

PRAYER WITH UPLIFTED HANDS

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Friedrich Heiler, one of the outstanding figures in the study of the history of religions in the twentieth century, describes prayer with uplifted hands as among the oldest and most common

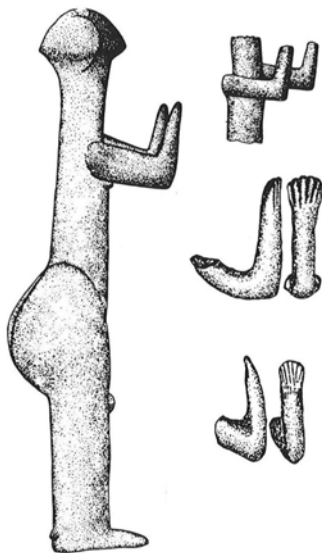


Figure 1. Clay figure with hands upraised in front of the breast, and arm fragments,

gestures of prayer, praise, greeting, and recognition or as an expression of humility or submissiveness in the ancient world.¹ Indeed, the very commonness of prayer with uplifted hands, not its rarity, is what is noteworthy. It is a nearly universal mode of prayer in the ancient world, and one that continued to the modern, even contemporary period. In fact, it is found even in the pre-historic period, as can be seen from observing clay figures with hands raised to the breast that were found in Jaromerice in the Czech Republic and that date to the fourth millennium BC (fig 1).²

Ancient Egypt

Prayer with uplifted hands was a characteristic element of ancient Egyptian religious practice. But, as the hieroglyphic signs themselves indicate, there is a distinction between the ancient Egyptian expression *dw'* ("to praise, worship, adore"),³ indicated with the palms facing outward,⁴ and *nis* ("to request, summon,

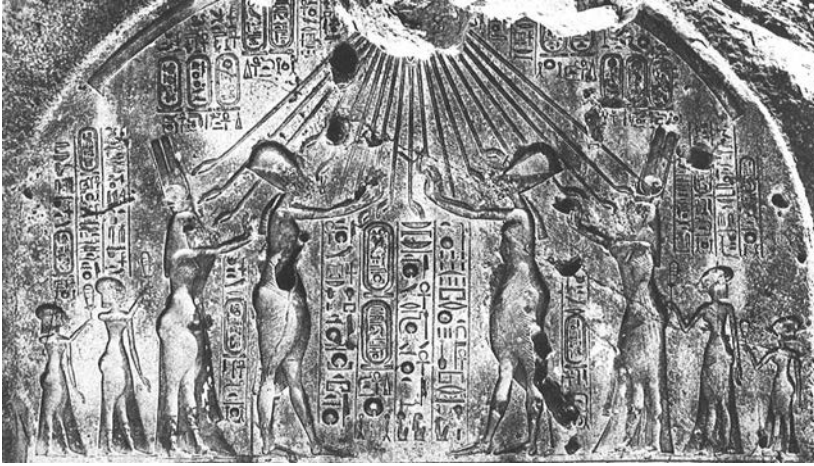


Figure 2. Amenophis IV Akhenaton and Queen Nefretiti and his two daughters stand with their hands uplifted beneath the sun-disk Aton. Relief from a border stela, El Amarna, ca. 1350 BC.

supplicate”),⁵ indicated by palms facing inward,⁶ although, as Professor Heiler himself notes, in most cultures and religious traditions, prayer with uplifted hands is regularly performed with palms facing toward the object or being addressed.⁷

In a relief from El Amarna, the brilliantly innovative Pharaoh Akenaten, Queen Nefertiti, and their two daughters are depicted standing in an attitude of prayer with uplifted hands, palms facing outward toward the sun-disk Aten (in the relief, the right hands of the daughters are uplifted, while the left arms hang down) (fig. 2).⁸ A nineteenth dynasty tomb scene from Abydos dating to the end of the fourteenth century BC shows the deceased man and his wife praying before Osiris, their hands uplifted with the palms facing outward (fig. 3).⁹ In a similar manner, a scene from the *Book of the Dead* of Herit-ubekhret dating from the twenty-first dynasty, about 1000 BC, depicts the deceased Herit-ubekhret praying to the goat god Mendes with hands uplifted, palms facing outward.¹⁰

Let us continue to a discussion of the ancient Egyptian *nis*, “to request, summon, supplicate.” An outstanding example of supplicating prayer with palms apparently facing inward is from Facsimile 1 of the Pearl of Great Price. There, Abraham, about to be



Figure 3. Deceased individuals worship before Osiris, Abydos, 19th Dynasty, end of the 14th century BC.



Figure 4. Figure 2, Facsimile 1, Book of Abraham.

sacrificed, lies with his arms facing inward (fig. 4). The text of the Book of Abraham 1:15 itself tells the story: “And as they lifted up their hands upon me, that they might offer me up and take away my life, behold, I lifted up my voice unto the Lord my God [i.e., supplicated the Lord], and the Lord hearkened and heard, and he filled me with the vision of the Almighty, and the angel of his presence stood by me, and immediately unloosed my bands.”

Ancient Mesopotamia

There are several words in the ancient languages of Mesopotamia—Sumerian and Akkadian—meaning “to pray”: in Sumerian, *šu-il-la* (meaning literally “the hand raised”) and *kiri-šu-tag* (meaning



Figure 5. "Introduction Scene": Left hand of the worshiper held by the right hand of a deity standing before a god king, from a Neo-Sumerian seal, ca. 2000 BC.



Figure 6. Hammurabi stands before Marduk in an attitude of prayer on a stele of Hammurabi containing his legal code.

literally “hand [to the] nose touch”); in Akkadian, *niš qati* (meaning literally “to raise the hand”) and *patu upne* (meaning literally “to open the hands”).¹¹ A Sumerian seal, precariously dated to 2000 BC, depicts an “introduction scene” in which a high official, Hash Hamer, enters the presence of the moon god Nanna (fig. 5). The left hand of the introducing goddess immediately to the left of Nanna is raised as a token of humility and submissiveness, while with the goddess’s right hand, she grasps the left hand of Hash Hamer, who is raising his right hand to his mouth in the attitude of worship. Behind Hash Hamer is another goddess, who is raising her hands to her mouth before Nanna in a gesture of intercession for him.¹² The Assyrians followed the lead of the Sumerians in depicting prayer with a hand or both hands flat and uplifted toward the nose or face, palms turned inward. The Babylonians further maintained a posture of prayer, praise, or greeting with hands uplifted and palms facing inward, as can be seen in a stele of Hammurabi, where Hammurabi stands in an attitude of prayer toward the god Marduk (fig. 6). In another scene on a Babylonian seal dating from the New Babylonian Empire in the first half of the first millennium BC, the thumb is separated from the flat of the palm.

Ancient Israel and Formative Judaism

Representational art did not exist widely in ancient Israel since the ancient Israelites preached and observed the prohibition against making images. Prayer with uplifted hands is found in ancient Israel only in the writings of the Old Testament, which describe this type of prayer as being performed with raised or outstretched hands. A Canaanite stele discovered at Hazor in northern Israel dating from the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC showing hands stretched out toward the crescent of the moon may reflect the type of practice observed in ancient Israel (fig. 7). The stonework of the stele does not permit the observer to determine whether the palms of the hands face the moon or toward the observer.¹³ Prayer with raised or outstretched hands in ancient Israel was usually performed standing or kneeling before the altar or sanctuary. At the dedication of Solomon’s temple, “Solomon stood before the altar



Figure 7. Uplifted hands beneath the sun in the crescent of the moon. Hazor, Palestine. 14th century BC.

of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward heaven: And he said, ‘Lord God of Israel’” (1 Kings 8:22–23). In the course of the prayer, King Solomon knelt down: “When Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven” (See 1 Kings 8:54).¹⁴ That this is the customary attitude of prayer among the Israelites may be seen from Isaiah 1: “And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear” (Isaiah 1:15), and

in Psalm 28: “Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle” (Psalm 28:2).

The most significant examples of representational art in post-Second Temple Judaism that show prayer with uplifted hands are the frescoes of the synagogue at Dura Europos, located on the trade route between Aleppo and other ancient cities along the Tigris River in Mesopotamia. They date from the third century AD and were only discovered in the early part of the twentieth century. A fresco from the Dura Europos synagogue illustrates the miracles performed by Moses while in the Sinai wilderness: “And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee the elders of Israel: and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel” (Exodus 17:5–6)¹⁵. In this fresco



Figure 8. Moses's miracle at the spring and the elders of Israel in the attitude of prayer. Fresco from the synagogue in Dura Europos, mid-3rd-century AD.

(shown in black and white, but somewhat clearer and more distinct) Moses is depicted touching a spring, not a rock, with his rod (fig. 8). Each of the elders, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, are standing at the doors of their tents. A ribbon symbolizing the water in the spring flows to each tent. Each of the elders has his arms raised in the attitude of prayer to God, palms facing outward.¹⁶

The Greco-Roman World

Scores of references to prayers with uplifted hands were made by dozens of Greek and Latin authors. Of these I will cite only three, one by a Greek writer and two by a Roman epic poet. The first is by Apollonius of Rhodes, in *Argonautica* 1:249: *athanatoisin es aithera cheiras aeiron, euchomenai . . . opassai*, meaning, "the women raised their hands to the heavens in prayer to the immortals." The second and third are from (1) Virgil's *Aeneid* II:513: *sustulit exutas*



Figure 9. Prayer before a table of offerings, Nola, 4th century BC.



Figure 10. Worshiper, bronze, Kamarina, 460 BC.

vinclis ad sidera palmas, meaning, “he lifted to the stars his unfettered hands,” and (2) Aeneid III: 176: *Tendoque supinas ad coelum cum voce manus*, meaning, “I raise my voice and upturned palms to heaven.”¹⁷

The representational art of the Greco-Roman world reflects the same trend. A vase painting from Nola in southern Italy, which is twenty miles east of Naples and still a small but thriving city—originally Oscan in speech but deeply influenced by Greek culture until it was Romanized in the first century BC¹⁸—shows Phineus praying with uplifted hands over a table of offerings (fig. 9).¹⁹ Another figure from Sicily during the period of Greek occupation, dating from around 460 BC, shows a woman with arms uplifted at the base of a standing mirror (fig. 10),²⁰ showing “the slender yet sturdy growth of the figure, the gently flowing folds of the heavy peplos that both clearly reveal and hide the shape of the body as well as the powerful gesture of uplifted hands.”²¹

We continue to the Roman world. In the first image, an Etruscan bronze statuette dating from the sixth century BC shows a woman with hands upraised (fig. 11).²² The so-called “Livia statue,”

dating from the first century AD, is a statue of a Roman woman with hands uplifted, palms outward (fig. 12).²³ There are also examples of attitudes of prayer with palms facing inward, but they are much less frequently mentioned in literature or represented in art, and there appears to be no difference in meaning between these two gestures of prayer in these representations.

Early Christianity

The attitude of prayer in earliest Christianity was shown with uplifted hands. The apostle Paul wrote in his first epistle to Timothy, "I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting" (1 Timothy 2:8). The Latin church father Tertullian, writing about prayer in the late second century AD, observes, "But we do not merely raise our hands, we also stretch them out, thereby confessing Christ in prayer, in imitation of the suffering of our Lord."²⁴ Franz Dölger, commenting on Tertullian's observation—an observation shared by Cyprian, Hippolytus of Rome, Irenaeus and Justin Martyr—notes, "The model for the Christian attitude of prayer may be seen, according to this text, in Jesus, who died on the cross with outstretched arms . . . it is accordingly an ancient



Figure 11. Etruscan woman, bronze, end of the 6th cent. BC.



Figure 12. Roman "Livia" statue, marble, 1st century AD.

tradition when Rusticus Helpidius, in the early part of the sixth century AD, says that one should always pray to God with outstretched hands in remembrance of Jesus, who suffered and died on the cross with outstretched hands.”²⁵



Figure 13. Daniel with two lions, beginning of the 3rd century AD.

Prayer with outstretched hands may be seen in a Vienna sardonyx gem seal that dates from the beginning of the third century AD and is currently housed in the antiquities collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Museum of Art History) in Vienna. This seal shows a naked Daniel standing between two lions in the lion’s den with hands uplifted and slightly outstretched in an attitude of prayer and petition to God (fig. 13).



Figure 14. “Bride of Christ,” Priscilla Catacomb, Rome, second half of 2nd century AD.

The various wall illustrations from the early Christian catacombs in Rome and Naples provide additional instances of prayer with uplifted hands.²⁶ The Roman catacombs, according to Rutgers,

are “the long subterranean galleries in which the early Christian of Rome buried its dead,”²⁷ not, as is popularly believed, the place where Christians hid during the outbreak of persecutions. In the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, which dates from the third century AD, the central figure of the scene is a deceased woman, the so-called “Bride of Christ” or “veiled woman” (*“donna velata”*), with arms slightly uplifted and outstretched (fig. 14).

A fresco from the second half of the third century AD of another deceased woman that was found in the Catacomb of Callixtus in Rome is of a woman with upraised arms that were somewhat further outstretched than those of the woman depicted in the Catacomb of Priscilla (fig. 15).²⁸

The third figure is from the catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples (the ancient Greco-Roman city of Neapolis), south of Rome (fig. 16). This depiction is of an otherwise unknown Cominia or Cecominia on a fresco panel to the right (from the perspective of the observer; to the left from the perspective of the observed) of Januarius (otherwise known in the Italian Catholic tradition as San Gennaro). It dates from the fourth to fifth centuries AD. St. Januarius, or San Gennaro, was, according to tradition, a bishop of Benevento during the late third century and early fourth century AD who was martyred during the final stages of



Figure 15. Worshipper, Catacomb of Callixtus, 3rd century AD.



Figure 16. San Gennaro Catacombs, 4th-5th century AD.

the persecutions of Diocletian. Cominia or Cecominia's arms are upraised in prayer, greeting, or praise but are not outstretched to nearly the same extent as the figures in the preceding two depictions. Finally, in a limestone relief from the sixth century AD, a Coptic Egyptian monk is depicted at prayer. In each instance, the arms are outstretched, the hands uplifted with the palms turned outward in the attitude of petitionary prayer.²⁹

This reminds us of an admonition of John Chrysostom to his congregants: "When thou art weary of praying,' said John Chrysostom, 'and dost not receive, consider how often thou hast heard a poor man calling, and hast not listened to him. It is not for stretching out thy hand [in prayer] that thou shalt be heard. Stretch forth thy hand not to heaven, but to the poor.'"³⁰

Latter-day Saint Scripture

The descendants of Lehi followed the religious and ceremonial practices of ancient Israel. Although describing the ineffectual Zoramite custom of prayer at the Rameumptom, Alma still observes that "they had a place built up in the center of their synagogue, a place for standing, which was high above the head; and the top thereof would only admit one person. Therefore, whosoever desired to worship must go forth and stand upon the top thereof, and stretch forth his hands towards heaven, and cry with a loud voice" (Alma 31:13–14). Though to no good purpose, the Zoramite practice of prayer with uplifted hands was in the most venerable tradition of ancient Israel, or of the ancient world generally. Indeed, the more cheap, tinny, and insincere the custom, the more slavishly it will ape genuine models.

In 1832, the Lord admonished the Saints to build a temple in Kirtland that would become a house of prayer: "Organize yourselves; prepare every needful thing; and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God; That your incomings may be in the name of the Lord; that your outgoings may be in the name of the Lord; that all your salutations may be in the name of the Lord, with uplifted hands unto the Most High" (Doctrine and Covenants 88:119–120).

Conclusion

Uplifted hands as an attitude of prayer, praise, greeting, recognition, or acknowledgment was a practice observed in Joseph Smith's day and has continued to the contemporary era. But this practice follows an ancient pattern and was observed back as far as the earliest literate civilization and even to the age of pre-literate societies.

Joseph Smith—prophet, seer, revelator, translator of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham, revealer of the Doctrine and Covenants, organizer and founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, city founder, mayor, lieutenant-general, presidential candidate, husband, and father—was nothing if not the restorer of the temple with its rites and ordinances. It is a remarkable thing but true that Joseph Smith never appears to have spoken of constructing churches, though he often preached in them—sometimes in homes, sometimes in boweries, and sometimes in other buildings. But he frequently and insistently coaxed, cajoled, admonished, and sometimes sternly warned the Saints to build temples. His focus was constantly and undistractedly on building temples—on providing a home for the performance of its rites and ordinances. From the first intimations of building the temple at Kirtland in 1832 until Joseph reached the height of his arc in his restoration of the endowment in Nauvoo, the temple was the focal point, center, and pivot of his existence, at the end of which he saw his mission fulfilled. Joseph Smith, prophet, seer, revelator, and restorer, restored the “ancient order of things,”³¹ restored keys to bind husbands to wives and parents to children to create an eternal order of families and built temples to fulfill the Lord's solemn admonition to his people that they have a place where—as Joseph himself said in his prayer at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple—“your incomings may be in the name of the Lord; that your outgoings may be in the name of the Lord; that all your salutations may be in the name of the Lord, with uplifted hands unto the Most High” (Doctrine and Covenants 88:120).

Notes

1. Friedrich Heiler, *Das Gebet* (Munich: Reinhardt, 1923), 101. Again, uplifted hands is a gesture symbolizing an attitude of prayer, praise, greeting, and recognition or is an expression of humility or submissiveness. In this paper I understand uplifted hands as a gesture of prayer even though uplifted hands may also symbolize praise, greeting, recognition, humility, or submissiveness.
2. Heinz Demisch, *Erhobene Hände* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 1984), 110; cf. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 375. Most of the images in this brief essay are to be found in Demisch's outstanding study, *Erhobene Hände*, though I also include additional works discussing the images.
3. Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: University Press, 1976), 410.
4. A very extensive discussion of the attitude of prayer with palms facing outward in Northwest Semitic literature, with attention also paid to other literature of the ancient Near East, is given by David M. Calabro in his 2014 University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, "Ritual Gestures of Lifting, Extending, and Claspings the Hand(s) in Northwest Semitic Literature and Iconography," 393–492.
5. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 126.
6. An extensive discussion of the attitude of prayer with palms facing inward in Northwest Semitic literature, but with attention also paid to other literature of the ancient Near East, is given in Calabro, "Ritual Gestures of Lifting, Extending, and Claspings the Hand(s)," 493–515.
7. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, 101; Thomas Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 251–67, who discusses in detail prayer with uplifted, outstretched, and extended hands as well as with palms facing the worshipper himself and facing the being or object worshipped.
8. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 171–72.
9. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 117. It should be noted that frequently in tomb scenes in ancient Egypt and nearly always in tomb scenes in Abydos, husbands and wives are depicted moving together to the place of judgment on their way to the fields of bliss. In ancient Egypt, too, families are forever.
10. The illustration of Herit-ubekhret is from a copy of the Book of the Dead, located in the National Museum in Cairo, cited in Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 119; cf. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 375.
11. Stephen Langdon, "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer: A Study in Babylonian and Assyrian Archaeology," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1919): 537–38; For the meaning of *kiri-šu-tag*, see "*kiri*,"

- Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*; cf. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, 101, and Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker*, 251–67, who discusses in detail prayer with hands uplifted, spread, and outstretched as well as the direction of the palms toward the worshipper or toward the being or object worshipped.
12. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 113.
 13. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 172; cf. the discussion of the find in Yigael Yadin, *Hazor 1: An Account of the First Season of Excavation* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), 1:88–89 and plate XXIX, 2; Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1970 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1972), 71–3 and plate XIV,a. However, an ancient stamp seal, which Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 89n126, believe to be a Hebrew seal, shows a gesture with uplifted hands.
 14. Langdon, “Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer,” 542–43.
 15. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 121, fig. 152; for a discussion of the fresco of Moses at the well, see Ann Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 60–61 and plate 22; Clark Hopkins, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 141, 145–46, 147–50; Lisa R. Brody and Gail L. Hoffman, eds., *Dura Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity* (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, 2011), 129–30, fig. 7.9; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York: Pantheon Books, 198), 10:27–41.
 16. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 123–4.
 17. Cf. Langdon, “Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer,” 543; Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker*, 255, understands “supinas manus” as the palms of the hands.
 18. Edward T. Salmon, “Nola,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 736–737; cf. Hans Philipp, “Nola,” in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 17, no. 1, Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll, eds. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1936), 811–14; Vera Sauer and Eckart Olshausen, “Nola,” in *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 8:974–75; English translation in Brill’s *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9:790–91.
 19. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 123, fig. 156; cf. Gerhard Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965), 78, observes, “die Oberarme senkt und die Unterarme mit den nach aussen geöffneten Handflächen ziemlich dicht vor dem Oberkörper erhebt.”

- ("[she] lowers the upper arms and raises the lower arms close to the upper body with the palms facing outward.")
20. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 124.
 21. Werner Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich: Hirmer, 1969), 182, fig. 187. According to the text in German "(mit dem) schlanken und doch festen Aufwachsen der Figur, den zähflüssigen Falten des schweren Peplos, die die Körperformen zugleich klar erkennen lassen und verschleiern, der mächtigen Gebärde der zum Gebet erhobenen Hände."
 22. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 124. This Etruscan bronze statuette is housed in the August Kestner Museum in Hannover, Germany. Cf. Guido A. Mansuelli, *The Art of Etruria and Early Rome* (New York: Greystone Press, 1967).
 23. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 124.
 24. Tertullian, "De Oratione" (On Prayer), 14 as quoted in Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, Garnier, 1879), 1:1273.
 25. Franz J. Dölger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens 5," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1962): 5–6, citing Rusticus Helpidius, "De Christi Jesu Beneficiis Carmen," in Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 62:548C. According to Dölger (in the German text), "Das Musterbild der christlichen Gebetshaltung sah man nach diesem Text in Jesus, der mit ausgespannten Armen am Kreuze starb. . . Es ist demnach altes Überlieferungsgut, wenn noch in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. Rusticus Helpidius sagt, die im Leiden ausgebreiteten Hände Jesu hätten den Menschen gezeigt, dass man stets mit ausgebreiteten Händen zu Gott beten solle."
 26. For brief introductions to the Roman catacombs (in English or English translation), see Fabrizio Mancinelli, *The Catacombs of Rome and the Origins of Christianity*, trans. Carol Wasserman (Florence: Istituto fotografico editoriale, 1981); L. V. Rutgers, "Subterranean Rome: In Search of the Roots of Christianity" in *Catacombs of the Eternal City* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); A. Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* (New Lanark: Geddes and Grosset, 1991). In Italian, see V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *Le catacombe cristiane di Roma: Origini, sviluppo, apparati decorativi, documentazione epigrafica* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998); In English, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998); A. Nestori, *Repertorio topografico delle pitture delle catacombe romane* (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto de archeologia cristiana en École française de Rome, 1997); L. De Santis and G. Biamonte, *Le catacombe di Roma* (Rome: Newton & Compton, 1997). In French, see J. Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers: Recherches sur les catacombes romaines*

- (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana e École française de Rome, 1987). In German, see J. Fink and B. Asamer, *Die römischen Katakomben* (Philipp von Zabern, 1997); and Norbert Zimmermann, *Werkstattgruppen römischer Katakombenmalerei, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2002), 35.
27. Rutgers, *Subterranean Rome*, 5.
 28. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 137, as discussed by Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg: Herder, 1903), plate 14, 43, 118, 120; and A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art*, 200–395 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), plate 14.
 29. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 137
 30. John Chrysostom, Homily 11 in 2 Thessalonians and Homily 1 in Titus, trans. *Library of the Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), I3:373.479.
 31. Joseph Smith Jr., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 237.