IMAGES OF THE LOGOS

IN

PRE-CONSTANTINIAN CHRISTIAN ART:

THEIR ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE.

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IMAGES OF THE LOGOS IN PRE-CONSTANTINIAN CHRISTIAN ART.

In this thesis we propose that the primary theme which underlies many of the images of Christ and a number of the Old Testament scenes in pre-Constantinian Christian art is that of the Divine Logos. We contend that when the faithful adorned their funerary chambers and baptistries with figurative decoration, they did so with a new understanding of idolatry. It still forbade representations of God, the Eternal One, but permitted them to depict the Divine Logos as their pedagogue and intercessor with Him. We are of the opinion that the Western Church inherited this iconography from both Jewish art and the Logos Theology of Philo Judaeus and the Alexandrian Christian Fathers.

In Chapters One and Two the development of the literary iconography for the Logos is traced. We begin with the work of Philo Judaeus, the first author of the Judeo-Christian tradition to employ the Hellenistic concept of the Logos in his apology to the intellectual community of Alexandria. The additional contributions of the Fourth Evangelist, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Origen to the Christian understanding of the Logos are also studied.

Chapters Three and Four explore the origins of both Jewish and early Christian art and the rôle of Logos imagery within this art.

In the final chapter we discuss the likelihood of finding artistic themes with didactic intent in private Roman Christian funerary art. The thesis concludes with an analysis of the theology of the Logos images in this art and the relationship to the historical context.

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L'idée avancée pour cette thèse est que le thème fondamental de beaucoup d'entre les images du Christ, et de bon nombre de scènes du Vieux Testament, dans l'art chrétien préconstantinien est celui du divin Logos. Nous contenons que lorsque les fidèles ornaient de décoration figuratives, les chambres funéraires et les baptistères ils le faissaient dans l'esprit d'une nouvelle conception de l'idolâtrie. Cette conception interdisait comme avant les représentations du Père éternel, mais il permettait de représenter le divin Logos comme étant le précepteur des fidèles et leur intercesseur auprès de Lui. Nous sommes de l'opinion que l'Eglise occidentale a hérité de cette iconographie sortie tant de l'art juif que de la théologie du Logos, de Philon le Juif et des Pères de l'Eglise alexandriens.

Les chapitres un et deux tracent le développement de l'iconographie littéraire du Logos. Nous commençons par les travaux de Philon le Juif qui, dans son apologie de la communauté intellectuelle d'Alexandrie, fut le premier auteur de la tradition judéo-chrétienne à employer le concept hellénistique du Logos. Les contributions du Quatrième évangéliste, de Saint Justin, de Clément d'Alexandrie, et d'Origène à l'interprétation chrétienne du Logos sont également étudiées.

Les chapitres trois et quatre explorent les sources de l'art juif et de l'art chrétienne primitif et le rôle joué par l'imagerie du Logos dans cet art.

Dans le chapitre final, nous nous demandons quelles sont les probabilités de trouver dans l'art funéraire romano-chrétien privé des thèmes artistiques à propos didactique. La thèse s'achève par une analyse de la théologie des images du Logos figurant dans cet art et de ses rapports avec le contexte historique.

PREFACE

I owe my interest in early Christian art to my work as a teaching assistant for Professor George Johnston. He exposed me to the theological and historical significance of the earliest artistic expressions of the Church. I wish to thank Professor Johnston for his guidance and for his supervision of the research and writing of the thesis. It has been a privilege to study with such a caring and gifted scholar.

In addition, I thank the Library Staff of the Faculty of Religious Studies for their assistance. My gratitude is also extended to Winona Diabo for her work with the typing of the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE LOGOS AND ITS IMAGES IN THE WRITINGS OF PHILO JUDAEUS

Philo Judaeus, c.20 B.C. to c. A.D. 50, is the first major Jewish author to employ elements of Hellenistic philosophy in his apology on behalf of his faith to the intellectual circle of Alexandria. An example of this is Philo's development of the Logos doctrine of the Stoics.[1] The Logos doctrine helped him to explain to his public how God was both omnipotent, omnipresent and transcendent, and yet, was directly involved in material existence. In his explanation of this doctrine Philo employed a number of images for the Logos. We think that it is this Philonic concept of the Logos, with its accompanying images, that influenced the Logos Christology of the Early Christian Fathers, and subsequently the art of the pre-Constantinian Christian Church.

This chapter will therefore focus on Philo's understanding of the Logos as a basis for a future Logos Christology, and on the various images of the Logos and their potential for artistic interpretation.

I. THE PHILONIC LOGOS

Philo understood the Logos to have three separate stages of existence. The Logos had originally dwelt in, and as, the mind of God.[2] Then God willed the Logos into existence as an incorporeal being to govern the world of ideas and patterns,[3] and to supervise the creation. Finally, the Logos appeared in the created world as the cosmic soul which was perceptible in the order of nature, in man's ability to employ reason, and in the guise of an angel. Because of the appearance of the Logos, a man might become a revealer and a prophetic voice for the divine spirit.

According to Philo, the Logos in its first stage of existence was an active part of the Deity, identical in essence with God. Indeed, at this point, the Logos was identified with the mind of God, for it was inconceivable that God would ever have been without reason. Wolfson thinks that on this point Philo is indebted to the Stoics who understood the Logos as God.[5] Philo acknowledged that God and the Logos were one prior to creation, but his perception of that event led him to suspect that the Logos did not remain one with the Divine essence.

In the second stage, the Logos was separate from the essence of God. Engendered by God, he was the first creation from whom the created world was to emanate.[6] It is this manifestation of the Logos of God that Philo describes as "the first principle, the archetypal idea, the premeasurer of all things".[7] Philo identifies the first creation narrative in Genesis as the creation of a world of ideas by the Logos of God:[8] "... the world discerned only by the intellect is nothing else than the word of God (ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου) when He was already engaged in the act of creation".[9] He likens this manifestation of the Logos, which Wolfson calls the antemundane Logos,[10] to an architect who conceives the plan of a city in his mind before drawing the blueprints and finally instituting his plan.

> We must suppose that, when He was minded to found the one great city, He conceived beforehand the model of its parts, and that out of these He constituted and brought to completion a world discernible only by the mind, and then with that for a pattern, the world which our senses can perceive. As, then, the city which was fashioned beforehand within the mind of the architect held no place in the outer world, but had been engraved in the soul of the artificer as by a seal, even so the universe that consisted of ideas would have no other location than the Divine Reason (τὸν θεῖον λόγον), which was the Author of this ordered frame. 11

The final manifestation of the Logos was that which created, interacted, and, to a degree, was a part of material existence. The Logos was now an incorporeal being, distinct from God the Absolute Father, but was still in some manner God. It is this third form of the Logos that dealt with "the visible objects which are copies and likenesses of those ideas and out of which this sensible world was produced".[12] Thus the third stage of the Logos was concerned with overseeing the created world, including man.

Philo noted that in Genesis man was made in "the image of God" (Genesis 9:6). From this he deduced that man was not created in God's image because nothing could resemble the Ruler of All. Rather, man was made in the likeness of the "image of God", that is the Logos:

> Why does (Scripture) say, as if (speaking) of another God, "in the image of God He made man" and not "in His own image" ... For nothing mortal can be made in the likeness of the most high One and Father of the universe but (only) in that of the second God, who is His Logos. For it was right that the rational (part) of the human soul should be formed as an impression by the divine Logos, since the pre-Logos God is superior to every rational nature. 13

The above quotation concerning the creation of man after the impression of the Logos contains an important term for the Logos. Philo calls the third stage of the Logos a second God (τὸν δεύτερον θεόν).[14] Drummond observes that it is difficult to interpret exactly what was intended by Philo when he called the Logos, "the second God". In an attempt to clarify its meaning, Drummond referred to the passage in De Somniis 1,39[15] in which God the Father was distinguished from the Logos. Philo observed a grammatical distinction between the two. God with

the article, ὁ θεός, was an expression of the Divine Father, and God without the article, θεός, represented the eldest Logos. It was this distinction between God and the Second God, between ὁ θεός and θεός, between God and the Logos, which was to be important for Origen's Christology.

When Philo said that man was created in the image of the Logos, he was referring to the rational element of man, that is his mind. It was the human mind that he considered to be the true man.[16] The fact that the mind bore the imprint of the Logos enabled a human being to participate in the rational divine plan. Those individuals who possessed a greater intelligence were thus more capable of perceiving the divine will on their own. Having attained a truer knowledge of God without the aid of an exterior Logos, they could then share this revelation with their fellow men and women. Others, however, required a specific intervention of the Logos to aid them in their pursuit of a higher knowledge of God.[17]

Thus for Philo the Logos appeared to have occupied an intermediary position between God, omnipotent, and eternal, and the cosmos. This antemundane Logos permeated all creation and in particular the mind of man. In order to ensure the proper functioning of the world according to the Divine plan, it established and administered the natural laws. The Logos aided Israel to live in a right relationship with God through its presence as human reason, as a prophetic spirit, and as a revealer by means of the angels. It taught man to attain wisdom and the virtuous life. In many ways then, the Philonic concept is akin to the Stoic and the Platonic concepts of the governing of the universe.

As Drummond notes: "The Platonic and the Alexandrian doctrines originated, at least to some extent, in the same necessity of thought, the demand for some intermediate link of communication between the eternal and the phenomenal, between God and the World."[18]

II. IMAGES OF THE LOGOS IN PHILO

Philo's method for combining Hellenistic and Biblical concepts is not always clear to the reader. The logic of his ideas is often lost in his elaborate and complex literary style. Yet it is this very style, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, that provides us with a wealth of literary images that have potential for artistic presentation.

For purposes of clarity, we shall examine these literary images under three categories:- A) Theological Concepts; B) Anthropomorphic Images; C) Attributes. We shall also retain this format when we study the Logos images in the Fourth Gospel, in the Early Christian Fathers, and in the Art of the pre-Constantinian Church. One must remember, however, that these categories have been imposed, and that often a single image may fit into more than one.

A) Theological Concepts:

The Theological Concepts of the Logos which Philo uses will be discussed under the following headings:- 1) Second God; 2) Governor; 3) Judge; 4) Son; 5) Angel; 6) Prophetic Spirit. While these concepts describe a Logos whom Philo understands to be spirit rather than body, it is possible that they influenced Jewish art. They also form the basis of a Christian understand-

ing of the Logos, and may have been used for artistic representation when the Logos was understood as Jesus Christ. We will therefore focus our attention on the potential of these concepts for a future artistic interpretation.

1) The Logos as Second God:-

It has already been established that Philo viewed the Logos as a Second God.[19] It was in the image of this Second God that man was created. It was the Logos as a Second God that had intercourse with the world, for the transcendent Father would not manifest himself in the material realm. It is logical, therefore, that Philo should have interpreted the various theophanies recorded in the Torah as revelations of the Second God, that is the Logos. God would not reveal himself in human form or with human attributes. It was the Logos who assumed these forms and attributes to aid mankind in their pursuit of a truer knowledge of God himself.[20]

It is at this point that Philo's understanding of the Logos may have paralleled the birth of religious art. If the Logos himself could appear to be God for the edification of those who were dull in spirit, could not an artist also depict an image of that same Logos as God if that would help mankind in the pursuit of salvation? The image would not be idolatrous because it would not be seen as an image of God. Rather, the artistic image of the Logos would be seen as a didactic aid for the profit of the pupil.

2) The Logos as Governor:-

For Philo, the Logos was the great harmonizer of the creation. This is symbolized as a divine symphony of planets

and stars conducted by the Logos for the greater glory of God. It is in this role that the Logos is Governor.

> In the world, together with the number seven (of planets) and the eight spheres of fixed stars and those sublunary things of one species which are changeable among themselves, the divine Logos (ὁ Θεῖος λόγος) is the governor and administrator of all things, since it has melodically harmonized the chorus of the nine musical intervals ... Now, the divine Logos is concerned with these nine (parts), being the leader and ruler of harmony, and by it the nine parts are harmonized, and melodies and songs sound as one. 21

Earlier in the same book Philo presents another literary example in his interpretation of the servant's question in Genesis 24: 23: "He said, 'Please tell me who your father is. Is there room in his house for my men and me to spend the night?'"[22] Philo interprets this question as one that concerns the salvation of all the faithful servants of God.

> He asks again immediately, "Is there indeed a place and space for us with thy Father in the ether and heaven or, still higher, with their governor, the divine Logos? For being there, we should leave all mortal and corruptible things behind. Or shall we be altogether kept back and shut in, planted and rooted in the earth and with heads bent down as if we were trees on a cliff?" 23

In this image the servant wishes to rise to the realm of salvation. Here the Logos is not only Governor but also the Judge presiding over the souls of mankind. This figure obviously bears considerable potential for religious art. In particular, it could be quite influential for Christian art where the pursuit of salvation is a prominent theme.[24] The Logos as Governor rules over the heavenly realm, determining who may enter the kingdom.

3) The Logos as Judge:-

As previously stated, the Logos could be a judge, and this is a rich theme in Philo's writings. The appearance of the angel to Hagar at the well in Genesis 16: 7 is allegorized to a

revelation of the divine Logos as Judge. He welcomes the souls of those who are foolish.

> So do you not see that all this is a topical figure of the soul that progresses? And one who progresses does not become lost like one who is completely foolish. If the divine Logos (ὁ θεῖος λόγος) is to be found, he seeks it. And he who is not pure and good in his habits is put to flight and pursued by the Logos; however, he has a spring of water by which he may wash away his passion and evil, and from which he may drink the superabundance of its laws. 25

The ultimate goal of mankind is to be judged acceptable by the Logos. To know the Logos is salvation. Even for those who cannot achieve it on their own, the Logos offers an opportunity for purification. The lost may cleanse themselves with water, and receive salvation through the intervention of the Logos. This association of the Logos with a purifying spring of water may be significant for Christian art. One must at least note the possible implications of the literary image for the development of baptismal iconography.[26]

Philo also interprets the guardian angel of Exodus 23: 20-21[27], as a logophany: "For it (the angel) was not capable of bearing the multitude of (his) good (gifts). (Therefore) of necessity was the Logos appointed as judge and mediator ..."[28] The Logos intercedes in the lives of men in order that they may be reconciled to God. Since Christ was interpreted as mediator and judge, and identified as the divine Logos, it is not unlikely that the image of the judge or guardian angel may have been introduced into pre-Constantinian Christian art.

4) The Logos as God's Son:-

A critical point for our argument is Philo's identification of the Logos as God's First-born Son who is pictured as the

Universal Shepherd leading his flock to salvation. Philo likens the universe to a flock:

> under the hand of God its king and Shepherd. This hallowed flock He leads in accordance with right and law, setting over it His true Logos and First-born Son who shall take upon Him its government like some viceroy of a great king ... Let therefore even the whole universe, that greatest and most perfect flock of God who IS, say "The Lord shepherds me, and nothing shall fail me." 29

The Logos as Son of God and Shepherd of the universe has tremendous implications for both Jewish and Christian religious art. The importance of the Twenty-third psalm for this identification of the Logos cannot be under-estimated. In Jewish art the Logos could be shown as the great King David shepherding the flock of Israel. In Christian art the Logos could be identified with the Christ, God's First-born Son. Christ as the Good Shepherd in Christian funeral art may therefore correspond to the Logos as Good Shepherd. We shall return to this bucolic imagery in our discussion of the anthropomorphic images of the Logos, under The Logos as Shepherd.

The Messianic imagery employed by Philo may also be relevant to our study of the Logos as Son of God. The previous quotation establishes Philo's identification of the Logos as the First-born Son of God. In Questions and Answers in Exodus, the Armenian version, Philo gives the Logos the identities of the mediator between God and mankind, and that of the Christ. Ralph Marcus believes that the quotation may be a redaction of the original text by a Christian scribe.[30] While this suspicion is well founded, the text is still important for our study and should be quoted:

> "But where, O theologian," someone may say, "is the head of the world? Teach us, for you have brought us as far as the breast, which you have shown to be a likeness of heaven." ... If, however, there is anyone heavy of understanding let him listen. The head of all things is the eternal Logos of the eternal God (λόγος αἰώνιος τοῦ ἀϊδίου θεοῦ), under which as if it were his feet or other limbs, is placed the whole world, over which he passes and firmly stands. Now it is not because Christ is Lord that He passes and sits over the world, for his seat is with His Father and God, but because for its perfect fullness the world is in need of the care and superintendence of the best ordered dispensation, and for its own complete piety, of the Divine Logos, just as living creatures (need) a head, without which it is impossible to live. 31

Even if this text was altered by a Christian redactor, another interpretation of Exodus 28: 26-27 by Philo, in his Allegorical Interpretation, III, 118, centres upon the Logos as mediator between Father and Creation.[32] The Messianic conception of the Logos as Son of God and mediator between mankind and the Father is common in both texts.

The description of the Christ-Logos ruling over the world from his throne would easily translate itself into an artistic image, the various classical statues of the enthroned Divine Emperor serving as models.

5) The Logos as an Angel:-

While we do not wish to explore Philo's angelology it is important to note passages where he interprets an angelic visitation as a logophany. Wolfson even proposes that all angelic revelations are understood by Philo as Logophanies: "The angels are called by him Logoi (Somn. 1.22,142; 23,147; Post. 26,91; Leg. All. III,62,177), and each angel which appeared to individual persons according to the scriptural narrative is called by him Logos."[33] Here Wolfson is making too strong a generalization, for we have already noticed an instance where the Logos sends an angel

as his emissary.[34] There is, however, sufficient evidence to connect the Logos with some angelic visitations. The drama of these biblical images would have lent itself to artistic representation.

One possible revelation of the Logos in the form of an angel is the visitation of the three angels to Abraham at Mamre (Genesis 18: 1-15). In On Abraham, Philo identifies the three angels which appear to Abraham at mid-day as the Divine Triad.[35] The exact identity of each of the three figures, however, is certainly more problematic. Philo describes the three in the following manner:

> ... the central place is held by the Father of the Universe, who in the sacred scriptures is called He that is as His proper name, while on either side of Him are the senior potencies, the nearest to Him, the creative and kingly. The title of the former is God, since it made and ordered the All; the title of the latter is Lord, since it is the fundamental right of the maker to rule and control what he has brought into being. So the central Being with each of His potencies as His squire presents to the mind which has vision the appearance of sometimes of one, sometimes of three: of one, when that mind is highly purified ... and being self-contained needs nothing more; of three, when, as yet uninitiated into the highest mysteries ... unable to apprehend the Existent alone by Itself ... but only through Its actions, as either creative or ruling. 36

Accordingly, it could appear that the one angel that speaks to Abraham is God Himself, while the other two angels are the Logos, and the Lord of creation.

In On Cherubim, Philo finds another triad in the account of the two angels that guard paradise with a flaming sword. One is "the goodness by which God begat all that is"; the second is "the sovereignty by which God rules over all that he has begotten"; while the third is "the Logos which unites goodness and

sovereignty".[37] This is a way of suggesting that the one God is manifested in three forms: He is Reason, Goodness, and Sovereign Power because he is at once Creator, Providence and the ultimate Intelligence that gives meaning and purpose to the universe. The Mamre story, and its use in art, clearly refers (in a Philonic view) to the threefold revelation, and that would have greatly appealed to the Church.

Philo also construes the Akkedah (Genesis 22: 9-19) allegorically as a revelation of the Logos. The fire and the knife which Abraham brings to sacrifice his son are symbols of Divine Reason, that is the Logos. Abraham symbolically employs the Logos to rid himself of his mortal nature in order that he may more truly perceive and follow God.[39] The angel that spoke to Abraham to prevent the sacrifice of his son was the Divine Logos.[40]

Philo most positively identifies an angel as the Logos in the case of the angelic visitation to Balaam. He bases his allegory on Numbers 22: 31: "Then the Lord let Balaam see the angel standing there with his sword; and Balaam threw himself face downward on the ground." In On the Cherubim, Philo states: "Behold the armed angel, the Logos of God, standing in the way against you, the source through whom both good and ill come to fulfillment".[41] This Balaam story might well have been used in artistic illustrations of the Scriptures; and the armed angel would be understood in Philonic terms as the Divine Logos.

In conclusion, several angelic visitations are allegorized by Philo into logophanies, and these visitations provide potential symbols for the guiding presence of the Logos.

6) The Logos as a Prophetic Spirit:-

It must also be observed that Philo views the Logos as the prophetic spirit which guides mankind. We have just cited a number of examples where the Logos could reveal himself through an angel. In an interpretation of the guardian angel, Philo identifies the Logos as a prophetic Spirit (Exodus 23: 21-23).[42] Commenting upon this Biblical text, he states:

> Because some men do not hearken when hearing, or rather, pretend not to have heard, He has specified in this passage, "If hearing ye will hear My voice," (which) it must be supposed, refers to the angel mentioned a little while ago (the Logos). For the prophet of Him who speaks is properly an angel. For it is necessary for him who "hearing hears", that is, with firmness receives what is said, to carry out in deed also what is said, for the deed is proof of the Logos. 43

A more significant case where the Logos is imagined as a prophet-spirit occurs when Philo understands the figure of Moses to be the prophetic Logos. F.H. Colson mentions that the prophet Moses was sometimes identified by Philo as the Divine Logos.[44] In On the Life of Moses, Philo describes the nature of the prophetic voice.

> Now I am fully aware that all things written in the sacred books are oracles delivered through Moses ... Of the divine utterances (τῶν λογίων) some are spoken by God in his own person with His prophet for interpreter, in some the revelation comes through questions and answers, and others are spoken by Moses in his own person, when possessed by God and carried away out of himself. 45

In this role Moses is the chief messenger of God, and God's chief messenger is also a name for the Logos. Moses is thus understood as an image for the prophetic Logos. In a similar manner Moses as writer of the Pentateuch also represents the Logos. J. Drummond believes that Philo viewed Moses as a type for the Logos because he was responsible for reporting the words (τὰ ῥήματα) of the Lord, "an office which naturally belonged to the

interpreting Logos."[46]

Occasionally, the Philonic Logos acts as a prophetic spirit when it reveals the Divine will to mankind in the form of a dream:

> You see that the Divine Logos (ὁ θεῖος λόγος) proclaims as dreams sent from God not only those which appear before the mind under the direct action of the highest of Causes, but those also which are revealed through the agency of His interpreters and attendant messengers who have been held meet to receive from the Father to whom they owe their being a divine and happy portion. [47]

Consequently, in artistic terms, a representation of Moses receiving the law or meeting God at the burning bush could represent the prophetic Logos, especially if it was found in a room with an image of the Akkedah or with a Torah Shrine. One is naturally inclined to recall the configuration of the Torah Shrine at the Dura Synogogue where the aforementioned elements are to be found. We will return to this point during our study of Jewish art.

B) Anthropomorphic Images:

In his description of the Logos, Philo employs a number of figures that symbolize the place of the Logos in the world. Quite often they are described in anthropomorphic terms and provide us with a number of visual personifications of the Logos. This may have encouraged a Jewish or Christian artist to employ classical statues and paintings of a Shepherd, Charioteer or Philosopher (as prototypes). Philo provides at least five such personifications of the Logos: 1) Shepherd; 2) Philosopher-Teacher; 3) Physician; 4) Charioteer; and 5) High Priest.

1) The Logos as Shepherd:-

In our discussion of the Logos as Son we noted an instance where the Logos was pictured as a Shepherd.[48] We also discussed the possible artistic interpretation of the Logos as Shepherd in both Jewish and Christian art. The Logos as Shepherd or Good Shepherd is an important theme in Philo's writing.

He allegorizes the seven daughters of Jethro as the unruly physical senses of our human nature. These daughters are tamed by reason and thus now desire "to become a part of the holy herd which is led by God's Logos ..."[49] Again, the Shepherd of the Twenty-third psalm is identified as the Logos: "In the psalm there is a hymn of this kind, 'The Lord is my Shepherd, and nothing shall be lacking to me'. So then we shall not be surprised to find the mind which has the Divine Logos for its shepherd and king ..."[50]

The Logos as Good Shepherd is the guardian and leader of the rational soul. Out of his love the Father has provided the Logos as a "blameless and perfect good shepherd",[51] who steers his flock towards virtue and chastises them when they stray.

In our next chapter, we shall see how Philo's theme of the Logos as Good Shepherd was adopted by the Early Christian Fathers to become the Christ-Logos as the Good Shepherd. Numerous examples of this motif in early Christian art may therefore represent Christ as God's Logos.

2) The Logos as Philosopher and Teacher:-

Teachers frequently adorn what appear to be early Christian sarcophagi. These figures, as we will see, have been given various identifications. It is our hypothesis that they represent

the Logos as Philosopher and Teacher. It is, therefore, important to trace the history of a literary identification of the Logos as philosopher in the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is in the writings of Philo that we find the first image.

It will be remembered that in our examination of the didactic method of God we found an image of the Logos as Teacher.[52] There the Logos was also a scholar "ever entertaining holier and more august conceptions of him that is".[53] Here Philo sees the Logos in the role of a philosopher, influenced perhaps by teachers in the famous schools of Alexandria.[54]

In an interpretation of Jacob's dream (Genesis 28: 10-22), Philo describes the Logos as both Teacher and Counsellor: "The Sacred Logos (ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος) deals ... with some as a teacher, indicating to pupils what will be for their good, with some as a counsellor suggesting the best decisions ..."[55] This is perhaps the clearest identification of the Logos as Teacher. Earlier in the same discussion Philo provides another image of the Logos:[56] one that is more complex. He describes the Logos as both a teacher and gymnastic trainer. Jacob, it is said, centred his thinking on the Divine Logos in order that he might be trained to see the Divine Nature. The Divine Logos "readily listens to and accepts the athlete to be first a pupil ..."[57] Philo can, therefore, be accredited with making the first use of the literary image of the Logos as Philosopher and Teacher in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

3) The Logos as Physician:-

In Philo we find several passages where the Logos is depicted as Physician and this image probably influenced Christian

authors who describe Christ, the Incarnate Logos, as a Physician of the Soul. The Logos appears to Hagar as a Physician seeking to cleanse her soul, "for the divine Logos is a disciplinarian and an excellent healer of the weakness of the soul."[58] Again, in Questions and Answers in Genesis: " ... the divine Logos (τὸν θεῖον λόγον) is appointed over the body also, to be, as it were, its physician ..."[59]

This motif occurs in two other writings of Philo. In Questions and Answers in Genesis, he indicates that " ... it was necessary for the healing Logos of God to enter into the soul for a visit of healing in order to heal its illness ..."[60] The second case is found in his interpretation of Jacob's words: " ... the Angel who delivereth me out of all my ills, bless these boys."[61] Here Philo describes Jacob as one who "looks on God as feeding him, not His Word; but the Angel, who is the Word, as healer of ills".[62] In two instances, therefore, the Logos as Physician is tied to the figure of an angel: to be precise, the Guardian Angel of Hagar and Jacob. It is this figure of the Logos which could be the subject of artistic interpretation: a Guardian Angel may symbolize the Logos as Physician and so Christ as Healer of mankind.

4) The Logos as Charioteer:-

Helios, the Sun-God, driving his chariot across the heavens occurs in both Jewish and pre-Constantinian Christian art. In Christian art, he is usually identified as the Christ, but in Jewish art, simply as the Sun. Philo, however, can speak of the Logos as the Charioteer of the Heavens and in some places, he describes the Logos as the Sun. This combination of the chariot-

er and the divine Sun may well mean that we should see these as an image of the Logos.

We recall that Philo understood the Logos to be the Governor and Chief of God's powers. It is the Logos as the power of God whom Philo identifies as the Charioteer of the Universe: "the power of the Father who presides over the whole world as over a winged chariot, and guides it as He thinks best and most useful."[63] In On the Creation, the Logos is "like a charioteer grasping the reins or a pilot the tiller. He (Logos) guides all things in what direction he pleases as law and right demand ..."[64]

The Logos is also described as a charioteer who curbs the human passions and leads mankind on the straight way to salvation: " ... the Sacred Word (ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος), knowing how strong is the impulse of either passion, of both high spirit and lust, puts a curb on each of them, by setting over them reason (τὸν λόγον) as a charioteer and pilot."[65] In this allegory Philo does not describe the Logos as a charioteer of the universe, but it is surely implied, considering the consistency of the motif in his other writings.[66]

There is certainly a strong basis for an association of artistic images of Helios driving his heavenly chariot with literary images of the Logos as Charioteer in Philo. It will be shown later how Philo's literary images was to influence the writings of the Alexandrian Christian Fathers.

5) The Logos as High Priest:-

The final anthropomorphic image is that of the Logos as High Priest, whose type is Aaron, the first High Priest. Philo is quite specific in making this identification: "Accordingly

they are steadied by Aaron, the Word (τοῦ λόγου)"[67]; "For the sake of this he was enjoined to call to his aid Aaron, the Logos in utterance (τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον)."[68]

Philo repeats this motif on a number of occasions. For example, he allegorizes the narrative of Exodus 29: 4-5, where Aaron is prepared for his ordination, as a revelation of the Divine Logos: "For there are, as is evident, two temples of God; one of them this universe, in which there is also as High Priest, His First-born, the Divine Logos (θεῖος λόγος)."[69] In On The Giants, Philo again uses this idea: "Mark you that not even the high-priest Logos, though he has the power to dwell in unbroken leisure amid the sacred doctrines, has received free license to resort to them at every season ..."[70]

We may therefore conclude that when Aaron appears in art, he may be a symbol of the divine Logos.

C) Attributes:

When one tries to unravel the iconography of a figure, one usually looks at particular attributes; for example, the colour and style of dress or a particular ornament associated with it. Philo provides a large vocabulary of attributes for the Logos: Light, Sun, Sword, Fire, the Blesser of Food, Manna, Rock and Water.

The association of the Logos with light, symbolized as the sun or as rays of the sun, is important for the development of a Logos-Christology. One must at least mention the Johannine description of the Incarnate Logos as light.

Earlier in this study, we noted the passage in On Dreams where Philo describes the Logos as the rays of the sun and the moon.[71] He also pictures Divine Wisdom as "God's archetypal lum-

inary and the sun is a copy and image of it."[72] Elsewhere, he equates Divine Wisdom with the Logos.[73] Thus, the aforementioned image of Wisdom as the Sun could be a type for the Logos. Light too is an image of Wisdom and thus by extension, of the Logos.[74] In artistic terms, then, a figure of Helios, or such items as a sundial, which measures the rays of the sun, could point to the Logos.

We noted in our discussion of the Akkedah that the knife, the fire and the fiery sword could symbolize the presence of the Logos.[75] These symbols appear in a number of other instances in Philo's writings.

The angel who visited Balaam carried a sword, a symbol of the cutting reason of the Logos.[76] This symbol could lend itself easily to artistic representation as we discussed in connection with Numbers 22: 31.

In Questions and Answers in Exodus, Philo identifies the Logos as the blesser of bread and water: "In the fifth place, it teaches us a most worthwhile lesson and one that is in order, showing that neither bread nor water gives nourishment by itself alone, ... if the Divine Logos does not graciously bestow upon them his helpful powers. For this reason, indeed, he says 'I will bless thy bread and thy water', as if they were not sufficient to give nourishment by themselves alone without the loving friendship and care of God."[77] While this image may not have influenced Jewish art, its sacramental implications might have captured the imagination of a Christian artist. Early Christian images of Messianic banquets may thus include the Logos in the role of priest.

James Drummond has drawn attention to Philo's interpretation of Deuteronomy 8: 15-16.[78] Here, the Manna which the Hebrews ate in the wilderness is identified as the Logos and the Rock from which Moses drew water as a symbol of Divine Wisdom. Since he has previously equated Divine Wisdom with the Logos, an image of Moses striking the Rock or Israel gathering the manna may depict a logophany. Drummond concludes that for Philo these images were synonymous and that " ... the rock, the fountain, the manna, Wisdom and the Logos are one, and differ to the ear rather than to the understanding".[79]

III. CONCLUSIONS

The Logos for Philo appears to have occupied an intermediary position between God and the cosmos. It was the being closest to the Divine Essence and originally existed within the mind of God. Engendered as the antemundane Logos, the Second God, it exercised the Divine powers in creation. In order to ensure the proper functioning of the cosmos the Logos established and administered the natural laws. It aided Israel to live in a right relationship with God through its role as a Divine Intercessor, a prophetic spirit, and an angel. It teaches mankind to attain wisdom and the virtuous life.

For our purpose, it should be noted that the Logos in Philo is described in literary terms as the Second God, the Governor, the Judge of the Universe, the First-born Son of God, the Angel, the Prophetic Spirit, the Shepherd, the Philosopher, the Physician of the Soul, the Charioteer, the High Priest, the Blesser of Food (bread and water), the Sun and light, the Fiery Sword of Paradise, the Angel of the stories of the Akkedah and of

Balaam, the Fountainhead at Horeb, the Manna in the Wilderness, and with Water. Our thesis is that these influenced the iconography both of Jewish and pre-Constantinian Christian art.

CHAPTER ONE: NOTES

1 The origin of the Logos concept is usually attributed to Heracleitus (see C.D. Ellis. The Logos Concept. pp. 11-14), who employed Logos in the sense of "an underlying cosmic principle, a law governing flux". Plato's concept of mind as a universal rational principle is also believed to have aided in the development of a Logos concept (H.A. Wolfson. Philo. pp. 326-327). The concept, however, is primarily indebted to the Stoics. The Stoics viewed the Logos not only as permeating all things, but also as a force which provided for the providential government of the world. This universal reason, according to the Stoics, had intercourse with man resulting in the human soul which, as right reason, enjoined man to live in harmony with the universal, divine Logos (Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West. Columbia University Press, 1960).

2 Drummond, Philo Judaeus, Vol. I, p. 18.

3 Wolfson, Philo, pp. 230-231. Also Yonge. Philo. Vol. I, p. 4. De Opificio Mundi. 5,20: "... in the same manner neither can the world which existed in ideas have any other local position except the divine reason (Wolfson: Logos of God) which made them ..."

4 Wolfson, Philo, p. 331 and note 41. Drummond. pp. 171-182.

5 Wolfson, Philo, pp. 230-231: "For the Stoics, God was a material being who had existed from eternity 'as an active principle in the eternal primary fire, out of which He himself created this world of ours' (p. 325). God was the fiery mind of the universe, the Logos."

6 The Loeb-Philo, Vol. VI, p. 510. On the Life of Moses, II, 25,127: "In the universe we find it in one form dealing with the incorporeal and archetypal ideas from which the intelligible world was formed ..."

7 The Loeb Philo, p. 3, Questions on Genesis 1,4.

8 The Loeb Philo, p. 3, Questions on Genesis 1,2, based on Genesis 2: 5:- "It is evident that He made the incorporeal and intelligible ideas in accordance with the intelligible nature which these sense-perceptible things on earth were meant to imitate." Philo's concept of a world of ideas created by the Logos appears to have been derived from Plato. Plato perceived a world of ideas created by the universal mind. This realm of ideas was the rational cosmic soul which formed the pattern for (the) material existence. While there is a definite similarity between the two concepts, one must recall Drummond's caveat that Plato's ideas were more directly tied to the visible world than Philo's Logos (Drummond. Philo Judaeus. p. 68). Philo, however, employs this world of ideas for the same reason that Plato did. They both wished to convey to their readers that God should not be held responsible for the creation of evil (see The Loeb Philo. Vol. I, p. 475, notes 54 and 55; and see Wolfson, Philo. pp. 326-327).

9 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 21, On the Creation. VI, 24.

10 Wolfson, Philo, pp. 326-327.

11 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 17, On the Creation, IV, 5, 18-20.

12 The Loeb Philo, Vol. VI, p. 511, Moses. II, 25,127.

13 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, Questions on Genesis. II, 62. Philo expresses a similar picture in On Who is the Heir of Divine Things, 48, to that given in the above text. He states: "And Moses calls the one which is above us (Logos) the image of God, and the one which abides among us the impression of that image ... So that the mind which is in each of us, which is in reality and truth man, is a third image proceeding from the Creator."

14 Drummond, Philo Judaeus, Vol. II, p. 197. From a fragment preserved in Eusebius of Philo's "Questions and Solutions in Genesis". II, 62.

15 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V, pp. 418-419. On Dreams. I, 39, 227-230: "'I am the God who appeared to thee in the place of God' (Genesis 31: 13). Surely a right noble cause of wanting it is for a soul, that God deigns to show himself to and converse with it. And do not fail to mark the language used, but carefully inquire whether there are two Gods; for we read 'I am the God that appeared to thee' not 'in my place' but 'in the place of God', as though it were another's ... He that is truly God is One, but these that are improperly so called are more than one. Accordingly, the holy word in the present instance has indicated Him who is truly God by means of the article saying 'I am the God', while it omits the article when mentioning him who is improperly so called, saying 'who appeared to thee in the place' not 'of the God' but simply 'of God'. Here it gives the title of 'God' to His Chief Logos ....."

16 See note 11, On Who is the Heir of the Divine Things, 48.

17 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V, p. 421. On Dreams. I, 40, 234, See note 20.

18 Drummond, Philo Judaeus. Vol. I, p. 68.

19 cf. note 11.

20 Philo wished to maintain the absolute purity of the true God who alone is Spirit, undefinable, omnipotent and omnipresent. He therefore interpreted the Biblical passages where God is described in anthropomorphic terms as referring to the Logos: "And the sacred word ever entertaining holier and more august conceptions of Him that is, yet at the same time longing to provide instruction and teaching for the life of those who lack wisdom, likened God to man, not however, to any particular man. For this reason, it has ascribed to Him face, hands, feet, mouth, voice, wrath and indignation ..... In its language it is concerned not with truth, but with the profit accruing to its pupils." (The

Loeb Philo, Vol. V, pp. 421. On Dreams, I, 234). See also On Dreams. I, 238: "Accordingly, when He says 'I am the God who was seen of thee in the place of God', (Genesis 31: 13), understand that He occupied the place of an angel only so far as appeared, without changing, with a view to the profit of him who was not yet capable of seeing the true God. For just as those who are unable to see the sun itself see the gleam of the parhelion and take it for the sun, and take the halo round the moon for that luminary itself, so some regard the image of God, His angel the Word as His very self." (my italics)

21 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, p. 393. Questions and Answers in Genesis. IV, 110, (my italics).

22 The Bible, Today's English Version, Genesis 24: 23.

23 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, p. 396. Questions and Answers in Genesis. IV, 111, (my italics).

24 Philo establishes the Logos as Governor and Judge over the heavenly realm. The servant, in Philo's allegory, questions God as to whether there is a place for him in heaven. It is the Logos-Governor who will decide. In John's Gospel, the incarnate Logos promises salvation for those who believe in him, John 14: 1-4:

> "Do not be worried and upset," Jesus told them. "Believe in God and believe also in me. There are many rooms in my Father's house, and I am going to prepare a place for you. I would not tell you this if it were not so. And after I go and prepare a place for you, I will come back and take you to myself, so that you will be where I am. You know the way that leads to the place where I am going." (TEV)

I believe there is a strong similarity between the two images of the Logos. Christian art could depict Christ as the Logos presiding over the heavenly realm, and bringing the faithful to salvation. The theme of deliverance from persecution and the obtaining of salvation will be shown to dominate Christian funeral art.

25 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, p. 216. Questions and Answers in Genesis, III, 27. (my italics).

26 Philo's description of the Logos as Judge bringing the purifying waters of salvation is not unlike Jesus' teaching at the well of Jacob:

> Jesus answered, "Whoever drinks this water will get thirsty again, but whoever drinks the water that I will give him will never be thirsty again. The water that I will give him will become in him a spring which will provide him with life-giving water and give him eternal life." (John 4: 13-14, TEV)

The function of John's Logos-Christ is the same as that of the Logos-Judge in Philo.

27 Exodus 23: 20-21, TEV: "I will send an angel ahead of you to protect you as you travel and to bring you to the place which I have prepared. Pay attention to him and obey him. Do not rebel against him, for I have sent him, and he will not pardon such rebellion."

28 The Loeb Philo, Supplement II, p. 48. Questions and Answers in Exodus, II, 13.

29 The Loeb Philo, Vol. III, p. 135. On Husbandry, XII, 51. See also John 10: 11, 15 where Christ as the Logos is described as the Good Shepherd.

30 The Loeb Philo, Supplement II, p. 168. Questions and Answers in Exodus, II, 117. The translator, Ralph Marcus alerts the reader to this possible Christian redaction. See note 1. The section is based by Philo on the description of Aaron's breastplate as High Priest. (Exodus 28: 26-27).

31 The Loeb Philo, Supplement II, p. 168. Questions and Answers in Exodus, II, 117. (my italics).

32 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 381. Allegorical Interpretation, XL, 118: "For look now: the Sacred Logos knowing how strong is the impulse of either passion, of both high spirit and lust, puts a curb on each of them, by setting over them reason as a charioteer and pilot.", (my italics).

33 Wolfson, Philo, Vol. I, p. 378.

34 See notes 26 and 27.

35 The Loeb Philo, Vol. VI, pp. 57-103. On Abraham, XXII to XXXVI.

36 The Loeb Philo, Vol. VI, pp. 63-64. On Abraham, XXIV, 121-122.

37 The Loeb Philo, Vol. II, pp. 25. On the Cherubim. IX, 27-28: "The voice told me that while God is indeed one, His highest and chiefest powers are two, even the goodness and sovereignty. Through his goodness He begat all that is, through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten. And in the midst between the two there is a third which unites them, Reason, for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good."

38 The Loeb Philo, Vol. VI, p. 101. On Abraham XXXVI, 206-207: "Therefore, the holy Logos bids her (Sarah) be of good cheer and says 'Be not afraid: thou didst indeed laugh and dost participate in joy.' For the Father did not suffer the whole course of human race to move amid griefs and pains and burdens which admit no remedy, but mixedwith them something of the better nature and judged it well that the soul should at times dwell in sunshine and calm ....."

39 The Loeb Philo, Vol. II, pp. 26-27. On the Cherubim. IX, 10, 28-31. In line 28 of the passage noted, Philo identifies the fiery sword as a symbol of the Logos (for continuation of the quote see note 37): "Remember how Abraham the wise, when he began to make God his standard in all things and leave nothing to the

created, takes a copy of the flaming sword -- 'fire and knife' it says (Genesis 22: 6) -- desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped

40 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V. p. 401. On Dreams. I, 193-195: "When however, it (the sacred word) has come to the company of His friends, He does not begin to say His say before He has addressed each such friend calling him by name, in order that they may prick up their ears, so to listen to the sacred precepts as to remember them forever ..... It is on this that Moses is addressed at the Bush ..... And Abraham at the offering up of his beloved and only son as a burnt offering is so addressed, both when he was beginning to offer the sacrifice, and when he was giving proof of his piety ..." It is also important to observe that the divine appearance to Moses at the burning bush is understood by Philo as a Logophany.

41 The Loeb Philo, Vol. II, p. 29. On the Cherubim. XI,35.

42 Exodus 23: 20-23. TEV: "I will send an angel ahead of you to protect you as you travel and to bring you to the place which I have prepared. Pay attention to him and obey him. Do not rebel against him, for I have sent him, and he will not pardon such rebellion. But if you obey him and do everything I command, I will fight against all your enemies. My angel will go ahead of you and take you into the land."

43 The Loeb Philo, Supplement II, p. 54. Questions and Answers in Exodus, II, 17.

44 The Loeb Philo, Vol. IV, p. 200. On the Migration of Abraham, note a.

45 The Loeb Philo, Vol. VI, p. 543. On the Life of Moses, II, 188.

46 Drummond, Philo Judaeus. p. 191.

47 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V, p. 399. On Dreams, I, 190.

48 See note 29.

49 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V, pp. 199-201. On The Change Of Names., 111-116. The quotation is from line 114. For the reference to Jethro's daughter see lines 111 and 112.

50 Ibid. Lines 115-116.

51 The Loeb Philo. Vol. III, pp. 133-134. On Husbandry. 49. See also On Husbandry. 44.

52 For the exact quotation from Philo see note 18. On Dreams. 234.

53 Ibid.

54 One should not forget Philo's ties with the intellectual community of Alexandria, and in particular the Museum.

55 The Loeb Philo. Vol. V, p. 399. On Dreams. I, 191. For the context of the quotation, see lines 189-191.

56 Ibid., p. 367. lines 128-129.

57 Ibid.

58 The Loeb Philo. Supplement I, p. 216. Questions and Answers in Genesis. III, 28.

59 Ibid., p. 252., line 51.

60 The Loeb Philo. Supplement I, p. 108. Questions and Answers in Genesis. II, 29. (my italics)

61 Genesis 48: 16. TEV

62 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 421. Allegorical Interpretation, III, 177. (my italics)

63 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, p. 327. Questions and Answers in Genesis.

64 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 35. On The Creation, 46.

65 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 381. Allegorical Interpretation, III, 118. (my italics) F.H. Colson translates the second Logos as reason but for our purpose it is perhaps better to leave it as Logos.

66 For other images of the Logos as Charioteer see: The Special Laws, I, 14; Questions and Answers in Genesis, II, 34 and IV, 218; The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, 45.

67 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 331. Allegorical Interpretation, III, 45. (my italics)

68 The Loeb Philo, Vol. IV, p. 175. The Migration of Abraham, 78.

69 The Loeb Philo, Vol. V, p. 413. On Dreams, I, 215.

70 The Loeb Philo, Vol. II, p. 471. On the Giants, 52.

71 For the text from On Dreams see note 20.

72 The Loeb Philo, Vol. IV, p. 155. On the Migration of Abraham, 40.

73 Wolfson, Philo, p. 32: "While indeed Philo does not directly designate the divine prophetical spirit by the term 'Logos', he identifies it with the scriptural term 'wisdom' (Aig. 5, 23 cf.) which is the same as Logos (cf. 1, 255)."

74 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, p. 480. Questions and Answers in Genesis, IV, 193.

75 For text see note 39.

76 See note 41.

77 The Loeb Philo, Supplement II, p. 57. Questions and Answers in Exodus, II, 18.

78 Drummond, Philo Judaeus. Vol. II, p. 203.

79 Ibid. note 78.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LOGOS CONCEPT IN THE FIRST 250 YEARS OF THE CHURCH AND ITS POSSIBLE ROLE IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

In this chapter, attention will be focused upon literary images of the Logos in Christian writings of the first three centuries, and their potential for Christian art of the third and fourth centuries. We shall also examine the way in which Philo's usage was influential in the emergence of Christology.

Of particular note is the strength of Logos imagery in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers. Alexandria seems to have been the centre of a Logos tradition. The city has also been accredited with a number of artistic ateliers that produced high quality pieces in the Hellenistic tradition. Even some Early Christian statues have been given an Alexandrian origin. It may well be therefore, that it was in this highly cultured centre that the first pieces of Christian art were produced.

I. THE LOGOS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Within the Christian tradition the obvious place to begin is the Fourth Gospel, since it provides many literary images of the Christ. For John, the Christ is the Good Shepherd (10: 11, 15), the Light of the World (8: 12), the true Vine (15: 1), the Bread of Life (6: 32,35), the Giver of the Waters of Life (4: 13), the Way, the Truth and the Life (14: 6). In the Prologue, the Evangelist specifically identifies Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Logos of God. The extent, however, to which the Incarnate Logos is the dominant image for the Christ in this Gospel is a debatable point. If it is, then the previous images may also be said to be

pictures for the Logos. Even if this hypothesis were to be proven wrong, it is clear that later authors, such as Origen, understood all John's descriptions to refer to the Incarnate Logos.

C.H. Dodd[1] is the main exponent of the theory that the use of the Logos in John's Gospel is deeply indebted to Hellenistic Judaism as typified by the writings of Philo Judaeus. He demonstrates that, although λόγος apart from the Prologue is more likely to mean "spoken word" or Torah in the tradition of the Wisdom literature, its meaning as rational divine truth is "very close to the meaning of λόγος in Philo."[2] The symbolism in the Fourth Gospel by which the Christ is depicted as light, bread, vine, etc., Dodd views as being "comprehended in the inclusive λόγος", which is precisely what Philo means by λόγος."[3]

In the first chapter we noted the similarity between Philo's imagery for the Logos and John's, with specific reference to the Good Shepherd,[4] the Governor,[5] and the Porter of the Life-giving Water,[6] which are common to both authors. For Philo, the Logos could also be Light, Bread, Water-bearer and Truth. These images reappear in John.

The fourth Evangelist uses the Logos because he sought a predicate to define the significance of Jesus Christ as the Son of the Father that would be intelligible to His Hellenistic public. So his purpose was not unlike that of Philo. We shall see how Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Origen use the concept of the Logos in a similar fashion.

John's figures for Christ as the Logos were also employed by the aforementioned early Christian authors. Philonic images of the Logos of God were taken as images of the Logos as the Christ. The artistic interpretation of these images in Pre-Constantinian Christian art may reflect this tradition. Thus, they may be understood as expressions of a popular Christology.

II. THE LOGOS IN JUSTIN MARTYR

Justin is the first Father of the Church, living in Rome, to employ the Logos concept in his Christology. As we shall see, he identifies Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, as the Incarnate Logos. Justin arrives at this concept without any visible evidence of a Johannine influence.[7] While he does quote from the Synoptic Gospels and from the Pauline writings, he never quotes from John. He does describe Philo Judaeus, however, as a valuable Jewish author. Indeed, his Logos concept has much in common with Philo's and its use is important for our study because it establishes a number of literary images for the Logos as familiar to the Church in Rome in the middle of the Second Century. The earliest examples of Christian art in Rome can be dated a little later than that (ca. A.D. 200).

A) Theological Concepts:

1) The Logos as a God:-

It is primarily in his Dialogue with Trypho that Justin makes the claim that the Logos is indeed God: "A certain rational power (proceeding) from Himself, who is called by the Holy Spirit, now the Glory of God, now the Son, again Wisdom, again an angel, then God, and the Lord and Logos ..."[8] Here Justin has described

Philo's concept of the self-generation of the Logos. The Logos proceeds from the will of the eternal Father (Dialogue LX. 1) and thus, in some sense, is still God. Unlike Philo, Justin does not use the definite article to make his distinction between the Eternal God and the Logos who is God.

2) The Logos as Ruler of the Creation:-

Like Philo, Justin also pictures the Logos as the Ruler of the Creation: "And that you will not succeed is declared by the Word, than whom, after God who begat Him, we know there is no ruler more kingly and just."[9] The Logos orders and administers the Creation and acts as a worthy intercessor between God and mankind. This is so because God could "not be thought to leave His elevated position to reveal Himself in a little corner of the world."[10] In artistic terms, then, a representation of a divine Emperor would be appropriate also for the Logos as divine ruler.

3) The Logos as the Son of God:-

While this image is obvious to any contemporary Christian, in the Second Century it was rather new to the Church. As we have seen, it was John who first expressed the doctrine that Jesus Christ is the Incarnate Logos of God, because both are called the First-born Son of God. Justin expresses the same thought when he describes Christ as "His Son", who alone is properly called Son, the Word, who also was with Him and was begotten before the works ..."[11]

4) The Logos as an Angel:-

Justin's interpretation of a number of Old Testament angelic visitations as Logophanies was probably indebted to the

writings of Philo Judaeus. We have already discussed the tremendous artistic potential for interpreting various scenes as allegories of the Logos as the divine guardian of humanity. Justin is the first author in the Christian tradition to use these in relation to the Christ-Logos, and he was followed by Clement of Alexandria.

We already cited a passage in the Dialogue with Trypho where Justin describes the Logos as "an Angel."[12] Later in the same text, he speaks of "the Angel of great counsel" as a type for the Logos.[13] The most powerful example, however, is found in the I Apology where the angel that spoke to Moses at the burning bush is understood to be the Logos of God.[14]

Another possible artistic prototype for the Logos in this role would be Mercury, the messenger of the gods. This is because Justin understands the Logos as the Divine Messenger: "Now the word of God is His Son, as we have before said. And He is called Angel and Apostle, for He declares whatever we ought to know ..."[15]

5) The Logos as God's Immanent Reason:-

While Philo limited this aspect of the Logos to the scriptural record of Moses and the Prophets, Justin extended it to include the various classical philosophers. As with Philo, the basis for this understanding is man's possession of a rational soul, because man was made in the image of the Logos of God. Therefore, those who most closely assimilated Reason, were guided by the Logos in their thoughts and lives.

Justin uses this concept to explain to his audience that philosophers had been guided in part by the Logos, but

Christian teachers had received revelations from the Incarnate Logos himself, and so their message was higher and more sublime than "any teaching of man".

> For all that the philosophers and legislators at any time declared or discovered aright they accomplished by investigation and perception in accordance with that portion of the Logos which fell to their lot. But because they did not know the whole of the Logos, who is Christ, they often contradicted each other. 16

This statement is certainly one of the strongest points in Justin's defense to the intellectuals of Rome, and he applied it also to the Old Testament prophets: "the prophets are inspired by no other than the Divine Word ..."[17] It is this Logos which becomes incarnate as the man Jesus.

B) Attributes of the Logos:

In an interesting section of the Dialogue with Trypho, Justin provides a number of attributes and personifications of the Logos. Here, he is referring to the Logos as the pre-existent Christ:

> "But if you knew, Trypho," continued I, "who He is that is called at one time the Angel of great counsel, and a man by Ezekiel, and like the Son of man by Daniel, and a Child by Isaiah, and Christ and God to be worshipped by David, and Christ and a Stone by many, and Wisdom by Solomon and Joseph and Judah, and a Star by Moses, and the East by Zechariah, and the Suffering-one, and Jacob and Israel, by Isaiah again, and a Rod and Flower and Cornerstone, and Son of God ..." 18

Some of these motifs have already been examined, and our conclusion is that Stone, Star, Rod, Flower, the East and the Cornerstone can all be interpreted as Logos-images. It may be that the well-known catacomb fresco of the star to which the Madonna is pointing may be tied to the mystery of the incarnation of the Logos (and not simply of the Messiah). For our purpose,

it is also important to note Justin's description of the Logos as the Danielic Son of Man.

In our discussion of pre-Constantinian Christian art, we hope to show that the fourth figure in the representation of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace could be the Logos.

III. THE LOGOS AND ITS IMAGES IN CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Like Justin, Titus Flavius Clement came to Christianity after wandering through the various Hellenistic schools in search of a true understanding of God.[19] It is believed he came to Alexandria ca. A.D. 180 to study in the catechetical school, then under the leadership of the famous teacher Pantaenus.[20] Clement remained in the school until the persecution of the Christians in Egypt ca. A.D. 202,[21] when he left Alexandria never to return.

The Incarnation of the Logos is a prominent doctrine in Clement's theology. Like John, he employs the Logos as a predicate to define the significance of Jesus Christ as the Son of the Father for his Hellenistic public. Indeed, the basis of his Christology is the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Another major source is the writings of Philo. Ferguson argues that Clement was "interested in Philo's synthesis of Greek and Hebrew thought, and many of his attributes to Platonism, to allegorical interpretation, to the Logos doctrine, have come from Philo",[22] Certainly Clement's vocabulary of images for the Logos closely resembles that of Philo Judaeus.

A) The Clementine Logos:

Like Philo and Justin, Clement understood God to be the Absolute, Eternal Father, who is utterly transcendent. Man could

come to know Him only through the intercession of the Logos.[23] Clement also assimilated Philo's hypostatization of the Logos. As S.R.C. Lilla notes, for Clement "the Logos is first of all, the mind of God which contains his thoughts; at this stage, he is still identical with God. In the second stage, he is still a separate hypostasis, distinct from the first principle; here he represents the immanent law of the universe or, in other words, the world-soul."[24] Philo's understanding of the Creation is borrowed too. The Logos in its second stage was responsible for the Creation and the ordering of the universe, and as such is the image of God. It was in the image of this Logos that man was created.[25] We may conclude therefore that Clement's understanding of the Logos was deeply indebted to the writings of his Alexandrian predecessor.

Clement, of course, differed from Philo in the belief that it was in Jesus Christ that the final revelation of God occurred. He accepted Philo's interpretation of the Old Testament theophanies as logophanies. These he viewed as a preparation for the final revelation, the incarnation of the Logos.[26] As Grillmeier notes: "The incarnation is the Son's step into visibility (Stromata 5, 39,2; 16,5). The Logos begets himself -- Clement applies Luke 1: 35 to the Logos -- without thereby becoming twofold. He remains identical with himself. The Gnostic multiplicity of Logoi and redeemer figures is thus strictly repudiated. Clement stands by the Johannine prologue."[27]

Yet one should be careful when applying a term such as orthodoxy to Clement. He lived in an age when the paradigms for orthodox Christianity had not yet been firmly established. Indeed,

there is much in Clement's conception of the Logos which is Gnostic in origin and a central point of it is its role as source and teacher of Gnosis. The Logos is sent down to earth as "a teacher and leader in the acquisition of good -- the secret and sacred token of the great Providence."[28] Certainly Clement's emphasis on the esoteric quality of Gnosis, on the Logos as the sole bearer of this Divine Truth, and on the secret tradition which he has revealed, is in keeping with the precepts of Gnosticism. S.R.C. Lilla mentions that, although Clement criticizes the Gnostic sect called the Carpocratians, he does not reject their concept of a secret tradition; "On the contrary, he accepts it entirely, limiting himself to expressing some reservations on its content. The conception of the secret, esoteric tradition of gnosis is the same both in Clement and in Gnosticism."[29]

B) Images of the Logos in Clement:

We shall now direct our attention to the literary images that Clement employs for the Logos. To facilitate this discussion, we shall use the basic categories employed in our investigation of Philo. Clement's images for the Logos are, on the whole, the same as those in Philo, the only exceptions being the deletion of the images of High Priest and Rock, and the addition of Milk and Saviour. Grillmeier, however, thinks that Clement's understanding of the Logos as Divine Intercessor closely approximates Philo's image of the Logos as High Priest.[30] For this section, our attention will be focused on the value of these images for Christian art which was emerging at the same time.

1) Theological Concepts:

The Logos is described as: 1) Second God; 2) Governor and General of the Universe; 3) Judge; 4) Son of God; 5) Angel; 6) Prophetic Spirit and Instrument of God; 7) Saviour; 8) Wisdom; and 9) Creator.

Clement seems to be using an established Alexandrian tradition. Remembering that our focus is upon the visual potential of these images, we shall be brief.

a) The Logos as Second God:-

In The Instructor Clement speaks about "the Word who is God, who is in the Father's will, the Word who is God, who is in the Father, who is at the Father's right hand, and with the form of God is God."[31] Elsewhere, in the Exhortation to the Heathen, he again describes the Logos as God (Exh. ad Graec. I,173). The use of John's prologue in the passage from the Exhortation to the Heathen suggests that Clement understood the image to refer to the Incarnate Word, that is Jesus Christ.

b) The Logos as Governor and General of the Universe:-

This concept concerns us because in Hellenistic calendars we have mosaics of Helios driving his chariot. In the Jewish Synogogue at Hamat Tiberias, for example, there exists such a mosaic floor. Obviously there the figure could not be Jesus Christ, and it is doubtful that it would have been accepted as a picture of the Sun-god, Helios. As a representation of the Logos-Charioteer of the Universe, it might have been acceptable to Jews. Similarily for Clement, the same image could depict Christ as the Divine Governor and triumphant General of all creation.

In Stromata VII, 2, Clement describes the Logos in the following manner: "He, the paternal Word, exhibiting the holy administration for Him who put all in subjection to Him." In The Instructor, Book I, Chapter VIII, he employs this image for the Logos: "Thus also He who is our great General, the Word, the Commander in Chief of the Universe." A similar image is provided in The Instructor, Book II, 9: "For when the Almighty Lord of the universe began to legislate by the Word...." Thus, the image of the Logos as General and Governor of the Universe is common in Clement's vocabulary, and gives us some insight into Clement's Christology. We will return to this image and the Christological questions it poses in our final chapter.

c) The Logos as Judge:-

Akin to the preceding figure is the image of the Logos as Judge of the souls of the dead. Clement established a link between the image of Jesus Christ as the chief magistrate, and Philo's description of the eternal Logos in its second hypostasis. Clement describes the Logos as Magistrate in the following instances: The Stromata V,6; The Instructor I,7; and the Exhortation to the Heathen II.[32] The figure of a Roman Magistrate or Emperor may have served as a model for this motif. The resurrected Christ had completed the Divine plan and now, having returned to its former hypostasis, the Logos-Christ sat as tutor and judge for all mankind.

d) The Logos as God's Son:-

The importance of this concept has already been established in Philo. For a Christian like Clement, the identification of the Logos as God's First-born Son is obvious. John's prologue

amply informed Clement about the basic precepts of the incarnation. As we have seen, he had developed a strong incarnational theology. Thus we need mention only the specific places where he identifies the Logos as God's Son. They are:- the Exhortation to the Heathen, X and XI.

e) The Logos as the Angel of God:-

The importance of the identification of the Old Testament Theophanies as Logophanies for art and for questions concerning the definition of idolatry cannot be over-stressed. Because it was the Logos and not the Father who could be represented, scenes of these Logophanies could be depicted.

In an interesting section of The Instructor, Clement describes the Logos as an angel:

> Formerly the older people had an old covenant, and the law disciplined the people with fear, and the Word was an angel; but to the fresh and new people has also been given a new covenant, and the Word has appeared, and fear is turned into love, and that mystic angel is born -- Jesus. 33

In this, a major statement of Clement's theology, he clearly identifies the Old Testament theophanies as truly being logophanies. He also supports the Johannine prologue by describing Christ as the incarnate mystic angel; that is the Logos.

This identification of Jesus Christ as the mystic angel poses a serious question concerning Clement's possible docetic tendencies. What was the exact nature of Christ's humanity? That is a question which Clement never truly answers. Yet he does seem to verge on docetism when he states that the Christ required no physical sustenance, and was incapable of feeling any truly human emotion.[34] He seems to have taken John's docetic tendencies

one step further.[35] His understanding of the Incarnation centres upon the role of the Logos. While this point is not very important in relation to art, it has some bearing on the discussion of Christological arguments in this period.

Clement employs an interesting hermeneutic when he relates the vision of Moses at the burning bush to the passion of Christ.[36] The uniting element is the thorns. When the Word, in a vision, made a covenant with the Israelites through Moses, it was in the guise of a thorny bush. When Christ fulfilled the scriptures by his sacrifice, he was crowned with a wreath of thorns. It is the same Logos of God that visited the people of the old covenant in the form of an angel, who completed the divine plan in the person of Jesus Christ, the mystic angel.

f) The Logos as Prophetic Spirit and Instrument of God:-

Here Clement appears to assume Philo's identification of the Logos as the harmonizer of the universe. Philo in Questions and Answers in Genesis IV, 110, had described the Logos as the principle of harmony, conducting the universe according to the divine plan. Clement in his Exhortation to the Heathen says: "And He himself also, surely, who is the supramundane Wisdom, the celestial Word, is the all-harmonious, melodious, holy instrument of God."[37] This image is set in the context of a discussion of the prophetic role of the Logos in the revelation of God's purpose. The Logos is allegorized as sweet music which brings harmony and peace to its listener. Clement continues the association of ὁ λόγος as spoken reason, with the Divine Reason which is revealed through Moses, the prophets, and ultimately in Jesus Christ.

g) The Logos as Saviour, Wisdom and Creator:-

The three remaining images are obvious, and we have already noted their artistic potential. The Logos as Saviour supports our emphasis on the prominence of the Logos doctrine in Clement's Christology. The quotation from Exhortation to the Heathen (referred to on the previous page) includes a statement that the Logos is Wisdom, and in the same chapter of the Exhortation, Clement describes the Logos as both Saviour and Creator of the World.

2) Anthropomorphic Images:

The anthropomorphic images of the Logos have the greatest potential for Christian artists interpretation. Clement, like Philo before him, employs these types for the Logos:- a) Good Shepherd; b) Philosopher and Teacher; c) Physician; and d) Charioteer. It is perhaps more than coincidence that all of these types are found in pre-Constantinian Christian art.

As the artistic potential of these images has been explored in our discussion of Philo, we need only document their appearance in Clement's works.

a) The Logos as Good Shepherd:-

The most explicit identification of the Logos as Good Shepherd is found in The Instructor I, 9,7:

> You may learn if you will, the crowning wisdom of the all-holy Shepherd and Instructor, of the omnipotent and paternal Word, when He figuratively represents Himself as the Shepherd of the sheep ... He says therefore by Ezekiel, directing His discourse to the elders, and setting before them a salutory description of His wise solicitude: "And that which is lame I will bind up, and that which has wandered I will turn back; and I will feed them on my holy mountain." Such is the promise of the Good Shepherd. 38

b) The Logos as Philosopher and Teacher:-

In the previous quotation Clement also describes the Logos as the Instructor. This appears to be a dominant image for the Logos in his writing. Indeed the book, The Instructor, centres on the role of the Logos as the teacher and guide for the human soul, who offer them salvation.[39]

The Logos as Instructor is charged also with helping mankind to avoid sin: "Wherefore the Word, the Instructor, has taken charge of us, in order to the prevention of sin, which is contrary to reason."[40] Clement expresses the same concept in even greater detail when he describes the methods employed by the Logos in teaching the children of God:

> With all His power, therefore, The Instructor of humanity, the Divine Word, using all the resources of wisdom, devotes Himself to the saving of the children, admonishing, upbraiding, blaming, chiding, reproving, threatening, healing, promising, favouring; and as it were, by many reins, curbing the irrational impulses of humanity. [41]

This emphasis on the Logos as the Teacher has a decidedly Gnostic flavour. The Logos, as the Christ, revealed the secret truths that offer salvation to men and women. This principle would have been easily grasped by a Hellenistic public raised on the view that the study of Philosophy leads ultimately to truth and immortality. Indeed, this was perhaps the strongest basis for Clement's apology to the educated pagans of Alexandria. He argued that, while the various philosophical schools were trying to teach mankind the nature of gnosis, God Himself had openly revealed true Gnosis in the Incarnate Logos.

> Since the Word Himself has come to us from heaven, we need not, I reckon, go any more in search of human learning to Athens and the rest of Greece, and to Ionia. For if we have as our teacher Him that filled the universe with His holy energies in creation, salvation,

> beneficence, legislation, prophecy, teaching, we have the Teacher from whom all instruction comes, and the whole world, with Athens and Greece, has already become the domain of the Word.

Here, one can see the influence of Justin's Logos concept on Clement.[42]

c) The Logos as Physician:-

In his description of the Good Shepherd, Clement, as we have seen, described the Logos as the doctor of the lame and the healer of the sick.[43] This idea frequently reappears. In The Instructor I, 2,2, he writes: "Our Instructor, the Word, therefore cures the unnatural passions of the soul by means of exhortations .... But the paternal Word is the only Paeonian physician of human infirmities, and the holy charmer of the sick soul."[44] Once again Clement clearly stands on the Alexandrian tradition.

d) The Logos as Charioteer:-

Philo's description of the Logos as Charioteer appears also to have influenced Clement. In The Exhortation to the Heathen; he writes: "For the Sun of Righteousness, who drives His Chariot over all, pervades equally all humanity, like His Father who makes the sun to rise on all men, and distills on them the dew of truth." The potential of this idea for a Christian Helios in art has already been noted.

3) Attributes:

The attributes which Clement ascribes to the Logos can help us to identify images of it in pre-Constantinian Christian art. Once again, many have come directly into Clement's vocabulary from Philo Judaeus. It is necessary simply to list the relevant passages where the Logos is represented as Blesser of

Food,[46] Sun and Light,[47] Knife,[48] Manna and Bread,[49] and Water.[50] Further mention should be made, however, of Clement's identification of the Logos as the Milk of God.[51] In early Christian art, one finds two examples of a Good Shepherd carrying buckets of Milk; there are also a number of images of a Madonna nursing. These may therefore belong to the iconography of the Logos as Spiritual Food and Nurturer of the children of God.

IV. IMAGES OF THE LOGOS IN ORIGEN

This study of the Logos in early Christian writings concludes with an investigation of its use in Origen, who carries on what appears to be the Alexandrian tradition.

From his writings it is obvious that Origen was not enamoured of Hellenistic culture as were Philo and Clement of Alexandria. Indeed, as Chadwick says: Origen is a man of the church, "defending its doctrines against all adversaries, Jewish, heretical, or pagan."[52]

This being so, he, and the Alexandrian church, must have considered that Logos-concepts expressed the orthodox faith. This has a bearing on the question of the orthodoxy of Logos-images in Christian art.

A) Theological Concepts:

The only image missing in Origen from this category is the Logos as Angel. He makes no allegory of the Logos for any biblical angelophany. He does, however, describe the Logos as the Messenger of God, the one who reveals the Divine will to mankind, and this might be related to earlier ideas of a Revealer-Angel (eg. Gabriel in Daniel 8: 16f) which as we have seen, could

also be applied to the Logos. In Origen, the Logos is Second God, Governor of the Universe, Creator, First-born Son, and Prophetic Spirit. It is easy to understand how the Logos is conceived as God's First-born Son, and this need not be considered here.

1) The Logos as Second God:-

Origen makes the same distinction between θεός and ὁ θεός as Philo did, thereby interpreting the Logos as a Second God.[53] Origen then applies this principle to the discussion of the meaning of John 1: 1.[55]

2) The Logos as Governor of the Universe:-

The Universal Lordship of the Logos is a common theme in Origen. Christ is Lord over all because he is "the Word of God, who governs all things."[55] This dominion is granted the Logos because he is the immediate Creator, and Maker of all.[56] Once again, the Logos, as Governor, is the principle of harmony in creation.

3) The Logos as Revealer and Prophet:-

For Origen, this idea is more Christocentric than for Clement and Justin. He appears to make little distinction between the pre-existent Logos and the Logos incarnate in Jesus Christ: prior to the incarnation, "Christ, the Word of God, was in Moses and the Prophets. For without the Word of God, how could they have been able to prophesy of Christ."[57] The Logos revealed God's will to the people of Israel through the voice of angels, the warnings of the prophets, and the wisdom of Scripture. In Christ, the Logos clearly revealed the will of God to all people. More-

over, Christ provides the only way to reach God the Father.[58] The image of the Christ-Logos as Guide[59] to the Father will be important for our discussion of the iconography of pre-Constantinian Christian art.

B) Anthropomorphic Images:

Lacking from this series of images is that of the Charioteer. Yet, while Origen does not make specific reference to it, he does describe the Logos as the Sun. This lends support to our thesis that Apollo driving his chariot may specifically point to the divine Logos as understood in the Christian tradition. In Origen, the Logos is Good Shepherd, Physician, Philosopher and Teacher.

1) The Logos as the Good Shepherd:-

The image of the Logos as Good Shepherd occurs only in the Commentary on John. The following lengthy quotation contains a number of other important types for the Logos to which we shall return.

> And it might well be asked whether he would ever have become a shepherd if men had not lost their reason and become like beasts. One might make a list of the Word's titles and see which of them would have been superfluous if men had never lost their beatitude. He would perhaps just have kept the names, Wisdom, Word, Truth and Life. He might not have had the others (Way, Truth, Life, King, Teacher, Lord, Son, True Vine, Living Bread, Door, Good Shepherd) at all, for it may be that he assumed them only on our account. You are fortunate indeed if you have no need to call the Son of Man Redeemer or Shepherd when you pray to him, happy if you need not ask him as Doctor to heal your sick soul. 60

2) The Logos as Physician:-

In the previous quotation, Origen also identifies the Logos as a Doctor who heals the infirmaties of the soul. He

employs this metaphor twice. Christ's healing of the blind is seen as an allegory of the Logos' healing of the blind and darkened souls.[61] The Logos not only uses his skill as Doctor, but also his God-given power as Healer: "For stronger than all the evils in the soul is the Word, and the healing power that dwells in Him; and this healing He applies, according to the will of God, to every man."[62]

3) The Logos as Teacher:-

In this case, Origen appears to have been influenced more by John's Gospel than the Alexandrian Logos tradition. The Gospel's identification of Christ as Teacher is transferred by Origen to the Logos.[63] The Divine Word is thus seen as the giver of lessons which will enable all people to find the way to God.[64] Indeed, the Logos is the Teacher of true gnosis because, not only is the Logos the closest being to God, he is also Divine Wisdom. Origen seems to equate the ancient appellation of the church, the Way, with the Hellenistic concept of growth in knowledge which leads to God. Christ, as Logos, is thus the perfect Instructor because he reveals the way to all people and not just to those who possess either a secret knowledge of God or a great intelligence.

C) Attributes:

We have already observed Origen's transfer of the Johannine figures for Christ to the Logos. We saw how the Logos was described as Wisdom, Truth, Life, Way, True Vine, Living Bread, Door, etc. ...[65] Apparently, Origen viewed the Logos as the predicate most appropriate to his conception of the Christ. For

Origen, "it was the Logos God, and Son of the God of all things, who spake in Jesus these words: 'I am the way, and the truth and the life;' and these, 'I am the living bread that came down from heaven;' and other expressions similar to these."[66] It is because of such usage that one should consider whether the artistic representation of the Shepherd, the Philosopher-Teacher, and so on, may in fact intend to be primarily Logos-images rather than icons of Jesus.

In addition to the above, Origen also gives the Logos other attributes, notably the Sun and Light. The image of the Logos as Sun and Light had become a standard mark of the Alexandrian tradition, and Origen seems to have assimilated it in its entirety. He describes those who live faithfully as following "the radiance of the Word",[67] It is this Word who, as Divine Light, disperses the darkness of evil thoughts. It is this Logos which is identified by Origen as the "Sun of Righteousness" who sent "forth from Judea His coming rays into the souls of all who were willing to receive Him".[68]

V. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we have noticed a remarkable consistency of Logos types in the works of the early Christian Fathers whom we have examined. Philo's initial allegorical descriptions of the Logos had been readily accepted by Christian authors. To these images they added Johannine figures for Christ, whom they understood more in terms of the Incarnate Logos than the Jew Jesus.

The consistency and prominence of this Logos imagery in the Alexandrian Fathers seems to suggest the presence of a powerful Logos-Theology in that city. It is our opinion that this tradition may have influenced the development of artistic representation in both Judaism and Christianity. Certainly the highly cultured and cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants, and the wealth of their artistic traditions, would have provided suitable conditions for the germination of Christian art. Thus it is exceedingly unfortunate how little of the artistic activity of Alexandria during the late second and early third centuries has survived.

CHAPTER TWO: NOTES

1 C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 263-288.

2 C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, p. 278.

3 C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, p. 278.

4 See Chapter One, note 29.

5 See Chapter One, note 24.

6 See Chapter One, note 26.

7 T.E. Pollard, Johannine Christology and the Early Church, p. 39 cf. Also, H. Chadwick, Early Christian Thought, p. 124f.

8 Dialogue with Trypho, LXI.

9 I Apology, XII.

10 Dialogue with Trypho, LX.

11 II Apology, VI.

Justin lived at Ephesus for a time, and he may have come into contact there with the Johannine school or at least with a similar group of thinkers. Yet, considering his date, and the extent of his travels, it is odd that he was unfamiliar with John's Gospel. For other expressions of this concept, see Justin's I Apology, XIX and XXI.

12 See note 8.

13 Dialogue with Trypho, CXXVI.

14 I Apology, LXIII.

Re the "Angel of God that spoke to Moses, in a flame of fire out of the bush", Justin states: "Jesus Christ is the Son of God and his Apostle , being of old the Word, and appearing sometimes in the form of fire, and sometimes in the likeness of angels; but now, by the will of God having become man for the human race (my italics)."

15 I Apology, LXIII.

16 II Apology, X,1. (my italics)

17 I Apology, XXXIII.

18 Dialogue with Trypho,CXXVI, (my italics).

19 T.E. Pollard, Johannine Christology, p. 76.

20 John Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, p. 15.

21 J. Ferguson, p. 16.

22 J. Ferguson, p. 18.

23 The Stromata, V,XII,83.

"We comprehend the unknown by divine grace, and by the Logos that alone proceeds from him." (my italics).

24 S.R.C. Lilla, Clement of Alexandria, p. 201.

For further examples of Clement's dependence upon Philo, see the accompanying section of Lilla.

25 Protrepticus, I,X,98. (my italics).

26 Exc. ex Theodoto, XIX.

27 A. Grillmeier, Christ in the Christian Tradition, Vol. 1. p. 135. See also pp. 133-138.

28 The Stromata, V,I,7.

29 S.R.C. Lilla, Clement of Alexandria, p. 157f.

30 A. Grillmeier, Christ in the Christian Tradition, Vol. 1. p. 134.

31 The Instructor, I,II,1. (my italics).

32 The Stromata, V,6.

" ..... the same Word which prophesies, and judges, and discriminates all things."

The Instructor, I,7.

"For the same who is Instructor is Judge, and judges those who disobey Him, and the loving Word will not pass over their transgressions in silence."

Exhortation to the Heathen, XI.

"And the Word, having unfolded the truth showed to men the height of salvation, that either repenting they might be saved, or refusing to obey, they might be judged."

33 The Instructor, I,7.

34 Stromata, VI, 9.71.

"In the case of the Saviour, it was ludicrous (to suppose) that the body, as a body, demanded the necessary aids in order to endure. For he ate, not for the sake of the body, which was kept together by a holy energy, but in order that it might not enter into the minds of those who were with him to entertain a different opinion of him ..... But he was completely impassible to any movement of feeling, either pleasure or pain."

35 For a discussion of the docetic element in John, see: Ernst Kasemann, The Testament of Jesus According to John 17, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

36 The Instructor, II, 9.

"For when the Almighty Lord of the Universe began to legislate by the Word, and wished His power to be manifold to Moses, a god-like vision of light that had assumed a shape was shown him in the burning bush (the bush is a thorny plant); but when the Word ended the giving of the law and His stay with men, the Lord was again mystically crowned with thorns. On His departure from this world to the place whence He came, He repeated the beginning of His old descent in order that the Word beheld of first in the bush, and afterwards taken up crowned by the thorn, might show the whole to be the work of one power ....." (my italics).

37 Exhortation to the Heathen, I.

38 Based on Ezekiel 34: 14-16. (my italics).

39 The Instructor, I, 7.9.

"The Word, then, who leads the children to salvation is appropriately called the Instructor."

Also Exhortation to the Heathen, I.

"The Word who was in the beginning bestowed on us life as Creator when He formed us, taught us to live well when He appeared as our teacher; that as God He might afterwards conduct us to the life which never ends." (my italics).

40 The Instructor, I, 2,1.

41 Ibid., IX, 1. (my italics).

42 See Justin Martyr, pp. 32,33 and note 16.

43 Ibid., note 38.

44 Clement is using a cryptic reference to the Trinity. Paeonic meter refers to a metrical unit of three feet. Homer uses the term in the Iliad.

45 Exhortation to the Heathen, IX.

46 The Instructor, I, 6.

47 Exhortation to the Heathen, VI.

48 The Instructor, I, 8.

49 Ibid., I, 6.

50 Ibid., II, 9, 2.

51 Ibid., I, 6, 3.

52 H. Chadwick, The Early Church, p. 101.

53 See Chapter one, p. 4 and note 15. Again this refers to the Logos in his second hypostasis. In Origen, see Comm. In John, II, 2.

54 Against Celsus, VI, 65.

55 Ibid., VII, 70.

56 Ibid., VI, 60.

"the immediate Creator, and as it were, very Maker of the world was the Word, the Son of God ....." (my italics).

57 De Principiis, Preface to Book One.

58 Against Celsus, VI, 65.

"If however, we attend to this passage, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' we are of the opinion that God is to be reached by this Word, and is comprehended not by Him only, but by anyone whatsoever to whom He reveals the Father (my italics)."

59 Against Celsus, VI, 68.

"And who else is able to save and conduct the soul of man to the God of all things, save God the Word ..."

60 Comm. In. John, I, 23. (my italics).

61 Against Celsus, VI, 67.

62 Ibid., VIII, 72. (my italics).

63 See note 60.

64 Against Celsus. VII, 46.

Also, De Principiis. I, 2, 4.

"Therefore was the Word and Wisdom of God made the Way. And it was so termed because it leads to the Father those who walk along it."

65 See note 60, and text.

66 Against Celsus, II, 9. (my italics).

67 Ibid., VI, 66. (my italics).

68 Ibid., VI, 79.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY JEWISH ART AND THE EMERGENCE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

Prior to examining the extant Christian art of the pre-Constantinian era, a certain fundamental, methodological question must be raised. Was the graphic expression of the Christian faith contingent on certain theological developments, or upon an already established iconographic and representational tradition in Judaism? In order to examine this question, we shall study examples of Jewish figurative art prior to A.D. 313, and in particular look for the presence of Logos images in it.

I. EARLY JEWISH FIGURATIVE ART

Basic to the discussion of Jewish art is the Mosaic Law's stance on graven images. Until the last century, early Judaism was thought of as being iconoclastic. The discovery of the early third century synagogue at Dura Europos, its walls adorned with narrative frescoes of scriptural themes, forced a change in scholarly opinion. Other archeological finds have substantiated the existence of an established figurative art in Jewish communities prior to the advent of Christian art.

Bezalel Narkiss mentions that there is even a scriptural record of the existence of figurative art within Judaism. He refers to the description of the two carved Cherubim that adorned the Ark of the Covenant.[1] From this evidence Narkiss concludes that there had always been an art of the image in Judaism.[2] Periods of iconoclasm were the exception, not the norm.

The earliest surviving examples of Jewish art, however, indicate that the primary trend was decorative and not figurative.

Goodenough observes that the major decorative motifs which adorn the portico tombs of the period from Maccabean times to the Fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) are rosettes, acanthus leaves and grape clusters.[3] More frequent than these motifs was the menorah, which not only appears on the tombstones of the Jewish cemeteries in Palestine, but also on the coinage of the period, e.g., the coins of Antigonus Mattathias, 40-37 B.C.[4]

Goodenough argued that the menorah was not identified with the Jewish nation until after the destruction of the Temple.[5] Prior to this event it was merely a symbol of the faith.[6] In the catacombs of Sheikh Ibreig, the supposed Beth She'arim, the primary Jewish cemetery in Palestine, one finds no fewer than twenty-seven different designs of the menorah.[7] Apparently it was the most important funeral image for Judaism prior to the fourth century.

Before examining the first figurative images of Jewish art in strictly religious settings, we may briefly study the history of imagery on Jewish coinage. We have already referred to the use of the menorah on Jewish coins in the first century B.C. Other popular types are date palms, grape clusters, the Temple facade, lyres, amphorae, the lulab and ethrog.[8] Certainly during periods of fervent nationalism, like the Maccabean revolts, no human figures were struck on the coins.[9]

The only Jewish coins to bear primarily figures are those of the Herodian dynasty. Other Roman coins which were minted in Jerusalem show Judea as a captive, victories, and warriors, but they are not Jewish. F.W. Madden published a number of engravings of coins of this dynasty. Of particular interest are the coins of Agrippa I (A.D. 37 - A.D. 44). One shows a male figure stand-

ing in a temple sacrificing at an altar, possibly that of the Marna, the Cretan Jupiter.[10] Others depict the emperor driving the quadriga[11] or a victory figure.[12] These types are repeated by Herod Agrippa's heirs. The majority of these coins must have seemed quite foreign to the Jewish people. They are still, however, an art of the secular realm and might have been tolerated by the religious authorities.

Perhaps more puzzling are the YHD shekels. Avi-Yonah records references in numismatic Journals to two such coins which had interesting images. One was described as "an ancient Jewish coin showing a chariot with the inscription 'Jehu'", the other a coin "showing a seated man on a winged chariot and holding a bird in his hand", with the letters YHW stamped on the surface.[13] It has been suggested that YHW was part of a reference to the Tetragrammaton thus suggesting an image of God.[14] Avi-Yonah argues, and correctly I think, that the letters were probably YHD and stood for the Aramaic name for the Persian Province of Judea.[15] These coins are nevertheless important for the imagery of the quadriga. They may have supplied artists with a model for an image of the Logos as Helios.

The first known coin which portrays a Biblical narrative is the Noah coin from Apamea Kibotos (fig. 1) dated circa A.D. 222-235.[16] This coin shows Noah and his wife in the Ark and on the recto their presence on dry land. There is no known explanation for the minting of this coin, although Narkiss postulates that they were minted to celebrate the national Panegyrian games.[17]

This image of Noah and his wife in a box-like Ark closely resembles two representations of the theme in the Roman

catacomb of S.S. Peter and Marcellinus which date to the same century.[18] Like these representations in the catacombs, the Apamean coin shows the figures dressed in Hellenistic costume. Another characteristic is the combination of two distinct episodes from the Biblical narrative. This cartoon format suggests a manuscript illumination as the model.[19] That the narrative of the coin is to be read from right to left indeed supports this assumption in the case of a codex in Hebrew, Although a Jewish subject is represented on a Roman coin, Narkiss, I think, goes too far when he states that the source must have been an image on the walls of one of the Synagogues of the large Jewish community in Apamea. The suggestion of an illuminated manuscript as the source is sufficient.

Certainly the most significant monument in terms of Jewish figural art is the synagogue at Dura Europos. To judge by the Aramaic inscriptions found on the ceiling tiles, the synagogue was in use between A.D. 244-245 and 256 when it was buried as part of the defense measures against the Sassanian invaders.[20] At the synagogue, both single historic figures and narrative Biblical scenes are represented. Stylistically, the frescoes exhibit a Roman approach to decoration, with strong evidence of influence from Syrian art. The complexity of the iconographic program and the general high quality of the art tend to show that this is an example of a well-established Jewish figural artistic tradition.

As with the Apamean coin, the source of many of the Dura frescoes appears to be illuminated manuscripts. The paintings of the Finding of Moses and the Exodus combine a number of different

passages within a single frame. This, together with the fact that many of the narratives portray Midrashic accounts of the Bible,[21] suggests a manuscript source for the frescoes. We shall return to the iconography of the Dura Synagogue when we discuss Logos imagery in Jewish art.

Equally brief mention can be made of the frescoes of the catacomb of the Villa Torlonia in Rome (A.D. 250-300). Once again, the art work is decorative, employing the traditional religious symbols of the menorah, torah ark, ethrog and lulab.

Of greater importance for our study is the floor mosaic of the Synagogue at Hamat-Tiberias in Israel, which dates to about A.D. 300 (fig. 2). The pavement of the mosaic is divided into three zones. The upper zone contains a representation of the Ark of the Covenant and to either side lighted menorah. The panel also contains the ethrog, lulab, aravah, hadas, shofar, and incense shovel. The lower panel contains three inscriptions, one in Aramaic and two in Greek. These inscriptions are flanked by two lions. The texts merely describe the principal founder Seros, and a certain Youllos, and include a prayer for a Divine blessing.[22] The most interesting panel, however, is the middle zone which shows a Helios figure driving a quadriga, the signs of the zodiac, and personified busts of the four seasons. The figure of Helios is not unlike some of the images of the Emperor which we observed on Jewish and Roman-Jewish coins.

Moshe Dothan suggests that the central panel may have "represented to an agricultural Jewish community the perpetuation of the annual cycle of the universe, or as was suggested by Avi-Yonah the central part of a calendar".[23] Neither author, however,

appears surprised to find an image of a pagan deity in a synagogue. I would agree that the mosaic may have represented the perpetuation of the annual cycle, but I believe the image to be one of the Logos as Governor of creation. One recalls Philo's descriptions of the Logos as the driver of the chariot of the heavens, keeping all in proper order according to the Divine will. It should also be remembered that Philo interpreted the lighted menorah as a symbol of the Logos. The presence of Logos imagery in a room centered on the Torah Shrine, a symbol of the revealing word of God, is iconographically fitting.

2. LOGOS IMAGES IN JEWISH ART

The figure of Helios in the Hamat-Tiberias synagogue is one probable image for the Logos. One wonders whether this is an isolated case or if there are other Logos images in Jewish art. Hence, the frescoes of the Dura synagogue need to be examined to determine if any such images are present.

To date, no one has deciphered the full iconographic program of the frescoes. As Narkiss states: "the subjects of the paintings are haphazardly arranged and do not follow the narrative sequence of the Bible. None of the many attempts to uncover a theological plan for the paintings has been successful."[24] While the overall scheme still evades us, a number of the scenes may include representations of the Logos.

We begin by examining the Torah niche and the paintings directly above it. On the arch of the niche there are a menorah, ethrog and lulab, a temple facade and the Akkedah. Above this, there is a large complex scene containing a David-Orpheus and Jacob's blessing, and above that, one of a Messianic Ruler.

Flanking the two panels are four figures, each in its own panel. The upper two have been identified as Moses on Mount Sinai and Moses near the Burning Bush. The other two figures have been variously identified as Abraham or Joshua, and Moses, Joshua or Ezra.

It may be recalled that the Torah was interpreted as revealing the Logos of God. Above the niche is the menorah which, as previously noted, was associated with the Logos by Philo. The same appellation applies to the Akkedah. Indeed, the fresco shows a heavenly hand coming to Isaac's aid. The hand is probably that of the Logos, for it is doubtful that even Hellenistic Judaism would have permitted such a personification of the Eternal One. Thus, the frescoes on the top of the arch of the Torah niche relate to the function of the Torah as the revelation of God's Word, which offers salvation to the people.

Philo identified Moses at the Burning Bush and Moses Receiving the Law as Logophanies. It should be remembered that Philo accepted Moses as the author of the Torah, a man inspired by the Divine Logos. A narrative history of his life could thus inspire others to walk in the light of the Logos. One such narrative is to be found at Dura.

Among the scenes of Moses' life there is an image of the Israelites crossing the Sea. This too was viewed by Philo as a Logophany. In the picture the hands of the Logos can be seen dividing the waters.

Two other possible scenes of the Logos acting in creation are the Sanctuary of Dagon Laid Waste by the Ark, and The Heavenly Temple. According to Narkiss, the Midrash describes a Heavenly

Temple which "will descend from heaven surrounded by seven walls, when the Messiah comes".[26] Philo describes this temple as the abode of the Logos. This leads one to ask whether there was an existing tradition identifying the Logos with the Messiah? Either the Church merely extrapolated from a Jewish tradition to describe the Christ as Logos, or Judaism employed such imagery as a polemic against Christianity. The literal Heavenly Temple had appeared at the advent of Jesus Christ.

The Sanctuary of Dagon Laid Waste by the Ark shows the Ark being led out of the land of the Philistines after the destruction of the god Dagon's statue. The Biblical narrative describes the Ark as causing illness in the pagan community (I Samuel 5), and the theology of the passage centres upon the power of the true God over other so-called gods, even outside the land of Israel. In spite of the Israelites' faithlessness, associated with the capture of the Ark, God remained faithful, vindicating His people. This alone would recommend the scene for the adornment of a synagogue in the Diaspora. Though the Temple had been laid waste, God still loved and protected His people, even in a strange land. We must remember, however, that the Ark was also a symbol of the dwelling-place of the Logos. Thus the painting could portray the Logos of God protecting and redeeming the faithful.[27]

Other panels of the Dura Synogague may contain elements of a Logos-theology. One must be careful, however, not to overgeneralize the application of Philonic synonyms for the Logos, for the Logos tradition of Alexandria may not have been known in Asia Minor. Yet its presence in the Christianity (of Asia Minor)

at least suggests that it may have influenced the Jewish Community.

While not all the panels need relate to an iconographic program of the Logos, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that a number of the panels in the Dura Synagogue are so related. Certainly the themes of the Akkedah, the Orpheus-David, the Messianic Ruler, Moses on Mount Sinai, Moses and the Burning Bush, The Crossing of the Red Sea and Jacob's Dream have a direct link to Philo's allegories of Logophanies.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF CHRISTIAN ART

Although no absolute proof exists, it is generally held that Christian figurative art emerged naturally out of its Jewish counterpart, because the Church emerged historically from Judaism. The only curious factor is that existing Jewish figurative art is contemporary with, or close in date to, the earliest Christian examples. Both can be placed early in the Third Century.

Another question raised by the extant evidence of Christian art is: Why did it take the Church almost two hundred years before it expressed its faith artistically? If the roots of Christian art lie in Judaism then this relatively late date for Christian art is even more perplexing. Yet the Christian house and chapel at Dura Europos can be dated at about A.D. 200-245 and the earliest Christian paintings in the Roman catacombs date to the beginning of the Third Century.[28] It may be that it was not until the Church had a sufficient number of wealthy, cultured converts who were used to expressing their life artistically, that she was to develop a religious artistic tradition. It is equally possible that Islam systematically destroyed much of

Christian art in the East and Alexandria and that the artistic record of Alexandrian Christianity still lies buried beneath the modern city.

A number of parallels can be drawn between Jewish and Christian art on both stylistic and iconographic evidence. Stylistically, the murals of the Dura Europos synagogue and the Christian chapel are quite similar. In both cases the subjects are represented in narrative, cartoon fashion. The frontality of the figures and the enlargement of their eyes shows a common Syrian influence in both. Stylistic similarities, however, may be due to the predominance of the local style in which the artists were trained.

The most convincing evidence of Jewish influence upon Christian art is the common use of the figure of Helios driving his chariot. We recall the image of the floor mosaic at Hamat-Tiberias. There is a similar mosaic of Helios driving his chariot in the Christian Catacomb of the Julii, located beneath the high altar of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. We identified the Jewish Helios as an allegory of the Logos as Light and Governor of the universe. It is quite possible that the Christ-Helios of the Catacomb of the Julii is precisely an image of the same.

Other Biblical themes found in the Dura Synagogue can also be found in early Christian art. Christ as Orpheus is also in the Roman catacombs. The Akkedah, Moses and the Burning Bush, Moses on Mount Sinai, Jacob's Dream, and the Crossing of the Red Sea also made their way into the vocabulary of early Christian art. Indeed, prior to Constantine, there are more Old Testament scenes than there are New Testament.

Thus, while the evidence admittedly is far from conclusive, it seems quite likely that Christian art did emerge in some manner from Jewish antecedents. But the question why Jewish or Christian figurative art was permitted has still not received an adequate answer.

So far we have made several observations regarding both Jewish and Christian art, noting that extant Jewish figurative art, with the exception of that on coins, is contemporary with the first surviving examples of Christian art. We commented that most Jewish Art was decorative, and that even the coinage returned to non-figurative art during periods of Jewish nationalism. We also observed that one can find Logos-images in the Dura Synagogue and the Hamat-Tiberias Synagogue, the two best examples of this genre in the pre-Constantinian era. One therefore wonders whether there is a basic connection between the emergence of figural art in the Judeo-Christian tradition and the presence of Logos imagery.

Inevitably, this issue centres upon the question of what was considered to be idolatrous. Philo's hypostatisation of the Logos may have proved influential in the development of an art that could depict the Logos as a second God without seeming to blaspheme the Eternal One. He interpreted the various Biblical Theophanies as Logophanies. Given that the Biblical record contained accounts of visual encounters between the Logos and human beings and that they were recorded by Moses for edification, surely Jewish communities could depict the various Biblical narratives, including Logophanies, on the walls of their synagogues if their intent was also to edify. Jewish figurative art may thus be understood as the product of a more syncretistic trend within

Hellenistic Judaism. Basing their actions upon a theological interpretation of the nature and mission of the Logos, Diaspora Jews were able to indulge in artistic expressions borrowed from the broader pagan culture in which they lived. There is evidence to suggest that the iconography of Jewish art required official approval.

Goodenough provides us with his understanding of the significance of the Pahlavi inscriptions on the basis of some scenes in the Dura Synagogue, notably The Triumph of Esther and Ezekiel's Vision of Dry Bones: "Here, then, we have Pahlavi inscriptions recording the visit of inspectors to the synagogue and their approval of the paintings."[29] This may mean that there was concern about the use of images in Jewish houses of worship and that persons were assigned to ensure the appropriateness of these murals. If the intent of the images was to edify and enlighten the worshipper, the authorities had to be certain that their iconography was theologically correct.

Evidence concerning the Church's supervision of Christian figurative art is not quite so clear. The Church Fathers who provide us with images of the Logos which probably influenced Christian figurative art also provide us with a polemic against this art. Justin Martyr, for example, abhorred the pagan practice of venerating the cultic figures of the deities, viewing this as an insult to the true God. The worship of idols, he thought, was "not only an unreasonable thing, but done to the insult of God, whose name, though it has a glory and form unutterable, is thus placed on things corruptible and requiring protection."[30] While Justin's attack was specifically directed against pagan statuary,

any image of God was probably anathema to him.

Clement of Alexandria was even stronger in his condemnation of the veneration of images. For him, the presence of images prevented worshippers from properly honouring the true majesty of God, which is perceivable only by the intellect, not the eye. He espouses this view in his Stromata, as J.E. Tyler has shown:

> Pythagoras prohibited the practice of engraving images of the gods on rings ... just as Moses long before had expressly enacted, that no statue or image must be made, either graven, or molten, or of clay or painted, that we might not give ourselves to objects of sense, but pass on to objects contemplated by the mind. For the familiarity of the sight, always at hand, lessens the majesty of God, and makes it cheap; and to worship the intellectual essence through matter, is to dishonour it through sense. 31

An incident involving the question of idolatry can be dated to the late third century. A Christian craftsman by the name of Claudius was martyred because he refused to sculpt an image of Asclepius for the Emperor Diocletian.[32] Goodenough describes how the Emperor visited a workshop where 622 workmen were employed as stonecutters under the supervision of "five philosophers". When the Emperor commissioned a large figure of Helios in the Chariot, this Claudius, the chief stonecutter had no objections, although he and his workmen often stopped work to cross themselves. When, however, Diocletian ordered a statue of Asclepius, Claudius and his men refused to sculpt it "on the grounds that a human image was forbidden". They supported their position with a reference to Psalm 135: 15-18, the passage forbidding the making of idols.[34] Apparently by the third century Christians were able to make a distinction between what was and was not considered to be idolatrous. This certainly seems to be the case with the schismatic Hippolytus of Rome. In his Apostolic Tradition, Hippolytus

states that a sculptor and a painter can only be accepted as a catechumen if they refuse to make idols.[35]

Yet it is curious that, while an image of the sun god Helios posed no problem for Claudius, one of the thaumaturgical god Asclepius did. What further complicates this incident are the likenesses of Christ as both the god Helios (Mausoleum of the Julii, Rome, late third century, fig. 3) and as the man Orpheus (Cemetery of Domitilla, third century, fig. 4), in pre-Constantinian Christian art. Surely by Claudius' standards these images would have been idolatrous, too.

The only literary evidence to suggest some ecclesiastical supervision of Christian art is the record of the appointment of Callistus as the first Archdeacon of Rome by Zephyrinus, then Bishop of Rome. Listed amongst Callistus' new duties was "the supervision of the clergy and, in particular, the administration of the cemetery".[36] It is not exactly certain what constituted the administration of the cemetery. Did this include merely ensuring that all the faithful were to receive proper burial, or did it include the supervision of the decorations of the arcosolia and ceilings. It cannot be assumed that the clergy were not concerned with the surroundings in which the faithful were to be interred. Possibly Callistus' position included duties similar to those of the supervisors that inspected the synagogue murals at Dura Europas. This would be in keeping with the Roman Church's need to establish and maintain orthodoxy.

The Catacomb of St. Callistus, named after the Archdeacon, contained some frescoes from the third century. Indeed, André Grabar dates the earliest examples of Roman Christian art to

between 200 and 230.[37] This applies to both catacomb frescoes and the first sarcophagi with reliefs on Christian themes. Thus it is interesting that the first extant examples of Christian art in Rome date to the episopacies of Zephyrinus (198-217) and Callistus (217-222). Callistus was accused by Hippolytus of being lax in his readmittance to communion of those guilty of adultery and fornication.[38] His tolerance in this area may suggest that he was also somewhat liberal in his attitude towards artistic expressions of the faith. Thus Callistus' function as administrator of the Christian cemeteries may tie him more directly to the birth of Roman Christian art than was previously believed.

In the Christian art of this period the theme of divine deliverance is dominant. The subjects are depicted in a abbreviated format which Grabar describes as almost hieroglyphic.[39] E. Dinkler makes a similar point about sarcophagi carvings:

> A repertory of salvation scenes, abbreviated to the essential details towards about the third century on wall and ceiling paintings in Roman catacombs, was transferred to sarcophagi from about 250 onward. With the exception of the Jonah cycle, the abbreviated form predominated. [40]

Brief, succinct presentations of Old and New Testament themes were intended, it appears, to recall to mind certain teachings of the Church. A popular explanation for the deliverance or salvation themes of the Roman catacombs is that the images conceptualized prayers said in the Roman office for the Dead.[41] There the priest asks God to deliver the faithful in the hour of need as He delivered Daniel from the fiery furnace, Noah from the flood, Isaac from death as a human sacrifice, and Lazarus from the grave. While the parallels between the artistic and literary imagery are quite close, it must be emphasized that

the Office cannot be traced back beyond the early Middle Ages and so (I would add) this explanation cannot be accepted. One cannot deny that the theme of deliverance had a poignant value for the faithful during the sporadic persecutions from Nero to Diocletian, but this is far from adequate proof that any liturgical prayer similar to the Commemoration of the Dead was the source for the program of early Christian art.

The argument of this thesis is that the primary theme which underlies many of the images of Christ and a number of the Old Testament scenes in the art of the Christian community prior to the Peace of the Church is that of the Logos. It is our contention that, when believers adorned their funerary chambers and baptistries with figurative decoration, they did so in accordance with a new understanding of idolatry. It still forbade images of the Eternal One, but permitted them to depict the Logos as their teacher and intercessor with Him. This iconography the Church inherited from both Jewish art and the Logos Christology of the Alexandrian Fathers. Indeed, it is also our contention that the most likely place for the birth of Christian art was the cosmopolitan centre, Alexandria. From there, it probably spread to Rome and other centres. We certainly know that the Roman and Alexandrian churches had strong ties, and that the two cities were involved in active trade with each other.

CHAPTER THREE: NOTES

1 Kurt Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, Chapter 4: "The Jewish Realm" by Bezalel Narkiss, p. 366.

"Even during the time of Moses, the Second Commandment was evidently understood together with its complementary verse 'Thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them' (Exodus 20: 5). Thus God ordered Moses to install in the Holy of Holies, the sanctuary, images of two cherubim above the Ark of the Covenant, between whom God dwelt, (Exodus 25: 18-22). The Temple of Solomon was likewise adorned with images of cherubim (I Kings 6: 23-29) and twelve oxen carrying the Molten Sea (II Kings 7: 24-26)."

In terms of Logos theology, we have already noted the interpretation of these images by Philo. The God that dwelt between the Cherubim was the Logos, the first-born of the Eternal God. The Hellenistic Jewish interpretation of this construction may have a bearing on Jewish art.

2 Ibid., note I, p.366.

3 Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Volume I. p. 79.

4 Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Volume I. p. 86.

5 Ibid., note 4.

6 Ibid., note 4.

The symbol of the Menorah as the Divine Light may have stood as a symbol for the Logos. We recall that Philo viewed the Menorah as the Logos.

7 Ibid., p. 92.

8 M. Avi-Yonah, and F.W. Madden. History of Jewish Coinage, See the plates of Chapters 3 to 6.

9 Ibid., Chapter 4.

10 Ibid., p. 110, number 2.

11 Ibid., p. 108.

12 Ibid., p. 109.

13 Ibid., Prolegomenon. XVIII.

14 Ibid., Prolegomenon. XVIII.

15 Ibid., Prolegomenon.XVIII.

16 Kurt Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, no. 350. p. 383.

17 Ibid. no, 350. p. 383.

18 Stevenson, The Catacombs, fig. 41; also de Bourguet, Early Christian Art, fig. 84.

19 Kurt Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, no. 350, p. 383.

20 Ibid., no. 341, p. 372.

21 Ibid., p. 368.

22 Ibid., p. 342, pp. 374-375.

23 Ibid., p.342, pp. 374-375.

24 Ibid., p. 374.

25 In other descriptions the hands have been described as the hands of God. It is doubtful, however, that even a more syncretistic, Hellenistic Jewish community would have permitted such an image. Surely it would have been considered blasphemous.

26 Kurt Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, no. 341, p. 374.

27 These attributes for the Logos agree with Philo's description of the Logos as Governor and Judge of the Universe.

28 The following is a brief outline of the various datings of early Christian Art. Pierre du Bouget, Early Christian Art, p. 36, dates the Dura Chapel paintings to ca. A.D. 240 and the Roman catacomb paintings to between 200 and 250. André Grabar, Early Christian Art, Chronological Tables, places both the chapel murals and the catacomb frescoes slightly earlier than du Bourget. He assigns a date of ca. A.D. 200 to the chapel and 200 to 230 to the catacomb art. Eugene Kleinbauer in K. Weitzmann, The Age of Spirituality, no. 580, p. 648, also dates the Dura murals to ca. A.D. 240. J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 25, dates the catacombs later, ca. A.D. 250.

29 E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vol. I, p. 13.

30 J. Endell Tyler, The Image Worship of the Church of Rome, p. 115.

31 Ibid., p. 122.

32 Asclepius, the god of medicine, was brought to Rome from Epidaluras following a plague in 293 B.C. Legend described how the sacred snake, incarnating the deity, chose the Insula Tiberina for its abode. His worship was particularly strong in the Army.

33 In the Detroit Institute of Arts, there is a Roman Third Century, marble sarcophagus (acc. no. 26.139). It is a strigil-type sarcophagus with two figures, an allegory of Salus, and an image of Asclepius. The presence of these figures in Roman funeral art might help to explain

Claudius' action. Asclepius was known for his miracles of restoring a person to health. His presence on funereal art suggests that he was also associated with the after-life, at least by the third century. Thus a Christian might have interpreted the pagan deity as a demonic parallel to the Divine Logos, the only one who could restore men and women to health and lead them to the life eternal. To carve an image of Asclepius would therefore be anathema.

34 E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vol. 9, p. 22.

35 Burton S. Easton, translator, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 42.

"If a man is a sculptor or painter, he must be charged not to make idols; if he does not desist he must be rejected."

36 P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, p. 28.

37 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 68.

38 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 11.

39 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 68.

40 E. Dinkler in K. Weitzmann, The Age of Spirituality. p. 396.

41 E. Dinkler in K. Weitzmann, The Age of Spirituality, p. 397. Also A. Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 104f, and P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, p. 70.

42 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 105.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMAGES OF THE LOGOS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

It will be remembered that in the first and second chapters of this thesis the literary images of the Logos were categorized under the following headings: Theological Concepts, Anthropomorphic Images and Attributes. Possible artistic representations for these types were also suggested. It now behoves us to examine the extant examples of pre-Constantinian Christian art in order to demonstrate that the primary theme which underlies many of the artistic images of Christ, and a number of the Old Testament scenes, is that of the Logos. To facilitate the argument we shall use the three established categories, beginning with the Anthropomorphic Images since this group provides the largest number of examples. This chapter will conclude with a study of the Chamber of the Velatio in the catacombs of the cemetery of Priscilla, a room in which a consistent Logos iconography can be observed.

I. ANTHROPOMORPHIC IMAGES

It is not surprising that the greatest number of Logos images belong to this category. The transference of these literary images into plastic form required little imagination, especially considering the wealth of pagan artistic prototypes (philanthropia, Endymion, the classical philosophers, etc.). For our purpose, we shall look at Christian representations of the Logos as: A) Good Shepherd, B) Orpheus-Christ, C) Philosopher, D) Christ-Helios, E) the Physician or Healer, and F) Jonah.

A) The Good Shepherd:

The Good Shepherd is the commonest figure in pre-Constantinian Christian art. It appears in funereal frescoes on

the vault of the Crypt of Lucina, in the Cubiculum of the Good Shepherd in the Catacomb of Domitilla and on the arcosolium of the Dura Europos Baptistry; these all date to the first half of the third century.[1] The theme makes its début in sculpture as a relief on the sarcophagus of the Via Salaria (fig. 5), the La Gayolle sarcophagus (fig. 6), and the Sta. Maria Antiqua sarcophagus (fig. 7), and as a free-standing figure in the group now in the Cleveland museum (fig. 8).[2]

The Good Shepherd is normally shown as a beardless youth, dressed in the chiton, with a sheep over his shoulders, and at his feet either two sheep, or a sheep and a dog. Variants of the theme have the Shepherd milking an ewe, carrying milk, or talking to his dog.

The biblical references to the Shepherd range from Psalm 23: 1, the Lord as Shepherd, through the stories of the lost sheep in Matthew 18: 12-13 and Luke 15: 5, to John's identification of Jesus as the Good Shepherd who lays down his life for his flock (John 10: 11). It is commonly held that it is the Johannine reference that underlies the usage of early Christian art. If this is so, then it must be remembered that John is speaking of the same Jesus who is the Logos of John 1.

It will be recalled that Philo[3], Clement of Alexandria[4], and Origen[5] all identified the Logos with the Good Shepherd, the one who carries the straying soul into the light of reason. The sheep (a symbol for the human soul) hear his rational voice and follow his example. The Logos is thus the shepherd of those who have "lost reason and become like beasts."[6]

The variant artistic examples of the Good Shepherd carrying milk and milking the ewe support the identification of the

Good Shepherd as the Logos. Clement of Alexandria described the Logos as God's milk since he nourished the children of the faith with God's holy word.[7] Clement also tells us that, "having called the straying sheep back to himself, the Logos as the Good Shepherd feeds his flock upon the holy mountain."[8]

Two additional factors help to sustain this interpretation of the Good Shepherd as the Logos: 1) the adoption of the classical figure of philanthropia for the Good Shepherd; 2) the identification of philanthropia with the Logos as the personification of God's love for mankind. John Ferguson[10] traces the concept of philanthropia to its use in Athens in the fourth century B.C. as a political concept that symbolized the bond that holds the state together. We recall that in Philo it is the Logos that is the bond of the universe.[11] Thus the two concepts of philanthropia and Logos may be viewed as synonymous. It was the Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, however, who Christianized the figure of philanthropia as the symbol of the love of God for mankind. That love was expressed in the Logos: therefore, in the introduction to his Instructor, Clement identified philanthropia with the Logos. He describes the education offered by "the Logos with his universal love of mankind, first exhorting, then as tutor, and as culmination, the comprehensive teacher",[12]

The conclusion to be drawn is that in Christian art of the second and third centuries, the Good Shepherd was a symbol of the Christos-Logos.

B) The Orpheus-Christ:

Related to the Good Shepherd is the figure of Orpheus, distinguishable from the former by the reed pipes or the lyre which he carries. In the cemetery of Domitilla two frescoes depict

such a figure, one on the ceiling of the "ancient chamber" (fig.4), the other in a stairway tomb (fig.9), both dated to the third century by du Bourget.[13] Their presence in a Christian catacomb has led du Bourget to identify the figure as a Christ-Orpheus.

It is J. Stevenson, however, who has shown the connection between the Christ-Orpheus figure and the Logos. He centers on Orpheus' function as a musician who charms the beast with his sweet music: "The Word of God, personified in the shepherd, is a maker of music, as Clement of Alexandria pointed out in his Protrepticus: 'but different is my minstrel, for He has come to bring to a speedy end the bitter slavery of the demons that lord over us.'"[14] The Christos-Logos, therefore, as a new Orpheus, soothes the lower bestial nature of men and women and leads them to a harmonious relationship with God through reason.[15] Endless life in the Paradise of God will be the ultimate blessing.

C) The Philosopher:

Numerous images of philosophers adorn the sarcophagi of the second and third centuries. Since some of these images are coupled with specifically Christian themes like the Raising of Lazarus, they are generally interpreted as images of Christ as the Teacher of True Philosophy. Others, like the figure on the Via Salaria sarcophagus, are more difficult to interpret because the accompanying imagery could be either pagan or Christian. Indeed, a well established pagan iconographic type portrayed the deceased as an intellectual, as in the case of the fourth century Sarcophagus relief with a physician, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[16] It is our opinion that where the associated imagery is specifically Christian, the philosopher-

figure actually represents the Logos-Christ as the True Philosopher, and even on a Christian Sarcophagus, where a figure most likely represents the deceased, a Logos iconography may be implied.

To support our case, let us briefly recall the identification of the Logos as philosopher and teacher in what we have called the Alexandrian tradition.

Philo Judaeus was the first to describe the Logos as both a philosopher who ever entertained "holier and more august conceptions of Him that is", and as a teacher who taught these truths to mankind.[17] It is Clement of Alexandria, however, who provides us with the strongest evidence for the association of the Philosopher figure with the Logos in early Christian funerary art. He described the Logos as the Instructor of humanity who by "using all the resources of wisdom, devotes Himself to the saving of the children ...".[18] Those, therefore, who have received the instruction of this Divine Philosopher have been assured of salvation.

An additional point which supports our case is that when scholars such as J.N. Carder identify the Philosopher figure as the Christ, the Teacher of the True Philosophy, they have based their claim on the writings of Clement of Alexandria.[19] They have failed to notice, however, that by describing the Christ as this teacher, Clement is specifically speaking of Christ who is the Logos incarnate.

A clear case where the figure of the Philosopher cannot be mistaken for an image of the deceased is the Plaque from a tomb of a child (fig.10) dating from the last quarter of the

third century, now in the Musei Capitolini in Rome. Here the image of the dead child is in the traditional form of the imago clipeata, located in the central zone of the relief. An accompanying scene of the Raising of Lazarus assures us that this is a Christian work, and thus, as E. Dinkler notes, it "gives an explicit Christian notion to the neutral seene of the philosopher-teacher ...."[20] Dinkler concludes that because it is "joined with the Raising of Lazarus, the scene expresses the idea that Christian faith is the true philosophy, proclaiming the resurrection guaranteed by Christ (John 11: 25: 'I am the resurrection and the life')".[21] It is much more likely, we contend, that the Philosopher figure is an image of the Logos and we base this conclusion on our preceding discussion of the Alexandrian Logos tradition and on the fact that once again John is speaking of the same Jesus who is the Logos of John 1.

Another instance where the Philosopher figure is clearly not an image of the deceased is the late third century strigil-type sarcophagus found beneath the church of San Crisogono, Rome (fig.11). Again a central image of the deceased is depicted in the form of the imago clipeata. What is particularly interesting about this piece is the association of the Philosopher with the Good Shepherd. We recall that in The Instructor, I, 9, 17, Clement of Alexandria described the Logos as "the all-holy Shepherd and Instructor." As Instructor, the Logos revealed the true knowledge of God, while as Shepherd, he ensured that those who had received this instruction would not stray from this way to Paradise. The presence of two sheep below the figure of the deceased may thus suggest that he was to be seen as one of God's

flock who in life had received the instruction and guidance of the Logos and was now at rest in Paradise.

Two sarcophagi on which the Philosopher figure is more difficult to interpret are the Via Salaria Sarcophagus (fig.5), and the Palazzo Sanseverino Sarcophagus (fig.12), each dating to the end of the third century. The identification of the figures on these sarcophagi is complicated because the imagery used is not specifically Christian.[22] Opinion also varies over whether or not the Philosopher is an image of the deceased. In the case of the Via Salaria Sarcophagus, J.N. Carder argues that "the two seated figures most likely represent a deceased husband and wife, posed as two disputing intellectuals,"[23] while André Grabar concludes that because "the matron's face is given the most distinctive features, presumably she is the dead woman listening to the words the man is reading out".[24]

We would agree with Grabar's view that on the Via Salaria Sarcophagus the male figure is not an image of the deceased and add that this is also the case with the Sanseverino Sarcophagus. In support, we may cite the late third century sarcophagus in the Musei Communi in Rome (fig.13), where a male and female are shown in a similar pose to that of the Via Salaria Sarcophagus but a death curtain behind each figure clearly marks them as images of the deceased. This is a convention followed in other sarcophagi where the sculptor wishes to distinguish the figures as images of the dead. We also draw attention to the convention of the figure shown listening to the "Philosopher" which we see in the Sanseverino Sarcophagus and the Sarcophagus of La Gayolle (fig.6). P. du Bourget suggests that with the La Gayolle the "small form standing at the feet of the philosopher"

may "actually represent the dead man".[25] So we conclude that in both the Sanseverino and Via Salaria sarcophagi the Philosopher figure represents a Philosopher, and if it is a Christian work, the Philosopher is the Logos.

The presence of a sundial on a column behind both the philosopher in the Via Salaria Sarcophagus and the Palazzo Sanseverino Sarcophagus strengthens the case for the identification of the figure as the Logos. Here the sundial may be a symbol of man's comprehension of the order of the universe brought about by the rays of the sun. We recall Philo's remark that "those who are unable to see the sun itself look upon the reflected rays as the sun, so they mentally perceive the image of God, his Logos, as himself".[27] Thus it would seem that the Philosopher figure was understood by the early Christians as another image of the Logos.

D) The Christos-Helios:

A fascinating example of the Christian use of traditional classical iconography is the Helios-Christ. In pre-Constantinian Christian art only two examples have survived, both in Rome: there is the mosaic in the vault of the Mausoleum of the Julii beneath the high altar of St. Peter's Basilica (fig.3), and the vault fresco of an arcosolium in the crypt of the Tricliniarch, in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus (fig.14).

André Grabar[28] dates the former to the beginning of the fourth century, J.N. Carder[29] to the late third or early fourth century, while P. du Bourget[30] places it at the beginning of the third. The late third century date seems preferable because of the Sol Invictus cult among the Roman emperors at that time.[31]

This dating makes it contemporary with the Jewish Helios mosaic refered to earlier (Chapter 3, p. 49-50).

In the mausoleum of the Julii it is only the surrounding mosaics[32] of an angler catching a fish on the north wall, Jonah swallowed by the whale on the east wall, and the Good Shepherd on the west that impose a Christian interpretation of the Helios figure: Christ is "the light of the world". Here Christ is shown as "a beardless charioteer dressed in a tunic and a flying cloak, nimbed with rays shooting upwards and sideways like the arms of a cross, bearing in the left hand an orb ... The pagan type of the sun-god in his chariot, or the apotheosis of an emperor or a hero, has been adapted to the Christian belief in the risen God, His triumph over death, and, through the orb in his left hand, His eternal dominion."[33] One should also notice that a Jonah cycle accompanies the Christ-Helios in the fresco of the Tricliniarch. Thus far one can agree with the usual identification, but once again, we wish to go beyond it to argue that the sun-charioteer is in reality another representation of Christ as Logos.

It will be remembered that Philo symbolized the Logos as both sun, the rays of the sun, and as a "charioteer grasping the reins" who "guides all things in what direction he pleases as law and right demands ...".[34] We previously used these images to demonstrate that the Helios mosaic in the Hamat-Tiberias synagogue was an image for the Logos as Governor of the universe. In respect of Christian art, we recall that Clement of Alexandria subsequently applied this Logos-Charioteer image to Christ, "man's brilliant charioteer, who has yoked together the team of

mankind and is driving his chariot straight for immortality",[35] Clement also describes the Logos as "the Sun of Righteousness, who drives His Chariot over all". Thus the funereal image of the Sun-Charioteer in the Mausoleum of the Julii and the crypt of the Tricliniarch is probably an image of Christ as Logos.

E) The Physician or Healer:

It will be noticed that New Testament thaumaturgical scenes are quite abundant in Pre-Constantinian Christian art. Attention should be drawn especially to the Healing of the Paralytic (Matthew 9: 1-8, Mark 2: 1-12, Luke 5: 17-26); the Woman with the Issue of Blood (Matthew 9: 21f, Mark 5: 25-34, Luke 8: 43-48); and the Raising of Lazarus (John 11: 1-44). While the Raising of Lazarus may have been included because of its parallel to the death and resurrection of Christ, the reason for the inclusion of the other two scenes is less obvious. Clearly, they are examples of restoration to health through the intervention of Christ. What, however, do these images specifically have to do with either baptism, as in the Healing of the Paralytic fresco in the Dura Baptistry, or with the burial practices of the Church? It may be argued that in the case of the Healing of the Paralytic the forgiving of sin explains its presence in the Dura Baptistry, but this does not explain its presence in the Roman catacombs (Catacomb of St. Callistus, Stevenson fig.64; Sarcophagus fragment, Museo Naz. Romano Inv. 676006, Bovini and Brandenburg no. 773a, late third century). The central message of the three so-called healing scenes is that Christ restores an individual to health because of faith in Him. We are then led to consider whether it is Christ as the Physician

of sick souls who is meant to be seen; and if so, whether he must also be recognized as the Logos of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.

At this point one should recall the development of the association of the Logos as a healer and doctor in the Alexandrian Logos tradition and in Justin Martyr. Philo identified the Logos as "the healing Logos of God" who entered into the human soul "in order to heal its illness".[36] Elsewhere he views the angel who appeared to Jacob as "the Logos, as healer of ills".[37] Justin described the redemptive function of the incarnate Logos who "became man for our sake, that, becoming a partaker of our sufferings, He might also bring us healing".[38] Clement, in The Instructor, continues this tradition, viewing the Incarnate Logos as "the only Paeonian physician of human infirmities and the holy chamber of the sick soul".[39] Clement also describes the Logos as a doctor who binds up the lame.[40] In both instances, Clement understands the Logos to be a healer who restores man's soul, bringing him back to true knowledge through faith. Origen, too, resorts to this type for the Logos when he states: "happy if you need not ask him as Doctor to heal your sick soul."[41] The context deals with man's fall from grace and a true knowledge of God, and also the incarnation of the Logos as the guide to a right relationship between God and mankind. Thus, there is a well-established tradition which identifies the role of the Incarnate Logos with that of a doctor of the sick soul.

Consequently, the frescoes and carvings of healings in pre-Constantinian art may be understood as showing Christ in the role of Logos, restoring individuals to a true gnosis and hence assuring them of eternal life.

F) Jonah:

Almost equally common as the Good Shepherd is the Jonah cycle. Normally it is portrayed in three separate incidents: Jonah thrown overboard and swallowed by the whale; Jonah vomited out by the whale; Jonah resting under the gourd. Examples are: the Jonah Sarcophagus of the Museo Pio Christiano in the Vatican (fig.15, ca. 290); the Sta. Maria Antiqua Sarcophagus (fig.7, ca. 250-300); the three statues now in the Cleveland Museum (fig.16, ca. 275); a frieze in the Chapel of the Sacraments in the catacomb of St. Callistus (Grabar p. 100, early third century), and the necropolis fresco from Alexandria now in the Greco-Roman Museum there (fig.17, third century).

Reasons proposed for the inclusion and prominence of the Jonah cycle vary considerably. It is a theme of the individual being delivered through faith, and that agrees with the hypothesis of salvation themes emerging from the persecutions. Grabar and others have noted that the nude Jonah under the gourd is related stylistically to the sleeping Endymion in classical art. Grabar believes that the cycle was employed because of "its analogy with the theme of the journey over sea to the Hereafter and also with the adventure of the beautiful young shepherd Endymion (assimilated to Jonah) on whom Zeus bestowed eternal life in an unbroken slumber".[42] The Jonah cycle, therefore, may represent the journey of the soul through death to eternal life. A Biblical allusion for the series is found in Matthew 12: 39-40 where Jesus relates the story of Jonah to His own death and resurrection.

The Endymion allusion seems plausible when one notes in many instances the proximity of the Jonah stories to the Good Shepherd (for example, the Cleveland Statues, and the mosaics of the mausoleum of the Julii). The water/death motif may also point to the sacrament of Baptism, as understood, for example, in Paul's Romans 6: 1-4. Unfortunately, the Jonah series is not present among the surviving frescoes of the Dura Baptistry.

The saying of Jesus noted on the previous page, especially in its Lucan parallel (11: 27-33), emphasizes the theme of returning to God in repentance. Luke 11: 27 may be underlined: "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) and keep it." While "logos of God" in Luke implies the spoken word, it may possibly have been understood by the Christian artists and patrons of the third century to refer to the Logos. As the men of Nineveh, having heard the Logos through the prophet Jonah, repented of their idolatry and sin and returned to a life according to the will of the Logos; so now the patron and his family have heard the Logos incarnate in the Saviour Jesus, and having also repented, are assured of the enjoyment of eternal life.

II. THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

There are fewer examples in early Christian art of theological types for the Logos. The Christ figure in art could have been understood as an image of the incarnate Logos as Second God, Son of the Father, or simply as the man Jesus. Systematic attempts to classify the various physical features of Christ images have not succeeded in equating a type with a specific Christology. It is not certain that the youthful, beardless Jesus was the type for the eternal Logos.[43]

There is reason, however, to suggest that several Pre-Constantinian Christian images do express what we have classified as Theological concepts for the Logos. These are: A) The Logos as an Angel, and B) The Logos as Judge.

A) The Logos as an Angel:

We begin with the appearance of an angel to the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. It appears as early as the mid-third century in a fresco in the Chamber of the Velatio in the Catacomb of Priscilla (fig.18), but it was not widely applied to sculptural reliefs on sarcophagi until the end of the third century and the first decade of the fourth.

The presentation varies only slightly in the different examples. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego are normally shown standing like orants in a stone furnace with three arches through which the flames of the fire can be seen (fig.19). Frequently on the reliefs of the late third and early fourth century sarcophagi, a fourth and a fifth figure occur. The fourth figure (fig.19) is easily identifiable, for he is shown stoking the fire. Presumably he is one of the guards who is making the furnace "seven times hotter than usual" (Daniel 3: 19). The identification of the fifth figure is more difficult. He resembles the "philosopher" who also graces the sarcophagi of the same period (fig.20, 21). Here, he is shown wearing a himation, making the impositio manus gesture with his right hand and holding either a codex or a scroll in his left. It is this "philosopher" whom we identify as the Logos who has come to release the three Hebrews from their bonds and deliver them from the flames.

It could be argued that the fifth figure might rather represent King Nebuchadrezzar calling the trio to come out of the flames: "So Nebuchadrezzar went up to the door of the blazing furnace and called out, 'Shadrach! Meshach! Abednego! Servants of the Supreme God! Come out!'" Three late third or early fourth century sarcophagi (fig.22, 23, 24) however, leave little doubt that this figure is the Angel-Logos, because they show the "philosopher" clearly standing in the furnace with the three Hebrews. Thus this "philosopher" must be the one whom Nebuchadrezzar sees, according to Daniel 3: 25: "'Then why do I see four men walking around in the fire?' he said. 'They are not tied up, and they show no sign of being hurt -- and the fourth one looks like a god.'"

Although the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace has normally been viewed as an example of the themes mentioned in the office of the Dead, the identification of the "philosopher" figure as the Angel-Logos demands a radical reinterpretation. Through the presence of the Logos, the Three are prevented from yielding to idolatry, and they teach the onlooker that the true knowledge of God depends on the Logos-Revealer, now understood as Christ. The three youths remained firm in faith and did not yield to temptation in spite of the danger of persecution, so the iconography fits the didactic purposes of the Church during times of danger. Moreover, it allows us to see how this theme could be associated with others that are prominent in the program of catacomb art. For example, the Velatio Chamber includes with the fresco of the Three Hebrews a curious picture of a woman receiving the veil or catechetical instruction from perhaps a

bishop and a presbyter (fig.25).[45] If the story depicts instruction in the true faith (by an agent of the Logos-Revealer), it is entirely consonant with the lesson of the divine Logos who rescues the faithful three.

We recall that Philo positively identified an Angel as the Logos when referring to the angelic visitation to Balaam. In On the Cherubim, XI, 3, he states: "Behold the armed angel, the Logos of God, standing in the way against you, the source through whom both good and ill come to fulfillment." The only pre-Constantinian image of this angelic visitation is on a relief sarcophagus in the Cemetery of San Sebastiano, Rome (fig.26).[46] Here the angel is seen as a youth with sword in hand, standing in front of the ass on which Balaam rides. The interpretation of this angel as the Divine Logos is suggested by the accompanying scenes.[47]

B) The Logos as Judge:

The Logos as judge is a rich theme in Philo's writings and is associated with the governor of the universe and of the faithful servants. He acts to guide the foolish, and judges the faithfulness of those who seek salvation.[48] Clement in a similar vein identifies the Instructor with the Judge: "For the same who is Instructor is judge, and judges those who disobey Him, and the loving Word will not pass over their transgressions in silence."[49] There is therefore a continuing tradition of the Logos as the Judge who rules the faithful as well as the universe, and who judges the effectiveness of His teaching.

The theme of the judgement between the sheep and the goats, which appears on a late third century Sarcophagus lid[50], follows this literary tradition: those who seek salvation are

judged by a seated Christ. The sculptor bases his image on the Matthean passage, but adds a book, perhaps the book of life from Revelation (fig. 27). The seated Christ is shown as a teacher-philosopher dressed in chiton and himation,[51] and is the same figure which appears on a sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd (fig. 28). The tradition of the association of the Logos with the Judge, the kinship of the Christ figure with both the Philosopher-Logos and the Good Shepherd-Logos, and the presence of a book beside the figure all confirm the view that it is the Logos which is behind this portrayal of the story of the sheep and the goats.

The other image of Judge which is present in this period appears in a fresco in the Coemeterium Maius,[52] where Christ is portrayed as a seated figure with hand raised in a pointing gesture. On the ground at his side is a box of books and the whole picture is framed in a circle of light (fig. 29). The Christ figure is clearly in a position of authority over all in the picture, not simply the accused. This picture of a ruling Christ suggests the same association as is present in Philo between the Logos as governor and as judge. The presence of the box of books also points to the Logos as part of the iconography of this fresco.

III. ATTRIBUTES

In the discussion of literary types for the Logos in the writings of Philo, Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, several images were classified as attributes. Those that are important for our discussion are: for Philo, the Blesser of Food, Sun and Light, Fire and Sword; for Justin, Star, Rod; for Clement,

Blesser of Food, Sun, Knife, Manna and Bread, Milk; for Origen, True Vine, Living Bread, Sun and Light.

We have already seen how some of these attributes have confirmed a number of figures as artistic types for the Logos. The Logos as milk was used to support the identification of the Good Shepherd as the Logos.[53] Likewise, the attributes of Sun, Light and True Vine strengthened the identification of Christ-Helios as a type for the Logos.[54] The attributes of Knife and Sword assured us that the "armed angel" who blocked Balaam's way was none other than the Logos. In the second chapter it was proposed that the fresco of Balaam pointing to the Star with the Virgin and Child in the Catacomb of Priscilla (fig. 30) may be tied to the mystery of the incarnation of the Logos (and not simply the coming of the Messiah), because of the presence of the star, an attribute which Justin associated with the Logos.[55] Thus it is probable that the presence of these and other attributes in pre-Constantinian Christian art suggests an even greater number of images for the Logos.

One such image is the Akkedah. Philo understood the fire and knife which Abraham brought to sacrifice his son as symbols of the purifying influence of the Divine Logos. They helped Abraham to put aside all wordly passions in order that he might truly devote himself to the pursuit of the spiritual life.[56] Philo also interprets the angel who spoke to Abraham and prevented the sacrifice of Isaac as the Logos.[57] This conception of the knife carried by Abraham as a type for the Logos is supported by Hebrews 4: 12: "The Word of God is alive and active, sharper than any double-edged sword. It cuts all the way through, to

where the soul and spirit meet, ... It judges the desires and thoughts of man's heart (T.E.V.)." Clement of Alexandria too identified the knife as a type for the Logos.

J. Stevenson, however, argues that Hebrews 11: 19 is the key to the understanding of the Akkedah in funeral art: "Abraham reckoned that God was able to raise Isaac from death -- and, so to speak, Abraham did receive Isaac back from death." According to Stevenson, "the scene is one of deliverance, and leads us to the Resurrection and its supreme importance".[58] While Hebrews 11: 19 is indeed important and does in part explain the Akkedah's place in funerary art, this does not preclude the presence of Logos imagery: it is through the intervention of the Logos that one is led in the spiritual life toward the goal of the after-life.

An important set of related Logos attributes consists of Bread, Manna, and Blesser of Food. Stevenson notes that Wilpert found "38 examples of the multiplication of the loaves" in early Christian art.[59] He interprets these scenes in the light of John 6: 32-33: "What Moses gave you was not the bread from heaven, it is my Father who gives you the real bread from heaven. For the bread that God gives is he who comes down from heaven and gives life to the world." For Stevenson, the scenes of the multiplication of the loaves in early Christian art are to be interpreted as types for the eucharist.[60] It must be remembered, however, that John 6: 33 specifically speaks of the incarnate Logos as the true bread from heaven. Certainly Clement of Alexandria and Origen did not miss this point, for they too identified the Logos as the Living Bread.[61] What strengthens the interpretation of

these scenes as examples of a Logos theology is Christ's use of the rod, or as Stevenson puts it "his wonder-working staff"[62]; Justin Martyr identified the rod as an attribute of the Logos.[63]

IV. THE CUBICULUM OF THE VELATIO

Up to this point, this essay has centred primarily upon the identification of isolated examples of Logos imagery in pre-Constantinian Christian art. These identifications have been based on the literary types for the Logos found in the writings of Philo Judaeus, the Fourth Gospel, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. It must be noted that other subjects in the art of the same period do not imply any reference to the Logos. There are, however, examples of a consistent Logos iconography in pre-Constantinian Christian art. We believe that one such example is the Cubiculum of the Velatio in the Catacomb of Priscilla.

The frescoes of this chamber are of exceedingly high quality and are generally dated from the early to the middle of the third century. They depict: The Akkedah (left wall, fig.31); The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace with the addition of a dove (right wall, fig.18); The Instruction of a female Catechumen, an Orant, and a seated mother nursing her infant (back wall, fig. 25); and The Good Shepherd (vault, fig.32). The vault also has four lunettes which are filled with figures of birds, one bird in each, two peacocks, and two grouse. The four spandrels depict a dove bearing an olive branch.

It is interesting to note that three of the four major frescoes, the Good Shepherd, the Three Hebrews, and the Akkedah, have been identified as symbols for the Logos. The Good Shepherd

symbolizes the Logos as "the comprehensive teacher" of mankind and the one who carried the straying soul back into the light of Divine Reason. The Akkedah identifies the Logos as the one who leads men and women in the pursuit of the spiritual life in order that they may be delivered to the eternal one. The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace teaches that a true knowledge of God depends upon the intervention of the Logos-Revealer.

Earlier we suggested that the fourth composite fresco is consonant with a Logos-theology. The female catechumen seems to be receiving instruction (in the Word of God?) from perhaps a Bishop and a Presbyter. The Orant is generally taken as an image of the deceased. It is interesting that her eyes focus on the Good Shepherd, who is oriented to this fresco. If we recall that the Good Shepherd was a type for the Logos as comprehensive teacher and Saviour, it is possible to decipher the meaning of this scene. The deceased who in life received instruction in the true knowledge of God by the agency of the Logos, is to receive her eternal reward through the intervention of the Logos.[64]

V. CONCLUSION

In the introduction to the category Theological Concepts, the difficulty in systematically identifying a specific physical, artistic type as an image of the Christ was noted. André Grabar has argued that the lack of any consistent image for the Christ "makes for skepticism concerning the existence of a theological iconography of Christ in early Christian art".[65] He based his argument on the physical features of the image and not on the subject which is represented. Continuing in this vein, he criticizes the work of J. Wilpert, Oskar Wulff and L. von Sybel as

the work of "men trained as theologians" who "inverted the problem .... They were not so much attempts to discover the religious background of the extant monuments as attempts to see in the monuments illustrations of theological systems."[66] Grabar claims that "this method should be discarded, because it tends to make the monuments say what we want them to say".[67]

It is with this hypothesis of Grabar that we must take issue. While Pre-Constantinian Christian art does not exhibit a Christological iconography based on the specific features of the Christ, it does so in terms of the subjects employed. We have tried to give sufficient reason to justify the thesis that an artistic iconography for the Christ as Logos does exist in pre-Constantinian Christian art. We have tried to show that it is based on the kind of literary images found in the writings of Philo Judaeus, the Fourth Gospel, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Origen. In addition, we have tried to demonstrate that these Logos images do not occur only in isolated instances but also in iconographic programs which express a consistent Logos Theology, and that these programs are consonant with the purpose of Christian funerary art.

CHAPTER FOUR: NOTES

1 The dating of these works are as follows:-

Crypt of Lucina: Du Bourget - Early Third Century, Grabar - Early Third Century.

Cubiculum of the Good Shepherd, Domitilla: A. Grabar - Early Third Century.

Dura Europos Baptistry: A. Grabar - Early Third Century, W. Kleinbauer - c. 240.

2 The datings for the works are as follows:-

Via Salaria Sarcophagus: Bovini and Brandenburg - Third quarter of Third Century, Pierre du Bourget - Early Third Century, Wilpert - ca. 150.

La Gayolle Sarcophagus: A. Grabar - 200-250, P. du Bourget - Early Third Century.

Sta. Maria Antiqua Sarcophagus: Bovini and Brandenburg - Third quarter of Third Century, Wilpert - Early Third Century, E. Dinkler - First third of Third Century.

3 Chapter One, p. 15.

4 Chapter Two, p. 36.

5 Chapter Two, p. 41.

6 Origen, Comm. in John, 1,23. See Chapter 2, p. 49 for text.

7 Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, I. 3, VI. 3.

8 Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, I. 17. See Chapter 2, p. 43 for text.

9 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 99.

10 J. Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, p. 66ff.

11 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 17. On The Creation, IV. V, 18-20. For part of the text, see Chapter 1, p. 3.

12 J. Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, p. 70.

13 P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, pp. 10 and 53 respectively.

14 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 100.

15 In the discussion of the Logos in Philo, we have observed how he described the Logos as the harmonizer of the universe using the image of celestial music. We have also seen the association of Logos with Light and with Reason in the Alexandrian tradition. This helps us to understand the association of Orpheus with the Logos-Christ in the early Church. Robert Graves relates the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in his The Greek Myths, Vol. I, p. 112: "He (Orpheus) .... not only charmed the ferryman Charon, the Dog Cerberus, and the three Judges of the Dead with his plaintive music, but temporarily suspended the tortures of the damned; and so far soothed the savage beast of Hades that he won leave to restore Eurydice to the upper world. Hades made a single condition: that Orpheus might not look behind him until she was safely back under the light of the sun. Eurydice followed Orpheus up through the dark passage, guided by the sound of his lyre .... (my italics)."

Of course Orpheus looks back and therefore loses his beloved Eurydice. The Logos-Christ as Orpheus, however, leads the souls of mankind in the path of true light. All who follow his music will be assured of eternal life. Perhaps the association of Orpheus turning back and therefore losing Eurydice was transferred to those Christians who recanted under persecution and thus never made it into God's light.

16 The Age of Spirituality, p. 279.

17 Chapter 1, note 20.

18 Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, Chapter IX,1. For text, see Chapter 2, p. 44.

19 The Age of Spirituality, p. 524.

20 Ibid., p. 413.

21 Ibid., p. 413.

22 Ibid., p. 518.

23 Ibid., p. 518.

24 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 141.

25 P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, p. 70.

26 Bovini-Brandenburg. Repetorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage. Vol. I, p. 62, no. 66; p. 416, no. 994; and the Age of Spirituality. p. 518, no. 462.

27 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I, Questiones et Solutiones in Genesis. II, 62.

28 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 80.

29 The Age of Spirituality, pp. 522-523, no. 467.

30 P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, p. 117.

31 The Age of Spirituality, p. 522, no. 467.

32 J. Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art, p. 19.

33 Ibid., p. 19.

34 The Loeb Philo, Vol. I, p. 35, On the Creation, 46, For text see Chapter 1, p. 22.

35 J. Ferguson, Clement of Alexandria, p. 59. The quotation is from Clement's Exhortation to the Heathen, II, 2.

36 The Loeb Philo, Supplement I. p. 108. Questions and Answers in Genesis. II, 29.

37 Ibid., p. 108.

38 Justin Martyr, The Second Apology, XIII, Donaldson and Roberts, The Ante Nicene Fathers, Vol. I, p. 193.

39 See Chapter 2, p. 38.

40 Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, Book I. IX, 7. For text see Chapter 2, p. 43.

41 Origen, Comm. in John, I, 23. For text see Chapter 2, p. 41.

42 André Grabar, Early Christian Art, p. 130.

43 André Grabar, Christian Iconography, pp. 118-119.

44 Bovini-Brandenburg, Repertorium der Christlich-Antichen Sarkophage, Vol. I, p. 417, no. 998, in the Palazzo Sanseverino.

45 P. du Bourget, Early Christian Art, p. 76.

46 Two frescoes of this scene can also be found in the Catacomb of the Via Latina. These, however, date to the Constantinian era. For illustrations of these frescoes, see André Grabar, Early Christian Art, figures 252, 260.

47 Bovini-Brandenburg. Repertorium der Christlich-Antichen Sarkophage, Vol. I, p. 111-112, no. 175.

Brandenburg interprets the scenes as (left to right): God the Father; the Fall; Balaam and the Angel, Deceased with two Apostles; Attempted stoning of Christ (John 10: 31); the multiplication of the loaves; the Christos-Logos as Ezekiel in the resurrection of the dry bones; the Tobias and the Angel. The identification of the youthful Ezekiel as the Christos-Logos is also accepted by J. Engemann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, 11, 12, pp. 7-25; E. Dinkler, The Age of Spirituality, p. 418 and M. Sotomayor, Sarcofagos Romano-Christianos de Espana: Estudio Iconografico. Granada, 1975. It is likely that the seated male figure is the Logos (as creator?) instead of God the Father because of the polemic against idolatry in pre-Constantinian Christianity.

48 Chapter 1, note 25.

49 Chapter 2, note 32.

50 The Age of Spirituality, p. 558.

51 Ibid., p. 558.

52 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 107.

53 Chapter 4, p. 62, 63 and note 7.

54 Chapter 4, p. 69

55 Chapter 2, p. 28

56 Chapter 1, note 39.

57 Chapter 1, p. 12.

58 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 67.

59 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 94. While Wilpert's calculations refer to all Early Christian artistic examples, a large number of representations of this theme can be found in pre-Constantinian Christian art (fig.27).

60 Ibid., p. 94.

61 See Chapter 2, 23, 42.

62 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 94.

63 See Chapter 2, p. 28.

64 The view that this chamber expresses a Logos theology is strengthened when one compares the images with the images and theology of I Peter. The author of I Peter admonishes the faithful to remain firm in their faith in spite of both temptation and persecution. He tells them to be obedient to the truth of Christ's teaching: "For through the living and eternal Word of God (διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος) you have been born again as the children of a parent who is immortal, not mortal (I Peter 1: 23)." They are told to rid themselves of all evil and to be like "newborn babies, always thirsty for the pure spiritual milk so that by drinking it you may grow up and be saved (I Peter 2: 2)."

Later he describes the neophytes as sheep: "you were like sheep that had lost your way, but now you have been brought back to follow the Shepherd and Keeper of your souls" (I Peter 2: 25), that is, the Christ-Logos.

65 André Grabar, Christian Iconography, p. 119.

66 Ibid., p. 121.

67 Ibid., p. 121.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LOGOS SYMBOLS IN PRE-CONSTANTINIAN CHRISTIAN ART AND THE CHURCH IN ROME

We have suggested that the most probable birthplace for Christian Art was the great cosmopolitan city of Alexandria. The artistic record of the Alexandrian Christian community of the third century, however, is almost non-existent.[1] Out of necessity, therefore, we must concentrate on the Roman Church of the pre-Constantinian era for which we have both artistic and literary evidence.

Unfortunately we know the identity of only a few of the Roman patrons of pre-Constantinian Christian art. We have learned of their identity from the inscriptions that have been found in the burial chambers and on the sarcophagi. Since most inscriptions merely indicate the identity of the patron and not his theological position, it is difficult to discern the relationship between the art and its historical context.

Earlier we have proposed the thesis that the Apologists literary types for the Logos provided the basis for the images of the Logos in pre-Constantinian Christian art. If these artistic images can also be proven to demonstrate the Logos theology of the Apologists then they would provide us with insight into the relationship of the art to its historical context. Given, however, that the art in question is primarily funerary we must first discuss the reasonableness of finding theological themes with a didactic intent in sepulchral art.

We begin by examining the beliefs and customs of Roman culture regarding death. The traditional Roman practice was cremation of the dead. Cremation symbolized the purification

of the soul. The flames freed the soul to journey to re-unite itself with the great Cosmic soul. During the second century, however, Roman society increasingly inhumed their dead. The change in funeral custom resulted from a different understanding of the After-life. Many of the new religions and cults practised in Rome, Christianity among them, claimed victory over death for their members.

For the pagans, if the individual led a morally righteous life, then he would be rewarded with life in Elysium; if unrighteous, he would be subjected to eternal punishment. Elysium was a perfected model of earthly existence where the deceased could enjoy the beauties and pleasures of life without either problems or pain. The dead were thus buried in the finest clothing and riches in hopes that their spiritual body might emerge intact from the earthly body. Inhumation symbolized the survival of the personality after death.

This change in belief concerning the after-life is reflected in the writings and funerary art of Roman society. An artistic example of the new pagan understanding of the after-life is the third century sarcophagus from Simpelveld in Holland (figure 33). Here in sculptural relief, the deceased is provided with all the essentials and luxuries that would make his future an enjoyable one. As I.A. Richmond states, "this very remarkable home of the dead, for so indeed it may be described is an astonishing projection of hopes and expectations in the after-life in which curiously little is left to the imagination."[2] This is true for most of the Roman funerary art of the second and third centuries. Often sarcophagi present very realistic

portraits of the dead along with figures of their god or gods who had promised them life-everlasting.[3] The art present on the tombs and sarcophagi is more than just decoration. I.A. Richmond, expressing general scholastic opinion, states that Roman funerary art "must be viewed as statements, endowed with all the solemnity of the grave, of what were to the believers the eternal verities."[4] Roman society also believed that the world of the dead was closely tied to that of the living. Portraits of ancestors were kept in the home and these accompanied the family on festive occasions in order that all the clan might be represented.[5] Romans were careful to show their ancestors respect, particularly at memorial feasts and funeral banquets, for here they were thought to be present. On such occasions the dead could impart heavenly secrets to members of their family to help them on their journey to Elysium.[6] As I.A. Richmond comments, "it was the narrowest barrier that divided the after-life and its activities in union with the supreme god from divine inspiration during earthly existence."[7]

To a larger extent Roman Christian burial customs paralleled those of pagan society. The Christians, however, gave new meaning to the funeral and memorial feasts. The dead were still thought as being present, as seen by the presence of tomb thrones in the Coemeterium Maius, but now they participated in an Agape or Eucharist.[8] In the frescoed arcosolia and carved sarcophagi of Roman Christians there is a strong emphasis on portraiture and the deceased are often shown in their finest apparel (figure 25). Painted garlands of flowers, in particular roses and violets (symbols of life-blood), grace the arcosolia

of Christians and pagans alike.[9] These and other parallels in funeral customs suggest a parallel in the belief that the after-life was both a continuation of earthly existence and intimately connected with life on earth. They also suggest that Roman Christian funerary art was equally an expression of "what were to their believers the eternal verities."

Given that this funerary art is didactic and that it is primarily concerned with expressing the faithfuls' understanding of the working of salvation, it should be possible to discern the theological themes present in this art. Our study will concentrate on the theme of the Logos. To facilitate this investigation we will now examine the role played by the Logos in the salvation of Christians according to the Apologists. Earlier we have suggested that it was from their literary types for the Logos that the artistic ones developed. It is therefore important to see to what extent the popular theology as expressed by the art, corresponds to the Logos theology of the Apologists.

A major tenet of the Apologists was the conception of salvation as enlightenment. For them this understanding of salvation "is given a firm, rational foundation in their doctrine of the Logos."[10] From our discussions in the second chapter we recall that for Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Origen the Logos was understood to be both Divine Reason and the only revealer of a true knowledge of God. Clement describes this redemptive function of the Logos in the Paedagogus: "Thus the Logos wishing to achieve our salvation step by step, follows an excellent method: he converts in the first place, then he disciplines, and finally he instructs (Paed. I. 1, my italics.)". This conception of salvation is also shared by Origen who describes

the Logos as "our teacher, law-giver and model; by associating with Him we lose our deadness and irrationality, becoming divinely possessed and rational (Comm. In. John I, 37, 268)." Clement of Alexandria sees the incarnation as demonstrating mankind's potential for deification: "the Word ... became man so that you might learn from man how man may become God (Protr. 1, 8, 4)."

The emphasis on the saving-historical rôle of the Logos naturally placed limits on the function of the incarnation. For Justin, as Aloys Grillmeier states, the incarnation is "the last link in a chain of events, during which the Logos had earlier already appeared on earth in other circumstances to reveal the will of the Father (Dial. 75, 4). The Logos maintains this function as mediator of revelation until the end of the world."[11]

For the Apologists, another function of the incarnation was the destruction of the demonic forces. Specifically it was the power of the Cross which destroyed that of Satan.[12] That he still had considerable influence in the pagan world explained why Christians were still persecuted and martyred; this was the work of the forces of evil. Ultimately, however, those who held firm to the knowledge imparted by the Logos were saved.

> "And though the devil is ever at hand to resist us, and anxious to seduce all to himself, yet the Angel of God, i.e., the Power of God (Logos?) sent to us through Jesus Christ, rebukes him, and he departs from us. And we are just as if drawn out from the fire, when purified from our former sins, and (rescued) from the affliction and the fiery trial by which the devil and all his coadjutors try us; out of which Jesus the Son of God has promised again to deliver us, ..." 13

We now re-examine what we have classified as artistic types for the Logos to discern their relationship to the Apol-

ogists' Salvation theology. We begin by listing again these various types and our interpretation of them.

1. The Good Shepherd: The Logos as Good Shepherd symbolized God's love for men and women. The Logos revealed the divine plan to mankind, and as Shepherd took it upon himself to carry the straying soul back into the light of reason. In other words, he rescued the straying soul from the forces of evil (wolves) who preyed upon them. Having rescued the individual the Logos then feeds him with his divine teaching.

2. The Logos as Orpheus: As Orpheus, the Logos liberates men and women from their lower bestial nature, a symbol of their demonic possession. Then by his sweet music he leads them to an harmonious relationship with God in the land of the living.

3. The Logos as Philosopher: The Logos is the Divine Philosopher who teaches men and women the wisest philosophy, the knowledge of God. He is the teacher of Righteousness.

4. The Logos as Helios: As the sun-charioteer, the Logos governs the created order; guiding "all things in what direction he pleases as law and right demands."[14] This type may therefore symbolize the Apologists' understanding of a salvation-history. The Logos is the Pure Light and Reason that curbs mankind's irrational impulses and leads people "straight for immortality."[15]

5. The Logos as Physician: The Logos heals the soul by bringing men and women back to the true knowledge of God through the revelation of the Divine will. Ultimately, he heals and saves mankind through the incarnation when he becomes "a partaker of our sufferings."[16]

6. The Logos as Jonah: Here the Logos is the prophetic spirit who persuades sinners, as Jonah did the folk of Nineveh, to repent on account of their folly and wickedness and to return to a life in accord with the will of God.[17] Those who do so will be assured of eternal life.

7. The Logos as Angel:

a) The Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace: Through the presence of the Logos the Three were prevented from yielding to idolatry in spite of persecution. It is the Logos who rescues them from the flames. There is a close parallel between this understanding of the image and Justin's conception of the liberation of people from the power of the Devil. As the Logos saved the Three Hebrews so now He saves the faithful from their demonic society.[18]

b) The Akkedah: We have proposed that in early Christian art the Akkedah was a symbol of the purifying influence of the Divine Logos. The knife carried by Abraham represented the Logos' ability to discover the true nature of man's heart. The Logos having judged Abraham to be righteous then reveals himself to Abraham in the form of an angel. Abraham's righteousness is rewarded with the life of his son and the promise of the continuance of his progeny. Abraham was also understood as a type for the wise man. Thus through his contact with the Logos Abraham became "divinely possessed and rational".

c) The Armed Angel who confronts Balaam: This image represents the Logos as a divine judge, "the source through whom both good and ill come to fulfillment".[19] There is also the symbolism of the sword, the means by which the Logos understands

man's true nature, a type for the Logos as the agent of purification.

8. The Logos as Judge: While the Logos is a loving instructor, he is ultimately man's judge. According to Clement of Alexandria, those who disobey Him will not have "Their transgressions passed over in silence".[20] Those who seek salvation must therefore merit a favourable ruling by the Logos.

These types exemplify what we have described as being the three major tenets of the Apologists' salvation theology. Their conception of redemption as enlightenment is reflected in the following Logos types: 1. The Good Shepherd, 2. The Philosopher, 3. Helios, 4. The Akkedah. The Logos as the director of the salvation-history of the world is represented by these types: 1. Helios, 2. The Armed Angel who confronts Balaam. Finally the Logos as the deliverer from the forces of evil is symbolized in Christian art by: 1. The Good Shepherd, 2. Orpheus, 3. Physician, 4. Jonah, 5. The Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, 6. The Akkedah.

At this point it is important to recall our discussion of the Velatio Chamber. We demonstrated that the subjects of the frescoes expressed a consistent Logos schema. Our investigation of the Apologists' salvation theology enables us to deepen our understanding of the iconography of the Velatio Chamber. The Akkedah exemplifies the Logos as the one who converts mankind to the way of salvation. He aids the righteous soul in the pursuit of eternal life. The Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace represents the Logos as the one who delivers men and women from the power of the devil. The final lunette depicts

the Logos as the only Teacher of Knowledge. A female catechumen is taught by agents of the Logos (perhaps a Bishop and a Presbyter). Her thirst for this Divine instruction is symbolized by the infant being nursed. The Orant, now equated with the soul of the deceased, looks upward to the Good Shepherd for her heavenly reward, this being life in paradise. In the iconography of this chamber we therefore find an expression of the Apologists' conception of salvation: "The Logos wishing to achieve our salvation step by step, follows an excellent method: he converts in the first place, then he disciplines, and finally he instructs".[21] Our interpretation of the art of the Velatio Chamber would suggest that the images of the Logos in pre-Constantinian art do visually express the Logos theology of the Apologists.

There is further evidence of the acceptableness of this theology to the church in Rome with the writings of Hippolytus. In the Refutation of All Heresies he describes his purpose as being "an advisor, in as much as I am a disciple of the benevolent Logos, and hence humane, in order that you may hasten and by us may be taught who the true God is, and what is His well-ordered creation".[22] The aim of Hippolytus' instruction is to save the pagans of his society so that they too may, "escape the approaching threat of the fire of judgement, and the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus, where never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of the Word:"[23] If the individual receives the teaching of the Logos then he or she will become "a companion of the Deity, and a co-heir with Christ, no longer enslaved by lusts or passions, and never again wasted by disease."[24] Indeed

they "will have been" deified, and begotten unto immortality."[25] Thus the salvation theology present in these verses taken from Hippolytus' conclusion to his Refutation of All Heresis is remeniscent of both the larger Logos theology of Justin, and Clement of Alexandria, and Logos iconography in pre-Constantinian Roman Christian art. Again it is through the intervention of the Logos that the individual is converted from his heathen ways, delivered from the power of evil (lust, passions, and sickness), and taught the way to eternal life.

That the thought of the Apologists is reflected in pre-Constantinian Roman Christian art is no surprise. Earlier we proposed that this art was the product of the private patronage of wealthy Christians. It is therefore reasonable to expect that these patrons would favour the teachings of those scholars who did not view the possession of wealth as being contrary to the Christian way of life. It was the Apologists who first expressed this view.[26]

In The Rich Man's Salvation Clement of Alexandria states that the possession of wealth is not contrary to the will of God provided that the rich practise true Christian stewardship: "We must not then fling away the riches that are of benefit to our neighbours as well as ourselves."[27] According to Clement what is sinful is self-indulgence (lust, averice, etc.), these sins he collectively labels the passions of the soul. A wealthy man must therefore "do away, not with his possessions, but rather with the passions of his soul, which do not consent to the better use of what he has; in order that, by becoming noble and good, he may be able to use these possessions also in a noble manner".[28] "Salvation", Clement says, "belongs to pure and passionless souls".[29]

This emphasis on purification for affluent Christians helps to explain the presence of the following figures of the Logos as the Agent of Purification in pre-Constantinian Christian art: The Physician, Jonah, The Akkedah, and the Armed Angel Who Confronts Balaam. Recalling that this art was understood as a didactic tool, the purpose of these figures may be to teach the living members of the deceased's family of their need to practise true Christian stewardship of their possession if they wish to inherit eternal life.

The individual's quest for salvation is indeed the prominent theme in the Logos images in pre-Constantinian Roman Christian funerary art. It now behoves us to ask the question: what was the role of the institutional Roman Church in this quest? We will begin by examining the presence of the institutional Church in this art.

In the earliest of Christian art types for the Church are very rare. The theme of Noah and the Ark is a noted exception for here we have an accepted symbol of the Church as the ship of salvation.[30] The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion are also depicted in this art but it is difficult to interpret them solely as symbols of the spiritual authority of the institutional Church.[31] The figure of the Orant is more often understood as an image of the soul of the dead than as a type for the Church. The presence of Mary is generally restricted to representations of the Adoration of the Magi. In early Christian art this subject is commonly interpreted as a symbol of the capitulation of the forces of evil and paganism to the power of the Logos.[32] Mary here plays a minor role thus it is unlikely that

she was meant to be seen as a type for the Church.[33]

Equally absent are subjects representing the authority of the Church in pre-Constantinian Christian art. Icons of Peter and Paul abound in Constantinian Christian art but are seldom found in the earliest art of the Church. Neither are there representations of the Traditio Legis, a symbol of both Roman supremacy and Apostolic succession.

The clergy are rarely seen in pre-Constantinian Christian art. The seated figure of the fresco on the back wall of the Velatio Chamber may be a bishop or he may be a Christian Philosopher. We have already suggested that the theme of the Teacher of Righteousness is more appropriate to our understanding of the total iconography of the Velatio Chamber. In images of the Eucharistic Banquet clergy may be present as their dress was not distinctive prior to the Constantinian era. Only the tradition of the Church requires their attendance at the celebration of a sacrament. Thus even if included the clergy are accorded no special distinction in pre-Constantinian Christian art.

We propose that the presence of the institutional Church is thus more implicit than visible in Christian art prior to the Peace of the Church. In our discussion of the duties of the archdeacon Callistus as the administrator of the cemetery we suggested that the Church probably supervised the decoration of the arcosolia and ceilings.[34] There is, however, no evidence to imply that the Roman Church ever rigidly censured the artistic expression of wealthy Christians. Indeed the Western Church appears to have been amazingly tolerant. Subjects specifically representing the institutional Church as the sole agent of salvation are scarce in pre-Constantinian Christian art; while

the majority of Logos images present the Christ-Logos as the Divine intercessor and sole saviour of mankind. We have observed that they portray the Christ-Logos as the one who converts, purifies, and enlightens the Christian leading him to a true knowledge of God.

This lack of emphasis on ecclesiastical authority together with the importance given to enlightenment in pre-Constantinian Christian art possibly reflects the teachings of Clement of Alexandria. Von Campenhausen describes Clement's understanding of the role of the ecclesiastical structure. "This pedagogic and imitative Christianity consequently has no serious interest in the intrusions of an alleged authority. Ultimately it acknowledges no professional "office" in this sense -- or rather, acknowledges it only as a pedagogic aid for a Christianity which spritually has not yet become genuinely free and alive."[35] Von Campenhausen, however, restricts this understanding of the church to the Eastern Church.[36] We feel that the artistic evidence which we have presented implies a wider acceptance of this aspect of Clement's ecclesiology in the West.

Additional support of this view is found in the writings of Hippolytus; he expressly employed the academic term "school" in describing ecclesiastical structure.[37] Indeed the emphasis on pedagogy so changed Roman Christianity that, as Prestiges comments, it "resembled less a system of parishes than a cluster of lecture rooms".[38] It was this series of rival schools that eventually led to the formation of the schismatical churches of the late second and early third centuries.[39] Unfortunately, without a greater knowledge of the patrons of pre-Constantinian

Christian art it is difficult to determine whether the artistic types for the Logos express the teachings of the official Roman Church or that of the schismatical churches.

We conclude this chapter with the discussion of the question: is it possible that Logos symbols might support both the Roman Church and the schismatics, and yet be considered orthodox? It must first be remembered that the bounds of official Roman doctrine during the late second and early third centuries allowed considerable latitude. Callistus, as bishop of Rome, was eventually forced to excommunicate the Monarchian teacher Sabellius because he transgressed these bounds, but Hippolytus merely received an official warning about the potential danger of ditheism resulting from his Logos Christology.[40] If the Logos Christology of the Apologists was new and daring, it was not considered to be unorthodox.

The Logos doctrine of the Apologists may have been useful for the Church's Christian propaganda. It was an age when the Roman Church was trying to gain strength both in terms of numbers and influence. The Logos doctrine could appeal to educated converts who had some knowledge of various philosophical schools. The Logos doctrine was useful too because it emphasized the rationality of the Divine plan for the world and for human life, the importance of knowledge and teaching as the means of achieving the plan, and the necessity for the maintenance of order within it. The Roman Church could then draw certain parallels between her activity in the Divine economy and that of the Logos. If understood as the school of the Divine Pedagogue, it was the Roman Church's privilege and duty to explain God's will to the people of the Empire. She had also learned that it

was necessary for her to supervise what was being taught. Lastly, for the fulfillment of God's plan the Church had to maintain discipline and good order. Many of the Logos symbols in pre-Constantinian Roman Christian art reflect this situation of the Roman Church in early third century.

Yet the same emphasis on knowledge and teaching inherent in the Logos Doctrine could have permitted such schismatical churches as that of Hippolytus to lay claim to their position as the true school of the Divine Pedagogue. We have already seen that Hippolytus certainly made this claim for himself.[41] Thus the Logos Doctrine of the Apologists could equally support the stance of rival but non-heretical schools. It is, therefore, likely that many of the Logos images in pre-Constantinian Roman Christian art were commissioned by the followers of Hippolytus. By their very nature it is clear that these images were anathema to members of the Monarchian schools. The Monarchian theology denied the existence of the Logos as a distinct Divine person.

CHAPTER FIVE: NOTES

1 For a list of the extant examples of early Christian art from the city of Alexandria see: Kurt Weitzmann The Age of Spirituality, p. 724, Alexandria.

2 I.A. Richmond, Archaeology and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery, p. 19.

3 Ibid. p.19.

4 I.A. Richmond, Archaeology and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery, p. 37.

5 Mortimer Wheeler, Roman Art and Architecture, p. 162. "In the halls of our ancestors, wax models of faces were displayed to furnish likenesses in funeral processions; so that at a funeral the entire clan was present." (Pliny. N.H., XXXV.2).

6 I.A. Richmond, Archaeology and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery, p. 7.

7 I.A. Richmond, Archaeology and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery, p. 8.

8 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 97.

9 I.A. Richmond, Archaeology and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery, p. 27.

10 J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 169.

11 Aloys Grillmeier, S.J., Christ in the Christian Tradition, p. 90.

12 Jean Daniélou, Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture. p. 165.
"Essentially, however, it is the Passion of Christ which destroys the power of the Devil. This is one of Justin's basic themes: 'The Father of the Christ gave him such power (δύναμις) that the demons were subject to his Name and to the οἰκονομία of his Passion' (Dial. XXX, 3); and again, 'a secret power (δύναμις) of God attaches to the crucified Christ, which makes the demons tremble, and in a word, all the Powers and Principalities worshipped on earth' (Dial. XLIX, 8; cf. also Dial. XLI, 1). Justin finds this δύναμις prefigured in the Old Testament; it is the 'power of the Cross' (1. Apol. XXV, 2) which is predicted in the words of Is. 9: 69; the government will be upon his shoulders.'" Here we should recall Justin's identification of the Logos as being the Power of God. This type for the Logos is common to the works of Philo Judaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

13 Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, CXVI, 1-2, Donaldson and Roberts, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 257.

In Chapter Two, p. 32 we demonstrated Justin's use of 'Angel of God' as a type for the Logos. The implication of this passage is therefore, that through Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ the power of the Devil had been broken. The resurrected Christ, now synonymous with the Logos, was free to save mankind by imparting full knowledge of God. According to J.N.D. Kelly this conception of the Passion is also found in Origen's work: "For a complete and final salvation as Origen envisages, the restoration of the fallen spirits, angels, and demons, as well as of men, to their pristine transcendental status is required. Hence the role of the Logos as illuminating men's souls, purifying and deifying them by His transforming contact, must obviously be primary. But Origen, as we have seen, was also acutely conscious of the malefic efforts of the Devil and his co-adjutors to enslave men and hold them back from any return. Hence the destruction of their power was to his mind an indispensable preliminary to the purgative process worked by the Logos." J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 186, 187. (my italics).

14 Chapter Four, p. 82, note 34. Philo Judaeus.

15 Chapter Four, p. 82, note 35. Clement of Alexandria.

16 Chapter Four, p. 83, note 38. Justin Martyr. For a general discussion of the implications of this concept in the redemption theology of the Third Century see Aloys Grillmeier, S.J., Christ in The Christian Tradition, p. 115.

17 Nineveh may have been understood as a symbol for pagan Rome, a city possessed by evil forces. Certainly Babylon was understood as such a type. See J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 79.

18 Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, CXVI, 1-2, note 16.

19 Chapter Four, p. 89, Philo Judaeus.

20 Ibid., Clement of Alexandria.

21 Chapter Five, p. 91, (my italics).

22 Hippolytus, The Refutation of All Heresies, Book X, Chapter XXX, Donaldson and Roberts, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume V, p. 152, 153. (my italics).

23 Ibid., (my italics). Volume V, p. 152, 153.

24 Ibid. Volume V, p. 152, 153.

25 Ibid., See also Clement of Alexandria, The Protrepticus, 1, 8, 4.

26 Robert M. Grant, Augustus to Constantine, p. 261, 263. Here Grant contrasts the negative attitude of Irenaeus to the more liberal views of Clement of Alexandria on the subject of a Christian's possession of wealth. For further discussion see Martin Hengel, Property and Riches in the Early Church, p. 77.

27 Clement of Alexandria, The Rich Man's Salvation, XIV, G.W. Butlerworth, The Loeb Classical Library, No. 92, p. 299.

28 Ibid., p.299.

29 Clement of Alexandria, The Rich Man's Salvation, XX, G.W. Butlerworth, The Loeb Classical Library, No. 92, p. 313.

30 J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 201.

31 In the discussion of attributes for the Logos we mentioned that the eucharistic bread and wine were understood as symbols for the Logos by the Apologists and Hippolytus.

32 J. Stevenson, The Catacombs, p. 87.

33 J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, Chapter XVIII, 2., pp. 491-499.

34 Chapter Three, p. 68 and note 36.

35 H. Von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority And Spiritual Power, p. 211.

36 Ibid., p.211.

37 G.L. Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, pp. 26-27.

38 Ibid., pp. 26-27.

39 Ibid., pp. 26-27.

40 G.L. Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, p. 31.

41 Op. Cit., note 22.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we reiterate our disagreement with André Grabar's "skepticism concerning the existence of a theological iconography of Christ in early Christian art".[1] We have cited the affinity which exists between the literary types for the Logos in the works of Philo Judaeus, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Hippolytus, and many of the images of Christ and a number of Old Testament scenes in pre-Constantinian Christian art. In the final chapter we demonstrated that even the private funerary setting of most of these representations does not preclude their pedagogical nature. We mentioned that the majority of Roman burial art was intended to convey the values, hopes, and beliefs of the patron. Thus the presence of a consistent Logos iconography in such settings as the Velatio Chamber suggests that the subjects chosen represent more than just the patron's favorite Biblical narratives. We contend that in pre-Constantinian Christian art one finds an established theological iconography for the Logos.

The claim that early Christian art emerged from its Jewish antecedent does not alter our opinion. Indeed, we proposed that many of the subjects depicted on the walls of the Dura Synagogue and the floor mosaic of the Hamat-Tiberias Synagogue are representations of the Divine Logos. Again, we base this conclusion on the Logos images found in the work of Philo Judaeus. For our purposes we recall our identification of the following subjects as types for the Logos: A) The Helios figure of the floor mosaic at Hamat-Tiberias; and on the walls of the Dura Synagogue, A) The Akkedah, B) Orpheus-David, C) The Messianic Ruler, D) Moses on Mt. Sinai, E) Moses at the

Burning Bush, F) The Crossing of the Red Sea, and G) Jacob's Dream. We contend equally that both Jewish and pre-Constantinian Christian figurative art was predicated on a new understanding of the laws concerning the nature of idolatry. Representations of God, the Father, were still considered idolatrous; those,however, depicting the Divine Logos as a second God were permitted. We based this opinion upon Philo's reinterpretation of the various Biblical Theophanies as Logophanies. Hellenistic Judaism could thus indulge its cultural pursuits without fear of sinning.

A significant contribution to this thesis is our finding that the presence of a Logos iconography in pre-Constantinian Christian art based on the Logos theology of Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Hippolytus demonstrates the popularity of their teaching with the patrons of Christian art. Within the thesis we suggested several reasons why this occurred. Mention was made of the Apologists' appeal to the intellectual community of the empire when, with the aid of their Logos theology, they proved Christianity to be the wisest philosophy. In keeping with this trend towards intellectualism, salvation was now understood to be a process of revelation, purification, and instruction in the true knowledge of God. This was the work of the Divine Logos and,by extension, the earthly school of this Divine Pedagogue. The Apologists' teachings also appealed to the wealthy convert for they taught that possession of wealth was not a barrier to the salvation of a Christian provided that those so endowed practiced true Christian stewardship of their resources.

Earlier studies of pre-Constantinian Christian art proposed that most subjects which expressed the faithful's hopes for deliverance or salvation were conceptualizations of the petitions found in the prayer of the Roman office for the Dead. Our study suggests that these images are better understood as expressions of the salvation theology of the Apologists. Their theological writings are contemporary with the development of this art while the Roman office can only be traced to the early Middle Ages. In addition, many of the images used to support the previous thesis (Jonah, The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, The Akkedah etc.) have been demonstrated to be representations of the Logos.

In the final chapter we attempted to outline the relationship of the Logos images in Christian art prior to the Peace of the Church to their historical context. We observed that present evidence makes it difficult to determine whether these types for the Logos express the teachings of the official Roman Church, the schismatical school of Hippolytus, or both. We discussed the trend towards scholasticism which existed in the church in Rome in the third century and how either the Roman Church or the schismatical churches could claim to be the true school of the Divine Pedagogue. The art does not provide enough information at this period to be more precise. The presence of Logos images in this art, however, clearly indicates that it was not the product of the patronage of Monarchian followers, for, again, they denied the existence of the Logos as a distinct Divine person.

The presence and abundance of Logos images in pre-Constantinian Christian art indicates that popular theology emphasized the divinity of Christ. The people of the Roman Church were more concerned with Jesus Christ as a Divine person than with his humanity. The incarnation was only the means by which God redeemed mankind, it was merely part of the Divine economy of the Logos. It was the continuing intercession and teaching of the Logos which assured the patrons of early Christian art of their safe passage to the after-life.

1. André Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins, p.119.

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Fig. 1
Coin from Apamea - Kibotos. AD 222 - 235.

Fig. 3. Christ-Helios, Mosaic, vault of the Mausoleum of the Julii, Vatican, late 3rd century.

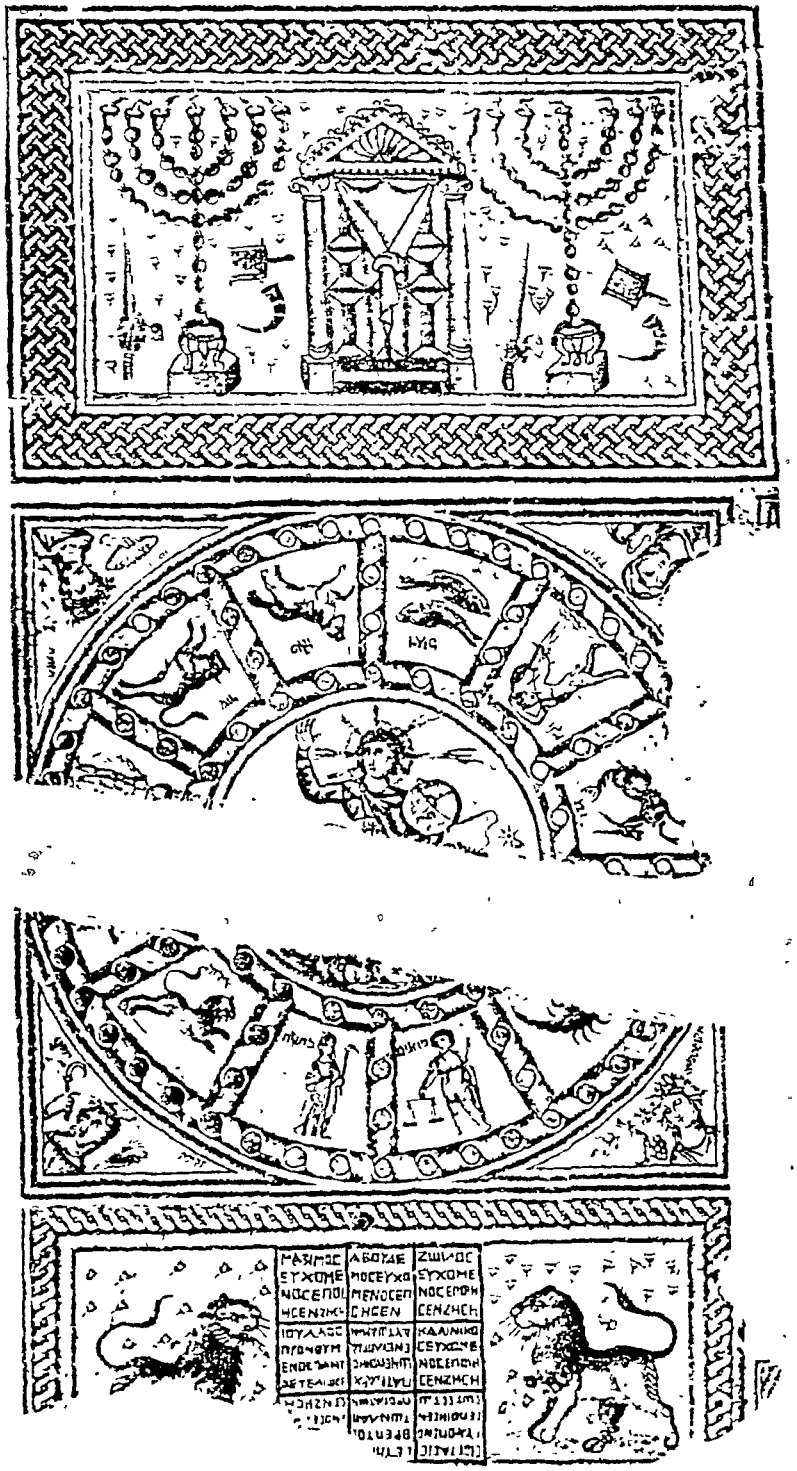

Fig. 2. Mosaic Floor of the Synagogue at Hamat-Tiberias, Israel. A.D. 300.

Fig. 4. Good Shepherd - Orpheus, Fresco, ceiling of the "Ancient Chamber", Cemetery of Domitilla, Rome.

Fig. 5. Christian Sarcophagus of the Via Salaria, Lateran Museum, Rome, Early 3rd Century.

Fig. 6. The "La Gayolle" Sarcophagus
Musée du Brignoles, France.

Fig. 7. Sarcophagus with Jonah scene, orant, philosopher, Good Shepherd, and baptismal scene, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Fig. 8. →
Good Shepherd,
marble,
Cleveland Mus.

Fig. 9. (below)
Christ-Orpheus,
Fresco, 3rd Cen.
Catacomb of Domitilla

Fig. 10. Plaque from a Child's Tomb, Musei Capitolini, Rome, late 3rd Century.

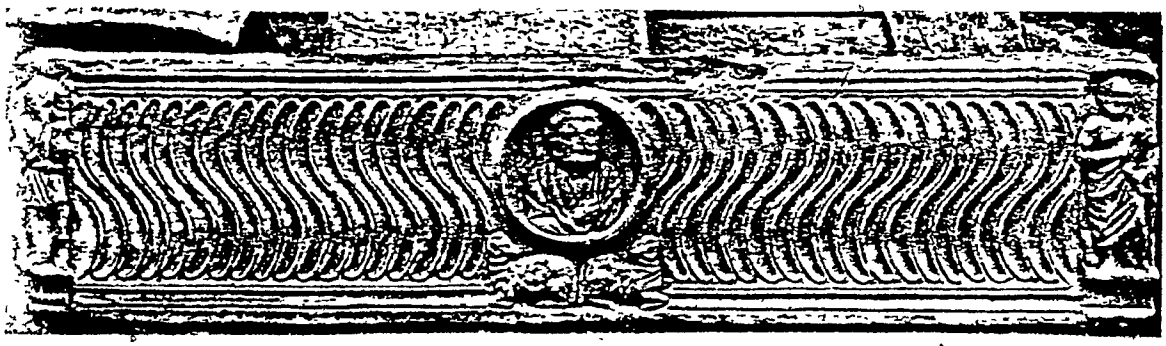

Fig. 11. San Crisogono Sarcophagus, Rome.

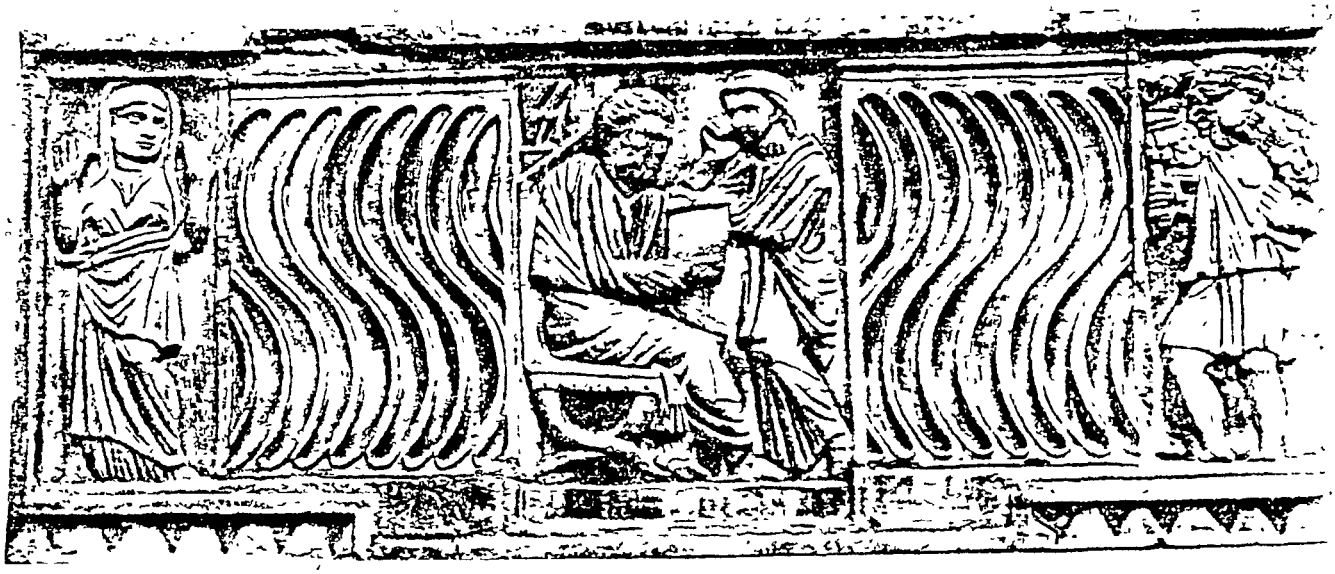

Fig. 12. Palazzo Sanseverino Sarcophagus, Rome, late 3rd century.

Fig. 13. Musei Communi Sarcophagus, Rome, late 3rd century.

Fig. 14. Helios, fresco, vault of the arcosolium, crypt of the Tricliniarch, Cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus, Rome.

Fig. 15. "Jonah Sarcophagus," Museo Pio Cristiano, Rome.

Fig. 16 A.

Fig 16 B

The Jonah Cycle,
Marble, 3rd century,
Cleveland Museum,

16A Jonah vomited by the Sea Beast.
16B Jonah swallowed by the Sea Beast.
16C Jonah under the Gourd.
16D Jonah Praying.

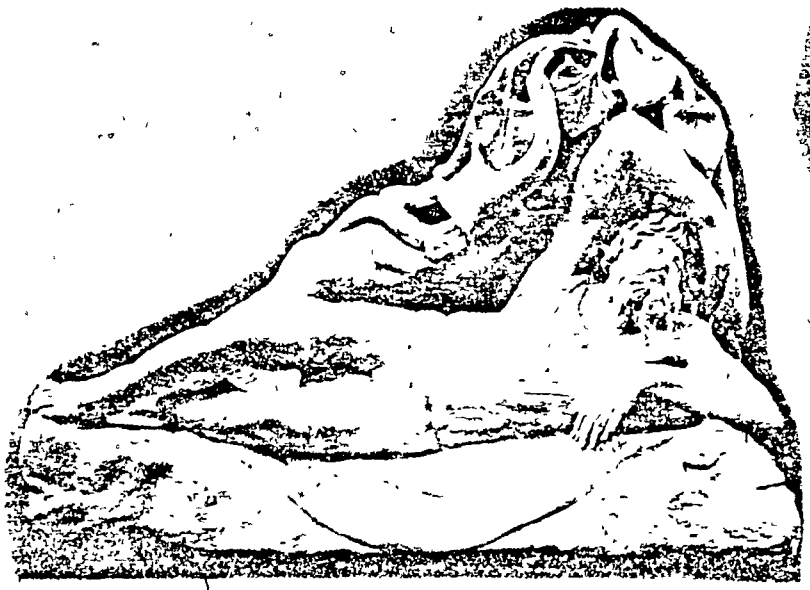

Fig. 16 C

Fig. 16 D.

Fig. 17.

Good Shepherd,
Fresco,
Alexandria
3rd century.
Greco-Roman
Museum, Alex.

Fig. 18. The Three Hebrew in the Fiery Furnace
Fresco, Velatio Chamber,
Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome.

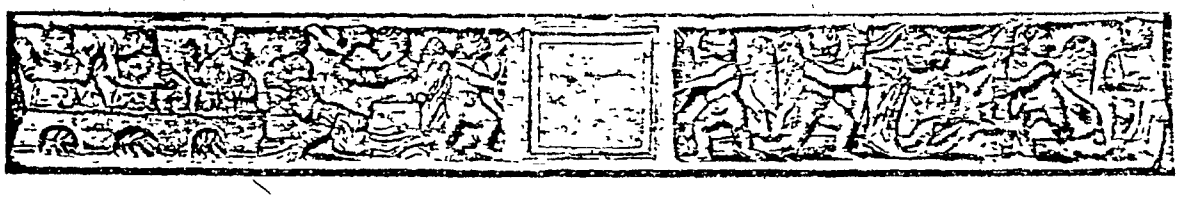

Fig. 19. Sarcophagus Front,
Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican
Early 4th. Century.

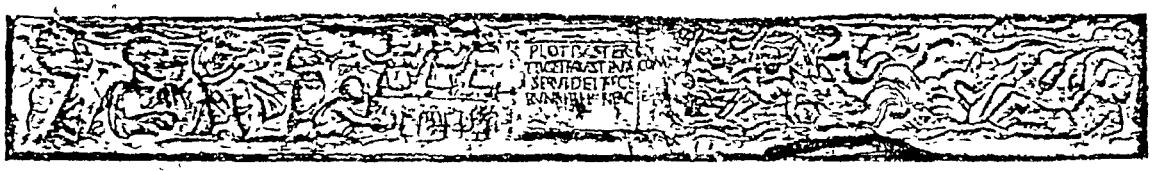

Fig. 20. Sarcophagus Front,
Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican,
Late 3rd - Early 4th Century.

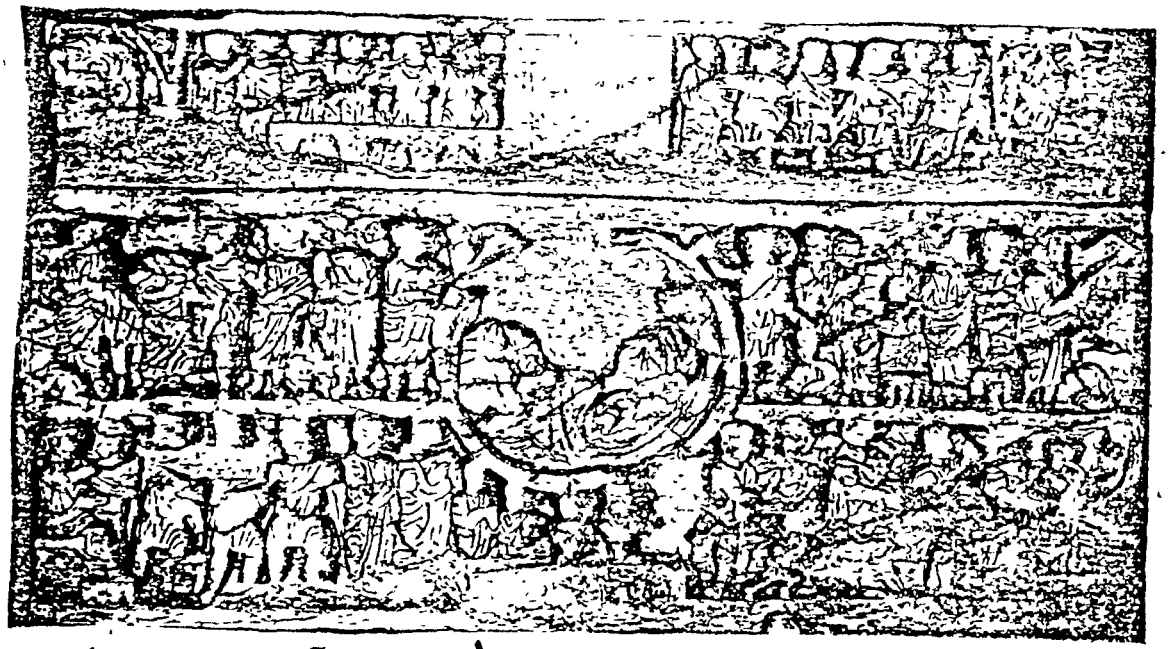

Fig. 21. Sarcophagus,
Cimitero dei S.S. Marco e Marcelliano,
Early 4th Century.

Fig. 22. Fragment of a Sarcophagus, Musei Capitolini, Rome Beginning of 4th Century.

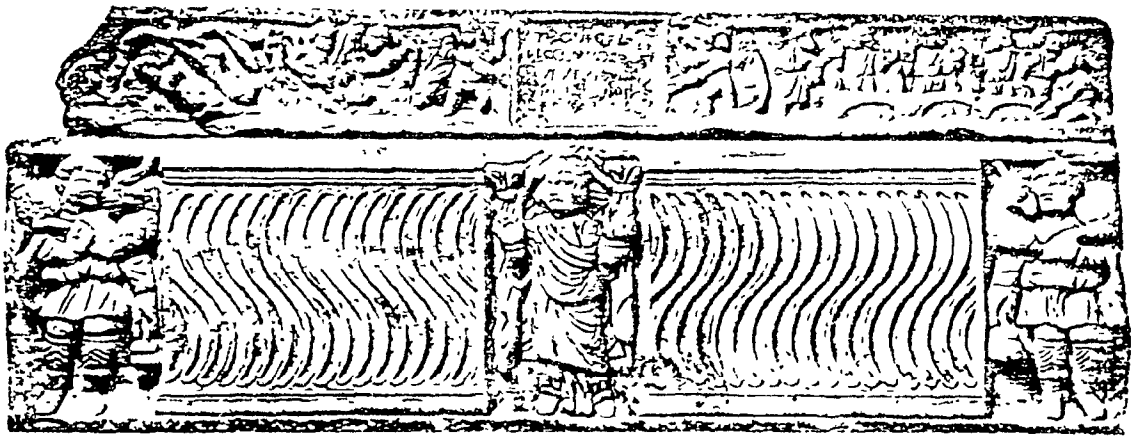

Fig. 23. Strigil Sarcophagus, Cimitero Anonimo Presso S. Lorenzo, Rome, Late 3rd - Early 4th Century.

Fig. 24. Fragment of a Sarcophagus, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Late 3rd century.

Fig. 25. Lunette, fresco, Back Wall, Velatio Chamber, Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome.

Fig. 26. Sarcophagus Fragment,
Cemetery of San Sebastiano,
Rome, Early 4th Century.

Fig. 27.
Sarcophagus Lid with Last Judgment,
Rome, late 3rd Century,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.

Fig. 28. Sarcophagus Fragment,

Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican.
Ca. 275 - 300.

Fig. 29.
Christ as Judge,
fresco,
Coemeterium Maius,
Rome.

Fig. 30. Balaam Pointing to a Star and Mother and Child, fresco, Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome.

Fig. 31. The Akkedah, fresco, left wall, Velatio Chamber, Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome.

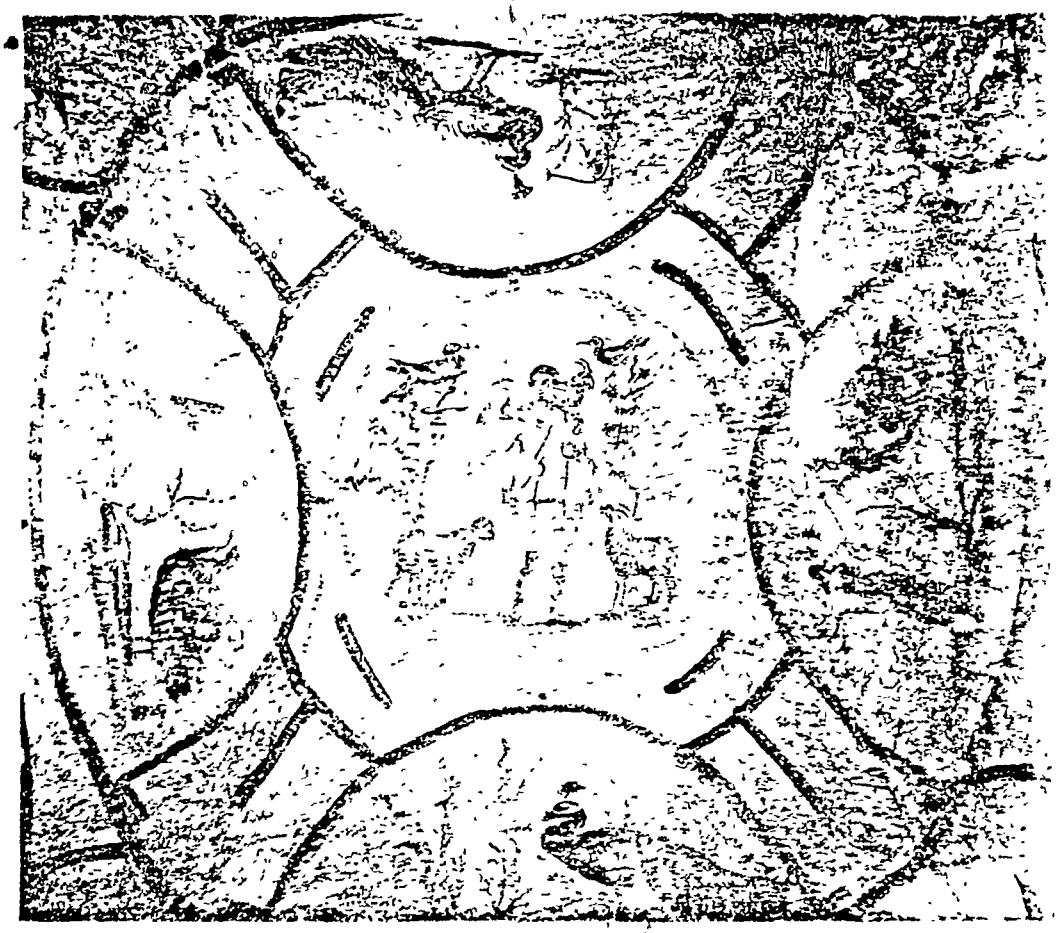

Fig. 32. The Good Shepherd, fresco ceiling vault, Velatio Chamber, Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome.

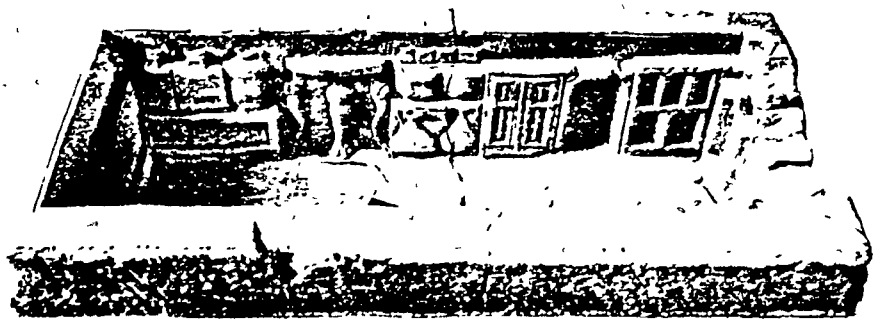

Fig. 33. 3rd. Century Sarcophagus, from Simpelveld, Holland. Royal Archaeological Museum, Leiden.