A HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE COUNCIL OF NICEA: A. D. 1-325

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This is to certify that the

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The purpose of this study is to trace the historical development of the church and Christian education through the first three hundred and twenty-five years of our era.

From the beginning of the Christian movement to 324 A.D., when Constantine became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire, Christianity was a despised and persecuted religious sect. It possessed no legal rights and its adherents were subjected to every sort of abuse and cruelty. In the face of this opposition the church grew. Its influence spread until under Constantine the church enjoyed the official sanction of the government and, for better or for worse, found itself in a position of power in the affairs of state.

As the church was originally constituted learning took place in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual respect. Influences contrary to these principles arose within the church and grew phenomenally following the death of the last of the apostles. The forces which were contrary to freedom and equality in the early church grew in proportion to, and parallel with, the increase in power of the sacerdotal caste, which maintained its position contrary to the early Christian concept of the universal priesthood of believers.

As rule by presbyterial councils gave way to monarchial episcopates in the early churches the teaching function shifted from the membership and its chosen leaders to the bishops and their clergy. Although the freedom of the earlier Christian assembly was, no doubt, maintained in some places, authoritarianism in theory and practice

became increasingly evident in the church at large throughout the period.

The educational activities of the church were at first conducted solely by the congregations. Educational organizations, extra-congregational in form, developed as need arose. The catechumenal school, which in the second and third centuries became a highly developed educational system, arose out of the need to teach pagan converts the fundamentals of the Christian religion in preparation for baptism. The Christian elementary school, beginning in the second century, grew out of the conflict between Christianity and the pagan educational system. Schools were established at Edessa in Gaul and elsewhere to provide instruction for Christian youth in the common branches of human learning. The institutions of higher learning in the early church were the catechetical schools. These schools, located in the important centers of culture, represented the forces of early Christianity in coping with the intellectual powers of paganism. The curricula in most of these schools included not only the study of the Scriptures but also a liberal representation of subjects from philosophy and the sciences. In both scope and quality the curricula of the catechetical schools were comparable to those of the best of the pagan schools. The greater emphasis was placed upon the exegetical study of the Scriptures, for which study all other subjects were considered as but a preparation and an introduction. The broad curriculum, including a variety of subjects both sacred and secular, was followed by the catechetical schools of Alexandria, Antioch, and Caesarea. Carthage, however, found no place

for pagan learning and followed strictly the position stated by Tertullian: "Let our seeking be in that which is our own, and from those who are our own, and concerning that which is our own."

There were three distinct schools of thought in education represented in the catechetical schools of the third century. The schools of Alexandria and Caesarea led by Origen represented the eclectic position in philosophy and the allegorical method of interpretation. Tertullian and the school of Carthage rejected all philosophic aids and held that the only true interpretation of Scripture was that which had been accepted and taught by the fathers of the church consistently through past ages back to the apostles. Lucian and his followers who were of the school at Antioch differed with both, and representing the critical point of view presented a historical interpretation of the Bible.

The Council of Nicea, A.D. 325, is the terminal point in the study. The character of the church was greatly modified by the action of the Council. By deciding an issue by majority vote and by anathematizing dissenters a new principle of authority was established. After Nicea ever greater emphasis is placed upon the authority of creeds and church tradition. The catechetical schools gradually gave way to the cathedral and monastic schools. The hierarchies of Constantinople and Rome grew rapidly in power. All of these things introduce the student to another period in the history of education--that of the Middle Ages.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to trace the historical development of the church and Christian education from the beginnings of the Christian movement through the first three and a quarter centuries of our era.

The importance of the Christian religion and the church in the history of education is generally recognized. Much has been written concerning the church and education during the Middle Ages. The foundations for the study of medieval Christian education, however, which are derived from the preceding period, have been largely neglected. One writer states that "to understand medieval education we must study the complex relations which developed between Christianity and the ancient learning."[1] Yet, on that particular phase of educational history he devotes three pages and two lines. Other standard histories of education are similarly brief in dealing with education in the early church.

Literary works dealing particularly with education in the early church are few in number. Two such books are known to this writer. One was written by Geraldine Hodgson who held the position

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[1] H. G. Good, A History of Western Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 60.

of Lecturer on the History of Education at University College, Bristol. Her book, Primitive Christian Education, was published in 1906. Miss Hodgson states as her aim "to indicate the role played by primitive Christians in Education,"[2] but limits her work yet further, giving it more of a polemic slant, in her Introduction to the book, when she states her object to be in part "to provide material whereby adverse criticism of Christian educational effort may be met."[3] The two features expressed in this statement, i.e., the polemic nature of the work and its organization as a source book comprising numerous quotations, are evident throughout. Miss Hodgson's work covers the period of the first five hundred years of the history of the church, thus extending the scope of the book about two hundred years beyond that of the present study. A great part of the book deals with those last two centuries. The second work on early Christian education was written by Lewis Joseph Sherrill, Dean of Religious Education at the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary. Mr. Sherrill has written a significant book called "The Rise of Christian Education," which was published in 1950. In this small book the author treats Christian education not only of the primitive and early periods of church history but extends his discourse through the Middle

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[2]Geraldine Hodgson, Primitive Christian Education (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), p. v.

[3]Ibid., p. 19.

Ages. Sherrill presents his material not only as history but as "a body of considerations which are relevant to any competent philosophy of Christian education in later times."[4] It is in the philosophical aspects of his treatise that Sherrill demonstrates his greatest strength. The work, though valuable in furthering general knowledge concerning early Christian education, does not deal at any length with the development of formal education within the church. As has been mentioned, the work of Miss Hodgson concerns the first five hundred years of church history and that of Mr. Sherrill covers all of the ancient and medieval periods of Christian education. The present study is the only work known to the writer to deal exclusively with the ante-Nicene period in the development of Christian education.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. In Chapter I the background of Christianity and Christian education is presented. Here the political, social, economic, and religious aspects of the Graeco-Roman period are dealt with, as well as the life and ministry of the Founder of the Christian religion. In Chapter II the work of the apostles, the establishment of the Christian church, and the

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[4] Lewis Joseph Sherrill, The Rise of Christian Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. v.

earliest traces of the Christian educational system are examined. In Chapter III the activities of the early church Fathers are noted, and the beginnings of catechumenal and catechetical instruction are recognized. In Chapter IV the conflict between the pagan educational system and Christianity may be seen to result in the establishment of Christian elementary schools to provide for the needs of Christian youth. In higher education, the development of the catechetical schools to a position of equality in standards with institutions of pagan learning is noted. In Chapter V attention is given to the Arian dispute, the Council of Nices, and the state of Christian education at the close of the ante-Nicene period. In Chapter VI such conclusions as seem justifiable in a work in historical research are dealt with. The Bibliography follows Chapter VI and includes only the works cited in this study.

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CHAPTER I

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS CHRIST

"The Fullness of Time"

The Christian church made its appearance in history at a time peculiarly adapted to the spread of its teaching and influence. Widespread skepticism had produced the need for a religion that would present a basis for real faith. The moral decay within society made necessary a clear statement of basic values, and gave emphasis to the position of a religious group that not only preached, but practiced purity of life. Improved conditions of travel, and the maintenance of order by the Romans, made it possible for missionaries of the new religion to go to all parts of the civilized world in safety. The Greek language, which had become a universal literary and spoken tongue, became the instrument for the propagation of Christian doctrine. At no other period in history were circumstances so favorable to the introduction of a new faith. The time was ripe for the establishment of the Christian church.

To the apostles and members of the early church these background conditions were not interpreted as circumstances of mere coincidence. Rather, these things were to them the outcome of the definite plan of God. The scheme of redemption which had been set

in motion "before the foundation of the world,"[5] was stayed in its culmination, and the coming of the Messiah was delayed, until all things were in readiness, and then, "when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son."[6] Jesus opened His ministry by announcing that, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: Repent ye, and believe the gospel."[7]

The world that was thus readied for the coming of the Messiah was a world that under the hand of God had been subjected to many influences. Successive civilizations and cultures had contributed their part in preparing the world to receive and propagate the Christian faith. The empire of Alexander had firmly established the Greek civilization, the Romans in their turn had brought about a united though restless world, and the Jews had received and preserved the prophecies of the coming Messiah and provided the fleshly lineage by which He was to be born into the world, for "salvation is of the Jews."[8] The presence of all of these influences was clearly indicated at the crucifixion of Christ by the writing of accusation that Pilate caused to be placed upon the cross: "Jesus of Nazareth the King of the

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[5]Ephesians 1:4.

[6]Galatians 4:4.

[7]Mark 1:15.

[8]John 4:22.

Jews . . . It was written in Hebrew, and Greek and Latin."[9] These three civilizations, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman, converge at this precise point in history to provide the setting for the most important and significant event in the history of the western world—the establishment of the Christian church.

The State of Morals in the Graeco-Roman World

The period of history in which the Christian religion was instituted was a time in which moral degradation had reached a level never before equalled in the history of man. The proofs are "stamped upon its coinage, cut on its gems, painted upon its chamber walls," and "sown broadcast over the pages of its poets, satirists, and historians."[10] These evidences make it abundantly clear that at the time of Christ's birth Rome was living in what Salmon calls "a moral vacuum."[11]

Seneca, the Stoic philosopher and moralist, is an excellent witness to the moral conditions existing in his time. Seneca was born B.C. 4 and died A.D. 65. He says,

> Every place is full of crime and vice; too many

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[9]John 19:19, 20.

[10]Frederic W. Farrar, The Early Days of Christianity (New York: A. L. Burt, Publisher, 1882), p. 2.

[11]Edward T. Salmon, A History of the Roman World From 30 B.C. to A.D. 138 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 23.

> crimes are committed to be cured by any possible restraint. Men struggle in a mighty rivalry of wickedness. Every day the desire for wrong doing is greater, the dread of it less; all regard for what is better and more just is banished, lust hurls itself wherever it likes, and crimes are no longer covert. They stalk before our very eyes, and wickedness has come to such a public state, has gained such power over the hearts of all, that innocence is not rare--it is non-existent. For is it only the casual man or the few who break the law? On every hand, as if at a given signal, men rise to level all the barriers of right and wrong . . .[12]

The very recognition of these conditions by the stoic philosopher might be considered an argument that at least some sense of right and wrong then existed in the pagan world, had not Seneca's own life (quite in contrast to his preaching) been such an example of moral looseness. The thought and language of Seneca is usually on such a high moral plane, and so strikingly similar in places to the writings of Paul, that many have thought that there had been correspondence between the two, and some have suggested that Seneca was a disciple of the great apostle to the Gentiles. Lightfoot, along with most writers of recent times, doubts that the two were personally acquainted.[13] Paul and Seneca could have met, however, as they were strictly contemporaries.[14] The great moral sermons of

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[12]Seneca <u>On Anger</u> II. viii. 2.3.

[13]J. B. Lightfoot, <u>Dissertations on the Apostolic Age</u> (London: Macmillan and Company, 1892), p. 258.

[14]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 257.

Seneca, however, turn out to be but empty words. The same philosopher who avowed disdain for all things earthly amassed during a period of only four years a fortune of three hundred million sesterces (over $15,000,000), and while writing a treatise on poverty, had at the very time in his house a large number of citrus tables, made of veined wood brought from Mount Atlas, each costing as much as $25,000 and even $75,000.[15] It was Seneca who wrote an Essay on Mercy, addressing himself therein to the Emperor Nero, and yet it was the same author who composed the letter to the Senate by which Nero justified the murder of his own mother.[16] In another writing Seneca discusses with his complete approbation the then common practice of killing children who were born weak or abnormal.[17] The same Seneca who advocated in his writings purity of morals encouraged his pupil, Nero, to take a mistress, and was himself banished on the charge of adultery involving a member of the royal family.[18] It is interesting to note that it was yet the same Seneca who wrote an epistle to Lucilius "On Practicing What You Preach.[19]

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[15]Gerhard Uhlhorn, The Conflict of Christianity With Heathenism, trans. Egbert C. Smith and C. J. H. Ropes (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1912), p. 94.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Seneca On Anger I. xv. 2,3.

[18]"Seneca," Anthon's Classical Dictionary.

[19]Epistles xx.

Thus does Seneca give his testimony, by word and by his own example, concerning the depravity of Roman life in his day.

Tacitus, the first century Roman historian, draws a sharp contrast between Roman life as he knew it and the high state of morals which existed among the barbaric Germans. Unlike the Romans, he says that among the Germans no one laughs at vice, "nor do they call it the fashion to corrupt and to be corrupted."[20]

Unlike Roman home life in the first century, in the early days of the Roman republic homes were strong and pure and a high standard of morality was respected. The sanctity of marriage was the cardinal principle of morality in early times.[21] Among the laws that had been set up to secure home life and the sanctity of marriage no provision was made for divorce.[22] The possibility of breaking the bonds of honorable marriage simply had not occurred to their imaginations. The first legislation concerning divorce was occasioned by a misfortune rather than any act of immorality. The wife of Spurius Carvilius was barren and the fortunes of his aristocratic house depended upon the birth of children. A legislative act was necessary

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[20] Tacitus Germany 19.

[21] Charles Merivale, General History of Rome from the Foundation of the City to the Fall of Augustulus, B. C. 753—A.D. 476 (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1886), p. 124.

[22] Ibid.

to make it possible for him to repudiate his wife.[23] The law was an evil example. It was more and more resorted to, and nothing sapped the morals of the Romans more than the laxity in marriage thus introduced into Roman life.[24]

The corruption in Roman social life is traceable to the influence of the Greeks. The divorce of Spurius Cavilius was the first in 520 years of Roman history.[25] Under the influence of the Greeks the purity of Roman home-life was thoroughly corrupted. The Romans began a fatal degeneracy from the first day of their close association with Greece.[26] Greece had learned from Rome a cold-blooded cruelty, and Rome received from Greece the corruption of her morals.[27] The Greeks in their early days were not lacking in modesty and chastity but as early as the "Golden Age" of Greece the quality of purity was lost.[28] All of their boasting of beauty and goodness was negated by the corruptness of their lives. Nearly all their great men, even Themistocles and Pericles, were impure.[29] Without embarrassment Demosthenes says, "We have hetaerae for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households."[30] These

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Farrar, op. cit. p. 5.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 97.

[29] Ibid., p. 98.

[30] Ibid.

female slave paramours had an almost unbelievable influence in public affairs. They attended the lectures of the philosophers, wrote books, and were the associates of prominent statesmen.[31] One of these slaves served as a model for Praxiteles' statue of the Cnidian Aphrodite—thus the Greeks lifted their hands in prayer to the likeness of a public prostitute when they attended to their religious duties in the temple of the Aphrodite image.[32] When the Romans became the masters of the world and took the Greeks into their homes to be their slaves, all of this became the prototype of Roman manners and morals.

By the time of the Empire the transition from purity of morals to total depravity was complete. All sentiment concerning the sanctity of marriage soon passed away under the influence of Hellenism. Divorce became more and more common until it was an everyday occurrence.[33] Seduction and adultery spread until Roman society became a cesspool of moral polution. Affairs became so common in the leading families of Rome that "only a scandal altogether exceptional could make them the subject of special talk; a judicial interference seemed now almost rediculous.[34] One condition of this demoralized

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] George P. Fisher, The Beginnings of Christianity With a View of the State of the Roman World at the Birth of Christ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1877), p. 201.

[34] Ibid., quoting Mommsen iii. 502.

society was that men refused to marry preferring illicit relationships to the responsibilities of families.[35] The legal enactments put forward by Augustus to promote marriages by offering bounties to those who would take wives had little effect.[36] Licentiousness permeated every level of Roman society. The behavior of Messalina the wife of Claudius I as described by Tacitus, involving in her adultery those of high and low estate, is an indication of this very fact.[37] The multitude of slaves of Roman society provided an ever-present temptation to sensual indulgence.[38]

The moral depravity that has been discussed was not alone descriptive of conditions in the capital but was equally true in the provinces.[39]

While the mass of the people lived in poverty and subsisted on alms, those who possessed wealth revelled in gluttony and every other conceivable type of excess. Seneca, in discussing the relationship between slave and master, gives us a picture of the gluttony

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[35]Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 102.

[36]Fisher, op. cit., p. 202.

[37]Tacitus Annals xi. 25-38.

[38]Fisher, op. cit., p. 202.

[39]Ibid.

in a Roman feast. The common practice of taking an emetic in order that they might further indulge in food is mentioned here and in many other places in pagan literature. He says, "The master eats more than he can hold, and with monstrous greed loads his belly until it is stretched and at length ceases to do the work of a belly," and then, Seneca says, "he is at greater pains to discharge all the food than he was to stuff it down."[40] In another place he says, "When we recline at a banquet, one slave mops up the disgorged food, another crouches beneath the table and gathers up the left-overs of the tipsy guests."[41] Feasting continued far into the night. Female slaves waited tables dressed in such a fashion as to excite the passions of the guests whom they served.[42] After the feast had continued for a time, and the guests were inflamed with wine, dancing girls were brought in, and a scene of lewd revelry ensued.[43]

Other vices of an unnatural sort are so revolting that they can be only mentioned briefly at this point. Paul speaks of these sins of "uncleanness" in writing to the church at Rome. In speaking

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[40] Seneca Epistles xlvii. 2.

[41] Ibid., 6.

[42] Fisher, op. cit., p. 204.

[43] Ibid.

of ungodly and unrighteous men of that generation Paul says that they,

> . . . through the lusts of their own hearts . . . dishonor their own bodies between themselves . . . even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature: and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly . . .[44]

Seneca speaks of this same vice when he refers to the slave who, though a man,

> . . . cannot get away from his boyhood; he is dragged back to it; . . . he is kept beardless by having his hair smoothed away or plucked out by the roots, and he must remain awake throughout the night, dividing his time between his master's drunkenness and his lust . . .[45]

This particular vice has perhaps existed to some degree in every age but in the Graeco-Roman world it was so universally accepted that it seemingly was not considered a crime at all. There is scarcely a writer of the period who directly condemns it.[46] Seneca in the above quotation, and in its context, is not discussing the matter as a vice but as simply a mistreatment of slaves, along with other examples of hardship. It is no wonder that Paul says that "God gave them up," "to uncleanness," "unto vile affections," and "to a reprobate mind."[47]

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[44]Romans 1:24, 26, 27.

[45]Seneca Epistles xlvii. 7, 8.

[46]Fisher, op. cit., pp. 205, 206.

[47]Romans 1:24, 26, 28.

The theater was an important corrupting influence in Greek and Roman life. The great deeds of the heroes of the past were no longer held up for imitation, being replaced by the adventures of illicit lovers and deceived husbands.[48] Virtue was mocked, the gods scoffed at, and "everything sacred and worthy of veneration was dragged in the mire."[49] Obscenity knew no bounds. Dancers cast aside their clothes and performed half naked, or even wholly naked, on the stage.[50] Art was not considered, and all things were designed for sensual gratification.[51] The Greek comedy, and similar Roman plays, were the most popular.[52] The plots were drawn largely from the licentious stories of Greek mythology.[53] The pantomime, the art of expression through gesture and movement, was carried to perfection, and gradually replaced nearly all other types of theatrical performance.[54] These performances were of the most unchaste and obscene character and had the most corrupting effect upon

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[48] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 120.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Fisher, op. cit., p. 212.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

the morals of women and of the youth.[55] The actors who received the greatest popular acceptance were the pantomimists, whose popularity and prosperity was generally in direct proportion to the infamy of their character.[56]

Perhaps the most brutalizing institution of the Graeco-Roman period was the gladiatorial combat in which men, often in large numbers, were set against each other in deadly earnest. These shows were put on for spectators of both sexes, and every age and rank.[57] As the passion for the contests increased, rulers vied with each other in their efforts to promote them. Julius Caesar on one occasion in 65 B.C. had no less than 320 pairs to fight.[58] Augustus instituted during his reign games in which 10,000 men joined in the combat, and a like number were engaged in the gladiatorial shows conducted by Trajan.[59] These games of Trajan, which were held in 106 A.D., continued for a period of four months.[60]

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Farrar, op. cit., p. 6.

[57] Fisher, op. cit., p. 213.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

On another occasion the Emperor Titus continued the games for over three months.[61] Gladiatorial combats were common in all parts of the Roman Empire.[62] The program of slaughter in the arena was one of variety, and new ways were constantly sought whereby bloodshed might be made more spectacular. There were combats between men; combats between beasts; men were burned alive;[63] others were tied to stakes to be devoured by beasts; and mass-slaughter was accomplished by full-scale battles in which thousands were slain.[64] These bloody games seem to have had universal approval. Throughout Roman literature hardly a whisper is to be found of disgust or disapproval of the games.[65] Seneca objected to combats between untrained prisoners during noon recesses as unnecessary slaughter.[66]

Contempt for the sacredness of human life was complete. A widely prevalent practice was the exposure of unwanted babies. Pagan parents seemingly had no particular emotional feeling at

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[61] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 121.

[62] Fisher, op. cit., p. 217.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 128.

[65] Merivale, op. cit., p. 126.

[66] Seneca Epistles vii. 4, 5.

leaving their babies where they would be eaten by wild beasts. The practice was universal among both Greeks and Romans.[67] Abortion also, which had been sanctioned by the Greeks, became very common among the Romans, with the only purpose being to rid themselves of the responsibility of rearing children.[68]

The causes for the moral corruptness of paganism is to be found in the very foundation of pagan society itself--basic in which was the institution of slavery. The demoralizing effect of this institution is clearly evident in the conditions described in the preceding pages. Slaves were numerous nearly everywhere in the Roman empire. It has been estimated that in the city of Rome at the beginning of the Christian era there were two slaves to every one free man.[69] The immoral lives of the slaves, due in part to the total lack of social responsibility for their behavior, had an understandably deteriorating effect upon the morals of the masters, who had unlimited power over the slaves, and upon the

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[67] Fisher, op. cit., p. 207.

[68] Ibid., p. 208.

[69] Ibid., p. 211.

children through their familiarity with slaves from the earliest period of their lives.

It was into the morally decadent Graeco-Roman world that Christianity was introduced. It made unheard-of, and previously impossible, moral demands, and yet gave power to those who accepted it to meet those demands. Herein, in part, is to be found the explanation of Christianity's victory over paganism--it met the moral needs of the people. Gibbon gives "The pure and austere morals of the Christians" as one of the causes for the rapid growth of the early Christian church.[70]

The Condition of Pagan Religion

If the number of a people's gods can be accepted as an accurate indication of the degree of its devotion to religion, the people of the Graeco-Roman period were very religious. Petronius makes a woman of Campania say, "Our country is so peopled with gods, that it is easier to find a god there than a man."[71] At Athens the Apostle Paul "saw the city wholly given to idolatry," and found among its multitudinous shrines an alter bearing the inscription:

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[70] Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (2 vols.; New York: The Modern Library, n.d.), I, 383.

[71] Petronius Sat. 17, quoted by Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 30.

"To the Unknown God."[72] Evidently the Athenians had erected alters to all of the deities known to them, and then, lest they should offend one that had been overlooked, dedicated an alter to the "Unknown" god. Every phase of life; every detail of the home, the house and its furnishings; every business transaction, and every part of the day's activity was considered to be the domain of a particular god. The birth of a child was watched over by Lucina; candles were lighted on such an occasion in honor of Candelifera; Nundina was invoked on the ninth day when the name was given; Rumina attended at its nursing; Potina and Educa accustomed it to its food and drink; Abeona taught it to walk; Locutinus taught it to talk; Cunina protected it while in the cradle, and the day it first stepped upon the ground was made holy to Statina.[73] There was Forculus, the god of the door; Limentinus, the god of the threshhold, and Cardea, the goddess of the hinges.[74] The stable was protected by Epona, the goddess of horses; ships had their images of Neptune,

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[72] Acts 17:16, 23.

[73] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 31.

[74] Ibid.

and Mercury was invoked by merchants for successful bargains.[75] Even the prisons and the brothels had their patron gods.[76]

Public religious worship in most places was confined to the particular temple of the god, and to certain times and days. In the temples were placed the images of the gods, and the worship consisted of numerous ceremonies, sacrifices, offerings and prayers. The religious ceremonies were by nature debasing, obscene, and cruel.[77]

There was no necessary connection between morals and religion in the pagan world. Especially among the Greeks, who became the teachers of the Romans, was this true. The gods to the Greeks were like human beings, but with greater powers, virtues, and vices.[78] Thus, to strive to be like the gods would as well mean to emulate their vices as to imitate their virtues. Since the gods would be unable to raise the worshiper above the level of their own morality, religion contributed nothing to public morals.

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[75] Ibid., p. 32.

[76] Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

[77] John Lawrence Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, trans. James Murdock, ed. James Seaton Reid (12th ed.; London: Ward, Lock, and Company, n.d.), p. 9.

[78] Lars P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church (Revised ed.; New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1942), p. 15.

Conscience was to the Greek identical to sense of the beautiful; hence, beauty, rather than holiness, was the ideal of the Greek.[79] Since morals and ethics were left to the philosophers, philosophy was made by them a substitute for religion in its moral aspects.

With emperor worship, especially, the negative influences of pagan religion become apparent. The emperors were not examples of piety—to the contrary, their lives are, nearly without exception, examples of brutality, excesses, and moral degradation. Augustus, who was deified after his death, had an only daughter, Julia, who was famous for her wantonness, and Augustus himself was not too good an example of moral uprightness.[80] Gaius, who was the first Roman emperor to claim divinity for himself, is said to have committed incest with his sisters.[81]

To the Romans religion had a more practical purpose than it had for the Greeks, and for its effects was more closely interwoven with politics than was true with most other ancient peoples.[82]

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Albert Grenier, The Roman Spirit in Religious Thought and Art, trans. M. R. Dobie (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, 1926), p. 284.

[81] Salmon, op. cit., p. 149.

[82] Augustus Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, trans. Joseph Torrey (9th American ed.; 5 vols.; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1859), I, 6.

Emperor worship is illustrative of the effort to identify religion with patriotism, and thus to center all things in the state. Among the Romans the whole civil and domestic life was made to revolve around religious rites.[83] Gibbon gives a concise account of first century religious attitudes among the Romans when he says concerning the various forms of religion that they "were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful."[84] Among the more educated classes philosophy had, as among the Greeks, become a substitute for religion, but the old pagan rites continued to be used, though ineffective, as a means of social control. Strabo, in the time of Augustus, expressed the belief that it was impossible to lead the common people to piety by the means of the doctrine of the philosophers. For this, he believed, superstition (using myths and tales of wonders) was necessary.[85] Myths and tales of wonders, he says, statesmen use as "bug-bears to awe childish people."[86] In Rome

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Gibbon, op. cit., I, 25, 26.

[85] Neander, op. cit., I, 7.

[86] Ibid., quoting Strabo Geograph. l. i. 2.

temples were erected to "Concord," to "Constancy," and to "Modesty."[87] This practical use of pagan religions did not, however, to any great extent, produce the desired results, for, as we have seen, the gods were for the most part patterns of wickedness rather than models of virtue.

The appeal to philosophy as a substitute for religious beliefs, and the use of religion for practical and political purposes in controlling the masses, combined to further weaken pagan religion and to increase skepticism. Philosophy had taught the Romans that their gods were little more than figures of speech,[88] and the pagan religions had lost the little, if any, control they had exercised over public morals.

Thus we find that at the beginning of the Christian era pagan religion was at its lowest ebb as a social force. Skepticism and moral perversity had reached such extremes that the world was ready for a religious revolution in which paganism would give place to a religious belief emphasizing Divine Revelation and social morality.

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[87] Henry Hart Milman, The History of Christianity From the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872), p. 27.

[88] Walter Woodburn Hyde, Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), p. 31.

Such a revolution came with the institution of the Christian religion and its spread in the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire

At the time of the birth of Jesus Christ a great part of the world was subject to the Romans. The Roman Empire stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates River, and from the Danube River on the north to the cataracts of the Nile River and the African desert.[89] The population of the entire area has been estimated as somewhere between eighty and one hundred twenty millions.[90]

All of the nations within this vast area had surrendered their independence and were all associated together, under Rome, in one great political system. There were two major parts of the Roman world—the East and the West, and the whole territory was divided politically into provinces; the proconsular, technically under the rule of the Senate, and the imperial, which were ruled by governors appointed by the Emperor.[91] In the Senatorial provinces the authority of the Emperor, when he was present, superseded that of the proconsuls.[92] Some of the provinces were permitted to retain their own kings and laws, subject to the sovereign control of Rome.[93] Although still in form a republic, the Roman government was in fact centered

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[89]Fisher, op. cit., p. 42.

[90]Ibid., p. 43.

[91]Ibid., pp. 43, 45.

[92]Ibid., p. 45.

[93]Mosheim, op. cit., p. 7.

in one man--Augustus, who held the titles of Emperor, Pontifex Maximus, Censor, Tribune of the People, Pro-consul; in short every title and office which carried general power and pre-eminence.[94]

Beginning with the reign of Augustus the nations under Roman rule were to a great extent free from wars and disturbances. After the battle of Actium Augustus became the sole master of the Roman world.[95] It should be remembered, however, that the Roman peace was an armed peace. It was a peace by the Romans and for the Romans. The Roman legions enforced the will of Caesar. Resistence to Rome, such as the Jewish rebellion (A.D. 66-70),[96] was ruthlessly put down. Large standing armies were always present in the provinces as a protection against insurrection.[97] The Roman peace was simply the subjection of a conquered people to military rule.

Communication and Travel Within the Roman Empire

Still, this universal Roman domination was attended by many

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Willis Mason West, The Ancient World From the Earliest Times to 800 A.D. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1913), p. 460.

[96] Paul Goodman, A History of the Jews (Tower Books ed.; Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1943), pp. 34-41. Cf. Josephus Wars of the Jews Bks. III-V.

[97] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 7.

advantages pertaining to travel and communication which providentially furthered the spread of the Christian religion.

The Roman legions constituted a world police force and safety of travel was assured. A first century inscription in honor of Augustus says, "Now land and sea are safe, and cities flourish in concord and peace."[98] Epictetus, the stoic philosopher of the period is quoted as saying, "There are neither wars, nor battles, nor great robberies, nor piracies; but we may travel at all hours, and sail from East to West."[99]

The Roman peace was characterized by greatly increased commerce, extended sea routes, and the construction of many roads. A net-work of fine roads covered the vast territory of the Roman Empire. Five main lines went out from Rome and connected the extremities of the Empire.[100] These main roads and their branches made connections at seaports for maritime travel, making possible a journey of more than 7000 miles over well established routes.[101] There were mile-

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[98] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 16.

[99] Fisher, op. cit., quoting Epictetus Diss. iii. 13. 9.

[100] Ibid., p. 61.

[101] Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

stones along the way, and even road maps giving the distance from place to place.[102] More extensive and more rapid travel was possible than in any other period of history.[103] Roads and commerce favored the movement of peoples and ideas, and it was therefore natural that Christianity flourished along the trade routes and had its strongest followings in cities that had become trade centers.[104]

The general use of the Greek language throughout the empire also greatly facilitated the spread of Christian ideas. From the time of Alexander's empire the Greek tongue was known and used, especially along the trade routes and in the major cities.[105] The man who could speak Greek could make himself understood anywhere in the East or the West.[106] Wherever the Christian missionary went, therefore, he possessed in the Greek language a ready means of communication with the people. Greek was the language of the early church. Even in Rome the earliest Christian worship was in that tongue.[107] Greek was the medium of the expression of Christian

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[102] Ibid., p. 62.

[103] Kenneth Scott Latourette, The First Five Centuries ("A History of the Expansion of Christianity," I; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), p. 9.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Uhlhorn, op. cit., p. 20.

[107] Fisher, op. cit., p. 59.

thought, and the language of Christian literature and theology, throughout the first age of the Christian church in both East and West.[108]

The State of the Jews at the Beginning of the Christian Era

At the birth of Christ the Jewish nation, though subject to the sovereign power of Rome, was permitted to observe its own laws, maintain its priesthood, have its own senate (the Sanhedrim), and even its own king, as a tributary to Caesar.[109]

When Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, Herod, called the Great, was King of the Jews.[110] Herod is remembered for his brutality. The slaughter of the innocents at the birth of Christ is typical, but by no means the only example of his cruelty. Among the many he killed were several of his ten wives and a number of his own children.[111] It can be easily understood why Augustus once said that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than to be one of his sons.[112].

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[108] *Ibid.*

[109] Mosheim, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[110] Matthew 2:1.

[111] Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[112] *Ibid.*

In government Herod was a tyrant. He had his police, and he would himself go among the people in disguise to seek out the disloyal ones.[113] Prisoners once they were taken to his castle, Hyrcania, were never heard of again.[114] Under Herod's administration Roman licentiousness spread over Palestine.[115] The theater, with its lasciviousness, and the amphitheater, with its bloody games, were introduced.[116] Pagan religions had their place in Palestine and a temple was dedicated to Caesar at Caesarea.[117]

On Herod's death (A.D. 1) the Romans made his son, Archelaus, ruler over half of Palestine (Judea, Samaria, and Idumea) and divided the other half between two of Herod's other sons, Herod Antipas and Philip.[118] Ten years later, after the Jews had registered complaints with Augustus, Archelaus was deposed and the territories he had ruled were added to the Roman pronvice of Syria.[119] Judea was then

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[113]Henry Hart Milman, The History of the Jews From the Earliest Period Down to Modern Times (3 vols.; New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1881), II, 84.

[114]Ibid.

[115]Mosheim, op. cit., p. 13.

[116]Milman, History of the Jews, II, 83.

[117]Ibid., II, 83.

[118]Josephus Antiquities of the Jews xvii. 12.4: cf. Matt. 2:22.

[119]Ibid., xvii. 13.2, 5.

ruled by Roman procurators, Pontius Pilate being the most prominent in Bible history. Herod Antipas and Philip continued in their positions during the ministry of Christ.[120]

The Jewish kingdom was restored for a brief period of three years under Herod Agrippa I, Grandson of Herod the Great.[121] At the death of Herod Agrippa I, Judea became a Roman province, Agrippa's son being too young to assume the throne.[122] This son, Herod Agrippa II, later became King of Chalcis and other cities.[123]

The end of the Jewish nation in Palestine in ancient times resulted from two insurrections by the Jews against Roman rule. The first was the result of the barbarity of the Roman procurator Gessius Florus, the most wicked of all Roman governors of Judea, who forced the Jews into a rebellion against Rome, which ended, after four years of bloody fighting, in A.D. 70, with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and his armies.[124] The second revolt, which occurred A.D. 132-134, was led by Bar-cochab, "Son of the Star," who

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[120] Luke 3:1.

[121] Josephus _Wars of the Jews_ ii. 11.6; cf. Acts 12:1-9.

[122] _Ibid._

[123] _Ibid._, ii. 12.1; ii. 13.2. Cf. Acts 26:28.

[124] _Ibid._, ii. 14 f.

claimed to be the Messiah, and was put down by the Roman general Julius Severus who caused Jerusalem to be ploughed like a field and sold the remnant of the Jewish people into slavery.[125]

Religious Conditions of the Jews

In the first century the religious affairs of the Jews were conducted by a high priest, with priests under him, and a national senate called the Sanhedrim. The Sanhedrim was made up of the three classes; the priests, the elders, and the scribes.[126] The high priests had generally purchased their high positions by bribe and maintained themselves in their places of authority by acts of wickedness.[127] The first century Jewish historian, Josephus, looked upon the destruction of the Jewish nation by the Romans as a visitation of the wrath of God upon the nation for these very sins.[128]

Those who were learned in the law and theology were divided into various sects and parties. The three most prominent parties were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. The three dis-

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[125]Eusebius Church History iv. 6 and Milman, History of the Jews, II, 433 f; cf. Matt. 24:1, 2, 5.

[126]"Sanhedrim," Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Philip Schaff, 11th ed.

[127]Mosheim, op. cit., p. 14.

[128]Josephus Wars of the Jews v. 13.6.

agreed on the interpretation of the law, the Pharisees holding to a double meaning (literal and figurative); the Sadducees accepting only the literal meaning, while the Essenes believed that the words of the law were of no authority, the real authority being found in the things sacred represented by the words of scripture.[129] Rewards and punishment, the Pharisees held, referred to both body and soul; the Sadducees believed in no future retributions; while the Essenes took a middle ground, admitting future rewards and punishment, but confining them to the soul, completely rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection.[130]

Synagogues, where the people gathered for prayer and exhortation in the law, were erected throughout the country.[131] Schools were also to be found in the principal cities, where young people were instructed in both sacred and secular learning.[132]

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[129] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 14.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

[132] Ibid., p. 17.

The Messiah

In all of the history and literature of the Jews, prior to the birth of Jesus, the theme is the same—the coming Messiah. "All the prophets prophesied not but of the days of the Messiah," says the Talmud.[133] To the followers of Jesus the law had but one purpose—to declare the Christ (Gr. Christos, identical in meaning with Heb. Messiah meaning "the anointed").[134] Jesus said, "Search the Scriptures . . . they are they which testify of me."[135] The law was understood to be the servant that was to bring them to Christ. The law was Israel's moral mentor, supervising their lives until they reached spiritual maturity in Christ.[136] The New Testament relates every important aspect concerning the birth, lineage, and earthly life of Jesus with a particular prophecy in the Old Testament. Jesus came to fulfil the law and the prophets,[137] and finally, by His death, He took the law out of the way, "blotting

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[133]Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (2 vols.; New American Edition; Grand Rapids; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1945), I, I, quoting Sanh. 99.

[134]"Xpistos" A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti, trans. ed. Joseph Henry Thayer.

[135]John 5:39.

[136]Gal. 3:24. Παιδαγωγὸς is here translated "schoolmaster" in the Authorized Version; cf. J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Gelations, A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations (6th ed.; London: Macmillan and Co., 1880), pp. 148, 149: "The paedagogus or tutor, frequently a superior slave, was intrusted with the moral supervision of the child . . . As well in his inferior rank, as in his recognized duty of enforcing discipline, this person was a fit emblem of the Mosaic law."

[137]Matt. 5:17.

out the handwriting of ordinances . . . nailing it to his cross."[138]

The Jews of ancient times were not looking for a meek and lowly Messiah. Their desired Messiah was rather a warrior hero; one who should crush the might of Israel's oppressors, and bathe "the steps of the sanctuary with the blood of the sacrilegious."[139] An unknown Jewish writer caused the Sibylline oracles to describe the coming Jewish Messiah as a warrior who would make Israel the master of the world, and bring the treasures of earth and sea to Israel's feet.[140] The Jewish nation was therefore ready to receive Bar-cochab as the Messiah, and rise with him in armed rebellion against the Roman Empire, but had been unwilling to accept the Prince of Peace who declared, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight . . ."[141]

The Christian belief in the Messiah differed in all respects from the common Jewish expectation. Jesus conducted a threefold ministry; that of prophet, priest, and king; thus the title "The

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[138] Col. 2:14.

[139] E. DePressense, Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work, trans. A. Harwood (4th ed.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1871), p. 73. See also Paul Goodman, op. cit., p. 30.

[140] Ibid., pp. 73-75.

[141] John 18:36.

Anointed" ("The Messiah," or "The Christ") alluding to the Old Testament practices of anointing these three classes of persons.[142] As Prophet He was the last and all-sufficient revealer of God's will; through Him God had spoken, and He was to be heard in all things.[143] As High Priest, "after the order of Melchizedek,"[144] He once and for all made sacrifice, with His own life, for the sins of mankind.[145] He reigns upon the throne of David,[146] the "only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."[147] "His name shall be called . . . Prince of Peace . . . Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."[148]

The Life of Jesus Christ

The account of Christ's birth, lineage, family, ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension is given in the four gospels, the

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[142] I Kings 19:16; Levit. 8:12; I Saml. 15:17.

[143] Heb. 1:2; Acts 3:22; cf. Deut. 18:18.

[144] Heb. 5:6; 10; cf. Psalm 110:4; Gen. 14:18.

[145] Heb. 10:10 et seq.

[146] Acts 2:30; cf. Psalm 132:11; II Saml. 7:12, 13.

[147] I Timothy 6:15.

[148] Isaiah 9:6, 7.

first four books of the New Testament.

In each and every particular of the life of Jesus the fulfillment of prophetic utterances is evident in the New Testament record.

Jesus was born during the reign of the Emperor Augustus,[149] in the time of Herod the Great.[150] In accordance with prophecy, He was born in Bethlehem of Judah,[151] the Son of God, born of a virgin,[152] of the lineage of David.[153]

We know little of the early years of Christ's life. In infancy He was saved from death at the hands of Herod by a flight into Egypt.[154] After Herod's death Mary and Joseph returned with Jesus to Palestine, but upon learning that Archelaus reigned in Judea they went into Galilee, where they made their home in the town of Nazareth.[155] At the age of twelve years Jesus was found publicly disputing with learned men in the Temple.[156] During the entire

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[149] Luke 2:1.

[150] Matt. 2:1.

[151] Luke 2:4-7; Matt. 2:5, 6; Micah 5:2.

[152] Matt. 1:18-25; cf. Isaiah 7:14.

[153] Matt. 1:1-16; cf. Isaiah 11:1; Jer. 23:5.

[154] Matt. 2:13; cf. Jer. 31:15.

[155] Matt. 2:19-23.

[156] Luke 2:46, 47.

period of His childhood He conducted Himself as an obedient son in the family of Joseph and Mary, and "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man."[157]

Jesus began His ministry at about the age of thirty by being baptized in the Jordan River at the hands of John the Baptist,[158] who was sent by God to be the forerunner of the Messiah.[159] For a period of three years Jesus taught the people, not as one of the Scribes, who relied upon a great knowledge of the law, but "as one that had authority."[160] To assist Him in His work He appointed twelve men.[161] These apostles Jesus sent at first only to the Jews, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," to preach the coming kingdom.[162] Later, after His resurrection, He sent the same men, with the exception of Judas Iscariot, under a world-wide commission to teach the gospel to all men.[163]

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[157]Luke 2:51, 52.

[158]Matt. 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21, 22.

[159]Matt. 3:1-12; Mark 1:1-8; Luke 3:1-18; cf. Mal. 3:1.

[160]Matt. 7:29.

[161]Matt. 10:2-4.

[162]Matt. 10:5-7.

[163]Matt. 28:19-20.

Jesus was opposed in His ministry by those men who were the religious leaders of the people—the Sanhedrim,[164] the Sadducees,[165] and especially the Pharisees, whose hypocrisy He condemned.[166] The Sanhedrim, aided by the treachery of Judas Iscariot, arrested Jesus, and condemned Him to death on the charge of blasphemy, because He admitted to being "the Christ, the Son of God."[167] Under Roman rule the Jews were not permitted to execute the death penalty,[168] therefore, it was necessary for them to take Him before the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, charging Him now with treason against Caesar for claiming to be a king.[169] Pilate, upon hearing that Jesus was a Galilean, sent Him to Herod Antipas, who, after beating and mocking Him, returned Him again to Pilate without passing judgment upon Him.[170] Pontius Pilate, after declaring, "I find no fault in this man,"[171] was intimidated by the Jews,[172] and reluc-

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[164]Mark 11:27-33.

[165]Mark 12:18.

[166]Mark 12:13; Luke 16:14, 15.

[167]Matt. 26:14 et. seq.; Mark 14:53 et. seq.

[168]John 18:31.

[169]Matt. 27:2-11; Mark 15:1, 2: Luke 23:1-25; John 18:28-33.

[170]Luke 23:6-12, 15.

[171]Luke 2:3, 4.

[172]John 19:12.

tantly delivered over Christ to be crucified, washing his hands before the crowd and saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it."[173]

Jesus was resurrected on the third day after His death and burial.[174] After His resurrection He was with His disciples for forty days, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,"[175] and was seen by over five hundred persons at one time.[176]

After He had commanded His disciples to "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," He was "received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God."[177]

Jesus, The Teacher

According to the New Testament record, Jesus, in fulfilling His ministry as the Messiah, was first and last a teacher; not a teacher in any ordinary sense, but The Teacher, in the unique posi-

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[173] Matt. 27:24, 26.

[174] Matt. 28:5-7.

[175] Acts 1:3.

[176] I Cor. 15:6.

[177] Mark 16:15, 19.

tion of prophet;[178] that is, a teacher speaking with divine authority. Thus, it is said of Jesus that He taught "as one that had authority, and not as the scribes."[179] The scribe always spoke as the scribe before him had spoken. The scribe was "the well-plastered pit," filled with the water of knowledge, "out of which not a drop can escape."[180] He could give only what he had received, and teach only as he had been taught. It was the Messiah alone who could say, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time . . . but I say unto you . . ."[181] The Christ was no mere teacher of the law of Moses. He superseded Moses, and spake by His own authority as the Son of God.[182]

Lewis Sherrill has listed the number of times that the words "teacher" and "teaching" are used in the four Gospels in reference to Christ and His words. He has found the word "teacher" referring to Jesus forty-two times, and in thirty-one of these

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[178] Acts 3:22, 23.

[179] Mark 1:22.

[180] Edersheim, op. cit., I, 93, quoting Ab. ii.8.

[181] Matthew 5:21, 22.

[182] Mark 9:2-10.

instances He is directly addressed as "Teacher." Five other times in the record He refers to Himself as teacher. Other forms of address equivalent to teacher are found fourteen times. Thus, Christ is called "Teacher" or the equivalent sixty-one times in the Gospels. He is called "Teacher" four times by His disciples, five times by persons other than His immediate circle, and two times by His opponents. Christ is spoken of as "teaching" forty-seven times, and His words are called by the noun "teaching" ten times in the Gospels.[183]

In His public speaking and teaching Jesus used the accepted customs of His day. He, like others, taught in the synagogues,[184] and in Jerusalem, in the courts of the Temple.[185] He stood when reading the Scriptures,[186] and sat when expounding them.[187] He accepted questions from His hearers in the synagogue.[188]

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[183] Lewis Joseph Sherrill, op. cit., p. 86.

[184] Matt. 12:9; 13:54; Mark 1:21; Luke 4:16.

[185] Matt. 21:23; John 10:23.

[186] Luke 4:16, 20.

[187] Luke 4:20 et. seq.

[188] Matt. 12:9-12; John 6:28-33.

Jesus did not, however, limit His teaching to formal occasions. He would teach wherever there were those to be taught—by the seaside,[189] on the mountain,[190] or in a grainfield.[191]

Jesus adapted His teaching to the needs of His hearers. In dealing with the Sadducees, the Pharisees, the scribes, and the chief priests, whose attitude was hostile and critical, Jesus was a polemicist. He met the scholars on their own ground, and turned their arguments upon them.[192]

Yet, when speaking to the multitudes or to the uneducated, He was able to adjust His teaching to the need and understanding of the common people. In such instances, as George Holley Gilbert points out,[193] Christ does not speak of the "summum bonum," but of the "pearl of great price,"[194] and instead of speaking of "divine beneficence," says that God "sends rain on the just and the

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[189] Matt. 13:1; Mark 2:13; 4:1.

[190] Matt. 5:1 et. seq.

[191] Matt. 12:1-8.

[192] Matt. 19:3-12; 22:15-22; Mark 11:27-33; 12:18-27; Luke 10:25-37; 13:14-17; 14:1-6.

[193] George Holley Gilbert, The Student's Life of Jesus (3rd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 115.

[194] Matt. 13:46.

unjust."[195] DePressense calls attention to the fact Jesus used illustrations from the life of His times, with which all of His hearers would be acquainted;[196] the wide and narrow gates, the dish washed clean on the outside, salt, leaven, and the new and old cloth sewed into the old garment.[197] Much that Jesus taught was in the form of proverbs.[198] These statements were short and to the point, easily remembered, and gave themselves well to quoting. The parable was also common in the teaching of Jesus, by which He drew lessons from the common experiences of His hearers.[199]

No small part of Christ's teaching, during His entire ministry, was reserved for His disciples—those men whom He had chosen to be trained as teachers and missionaries of the Gospel. It was first necessary for Christ to bring them to recognize His divine mission—His Messiahship and His Sonship to God. This recognition on the part of the disciples is recorded by Matthew,

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[195]Matt. 5:45.

[196]DePressense, op. cit., p. 267.

[197]Mark 9:50; 8:15; Luke 11:39; 13:18-24.

[198]Matt. 10:24; 13:57.

[199]Matt. 13:3-52.

and came when Peter confessed to Jesus: "Thou art the Christ (Messiah), the Son of the living God."[200] From this point on Jesus instructed them concerning His approaching death and resurrection,[201] the establishment of His church,[202] the things they were to suffer as His followers,[203] His return in glory, and the final judgment.[204] Thus He prepared His disciples for the great responsibility they were to assume in the leadership of the church, and for the testimony they were to bear of the Christ "in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."[205]

In Summary: Jesus Christ—the Answer to a World in Need

The world into which Christ came was a world in need and in readiness for His coming. The early Christians firmly believed

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[200] Matt. 16:16.

[201] Matt. 16:21.

[202] Matt. 16:18.

[203] Matt. 16:24.

[204] Matt. 16:27.

[205] Acts 1:8.

theirs to be the age selected before the beginning of time for the coming of the Messiah and for the establishment of His church. The Graeco-Roman world was truly a world in need. It was in need of a new set of values to fill the moral vacuum of pagan culture. It was a generation in need of a system of worship to replace the decadent pagan cults of antiquity. Mankind was in need of faith to replace the skepticism which had dominated the thought of the times—faith for which philosophy had proven to be an insufficient substitute. Among the Jews, the religion of the Old Testament had been corrupted, and the men had "made void" the word of God by their traditions. The political and social life of the Jews had approached the depravity of that of the Greeks and Romans.

It was into this world that Christ came. Through living a life of virtue He gave the example for individual moral integrity. Through His teaching He gave to mankind a new sense of dignity and a recognition of their kinship with God. He lifted the heads of women and children, and brought to the conscience of the world a respect for womanhood and a care and affection for little children. He gave to students of the teaching art for all future time the greatest example of how to be a good teacher. His life was lived in conscious fulfillment of His destiny—His will was to do the will of God. He died, not a martyr, but a Savior. He gave hope for eternal life in an age in which men had lost hope. He gave a

new direction to the future development of education when He commissioned His disciples to "teach all nations" the things He had taught them.

OUTLINE

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CHAPTER II

THE APOSTOLIC AGE: A.D. 30-100

Limits and Sources for the Apostolic Age

The Apostolic Age is reckoned as beginning with the resurrection of Jesus Christ and continuing through that period of church history in which the apostles still lived. Roughly this would be from A.D. 30 to the end of the first century. Although the New Testament does not record the death of the last of the apostles, an old and widely accepted tradition states that John was the youngest of the twelve, and died a very old man in the year 98.[206]

The writings of the New Testament are our only primary sources of knowledge concerning the internal affairs of the church in the Apostolic Age. The Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke, the associate of Paul, is our earliest history of the church. The book of Acts concerns principally the activities of the apostles Peter and Paul, and carries the account to the imprisonment of Paul in Rome, which would bring the record to the time of the

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[206] "John the Apostle," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. VI (1910).

Emperor Nero.[207] The other books of the New Testament were written at various times throughout the Apostolic Age. The four Gospels tell us of the life and work of Jesus Christ, and the epistles and the Revelation give additional information as to the affairs of the churches during the period.

Tacitus the Roman and Josephus the Jew, contemporary historians of the first century, shed some light on the earliest persecutions of the Christians.

The Establishment of the Christian Church

Pentecost, A.D. 30

During His personal ministry Christ left instructions relative to the organization of His church. He gave the essentials for a continuing organization, made provision for its religious and educational program of activities, when He established the Lord's Supper and later commissioned His disciples to "Go . . . teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[208]

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[207] Edgar J. Goodspeed, Paul (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1947), p. 211.

[208] Matt. 26:20-28; 28:19, 20.

The disciples were not to carry out this commission immediately, but were to wait "in the city of Jerusalem" until they were "endued with power from on high."[209] In obedience to these instructions the disciples were together in Jerusalem when, seven days later on the day of Pentecost, "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance."[210] The report of this miracle brought together the multitude, and the apostle Peter addressed the assembly.[211] After proving that Jesus was the Christ (Messiah) from the Scriptures, and recounting the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, Peter commanded "in the name of Jesus Christ" that his hearers repent and be baptized.[212] Three thousand were baptized on that day, and "they continued steadfastly in the apostles doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."[213] From this point on in the Book of Acts the church is referred to as an established institution, and "the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."[214]

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[209] Luke 24:49.

[210] Acts 2:1-4.

[211] Acts 2:6 et seq.

[212] Acts 2:22-40.

[213] Acts 2:41, 42.

[214] Acts 2:47.

The Persecuted Church

Immediately following the day of Pentecost, and for some time thereafter, the church experienced a period of peace, and enjoyed the favor of all people.[215] During this period of time the Christians were not molested and their daily meetings were held in the temple.[216]

The followers of Christ were, however, to soon learn the meaning of Jesus' words when He told them, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake."[217] The end of the period of general public favor came at the instigation of the same class of persons who were responsible for the crucifixion of Christ: the religious leaders of the people. Opposition to the new movement first became evident following the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple by Peter, and the sermon ocassioned thereby.[218] The basis for the opposition is clearly stated by Luke in the Acts:

> And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, came upon them, being grieved that they taught the people,

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[215] *Ibid.*

[216] Acts 2:46.

[217] Matt. 10:17, 18, 22.

[218] Acts 3:2 *et seq.*

> and preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead.[219]

In this instance the objection to the Christians is one of doctrine--the teaching of the resurrection of the dead. The religious leaders of the Jews were also irritated that Peter and his associates made them responsible for the murder of Christ.[220]

Hearings before the Sanhedrim resulted in threats, imprisonments, and beatings for the apostles, especially for Peter and John,[221] but did not stop the apostolic witnesses who, "daily in the temple, and in every house . . . ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ."[222] The persecution of the apostles did not hinder the growth of the church. In spite of the opposition the church grew rapidly, and soon numbered in their membership about five thousand. men.[223] Even from among the persecutors were converts made and "a great number of priests were obedient to the faith."[224]

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[219]Acts 4:1, 2.

[220]Acts 5:28.

[221]Acts 3:1 et seq.

[222]Acts 5:42.

[223]Acts 4:4.

[224]Acts 6:7.

Threats and beatings led to stronger actions on the part of the priests and rulers, and now the Christians were called upon to die for their faith. The first Christian martyr was Stephen, who was stoned to death by an angry mob.[225] Later James, the son of Zebedee, became the first of the apostles to be put to death. He died by the sword at the hand of Herod Agrippa I.[226] Eusebius describes the death of another James, the brother of the Lord, who was thrown from a pinacle of the temple, stoned, and then finally clubbed to death.[227] Josephus, the contemporary Jewish historian, records the event, and states that there were others of the Christians who were stoned to death at the same time.[228]

Up to the time of the death of Stephen opposition had been directed in the main against the apostles, but with the stoning of stephen a general persecution broke out against the whole Jerusalem church. The Christians, in order to survive, were forced to scatter throughout Judea and Samaria. The apostles, however, remained in the city of Jerusalem.[229].

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[225] Acts 7:54-60.

[226] Acts 12:12.

[227] Eusebius Church History ii.23.

[228] Josephus Antiquities of the Jews xx.9.1.

[229] Acts 8:1.

The leader of the general persecution was Saul (later to become the apostle Paul), who is described as one who made "havoc of the church," entering into the homes of the Christians and committing both men and women to prison.[230] He was responsible for some of these persons being put to death.[231] Saul was a zealous persecutor of the church, and hounded the Christians wherever they fled, even to cities distant from Jerusalem.[232]

That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Christian movement was being proved even in this first persecution of the church. In dispersing the Christians, the Jews unwittingly aided greatly the spread of Christianity, for "they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word."[233] Christianity became a missionary religion, and the prophecy of Jesus concerning His disciples began its fulfillment: "And ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."[234]

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[230] Acts 8:3.

[231] Acts 26:10.

[232] Acts 26:11.

[233] Acts 8:4.

[234] Acts 1:8.

With the conversion to Christianity of the leading persecutor, Saul of Tarsus,[235] the general Jewish persecution of the church died down, and we are told that "then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria."[236]

An organized Jewish effort against the church continued to operate, however. Jerusalem was the center from which such activities were carried out until the fall of the city to the Romans.[237] After the fall of the city the struggle was carried on by the synagogues and individual Jews by acts of hostility and by inciting hostility on the part of others.[238] Harnack states that as a rule whenever bloody persecutions were afoot among the Gentiles, the Jews were "either in the background or the foreground."[239] He suggests that it was they who instigated the Neronian persecution.[240] This becomes an altogether reasonable conclusion when one remembers

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[235] Acts 9:1-18.

[236] Acts 9:31.

[237] Adolf Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, trans. James Moffatt (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), I, 487.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Ibid., I, 58.

[240] Ibid.

that Nero was entirely under the influence of his wife, Poppaea, who was a Jewish proselyte.[241]

Nero was the first of the Roman emperors to become a persecuter of the church. The Neronian persecution was not a general persecution throughout the Empire, but was confined to the city of Rome.[242] The persecution by Nero originated as a result of the burning of the city of Rome in the year 64 A.D. Tacitus, the first century Roman historian, states that Nero accused the Christians of the burning of the city, and inflicted tortures and death upon them to divert suspicion of guilt away from himself.[243] Nero first arrested all who admitted that they were Christians, and then upon their information a great multitude were convicted.[244] The horrible suffering and death inflicted upon the Christian martyrs is described by Tacitus:

> Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs

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[241]Arthur Cushman McGiffert, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age (Revised ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), p. 625.

[242]Gibbon, op. cit., I, 460.

[243]Tacitus Annals xv. 44.

[244]Ibid.

> and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.
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> Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence . . . there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.[245]

Although the Neronian persecution was confined to the city of Rome, Nero's action in making scapegoats of the Christians served as an example to the outlying provinces. The Christians found themselves in the precarious position of liability for every local or national disaster, and were made the victims of popular prejudice and religious and patriotic zeal, or even petty jealousy and spite.[246]

The second Roman persecution came during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.) Vespasian, the father of Domitian, had done nothing during his reign prejudicial to the members of the church.[247] Domitian's persecution of the Christians began when two members of the royal family: the Consul Clemens and his wife Domatilla (the Emperor's neice), were convicted on a charge of

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[245] Ibid.

[246] McGiffert, op. cit., p. 630.

[247] Eusebius Church History iii. 17.

"Atheism and Jewish manners."[248] "Atheism" was thereafter a common popular charge against the Christians.[249] The persecution under Domitian was of brief duration but many Christians were made to suffer either death or banishment. It was during this persecution that John, the last of the apostles, was banished to the Island of Patmos,[250] where he wrote the book of Revelation.[251]

Education in the Early Christian Church

In different periods of history and in differing societies education has possessed various forms and has been characterized by a variety of purposes. In the period of our study and within the church of the Apostolic era Christian education had its own peculiar characteristics, its own philosophy of education, its own body of literature, a distinctive methodology, a discernable curriculum, and an organization well adapted to the accomplishment of its educational objectives. It shall be the purpose of the following

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[248] Milman, History of Christianity, p. 193.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Eusebius Church History ii.18.

[251] Rev. 1:19.

several sections of this chapter to examine the evidences and to determine from our sources some of the characteristics of that education which existed within the church of the first century.

The Philosophy of Early Christian Education

The Underlying principles of education in the early church were stated clearly by Jesus during His personal ministry. In a world characterized by moral degradation He set before His disciples the goal of perfection—"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."[252] He made a clear distinction between mere words and appropriate action—"Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."[253] He inspired His disciples to strive for the goal, and gave them the example of how that it might be attained. He established a new basis for human relations when He gave a new commandment: ". . . Love one another, as I have loved you . . . ", making unnecessary the law of commandments found in the mosaic code.[254] Jesus sought to

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[252]Matt. 5:48.

[253]Matt. 7:21.

[254]John 13:34; Rom. 13:8-10.

bring His followers into a close and enduring fellowship with God. This He expresses in the prayer for His disciples just before His betrayal:

> "I pray . . . for them which thou hast given me; for they are thine . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us . . ."[255]

This relationship is not one that knows human limitations by being confined to the period of human existence, for life in communion with God is continuous and eternal, depending upon the faithfulness of the believer. The goal of perfection is attainable in the world to come, and continual progress toward that goal is possible in this life. Hope is based upon the promise of Jesus who said, "I go to prepare a place for you. And . . . I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."[256]

The principle of growth and development within the Christian community is everywhere evident in the writings of the apostle Paul. In the teaching of the apostle the Christian life is a matter of continual growth all along the way. The degree of attainment in the

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[255] John 17:9, 20, 21.

[256] John 14:2, 3.

common discipline is the basis for day by day living; Paul says, "Whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule."[257] Paul did not claim that he, himself had achieved the goal, which was not to be known short of the resurrection from the dead.[258] With Paul the goal was definite; he says,

> That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.[259]

Since spiritual perfection is the goal, spiritual growth and development in this life is without limit, with the constant aim being to "grow up into him in all things which is the head, even Christ."[260] In the meantime, during this mundane existence, knowledge is incomplete,

> For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is

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[257] Phil. 3:16.

[258] Phil. 3:11.

[259] Phil. 3:10-14.

[260] Eph. 4:15.

> in part shall be done away . . . For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.[261]

The relationships of those within this spiritual society, the church, are figuratively represented in various ways. The love of Christ for the church and the purity of the Christian life finds emphasis in the representation of Christ as the Bridegroom and the church as the holy bride to be presented "as a chaste virgin to Christ."[262] Everywhere in the New Testament the relationship of the members within the church has the same emphasis—the continual spiritual growth and development on the part of the individual, and the equality of all members of the spiritual community. This is true whether the relationship is represented as a family, with God as the Father[263] and the several members as children of God;[264] or as the kingdom of heaven,[265] with Christ as King [266] and the members as fellow-citizens;[267] or as the body of Christ, with Christ as the head, and the Christians as the several members of the body in a relationship of mutual helpfulness.[268]

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[261] I Cor. 13:9, 10, 12.

[262] II Cor. 11:2.

[263] Eph. 4:6.

[264] Rom. 8:16.

[265] Matt. 16:16; Luke 22:30; etc.

[266] I Tim. 1:17; 6:15; etc.

[267] Phil. 3:20; Eph. 2:19.

[268] I Cor. 12:13-31; Eph. 5:30.

The Organization and Administration of the Apostolic Church: Its Teachers and The Educational Function of its Officers

The organization of the Apostolic church may be considered in terms of its ordinary and its extraordinary aspects. During the initial stages of church organization the congregations were led by apostles, prophets, and teachers; men who had received divine appointment, and were dependent upon the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for their guidance.[269] In our sources the office of "prophet" and "teacher" designate distinct and different functions.[270] According to McGiffert the difference lay in that the prophet spoke by revelation received directly from God, while the teacher spoke from his own thought and reflection under the guidance of the Spirit.[271] The teacher, like the prophet, was inspired by God, but was not a mere mouthpiece of the Spirit.[272] When the affairs of the church became more stable these extraordinary functionaries were replaced by the ordinary officers—

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[269] Acts 2:4; 13:1-3; I Cor. 12:28.

[270] I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11.

[271] McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 528, 529.

[272] Ibid.

the bishops and the deacons, who were selected on the basis of specific qualifications.[273] There was quite naturally an intervening period in which a local church would have both the divinely appointed and the selected teachers and leaders.

The apostles were the natural leaders and teachers of the church immediately following the day of Pentecost. It was their special task to organize the Christian movement. The temporary nature of the apostolate is indicated by the specific requirement that the apostles be witnesses of the resurrection of Christ.[274] The apostle Paul is careful to point out that he possesses this particular qualification.[275] The apostles had received the Holy Spirit in a baptismal measure,[276] and hence spoke and wrote by the inspiration of God.[277] At first the work of teaching was the sole responsibility of the apostles. The apostles gave themselves wholly to the teaching of the word, and refused to concern themselves with the material aspects of church administration, appointing others to

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[273] I Tim. 3:1-13.

[274] Acts 1:22.

[275] Acts 22:14; I Cor. 9:1.

[276] Acts 1:5.

[277] Mark 13:11; Luke 21:14, 15; Acts 2:4; Eph. 3:4, 5; I Cor. 2:13.

perform such duties.[278] The apostle Paul twice refers to his office as that of "a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the gentiles."[279]

Since it was impossible for the apostles to be everywhere in the rapidly expanding work of the church, special "gifts of the Spirit" were bestowed upon certain disciples, according to the needs of the congregations they served.[280] These gifts were transmitted by the laying on of the hand of the apostles.[281] These particular gifts were by their very nature different aspects of teaching. A number of spiritual gifts are listed by Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians.[282] Of those listed, six: word of wisdom; word of knowledge; faith; prophecy; languages; and interpretation of languages are directly related to the work of teaching; another, the discerning of spirits, served to identify false teachers; and the other two, the gifts of healing and the working of miracles, were signs given to confirm the teaching of the word.[283]

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[278] Acts 6:1-6.

[279] I Tim. 2:7; II Tim. 1:11.

[280] Eph. 4:8, 11-14.

[281] Acts 8:17, 18.

[282] I Cor. 12:8-10.

[283] Mark 16:20.

The extraordinary features of church organization, being temporary by nature, ceased to exist simply through the passing of time. The apostolic office passed with the death of the last of the apostles, and the ministry of gifts continued but a short time longer, until, one by one, those upon whom apostolic hands had been laid dropped from the scene of action by death. During this same period, however, the ordinary officers were being appointed in all the congregations,[284] and thus provision was being made for the permanent government of the church.

The ordinary, or permanent, organization of the church consisted of "the saints, with the bishops and deacons."[285] These officers, the bishops and deacons, did not necessarily possess spiritual gifts, and were selected on the basis of their having attained the specific qualifications required for appointment to their offices. There are fourteen definite requirements listed for the office of bishop, and seven for that of deacon.[286] The terms "elders" and "bishops" are used in the New Testament to refer to the same class of persons.[287] The artificial distinction between

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[284] Acts 14:23; Titus 1:5.

[285] Phil. 1:1.

[286] I Tim. 3:1-13; Titus 1:5-9.

[287] Acts 20:17, 28; Titus 1:5, 7; etc.

presbyters (elders) and bishops, which was an important factor in the rise of the episcopacy in the second century, was completely unknown in the Apostolic era. In the New Testament the term "elder" refers to the person's advanced age and experience in the faith, and "bishop" designates the function of the office to which he is appointed. The Greek word ἐπίσκοπος, translated "bishop" in the Authorized Version, means literally "overseer,"[288] and is so translated in one instance.[289] The term "deacon" is the anglicized form of the Greek διάκονος, meaning "servant."[290] The word most appropriately applies to the deacon's role as subordinate to the bishop, to which office the deacon might ligitimately aspire.[291]

The teaching function of the office of bishop is indicated in the qualifications set down for that office. The bishop was to be "apt to teach" or "an apt teacher," as it is rendered in the Revised Standard Version.[292] Paul informs Titus that the bishop

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[288]See Thayer, Lexicon of the New Testament.

[289]Acts 20:28.

[290]See Thayer, Lexicon of the New Testament.

[291]I Tim. 3:13.

[292]I Tim. 3:2.

must be "blameless as the steward of God . . . holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."[293] Paul requires of deacons, as to those who were in line for the office of bishop,[294] that they hold "the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience,"[295] that is, they were to understand, accept, and live the tenets of the Christian faith. Thus was the instruction of the church provided for—in a trained and able overseership, and in a movitiate (the deaconate) to provide future teachers and leaders for the church.

After the order of the Jewish synagogue, the elders in the Christian congregation formed a ruling council, and together governed and taught the people.[296] This was a natural adaptation since in the beginning of the Christian movement congregations were almost universally formed by secession from Jewish synagogues.[297]

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[293] Titus 1:7-9.

[294] I Tim. 3:13.

[295] I Tim. 3:9.

[296] Neander, op. cit., I, 184; cf. Acts 20:17, 28.

[297] Milman, History of Christianity, pp. 194, 195; cf. Acts 19:8, 9.

The number of elders making up the council varied in each local church according to the size of the congregation and the number of men who could qualify for the office of bishop.

The Curriculum of Early Christian Education

In considering the curriculum of the Apostolic church it is necessary to classify its several distinctive elements. It should not be thought, however, that such classification suggests that the groupings within the curriculum were completely separate and unrelated. All elements of the curriculum overlapped to some extent and were all inter-related in one pattern of Christian teaching.

One element that was important in the curriculum was the Christian interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. In the beginning of the Christian movement the Old Testament constituted the only Bible of the Christians. To the Old Testament the church appealed to establish with the Jews its claims as to the Messiahship of Jesus and the existence in prophecy of the scheme of redemption and the church of Christ. These same writings became the foundation teaching materials when the message of the church was extended to the Gentiles. Examples of this use of the Old Testament are numerous in the writings of the New Testament. The early Christians found in the promise of God to Abraham: "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed," a prophecy of the extension of God's grace to

the Gentiles and of the world-wide mission of the church.[298] Stephen, the first Christian martyr, called upon the prophets to testify of the Messiahship of Jesus, stating that He had been spoken of by the mouth of all the prophets "since the world began."[299] Every major part of the ceremonial of the Levitical priesthood and the temple worship are shown in the Epistle to the Hebrews to be but a type, the antitype for which is to be found in the Christian church.[300] The Old Testament was used for the exhortation and admonition of the church.[301] God had been strict in demanding obedience of the fathers, and it was not to be expected that He would be less exacting in the later times.[302] Heroes of the Old Testament times were set forth as examples of faithfulness.[303] Harnack points out that the Old Testament was an ideal handbook for use in combatting paganism since it supplied a multitude of proofs for monotheism and innumerable passages challenging polytheism.[304]

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[298]Gal. 3:8, 14; cf. Gen. 12:3.

[299]Acts 3:18, 21.

[300]See Heb. 3:1—10:22.

[301]I Cor. 10:11.

[302]I Cor. 10:1-11; Heb. 10:28, 29; II Pet. 2:4-9; Jude 5-7.

[303]Heb. chap. 11.

[304]Harnack, op. cit., p. 283.

Another element in the curriculum was that which was called "The Gospel" centering around the passion and resurrection of Christ. It was the very heart of the Christian message--the good news that through Christ's death man's redemption had been accomplished. Paul states that this had been the message he had brought to the Corinthians. He says,

> Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you . . . for I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures . . .[305]

Here the Christian teaching is summed up in a simple three-fold statement: (1) Christ died for our sins; (2) He was buried; (3) He arose from the dead. The remaining part of First Corinthians chapter fifteen demonstrates how this simple outline was expended to declare more fully Christ's vicarious death, and the hope for a general resurrection in that Christ arose from the dead as "the firstfruits of them that slept."[306]

A third element would be the life and sayings of Jesus. This division of the curriculum would not be for the purpose of simply providing for a study of the details of the earthly life of

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[305] I Cor. 15:1-4.

[306] I Cor. 15:20.

Jesus, but to carry out the requirements of the commission given by Christ in which the disciples were to instruct the peoples of the whole world, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[307] This part of Christian teaching was the purpose for the writing of the fourth Gospel. John wrote of the life and sayings of Jesus to convince the unbeliever of the Messiahship of his Master. He says of his book, "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name."[308]

A third kind of teaching would be that that had to do with moral and ethical instruction. All of the epistles and the book of Revelation were in their writing related to this aspect of the curriculum of the Apostolic church. They were all written with the purpose of helping the Christians who received them live more godly lives and to dedicate themselves more completely to the cause of Christ. Christianity as set forth in the New Testament is a way of life, rather than simply a system of doctrine. The Christian life was a life in which the Holy Spirit was to lead,[309] and the Christian

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[307] Matt. 28:20.

[308] John 20:31.

[309] Gal. 5:16-18.

was represented as a temple of God with the Spirit of God dwelling in him.[310] Such persons would indicate in their lives the presence of the Spirit, just as those without the Spirit would be characterized by the works of ungodliness. One of several examples of this type of instruction is found in Paul's letter to the churches of Galatia. He contrasts the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit as follows:

> Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like: of which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.[311]

Subject Matter in the Teaching of the Apostolic Church: The Sacred Scriptures

In early Christian education the Holy Scriptures comprised the entire literary subject matter. The inspired Scriptures were considered as entirely adequate in the teaching of the church since

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[310] I Cor. 2:16.

[311] Gal. 5:19-23.

they were given by God Himself, and therefore were accepted as "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."[312] By these the Christian was considered to be "thoroughly furnished unto all good works."[313]

The only body of literature which existed in the church during the Apostolic Age was that of the Old Testament Scriptures. The extensive use of the Old Testament Scriptures in the teaching of the early church is indicated by the fact that there are more than a thousand references to the Old Testament books to be found in the New Testament.[314]

There is clear evidence as to what constituted the canon of the Old Testament in the days of the apostles. Josephus in the first century discusses the subject in his apology Against Apion. He states that there were twenty-two books containing the records of all past time, "which are justly believed to be divine."[315] He divides the Scriptures into three parts: The five books of Moses,

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[312] II Tim. 3:16.

[313] II Tim. 3:17.

[314] Frank Grant Lewis, How the Bible Grew: The Story as Told by the Book and Its Keepers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 9.

[315] Josephus Against Apion 1.8.

containing the Law and the traditions from the origin of mankind to the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, King of Persia; and four books containing "hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life."[316] So sacred were these books considered that "no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them."[317] Other books had been written after the reign of Artaxerxes but these were not considered of equal authority because there had not been "an exact succession of prophets" since that time.[318] The Jews of ancient times combined certain books which we now count as separate works. The minor prophets were grouped together in a single book called "The Twelve"; Ezra and Nehemiah were considered one book; as were Jeremiah and his Lamentations; and Ruth was placed as an appendix to the Book of Judges.[319] By combining these books as did the Jews, and by respecting the limits of the Scriptures as given by Josephus

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[316] Ibid.

[317] Ibid.

[318] Ibid.

[319] Christopher Wordsworth, On the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament and on the Apocrypha (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1848), app. C, p. 65.

(Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes), and the ancient threefold classification of the Scriptures, we are able to ascertain in detail the Jewish canon of the Scriptures as it was in Josephus' day.[320] Thus it may be seen that the first century Jewish canon contained all the books of our present Old Testament, excluding the Books of the Maccabees and other Apocrypha.[321] Table 1 presents a comparison between the first century canon divided into its three parts and twenty-two books, and the Old Testament of today with its thirty-nine books.

The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in common use among the Christians of the Apostolic Age was that of the Greek, known as the Septuagint.[322] In quoting the Greek, however, the writers of the New Testament invariably corrected the Septuagint by the Hebrew in every case where the error involved a discrepancy of meaning.[323]

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[320]For detail study of the first century Jewish canon see: Arthur Cushman McGiffert, notes, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (2nd. series; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890), Vol. I, p. 144; Solomon B. Freehof, Preface to Scripture (Cincinnati: Union of Hebrew Congregations, 1950), pt. I, pp. 13-19; Wordsworth, op. cit., app. C, pp. 56-66.

[321]Edgar J. Goodspeed, trans., The Apocrypha: An American Translation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pref., p. iii.

[322]Morton Scott Enslin, Christian Beginnings (3rd ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1938), p. 183.

[323]"Quotations," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Philip Schaff, 11th ed.

TABLE I

THE FIRST CENTURY JEWISH CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE COMMON VERSION

I. The Torah (The Law)

1.	Genesis	1.	Genesis
2.	Exodus	2.	Exodus
3.	Leviticus	3.	Leviticus
4.	Numbers	4.	Numbers
5.	Deuteronomy	5.	Deuteronomy

II. The Prophets

6.	Joshua	6.	Joshua
		7.	Judges
7.	Judges and Ruth	8.	Ruth
		9.	Samuel I
8.	Samuel	10.	Samuel II
		11.	Kings I
9.	Kings	12.	Kings II
		13.	Chronicles I
10.	Chronicles	14.	Chronicles II
11.	Ezra and Nehemiah	15.	Ezra
		16.	Nehemiah
12.	Esther	17.	Esther
13.	Job	18.	Job
14.	Isaiah	19.	Isaiah
15.	Jeremiah and Lamentations	20.	Jeremiah
		21.	Lamentations
16.	Ezekiel	22.	Ezekiel
17.	Daniel	23.	Daniel
		24.	Hosea
		25.	Joel
		26.	Amos
		27.	Obadiah
		28.	Jonah
		29.	Micah
18.	The Twelve	30.	Nahum
		31.	Habakkuk
		32.	Zephaniah
		33.	Haggai
		34.	Zechariah
		35.	Malachi

III. The Hagiographa (The Holy Writings)

19.	Psalms	36.	Psalms
20.	Proverbs	37.	Proverbs
21.	Ecclesiastes	38.	Ecclesiastes
22.	Song of Solomon	39.	Song of Solomon

During the last half of the first century there was produced in the Christian church a group of writings which, when collected together, became the New Testament. These writings made up an entirely new literature and subject matter for early Christian education. They were a new set of Scriptures and comprised the rule of faith and practice for the church.

The relationship between the Old and the New in early Christian teaching is suggested by the very title of the New Testament. As God had established a covenant with the fathers, so had He established with a later generation a "new and better covenant," which superseded the Old.[324] As there had been a written standard for the Old Covenant (the Jewish Scriptures), so was there needed a written standard for the New. The apostolic writings were received by the Christians as equal in authority and sacredness to the books of the Old Testament. The apostle Peter places "the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord and Savior" in the same class as "the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets," and mentions the epistles of Paul in the same way as "the other Scriptures."[325] Thus the apostles reckoned their own writings to

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[324] II Cor. 3:6-13.

[325] II Peter 3:2, 16.

be a part of "all Scripture given by inspiration of God, and profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness . . ."[326]

The canon of the New Testament was developed and closed very early in the history of the Christian church. There is little doubt that all the books of the New Testament were written before the end of the first century.[327] Before the middle of the second century the greater number of the New Testament books were in every Christian congregation in the known world, and were accepted as the divine rule of faith and practice.[328] Eusebius (A.D. 260-340) lists the twenty-seven books of the New Testament as they now stand, distinguishing them from other books which were known in his day but rejected by the church.[329] The same twenty-seven books comprised the complete canon of the New Testament which was ratified in A.D. 397 by the third Council of Carthage.[330]

The authors of the New Testament books subscribed their names to their works except the writers of the book of Acts and the

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[326] II Tim. 3:16.

[327] Lewis, op. cit., p. 209.

[328] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 36.

[329] Eusebius Church History iii.25.1-4.

[330] William Smith, The New Testament History (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1877, p. 700.

epistle to the Hebrews. The book of Acts is obviously a continuation of the Gospel according to Luke and is universally ascribed to that writer. Although the identity of the author of Hebrews is uncertain, the epistle has traditionally been placed among the letters of Paul. A papyrus manuscript dating from about 200 to 250 A.D. lists Hebrews with Paul's letters.[331]

Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and the book of Acts provide the only authentic historical accounts of the beginnings of the Christian church. The four Gospels are independent accounts of the life of Christ by well-informed men, and there is no evidence that either borrowed from the other writers.[332] In the book of Acts Luke continues chronologically from where the Gospel writers leave off in their narratives.

The epistles of the New Testament arose as part of the correspondence which substituted for the personal instruction and visitation of the apostles in the greatly expanding work of the church. Paul wrote thirteen or fourteen of the twenty-one epistles of the New Testament; John, three; Peter, two; James and John, one each. A convenient classification has the letters of Paul (Romans to Hebrews) in one group, and the general epistles (James to Jude)

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[331] Edgar J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 257.

[332] "Gospel," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Philip Schaff, 11th ed.

in another. Some of the epistles are directed to a particular local assembly, or to the churches in a certain region,[333] dealing with doctrinal or practical questions; others are private,[334] being sent to individuals, but dealing with questions of general Christian concern; and yet others are general in nature, being intended for the use of all Christians and churches everywhere.[335] After the congregational and private letters had served their initial purposes, they, like the general epistles, served as tracts, and were circulated from congregation to congregation,[336] for the instruction and admonition of all.

The Revelation was written by John on Patmos during the persecution by Domitian about A.D. 96.[337] The first three chapters of the book consist of particular epistles, written at the dictation of Christ Himself, addressed to the seven churches of the Roman province of Asia. These seven short letters deal with the vices and virtues of the churches, and have such varying features, that

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[333]Romans, I and II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, and Gelatians.

[334]I and II Timothy, Titus, and Philemon.

[335]Hebrews, James, I and II Peter, I, II and III John, and Jude.

[336]See Col. 4:16.

[337]Goodspeed, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 251.

TABLE 2

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: THE APPROXIMATE TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

Book	Date	Place
Thessalonians I, II	53	Corinth
Galatians	56 or 57	Ephesus
Corinthians I	58	Ephesus
Corinthians II	58	Macedonia
Romans	59	Corinth
Matthew	bet. 50-60	Palestine
Luke	bet. 58-60	Caesarea
James	62	Jerusalem
Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, Philippians	61-63	Rome
Acts	63	Rome
Mark	bet. 63-70	Rome
Hebrews	64	Italy
Peter I	64	Babylon
Timothy I, and Titus	bet. 64-66	Macedonia
Timothy II, and Peter II	67 or 68	Rome
John	78	Ephesus
Jude	bet. 80-90	Unknown
Revelation	95 or 96	Patmos
John I, II, III	bet. 96-100	Ephesus

Sources: Edgar J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Philip Schaff, 11th ed.; William Smith, The New Testament History (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1877).

they may be looked upon as letters to seven typical churches of the times. The remainder of the book consists of prophecies written in symbolical language. The prophecies begin with "things which must shortly come to pass."[338] and end with the re-affirmation of Christ's promised return.[339]

The Methodology of Christian Education in the Apostolic Period

The discourse was a common method of teaching during the period of our study. Early Christian preachers took advantage of every opening thus to teach, whether in the Christian assembly, as did Paul at Troas;[340] in the temple;[341] in Jewish synagogues;[342] in

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[338] Rev. 1:1.

[339] Rev. 22:20.

[340] Acts 20:7.

[341] Acts 3:2 et. seq.

[342] Acts 9:20.

private homes;[343] in the market places;[344] or before a court when on trial because of their faith.[345] The discourse was used either before a large assembly, as with the apostle Peter on the day of Pentecost,[346] or with but one hearer, as in the case of the evangelist Philip and the Ethiopian.[347]

Another closely related method on instruction was that of expository teaching or preaching. This method was inherited from the Jewish synagogue in which the reading of the law accompanied by an exposition of the text was the central act of worship.[348] The early Christians never missed an opportunity to so teach in the Jewish synagogues, explaining the Old Testament Scriptures as they related to Jesus the Messiah.[349] Much of the New Testament reflects this type of instruction, especially the epistle to the Romans and the epistle to the Hebrews.

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[343] Acts 5:42.

[344] Acts 17:17.

[345] Acts 25:6 et. seq.

[346] Acts Chap. 2.

[347] Acts 8:26-35.

[348] William D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worshop, its Development and Forms (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 3.

[349] Acts 13:14; 17:1, 2, 17; 18:4; etc.

Mutual admonition was a prominent method of teaching in the Apostolic church. In early Christian meetings any brother might feel free at the proper time to admonish the congregation.[350] The meetings were conducted in a free and informal manner, but only one person was permitted to speak at a time and all things were done "decently and in order."[351] Singing was also used in mutual admonition. The early Christians were instructed to "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs . . ."[352]

Peter, the Apostle to the Jews

The most active apostle in the early years of the Apostolic church, and the most outstanding teacher and leader in the church at Jerusalem, was the apostle Peter.

Before he was called to the apostleship Peter was a fisherman by trade,[353] and lived in the town of Capernaum of Galilee with his

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[350] I Cor. 14:26; Col. 3:16.

[351] I Cor. 14:40.

[352] Col. 3:16; cf. Eph. 5:19.

[353] Matt. 4:18; Mark 1:16; Luke 5:1-3.

wife and mother-in-law.[354] His original name was Simon, but upon his being called by Jesus to the apostleship, he was given the name Peter, or Cephas, which means "stone."[355] From this point on in the New Testament he is known as Peter, or as Simon, or by both names, being called Simon Peter.

As has been evident throughout the preceding pages of this chapter, Peter was the outstanding personality during the early period of the Apostolic Age. The first twelve of the twenty-eight chapters of the Book of Acts are concerned largely with the work of the apostle Peter. It was Peter who really opened the way for the work of Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles, since it was Peter who baptized, and thus received into the membership of the church, Cornelius the first Gentile convert.[356] It was Peter who was the spokesman for all the apostles on many important occasions, both in preaching[357] and in defending the doctrines of Christ before the Sanhedrim,[358] or in the arbitration of disputes between the

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[354]Matt. 8:5, 14; Mark 1:29, 30; Luke 4:31, 38.

[355]John 1:42.

[356]Acts Chap. 10.

[357]Acts 2:14, et. seq.

[358]Acts 4:8, 19 et. seq.; 5:29.

brethren.[359] The apostle Peter evidently did not exercise authority superior to that of the other apostles. Paul described Peter, James, and John, all as "pillars" in the church at Jerusalem.[360] When Samaria had received the gospel "the apostles which were at Jerusalem . . . sent unto them Peter and John . . ."[361] This would seem to indicate that Peter was in authority an apostle among equal apostles. The apostle Peter evidently enjoyed a pre-eminence among the twelve in the Jerusalem church in the ability, zeal, and energy he demonstrated in his work, rather than in superior authority. The particular area of activity in which the apostle Peter excelled (the ministry to the Jews) is indicated in the same context in which he is referred to as a "pillar" of the church at Jerusalem. Paul says, ". . . The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles . . ."[362] The first half of the Book of Acts testifies as to how completely Peter fulfilled his apostleship

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[359] Acts 5:1 et. seq.

[360] Gal. 2:9.

[361] Acts 8:14.

[362] Gal. 2:7, 8.

to the Jews as the later chapters witness to the devotion of Paul in exercising his to the Gentiles.

The closing years of the apostle Peter are very obscure. The New Testament gives no information concerning the last days of the apostle, and we are left to depend upon tradition to complete the story. Clement of Rome, writing at the close of the first century or the beginning of the second, is the earliest writer to mention that Peter died a martyr's death.[363] Tertullian made the same statement in a writing dated about 205 A.D.[364] Eusebius states that Peter was crucified in Rome during the Neronian persecution, citing as his sources of information a Christian called Caius, and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (c. 167-175), whose writings are not now extant.[365] In another place Eusebius says that Peter at his own request was crucified head-downwards, for his information giving a source in a writing of Origin that is now lost.[366]

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[363] Clement Epistle to the Corinthians 1.3.12. (Hone ed.)

[364] Tertullian Scorpiace chap. 15.

[365] Eusebius Church History ii.25.5-8. See also notes by McGiffert, in. loc. cit.

[366] Eusebius Church History iii.1. See also notes by McGiffert, in loc. cit.

Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles

By far the greatest of the apostles, in terms of the amount of missionary travel, preaching, and writing, was the apostle Paul.

Paul, or Saul, who was to become the apostle to the Gentiles, was born of Jewish parents of the tribe of Benjamin,[367] in Tarsus of Cilicia,[368] into a family of Roman citizens.[369] The date of Paul's birth is variously estimated as sometime during the first fifteen years of the Christian era. Goodspeed places it between A.D. 10 and 15,[370] and Farrar puts it in the first ten years of the first century, believing that Paul was probably born about A.D.3.[371] At the time of Paul's birth Tarsus was a city of about a half million population, the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia, and possessed a thriving university.[372] The university at Tarsus excelled in some respects the schools at Athens and Alexandria.[373]

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[367]Rom. 11:1.

[368]Acts 21:39; 22:3.

[369]Acts 22:27, 28.

[370]Goodspeed, Paul, p. 12.

[371]Frederic W. Farrar, The Life and Works of St. Paul (2 vols.; London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., n.d.), I, 14.

[372]Goodspeed, Paul, p. 3.

[373]H. Martin P. Davidson, Good Christian Men (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 13.

The city had a fine harbor and was a center of commerce.[374] Paul understandably referred to himself as "a citizen of no mean city."[375] Tarsus was also a center of Greek culture.[376] On one occasion Paul explained his ability to speak Greek by stating that he was of Tarsus.[377] Paul would at an early age have had the opportunity to observe the depravity of the Graeco-Roman culture as Tarsus is described as a place of moral and religious degradation.[378]

The education of Paul was thorough from childhood. He speaks of the early period of his life as follows: "My manner of life from my youth . . . after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee."[379] The language of the home was in all probability Aramaic,[380] but he must have been familiar with the Greek of his native Tarsus from an early age. Jewish boys, destined to the office of Rabbi, at the age of thirteen entered their studies under some great Jewish teacher.[381] To do this Paul would have found it necessary to go to Jerusalem. Thus, Paul states that he was "brought up"

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[374] Ibid.

[375] Acts 21:39.

[376] Goodspeed, Paul, p. 3.

[377] Acts 21:37-39.

[378] Farrar, Paul, I, 28.

[379] Acts 26:4, 5.

[380] Goodspeed, Paul, pp. 4, 5.

[381] Farrar, Paul, I, 44.

in Jerusalem "at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers."[382] This was Gamaliel I, one of the greatest of Jewish teachers, the grandson of another great teacher and founder of the school, Hillel.[383] Gamaliel is described in the New Testament as "A Pharisee . . . a teacher of the law, held in honor by all the people."[384] There were only seven teachers among the Jews who were ever elevated to the dignity of "Rabban"; Gamaliel was one of them.[385] Gamaliel conducted his work in Hebrew and Greek, and possibly Latin also,[386] and the training involved a thorough coverage of both the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek Septuagint version.[387] Gamaliel's method included the permission of questions and the encouraging of students to cross-question one another.[388] Paul was an outstanding student in the

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[382]Acts 22:3.

[383]Farrar, Paul, I, 44.

[384]Acts 5:34RSV.

[385]Farrar, Paul, I, 44.

[386]A. A. Acton, O'er Land and Sea With the Apostle Paul (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1933), p. 20.

[387]Farrar, Paul, I, 47.

[388]Acton, op. cit., p. 20.

school of Gamaliel.[389] That he was also versed in Greek learning is indicated by his familiarity with Greek poetry.[390] During student days, according to rabbinic custom,[391] Paul learned the trade of tentmaking, by which he at times supported himself.[392]

Before his conversion to Christ, Paul was a leader in religious thought and action among the Jews. He says to the Galatians,

> Ye have heard of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and wasted it: and profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more zealous exceedingly of the traditions of my fathers.[393]

Paul took part in the killing of Stephen,[394] and became the ring leader in the general persecution of the church which followed.[395] After his conversion Paul looked back upon this period of his life with much regret.[396]

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[389] Gal. 1:14.

[390] Acts 17:28; Titus 1:12.

[391] Goodspeed, Paul, pp. 10, 11.

[392] Acts 18:3; 20:34; I Cor. 4:12; I Thess. 2:9.

[393] Gal. 1:13, 14.

[394] Acts 7:58.

[395] Acts 8:1-3.

[396] I Cor. 15:9.

At the time of his conversion Paul was on a mission from the Sanhedrim with letters of authority to arrest Christians and to bring them as prisoners to Jerusalem.[397] Paul's statement concerning his conversion is found three times in the Book of Acts.[398] In these Paul relates how that Christ appeared to him on the road to Damascus, how later at Damascus the Christian messenger Annanias came to him, restored his sight (He had been blind since the vision), and commanded him to be baptized and informed him concerning his future mission as a servant of Christ. Paul acknowledged publicly his new faith and began the work of the world-wide apostleship to which he had been called. He says, at his hearing before King Agrippa:

> I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance . . . Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come; That Christ should suffer and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.[399]

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[397] Acts 9:2; 22:4, 5; 26:12.

[398] Acts 9:1-21; 22:5-22; 26:2-18.

[399] Acts 26:19-23.

The remainder of Paul's life was dedicated to building up the faith he had set out to subvert. Luke in the Book of Acts traces the work of Paul from Damascus to Rome--from his conversion to his imprisonment. Luke seems to have been the companion of Paul a great part of this time, and was the only Christian with him when he faced his trial and his martyrdom.[400] Paul says concerning the extent of his labors, "From Jerusalem, and round about unto Ilyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."[401] Ilyricum was the Roman province north of Macedonia, across the Adriatic Sea from Italy. Paul's statement indicates that at the time of the Roman letter he had preached and taught in a great part of the then known world. Before his death he was to realize his desire to preach the gospel to those of Rome also, as he had to other Gentiles.[402]

The last eight chapters of the Book of Acts supply us with a detailed account of the circumstances concerning the arrest and preliminary trials of the apostle Paul, but give no information concerning his final trial and execution, for which we must turn to secular history.

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[400] II Tim. 4:11.

[401] Rom. 15:19.

[402] Rom. 1:10-13.

On Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, about 56 A.D.,[403] he was attacked in the temple by a mob of Jews from the province of Asia, who accused him of profaning the temple by bringing Greeks into the sacred precincts.[404] When he was saved from the mob by a group of Roman soldiers the commanding officer, Claudius Lysias,[405] ordered that he be examined by scourging. Paul protected himself from the beating by claiming his rights as a Roman citizen.[406] The following day Paul was brought before his accusers, and was once more rescued by the Roman captain when the Jews again became violent.[407] When Claudius Lysias had been informed by Paul's nephew concerning a conspiracy against the apostle's life he transferred the prisoner at night and under heavy guard to Caesarea.[408] The Roman officer sent along a letter recounting the circumstances of the arrest (in a manner most favorable to himself) and saying that the Jews had made no charges against Paul justifying either death or imprisonment.[409] Hearings before the Roman governor Felix produced

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[403]Goodspeed, Paul, p. 222.

[404]Acts 21:27-30.

[405]Acts 23:26.

[406]Acts 22:24-29.

[407]Acts 22:30--23:10.

[408]Acts 23:12-33.

[409]Acts 23:26-30.

no further evidence of guilt, but Felix kept him a prisoner hoping that Paul would pay him money for his release.[410] Two years later Porcius Festus succeeded to the office of governor, and Paul was given two additional hearings, one before Festus and another before Agrippa, in neither of which was guilt established.[411] When the Jews requested that Paul be brought to Jerusalem to stand trial, planning to ambush him on the way, Paul once more claimed his legal rights as a Roman citizen. When Festus suggested to Paul that he be tried in Jerusalem before the Jews, Paul said, "I am standing before Caesar's tribunal, where I ought to be tried . . . I appeal to Caesar." When Festus had conferred with his council, he answered, "You have appealed to Caesar; to Caesar you shall go."[412] In Rome the apostle was permitted for two whole years to live in his own rented house, given the privilege to receive all who came to see him, and to preach and teach without hindrance.[413]

Concerning the death of the apostle Paul we must look to other sources than the Book of Acts, as Luke leaves off his account

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[410] Acts 24:26.

[411] Acts 25:6 *et seq.*

[412] Acts 25:9-12 RSV.

[413] Acts 28:30, 31.

with Paul's arrival in Rome and his imprisonment there. Clement, the earliest post-apostolic writer, at about the beginning of the second century, mentions Paul's martyrdom but does not tell the manner in which he was put to death.[414] Tertullian, writing around 205 A.D., states that Paul was beheaded at Rome.[415] Eusebius in his history (c. 326 A.D.) says that Paul was put to death under Nero.[416] The approximate date of the death of the apostle Paul was A.D. 61, five years after his arrest in Jerusalem.[417] Paul himself speaks of his approaching death in a statement that summarizes in few words a life of faithful and selfless service to Christ, he writes,

> I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.[418]

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[414] Clement Epistle to the Corinthians i.e.14.

[415] Tertullian Scorpiace chap. 15.

[416] Eusebius Church History iii.1.

[417] Goodspeed, Paul, p. 222.

[418] II Tim. 4:6-8.

The Close of the Apostolic Age

From the small beginning in 39 A.D. of one hundred and twenty followers of Jesus Christ, including the twelve apostles,[419] the Christian church grew to number its membership in the hundreds of thousands by the end of the first century. The number of Christians at the close of the Apostolic Age has been estimated at 500,000.[420] Christians and established churches were to be found throughout the Roman Empire.

The apostle John lived longer than any of the other apostles of Christ. John's last years were spent at Ephesus, from which center he ministered to the churches of Asia minor.[421] Following his exile on Patmos, where he wrote the Revelation (A.D. 95 or 96), John returned to Ephesus and there wrote his epistles.[422] The apostle John died near the close of the century at the beginning of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117)[423] and thus brought to a close the Apostolic Age of the history of the Christian church.

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[419] Acts 1:15.

[420] A. Cleveland Coxe, Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (American reprint of the Edinburgh ed.; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), Vol. IV, p. 126.

[421] Eusebius Church History iii.1.

[422] See Table 2.

[423] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, (Series II), Vol. I, p. 132.

OUTLINE

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CHAPTER III

THE EARLY PATRISTIC ERA: A.D. 100—200

Characteristics of the Period

The early patristic era of church history was a period of adjustment--adjustment to the absence of the apostles of Christ in the leadership of the church. The early part of the period was that of the Apostolic Fathers--those Christian teachers and writers who were themselves the students of one or more of the apostles. By the middle of the century they too, and much of their influence, had disappeared from the churches. The early patristic era was a time of intensified suffering on the part of the Christians at the hands of the pagans. It was a time that saw the rise of heresy and schism. It was a period of evolution in church government and the beginning of a hierarchy that should in many respects change the very nature of the church as a religious and educational institution. It was the time of the beginning of the Christian school. We shall see that the philosophy, method, and administration of education within the church was greatly modified during this period, especially as a result of the changes which took place in the structure and organization of the church.

The Church in Conflict With the Roman Empire

At the beginning of the second century persecution was in full sway against the Christians in the East.[424] Though these Asiatic persecutions were probably local[425] there grew out of them a legal basis for prosecuting the Christians under Roman law. Once the precedent had been established a succession of persecutions ensued, with each new emperor providing his successor with additional examples of such legal prosecution.

The Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98--117) was the first of the emperors to invoke Roman law in the persecution of Christian congregations. This he did by applying a law that prohibited secret societies.[426] Roman governors in the pronvices by his order made local rulings prohibiting Christian assemblies of any kind. In the prosecution of individual Christians accusation of actual crimes was not necessary. Members of the church were brought before the magistrates and punished simply as Christians, for the name itself, and as a rule no attempt was made to discover any actual transgression.[427]

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[424]Henry Hart Milman, History of Latin Christianity (9 vols.; 4th ed.; London: John Murray, 1872), I, 31.

[425]Ibid.

[426]Qualben, op. cit., p. 84.

[427]Justin Martyr Apology i.4; ii.2.

The Roman manner of conducting investigations and prosecutions of Christians is preserved in a collection of the letters of Pliny the Younger which includes an exchange of correspondence between Pliny while governor of Bithynia and the Emperor Trajan.[428] In his letter to Trajan, Pliny describes his practice as including threats, tortures, and death. His policy was to repeat the question as to whether the accused was a Christian a second and a third time. If an affirmative answer was given a third time, after threats had been made before each question, the accused was led away to be executed. A way of escape was provided for those who would renounce their faith, and the whole trial, it seems, was an attempt through threats and tortures to force the Christian to do so. Pliny caused the images of the gods and that of the emperor to be brought in and spared the lives of those who would consent to burn incense as an offering before the images and blaspheme the name of Christ. These actions, it had been reported to Pliny, could never be forced upon those who were true Christians. Pliny gained information in his investigations by means of torture. These investigations revealed no other crime than that the Christians met on

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[428] Pliny the Younger Epistles x.96, 97, included in the collection edited by Anne Fremantle, A Treasury of Early Christianity (New York: The Viking Press, 1953), pp. 253-255.

a stated day before dawn, prayed to Christ and obligated themselves never to commit fraud, theft, or adultery, and to deal honorably at all times.

The policies established during Trajan's reign were followed by his successors, Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) and Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.). Mob violence and general persecution by the populace was common, and provincial governors were inclined to appease the rage of the people by sacrificing a few obnoxious Christian victims by throwing them to the lions in the arena.[429] Both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, however, issued edicts prohibiting the voice of the multitudes to being admitted as evidence in the trials of Christians.[430] And yet in dealing with Christians the Roman rulers turned to violence, "the scourge and the rack were called upon . . . and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue . . . inflexible, and, as it appeared to the pagans, criminal obstinacy."[431] It was during the reign of the "mild" emperor Antoninus Pius that the aged bishop Polycarp of Smyrna was burned at the stake about 155 A.D.[432]

The reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.), the Stoic

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[429]Gibbon, op. cit., I, 465, 466.

[430]Ibid., p. 466.

[431]Ibid.

[432]Qualben, op. cit., p. 85.

philosopher emperor, was an especially difficult time for the church, and the persecution grew more severe than ever before. Being a Stoic, Marcus Aurelius disliked the religious enthusiasm of the Christians. He despised the exultations of Christian martyrs, and accused them of a desire for theatrical display.[433] A number of Christian apologies were written and addressed to the emperor in the vain hope that the philosopher who sat on the throne of the Empire would grant a just hearing to the cause of the suffering church. Chief among these apologists was Justin Martyr who addressed one apology to the Roman Senate and another to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Justin was put to death in Rome early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[434]

The reasons for the persecutions of the church were more political than religious. When specific accusations were brought against Christians, the most common were those of atheism and treason.[435] The monotheistic belief of the Christians did not seem to the politicians and pagans so much a religion as a form of

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[433] Ibid.

[434] Ibid.

[435] Adolph Harnack, "Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire Down to Decius," New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. VIII (1910).

atheism, and the refusal to worship the pagan gods a vicious obstinacy.[436] These two, atheism and treason, were actually the same, since political loyalty was considered inseparable from the Roman religion, especially typefied in the emperor cult.[437] Loyalty to the state deities, and especially the worship of the emperor, was therefore a test of loyalty to the Empire. Hence, more and more religious accusations were merged with the charge of treason.[438]

The effect of persecution upon the life and teaching of the church was great. During the times of persecution all of the teaching of the church was of necessity either in the privacy of the home or in secret meetings of the church. Another result was that a great body of Christian literature was produced in the writing of defenses of the Christian faith. One significant and obvious fact was that in spite of persecution the church grew in numbers. Another just as obvious effect was that persecution kept the church pure and morally strong. Few who were insincere would choose to cast their lot with those who for the very reason of their faith were daily facing death. Those few among the Christians who were hypocritical were ready to denounce Christ when there was given to

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[436] *Ibid.*

[437] *Ibid.*

[438] *Ibid.*

them the choice between denouncing their religion and certain and horrible death. Some who were known to have been Christians when brought before the Roman governor Pliny, stated that they had ceased to be Christians, "some many years before; one, only twenty days."[439]

Conflicts Within the Church—Heresies and Schisms

During the Apostolic Age, while the activities of the church were under the direct supervision of the apostles, and the membership of the church principally Jewish, there was little tendency toward speculative thinking. In the second century, however, when the church became principally Gentile in membership, largely among the Greeks of Asia Minor, it is not surprising that speculation of the Greeks together with all sorts of strange opinions would find their way into the church. Hence, during the second century the Christians found themselves not only opposing the pagans but combatting heretics among their own number who would corrupt the teaching of the church. Accommodation to, or reaction against, inroads of unchristian religion and philosophy accounted for many of the heresies and schisms which arose in the second century.

The Judaistic sects were clear reactions against any and all Greek influences within the church. There is evidence that during

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[439] Pliny, op. cit., x. 96, 97.

the Apostolic period there were those who would, had they been able to do so, have bound the Mosaic code in all of its particulars upon the whole church—Jew and Gentile alike.[440] In the second century, beginning during the reign of Hadrian, these elements formed themselves into a distinct group, holding to a strict observance of all the Mosaic law.[441] The Judaizers were themselves divided into two separate bodies—the Nazarenes and the Ebionites. Those called Nazarenes, although they would not discard the ceremonies prescribed by Moses, did not force Mosaic observances upon Gentile Christians, and did not make the matter a test of fellowship between Christians.[442] The Nazarenes were, therefore, in no real sense a schism, nor were their teachings and practices heretical, since their position was in keeping with practices of Jewish Christians in New Testament times.[443]

The Ebionites on the other hand were completely schismatic and heretical. They totally rejected the doctrine of the Atonement.[444] They looked upon Christ as an ambassador of God rejecting

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[440] See Acts 15:1-31.

[441] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 75.

[442] Ibid.

[443] Acts 15:6-31.

[444] Herbert B. Workman, Christian Thought to the Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 3.

the doctrine of the virgin birth they believed Christ to be the natural son of Joseph and Mary.[445] They insisted that the ceremonial law must be observed by all, Jew and Gentile alike, who wished to be saved.[446] The apostle Paul was considered by the Ebionites as an apostate and a heretic and they rejected all of his writings.[447] The Judaistic groups flourished during the early second century but practically ceased to exist by the close of the century.[448]

The Marceonites represented the opposite extreme from the Judaizers. This group, originating about the middle of the second century, repudiated both Judaism and the Old Testament.[449] In so doing Marceon left Christianity without historic support, rejecting the foundations of the Jewish religion and the Scriptures. The Christian apologists felt it necessary to date Christianity back to the very beginning of the human race, and the average Christian found in the Old Testament an affective bulwark against the complete

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[445] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 75.

[446] Ibid., pp. 75, 76.

[447] Qualben, op. cit., pp. 73, 74.

[448] Workman, op. cit., p. 4.

[449] Ibid., p. 5.

Hellenization of the church, which was already much in evidence in the second century.[450] Marcion was influenced by the teachings of the Gnostics, especially as to dualism, but this was not the dominant aspect of his position.

The Gnostics perpetrated a far more damaging heresy than any of the others. Gnosticism (Greek gnosis, knowledge) is itself older than Christianity. Originating as a syncretism of the religious ideas of Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt,[451] it made its way into the Christian church by way of a well established Jewish Gnosticism which existed in the time of Christ,[452] and from Gentile Gnostic influence, especially in the churches of Asia Minor where the doctrine flourished. The Gnostics were divided into innumerable sects, the exact difference between them being obscure. There were characteristics held in common, however, which clearly set them apart as a distinctive class. Gnosticism was actually a grafting of Christianity on paganism. The Gnostics were dualists, emphasizing the contrast between spirit and matter and holding to the existence of

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[450] Ibid., p. 6.

[451] Arthur Cushman McGiffert, A History of Christian Thought (Vol. I, Early and Eastern; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), I, 45.

[452] Qualben, op. cit., pp. 74 ff.

two worlds--the material world in which men live and the spiritual world to which they should aspire.[453] Two equal powers, Good and Evil, were recognized as co-eternal.[454] God, it was believed, did not directly create the world, but from Him proceeded a series of aeons or emanations on a descending scale, the lowest of which was called Demiurgus, or Creator.[455] The Gnostics identified Demiurgus with Jehovah of the Old Testament, and considered Him far inferior to the Supreme God of the Spirit.[456] Between the God of the world, Demiurgus, and the Supreme God a number of intermediary Beings (varying from three to three hundred sixty-five in different Gnostic systems) were recognized.[457] The Gnostics believed in a threefold division of the universe corresponding to the threefold nature of man. In man there was body, soul, and spirit; in the universe there was the visible world and sky, next the stars and planets, and finally the third heaven in which the Supreme God dwells.[458] Christ was looked upon as a Redeemer, sent forth by a council of intermediary Beings (lesser gods) to save the incarnated spirits of

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[453] MxGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 45.

[454] Qualben, op. cit., p. 76.

[455] Ibid.

[456] Ibid.

[457] Ibid.

[458] Ibid.

men. In the Gnostic system redemption consisted of the liberation of the spirit from the material body. Salvation came by knowledge (gnosis) imparted by the Redeemer. Jesus was looked upon as an ordinary man upon whom the divine Christhood came at baptism. His Christhood was believed to have left Him before His crucifixion. A distinction was also made between a higher heavenly Christ and a lower earthly Christ.[459] Gnostics in the church believed that their system was of a very superior type, set apart for the elect and unfit for the vulgar crowd.[460] Gnosticism and Marceonism both ceased to exist as such in the church during the third century.[461]

The Montanist movement began in Phrygia about the middle of the second century, taking its name from Montanus a former priest of Cybele who had been converted to Christianity.[462] Montanists were orthodox in theology and in sharp contrast with the Gnostics and other heretics.[463] They possessed several characteristics which distinguished them from the church at large. They believed in a direct operation of the Holy Spirit through themselves which was made manifest by the working of miracles, especially prophecy, and made

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[459] Ibid., pp. 76-78.

[460] Ibid., p. 78.

[461] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 162.

[462] Ibid., p. 166.

[463] Ibid., p. 168.

these gifts the test of true Christianity.[464] They believed that spiritual endowment constituted the true qualifications and appointment of the teacher, and valued such to a higher degree than a regular appointment.[465] Montanism was a premillenarian movement and the members believed that the time was near at hand when Christ would return to set up His thousand-year kingdom on earth, and that Montanus had been specially commissioned to announce Christ's coming.[466] A strict manner of life was imposed, and those who were unwilling to live accordingly were expelled from the church.[467] Although Montanism was condemned by the church at large, there were some outstanding adherents to its tenets. One of these was Tertullian who was attracted by its strictness of life, its enthusiasm, and its emphasis upon the direct operation of the Spirit. Tertullian saw in Montanism a bulwark against the growing worldliness and laxity in the church.[468] The great fear of the church was that to recognize the Montanist claim that spiritual teachers were of a higher order than the duly appointed officers of the church

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[464] Qualben, op. cit., p. 87.

[465] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 166.

[466] Ibid., I, 172.

[467] Ibid., p. 169.

[468] Ibid., p. 170

would be to throw the door open to every type of heresy and to give place to every self-styled prophet. With great hesitancy, due to the high character and devotion of the Montanists, the group was finally condemned. The movement continued its existence apart from the main body of the church, but gradually through degenerating from its original character it finally disappeared altogether.[469]

Changes in Structure of Organization: The Rise of the Episcopacy and the Sacerdotal Caste

Once the personal direction of the apostles ceased in the affairs of the church, significant changes took place in its organization and government. These changes included the distinction between "bishop" and "presbyter" (elder),[470] terms which were used to denote the same office in Apostolic times;[471] the subsequent elevation of the bishop over the presbyters in a monarchial form of local church government, with presbyters serving as a council and deacons as assistants to the bishop; and the formation of a sacerdotal caste as opposed to the priesthood of all believers.[472] The diocesan episcopate developed in the latter part of the second century.[473]

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[469] *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 173.

[470] Neander, *op. cit.*, I, 190.

[471] *Supra*, p. 20.

[472] Neander, *op. cit.*, I, 193.

[473] *Ibid.*, I, 206.

The changes mentioned did not take place all at once but were, though gradual, definite and easily traced. At the beginning of the second century none of the changes mentioned was evident. By the end of the second century the monarchial episcopate, with its bishops and lower clergy, had been firmly, if not universally, established.[474] The changes did not take place without opposition, and there were throughout the period congregations and individual Christians who refused to give way to innovation.

Clement writing at the close of the first century (between 93 and 97 A.D.) in his letter to the Corinthians presents a clear picture of the state of organization in the churches in Rome and Corinth. Clement speaks of bishops and deacons in the New Testament sense and refers to such organization as the will of the apostles.[475] The object of his writing to the Corinthian church was to correct a situation involving "sedition against its presbyters,"[476] which in itself indicates that at the time of writing the church was thought to be properly ruled by its entire council of elders. These elders had been placed in their office "with the

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[474] Erwin R. Goodenough, The Church in the Roman Empire (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1946), p. 28.

[475] Clement of Rome To the Corinthians i.42, 44.

[476] Ibid., i.48.

consent of the whole church."[477] Clement admonished any individual member who was interested in the good of the church to say, "If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever ye desire, and I will do whatever the multitude commands; only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it."[478] Here is clearly indicated not only the lack of a monarchial episcopacy but rule by the will of the people with their own selected leaders and teachers. The elders still sat as a ruling presbytery at Smyrna in Polycarp's time. Polycarp writing at about the same time that Clement wrote began his letter with this salutation: "Polycarp and the presbyters with him, to the church of God sojourning at Philippi . . ."[479] He makes no reference to any single officer as bishop, but refers to the "presbyters and deacons."[480]

The first changes may have occurred by a natural selection of one elder to simply preside over the presbyterial college in its meetings, which may have been at first on a basis of rotation

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[477] *Ibid.*, i.44.

[478] Clement of Rome *To the Corinthians* i.54.

[479] Polycarp *To the Philippians*, pref. chapt. i.

[480] *Ibid.*, vi.

whereby the same person did not preside at all times.[481] Soon after the age of the apostles, however, the standing office of president of the presbytery came into being.[482] In process of time the title of "Bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος) came to be applied to the presiding officer to distinguish him from other presbyters, though at first the bishop had no powers, other than to preside, not common to other presbyters.[483] The shift of power from the presbyters to bishops was not accomplished without protest on the part of the presbyters--a struggle which continued into the third century.[484]

The sacerdotal caste developed along with the episcopacy and was used by the bishops to bolster their position. The bishops persuaded the people to think of them as corresponding to the high priest of the Jews, with the presbyters standing in the place of the priests, and the deacons in that of the Levites.[485]

During the second century there was developed another theory, that of "apostolic succession," which was used to support the bishops in their claim of authority. This doctrine represented the bishop

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[481] Neander, op. cit., p. 190.

[482] Ibid.

[483] Ibid.

[484] Ibid., pp. 192, 193.

[485] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 63.

as deriving his authority not by the voice of the congregation, but by his being the successor in authority to the apostles, the power of ordination being thought to pass from generation to generation.[486] By the end of the second century only the bishop, in the new sense, was believed to be able to transmit to others the apostolic gifts of the Spirit.[487] Presbyters, now called priests, although having received the apostolic teaching authority at ordination, were not thus enabled to create new priests.[488] The idea of the universal priestly character of all Christians was repressed, and the function of the priesthood reserved to a particular order which assumed the role of a mediatory priesthood on the Old Testament order which was unknown in the New Testament church.[489] The title of "clergy" came to be applied to all those who had been consecrated in the particular priesthood.[490]

During the greater part of the second century the various congregations continued to be autonomous bodies, and not connected by

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[486] Goodenough, op. cit., p. 29.

[487] Ibid.

[488] Ibid.

[489] Neander, op. cit., p. 194.

[490] Ibid., p. 195.

associations or confederacies of any kind.[491] Toward the close of the century, however, the custom arose of churches in the same province meeting together and discussing matters of mutual interest.[492] At first no claim was made by the bishops meeting in these synods, or councils, of any authority except as representatives of the people. Little by little they made higher claims and finally maintained that authority was given to them by Christ Himself to dictate rules of faith and practice.[493] With higher organization, higher offices were created, with particular bishops appointed to preside over all other bishops of the province.[494] Thus did the diocesan episcopate develop, and thus was the precedent established for even higher development of the hierarchy in future centuries, when the provinces themselves were drawn into yet greater confederacies in the West under the Bishop of Rome and in the East under the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Authoritarianism and its Effect on Teaching and Intragroup Relationships

The changes in methods of teaching during the second century

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[491] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 62.

[492] Ibid., pp. 62, 62.

[493] Ibid., p. 63.

[494] Ibid.

were due partially to the natural transition from the extraordinary features of early Christian education, with teachers and prophets endowed with spiritual gifts, to the regular organization with teachers and leaders selected by the congregation on the basis of personal qualifications. Another reason for change; involving the whole theory of freedom, equality, and authority in teaching, is found in the rise of the episcopal system with its clergy-laity structured church organization.

During the early part of the second century the extraordinary aspects of Christian education and church organization were still evident in the church, since there yet remained in the congregations those upon whom the apostles' hands had been laid and who thus possessed miraculous gifts in teaching, such as speaking in foreign tongues, interpreting such languages, and the gifts of supernatural knowledge and the power of prophecy.[495] Instruction through spiritual gifts necessitated a great amount of freedom in Christian assemblies in order that all who had a spiritual message or revelation might have the opportunity to be heard. With the lapse of time the testing of prophets was not so sure as in the days of the apostles when revelation was used to certify the prophetic teacher. Practical means of discerning between the true

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[495] <u>Supra</u>, chapt. II.

prophet and the false teacher took the place of revelation. The activities of the prophet were increasingly restricted and as time passed the position of the prophetic teacher became less and less conspicuous in the affairs of the church until finally the office disappeared completely.

The extraordinary aspects of instruction were still in evidence when the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (or Didache) was written. This work was written at about the beginning of the second century.[496] In the Didache the co-existence of both features of organization are recognized, and the admonition is given: "Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord . . . Despise them not therefore for they are your honored ones, together with the prophets and teachers."[497] The prophets and teachers were to be received or rejected on the basis of their actions, and a set of rules were given by which the false prophet or teacher was to be recognized: "Therefore from their ways shall the false prophet and the prophet be known."[498] If the teacher taught the truth but

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[496] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 172.

[497] Didache xv.1, 2.

[498] Ibid., xi.8.

did not live accordingly, he was a false prophet.[499] Traveling teachers were to remain but one day, in emergency two, but if he remain three days, "he is a false prophet."[500] If he asked for money, "he is a false prophet."[501] As the supernatural gifts disappeared the freedom of expression characteristic of their time also disappeared and a more formal type of instruction, and a more rigid order of service developed.

During the same period in which prophetic teaching was passing, freedom within the congregations was being further curtailed, and formality of teaching increased, by the rise of the episcopacy and the sacerdotal caste. The emphasis upon mutual admonition, and the relationship of fraternal fellowship gave way to an authoritarian attitude on the part of the bishop and clergy, with all instruction coming from the authorized source—the bishop and his appointees. Instead of the "word of Christ" dwelling in the membership "richly is all wisdom" that they might "teach and admonish one another,"[502] it was now thought to dwell only in those who held position by "apostolic succession," and who alone could bestow

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[499] *Ibid.*, x.10.

[500] *Ibid.*, xi.5.

[501] *Ibid.*, xi.6.

[502] Col. 3:16; cf. Eph. 5:19.

the office of teaching. Hippolytus, writing at about the beginning of the third century, says, "But we being their (the apostles') successors, and as participators in their grace, high priesthood and office of teaching, as well as being reputed guardians of the Church, must not be found deficient in vigilance."[503] The authoritarian position of the bishop in the congregation was buttressed by extravagant claims made for him with increasing force throughout the second century.

The position of the bishop is set forth in especially strong language in the writings attributed to Ignatius. If the epistles are the work of Ignatius they were written toward the end of the reign of Trajan (between A.D. 110 and 117). If genuine at all they have suffered extensive interpolations for the particular purpose of strengthening the case for the episcopacy.[504] In the Ignatian epistles the church is exhorted to "reverence your bishop as Christ Himself."[505] The church member who would do "anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons" was said to be defiled in conscience and "worse than an infidel."[506] In the

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[503]Hippolytus Refutation, pref. to Bk. I.

[504]Gerhard Uhlhorn, "Ignatius of Antioch," New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. V. (1909).

[505]Ignatius To the Trallians vii.

[506]Ibid.

congregation the bishop was said to be the one who "beyond all others" possessed "all power and authority so far as it is possible for a man to possess it."[507] Baptism and the Eucharist were not to be administered except by the bishop or by one to whom they had been intrusted by him.[508] Members of the clergy were to be reverenced as "superiors."[509] The bishop's authority was to be unquestioned, for "that which seems good to him is also well-pleasing to God."[510] Subjection to authority was looked upon by the writer of the Ignatian epistles as necessary in all degrees and ranks, and status was recognized according to a strict line and staff relationship. He says, "Let the laity be subject to the deacons; the deacons to the presbyters; the presbyters to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as He is to the Father."[511]

The same position of authority and power is given to the bishop in the work known as the Apostolic Constitutions. The Apostolic Constitutions were purportedly the pronouncements of the

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[507] Ibid.

[508] Ignatius To the Smyrnaeans viii.

[509] Ignatius To the Magnesians iii.

[510] Ignatius To the Smyrnaeans viii.

[511] Ibid., ix.

apostles themselves, but the composition is actually of a much later time than that of the apostles.[512] The bishop's position is stated in no uncertain terms. He is assured that it is his "privelege to govern those under" him, "but not to be governed by them."[513] The proper attitude of a layman toward the bishop is stated no less definitely:

> As to a good shepherd, let the lay person honour him, love him, reverence him as his lord, as his master, as the high-priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that heareth him, heareth Christ; and he that rejecteth him, rejecteth Christ.[514]

Thus did the freedom of the early Christian assembly give way to the usurped authority of an episcopacy. The mutual admonition of brethren during Christian meetings found no place in an organization so structured that only teachers certified by the episcopal authority were permitted to speak. The discourse and the exposition remained as methods in teaching, but had come to be the sole domain of the clergy. The Lord's Supper ceased to possess the aspects of a fraternal meal in which brothers and sisters in Christ sat down at the Lord's table as equals in the family of God.

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[512] H. Achelis, "Apostolic Constitutions and Canons," New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. I (1908).

[513] Apostolic Constitutions ii.3.14.

[514] Ibid., ii.3.20.

The equality had been destroyed in the development of a hierarchy. Consistent with the requirements of a sacerdotal caste, the table became an alter, and the materials of the supper itself a "sacrifice," properly administered only by the clergy as consecrated priests.

The Beginning of the Catechumenate

The catechumenate was devised for the benefit of adult converts to Christianity and was what we would now call adult education. There were three outstanding purposes for this type of training: First, moral discipline and the development of an appreciation of the Christian way of life; second, the acquainting of the convert with the Christian tradition; and third, the creation of a profound devotion to the Christian faith.[515] The function served by the catechumenate was that of inducting the individual into the Christian community.[516] Those receiving instruction were called catechumenoi, or as it has come into English, "catechumens." The content of that which was taught was called "catechesis." The Greek verb used means literally to "sound down," and was used in medical speech to refer to the oral instructions given by the physician to

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[515] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 186.

[516] Ibid., p. 187.

his patient. When taken into educational terminology the idea was that the students were to be taught by "singing out" in chorus the answers to the questions asked by the teacher.[517]

The catechumenate may be traced from its beginning in the second century, through a period of growth in the third and fourth centuries, to its decline in later centuries when such a program of adult education became unnecessary owing to the general practice of admitting infants to baptism.[518]

In the beginning of the second century the only preparation for baptism, other than that common in New Testament times, seemed to be a period of prayer and fasting observed by the candidate and the church prior to the baptizing.[519] This in itself was a development beyond the apostolic times, when on one occasion three thousand were baptized after hearing but one sermon.[520] When the gospel was extended to the Gentiles, however, there were greater problems in teaching the unbeliever. More lengthy instruction was necessary in dealing with Gentile converts coming from pagan backgrounds than in

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[517] Ibid., pp. 151, 152.

[518] Frederick Eby and Charles F. Arrowood, The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 608.

[519] Didache vii.4.

[520] Acts 2:14-41.

preaching to the Jews who had been trained from their youth in the Mosaic moral code and were when first hearing the Christian message well-versed in the Old Testament Scriptures. Thus, the ground was already prepared with the Jews for the teaching of Christian doctrine. In dealing with the Gentiles, however, the church found the candidate for membership lacking in the basic understandings necessary to the intelligent and genuine acceptance of the Christian faith. The length of training was extended more and more until from the brief period of fasting and prayer mentioned in the Didache it had grown to a period of several years duration in later centuries.[521]

Even in the earliest stages there can be discerned at least three gradations in the program of instruction for the catechumenate. There was first a preliminary step in which the candidate became acquainted with the first principles of the faith; a second, in which the catechumen was admitted along with the baptized to hear the lessons, the homilies, and other types of oral instruction; and third, a more advanced stage in which the learner could receive a more thorough type of instruction by seeking out competent teachers, or by reading their writings which were beginning to be available.[522]

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[521]Sherrill, op. cit., p. 189.

[522]Ibid., p. 187.

The last mentioned type of instruction was of course made use of by those members of the church who sought further instruction, as well as by the catechumens.

The organization of the catechumenate as an educational institution is still obscure in the second century, since information concerning it, except for its subject matter, is very limited in second century sources. The further development of the catechumenate must, therefore, be dealt with in the next period of our study where the details are more plentiful.

Subject Matter for Catechumenal and Membership Instruction

In addition to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments there were used certain books and letters, though not accepted as a part of the canon of inspired Scriptures, which were none the less valuable as subject matter in the educational program of the church. There were writings of particular value in the elementary stages of instruction, such as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Didache. For more advanced study there were available works of major importance, including the writings of Irenaeus and the writings of a number of apologists, the most outstanding being the apologies of Justin Martyr.

The Shepherd of Hermas (or Pastor of Hermas) is the writing

of an ordinary Christian, not a clergyman, possibly a merchant, whose revelations and visions reminded him of his need of repentence.[523] The book is of uncertain authorship and probably written about 160 A.D.[524] The work was one of the most popular books in the Christian church from the second through the fourth centuries and was received by some as an inspired writing.[525] According to his statement the writer received his revelations by visions and from "the angel of repentence" who appeared to him in the likeness of a shepherd.[526] The work is divided into three books—Book First, Visions; Book Second, Commandments; and Book Third, Similitudes. The Shepherd of Hermas was an especially important writing in bringing before catechumens and new Christians the dangers which beset those who desire to be pure in thought and deed, who would "cleanse their hearts from the vain desires of this world . . . and live to God."[527]

Another important work was the Didache (or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), which has been called "the earliest textbook for instruction in Christian doctrine and ethics."[528] The Didache, as

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[523]Ibid., p. 163.

[524]A. Cleveland Coxe, Ante-Nicene Fathers, II, 3.

[525]F. Crombie, Ante-Nicene Fathers, II, 6, 7.

[526]Pastor of Hermas i.5.5.

[527]Ibid., ii.12.6.

[528]Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 608.

has been mentioned in another connection, was written at about the beginning of the second century. The work was something of a handbook for early Christian congregations, consisting of materials for moral and ethical instruction, teaching on fasting and prayer, as well as instruction on church organization and the proper observance of Christian ordinances. The value of the book in the instruction of catechumens and new church members is clearly indicated in those sections dealing with "The Two Ways"—one, the way of life, and the other, the way of death. The way of life is stated in positive terms, inculcating the principles of behavior found in the Sermon on the Mount,[529] followed by a delineation of those things in conduct which are contrary to Christian principles. In the way of death is presented a picture of pagan life and morals which stands out in stark contrast to the Christian way of life:

> And the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving a lie, not knowing a reward for righteousness, not cleaving to good nor to righteous judgement, watching not for that which is good, but for that which is evil; from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, pursuing requital, not pitying a poor man, not laboring for the afflicted, not knowing Him that made them,

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[529] Didache i.1-5.

> murderers of children, destroyers of the handiwork of God, turning away from him that is in want, afflicting him that is distressed, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, utter sinners. Be delivered, children, from all these.[530]

In addition to these writings there were a number of epistles which were being circulated among the churches and used for teaching. Among these were the epistles of Clement of Rome and Polycarp, also those attributed to Ignatius, and another of unknown authorship, the so-called epistle of Barnabas. These epistles dealt with expositions of the Scriptures, moral and ethical instruction, and problems and issues which were current in the second century. They were, therefore, of value as subject matter in the educational program of the church.

For those interested in advanced studies in Christian doctrine the field of polemics was rich in materials for study. Works of this type were the natural productions of an age in the history of the church when the faith was under attack both from the outside by pagans and from inside the church by heretics. Outstanding exponents of the faith in the second century were Ireneeus, who defended the church against the heretics, and Justin Martyr who ably defended it against the pagans and championed its cause in his

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[530] *Ibid.*, chapt. v.

apologies addressed to the Roman rulers. These works will be discussed under the headings relating to their individual writers.

Individual Efforts in Christian Education: The Beginning of the Catechetical School

During the first century Christianity had its strongest following among simple folk who possessed little formal education, but towards the end of the second century converts were being made from among the teaching class, the grammarians, the rhetoricians, and the philosophers.[531] These converts brought with them their love of learning and they desired such for Christian youth. During the second century the teachings of Christianity were subjected to the attacks of learned pagans, creating the need for Christian institutions of learning of the highest level.[532] A number of outstanding scholars and philosophers who had accepted the Christian faith continued in their role of teachers and made use of their reputations and positions to bring the Christian religion to those who resorted to their lectures. These schools were the same type as those of the philosophers and were in the nature of a private lectureship or chair occupied by an outstanding teacher.[533]

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[531] Stephen Duggan, A Students Textbook in the History of Education (3rd ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 71.

[532] Ibid.

[533] H. G. Good, op. cit., p. 63.

There were a number of such philosophers and teachers whose reputations have caused their names to be remembered in history. Justin Martyr was one of the greatest of these teachers. Later we shall hear more concerning his work. One of the earliest of these private schools to be opened was that of Basilides, the Gnostic, which began in Alexandria about 125 A.D.[534] Eusebius mentions Basilides' school and also states that Saturninus of Antioch established a school "of godless heresy" in Syria.[535] A similar school was established in Rome by Valentinus,[536] another Gnostic who became the founder of the sect which bore his name. Yet another Gnostic teacher was Ptolmaeus, "whose school may be described as a bud from that of Valentinus."[537] The school of Tatian deserves special consideration due to its educational importance, and will be taken up under another topic.

These private schools of the second century were the forerunners in principle for the catechetical schools which played an important role in Christian education during the third and fourth centuries. With one exception the schools of the second century

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[534]Good, op. cit., p. 63.

[535]Eusebius Church History iv.7.3, 4.; See also Irenaeus Against Heresies i.24.1.

[536]Good, op. cit., p. 63.

[537]Irenaeus Against Heresies, pref. to Bk. I.

passed out of existence with the death of their teachers and there is no evidence that an historical connection existed between them and the schools which flourished in the third century. This one exception was the school of Pantaenus, which was established at Alexandria in 179 A.D.[538] This was the beginning of the well-known catechetical school of Alexandria. Pantaenus was succeeded as head of the school by Clement, and Clement in turn by Origen. The founding and development of the catechetical school at Alexandria will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Justin, Christian Philosopher and Martyr

Justin was born in Flavia Neapolis, a city of Palestine.[539] He was the son of Priscus and the grandson of Bacchius,[540] who were either Greek or Roman and evidently of a family of considerable wealth.[541] The date of his birth was probably about 114 A.D.[542] He travelled widely, both before and after his conversion to Christianity, and finally settled down in Rome as a Christian

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[538]Paul Monroe, A Textbook in the History of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933)

[539]Justin Apology i.1.

[540]Ibid.

[541]Albert Henry Newman, "Justin Martyr," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. VI (1910).

[542]Ibid.

teacher.[543] As a Christian teacher and philosopher he acted as an evangelist, proclaiming the Gospel as the only safe philosophy and the only way of salvation.[544] In Rome he met with a martyr's death during the reign of Marcus Aurelius when Rusticus was Prefect of the city--between 162 A.D. and 168 A.D.[545] Eusebius states that his death was the result of a plot laid by Crescens, A Cynic philosopher.[546] Justin himself said that he expected to be plotted against by Crescens, who he identified as a "lover of bravado and boasting . . . not worthy of the name of philosopher who publicly bears witness against us in matters which he does not understand."[547]

Justin was by profession a philosopher and was from his youth a diligent student of philosophy.[548] Even after his conversion to Christianity he wore the Greek philosopher's garb, a distinctive cloak or mantle called the Pallium.[549] The Pallium

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[543]Marcus Dods et al., Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 160.

[544]Ibid.

[545]Ibid.

[546]Eusebius Church History iv.16.7.

[547]Justin Apology ii.3.

[548]Newman, "Justin Martyr," op. cit.

[549]McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 184.

gave the wearer immediate recognition and respect and added to his opportunities for discourse in the street, market, and other public places.[550] This undoubtedly accounts for Justin's continued use of the garb after his conversion. He himself refers to the Pallium in his Dialogue with Trypho, and it was his wearing of it that brought about his conversation with Trypho.[551]

Justin studied in various schools of philosophy before he accepted Christianity, having "found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable," and could say, "Thus (in this way) and for this reason I am a philosopher."[552] Justin first mentions his studies in the school of the Stoics. This philosophy, however, brought him no satisfaction in his search for knowledge of God. He says that after he had spent considerable time with a certain Stoic philosopher, and "had not acquired any further knowledge of God (for he did not know himself, and said that such instruction was unnecessary)," that he left off his studies with that philosopher.[553] Next Justin applied himself to his studies under a teacher of the Peripatetic school.

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[550] Ibid. See also Eusebius Church History iv.11.i.

[551] Justin Dialogue i.

[552] Ibid., viii.

[553] Ibid., ii.

He concluded that this man was "no philosopher at all" when after a few days the teacher suggested that he "settle the fee, in order that our discourse might not be unprofitable."[554] Justin then proceeded to a Pythagorian but was unable to satisfy the prerequisites for the course of study. He describes his interview with the Pythagorian as follows:

> And then, when I had an interview with him, willing to become his hearer and disciple, he said, "What then? Are you acquainted with music, astronomy, and geometry? Do you expect to perceive any of those things which conduce to a happy life, if you have not been first informed on those points which wean the soul from sensible objects, and render it fitted for objects which appertain to the mind, so that it can contemplate that which is honorable in its essence?" Having commended many of these branches of learning, and telling me that they were necessary, he dismissed me when I confessed to him my ignorance. Accordingly I took it rather impatiently, as was to be expected when I failed in my hope, the more so because I deemed the man had some knowledge; but reflecting again on the space of time during which I would have to linger over those branches of learning, I was not able to endure longer procrastination.[555]

Following this experience Justin turned to the Platonists, "for their fame was great." In this philosophy Justin found a real interest and made great progress in his study. He says,

> I thereupon spent as much of my time as possible with one who had lately settled in our city,--a sagacious man,

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[554] Ibid.

[555] Ibid.

> holding a high position among the Platonists,--and I progressed, and made the greatest improvements daily. And the perception of immaterial things quite overpowered me, and the contemplation of ideas furnished my mind with wings, so that in a little while I supposed that I had become wise; and such was my stupidity, I expected forthwith to look upon God, for this is the end of Plato's philosophy.[556]

Here Justin uses in a light manner the trite phrase of Plato's ("furnished my mind with wings"), and as a Christian expresses his disdain of the vain hope of Platonism in saying, "I supposed that I had become wise; and such was my stupidity, I expected forthwith to look upon God . . ."

Justin relates at length the circumstances of his conversion. He attributes his conversion to the chance meeting and ensuing conversation with an aged Christian.[557] In telling of the conversation Justin demonstrates the inadequacy of his one-time Platonist views as compared to the Gospel as presented by the old Christian. It was pointed out to him that by revelation alone, and not by human endeavor, could the blessedness of true wisdom sought by the philosopher be attained. The Christian message was summed up in the following words of the old Christian:

> There existed, long before this time, certain men more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers, both

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[556] Ibid.

[557] Ibid., iii-vii.

> righteous and beloved by God, who spoke by the Divine Spirit, and foretold events which would take place, and which are now taking place. They are called prophets. These alone both saw and announced the truth to men, neither reverencing nor fearing any man, not influenced by a desire for glory, but speaking those things alone which they saw and which they heard, being filled with the Holy Spirit. Their writings are still extant, and he who has read them is very much helped in his knowledge of the beginning and end of things, and of those matters which the philosopher ought to know, provided he has believed them. For they did not use demonstration in their treatises, seeing that they were witnesses to the truth above all demonstration, and worthy of belief; and those events which have happened, and those which are happening, compel you to assent to the utterances made by them, although, indeed, they were entitled to credit on account of the miracles which they performed, since they both glorified the Creator, the God and Father of all things, and proclaimed His Son, the Christ sent by Him . . . But pray that, above all things, the gates of light may be opened to you; for these things cannot be perceived or understood by all, but only the man to whom God and His Christ have imparted wisdom.[558]

"When he had spoken these and many other things," said Justin, ". . . he went away bidding me attend to them . . ."[559] Justin's reaction to this experience was immediate and positive. He says, "Straightway a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable."[560]

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[558] *Ibid.*, vii.

[559] *Ibid.*, viii.

[560] *Ibid.*

Justin was no longer a Platonist but now only a Christian, since he had found in Christianity alone the philosophy that was safe and profitable. With the new understanding Justin re-evaluated the teachings of Platonism, and stated that Plato was indebted to Moses for some of his teachings. He charges that "Plato borrowed his statement that God, having altered matter which was shapeless, made the world . . ."[561] Justin quotes the Genesis record of the creation and says that Moses "was the first prophet, and of greater antiquity than the Greek writers."[562] "It is not," says Justin, "that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours."[563] Justin may have retained the definition he had given of philosophy: "The knowledge of that which really exists, and a clear perception of the truth; and happiness is the reward of such knowledge and wisdom."[564] His belief as to what constituted that wisdom and knowledge, and how it might be obtained, had radically changed. When a Platonist Justin believed that in the "mind's eye" man might see and know God, if the mind itself was pure.[565]

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[561]Justin Apology i.59.

[562]Ibid.

[563]Ibid., i.60.

[564]Justin, Dialogue iii.

[565]Ibid., iv.

He says concerning the soul that "so long as it is in the form of a man, it is possible for it to attain to this (i.e. to seeing God) by means of the mind."[566] To Justin the Christian, the mind of man unaided by God could receive no knowledge of Him. As a Christian he accepted Christ as "a power of the ineffable Father, and not the mere instrument of human reason."[567] Even the ignorant are able to receive through Christ a knowledge of God, says Justin. "Among us," he says, "these things can be heard and learned from persons who do not even know the forms of the letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, though wise and believing in mind . . . so that you may understand that these things are not the effect of human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God."[568] Thus Justin advises Trypho and his friends to "be earnest in setting a higher value on the Christ of the Almighty God than on your own teachers."[569]

Some have thought that Justin's teaching regarding the Logos represented a major compromise with Greek philosophy. A careful examination of Justin's writings, however, reveals that he used the

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[566] Ibid.

[567] Justin Apology ii.10.

[568] Ibid., i.60.

[569] Justin Dialogue xclii.

term "λόγος" in much the same way as did the apostle John, identifying the pre-existent Word (λόγος) with Jesus the Son of God.[570] Justin says, "It is wrong . . . to understand the spirit and power of God as anything else than the Word (λογος), who is also the first-born of God."[571] He did, however, develop the idea beyond the New Testament concept. Accepting as a fact that Christ, the Word, communicated with the minds of men before the Incarnation, Justin granted that the ancient philosophers were in varying degrees inspired; and that those men who received the direction of the Word were "Christians."[572] Thus he placed both Abraham and Socrates among those who had been enlightened and made them "Christians."[573] All of the ancient writers, according to Justin, were not equally inspired by the Word, "for each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had . . . but they who contradict themselves on the more important points appear not to have possessed the heavenly wisdom . . ."[574] The ancients were able "to see realities darkly," says Justin, the real thing itself can be comprehended "according to the grace which is from Him."[575]

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[570]See John 1:1-14.

[571]Justin Apology i.33.

[572]Ibid., i.46.

[573]Ibid.

[574]Ibid., ii.13.

[575]Ibid.

We have two works from Justin's pen. They are his Apology in two parts and his Dialogue with Trypho. These are the only existing writings of Justin Martyr. Other works ascribed to Justin are not his.[576] In the Apology, written about 150 A.D.,[577] Justin makes a defense of the Christian faith addressing it to the rulers of the Roman state. The Dialogue, which was written a little later,[578] records the conversations between Justin and a Jew named Trypho. In the Apology Justin defends the Christian religion in such a way as to appeal to the Gentiles. In the Dialogue Justin sets out to demonstrate that Christianity is the only safe philosophy, and (drawing his arguments from the Old Testament) that it is the only true religion; that having supplanted Judaism it is the only way of salvation for both Jew and Gentile. The two writings, although written from two different points of view, are consistent in their concept of Christianity. The Apology and the Dialogue served the purpose of strengthening the faith of Christians as well as the convincing of pagans and Jews of the truthfulness of the Christian faith.

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[576] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 97.

[577] Ibid.

[578] Ibid.

Tatian, Exponent of Universal Education

Another individual effort in education was that of Tatian, who established a school at Antioch dedicated to the promotion of the sect which he had founded.

Tatian seems to have embraced Christianity at Rome where he became a student of Justin's.[579] After the death of his teacher he came under the influence of the Gnostics and about 166 A.D. founded an ascetic sect called the Encratites, that is, "The Self-controlled," or "Masters of Themselves."[580] Tatian died a few years after establishing his new sect.[581]

Due to his heresy the greater number of the works of Tatian have perished. Only two of his works have come down to our times--his Diatessaron, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, and his Address to the Greeks. The Address is orthodox in doctrine and is one of the most unsparing exposures of the depravity of heathenism.[582] The Diatessaron not only has the distinction of being the first harmony

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[579] J. E. Ryland, Ante-Nicene Fathers, II, 63.

[580] Ibid.

[581] Ibid.

[582] Ibid.

of the Gospels, but also constitutes a clear testimony of the middle-second century acceptance of the four Gospels as the sole authority on the life and ministry of Christ.

After leaving Rome, Tatian established himself in Antioch where he acquired a large number of students.[583] Tatian became one of the earliest exponents of universal education. He urged like opportunities for all regardless of status. In speaking to the Greeks of Christian practices he says,

> As for those who wish to learn our philosophy, we do not test them by their looks, nor do we judge of those who come to us by their outward appearance; for we argue that there may be strength of mind in all, though they may be weak in body.[584]

Boys, girls, and women were not excluded from educational opportunities by the Christians. The high respect held for women, in contrast to pagan attitudes, as well as the Christian belief in equal educational opportunities for all, is expressed by Tatian as follows:

> You who say that we talk nonsense among women and boys, among maidens and old women, and scoff at us for not being with you, hear what silliness prevails among the Greeks. For their works of art are devoted to worthless objects, while they are held in higher estimation by you than even your gods; and you behave yourselves unbecomingly in what

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[583] Ibid.

[584] Tatian Address to the Greeks xxxii.

> relates to women. For Lysippus cast a statue of Praxilla . . . My object in referring to these women is, that you may not regard as something strange what you find among us, and that comparing the statues which are before your eyes, you may not treat the women with scorn who among us pursue philosophy. This Sappho is a lewd, lovesick female, and sings her own wantonness; but all our women are chaste, and the maidens at their distaffs sing of divine things more nobly than that damsel of yours. Wherefore be ashamed, you who are professed disciples of women yet scoff at those of the sex who hold our doctrine, as well as at the solemn assemblies they frequent.[585]

The emphasis upon universal education was maintained by the church throughout the ancient period. During the Middle Ages, however, formal education came to be understood as primarily for those who were being prepared for the priesthood. The emphasis of early Christianity upon education for all was restored in the Reformation and became the policy of Luther and the other reformers. In the Reformation the fundamentals of learning were seen to be necessary for all as the means whereby every individual might read and interpret the Scriptures for himself.

Irenaeus, Defender of the Faith and Exponent of Authoritative Tradition

Irenaeus was born between A.D. 120 and A.D. 140 and spent his boyhood in Smyrna.[586] He himself tells us that in early youth

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[585] Ibid., xxxiii.

[586] A. Cleveland Coxe, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 312.

he had been acquainted with the martyr Polycarp of that city.[587] He became Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, succeeding Pothinus to that office after Pothinus had died a martyr's death.[588] It has been conjectured that Irenaeus was put to death about 202 A.D. during the severe persecution which took place in Lyons during that year.[589]

Irenaeus made his life work the combatting of heresy and his writings are principally devoted to that task. The two principle works of Irenaeus which have come down to us are: Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, and his Against Heresies which is divided into five books. The full title of the major work is given as A Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge Falsely So-called,[590] but the shorter title "Against Heresies" is most commonly used. By looking into these writings we are able to recognize their probable uses in catechumenal and catechetical instruction, and in the combatting of heresy. We may also learn something of Irenaeus' philosophy of religion and education.

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[587] Irenaeus Against Heresies iii.3.4.

[588] Eusebius Church History v.5.8.

[589] Joseph P. Smith, S. J., translator and annotator, St. Irenaeus Proof of the Apostolic Preaching (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1952), p. 3.

[590] Eusebius Church History v.7.1.

Irenaeus stated his purpose in writing Against Heresies as (1) to "furnish . . . assistance against the contraditions of the heretics"; (2) "to reclaim the wanderers and convert them to the Church of God"; (3) "to confirm the minds of the neophytes that they may not be led astray by false doctrines."[591] He wrote that his readers might "obtain a knowledge of the subjects" against which he was contending.[592] This knowledge was not to be considered knowledge for knowledge's sake, but rather was to be used to prepare his readers to receive the proofs which were to be brought against the heretics, and that his readers might contravert heresy "in a legitimate manner."[593] The polemic method which was used by the heretics, as well as that which was used by Irenaeus in combatting heresy, is indicated in the following:

> But since these men delight in attacking us, and in their true character of cavillers assail us with points which really tell not at all against us, bringing forward in opposition to us a multitude of parables and captious questions, I have thought it well, on the other side, first of all to put to them the following inquiries concerning their own doctrines, to exhibit their improbability, and to put an end to their audacity. After this has been done, I intend to bring forward the discourses of the Lord, so that they may not only be rendered destitute of the means of attacking us, but that, since they will be unable

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[591] Irenaeus Against Heresies, pref. to bk. v.

[592] Ibid.

[593] Ibid.

> reasonably to reply to those questions which are put, they may see that their plan of argument is destroyed; so that, either returning to the truth, and humbling themselves . . . or that, if they still persevere in that system of vainglory which has taken possession of their minds, they may at least find it necessary to change their kind of argument against us.[594]

The intention of Irenaeus to produce another work in which he would "bring forward the discourses of the Lord"[595] was realized in the writing of his Proof of the Apostolic Preaching. Several passages in the Proof are therefore dependent for clarification upon statements found in Against Heresies.[596] The purpose of the Proof of the Apostolic Preaching is clearly indicated by the title. The work was polemical; its aim was to establish by proof the Christian position. Irenaeus states his purposes in writing to Marcianus, to whom he addresses himself in the book, as (1) "to set forth in brief the preaching of the truth"; (2) to confirm the faith of the reader; (3) to equip the reader to "confound all those who hold false views."[597] Thus the book was intended as a positive approach to the same problem as had been dealt with by Against Heresies in the negative. In the previous set of propositions he had debated, taking the negative; in the last set of propositions he assumes the affirmative. The book was by nature a compendium of Christian teachings and a valuable handbook in catechumenal instruction.

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[594]Irenaeus Against Heresies ii.11.2.

[595]Ibid.

[596]Smith, op. cit., p. 4.

[597]Irenaeus Proof of the Apostolic Preaching i.

Irenaeus realized the importance of an aggressive educational program for the church. He had witnessed a kind of teaching devastate a great part of the church, and he was determined that education, backed by a strong episcopate, should be the means by which the church should be rebuilt.[598] The episcopate of Irenaeus was distinguished by his labors in the evangelization of Southern Gaul.[599] He seems also to have sent missionaries into other parts of what we now call France.[600] Under his teaching Lyons became a Christian city.

The philosophy of education held by Irenaeus can be stated in terms of a direct chain: Revelation, Scripture, church, education, salvation, growth in love, and fellowship with God.[601] No part of this chain could be omitted and the final aim of fellowship with God be realized. The authority of the church was of primary importance in this scheme of education. Although he expresses a belief in human liberty and the freedom of the individual to make his own decisions,[602] Irenaeus believed in a rigid church organiza-

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[598] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 188.

[599] A. Cleveland Coxe, notes, Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 310.

[600] Ibid.

[601] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 188.

[602] See Irenaeus Against Heresies iv.37.1, 3.

tion and his writings did much to further authoritarianism and to confirm the power held by the episcopacy.[603] He saw in a strong episcopacy what he considered to be the only protection of the church against the inroads of heretical teaching.

In his clear formulation of the idea of tradition Irenaeus made his most lasting contribution.[604] The importance of this concept in the history of the church and Christian education, and its influence on Western thought, can hardly be overemphasized. In stating the principle of tradition, Irenaeus helped to establish a system of authoritarianism which, with its struggle with the consciences and minds of men, was to greatly determine the future history of the church and Western education. Irenaeus in opposing the speculative thinking of the Gnostics, and as a defense against it, moved to an opposite extreme and adopted a strict authoritarian position.[605] His position was the forerunner of the doctrine of an infallible church and of the inability of the individual to understand the Scriptures for himself. Irenaeus held that the only acceptable interpretation of Scripture was to be found in the authoritative tradition of the Church. The truth to Irenaeus was that

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[603] Ibid., iv.26.2.

[604] Workman, op. cit., p. 102.

[605] Irenaeus Against Heresies iii.2.1.

position in doctrine which had supposedly been preserved intact "by the means of the succession of presbyters in the churches."[606] He recognized orthodoxy on the basis of the theory of apostolic succession in the episcopacy.[607] He believed that truth had been "deposited" in the Church and that apostolical doctrine, i.e. proper interpretation of the Scriptures, could be found nowhere else.[608] Irenaeus points out the Church of Rome as an example of what he considered to be the true preservation and transmission of the apostolic tradition through episcopal succession.[609] He took the position that the church at Rome represented something of a norm of faith and held that "it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church."[610] Thus, in the second century Irenaeus laid the foundations for the rise of the Papacy and paved the way for the dominance of the Church of Rome in the affairs of the Western church during the Middle Ages.

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[606] *Ibid.*, iii.2.2.

[607] *Ibid.*, iii.3.1.

[608] *Ibid.*, iii.4.1; iv.26.1.

[609] *Ibid.*, iii.2.2.

[610] *Ibid.*, iii.3.2.

The Second Century—An Era of Transition

The second century was a most important period in the history of the ante-Nicene church and of early Christian education. It was a period in church history which was of great significance in the later development of Western education.

It was a time that witnessed many changes in the organization and structure of the church. These changes were the outward manifestation of a significant change that was taking place in the spirit of formal Christianity. The church as we saw it in the first century was all but to disappear in the short span of one hundred years. A blanket of authoritarianism was spread over the church that was to stifle the freedom of spirit that had been so characteristic of the church in the previous century.

The unity also of the Christian church was shattered by strange doctrines brought in from pagan sources. The authoritarianism of a powerful episcopacy could not preserve the unity that in an earlier time had been maintained through mutual faith and love, when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul."[611]

In the early part of the second century the ways of the first Christians were maintained in the churches. This state of affairs

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[611] Acts 4:32.

is clearly indicated by the writings of the time--The Didache and the letters of early Christian leaders. The purity of the life and teaching of the church was maintained in part through the influence of these early writers who were known as "the Apostolic Fathers"--the men who were themselves the personal disciples of one or more of the apostles of Christ. When the restraint of these godly men was removed, a general apostacy began to be evident in the church, and by the middle of the century the influence of the Apostolic Fathers had all but disappeared. Such men as Irenaeus, who in other respects was praiseworthy, and the pseudo-Ignatius corrupted the simple organization of the early congregation. The sacerdotal system and the ecclesiastical hierarchy fostered by these men dominated the minds and consciences of men throughout the Middle Ages. Christian liberty was suppressed until the voice of freedom was heard again in the labors of a Luther, a Zwingli, and a Calvin in the sixteenth century Reformation.

It was the return to the spirit of the first Christians that brought these reformers to see the evil of an authoritarianism that would rob men of their right to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves. It was this spark of early Christianity that opened the way for the great public school system where the children of all the people might learn to read the Scriptures for themselves and have their hearts opened to the Word of Life. The spirit of Tatian, the early Christian advocate of universal education, lived again in the

realization that every human soul is of inestimable worth and that teaching must therefore be for all—men and women, boys and girls, old and young in all climes and in all walks of life.

The second century saw the beginning of the inter-relationship of formal Christian education and secular education. It was the century of the establishment of the Christian school where the learning of the pagan world could be seen in the perspective of the Christian Gospel. The second century witnessed the work of Justin Martyr who conducted such a school, and taught the Gospel of Christ on the academic level of the great teachers of pagan learning. The school of Justin was in essence the proto-type of every Christian common school and college since his time that has endeavored to teach the essentials of human learning along with the Word of God to a group of students who were being led to see that they were in the world but not of the world. To Justin it was not enough to be able to converse intelligently on the nature of the universe without having at the same time a personal Christian philosophy that would give meaning to the individual's own existence. The conditions which called the Christian school into existence in that time have brought into being similar schools in other times and shall do so in the future, whenever existing institutions fail to provide for the needs of Christian youth.

OUTLINE

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH IN THE THIRD CENTURY AND THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOL: A.D. 201-300

I. Relations of State to Church in the Third Century

A. Varied Circumstances of the Church During the Century
B. Conditions at the Beginning of the Century
   1. Edict of Septimius Severus, 202 A.D.
C. Persecution Under Caracalla: 211--217 A.D.
D. Seventeen Years of Rest from Persecution: 213--235 A.D.
   1. Reign of Heliogabalus: 218-222 A.D.
   2. Reign of Alexander Severus: 222--235 A.D.
E. Persecution Resumed Under Maximius, 235 A.D.
F. Peace for Eleven Years: 238--249 A.D.
   1. Reign of Gordianus: 238--244 A.D.
   2. Reign of Philip the Arabian: 244--249 A.D.
G. The First General Persecution of the Church: 249--260 A.D.
   1. Edict and Reign of Decius Trajan: 249--251 A.D.
   2. Reign of Gallus: 251--253 A.D.
   3. Reign of Valerian: 253--260 A.D.
H. The Persecution Ends for the Remainder of Century, 260 A.D.
   1. Gallienus and His Successors
   2. Legal Basis for Toleration
   3. Effect of Peace Upon the Church
      a. Increase in Membership
      b. Material Prosperity
      c. Increase of Worldliness and Relaxation of Discipline

II. Greek Influence on Christian Thought

A. Hellenism and the Church
   1. Eclecticism
   2. Neoplatonism
B. Eclecticism
   1. Its Center--Alexandria

2. Position of Clement of Alexandria
   a. Philosophy the Schoolmaster to Lead the Hellenic Mind to Christ
   b. Philosophy Not Sole Means of Arriving at Full Truth
3. Position of Origen
   a. Philosophy a Preparation for Christianity
   b. Extracting the Useful

C. Neoplatonism
1. Sect Apart from Christinaity
2. Founders: Saccus and Plotinus
3. The Neoplatonist Position
   a. Difference in Neoplatonists and Eclectics
   b. Syncretism
   c. Allegorical Method of Interpretation
4. Work of Porphry

D. Effect of Greek Learning Upon the Church
1. Increase in Number of Learned Men
2. Influence in Medieval Church
3. The Question of the Value of Human Learning

III. The Church in Conflict With the Pagan School

A. A Situation of Conflict
B. Differences in the Pagan and Christian Cultures With Reference to the Purpose of Education
1. Emphasis Upon Life in this World or World to Come
2. The Aristocratic System and the Democratic Concept
C. Content of Instruction and Manner of Teaching
1. Heathen Religion and Impure Morals
2. Pagan Rites
3. Biting Criticism by Teachers
4. Fraudulent Misrepresentation
D. Christian Schoolmasters and Their Problems in the Pagan Schools
1. Participation in Pagan Rites
2. Moral Responsibility of the Teacher for the Thing Taught
E. Problems of Christian Parents
F. Pagan Schools Inadequate and Hostile—the Christian Elementary School an Imperative

IV. The Christian Elementary School

A. An Answer to a Need
B. Contributions of Early Christian Elementary Education to Western Educational Thought

1. Education for the Masses
2. Opposition to Class Society
3. Love and Care for Children

C. The Christian Elementary School at Edessa
1. The Cradle of Christian Elementary Education
2. School Founded by Protogenes
3. The Church at Edessa
4. Famous Alumnus: Lucian of Antioch
5. Curriculum
a. Reading
b. Writing
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D. Later Development of Christian Elementary Education

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A. Origin in the Second Century
B. Purpose of Catechumenal School
C. Place and Frequency of Instruction
D. Implimented by Instruction in Christian Homes
E. Catechists and Their Qualifications
1. At Carthage
2. At Alexandria

F. Classification of Learners and Grades of Instruction
1. Originally Only One Group—Catechumens
2. Catechumenate in Time of Origen
a. Those Taught Privately
b. Those Admitted to the Church Assembly
3. Later Classification of Catechumens
a. Outsiders, Instructed Privately
b. Audientes, or Hearers
c. Genuflectentes, or Kneelers
d. Competentes, or the Competent
4. Advancement Depended Upon Progress
a. Time Indefinite
b. The Lapsed Returned to Lower Grade
c. Comprehensive Examination Preceded Baptism
5. Individual Differences: Recognition of and Provision for

G. Curriculum
1. As Set Forth in Apostolic Constitutions
2. Graded Subject Matter
a. Elements
(1) Doctrine of Repentance and Remission of Sins

(2) Nature and Use of Baptism
(3) The Necessity of Proper Living
b. Advanced Studies
(1) Articles of Christian Belief
(2) The Immortality of the Soul
(3) The Canon of the Scriptures

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VI. The Catechetical School At Alexandria

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B. Facilities at Alexandria
1. The University of Alexandria
2. The Museum
3. The Libraries
C. Growth of the School
D. Curriculum
1. The Sciences
a. Logic
b. Physics
c. Mathematics
d. Astronomy
2. Philosophy, with special emphasis upon
a. Ethics
b. Metaphysics
3. Exegetical Study of the Scriptures
E. The Student Body at Alexandria
1. First, Open to All
2. Later, Primarily for Training Clergy
F. Succession of Presidents of School
1. Pantaenus
2. Clement of Alexandria
3. Origen
4. Heraclas
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VII. The Work of Pantaenus

A. Eusebius' Statement Concerning Pantaenus
B. The Teacher of Clement of Alexandria
C. Missionary to India
1. Brought Back Hebrew Gospel According to Matthew
D. Became Head of Alexandria School Upon His Return
E. Retirement

VIII. Clement of Alexandria

A. Succeeded Pantaenus as Head of Alexandria School
B. His Surviving Works
   1. Exhortation to the Heathen
   2. The Instructor
   3. Stromata
C. Method of Discipline--Fear Tempered With Mercy
D. Motivation: Fear of Punishment and Desire for Reward
E. Broad Curriculum
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   2. Music
   3. Rhetoric
   4. Sciences
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IX. Origen and His Work at Alexandria and Caesarea

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   1. Liberal Grecian Education
   2. Training in the Scriptures
C. Reputation Prior to Appointment at Alexandria
D. The Teaching Personality of Origen
E. The Curriculum in Origen's Teaching
   1. Students Advised to Read All the Poets and Philosophers except Atheists
   2. Taught not one, but all kinds of Greek Philosophy
   3. The Course of Study
      a. Common Branches for Beginners and Those Less Gifted
      b. Higher Course for the Advanced and More Intelligent
         (1) Arithmetic, Geometry, and other Preparatory Studies
         (2) The Systems of the Philosophers
F. On Freedom on Research and Discussion
G. Support in Teaching by Personal Financial Resources
H. Zeal and Perseverance as a Teacher and His Manner of Life
I. Origen's Literary Productions
   1. Commentaries and Expositions of the Scriptures
   2. The Father of Textual Criticism. The Hexapla
J. The Allegorical Method of Interpretation
K. The Closing Years of the Life of Origen
   1. Departure from Alexandria

2. His Work at Caesarea
3. His Sufferings in the Decian Persecution
4. His Death

X. The Catechetical School at Caesarea

A. The School Under Origen
1. On the Same Order as Alexandria--Secular as Well as Religious Subjects Taught
2. Rival of Alexandria in Size and Reputation
B. Reorganized by Pamphilus as Theological School
1. Pamphilus an Admirer of Origen
2. Work as a Copyist and Student of the Scriptures
C. The Library of the Catechetical School of Caesarea
1. Collected by Pamphilus
2. Works of Origen and Other Ecclesiastical Writers
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D. The Work of Eusebius
1. His Use of the Library at Caesarea
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XI. Tertullian and the School of North Africa at Carthage

A. The School at Carthage
B. Characteristics of the School
1. Condemned all Classical Literature, Science, and Philosophy
2. Special Stress on Apostolical Tradition
3. Greater Moral Emphasis
4. Holiness of Life Stressed
5. Asceticism
C. Tertullian
1. Early Life
2. Conversion to Christianity
3. His Turn to Montanism
4. His Scholarship
5. In Background and Personality a Lawyer
a. His Defense of the Christian Faith
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6. Attitude Toward Grecian Learning After His Conversion to Christianity
a. Human Wisdom Corrupts the Truth
b. Opposed to Attempts at Harmonizing Christianity and Philosophy
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XII. The Catechetical School at Antioch

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B. Malcheon
C. Critical Method in Biblical Exegesis
D. Lucian and Dorotheus, Co-Presidents of School
E. The Work of Lucian
   1. Educated at Edessa and Caesarea
   2. A Great Christian Scholar
   3. Produced a Revised Version of the Septuagint
   4. His Writings
   5. The Real Founder of Arianism
   6. Martyrdom
F. The Work of Dorotheus
   1. A Man of Great Learning
   2. A Scholar in the Hebrew Language
G. The Later History of the School
   1. Its Decline
   2. The Contribution of its Theology to the Catechetical Schools of Edessa and Nisibis

XIII. Later Schools

A. The Schools of the Middle Ages
B. The Decline of the Catechetical Schools
   1. Decline after Sixth Century
   2. Replaced by Cathedral and Monastic schools
C. The Rise of the Cathedral Schools
   1. Outgrowth of the Catechetical Schools
   2. Located in Cathedral Cities
   3. Curriculum in Theology
   4. Purpose: Training for the Regular Clergy
D. The Monastic Schools
   1. Similar to Cathedral Schools
   2. Under Supervision of Monks
   3. Purpose: Training for Monastic Life
   4. Externs: Non-clerical Students
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XIV. The Curriculum and Teaching in the Catechetical Schools: A Summary

A. The Development of the Catechetical Schools During the Third Century
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2. At Antioch
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1. Characteristic of Individual Teachers
2. Principles of Interpretation:
a. Origen: Allegorical
b. Lucian: Critical
c. Tertullian: Authoritarian
3. Teaching Personality
a. Tertullian
b. Origan

D. Discipline
1. Gentleness
2. Severity

E. Motivation
1. Emotions: Love and Fear
2. Incentives: Desire for Reward and Dread of Punishment

F. Present-day Representatives of Third Century Schools of Thought
1. Alexandria and Caesarea: Present-day Allegorical Scripture Exposition
2. Carthage: Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches
3. Antioch: Protestant Theologians

G. The Catechetical School as the Proto-type of Parochial Schools and Church Related Colleges

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH IN THE THIRD CENTURY AND THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOL: A.D. 201--300

Relations of State to Church in the Third Century

The attitude of the Roman state toward the church varied during the third century. Sometimes it was hostile, at other times passive, or even friendly, depending upon the temperament of the reigning emperor at the time. There were periods of persecution, followed by seasons of rest from persecution during which the church experienced rapid growth both in membership and material prosperity.

In the beginning of the third century, A.D. 202, a severe law was enacted by Septimius Severus with the purpose of stopping the further spread of both Christianity and Judaism.[612] The persecution was especially intense in Egypt and North Africa and produced a large number of martyrs.[613] The persecutions continued through the first years of the reign of Caracalla (211--217 A.D.) though no new laws were enacted against the Christians.[614]

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[612] Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (7 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1835), II, 57.

[613] Ibid., II, 57, 58.

[614] Ibid., II, 58.

A seventeen-year period of rest from persecution began for the church with the reign of Heliogabalus (218--222 A.D.) Heliogabalus was himself a sun-worshiper but held to something of a religious syncretism and did not openly assume an attitude of hostility toward Christianity.[615] His successor, Alexander Severus (222--235 A.D.) was a true syncretist in religion and in his own beliefs had united many faiths. He was distinctly favorable toward Christianity and even placed a bust of Christ in his private chapel along with the images of other religious leaders,[616] and caused the "Golden Rule" to be engraved on public monuments and the walls of his palace.[617]

A change of policy occurred under Maximinus (235--238 A.D.), who turned again to persecution seemingly out of simple opposition to his predecessor.[618] The Christians were hated as enemies of the gods and freecourse was given to the people's fury against the Christians which had been excited anew by an earthquake.[619]

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[615] Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 85.

[616] Ibid.

[617] Schaff, op. cit., II, 59.

[618] Ibid.

[619] Ibid.

The church was again at rest under Gordianus (238--244 A.D.) The respite was to be of short duration, however, for the more far-seeing realized that a new outbreak of hostility was imminent. Origen predicted that the period of rest would soon come to an end, "since those who calumniate Christianity in every way are again attributing the present frequency of rebellion to the multitude of believers, and to their not being persecuted by the authorities as in old times."[620] The peace continued through the reign of Philip the Arabian (244--249 A.D.) broken only by one mob attack on the Christians at Alexandria.[621]

About mid-century the persecution broke out with greater vigor than ever before. The year 248 A.D. was the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome and its celebration was a time of remembering former splendor and of the revival of ancient traditions.[622] At the same time the Empire was in grave danger from barbarian attack at its borders and torn by internal disputes--all of which was attributed to tolerating the Christians.[623] Decius Trajan (249--251 A.D.) in

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[620] Origen Against Celsus iii.15.

[621] Walker, op. cit., p. 86.

[622] Ibid., p. 85.

[623] Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

an effort to restore the old Roman spirit and to bring stability to the Empire resolved to exterminate the church as a seditious and atheistic sect. In the year 250 A.D. he issued an edict to all governors of the prinvices enjoining a return to the old state religions.[624] This was properly the first persecution that covered all the Empire at one and the same time and therefore produced a greater number of martyrs than any persecution before it.[625] When according to the Emperor's view the governors were too lenient in dealing with the Christians, they were replaced by those who would be more strict.[626] In carrying out the imperial decree every sort of torture and abuse was used to move the Christians to apostacy, and many of those who had never known the trial of persecution before hastened to save themselves by sacrificing to the gods, while hundreds of their brethren just as anxiously sought martyrdom.[627] The persecution continued under Gallus (251--253 A.D.) and Valerian (253-260 A.D.), being given fresh impulse by pestilence, drought, and famine,[628] which was attributed to the wrath of the gods brought upon the people by the presence of the Christians.

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[624]Schaff, op. cit., II, 60.

[625]Ibid.

[626]Uhlhorn, Conflict of Christianity, p. 366.

[627]Schaff, op. cit., II, 60, 61.

[628]Ibid., II, 63.

Peace was again brought to the church by the Emperor Gallienus (260--268 A.D.) This rest from persecution was to last for the remainder of the century, through the reigns of succeeding emperors until 303 A.D. when the persecution broke out again under Diocletian.[629] Gallienus extended such a degree of favor to the Christians that it has been thought by some to have been a legal toleration. Such was not the case, however, since the old laws against the Christians remained unrepealed.[630] Gallienus, rather than creating a new set of laws concerning the Christians, handled the matter by making public proclamations restraining the persecutions and by personally directing the bishops to perform in freedom their customary duties.[631] Eusebius records the rescript of Gallienus as follows:

> The Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the other bishops.
>
> I have ordered the bounty of my gift to be declared through all the world, that they (the heathen) may depart from the (Christian) places of religious worship. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my rescript, that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do, has already for a long time been conceded by me. Therefore Aurelius Cyrenius, who is the chief administrator of affairs, will observe this ordinance which I have given.

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[629] Walker, op. cit., p. 87.

[630] Ibid.

[631] Eusebius Church History vii.13.1.

During the long period of forty-three years of peace the church grew rapidly in membership and material prosperity. Splendid edifices for Christian worship were erected and provided with collections of sacred books as well as vessels of gold and silver for use in the sacraments.[632] In the same proportion to this outward prosperity, however, worldliness increased in the church, discipline was relaxed, and quarrels and factions multiplied.[633]

Greek Influence on Christian Thought

Attempts to harmonize Christianity with philosophy were much in evidence in the third century. These attempts resulted in the creation of new schisms and sects in the Christian church and a Hellenization of Christian thought that was to be of great significance in the later development of Christian teaching.[634] Alexandria became the center for various syncretic movements collectively called Hellenistic Philosophy.[635]

The alliance of Christian teachers to the philosophy of the Greeks represented varied degrees of acceptance, all the way from only a slight tincture of Hellenism to an outright acknowledgement

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[632]Schaff, op. cit., II, 63.

[633]Ibid.

[634]Workman, op. cit., pp. 59, 60.

[635]Graves, op. cit., p. 284.

of a pagan philosophy and apostacy from the Christian faith. Two main groups of devotees to Hellenism may be distinguished. The first of these is the party known as the Eclectics. This philosophy was adopted by those who wished to still be considered Christians, and yet retain the name, garb, and status of philosopher.[636] The other was that of the Neoplatonists. The group was not truly Platonist since they had collected from various philosophies that which more nearly coincided with their own views. They preferred the title of Platonist since they considered Plato to be more accurate in his beliefs concerning God and those things beyond the cognizance of the senses.[637] Neoplatonism represented a complete departure from Christianity and became an actual rival of the Christian system in a battle for the minds of men.

The Eclectic philosophy claimed the loyalty of a succession of Christian teachers in the catechetical school at Alexandria, perhaps from its beginning and including both Clement of Alexandria and his pupil Origen.[638]

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[636] Moshelm, op. cit., p. 59.

[637] Ibid.

[638] Ibid.

Clement of Alexandria, the greatest Platonist thinker of his day, accepted Christianity late in the second century and henceforth used Platonist reasoning in his interpretation of the Gospel.[639] Clement looked upon philosophy as a means of leading the learner to Christ, as is indicated by the following:

> And otherwise erudition commends him, who sets forth the most essential doctrines so as to produce persuasion in his hearers, engendering admiration in those who are taught, and leads them to the truth. And such persuasion is convincing, by which those that love learning admit the truth; so that philosophy does not ruin life by being the originator of false practices and base deeds, although some have calumniated it, though it be the clear image of truth, a divine gift to the Greeks; nor does it drag us away from the faith, as if we were bewitched by some delusive art, but rather, so to speak, by the use of an ampler circuit, obtains a common exercise demonstrative of the faith.[640]

He suggests that philosophy was "a schoolmaster" to bring "the Hellenic mind" to Christ as the law had been to lead the Hebrews to Christ.[641] "Philosophy, therefore," he says, "was a preparation, paving the way for him who is perfected in Christ."[642] Clement held that "the way of truth is . . . one, but into it, as into a perennial river, streams flow from all sides."[643] He expressed

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[639] Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 591.

[640] Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1.2.

[641] Ibid., 1.5; cf. Gal. 3:24.

[642] Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1.5.

[643] Ibid.

in no uncertain terms his belief in the agency of human reason in arriving at truth, though granting that the "kindling spark" was supplied by God. He says,

> Now, then, many things in life take their rise in some exercise of human reason, having received the kindling spark from God. For instance, health by medicine, and soundness of body through gymnastics, and wealth by trade, have their origin and existence in consequence of Divine Providence indeed, but in consequence, too, of human co-operation. Understanding also is from God. But God's will is especially obeyed by the freewill of good men.[644]

Clement did not believe that philosophy could lead to the full truth in and of itself, but held that it was "a concurrent and co-operating cause of true apprehension."[645] He avowed it to be "a preparatory training for the enlightened man."[646] He does not assign as the cause "that which is but the joint cause; nor as the upholding cause, what is merely co-operative; nor . . . to philosophy the place of a _sine qua non_."[647] He grants that "almost all" of the Christians became such "without training in arts and sciences, and the Hellenic philosophy, and some even without learning at all."[648]

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[644] _Ibid._, vi.17.

[645] _Ibid._, i.20.

[646] _Ibid._

[647] _Ibid._

[648] _Ibid._

These, he says, received the word of God "through faith . . . trained by self-operating wisdom."[649] He believed that "the teaching which is according to the Saviour, is complete in itself, and without defect, being the power and wisdom of God"; therefore, "Hellenic philosophy does not, by its approach, make the truth more powerful," but does render powerless "the assault of sophistry against it . . . frustrating the treacherous plots laid against the truth."[650] He concludes that "logical discussion . . . called Dialectics . . . establishes, by demonstration, allegations respecting truth, and demolishes the doubts brought forward."[651]

Origen, the pupil of Clement and his successor in the catechetical school at Alexandria, expresses the same acceptance of philosophy as the handmaiden of the Gospel. In writing to a young student, Gregory Thaumaturgus, who later became a Christian and in time was elevated to the bishopric, Origen recommends highly the study of philosophy as a preparation for Christianity. He says,

> A natural readiness of comprehension, as you well know, may, if practice be added, contribute somewhat to the contingent end, if I may so call it, of that which any one

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[649] *Ibid.*

[650] *Ibid.*

[651] *Ibid.*, vi.17.

> wishes to practice. Thus your natural good parts might make of you a finished Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher, so to speak, of one of the schools in high reputation. But I am anxious that you should devote all the strength of your natural good parts to Christianity for your end; and in order to this, I wish to ask you to extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a course of study or a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what will serve to explain the sacred Scriptures, in order that all that the sons of the philosophers are wont to say about geometry and music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy, as fellow-helpers to philosophy, we may say about philosophy itself, in relation to Christianity.[652]

Origen's Ecelecticism, suggested by his recommendation to Gregory to "extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve" in preparing for Christianity, is evident throughout the epistle. He compares the taking of Greek studies for use in serving God with the use of gold, silver, and other valuables, taken from Egypt for the construction of the tabernacle and its equipment by the Israelites.[653] He warns against those who misused the things taken from the Greeks, for "these are they who, from their Greek studies, produce heretical notions, and set them up like the golden calf . . ."[654] Above all, however, Origen recommends to Gregory the study of the Scriptures, to which philosophy must but lead him, that he might apply himself to "the divine study," and "seek aright . . . with

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[652]Origen <u>To Gregory</u> i.

[653]<u>Ibid</u>., ii.

[654]<u>Ibid</u>.

unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the holy Scriptures, which so many have missed."[655]

Neoplatonism, founded in 241 A.D., represented the extreme in Hellenization, and constituted a sect which withdrew itself from any true identification with Christianity. The sect was founded by Ammonius Saccas (165--241 A.D.) and his pupil Plotinus (205--235 A.D.).[656] Saccas was born and educated a Christian and probably made pretensions to Christianity all his life.[657]

Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus proposed that all systems of philosophy and religion should be united into a syncretistic fellowship.[658] A difference, therefore, between the Neoplatonists and the Eclectics was that the Eclectics held that there was a mixture of good and bad, true and falst in all systems; they therefore selected out of each that which appeared to them to be consistent to reason and rejected the rest; while the Neoplatonists held that all sects actually professed the same system of truth with the only difference being the way it was stated; and that with suitable explanation they might all be brought into one body.[659]

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[655] *Ibid.*, iii.

[656] Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285.

[657] Mosheim, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[658] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[659] *Ibid.*

One of the most damaging of the influences of Neoplatonism on the church and Christian education was the allegorical method of teaching which was characteristic of the sect.[660] By this system of teaching the true meaning of anything seemed to always differ from the apparent meaning. Thus the Neoplatonists explained away difficulties arising from such teachings as the pagan's doctrine of demons. The allegorical method of teaching was eclectically adopted from the Neoplatonists by Origen and other Christians and applied to the interpretation of the Scriptures, thus involving in philosophical obscurity many aspects of the Christian religion that in and of themselves were plain and easy to be understood.[661] By this means of deriving additional meanings from plain statements there were attributed to Christ many precepts of which the Scriptures know nothing.[662]

Porphry (A.D. 233--304) was especially active in the latter part of the century in attempting to proselyte orthodox Christians by offering Neoplatonism as a substitute for Christianity.[663]

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[660] _Ibid._, p. 61.

[661] _Ibid._

[662] _Ibid._

[663] Qualben, _op. cit._, p. 105.

As to the total over-all effect of the inroads of Greek learning upon the church, there is, of course, no adequate means of determination. An apparent effect was the great increase of learned men in the church of the third century, most of whom followed the Eclectic philosophy and in their choosing preferred Plato above other philosophers.[664] The influences of Greek philosophy were to be encountered in the Medieval church and the educational systems of the Middle Ages. Jerome set his monks to the task of copying the ancient pagan authors, and Augustine "brought Plato into the Christian schools under his bishop's robe."[665] An even greater significance in the study of Christian education perhaps lay in the question as to the value of human learning to the Christian and to the church--a question engendered by the conflict produced by the intrusion of Greek philosophy. Christians were not agreed in the third century, or in subsequent centuries, as to the real value of human learning and philosophy to a system of religion which professed dependence upon revelation as the source of truth. This conflict is pictured clearly by Mosheim, and the implications for the study of Christian education are abundantly evident. His statement makes an excellent

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[664] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 62.

[665] Theodore Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire (London: Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 174.

conclusion to this section. He says concerning the conflict:

> At this time . . . broke out that war between faith and reason, religion and philosophy, devotion and intellect which has been protracted through all succeeding centuries down to our own times, and which we by all our efforts cannot easily terminate. By degrees, those obtained the ascendancy who thought that philosophy and erudition were profitable, rather than hurtful, to religion and piety; and laws were at length established that no person entirely illiterate and unlearned, should be admitted to the office of teacher in the church. Yet the vices of the philosophers and learned men, among other causes, prevented the opposite party from ever being destitute of patrons and advocates.[666]

The Church in Conflict with the Pagan School

During the period of our study, before the general establishment of the Christian common school, Christian parents were confronted with serious problems respecting the education of their children. The pagan school constituted an unavoidable situation of conflict with paganism for the church and the Christian home.

An irreconcilable difference existed between the Christian and the pagan cultures in respect to the purposes of education. Pagan education concerned itself chiefly with life in this world, while the church placed the greater emphasis upon the life to come; to the pagan truth was based upon human reason, to the Christian upon revelation of God; the Graeco-Roman way of life was aristo-

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[666] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 62.

cratic, the Christian way of life was essentially democratic. In the church the individual was important. The personality was considered sacred, and women and children were respected. All Christians, as the children of God, were equals. In all of these respects Christianity differed with paganism. These differences in the nature and purposes of education could but lead to conflict and to the withdrawal of the Christians from the pagan schools.

The very content of instruction in the pagan school was reprehensivle to Christian faith and morals. Pagan learning was inseparably bound up with heathen religion with its false gods and impure morals to such an extent that it was intolerable to the Christian.[667] Christian youth were continuously embarrassed by the biting criticism of Christianity coming from pagan teachers of grammar and rhetoric.[668] This conflict is described in detail by Gaston Boissier as follows:

> All these schools were pagan. Not only were all the ceremonies of the official faith--and more especially the festivals of Minerva, who was the patroness of masters and pupils--celebrated at regular intervals in the schools, but the children were taught reading out of books saturated with the old mythology. There the Christian child made his first acquaintance with the deities of Olympus. He ran the danger of imbibing ideas clean contrary to those which he had received at home. The fables he had learned to detest in his own home were explained, elucidated, held up to his admiration every day by his masters. Was it

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[667] Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., pp. 600, 601.

[668] Ibid., p. 601.

> right to put him thus into two schools of thought? What could be done that he might be educated like everyone else, and yet not run the risk of losing his faith?[669]

The danger to the faith of Christian youth was increased by the deliberate and fraudulent misrepresentation of Christianity in the pagan school. At Antioch the governor of the city, Theotecnus, with imperial sanction forged certain "Acts of Pilate" which were by nature slanderous and set forth with the intention to discredit and confute Christianity.[670] The false document was distributed throughout the Empire and was delivered to schoolmasters to be learned by their pupils.[671]

Another problem arose in the church respecting those converts to Christianity who were teachers by profession. Should these people, after becoming Christians, continue to teach in the pagan schools? Could they, as Christians, teach those things which were an integral part of pagan learning and yet completely contrary

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[669] Gaston Boissier, Histoire de la Pedagogie, p. 51, as quoted by Geraldine Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 188, 189. A nearly identical quotation is given from another work by Boissier (La Fin du Paganisme, Vol. I, p. 200) by Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., pp. 601, 602.

[670] Arthur Carr, The Church and the Roman Empire (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1887), p. 26.

[671] Ibid.

to Christianity? Tertullian took the position that schoolmasters on becoming Christians could not continue their activities in the pagan schools. He describes in detail the impossible situation such persons would find for themselves in the pagan schools. He says,

> Moreover, we must inquire likewise touching schoolmasters; nor only of them, but also all other professors of literature. Nay, on the contrary, we must not doubt that they are in affinity with manifold idolatry: first, in that it is necessary for them to preach the gods of the nations, to express their names, genealogies, honourable distinctions, all and singular; and further, to observe the solemnities and festivals of the same, as of them by whose means they compute their revenues. What schoolmaster, without a table of the seven idols (i.e. the seven planets), will yet frequent the Quinquatria? The very first payment of every pupil he consecrates both to the honour and to the name of Minerva . . . The Minervalia are as much Minerva's as the Saturnalia Saturn's. Saturn's . . . must necessarily be celebrated even by little slaves at the time of the Saturnalia. New-year's gifts likewise must be caught at, and the Septimontium kept; and all the presents of Midwinter and the feast of Dear Kinsmanship must be exacted; the schools must be wreathed with flowers; the flamens' wives and the aediles sacrifice; the school is honored on the appointed holy-days. The same thing takes place on an idol's birthday; every pomp of the devil is frequented. Who will think that these things are befitting to a Christian master.[672]

Tertullian granted that under certain conditions a Christian might learn these things as matters of information, though he might not teach them, "for the principle of learning and of teaching is different."[673] The Christian learner, Tertullian asserted, would

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[672] Tertullian <u>On Idolatry</u> x.

[673] <u>Ibid.</u>

reject the falsehoods of paganism on the basis of his previous training.[674] The Christian teacher of such things, he believed, assumed a moral responsibility concerning the thing taught, for "if a believer teach literature, while he is teaching doubtless he commends, while he delivers he affirms, while he recalls he bears testimony to, the praises of idols interspersed therein."[675]

It became clearly evident to believing parents and educators that the pagan school was alike unfriendly to Christian teacher and pupil. Under such conditions there was no place for the presentation of their way of life. Pagan schools were not only void of spiritual values but were inimical to the church, the Christian schoolmaster, the believing pupil, and every aspect of the religion of Christ. Thus were parents confronted with the serious decision as to whether they should send their children to the pagan school and by so doing endanger their souls, or permit them to grow up in ignorance. The danger of contamination of faith and morals was so great that many parents could not conscientiously send their children to the existing schools. Pagan schools could not in any

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[674] *Ibid.*

[675] *Ibid.*

real sense meet the needs of church youth. The establishment of Christian elementary schools became an imperative.

The Christian Elementary School

In establishing elementary schools, in which the essentials of human learning were taught along with the Scriptures, the church met the need that had not been satisfied by the pagan educational system. In assuming a distinctive role in education, the church made significant contributions to the total development of Western education. One of the great contributions of Christianity to educational thought was the idea that education should be for the masses. The practice of teaching all, the high and the low, the young and the old, men and women alike, which had been the common practice of Tatian and others in the catechetical and the catechumenal schools, was carried over into the Christian elementary schools in the teaching of secular learning. The rigid class distinctions within the Graeco-Roman culture made such an idea impossible in the pagan school, but in the development of Christian elementary education there was a real democratization of letters.[676] In applying the Christian teaching of the brotherhood and equality of men, the artificial distinctions of social classes tended to disappear. In

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[676] Haarhoff, op. cit., p. 175.

placing a particular emphasis on elementary education during this period, the church followed not only her own needs but reflected Christ's example of love and care for children.[677]

Among the first, if not the first, attempts at Christian elementary education was apparently the establishing of the school at Edessa in Gaul. This school was established by Protogenes at the close of the second century.[678] Edessa was a place worthy of being the cradle of Christian common school education. It had suffered much for the cause of Christ. The church at Edessa had been martyred in the second century. Being revived at the close of that century the church had established a school for its children. It experienced further persecution, including the banishment of some of its outstanding teachers, including Protogenes, the founder of the Edessa school.[679] At Edessa, Lucian, who was to become a famous third century presbyter and teacher at Antioch, received his elementary education.[680] The curriculum at Edessa included reading, writing, the study of texts of Scripture, and psalm singing.[681]

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[677] Ibid.

[678] Levi Seeley, History of Education (Revised ed.; New York: American Book Company, 1904), p. 105.

[679] Haarhoff, op. cit., p. 176.

[680] Ibid.

[681] Seeley, op. cit., p. 105.

As persecution lessened, other schools were established in rapid order, until in later centuries the pagan schools had given way to the Christian schools throughout the Empire.[632] The edict of Justinian closing the pagan schools in 529 A.D. was hardly needed since most of such schools had by that time already disappeared.[633]

The Catechumenal School

The catechumenate, or pre-baptismal training, which began in the second century, grew into a highly developed program of instruction during the third century.

As in the previous century, the sole purpose of the catechumenal school was to prepare adult persons for baptism and reception into church membership. The experience of the church during several persecutions had emphasized the necessity of a fixed period of probation in order that informers not be admitted to Christian assemblies and that the church not be disgraced by the apostacy or lapse of those who had not seriously considered the step they were taking.[634]

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[632] Ibid.

[633] Good, op. cit., p. 63.

[634] Graves, op. cit., p. 273.

The instruction of catechumens was conducted in the portico of the church, or in some other portion of the church building especially reserved for the purpose. Meetings for instruction were held several times in the week or even daily and were supplemented by thorough religious and moral instruction for young adults in the Christian family.[685]

The teachers were called "catechists," and usually were the most able men in the church.[686] At Carthage the office of catechist was given to some individual who had distinguished himself as one of the church readers after a period of probation.[687] At Alexandria, where often the highly educated and those trained in philosophy applied for church membership, it was necessary for the catechists to be men of liberal education who would be qualified to meet the objections and doubts of learned pagans. At Alexandria, therefore, able and highly educated laymen were selected by the church to serve in the office of catechist.[688]

The classification of learners into various stages or grades

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[685] Ibid., pp. 230, 231.

[686] Ibid., p. 231.

[687] Neander, op. cit., I, 306.

[688] Ibid.

of instruction became definite in the third century. Originally all those who had not yet received baptism, and were in the state of preparation and probation, were in one class and were denominated by one common name--κατηχούμενοι, catechumens.[689] This class of persons were not allowed to remain for the entire service in the church, but were permitted to hear the reading of the Scriptures and the preaching of the word.[690] By the time of Origen the catechumens were distinctly separated into two divisions: those who were receiving private instruction, and those who were admitted to the meetings of the church and were ready for baptism.[691] In course of time there came to be four distinct gradations of catechumenal instruction: (1) the εξωθούμενοι, or outsiders, who were instructed privately outside the church; (2) the ακρούμενοι, audientes, or hearers, who were admitted to the assemblies to hear the Scriptures read and to hear the sermons, but were required to leave before the prayers; (3) the γονυκλίνοντες, genuflectentes, or kneelers, who were permitted to remain through the prayers; and (4) the φωτιζούμενοι competentes, or the competent, who were con-

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[689] Ibid., I, 305.

[690] Ibid.

[691] Ibid.

sidered to be fully prepared and were immediate candidates for baptism.[692] In this period advancement from one level to the next was dependent upon progress rather than upon a definite period of time, and those who had attained advanced status in the catechumenate might be returned to the lower level in case of lapse. The Council of Nicea (325 A.D.) decreed that lapsed catechumens should without distinction of previous standing be returned to the grade of hearers for a period of three years.[693] Many deliberately chose to remain in the catechumenate indefinitely in order that they not sin after entering the Christian life, and preferred to be baptized and thus purified from sin only shortly before death.[694] Some of the most famous men in the affairs of the early church were guilty of this abuse of baptism.[695] When the final stage, that of the competent, was entered, the name of the catechumen was formally entered upon the register of those who had presented themselves for baptism.[696] There then followed a thorough examination to determine their proficiency under all the preceding stages of catechumenal instruction

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[692]Joseph Bingham, The Antiquities of the Christian Church (2 vols.; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850, I, 434, 435.

[693]Ibid., I, 434.

[694]Graves, op. cit., p. 280.

[695]Ibid.

[696]Bingham, op. cit., I, 434.

and the approved were then accepted as fit subjects for baptism.[697] In the event that the baptism was further delayed after the examination, the examination was repeated in full just before the baptismal ceremony.[698]

Individual differences in learners were recognized and provided for in the catechumenal school. Instruction was varied in content and organization according to the abilities of the individual catechumen. Those of lesser ability were instructed only in the more general and fundamental principles of Christianity, while those who appeared to be capable of comprehending such things were instructed in everything considered necessary to fortify and perfect Christian knowledge and faith.[699] Different methods of teaching were adapted to use in reference to these two classes, and especially well prepared catechists were provided for the instruction of those who seemed to be of superior capacity.[700]

The Apostolic Constitutions provides for the instruction of catechumens according to several distinct groupings of subject

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[698] Ibid.

[699] Mosheim, op. cit., p. 40.

[700] Ibid.

matter and provides something of a course of study for the catechumenal school:

> Let him, therefore, who is to be taught the truth in regard to piety be instructed before his baptism in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgement of the Holy Ghost. Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence, the different dispensations of Thy law. Let him be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let him also know his own nature, of what sort it is; let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and did glorify the saints in every generation--I mean Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham and his posterity, and Melchizedek, and Job, and Moses, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and those that were holy in every generation; and how God took care of and did not reject mankind, but called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgement of the truth at various seasons, reducing them from bondage and impiety unto liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life. Let him that offers himself to baptism learn these and the like things during the time that he is a catechumen.[701]

Catechumenal instruction usually began with lessons on the doctrine of repentance and the remission of sins, on the necessity of proper living, on the nature and use of baptism whereby they were to enter into a new covenant with God.[702] There then followed a more detailed account of the articles of the Christian faith, the immortality of the soul, and an account of the books of Scripture which were accepted as canonical.[703] Thus was the curriculum so

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[701] Apostolic Constitutions vii.4.

[702] Bingham, op. cit., I, 432.

[703] Ibid.

organized that the learner was gradually introduced to the meaning of Christian beliefs. By the spreading of instruction over a period of time there was provided the opportunity for the student to put into practice, step by step, the things in which he had been instructed. Thus the catechumenate was at one and the same time a period of instruction and a time of experimental learning in the thing taught.[704] Christianity was still a way of life, and the items of instruction were meaningless if separated from the actual life situation.

The Catechetical School at Alexandria

The historical beginning of the catechetical school is shrouded in obscurity. Tradition, based on a statement by Jerome, makes Mark the Evangelist the founder, but the actual founder and the date of the origin of the school is in fact unknown.[705] The earliest mention of the school in history is made by Eusebius (c. 325 A.D.) who speaks of the school as having been established at Alexandria "in ancient times."[706] He says that Pantaenus was the

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[704] Ibid.

[705] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 224, citing Jerome Lives xxxvi.

[706] Eusebius Church History v.10.

head of the school at the time Commodus became emperor,[707] which would be 180 A.D. The catechetical school was probably an outgrowth of the Alexandrian catechumenal school when the need for a school of advanced and general studies became evident.[708]

For a time at least the school had no building of its own and the students met in the home of their teacher.[709] The students were able, however, to take advantage of the facilities of the University of Alexandria, the Museum, and the libraries of the city.[710] In such a favorable environment the school soon developed into an institution where secular subject matter was taught as thoroughly as in the pagan schools, though always as the "handmaiden of the Scripture."[711]

The curriculum contained, along with the Scripture and theological studies, the subject matter that was common to the leading pagan schools, including logic, physics, geometry, and astronomy.[712] After these sciences philosophy, especially relating to ethics and metaphysics, was offered, with the exception of the sensual teachings of the Epicurians.[713] Since Hellenic learning

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[707] Ibid., v.9, 10.

[708] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 224.

[709] Graves, op. cit., p. 285.

[710] Ibid., and Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 610.

[711] Duggan, op. cit., pp. 71, 72.

[712] Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 611.

[713] Ibid.

was looked upon as the schoolmaster which was to lead the mind to Christ, the course of study quite naturally culminated in the exegetical study of the Scripture.[714]

The student body of the catechetical school was composed of those persons who had advanced in their studies beyond the offerings of the catechumenal school in religious training, or the common school in secular studies, and included educated pagan converts to Christianity as well as those who desired to prepare for the office of church teacher.[715] During the entire period of our study the catechetical school was open to all who desired to learn and understand the doctrines of Christianity and to gain a view of secular truth from a Christian standpoint.[716] In later times, however, as we shall see, the catechetical school gradually developed into a theological seminary with a program of studies set up with the primary purpose of preparing young men for the ministry.

Pantaenus was followed in the presidency of the school at Alexandria by Clement about 190 A.D.[717] Clement in turn was succeeded by his pupil, Origen, about 202 A.D., who remained as head of

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[714] Ibid.

[715] Neander, op. cit., p. 529.

[716] Ely and Arrowood, op. cit., pp. 610, 611.

[717] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 202.

the school until between 229 and 231 A.D. when he established a similar school at Caesarea.[718] After Origen's departure to Caesarea the school continued its activities, having as its head a series of prominent men. Heraclas succeeded Origen about 231 A.D. and was followed in office by Dionysius in 232 A.D. to be succeeded by Theognostus in 248 A.D. who was followed in turn by Serapion, Peter, and finally Didymus who died in 392 A.D.[719]

The Work of Pantaenus

Eusebius gives a brief statement as to the character and work of Pantaenus. He says,

> . . . Pantaenus, a man highly distinguished for his learning, had charge of the school of the faithful in Alexandria. A school of sacred learning, which continues to our day, was established there in ancient times, and as we have been informed, was managed by men of great ability and zeal for divine things. Among these it is reported that Pantaenus was at that time especially conspicuous, as he had been educated in the philosophical system of those called Stoics. They say that he displayed such zeal for the divine Word, that he was appointed as a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations in the East, and was sent as far as India . . . After many good deeds, Pantaenus finally became the head of the school at Alexandria, and expounded the treasures of divine doctrine both orally and in writing.[720]

Eusebius also states that among those who knew of Christ in India

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[718] Ibid., pp. 203, 205.

[719] Ibid., P. 205.

[720] Eusebius Church History v.10.1-2, 4.

Pantaenus found the Gospel according to Matthew in the Hebrew language.[721] Jerome is quoted as affirming that Pantaenus brought this Hebrew Matthew back with him from India.[722]

Pantaenus was not the first teacher of the school at Alexandria, but he was the first to be named in history as its head. His greatest importance rests in the fact that he was the teacher of his famous successor, Clement of Alexandria, under whose leadership the school became a power in the affairs of the church.[723] According to Eusebius, Clement had studied under several Christian teachers who were "blessed and truly remarkable men" and acknowledged Pantaenus to be the greatest of them all.[724]

Other than the information given by Eusebius there is little known of Pantaenus and his work. The circumstances of his leaving the Alexandrian school, and the time and place of his death, are alike obscure. It is evident, however, that it was at the retirement of Pantaenus, rather than at his death, that he was succeeded in the school at Alexandria by Clement.[725]

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[721] Ibid., v.10.3.

[722] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 225.

[723] Eusebius Church History v.10.1 ff. and notes in loco.

[724] Ibid., v.11.3-5.

[725] Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 112, 113.

Clement of Alexandria

Much of the thinking of Clement, and his successor, Origen, relative to educational philosophy, use of subject matter, and evaluation of secular learning, has already been discussed in the section dealing with Greek influences on Christian thought. At this time we shall deal more particularly with Clement's personality as a teacher and application of educational theory to practice.

Clement succeeded Pantaenus as head of the school at Alexandria about 190 A.D.,[726] having been first a pupil and then an assistant to his predecessor.[727]

The teaching of Clement is known through his three surviving works: Exhortation to the Heathen; The Instructor; and the Stromata, or Miscellanies. These have been called a three step program of study for the advanced education of Christian students.[728] The first, the Exhortation to the Heathen, assumes an education in heathen learning on the part of the student and weighs the evidences of Christianity accordingly. The second, The Instructor, takes into consideration the education of the person who has become a

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[726] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 202.

[727] Eby and Arrowood; op. cit., p. 612.

[728] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 202.

Christian. Such a one, regardless of age or past heathen learning, is but a child who is lead by the "Logos," Christ the Instructor, through commands, counsel, and discipline to the fuller knowledge of God. The third, the Stromata, deals with those things pertaining to the perfection to which the Christian may aspire.

Clement is said to have held to a method of discipline which could be described as a system of fear tempered by mercy.[729] Fear in this connection should, it seems, comprehend a deep respect and affection by man for God in reciprocated love. Clement's emphasis upon gentleness is clearly evident, and yet fear of punishment is not ignored, in teaching concerning the relationship of the individual Christian to God. He says:

> I could adduce ten thousand Scriptures of which not "one tittle shall pass away" without being fulfilled; for the mouth of the Lord the Holy Spirit hath spoken these things. "Do not any longer," he says, "my son despise the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him." O surpassing love for man! Not as a teacher speaking to his pupils, not as a master to his domestics, nor as God to men, but as a father, does the Lord gently admonish his children.[730]

Motivation in the teaching of Clement stems from the combined emotions of love and fear, from the incentive of desire for reward, and from the fear of punishment; he says, "Do you not fear, and

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[729] Hodgson, op. cit., p. 130.

[730] Clement of Alexandria Exhortation to the Heathen ix.

hasten to learn of Him--that is, to salvation, -- dreading wrath, loving grace, eagerly striving after the hope set before us, that you may shun the judgement threatened?"[731] A like emphasis is placed upon gentleness and severity as proper discipline in The Instructor, where the relationship of the teacher to the pupil is used throughout to illustrate how Christ ministers to the needs of the believer. This Clement refers to as "loving discipline."[732] "The Lord," says Clement, "acts toward us as we do toward our children"; who must be corrected "although we love our children, both sons and daughters, above aught else whatever."[733] Such is justified by reason of consideration for the pupil's ultimate best interest, since "it is not immediate pleasure, but future enjoyment, that the Lord has in view."[734] Clement says further, ". . . Those who speak with a man merely to please him, have little love for him . . . while those that speak for his good, though they inflict pain for the time, do him good for ever after."[735] He speaks of Christ as The

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[731] Ibid.

[732] Clement of Alexandria The Instructor i.9.

[733] Ibid.

[734] Ibid.

[735] Ibid.

Teacher who represents His relationship to his learners as that of a shepherd to his sheep, and quotes Ezekiel to illustrate his role: ". . . That which is lame I will bind up, and that which is sick I will heal, and that which has wandered I turn back, and I will feed them on My holy mountain."[736] Geraldine Hodgson cites this quotation by Clement, interprets the passage, applies it to the pupils of an actual school, and concludes that "Clement attributes to the Instructor a system of wise discrimination; a method which aims at discerning, at diagnosing the cause of failure, and then applying the appropriate remedy."[737] Miss Hodgson points out that a "saner educational theory and practice could hardly be devised."[738]

Clement found value for better health in wrestling, ball-playing, and other physical exercises for men and recommended suitable exercises for women.[739] He recommended music for relaxation and to aid manners.[740] He held rhetoric, all the sciences, and philosophy in high esteem as pedagogic means of brining the Hellenic mind to Christ.[741] It has been said concerning Clement of Alexandria that --

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[736] Ibid., cf. Ezek. 34:14-16.

[737] Hodgson, op. cit., p. 131.

[738] Ibid.

[739] Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 612.

[740] Ibid.

[741] Ibid.

> No one understood better than he the emptiness of human learning when pursued as an end, or its serviceableness when used as a means. His end was to win souls for Christ; and to reach it he laid hands indifferently on all the intellectual weapons that fell within his reach: poetry and philosophy, science and even satire; he neglected nothing that would serve his turn.[742]

Origen and His Work at Alexandria and Caesarea

Origen succeeded Clement in the catechetical school at Alexandria in 202 A.D. Eusebius states that he was seventeen years old when he became the head of the school.[743] Origen was appointed to the position by Demetrius the Bishop of Alexandria.[744] There is clear indication here that the catechetical school was not at this time a private enterprise, as had been the case with such schools in the preceding century, but was in fact an authorized educational agency of the Church.

Origen's own education was thorough. Eusebius foregoes dealing with his life while in school, "as this subject alone would require a separate treatise."[745] He was trained in the Scriptures from childhood by his father. The study of the Scriptures was

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[742]Hodgson, op. cit., p. 131, quoting Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars, Vol. I, p. 9.

[743]Eusebius Church History vi.3.3.

[744]Ibid., vi.3.8.

[745]Ibid., vi.2.1.

undertaken as "a matter of no secondary importance" as compared to the studies included in "the usual liberal education" of the Greeks, which he mastered.[746] The Scriptures preceded the Greek sciences in his training, and was in the form of drill which required him to "learn and recite every day."[747]

Although only a youth, Origen was well known as a teacher when he was appointed to head the Alexandria school. Dialectics, geometry, arithmetic, music, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy were taught by Origen to large crowds in the hope that he might at the same time "establish his hearers in the faith of Christ."[748]

The teaching personality and method of Origen has been preserved in an account written by one of his students, Gregory Thaumaturgus. "He was," writes Gregory, "possessed of a rare, combination of a certain sweet grace and persuasiveness along with a strange power of constraint."[749] The powerful teaching personality of Origen is further extolled by Gregory when he writes

> . . . The stimulus of friendship was also brought to bear upon us --a stimulus, indeed, not easily withstood, but keen and most effective,--the argument of a kind and

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[746] Ibid., vi.2.7.

[747] Ibid., vi.2.8.

[748] Sherrill, op. cit., quoting Jerome Lives liv.

[749] Gregory Thaumaturgus Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen vi.

affectionate disposition, which showed itself benignantly in his words when he spoke to us and associated with us. For he did not aim merely at getting round us by any kind of reasoning; but his desire was, with a benignant, and affectionate, and more benevolent mind, to save us, and make us partakers in the blessings that flow from philosophy, and most especially also in those other gifts which the Deity has bestowed on him above most men, or, as we may perhaps say, above all men of our time. I mean the power that teaches us piety, the word of salvation, that comes to many, and subdues to itself all whom it visits . . . And thus, like some spark lighting upon our inmost soul, love was kindled and burst into flame within us,—a love at once to the Holy Word, the most lovely object of all, who attracts all irresistibly toward Himself by His unutterable beauty, and to this man, His friend and advocate. And being most mightily smitten by this love, I was persuaded to give up all those objects or pursuits which seem to us befitting, and among others even my boasted jurisprudence,—yea my very fatherland and friends, both those who were present with me then, and those from whom I had parted. And in my estimation there arose but one object dear and wroth desire,—to wit, philosophy, and that master of philosophy, this inspired man. "And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David."[750]

The curriculum to which the student applied himself under Origen's instruction was a comprehensive one. He advised his students to "read with utmost diligence all that had been written, both by the philosophers and by the poets of old," excepting only the writings of atheists, who he believed had lapsed "from the general intelligence of man," and were "not worthy of being read."[751] To secure

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[750] Ibid.

[751] Ibid., xiii.

his students against a petty sectarian party spirit in their thinking, Origen did not introduce them to any one exclusive school of philosophy, but was rather determined that they "should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine."[752] Origen attempted to adapt the curriculum to the needs of his students by using two different courses of study to meet these needs. Eusebius tells us that Origen "instructed many of the less learned in the common school branches, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the Divine Scriptures."[753] But, "when he perceived that any persons had superior intelligence," he provided a higher course of study for them, and "instructed them also in philosophic branches."[754] The course in higher education was set up on a basis of gradation. First they were introduced to "geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory studies--and then advanced to the systems of the philosophers."[755] Origen "explained their writings," and "made observations and comments upon each of them."[756]

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[752] Ibid., xiv.

[753] Eusebius Church History vi.18.4.

[754] Ibid., vi.18.3.

[755] Ibid.

[756] Ibid.

There was permitted complete freedom of research, and the guidance of Origen was constant. There was also complete liberty to discuss their findings. Gregory Thaumaturgus, one of Origen's students in the catechetical school at Caesarea, says

> . . . To us there was no forbidden subject of speech; for there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inacessible to us, but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both foreign and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge, and investigate it, and satisfy ourselves with all kinds of doctrines, and enjoy the sweets of intellect.[757]

Origen accepted no pay for his services as a teacher. He supported himself in his teaching for a number of years by selling the valuable books of ancient literature which he had accumulated over the years. He did not accept the full purchase price of the books at one time, "being satisfied with receiving from the purchaser four oboli a day."[758] This daily amount would be equivalent to about three and a half cents in our money and would be sufficient in that time for only the bare necessities of life.[759] At Caesarea he accepted the benevolence of a patron who supplied

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[757]Gregory Thaumaturgus Panegyric xv.

[758]Eusebius Church History vi.3.9.

[759]McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 252.

him with secretaries and copyists who assisted him in the publication of his commentaries and other works.[760] Multitudes "attended upon the divine instruction which he gave . . . for they say that his manner of life was as his doctrine, and his doctrine as his life."[761] He taught at Alexandria day and night, devoting his entire time to his studies and to his pupils.[762] There was little time for sleep and rest for the greater part of the night was given to the study of the Scriptures.[763] His zeal and perseverance resulted in such a severely ascetic manner of life that his friends feared for his health.[764]

Origen's literary productions were voluminous. While he was working on his commentaries on the Scriptures a wealthy friend, Ambrose, supplied him with more than seven stenographers and an equal number of copyists in addition to a number of girls who "were

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[760] Eusebius Church History vi.24.1, 2.

[761] Ibid., vi.3.7.

[762] Ibid., vi.3.6.

[763] Ibid., vi.3.9.

[764] Ibid., vi.3.9-12.

skilled in elegant writing."[765] Although much that Origen wrote has been lost, a great number of his works have come down to our times. He not only became famous as a commentator and expositor of the Scriptures, but in his study and writing on the text of the Scriptures became the father of Biblical criticism.[766] His great work, the Hexapla, was devoted to the task of arriving at an exact text for the Bible, in the hope that it would contribute to accuracy in the study of the Scriptures.[767]

Origen's well-known allegorical principle of interpretation has been referred to earlier. Origen held that the Scriptures have three senses: the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. The first two senses might be obvious in meaning, but the spiritual meaning he believed to be discernable only through an allegorical interpretation. Although this method of exegesis has been officially repudiated by Eastern and Western churches,[768] its influence has remained and its present-day use is evident to those acquainted with homelitic and exegetical literature.

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[765] Ibid., vi.24.1, 2.

[766] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 204.

[767] Ibid.

[768] Ibid.

Origen spent the latter part of his life in Caesarea. He left Alexandria as a result of a dispute over the propriety and legality of his ordination as a presbyter. A council called by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria (died 232 A.D.), required Origen to leave Alexandria, not permitting him to either teach or reside there.[769] He was later deposed from the office of presbyter by the same authorities.[770] After taking up his residence in Caesarea in Palestine, Origen made the city his headquarters for the remainder of his life and presided over a catechetical school there on the same order as the school at Alexandria.[771] It was while in Caesarea, when he was over sixty years old, that he permitted his discourses to be recorded by short-hand writers. During his period of residence at Caesarea he traveled widely, but yet maintained his teaching and literary activities.[772] During the persecution by Decius he was arrested and subjected to terrible suffering, his tormentors purposefully preserving his life under continuing torture.[773] Origen died at the close of the Decian persecution at the age of sixty-nine.[774]

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[769] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 332.

[770] Ibid.

[771] Ibid.

[772] Ibid., p. 333.

[773] Eusebius Church History vi.39.5.

[774] Ibid., vii.1.

The Catechetical School at Caesarea

The school at Ceasarea, as has been mentioned, was established by Origen after his departure from Alexandria. Under the direction of Origen the new school soon rivaled in size and reputation the school at Alexandria.[775] During the period of Origen's presidency the school was conducted on the same order as the Alexandria school, secular as well as religious subjects being included in the curriculum.[776]

The school was reorganized on a theological basis by Pamphilus, a presbyter of Caesarea. Pamphilus had studied at the Alexandria school after the time of Origen's stay there.[777] He developed an unbounded admiration for Origen, whose influence lingered on at Alexandria, and he never wavered in his loyalty to him.[778] Pamphilus is chiefly known for the great library he collected at Caesarea consisting of the works of Origen and other ecclesiastical writers.[779] The library was also rich in copies of

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[775]Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 613.

[776]Ibid.

[777]McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 320.

[778]Ibid.

[779]Eusebius Church History vi.32.3.

the Scriptures and commentaries on them.[780] Pamphilus wrote very little of his own, but spent much time studying and transcribing the Scriptures and the works of Origen.[781]

Eusebius of Caesarea owes a great part of the materials of his historical writings to the excellent library facilities at the catechetical school of Caesarea.[782] He was himself a great admirer of Pamphilus and his former student. Eusebius refers to Pamphilus as "a man thrice dear to me."[783] The fate of the library of the school at Caesarea is unknown. The library and the school, however, made a lasting contribution to Christian literature and knowledge concerning early church history in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea, especially in the production of the first history of the church, which has been so extensively used in this work, and in all other attempts to recount the experiences of the church.

Tertullian and the School of North Africa at Carthage

The school of North Africa was more important in its

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[780] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 320.

[781] Ibid.

[782] Ibid.

[783] Eusebius Martyrs of Palestine xi.

influences as a school of thought than it was as an institution. A catechetical or theological school was, however, actually conducted in the city of Carthage,[784] although we know very little concerning its organization or history.

The North African school in its teaching stood out in direct contrast with the schools at Alexandria and Caesarea. It repudiated all classical literature, science, and philosophy as suited only to lead the Christian into error.[785] Instead of emphasizing philosophy as a means of leading to Christ, as was done at Alexandria and Caesarea, special stress was given to apostolical tradition.[786] A greater moral emphasis was also evident at Carthage, strict asceticism was encouraged, and holiness of life was stressed.[787]

The greatest exponent of this school of thought was Tertullian. Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian was born at Carthage about 160 A.D. and died there about 230 A.D.[788] He studied at Rome and was a lawyer and rhetorician there for a time.[789] He

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[784]Good, op. cit., p. 63.

[785]Johann Heinrich Kurtz, Church History, trans. John Macpherson (3 vols.; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1889), I, 150.

[786]Ibid.

[787]Ibid.

[788]McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 106.

[789]Ibid.

was converted to Christianity between 180 and 190 A.D. and later became a presbyter in the church at Carthage.[730] The greater part of his life was spent in Carthage. About ten years after his conversion he went over to the Montanists and about half of his writings were produced after that time.[731] Although Tertullian wrote principally in Latin, and is known as the father of Latin Christianity, at least three of his major works were written in Greek.[732] Eusebius refers to him as "a man well versed in the laws of the Romans, and in other respects of high repute."[733]

In personality Tertullian remained a lawyer after his conversion and argued the case of the Christians on the basis of justice and common sense. During the persecutions he was the fearless defender of the Christian cause and his writings heaped scorn and contempt upon the pagan gods and the heathen religious rites. The force and power of strong argumentation is equally evident in his writings devoted to the opposition to heresy within the church.

Although Tertullian was highly educated and demonstrated a

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[730] Ibid.

[731] S. Thelwall, Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 11.

[732] Ibid., III, 13.

[733] Eusebius Church History ii.2.4.

real scholarship in his writings, he came to distrust Grecian learning after he became a Christian. He believed it to be the source of the heretical ideas of the Gnostics and other trouble-makers and spreaders of falsehood in the church. He says,

> Indeed heresies are themselves instigated by philosophy. From this source came the Aeons, and I know not what infinite forms, and the trinity of man in the system of Valentinus, who was of Plato's school. From the same source came Marcion's better god, with all his tranquillity; he came of the Stoics. Then, again, the opinion that the soul dies is held by the Epicurians; while the denial of the restoration of the body is taken from the aggregate school of all the philosophers; also, when matter is made equal to God, then you have the teaching of Zeno; and when any doctrine is alleged touching a god of fire, then Heraclitus comes in. The same subject-matter is discussed over and over again by the heretics and the philosophers; the same arguments are involved.[734]

Tertullian holds in disdain "human wisdom which pretends to know the truth, whilst it only corrupts it."[735] He has no sympathy with attempts at harmonizing Christianity and philosophy, or in the amalgamation of Christian and pagan learning. There is no place for compromise, and with conviction he declares, "Away with all attempts to produce mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition."[736] He believed that with the real Christian

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[734]Tertullian <u>On Prescription Against Heretics</u> vii.

[735]<u>Ibid.</u>

[736]<u>Ibid.</u>

there was no desire for further belief than that provided by Christ, and concludes that "there is nothing that we ought to believe besides."[797] Although Tertullian did not hold that it was a sin to merely learn the content of pagan teaching as a matter of information,[798] he maintained that such learning possessed no authority, and might be to the disadvantage of the individual Christian in spiritual growth, for "no man gets instruction from that which tends to destruction. No man receives illumination from a quarter where all is darkness."[799] To those who insisted that research should be made into broader fields of study by arguing "Seek and ye shall find," Tertullian answered by pointing back to Christian sources of information and away from pagan learning. "Let our 'seeking' therefore," he said, "be in that which is our own, and from those who are our own, and concerning that which is our own."[800] He warned of the contaminating influence of pagan thinking, and saw in Christian literature and learning "that, and only that, which can become an object of inquiry without impairing the rule of faith."[801]

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[797] Ibid.

[798] Tertullian On Idolatry x.

[799] Tertullian On Prescription Against Heretics xii.

[800] Ibid.

[801] Ibid.

The great significance of the work of Tertullian rests in this emphasis which he placed upon tradition. The emphasis upon tradition became a major and permanent characteristics of Latin Christianity.

The Catechetical School at Antioch

The catechetical school at Antioch was established sometime before the year 269 A.D.[802] Eusebius refers to the school as a going concern in his day, and calls it a "sophist school of Grecian learning," naming Malcheon, a presbyter of Antioch, as the head.[803]

The school at Antioch was distinguished by its critical method of Biblical exegesis in contrast to the schools at Alexandria and Caesarea, which practiced the allegorical method.[804] Lucian and Dorotheus, contemporaries who together presided over the Antioch school, are said to have been the earliest representatives of the critical approach in exegesis.[805] Origen, at Caesarea, had contributed much in textual criticism but had used the allegorical system in interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures.

Lucian (c. 250--312 A.D.) was educated in the Christian

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[802]Eusebius Church History vii.26, and notes in loco.

[803]Ibid., vii.29.2.

[804]McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 317.

[805]Ibid.

elementary school at Edessa and possibly at the catechetical school at Caesarea.[806] He was one of the greatest Christian scholars of his time.[807] He produced a revised version of the Septuagint which was widely accepted.[808] He also wrote books on the subject of faith, a number of epistles, and a commentary on Job.[809] Eusebius, a contemporary of Lucian's, says that he was "a most excellent man in every respect, temperate in life and famed for his learning in sacred things."[810] Lucian left the Church for a time following 268 A.D. due to views he held in common with Paul of Samosata who was that year condemned for heresy.[811] Lucian's greatest importance lies in the fact that he was the real founder of Arianism, the disturbing theory that called into being the Council of Nicea in the next century.[812] Arius himself declared this to be true in a letter to another of Lucian's disciples, Eusebius of Nicomedia. Lucian died a martyr during the persecution under Maximinus.[813]

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[806] Adolph Harnack, "Lucian the Martyr," New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Vol. VII (1910).

[807] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 360.

[808] Ibid.

[809] Ibid.

[810] Eusebius Church History ix.6.3.

[811] Harnack, "Lucian the Martyr," Schaff-Herzog, Vol. VII.

[812] Ibid.

[813] Eusebius Church History ix.6.2.

Dorotheus, the colleague of Lucian in the catechetical school, was also a presbyter in the Antioch church.[314] Eusebius calls him "a man of learning among those of his day . . . a lover of the beautiful in divine things."[315] Among many other accomplishments he is said to have "devoted himself to the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with facility" which was by no means a common accomplishment among the teachers of the early church.[316]

The school at Antioch fell into disfavor with the church at large following 431 A.D., through accusation of heresy, and gradually lost its influence, but the catechetical schools at Edessa (not to be confused with the elementary school mentioned earlier), and Nisibis, which were organized at a date beyond the period of this study, carried on the theology of the Antioch school, and were in a sense its spiritual children.[317]

Later Schools

Other schools came into existence in later times as successors to the catechetical schools. They were the cathedral and

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[314] Ibid., vii.32.2.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Ibid., and notes in loco.

[317] Sherrill, op. cit., p. 206.

the monastic schools. These had their rise beyond the period covered by this study and were the characteristic schools of the Middle Ages. Since they form a link between the early church era and a later period in educational organization they should perhaps be mentioned here.

As the catechetical schools dwindled the cathedral and monastic schools replaced them, or developed from them. A few isolated examples of this change could be found before the sixth century.[818] Beginning with the sixth century the newer schools began to appear in numbers and from about that time boys were educated either in one or the other of these two types of institutions.[819]

As time passed the catechetical schools were used to an increasing extent by the bishops in the training of their clergy.[820] Promotion in the church more and more came to be dependent upon having this sort of an education.[821] Since schools of higher learning were in time established in most bishoprics,[822]

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[818] Luella Cole, A History of Education—Socrates to Montesseri (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1950), p. 107.

[819] Ibid.

[820] Frank Pierrepont Graves, A Student's History of Education—Our Education Today in the Light of Its Development (Revised ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 66.

[821] Ibid.

[822] Ibid.

being located in the cathedral cities, they came to be known as "cathedral," "episcopal," or "bishop's" schools.[323] Eventually they were constituted exclusively for the training of the clergy and the transition was complete. The catechetical schools, with their general offerings in both Scripture and secular learning, had given way to the cathedral schools which were in fact theological seminaries.

The monastic schools arose in the same manner and were similar in nature to the cathedral schools. As the bishops had charge of the cathedral schools, so had the monks of those of the monastery.[324] Boys in the cathedral schools were presumed to be candidates for the regular clergy while those enrolled in the monastery schools were expected to become monks.[325] There were, however, in both types some pupils called "externs" who had no plans to enter the clergy.[326]

The theological schools described were the most important educational institutions of the Middle Ages and were the forerunners of the colleges and universities of western Europe.[327]

[323] Ibid.

[324] Cole, op. cit., p. 107.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Graves, A Student's History of Education, p. 66.

The Curriculum and Teaching in the Catechetical Schools: A Summary

During the third century the catechetical schools experienced a rapid growth and developed for themselves definite and distinctive curricula and methods of teaching.

The curriculum at Alexandria, as set up by Clement and developed by Origen, has been described in detail by contemporaries. Clement found value in physical exercises to aid good health. Music was considered helpful to good manners. Rhetoric, the sciences, and philosophy were urged as means to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ. The curriculum, as developed by Origen at Alexandria and later at Caesarea, included the following:

Music
Grammar
Rhetoric
Literature
Arithmetic
Geometry
Astronomy
Physics
Philosophy, especially
    Ethics and Metaphysics
Logic and Dialectics
Biblical Criticism
Biblical Exegesis

The greater emphasis was placed upon the exegetical study of the Scriptures, for which all the other subjects were considered to be

but a preparation and an introduction. Subject matter included all available writings representing every school of thought, except the sensual writings of the Epicurians and the works of atheists. The literary productions of atheists were rejected as unsuitable for serious consideration since their authors had, he believed, lapsed "from the general intelligence of man."[828] The school at Antioch, like Alexandria and Caesarea, included in its curriculum a variety of subjects relating to both sacred and secular matters. The curriculum at Carthage, on the other hand, found no place for classical science, philosophy, or literature. At Carthage all things from non-Christian sources were rejected. This position is best expressed by Tertullian. "Let our seeking," he says, "be in that which is our own, and from those who are our own, and concerning that which is our own."[829]

The teaching methods of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lucian, and Tertullian were distinctive and characteristic of each individual teacher. These methods were, however, for the greater part perpetuated by loyal disciples who followed them in their respective schools.

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[828] Gregory Thaumaturgus Oration and Panegyric xiii.

[829] Tertullian On Prescription Against Heretics xii.

In principles of interpretation, Origen held that the Scriptures may be understood in three senses--the literal, the moral, and the spirutual. The first two senses might be obvious in meaning, but the third, the spiritual, was to be understood through an allegorical interpretation. Tertullian held that the only true interpretation was that which had been accepted and taught by the fathers of the church consistently through the years back to the apostles. Lucian and his followers, differing from both Origen and Tertullian, approached the study of Scripture from the critical point of view, presenting a historical interpretation of the Bible.

The system of discipline which was typical of the early Christian educator has been described as a system of fear tempered with mercy. Gentleness and severity had equal emphasis. When correction became necessary it was administered as loving discipline for the child's own best interest.

Consistent with this view of discipline, motivation stemmed from the combined emotions of love and fear; from the incentive of desire for reward, Heaven, and from a fear of punishment, Hell. The wrath of God and His loving grace were alike presented. Love for God, in that He provided redemption through Christ, and the dread of the judgment were alike held as means of drawing the mind of the pupil to the study of things sacred.

The methods used, and the teaching personalities of the

various educators in the catechetical schools differed greatly. Tertullian, in personality and teaching manner, remained a lawyer and used a legalistic approach in his writing. Origen, on the other hand, used the stimulus of friendship in dealing with his students, using for argument a kind and an affectionate disposition.

We have seen that the various catechetical schools developed along individual lines, and arrived at, and advocated differing educational and theological positions. The distinguishing characteristics of each were retained in the church and became parts of later schools of thought in Christian education. The teaching of Alexandria was carried on by Caesarea and may be found in present day examples of the allegorical method in Scripture exposition. The authoritarian position of Carthage is now dogma in both the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. The method of Antioch may be found in the critical approach which characterizes the work of most Protestant theologians of our own times.

The broad curricula of the schools of Alexandria, Caesarea, and Antioch are in principle the forerunners of that of every parochial school and church related college, where the word of God has a place along with the arts and sciences of men.

OUTLINE

CHAPTER V

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- A. The Resumption of Persecution Under Diocletian
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  - 2. The Fourth Edict, 304 A.D.
- B. The Reorganization of the Empire by Diocletian
- C. The Civil Wars
  - 1. The Contests for the Throne
  - 2. Constantine Becomes Sole Emperor, 324 A.D.
- D. The End of the Persecutions--the Edicts of Toleration
  - 1. The Edict of 311 A.D.
    - a. Signed by Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius
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    - a. Joint Action by Constantine and Licinius
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CHAPTER V

THE END OF PERSECUTIONS AND THE ADOPTION OF A CREED: A.D. 300--325

The Last Roman Persecution and the Edicts of Toleration

The forty-three years of almost unbroken rest from persecution came to an abrupt end in 303 A.D. when hostility toward Christians was resumed by the Emperor Diocletian. Three edicts were issued in that year by Diocletian in an effort to completely extirpate and Christian faith. The first edict ordered the destruction of Christian property. Buildings were razed and sacred books were burned. By the same law Christian assemblies were prohibited, Christians in places of rank were degraded, and others were reduced to slavery.[830] The second edict ordered the arrest and imprisonment of all bishops and presbyters.[831] The third edict provided freedom for all Christians who would renounce their faith. Torture was used as a means of compelling the more obstinate to apostacy.[832]

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[830] Eusebius Church History viii.2.4.

[831] Ibid., viii.6,8, 9.

[832] Ibid., viii.6.10.

These three edicts in 303 A.D. marked the step by step progression of severity in the last great Roman persecution of the church. A fourth edict was issued by Diocletian in the following year implimenting those that had preceded it. It provided that all Christians should at once, without exception, be forced to sacrifice to the gods.[833]

Diocletian completely reorganized the government of the Roman Empire. A system was set up whereby there were to be two co-emperors, one ruling in the West and the other in the East.[834] Diocletian and Maximian were co-emperors from 284 to 305 A.D.; Constantius and Galerius reigned together in A.D. 305; and Galerius and Severus in A.D. 306. Galerius shared the throne with Constantine from 306 to 311 A.D. After a period of civil war in which there were no less than six contestants for the throne, Constantine, after a deciding contest at arms with the forces of Licinius, became sole Emperor in 324 A.D.[835]

The persecutions continued throughout the Empire until 311 A.D. when toleration was granted to the Christians in an edict signed by Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius, permitting the

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[833] Eusebius Martyrs of Palestine iii.1.

[834] West, op. cit., pp. 542, 543.

[835] Ibid., pp. 548, 549; Qualben, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.

Christians to rebuild their churches and worship freely, on the condition that nothing be done contrary to good order.[836] Toleration was followed by legal status in 313 A.D. when Constantine and Licinius jointly issued the Edict of Milan.[837] This was the first legal guarantee of religious freedom. Christianity was recognized as a lawful religion along with the religions of the pagans. After becoming sole emperor, Constantine openly protected and favored the Church, realizing that Christianity now represented a potentially more effective political force than did the old pagan religions.[838]

The Origin and Some of the Consequences of the Union of Church and State

Although Constantine did not in any formal manner make Christianity an official state religion, his actions virtually gave it that status. Even though he preferred to remain the Pontifex Maximus to the pagan gods,[839] he issued a general exhortation to his

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[836] Eusebius Church History viii.17.3-11.

[837] Ibid., x.5.2-14.

[838] West, op. cit., p. 551.

[839] Ibid., p. 552.

subjects to become Christians.[840] He exempted the clergy from civil and military service and freed their property from all taxation.[841] He filled the chief offices of state with Christians and made them his personal counselors.[842] Within a period of twenty-one years, from the first edict of Domitian in 303 A.D. to the victory of Constantine in 324 A.D., the circumstances of the church had changed from those of an illegal cult against which all the force of the Roman state was exerted, to the position of a favored religion that had taken its place in the highest council of Empire.

With the elevation of Christianity to a place of honor Constantine introduced the church to a relationship that was to finally result in the doctrine of the union of church and state. Previously the church had taught submission to the civil authority in all matters not prohibited by Christian conscience--and in the event of conflict to suffer, if need be, in the cause of Christ. This doctrine had been preached during the reign of Nero, and had been faithfully followed by the Christians throughout three centuries of rigorous persecution during which the Christians had never been

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[840] Qualben, op. cit., p. 117.

[841] Ibid.

[842] Ibid.

guilty of secret conspiracy or open rebellion against their oppressors.[843] Theirs was a policy of submission to, not participation in, the governments of this world. Tertullian denied the rightfulness of any Christian participation in the civil or military affairs of government on the basis that "one soul can not be due to two masters--God and Caesar."[844] Even though rulers be tyrants, Christians were not to resist, but were to pray for their persecutors and for those that hated them.[845] Tertullian concluded that Christ adjudged "the glory of this world to be alien both to Himself and to His."[846] The doctrine of the union of church and state, initiated by Constantine and more fully developed during the Middle Ages, held that the church and state were both divine institutions and were two arms of the one and same divine government on earth.[847] This doctrine, and the practice of it, resulted in the loss to the church of its essentially spiritual character. The church in the East in many cases became the tool for absolutist powers, while the church in the West gradually usurped the prerogatives of the state

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[843] Gibbon, op. cit., I, 640.

[844] Tertullian On Idolatry xix.

[845] Tertullian Apology xxxiv.

[846] Tertullian On Idolatry xviii.

[847] Qualben, op. cit., p. 117.

and developed into a political power that dominated and controlled civil government in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. In either case, Christianity greatly suffered by the alliance since the involvement of the church in the affairs of the state was marked by a proportionate decrease in its influence as a moral and spiritual power. In uniting with the kingdoms of this world the church had lost its true identity as the kingdom of heaven.

The Arian Dispute and the Council of Nicea
325 A.D.

The Council of Nicea came about as a result of a serious dispute within the church over the teachings of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria and pupil of Lucian of Antioch, concerning the nature of Christ's divinity. We have no first-hand information as to the actual beliefs of the Arians, since the works of Arius and his followers have been destroyed as a result of Arianism having been declared a heresy. We must, therefore, deduct the beliefs of Arius and his associates principally from the statements of their enemies. From the denunciations and anathemas pronounced in the original Nicene Creed we would gather that the Arians believed that Christ was a created being who had no existence prior to His fleshly birth; that He was of a different "essense" or "substance" than the Father; and, unlike the Father, was subject to change.[848]

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[848] H. M. Gwatkin, The Arian Controversy (London:: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1903), p. 30.

The origin of these beliefs may be traced to the influence of Lucian and the school of Antioch. As was mentioned in the previous chapter in the discussion of the Antioch catechetical school, Arius himself admitted that his views were not original and had been received from his old teacher, Lucian of Antioch. Several of the Arian party at the Council of Nicea were former pupils of Lucian at the Antioch school and were bound together in loyalty to their teacher and their school.[849]

In 325 A.D. Constantine called for a council of the church to meet at Nicea in Bithynia. The Arian controversy was endangering the unity and strength of the church and Constantine felt that it was to the interest of the throne that the church be vigorous and united.[850] It had been suggested to him, possibly by the Spanish bishop Hosius, that if a synod were to meet, representing the church in both the East and the West, that harmony might be restored.[851] Constantine himself, not being a Christian, cared little about the dispute but was interested in bringing the controversy to an end. He therefore acted according to the advice of Hosius, and called for the Council.

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[849] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 259.

[850] Ibid., I, 253.

[851] Ibid.

The council convened at Nicea in the late spring or early summer and continued in session until August or September.[352] The assembly was composed of about three hundred twenty bishops coming principally from Asia and Africa.[353] The bishop of Rome was not in attendance, but was represented by two presbyters of Rome, Vitus and Vincentius.[354] Besides these two there were not over seven or eight Western prelates in attendance.[355] The Council has, nevertheless, always been recognized as the first general council of the Church. The council was divided into three parties in the dispute. There were those who were convinced that Arius was right. This group was led by Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia--an influential man in the court of Constantine.[356] Opposing these were the anti-Arians led by Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, and Hosius, the bishop of Cordova in Spain.[357] A middle party was led by Eusebius of Caesarea, the well-known church historian.[358] The middle party

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[352]Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1924), p. 124.

[353]Milman, History of Latin Christianity, I, 77.

[354]Ibid.

[355]Ibid.

[356]McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 239.

[357]Ibid.

[358]Ibid.

represented the larger number, but was not united in anything except a desire for peace in the church.[359] Two of the most outstanding men present were not permitted to participate in the assembly since bishops alone were members--they were, Arius himself, a presbyter of Alexandria, and Athanasius, the champion of anti-Arians, who was a deacon of Alexandria.[360]

A plan was proposed in the council whereby a doctrinal statement would be framed which should express the mind of the church on the matter in dispute.[361] The Arians went along with the plan and submitted a creed which set forth clearly their position leaving no doubt as to the belief of the authors.[362] The creed, of which no copy now exists, was rejected overwhelmingly by the council.[363] The Arians upon this turn of events recommended to the assembly the exercise of Christian love and moderation; emphasized the incomprehensible nature of the dispute; disclaimed the use of any terms of expressions which could not be found in the Scriptures; and offered liberal concessions to satisfy their opponents without sacrificing

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[359] Ibid.

[360] Ibid., I, 258.

[361] Ibid., I, 261.

[362] Ibid.

[363] Ibid.

their own principles.[864] The anti-Arians received the proposals of the Arians with suspicion, and sought to frame such a statement as would distinctly mark the Arians as heretics in the event of their failure to subscribe.[865] Athanasius complained much of the Arian habit of using isolated passages of Scripture to prove points without regard to context or general scope of the Scriptures.[866] Eusebius of Caesarea, representing the middle party, proposed the adoption of the confession used in his own church at Caesarea, which originated before the Arian controversy began and was silent on many of the points in dispute, though it did affirm the pre-existence of Christ and His divinity as the Son of God incarnate.[867] The Caesarean creed ran as follows:

> We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Son Only-begotten, first-born of every creature, before all ages, begotten from the Father, by whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe also in One Holy Ghost; believing each of These to be and to exist, the Father truly father, and the Son truly Son,

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[864] Gibbon, op. cit., I, 685, 686.

[865] Ibid., I, 686.

[866] Gwatkin, op. cit., p. 13.

[867] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 261.

> and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord, sending forth His disciples for the preaching, said, Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so have we held aforetime, and we maintain this faith unto the death, anathematizing every godless heresy.[868]

Eusebius' hope that the Caesarean confession of faith would provide a basis for harmony at first seemed to be realized. All parties accepted the statement. The anti-Arians, however, conditioned their acceptance with the suggestion that certain changes and additions be made.[869] This was a wise move on the part of the anti-Arians, for had they offered a confession of faith of their own it probably would have been rejected by the council as was the Arian creed.[870] After seemingly approving the Caesarean confession, and thus winning the favor of the middle party led by Eusebius of Caesarea, the anti-Arians made such modifications as to completely change the emphasis and import of the statement. The revised creed, as finally adopted by the council, read as follows:

> We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:— And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the Substance of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, very God from very God, begotten, not made, One in Substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down

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[868] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 16.

[869] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 262.

[870] Ibid.

> and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But those who say, "Once He was not," and "Before His generation He was not," and "He came to be from nothing," or those who pretend that the Son of God is "Of other subsistence or substance," or "created," or "alterable," the Catholic Church anathematizes.[871]

The great difference between this creed and the so-called "Nicene Creed" found in modern liturgies is obvious. The origin of the spurious creed, which is now in common use, is uncertain and scholars have presented differing theories as to how, where, and when it came into being.[872] The modified creed adopted by the Council of Nicea shut out the Arians completely, although most of the Arian party signed, indulging in mental reservations as to meaning with the encouragement of some of those who differed with them.[873]

The action of the Council of Nicea in adopting a creed did not bring the dispute to an end. In fact, the controversy became more bitter and widespread than before and continued for at least another fifty years.[874]

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[871] McGiffert, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 17.

[872] Gwatkin, op. cit., pp. 139 ff.

[873] McGiffert, History of Christian Thought, I, 263.

[874] Ibid., I, 266.

The creed adopted at the Council of Nicea was the first official written creed of the church. Up to this time, though various confessions enjoyed local acceptance, no written creed existed for the church as a whole. The so-called "Apostles' Creed" first appeared fifteen years later in 340 A.D. as the personal confession of Marcellus the heretic.[875]

The Use of the Creed in Catechumenal Instruction

The adoption of the Nicene Creed resulted in a uniformity in the training of catechumens in the orthodox churches which had not been known earlier. Before 325 A.D. every congregation had taught its catechumens from its own historic outline of the faith and appealed to the Scriptures as the source and final test of doctrine.[876] The teaching of the church was therefore not framed in form of more than local use, and different churches used varying forms in the teaching of its catechumens.[877] All were much alike, however, and were phrased in Scripture language variously modelled on the words of Christ found in the baptismal formula.[878] From the time of the Council of 325 A.D. on, the Nicene Creed gradually

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[875] Gwatkin, op. cit., pp. 22, 23.

[876] Ibid., p. 23.

[877] Ibid.

[878] Ibid.; see also Matt. 28:19.

gained universal use in the catechumenal schools. The general Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. decreed that the Nicene Creed, and no other, should be used in the training of catechumens.[379]

The Church and Christian Education at the Close of the Ante-Nicene Period

The conflicts of the ante-Nicene period produced great changes in the thought and action of the church. The fiery persecutions inflicted by the heathen had turned some away from the faith, but had resulted in a stronger conviction on the part of those who had remained faithful. That which the heathen world could not accomplish by means of torture and death--the apostacy of Christians from the faith--was accomplished in many cases through the intrusion of pagan teaching. The church lost great numbers to Gnosticism, Neo-platonism, and outright paganism. Others sought common ground with the pagan intellectual on the basis of Greek philosophy applied to Christianity and _vice versa_. Some, on the other hand, were carried by an opposite swing of the pendulum of religious and educational thought and repudiated all pagan learning and made an appeal to church tradition to meet the opposition. Still others took neither

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[379]Bingham, _op. cit._, I, 464.

course and sought to resolve the problems of religious thought through the method of inductive reasoning.

The developments of the third and early fourth centuries brought into greater prominence the organized educational activities of the church. The catechumenal school became a systematized program of instruction during this period. The third century saw the beginning of the Christian elementary school which grew out of the conflict with the secular educational system of the time. Higher education experienced rapid and significant growth within the church. At the beginning of the fourth century institutions of higher learning existed in several large cities representing three differing schools of thought in Christian education. The catechetical schools at Alexandria and Caesarea represented the eclectic position in philosophy and the allegorical method of Scriptural exegesis. The school at Carthage condemned all pagan learning and looked for authority to the tradition of the fathers. The school at Antioch represented the third point of view and developed a critical approach to the study of the Scriptures and the historical method of exegesis. The church was thus equipped at the time of the Council of Nicea with three schools of thought which have, in one form or another, survived in the church and Christian education to the present time.

With the Council of Nicea, 325 A.D., we reach the terminal point in this study. That date and event represents the most

reasonable place to bring to a close the consideration of the primitive church and early Christian Education. 325 A.D. marks the close of a major division in ecclesiastical history--that of the ante-Nicene period. The Council of Nicea had a tremendous effect upon the future of the church and its educational work. The character of the church was greatly modified by the outcome of the Council and the course of its development radically changed. The Council of Nicea was the first general church council. In earlier times the several congregations were in theory free and autonomous bodies, conducting their own affairs as independent spiritual communities. After Nicea we meet with the authority of councils, increased emphasis upon the authority of creeds and church tradition, and the rapid growth of the hierarchies of the East and of the West--Constantinople and Rome. The action of the Council in deciding a momentous issue in the church by the means of majority vote, rather than by an appeal to the Scriptures, established a new principle of authority in doctrinal matters. The adopting of a creed and the anathematizing of non-conformists made official an attitude and practice which was foreign to the spirit of forebearance and freedom characteristic of the church during an earlier period. Great changes in educational organization were also in the offing. The rise of the cathedral and monastic schools marked the decline of the catechetical schools in the years following Nicea. These things

emphasize the close of an era--that of the primitive church, and introduce the student to another period in the development of ecclesiastical and educational history--that of the Middle Ages.

OUTLINE

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Retrospect

We have traced the development of education through the history of the church from the earliest beginnings of Christianity in the ministry of its Founder to the highly developed system of education evident in the catechumenal, the Christian elementary, and the catechetical schools of the fourth century. We have seen a persecuted and despised religious sect gain the respect of the Roman government, and, for good or for evil, find itself in a position of influence in the affairs of state. We have seen learning to have taken place in the primitive church in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual love and respect. We have seen also the development of forces which were contrary to those principles of freedom and mutual respect. We have seen these forces grow with the increase in power of the sacerdotal caste. We have noted that the teaching prerogative, once cherished by every member of the spiritual brotherhood, was usurped by the episcopal monarchial system. These developments we have seen to result in the supplanting of Christian liberty by authoritarianism. Yet, all was not dark, and throughout the period of our study we have seen the freedom of inquiry maintained and exercised by such men as Justin, Origen, and Lucian.

The Implications of Early Christianity in Present-day Educational Thought and Practice

Although Western education has been subjected to many influences since the first century, the teachings of early Christianity are still evident in the educational thought and practice of our own times. These influences are reflected in nearly every phase of the educational theory and practice of our day. Christian ideals are so intertwined with our way of life and manner of thinking as to be completely inseperable from our total civilization.

We can not here trace all of the indirect implications of the teachings of Jesus Christ and practices of the early church in the history of educational thought. However, a few such implications should be mentioned which have been evident throughout the present study.

The present-day democratic concepts of respect for the individual personality, the equality of mankind, the equal status of men and women, and regard for childhood and old age, have been found to be the emphatic teachings of the early church. It was upon these principles that the Christian church became an early advocate of universal education. It will be recalled that Tatian granted to all, regardless of station in life, sex, or age, free and equal access to all the learning of the Christian society, limited only by the capability of each individual to receive instruction.

In the study of early Christianity may be found the precedent for many of the most fundamental principles governing desirable human relations. It has been evident throughout this study that love rather than force was the method in early Christian practice in bringing about desired behavioral changes. We have seen, especially in the Apostolic period, a spirit of mutual helpfulness, rather than rugged individualism and strict competition, to have prevailed in the Christian society and educational practice. Under these influences the child has gained new status and is the recipient of kindness and affection in the school rather than severity and the lash. Early Christian education has taught us that the school can be a place of pleasant associations for the child.

The ideals of early Christianity have been realized only in part in educational practice. Without the influences of the teachings of Jesus Christ and the principles stated by the early church, however, Western education would most probably have taken a far different course of development.

Recommendation for Further Research

Although this study has brought together much material concerning the history and educational organization of the ante-Nicene church, there yet remains certain areas which have not been examined with the view of their educational implications. One such area is

found in the study of the ordinances of the early church. These ordinances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were powerful instruments of instruction. They are excellent examples of the early use of the drama in teaching. The research student should be warned, however, that in no area will he find greater active controversy. Sectarian minds would be sure to attack many of the findings and the implications based upon them. Such conditions, however, it seems to this writer, would only present the greater challenge for a thoroughly objective study. Sources for such research would be adequate. They would be found in all the writings of the early Christians and could include an appraisal of ancient liturgies and rites as to their significance as means of teaching.

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