

Professor ROYCE'S answer is that the evil is there deliberately, as part of the Divine purpose. There is evil in the world in order that there may be suffering in the world. And there is suffering in the world in order that there may be atonement.

For it is only through atonement, through the sacrifice of self for others, that the incarnation can become complete, and the soul of man, of any man, Jesus or John, can enjoy the eternal relation of the soul to God.

Professor ROYCE sums up the whole matter in two theses: 'First, God wins perfection through expressing Himself in a finite life and triumphing over and through its very finitude. And secondly, Our sorrow is God's sorrow. God means to express Himself by winning us through the very triumph over evil to unity with the perfect life: and therefore our fulfilment, like our existence, is due to the sorrow and the triumph of God Himself. These two theses express, I believe, what is vital in Christianity.'

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

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IN the Dutch *Theologisch Tijdschrift* of September 1911, I have printed an article on the attitude of the 'Orante' in the Odes of Solomon. Asked to give my argument in English for scholars who do not read Dutch, I do so readily, especially as I have now an opportunity of treating the subject in full, and to correct some ambiguous expressions.

For me it is beyond doubt that Dr. Bernard, in his article on the Odes,¹ has shown the right way for explaining the Odes in calling them 'hymns of the baptized.' Some of his arguments may have been too weak, so as to make his position more uncertain than needed,—in the main point continued and careful study undoubtedly decides in favour of his hypothesis, as many new parallels prove. Of course, the enigma of the Odes is not yet solved with this, but the right way is shown, and that is the main point.

Dr. Bernard, however, seems not to have noticed a detail which, in my opinion, confirms his thesis so far as to prove positively at least that the Odes as we read them now in the HARRISIAN collection have been in *baptismal liturgical* use. I have in mind Ode 27 and Ode 42¹⁻³. The translation of these verses as given by Dr. Harris in his second edition of the Odes (p. 127 and p. 139) runs as follows:—

Ode 27.—(1) I stretched out my hands, and sanctified my Lord: (2) for the extension

¹ *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, October 1910, pp. 1-30.

of my hands is His sign: (3) and my expansion is the upright tree (*or* cross).

Ode 42.—(1) I stretched out my hands, and approached my Lord: (2) for the stretching of my hands is His sign: (3) my expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous one.

The text of these verses is not in order, and, even after the emendations and corrections proposed by several scholars, there remain uncertainties, which I will not try here to remove, but the main point is quite clear and certain: the stretching out of the hands is a symbolic act signifying the cross of Christ, and in this act a confession of the Lord is expressed.

Now, Zahn already has pointed out the liturgical character of these verses. He says: 'Sie sind eine liturgische Formel von ausgesprochen christlichem Charakter, mit welcher der Sänger sich zu gottesdienstlichem Gebet anschickt.'² The liturgical character is certain, but that the act in itself is a prayer-act, as Zahn says, cannot be inferred from the verses quoted. The Odes mention the attitude of the outstretched hands in other places. Of these only 37¹ may be called a prayer: (1) I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most High I raised my voice, (2) And I spake with the lips of my heart, and He heard me, etc. But neither in 21¹, nor in 35⁸, where the same attitude

² *Neue kirchliche Zeitschr.* 1910, S. 694 f.

is mentioned, is there any trace that it is intended as an act accompanying a prayer.

The symbolic meaning of the prayer-act with outstretched hands is well known in ancient Christianity. Justin sees the cross in the outstretched hands of Moses when praying for the people during the battle against Amalek.¹ And this interpretation becomes traditional in ancient Christian exegesis.² Tertullian, in his treatise on prayer, says that Christians when praying raise their hands only moderately in harmony with the humility which suits us. And, says he, we do not only raise our hands, but we expand them too, symbolizing the passion of the Lord, and so we make in our prayer a confession of Christ.³ Yea, the whole creation prays: when the birds rise to heaven, they expand the cross of their wings just as we expand our hands.⁴ How real this thought was in early Christianity may be seen from Eusebius' narration of the persecutions in Palestine, where a young man, not yet twenty years of age, freed from his chains standing upright in the arena, spread out his hands in the form of a cross, and so remained absorbed in prayer while the wild beasts approached him.⁵ So in this act confession of Christ in the midst of the enemies, and prayer are combined.

How widely this symbolic act spread over all Christendom is obvious, e.g., from the fact that also in gnostic circles the symbolism was common. From Schmidt, *Kopt. Gnost. Schriften*, p. 336, Dr. Harris quotes: 'Die Ausbreitung seiner Hände ist die Offenbarung des Kreuzes.'

The quoted instances may suffice. They prove sufficiently that the symbolism of the cross in the outspread hands was common in early Christianity. The oldest instance, we may add, is from the Gospels. In Jn 21^{18a}, the Saviour having restored Peter in his pastoral office, says: 'When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself . . . but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.' And the Evangelist adds emphatically: 'This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God.'

So far the question may be esteemed to be beyond discussion. But hitherto prayer and

symbolism of the cross have been identified too much, and this symbolism is believed to be only an accidental more or less arbitrary interpretation of the prayer-act, as if this attitude of prayer would be especially Christian even without this symbolism. But this supposition is erroneous: this attitude in prayer is not peculiar to Christianity. Von Sybel⁶ already has laid stress on this, and has pointed out that the pagan prayer gesture was the same which Tertullian demands from his fellow-Christians. When Wilpert⁷ explains Tertullian, *De Or.* c. 13, that Tertullian means to say: 'Hierdurch unterscheidet sich der betende Christ von dem betenden Heiden, welcher die Hände "nur erhebt" ohne sie "auszubreiten,"' he comes in conflict with what we know of the pagan attitude in prayer.

From what has been said, it follows that the symbolism of the cross as we find it in the Christian prayer-act is not necessarily expressed by it, but *secondarily combined with it*. In the Odes, however, we find the same attitude as is used in prayer and reproduced in ancient Christian art as 'orante,' but separated from any prayer, as an independent act denoting the cross of the Lord. So we have to look for an explanation independent of the interpretation as symbolic prayer-act.

Tertullian, in the quoted passage, says explicitly that in the attitude of the outspread hands as used in prayer, lies a symbolism of a confession of Christ and His cross; Ode 27 and 42¹⁻³ show a liturgical character; Tert. *De Bapt.* c. 19: *passio domini in qua tingimur*, and Barnabas, c. 11⁸: *αὐθάνεσθε πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταῦρον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄρισεν, τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει· Μακάριοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταῦρον ἐπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, prove that between cross and baptism there was a very close connexion,—so these observations combined show us the way to find an explanation. We have to look for it in the old liturgies, especially of the Eastern, more or less heretic and schismatic, Churches, for only there can we hope to find traces of a custom which in the Western Church became quite extinct.⁸ Anyhow, the symbolism of the cross in the out-

⁶ *Christliche Antike*, Marburg, 1906, i. S. 257f.

⁷ *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Tekstband. Freiburg, 1903, Bd. i. S. 115.

⁸ Cf. H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, kap. i.-iii. 2^o aufl., Bonn, 1911, S. 14. He points out there that schismatic Churches, which separate themselves from the great Church, preserve for the greatest part the conditions which existed in the time of the separation.

¹ *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* c. 90; cf. Barnabas, p. 12.

² Cf., e.g., Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Pasch.* i.

³ Tert. *De Orat.* c. 13; c. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. 24; cf. *De Bapt.* c. 20.

⁵ Eus. *H.E.* viii. 7.

spread hands must be very old. The 'orante' is one of the earliest figures in ancient Christian art. Wilpert, in his *Malereien*, gives 'orantes' already from the beginning of the second century (Taf. 13, the three men in the furnace; Taf. 14, Susanna; Taf. 16, Noah in the ark). In Western liturgy, as far as I know, the attitude as a separate rite is no more to be found; in Eastern rites, it is rather rare, and in most cases hardly recognizable, yet in one it is left quite intact.

Conybeare, in his *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1905), may lead the way. He gives (p. 86 ff.) the ancient baptismal liturgy of the Armenian Church. Of that liturgy Cod. B. gives a rubric, diverging in its text from that of all other codices, which, in Conybeare's translation (p. 92, note a), runs as follows: 'Next, the priest orders the catechumen to turn to the west, and stretch his hand straight out in the same direction, as if thrusting backwards the gloomy darkness. And he bids him spit three times on Satan, that is to deny him, and he adjures him thrice, saying: Dost thou renounce Satan and all his deceitfulness, and his wiles, and his paths, and his angels? The priest questions him thrice, and each time the catechumen shall say: I renounce, and withal spits upon Satan. Then he turns the catechumen to the east, and bids him raise his eyes to heaven, and stretch out his hands confessing the Godhead of the Holy Trinity, saying thrice as follows: Dost thou believe in the Holy Trinity?'

From what I have said of the symbolism of the cross in the outstretched hands, it is clear that in this rubric the confessional act is retained but is no more understood; for not Christ, but the all-holy Trinity is confessed here. To give an example of baptismal liturgy where the original form of confessing Christ has been altered so much as to be almost quite indiscernible, I quote the Greek baptismal rite printed by Conybeare from the *Euchologion Barberini*.¹ There the *renunciatio diaboli* and the *confessio Christi* are prescribed as follows: *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν ἀποδυομένου καὶ ἠπολυομένου τοῦ βαπτίζομένου ἀποστρέφει αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς, ἄνω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντα καὶ λέγει γ'· Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ κ.τ.έ. . . Καὶ στρέφει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνατολᾶς κάτω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ γ'· Καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς.*² Looking attentively we

make here two remarks: first, that the act of raising the hands and stretching them out has become wholly meaningless; secondly, in the confessional formula the confession of *Christ* is retained even in combination with the trinitarian confession which follows.

The last is the case, too, in the Coptic ritual, which we will now quote. It will be seen that this ritual gives a full and clear description of the baptismal confessional act expressed in the symbolic stretching out of the hands. Assemanus gives the text in his *Codex Liturgicus* (tom. i. p. 157 ff.) as follows: 'Deinde (viz. after the prayer accompanying the laying hands upon the catechumen) *denudetur baptizandus et manus erectas in formam crucis teneat et accedens diaconus manum ejus dexteram attollat et abrenunciet diabolo facie ad occidentem conversa, etc. . . Abrenuncio tibi Satana, etc.*'³

'Tum diaconus illum ad orientem vertat et manibus ejus erectis dicat confessionem quae sequitur: *Confiteor te Christe Deus noster et omnes leges tuas et omnem religionem tuam vivificam et omnia opera tua quae vitam impertiuntur. Deinde suggerat illi fidem et dicat hoc modo: Credo in unum deum, Patrem omnipotentem, et unigenitum Filium Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, et Spiritum Sanctum vivificantem, carnis resurrectionem et in unam catholicam apostolicam sanctamque illius ecclesiam. Amen.*'

I reprint this confessional rubric in full, because quite clearly may be seen from it the juxtaposition of the older and younger form of confession. Of course, in harmony with the confessional attitude of the outstretched hands is only the confession of Christ, just as it is found in the Barberini text of the Greek ritual. In this ritual, as in the Coptic, the trinitarian confession is *added* to the confession of Christ. In the Armenian ritual, as given by Cod. B., the stretching out of the hands has been

³ That not only in confessing Christ, but also in renouncing Satan, the catechumen stands in the symbolic attitude is explained by the exorcistic power of the cross. My friend Dr. Wensinck has drawn my attention to a passage in *Afrahah* (ed. Plerisot), vol. i. col. 960, where it is said that Jesus conquered the Satan by the sign of His cross. More near lies what we read in the Arabic Canones Hippolyti in the exorcismal rite before baptism: 'Manus super eos expandat orans ut malignum spiritum ab omnibus membris eorum expellat.' One example more (Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894, p. 481): 'Per hoc signum sanctae crucis frontibus eorum quod nos damus, tu maledictae diabole numquam audeas violare.'

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 389 ff.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 395 f.

retained, but for the confession of Christ has been substituted the trinitarian confession; or rather the former has been omitted after having been combined with the latter. But in this way the confessional attitude became unintelligible, and has been blotted out in all other manuscripts. In the notes to this page I give further examples of the same rite which I have been able to find.¹ It will be seen from them that we do not find the confession of Christ and the corresponding attitude as

¹ A. Baumstark gives in *Oriens Christianus*, i. Rom. 1901, 'Eine ägyptische Mess- und Tauf litur ge des 6 Jahrh.' (S. 35 ff.), where we read: 'Atque postea renuntiant ac si quis adultus fuerit pro semet ipso dicat et si minor (natu) fuerit qui eum praesentaverit pro eo dicat cum versus orientem prospiciant et manus suas dextras sursum elevent et dicant: Renuntio tibi, satana et omnibus angelis tuis. Atque item *elevatis ambabus manibus suis* versus orientem se convertant et ita *confileantur* dicentes: confiteor te pater omnipotens et filium tuum unicum Jesum Christum et spiritum tuum sanctum.'

Of the Æthiopic Church the baptismal rite of renunciation and confession is related by Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, iii. 6, 31 (quoted by Trumpp, *Das Tauf fest der aeth. Kirche* in the Abh. d. i. Classe d. (Münchener) Akad. d. Wiss. xiv. iii. S. 147 ff.), in following terms: 'Neophyti dextram erigunt et occidentem respicientes Satanam ceu tenebrarum principem (N.B.: an explanation of the direction to the West, which with the corresponding direction to the East in the confessio Christi returns in all baptismal rites) abjurant. Mox orientem versus tanquam ad justitiae solem (N.B.) *conversi erectis alte dextris veluti sacramento Christo et praeunte presbytero symbolum fidei Christianae profitentur.*'

The official text of the baptismal rite as translated and printed by Trumpp, *loc. cit.* S. 175, runs: 'Darauf soll sich ihr Antlitz (d. h. des Priesters?) gegen Osten wenden und du ziehest die Kleider der Täufling aus und erhebst ihre rechte Hand, und sie sollen nach Westen schauen und er spricht (das): ich widersage dir Satan usw. . . . Darauf wendest du ihr Angesicht gegen Osten und hebst ihre Hände in die Höhe, und sprichst ihnen vor': 'Ich glaube an dich *Christus* meinen Gott und an all deine Engel und an all dein lebendig-machendes Werk, das das ewige Leben gibt' (cf. the Coptic confession of Christ).

In the ritual of baptism and marriage by Jacob of Edessa (translated by Kayser in *Die Kanones Jakob von Edessa*, Leipzig, 1896, S. 121), we read: 'Dann wenden sie sich nach Osten und *ergeben sich Christo.*'

Dionys. Areop., *De Eccl. Hier.* c. 3, has: *μετάγει πρὸς ἑὸν καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψαντα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀναρείωντα κελυθεὶ συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ.*

Cyr. Hier. reminds his neophytes (*Cat. Myst.* i. 2) how they were ordered to turn to the West and *to stretch out the hands* and to renounce Satan as if he were present.

Dr. Bernard reminds me of Jerome, in *Amos*, vi. 14: 'Unde et in mysteriis primum renuntiamus ei qui in occidente est nobisque moritur cum peccatis et sic versi ad Orientem pactum inimus *cum Sole justitiae* et ei servituros nos esse promisimus' (Migne, *P.L.* 25, col. 1068).

clearly as in the Coptic liturgy, but the testimonies are so frequent that it is undoubtedly clear that in the Eastern Church it was in frequent use. In some rituals the confession of Christ was dropped, in others the confessional attitude more or less modified, but from all it is quite clear that confession and attitude go together.

It may be remarked that only Eastern rituals have retained confession and attitude. But that before East and West went their own ways the whole Church practised the rite, may be inferred from the words of Tertullian and Barnabas which have been quoted above. At all events, the testimonies are quite sufficient to prove that Dr. Bernard's hypothesis on the character of the Odes of Solomon is very strongly affirmed by Ode 27 and 42¹⁻³. It is evident that the separate act of the outspread hands is a peculiar *baptismal* rite. It is possible that Ode 27 and 42¹⁻³ have been *added* to the corpus of the Odes, which in that case needed not to be *written* as baptismal hymns, but could only have been *used* as such. This supposition seems, however, very improbable, especially as neither in Ode 21¹ nor 35⁸ is there any mention of prayer.

The reason why the rite became obsolete and forgotten is obvious. For ancient Christianity baptism was a confession of Christ. Therefore in apostolical and post-apostolical times we hear of a baptism simply 'unto the name of Christ,'² and Paul speaks of baptism 'unto the death of Christ,' which, as we will see, brings us for the explanation of the 'orante' rite *in medias res*. To this baptism corresponds the symbolical act of stretching out the hands. But when the trinitarian confession takes the place of the more simple confession of Christ, the symbolic act becomes meaningless, is altered and forgotten, a process which may be seen going on in the various forms which we have quoted.³

We ask, however, what was the origin and *rationale* of such baptism and baptismal symbol? In answer to this question, the Armenian ritual of initiation of a monk gives a nice explanation of the mystical meaning of the rite: 'After this *con-*

² Cf. Usener, *Weihnachtsfest* ², S. 162 f.

³ The same combination of confessio Christi and confessio Trinitatis probably survives in the expression of a prayer in *Test. Dom. Nostri J. Chr.* ed. Rahmani, p. 125: 'Quoniam tibi vocati sunt servi in nomine Jesu Christi, cum in Trinitate, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizantur.'

essional testimony and enthusiasm' (so prescribes the liturgy) 'the clergy with one accord raise their hands aloft. . . . *They so imitate the cross and are mystically extended thereon, and nailed upon wings of holy mystery.*'¹ So it is a mystic rite denoting the unification with Christ, with whom the Chris-

¹ Conybeare, *loc. cit.* p. 140.

tian shares the cross and its death, emerging from baptism renewed and regenerated to a new, holy, and blessed life. In this interpretation of the rite I have said more than can as yet be inferred from our text. So I proceed to show that this view is the right one.

(To be concluded.)

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH XXVIII. 16.

'Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.'—R.V.

1. THE twenty-eighth chapter of the Book of Isaiah is one of the greatest of his prophecies. It is distinguished by that regal versatility of style which places its author at the head of Hebrew writers. Keen analyses of character, realistic contrasts between sin and judgment, clever retorts and epigrams, rapids of scorn, and 'a spate' of judgment, but for final issue a placid stream of argument banked by sweet parable—such are the literary charms of the chapter, which derives its moral grandeur from the force with which its currents set towards faith and reason, as together the salvation of states, politicians and private men. The style mirrors life about ourselves, and still tastes fresh to thirsty men. The truths are relevant to every day in which luxury and intemperance abound, in which there are eyes too fevered by sin to see beauty in simple purity, and minds so surfeited with knowledge or intoxicated with their own cleverness that they call the maxims of moral reason commonplace, and scorn religious instruction as food for babes.

Some time when the big, black cloud was gathering again on the north, Isaiah raised his voice to the magnates of Jerusalem: 'Lift your heads from your wine-bowls; look north. The sunshine is still on Samaria, and your fellow-drinkers there are revelling in security. But the storm creeps up behind. They shall certainly perish soon; even you cannot help seeing that. Let it scare you, for their sin is yours, and that storm will not exhaust itself on Samaria. Do not think that your clever

policies, alliance with Egypt or the treaty with Assyria herself, shall save you. Men are never saved from death and hell by making covenants with them. Scorners of religion and righteousness, except ye cease being sceptical and drunken, and come back from your diplomacy to faith and reason, ye shall not be saved! This destruction that looms is going to cover the whole earth. So stop your running to and fro across it in search of alliances. *He that believeth shall not make haste.* Stay at home and trust in the God of Zion, for Zion is the one thing that shall survive.'

2. Isaiah's words have a wide application. Short of faith as he exemplified it, there is no possibility for the spirit of man to be free from uneasiness. It is so all along the scale of human endeavour. No power of patience or of hope is his who cannot imagine possibilities of truth outside his own opinions, or trust a justice larger than his private rights. It is here very often that the real test of our faith meets us. If we seek to fit life solely to the conception of our privileges, if in the preaching of our opinions no mystery of higher truth awe us at least into reverence and caution; then, whatever religious creeds we profess, we are not men of faith, but shall surely inherit the bitterness and turmoil that are the portion of unbelievers. If we make it the chief aim of our politics to drive cheap bargains for our trade or to be consistent to party or class interests; if we trim our conscience to popular opinion; if we sell our honesty in business or our love in marriage, that we may be comfortable in the world; then, however firmly we may be established in reputation or in welfare, we have given our spiritual nature a support utterly inadequate to its needs, and we shall never find rest. Sooner or later, a man must