THE CRUCIFIX.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE identification of the salutary sign¹ (i. e., the figure of intersecting lines) with the cross of Golgotha, the stauros or the pole on which Christ died, does not as yet occur in the New Testament, nor can any trace of it be found in the oldest Christian writers, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, including even the Shepherd of Hermas of the beginning of the second century. It is utterly absent in the catacombs, where Christ on the cross is represented as a fish on a simple rod or pole. The second oldest form



IXθΥΣ, CHRIST AS THE FISH NN THE ROOD. Frescoes in the Catacombs, Ardeatine Cemetery. (The cross is here, in its oldest pictorial representation, a simple rod without cross-beam.)

of the cross in the catacombs is the \top cross and that appears in the latter half of the fourth century, while the four-armed cross was not discovered earlier than the fifth century. Says the Rev. Richard St. John Tyrwhitt in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, pp. 496-497:

"One example is given by Boldetti of a tau-cross, dating A. D. 370 according to the consuls: neither the Crux Immissa nor the Greek cross appear by actuaexamples till the fifth century. This question of date can hardly be decided in the Catacombs, from the number of crosses inscribed there by pilgrims of all periods.

"The tau appears in the Callixtine Catacomb, in a sepulchral inscription, referred to the third century, thus: 'IRETNE.' This frequently occurs elsewhere (De Rossi, *Bullet.*, 1863, p. 35); and some of the crucifixes on the vessels of the treasury of Monza are of the same shape (see Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*.

1 It is called in Latin *signum salutis*, the symbol of salvation, of wholesomeness, of redemption, of life and immortality. Vols. XXVI.-XXVII.). Still in some of the earliest examples it may possibly have been used, even by Christians, in the pre-Christian sense, as a type of life in the world to come."

The sign of two intersecting lines, one form of the cross among many, had, since the age of Constantine, been more and more chosen as the main, and finally as the sole, representative symbol of the instrument of Christ's crucifixion and became at last definitely identified with it in the minds of the people.

These are established facts, and yet it seems to us that the identification must have been established at a very early date in certain Christian circles. We may fairly assume that these Christians belonged to the lowest walks of life and exercised at first no great influence on the Church. Their views were sometimes repudiated, sometimes tolerated, without being officially recognised; but being backed by old traditions, which, Pagan though they were, could not easily be set aside, and anticipating the authorisation of the Church, they slowly gained ground, probably in the second century, when the Pagans began to call Christians staurolaters, or worshippers of the cross.

Justinus Martyr seems to make the earliest attempt to see in the cross of Golgotha two intersecting lines; but his allusion is very vague. He says:

"The Paschal lamb, roasted whole, was a symbol of the passion of the cross; for the lamb, in roasting, bears a resemblance to the figure of the cross—one spit pierces it horizontally from the lower extremities to the head, and another across the back on which to hang the forelegs."

This is the oldest remark in Christian literature which speaks of the cross as represented by two intersecting lines, and yet passages quoted in former chapters, from this same author, Justinus Martyr, prove that his knowlege of the cross of execution with its projecting seat offered another aspect. But we must bear in mind that the Church-fathers improved every opportunity and strained their imagination considerably to find references and allusions to the cross of any shape, now to the T cross, then to the four-armed cross standing upright +, then again to the same cross lying on two ends \times , and also to the simple pole, the rood, or the tree. But it is noteworthy that this effort of finding the cross everywhere represented cannot be traced back beyond Justinus Martyr.¹

Minutius Felix and Tertullian repudiate the charge of staurolatry, but their very repudiation seems to prove that crosses

¹ Barnabas, the companion of Paul, is older than Justinus, but the Epistle of Barnabas is a forgery of a later date.

were actually employed by some Christians in public or private religious worship.

Minutius Felix replies to the charge, saying:

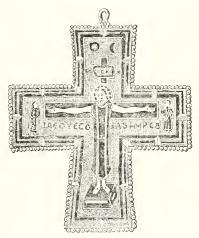
"We (Christians) neither worship crosses nor desire them" (for dying thereon), but Tertullian seems to acquiesce in the charge, claiming that the Pagans are herein the coreligionists (*con-sacranei*) of the Christians in that the former worship wooden statues. He challenges the Pagans to tell him what difference there is between the material of a statue and a cross, "when each is represented by a rough stock without form."

If there were staurolaters in the age of Tertullian, the form of the cross need not have been that of later days, the so-called Latin

cross, but may have been a more realistic representation of an instrument for capital punishment, for Tertullian adds:

"But an entire cross is attributed to us, with its transverse beam of course and its projecting seat."¹

Whatever may have been true of the charge of staurolatry, the cross was not yet accepted at that early date as a symbol of Christianity, nor was its form sufficiently fixed to serve as an officially recognised object of worship.



THEODOLINDA'S CRUCIFIX.² (About 590.)

The last step in the history of the cross, the manufacture of crucifixes, was probably taken only in the middle of the sixth century. So long as the spirit of classic antiquity retained the slightest influence, no artist dared to represent the highest ideal of religion in the shape of a dying man on the cross. The crucifix appears with the beginning of the Middle Ages, not before.

One of the oldest crucifixes, perhaps the oldest in existence, is the pectoral cross of Queen Theodolinda. But this is a private, not an official, use of the crucifix. The Christian Church authorities still shrunk from depicting Christ on the cross, and represented him as a lamb standing or lying under a cross, with streams of blood

^{1&}quot;Nobis tota crux imputatur, cum antenna scilicit sua et cum illo sedilis excessu." Adv Nat., II.

² From Smith and Cheetbam's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, Vol. I., p. 512.

issuing from its wounded neck. It was only at the end of the seventh century (A. D. 692) that the Trullan Council sanctioned the use of crucifixes, saying:

"We order that in the stead of the ancient lamb, Jesus Christ, our Lord, shall be shown henceforth in His human form, in the images, he being the lamb which bears the iniquity of the world."

The first attempts to indicate the crucifixion are purely suggestions of the event, not real representations, and instances of it are found in the designs on the oil flasks of Monza. Here the cross is worshipped and the head of Christ surrounded by a halo appears



CHRIST AS A LAMB.² (Fifth century.) above the cross. Even the crucifixion of the thieves is merely indicated, and the scene at the tomb in which the angel proclaims Christ's resurrection fills the lower part of the design. (See p. 677.)

A further step is done in a miniature illustration in the Chiese Monzeze by representing the thieves tied to stakes, while Christ's crucifixion is symbolised by his outstretched arms. The good thief at Christ's right hand looks up to the Saviour; the bad thief turns his face away. Mary and St. John are kneeling at Christ's feet. (See p. 679.)

Protestant archæologists are inclined to regard the crucifix as belonging to the Middle Ages. The Rev. Richard St. John Tyrwhitt argues as follows in the article on Crucifixion :¹

"If Hallam's division of periods be accepted, which makes the end of the fifth century the beginning of the Middle Ages, the public representation of the Cruci-

fixion may be said to be a mediæval usage in point of time. Further, Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes*, p. 190, s. v.) claims for France the honor of having possessed the first public crucifix-painting which ever existed; for which he refers to Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Martyr.*, i. 23), and which he says must have been at least as old as the middle of the sixth century. But he says above, probably with great correctness, that all the most eminent Crucifixions known were objects of private devotion, instancing the pectoral cross of Queen Theodolinda and the Syriac MS. of the Medicean Library at Florence."

According to Franz Xaver Kraus, the reliefs in the wooden door of S. Sabina in Rome, and the London ivory plate (here re-

1 Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 512. 2 From Dr. Rock's *Hierurgia*, 2d ed., London. C. Dolmar, 1857, p. 362. produced) belong to the fifth century and would have to be regarded as the oldest instances of crucifixions now extant. If Professor



OIL-FLASK OF MONZA.

Suggesting the crucifixion. (After Garrucci. Reproduced from F. X. Kraus, *G. d. ch. K.*, I., p. 172.)

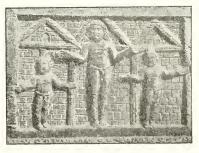


THE EIGHT-RAYED STAR.

A combination of the upright cross +, and the letter \times (i. e., *Ch*), the initial of Christ, on an oil-flask of Monza.¹

Kraus's chronological estimate is correct, we must grant that the Church set the example for the adoption of crucifixes, although the





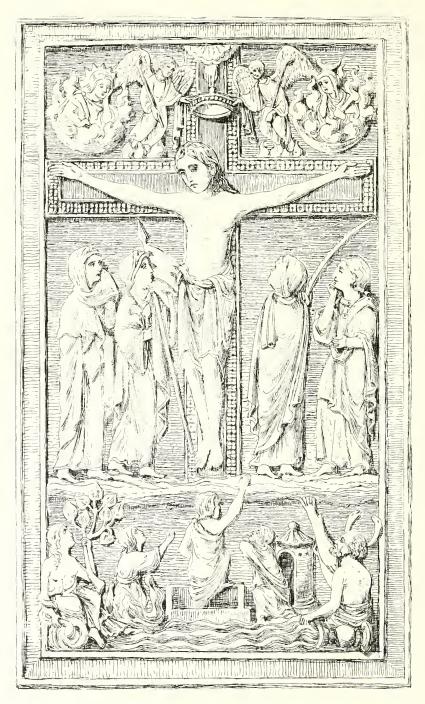
IVORY PLATE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.² (Fifth Century.) (F. X. Kraus, G. d. ch. K., I, p. 174.)

Relief in the Wooden Door of S. Sabian (Rome). (F. X. Kraus, G. d. ch. K., I., p. 174.)

usage was officially sanctioned only later on when the practice had spread over almost all Christendom.

1 F. X. Kraus, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, 1., p. 524.

 $^2\,\rm Christ$ is youthful and without beard, and his death on the cross is contrasted to the death of Judas on the tree.



A Typical Symbolical Representation of the Crucifixion. (From an ivory-carving of the ninth century.) 1

1 From Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake's History of Our Lord, II., plate facing p. 144.

Professor Kraus sums up the case as follows :

"The assumption that authors of the fourth century bear witness to the prevalence of crucifixes is at present no longer tenable, and even the poem of Pseudo-Lactantius *De Ave Phanice*, quoted by Gorrucci, proves nothing, except that the believer saw behind the simple cross the Crucified One himself."

Commenting on remarks of later authors, Kraus continues :

"In the time of Emperor Justinian the Great, Choricius saw a fresco of Christ crucified between the two thieves in the church of S. Sergius at Gaza, and was informed that Anastasius Sinaiticus (about 550) affixed to his work *Hodogetikos* a picture of the Crucified. In the beginning of the Frankish era we find two valuable statements, the one by Venautius Fortunatus who saw a picture in stitch-work of the Crucified on a palla in a church of Tours, and the other by Gregorius of Tours that there was a crucifix at about 593 in a church at Narbonne which gave offence through its nudity."

Professor Kraus adds in explanation of the late appearance of crucifixes in Christian art:

"It is natural that in consideration of the contumelious character of capital punishment on the cross, which was abolished only under the rule of Constantine

the Church felt for a long time a general disinclination to represent the horrors of the crucifixion, and when at last in the fifth century Christian art ventured to do so it preserved for a long time a taste of antique art by representing down to the beginning of the second millennium the living Christ on the cross and not the dead one."

Representations of the crucifixion became and remained very popular during the Middle Ages, and their number begins to decrease gradually in Protestant countries since the Reformation.

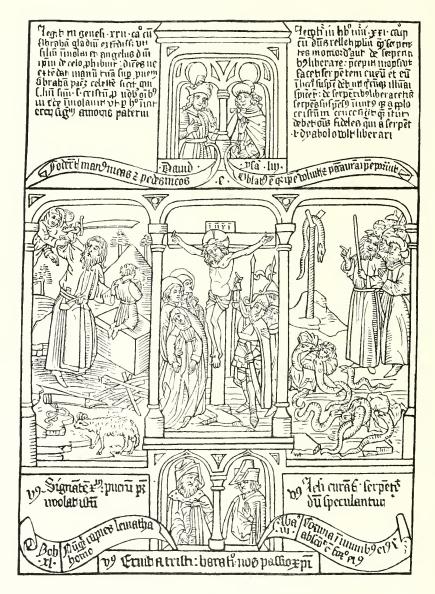


MINIATURE ILLUSTRATION.

(In the Chiese Monzeze. From Frisi's *Memoire della Chiese Monzeze.*)¹

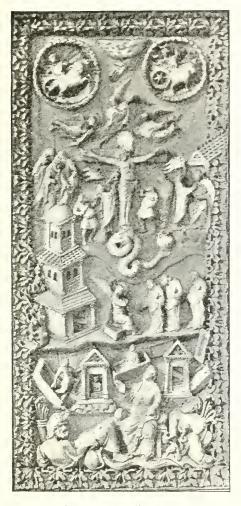
The symbolical representation of the crucifixion finds a typical expression in an ivory plate, reproduced from the *History of Our Lord*, by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake. The hand reaching out of the clouds represents God the Father, which is an ancient symbol found in the early Assyrian monuments indicating divine providence. The crown of Christ, to which the passion on the cross leads, is held up by two angels bearing torches, such as were used in the Eleusinian and other mysteries. The sun and moon are depicted here as in many other crucifixions, for instance on the oil flasks of Monza, after the fashion of Pagan deities, not otherwise than on Mithraistic monuments. The sun and the moon appear also on Theodolinda's cross and the gold-leaf dress ornament of Lombardy. The figures surrounding the cross are the Church

1 Cf. Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake's History of Our Lord, 11., p. 167.



THE CRUCIFIXION IN THE Biblia Pauperum. (Woodcut of the fifteenth century.)

with the palm leaf and the synagogue with the spear. Behind them stand on the left-hand side Mary, the Mother of Christ, and on the right John, his beloved disciple. Underneath the Earth and the



IVORY-COVER OF THE EVANGELIARY OF BAMBERG.

(Now in the Library of Munich. F. X. Kraus, Gesch. d. ch. K., H., p. 324.)

Ocean witness the great spectacle and deliver up the dead who are resurrected by the sacrificial death of Jesus.

Similar but more complicated is the ivory cover carving of a copy of the Bamberg Evangeliary now in Munich.

A symbolical representation of the crucifixion gradually yields to a more historical conception, such as appears in the *Biblia Pauperum*. It is based upon the Gospel accounts and is accompanied by the portraits of its prophetic announcers and allegorical prototypes, the sacrifice of Isaac and the raising of the brazen serpent.

The passion of Christ now found innumerable illustrations, but none so classical and dignified as the famous picture of Albrecht Dürer, which shows Christ with the crown of thorns and a halo, bowed down by sufferings¹(p. 682).

The crown above the crucified Christ is sometimes actually placed on his head, the earliest in-

stances of which are reproduced and described by F. X. Kraus (*Chr. K.*, II., p. 234 f.). He says:

I We may mention by the way that the situation is not clear. If the position represents Christ

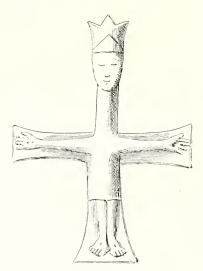
"The earliest instances of a head-cover appear in the highly noteworthy crucifixes here reproduced. The one (published first by Rocca and Gori) is said to be

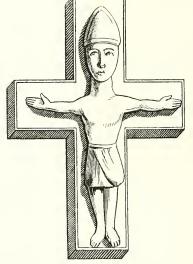


GOLDLEAF AS DRESS-ORNAMENT.¹ (Probably of the seventh century. Found in Lombardy.)



THE MAN OF SORROWS. (By A. Dürer.)





ANCIENT CRUCIFIX. (Made of Bronze. After Garrucci.)²

THE CRUCIFIX OF ST. GIOVANNI IN FLORENCE. (After Stockbauer.)²

carved out of a relic of the genuine cross of Christ and was found in the Baptistery of Florence. Whether still there, is doubtful. It shows on the head of the Lord

¹ After Forrer and Müller, Kreuz und Kreuzigung Christi, from Kraus, l. l., I., p. 176.
² See F. X. Kraus, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, H., 1, p. 335.

after the flaggellation, how can the nail wounds appear on his feet? And if it is meant to show Christ after the crucifixion, he ought either to lie in the grave or must have the triumphant countenance of the risen Saviour. Any intermediate condition between the two would seem like a travesty.

a mitre such as was worn by the popes since Sergius III., 904-911. Somewhat different is the three-cornered cap or *pileus* which Cæsalio obtained from Aleppo, probably belonging to the end of the first millennium."

The piety of the new converts in northern countries, and most so in Ireland, shows a special preference for the crucifixion. The most interesting instances are a stone of Killoran and a bronze plate of the Dublin Museum. Both are of crude workmanship and



SLAB OF KILLORAN.¹ (From Anderson's *Scotland in Early Chr., Times.*)

(Bronzework now in the Museum of Dublin. From Romily Allen's Chr. Symbolism in Gr. Britain.)

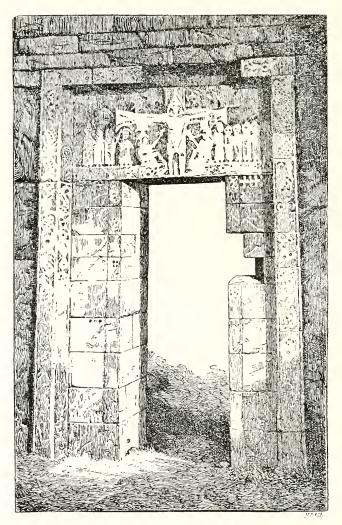
show still the influence of the ancient meander pattern which in the days of Paganism was very common all over the north of Europe. More artistic is the crucifixion above the doorway of the Maghera Church and perhaps the most beautiful instance of ancient Irish crucifixions is the cross of Muredach.

The most modern type of crucifixes, the only one which has been found acceptable to Protestants, appears (according to F. X.

1 See F. X. Kraus, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, 1., p. 618.

Kraus) for the first time in the wooden sculpture of J. Alcoverro, made in the year 1721.

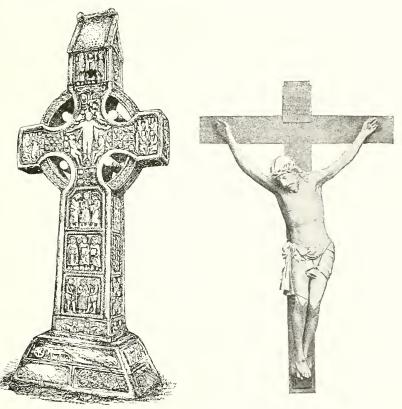
While the crucifix was sanctioned by the Church only at the end of the seventh century, and while we find no historical evi-



DOORWAY OF MAGHERA CHURCH. (After Stokes, Early Christian Art in Ireland.)

dences of the use of crucifixes before the fifth century, we may rest assured that the recognition of its use had been preparing itself in the Church at least for a century and should not be surprised to find that it was quite common among pious heretics of the fourth or even the third century. Such changes in taste take place gradually, very gradually, and here we must assume that the uncultured and illiterate took the lead.

This view affords a simple explanation of the startling mural scrawl of the third century, found in 1856 in the rooms of the slaves in a Cæsarial mansion on Mount Palatine. It represents a



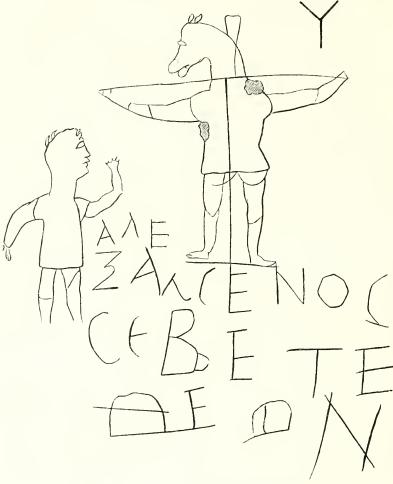
THE CROSS OF MUREDACH. (After Stokes, Early Christian Art in Ireland.)

Wood-Carving of J. Alcoverro. (1721) (From F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. d. ch. K.*, II., 1, p. 331.)

man throwing a kiss with his hand to a crucified person with a donkey's head, and the inscription written in ungrammatical Greek reads: AAEEAMENOC CEBETE GEON, i. e., Alexamenos worships God. The first explanation that suggested itself will probably remain the best and the true one, viz., that Alexamenos was a Christian and a slave in the emperor's household and that some fellowslave of Alexamenos made this inscription in ridicule of his religion.

This view is corroborated by a passage in Tertullian who says:

"Like many others you are under the delusion that an ass's head is our God.... But lately a new edition of our God has been made public in Rome. It



MURAL SCRAWL OF THE THIRD CENTURY. (Found 1856 on Mount Palatinus in Rome)

orginated with a certain vile man, who was wont to hire himself out to cheat the wild beasts and who exhibited a picture with this inscription: "The God of the Christians of the lair of an ass, [$brokoi\tau\eta\varsigma$ or $brokot\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$] He had the ears of an ass was hoofed in one foot, carried a book and wore a toga."

The belief that the Jewish God was ass-headed was quite common; and Tertullian returns the compliment of the Pagan accusation by saying "many a son of a donkey [ονοκοίτης] is among you."

Tacitus (Hist. v. 4) tells the story of Moses discovering water by following the tracks of asses in the desert, which, he says, caused the Jews to worship that animal. The genealogy of Mary (quoted by Epiphanius) contains the story of Zacharias, the high-priest, beholding in the sanctuary of the temple, the deity of the Jews with an ass's head. He was struck dumb, and when he recovered his speech he told the people and was killed as a blasphemer. Henceforth, it is stated, the Jewish priests wore bells on their garments to warn their deity of their approach and offer him time to hide.

In Minutius Felix's Christian apology entitled Octavius the same belief of the Pagans that the Christians worship a donkeyheaded [*dvocdigs*] God is referred to and we cannot therefore doubt that a scoffer would have painted some such image in ridicule of Christianity; and yet Mr. C. W. King rejects this interpretation and calls attention to the similarity between Anubis, the jackalheaded God of the Egyptians, and the picture described by Tertullian, a figure of that kind being given by Walter, Pl. II. C. No. 1, "save that instead of a book, he holds a palm branch and a caduceus." For this reason Mr. King interprets the drawing as representing the jackal-headed Anubis, and believes that Alexamenos was an Egyptian gnostic.

We grant that the early Christians had no images of the Crucified, which were not introduced before the sixth century. The Christian catacombs are adorned with christograms (the combined letters X P), but contain few crosses and no crucifixes at all. Mons. Perret says:¹

"In our walks through the catacombs we were struck with the absence of all representations of martyrdom. One does not meet there with an image of Jesus on the cross" (Vol. III., p. 72).

"For it is noticeable that in the primitive age they did not place before the eyes of the faithful any image of Jesus Christ on the cross. They were content, out of regard to feeble souls, to paint the cross at first naked, but oftener concealed in the monogram; next, adorned with flowers, precious stones, and crowns; afterwards, it was associated with a lamb lying beneath it. It was in the sixth century they began to delineate the bust of the Saviour, as one may see it in the Vatican cross; and even the whole body, with the hands and feet pierced with nails" (Vol. III., 81. See also Schapp"s Hist., Vol. III., 561).

The comment of Octavius in reply to Cecilius on the worship

1 L. Perret et L. Renier, Catacombes de Rome. Paris, 1852-1856.

of crucifixes contains a very startling remark. The entire passage reads as follows:¹

"Whereas you tax our religion with the worship of a criminal and his cross, you are strangely out of the way of truth to imagine either. As for the adoration of crosses, which you object against us, I must tell you that we neither adore crosses, nor desire them. You who worship wooden gods are the most likely people to adore wooden crosses, as being parts of the same substance with your deities. For what else are your ensigns, flags, and standards, but crosses, gilt and beautified? Your victorious trophies, not only represent a simple cross, but a cross with a man on it. The sign of a cross appears in a ship, either when she is under sail, or rowed with expanded oars, like the palm of your hand. Not a gallows (*jugum*) but exhibits the sign of a cross. And when a pure worshipper adores the true God with hands extended, he makes the same figure. Thus you see that the sign of the cross has either some foundation in nature, or in your own religion, and therefore is not to be objected against by you."

The italicised clause "a cross with a man on it" appears to imply that in the days of Minutius Felix the Pagans had crucifixes (i. e., crosses with a man attached), and on this ground Mr. King's hypothesis that considering the utter absence of Christian crucifixes before the sixth century, the graffito of Alexamenos may have been written by a pious gnostic, representing "a cross with a man (or God) on it," seems somewhat justified.² I am none the less reluctant to accept his interpretation, and still retain the view that we are confronted here with a Pagan ridicule of Christian idolatry. Although the making of images and their adoration was scorned by the church, it appears the crucified saviour was worshipped by the Christians, and idolatry may actually have been practised by Christians of the lower walks of life.

The expression "a cross with a man on it" need not signify a crucifix, but may mean the cross of a Roman ensign to which the effigy of a God or of the Emperor was attached. Yet we may grant that Dionysius was sometimes pictured as being attached to a tree, as the vine will cling to any stem for support.

It is true that the figure of the graffito reminds one strongly of the jackal-headed Anubis, but there is no evidence that he was ever represented on a cross. The vulgar notions of the Christian God as being ass-headed may on the other hand be regarded as a sufficient explanation for the idea that a Pagan scoffer would represent Christ in this undignified shape.

In the time of Alexamenos the form of the cross was apparently

¹ Octavius, section 29.

² King does not refer to the passage in Minutius Felix which we have quoted in full because it seems to be the strongest argument in his favor.

not yet fixed, for we see the crucified donkey-headed deity attached to a \top cross and standing either on the ground or on a suppedaneum. A beam behind the head indicates that the scrawler thought at the same time of a Latin cross, and to make the confusion complete, he added a γ cross in the right-hand corner.

Thus in our opinion there are sufficient reasons to assume that the crucifix existed, as it were, in a latent form among the humbler members of the Christian church as early perhaps as the third century, but it came into use among the highest classes of the laity only in the seventh century while its official adoption by the church can be definitely fixed in the year of the Council of Trullo, viz., A. D. 692. After that crucifixes and pictures of the crucifixion became very common in the Christian world until the Reformation stemmed the tide. It took mankind seven centuries to become accustomed to the idea of having the Godhead incarnate represented in the shape of a dying man, but since then Christian churches have been filled with crucifixes and the crucifix has become the symbol of that conception of Christianity which glorifies world-flight, preaches asceticism, extols self-mortification and finds its final salvation in the death of our bodily existence.

Our review of the history of the cross until the authorised acceptance of crucifixes by the church is by no means complete, but sufficiently systematic to enable the reader to form his own opinion on the basis of the collected material.

The cross (i. e., the figure of intersecting lines) naturally and necessarily became the symbol of Christianity, not because its shape resembled the cross of Golgotha, but because it was in some way or another backed by the religious traditions of almost all the nations of antiquity who contributed their philosophies, their fears and hopes of the life to come, to the formation of Christianity. The Latin cross is the most simple resultant of all the crosses into which as in a composite photograph the varieties of the pre-Christian crosses are merged. The recognition of this figure has passed through misconceptions and superstitions, but has finally come to stay as the emblem of the new faith through which the echoes of former beliefs are still vibrating. Christians need not regret that the Christian cross is not the historical cross of Golgotha. Thev should be pleased with the idea that the emblem of their religion is more cosmopolitan and more universal than they thought.

The cross has lost much of its mediæval significance among

Protestants, especially those of the Reformed churches, and Martin Luther, the great Reformer, modified it by placing it upon a rose.

In modern times the cross is used on the battlefield as the emblem of charity and medical assistance, and both combatants are bound to respect it.

We have learned, in reviewing the history of the cross, how



LUTHER'S COAT OF Arms.

conservative mankind is in the retention of old ideas and also of old symbols. The progress of mankind is never the total abolition of the past, but always a modification; and thus we may expect that the cross will never cease to be a symbol of deep significance.

The cross is still as in ancient days, an emblem of a regeneration of life; yet it means at the same time death and crucifixion. It has

signified since the ascent of Christianity, humiliation and torture, and yet the old Pagan significance of conquest has been regained. The cross has become an emblem of victory through sacrifice, of alleviation of suffering, of salvation through love, of immortality in spite of the grave.