

9) D. Hagner, *Matthew* 1-13, WBC 33-1, trans. Chae Chunsuk (Seoul: Solomon, 1999), 146; 156-157.

10) Cf. Josephus records that John’s baptism is not for the forgiveness of sins but for the purification of body only because the purification of the soul has already been done before baptism by righteousness (*Ant.* 18.117).

11) A. Malina, “Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins – Mark 1:4 in Its Context,” *BibAn* 11(4) (2021), 691-692.

12) Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 31-33.

13) Song Chang-Hyun examines the connection between John the Baptist and the Qumran community by Isa. 40:3. The Rule of Community quotes Isa. 40:3 to explain their identity (1QS 8.12-16; 9.19-21). Song Chang-Hyun., “John the Baptist and the Qumran Community,” *Catholic Theology* 3 (2003), 135-172.

proclaims God's consolation and restoration when He comes to reign. However, Malachi 3 and 4 state the judgment on the Last Day. John's clothing implies his recognition of self-identity as an eschatological prophet, Elijah in 2 Kings 1:8 and Zech 13:4 who is mentioned in Mal. 4:5, too. John as an eschatological prophet Elijah baptized people to invite and make them prepared for the eschatological Kingdom of God.

John chose the east bank of Jordan for his ministry, and it alludes to his understanding of ministry. His baptismal location is just on the opposite side of Jericho, and it reminds us of the Israelites who were about to cross the river to enter the Promised Land as Stegemann well noticed.¹⁵⁾ That is, John understood that his baptismal ministry was to make people prepared for entering the eschatological Kingdom like the Israelites entered the Promised 'Holy' Land long time ago. John thought that people (impurity) needed to repent and their sins to be forgiven (cleansing) to enter this eschatological heavenly Kingdom (purity), and that his baptism was a symbolic practice of "mediation of salvation",¹⁶⁾ which challenges them to cross the river.

John's eschatological baptism is outstanding in that both the baptizer and the baptized are involved in the baptismal practice and that it was one-time event. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that it needed no waiting period of probation before baptism and was open to everyone.¹⁷⁾ John's baptism was

14) Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 32.

15) H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 214.

16) Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 220.

17) Some may trace the origin of John's baptism back to the lustration rituals of the Qumran Community (E.g., J.A.T. Robinson, *Twelve New Testament Studies* [Oregon: SCM Press, 1962], 11-27. For the critical survey of the relationship between John the Baptist and the Qumran Community, See Song, "John the Baptist and the Qumran Community," 135-172.), as both did lustration rituals

welcoming everyone to repent and to enter the eschatological Kingdom of God. Those who confess their sins and repent could enter this kingdom, and his baptism functioned as an initiation ritual which affirmed the baptized were qualified (or willing) to be citizens of this eschatological kingdom. In this sense, his baptism worked as a “sacramental mediation of salvation”, which is also connected to the Christian baptism.

4. Baptism of the 1st century Christian groups: Acts and the Corinthian Church

John’s baptism was adopted into the Christian baptism of the first century Christian groups. They did not only accepted John’s baptism but also transformed it. In this part, I will explore how some of the first century Christians adopted baptism, especially with regard to the question of ideology we surveyed above.

and are both eschatological person/groups. But we can find difference rather than similarity between them, and Stegemann summarized well as follows: (1) John’s baptism needed an agent but Qumran’s immersion was done without other’s assistance; (2) for John it is a sacramental but it is just a ritual for the Qumran; (3) John’s baptism was done in a specific place with an eschatological significance while the Qumran’s were done wherever the Essenes lived; (4) John’s was one-time event but the Qumran’s was repetitive; (5) John’s was about the forgiveness of sins in the imminent eschatological judgement, while the Qumran’s had nothing of this notion; (6) John’s baptism was an expression of one’s conversion but the Qumran’s was not; (7) there is no waiting period to be baptized by John, but the candidate had to complete one year probation period before participating in the lustration ritual; (8) unlike the Qumran’s lustration, John’s baptism was open to everyone coming toward him to be baptized. See Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 222.

4.1 Baptism, the name of Jesus and the seal of the Holy Spirit

Christian baptism is understood as a means of forgiveness of sins. Peter in Acts proclaims that one is to be baptized for the forgiveness of their sins (Acts 2:38). Paul also recalls his baptism by Ananias, who said “[...] be baptized, and *wash away your sins*, calling on His name.” (Acts 22:16) It is like the baptism of John the Baptist that Mark and Luke report (Mk 1:8; Lk 3:3). Both baptisms in these speeches contain “forgiveness of sins” and “the name of Jesus”. The inclusion of the name of Jesus tells us how the baptism in Acts differs from John the Baptist’s baptism. Then, we can suppose that it is not the baptismal practice itself but (calling/in) *the name of Jesus* that gives the baptized the forgiveness of sins. That is, Luke in Acts, like Matthew who ascribes the forgiveness of sins to Jesus (Matt. 26:28. see above), understands the baptismal practice as a seal that confirms one’s forgiveness of sins which *is given by Jesus*.

Luke tells Paul’s episode in Ephesus during his third mission travel (Acts 19:1-7). During Apollos’ absence from Ephesus visiting Corinth, Paul arrived in Ephesus and met some “disciples.” And he asked them if they had received the Holy Spirit, and they replied that they know nothing of it. Then Paul asked them again “Into what then were you baptized?” and learning that it was John’s baptism he baptized them “in the name of the Lord Jesus” (Acts 19:5). It may look embarrassing to the modern Christians as it looks like the ana-baptism. Why did Paul baptize them even though they had already been baptized? We can point out two elements in this ‘ana-baptism’: (1) baptism in the name of Jesus (2) receiving the Holy Spirit.

Luke tells a similar episode in Peter and John’s ministry in Acts 8:14-16. Hearing of Philip’s successful ministry in Samaria, the Jerusalem Church sent Peter and John (Acts 8:5-15). Receiving Philip’s proclamation of the Good News about “the

Kingdom of God’ and “the name of Jesus Christ”, they were baptized (Acts 8:12). Peter and John came down to Samaria and laid down their hands on them, and “they were receiving the Holy Spirit” (Acts 8:17). Luke reports that “the Holy Spirit had not yet fallen on any of them; they had simply been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus” (Acts 8:16), and these two apostles visited Samaria to pray for them so that “they might receive the Holy Spirit” (Acts 8:15).¹⁸⁾

Comparing these two episodes in Acts 8 and 19 above, we can learn that **the Christian baptism is completed by the baptism of the Holy Spirit**,¹⁹⁾ and this baptism **can only be done in the name of Jesus**. Peter’s preaching on the occasion of the Pentecost incident shows the ‘standard process of the Christian baptism’. He says, “Repent, and each of you be baptized in the name of Jesus for the forgiveness of sins; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:38). The Christian baptism normally follows three steps: (1) repentance (2) baptism in the name of Jesus and the forgiveness of sins (3) receiving the Holy Spirit. The early Christians and John the Baptist share the same element of repentance in association with baptism. But the first century Christians added the name of Jesus and receiving the Holy Spirit as critical elements of baptism. The baptism of John lost its centeredness and marginalized by an emerging Christian

18) The importance of receiving the Holy Spirit in the process of the baptism is also found in Acts 10:47. When Peter was preaching at Cornelius’ house (Acts 10:34-43), the Holy Spirit came down upon the audience (Acts 10:44) and being surprised by this Peter baptized them. The baptism in Cornelius’ house tells us that the order can be reversed.

19) It reminds us of John’s proclamation that “He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire” (Lk. 3:16; Mk. 1:8; Matt. 3:11; Jn. 1:33). Furthermore, Luke begins his second volume with the Pentecost experience where the Holy Spirit came down like tongues of fire (Acts 1:5; 2:1-4). All the four gospel authors link John’s baptism with water and Jesus’ baptism with the Holy Spirit (and fire). This tells us what the first century Christians thought the baptism should be like.

baptism. John's baptism is no more acceptable for salvation but the Christian baptism in the name of Jesus accompanied by receiving the Holy Spirit is only valid.

Receiving the Holy Spirit is essential in the Christian baptism as it functions the final stage of the baptismal practice. Paul and the author of Ephesians describe the receiving the Holy Spirit as sealing (2 Cor. 1:21-22; Eph. 1:13-14). The Holy Spirit is given as a seal to those who believed, and it is to confirm that s/he is God's possession. That is, baptism which is followed by pouring the Holy Spirit denotes that the baptized belong to God.²⁰ Pouring the Holy Spirit is compared to anointing the baptized as we see in 2 Cor. 1:21, and the idea of the anointment as symbolizing the possession of God is found in the first epistle of John (1 John 2:19-20). Baptism as denoting one's special affiliation with God implies that it provides the baptized a sense of membership and helps them have royalty to the community of the baptized; they form an ideological primary group and those who have not been baptized are recognized as outsiders.

The first century Christians differentiated their baptism from John's baptism by including "in the name of Jesus" and "receiving the Holy Spirit" and contended that it was their baptism not John's baptism which was acceptable for the salvation. The ideological primary groups following John the Baptist and Christians following Jesus were competitors as we suppose in John's Gospel (1:35-40; 3:22-30; 4:1-2). The Christians claimed their superiority by legitimizing the validity of their baptism and dissimulating that of the John's baptism.

20) Sealing as a means of signifying one's belonging to God is also found in Rev. 7:3-4.

4.2 Baptism a tool for strengthening the solidarity of ideological primary group

John's baptism was open to everyone, and the procedure was so simple that anyone who confessed his/her sins could be baptized without any process of probation. But the first century Christians made it more complicated by requesting the baptism in the name of Jesus and receiving the Holy Spirit; baptism was more than turning back (μετανοία) and became sacramental. The more it becomes complicated the higher is the barrier between the baptized and the unbaptized and the stronger becomes the solidarity amongst the baptized. That both baptizer and the baptized are involved in the Christian baptismal process could produce a strong connection between the baptizer and the baptized.

The tie between the baptizer and the baptized caused a trouble in Corinthian Church. The people of Chloe who were sent to Paul²¹⁾ in Ephesus informed him of the quarrels amongst the Corinthian Christians (1 Cor. 1:11). They were divided into groups, saying "I am of Paul", "I am of Apollos", "I of Cephas", and "I of Christ" (1 Cor. 1:12). Interestingly, Paul finds the cause of division in the practice of baptism:

Has Christ been divided? Paul was not crucified for you, was he? Or *were you baptized in the name of Paul*? I thank God that I baptized none of you except Crispus and Gaius, so

21) It is not sure if Chloe was a member of Corinthian church, and this view was argued by G. Fee, Ramsay, and C.K. Barrett, etc. Seeing that the informants were accepted as trustworthy by Paul, Fee contends, they were not a part of Corinthian parties, e.g., "of Paul"; Chole was a wealthy businessman based on Ephesus, and Chloe's people delivered this letter on their way back to their basecamp, Ephesus. G. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1987), 54.

that no one would say you *were baptized in my name*. Now I did baptize also the household of Stephanas [...] For Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel. (1 Cor. 1:13-17)

The problem of division amongst the Corinthian Christians emerged as a matter of baptism. Surely, the division was not because of baptism but of their spiritual arrogance and indulgence. Furthermore, it does not seem that the Corinthians formed parties depending on the theological stances of the apostles named above (cf. 1 Cor. 3:5-9; 16:12).²²⁾ But the baptism was functioning as a means of excuse for the division amongst them.

The slogan “I am of Paul”, “of Apollos”, “of Cephas”, and “of Christ” does not mean each member of the parties was baptised “in the name of Paul” or “in the name of Apollos” and so on. Rather, it signifies the discipleship following Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ as their leader.²³⁾ It is not clearly stated here in(to) what name the Corinthians were baptized, but it is certain that it was not “in Paul’s name” (1 Cor. 1:13, 15). Paul does not use the baptismal language when he talks about baptism, i.e., “baptism in the name of xx”.²⁴⁾ The only

22) Paul says that he encouraged Apollos to visit Corinthian church (1 Cor. 16:12). Furthermore, he tells them about his cooperative ministry with Apollos, calling him “God’s fellow workers” (1 Cor. 3:5-9). Therefore, it is feasible that their alleged division was due to the theological or political conflict amongst the apostles.

23) Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 178. For this reason, Fee translates this phrase “†Εγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, †Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, †Εγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, †Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ” as “I follow Paul, I follow Apollos...” G. Fee, *First Corinthians*, 51, 56

24) For the word of baptism, he, besides the current issue in 1 Cor. 1:12-17 uses baptismal language in a different context such as “baptism in unity with Jesus Christ” (Rom. 6:3-4; Gal. 3:27), “baptism in the cloud and in the sea” (1 Cor. 10:2), “baptism by one Spirit” (1 Cor. 12:13), and “the baptism for the dead” (1 Cor. 15:29). Concerning the baptism for the dead in 1 Corinthians, see Seo Dong-Su, “1 Corinthians 15:29, the Vicarious Baptism for the Dead and Paul’s Thought on Resurrection,” *KJCS* 115 (2020), 39-66. He understands

exception is 1 Cor. 6:11, “*you were washed*, you were sanctified, you were justified *in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ* and by the Spirit of our God (ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.)”. The phrase “you were washed” refers to baptism,²⁵⁾ or at least is a baptismal language (cf. ἀπελούσασθε in Acts 22:16, where baptism and washing away sins are stated) and Paul uses the trinitarian language of “Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, and God”.

Even though baptismal practice has (or is supposed to have) nothing to do with the division amongst the Corinthian Christians, Paul draws the practice of baptism in dealing with this matter. It is because the baptism can be associated with the relationship between the baptizer and the baptized,²⁶⁾ and this could be a plausible excuse in making parties against each other. This supports that baptism of the first century Christians could be used as a means of pursuing one’s interests. There was conflict amongst the Corinthian Christian groups, and each claimed their hegemony. Baptism for the Corinthian Christians was a tool for strengthening the solidarity of the ideological primary groups within the church, and in this regard, baptism was ideological.

5. Baptism of the 2nd and 3rd century Christian groups

The Christian baptism as a means of promoting ideological interest is found in the 2nd and 3rd century Christian documents. In this part I will firstly examine *Didache*, *The Apostolic Tradition*

this baptism in terms of Paul’s strategy for the pastoral practice.

25) Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 163.

26) Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 178-179.

by Hippolytus of Rome and *Didasclia Apostolorum*. They stipulate the rules concerning baptism, and we can learn how baptism could be used ideologically amongst these early Christian ideological primary groups.

5.1 *Didache*, The *Apostolic Tradition* (Hippolytus of Rome), *Didasclia Apostolorum*

Didache a Christian group's document dated around late 1st and early 2nd century states some rules concerning baptism in chapters 7 and 9. We learn a few facts about baptism: the use of trinitarian baptismal formula; a guide about the use of baptismal water; the procedures before baptismal ritual (7.1-4). This suggests that the Christian baptism has already become a sacrament in which various procedures and typical baptismal formulars are involved. Noteworthy is that *Didache* specifies a regulation concerning partaking the eucharist in association with baptism.

But *let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, unless they have been baptized* into the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord has said, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs." (9.5)

It states that a person who has not yet been baptized cannot receive the bread and wine, and the author supports the validity of this regulation by interpreting the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 7:6), which is an arbitrary exegesis. Only the baptized could have access to the holy communion, and it implies that the Christian baptism was functioning as a boundary marker which separates the unbaptized from the baptized. The unbaptized, according to *Didache* 9.5 are humiliated as dogs,

and it might have given them strong motivation to join the baptized group. In this regard, the Christian baptism was useful means of ideology.

The *Apostolic Tradition* which is believed composed by Hippolytus of Rome in the early 3rd century is another example how the Christian baptism could function ideologically. It introduces the process of baptism in chapters 15-19, and 20-21. It discusses who is or is not qualified to be baptized (15-16); the preparation period (17); catechumen's prayer (18); laying hands on the catechumen and martyrdom as a substitution for baptism (19); process before the day of baptism (20); and procedures of baptismal practice (21). The strict regulations concerning baptism of this ideological primary group suggests that baptism could have been understood as a barrier between the baptized and the unbaptized.

According to the *Apostolic Tradition*, it was not easy to be baptized. They were asked to give up their occupations if they were not appropriate (e.g., actor, charioteer, gladiator, hunter, military governor, etc.) (15-16. // *Apostolic Constitutions* 32). They should prove that they are worthy of baptism for three years of probation period (17). This could make the baptism special and the baptized feel privileged. The strict separation the unbaptized from the baptized also could be the same. They could not join the congregation of the baptized for the worship service; they were separated in a designated place so as not to stay together with the baptized, and it was strictly forbidden for them to join the "kiss of peace" amongst the baptized (18). *Didache* forbids the unbaptized from partaking the eucharist, and it is the same to the *Apostolic Tradition* (21). Baptism was working as a boundary marker that separates (excludes) the unbaptized from the baptized, and it enhances the solidarity of the baptized and their loyalty to this ideological primary group.

Baptism made the baptized feel the sense of belonging to a new group. The baptized were asked to be naked before entering the water, and they were clothed in a new garment after coming out of the water, which symbolizes the new life.²⁷⁾ Furthermore, the baptized were anointed with the consecrated Oil of Thanksgiving with the *episcopus*' laying hands upon the baptized after coming out of the water; it is the anointment of sealing, which confirms that the baptized became God's possession,²⁸⁾ by the Holy Spirit. The baptized were led into the church and allowed to join the prayer of the baptized, to share the kiss of peace with them, and to partake the eucharist. The eucharist is understood as a nourishment for a new-born (spiritual) baby, and it is why it was provided along with milk and honey which also symbolizes entering the Promised Land (21). The three elements in the process of baptism, i.e., the prayer, kiss of peace, and the Holy Communion with the baptized, were strictly forbidden to the unbaptized, and it implies the role of baptism as a boundary marker. Baptism as initiation ritual like above signifies clear separation of the unbaptized from the baptized; that is, those who have moved into the new group of the baptized could enjoy all the benefits of new membership, from which the unbaptized were excluded, and are encouraged to have strong

27) Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428 CE) states that this "wholly radiant" garment is a symbolic and sacramental foretasting the new and immortal life which will be tasted in the future resurrection: "When you go out (of the water) you wear a garment that is wholly radiant. This denotes the next world which is shining and radiant, and the life into which you had a long time beforehand moved through symbols. When you have received the resurrection in reality and put on immortality and incorruptibility, such a garment will be wholly unnecessary, but since now you do not possess these things in reality and have only received them sacramentally and symbolically, you are in need of garments." (*Commentary on Baptism*)

28) Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390 CE) states that "for a sheep that is sealed is not easily snared, but that which is unmarked is an easy prey to thieves" (*Oration* XL, "The Oration on Holy Baptism," 15).

royalty to the privileged ideological group.

Baptism in *Didascalia Apostolorum* (DA) which dates to the early 3rd century and probably from Antioch of Syria also tells us that baptism could be used for the ideological purposes. Like the *Apostolic Tradition*, *Didascalia* stipulates that the unbaptized should be excluded from the *koinonia* with the baptized because they have not yet received “the seal” and “been confirmed”; they even had to “go outside” during the prayer (DA 10).

Furthermore, we find another ideological use of baptism in *Didascalia*: woman’s role in the baptism. Firstly, women were not allowed to baptize others, and it is warned as “a transgression of the commandments”:

We do not advise a woman to baptize or to be baptized *by a woman*, for that is a transgression of the commandments [...] Therefore do not bring danger on yourselves, brothers and sisters, acting beyond the law of the Gospel. (DA 15)

Women could do their parts in the process of baptism, anointing, teaching, and receiving the female catechumen.²⁹⁾ But it is just to avoid the sexual problem (DA 16)³⁰⁾, and the male priest still monopolizes the right to baptize.³¹⁾ The involvement

29) It is debated if the baptismal instruction parts were inserted by later editors. See, P. F. Bradshaw, “Women and Baptism in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*,” *J ECS* 20(4) (2012), 641-645.

30) It is not sure if the candidate is naked and then anointed or anointed and then naked before coming down to the water. According to the *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle Thomas firstly anoints Mygdonia, orders her nurse Narcia to undress her and to gird a linen around her, and then baptize her (*Act. Thom.* 121). The author of *Acts of Thomas* informs us that the anointment was done first before undressing the candidate and a woman involved in the baptismal process when the candidate is a woman.

31) The Western Church did anointment twice, before coming down to the water (Oil of Exorcism) and after coming out of the water (Oil of Thanksgiving) (AT 21). The Eastern Church, however, did anointment only once before coming

of the Deaconess in the process of baptismal practice is to keep the “unbreakable seal of baptism *pure and holy*” (DA 16).

We see the tension over the authority between the male and female leaderships amongst the Christian groups of Syria in the 3rd century. That *Didascalia* exhibits a negative attitude to the female authority implies that there were groups where women baptized the catechumen or who claimed female leadership and authority. *Didascalia*, recognizing the challenge of such Christian groups, tried to usurp their authority, and baptism was used to dissimulate the interest of the opponent groups.³²⁾

6. Gnostic and the NT Apocryphal groups

6.1 NT Apocryphal groups: Apocryphal Acts

We have surveyed how baptism functioned ideologically in the early Christian groups. There are other Christian groups who did the same, and it is found in a few NT apocryphal writings such the *Acts of Andrews* (*Act Andr*), the *Acts of Peter* (*Act Pt*), the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (*Act Pl*), and the *Acts of Philip* (*Act Ph*), etc.

We can see some changes in the role of baptism and anointment: The *Acts of Peter* (*Vercellenses*) tells a story of Peter's baptism to Theon a captain while he was traveling to Rome.

down to the water (DA 16). Likewise, the Syriac and Greek version of the *Acts of Thomas* 25-27 follow the Eastern and the Western anointment style respectively. See, Song Hye-Kyung, *The New Testament Apocrypha 2* (Uijeongbu: Hannim Biblical Institute, 2011), 218-219.

32) See C. Methuen, “Widows, Bishops and the Struggle for Authority in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46(2) (1995), 197-213.

Here the baptism means “being washed and sealed with Thy holy seal” and is called “the seal of the Lord”. Some Christian groups we examined above understood anointment not baptism as a completion seal of baptismal practice. However, anointment is not done, and the author understands the baptismal practice with water itself is a seal. Understanding baptism not anointment as a seal is also found in the *Acts of Andrew*. The author of the *Acts of Andrew* understands that baptism is a seal which confirms that its holder belongs to God (11). The author believes that the baptismal seal expels the evil powers if the baptized keep it pure. He says that it is a deposit which God has entrusted us (τὴν τιστευθεῖσαν ἡμῖν παρακαταθήκην), and s/he must return it to God on the Last Day (12). This implies that some Christian groups understood baptism as substituting anointment which was often done to complete the baptism.

Furthermore, the strictness of baptismal practice becomes flexible for some Christians of the apocryphal writings. The sea water is used for baptism in the *Acts of Peter* (*Vercellenses* 5). The baptismal water was supposed to be flowing freshwater with minimum exceptions depending on inevitable circumstances (*Didache* 7); but the author of the *Acts of Peter* included the sea water into this category of exceptions. Furthermore, Paul baptizes a “lion” in the *Acts of Paul* (P. Hamburg). It is just a created story which probably imitated the famous romantic story of Androclus and a lion,³³⁾ and it is hardly believed that they really baptized animals too. But it implies that for some Christian group baptism could be applicable not only for the human beings but other creatures too.³⁴⁾

33) Paul once baptized a lion, and he meets the lion when he was thrown in the stadium to be executed. Noticing Paul in the stadium, it leans upon him like a tamed lamb. It seems imitating a romantic story about Androclus and a lion from Aulus Gellius' *Attic Night* 5.14.1-30.

34) H. J. W. Drijvers (“Der getaufte Löwe und Theologie der Acta Pauli,” *History*

More striking and challenging to the baptismal practice of traditional Christian groups is found in the *Acts of Philip* and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The *Acts of Philip* tells the baptismal practice by woman. The apostle Philip baptizes the male and his disciple Mariamne the female (act 14). A female baptizer is also found in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. Like Mariamne does in the *Acts of Philip*, a female disciple Thecla appears as a baptizer. Tertullian (ca. 160-220 CE) warns people to take heed of those who allow women to baptize quoting the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (*On Baptism* 17) saying that “in Asia, the presbyter who composed it was convicted and removed from his office”, and it implies that there were some Christian groups who claimed the woman’s authority to baptize people and some others were against it (e.g., *Didascalia Apostolorum*. Ch. 15-16. See above). The 2nd and the 3rd century Christian groups competed for hegemony, and baptism was used ideologically.

The baptism in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* could have been a challenge to some Christian groups because it tells a new type of baptism. Thecla is taken into the stadium to be handed over to the beasts, and she prays God. Then she, seeing big pool of water, says “Now is the time to wash/baptize myself.”, and throws herself into it saying, “In the name of Jesus Christ I baptize myself on the last day.” (34) The Christian baptism, unlike the Jewish lustration rituals, is characterized by involving two persons of the baptizer and the baptized. But in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, Thecla baptizes herself. Furthermore, we can notice a change of understanding concerning the relationship between martyrdom and baptism. For some Christians,

and Religion in Late Antique Syria (OX: Routledge, 1994), ch 10) interprets the baptism of lion as implying the taming of the sexual desire reading this text as gnostic, but it is not persuasive because it is rather “antignostic” (P. W. Dunn, *The Acts of Paul and Pauline Legacy in the second century* (PhD. Diss.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), 72).

martyrdom could substitute the baptism even if s/he was not baptized because s/he was baptized in his/her blood (*Apostolic Tradition* 19). However, Thecla baptizes herself even when she was about to die a martyr, and it implies that this apocryphal Christian group rejected the idea of the *Apostolic Tradition* Christian group concerning martyrdom and baptism.

Irenæus states that there were heretic groups who refused to use water in baptism and bread in the holy communion; they argued, according to Irenaeus that the invisible mystery of baptism and the holy communion could not be done through materials such as baptismal water and eucharist bread (*Against Heresies*, 1.21.4). There were various Christian groups that follow their own types of baptismal and eucharist rituals. They often claimed the validity of their sacraments by denigrating, denying, and condemning the opponent's sacramental practices. This supports our argument that the sacramental practices including baptism were used ideologically.

6.2 Gnostic groups

We can find some examples that provides the ideological use of baptism in some gnostic texts of the 2nd – 3rd century such as *Valentinian Exposition* (NHC XI, 2 *On Baptism* A; *On Baptism* B), *The Gospel of Philip* (NHC II, 3), *The Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V, 5), and *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII, 1) etc. Gnostic Christians of the *Valentinian Exposition* believed two levels of baptisms. The first baptism is a lower-level baptism which is done by water, and it is “the forgiveness of sins” (*On Baptism* A). They set three kinds of humans, the pneumatics (spiritual), the psychics (soul), and the hyletics (material), and the first baptism is the one for the psychics. But there is a higher-level of baptism, and this second baptism is originated from Jesus’

baptism in Jordan river.

Moreover, *the first [baptism] is the forgiveness [of sins]. We* are brought [from those] by [it into] those of the right, [that is], *into the [imperishability which is] the Jo[rdan]. But* that place is [of] the world. So *we have [been sent] out [of the world] into the Aeon.* For [the] interpretation of John is the Aeon, while the interpretation of that which [is] the Jord[an] is the descent which is [the upward progression], *that [is, our exodus] from the world [into] the Aeon. (On Baptism A)*

The first baptism is not enough for the salvation, and one needs to be baptized with the second baptism. This baptism of Jordan leads a person from this world into the Aeon.

[...] from [the blindness] of the world [into the sight of] God, from [the carnal] into the spiritual [...] from [the created] into the Pleroma, [from] the world [into the Aeon], from the [servitudes] into sonship [...] we were brought [from] seminal [bodies into bodies] with a perfect form. [...] I entered by way of example [the remnant] for which the Christ [rescued] us in the [fellowship] of his Spirit. And [he brought] us forth who are [in him, and] from now on the souls [will become] perfect spirits. (*On Baptism B*)

The second baptism is a means of gnostic salvation. One can escape the material world which Demiourgos created and enter the Pleroma through the second baptism. It makes the psychics become pneumatics. This gnostic group might have done the liturgical practices such as anointment, baptism, and eucharist because their liturgical texts (e.g., *On Anointment*) is prayer texts. Baptism functions as a boundary marker that separates the lower-level Christians from the higher-level ones; one needs to complete the second baptism to obtain his/her salvation. In this sense, baptism is ideological.

Understanding baptism as a means for upgrading one's

spiritual status is also found in another Valentinian gnostic text, the *Gospel of Philip*. It accounts five levels of sacraments, baptism, chrism (anointment), eucharist, redemption, and bridal chamber, and human beings need to have true knowledge to be a free person (*GosPhil* 77).³⁵⁾ The author maintains that our soul (*psyche*) is trapped in the ‘contemptible body’ (*soma*), with which one cannot be an heir (*GosPhil* 56-57). Therefore, one should be resurrected, i.e., moving from the slave to the free (*GosPhil* 52-57, 77), while s/he is alive in this world (*GosPhil* 56, 73).³⁶⁾

However, baptism is just the first step of the five sacraments above. One cannot claim that he is perfect if s/he received baptism only.

Anyone who goes down into the water and comes up without receiving anything and says, “I am a Christian,” has borrowed the name. But one who receives the holy spirit has the name as a gift. A gift does not have to be paid back, but what is borrowed must be paid. (*GosPhil* 64)

Baptism only cannot complete the process of salvation. Baptism is “borrowing” not “possessing” the name of Christian, and receiving the holy spirit, i.e., chrism (anointment) should be followed. Baptism is water and chrism is light/fire (*GosPhil* 67), and these two makes one purified (*GosPhil* 57). The bridal chamber, which is the highest level of sacraments is formed from “water, fire, and light” (*GosPhil* 67, 69). Baptism should be followed by chrism (anointment), which stands for receiving the holy spirit, and one should pass five spiritual steps until

35) The *dynamis* do not want it because they cannot receive sacrifice from people when they obtain salvation (*GosPhil* 54-55) Cf. The *Gospel of Judas*, a Sethian gnostic text also have antipathy to the sacrifice (*GosJudas* 39-41).

36) Baptism is compared to dyeing clothes (*GosPhil* 61), which signifies the unity with Christ through baptism (*GosPhil* 69) See also Song Hye-Kyung, *The Gnostic Bible* (Uijeongbu: Hannim Biblical Institute, 2014), 381.

s/he gets salvation reaching the bridal chamber. Baptism along with other four rituals function that distinguishes the spiritual levels, excluding the lower-level from the higher-level.

Baptism that functioning as a means of distinguishing the lower from the higher status is also found in Sethian gnostic texts *Zostrianos*.³⁷⁾ It describes Zostrianos' spiritual journey to the heavenly realm guided by an angelic being. As he, leaving this world, reaches each stage of heaven, which is more perfect as it goes up to the higher layer, he is baptized, and he learns gnosis of salvation each time. He experiences five stages of baptism as he goes upward, being initiated into the gnosis of each layer (*Zost* 53). Zostrianos is initiated into higher level of gnosis through baptism as he travels. He begins with a contemplative angel, through being a male, holy angel, perfect angel, and ends with a divine. Baptism in *Zostrianos* is a kind of symbolic rite of passage for the initiation into the higher level of gnosis until he becomes divine. Baptism works as a means of excluding those belong to the lower spiritual status from the higher one, and in this sense, it is used ideologically.

37) As *Zostrianos* does not contain Christian elements, it is not sure if it was written by a gnostic Christian. See B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (NY: Doubleday, 1987), 121-122; B. A. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* (MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 85-89. However, some "allusions to the New Testament and Christianity in the extant text" such as the "use of liturgical formulas, baptisms" implies that "it may have been used by a group of Gnostics in worship." J. N. Sieber, "Zostrianos," *The Nag Hammadi Library*, J. M. Robinson, (ed.) (Harper & Row, 1988), 403.

7. Conclusion

We have surveyed how baptism could be used ideologically by examining the baptism of the Christian groups from the first to the third century. We firstly dealt with the definition of ideology, presupposing that baptism is closely related to purity/impurity and accordingly, it is ideological. We applied T. Eagleton's definition of ideology that it is dynamics related to the interests of the ideological primary groups, where baptism is used politically. The ideological primary groups promote their interests and legitimize their privilege, and baptism was a useful means to achieve this goal for the early Christian groups.

We examined the baptism of John the Baptist which provided the basis of the Christian baptism. John's baptism was eschatological, open to everyone, and urgently inviting people to the imminent eschatological kingdom without probation period. However, the first century Christians differentiated themselves from John's group as they were competitors (Jn 1:35-40; 3:22-30; 4:1-2), and baptism was a means to achieve this goal. The early Christians adopted John's baptism but did not accept its validity for salvation; they contended that John's baptism was not enough for salvation, and they required the baptism 'in the name of Jesus' and the baptism of the 'Holy Spirit'.

We provided the problems in the Corinthian Church to argue that baptism functioned ideologically amongst the first century Christian groups. The Corinthian Christians divided into a few groups opposing each other, and the means of claiming the hegemony and forming solidarity within the ideological primary group. We explored a few the second and the third century Christian texts, where baptism was serving to achieve ideological purposes. We examined *Didache* that stipulates the church members to exclude the unbaptized from the holy

communion, denigrating them as ‘dogs.’ Baptism was used to separate the baptized from the unbaptized, and this instruction makes the unbaptized eager to join the baptized group and helps the baptized group strengthen their solidarity. The *Apostolic Tradition* also gives us examples that baptism was ideological. The Christian group of this text strictly excluded the unbaptized from the community of the baptized; the unbaptized should be baptized to belong to this special group and to enjoy many benefits that are allowed exclusively to the baptized members. In this sense, baptism was ideological, functioning as a boundary marker which strengthens the privilege of the baptized group.

The *Didascalia Apostolorum* excluded female from having the right to baptize people. It was allowed only to the male priests/presbyters. The instruction that forbids women to be a baptizer ironically suggests that there were ideological primary groups that claimed female leadership. This implies that there was a conflict amongst Christian groups concerning female leadership, and that the baptism was used ideologically. The conflict amongst Christian ideological primary groups over the female leadership and the use of baptism for this matter is also found in some Apocryphal texts. The *Acts of Philip* and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* report that female characters baptize people. This was not acceptable to some Christians that Tertullian, for instance, openly condemns those who support female authority to baptize (*On Baptism* 17). This supports the argument that baptism was used ideologically amongst the early Christian ideological primary groups.

We examined some gnostic texts that use baptism as a boundary marker to distinguish the spiritual levels. They claimed two levels of baptisms, and baptism works as a means for the *psychics* to reach the status of the *pneumatics*. The same is in the *Gospel of Philip* where five stages are required to obtain the gnostic salvation, and baptism is the lowest level. A Sethian

gnostic text *Zostrianos* suggests five layers to reach the status of salvation, and one needs to be baptized each time s/he enters a higher layer. Baptism here functions as a boundary marker that separates those who belong to the lower spiritual status from the higher one. Baptism which originated from the Jewish purity law was adopted by John the Baptist, and the early Christians also adopted John's baptism. They not only adopted it but also transformed and developed it, and the question of ideology involved in this process. Baptism is a holy sacrament, but it can also be a means for an ideological primary group to promote and legitimize their interests.

<Key Words>

Baptism, Ideology, Purity and Impurity, Early Christianity

<주제어>

세례, 이데올로기, 정결과 부정, 초기 기독교

* Received February 25, 2023, Revised March 18, 2023, Accepted March 18, 2023

References

- Beasley-Murray, G. R., *Baptism in the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1994.
- Bradshaw, P. F., "Women and Baptism in the Didascalia Apostolorum," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20(4) (2012), 641-645.
- Connolly, R. H., trans., *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.
- Drijvers, H. J. W., *History and Religion in Late Antique Syria*, OX: Routledge, 1994.
- Dunn, P. W., *The Acts of Paul and Pauline Legacy in the second century*, PhD. Diss., Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.
- Eagleton, T., *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*, London: Verso, 1976.
- _____, *Ideology: An Introduction*, London: Verso, 1991.
- Fee, G., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1987.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, "Oration XL, The Oration on Holy Baptism," Translated by C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow, *Select Orations of Saint Gregory Nazianzen*, Edited by P. Schaff, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. VII., Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1886.
- Hagner, D., *Matthew 1-13*, WBC 33-1, Translated by Chae Chunsuk, Seoul: Solomon, 1999.
- Hippolytus of Rome, *Apostolic Traditions*, Translated by Lee Hyung Woo, Waegwan: Bundo, 1992.
- Jameson, F., *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Jefford, C. N. tarsn., *Didache: the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, OR: Polebridge Press, 2013.

- Jobling, D., "Writing the Wrongs of the World: The Deconstruction of the Biblical Text in the Context of Liberation Theologies," *Semeia* 51 (1990), 81-118.
- Layton, B., *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions*, NY: Doubleday, 1987.
- Malina, A., "Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins - Mark 1:4 in Its Context," *BibAn* 11(4) (2021), 689-707.
- Methuen, C., "Widows, Bishops and the Struggle for Authority in the Didascalia Apostolorum," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46(2) (1995), 197-213.
- Pearson, B. A., *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature*, MN: Fortress Press, 2007.
- Robinson, J. A. T., *Twelve New Testament Studies*, Oregon: SCM Press, 1962.
- Seo, Dong-Su, "1 Corinthians 15:29, the Vicarious Baptism for the Dead and Paul's Thought on Resurrection," *KJCS* 115 (2020), 39-66.
- Shils, E., "Ideology: The Concept and Function of Ideology," Edited by D. L. Sills, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7, London: Macmillan Co, 1968, 66-76.
- Sieber, J. N., "Zostrianos," Edited by J. M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988, 403.
- Song, Chang-Hyun, "John the Baptist and the Qumran Community," *Catholic Theology* 3 (2003), 135-172.
- Song, Hye-Kyung, *The Gnostic Bible*, Uijeongbu: Hannim Biblical Institute, 2014.
- _____, *The New Testament Apocrypha* 2, Uijeongbu: Hannim Biblical Institute, 2011.
- Stegemann, H., *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*, Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, “Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord’s Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist,” Edited by A. Mingana, *Christian Documents*, vol. 4, Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1933.

<Abstract>

Baptism in Early Christian Groups: Its Adoption, Transformation and Development

Prof. Jayhoon Yang
(Hyupsung University)

Baptism has been one of the most important sacraments in the history of the Christian church. However, it finds its origin in Judaism, which is especially related to the purity and impurity law of Leviticus. The question of purity and impurity is not only about the religious regulations but also ideology as it retains a relative value that compares the pure with the impure. This paper examines the Christian baptism of the first three centuries in terms of ideology. It firstly surveys the definition of ideology, and argues that it is related to the interests of ideological primary groups. It explores the Christian baptism by examining the baptism of John the Baptist, the Acts and Corinthians for the first century Christian baptism. For the second and third century Christian baptism, it examines *Didache*, the *Apostolic Tradition*, and *Didascalia Apostolorum*. It also deals with some NT Apocryphal Acts and gnostic writings as well as some writings of the early Church Fathers. It explores how baptism was adopted, transformed, and developed by the early Christian groups. It argues that baptism was used ideologically amongst the Christian groups of the first three centuries, and that baptism was a useful means of pursuing the interests of ideological primary groups.

<초록>

초기 기독교의 세례:

수용, 변화, 그리고 발전

양재훈

(협성대학교 교수)

세례는 기독교 교회의 역사에서 가장 중요한 성례 중 하나이다. 그러나 세례는 정결과 부정을 논하는 레위기의 정결례법과 연관된 유대교에서 그 기원을 찾을 수 있다. 정결과 부정이라는 문제는 단지 종교적인 규율에 관한 것일 뿐만 아니라 이데올로기에 관한 것이기도 하다. 왜냐하면, 정결과 부정이라는 것은 무엇이 무엇보다 더 정결/부정한가라는 상대적인 비교의 가치를 내포하는 개념이기 때문이다. 이 논문은 이런 이데올로기라는 맥락에서 1-3세기 기독교의 세례를 조명한다. 이 논문은 우선, 이데올로기라는 개념을 살피면서 이것이 이데올로기 집단의 이해관계와 깊은 연관이 있음을 주장한다. 이를 전제로 이 논문은 세례 요한의 세례, 사도행전과 고린도서신의 세례 등 1세기 기독교 집단의 세례 이해를 분석한다. 2-3세기 기독교 세례를 연구하기 위해 이 논문은 디다케, 사도전승, 디다스칼리아 아포스톨로룸 등의 문서를 분석한다. 더 나아가서 신약 외경 행전과 영지주의 집단, 그리고 초기 교회 교부들의 글 등을 연구한다. 이런 분석을 통해 이 논문은 다양한 초기 기독교 집단들 사이에서 세례라는 것이 각각 어떻게 수용되어왔고 변용되었으며 어떻게 발전했는지 살핀다. 이 논문은 1-3세기의 다양한 기독교 집단들 사이에서 세례라는 것이 이데올로기적으로 사용되었고, 그 세례가 각각의 이데올로기 집단의 이익을 증진하기 위한 매우 유용한 도구였다고 주장한다.

