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A Study of Three Fourth Century Christian Writers' Reactions to Pagan Education

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A STUDY OF THREE FOURTH CENTURY CHRISTIAN
WRITERS' REACTIONS TO PAGAN EDUCATION



BY
RICHARD ALLEN WRIGHT

A STUDY OF THREE FOURTH CENTURY CHRISTIAN
WRITERS' REACTIONS TO PAGAN EDUCATION

An Abstract of a Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Richard Allen Wright

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ABSTRACT

During the fourth century of the common era, a period which saw the acceptance of Christianity by the Roman empire and with that the continuing problem of how to relate Christ and culture, several of the fathers of the church wrote concerning the education of Christians. What did these men have in mind when they talked about Christian education? How did this relate to pagan education? Was there any compatibility between the two, and if so, what was it?

In order to answer these questions, I selected three of the men who wrote on this subject: Basil of Caesarea, Jerome, and John Chrysostom. After researching the educational practices of the fourth century--examining the content of the courses which were taught, how the courses were taught, and for what purpose, I took up the writings of Basil, Jerome, and Chrysostom. Each man dealt with a different side of the question of Christian education. Basil discussed the relationship between Christian and pagan education--how to read the pagan classics. Jerome was concerned with an education intended for Christian girls dedicated to become virgins. He instructed the mothers of two little girls what they should be taught and how, using a grammar book written by Quintillian in the first century C.E. but giving it a Christian slant. Chrysostom, then,

dealt with a more generalized Christian education--not necessarily for those who wanted to live an ascetic life. His work is mainly concerned with moral issues--how the Christian child should be trained to act.

By taking these three different aspects I attempted to discern what might have been the fourth-century Christian's response to secular education. There was a consensus among the men that Christianity was a lifestyle--a way of living. And, as an athlete trains to compete, so should the Christian train to live according to Christian standards. Anything that will hone the Christian's life may and should be used. Secular education can be of help if one is careful about what is adopted and does not lose sight of his or her ultimate goal--a life of virtue led for Christ.

This, however, is only part of the Christian life. These three men, in stressing the moral aspects of Christianity, have neglected to balance out the picture by incorporating doctrinal issues into their discussions. This left their readers with only a fragmented view of the world.

As Christianity moved into the upper crust of society (a result of the "Christianization" of the empire under Constantine) new jobs were available to Christians. The problems which arose in the new social situation as a result of the fragmented world view can be seen in the problems with which Basil dealt in his address.

In the fourth century, then, Christianity wrestled with the problem of adjusting to a society in which it was now welcome. Part of this struggle was to decide how Christians should raise their children. In dealing with this issue, Basil, Jerome, and John Chrysostom offered only partial solutions: they offered moral guidance, but failed to present a whole perspective from which to view the society in which they lived.

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This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Council of Abilene Christian University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

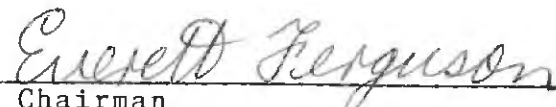
MASTER OF ARTS



Dean of the Graduate School

Date June 30, 1986

Thesis Committee



Chairman





PREFACE

Because of the nature of the topic, many facets of this study have had to be omitted. The history of education, given in the introduction is limited to practices in the fourth century only. What has been included from the Hellenistic age has been included because of the uniformity of practices in the two periods.

I have also chosen not to include any discussion of the Jewish educational practices which so often accompanies a treatment of Christian education. The men under consideration in this paper would not have been influenced, as some of their predecessors had been, by Jewish techniques.

Finally, I have not delved into the study of the philosophical schools. Although this was an option for those who desired higher education, the complexity of the topic prohibited its inclusion here. Another consideration was the fact that the philosophies were often anti-intellectual, and it was precisely the intellectual element that I was interested in for the fourth-century Christian reaction.

It remains that I give my utmost gratitude to my wife, Claudia, whose selflessness enabled me to put in the extra hours to complete this project.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education in the Roman World

In the Hellenistic era ancient education became molded into a single, universal system that would dominate the ancient scene until the barbarian overthrow of the West and the Muslim conquests in the East.¹

By the time of Imperial Rome, as the quotation above suggests, there was essentially one system of education in both Greek and Roman worlds. So, when one attempts to examine the educational background for the fourth century of the common era, the distinctions between Greek and Roman education are negligible. John Townsend continues the passage above a few sentences later like this:

Roman education should be viewed as one aspect of Hellenistic education with Latin added to the curriculum and with less stress on physical training.²

For that reason the educational practices of the late Roman period (Greek and Roman) will be considered as one entity-- differences between the two will be noted at the appropriate time.

¹John T. Townsend, "Ancient Education in the Time of the Early Roman Empire," in The Catacombs and the Colosseum, by Stephen Benko and John J. O'Rourke (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1971), p. 139.

²Ibid.

There were three stages to education: primary (ages 7-12), secondary (ages 12-16), and advanced. Most children attended some sort of primary school. The secondary school and advanced education were less widely pursued.

One of the differences between the Greek and Roman worlds was the way the child was raised before school-age. The Greeks immediately turned the child's education over to a nurse/slave. The Romans, however, made the mother responsible for the child's pre-school development. The children at this stage became acquainted with music and literature through the telling of fables, witches' tales, and legends of gods and heroes and the singing of cradle songs.³

At the age of seven, when the child was ready to begin his education in the primary school (though some children were still privately tutored), he was entrusted to a pedagogue. The pedagogue (usually a slave) was responsible for getting the child to school each day, and protecting him from harm. He was also expected to train the child morally. As would be expected with these responsibilities, the greatest care was needed in the selection of a pedagogue. Both Seneca and Quintillian stressed this fact in their

³H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, translated by George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1956; Mentor Books, 1964), pp. 199-200.

discussions of education.⁴ William Barclay notes, however, that it was often the case that the pedagogue was old, useless, ignorant, and of questionable morals.⁵

The school day began at dawn and went until noon. Sometimes there would be classes after lunch also. Apparently, girls attended primary and even secondary schools with their brothers.⁶ The Romans were more "liberal" in educating their women than the Greeks. Classes (for primary and secondary schools) were held under the awning of a shop opening onto the forum. This meant, of course, problems with noise and holding the attention of the pupils.

School was held continuously throughout the year with four exceptions. Every eighth day there was a break for market day (there were no week-ends). There were also three holidays: Quinquatrus, Saturnalia, and a summer holiday. Quinquatrus celebrated Minerva's birthday and was held from 19-23 March. Saturnalia was similar to our Christmas holiday--including the exchanging of gifts; it was held 17-23 December. The summer break went into early October (starting either in June or July).

⁴Stanley F. Bonner, Education in Ancient Rome (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 100.

⁵William Barclay, Educational Ideals in the Ancient World (London: Collins, 1959), p. 98.

⁶Townsend, p.142.

The teachers, the grammatist (primary school) and grammaticus (secondary school), were not well respected by society. The grammaticus, for example, in the year 301 C.E. was to be paid 200 denarii per student, per month. This was equivalent to only four days labor by a skilled workman, but was four times the amount due a grammatist.⁷ As a result, it was very difficult at times to get qualified teachers. As a result of this, there were very few qualifications required for grammatists.⁸

The primary school was concerned with the "three R's"--reading, writing, and arithmetic. Since the pupils remained at this level for three or four years, the pace was excruciatingly slow. The students first learned to pronounce the names of the letters. They learned the alphabet forwards, backwards, and in every conceivable combination. From letters they proceeded to syllables. These were handled in a similar fashion: each consonant was placed with each vowel, and then they used three letter combinations. Finally they graduated to complete words. These were usually proper names--lists of the names of gods and goddesses. Others were chosen because of their phonetic difficulty.

Writing was taught in the same way--progressing from letter to syllable to word. The master would show the pupil

⁷Marrou, p.370

⁸Barclay, p. 204.

how to shape the letter, sometimes moving the child's hand to give him the feel of the shape. Often the teacher would cut the form into wax so that the child could trace the shape of the letter.

After mastering the formation of words, the students began to work with short sentences. These were usually pithy maxims (often by Menander) which the master would write at the top of the students' tablets or--if one was available--on a blackboard. The pupils then copied the saying. Some examples from Roman times are: "By education all are civilized"; "Work hard, and you will win fair livelihood"; "Take counsel first in every enterprise"; "When young, to the older folk give willing ear"; and "Honor your parents and treat well your friends."⁹ Sentences were marked at each word's end and divided into syllables.

The last portion of this stage was the memorization and recitation of these maxims and finally short extended passages. This incorporated all of the pupil's newly learned skills. The teacher would dictate a passage; the students then would copy the passage down, memorize it, and recite it back to the master. These passages were taken first from Homer, then Euripides.

The last task which the pupils learned was elementary arithmetic. The method of instruction was the same as with the alphabet. They began very simply and built up to more

⁹Bonner, p. 174.

difficult assignments. The students were taught addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and fractions. The training was just enough to equip them for life in the market place.

Corporeal punishment was the rule of the day in school discipline. The brutality with which masters "corrected" mistakes is well recorded.¹⁰ The pupils were motivated by fear to learn their lessons.

The grammaticus was distinguished from the grammatist by his chief purpose--the study of classical poets. The grammaticus' job also included teaching the students how to speak correctly--first the history of the letters and their morphology, then diction.¹¹ The students studied poetry, drama, and a little prose. The Greek authors included primarily Homer, Euripides, Menander, and Demosthenes. The Roman students would study, in addition to these authors, Virgil and Horace, Terence and Plautus, and Cicero.

By the Roman period, the study of music as part of the educational curriculum had declined. The Romans never really adopted it into the schools, though they recognized its cultural value.¹² Physical education was treated in much the same way. Music and sport were increasingly left

¹⁰Cf. Marrou, pp. 220-23.

¹¹Barclay, pp. 183-84.

¹²Marrou, p. 333.

in the hands of professionals. This is not to say that such instruction did not continue in the Roman period, only that its position in the curriculum had diminished. The same may be said to a certain extent about scientific study. Astronomy was by far the favorite pursuit, and it was not studied scientifically but philosophically.¹³

The grammaticus attempted to give the pupil some idea of the mechanics of the language and its syntax. There were exercises in declension and conjugation. Students studied the quality of vowels, learned to scan poetry, and were taught the parts of speech. This process paralleled the order of their primary instruction. Just as the students had started with letters, they now learned how to classify each letter correctly (for correct spelling and pronunciation). They next moved to syllables--verse scansion and metrical instruction (being able to scan poetry correctly in different meters). Classification of the parts of a sentence came next (including parsing). Although there was some variation, the standard was an eight part classification: noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, and conjunction (the adjective was considered with the noun).¹⁴ Before proceeding to reading, some time was spent on the correctness of speech and

¹³Ibid., pp. 251-55.

¹⁴For this paragraph I followed primarily the information given in Bonner, pp. 189-93.

writing. The number one concern here was the elimination of barbarisms--"foreign" accents and spellings.

Reading began, of course, with Homer. Reading was done aloud and for memory. The grammaticus concentrated on three things in particular: punctuation, pronunciation, and expression. Often a teacher would send his students to a professional comedy actor to aid in the acquisition of solid pronunciation and effective delivery.¹⁵

There were four steps involved in reading a text: one first established the text--punctuation, phrases, etc.; next the determined text was read aloud and with expression; then a literal, and literary explanation of the text was made; finally a moral judgment of the text was given. Reading was a much more complex issue for the ancients than it is for us today. Since there was no punctuation, words, cases, and punctuation had to be determined by scansion and context.

The process of learning went something like this: the teacher would give what was called the praelectio; he would give the word endings and phrases; after all the words were understood, the grammaticus would read the text again--up to tempo, this time for pauses and expression (this took care of the first two tasks for reading). He would also explain any literary allusions to people, places, or events--including clarifying family trees of gods and heroes. As a result, the grammatical lessons could digress into

¹⁵Ibid., p. 227.

meanderings in mythology. The grammaticus would also point out the different tropes and figures--metaphors, onomatopoeia, periphrases, allegory, etc. (this was the third step). Finally, he would attempt to give some sort of critique of the propriety of the text. Especially in Homer, there was often an attempt to extract fully articulated moral codes from the heroic examples of human virtue.¹⁶

The pupil, in his turn, was responsible for classifying each word in the text grammatically and being able to distinguish the metrical feet. His text would be checked against the teacher's for word division and correct scansion.

By the late Roman period, the secondary school had added to its curriculum some of the compositional exercises from the rhetorical school. These included exercises in the chreia (instructive sayings), sententia (maxims), fables, and narratio (historical and mythological narratives). All of these forms the pupil would have been familiar with from primary school where they were used as practice exercises for writing.¹⁷ The student was expected to put examples of each type in his own words--expanding and explaining in short essays.

For higher education, there were several options available to the student. There was the ephebia for the

¹⁶Marrou, pp. 234-35.

¹⁷Bonner, p. 253.

Greek boy. This was a type of finishing school (originally intended for those going into the military) where physical fitness was stressed. The graduate from the ephebia was usually guaranteed a certain amount of social and political success. The equivalent option in the West was the collegia juvenium.

A second alternative was to become affiliated with one of the philosophical schools, or with a particular individual. There was quite a diversity of choices here, for philosophy was far from a unified discipline. Because of this diversity the philosophical choice could take one either further along in the "academic" endeavor or on a course diametrically opposed to academia.

The usual choice for the student who wished to continue his educational career was to enter a school of rhetoric. The instruction at one of these schools was directed toward a career in public affairs; normally it led to public service. It also was considered the best preparation for a career in the imperial service, which offered employment to a large portion of the educated class.¹⁸

Rhetoric remained in a Greek milieu. There was no real "Latin" rhetoric; the Greek vocabulary was merely transposed into Latin. Some of the technical terms were even left in

¹⁸M. L. W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951), p. 17.

the original Greek.¹⁹ From the time of Augustus, however, rhetoric was taught in Latin as well as Greek.

The rhetor was only somewhat more respected in the community. His salary at the beginning of the fourth century was 2000 sesterces per pupil, per year--four times that of the grammaticus, but not enough to make one wealthy.²⁰

The instructor of rhetoric taught the art of oratory. He was responsible for training men who were able to persuade with their mastery of language. This included training in the parts of the art: invention of material, its arrangement, style, memory training, and delivery; and the sections of a speech: the introduction, the statement of the case, proofs and refutations, and conclusion.

The rhetor picked up the exercises where the grammaticus had left off. He issued drills in confirmation and refutation of sayings, fables, and narratives. This helped develop the ability to argue for or against something. Next, composition of commonplaces (the amplification of a given fact--usually a declamation against various types of evil-doers) and themes involving praise/denunciation and comparison were practiced.²¹

¹⁹Marrou, p. 383.

²⁰Ibid., p. 381.

²¹Bonner, p. 253.

These exercises were followed by speeches in character. These developed the student's imagination and range of expression. He was required to impersonate some mythological character in a particular given situation. These speeches were memorized, and the amount of expression that was incorporated made it as if the speech were a part from a play. The speech in character was followed by drills in description.

At this point the student began to practice the ability to argue both the pro and the con of a case. This was done in two exercises: the thesis, and the discussion of law. Both of these led to the crowning exercise--the full scale declamation. This could be in one of two forms. The suasoria, in which advice was give to a person, usually a historical figure, took the shape of the question "Should Cato marry?"²² The other form was the controversia, which argued both the pro and the con on some fictional legal case. The Romans attempted to bring these topics closer to real life. Instead of traditional topics from mythology--Clytemnestra and Orestes--they drew from the political issues of the day.²³

During the student's time in the school of rhetoric, he was also introduced to the historical writers. Prose

²²Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 65.

²³Marrou, p. 338.

passages were selected from these authors to illustrate each of the various types of exercises and speeches.

From the very beginnings of the Christian movement there was a certain suspicion of education--of intellectualism. Paul, in 1 Corinthians 1:20d-21, chides the congregation:

Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the folly of what we preach to save those who believe.²⁴

Tertullian, in the second or third century, penned his now famous question: "what has Athens to do with Jerusalem?"²⁵ Both Tertullian and Hippolytus forbade Christians to be teachers (though Hippolytus permitted that vocation if the person had no other means of making a living).²⁶ And in the fourth century there was Jerome's "Ciceronean" dream, after which he swore off his love of learning--temporarily.²⁷

It is understandable that the Christians would have certain reservations about the schools in their society. After all, the school calendar revolved around holidays devoted to deities whom the Christians refused to acknowledge. Some of the earliest words school children learned to pronounce and to spell were the names of pagan

²⁴RSV translation.

²⁵Praescrip. 7.9.

²⁶Tert., Idol., 10, and Hipp., Trad. Ap., 16.9.

²⁷Ep. 22.30.

deities, and the grammar lessons were replete with the mythology of the secular world. In addition, some of the grammatical instruction came from comic actors--a medium of entertainment the Christians could never fully accept.

There was another aspect to this "anti-intellectualism". To quote A. H. M. Jones:

Christianity was in its early days a vulgar religion. Not only were most of its adherents persons of low degree and little or no education, but its holy books were uncouth and barbaric, written in a Greek or Latin which grated on the sensibilities of any educated man.²⁸

While Jones' statement about the social status of the early Christians recently has been rejected, this type of condescending attitude toward their scriptures would not have endeared the educational elite to the Christian parents whose children would have been taught to avoid the types of syntactical constructions found in the Bible.²⁹

But, at the same time, there were those who respected the education of their culture. Justin, in the second century, came to Christianity after a trek through many of the philosophies and apparently continued to wear the philosopher's garb after his conversion. Tertullian, even

²⁸A. H. M. Jones, "The Social Background of the Struggle Between Paganism and Christianity," in The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, edited by Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 20.

²⁹Jerome himself exhibits the kind of snobbish reaction which one who was educated in the Classics could have when reading the texts of the Bible. Cf. Ep. 22.30.

though he came out vocally against pagan education, was himself well trained in academia and used his knowledge in his arguments. In Alexandria in the second and third centuries, there were Clement and Origen. Origen even opened his own grammar school before taking on his duties as a catechetical instructor.

As can be seen, there was no consensus about how the early Christians viewed pagan education. The church itself offered no "school" for intellectual training. What the church did offer was training in the truths necessary for salvation and the laws of Christian behavior--catechetical instruction. This was administered by one who was specially designated for that task. The training lasted anywhere from two to six years. Only afterwards was the catechumen admitted to the full rites of the church. If there was such a thing as a "Christian education," it would have been this catechetical and moral instruction.

When we come to the fourth century a change in attitude seems to have taken place. When the Roman empire made peace with Christianity, Christianity made peace (to a certain extent) with the education of the empire. William Barclay makes the following observation:

When we look at the Latin defenders of the faith in the early days of the church we find that...they were amongst the most widely read, the most carefully trained, the most highly intellectually equipped of their day and generation.³⁰

³⁰Barclay, p. 213.

This, however, may be extended to include the East as well. In addition to Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome for the West, there were Basil and the other Cappadocian fathers, and John Chrysostom in the East.³¹

There was a noteworthy increase in the number of students in the various schools around the empire who were Christian. Basil was able to find school-mates in Athens who were Christian. There were also by this time a number of teachers who were believers. The only way that the emperor Julian's edict of 362--against Christians teaching in the schools--could have been meaningful was if there were teachers and students who were Christian.³²

It is into this milieu that Basil, Jerome, and John Chrysostom stepped. They represent the finest education that was available both in the East (Basil and John) and in the West. Each has made significant contributions to the Christian religion. Each has written concerning the education of Christian children. It is through the examination of their writings that we can gain insight into the views of Christians toward education in the fourth century--the first century in which there is any extensive

³¹This, of course, is an abbreviated list.

³²It is an interesting side-note that in response to that edict, a father and son (both named Apollinarius) set out to produce their own textbooks--Christian texts. They translated the Pentateuch into the style of Homer, the historical books of the Old Testament as drama, and the New Testament as Platonic Dialogues. Cf. Sozomen Hist. Eccl. V.18.

commentary on the subject--and what it meant to be Christian
and educated.

CHAPTER II

BASIL THE GREAT

To Young Men, on How They Might Derive Benefit from Pagan Literature

Basil was one of the most important persons in the fourth century to the stability of the church. His charismatic nature caused him to be the nucleus around which the "free-lance ascetics of Pontus and Cappadocia gathered."¹ His erudition and statesmanship led him to the post of metropolitan of Cappadocia and exarch of Pontus in the year 370. Through his efforts the Arian controversy was laid to rest (though not in his lifetime). He is an excellent subject for the study of education and its relationship to Christianity. To use the words of L. V. Jacks:

It is evident, then, that Basil's studies...made him a regular product of his age and that he is an excellent instance of the fourth century education in its best form.²

¹Roy Deferrari, St. Basil: The Letters, 4 Vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge University Press, 1934), I:xxi.

²L. V. Jacks, St. Basil and Greek Literature (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1922), p. 25.

Basil was born in Cappadocia around the year 330 C.E. His family had been very successful at raising renowned Christian children: there were three saints in three generations of daughters; and three saints and three bishops in one generation of sons--Basil, Gregory (of Nyssa), and Peter (of Sebaste). Basil's father--probably a member of the curial class³--was a famous lawyer and teacher of rhetoric in the city of Neo-caesarea. He also possessed property in Pontus, Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia. Basil's grandmother had been instructed by a disciple of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

It was with his grandmother, Macrina, that Basil began his studies. Macrina raised Basil until the appropriate age for his father to take over. She introduced Basil to the classics of Greek literature and, no doubt, passed on some of the Alexandrian wisdom she would have acquired from the disciple of "the Wonderworker." Basil the elder then took over the responsibility of his son's education, teaching him grammar. He introduced the younger Basil to the language and literature of the Greco-Roman world, building on what Macrina had begun.

Basil the elder then sent his son to Caesarea (in Cappadocia) for further education. This city was the

³Cf. Thomas Kopecek's article "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," Church History 92 (1973):453-66. Kopecek presents all the evidence for the rank of the families of Basil, Gregory Nazianzus, and some others who were bishops in Cappadocia.

literary and civil capital of central Asia Minor. Here Basil began his rhetorical studies. Basil's education is a little unusual in that he traveled more than was normal (at least in the cases of the other Fathers under consideration in this paper). From there Basil moved to Constantinople --the capital of the world. Here, it is possible that he met and listened to the lectures of Libanius, who was in Constantinople about that time. Details are sketchy; the recorded correspondence between the two is considered by some scholars to be pseudonymous. However, a meeting between the two at that time would not have been impossible.⁴

In 351, Basil left Constantinople for Athens--historically an educational capital of the world. During his five years there, Basil was reunited with Gregory Nazianzus whom he met while in Caesarea; he also met, and became friends with, Julian, future emperor and apostate. The Athenian curriculum included grammar, poetry, history, rhetoric, dialectics, metaphysics, astronomy, geometry, and medicine.⁵ Among the authors studied were Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the orations of Lysias, whose writings were

⁴Cf. the discussion in A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, vol. 1, s.v. "Basilus" by Edmund Venables, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1877), p. 283. He gives a brief summary of the confusion concerning where Basil would have studied with Libanius if he studied with him at all.

⁵Deferrari, I:xix.

used as models for speech; Plato and Aristotle were the main philosophers.⁶

Basil's training at Athens was essentially non-Christian. However, there were some Christian students while he was there, and some of the studies were controlled to a large extent by Christians.⁷ Education in the fourth century was on the dividing line between Christianity and paganism. A little before Basil's time education was almost completely pagan; a little later it had become Christian, and imperial edicts had closed the schools to pagan professors.⁸

After concluding his education in Athens, Basil reluctantly left the city and returned to Caesarea. There, he accepted the chair of rhetoric and taught for two years. His success and reputation spread so that Neo-caesarea sent a delegation to recruit him back to where his family lived. He refused their offer. Apparently at this point Macrina, Basil's sister, intervened to redirect his life--which was bordering on the prideful side--back toward his Christian goals. Basil's life took on a new meaning and he was baptized. He accepted the monastic life around the year 357 and traveled to Egypt and Palestine searching for ascetics

⁶Jacks, pp. 20-21.

⁷Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁸Ibid., p. 112.

after whom to model his own life. Ill health (a trait he shared with Jerome) forced him to return to Caesarea. Basil then retired to Pontus, where he eventually was joined by his friend Gregory Nazianzus. Here, he became influential among the many hermits centered around Pontus and Cappadocia. His style of asceticism also influenced the development of cenobitic monasticism. Basil divided the day (and night) into periods of work and devotional exercises. He existed on a minimal amount of sleep and food--sleeping on the ground and eating only bread and water. While in Pontus, he made numerous missionary trips throughout the region.

In 359, Basil accompanied Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sabaste to Constantinople for the council to be held there in 360. Basil did not actively take part in the proceedings but was an observer. When the creed of Ariminum (anti-Nicean in content) was signed, Basil left the city to return to Caesarea. Dianus, bishop of Caesarea, signed the creed when it was circulated and Basil fled to Nazianzus. He returned in 362, though, to comfort the dying Dianus who was a dear friend (if weak in character). Eusebius was selected as Dianus' successor.

The year 362 also saw the initiation of a new emperor--Julian, Basil's schoolmate from Athens. Julian requested that Basil join his staff in Constantinople. Basil,

however, delayed his journey and declined the position after Julian announced his apostasy.

In 364 Basil was ordained as a presbyter by Eusebius. Basil became a source of theological knowledge for Eusebius, who was not even baptized when selected for the episcopate. Eusebius became jealous of Basil's ability and popularity. A schism was brewing between Eusebius, who had the power of his office and Basil, who had the popular and ecclesiastical support. Basil, however, prevented the conflict by submitting to the heartless treatment of Eusebius and by retiring once more to Pontus. The two men became reunited, partially through the efforts of Gregory Nazianzus, to fight against the promotion of Arianism by the emperor Valens.

Eusebius died in the year 369, and Basil, after much planning and conspiring both for and against him, was chosen metropolitan of Cappadocia. Basil's time as metropolitan was fraught with problems. Overall it was a very unhappy and frustrating period in his life. Those bishops who had voted against Basil refused to help him with anything.

In 372, Valens resumed his attack against orthodoxy. Orthodox bishops all around Basil were submitting to the emperor's will. Basil refused to give in. The emperor made several attempt to sway Basil, but each venture came up empty. The emperor, impressed by Basil's integrity, lessened his demands; he required only that the bishop permit Arians to communion. Basil again refused. Valens,

swayed by his Arian advisors, resolved to exile Basil. The emperor's son became ill, however, and the empress blamed it on Valens' treatment of Basil (a situation not unlike what happened to Chrysostom). The emperor pleaded with Basil to come and pray for the child. Basil agreed on the condition that the child be baptized, and trained by an orthodox Bishop. Valens agreed, and the child recovered.⁹

Basil's next problem occurred when Valens decided to divide Cappadocia into two provinces, making (after some debate) Tyana the chief city of the province. Anthinus, bishop of Tyana, felt that an ecclesiastical division ought to follow the political, and claimed metropolitan rights and revenues over half of Basil's territory. Basil called Gregory Nazianzus to his side, and the two set off to claim the revenues from a city in the second Cappadocia. Anthinus blocked the path and a struggle ensued. As a result, Basil, in an act of the utmost callousness, forced Gregory to become bishop of a little town in an area for which he was ill-suited, in order to solidify his hold in the second Cappadocia. The situation with Anthinus was ultimately resolved, but Basil lost the friendship of Gregory. The wound from Basil's treatment never healed, though Gregory respected the metropolitan until his (Basil's) death.

⁹The emperor eventually reneged on that promise and the child became ill again and died.

Basil was plagued by his friendship with Eustathius of Sebaste. Basil had been attracted to Eustathius' ascetic practices. Eustathius' beliefs, however, depended on who was in power at the time. Basil's own orthodoxy came into question as a result of this association. Basil, in order to prove Eustathius' orthodoxy, had Theodotus draw up a confession which he believed to be orthodox for Eustathius to sign. Eustathius signed the document. Not long after, however, Eustathius attacked Basil, going against the confession he had signed and accusing Basil of heterodoxy. He even published a letter which Basil had written as a layman to Apollinarius. Eustathius, though, had altered the letter, including some of Apollinarius' heretical expressions to make them appear as Basil's. Basil was accused from all sides of being Apollinarian, Sabellian, Tritheist, and Macedonian. Basil eventually responded, denouncing Eustathius and giving details of the events leading to the publication of the letter. Unfortunately the harm was done and not all could be convinced of Eustathius' duplicity.

The Arians rose to do battle one final time in Basil's lifetime. Basil appealed to the West for help this time. Basil requested a deposition be sent from the West to help in the battle. He then asked that a council be held to confirm Nicean orthodoxy. All of his pleas were ignored. Basil was deeply chagrined by this and felt it must be due

to pride. In reality, it was more likely due to a suspicion of the orthodoxy of Basil himself.

The invasion of the Goths in 378 brought relief to the persecuted orthodox. Valens' attention turned from persecution to protection of the empire. The emperor was killed in battle. Gratian, Valens' successor and catholic sympathizer, restored the exiled orthodox bishops.

Basil died the next year, 379, in Caesarea. The funeral was attended by a mob of lamenters. Even Jews and Pagans joined in the ceremony of respect given to the metropolitan. He devoted his whole clerical life to fighting heresy and died still suspected by some of heterodoxy.

The date of Basil's "Address to Young Men" is uncertain. Most scholars have placed its composition towards the end of Basil's life.¹⁰ The audience is also unknown. Since it was probably written after Basil resigned his chair of rhetoric, he would not be addressing pupils attending his public classes. It is possible that he was addressing either students entering into catechetical instruction or, as Deferrari has suggested, students

¹⁰For an earlier date see Ann Moffatt's article "The Occasion of Basil's Address to Young Men," Journal of Australian Society for Classical Studies 6(1972):74-86. She points out that any references to advanced age in the text must be taken within Basil's own time frame; he died at the age of forty-eight.

beginning their training for the priesthood.¹¹ But the content certainly is unusual if the address was intended for catechetical students. The most popular suggestion has been that the work was intended for Basil's nephews. This also seems unlikely. Ann Moffatt suggests that the audience was a group of Christian pupils in a pagan school where Basil was acting as a guest speaker.¹² This also seems inadequate given the time frame which Moffatt has set.¹³ In short we must end as we began: the audience is unknown. Deferrari makes the point that "since the work was published, Basil undoubtedly intended that it should perform as widespread a service as possible...."¹⁴

The first chapter is devoted to an explanation of the purpose for the writing. Basil offers two reasons why his audience should listen to him: (1) his age and experience qualify him, and (2) he "comes immediately after your parents in natural relationship,"¹⁵ and therefore has their best interests in mind. He also goes so far as to suppose that when they are in his presence they prefer him to their

¹¹Deferrari, IV:365.

¹²For a detailed discussion of the possible audience for which the work was composed see Moffatt, pp. 80-82.

¹³This will be discussed at another point in the paper.

¹⁴Deferrari, IV:366.

¹⁵Basil, Address to Young Men I.2. Translation by Roy Deferrari in the Loeb Classical Library.

parents. It is because of the phrase "...I can indicate the safest road...to those just entering upon life," that an intended audience of catechetical students seems likely. And then he comes to the purpose:

This is it, and naught else, that I have come to offer you as my counsel--that you should not surrender to these men once for all the rudders of your mind, as of a ship, and follow them whithersoever they lead; rather, accepting from them only that which is useful, you should know that which ought to be overlooked.¹⁶

From this statement it seems as if Basil has observed a problem among Christian students: they are not being selective about what they are putting into practice from their pagan studies. The essay is addressed to those "who resort to teachers and hold converse with the famous men of the ancients through the words which they have left behind them."¹⁷ These are Christian students in pagan schools. They are not learning the "classics" in catechetical classes. The problem, then, is how to distinguish between what is useful and what is not.

Chapter two serves as a reminder of what the ultimate goal is. Anything which does not contribute to preparation for the next life is of no value.

Therefore neither renown of ancestry, nor strength of body, nor other human attribute that one might mention, do we judge great, nay, we do not even consider them worth praying for, nor do we look with admiration upon

¹⁶Ibid., I.5.

¹⁷Ibid., I.4.

those who possess them, but our hopes lead us forward to a more distant time....¹⁸

One can conclude that in surrendering their rudders, the students were pursuing a scholarly lifestyle--education as a demonstration of status or popularity: hence the need for the reminder of purpose. This will be borne out in the rest of the essay.

Pagan education serves only as preparation for the study of the scriptures.¹⁹ Just as athletics and dance prepare the youth for battle, so Greek classics prepare the young Christian for the sacred writings.

Therefore, just as dyers first prepare by certain treatments whatever material is to receive the dye, and then apply the color, whether it be purple or some other hue, so we also in the same manner must first, if the glory of the good is to abide with us indelible for all time, be instructed by these outside means, and then shall understand the sacred and mystical teachings.²⁰

There is no question whether pagan writings are to be read. This is a necessity if the scriptures are to be properly understood. The youths are too young at this age (early teens) to understand the many meanings of the scriptures. The pagan literature offers examples which are cruder and easier to understand of those things which they will come to

¹⁸Ibid., II.2.

¹⁹Ibid., II.5.

²⁰Ibid., II.8.

learn more clearly in the Christian literature when they are more mature.

The third chapter deals with the relationship between the pagan and Christian teachings. Basil states that if there are similarities between the two systems they will be useful to know. And if they do not compare well, that knowledge will also be useful. Basil then gives a simile comparing the two systems to a fruit tree: the leaves which protect the fruit and offer beauty are pagan education, and the fruit itself is a Christian education. Here it is interesting to note that the Christian is in a sense "protected" by means of a pagan education. Basil concludes this section with Biblical examples of men who were first educated in the knowledge of the world before contemplating divine things: Moses, who was taught in the Egyptian court, and Daniel, who was instructed in the ways of the Chaldean court.

In chapter four Basil divides pagan literature into three categories (poetry, prose, and oratory) and discusses how this literature should be approached. Of the "deeds or words of good men," Basil exhorts his readers "to cherish and emulate these and try as far as possible to be like them."²¹ But, he cautions the reader to avoid being led astray by the beauty of the words:

²¹Ibid., IV.1.

We shall not, therefore, praise the poets when they revile or mock, or when they depict men engaged in amours or drunken, or when they define happiness in terms of an over-abundant table or dissolute songs.²²

And he is especially careful to warn the reader concerning pagan theology. Here, as in the first chapter, the admonition seems to have been provoked from Basil's observations of what was happening as these Christian youth got caught up in the excitement of the new learning. The beauty of the words and the lifestyles espoused by their peers were drawing them away from their goal. He finishes this section with a similitude which sums up the approach to pagan literature which was used by Basil:

For just as in the case of other beings enjoyment of flowers is limited to their fragrance and color, but the bees, as we see, possess the power to get honey from them as well, so it is possible here also for those who are pursuing not merely what is sweet and pleasant in such writings to store away from them some benefit also for their souls. It is, therefore, in accordance with the whole similitude of the bees, that we should participate in the pagan literature. For these neither approach all flowers equally, nor in truth do they attempt to carry off entire those upon which they alight, but taking only so much of them as is suitable for their work, they suffer the rest to go untouched.²³

The proper perspective, then, is the key to success. As long as one remembers that the Christian is using pagan literature to prepare for the holy scriptures and to glean only those precepts which will build true Christian character the literature will remain beautiful.

²²Ibid., IV.4.

²³Ibid., IV.7 & 8.

Virtue is the topic of chapter five. Basil points out that "since much has been uttered in praise of virtue by poets, much by historians, and much more still by philosophers, we ought especially to apply ourselves to such literature."²⁴ He then cites examples from Homer, Solon, Theognis, and Prodicus. The last gives the story of the two ways, the hard virtuous path and the easy vice-filled path. This story has been used by many different generations as an exhortation to virtue. Basil gives a copious supply of examples to support his argument that there is much in pagan literature to be emulated. He also seems to be giving the students an example of how to read these pagan stories--how to go about digging out what is virtuous in those writings.

In chapter six Basil continues by encouraging his readers to put into practice those things that they have learned using the "similitude of the bee." He makes an interesting comparison between people who do not act according to what they profess and actors: the low esteem in which they are held is due to their pretense to be that which they are not.²⁵

Chapter seven consists of a catalogue of virtuous men from pagan literature. After each example, or set of examples, Basil gives the corresponding Christian precept.

²⁴Ibid., V.1.

²⁵Ibid., VI.3.

In section 8 of this chapter, Basil makes this curious statement: "For whoever has been instructed in these examples beforehand cannot after that distrust those precepts as utterly impossible to obey." One cannot help but wonder if Basil is not addressing a group of students who, having been instructed in Christian precepts, felt them too difficult and opted for the looser life they believed was put forward in their school literature.

Chapter eight marks the return to Basil's main topic:

For it is disgraceful to reject foods that are harmful, yet for the teachings which nourish our souls to have no concern, but to charge onward like a mountain torrent, carrying along everything it chances upon.²⁶

Again, it seems that Basil is concerned that Christian youths are leaving behind their religious standards when they enter the pagan classroom. He sets out to correct the situation by returning to his athletic example (II.6ff), and adds a comparison with music contests. Just as athletes and musicians train themselves in order to compete, so the Christian must train for his goal. If the contestant wastes time on things unrelated to the goal, he will never realize that goal. He also points out the power contained in practice which is goal oriented.

Basil continues his argument by pointing out that it is extremely difficult to be good:

For though we pass through many toils that are really toils, we can scarcely succeed in obtaining those goods

²⁶Ibid., VIII.1.

of which, as we have already said above, no human goods can serve as an example. Therefore we ought not to idle away our time, nor for an ease that can last but a short while give up in exchange glorious hopes....²⁷

The Christian has a certain lifestyle already laid out for him. If he is to live up to that standard, he needs to concentrate solely on that goal. Anything which detracts from the objective weakens the chances of success. Basil concludes the section by warning that God may forgive involuntary shortcomings, but he will not forgive one who has deliberately chosen to deviate from the ultimate objective.

Chapter nine, the next to the last chapter of the essay, is concerned with the maintenance of the soul. This is accomplished by mastering the body through philosophy. The body is to be given only what is necessary for sustenance. One should not spend time worrying about the appearance of hair or dress:

For to take all manner of pains that his body may be as beautiful as possible is not the mark of a man who either knows himself or understands that wise precept: "That which is seen is not the man, but there is need of a certain higher wisdom which will enable each of us, whoever he is, to recognize himself." But unless we have purified our minds this is more impossible for us than for a blear-eyed man to gaze at the sun.²⁸

In addition to scorning the body, the pleasures of the senses should be despised: licentious music, perfumes, and incenses, which lead to animalistic urges.

²⁷Ibid., VIII.12 & 13.

²⁸Ibid., IX.6.

The rest of the chapter is given over to showing the relationship between despising the body and living a decent life. Basil believes that if the body is despised, other possessions will not hold the same allurements they once did. And in addition, once this practice of neglect has become second nature, what one defines as necessity will become less and less. Wealth should not be lusted after, nor flattery or popularity:

...there is nothing which a prudent man must shun more carefully than living with a view to popularity and giving serious thought to the things esteemed by the multitude, instead of making sound reason his guide of life....²⁹

The maintenance of the soul requires none of these "luxuries." In fact it demands that these be left alone: "human virtue is...sufficient to itself for an adornment."³⁰ Chapter ten is a discussion of virtue as found in pagan authors. His only example here is from Bias, who, when asked by his son what would please him most, talks about "acquiring travel supplies for our old age." Basil interprets this to mean virtue and elaborates that this life is too short to acquire supplies for it. Rather, one ought to acquire supplies for eternity.

Basil concludes with an exhortation not to become incurably ill (morally). He lists three types of diseased people: those with slight ailments go to the doctor; those

²⁹Ibid., IX.25.

³⁰Ibid., IX.23.

with more serious ailments have the doctor come to them; and those who are beyond cure do not even admit that they need a doctor.³¹ This last type is the one Basil beseeches his readers not to become, as is "characteristic of the men of the present time."³²

The purpose of the essay, contrary to what Deferrari has posited--a summary of Basil's views on the question of whether or not the study of pagan classics should be an important part of a Christian's education--seems to be a warning to avoid the temptation of elitism inherent in scholarly pursuits and to remember for what purpose such a study was undertaken. From this analysis of Basil's writing it is clear that he was attempting to remedy a situation which had arisen as a result of Christians studying at pagan schools. There are a couple of possibilities as to what that situation was.

One solution is that students were abandoning their Christian standards in order to adopt the more appealing lifestyle of their pagan peers. Since education was the privilege of the rich, it is natural that there would be a certain desire to adopt that lifestyle. The issue for Basil is not whether one should study the pagan literature as a Christian, that is a necessity for a proper preparation for the Christian scriptures. The essay is an attempt to

³¹Ibid. X.8.

³²Ibid.

admonish students to remember that this education is only an exercise for the ultimate objective--a fit soul and a virtuous life. This is the solution which I followed in this chapter.

Another solution, and an intriguing one, is that supplied by Moffatt in her article "The Occasion of St. Basil's Address to Young Men." Moffatt argues that the Address is a direct response to Julian's censure of Christian teachers. The problem being addressed is not that Christian students are falling into a lifestyle commensurate with what they are studying but rather are concerned that because of Julian's edict they must believe everything they read in pagan literature. Whichever occasion one chooses to follow, the response is the same: pagan literature is only a crude guide to the virtues one needs to be a Christian. It is only a training ground for a completely different goal.

CHAPTER III

JEROME

To Gaudentius, On Education of the Child Pacatula (128).

To Laeta, On the Education of Her Daughter (107).

Jerome's personality was the exact opposite of Basil. Whereas Basil was collected, giving reasoned arguments, Jerome was passionate, assailing whoever disagreed with him. Basil yearned for the solace of the monastery; Jerome yearned for companionship and struggled with the lifestyle he had chosen. Both men, however, received the finest education available (Basil in the Greek traditions, Jerome in the Latin) and were avidly involved in the transmission of the knowledge which they had acquired.

The date for the birth of Jerome is uncertain. Kelly places his birth in the year 331 (making Jerome only one year younger than Basil); Jean Steinmann places it in 347.¹

Jerome's parents were Christians, although they do not appear to have been too fervent. His father's name,

¹J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 1, and Jean Steinmann, St. Jerome and His Times, trans. by Ronald Matthews (Notre Dame: Fides Publ., 1960), p. 3. The only significance this might have is that it would give us a point of comparison between a Greek and a Latin education in the fourth century church.

Eusebius, and his own given name, Hieronymus, seem to indicate that the family was of Greek origin. They also appear to have been well off financially--even wealthy. According to Kelly, the family property near Stridon must have been extensive.² The fact of their wealth is borne out by the reminiscences of Jerome concerning his childhood games: running through the servants quarters at his father's house.³ In addition, Eusebius could afford to give Jerome an expensive education.⁴

Until the age of seven, Jerome was tutored by nurses and slaves.⁵ At that age he began his elementary education (probably in Stridon). Jerome also was given some catechetical instruction during this period, but he was not baptized. Around the age of eleven or twelve Jerome and his friend (and foster-brother) Bonosus departed for Rome to complete their education. Kelly offers the following explanation as to why Eusebius sent his son to Rome rather than to a school nearer to home:

The most natural explanation is that the two fathers wished their talented children to have the best education available, and as a result of deliberate

²Kelly, p.6. J. W. C. Wand, The Latin Doctors (London: The Faith Press, LTD., 1948), p. 4, Steinmann, p. 5, and most other scholars consider Jerome's family to have been only middle class, not wealthy.

³Ep. 3,5.

⁴Kelly, p. 7.

⁵Steinmann, p.4.

government policy Rome, like Constantinople, had peculiar advantages in this respect. Secondary and higher education enjoyed enormous prestige in the late Roman empire, and any parent ambitious for his son's future was aware that a glittering, sometimes vastly lucrative, career in the all-embracing government service lay open to students who combined academic success with practical and political shrewdness.⁶

In Rome, Jerome became the student of Donatus, one of the most famous masters of his day.⁷ The authors included in his curriculum included Virgil, the comic Terence, the historian Sallust, and Cicero. The playwright Plautus, the Epicurean poet Lucretius, Horace, the satirist Persius, and Lucan were also studied.⁸ Jerome adapted well to his studies. Sulpicius Severus said of Jerome that "he is always reading, always buried in his books; he doesn't rest day or night; he's always either reading something or writing something."⁹ The tools which Jerome acquired in the Roman schools he used throughout his life. Kelly makes the following observation:

Till his dying day he was to be a stickler for grammatical correctness, adroit himself in manipulating all the ploys of rhetoric and ready to tear apart any

⁶Kelly, p. 10.

⁷Donatus had published a well known grammar and several commentaries on the works of Terence and Virgil.

⁸Kelly, p. 11-12.

⁹C. C. Meirow, St. Jerome: The Sage of Bethlehem (Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co., 1959), p. 9.

adversary whose diction struck him as sloppy or uncouth.¹⁰

Sometime between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, Jerome graduated to the school of rhetoric. At this stage of education, the goal was no longer political oratory but a career as an advocate or civil servant.¹¹ Jerome's curriculum seems to have included some serious study of the law. He spent a good deal of time attending the law courts in Rome.

One of Jerome's most enthusiastic pursuits was the collection of a library. He more than likely purchased some of the volumes, but the vast majority of them he copied himself (or hired someone to do this for him). His collection included at the very least works by Plautus and Cicero and probably also included works by Virgil, Sallust, and Terence. Jerome's library became his most prized possession: he took it with him on all of his travels, and, even when he gave up all other material belongings for the ascetic life, he could not let go of his collection of parchments.

Jerome's lifestyle in Rome seems to have been some what less than exemplary:

...He was a man of strong passions which he had difficulty controlling, and he seems to have found an

¹⁰Kelly, p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., p. 15.

outlet for them, both as a student and for years after, in the uninhibited society of the day.¹²

In addition to this sort of behavior, Jerome frequented the catacombs on Sundays. He was fascinated by the martyrs and set aside this time to pay respect to them. It was also during this period that Jerome requested baptism. As with several other aspects in his life, the exact date is unknown, but most scholars suggest that the Roman Bishop Liberius performed the rite.

Jerome finished his schooling in Rome and then departed for Gaul. This commenced the second phase of Jerome's career. He spent time in both Trier and Dalmatia--though most of his time was spent in Valentinian's seat of government at Trier. It appears as if Jerome had been grooming himself to be some sort of legal official with the training he had received in Rome and had come to Trier to try to begin a career.¹³ But something happened which changed his mind, and instead, he began his life as an anchorite. C. C. Meirow quotes from one of Jerome's letters:

For the sake of the kingdom of heaven, I had cut myself off from my home, my parents, my sister, my kinsmen, and--what was even more difficult--from an accustomed habit of good living.¹⁴

¹²Ibid., p. 20.

¹³Cf. E. D. Hunt's article "From Dalmatia to the Holy Land," Journal of Roman Studies 67 (1977):168.

¹⁴Meirow, p.12.

During his stay in Gaul, Jerome also devoted time to increasing his collection of manuscripts.

In 372, Jerome moved to Aquileia and joined a band of ascetics who were living there. Either in Aquileia or back in Gaul, Jerome had a falling out with his family (as can be seen from the letter quoted above). His parents were apparently not fond of the notion that their son had adopted the ascetic life. In spite of this they still supported him financially when he needed it.¹⁵

After only a short stay in Aquileia, there was dissension among the ascetic community, and Jerome headed east to Palestine. He made it only as far as Antioch, for illness forced him to remain there a year (at the home of his friend Evagrius). We see Jerome's struggle with the ascetic life when he arrived in Antioch discouraged: "I have not yet begun to put from me the allurements of my former riotous living...I do not wish to go back and I cannot go forward."¹⁶

In Antioch, Jerome improved his knowledge of the Greek language and studied some of Aristotle's treatises on logic, using Porphyry's Introduction. It was also at this time that Jerome had his "Ciceronian" dream (mid-Lent 374). In it, Jerome dreamed that he was before God as judge. God inquired as to Jerome's "condition." Jerome replied that he

¹⁵Kelly, p. 36.

¹⁶Meirow, p. 16.

was a Christian, but God then accused him of lying: Jerome was a Ciceronian rather than a Christian. Because of this dream, Jerome renounced his books and swore only to read the Scriptures. His opinion, however, fluctuated on the study of pagan literature. Later in his life he seems to have renounced this renouncement, because he taught the Latin classics to the youth in Bethlehem.

Jerome next moved to the desert of Chalcis.¹⁷ Here, he began his study of Hebrew. Evagrius also came to visit frequently. Due to disagreement among the hermits who lived with Jerome concerning the legitimate bishop for Antioch, Jerome once again was forced to leave.

Jerome returned to Antioch, where he was ordained as a priest (though he never carried out any of the responsibilities associated with the office). He also probably attended the lectures of Apollinarius (an excellent exegete and first class rhetorician who was later condemned for his Christological views).

In 381 Jerome arrived in Constantinople for the ecumenical council to be held there. Here he met Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzus. Jerome became a pupil of the latter in exegesis. Gregory Nazianzus introduced Jerome to

¹⁷This is another period of time that is disputed. Most scholars assign about four or five years to Chalcis: 374-78/79. J. N. D. Kelly, however argues that it was only a two year period. Kelly, p. 48.

the works of Origen and persuaded him to translate them into Latin.¹⁸

The very next year (382) Jerome returned to Rome for the council over which Damasus was presiding. Some scholars have suggested that Jerome became an official secretary for Damasus, but this seems unlikely. He did, however, translate the Psalms and the New Testament into Latin (from the Greek) at the request of Damasus and seems to have served as an advisor on questions concerning the Biblical text.

In Rome, Jerome came into the company of some wealthy women: Macrina, who offered her home as a meeting place for Jerome and his disciples to study Hebrew and to pray; and Paula, Blessila, and Eustochium (mother and daughters), who became disciples of Jerome in adopting the ascetic life. In 384 Blessilla died due to the extremity to which she had pursued her new lifestyle. This brought an adverse reaction from the populace. To make matters worse, Damasus died in the same year and so could not protect Jerome. Stoned because of the incident, he was forced to leave Rome. After touring Palestine and Egypt with Paula and Eustochium (who left Rome shortly after Jerome), they settled in Bethlehem in the year 386. Here, with funds supplied by Paula, Jerome

¹⁸Meirow, p. 40.

built a monastery, a convent, a church and a hospice for pilgrims.¹⁹

Jerome perfected his knowledge of Hebrew in this third period of his life: he took lessons from a Jew at night so as not to incur more trouble. Jerome was also embroiled in controversies during his stay in Palestine. He waged verbal warfare with Jovinian (who believed that God did not value virginity or monasticism more highly than marriage), and Vigilantius (who was anti-ascetic). His most heated controversy was with Rufinus over Origen. This dispute lasted ten years and the friendship between the two men never completely healed.

The remainder of Jerome's life was one tragedy following another. In 404 Paula died; in 410 Rome was sacked, an event which scarred Jerome for the rest of his life. In 416 the monasteries at Bethlehem were raided--the culprits never identified. Eustochium, who had stepped in and filled Paula's role with Jerome, died in 419; and Jerome himself finally passed away in 420.

When examining the two letters (#107 and #128) which Jerome wrote specifically concerning education, we encounter a problem which limits what can be determined about Jerome's attitudes toward pagan education: both letters were written to little girls who were dedicated to become virgins and

¹⁹When Paula's funds were depleted, Jerome sold his own inherited estate to pay for the needs of his community.

thus not intended for general education. We know from his writings that Jerome himself was influenced to a great extent by what he had learned from his education in Rome.²⁰ Rufinus, in his Apology (II,4-8), also declares (much to his chagrin) how much Jerome relies on the arguments of the pagan classics in his writings--even after his "Ciceronian" dream.

The letter addressed Ad Laetam de Institutione Filiae was written in the year A.D. 403. Laeta was the daughter of the priest Albinus; her husband, Toxotius, was the son of Paula (Jerome's disciple and confidant) and Toxotius.²¹

Jerome begins the letter with an application of First Corinthians 7:13-16 (the unbelieving mate being sanctified through the one who does believe) to Laeta's family. He rejoices at the irony in the fact that the granddaughter of a Roman priest in the state religion should be "one of Christ's virgins," and goes on to say that this "one unbeliever is sanctified by a saintly household of believers."²² Section II of the letter continues this

²⁰See, for example, William C. McDermott's article "Saint Jerome and Pagan Greek Literature," in Vigilae Christianae 36 (1982):372-82. McDermott discusses the Greek influences on Jerome's style of argumentation.

²¹F. A. Wright, trans., St. Jerome, Select Letters, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 338, note 1.

²²Ep. 107.1. The translation used is that by F. A. Wright in the Loeb Classical Library.

theme. Jerome desires that the same faith which produced the daughter will also convert the grandfather. After citing examples from the Bible where God won over unlikely candidates (the thief on the cross and Nebuchadnezzar who regained his human understanding after living as an animal), Jerome goes on a tangent, commenting on the state of paganism in the Roman Empire.²³

Jerome finally takes up the supposed topic of his letter in section III, where he compares the birth of Paula to that of Samuel and of John the Baptist. The comparison to Samuel gives Jerome the opportunity to talk about training a soul "which is to be a temple of God."²⁴ Jerome believes that the environment of the child must be totally controlled: she must not hear foul language; the songs she sings should be the Psalms, not the worldly children's songs; and boys should be kept away from her, not even her attendants should linger around her.

²³Jerome gives some interesting insights into the paganism of the time: he lists the seven stages of initiation into Mithraism; he also gives a list of countries which were under the Christian banner.

²⁴Ep. 107.4. The example of Samuel serves a double purpose. Since he was "nurtured in the temple," the example introduces the type of instruction Jerome wants to encourage for Paula. But it also serves a second purpose: "you have exchanged a fertility bound up with sorrow for children who will live forever. I tell you confidently that you who have given your first-born to the Lord will receive sons at His hand." It appears as if the decision to dedicate little Paula was one made hesitantly. The reader cannot help but wonder if Jerome did not talk Laeta into this.

Jerome next offers some practical advice on educating little Paula. To help her with learning the alphabet, letters should be cut out of wood or ivory for her to play with. He also says that letters should be mixed-up so that Paula knows them forwards, backwards, and in any combination. When she is at the appropriate age to learn to write, Laeta should either manipulate Paula's hand to form the letters or have them engraved on a block so she can trace them. Jerome also recommends that she have school mates--competition enhances education. Laeta should praise Paula when she does well but should not be too quick to scold. She should do her best to make the lessons interesting because a "childish dislike often lasts longer than childhood." Finally, the words used for her to start putting together sentences should be Biblical; they should not be chosen carelessly. It is interesting that here, Jerome modifies the normal primary school practice of learning lists of gods' and heroes' names by having little Paula learn the names of the prophets and apostles.

All of these recommendations which Jerome makes were common practices (or at least ideals) for primary education. In fact, all of the educational suggestions seem to be based on Quintillian's Institutio oratoria I,1. J. N. D. Kelly is extremely critical of this particular letter, especially of the section just mentioned for that very reason:

Jerome has assuredly adopted these ideas, and molded them into his scheme; but they are not really his own.

The passages containing them (others too) are straight paraphrases from Quintillian's [first century] humane counsels about childhood education. Jerome's original contribution shows much less understanding of the normal child's nature. It is directed rather, such is his zeal for ascetic perfection, at suppressing anything, however innocent ordinary people might judge it, which might interfere with advancement towards this.²⁵

Jerome would no doubt have argued that Paula was not a "normal" child and therefore should not be treated as one. Since she has been dedicated to God, her upbringing should be stricter than that of the "normal" child. It should also be mentioned in Jerome's defense that Chrysostom is almost as strict in his regulations for a Christian child's conduct.

Jerome concludes the fourth section of the letter by emphasizing the importance of careful selection of a teacher and foster parents. "The very letters themselves, and so the first lesson in them, sound quite differently from the mouth of a learned man, and of a rustic."²⁶ Jerome stresses the point that the first impressions on a child determine how that child will turn out. Paula's foster-mother and father should also be of impeccable character. Paula should be made aware of who her grandmother and aunt are (Paula and Eustochium) and should desire their company. This point appears to be a flag which Jerome placed for what seems to

²⁵Kelly, p. 274.

²⁶Ep. 107.4 (middle).

be the point of the letter: that Laeta send little Paula to Palestine to be raised there.

Section V takes up the theme of dress. This is a topic which appears linked to education also in Basil and in Chrysostom. Concern for appearance only invites trouble for the virgin. Jerome relates a story about a virgin who groomed herself (at the request of her husband) and was killed by Christ because she violated his temple. He tells this story to "remind you with what anxiety and carefulness you must watch over that which you have vowed to the Lord."

Jerome next turns to the responsibility of the parent to ensure that the child is kept from all vice. The parent is accountable for the deeds of the child until "the letter of Pythagoras confronts him with the two roads."²⁷ He continues:

It rested with you whether you should offer your daughter or not; although you scarcely had an option, since you offered her before she was conceived. But now that you have offered her you neglect her at your peril.²⁸

Paula should at no time be allowed out by herself. The parents may take her to church, and she should spend plenty of time there, but she should prefer her own room to having company. She should not even take her food with the family: she might see some dish that would tempt her. Jerome believes that "what she doesn't know won't hurt her." Her

²⁷Ibid., section 6.

²⁸Ibid.

diet should be controlled, but not too strictly at a young age. After all, if a restricted diet is good enough for the Jews, Brahmans, and Gymnosophists (and they being mere superstitions) "why should not Christ's virgin do altogether?"²⁹ In addition to a restricted diet, Paula also must have no knowledge of musical instruments.³⁰

She should set aside part of each day in order to memorize Scripture--in both Latin and Greek. The Greek should come first with the Latin following close behind. The grammarian in Jerome comes through here: he is concerned with the correctness of accent and speech. This part Jerome got from Quintillian (cf. Inst. I,1,12-14.). Next, Jerome repeats his earlier injunctions that the parents be models for Paula, that she not be allowed out by herself, and that no boys should be allowed near. Jerome suggests that the maid Paula chooses as a companion should be "one grave and pale, carelessly dressed and inclined to melancholy," rather than one who is pretty, and preferably a virgin.³¹ Paula should rise from her bed at night to pray and sing Psalms; in the morning she should chant hymns at the third, sixth,

²⁹Ibid., section 8.

³⁰The distrust for musical instruments (because of the passions that could be aroused with them) was typically Roman. Jerome, because of his Christian morals, responds to that feeling even more strongly than the average Roman, who more often commented on the appropriate mode being played.

³¹Ep., 107.9.

and ninth hours. Her time should be spent alternately between prayer and reading. She should also learn to weave.

Jerome then repeats his warnings concerning Paula's diet: it should leave her still hungry, but she should not fast for extended periods of time because it is not healthy.³² He reiterates (for the third time) that she should not be left alone. She should not be present at slaves' weddings or play noisy games. Baths are not necessary since she is to spend the rest of her time "mortifying" her body. She should, in fact, be embarrassed to see herself naked.

In section XII, Jerome gives Paula a guide for reading the Bible. She should begin with Psalms and Proverbs: the one for distraction and the other for lessons of life. Ecclesiastes then teaches to devalue the world. Next, Job--for patience and virtue. Then she can take up the Gospels, Acts, and the Epistles. After these, she should memorize the Prophets, the Heptateuch, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther. Only then should she read the Song of Songs. She should avoid the apocryphal books, but the writings of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Hilary are all worth reading. The test appears to be if the writer maintains in his book "a steady love of the faith." She may read other

³²No doubt a lesson learned from the death of Blesilla.

authors, but it should be with the critic's eyes, "rather than as a disciple."³³

Jerome concludes the letter with a plea to send the child, after she has been weaned, to Paula, Eustochium, and himself. Rome, he argues, is no place to raise a child. All of the dangers about which he has warned Laeta can be avoided if Paula is reared in a monastery, away from the world. Jerome tries to console Laeta that if she could only see her mother-in-law and aunt, she would herself move to Bethlehem to live as a nun. But, since Laeta seems to have been called to be a mother, she should remember that Hannah, after paying her debt to God (Jerome's words), was given five children for herself. Laeta is told to imitate Hannah. Jerome's final words are that he himself will become both tutor and foster-father, and will do an excellent job because "I shall not be teaching a Macedonian king, destined to die...but a handmaid and bride of Christ...."³⁴

The first thing that becomes apparent from reading this letter is that the title is misleading: the intention of the letter was not to educate little Paula. Rather, Jerome was attempting to convince Laeta that she had made the correct decision to devote Paula to God, and, to persuade her to send Paula to Bethlehem.

³³Ep. 107.12.

³⁴Ibid., section 13.

That Laeta's decision was made less than eagerly can be seen in Jerome's use of the story of Hannah twice: sections 4 and 13. Laeta does not want to give up her little girl, and Jerome hopes that she (Laeta) will take comfort in the fact that Hannah had children after giving up Samuel.

Jerome uses sections four through eleven and thirteen to persuade Laeta to send him the little girl. His tactics are constant repetition and threats. Jerome warns Laeta three times that boys must be kept away (sections 4, 7, 9), also three times that Paula should not be left by herself (sections 7, 9, 11), and cautions twice that her diet should be restricted (sections 8, 10).³⁵ But to drive his point home Jerome, in addition to heaping up the responsibilities for the parent, uses scare tactics in sections five and six.

Section five tells the story of the virgin who got careless with her apparel and was killed by Christ, and section six applies the story of Eli (who lost God's favor because of his sons' faults) to Laeta and Toxotius. Jerome keeps piling up duties upon threats until, in section thirteen, he poses the appropriate question from Laeta: "How shall I, a woman of the world living in crowded Rome, be able to keep all these injunctions?" To which Jerome makes his most direct plea for the child.

³⁵There are other examples. These are just the most prominent.

Even though the main intent of the letter may be something other than the actual education of little Paula, one is able to make some observations about the pedagogical material in the epistle. The thing which is striking about this letter is that Jerome takes the usual drills and exercises of the primary and secondary schools and modifies the content to give them a distinctively Christian orientation.

The second letter to be considered (#128) was written in A.D. 413 and is addressed Ad Pacatula, whose father, Gaudentius, was a friend of Jerome. Pacatula, like Paula, was dedicated to become a virgin, and so some of the same issues come up in this letter which were addressed in the former.

Jerome begins, as in Ep. 107, with the basics: Pacatula must learn her alphabet, spelling, grammar, and syntax. In order to facilitate this, the child should be bribed with little prizes. She should also learn to spin. Having completed this sort of work, she should be allowed to play. Here, Jerome differs from the other letter--he did not want little Paula playing frivolous games. Again, she should be rewarded for singing psalms aloud.

Jerome then offers two approaches to bringing up virgins. The first path is to keep the child ignorant of things she should not have. This is, of course Jerome's preference and the one he encouraged Laeta to follow. The

other path is to let the child have all that she desires, to "let her grow sated with having, and let her see that others are praised who have not."³⁶ The argument here is that God used this method with Israel in the wilderness.

Jerome uses Pauline language and arguments to reject this choice. He allegorizes I Corinthians 7:18; 5; and Genesis 3:21 in order to repudiate this second option:

"is any called being circumcised--that is, a virgin--let him not become uncircumcised"--that is, let him not seek in marriage the "coats of skins," wherewith Adam clothed himself when he was expelled from the paradise of virginity.³⁷

Jerome goes on a tangent from this into the lifestyles of virgins (both male and female)--how they (virgins) are not being careful enough with their vows.

He then continues with his instructions for Pacatula: she should mix only with females--"she should not even know how to play with boys"; her language should be clean and she should obey her mother. When she reaches the age of seven, she should memorize the Psalms and read constantly the books of Solomon, the Gospels, Acts and the Epistles, and the prophets. She should not be allowed in public unaccompanied and should prefer her room to crowds. Any child who has bad habits should be kept away. Her teacher should be of impeccable character, otherwise suitors will be able to get past her to Pacatulla. Most of this advice is found

³⁶Ep. 128 section 2.

³⁷Ibid., section 3.

verbatim in the other letter. Jerome is consistent in his advice on how one ought to be trained for life as a virgin.

From his admonitions against a teacher who is soft, Jerome digresses into a lament on the state of the world: marriages between upper class women and slaves, and wives leaving husbands in the name of their religion. The fall of Rome (three years past) still weighed heavily on Jerome. He spends the rest of the letter on the state of affairs due to this event and the effect they will have on Pacatula:

Such are the times into which our Pacatula has been born, these are the rattles of her infancy. She will know tears before laughter, she will feel sorrow sooner than joy. Scarcely has she trod the stage before the curtain falls. She thinks that the world was ever thus, she knows not of the past....³⁸

When taken together, these two letters offer a good indication of what Jerome thought should be included in the education of a young virgin. It was important that the child be kept from temptation, and so should not be left to herself. She should be taught to enjoy the privacy of her room and should be in the company of only those whose lives were worthy of imitation.

Some of the excesses which Kelly complained of in the first letter can be explained by the personal stake Jerome had in it--getting Laeta to send the child to Jerome and Paula. The annoying repetition in the Ep. 107 is missing in Ep. 128. Jerome encourages Pacatula to play after

³⁸Ibid., section 5.

completing her work, whereas he seemed to want Paula's activities to center only around prayer and reading.

The frustrating thing about these letters is that they contain no direct information concerning Jerome's thoughts on reading the pagan classics. There are, however, a few thoughts which may be helpful with respect to this problem. First, Jerome himself was thoroughly influenced by this literature; he cites examples from that corpus in the two letters dealt with here. Second, everything which Jerome was deeply concerned about, he struggled with: his most heated arguments were over the ascetic life, a life which he did not adapt to readily. This also included the reading and study of pagan authors--the Ciceronian dream is witness to this fact. It is entirely possible that he wanted to save these two little girls (just as he did by the regulation of their activities) the turmoil that he had lived with himself.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children

John Chrysostom--the last of the Fathers to be considered for this project--combined many of the personalty traits which plagued Jerome. Like Jerome, he was a staunch ascetic, adamant in his preference for that lifestyle over against matrimony. He was irascible and sometimes "his fiery temperament betrayed him only too often into inconsiderate, if not offensive speech and action."¹ And, John, like Jerome and Basil, was fond of the city social life. Yet, for every person he offended, John won two more with his gift of oratory. This was the reason he was called "Golden Mouth." John, in fact, had to warn his congregation to be conscious of pick-pockets, who reaped a bountiful harvest from the entranced crowd.

John was born around the year 347 C.E. in Antioch. Most scholars contend that the family was well off financially, Secundus (the father) being in the magister

¹Johannes Quasten, Patrology, 3 vols. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960), III:425.

militum, and Anthusa (the mother) being of noble birth.² Secundus died while John was still an infant leaving his wife, age 20, with two children to raise.³

Anthusa refused all offers of re-marriage in order to devote herself to the education of John and the management of her husband's property (which, of course, John would inherit). The character and piety of this woman places her among the most noble women of the fourth century. It is reported that Libanius, when he heard about Anthusa, exclaimed: "Bless me! what wonderful women there are among the Christians."⁴

Anthusa acquainted John with the Scriptures and instilled sound doctrine in him from an early age. At the appropriate age, John studied philosophy with Andragathias

²F. W. Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, vol. 2. (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1907), p. 617, and Philip Schaff, Prolegomena to St. Chrysostom, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series, vol. IX. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., reprint ed. 1978), p. 5 are two such scholars. A. H. M. Jones, in his article "St John Chrysostom's Parentage and Education." Harvard Theological Review 46 (1953):171-73, argues that Secundus was only in the officium of the magister militum: "Secundus, that is to say, was not a senator of the highest rank, later to be called illustris, but a high grade civil servant."

³Edmund Venables concludes that John's older sister must have died in infancy. Cf. William Smith and Henry Wace, A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, s.v. "Chrysostom, John," (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1877) p. 518.

⁴Philip Schaff, Prolegomena to St. Chrysostom, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, vol. IX. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., reprint ed., 1978), p. 5.

(about whom nothing more is known) and then rhetoric and literature with Libanius--the premier orator and sophist of his day. John was an impressive student and apparently Libanius' favorite. When asked whom he wanted to succeed him, Libanius responded: "It would have been John, had not the Christians taken him from us."⁵ John acquired a knowledge of the Greek classics and eloquence from his teacher. There seems to be a consensus that John, though "he occasionally quotes pagan authors...apparently had no love for them."⁶

Having completed his schooling, John began some sort of public service. Most scholars maintain that, like Jerome, John became a lawyer.⁷ Whichever position John pursued, he

⁵Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. VIII.2

⁶Farrar, p. 618. Cf. also Tom Halton's article "St. John Chrysostom on Education," Catholic Educational Review 61 (1963):163-75. He states on page 167 that "it is clear...that Chrysostom had little sympathy with the excessively rhetorical type of education that predominated in his day and made a deliberate effort to replace it, not merely for religious aspirants but even for future men of the world, with a Scripture-oriented paideia that stressed moral rather than intellectual values." This, however, seems unlikely since the quotations used to support this statement do not, in fact, accomplish this (as an example cf. p. 166 where the quotation clearly states that Chrysostom does not forbid the study of pagan classics).

⁷Cf. Farrar, p. 619, Schaff, p. 6, based upon Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. VIII,4. A. H. M. Jones (Chrysostom, p. 173), however, argues that John's education overqualified him for that position. Rather than training for the bar, Jones believes John was training for a position as clerk of the Sacra scrinia. This was a "service highly appropriate to a young man of John's talents and position."

loved the social life. He was also a frequent visitor to the law courts and the theater.

During this period, John apparently kept up the practice of reading the Scriptures. His life as a public servant became increasingly intolerable, so, in the year 370, John offered himself as a catechumen to the Antiochene bishop, Meletius. Schaff reports the incident this way:

The quiet study of the Scriptures, the example of his pious mother, the acquaintance with Bishop Meletius, and the influence of his intimate friend Basil, who was ...devoted to ascetic life, combined to produce a gradual change in his character.⁸

Baptism was a pivotal decision in John's life, he turned his lifestyle completely around. He was appointed to the position of Reader by Meletius and wanted immediately to begin an ascetic routine with his friend Basil (not the Cappadocian bishop). Anthusa, however, pleaded with her son not to make her a widow for a second time--to wait until her death, then he could retire. Respecting his mother's wishes, John and Basil practiced a rigid asceticism at home --sleeping on the floor and eating a restricted diet.

John, Basil, and two of John's old school-mates, Maximius (later to be bishop of Seleucia) and Theodore of Mopsuestia, placed themselves under the guidance of Diodorus (founder of the Antiochene school) for the purpose of studying Scripture.

⁸Schaff, p. 6.

Around the year 374, John went into the mountains south of Antioch. There, he attached himself to a Pachomian-style monastery where he busied himself with labor, fasting, contemplation, and the study of Scripture. After four years in this location, John moved to an individual cave where he could be alone. He slept very little and ate only a little bread and water. His health failed him almost completely after two years and so he was forced to return to Antioch.

Now began John's ecclesiastical career. In 381 Meletius ordained him for the office of deacon. Then, in 386, John was ordained priest by Bishop Flavian. Having seen the response to John's preaching, Flavian made him the chief preacher at the main church in Antioch. This remained John's responsibility for twelve years. He normally preached twice a week (Saturday and Sunday) and also on Lent and saints' days.

In the year 397 Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, died, and it was decided that Chrysostom would be the best choice. Knowing that John would never accept the position, a plan was devised to kidnap him. On 26 February 398, Chrysostom was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople by an unwilling Theophilus (Bishop of Alexandria).

Chrysostom was ill-suited to the job from the very beginning. Although because of his rhetorical gift he endeared himself to his congregation, he offended almost everyone else. He angered the priests, the aristocracy, and

more importantly for him, the empress: his rigorous ascetic life was not what the imperial court was accustomed to. He offered no banquets and he himself dined very modestly. He spoke very few words as conversation and acted as if that time would be better spent in other ways. Upon arrival, John stripped the episcopal palace of its furniture, plate, and expensive hangings and sold them to give to the poor and hospitals. In fact it has been said that John, lavishing money to the poor, increased the number of beggars rather than decreasing it.

One of the first matters that Chrysostom took up was an attempted reformation of the clergy. Within three months they were furious with the moral demands which they regarded as tyrannical. He deposed many bishops and refused the Eucharist to others. He vehemently condemned the clerical custom of taking "spiritual sisters." This occurred when a priest took in a widow or virgin to live with him (often as a means of getting around celibacy). He also advised the aristocracy not to lavish gifts too indiscriminately on the clergy. As a result of these measures, the clergy began to conspire against John. Quasten summarizes the situation this way:

(He) never realized the essential difference between the poisoned atmosphere of the imperial residence and the purer climate of the provincial capital, Antioch. He had a soul too noble and unselfish to see through the intrigues of the court. His sense of personal dignity too lofty to stoop to that subservient attitude

toward the imperial magistries which would have secured him their lasting favor.⁹

John was at the height of his power during this time. He was involved with the downfall of two city menaces: Eutropius, the imperial prime minister,¹⁰ and Gaius, an Arian who was menacing the capital. With the downfall of Eutropius, however, Chrysostom remained the only influence in the way of Empress Eudoxia's control over the emperor. She and her court then set themselves against Chrysostom.

Chrysostom's first deposition and exile came as a result of the controversies over Origen. Theophilus of Alexandria began to oppress monks who were associated in any way with Origen's teachings. Four of them from the Nitrian desert fled to Chrysostom for asylum. The monks wanted the charges dismissed. As a result Theophilus was called to Constantinople to answer concerning these charges. Theophilus took advantage of the situation and took the offensive. He convinced Epiphanius to go to Chrysostom and try to get him to sign a condemnation of Origen and to exile the "Tall Brothers" (the monks from the Nitrian desert). Epiphanius was to force the issue by accusing Chrysostom of being an Origenist. While in Constantinople he also ordained a deacon in violation of the Nicene council. Due

⁹Quasten, III:425.

¹⁰This is ironic because it was Eutropius who was responsible for getting John elected--because he thought he would be able to control John.

to the appeal of the local monks and the remonstrances of Chrysostom, Epiphanius realized his error and was forced to confess that he had never read any of the writings of those whom he was accusing. He then sailed for home, dying on the ship.

In the year 403, Theophilus sailed to the capital city. He refused the hospitality offered by Chrysostom and immediately set a new scheme into motion.

Theophilus convened a council composed of thirty-six bishops, all except seven of whom were from Egypt. The "Council of the Oak" called Chrysostom to account for twenty-nine trumped-up charges. Chrysostom refused to appear before the hostile assembly unless his avowed enemies left the council. This was ignored and after three refusals by Chrysostom to appear, the "council" deposed him. The emperor upheld the decision and exiled Chrysostom to Bithynia. Chrysostom yielded in order to avoid bloodshed by his loyal congregation.

Riots, however, began to break out after John left town. And, on the next day, an earthquake struck, which apparently was particularly strong in the empress's bedroom. She, being a superstitious person, asked that John be recalled. He re-entered the city in triumphal procession, and reached a sermon at the entrance to his church. In his next sermon (perhaps the very next day) Chrysostom spoke of the empress in glowing terms and the wound seemed to be

healed. A council composed of sixty bishops annulled the so-called council of the Oak.

This truce lasted only a short time. In 403 Eudoxia had a porphyry column erected to hold a silver statue of herself near the Hagia Sophia church. The dedication was noisy and filled with bacchanalian revelry. Chrysostom was incensed. On the feast day of St. John the Baptist John reportedly said: "Herodias is again enraged; again she dances; again she seeks the head of John in a basin."¹¹ This was the final straw. With Theophilus directing things from a safe distance, John's enemies once more attacked.

This time John was charged with returning to a see under civil power after being deposed from that see. In 404 the emperor Arcadius ordered John to remove himself from service to the church. Chrysostom refused. On Easter-eve, Chrysostom and those catechumens who were ready to be baptized gathered at the baths of Constans. Soldiers broke into the baths and scattered clergy and half-clothed catechumens; there were beatings and robberies. Chrysostom was imprisoned in the episcopal palace. On 5 June 404 John was once again deposed and exiled. John died in the year 407, in route to the place where he was to be exiled.¹²

¹¹Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. VIII.8.

¹²In 414, John's name was re-admitted to the church diptychs and communion with the west was restored. In 438, his remains were removed to Constantinople and buried in the Church of the Apostles.

The Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children has only recently been considered for scholarly study: its authenticity was doubted for a number of years. Its date--whether it was written in Antioch along with most of Chrysostom's other works, or in Constantinople--is almost impossible to ascertain. Scholars have argued for both periods.¹³

The Address is divided into two unequal sections. The first section consists of the first sixteen paragraphs and takes up the topic of vainglory. The second section is made up of the remainder of the address and deals with the education of children.

Chrysostom considers vainglory to be the root of all other problems--especially in the church:

Yea, if it were possible to look on Vainglory and the Church with our eyes, one would behold a pitiful sight, exceeding by far in savagery the spectacles in the circus--the body of the Church prostrate and Vainglory standing over it, gazing fixedly all round, restraining those that attack her, never giving ground nor drawing back.¹⁴

The first paragraph sets up the problem, the solution to which will be given in the remainder of the address.

Paragraphs two and three caricature Vainglory. Paragraph two pictures her as a harlot who lures the young men with her feigned modesty. Paragraph three compares her

¹³M. L. W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951), pp. 80f.

¹⁴Address, 1. The translation used is that by Laistner in Christianity and Pagan Culture.

to "the fruit of Sodom, which has a fair semblance and the beholder, as he views it, receives the impression of wholesome fruit." In both cases the image is false and crumbles upon inspection.

Chrysostom next gives an example of the way vainglory works in an individual's life (paragraphs four through ten). The man who presents the theater entertainment is lauded for his efforts. Costly banquets follow at the man's home and this goes on for several days. But eventually the money is gone--and the glory. And, if he has spent beyond his means, the man not only does not receive praise, but receives nothing from those who only days ago had hailed him as patron. The so-called honors that were received are very small: "...they are honored not for the displays but because they are expected to spend further sums for the crowd. If they were honored for favors received, why do men accuse them when they have nothing?"¹⁵

Paragraphs thirteen through fifteen deal with the ridiculousness of vainglory. People concern themselves with possessing things for the sole purpose of impressing others, but must then keep them hidden lest someone become too impressed and steal them. Or, those who are deprived of necessities worry about household possessions. These things should be of no concern to the Christian.

¹⁵Ibid., 10.

Halton, placing the writing of this treatise in Antioch, writes "vainglory, luxury, and debauchery were the main vices of Antioch and Chrysostom's purpose is to guard youth from such serious vices by teaching parents...." The purpose seems correct but the same vices would have been evident in Constantinople--perhaps even to a greater extent.¹⁶

The people of Chrysostom's congregation were very concerned with adapting their children to society, but not as worried about directing the child's life properly. Parents taught their children to wear jewelry and let their hair grow--"implanting in (them)...an excessive love of wealth and teaching (them) to be excited by things of no profit...."¹⁷ John told them (in paragraph 16) that what the children really needed was a strict tutor--pedagogue. One should note here the reference to one part of the standard educational system of the ancient world. Remember that the pedagogue was responsible for getting the child to school safely, as well as looking after the child's moral upbringing. This is one of several references throughout this work which demonstrate that John presupposed that the child was being taught in the school system of that time.

¹⁶It should perhaps be mentioned at this point that B. W. Hare, in his article "St. John Chrysostom on Education," Prudentia 6 (1974):99-104, has reproduced much of Halton's article without reference.

¹⁷Address, 16.

Chrysostom says that many will laugh at what he is saying, believing it to be pedantic, but, these little things are decisive in developing a young Christian.

In our own day every man takes the greatest pains to train his boy in the arts and in literature and speech. But to exercise this child's soul in virtue, to that no man any longer pays heed."¹⁸

Discipline is the most important means of combating vainglory. This need not be training the child to be an ascetic but discipline for raising an "athlete for Christ." John first compares this early training to the formation of a pearl (paragraph 21). At the beginning of the formation the pearl can be shaped perfectly round. But, after it has hardened and set, the shape can be changed only with difficulty. Chrysostom also compares this crucial period in the child's life to the sculpting of a statue. Parents are to work at educating their child as the artist works on his art--devoting all their spare time to the job. Like the sculptor, they should "remove what is superfluous and add what is lacking."¹⁹ The first thing to be banished should be licentious speech. From the very beginning the child should be taught to "shorten sleep for the sake of prayer and with every word and deed to set upon himself the seal of faith."²⁰

¹⁸Ibid., 18.

¹⁹Ibid., 22.

²⁰Ibid.

With paragraph 23 Chrysostom takes up the analogy which occupies him for most of the remainder of the address: the comparison of the soul of the child to a city.

The father should think of himself as a king ruling over the soul of his son. Just as a city needs legislation to "banish evildoers and admit the good and prevent the evildoers from rising up against the good," a child needs rules to guide his life.²¹ The laws must be strong and enforced or the well-being of the city will be undermined.

Having given these admonitions concerning legislation for the city, Chrysostom begins a tour of the walls (the body) and the five gates (the eyes, tongue, ears, nose, and touch).

The tongue is the first gate to be approached. The gate must be equipped with doors and bolts of gold--that is the words of God.

Let us teach the child so that the words revolve on his lips all the time, even on his walks abroad, not lightly nor incidentally nor at rare intervals, but without ceasing.²²

The bolt for these golden gates will be the cross of Christ "fashioned through and through of precious gems and set athwart the middle of the gates."²³

²¹Ibid., 24.

²²Ibid., 28.

²³Ibid.

Chrysostom next turns to the fashioning of the "citizens" of this gate. All inappropriate language should be expelled: "...no one save only the King must pass through these gates."²⁴ This is easily accomplished if the parents are "zealous critics." A law should be made that the child "use no one in despite, that he speak ill of no man, that he swear not, that he be not contentious."²⁵ If this rule is violated, the child should be punished with stern looks and/or reproachful words but not consistently with the rod. The parent should threaten to use corporal punishment but then not use it. One must not, however, let on that this is only a threat or the effect will be lost. "So let him expect chastisement but not receive it, so that his fear may not be quenched but may endure..."²⁶

It is interesting to note Chrysostom's distaste for corporal punishment. Since the norm for discipline during the fourth century was the rod, this was a significant departure.

If the child mistreats the servants he should be punished "...for if he knows that he may not ill use even a slave, he will abstain all the more from insulting or

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid. 30.

²⁶Ibid.

slandering one who is free and of his class."²⁷ The parent should not let the child speak evil or criticize others. The mother, tutor, and servants should all be exhorted to keep watch over the child in this manner. Here again, with the mention of the tutor, Chrysostom presupposes that the child is being educated in the Greco-Roman system. If all goes well, this training should only take two months.

Chrysostom next passes on to the gate of hearing. This gate is very similar to the speaking gate: they are both one-way portals.

...He that hears no base or wicked words does not utter base words either. But if this gate stands wide open to all, the other will suffer harm and all those within will be thrown into confusion.²⁸

The instructions for fortifying this gate are--as would be expected--similar to the first gate. The child should hear nothing harmful from the slaves or tutor or nurses. Therefore, special care should be taken in selecting individuals to fill these positions. The child should not be told wives' tales and frivolous stories. Also only certain ones of the servants should be allowed around the child--those who are fitted to take part in the molding of the child.

The parent should entertain the child, when relaxing from his studies, with Biblical stories. Two observations

²⁷Ibid. 31.

²⁸Ibid. 36.

should be made here. First of all, that the child took a break from "studies" presumes some sort of scholastic activity apart from the child's moral training.²⁹ Second, Chrysostom seems to be supplementing that syllabus with Biblical stories. In this way the child will receive a balance between the mythical heroes from school and the Biblical heroes at home. They (the parents) should begin with the story of Cain and Abel (paragraphs 39-42). The story should be told so that the interest of the child is kept: "then arouse him--for not a little depends on the telling of the story--introducing nothing that is untrue but only what is related in the Scriptures."³⁰

The child learns two lessons right away from this story. First, the earthly ruler, like God, "honors one who brings gifts and receives him in his house; another he suffers to stand outside."³¹ The second lesson the child learns concerns the resurrection of the dead. "'What happened next? God received the younger son into heaven; having died he is up above.'"³² Also, the punishment of Cain should be stressed--putting it in terms the child is familiar with:

²⁹This also goes against Halton's thesis.

³⁰Address, 39.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

Just as thou, when thou art standing before thy teacher and art in an agony of doubt whether thou art to receive a whipping, thou tremblest and art afraid, even so did he live all his days, because he had given offense to God.³³

The parents should take turns telling this story until the child has heard it often. Then they should ask the child to repeat the story to them. When he has memorized the story, the parents should then expound on how the story profits him, telling him how great a sin greed is and how wrong it is to envy one's brother and to think that one can hide anything from God. If the boy learns this lesson early, he will have no need of a tutor, for the fear of God will possess him.

In addition, when the child goes to church and hears the story read, he will be thrilled when he recognizes the tale--"because he knows what the other children do not know, as he anticipates the story, recognizes it, and derives great gain from it."³⁴ The child will then also learn that he need not grieve in adversity since God received Abel into heaven.

After the child has learned this story well, the parents introduce him to the story of Jacob and Esau--the part concerning the birthright. This teaches him to honor his father and to despise the stomach.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid. 41

Then the parent should continue with the Jacob story-- Jacob's ladder. At this point (paragraph 47) Chrysostom takes off on a tangent. Since Jacob received his new name--Israel--in this dream, Chrysostom discusses the process of naming a child.

Let us afford our children from the first an incentive to goodness from the name that we give them. Let none of us hasten to call his child after his forebears ...but rather after the righteous--martyrs, bishops, apostles.³⁵

He goes on to ridicule the superstitious practices of the day. He also points out that none of the patriarchs named their children after themselves, but rather names were changed to "bring(s) virtue to mind." By giving some forethought to the child's name--"grasp our kinship with the righteous rather than with our forebears"--the name given will help in the rearing of the child.

Chrysostom then continues with the Jacob cycle. After the story of Jacob's ladder the parent should tell of his (Jacob's) marriage. The child will learn "to trust in God, to despise no one..., to feel no shame at simple thrift, to bear misfortune nobly, and all the rest."³⁶

After the child gets older, the parents should turn to more fearful tales. These should not be told at too young an age, though, lest they disturb him. But at the age of fifteen, he is ready to hear of Hell. And at eight or ten

³⁵Ibid 47.

³⁶Ibid. 51.

he may be told of the flood, Sodom and Gomorrah--all stories full of divine punishment. When he is older yet, he should be told stories from the New Testament as well. These are the stories that will fortify his hearing. Slaves that speak lewdly and all women should be kept away from the child.

It is interesting to note that Chrysostom seems to have worked out some sort of graded reader for the Biblical stories to use in the home--a Biblical grammar school. Certain stories are fit with certain lessons for certain ages. When the child gets older, additional lessons are learned for the old stories and new stories are then added. Just as the child advanced from fables to epic in school, so he advanced in his training in the Bible. But, the stories are paraphrases of the texts. They are to be told so that the child's interest is held--much like the modern bed-time story.

The sense of smell is the third gate Chrysostom addresses. All perfumes and fragrances should be kept from the child: "Nothing weakens, nothing relaxes the right tension of the soul as a pleasure in sweet odors."³⁷ By paying attention to small details such as this the education of the youth will be much easier.

The eyes are the fourth gate, and this gate is very difficult to guard; strict laws are therefore needed. The

³⁷Ibid. 54.

first is that the child should not ever be allowed to go to the theater. He should also be warned about the attractions of the alleys. But his own appearance should not be an attraction to the world. Therefore his hair must be cut short. The tutor and nurse must show special concern in this area. The child should be shown natural beauty--the flowers, the meadows, "fair books." This is yet another indication of Chrysostom's appreciation for classical learning. Since the term "Scripture" is not used, the books are likely classical in content. Let these give him pleasure.

The child should be told the story of Joseph often, and that the kingdom of heaven and its great rewards are for those who live sober lives. The parents should promise to lead the young boy to a bride and tell him that he is heir to their property. Threats that if he does not act properly he will not receive these promises should also be used. He should not speak to any women--the sense of sight will enable him to choose the girl he wants. The parents should not let the child have any money, they should keep everything shameful from him, and the child should despise luxury.

The last gate is the sense of touch. The child should not have any fine clothing or soft treatment for his body. He is being trained as an athlete for Christ; let austerity be the rule.

Chrysostom next takes up the "houses and chambers of the citizens."³⁸ He divides the soul into the usual tripartite segments--the spirit, located in the breast and the heart; the appetitive part, located in the liver; and the reasoning part, in the brain.

Spirit produces both good and bad qualities; the good are sobriety and equability, the bad, rashness and ill temper. So, too, with the appetitive part; the good it causes is sobriety, the evil, licentiousness. And with the rational part the good is understanding, the bad, folly.³⁹

The good qualities should be cultivated from birth.

The spirit of the youth must be harnessed and not eliminated. The child should learn to be patient and to take it in stride when he is wronged but to aid those who are being mistreated. This can be accomplished by practice with their own slaves--being patient when slighted and not becoming angry when disobeyed.

Members of the household should "...spur the boy on, so that he may be exercised and practiced in controlling his passions..."⁴⁰ Just as the athletes who wrestle practice against their friends that they will be ready for the contest, so should the Christian athlete be trained in controlling his passions. Therefore, the slaves should be

³⁸Ibid. 64.

³⁹Ibid. 65.

⁴⁰Ibid. 69.

allowed to provoke the child toward this purpose--the father and brother also joining periodically.

The first law, then, is that the child should never defend himself and never allow another not to be defended. Biblical stories should be used to illustrate this point: Paul is one example to be used, as is Moses, who defended the Israelite yet fled when he was treated wrongly.

The father should set a disciplined example for the child. The child should be taught to minister to his own needs--anything he can do himself he should not ask the slave to do. This will make the child strong and simple and courteous, as well as endear him to the slaves.

The child should be taught the difference between slave and free. The conduct of the child should be above that of the slave; otherwise he will become of slave of his slaves. Let him treat his servants as brothers. Teach the child to forgive in small matters (if a slave should break one of his pencils or pens) so that he will learn through this to bear greater matters. Once again, the examples used are taken from the realm of the pagan school. Also, the parent should not replace such items right away: when the child has gotten over the loss and is no longer distressed by it, then replace what was lost.

When he is dependent on no one, when he suffers loss, when he needs no service, when he does not resent honor

paid to another, what source will there be left for anger.⁴¹

The child's desire must be held in check. This can be accomplished by keeping him away from the theater. Any of his friends who are restraining themselves from there should be held up for example. The parent should devise other pleasures for the child:

Let us lead him to saintly men, let us give him recreation, let us show our regard for him by many gifts, so that his soul may patiently bear our rejection of the theater.⁴²

The child should constantly be reminded of men of old, "pagan or Christian," who were known for their self-restraint. One final confirmation of Chrysostom's respect for the classics: those pagan heroes who lived self-restrained lives should be emulated. And, if there are slaves who conduct themselves soberly, use them for comparison, pointing out how ridiculous it is for the free man to behave less controlled than the servant. The child should also learn to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays. And, in the evenings, the father should take the child to watch the people departing from the theater and make fun of their lack of good sense. The child should also be taught to pray "with great fervor and contrition." These things will all help to guide the child to virtue.

⁴¹Ibid. 75.

⁴²Ibid. 78.

If the child is to live a secular life, introduce him to a wife at an early age. But, first he must learn to respect virginity. This will contribute to the happiness of the marriage and God will be "more gracious and fill the marriage with countless blessings...."⁴³ The parents should praise the girl's beauty and threaten that she will not accept the boy if he is slothful. This should be sufficient to cause him to think twice about his actions.

The child should also see the head of the church often and hear his words often. "Let him hear many words of praise from the bishop's lips."⁴⁴

He should also be trained for wisdom:

This is the great and wondrous function of philosophy, that he may know God and all the treasure laid up in Heaven, and Hell and the kingdom of the other world.⁴⁵

To get into what exactly Chrysostom means by "philosophy" is beyond the scope of this paper, but one cannot help but wonder if, in addition to the obvious reference to religious training, he did not also have in mind the kind of skills which the child would have learned in the pagan school. Wisdom will provide the means by which he will know "the meaning of human desires, wealth, reputation, power, and may

⁴³Ibid. 81.

⁴⁴Ibid. 83.

⁴⁵Ibid. 85.

disdain these and strive after the highest."⁴⁶ These are the skills which will make for a successful marriage. Teach the child also to be active politically so long as he can do so without sin.

He concludes the address with a brief warning to mothers to train their daughters to avoid extravagance "and other vanities." She should keep the girl from drunkenness and luxury. All desires for finery should be suppressed. A benediction to Jesus closes the writing.

The Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children is notable for several points which it makes. First of all, more than the other texts surveyed, Chrysostom has a Biblical plan for the moral training of children. He gives examples of how to use stories to teach the child the way he should act and cites persons to be emulated for certain deeds.

Another thing which Chrysostom brings out is the importance of imitation. The father should be an example of a disciplined life. Peers should be pointed out who abstain from the theater. Along the same lines, substitutes should be found for pleasures deemed unfit for a Christian.

One curious note is found at the end of the treatise. Chrysostom, unlike most writers before him, found public office acceptable for a Christian--as long as he avoided

⁴⁶Ibid. 86.

sin. In fact the child should be trained how to perform such duties (cf. 89).

It seems fitting that the Address close the selection of texts to be considered. Chrysostom has truly prescribed a formula for a Christian education. Basil considered the role which the pagan classics should play for the Christian youth, and Jerome was concerned with the training of those dedicated to Christ as virgins, but John detailed the types of considerations one must attend to in order to shape a Christian adult.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It remains now to formulate some sort of synthesis of how Christianity related to the educational world in which it grew up, as expressed by Basil, Jerome, and John in the three works considered here. In addition, these writings need to be placed in context within Christianity itself: are these works the last word on Christian education?

First of all, it should be observed that the backgrounds of the three men are remarkably similar. Each was raised by Christian parents (parent in the case of Chrysostom). Each received the finest education available. It is an interesting fact that, according to Laistner, most of the Greek sophists were located in Athens, Smyrna, Antioch, and Constantinople.¹ Basil studied at Constantinople and Athens; John at Antioch and Constantinople; and Jerome, in addition to his Roman training, was also educated in Antioch.

All three men experienced a sort of "falling away" into the pleasures of the social life that accompanied one who attained such an education. Their lives changed drastically

¹M. L. W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951), p. 10.

though after baptism. Each of them devoted himself to a rigid Christian life.

It should also be pointed out that each of them emphasized in their writings on education those areas with which they themselves had struggled. This is particularly noticeable in Basil, who warned against being uncritical in what one accepted from the pagan literature, and Chrysostom, who was emphatic in his admonitions against the theater. Basil, of course, needed to be recaptured from a life as a rhetorician, and Chrysostom had enjoyed the theater while he was in school. Jerome followed this pattern, but it is more apparent in his other writings where he vehemently advocates the ascetic lifestyle and verbally persecutes Origenists.

Now, with respect to these men's views concerning the education of Christian youth, many similarities in method can be found. They all supply copious illustrations for their various arguments. Basil makes use of both pagan and Biblical examples. He draws mainly from the pagan classics, however. He does this for two reasons: he is attempting to show, first of all, the numerous examples of virtuous men and deeds in pagan literature, and secondly, he wants to demonstrate how to glean this material from what could be harmful to those who wish to live a Christian life.

Jerome offers examples almost exclusively from the Bible. It is interesting, though, that every now and then a quotation from pagan literature slips out (cf. for example

the beginning of the third section of Ep. 107). He has read so much of the literature that it has become a part of his vocabulary.

John Chrysostom, perhaps more than the other two combined, piles example upon example to make his points. He draws quite a bit from the Bible but also uses events and people from everyday life to illustrate his points.

Just as each of the "fathers" used a number of illustrations to support their arguments, many of these arguments were for the same things. There were certain themes that ran through all three authors. Each advises his audience to restrict their diet. Extravagance in food was seen as leading to extravagance in other aspects of life as well. Along with this there were admonitions against soft clothes and scents. The same problem was felt to exist with these things. All three men warn against effeminacy.² This could be the result of succumbing to the other three luxuries (food, soft clothing, and perfumes).

All three men suggest also that the ears and mouths of the youths be strictly monitored. What is said around and to the children should be good and healthy, and what the children say should be becoming of a Christian child. Both Jerome and Chrysostom, in addition, recommend that the sexes remain segregated--young men should avoid keeping company,

²It is interesting to note that during the Roman period there was an apparent problem with young men who were less than "masculine" in their habits. Bonner, pp. 98-99.

or even seeing, young women, and vice versa. And finally Basil, as well as Chrysostom, sees no value in the theater. It is considered a disgraceful place with which to be associated. These concerns can be traced to each man's concern that the Christian's ultimate objective is not tied to the luxuries of this world. One can better concentrate on the task at hand if he is not tied to material concerns.

So is there a consensus of opinion--given similar themes and a fondness for literary examples--on the role of "secular" education in the life of a Christian? Basil is the only one who addresses the issue directly. For him the role is that of pedagogue. Pagan literature offers "analogies" to what the Scriptures teach more fully:

Now to that other life the Holy Scriptures lead the way, teaching us through mysteries. Yet so long as, by reason of your age, it is impossible for you to understand the depth of meaning of these, in the meantime, by means of other analogies which are not entirely different, we give, as it were in shadows and reflections, a preliminary training to the eye of the soul...³

Pagan literature and learning is only valuable in so far as it aids the Christian in his/her quest for the "other life."

This would seem to be what Chrysostom believes. Throughout his discourse on how to bring up Christian youth, John assumes that he is supplementing the education of the child. There are several places where he mentions the tutor of the child (paragraph 32 for example) and tablets and pens

³Address, II.6.

(paragraph 73)--school supplies. Chrysostom's task is to take the basic education of any child and modify that through the parents and additional instruction so that the outcome is a Christian.

Jerome goes one step farther. Since he is dealing with children dedicated to Christ from birth, he actually modifies the standard primary and secondary levels of instruction. He uses Quintillian's grammar book and Christianizes it. The lullabies any child would sing are replaced by hymns. In place of the names of gods which the normal child learned as his first words Jerome inserts the names of prophets and apostles. For "grammatical" readings, in lieu of Homer and Hesiod, Jerome composed a syllabus of Biblical books. The shell of the system is the same, but the content has been changed. For the person who has given up this world the curriculum and expectations have been changed somewhat.

The imagery of the Christian athlete--used by all three authors--seems to sum up the situation best. It is the athlete's single-mindedness that enables him to win a contest. That quality produces a desire to eat only those foods which contribute to his health, to practice only those techniques which hone his skills for his event, in short to lead a life which will enhance his chance of winning.

These writings concerning education prove that very point. When education supplies a foundation upon which a

solid, moral, Christian life can be built, then it should be taken advantage of: its beauty and skills should be absorbed to the fullest. But, when education impedes progress toward the ultimate goal, it should be shunned. H. I. Marrou has these thoughts on the subject:

Christianity is first and foremost a religion, something that determines the relationship between God and man, not essentially, or primarily, a cultural ideal, a way of managing life on earth.⁴

In his letter to the Philippians, chapter 4:8, Paul admonished his readers:

...Whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things.

Basil, Jerome, and John Chrysostom seem to have said that when those things could be found in the education of the day or when they could be found through the use of that education, then "pagan" education was well within the realm of Christianity.

It seems appropriate that a few other observations be made at this point. Certain questions need to be asked about the context in which these documents arose. What happened in the fourth century that prompted these men to write concerning this type of education? With the exception of the Alexandrians (Clement and Origen), the question of education had not been addressed extensively prior to this time. A second concern would be the emphasis of these three

⁴Marrou, p. 425.

men on morality. Is this all there is to the Christian religion? And if not, where would one go to obtain any other information? In other words, is what these men wrote all there is to Christian education or is there something else involved?

What happened in the fourth century which might have drawn out this concern for education? The fourth century began with an event that changed many of the questions with which the Christian religion had to deal. In 313 C.E., Constantine, having defeated Maxentius the previous year to become Augustus of the East, joined with Licinius in issuing the so-called Edict of Milan, which granted religious toleration to Christianity. Constantine's active support gave official acceptance and social acceptability to the Christian religion. New opportunities and new questions confronted the Christians.

Jobs were available which, at least to the majority, had not been open before. More significant than the availability of new jobs was the fact that they were jobs which required a solid educational background. Christians took on employment as government officials, lawyers, and teachers. It was because of these new job opportunities that Chrysostom could encourage the parents to whom he was writing to train their children how to be civic employees (Address 89). It was also due to these new options that the emperor Julian could require that teachers believe in the

material which they taught or quit and have two of the most reputable teachers of that age resign: Victorinus in Rome and Proaeresius in Athens.

Along with the prosperity came the question of how much the church should adapt to its new-found culture: how much culture was suitable for Christ? This, of course, was the question which Basil was addressing. Pagan education was geared toward fitting students into pagan society. How was the Christian student to adjust? Was he to accept everything he was taught or none of it? Because of the new role which Christianity played under Constantine and his successors, the church was forced to deal with syncretistic issues. Education was the principal bearer of the pagan cultural ideal. It was vital for the new religion as its adherents moved more and more into the upper classes of society to decide if and how it would come to terms with the educational tradition.

In considering the noticeable emphasis which Basil, Jerome, and Chrysostom placed on morality, the fact that all three men were staunch ascetics should not be overlooked. Monasticism was an attempt to live more completely the way Jesus had lived. Ascetics gave up all their worldly possessions and lived on as little as they could manage. Basil, Jerome, and Chrysostom all pursued this to the point of making themselves ill. Ascetics withdrew from the world so that they might not be contaminated by it. All of these

characteristics appear in the moral instructions given by these men. The attempt to censure what the child hears and sees is indicative of the ideal of seclusion from the world. The warnings about laxity regarding food, sleep, clothes, perfumes, etc., reveals the ascetic concern for an austere life. The athletic imagery used by all three men to describe the way the child should live his life, was also used by the church to talk about the monastic life. The ascetics (taking over from the martyrs) were the athletes for Christ. The fact that Basil, Jerome, and Chrysostom stressed these moral issues is in line with their own chosen vocation.

Was this moralistic approach all there was to educating Christian youth? That is the impression with which one is left after reading the three documents under consideration.

Instruction was given in the great doctrines of the church and the creed(s) in the catechetical courses attended by those who wanted to be baptized. Here students were taught the doctrines that made Christians distinctive from the rest of the world. They were instructed in the religious history and how God was directing world history. Sermons given each week taught Christians how they should view their world and live with those who belonged to that world.

What this amounted to was a sort of compartmentalized view of education. There was no over-arching perspective

from which one viewed both Christian and pagan education. One was left to his own to synthesize the different world views each curriculum contained. This can be seen in Basil's address: one takes the examples of virtue found in pagan literature and then, when more mature, he moves on to the mysteries contained in the Scriptures. The short-comings of this sort of approach can also be seen: the fact that the students were confused about how much of pagan literature should be followed and how it linked with the Christian religion is evidence that students were not being equipped by the church (or perhaps it is better to say the church was not equipping the parents of the children) to move smoothly from pagan to Christian education. It remained for a later time to attain a unified perspective.

A further step towards a synthesis occurred approximately two centuries after the time when these men wrestled with the question of educating Christian children, when the church, and more specifically the monastery, took over the responsibility of educating children. A systematic view of education was adopted and both "pagan" and "Christian" education were taught as one curriculum. Whether this particular synthesis was the correct one is another topic.

In conclusion, Basil, Jerome, and John Chrysostom, in dealing with a situation that resulted from the new career opportunities available in the fourth century, viewed

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education in the pagan classics as a potential building block for the Christian life: there were many examples of virtuous men in pagan literature whose lives were worth imitating. They failed, however, to give these children a systematic view which would enable them to incorporate the knowledge which they learned in the pagan schools into a total Christian world view.