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other children of His, all of them precious to Him as you are,—and you are very precious. Yet Christ died for the others also, and you are in their midst not to condemn yourselves to uselessness by withdrawing into a shell of your own away from them, as if without them you could be perfected. You are in their midst to remember that He who is your Head has been Head over them all to make them all contribute some measure of service and skill towards your having the Word of God in the form you do have it, and therefore you are in their midst like your Saviour to serve, and to be one of His living epistles to them. If you consider

how God has made you dependent on, and indebted to, all this endless skill and labour of all men, even for God's own Word in your hands, surely your heart will muse and meditate, till it burn within you, and make you to speak and to purpose before God like Paul, when he said, 'I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise'; and therefore, as much as lieth in me, I must be ready to use my own measure of skill in the service of the gospel, for in some matter or towards some person, it will doubtless be the case that even I can skill to hew timber better than any one else.

The Attitude of the Outspread Hands ('Orante') in Early Christian Literature and Art.

BY DR. D. PLOOIJ, TIEL, HOLLAND.

II.

BAPTISM in ancient Christianity had a far more than symbolic meaning. It was a mystic *reality*, a guarantee and seal of new birth. In the centre of all baptismal ideas and beliefs in the ancient Church stands the word of Christ: *ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*; and the word of Paul (Ro 6⁷): *ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανῶν δεδικαίωται τῆς ἁμαρτίας*: Christianity is new life, but new life is possible only through death. One must die first, that new life can begin. Now this death may be a real one, as in martyrdom for the sake of Christ; then it is as is said in *Didasc. Syr.*: 'Wenn wir nun zum Martyrium um seines Namens willen berufen werden, und mit dem Bekenntniss aus der Welt gehen, so werden wir rein sein von allen Sünden und Vergehungen und als unschuldig erfunden werden.'¹ Or to put it with the words of *Const. Aeg.* xiv. 3: 'Si enim fit ut ei (namely, a catechumen who is *not* yet baptized) vis inferatur et interficiatur ad peccata sua redimenda justificabitur; *baptismum enim in proprio sanguine accepit.*'²

But it may be also a mystical death as symbolized and wrought in baptism, not less real, only its reality is of another kind. The parallelism of baptism and death must be derived from a

word of Christ Himself; cf. Mk 10³⁸: *δύνασθε . . . τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*;³ I do not believe that the sons of Zebedee understood the meaning of these words when they answered, 'We can.' There is no trace that this parallelism was in use before Christ. Nearly all other baptismal ideas and customs we can follow in their origins into Judaism, or further into early Semitic religion, but as far as I know baptism as a symbol of death, especially of martyrdom, does not occur before our era, and in the quoted words of Christ we may see the evidence that it was He who first drew the parallel,⁴ probably seeing in His

³ Cf. Lk 12⁵⁰.

⁴ The only Semitic pre-Christian sphere of ideas which might be congenial to the *later* development of this parallelism is that of the dragon lurking in the waters, no doubt a very old Semitic monstrum related to the great Tiamât, which must be conquered. In Egypt we might find some parallel in the rites, e.g., of Abydos, where 'le dieu Thot sortait en bateau pour repêcher le corps d'Osiris. Ailleurs c'était Isis qui voguait à sa recherche' (Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme Romain*, p. 278, Paris, 1907). Perhaps an echo of such speculations may be heard in the word of Zeno Veronensis, lib. ii. tract. 39, ad neophytos: 'Cum omnium aquarum natura sit talis ut cum in profundum homines suscipiat vivos, evomat mortuos, aqua nostra suscipit mortuos et evomit vivos.' It is for this reason, I believe, that the story of Jonah is so frequently painted in early Christian art of the Catacombs.

¹ Ed. Achelis, Leipzig, 1904, T.u.U., N.F. x. 2, S. 102.

² Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Ap.* vol. ii., Paderborn, 1906.

own baptism in the Jordan a prophecy of His own passion and death according to the interpretation of passages as Ps 42⁸, Ps 69²; Ps 124^{4, 5}. At all events, the sons of Zebedee did not understand the allegorical meaning of Jesus' words, as may be inferred from their dreams of power and honour even at the moment Jesus spoke to them on passion and death.

But a few years afterwards, when Paul writes to the members of the Roman Church, it is self-evident to him that his readers understand him when he writes: 'Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his *death*? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death' (Ro 6^{4f.}); cf. Col 2¹². So in baptism the mystical, *i.e.* *real*, union with Christ and His death is symbolized, to be baptized is to participate in His death and to be buried in the grave from which through the power of Christ we too will rise with Him into new life. This idea remains unchanged in the early history of baptism, or rather it grows more massive, when regeneration as it is wrought in baptism grows more and more magic and mechanic, and so it is dominant in all baptismal controversies even in the later history of the Church. To Paul, however, regeneration was a spiritual experience of life of which baptism was the symbol. To him surely a symbol means more than to our modern thought: there is a mystic and mysterious connexion between the symbol and the experience signified by it, but the spiritual is fundamental. To the following generations the symbol *per se* was the magic medium through which death and birth are brought about. To quote only one witness: Cyprian, in his Ep. 71 c. 1 (ed. Hartel, p. 722), argues that baptism can never be administered by a heretic, for 'it is clear that those who are not in the Church of Christ are dead, and so it is impossible that another person can be made living by him who does not live himself.'

But it is not only the parallelism of baptism and death, but also that of baptism and passion, *i.e.* crucifixion, which is speculated upon, first by Paul and after him in all baptismal literature and liturgy. In Ro 6⁶, having spoken of baptism, Paul proceeds, saying, 'that our old man is crucified with him'; and in Gal 2²⁰, he says, 'I am crucified with Christ.' Undoubtedly Paul meant with these words something more than we are inclined to

understand from them. I am not sure of it, but I believe there is a strong evidence that he was conscious of such symbolic stretching out of the hands in the form of the cross which we have been discussing. We need not think of dead liturgy when we suppose that Paul alludes to such confessional act and union with Christ practised by the catechumens in his time, no more than we have to do so when finding such various symbolical acts alluded to in the Odes of Solomon. The living faith, the desire to express faith in visible acts, which in those times and circles, especially in Eastern regions, was far stronger than in our abstract century and for our Western character, could not but produce such confessional symbols, which in their mystic significance for the second and third generation became almost sacramental.

Thus not only the symbolic meaning of the outstretched hands, but also the combination of it with baptism, and so the baptismal use of it, are explained. There remains, however, one point to be discussed: the attitude of the so-called 'orante' in Christian art. For we find it not only, as we have seen, in liturgical literature, but far more frequently and impressively in ancient Christian art, which—it may be said directly—for the most part, at least in the earliest times, had a sepulchral character. For the interpretations of the early Christian sepulchral symbols, Wilpert in his standard work has given some perfectly sound and strict principles, of which I quote as especially important: 'Als obersten Grundsatz, als erste Pflicht hat der Interpret beständig im Auge zu halten dass er Bilder welche Grabstätten schmücken, erklären soll. Die Funeralsymbolik ist ganz von der Heilsidee beherrscht und durchdrungen.'¹ As far as I know, the full consequence of this principle has not yet been drawn out. LE BLANT and, after him, WILPERT have acknowledged the value of ancient funeral liturgies, but the importance of the baptismal liturgies is far greater. In later times the *day of death* is the beginning of new life, as may be seen from every calendar; but in early Christianity, not the day of death, but *the day of baptism* was the birthday of new life,² and

¹ *Malereien*, Tekstband, S. 140.

² The connexion between both lies, of course, in the idea of baptism of blood and baptism of water. For martyrs: the day of death was the birthday of new life; for all other believers it was the day of baptism.

to have received baptism was to be sure of heavenly happiness and salvation, yea, to have received it already. Augustinus says: 'Aqua velut morientem deducit in tumultum; spiritus sanctus velut resurgentem perducit ad caelum,'¹ and to mention a witness from heretic circles in earlier times: Hippolytus says of the Naässenes: ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ λουτροῦ οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστι· κατ' αὐτοὺς ἢ τὸ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀμάρταν ἢ τὸν λουόμενον κατ' αὐτοὺς ζῶντι ὕδατι καὶ χριόμενον ἀλάφ χρίσματι.² Such passages, which may be found at every turn in early Christian literature, show that baptism for the early Christians was not only a symbol of their death with Christ, but also a guarantee of their life with Him, and this not only in the future but already in this present life: 'Buried with him in baptism, wherein ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead' (Col 2¹²). Baptism is birth, with baptism the new life begins, the unbaptized is dead. I will give only a few examples more which may stand for many others. Justin, *Apol.* i. 6₁, says: 'After that they (the catechumens) are brought by us unto a place where is water, and there they are born again in the same way as we have been born again . . . καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν? Here ἀναγέννησις is used entirely as a synonym for βάπτισμος. In baptismal literature we find regularly used: 'birth' simply in the sense of new birth, and, e.g., in an epitaph printed by De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, i. tav. 17, 2, we read: *Maxima qu(a)e vixit in pace annos (= annos) triginta, i.e.* Maxima has lived thirty years after being baptized. In 'The Precepts of [*En-katzi and*] *Wardan about Baptism*,' translated by Conybeare in his *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 107, we find: 'And that the priest plunges the child three times successively into the water conveys the mystery of the three days' burial of Christ as if the child was buried with Christ. And his bringing up out of the water is as if he ascended with Christ from the dead into heaven. For the bema is a model of heaven.' Perhaps the strongest example of the synonymic use of baptism and birth, is that in an Epiphany canticle (Conybeare, *Rit. Arm.* p. 178) where it is said: 'Blessed Saviour Emanuel, born of the Virgin—by way of rebirth wast thou baptized to-day in the Jordan.'

¹ 'Liber testimoniorum fidei contra Donatistas,' c. viii. (in Pitra, *Anal. Sacra*, p. 150^b).

² *Refut.* v. 7 (p. 100), 86, ed. Duncker et Schneidewin.

Finally, I quote an epitaph found on the *Via Latina* in the middle of the nineteenth century and printed, *i.e.*, by Dölger,³ of which I reprint the verses:

κάθθανε καὶ ζῶει καὶ ὄρα φάος ἄφθιτον ὄντως.
ζῶει μὲν ζωῶσι θάναν δὲ θανοῦσιν ἀληθῶς.

All this will be justification enough of my thesis, when I say that to understand and to explain the early Christian sepulchral symbols and paintings we have, in the first place, to consult not only the funeral liturgies, but also the baptismal literature. The more because there are several paintings and among them the very oldest, which *omnium consensu* have a baptismal meaning.

In explaining the figure of the 'orante,' one of the most frequent figures in the catacombs and on the sarcophagi, hitherto it has been neglected that the attitude as a prayer-act is not peculiar to Christianity. It is the name 'orante' which as a doom lies on the interpretation of the figure. For not only the Christians, but in the same way and much earlier the heathens, prayed in this attitude. Christians have taken it over, and that they retained it was in consequence of the cross which they saw symbolized in it. Then, already for this reason, the important meaning of the 'orante' cannot be the prayer, which might be expressed by it, but the symbolism of the cross which early Christians saw involved in it. The sepulchral symbols have a hidden meaning: only those who have been initiated in the Christian mysteries know the significance of the fish, the anchor, the dove, Noah in the ark, etc. A pagan eye could see only the outward history. Then in the 'orante' not the prayer is the hidden meaning, but the cross of the outstretched hands.

Wilpert⁴ thinks that the 'orante' expresses the intercession of the deceased, for the surviving, and refers for this opinion to some inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries, which testify such intercession. But Dr. Oberman⁵ argues that so often figures of saints painted in company of 'orantes' are not represented in a praying attitude, and that there are other epitaphs which ask the prayer of the surviving for the deceased.

³ IXΘΥΣ, *Das Fischsymbol in Früh-christlicher Zeit*, Bd. i. S. 169, Rom, 1910.

⁴ *Malereien*, Tekstband, S. 457.

⁵ *De Oud-Christelijke Sarkophagen*, 's Gravenhage, 1911, p. 37.

Von Sybel¹ and Oberman² explain the praying attitude as denoting not intercession, but adoration. It is in the presence of God that the 'orante' is represented, so his prayer is prayer of adoration. But why, then, are Noah in the ark, the three youths in the furnace, Susanna—to mention only the older representatives of the 'orante' figure—represented as 'orante'? There, at least, adoration in the presence of God seems entirely out of place.

All difficulties, however, seem to fall away when not prayer but confession of Christ is the first meaning of the stretching out of the hands. After our inquiry this meaning of the 'orante' may be esteemed to be beyond question, and it may be asked if this is not the right meaning also in early Christian art. In some paintings the meaning of prayer may remain unshaken, but, e.g., merely by seeing in the attitude of the 'orante' a symbol of baptismal confession it becomes clear why Noah in the ark (a baptismal symbol too!) is painted as 'orante.' And the same observation may be made in other paintings, e.g. the three youths in the furnace are a symbol of baptism,³ and therefore painted as 'orantes.' Ephrem (*Hymn.* ed. Lamy, i. 77) says: 'The three illustrious men in Babel were baptized in the furnace of fire, and emerged from it. They were entered and had bathed in the womb of the flame . . . heavenly dew moistened them there . . . the real fire that blazed signifies the fire and the Holy Ghost who is mixed and hidden in the water. By the flame he typifies baptism.' And Zeno Veronensis (lib. ii. tract. 71) gives the same interpretation of the men in the furnace: 'They were not wanting the grace of baptism in the furnace filled with cooling dew.' To this may be added, that for the interpretation of the dove with the branch of olive to be found on one of the paintings of the three men in the furnace (reproduced by Wilpert, *loc. cit.* Taf. 78, see *Tekstband*, S. 358³), and which is rather astonishing in its surrounding, we may listen to the 'Orationes S. Basilii Magni episcopi' given in Syriac text and Latin translation by Assemanus, *Cod. liturg.* iii. p. 199 ff. There we read (p. 224): 'Tu modo etiam Domine Deus, mitte super aquas istas (baptismi) per sanctum hoc verae unctionis oleum columbam tuam illam, quae est supra omnia saecula,' etc., and p. 225: 'In ramo

olivae mysterium olei annunciavit columba Justo (Noe).' We cannot pursue this further here, but all this points to a direction which hitherto has been neglected, and which may yet give light to many an ancient Christian symbol hitherto not sufficiently explained.

So when we see the three men painted in the attitude of 'orante,' it is not the attitude of adoration, but the baptismal confession which is alluded to. Only continued study in this direction can make this all clear in its connexions. I will only give two examples which confirm the given interpretation. De Rossi, *Roma Sotterr.* tom. ii. tav. xl. nr 8, 11, gives reproductions of two 'orantes,' which show the stigmata Christi in their hands. If these reproductions are correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, these paintings confirm the interpretation of the 'orante' as a symbol of the cross and the confession of Christ, and illustrate a passage to which Dr. Dölger, Würzburg, in a communication of 5th September 1911, draws my attention, in Clem. Alex. *Exc. ex Theodoto*, c. 86, §§ 1-3 (ed. Stählin, iii. 135), where it is said of the baptized that he bears the stigmata Christi in himself.

And second: Wilpert gives (Taf. 207) a beautiful reproduction of an acrosol-painting in Cimeterium maius, representing, according to him: 'Madonna betend und mit dem Jesus knaben.' I can leave undiscussed the question if Wilpert is right in seeing Madonna in the woman and Jesus in the child. I will only draw attention to the two monograms of Christ painted at each side of the woman: they have the same design as the attitude of the 'orante,' namely, to express a confession of Christ, and so the two symbols explain each other mutually.

I repeat that the 'orante' sometimes can express prayer; of course, for it was attitude of prayer too. And I do not say that only a living person when being baptized, could be represented so: the painted symbol is only a reminder of baptism as a guarantee and beginning of new life, and this new life is continued in heaven where believers praise God and confess Christ as on earth. What I mean to say is only that the peculiar meaning of the 'orante' is the cross and the baptismal confession of Christ.

Thus also early Christian art is a witness to the old baptismal rite we found in the Odes of Solomon and in baptismal rituals. It survived

¹ *Chr. Antike*, i. S. 262.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 47.

³ A combination of *baptismus sanguinis* and *baptismus fluminis!*

only in forgotten corners of Christianity, and even there it will be now quite extinct, I suppose. In Christian art it became traditional even when the confessional meaning was forgotten, for the custom

of praying in this attitude remained. It is for this reason that for *later* times the explanation as prayer—*adoratio* or even *intercessio*—may be the right one.

Literature.

EUCKEN.

ALL the books that Professor Rudolf Eucken has written (and most of them have been translated into English) are to be passed by for the present until we have read and reread and altogether mastered *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*. For this book, which has been well translated by Mr. Alban G. Widgery, and has been published by Messrs. A. & C. Black (7s. 6d. net), is not only the latest but also the clearest statement of his philosophical position that Professor Eucken has yet given us.

We say it is well translated. Mr. Widgery has had special advantages. He knows Eucken; he knows him intimately and appreciates him. And to know Eucken intimately and appreciate him is to know his philosophy. His philosophy is the outcome of his attitude to life. To know the man is to understand, better than from all his written works, what he means when he speaks of the development of personality and spiritual individuality.

This book is, we have also said, the latest of Professor Eucken's books. That also is a great consideration. For Professor Eucken's mind is active. Has he a philosophical system? You may call it a system if you please. But it is not a system that is finished and at a standstill. While he lives he thinks, and as long as he lives you will never be sure that you have his last and best word. Therefore read the latest book always. Coming from Professor Eucken it is likely to be the best.

This, at least, is the best hitherto. It is not the clearest. Or at any rate it is not the easiest. It demands study, patient and determined. But it yields the most satisfactory results. It brings out the far-reaching issues that are involved in this philosophy of life, and it lifts the author himself to a mental and moral height which he had not attained before. In popular opinion Eucken

and Bergson are struggling for the mastery. Probably Bergson will win; but Eucken, though he may never become so popular, is likely to live longer.

The Rev. H. W. Morrow, M.A., of Trinity Church, Omagh, having preached a course of sermons on questions put by Christ, and another course on questions put to Christ, has published both courses in a volume entitled *Questions asked and answered by our Lord* (Allenson; 3s. 6d.). The idea is not original; but it is not an accidental idea. Each question has matter in it for many sermons, and the value of the questions is doubled by being considered together. So these sermons of Mr. Morrow's may be read with profit, even by those who have read the sermons of Mr. Bain and Mr. Knight. Their brevity is a surprise, so evangelical are they and even so theological.

The late Professor Adamson of Glasgow wrote the article on 'Logic' for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Before printing it the editor cut it down. Professor Adamson thought that it suffered in that process, and Professor Sorley of Cambridge, who has discovered the original manuscript, agrees with him. Professor Sorley has accordingly edited the manuscript and published it, together with other four articles, in a volume to which he has given the title *A Short History of Logic* (Blackwood; 5s. net). An encyclopædia article is expected to be intelligible to everybody. With the exception of an occasional phrase in Greek, Professor Adamson's article is intelligible. But the book has the appearance of being prepared for the student rather than for the general reader; and for the student no other convenient manual for the history of Logic is in existence,

Professor H. J. White, who worked so long