



<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>  
[research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk)

# **JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S EDUCATIONAL IDEAS**

**WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS BOOK**

**«ΠΕΡΙ ΚΕΝΟΔΟΞΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ»**

**(ON VAINGLORY AND THE RIGHT WAY FOR PARENTS TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN)**

**(c) Eliana Thoma - Hadjioannou**

**Submitted for the M. Th. in the University of Glasgow**

ProQuest Number: 10391131

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10391131

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

GLASGOW  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

11418 (copy 2)

## ABSTRACT

It is common in educational circles to come across discussions concerning the educational wisdom of the Church Fathers generally, and without any specific proof. The initial aim of this research was to collect the educational ideas of two or three Church Fathers in order to have a complete picture of their opinions on some special educational matters. Starting with John Chrysostom it became clear that this research could be limited exclusively to his writings because they include thousands of quotations on the subject. However, no comparison of Chrysostom's educational ideas could be made with other educationalists because Chrysostom saw everything from the perspective of the spiritual shepherd whose first concern was not so much to urge his contemporaries to send their children to school, but to make them understand their duty regarding their children's salvation. This leads to the concept of Christian education. The research then showed that there were no serious contradictions between Chrysostom and authors of books and articles on moral and Christian education. However, the main difference that could be found between Chrysostom and other educationalists is that Chrysostom wanted education in general (and not only the religious or any kind of moral lessons) as well as every aspect of life to lead the individual to a state of personal holiness.

The background given in the beginning of this thesis refers to the different stages of Chrysostom's life and the factors which influenced his personality, namely his family environment, his life as a monk, priest and bishop, the social atmosphere and the church status of his times in Antioch. The second chapter includes information about pagan and Christian education of Chrysostom's times and is divided into three themes: Greco-Roman education, the Emperor Julian's time and Christian education. Before the analysis of the main subject there are a few paragraphs on Chrysostom's theological ideas regarding doctrine, Christology, original and general sin, ecclesiology, the purpose of life and philosophy. The classification of the main material referring to education according to Chrysostom is based on three topics: the teacher, the parents, and the human passions. The first topic with the title «The role of the teacher in the correct upbringing of children» is subdivided as follows: The teacher in Chrysostom's treatises on education, the office of the teacher, the teacher's relation with his disciples, the teacher's character, the teaching method and the teacher's payment. The subdivisions of the second topic with the title «The right way for parents to bring up their children» are: The significance of the parents' role in the formation of the child's character, parents must advise in a spirit of freedom, and who must participate in the children's upbringing, the father's role and the mother's role. The last topic with the title «Protecting against children's sexual desires» is subdivided as follows: Children and human passions, what can lead a child to immorality, protective forbidding and positive measures against immorality, spiritual medicine against desire, ideas on desire from Chrysostom's whole work, the control of sexual desire and the right way to behave towards those who sinned.

The main conclusion of this work is that Chrysostom was totally committed to a Christian education based on high moral standards as presented in the Bible. The ultimate aim is the salvation of soul.

The appendix refers to the authenticity of Chrysostom's treatise *On Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring up their Children* Subsequently cited as treatise On Vainglory and Education.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1.1 Chrysostom's family and youth           | 6  |
| 1.2 Chrysostom as a monk, priest and bishop | 9  |
| 1.3 His exiles                              | 10 |
| 1.4 The city and the people of Antioch      | 12 |
| 1.5 Chrysostom's view of the city           | 14 |

### **2. CONTEMPORANEOUS PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION**

|                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| 2.1 Greco-Roman education     | 17 |
| 2.2 The emperor Julian's time | 23 |
| 2.3 Christian education       | 27 |

### **3. CHRYSOSTOM'S THEOLOGICAL IDEAS**

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 3.1 Chrysostom and doctrine | 35 |
| 3.2 Christology             | 36 |
| 3.3 Original Sin            | 37 |
| 3.4 Sin                     | 38 |
| 3.5 Ecclesiology            | 38 |
| 3.6 The purpose of life     | 40 |
| 3.7 Philosophy              | 41 |

### **4. THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN THE RIGHT UP-BRINGING OF CHILDREN**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 4.1 The teacher in Chrysostom's treatises on education | 43 |
| 4.2 The office of the teacher                          | 48 |
| 4.3 The teacher's relation with his disciples          | 53 |
| 4.4 The teacher's character                            | 62 |
| 4.5 The teaching method                                | 70 |
| 4.6 The payment of teachers                            | 72 |

### **5. THE RIGHT WAY FOR PARENTS TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 5.1 The significance of the parents' role in the formation of the child's character | 74 |
| 5.2 Parents must advise in a spirit of freedom                                      | 84 |
| 5.3 Who must participate in the upbringing of children                              | 87 |

|           |  |     |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 5.4       | The father's role  | 89  |
| 5.5       | The mother's role  | 94  |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>DEALING WITH CHILDREN'S SEXUAL DESIRES</b>  |     |
| 6.1       | Children and human passions  | 98  |
| 6.1.1     | What can lead a child to immorality  | 100 |
| 6.1.2     | Negative protective measures against immorality  | 105 |
| 6.1.3     | Positive protective measures against immorality  | 109 |
| 6.1.4     | Spiritual medicine against desire  | 114 |
| 6.2       | Ideas on desire from other works by Chrysostom   | 115 |
| 6.2.1     | The control of sexual desire   | 115 |
| 6.2.2     | The right way to behave towards those who have sinned  | 118 |
| <b>7.</b> | <b>CONCLUSIONS</b>   | 121 |
| <b>8.</b> | <b>APPENDIX: JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S TREATISES ON EDUCATION</b>  |     |
| 1.        | The treatise <i>Περὶ παιδων ἀνατροφῆς</i> (On the children's upbringing).  | 129 |
| 2.        | Authenticity of the treatise: <i>Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεάς ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα</i> . (On vainglory and the right way for parents to bring up their children). | 130 |
| 3.        | Similar topics in other homilies of Chrysostom   | 132 |
| 3.1       | The Schism   | 132 |
| 3.2       | The right upbringing of children   | 135 |
| 3.3       | The image of the harlot  | 136 |
| 3.4       | The vanity of the theatre  | 137 |
| 3.5       | Concerning the appearance of children  | 139 |
| 4.        | Lexicographical similarities   | 140 |
| 4.1       | The word «athlete»   | 140 |
| 4.2       | The word «κενοδοξία» (vanity)  | 142 |
| 4.3       | The case of Cain   | 143 |
| 4.4       | The fruit of Sodom   | 145 |
| 5.        | The two different subjects   | 146 |
| 6.        | Manuscripts  | 148 |
| 7.        | Editions   | 149 |
| 8.        | Dating the book  | 150 |
| <b>9.</b> | <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>  | 152 |

## ABBREVIATIONS:

- E.P.E.                    Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἔργα,  
(Original text with modern Greek translation, Greek Fathers of the  
Church, John Chrysostom's writings; Thessaloniki: Patristic  
Publications Gregory Palamas, 1978-1990).
- PG                        *Patrologia Graeca* of J. P. Migne (*Patrologiae cursus completus*,  
Paris, 1857-1862) In volumes 47-64.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

**1.1 Chrysostom's family and youth:** The fourth century was a golden one for the Eastern Church. Many great Fathers lived and worked effectively in what was an already declining empire and at a time when Catholic Christianity was trying to achieve supremacy among the conflicts of paganism, Arianism, Judaism, and Gnosticism. Among these Fathers are the very well known Athanasius the Great, the three Cappadocians, Cyril of Alexandria, Diodor of Tarsus and of course John Chrysostom.

The purpose of this research is to study the latter's work, describing his educational philosophy within the boundaries of pagan and Christian education of that time. Because the work of a historical person cannot be considered separately from his life, it is worthwhile to write an introductory chapter about his family and education. In this way one can form a comprehensive idea of the factors which affected his view of people, education and all aspects of life.

John Chrysostom has made his mark on the histories of both the Church and education with his brilliance. There are two reasons for this: the epoch in which he lived and his personality. His lifetime was a troubling period because of Arianism and the many other Christological controversies. Chrysostom tried to give answers to the dogmatic and moral problems of his congregation. As well as his homilies against the Anomeans,<sup>1</sup> his writings are interspersed with references to heretical problems. His thirty years of preaching and writing gave him the facility to fight against the many obstacles to the spread of true Christianity. Nevertheless, one of his great concerns was to protect his congregation from the attraction of Judaism. He was forced to react

---

<sup>1</sup> PG 48, 701-746, 767-795.

against Jews in order to prevent Christians from participating in the Jewish practices of circumcision, fasting and the observance of days and months.<sup>2</sup> His endeavour was to reveal the mistakes and propaganda of Jews who were trying to impose on Christians the need for keeping the Mosaic law. Some contemporary scholars misunderstood his reaction as «anti-Semitic».<sup>3</sup> Chrysostom took the same position towards the Greeks and pagans, clarifying the correct belief of the Christians.<sup>4</sup>

Chrysostom was the right person at the right place and time to give answers to moral problems. The chief duty for him was to help Christians on practical subjects, and also because his congregation consisted mainly of simple people. There also was a need for an education system which would cultivate a Christian character able to concentrate on the salvation of the soul, and Chrysostom was prepared to develop the educational philosophy and praxis to satisfy this need.

His many gifts and abilities and also his endless zeal for the Church distinguished him as one of the greatest Church Fathers. Because of his *rhetorical* ability, he was honored with the title «Χρυσόστομος» (Chrysostom) which means in English «Golden-mouthed».

The first part of this research proposes to give answers to the following questions: -What was the influence of his mother and of his own education? -What was the environment (culturally, geographically, ecclesiastically) within which Chrysostom lived and acted? -What were his two treatises on education about? -What was the pagan and Christian education of his time like?

---

<sup>2</sup> cf., Chrysostom's eight sermons against the Jews in PG 48, 843-942.

<sup>3</sup> cf., Hall, S. G., *Christian Anti-Semitism and Paul's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), p. 39; Wilken, R. L., *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*, (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1983), p. xv.

<sup>4</sup> cf., PG 48, 813-843; 61, 38-40.

The most important source of John Chrysostom's life is the «Dialogue about the life and the acts of the blessed John», which was written by his friend Palladius who was also bishop of Ellenopolis. The main purpose of this dialogue is to inform future generations about his life but also to defend him against the detractions of his enemies who tried to stain his reputation. Other important sources are the relevant writings of three historians of the fifth century: Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret.<sup>5</sup>

Chrysostom was born in Antioch in about 347<sup>6</sup> of rich parents. Of his childhood, we know that he lived with an older sister and his mother. His father Secundus, who was an officer in the Syrian army, died while Chrysostom was still a young child.<sup>7</sup>

His mother Anthousa, even though she became a widow in her twenties, never remarried.<sup>8</sup> She devoted herself to the care of her children, her son Chrysostom and her older daughter, though the girl seems to have died early, because the little information we can find about her is from her childhood. As a woman of pure Greek descent, Anthousa gave to her son a Greek education and Chrysostom was never taught any other language.<sup>9</sup> She also gave him a Christian education, making him familiar with the Holy Scriptures and also enabling him to choose the good elements of paganism which he was taught in the most celebrated schools of *rhetoric*.

---

<sup>5</sup> Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, PG 47, 5-82.  
Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6, 2-23 PG 67, lib. 1-7, 29-842.  
Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8, 2-28 PG 67, lib. 1-9, 853-1630.  
Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5, 27-36 PG 82, lib. 1-5, 881-1280.

<sup>6</sup> The exact date is uncertain and is located between A. D. 344 and 354. cf., Quasten, J., *Patrology* v.3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* (London: Newman press, 1960), p.424.

<sup>7</sup> Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* PG 47, 18; Ἕλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἔργα, (Original text with modern Greek translation, Greek Fathers of the Church, John Chrysostom's writings), Thessaloniki: Patristic Publications Gregory Palamas, 1978-1990) vol. I, p.94. Subsequently cited as E.P.E. I, p.94.

<sup>8</sup> PG 48, 624 -625.

<sup>9</sup> Baur, C., *John Chrysostom and His Time. v.1 Antioch* (London: Sands & Co, Newman Press, 1959), pp.23-24.

His teachers were the famous philosopher Andragathious and the equally famous rhetor Libanius.<sup>10</sup> There is a tradition about Libanius's feelings for his pupil Chrysostom:

Ἦνίκα γάρ ἐμελλε τελευτᾶν, πυνθανομένων τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων τίς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, λέγεται Ἰωάννην εἶπεῖν, εἰ μὴ Χριστιανοὶ τοῦτον ἐσύλησαν.

When he was dying and he was asked who was going to succeed him as the School's head teacher, he said: It would have been John, if the Christians had not taken him from us.<sup>11</sup>

At the age of eighteen Chrysostom abandoned the sophists and turned to the Church because his soul was thirsty for holy wisdom. He found the school of Antioch named «Ascetirion» was able to give answers to all his questions on theological problems. Diodorus of Tarsus and Carterius were the founders and the directors of the school.<sup>12</sup> The main subjects of the school were the study and interpretation of the Bible and the answering of dogmatic, ascetic, apologetic and moral questions. The school of Antioch managed to enrich the theological literature of the time with a large number of commentaries and treatises.

**1.2 Chrysostom as a monk, priest and bishop:** Meletius, the patriarch of Antioch, taught and guided Chrysostom in the Christian way of life. Chrysostom was baptized by Meletius in 369. He intended to go and join his friend Basil in the desert but he stayed at his house and followed an ascetic life there because that was his mother's will. After his mother's death, John retired to the mountains near Antioch, and he spent

---

<sup>10</sup> Socrates 6,3; PG 67,665; *A History of the Church in Seven Books* (The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the Six Centuries of the Christian Era, v.3; London Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844), p.421.

<sup>11</sup> Sozomen 8,2; PG 67,1513; *A History of the Church in Seven Books* (The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the Six Centuries of the Christian Era, v.4; London Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844), p.376.

<sup>12</sup> Socrates 6,3; PG 67, 665-668.

four years there in a cave with three other monks. An illness made him return to Antioch.<sup>13</sup>

In 381, he was ordained a deacon by Meletius, the same bishop who baptized him. Flavian ordained him a priest in 386 and trusted to him the duty of preaching at the main city church. In those twelve fruitful years between 386 and 397, he delivered his most famous homilies on the Bible and other practical subjects.<sup>14</sup> In September of 397 Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, died. The emperor Arcadius suggested Chrysostom as his successor. Chrysostom was persuaded to accept and went to the capital unwillingly.

Soon after his ordination to the bishopric of Constantinople he was found to be against the empress Eudoxia, especially after a speech he made against the luxury of women and their love of ornaments. The empress took this as a direct criticism of her and began to hate him more than before. She organised a synod aiming to depose Chrysostom. He did not appear before the synod and its 36 bishops<sup>15</sup> deposed him from the See of Constantinople.<sup>16</sup>

**1.3 His exiles:** The synod also decided to exile Chrysostom. While he was in Bethany waiting to be taken to the place of his exile, a great earthquake took place in the capital. Eudoxia was frightened, considering this event as God's anger. She immediately asked the emperor to recall Chrysostom from exile. He found it necessary to call a larger synod for his reinstatement. That never happened because the people

---

<sup>13</sup> PG 47,18; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.I.E. 28, pp. 56-58.

<sup>14</sup> PG 47,18; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.I.E. 1, p.96.

<sup>15</sup> The synod was called «of the Oak» because took place in a suburb of Rufinon which had that name. The minutes of this synod are preserved by Photius in his *Myriobiblon sive Bibliotheca*, PG 103,105.

<sup>16</sup> PG 47,23; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.I.E. 1, pp.126-128.

demanded to have their spiritual father reinstated, without delay.<sup>17</sup>

Two months later, in 403, another event led Chrysostom and the empress to a second collision. The given cause was a statue of the empress which was erected in the capital close to the cathedral. Chrysostom asked the palace to put the statue somewhere else because the frequent performances around it were disturbing the peaceful worship of the Christians in the church. Eudoxia was annoyed again by Chrysostom's attitude and she asked for his punishment.

On the Holy Saturday of 403, Chrysostom went to the church and baptized the catechumens whom he had taught personally the year before. On that occasion some soldiers went into the church and violently abducted him.<sup>18</sup> Two months later, the emperor ordered him to leave the country at once. The journey to his exile in Cucusus, in lesser Armenia, lasted seventy days.

After his exile the Johnites, the friends of John Chrysostom, suffered from persecution. They were accused of starting a fire which destroyed the cathedral.<sup>19</sup> In the meantime, Johnites were causing disturbances in Constantinople because they did not recognize John's successors, Arcadius and Atticus. Meanwhile, Eudoxia sickened and died a few months later while Chrysostom in Cucusus suffered from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. Soon, he was exiled to a different place when Arcadius ordered him to leave Cucusus and go to Pityus near the Black Sea.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, he did not give up. He continued his missionary work under these adverse conditions, trying to bring the light of God to other nations, devoting himself

---

<sup>17</sup> PG 47,30; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.II.E.1, p.132.

<sup>18</sup> PG 47,37; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.II.E.1, p.154.

<sup>19</sup> Kelly, J. N. D., *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom -Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 1995), pp. 250-251.

<sup>20</sup> PG 47,38; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*; E.II.E.1, pp.156-160.

to writing letters to them.<sup>21</sup>

In June 407, on his way to Pityus, on September the fourteenth, Chrysostom died. Thirty-one years later, his remains were brought back to Constantinople and interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles with the consent of the emperor Theodosius the Second, a son of Eudoxia.<sup>22</sup> The emperor went out to meet the funeral train and prayed that Chrysostom would intercede with God for his parents who had sinned through ignorance.

John produced many writings and homilies which can be considered as a comprehensive cross-section of old Greek literature. He wrote hundreds of homilies and commentaries on the texts of Old and New Testament, dogmatic-polemical discourses and epistles.

**1.4 The city and people of Antioch:** The site of Antioch was one of the most beautiful in the world. The city (now called Antakiya) was placed next to the river Orontes. It vied with Alexandria for the title of the third greatest city of the empire after Rome and Constantinople. It was linked with Cilicia and Asia Minor through a pass in the Taurus mountain range.

It was founded in 300 B.C. by Alexander's general Seleukos. In the fourth century A.D. it was a major centre of industry and trade as well as of Greek culture. The city lies on level ground twenty miles from the sea. Its centre was an island in the river Orontes.<sup>23</sup> On this island, Antiochus the Great (228-187 B.C.) built a new quarter of the

---

<sup>21</sup> More details about Chrysostom's mission, we find in the following sources: Theodoret in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5,29-31, about his mission to Phiniki, Gothia and Skythia in PG 82,1257; Photius in his *Myriobiblon Sive Bibliotheca* 96, about another mission to Geltiki in PG 103,348; Chrysostom himself informed us about his mission to Persia in his letter 14,5 in PG 52,618.

<sup>22</sup> PG 47,38; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, E.H.E.1, p.158.

<sup>23</sup> Browning, R., *The Emperor Julian* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 144.

city, which he had settled and established by Greek colonists from Aetolia, Euboea and Crete. Five bridges connected it with the old city. In the fourth century, Diocletian built a huge imperial palace which occupied a great part of the island. The palace was designed for the needs of the emperor and his court when they visited Antioch.<sup>24</sup>

The entire city of Antioch covered about forty-two square kilometres. Around it there was a city wall more than seventeen kilometres in length. Within the walls there were hills seven hundred feet high, deep valleys, waterfalls and caves in the rock.<sup>25</sup> The mountain Casios rose steeply to a height of 5,000 feet to the south east.

According to Chrysostom, in the fourth century the population of the city was about 200,000 while another 300,000 were slaves, foreigners and children.<sup>26</sup> According to some other statements again by Chrysostom, more than half of them were Christians:

Καί γάρ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι εἰς δέκα μυριάδες ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα συναγομένους τελεῖν.

With God's grace I think that the residents are ten myriads.<sup>27</sup>

The information is given in his encomium to St. Ignatius Martyr. The greater part of the citizens' wealth derived from the cultivation of land. At the head of Antiochene society stood an upper class of landlords and owners of estates. The rich did not work. Nevertheless, they demonstrated their knowledge of *rhetoric* and law. Antioch had two really dangerous enemies: the continual earthquakes and the threat of Persian invasion.<sup>28</sup>

The writers Brown and Meier in their book *Antioch and Rome* add to the previous

---

<sup>24</sup> Downey, G., *Ancient Antioch* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 117.

<sup>25</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>26</sup> PG 50,591; Letter to St. Ignatium Martyrem, 4.

<sup>27</sup> PG 58,762-763; E.H.E. 12, p.292. One myriad is ten thousand.

<sup>28</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, p.37.



information that at the period from Ignatius, the bishop in Antioch in the second century, to John Chrysostom, great theologians and bishops lived and worked there. The city's bishops, were later recognized as patriarchs. An important school of exegesis found a home there, as well as a variety of heresies.<sup>29</sup>

**1.5 Chrysostom's view of the city:** According to historians, Chrysostom's sermons complete our knowledge of Antioch. He gave us a valuable picture of life there at his time. More is known about this ancient city «than any other city of the eastern part of the Graeco-Roman world at this time.»<sup>30</sup> The details about the social, economic, cultural and administrative life of Antioch in the fourth century come from the writings of Libanius, John Chrysostom, emperor Julian and Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>31</sup> Another source of information is that of Malalas, a sixth-century chronicler.<sup>32</sup>

Chrysostom informs us about the situation of the Church of Antioch. The very first picture that he paints with words in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, presents the Church as a real body cut to the heart. The tragedy of a Church whose members are torn apart has, according to Chrysostom, only one cause: vanity. But why does Chrysostom speak in so bitter a style? The answer lies in Antioch and its situation during Chrysostom's life: the church community was divided among the followers of Euzoius, Meletius and Paulinus. The situation was the same for many years and

---

<sup>29</sup> Brown E. R., Meier P. J., *Antioch and Rome, New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Downey, G., *A History of Antioch in Syria From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 9, p.9.

<sup>31</sup> Downey, G., *A History of Antioch in Syria*, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> About the ancient Historians of Antioch, see Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, pp. 35-40.

Chrysostom as a priest could not simply watch and remain neutral. He blamed the hierarchy of the church for causing the schism because of their vanity. The schism was going on between the two orthodox groups, Meletians and Eustathians led by Paulinus.<sup>33</sup>

In the town lived very rich Christians. Their houses were like palaces, their furniture made of gold, silver and ivory. Christian women used to wear complicated hairstyles and put on silk dresses, gold and jewels. Very often those families gave dances and parties with music and expensive food. Chrysostom was angry because at the same time very poor people had no roof over their heads, no food and no clothes. The streets were full of homeless people even on cold winter nights.

People in Antioch had money to spend freely in the shops and also on their amusement. Life in Antioch was full of pleasure for such people. Theatres, the Thermae (public baths), a circus and many taverns provided daily entertainment. The Olympic Games every four years and the Feasts of Lights every three years were celebrated with enthusiasm. Antioch was also rich in many other buildings such as the Senate house, the city library, the palace of the governor and the Basilica of Rufinus.

The greatest entertainment site for the Antiochenes was Daphne, which was about eight kilometres from the city. This was a forest which was transformed into a park. It covered an area of about the same size as Antioch itself. There was the temple of the god Apollo, and a theatre. The rich landowners used to build their houses there. Daphne caused much sorrow to the great hierarch. His homilies include many examples where this sorrow is expressed:

Τινές τῶν ἐνταῦθα συλλεγομένων σήμερον ὑπὸ ραθυμίας τινός καί ἡφελείας τὴν αὔριον ἡμᾶς ἐγκαταλιμπάνοντες, πρὸς Δάφνην ἀποπηδῶσιν, ἅπερ συνελέξαμεν

---

<sup>33</sup> Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, pp.411-412.

σήμερον, αὐριον ἐκχέοντες, καὶ ὅπερ ὠκοδομήσαμεν καθαιροῦντες.

Some of you who are present here today, because of indolence and naivete will go tomorrow to Daphne and everything which we gathered today they will spread them out tomorrow and those which we built they will abolish.<sup>34</sup>

Such was the city in which Chrysostom was called to serve God. A person who loved nothing but God and His truth and who believed in nothing but Christian effort for the salvation of the soul, lived in a city which he considered to be full of sin and immorality. Nevertheless, he did not give up. He was never too tired to preach and fight for his congregation's spiritual progress. On the contrary, he continued to care for them until his last painful minute on the way to his exile.

---

<sup>34</sup> PG 50,672 .

## 2. CONTEMPORANEOUS PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**2.1 Graeco-Roman education:** Chrysostom spoke with passion about education and educators. However, his aim was not to help his contemporaries to make changes to either the level or the syllabus of the education of the time. What he really wanted, was to make them understand that education which was not Christian was no education at all. And here arises the question: what did education consist of in Chrysostom's time? A brief review of the existing system will give us an idea of how Chrysostom was affected by it, and of his contributions to it - most importantly, the introduction of a Christian content.

Between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. the Roman empire was occupied in expanding its territory.<sup>35</sup> After the occupation of Greece, the Romans started to find out about the greatness of the Greek civilization. They considered that it had reached perfection and that it was somehow ready to be adopted by them. The combination of the two civilizations, the Greek and the Roman, gave birth to the Graeco-Roman culture. In this new established order, most aspects of life were completely Greek. The most clear example is education which was basically Greek but with a Roman element. The Greeks were for the Romans the representatives and the creators of human knowledge. They regarded them so because «they established the first schools of philosophy in the world and became the intellectual masters of all civilizations, including the Christian; and even to this day pagans, Jews and Christians seeking culture and intellectual development, go to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Lysias,

---

<sup>35</sup> Shelton, J. A., *As The Romans Did, A Sourcebook In Roman Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 462-463.

Demosthenes, Sophocles and Euripides rather than to Moses and the Prophets.»<sup>36</sup> Greek influence continued to prevail in the Roman empire for a long time, that is from the second century A.D. to the sixth.<sup>37</sup>

The main reason for this great influence of Greece was the use of the Greek language in the countries which were occupied by Rome. The Roman empire was a bilingual state because it included many provinces where Greek was the language. The Greek language became, with time, internationally accepted, especially in the more formal aspects of life, as for example in diplomacy. The division of the empire after Constantine the Great promoted the difference in language and, in time, the division of the church.

Rome followed Athens and copied its educational and linguistic system. «From rhetoric and the literary education upon which it was based, Rome gradually went on to discover all the other aspects of Greek culture.»<sup>38</sup> The Greek spirit was diffused everywhere even in buildings, books and spectacles. Philosophy and science also remained Greek. Obviously, Greek culture and the Greek language were very much in fashion during the early centuries of the common era. For that reason, a large number of Greek teachers went to Rome as professors.

By the time of the Late empire (4th-5th centuries A.D.) the earlier unity of Graeco-Roman culture and language gave place to separate ones: Latin in the West and Greek in the East. By the fourth century, the change was almost complete, especially in the Christian Church. At first, every Christian Church used the Greek language for services and preaching but then, at the end of the second century, the Churches of

---

<sup>36</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v.1 *Antioch*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>37</sup> Marrou, H. I., *A History of Education in Antiquity: Translated from the Third French Edition by George Lamb* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p.242.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.244.

Africa and Italy started to prefer Latin instead of Greek in their liturgy. In aristocratic families education was still bilingual.

There were two systems of education in early Roman history: a child could be taught at home or at a proper school. Not everyone went to school because there was no law demanding education for all the children of a certain age.<sup>39</sup> Around the age of seven the child went to the *litterator or magister*, the role of whom was approximately that of the Greek *grammatistas*.<sup>40</sup> The private tutors who were hired by the parents might be slaves or free men. Because of the great expenses of private tutors, some had to send their children to common schools. Chrysostom's formal education probably began very early, at the age of five, but it is not determined whether he attended a school or was instructed by a private tutor.<sup>41</sup>

The main knowledge a child could obtain at school or at home was reading, (w)riting and (a)rithmetic, often referred as «the three Rs». These three lessons would help children «to understand simple business transactions and to count, weigh and measure.»<sup>42</sup> The teachers also wanted the pupils to memorize legends, laws, aphorisms and poetry.

At this first stage of education, the same situation prevailed for boys and girls. «From very early, boys and girls grew up together, sharing their activities and games... When primary education was finished, girls of aristocratic families continued their education privately under the guidance of *praeceptores* who grounded them in Greek

---

<sup>39</sup> A big difference from Greece where the slaves had the responsibility of the children's up-bringing.

<sup>40</sup> Robin, B., *Greek and Roman Education* (Basingstoke : Macmillan Education, 1976), p.73.

<sup>41</sup> Christian, A. R., *Educational Philosophy of John Chrysostom* (USA: Washington University, 1951), p.16.

<sup>42</sup> Shelton, *As The Romans Did*, p.104.

and Latin, to play the lyre, to dance and sing.»<sup>43</sup> Both the custom of marriage at a very young age and the fact that the empire forbade women to plead in court excluded women from great law schools or any other kind of higher education.<sup>44</sup>

It was also a father's responsibility to instil in his children the virtues of hard work, obedience and self sacrifice for family and country. As the centuries passed, parents wanted a more formal education for their children and so they employed teachers to undertake this academic work. However, the child's moral education was still in his parents' hands. In Chrysostom's treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, it is very obvious that he makes parents responsible for the formation of their children's Christian character. He actually dedicated the treatise to the parents while he mentions teachers only occasionally.

At the age of ten or eleven some boys went on to study with a *grammaticus* who was similar to the *kitharistes* of Greece. The *grammaticus* refined the student's style of writing and speaking. Also, he had to teach him Greek if he did not speak it already, and Latin, and how to analyse poetry.

The third stage was to send children to school to obtain academic skills. Very few boys at the age of fourteen or fifteen, went to study with a *rhetor*, who taught public speaking, law, politics and a variety of other subjects. As it had always been the case in Greece, a *rhetor* was in the centre of everything and had to defend the emperor and the empire's interests, to influence people on taking important decisions, to promote the army and all these through the science of *rhetoric*.

These boys were destined to become statesmen, politicians, lawyers and public

---

<sup>43</sup> Paoli, U.E., *Rome: Its People Life and Customs* (Translated from the Italian by R. D. Macnaghton; London: Longmans, 1963), p.113.

<sup>44</sup> Balsdon, J. P., *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), p.101.

speakers. They learned history, law, geometry, philosophy, mythology, literature, astronomy, and even music as a background, which would help them to be skilful orators. «Students learned how to choose the right word, how to use *rhetorical* figures, how to arrange words into the most effective form and with the best prose rhythm.»<sup>45</sup> After all these they were given topics upon which to compose speeches in order to get used to speaking and persuading at public assemblies. The schools of the *rhetors* were privately financed and varied widely in quality.

«After studying with a *rhetor* in Rome, some young men went abroad, to Greece or Asia Minor to study *rhetoric*, oratory, declamation, and philosophy with the Greek masters. Rich people had the opportunity to send their children to Athens, pay tuition fees, rent a spacious and comfortable apartment and maintain slaves.»<sup>46</sup> According to our sources, Chrysostom did not follow the custom of his times and he remained only in Antioch for his further education.

Higher education was developed in the Hellenistic period in Greece. These higher schools were of two types: the school of *rhetoric* and the school of philosophy. A young man could attend one or both of them and they could be considered as the equivalent of university studies. The school of *rhetoric* emphasized literary and linguistic study whilst the philosophical school had a tone of encyclopaedism and philosophy. The schools of both types had a very important place in Athenian life, and a very large number of students were in attendance at any one time. The schools of Athens were the top of the pyramid made up of the most famous schools of the day. Although Basil and Gregory, as well as Libanius and Julian, completed their studies there, Chrysostom did

---

<sup>45</sup> Shelton, *As The Romans Did*, p. 119.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 125.



not follow their example.<sup>47</sup> He may have done that to show that pagan philosophy and pagan beliefs meant nothing to him. These schools, as the years passed, became the «University of Athens» with more Neo-Platonic than *rhetorical* characteristics. The University lasted till 529 A. D. when it was closed by Justinian; it had a great influence not only in Greece but also in many countries of the Greek East. From 529 A.D. the University was changed into «a centre of pagan influence in response to the demands of the leaders of the Christian Church.»<sup>48</sup>

Since the Macedonian Conquest and the eastern expedition of Alexander the Great, the East was more and more hellenized. Greek culture and civilization became cosmopolitan. Many centres of learning arose in different parts of the empire as for example the University of Alexandria. «It was this Hellenistic education which the Romans came into contact with, and it was the developed higher curriculum of Hellenistic culture, which, as the Seven Liberal Arts, leapt over into the Middle Ages, and was wrought into the texture of the higher education of Modern Europe. It is indeed very difficult to point to any element in the education of Modern Europe, apart from those due directly to the influence of Christianity, which is not to be found, in germ at least, in the education of the Greeks.»<sup>49</sup>

From the fifth century B.C. until the fifth century A.D. education was obtained, not by reading books or by following a course under the guidance of a professor, but by listening. «It was the influence of the living voice and the contact of mind with mind on which stress was laid.»<sup>50</sup> It was also very important for someone to be well-educated.

---

<sup>47</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, p.25.

<sup>48</sup> Drever, J., *Greek Education: Its Practice and Principles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 39.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41.

<sup>50</sup> Walden, J., *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p.343.

That is why some students, such as Basil the Great and Hermogenes, took the opportunity to learn *rhetoric*, philosophy, poetry, astronomy, geometry and medicine. That example is not of course the rule. Nevertheless, a complete education until the fourth and fifth century A.D. was intended to train a man morally, intellectually and aesthetically and help him use his powers in the interest of the state. Such a man was the orator, «of broad learning and general culture, trained to see the distinctions of right and wrong.»<sup>51</sup>

**2.2 The emperor Julian's time:** After the persecutions of the early Christians ended with the conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity in the fourth century, another troubled period came to the Roman empire. Pagan emperors and pagan education tried to prevail over Christianity. «At the same time the Christian population was well organized, and the first stages in the growth of the monastic movement were taking place. Both sides were fanatical, passionate, and ready to resort to violence».<sup>52</sup>

At that time education was under the responsibility of professional groups or individuals. Men of letters of the Greek world, *rhetoricians* and philosophers were keeping the pagan culture alive. Neo-Platonic mysteries arose, coming from neoplatonic philosophy and the search for personal salvation. For further education a rich young man could then go to an educational centre like Athens, Alexandria, Antioch or Constantinople and be taught grammar and *rhetoric*, philosophy and medicine, law and mathematical analogies by famous teachers.

In the fourth century, Hellenic rather than Roman traditions were prevailing in society. During the second half of the century especially, higher education was neutral.

---

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p.351.

<sup>52</sup> Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, p.160

No one cared if the teachers were Christian or pagan. The only concern was their teaching ability. The new religion and the old culture were not incompatible as is evidenced from the fact that many faithful Christians studied in Athens side by side with pagans, and under the same pagan teachers. Among these were the great churchmen Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. Both these men believed that there was no real antagonism between pagan learning and Christian belief and thus it was not necessary for Christians to avoid having a pagan education. Moreover Basil, in a special discourse, endeavoured to show that pagan literature was full of knowledge for everyone who planned to become a priest or be involved in Christian teaching.<sup>53</sup> This discourse was an address to his nephews and maybe to youth in general. The exact title is uncertain but the essay is known by the title: «Πρός τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων».<sup>54</sup> (Admonitions to young men on the profitable use of pagan literature). «The chief propositions of the essay are as follows: in reading pagan literature one must select what is useful and avoid the rest. The idea that all pagan writings are harmful and to be avoided, a view taken by other Fathers of the Church at various times, is not discussed, and perhaps we should infer that Basil did not even think it worthy of mention».<sup>55</sup>

The situation was changed suddenly by the emperor Julian(361-363). Julian was baptized and became a reader in the Church. On a trip to Nicomedia he became involved with paganism. He came in touch with pagan secret societies which were practising magic acts. In 361 A.D. when he became emperor, he was completely won over to pagan beliefs. He ordered the opening of all pagan temples and restored their

---

<sup>53</sup> Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, p.111.

<sup>54</sup> Wilson, N. G., *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9.

property. He took part in sacrifices and festivals. Because he apostatized from the Christian faith he was named the «Apostate».<sup>56</sup> He tried to avoid the appointment of Christian teachers by an edict published in 362 saying that the appointment of a new teacher should be approved by the judgement of the city council. The surviving text of the edict said the following: «Schoolmasters and teachers should excel in morality in the first place, and next in eloquence. But since I cannot be present myself in each city, I order that whoever wishes to teach should not rush hastily or uncircumspectly into his profession, but should be approved by the judgement of the council and obtain a decree of the curials, by common agreement and consent of the best men. For this decree will be referred to me to deal with, so that they may take up their posts in the city schools with my approval as a kind of higher commendation.»<sup>57</sup>

A second edict was published a short time after the first, saying that no one could teach anything he did not believe in. That was a real blow against the Christian teachers. In the Greek version, the only one which survives, we can read that: «If they (the teachers) think the classics wrong in this respect, then let them go and teach Matthew and Luke in the Church...»<sup>58</sup>

The conflict between Christianity and paganism from the pagan point of view, was that the religion of the gods had existed for centuries. It was a part of the old established order of things. Christianity was the «stranger» who came «in an evil hour and burst in upon us like a drunken reveler» as Libanius said.<sup>59</sup>

Meanwhile, nothing was prohibiting pupils, even if they were Christians, from

---

<sup>56</sup> Bowdler, D., *The Age of Constantine and Julian* (London: Paul Elek, 1978), p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, p. 169; cf., Dill, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (London: MacMillan, 1899), p. 386.

<sup>58</sup> Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, p. 171.

<sup>59</sup> Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, p. 112.

attending any of the schools. That happened because the emperor thought that they could learn and follow the «truth». At the same time, many teachers were forced to give up their profession or their Christianity.

Many families were affected by this law, especially in the upper classes. That happened because classical literature and *rhetoric* were essential for everyone who wanted to have status in society. Now Christian parents would have to think of depriving their children of the higher education they could have in famous schools and under famous pagan teachers. That was a real problem because all the teachers had to support their teaching, even if it was non-Christian, in order to keep their jobs. It was on account of all these reasons that many Christian youths were studying pagan subjects under pagan teachers. Among them were the fourth century Church Fathers.

Actually, this was the first time that the Christians, being forced by the emperor's educational persecution, tried to create a Christian type of school. The notion of an education based entirely on Christian texts was the idea of the Apollinarii. This was the name of two men, father and son, who were natives of Berytus. The father was a teacher of grammar. His thought was that if Christian material could be presented in traditional literary form, then the Christian teacher could educate his pupils in a way socially acceptable without laying himself open to the charge of dishonesty.<sup>60</sup> The father and the son Apollinarii rewrote the Pentateuch in the style of Homer and some historical books of the Old Testament in the style of drama. They also rewrote the Gospels in dialogue form seeking in that way to replace Plato.<sup>61</sup>

The situation created by Julian, which threatened to weaken Christianity especially among educated people, did not last for long, firstly because the effort of

---

<sup>60</sup> Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, p. 173.

<sup>61</sup> Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*, p. 9.

creating a separate Christian education was not largely accepted and secondly because two years after the publication of the edict Julian died. After his death, education returned to the situation that prevailed before his reign. Christian teachers returned to their posts and the Church continued to accept classical education for her members. Many Christian men of letters were now appointed to the most important church posts. They used the rules of *rhetoric*, the Greek language, and the philosophical way of thinking and explaining the dogmatic issues of the Christian faith.

At that time the study of *rhetoric* began rapidly to decline. The most important Greek university centres were Athens, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch, Berytus and Alexandria. Almost all of the cities had universities and each of them specialised in one subject. For example Athens, Antioch and Nicomedia were famous for their sophistry, Constantinople and Berytus for their schools of law, Constantinople again and Alexandria for their philosophy and Alexandria for its medicine.<sup>62</sup> There were of course still sophists and other language teachers in Athens but they were not of as much importance as they used to be.

**2.3 Christian education:** The Christian boy who wished to or had to learn something, followed the same education as a pagan boy. He went first to the grammarian, the elementary teacher, who did his best to initiate him into the alphabet. The more ambitious pupils, after the elementary school, entered the middle school. The *grammaticus* there taught Greek literature and Latin, history, prosody, poetry, geometry and geography. The third and highest degree of education extended over approximately four years and was completed generally between the fifteenth and twentieth year.

---

<sup>62</sup> Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, pp.115,116.

A Christian family of course, wanted children to be brought up in a Christian atmosphere both at home and at school. At home the best way of teaching a child was by good example and this was followed by a specifically religious teaching. This religious teaching consisted of Old Testament stories and discussions on them. In the early years of the Christian Church no attempt was made to create purely Christian schools. As mentioned before, the only known experiment, made by Apollinarii, for the creation of an education which was based on purely Christian means, failed. Nevertheless, from the perspective of today we would have expected a Christian Church to create a system of education which was absolutely Christian. The Church, however, accepted from the early days a classical education for her members. The connection between classicism and Christianity was very strong and lasted until Byzantine education arose as a direct continuation of classical education a few decades later (in the middle of the fifth century).<sup>63</sup>

As mentioned before, Christianity, generally speaking, adopted the classical system of education. It could see no harm in Christians being educated in schools of the traditional Hellenistic type. «The whole of cultural and educational concerns in the fourth century rested on a foundation of the ancient Greek culture, which had reached the zenith of its splendor six or seven hundred years earlier. Not only the nobility, the future rulers of the state, counsellors and others who considered themselves members of the higher and more cultural classes, but also the future theologians, priests and bishops, went to the Greek grammarians, *rhetoricians* and sophists to serve their apprenticeship in learning, in order to approach the yet unattainable sources of classical culture and knowledge».<sup>64</sup> Moreover, from the third century A. D. a Christian could also

---

<sup>63</sup> Marrou, H. I., *A History of Education in Antiquity*, pp.314, 318, 340.

<sup>64</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v.1 Antioch, p.9.

teach in higher education. «As the time went on such cases became more and more common, until in the fourth century Christians were to be found in all grades of teaching; there were Christians among the lowest school teachers and grammarians and Christians occupying the highest chairs of eloquence...»<sup>65</sup>

The Church's role in children's Christian education was different from that of the schools and was particularly concerned with those who intended to be baptized.<sup>66</sup> The homilies addressed to those preparing for baptism were given the name catecheses and those who were going to be baptised catechumens. Baptism took place every Good Saturday and the catecheses were delivered before and sometimes after baptism. Chrysostom seemed to deliver one set of catecheses every year. These sets are not all preserved because of their similar content. Only twelve catecheses of Chrysostom are preserved<sup>67</sup> which belong to three or four different sets of homilies.<sup>68</sup>

Kelly, comparing Chrysostom's catecheses with two other sets of catecheses by Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>69</sup> and Theodore of Mopsuestia,<sup>70</sup> observed that those delivered by Chrysostom are not mystagogical, that is they do not simply aim to explain the sacraments as Cyril's and Theodore's courses do.<sup>71</sup>

A Christian was meant to continue his religious training after baptism by reading the holy Scriptures, going to Church services and listening to preaching. Nevertheless,

---

<sup>65</sup> Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, p.323.

<sup>66</sup> Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, p.315.

<sup>67</sup> In Migne's *Patrology* (PG42,223-240) only the two first catecheses of Chrysostom are cited but contemporary researchers speak of more. Specifically A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (E.H.E. 30, pp.8-9) mentioned four, and W. Jehger other eight found in a manuscript of Athos mount.

<sup>68</sup> E.H.E. 30, pp.8-9.

<sup>69</sup> PG 33,331-1180.

<sup>70</sup> Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, p.89.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, pp.88-89.



even if pagan schools used the names of gods as the main material to learn how to read or some immoral and idolatrous poems as reading texts, Christians still believed that it was not necessary for their children to be educated away from these schools. The instructions given to them however were very clear. They should take care not to be affected by idolatry. For that reason it was better for a Christian to avoid all books of the heathen.<sup>72</sup>

A good antidote to pagan knowledge was the religious training a child could receive from its parents and from the Church. On this subject, Basil the Great who studied in the best pagan schools of his times, wrote an essay about the reading of the pagan authors explaining the dangers of studying them and the way of avoiding them.<sup>73</sup> Basil says in his address that although pagan literature is inferior to the Scriptures, it is not without value. A Christian could choose from the thousands of pagan writings those which had something good to offer. This «method of the bee» which consisted of selection and assimilation, could protect the Christians during their studies. Basil also believed that some of the virtues of the pagans conformed to the precepts of the Gospels and some of their philosophers had rightly taught that the human soul is far more precious than the body. Thus the young Christian could derive profit from this non-Christian source, provided that he was ever on his guard against what is morally base.<sup>74</sup> Laistner's opinion on Basil's address is that it «is really a very slight performance. It omits to point out that pagan culture alone at that date could train the mind and

---

<sup>72</sup> An early example is that of Tertullian and his book «De Idolatria» which he wrote in 211 A.D. The book is based on the idea that children must know what they were doing and not let themselves be affected by idolatry. They must behave like someone who knows he is being given poison and takes good care not to drink it. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, p.321.

<sup>73</sup> cf., Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*.

<sup>74</sup> The Greek text of Basil's *Address to Young Men on Reading the Classics*, together with a commentary can be found in the appendix of Wilson's book *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*, pp.19-70.

inculcate breadth of view and depth of perception».<sup>75</sup>

John Chrysostom also conceded the value of the pagan schools and writers, and he numbered many which were favourable. His main point is what the greatest of the pagan educators, from Plato and Isocrates to Quintilian, had stated emphatically long before, that the moral purpose of education is more important than anything else. Any syllabus which could serve this purpose was accepted. Nevertheless, the most acceptable for him was of course the direct word of God, the Holy Scripture. J. N. D. Kelly, writer of the most recent book on John Chrysostom's life and work, says that Chrysostom insisted on the need for a completely Christian education based on the Scriptures and that he believed it is better for children to receive their education at home.<sup>76</sup> In the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* Chrysostom says that children should be taught religious history -all the excellent stories about Cain and Abel, and Jacob and Esau<sup>77</sup> for instance -in such a way that their interest is aroused.

Augustine, the greatest of the Western Fathers, who lived about the same time as Chrysostom, in his treatise on the converts, says the following to those who were highly cultured: «These, who were likely to have some acquaintance already with Christian literature, should be encouraged to persevere in their reading; if they had encountered heretical books, they must be instructed and discreetly warned. The applicants of the second class (meaning those who had received the normal pagan schooling in the classes of the *grammaticus* and *rhetor*) must be exhorted not to give themselves airs because of their literary education. They should be urged to study the Scriptures written

---

<sup>75</sup> Laistner, M. L. W., *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire, Together With an English Translation of John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1951), p.52.

<sup>76</sup> Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, p.54.

<sup>77</sup> E.P.E. 30, p. 656, 668; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.102, 108.

in plain and unadorned language and told not to sneer at preachers who were guilty of solecisms and barbarisms in their speech...»<sup>78</sup>

At that time, Christians could be beset by many temptations. Paganism offered many opportunities for entertainment which not only appealed to a wide cross-section of society but also were supported by the emperors. Of course, ecclesiastical authorities did not agree with the government's effort to entice people to those activities which they considered Satan's work. Here is one example of how the Church felt about this kind of entertainment through the address of Theodore of Mopsuestia: «Service of Satan is everything dealing with paganism, not only the sacrifices and the worship of idols and all the ceremonies involved in their service, according to the ancient custom, but also the things which have their beginning in it... They called his (Satan's) glamour, the theatre, the circus, the race-course, the contest of athletes, the water-organs and the dances, which the Devil introduced into this world under the pretext of amusement, and through which he leads the souls of men to perdition.»<sup>79</sup> Many Christians were not disinclined to attend a show when occasion was offered. Preachers like Chrysostom severely condemned such entertainment from their pulpits, especially when it took place on Sundays and kept members of the congregation away from Church.<sup>80</sup>

Chrysostom directed much of his preaching energy toward the «antidote» a parent or teacher must give to the child, against the immorality of pagan education. He referred to the frequent counselling of children and had opinions about the techniques which should be used. This illustrates his kindness and how concerned he was for the well being of young people. Among all the Fathers who gave their opinion of what a

---

<sup>78</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.36,37.

<sup>79</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp.7-8.

Christian education must be, only Chrysostom dealt with the method and the right way to apply it. He wanted everyone who intended to advise someone to do so with tact<sup>81</sup>, love<sup>82</sup>, simplicity<sup>83</sup>, kindness<sup>84</sup>, and in a paternal way.<sup>85</sup>

Many great Fathers of the East and the West worried about the fate of the youth in their ever changing society. The amazing difference in Chrysostom is that his concern about education, which for him was the «greatest art»,<sup>86</sup> made him disseminate many ideas and opinions on pedagogical problems in almost all of his seven hundred homilies. This was done in a spirit of love and using basic psychological techniques which remind us of modern approaches to education. As an example of these techniques it is worthwhile mentioning Chrysostom's persistence on the leniency and tolerance with which one should treat those who were blame-worthy;<sup>87</sup> this method of his is in complete agreement with the «quiet family method» according to which «a parent becoming upset, hitting, yelling, or even discussing at length makes some children feel a surge of power and a secret «I won». ...A soft voice with few words sometimes brings about «a whole new child».<sup>88</sup>

As it has been noted Chrysostom wrote only two pedagogical treatises: «Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα».<sup>89</sup> (Address on vainglory and

---

<sup>81</sup> PG 61,94.

<sup>82</sup> PG 60,64.

<sup>83</sup> PG 48,551.

<sup>84</sup> PG 62,559.

<sup>85</sup> PG 61,109.

<sup>86</sup> PG 58,584.

<sup>87</sup> PG 48,708; 53,72; 59,156.

<sup>88</sup> Davidson F. H., and Davidson M. M., *Changing Childhood Prejudice* (London: Bergin and Garvey, 1994), pp. 111-112.

<sup>89</sup> E.Π.Ε. 30, pp.620-700; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 85-122.

the right way for parents to bring up their children), and «Περὶ παιδων ἀνατροφῆς»<sup>90</sup> (About the upbringing of children). To the topics of advice, admonition, control, criticism, suggestion and reproach he dedicated some 325 texts<sup>91</sup> in different cases in his homilies.

---

<sup>90</sup> PG 63,763-771.

<sup>91</sup> Harones, B., and Lanara, O., *Educational Anthropology of John Chrysostom* (In four volumes, Athens: Byzantium Press, 1993), v. 1, p.15.

### 3. CHRYSOSTOM'S THEOLOGICAL IDEAS

**3.1 Chrysostom and doctrine:** Though Chrysostom was the greatest orator of the ancient church he did not dedicate more than one or two of his writings entirely to theological problems.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, the opinions expressed by Quasten that «he was not involved in any of the great dogmatic controversies of the fourth century»<sup>93</sup> and by Campenhausen that «questions of dogma played scarcely any part in his life»<sup>94</sup> are not completely correct. Because he did not dedicate whole volumes to dogmatic problems, this does not mean that he was not involved in their arguments. The same is true with regard to his work on education. He wrote only two treatises on education, but there are many references to this subject throughout his work. The reason is that Chrysostom's priority was the maintenance of moral standards rather than the restatement of doctrine. That was the demand of his time. Quasten also accepts this truth saying: «If he refutes heresies, he does it in order to provide the necessary information and instruction for his listeners. He was by nature and by predilection a pastor of souls and a born reformer of human society».<sup>95</sup> Another opinion on the same issue is that of P. Christou. According to him, during the fourth century the conflict between Christianity and paganism was on the level of ethics and not of doctrines.<sup>96</sup> Chrysostom referred to dogmatic problems many times but was concerned more with the opportunity a particular problem might provide for discussion, rather than with the need to solve dogmatic or other theological

---

<sup>92</sup> See p.6 of this thesis.

<sup>93</sup> Quasten, *Patrology* v.3: *The Golden Book of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*, p. 474.

<sup>94</sup> Campenhausen, H. V., *The Fathers of the Greek Church* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963), p.140.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, p. 474.

<sup>96</sup> Christou, P., *Greek Patrology* (In five vols; Thessaloniki: Kyromanos Press, 1989), v. 4, p.292.

controversies.

Among the great number of his homilies, nevertheless, there are some which refer to dogmatic problems: the twelve homilies against Anomeans,<sup>97</sup> the homily on the Resurrection of the dead,<sup>98</sup> the eight homilies against the Jews<sup>99</sup> and a few others like the homilies about the Devil.<sup>100</sup> We can form a complete idea of his opinions about several theological matters from the above homilies and from the ideas he expressed throughout his work.

**3.2 Christology:** The two schools of Chrysostom's times -the Antiochene and the Alexandrian- had differences regarding their Christological theory. The former gave great importance to the human nature of Christ to emphasize its opposition to the Arian heresies and the latter gave importance to the divine nature against the Apollinarians.<sup>101</sup> Chrysostom, although he was a pupil of the school of Antioch, did not adopt its Christology completely. He stressed the perfect and complete divinity of Christ as well as his perfect and complete humanity. The two natures of Christ are perfect in one person (*prosopon*).<sup>102</sup> The *ousia* (substance) of Christ is the same as that of the Father<sup>103</sup> and his body is the same as ours, except for sin. The two natures of Christ exist as a union and not as a mixture.<sup>104</sup> The relation between the Father and the Son was

---

<sup>97</sup> PG 48,701-812.

<sup>98</sup> PG 50,417-432.

<sup>99</sup> PG 48,843-942.

<sup>100</sup> PG 49,241-276.

<sup>101</sup> Quasten, *Patrology* v.3: *The Golden Book of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*, pp.474-476.

<sup>102</sup> PG 59,154.

<sup>103</sup> PG 57,17.

<sup>104</sup> PG 59,154.

determined by the word *Homoousios*.<sup>105</sup>

**3.3 Original Sin:** Concerning original sin Chrysostom agreed with the Cappadocians. His ideas about this are an example of his thoughts about the personal freedom of man. He believed that Adam and Eve brought mortality to humanity. The incorruptibility of human beings did not continue because of their disobedience.<sup>106</sup> Evil is nothing else but disobedience to God. It is neither a being nor a substance. Nevertheless, our first parents' sin has not been inherited from them by us. The only thing we inherited from them was mortality. Guilt cannot be inherited because that would be to disregard man's free will.<sup>107</sup>

A controversy on the subject took place between Augustine and the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum. The latter drew the conclusion that Chrysostom did not believe in the existence of original sin because of a passage in which he says: «Therefore do we baptize also little children although they have no sins».<sup>108</sup> Augustine tried to excuse Chrysostom because he thought that he was misunderstood, interpreting the word «sins» as meaning personal sins. Though Augustine was right that Chrysostom's point of view had nothing to do with the Pelagian error concerning original sin, he did not grasp the whole truth about his ideas. Augustine wanted Chrysostom to agree with him that not only punishment but also guilt was inherited from Adam by all people on earth. Nevertheless, he was mistaken again. Chrysostom believed that Adam's sin brought to the human race the punishment of death without the inheritance of his guilt:

---

<sup>105</sup> PG 48,758; 61,214.

<sup>106</sup> PG 60,477.

<sup>107</sup> cf., Altaner, B., *Patrology* (Edinburgh, London: Nelson, 1960), p. 384.

<sup>108</sup> E.I.E. 30, p. 386.



Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ζήτημα; Τό λέγειν διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀμαρτωλοῦς γενέσθαι πολλούς. Τό μὲν γάρ ἀμαρτόντος ἐκείνου καὶ γενομένου θνητοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοιούτους εἶναι, οὐδέν ἀπεικός, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παρακοῆς ἐκείνου ἕτερον ἁμαρτωλὸν γενέσθαι, ποῖαν ἂν ἀκολουθίαν σχοίῃν; Εὐρεθήσεται γάρ οὕτω μηδὲ δίκην ὀφείλων ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἴγε μὴ οἴκοθεν γέγονεν ἀμαρτωλός.

What then is the question? It is the saying that through the offence of one many were made sinners. For the fact that when he had sinned and become mortal, those who were of him should be so also, is nothing unlikely. But how would it follow that from the disobedience another would become a sinner? For at this rate a man of this sort will not even deserve punishment, if, that is, it was not from his own self that he became a sinner.<sup>109</sup>

**3.4 Sin:** A person can become perfect in Christ. The salvation of the soul was prepared by the Law which was written for the Jews and natural for the Gentiles.<sup>110</sup> The exit from paradise happened because of sin whereby man lost the control of nature and destroyed the harmony of his relationship with God. Salvation came with the image of Adam (Christ) who was equal with God.<sup>111</sup>

For Chrysostom the only sad fact in our life is sin. Every man on this earth can redress his sinful life by taking part in the sacraments which Christ gave us.

**3.5 Ecclesiology:** The Church is a great mystery which was revealed during the fullness of time. Everything in creation was determined for the Church. Heaven was created for the Church and not the Church for Heaven.<sup>112</sup>

There is another Church, that of the angels but specifically, the Church is the

---

<sup>109</sup> PG 60,477; Library of the Fathers, 8, p.154.

<sup>110</sup> PG 52,488.

<sup>111</sup> PG 52,789.

<sup>112</sup> PG 52,429.

totality of the believers before and after Christ. The beginning of this Church was the creation of Adam and Eve and was established again in Christ like a new paradise. The body of the Church consists of the Divine Element which is the Head, and the human one, the parts or the body. All Christians are part of the Church's body even if they are not faithful.<sup>113</sup>

The discipline of the Church is more important than the laws of the state. This explains why Chrysostom criticised the members of the court, and moreover the empress, for their immoral lives in spite of the consequences for his own life. The main task of the Church's rule was to help people avoid punishment and to remove sin, not the person who had committed it.<sup>114</sup> The mission of the Church was to save the sinners and keep Christians in a life of faith and virtue.<sup>115</sup> The Church was for him «the divinely appointed teacher of the universe».<sup>116</sup> The Church was the body which should try to give everyone the chance of reaching God's purpose, that is, perfection.

The Church required Christians to help the poor and sick.<sup>117</sup> Chrysostom gave great importance to this matter. He thought people to be of a great value as created by God Himself and he greatly helped those who suffered. As well as spiritual help he organized a system for their practical relief.<sup>118</sup>

Concerning the clergy, Chrysostom was very strict. He believed the priests were the pillars of the church and should lead a saintly life. The most important reason which can exclude one from the clergy was for him ambition, because that sin destroys not

---

<sup>113</sup> PG 62,75.

<sup>114</sup> PG 61,508.

<sup>115</sup> PG 58,673.

<sup>116</sup> Christian, *Educational Philosophy of John Chrysostom*, p.81.

<sup>117</sup> PG 61,675; 49,224.

<sup>118</sup> cf., Christou, *Greek Patrology*, v. 4 p.239.

only the person who has it but the church too. The love of authority divides Christians and perishes the church.<sup>119</sup>

**3.6 The purpose of life:** God created the world for a particular purpose. This purpose remains as the purpose of life. God created the world and, like every creator, is the governor of his creation. «Everything which man did, believed or possessed must be evaluated in terms of the purposes which God had in mind for man. Since, according to John (Chrysostom), God had not created and redeemed man simply for a brief existence in this world but had planned that man spend eternity in a blissful service to Him, the achievement of this goal was the final end of man»<sup>120</sup>

The fact of the creation of the world by God explains its harmony and its beauty. At the same time this fact (that is the creation of the world by God), excludes fate from having anything to do with the existence of the world.

The two worlds, namely the spiritual and the material one, exist to fulfil men's needs, spiritual and material. Man is also the point at which these two worlds come together, being a soul into a body.<sup>121</sup> The aim of the existence of the world is man. Sometimes, Chrysostom spoke of man in a deprecatory way. He did that only as a pedagogical measure, whenever he noticed an enslaving. The needs of the body do not inhibit the Christians from retaining the nobility of the soul. The strength of man is expressed by the term «image» meaning the authority of the logical soul which governs him in cooperation with the body. The existence of the soul makes man superior to the

---

<sup>119</sup> PG 62,85.

<sup>120</sup> Christian, *Educational Philosophy of John Chrysostom*, p.41.

<sup>121</sup> PG 56,182.

animals and capable of communicating with the Creator.<sup>122</sup>

Having in mind Chrysostom's way of thinking we can more easily understand his philosophy and his educational principles. Education for him was to «train men for the achievement of the final end, the eternity in paradise».<sup>123</sup> Therefore, education had the same purpose as life itself, that is achieving perfection. This purpose can be real only through the true philosophy.

**3.7 Philosophy:** Chrysostom had a comprehensive education which gave him a full knowledge of classical and post- classical writers. Nevertheless, he was not particularly enthusiastic about their educational philosophy. He distanced himself from classical philosophy because it did not offer a completely pure system of thinking leading to salvation as did Christianity. He wanted the religious tradition which the philosophers represented to be abolished, but at the same time he respected the educational value of what the philosophers offered to humanity. He tried to remind everybody of this truth because idolatry was still prevalent and he wanted to make clear how wrong it was.<sup>124</sup>

Chrysostom seemed to be positive about a few individual philosophers, such as Plato and Socrates. For those who study his work superficially it seems that he appreciated Plato's wisdom while at the same time he condemned him. The answer might lie on the fact quoted above, that he rejected the religious part of their teaching whilst he accepted what they had to offer in the field of moral education.<sup>125</sup> There is a

---

<sup>122</sup> PG 55,233.

<sup>123</sup> PG 61,462.

<sup>124</sup> Christou, *Greek Patrology*, v. 4 p. 293.

<sup>125</sup> PG 48,1011.

hint showing that he was sympathetic to some philosophers in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education*:

Καί ἐπεισαγέσθω τῆς βασιλείας ὁ λόγος καί τῶν πάλαι ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη λαμπρῶν καί τῶν ἔξω καί τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, καί συνεχῶς τούτοις ἐπαντλῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀκοήν.

And let us guide the conversation to the kingdom of heaven and to those men of old, pagan or Christian, who were illustrious for their self-restraint.<sup>126</sup>

True philosophy was for Chrysostom an ethical way of life and not an intellectual procedure. Christians are the real philosophers because they «have their souls adorned with the doctrines, but also with the real practice».<sup>127</sup> No philosophy had any value without knowledge of the Gospel. God, for the Great Educationalist, was the centre of the Christian life and philosophy.

---

<sup>126</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.118.

<sup>127</sup> PG 49,189.

#### 4. THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN THE RIGHT UP-BRINGING OF CHILDREN

**4.1 The teacher in Chrysostom's treatises on education:** Chrysostom looked at education from a different angle than that of his contemporaries. Education for him was necessary, not only to train children's minds, its mission was something much more sacred than this. Education for Chrysostom was a powerful means by which, with the correct treatment, Christ could be instilled in the souls of children. This aim of education was not really different from the aim of life itself. Chrysostom wanted all aspects of life-including education- to serve the soul in its effort to reach salvation. This strong confidence he had in education was based on the belief that it could change the whole of society into a Christian community. The kind of education suggested by Chrysostom cannot be described as either religious, Christian or moral; it is the combination of all these together, it comprises the syllabus, the method, the means of teaching, the relationship between the teacher and the pupils, the role of the parents in their children's education, and the teacher's character.

It is true that to teach any subject special training is needed. Particular knowledge and skills are necessary qualifications for teachers in every place and time. Would this principle have an application to the case of the teacher who was going to teach the child to be a believer, an athlete of Christ? What then would be the special knowledge needed? Did Chrysostom give a solution at all? Did this question concern him in any way? If yes, which answers did he give? Moreover, could those answers be useful to us today?

In his special treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, Chrysostom mentioned the teacher four times in particular. In all the other cases he spoke about the parents' role in the right upbringing of children because, obviously, he addressed this homily to a

group of parents. The first point is given in the sixteenth paragraph of the treatise:

Παιδαγωγὸν χρᾶν ἀκριβοῦς, ὥστε ρυθμίζειν τὸν παῖδα, χρυσίου δὲ οὐκέτι.

The child does not need gold but a strict tutor to direct him.<sup>128</sup>

In other words Chrysostom wanted to emphasize the value of education in opposition to that of material things. Chrysostom's age can be characterized as materialistic. From his criticism of the way his contemporaries lived we can assume that their first concern was to keep their children in the wealthy top level of society. The beginning of the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* refers to this fact,<sup>129</sup> and later on, Chrysostom mentions the tendency towards materialism many times. It might be useful to remember that the treatise was addressed to the rich because of the frequent reference to the correct usage of wealth as well as instructions about the correct behaviour towards slaves.<sup>130</sup> Going back to the treatise's first point, we can see that Chrysostom gives the teacher the characterization «ἀκριβής» (Laistner translated the adjective with the word «strict» but the real meaning in Greek is «precise»); Parents who care about the appearance of their children more than their education are not reasonable. They should care more about their children's moral development. Moreover, Chrysostom underlines that the need for education is not simply solved with the appointment of any teacher. A good teacher with the virtue of precision is what really helps, because he knows what he wants and when and how to ask for it. He also knows precisely how to handle every child. A similar idea is expressed by professor Felix Adler when speaking about the aim of ethical education: «It is not enough, as it is commonly said, that the teacher shall be right-minded, impartial, honest, strict in the performance of duty, in order to impress

---

<sup>128</sup> E.Π.Ε. 30, p.638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.94.

<sup>129</sup> E.Π.Ε. 30, p.636; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.93-94.

<sup>130</sup> E.Π.Ε. 30, pp.636, 654, 692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.93-94, 101, 118.

the same qualities on the pupils. All these qualities may, after all, but produce a kind of technical righteousness. Without the ethical spirit, the spirit of humility and striving, they will fail to reach the mark... It is undoubtedly true that the right teacher, the teacher «by the grace of God», may and often does exercise an influence for life upon his pupils.<sup>131</sup> Adler expressed this opinion at the beginning of the twentieth century and it is obvious that it is not at all far from that of Chrysostom's. The difference lies in the fact that in Chrysostom's time his opinion was something new because the kind of education he suggested was also new.

The second hint is made in the eighteenth paragraph:

Ὅταν τοίνυν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας διδασκάλων ἀπορήσωσιν οἱ παῖδες, τί ἔσονται;

What will boys become when from earliest youth they are without teachers?<sup>132</sup>

For Chrysostom, teachers are essential in the process of a child's development. Without them nothing good can be done for a child's character and education. Chrysostom did not simply see teachers as people who were going to give knowledge to children. Speaking about teachers he always meant those who were responsible for the development of mind as well as for the spiritual education of the soul. For Chrysostom, a child educated in the mind only but not in the soul was not fully educated. Parents will not take any reward if they present a child full of knowledge on the day of Judgement. Nobody will be judged according to what he knows but according to what he does. For this reason Chrysostom insisted that education should serve the soul as well as the mind.<sup>133</sup>

The third point is given in the thirty-eighth paragraph of the treatise *On Vainglory*

<sup>131</sup> Adler, F., «The Scope and Aim of Ethical Education», *Papers on Moral Education* (Ed. by Spiller, G., London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1909), pp. 10-11.

<sup>132</sup> E.II.E. 30, p. 638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 94.

<sup>133</sup> PG 61, 161.



*and Education:*

Μηδέ γάρ πᾶσιν ἐξέστω τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀναμείγνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστωσαν φανεροί, ὥσπερ ἀγάλματι προσιόντες φανεροί, οἱ συναντιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς τέχνης ἡμῶν. Πῶς γάρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, εἰ μέν οἰκοδόμοι ἡμεν καί ἄρχοντι οἰκίαν ἐκτίζομεν, μή πάντας ὁπλῶς τοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμῶν ἐάν προσιέναι τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ, νῦν δέ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ πόλιν κτίζοντες καὶ πολίτας πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπειν τό ἔργον; Ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν οἰκετῶν χρήσιμοι συναντιλαμβανέσθωσαν' εἰ δέ μηδεὶς ἐστίν, ἐλεύθερον μισθῷ ζήτησον, ἄνδρα ἐνάρετον, κάκεῖνῳ μάλιστα τό πᾶν ἐπίτρεψον, ὥστε συναντιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου.

They must not be allowed to consort with all the servants, but rather let those who are participating with us in training stand out clearly, as though they were building a house for the ruler, we should not permit all the servants to approach the building. Would it not then be absurd, when we are establishing a city and citizens for the heavenly King, to entrust the task indiscriminately to all? Let those of the servants who are well-fitted take part. If there be none, then hire someone who is free, a virtuous man, and entrust the task especially to him, so that he may have a full share in the undertaking. <sup>134</sup>

The substance of this paragraph is again the character of the teacher. The parents must choose their children's teachers very carefully. This advice is based on Chrysostom's opinion that the teacher has complete responsibility in the educational process. Rousseau also expressed his opinion on the problem: «I can only find one satisfactory way of preserving the child's innocence, surrounding him with those who respect and love him». <sup>135</sup> A similar idea is expressed by Jerome in his letter to Laeta which he wrote as an answer to her question, how she ought to bring up her infant daughter: «We are always ready to imitate what is evil; and faults are quickly copied where virtues appear unattainable. Paula's nurse must not be intemperate, or loose, or given to gossip». <sup>136</sup> It

---

<sup>134</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.656; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.102.

<sup>135</sup> Rousseau, J. J., *Emile* (London: Everyman J.M. Dent, 1993), p.214.

<sup>136</sup> Ulich, R., *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom. Selections from Great Documents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 166.

is remarkable that another Church Father, of the West this time, expressed the same idea about who must undertake the upbringing of children. Laistner referring to the phenomenon of the same opinions on education expressed by different people (Chrysostom and Quintilian in his case) said: «Not only could two writers thinking about the same subject independently arrive at similar views, but some of these had certainly become a part of the common stock of ideas among thinking and educated persons long before the fourth century».<sup>137</sup> In the case of two church fathers the common idea which controlled their views would moreover be the concern for the salvation of the soul. The difference between the two Church Fathers, Chrysostom and Jerome, is that the latter was writing to the mother who had consecrated her daughter to Christ. Nevertheless, for Chrysostom the rules for an upbringing in Christ applied equally to those who have chosen a monastic life as well as lay people.

The last point in the treatise referring directly to the teachers is in paragraph eighty:

Ὁ δὲ Σαμουὴλ οὐχὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νέος ὢν ἐπαίδευεν;

Did not Samuel when still young instruct his own teacher?<sup>138</sup>

This is a different idea from the above. Chrysostom gave several examples to prove that children can achieve much in their spiritual life. He mentioned Daniel, Joseph, Jacob, Jeremiah, Solomon and at the end Samuel. He tried to prove that children can be taught to pray «with great fervour and contrition».<sup>139</sup> As usual, he understood that he needed the Scriptures to support his opinions. He referred directly to the Old Testament and presented six examples of children who made heroic achievements in their lives because

<sup>137</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.78.

<sup>138</sup> E.H.E. 30, p.694; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.119.

<sup>139</sup> E.H.E. 30, p.692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.119

of their spiritual strength. The example of Samuel shows that a child can give his teacher a lesson in spirituality. The process of learning is usually directed from the teacher to the pupil. Nevertheless, Chrysostom declared that in the case of Christian education, the teaching of morals and virtues can flow the opposite way, namely from the pupil to the teacher.

From all which Chrysostom said about the teacher in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* we can assume that he indeed believed in the special characteristics of the teacher. However, he wanted the teachers who were dedicated to the task of guiding the souls of the children to live in an atmosphere of faith and morality. In relation to this, Spencer Leeson said: «...if the teacher and his students are not only moral beings and citizens of a free State, but also children of God, made in His image and created for ultimate union with Him in the perfect life-what then?»<sup>140</sup> Leeson meant that when the teacher and his pupils are believers this would be a perfect combination. For Chrysostom, nevertheless, faith was not a matter of an extra qualification for the teacher, it was necessary requirement for anyone who intended to teach others the way of salvation. The word teacher, meant for him the person who was determined to show the way of salvation to others.

**4.2 The office of the teacher:** Chrysostom spoke respectfully of teachers. He placed them on the same level as priests. He underlined that the office of a teacher as well as that of the priest «is great and admirable».<sup>141</sup> The teacher's post was prestigious for him and because of that «even if he misbehaves in the least his small faults seem

---

<sup>140</sup> Leeson, S., *Christian Education Reviewed* (London: Longmans, 1957), p.100.

<sup>141</sup> PG 62,525.

to be big». <sup>142</sup> It is obvious what Chrysostom tried to do in saying the above; he did not simply want to support the already existing respect for teachers. On the contrary, he tried to persuade his contemporaries to have this respect even if the teachers themselves did not always deserve it. Teachers are compared not only with priests but with parents as well. According to Chrysostom teachers are more important than fathers because they teach spiritual truths. <sup>143</sup> Our fathers give us life and our teachers the good life, the life of virtue. <sup>144</sup> We must accept them, love them and moreover, defend their office. <sup>145</sup>

Chrysostom thought that teachers must command great respect in the society where they live and work. Having faults and sins is natural for them as for all human beings. Even then neither the pupils nor the parents should blame them because such behaviour upsets the natural order and because disparaging both teachers and priests splits the congregation and destroys their faith. <sup>146</sup> We must remember here that in Chrysostom's time, while education was greatly respected by the higher class, teachers were not. Letters are preserved in which hate is expressed against teachers by their disciples. <sup>147</sup> Further, their salaries were worthless and they did not have an easy life. <sup>148</sup> Teachers themselves were sometimes of a cruel character and they gave severe punishments. They also provoked the children's dislike by forcing them to learn by heart long poems or pieces of literature. People who were educated then did not have good memories of their childhood because school was anything but *paidocentric*. Saint Augustine

---

<sup>142</sup> PG 48,650.

<sup>143</sup> PG 62,213.

<sup>144</sup> PG 61,500; 62,565; 63,768.

<sup>145</sup> PG 58,667.

<sup>146</sup> PG 61,623-624; 62,253; 51,203-204.

<sup>147</sup> Shelton, *As The Romans Did*, p.109.

<sup>148</sup> cf., Shelton, *As The Romans Did*, pp.109-110.

described extensively his feelings about the unhappy schooling he had. Most of all he hated unjust punishment which, usually, was corporal.<sup>149</sup>

Chrysostom's position towards teachers was different from that of Augustine. Nevertheless, he did not adopt this position to justify teachers and their often bad behaviour. On a different occasion he said that to be a teacher is not an honour but a responsibility<sup>150</sup> which demanded an attentive life without sin. However, it is natural for teachers as well as for pupils to make mistakes, but there is a difference between the mistakes of the teachers and those of the pupils.<sup>151</sup> Teachers cannot invoke lack of experience to justify their mistakes.<sup>152</sup> Does the same policy exist today? Is Chrysostom's idea correct, that even if the teacher behaves wrongly, we should make excuses for him in front of the children? Is it true that children will lose their trust in teachers, thus adversely affecting their progress, every time they see their teachers doing wrong or hear their parents criticising their behaviour? In other words, if the child does not respect the teacher, will he benefit less from him? Burstall says: «But school gives something which the home cannot give, and the two must work together harmoniously for the good of the child, each reinforcing the other, and each respecting the other's province...»<sup>153</sup> Would a teacher with human weaknesses really harm the children and the teaching process? Sometimes, the answer to this problem is positive, depending on the nature of the teacher's weakness. For example, can a teacher who is going to teach morals, have an immoral life? For educationists, like Hare, the most important task for

---

<sup>149</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, book 1, vi-vii. (Tr. by Chadwick H., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>150</sup> PG 60,37.

<sup>151</sup> PG 50,726; 60,37.

<sup>152</sup> PG 48,678.

<sup>153</sup> Burstall, S. A., *The Ethical Aims, Means, and Limitations in the Public Secondary Day School Papers On Moral Education* (Ed. by Spiller, G.; London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1909), p.38.

a teacher is to train pupils to develop a critical spirit. According to him, criticism should be used in the sense of appraisal and not of fault finding.<sup>154</sup> In the same way, pupils will be able to criticize the behaviour of teachers and adults without any adverse results for their own lives.

It is known that the existing educational system for Christians in Chrysostom's time was the pagan one. Chrysostom wanted teachers to change this situation. The whole educational system was in their hands. No ministry of education nor inspectors existed. The teachers could make schools, and their principles, different from what they used to be. Parents should accept the teachers' effort by trusting them. The new system of education, namely the Christian one, which Chrysostom tried to introduce, demanded radical changes to the teacher's character as well as to the central educational purpose. To teach faith and morals one should be faithful and have a moral life oneself; nevertheless, it was not easy for teachers to change their way of life from one day to the other. Chrysostom knew that very well; for this reason, he gave his instructions to them at every possible opportunity during his preaching, and by advising the parents to be patient with teachers. Moreover, for Chrysostom, Christian education was not a separate subject as all the other parts of the syllabus. It was a method of approaching every part of the syllabus. A similar view to Chrysostom's exists in Moran's book *«No ladder to the sky»*.<sup>155</sup> The book has been criticized by Melchert in a review in the journal *Religious Education*.<sup>156</sup> Moran's suggestions could be summarized as follows: It is time to establish a new category of writing style, that of educational morality. Current moral education isolates morality from religion and assumes that education is equivalent to

---

<sup>154</sup> Hare, R. M., *Essays on Religion and Education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.120.

<sup>155</sup> Moran, G., *No Ladder to the Sky: Education and Morality* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).

<sup>156</sup> Melchert, C. F., *«No Ladder to the Sky» Religious Education* vol. 84, (1989), pp.312-314.

schooling.<sup>157</sup> In fact, morality and education are essentially the same process.<sup>158</sup> In conclusion, Moran presented the idea of what it means to teach morally rather than to teach about morality, which was also mentioned by Chrysostom long ago. Melchert asked how a dialogue can be opened when education and morality become the same and he continued: «Wouldn't it be a monologue?»<sup>159</sup> Chrysostom's and Moran's answer to Melchert's question could be Hare's opinion about the difference between education and indoctrination: «The educator is waiting and hoping all the time for those whom he is educating to start thinking; and none of the thoughts that may occur to them are labeled dangerous a priori».<sup>160</sup> In other words, monologue is the weapon of the indoctrinators; on the contrary, an educator who creates an atmosphere of democracy never uses it as a method to pass his own ideas to his pupils because he knows very well that the best way «to teach is to show how».<sup>161</sup>

Spencer Leeson is another author who agrees with Chrysostom on what and how to teach a child. The basis of Leeson's theory is the purpose for which God created human beings which is «an eternity of union with God in the perfect life. But although his purpose and home are eternity, his earthly course is more than just a road to it, more than a time of probation in preparation for it. It is a part of this undying life ... Plato was thinking chiefly of the moral type of the society he wished to create. The Christian teacher is thinking of that too, but also, and at the same time, of something greater,

---

<sup>157</sup> There are educational fields which aim to train their students in particular skills giving them the means to meet the standards needed for a job. To teach knowledge and skills only is not enough even if the present target of the institute is to train skilled workmen or technicians. The wider goal of every kind of education is to create the right atmosphere in which personal and social morality will find the environment needed to be promoted in the highest degree. *Great Educational Encyclopaedia* (Athens: Greek Letters-Herder, 1965), v.2, p.382.

<sup>158</sup> Moran, *No Ladder to the Sky: Education and Morality*, pp. 8, 14.

<sup>159</sup> Melchert, «No ladder to the Sky», p.312.

<sup>160</sup> Hare, *Essays on Religion and Education*, p.130.

<sup>161</sup> Moran, *No Ladder to the Sky: Education and Morality*, p.149.

which the moral type of this society exists to serve-the welfare in this world and beyond of an immortal being, the development here and hereafter of a human personality to the natural end for which he believes that being was created. The teacher's eyes will be set on eternity for his children as well as for himself.»<sup>162</sup>

**4.3 The teacher's relation with his disciples:** The basis of the educational relationship between the teacher and his pupils is for Chrysostom «love, with which nothing is equal».<sup>163</sup> Because of this love, the teacher will have true and instinctive feelings for them. The first and biggest advantage which derives from these good feelings is the dialogue, because according to Chrysostom, when you feel pure love for someone you do not impose your opinion on him; this is the biggest difference between education and indoctrination, that «the educator is trying to turn children into adults; the indoctrinator is trying to make them into perpetual children... At the end of it all, the educator will insensibly stop being an educator, and find that he is talking to an equal, to an educated person like himself- a person who may disagree with everything he has ever said; and unlike the indoctrinator, he will be pleased».<sup>164</sup> Chrysostom's opinion about dialogue is similar to that of Hare. He organized a whole system for the practical application of dialogue. Theory was never enough for him. As one of the greatest Christian pedagogues of all ages he systematized the rules of dialogue, stressing the importance of the part played by understanding. He has more than fifty suggestions regarding the rules of dialogue.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> Leeson, *Christian Education Reviewed*, pp.7, 8.

<sup>163</sup> PG 60,658.

<sup>164</sup> Hare, *Essays on Religion and Education*, p.130.

<sup>165</sup> Harones, and Lanara, *Educational Anthropology of John Chrysostom*, v.2, pp. 347-374.



Another point stressed by Chrysostom is that when a teacher has in mind his pupils' salvation he should have a personal relationship with them:

Τοῦτο γάρ μάλιστα διδασκάλου, τό οὕτω συναλγεῖν ταῖς τῶν μαθητῶν συμφοραῖς, τό κόπτεσθαι καί πενθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τῶν ἀρχομένων.

This is a teacher's particular characteristic that he suffers along with his pupils' calamities, and he mourns for their wounds.<sup>166</sup>

The teacher should not fear a close relationship like this. He will in this way win his disciples' sympathy and take a more positive attitude to the demands of the educational system. Besides, the teacher is more respected by children than their natural fathers because he teaches spiritual truths.<sup>167</sup> His worst agony is when his disciples do not obey him or when they stray and become corrupted.<sup>168</sup> Ronald Goldman also wrote that the quality of the relationship between teacher and pupil is exactly what makes teaching stand or fall.<sup>169</sup> Karen Tye has also seen the relationship between teacher and student in a similar way. Speaking about the religious teacher she said: «...being a teacher meant having a personal relationship with the students. It was personal because it did not view the children as just students but as persons. Their relationship with the students was not limited to the classroom but went beyond the church school classroom walls».<sup>170</sup> The way some authors like Tye see church teachers particularly is the way in which Chrysostom saw all teachers without exception.

The friendly relationship which should exist between teacher and pupil hides a

---

<sup>166</sup> PG 51,592.

<sup>167</sup> PG 62,213.

<sup>168</sup> PG 60,312; 59,85-86.

<sup>169</sup> Goldman, R., *Readiness for Religion: A Basis for Developmental Religious Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.194.

<sup>170</sup> Tye, K., «Those Who Teach: The Local Church School Teachers Perspective on Being a Teacher» *Religious Education* vol. 83 (1988), p. 342.

danger. According to Chrysostom this kind of relationship could lead to a loss of authority on the teacher's part. This is an undesirable outcome. The teacher should never lose his authority, because God gave it to him. The pupils should always respect the teacher because he is in many ways their adviser and their guide. He is responsible for the training of his pupils. The term «training» is the translation of the term «ἡκονσις», a very frequently used term in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. In comparison with the duty of a coach, the teacher seems to be at the centre of the educational process. He commands and decides what should be done by the pupils. That was exactly what Chrysostom was thinking of. The child's mind was for him like a tablet upon which a teacher could write and rub out.<sup>171</sup> At first, this opinion seems to be far away from the democratic procedure of taking decisions. On the other hand, Chrysostom believed firmly in the freedom of the individual. How, then, could these opposite attitudes be combined? The explanation can be given by keeping in mind that it was the teachers and the parents whom Chrysostom tried to convince about the teaching they should give to the children. Their duty was to educate the children in Christ teaching them the true faith and the way to salvation. Parents and teachers should in no case force the children to follow their advice. The teaching of the truth was their duty, but whether or not the youngsters were going to adopt the Christian way of life was their choice.<sup>172</sup>

Chrysostom wanted the teacher to have the primary role in the educational procedure and he insisted on this idea. However, this did not mean that the teacher would take no account of the pupil. The passage which shows what he really believed, is as follows:

---

<sup>171</sup> PG 58,691-692.

<sup>172</sup> PG 63,509-510; 60,509; 61,509; 62,87; 51,325; 61,199; 62,423.

Οὐ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὸ πλεόν, τὸ γοῦν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν. Ἡμῶν μὲν οὖν καταβαλεῖν ἐστὶ τὸν σπόρον, ὑμῶν δὲ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τοὺς καρπούς, τὰς ἀκάνθας προρρίζους ἀνασιτᾶν.

All is not the teacher's part, but half at least, if not more, that of the disciples. It is our part indeed to cast the seed, but yours to do the things spoken for your recollection, by your works to show the fruits, to pull up the thorns by the roots.<sup>173</sup>

The behaviour towards those of the pupils who are indifferent occupied Chrysostom many times in his homilies. This indifference only affects the pupil and not the teacher.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, there is a way for teachers to benefit from the opposite attitude of the children, namely that of diligence; in that case, the attention shown by the pupil will give the teacher strength to continue his efforts.<sup>175</sup>

Another characteristic of the healthy relationship between teacher and pupil is that of kindness; Chrysostom wanted the teacher to be severe to himself and kind to his pupils.<sup>176</sup> Moved by love and kindness, the teacher must also meet his pupils' needs and interests.<sup>177</sup> This loving relationship, according to Chrysostom, must be sincere. Affectation and hypocrisy have no place in the relationship between teacher and pupil. This relationship is much more like that of a father and a son rather than that of judge and the accused. The authority is always there to strike a balance, prohibiting familiarity from causing a lack of recognition.<sup>178</sup> In this way, authority combined with kindness is the best path for the teacher to meet the pupils' needs and interests.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> PG 62,483.

<sup>174</sup> PG 51,291-292.

<sup>175</sup> PG 53,105.

<sup>176</sup> PG 58,668.

<sup>177</sup> PG 62,262.

<sup>178</sup> PG 59,240.

<sup>179</sup> PG 62,591.

The problem of authority has occupied modern educationalists too and their answers are not different to those of Chrysostom who managed again to respond directly and successfully to the heart of modern educational and psychological problems. Nowadays, authority is thrown aside as an imposition of opinion or as an obstacle preventing pupils from learning through personal experience and research. However, authors like Paul Nash who dedicated a whole book to authority, believe that the problem is not whether the teacher should act as an authority but what form and degree of authority he should exercise.<sup>180</sup>

Chrysostom attempted to delve more deeply into the sensitive area of the nature of the relationship between the teacher and the pupils. In one of his homilies, he said that it is not enough for the teacher to have a good relationship with one or with some of his disciples. The teacher must have a harmonious relation with the whole class. If those directly involved in the educational process, namely the pupil and the teacher, come into conflict, the whole process will collapse and sink like a ship and its crew in a storm.<sup>181</sup>

Even if Chrysostom gave the central role to the teacher rather than to the pupil in the learning process, he also recognized the need for different approaches in teaching different ages. Thus he made it clear that the teacher should have the main role in the learning process and must plan his teaching keeping always in mind the pupils' individual needs and abilities. The teacher must adopt his teaching according to the age of his pupils. For example, one must be gentle towards the beginners and firm with the more advanced pupils.<sup>182</sup> With regard to stories, these should also differ from age to

---

<sup>180</sup> Nash, P., *Authority and Freedom in Education* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), pp.108-109.

<sup>181</sup> PG 52,447.

<sup>182</sup> PG 57,678; 56,278.

age. Small children should not hear stories of terror. Details about what is good for each age to hear, is given in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*.<sup>183</sup> Chrysostom distinguished four stages in the life of a person, as follows: childhood, youth, adulthood and old age:

Καί πρῶτον πέλαγος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τό τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας, πολύν ἔχον τόν σάλον  
διὰ τό ἀνόητον, διὰ τήν εὐκολίαν, διὰ τό μή πεπτηγέναι.

At first, childhood is like an open sea, very agitated because of foolishness, changeability, and instability.<sup>184</sup>

For this age, Chrysostom underlined the necessity for the teachers to complete diligently all that is missing from the children of this age.

People in the second stage are more difficult to help. The reason for that is the increased desire inside them:

Μετά ταύτην τήν ἡλικίαν ἡ τοῦ μεираκίου διαδέχεται θάλαττα, ἐνθα σφοδρά  
πνεύματα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡμῖν αὐξανομένης.

After this age there comes the sea of juveniles in which strong winds blow just like in the Aegean sea because the desire inside us grows.<sup>185</sup>

This age, according to Chrysostom, is more difficult to guide than childhood; therefore, great courage and wisdom are required by the teacher who is going to teach teenagers. As with ships when a storm approaches and the captain is weak and the problem of bad weather is intensified, the same will be true of teenagers if their teacher is lenient. Chrysostom accepted the fact that this age has particular problems which are related to sexual desire. He also believed that the teenager who has to confront the battle of desire needs help to surmount it. A boy or a girl must not be abandoned at that time of

---

<sup>183</sup> E.P.E. 30, pp. 654-672; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 101-110.

<sup>184</sup> PG 58,737.

<sup>185</sup> PG 58,737.

temptation. It is natural for every teenager to face temptation but with the teacher's help it is easier to overcome it. Concerning youth, Chrysostom, touched upon the erotic desire which he judged as the main problem of the age and called it a monster:

Λέγουσι δέ Ιατρῶν παῖδες ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μετὰ πέντε καὶ δέκατον ἔτος σφόδρα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. Πῶς αὖν τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο καταδήσομεν;

The doctors tell us that this desire attacks with violence the children after their fifteenth year. How shall we tie down this wild beast? <sup>186</sup>

Among other advice that Chrysostom gave to young people, regarding the supersession of sexual desire, is that of early marriage; he moreover suggested that it would be good to teach them to despise money, glory and temporal power. <sup>187</sup> Because it would be very interesting to know in detail the opinion of one of the great Church Fathers about puberty and the problems regarding sexual desire, the last chapter of this thesis refers to this matter. <sup>188</sup>

The third stage in a man's life is for Chrysostom that of adulthood.

Μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἡλικίας, τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπεισιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐπίκειται ὅτε γυνή, καὶ γάμος, καὶ παιδοποιΐα, καὶ οἰκίας προστασία, καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν φροντίζων νιφάδες. Τότε μάλιστα καὶ φιλαργυρία ἀνθεῖ καὶ βασκανία.

After that, there comes another period of age, manhood, during which we have economic problems. Then, a wife comes, and marriage, and parenthood, and the need to protect the family, and many problems that require attention. Particularly then avarice and envy prevail. <sup>189</sup>

Chrysostom seemed to have a good knowledge of these problems, even if he had no personal experience of them. Nevertheless, like a good shepherd, he studied closely the

---

<sup>186</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117.

<sup>187</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.699; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.121.

<sup>188</sup> The present thesis, pp.98-120.

<sup>189</sup> PG 58,737.

daily problems of his congregation and gave a thoughtful opinion about them even if he was not directly involved with these problems.

About old age Chrysostom was content just to show that it is the end point of our whole life which will lead us to a harbour with our boat full of brushwood or spiritual goods:

Ὅταν οὖν ἕκαστον μέρος ἡλικίας παρέρχόμεθα μετὰ ναυαγίων, πῶς ἀρκέσομεν τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ; πῶς τὴν μέλλουσαν διαφευξόμεθα κόλασιν;

When we pass every stage of our age with flotsam and jetsam how are we supposed to leave this life? How will we avoid the future hell? <sup>190</sup>

Nevertheless, even if a person lives an immoral life he could and should change his attitudes when reaching old age. Chrysostom reproved severely those elderly people who attended the theatre and made themselves fool in any way. <sup>191</sup>

Chrysostom, speaking about the stages of a man's life, again ended with a conclusion regarding again the aim of our living, which is our salvation. Childhood, youth, adulthood and old age exist as stages of perfection. Every passion which shows up at each period of our life should be turned to the opposite and become a virtue. The effort of turning the passions into virtues is very demanding but that is the only way which can help us to reach the safe harbour of salvation. This life, according to Chrysostom, is like the sea which has different kinds of storms in each place; this analogy was well known in his time. Since the means of transport were not safe, the tragedy of shipwreck was very common. The great orator described these scenes in the vivid way which is characteristic of him in attracting the attention of his audience. He also presented the image of the different stages of life using geographical names:

---

<sup>190</sup> PG 58,737.

<sup>191</sup> E.I.L.E. 30, p.692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.118, PG 63, 64-65.

Aegean Sea, Tyrinicos channel, Propontis and others. Using these names, he showed a good knowledge of geography which was perhaps a result of his education.

There are more ideas about the stages of life in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*. About the first stage, which is childhood, Chrysostom mentioned in the treatise:

Ὅταν τοίνυν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας διδασκάλων ἀπορήσωσιν οἱ παῖδες, τί ἔσονται; Εἰ γάρ ἐκ κοιλίας τρεφόμενοι τινές καί ἕως γήρων παιδευόμενοι οὕτω κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν τούτοις συνεπιζόμενοι τοῖς ἰκούσασιν τί οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσωνται δεινόν; Νῦν δέ ὅπως μὲν τέχνας καί γράμματα καί λόγους τούς αὐτῶν παῖδας παιδεύσαιεν, ἅπασαν ἕκαστος ποιεῖται σπουδῇν, ὅπως δέ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκηθεῖεν τούτου οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς λόγον ἔχει τινά.

What will become of boys when from earliest youth they are without teachers? If grown men, after being nurtured from the womb and continuing their education to old age, still do not live righteously, what wrong will not children accustomed from the threshold of life to empty words, commit? In our own day every man takes the greatest pains to train his boy in the arts and in literature and speech. Nevertheless, to exercise this child's soul in virtue, to that no man any longer pays heed.<sup>192</sup>

Chrysostom mentioned very often that good habits and early moral education are strong preventive measures against temptation and sin. A second thought of Chrysostom is that it is very easy for children to be corrected because their characters are still malleable. Therefore, it is right for parents and teachers to try to protect them from coming in touch with evil things, through either hearing or seeing, which could influence them in a bad way.<sup>193</sup>

The sense in which a teacher can be oppressive towards the pupils is given by another illustration: Chrysostom compared teachers with those who forced children to

---

<sup>192</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.94-95.

<sup>193</sup> E.P.E. 30, pp.654-656; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.101-102.



take their medicine. Medicine symbolizes the books and those who force children to take it are the teachers.<sup>194</sup> Chrysostom knew that books and homework are often disliked by pupils. Someone has to make them understand how much they lose by avoiding the reading of books, and this must be the teacher. To whom would a book be useful if pupils never want to read it, or if they do not have a guide to help them to explore the beautiful knowledge which is hidden in its pages? The case of the pupil who is not interested in reading is one that requires strong persuasion. The motive for this must always be a pure love for children and an effort to change any negative feelings about their education.

Chrysostom's opinion on the relationship that should exist between teachers and pupils can be summarized as follows: Chrysostom wanted the teacher to educate children in an atmosphere of love and care and help them to become responsible citizens, good parents, faithful Christians; but the teacher must above all consider the children as unique creations whom God has determined should live for ever.

**4.4 The teacher's character:** Chrysostom mentioned another problem which relates to the teaching profession. He pointed out that sometimes it gives pride to those who possess this profession.<sup>195</sup> Pride, nevertheless, should not exist in the heart of a Christian because the Christian teacher should be humble even if he commands great respect and has a very important place in society.

Chrysostom wanted parents and pupils to respect teachers even if as humans they had faults. Nevertheless, he did not try to give excuses to teachers. Whenever he found the opportunity he spoke to them severely reminding them that their duty was to spread

---

<sup>194</sup> PG 47,364.

<sup>195</sup> PG 61,676.

the truth.

Εἰ γάρ τῳ μόνῳ ἓνα σκανδαλίζοντι καὶ ἐλάχιστον συμφέρει ἵνα μύλος ὀνικός κρεμασθῇ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῇ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν συνείδησιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τύπτοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτάνουσι τὸν Χριστόν, οἱ μὴ μόνον ἓνα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πλήθη τοσαῦτα ἀπολλύντες, τί ποτέ πείσονται καὶ ποῖαν δώσουσι δίκην;

And if for him whosoever shall offend one person only it is better that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea, and because all those who offend the conscience of their brothers commit a sin against Christ those who destroy not one and two and three but large crowds what excuse they could give?<sup>196</sup>

Chrysostom may seem exaggerating here but he just followed once again the genius of the New Testament on the subject; in fact this particular verse about someone who scandalizes another is taken from Mark's Gospel. Chrysostom expressed one simple thought invoking Christ's words about those who scandalize one person, and applied to the case of the teacher who scandalizes many. The exact verse in Mark's Gospel is: «And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea».<sup>197</sup> Chrysostom based his argument on the comparison of the word «many» with the emphatic word «one» thinking that since Christ spoke severely about the sin of scandalizing one, what would He say about the sin of scandalizing many?

There are many occasions in which Chrysostom spoke of teachers as people who believe in God. According to him, the greatest requirement in teaching is faith and after that some special teaching gifts. Moreover, the teacher must be fully trained,<sup>198</sup> and have

---

<sup>196</sup> PG 48,678.

<sup>197</sup> Mark 9, 42.

<sup>198</sup> PG 59,33.

confidence in his undertaking.<sup>199</sup> It is God who gives the light to teachers in order that they may pass it onto their pupils. The teachers' mission is to bring this light of God into their pupils' hearts. For another Christian educationalist, Pestalozzi, faith was also necessary as a qualification for the good teacher: «Faith in God is the beginning of wisdom and blessedness».<sup>200</sup> He concluded this because of his strong feeling that it is natural for human beings to be educated in faith which is the right atmosphere for someone to reach true knowledge. In complete agreement with Chrysostom, Pestalozzi said the above for all teachers, and not only for those who were going to teach morals or religion as a separate syllabus subject.

For Chrysostom education is not an aim in itself. It exists to help the other, the greatest and the most significant aim of every human on earth, which is the salvation of the soul. All his interest and all his labour in the church was intended to show and persuade Christians about this truth: life and earthly glory and the whole world are useless if they do not lead to one's salvation. Christian education is still praised in present times: «...pupils must be taught the Christian gospel because the gospel is true, and without knowledge of the gospel our children would totally misunderstand the nature and circumstances of their own existence.»<sup>201</sup> This statement is very similar to that of Chrysostom which refers to the need of Christian education. Some fourteen centuries after Chrysostom, Pestalozzi supported his ideas, saying that «we cannot see God through knowledge; he lives only for those who have faith- simple, childlike

---

<sup>199</sup> PG 57,368.

<sup>200</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, Educational Classics (ed. by Green, J. A.; London: Edward Arnold, 1912), p. 24.

<sup>201</sup> Alves C., «Why Religious Education?» *New Movements in Religious Education* (ed. by Smart, N., and Horder, D.; London: Temple Smith, 1975), p.26.

faith.»<sup>202</sup> Two educationalists who lived in two completely different times and places have exactly the same opinions and it is very unlikely that Pestalozzi had read the writings of Chrysostom. Nevertheless there was a strong connection between the two of them: a strong faith in God and the belief that everything apart from Him is of no worth.

The teacher must combine many gifts because his work is complex. Every teacher, like every noble man, should not excel in honours but in virtues.<sup>203</sup> His life must be virtuous to a high degree in order to be unimpeachable of every accusation. Even if he tries to remain inconspicuous, his virtues will shine.<sup>204</sup> The first virtue of the real teacher is love. When the teacher has this real love for his disciples, he accepts them all. He moreover wants their improvement and he regards it as his own. His love for his pupils guides him to care not only for their spiritual needs but for their health too.<sup>205</sup> When they are in pain, he does not forget them and does not stop encouraging them.<sup>206</sup> His good feelings guide him to take care of his pupils' problems and to protect them from every injustice and danger.<sup>207</sup>

Moreover, a teacher, according to Chrysostom, must be humble. This humility is the fruit of self-knowledge.<sup>208</sup> He attributes his success to God because he believes that His light and strength accomplish every good thing. The good teacher again, is

---

<sup>202</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, p.153.

<sup>203</sup> PG 62,499.

<sup>204</sup> PG 57,233.

<sup>205</sup> PG 49,19.

<sup>206</sup> PG 59,451.

<sup>207</sup> PG 51,96.

<sup>208</sup> PG 60,75; 61,327-328.

calm, gentle and does not get irritated when offended and accused.<sup>209</sup> Rousseau agreed with Chrysostom once again saying: «Indeed for the training of a teacher one must either be a father or more than a man».<sup>210</sup> By this he wanted to show how much love and virtue was needed from a teacher who was going to influence the child's mind and soul, marking it with his teaching for ever.

Other virtues which will complete the character of a good teacher are: credibility,<sup>211</sup> discretion,<sup>212</sup> daring,<sup>213</sup> patience,<sup>214</sup> taciturnity.<sup>215</sup> He must help his pupils not only with his words but also with his prayers.<sup>216</sup> It might seem that Chrysostom's model of the teacher is that of a super-person. He named the above virtues of the teacher on several different occasions one by one. When all these are gathered together they present more the picture of a saint than of a teacher. Was Chrysostom, therefore, making unrealistic demands? Did he set unachievable objectives? The answer to every question about Chrysostom's educational ideas is based firmly in his philosophy.

Τό ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ βίου αὐτός ἐσο, ὥσπερ εἰκὼν προκειμένος, ὥσπερ νόμος ἐμψυχος, ὥσπερ κανὼν καὶ ὅρος τῆς εὐζωίας. Τόν γάρ διδάσκαλον τοιοῦτον εἶναι χρή.

You must be the archetype of life, who appears like an icon, like an alive law, like a rule and measure of an exemplary life. Such must be the teacher.<sup>217</sup>

The eternal model and example was, for Chrysostom, the Great Pedagogue and Teacher

---

<sup>209</sup> PG 62,684.

<sup>210</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 19.

<sup>211</sup> PG 61,333.

<sup>212</sup> PG 57,231.

<sup>213</sup> PG 61,563.

<sup>214</sup> PG 62,645.

<sup>215</sup> PG 55,511.

<sup>216</sup> PG 63,493.

<sup>217</sup> PG 62,565.

of all centuries, Christ, and he called the teachers of all ages to follow his path.<sup>218</sup> Further, a school for all and an example of virtue must be the light of the teacher's life which must stand before all like an archetypal icon.<sup>219</sup> This irreproachable life gives the teacher the necessary authority and the right to punish and to forgive his pupils with absolute power.<sup>220</sup> Thus, what is needed is admonition and example. This kind of education makes the teacher respectable and prepares the pupil to obey and give way.<sup>221</sup> The example of the teacher is also of concern to modern educationalists. Ronald Goldman wrote that the major influence upon the pupils within the school community is exercised more by what the teachers are than by what they teach.<sup>222</sup> Jerome also wrote to Laeta about the need for her to be an example of virtue to her consecrated daughter: "You must yourself be her mistress, a model on which she may form her childish conduct. Never either in you or in her father let her see what she cannot imitate without sin. Remember both of you that you are the parents of a consecrated virgin, and that your example will teach her more than your precepts".<sup>223</sup>

Chrysostom spoke often of the respect everyone should have for his teacher. He also spoke about the moral life which the teacher should have, in order to prevent gossip about him.<sup>224</sup> The questions which occur to the reader of Chrysostom's work, are: what was the status of the teachers at that time and what is the relationship between that particular status and the teacher's model described by Chrysostom? Teaching at that

---

<sup>218</sup> PG 62,622.

<sup>219</sup> PG 62,684.

<sup>220</sup> PG 48,473.

<sup>221</sup> PG 62,273.

<sup>222</sup> Goldman, *Readiness for Religion*, p. 68.

<sup>223</sup> Ulich, *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom*, p. 167.

<sup>224</sup> PG 48,685.

time was hard work; teaching resources were almost non-existent. Roman schools were privately controlled and financed by the low fees which the parents had to pay. The teacher's day started at daybreak and finished around noon or continued after it. This time was preferred in order to avoid traffic noise and lighting costs.<sup>225</sup> In fact, teachers were usually poor and unhappy. Salaries were low, hours of work hard and long, and even worse, parents often insulted and injured them.<sup>226</sup> That is why Chrysostom so often mentioned the need for respect to be given to the teachers. He also spoke about the teacher's hardships<sup>227</sup> as well as the hostility against them.<sup>228</sup>

Today, the situation concerning the office of a teacher is very different. A good teacher is a good scientist and a good communicator. Nevertheless, regarding a code of ethics for the teaching profession, nothing exists which is generally accepted. Stinnett and Huggett in their book *Professional Problems of Teachers*, wrote the following: «The idea of the imposition of ethical standards upon a given professional group is an ancient one. The idea in medicine, which has perhaps the oldest code among the professions, goes back 2,500 years to the Oath of Hippocrates. In the United States the American Medical Association adopted its first written ethical code in 1848... Currently no one code of ethics is applicable to all the members of the teaching profession...»<sup>229</sup>

There is no doubt that the situation of teaching today is very different from that of Chrysostom's times. In the *Code of Ethics* accepted by the National Education Association of the United States, states that: «It is improper for a teacher to try to

---

<sup>225</sup> Shelton, *As The Romans Did*, p. 108.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, pp. 107-108.

<sup>227</sup> PG 60,222.

<sup>228</sup> PG 59,472.

<sup>229</sup> Stinnett, T. M., Huggett, A. J., *Professional Problems of Teachers* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963), p. 317.

convert to his religious faith the parents or students to whom he has the relationship of teacher».<sup>230</sup> The same Association in its report on schools of 1956, said: «That the public schools are neglecting training in moral and spiritual values; that the allegedly low moral and behavioural standards of our children are to a large degree a result of neglect of such training in the public schools». The rejoinder answered that: «The critics construe the lack of religious instruction (prohibited by law) in the public schools as evidence that no training in moral and spiritual values takes place there. As a matter of fact, such training is an integral part of every school program, part of the work of every teacher, and an avowed objective of public school programs».<sup>231</sup> These views seem to reflect some confusion regarding the nature of moral education nowadays. The confusion derives from the obscurity of the separating line between conversion and moral teaching, which for Chrysostom did not exist; to teach a child to believe, to love God and always to bear perfection in mind, was for him a duty and not a matter of choice.

Chrysostom's congregation needed a complete educational system, agreeable to the new religion. That was exactly what Chrysostom offered to them. Actually, what Chrysostom offered was a system of comprehensive Christian education and a description of the Christian teacher who was going to teach in a system of that kind. Many centuries later educationalists who were concerned with Christian education found it also normal that those who are going to teach religion must be religious persons.<sup>232</sup> This position about religious education does not differ from that concerning all the other school subjects. For example a chemistry teacher can transmit knowledge

---

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, p.321.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>232</sup> Cox. E., *Changing Aims in Religious Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p.13.



to the pupils since he or she possesses it. Nevertheless, when they do not believe that what they teach is correct they cannot hide their uncertainty. That problem becomes greater with regard to religious education because it is something which influences and can change behaviour.

**4.5 The teaching method:** The experienced teacher uses various methods of teaching depending on his pupils and their needs. «It is not reasonable for the teacher to guide everybody in the same way. They must act like the doctors who adopt different methods for their patients or the captains of the ships who know many ways to face the winds».<sup>233</sup> These methods vary from the very soft and kindly to the most severe. For most of the time both methods are used. The teacher must combine punishment and reward, humour and severity, in order to maintain the balance in the classroom as well as to keep the interest of his pupils alive.

What happens with pupils who do not pay any attention to the teacher? This is a very common question among teachers of all times. Chrysostom expressed his opinion on this problem too. He said that the teacher's duty is to spread the seeds of teaching to those who follow him and also to those who do not.<sup>234</sup> Nevertheless, it is very important to bear in mind that he should not tell them everything initially, because if he does so, he will lose the interest of the pupils.<sup>235</sup> In addition to this, the good teacher is interested in bad and weak pupils too, because although they might be few in number, if they do not improve the others could be effected.<sup>236</sup> The teacher must give proof for

---

<sup>233</sup> PG 48,681.

<sup>234</sup> PG 54,669.

<sup>235</sup> PG 60,158.

<sup>236</sup> PG 49,142.

everything if he wants to base his teaching on a strong foundation and , according to Chrysostom, he cannot say anything without proving it.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, he must never feel bored. He must find a way to renew his zeal, his strength and his pedagogical enthusiasm, in order to make his words get in his pupils' souls more powerfully than hot iron.<sup>238</sup>

When a teacher wants to prevent bad behaviour, he makes remarks to his pupils with authority. He speaks severely when it is necessary. Nevertheless, he never names those who commit the fault. He tries to correct them without naming the guilty. When this happens, Chrysostom underlined, the pupils will understand, without being offended, that they did not avoid the teacher's attention.<sup>239</sup>

A necessary manual in the good teacher's hands, is God's grace. If God's grace is not his confederate, he will fail even if he is experienced.<sup>240</sup> The good teacher again has inspiration from the Holy Spirit, he lives according to the Lord's will and he does not hesitate to make it known to his pupils.<sup>241</sup> Another characteristic of the good teacher is to correct his pupils with his advice and to encourage them with his prayers.<sup>242</sup> As it has been mentioned before, the teacher corrects but he never offends nor obliges anybody to do his will.<sup>243</sup> Chrysostom's emphasis on the characteristics of the Christian teacher is clear in anything he says. He often, moreover, spoke of the priests and the teachers as though they both were devoted to the same purpose, namely the teaching of

---

<sup>237</sup> PG 61,333.

<sup>238</sup> PG 47,411.

<sup>239</sup> PG 59,267.

<sup>240</sup> PG 62,668.

<sup>241</sup> PG 55,225.

<sup>242</sup> PG 55,387.

<sup>243</sup> PG 61,593-594.

God's truth. For Pestalozzi too the schoolmaster can destroy or create the character of his pupils: «If the school master is a man with the spirit of love, of wisdom, of purity; a man who is fitted for his calling, and who enjoys the confidence of young and old; a man who esteems love, order, and self-control, as higher and more desirable than actual knowledge and learning; a man who, with penetrating foresight, perceives what sort of man or woman the child is likely to develop into, ... If on the other hand, the schoolmaster is a vain, selfish, bumptious pedant and a dreamy bookworm...he is incapable of taking the father's place and of linking his own teaching to the early training of the good home...».<sup>244</sup> Pestalozzi emphasized the schoolmaster's role within the community pointing out that he can influence children to such a degree that he is really responsible for the future quality of the family and the whole society.

**4.6 The payment of teachers:** Chrysostom was so sensitive regarding the office and the mission of teachers that he gave much thought to their payment too. This problem seems to have existed for as long as teaching has been an occupation. Chrysostom's opinion must be regarded as an impartial one because he was not a teacher himself and therefore he had no personal profit to gain. There are references to the teacher's payment in five homilies of Chrysostom's work.<sup>245</sup> His opinion of the problem can be stated as follows: teachers can be completely devoted to their work only when they are paid sufficiently, and the congregation must maintain teachers because their services are useful to the public.

The teacher, whether a priest or not, is always a spiritual elder.<sup>246</sup> Therefore he

---

<sup>244</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, pp.181,182.

<sup>245</sup> PG 60,617; 61,174; 57,383; 62,581; 60,147.

<sup>246</sup> PG 51,92.

must be supported by the people, as all leaders are, because he neglects his own problems to spend his time for others. Everyone who works for others has the right to ask them for a reward for his labour.<sup>247</sup> Society owes a great debt to teachers. Therefore, the salary paid to them is not a present but a just reward for their service. When teachers have a good salary it helps them not to get tired or disappointed. If they have enough and live comfortably they will not be preoccupied with the physical but only with the spiritual.<sup>248</sup>

Θρέψον διδάσκαλον, θρέψον διάκονον καὶ ἱερατικόν σύστημα.

Feed the teacher, feed the deacon and the priests.<sup>249</sup>

Chrysostom did not justify teachers when they make excessive demands. Every time they are pretentious they destroy their honour. When teachers keep their demands within reason they retain their dignity.<sup>250</sup>

Another thought of Chrysostom about the work and the payment of teachers refers to the time which they must spend on their pupils. Chrysostom made it clear that the teacher should offer his spare time for his pupils' interests instead of his own.<sup>251</sup> This particular thought, as well as all the others, expressed by Chrysostom, did not describe a typical teacher; Chrysostom's aim was to form in his audience's mind what we could call the model of the perfect teacher.

---

<sup>247</sup> PG 61,174.

<sup>248</sup> PG 62,581.

<sup>249</sup> PG 60,147.

<sup>250</sup> PG 61,676.

<sup>251</sup> PG 55,306; 61,603; 62,417.

## 5. THE RIGHT WAY FOR PARENTS TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN

### 5.1 The significance of the parents' role in the formation of the child's character:

Chrysostom spoke about children with great love. It can be deduced from his work, and especially from his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* that he was concerned about the family and the salvation of its members. Many educationalists after him have also expressed the idea that the family and especially the parents are the fundamental elements for the creation of children's character. Pestalozzi wrote: «The home should be the foundation of any natural scheme of education. Home is the great school of character and of citizenship».<sup>252</sup> Everything else not based on the home would be unnatural and therefore unworthy according to both Chrysostom and Pestalozzi.

Chrysostom's belief, that a child's character can be formed easily if the parents are firm and resolved in their aim to create a Christian, is strong and it recurs constantly. The absence of any experience on the child's part offers parents the opportunity to implant good manners and ideals into the child's soul. Chrysostom seems to ignore the existence of heredity. It was beyond the scientific knowledge of the time to know of the evidence of life and growth inside the womb. Nevertheless there is one point in the treatise which implies that he might have known of the importance of the embryonic period. We can find it in the eighteenth paragraph of the treatise:

Εἰ γάρ ἐκ κοιλίας τρεφόμεναί τινές καί ἕως γήραος παιδευόμενοι οὕτω κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν τοῦτοις συνεπιζόμενοι τοῖς ἡκούσασιν τί οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσωνται δεινόν;

If grown men, after being nurtured from the womb and continuing their education

---

<sup>252</sup> Pestalozzi's *Educational Writings*, p.23.

to old age, still do not live righteously, what wrong will not children, accustomed from the threshold of life to empty words, commit? <sup>253</sup>

This is actually one of the difficult questions in the treatise. What does the preacher really mean here? By the phrase «ἐκ κοιλίας τρεφόμενοι... παιδευόμενοι (εἰσι)» does he mean that he believes in what scientists acknowledged some centuries later and after many years' experiment and observation? That is, that the embryo can be influenced by the environment it experiences from the very early stages of its existence and even nurtured in its mother's womb? It is amazing Chrysostom came to that thought at a time when nothing was known about it. Nevertheless, by this phrase he might have wanted to show the need for education from the very beginning of one's life.

Chrysostom used many illustrations to serve the previous purpose, that is to show that parents have the main role in their children's upbringing and that their children's character is almost completely dependent on them. He was certain that parents, who work conscientiously and with patience on their children's character, would enjoy the great pleasure of making them «athletes of Christ». A similar idea is expressed by Roberta Nelson who said that children are reflections of ourselves and that they will have faith if parents develop their own faith and spirituality.<sup>254</sup> In trying to show that parents are directly responsible for forming the unshaped character of their children, Chrysostom used several illustrations. He mentioned these illustrations in the following order: the candle, the pearl, the painter, the sculptor and the city. It is worth remembering here Chrysostom's habit of repeating ideas and meanings, perhaps according to his favourite educational principle which he mentioned many times, that

---

<sup>253</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.94.

<sup>254</sup> Nelson, R., «Parents as Resident Theologians» *Religious Education* (1988) vol. 83, pp.492-493.

repetition is the mother of knowledge.<sup>255</sup> The example of the candle is used to symbolize the malleability of the young child's soul. Chrysostom said that good teaching is very easy to imprint on the soul, just as happens with the candle. When it is warm, you can give it any shape you want. The child is like a soft candle. A father can succeed in anything because he has the authority to shape his children's character.<sup>256</sup>

The same picture is given for a second time in the third homily on John's Gospel<sup>257</sup> and for the third time in the second homily on the second Epistle to Thessalonians.<sup>258</sup> The three pictures have the same core idea. The only difference is that used in the third case. This shows that the soul is soft not because of its age, but because of the words the person listens to. That means that the parents' words can soften their children's souls and make them receptive to good influences. This is the meaning of his words: the soul is like the candle. If you speak coldly to a child his soul will harden. If the words he hears are warm his soul will become soft allowing you to engrave anything you like, even the Lord's image.<sup>259</sup> There is an objection to this idea of Chrysostom's. He believed that our words are sufficient to create a good relationship between us and our children. He said this because he started from the idea that children are always prepared to listen to everything their parents have to say. Nevertheless, it is not always the nature or tone of the words themselves which are important. A parent must also have in mind that it is rather the interrelationship between the child's behaviour and such words which is important. This means that one cannot praise desirable behaviour only, ignoring any kind of bad habit. To shape a child's

---

<sup>255</sup> PG 48,555; 53,77; 53,154; 63,76; E.P.E. 30, p.660.

<sup>256</sup> E.P.E. 30 p. 640; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95.

<sup>257</sup> PG 58,600.

<sup>258</sup> PG 62,477.

<sup>259</sup> PG 62,477.

behaviour in the desired direction, parents must be prepared to change their approach because children are not always the same. They must be strict when faced by unacceptable behaviour.

We can see another image regarding the malleability of children's souls in the twenty-first paragraph of the same treatise.<sup>260</sup> This time, Chrysostom used the illustration of the pearl rather than the candle. He said that when pearls are drawn out of the sea, they are not yet completely hard. If the person who first takes them in his hands is experienced he can give them a round shape. If not, then it is very difficult for the pearl to achieve a perfect shape because it becomes very hard. By pearl he implied of course the child's soul, which is malleable at first but it becomes, as the years pass, hard and difficult to change.

Another telling illustration used by Chrysostom to show the importance of the parents' role is that of the statue and the sculptor. The sculptor is each of the parents. The statue is the child. Can a rock or any other kind of material do something by itself? It can do nothing of course. Everything depends on the talent and mastery of the sculptor. Chrysostom also compared the parents with painters, saying that every parent has to take care of his children like a painter with his paintings. The latter works little by little every day choosing the right colour for his picture. The same happens with the sculptor. He works patiently adding or removing pieces on his statue. In the same way, the parents' concern must be to create admirable statues, meaning strong Christians. The parent's duty in connection with that of the sculptor's is this:

Καθάπερ ἀγαλμάτων τινῶν κατασκευασταί, πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν σχολὴν ἄπασαν ἔχετε  
τὰ θαυμαστά αὐτὰ ἀγάλματα τῷ Θεῷ κατασκευάζοντες· καὶ τὸ μὲν περιττὸν  
ἐξαιρεῖτε, τὸ δὲ ἔνδεον προστίθετε· καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτὰ περιοκοπεῖτε τὴν  
ἡμέραν, ποῖον ἀπὸ φύσεως ἐλάττωμα, ὥστε αὐτὸ περιαιρεῖν.

<sup>260</sup> E.P.E. 30, pp.640-642; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.95-96.



Like the creators of statues do you give all your leisure to fashioning these wondrous statues for God. And, as you remove what is superfluous and add what is lacking, inspect them every day, to see what good qualities nature has supplied so that you will increase them, and what faults so that you will eradicate them.<sup>261</sup>

We can often find the same illustration of the statue in Chrysostom's writings.

Here are some other examples from different homilies:

Εἰ γάρ ἄνθρωποι ἀγάλματα ποιοῦντες βασιλέων καὶ εἰκόνας γράφοντες τοσαύτης ἀπολαύουσι τιμῆς, ἡμεῖς τὴν βασιλικὴν εἰκόνα καλλωπίζοντες (εἰκὼν γάρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος) οὐ μυρίων ἀπολαύσωμεν ἀγαθῶν τό καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ὑποδιδόντες;

For if men that make statues and paint portraits of Kings receive so great distinction, shall not we who adorn the image of the King of Kings, (for man is the image of God,) receive ten thousand blessings, if we effect a true likeness? <sup>262</sup>

Chrysostom suggested here that to give shape and beauty to our soul means that we give to the icon of God (κατ' εἰκόνα) His likeness (καθ' ὁμοίωσιν). And on another occasion he said:

Καίτοιγε τῆς τέχνης ταύτης οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη μείζων· τί γάρ ἴσον τοῦ ρυθμίσει ψυχὴν, καὶ διαπλάσει νέου διάνοιαν; Καί γάρ παντός ζωγράφου καὶ παντός ἡνδριαντοποιοῦ τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀκριβέστερον διακεῖσθαι χρή.

For what is equal to training the soul, and forming the mind of one that is young? For he that hath this art, ought to be more exactly observant than any painter and any sculptor.<sup>263</sup>

He repeated once more that the greatest trade one can undertake is the formation of a young person's soul. And he concluded with the complaint that:

Νῦν δέ ὅπως μὲν τέχνας καὶ γράμματα καὶ λόγους τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας παιδεύουσι, ἅπασαν ἕκαστος ποιεῖται σπουδὴν, ὅπως δέ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκηθεῖν,

<sup>261</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.642; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.96.

<sup>262</sup> PG 62, 154; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.345.

<sup>263</sup> PG 58, 584; Library of the Fathers, 3, p.817.

τούτου οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς λόγον ἔχει τινά.

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.<sup>264</sup>

The same concern is expressed by H. A. Alexander who argued that «in our desire to produce «good» doctors, lawyers, and M.B.A.s,» we have lost sight of the need to cultivate goodness in people.<sup>265</sup>

It is clear in all the previous illustrations that for Chrysostom the only factor which matters regarding the modification of the child's soul is the environment, especially the human environment, in which the child is born and grows up. Nevertheless, according to recent scientific findings, there are many other factors which influence the child's personality. Such factors can be hereditary, e.g. the child's intelligence and health, or environmental like the family's social and financial status, the child's position in the family, how many children there are in the family etc.<sup>266</sup> It is worth looking at a relevant opinion given by Garry Martin and Joseph Pear: «Whether or not behaviour is completely determined by environmental and genetic factors (everyone agrees that it is at least partially determined by these factors) makes for interesting philosophical discussions».<sup>267</sup> According to these authors, it is certain that environmental as well as genetic factors are responsible for the creation of character. Nevertheless, studying Chrysostom's writings we see that he believed that environmental rather than hereditary factors were more influential in the creation of a child's character.

---

<sup>264</sup> E.I.E. 30, pp. 638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95

<sup>265</sup> Alexander, H. A., «The Achilles' Heel of American Education; A Religious Educator's Response» *Religious Education* (1994), vol. 89, p.163.

<sup>266</sup> Politi, S. A., *Psychology of the Developing Person*, (Athens: I. Gaggos, 1976), v. I, pp. 32-41.

<sup>267</sup> Martin, G., and Pear, J., *Behavior Modification: What it is and How to Do it* (USA: Prentice-Hall International, 1992), p. 395.

He seemed to insist on the idea that only the parents and the teachers are responsible for the child's character but he might have done so because that suited his aim to make the parents feel totally responsible for their children. He decided that there was a need to emphasize the parent's role for his particular audience because on other occasions he expressed different ideas as we will see in the following paragraphs.

In another case, to a different audience he said: «There are just fathers who have sinful children and sober children who have evil parents. That shows that evil is not a result of need and relation but it depends on the mood and the personal position of everyone».<sup>268</sup> It is clear that he once again used all the pedagogical methods in order to persuade a Christian to do his duty as best he could. In conclusion it can be said that regarding the formation of a young soul Chrysostom believed firstly to the power of the first and natural teachers of the children, namely their parents and their teachers, and secondly to any other factor. In his homily on Matthew he clearly exhibited his views on what a child is in terms of its nature: «The child's soul is clear from all the passions... That is why Lord said, «because the Kingdom of heaven belongs to those who will be like them' to make as act according to our will everything which children have from their nature.»<sup>269</sup> His faith on the complete purity of the child led him to the view that only a Christian upbringing in a Christian environment can keep a child in the right way of life.

In trying to persuade his audience that as parents it was their right and their duty to teach their children to believe and love God with all their heart, Chrysostom frequently used illustrations from daily life which came to mind. The longer description he gave to support his first purpose begins in the twenty-third paragraph of the treatise

---

<sup>268</sup> PG 56,285.

<sup>269</sup> E.N.E. 11, p.472.

*On Vainglory and Education*.<sup>270</sup> The central idea of the illustration is the metaphor of a city which symbolizes the child's soul. The master or the king of the soul's city is the parent. If he wishes to bring up a child and to direct its spiritual development, the parent must act like a king who wishes to establish and pursue the development of a new city. The city is the soul of the child; the city's wall is the child's body, in which the soul is enclosed. The city gates consist of the five senses. Through these the citizens, that is, the soul's powers, communicate with the outside world.<sup>271</sup> In a real city, says Chrysostom, some steal, others give justice, others work and others leave everything to luck. In the same way the mind and the thoughts are acting on the soul. Laws are needed to control the citizens and if a child is like a city then these laws will be the instructions of the parents.

It was Chrysostom's bitter conclusion that his contemporaries were only concerned with educating their children in letters and in *rhetoric* and the trades without caring about the development of their souls. He expresses the same thoughts in his twenty-first homily on Ephesians, saying: «Let everything be secondary with us to the provident care we should take of our children, and our bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. If from the very first he is taught to be a lover of true wisdom, than he has obtained a wealth greater than all wealth, and a more imposing name. You will effect nothing so great by teaching him an art, and giving him that outward learning by which he shall despise riches.»<sup>272</sup> And in the same homily he continues: «Study not to make him an orator, but train him up to be a philosopher. In the want of the one there will be no harm whatever; in the absence of the other, all the

<sup>270</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.642; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.96

<sup>271</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time, v.1 Antioch*, p.172.

<sup>272</sup> PG 62,151; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.340.

*rhetoric* in the world will be of no advantage. Tempers are wanted, not talking; heart, not cleverness; deeds, not words. These gain a man the kingdom. These confer what are benefits indeed. Sharpen not his tongue, but cleanse his soul.»<sup>273</sup> James and Kathleen McGinnis, in their article about family religious education for peace, suggested: «The nurturing of faith and values is a process that involves parental modelling and family participation as well as parental explanations. Faith and values are caught as well as taught, as the family lives out these values day by day».<sup>274</sup> The McGinnis'es based their opinion on the relevant declaration which was stated by the Second Vatican Council in 1966. The statement showed how central is the parental role in the encouragement of children to have a personal relationship with Jesus. From reading the documents of Vatican Council on education it seems that there is an agreement between the Roman Catholic tradition and Chrysostom regarding the role of the parents for the creation of a true Christian: «Since parents have conferred life on their children, they have a most solemn obligation to educate their offspring. Hence, parents must be acknowledged as the first and foremost educators of their children... It is particularly in the Christian family, enriched by the grace and the office of the sacrament of matrimony, that from their earliest years children should be taught, according to the faith received in baptism, to have a knowledge of God, to worship Him, and to love their neighbour.»<sup>275</sup>

Love for children means a right upbringing but no matter how many times as parents we remind ourselves of this, we all have different ideas about what a right upbringing entails. Using this term we sometimes signify great opportunities for

---

<sup>273</sup> PG 62,152; Library of the Fathers, 12, pp.340-341.

<sup>274</sup> McGinnis, J. and McGinnis, K., «Peace it together - Family Religious Education for Peace» *Religious Education* (1988), vol. 83, p. 532.

<sup>275</sup> «Declaration on Christian Education» par.3 in *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Guide Press, 1966), p.641.

education, a good character, an expensive school, lots of toys. Chrysostom had other ideas. Every time he mentioned this phrase he meant a Christian upbringing and the reason for that was his soteriological philosophy. For the right upbringing, each parent will get his reward, as Paul said in his *First Epistle to Timothy*. The words in the Bible are: «Notwithstanding she (the mother) shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.»<sup>276</sup> The verse is given after the reminder about Eve's disobedience in paradise. Chrysostom used the same idea in his treatise twice in two following paragraphs. He suggested that the Christian way of bringing up a child gives comfort and help when people feel that they have many sins. His own words are:

Εἰ γάρ φείδῃ τοῦ παιδός, δεῖξον ἀπό τούτου ἄλλως δέ καί μισθόν ἔχεις. Ἀκουε τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος· «ἐάν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ πίστει καί τῇ ἀγάπῃ καί τῷ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης». Καί εἰ σύ μυρία σαυτῇ συννοῖδας κακά, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπινόησον παραμυθίαν τινά τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς.

If thou dost care for your son, show it thus, and in other ways too thou wilt have thy reward. Harken to the word of Paul, «if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety», and even if thou art conscious of a myriad vices within thyself, nevertheless devise some compensation for thy vices.<sup>277</sup>

And the second time:

Σύ πρῶτος ἀπολαύσεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐάν υἱόν ἔχῃς καλόν.

Thou wilt be the first to benefit, if thou hast a good son.<sup>278</sup>

This opinion might seem to be in the interests of parents. Should a parent think of his own interest when he takes care of his children's upbringing? Nevertheless, the goal of life, namely salvation, is common for every man on earth, and to raise *athletes* of Christ

<sup>276</sup> 1 Tim. 2, 15.

<sup>277</sup> E.P.E. 30, pp. 638-640; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95

<sup>278</sup> E.P.E. 30, pp. 640, Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95

is a blessing for every parent. For Chrysostom, however, it was enough to turn his attention to the Bible in order to base his opinions on strong foundations which he put into practice when speaking of the parents' reward. What he had effectively created was a Christian Pedagogy which he based on the Bible. Anything found in the Bible was for Chrysostom good enough to form the basis of, or even to become part of, a correct educational method, mainly because «it is not possible for anyone to be saved without continuous spiritual readings».<sup>279</sup> This reading is a spiritual medicine, a sweet, godly and secret song, a power which destroys the passions<sup>280</sup> and it can also lead to the perfect knowledge of piety.<sup>281</sup> Chrysostom's confidence in the Bible was so strong to make him say that it is impossible, really impossible for a soul to be distracted by passion when being engaged in reading the Bible.<sup>282</sup> The reading of the Bible encourages the soul to philosophize and lifts the readers' thoughts towards heaven, making them grateful and helping them to remain unaffected by the temporal.<sup>283</sup> The Bible is the continuous teacher and its ignorance cause all the evil.<sup>284</sup> Florofsky used Chrysostom's points cited above to substantiate the opinion that his work as a teacher and as a preacher is based primarily on his interpretation of the Bible.<sup>285</sup>

**5.2 Parents must advise in a spirit of freedom:** Chrysostom's opinion regarding the role of the parents towards the child's upbringing is that the parents and other

---

<sup>279</sup> PG 48,993.

<sup>280</sup> PG 55,513.

<sup>281</sup> PG 51,41.

<sup>282</sup> PG 54,686.

<sup>283</sup> PG 53,321.

<sup>284</sup> PG 62,362.

<sup>285</sup> Florofsky, G., *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century* (Thessaloniki: Pournaras Press, 1991), pp.400-402.

members of the family have the most significant influence upon the child. The same idea is expressed by Kenneth Hyde too, in his article about the role of home and community with regard to religion: «There can be little doubt that the strongest single influence upon any child is that of his home. The roots of maladjustment in most cases lie in the home; equally the child who develops normally, enjoying happy and satisfying relationships alike with friends and adults, ... children who grow in an atmosphere in which there is frequent expression of warmth and affection, identify themselves with these same parental attitudes».<sup>286</sup> Hyde argues further, that anything parents do must not be done with an authoritarian spirit because children have the tendency to reject attitudes developed under any kind of compulsion.<sup>287</sup> The same idea is extensively supported by Chrysostom too, and his arguments are quoted below.

Educationalists have often tried to give answers to the question concerning how much freedom a parent or teacher should give to children. Their answers differ from the most severe to the most tolerant while others have chosen the middle way.

Chrysostom's wisdom, together with his dedication to the need of salvation for everybody, guided him to form a personal Christian philosophy about freedom. He begins with the idea that «evil is not natural. We are honored with free will and with the gift of freedom... There is no evil which cannot be made to disappear by repentance.»<sup>288</sup> «We are appointed to teach... and not to dominate or command. Our position is that of the counsellors who exhort to the good. The person who gives advice, gives his opinion without forcing the hearer. He leaves him free to decide whether or not to follow the advice he has given. He is responsible only when he does not advise the proper

---

<sup>286</sup> Hyde K., «The Home, the Community and the Peer Group» *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975 ), p.37.

<sup>287</sup> Hyde, «The Home, The Community and The Peer Group», pp.37-38.

<sup>288</sup> PG 52,451; 48,1042.



things.<sup>289</sup>

Chrysostom insisted that neither parents nor teachers should in any case use compulsion. He based this idea on the free will which God gave to human beings at the time of creation. If God gave everybody free will to choose virtue or evil, how could people force each other to do something they did not freely choose?

Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ, κυρία ἑαυτῆς γενομένη καὶ τῶν πρακτέων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα, οὐ πάντα, ὅν μὴ βούληται, πείθεται τῷ Θεῷ. Ἀκουσάν γάρ αὐτὴν καὶ βίᾳ που κατηναγκασμένην οὐ βούλεται ποιῆσαι καλὴν καὶ ἐνάρετον, ἐπειδὴ περ μὴδὲ ἔστι τοῦτον ἀρετὴ, ἀλλὰ χρή βουλομένην καὶ ἐκούσαν πείσαι γενέσθαι τοιαύτην.

But the soul being its own mistress, and possessing power over its acts, does not in all things obey God, unless it wishes to do so. For God will not make it beautiful and excellent, if it be reluctant and in a manner constrained by force, for this is not virtue at all; but He must persuade it to become so of its own will and choice.<sup>290</sup>

Chrysostom is right that anything a person does under pressure is without value because men have the tendency to reject anything they have to do because of fear or force:

Τὸ παιδίον, ἕως μὲν ἂν ὑπὸ παιδαγωγοῦ τινος ἄγεται φοβεροῦ, κἂν σωφρονῇ, κἂν μετ' ἐπιεικεῖας ζῇ, θαυμαστόν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ φόβῳ τὴν σωφροσύνην τοῦ νέου λογίζοντες πάντες.

The child does nothing admirable when he behaves well and when he has a quiet life if he has a fearful disciplinarian. Because then, everybody will impute his prudence to the fear of his disciplinarian.<sup>291</sup>

From all the previous collection of Chrysostom's opinions concerning human freedom we can assume that he believed in complete personal freedom for every decision and every deed. The impetus for his ideas comes from a desire to help everybody find the way to salvation, and not from a desire to force anybody to live a

---

<sup>289</sup> PG 62,87.

<sup>290</sup> PG 59, 83; Library of the Fathers, 4, p.98.

<sup>291</sup> PG 63,768.

life which he had never chosen.

**5.3 Who must participate in the upbringing of children:** Chrysostom wanted parents to be directly responsible for the upbringing of their children. He did not want them to follow the Greek custom of having slaves responsible for their children's education.<sup>292</sup> In elite Roman society, as Judith Hallett remarks, women undertook their children's education.<sup>293</sup> Chrysostom spoke specifically in the treatise about the persons one must trust for one's children's education. He mentioned the following: «They must not be allowed to consort with all the servants, but rather let those who are participating with us in training stand out clearly, as though they were approaching a holy statue... Let those of the servants who are well fitted take part. If there be none, then hire someone who is free, a virtuous man, and entrust the task especially to him, so that he may have a full share in the undertaking».<sup>294</sup>

Chrysostom had his own experience on the subject. His mother took in her young hands the responsibility of her son's upbringing and education. She gave him only what was pure. Because he was sensitive about this he mentioned the same ideas in other homilies. Here are his words in his ninth homily on Paul's Epistle to Colossians:

Ὅστε μὴ μόνον φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ οἰκέταις ἀναμιγνύναι ἑαυτοὺς ἀσφαλίζεσθε· τὰ γὰρ μυρία κακὰ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ὅταν δούλους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσωμεν διεφθαρμένους. Εἰ γὰρ πατρός ἀπολαύοντες καὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τοιαύτης μόλις διασώζονται, ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἐκδῶμεν τῇ ἀφειδίᾳ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καθάπερ ἔχθροῖς αὐτοῖς κέχρηται, νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς τὴν δεσποτίαν εἶναι ἡμεροτέραν, ἢν μωροὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπεργάσωνται καὶ φαύλους καὶ οὐδενός λόγου

---

<sup>292</sup> To have slaves responsible for the children's upbringing it was a custom in ancient Greece in opposition to the Roman custom which wanted the parents directly responsible for that.

<sup>293</sup> Hallett, P. J., *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society. Women and the Elite Family* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 4-5.

<sup>294</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.656; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.102.

ἡξίους.

So that ye should safely guard them from intermixing themselves, not only with friends, but even with servants. For the harm done to the free is incalculable, when we place over them corrupt slaves. For if when enjoying all the benefit of a father's affection and wisdom, they can with difficulty be preserved safe throughout; what will become of them when we hand them over to the unscrupulousness of servants? They use them like enemies, thinking that they will prove milder masters to them, when they have made them perfect fools, and weak, and worthy of no respect.<sup>295</sup>

Chrysostom wanted to remove every thought from his audience's mind which might suggest that working with children is a waste of time for a man with a great and significant place in society. He found the opportunity to say among other things that nothing is wrong when a father teaches his child to spell. On the contrary, this deed is worth of imitation.<sup>296</sup>

Chrysostom's greatest concern was for the souls of children and the need to guide them in a Christian way. Children, as he underlined, are the most precious possession of every man on earth. How is it that we give so much care to our fields, finding the best man to cultivate them and care nothing about our children?<sup>297</sup> Chrysostom makes us seem very unreasonable if we adopt this habit. Nevertheless, the truth is that we are occupied with so many other things, such as our job and other important commitments, which absorb us and take more of our time than our children do. Nowadays, for many people, the only things that matter are their career and social life. A parent's presence in the family can, as they suggest, be replaced by other people, e.g. child minders, who might moreover be better than them. In the end this is a satisfying excuse which serves

---

<sup>295</sup> PG 62,363; Library of the Fathers, 11, p.289.

<sup>296</sup> PG 61,278.

<sup>297</sup> PG 62,546-547.

to calm one's worried conscience. White's view<sup>298</sup> cited in Richard and Norman Sprinthal's book, *Educational Psychology; A Developmental Approach*, suggests that the mother's role in the upbringing of a psychologically competent child is significant and that mothers must be trained to excel in three key roles during the critical eight -to - eighteen- month period: «as designers and organizers of their children's physical environment; as authorities who set limits to dangerous or annoying behaviour; and as consultants to their children in brief episodes according to their need.»<sup>299</sup> Moreover, mothers seem to be unreplaced because they are the only persons who can provide reassurance, guidance, and attention in a loving environment.<sup>300</sup> Child minders are useful especially to help working mothers, but according to researchers like BEEP (Brookline Early Education Project)<sup>301</sup> parents have the main role in the child's upbringing and other people play a minor part.

**5.4 The father's role:** Chrysostom did not have an ideal role-model of a good father, or even just a father, on which to base the ideas expressed in his homilies. However, his loving mother provided a good role-model. His father died while he was an infant and his mother took his place, trying not to leave any deficiencies in her son's heart. Chrysostom spoke very generally about fathers and did not go into detailed descriptions. He limited his examples to the area of spiritual problems which he might have learned about from his congregation. Most of these examples are about the love and patience which a father must show when his children misbehave in any way.

---

<sup>298</sup> White, B. L., *The First Three Years* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice -Hall, 1975).

<sup>299</sup> Sprinthal R. C., Sprinthal N. A., *Educational Psychology a Developmental Approach* (third edition, New York: Random House, 1981), p.100.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., pp. 99-100.

<sup>301</sup> Pines, M., «Head Start» *The New York Times*, 26 October, 1975.

Chrysostom showed a great sensitivity, consoling instead of blaming parents, when speaking about children's antisocial behaviour. In all other cases he considered parents fully responsible for their children's character.

While from Chrysostom's point of view the main characteristic of a good mother is that of self-sacrifice, that of a father is loving patience. Another important point is that he mentioned the role of the father in connection with the problem of children who go astray. This might be a result of the fashion of his time which encouraged fathers to be responsible for their children's behaviour and mothers for their children's needs. In one case he said: a father's patience is so great that even if sometimes he declares that he will abandon his children, he changes his mind waiting for the day he will see them becoming wise.<sup>302</sup>

Other similar advice concerns the correct behaviour of a father when his children go astray. Chrysostom's thoughts are based again on the Bible:

Κάν πονηροί γένωνται πάλιν (οί παῖδες), οὔτοι(οί πατέρες) μένουσι διορθοῦντες, ἐπιμελούμενοι, συστέλλοντες αὐτῶν τά ὀνειδῆ, καί οὐκ αἰσχύνονται. Ἡ γάρ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, ἀλλά καθάπερ χρυσαῖς ταῖς πτέρυξι συγκαλύπτει πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἀγαπωμένων.

And again, should they become vicious, the parents keep on correcting, caring for them, abridging the reproaches they incur, and are not ashamed. For love doth nothing unseemly, but as it were with certain golden wings covereth up all the offences of the beloved.<sup>303</sup>

Chrysostom wanted to assure his contemporaries that it is not a good habit to abandon their children if they are bad. It is obvious that in Chrysostom's time fathers thought it reasonable to do so. However this is not acceptable behaviour in a Christian

---

<sup>302</sup> PG 49,159-160.

<sup>303</sup> PG 61, 278; Library of the Fathers, 10, p.458. The illustration is taken from Paul's praise of love, I Cor. 13.5; 13.7.

father. No one can profit from rejection by his own family. Chrysostom insisted that a parent can only correct his children with love. Youngsters should not feel rejected, even for a minute. We can find the description of the right way to correct a child, or to prevent the expression of undesirable behaviour, in Chrysostom's treatise *On Vainglory and Education*:

"Αμα καί καταφιλῶμεν αὐτόν λέγοντες καί περιβάλλωμεν ταῖς χερσὶν καί ἐπισφίγγωμεν, ὥστε τὸν πόθον δεικνύειν. Τοῦτοις ἅπασιν αὐτόν μαλάττωμεν.

As we speak to him, let us kiss him and put our arms about him, and press him to us to show our affection. By all these means let us mould him.<sup>304</sup>

Of course there are other ways to calm down a child who is upset or out of control: short periods of 'time out',<sup>305</sup> for example, would be useful in situations like these. This means ten-fifteen minutes spent by the children in their rooms or to another location where there is nothing enjoyable to do, following a temper tantrum.<sup>306</sup> This method might be effective when the disruptive behaviour is a form of attention seeking.

For Chrysostom the correction of a child's behaviour is a problem having to do with the salvation of his soul. This purpose must be the parents' guide in their efforts to help their children rather than a concern with how society views the child and his wrong behaviour. It is not right for fathers to feel offended every time their children do not behave correctly. It is selfish to think of ourselves instead of the good of our children.

Chrysostom made a continued and constant demand to fathers not to condemn their children however badly they might have behaved towards them. This is also a very sound principle of modern pedagogy. What good could a rejection really bring to the

---

<sup>304</sup> E.I.E. 30, pp.690-692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.118.

<sup>305</sup> Martin, Pear, *Behavior Modification*, p.170.

<sup>306</sup> Carver, C. S., and Scheier, M. F., *Perspectives on Personality* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1988), p.379.

children? What good could it bring even to the already distressed parents? Could it in any way give them comfort? As Chrysostom could imagine or conclude from his friends' and congregation's experience, a loving family was the only thing a good or a bad child needed. This was also what the Bible suggested with the parable of the prodigal son. It is accepted that anything the Bible suggested was a rule for Chrysostom.

On another occasion, he says:

Πρός πατέρα ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐδέν δυνάμενον ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν προτέρων, μᾶλλον δέ ἐκεῖνα μεμνημένον μόνα, ἅπερ εἰς συμπάθειαν ἀγαγεῖν δύναται καί ἔλεον καί στοργήν καί φειδῶ τήν τοῖς γεγενηκόσι προσήκουσαν.

He returned to his father, who could remember nothing from what happened before. Or better, who remembered only those which could lead to sympathy and mercy and affection and compassion which is proper to the parents.<sup>307</sup>

Another proof of Chrysostom's ideas of correct parental behaviour when there is a crisis in their children's lives, is given in his *Commentary on Paul's Second Epistle to Corinthians*:

Φαύλων παίδων οὐκ ἂν εὐκόλως καταφρονήσαιεν πατέρες, ἀλλά καί τούτους πενθοῦσιν.

About worthless children fathers are not easily indifferent, but mourn even for them.<sup>308</sup>

And another one in his homily on Philippians:

Πολλά καί πέρα τοῦ δέοντος οἱ πατέρες χαρίζονται τοῖς παισὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῖς διαθερμαινομένων τῶν πατρικῶν' κἂν ἴδωσι τό παιδίον κατηφῆσαν, τηκόμενον, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου δάκνονται, καί οὐ παύονται, ἕως ἂν τῆς ἰθυμίας τήν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνέλωσι.

Fathers freely give to their sons many things beyond what is fitting; when their fatherly compassion is kindled, on seeing their child with downcast look, and wasted with grief, they feel sharper pangs than him, and rest not until they have

---

<sup>307</sup> PG 49,283-284.

<sup>308</sup> PG 61,414; Library of the Fathers, 15, p.47.

removed the ground of his rejection.<sup>309</sup>

There are two more problems in addition to that of undesirable behaviour which are discussed in Chrysostom's homilies. The first is that of the bad luck in which children can be found and the other is that of madness which leads the sick child to insult and mistreat his father. So, there are three big problems which Chrysostom is concerned with: bad behaviour, bad luck and madness. In all three problems, which represent the most difficult situation a man can be found in, namely the suffering of the soul, the body and the mind, fathers must always take the side of their suffering children, that is to support them and to be with them for their benefit:

Τοις γάρ πατράσιν ἔθος πολλῶ μετزون ἀλγεῖν, ὅταν μηδὲ παρῆναι δύνωνται  
κακουμένοις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παισίν.

It is usual for the fathers to suffer when they cannot assist their children in their miseries.<sup>310</sup>

Πατήρ περί παιῖδα φρενίτιδι κατεχόμενον, ὅσῳ ἂν ὑβρίζηται καὶ λακτίζει χαλεπῶς  
ὁ κάμων, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτόν ἐλεεῖ καὶ δακρύει.

The father who has a mentally deranged child, the more he is being insulted or kicked by him, the more he has mercy and cries for him.<sup>311</sup>

What is the meaning of the term madness as used by Chrysostom? If Chrysostom meant a child who is angry and out of control this does not mean madness. Aggressive behaviour is often learned by the child as bad habits are inadvertently reinforced by parents. There are a number of remedies which a parent can use to calm down an upset child. Such methods are "time out," as it has been mentioned before, and differential reinforcement.<sup>312</sup> Reinforcement can be positive and implies adding something good,

---

<sup>309</sup> PG 62,253-254; Library of the Fathers, 11, p.113.

<sup>310</sup> PG 49,213-214.

<sup>311</sup> PG 50,484.

<sup>312</sup> Martin, Pear, *Behavior Modification*, pp.170, 79.



using desirable things as a reward, or it can be negative when something pleasant is removed.<sup>313</sup>

Fathers must not keep a distance from their children. They must help their children in their education even if they have an important occupation such as that of philosopher or *rhetor*. It is not shameful for fathers to help their children to spell. On the contrary this act is good and desirable.<sup>314</sup> Pestalozzi expressed his admiration for the good father in his early writings, particularly in his book *Evening Hours of a Hermit*, where he wrote the following: «To raise the people to the full joy of which their nature is capable is the aim of the ruler who calls himself the father of his people. That the people should enjoy the blessings of home, confident as children in the fatherhood of their prince; that they should expect to fulfil their paternal duty to bring up and train their children to the joys of manhood: is this a dream? Is such childlike hope at bottom a sign of sleep? Not so; faith in God is the force behind this hope».<sup>315</sup> Pestalozzi presented the prince as the father of the nation just as God is the father of all people. He compared the fatherhood of men to the fatherhood of God trying to prove that God would guide people in their duty of parenthood because He first is the Father of everybody and He offers the perfect example of what a real father should be.

**5.5 The mother's role:** Chrysostom had a personal experience on how mothers reacted in several situations. His mother Anthousa was very affectionate and the great educationalist's childhood provided him with many examples of how a good mother behaves. He moreover took all of his early education at home from her because his

---

<sup>313</sup> Carver, C. S., and Scheier, M. F., *Perspectives on Personality*, p.379.

<sup>314</sup> PG 61,278.

<sup>315</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, p.27.

father who, according to the Roman system of education, should be the first teacher of his children, was not alive.

The quality that dominates Chrysostom's views of motherhood is that of self-sacrifice. According to him mothers stand by their children when they are sick or ill and do not ask for sleep or rest. Moreover, they would willingly suffer in place of their children, thus freeing them from every pain and illness.<sup>316</sup>

Chrysostom had infinite respect for his mother. He mentioned her several times in his writings. The greatest example of what this respect consisted of is given by Chrysostom in his homily to the Priesthood:

Ἀλλά με αἱ συνεχεῖς τῆς μητρός ἐπφοῖαι διεκώλυσαν δοῦναι ταύτην ἐκείνῳ τὴν χάριν, μᾶλλον δὲ λαβεῖν ταύτην παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν δωρεάν.

My mother's continuing request and complaints prohibited me from giving him the grace or better from taking the grace from him.<sup>317</sup>

Chrysostom is talking about his decision to refuse to join his friend in the desert where he was leading an ascetic life. His denial was a result of his mother's tears while asking him not to leave her to join the monastic community before her death. The picture, as Chrysostom describes it, is a touching one. He shows in a practical way that it is necessary for everybody to have in mind his parent's wishes before making a decision which might change his life completely.

Chrysostom mentions the woman as a wife more times than as a mother. It is true that he wanted women to have control of the household, but he wanted them to have a secondary role in spiritual subjects.<sup>318</sup> He followed in Paul's footsteps in his theology about the secondary position of the woman in the church and the community. His view,

---

<sup>316</sup> PG 49,142; 50,620.

<sup>317</sup> PG 48,624.

<sup>318</sup> PG 51,230-331.

in summary, is written in his twentieth homily on Ephesians:

Δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ αὕτη, ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ὁμοτιμίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει τι πλεον ὁ ἀνὴρ. Τοῦτο σωτηρία μεγίστη οἰκίας.

She is a second authority, possessing indeed an authority, and a considerable equality of dignity; but at the same time the husband has somewhat of superiority.

In this consists most chiefly the well-being of the house.<sup>319</sup>

It is clear that feminists will not like Chrysostom's opinions about women and their position in society. Nevertheless, the problem of disagreement between husbands and wives about their authority and the taking of decisions must have existed in his time. We can assume this from his words on the family problems he often mentions. His experience and personal examination of the problem made him conclude that in most of the cases the reason for disagreement was the responsibility in the house and out of it. For the great bishop it was most important to bring peace in the family. And because there was no place for women in politics, in education, in commerce, generally in every field which took place outside the household, the mother should logically stay in the limits of her role as a wife, mother and protector of the sufferers:

Οὐ δύναται τὰ δημόσια διαθεῖναι καλῶς· ἀλλὰ δύναται παιδία διαθρέψαι καλῶς, τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν κτημάτων.

She cannot handle the public matters well but she can raise children well, which are the most valuable possession.<sup>320</sup>

Chrysostom does not undervalue the position of women. He only reinforces Paul's teaching of equality between men and women.<sup>321</sup> At the same time, he praises her for her virtues and blames her for the faults which reduce her value as a person:

Γυνὴ γάρ, εἰ βουλευθεῖη, οὐκ ἑαυτῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑταίροις ἀρκέσει πλείοσιν

---

<sup>319</sup> PG 62,142-143; Library of the Fathers, vol.15, p.324.

<sup>320</sup> PG 51,231.

<sup>321</sup> Gal. 3,28.

εἰς διακονίαν' ὥστε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός τὰ πολιτικά πράγματα λαχόντος, τὸ οἰκουρεῖν αὐτὴ καὶ οἰκονομεῖν τὰ ἔνδον ἅπαντα ἐκληρώσατο.

The woman can serve, if she wants, not only herself, but many more. Because from the beginning the lot to be occupied with the public affairs fell to the man, and to stay at home to administer the household fell to the woman.<sup>322</sup>

This much discussed matter of the equality of man and woman is faced by Chrysostom in a simple but never dismissive way.<sup>323</sup> His only aim in giving to women a secondary role in life was to ensure peace and love in the family, and an equally balanced society at the same time.<sup>324</sup> Women, of course, have proved themselves capable in politics, education and commerce through the ages. Chrysostom did not express his opinion on the subject in order to reduce the value of women. He spoke about the need for peace in the family, not at the expense of denying the constructive role of women's decision making in the public sphere. According to him the dignity and the respect everyone should have for her depended on the respect she had for herself. A woman full of virtues was respectable and should be treated as such by the people around her.

---

<sup>322</sup> PG 47,523.

<sup>323</sup> PG 53,86.

<sup>324</sup> PG 62,659.

## 6. DEALING WITH CHILDREN'S SEXUAL DESIRES

**6.1 Children and human passions:** According to Graham Gould, in Eastern Patristic thought the child is considered to be born with the characteristics of purity and simplicity. That is the reason why the child is used as a symbol of the perfect Christian.<sup>325</sup> Nevertheless, Paul Nash expressed the opposite idea saying that: «The Christian doctrine of the Fall, that man is born in sin and can reach a state of beatitude only through serving God and with the aid of divine grace, has deeply influenced education throughout the West. The idea seems to be firmly embedded in Western consciousness: it might be related to the sense of the tragic in life and to the Greek concept of Destiny or Fate. Because of it, education has been regarded as a moral discipline: the child is naturally evil and can be saved only with the aid of strict control, denial and authority. His natural propensities will lead him astray and should, therefore, not be indulged. The function of the Christian teacher, consequently, is to teach with authority».<sup>326</sup> Paul Nash is mistaken because nowhere in Eastern or Western Patristic writings can such an idea be found. On the contrary, all the Church Fathers used childhood as a symbol of the Christian who was pure from all passions. The metaphor of childhood is first used in the Bible as a description of the Christian life.<sup>327</sup> From then on, many Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome and Gregory of Nyssa discussed the real meaning of the metaphor and they all agreed

---

<sup>325</sup> Gould, G., «Childhood in Eastern Patristic Thought: Some Problems of Theology and Theological Anthropology» *The Church and Childhood*, (Ed. by Wood, D.; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), v.31 p.40.

<sup>326</sup> Nash, *Authority and Freedom in Education*, p.103.

<sup>327</sup> Matth. 18, 1-5.

on the idea that childhood is the symbol of freedom from all sins and passions.<sup>328</sup> Many centuries later Rousseau wrote that men are created good because God makes all things good. They become evil by the injurious influence of people.<sup>329</sup> This opinion is expressed on the very first line of his book, showing his strong belief in the good nature of man.

Graham Gould believes that among the Fathers who tried to discuss the problem of morality in childhood and adulthood, the most interesting representative is John Chrysostom as he appears to give answers to the questions about moral education with his treatise *On Vainglory and Education*.<sup>330</sup> Other Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Basil the Great, limited their ideas and problems to a small area, giving answers to particular questions or problems. Chrysostom saw the problem of Christian education in the round, trying to cover as many aspects as he could.

One of the most important topics in Chrysostom's treatise *On Vainglory and Education* is that of the youngsters' most dangerous fault which the parents must efface (like the sculptor removes all the useless pieces on his statue). The fault he is talking about is the cause of dissoluteness; that is the love affair. Chrysostom discussed the subject with the specialists, the doctors, and he found out that desire is very strong after the fifteenth year.<sup>331</sup> He actually believed that only at that age did the child start to have desire for sexual activity. So, he advised the parents about that age and he pointed out that the best way of protection is that of forestalling.

Chrysostom systematized his ideas of handling the problem, should it arise, in his

---

<sup>328</sup> Gould, «Childhood in Eastern Patristic Thought» *The Church and Childhood*, v.31, pp.39-52.

<sup>329</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, p.5.

<sup>330</sup> Gould, «Childhood in Eastern Patristic Thought» *The Church and Childhood*, v.31, pp.40-42.

<sup>331</sup> E.P.E. 30, p. 690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117.

homilies and especially in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* where we can count more than twenty points concerning this matter. In fact, going through the treatise for a second time, one has the feeling that the tract was written for exactly this purpose: to give instructions about how a parent can bring up a child in an atmosphere of virginity through offering systematic advice covering all sides of the problem. The same is said by Gould in his article «Childhood in Patristic Thought»: «...Most of his (Chrysostom's) work is about moral principles that are as applicable to adults as to children, and much of its advice makes no specific reference to the condition of childhood.»<sup>332</sup> Trying to subdivide the subject into smaller themes for better classification one realizes that Chrysostom, in a very clear way, had already classified the subdivisions. These subdivisions could be classified as follows: what can lead a child to an immoral way of life, negative protective measures against immorality, positive protective measures against immorality, and spiritual medicine against desire. One might find it useful to read together all the pieces of advice taken from the treatise. For this reason these opinions are presented together and the remaining, from other homilies, will be considered later.

**6.1.1 What can lead a child to immorality:** Chrysostom, very clearly, declares that children are the mirrors of their parents' behaviour. Since children do not have any kind of experience they copy everything they see in their close environment because it is the only one which they know and because they believe it to be right as it comes from loving parents; Chrysostom blames the parents, whom he considers the creators of their children's character, for their irresponsibility. He once again puts on the parents'

---

<sup>332</sup> Gould, «Childhood in Eastern Patristic Thought» *The Church and Childhood*, v.31, p.43.

shoulders the heavy responsibility for everything concerning the children's upbringing which may go wrong later. In other cases he is known to speak in a comforting way about the innocence of the parents who are trying to create an athlete of Christ but who can do nothing because the nature of those children is bad.<sup>333</sup> No opinion can be found in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* suggesting that parents are not responsible if their children fall into immoral ways. Chrysostom did not make excuses for parents for two reasons: firstly because he was speaking directly to a group of parents and wanted them to feel guilt for their mistakes, and secondly because he believed children to be free from any harmful passions and that they could therefore be led to everlasting moral virtue. According to Pestalozzi, when the parents are attached to God and His will only then they will find satisfaction for all the good and all the power which they seek for their child.<sup>334</sup> For the same educationalist an education based upon an ideal family life is the only way for children to reach the higher life.<sup>335</sup> With the adjective 'higher' he meant a spiritual or Christian life.

Chrysostom believed that the parents can make major mistakes during the first stages of the child's life. These mistakes cause a lot of damage to the child who has the tendency to copy his parents' habits and ways of thinking. Things which we want to believe cause no harm to our children. They could nevertheless make them selfish and too concerned with their appearance. Chrysostom starts his comments from the moment the child is born, mentioning the habit of offering expensive clothes and gold jewellery. It was the habit of parents at that time to put gold jewellery around their children's neck

---

<sup>333</sup> PG 56, 282, 283; 285.

<sup>334</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, p.179.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.



and on their ears. As Chrysostom says in his sermon on St. John's Gospel,<sup>336</sup> people should act in such a way as will help them to reach the simplicity and humility of Christ in the manger. It is not right to make our children get used to gold and luxury. On the one hand the infant does not have a sense of what all this is about, and on the other the adults are making a mistake by imposing their desires on their children. According to Chrysostom the child does not need expensive ornaments. Only a good teacher is needed to educate the child in the right way.<sup>337</sup>

A reference to another habit which could push the children to a life without chastity is made again in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*. Chrysostom refers to the Christians who were influenced by pagan idolatry and he considers this influence to be the cause of children having long hair. Chrysostom says that boys should not have long hair because that is prohibited in Paul's Epistle to Corinthians. Paul says: «Does the nature herself teach you that while flowing locks disgrace a man, they are a woman's glory?»<sup>338</sup> Paul's point of view according to Chrysostom in his commentary on the previous passage, refers to the commonly accepted principles, to common sense and common virtues. Nature is the physical world which God has created. The natural thing for a man is to have his hair cut and for a woman not to. It is not honorable for a man to have long hair.<sup>339</sup> It suggests a similarity to women which is "an act of pagan superstition."<sup>340</sup> The embellishment of the infant with jewellery and long hair, encourages him to be too concerned with his appearance and might make his nature

---

<sup>336</sup> PG 59,296.

<sup>337</sup> E.H.E. 30, pp.636-638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>338</sup> 1Cor. 11,14-15.

<sup>339</sup> cf. Agourides, S., *Paul the Apostle's First Epistle to Corinthians*, (Thessaloniki: Pournaras Press, 1982), pp. 183,184.

<sup>340</sup> E.H.E. 30, p.637; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 93-94.

effeminate.

It is worthwhile to remember at this point why Paul said these words and what they have to do with the Christian life. In Paul's times, the Corinthian Church had many problems which were disturbing the fellowship of the Christians. One of these problems was the appearance at worship of men and women who were trying to appear identical at the time of prayer by dressing their hair in similar styles.<sup>341</sup> Perhaps they thought that in this way they put into action Paul's words: «There is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Jesus Christ.»<sup>342</sup> The problem of the right appearance of Christians continued to occupy the church throughout the ages. Nevertheless, no rules were generally accepted by everybody. One hears the opinion that how a man or a woman dresses should not concern the church and that what matters is not the outward appearance but the inward constitution of the soul. At the same time, however, one may say that the outward appearance of a Christian is also a reflection of his inward self. In Chrysostom's writings, no doubt or ambiguity can be found on the subject. He wanted the woman to appear unpretentious,<sup>343</sup> without any kind of make-up,<sup>344</sup> without golden jewelery,<sup>345</sup> but simply, giving her effort and her time to the adornment of her soul and not her body.<sup>346</sup>

We have evidence that people in Chrysostom's times treated such problems as long hair and jewellery in the same way as people in the present. They thought that such problems were not worth discussing because they could not change nor influence

---

<sup>341</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp. 176-184.

<sup>342</sup> Gal. 3:28.

<sup>343</sup> PG 48,607.

<sup>344</sup> PG 48,679.

<sup>345</sup> PG 53,381.

<sup>346</sup> PG 53,381.

the character of the person. In his treatise, probably in front of a group of parents, Chrysostom anticipated his audience's thoughts by saying that some people may laugh at these, considering them to be unimportant. Nevertheless they are not at all unimportant because they can lead to bad habits, and getting into the habit of doing wrong makes it easier to fall into the wrong way of life. Is Chrysostom's next argument that a spoilt girl is afterwards an insufferable wife not true?<sup>347</sup> Chrysostom continues to underline the danger of bad habits, saying that malice is difficult to fight since nobody speaks to children about purity, prudence, disregard of money and fame, nor the commandments.<sup>348</sup>

Chrysostom explained that he did not urge children to lead a monastic life.<sup>349</sup> Raising an athlete of Christ means that he is kept in love and purity from his birth. This applies also to our times. When parents are concerned about the appearance of their children and discourage any eccentricity of fashion, soon or later they are bound to be asked: Are you trying to shut him/her into a monastery? Chrysostom had always in mind the final goal of life. Every child without exception must be raised in the same way. Future bishops, future ascetics, future heads of a family, future leaders or simple citizens, all had the same final goal in life. That is, to gain paradise. Therefore, because the aim of everyone in life is the same, the education and the way of upbringing must be the same. Campenhausen described comprehensively the ideas of Chrysostom on the subject: «It is, moreover, a tremendous error to believe that only the monk is committed to the pursuit of perfection. Christ called all men and made no distinction between the

---

<sup>347</sup> E.I.E. 30, p. 638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 94.

<sup>348</sup> E.I.E. 30, p. 638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 94.

<sup>349</sup> E.I.E. 30, p. 640; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 95.

ascetic and the secular life».<sup>350</sup>

**6.1.2 Negative protective measures against immorality:** As a second stage, after he had indentified the factors which can help a child achieve a pure, passion free character, Chrysostom mentioned several methods of protection against immorality. Most of these refer to the parents, giving them practical solutions to some difficult and dangerous situations which can lead to immoral behaviour. Chrysostom also paid great attention to the protection of the senses. He has something to say about each one and also he had some practical advice to give on the subject. He dedicated the largest part of his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* to this matter. He covered all the senses one by one and he gave ways of controlling them. His strongest arguments refer to the ways of stimulating the senses with good impulses and not only to ways of protecting them.

A protective measure against debauchery, which comes first in the relevant list of the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, is that of rooting out its cause. As the cause of debauchery Chrysostom notes nothing, implying of course a variety of causes. However, no instructions are given as to how a parent can root out the different causes of passion from a child's heart. Nevertheless, there is one common thing they must have in mind when trying to pull them out: the carefulness with which they must act:

Καί μετά πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξορίζετε τόν τῆς ἀκολασίας λόγον.

And, first of all, take the greatest care to banish licentious speech.<sup>351</sup>

Laistner's translation has «speech» for the word «λόγος» but the real meaning is given by the word «reason». Chrysostom asked the parents to teach their children to be careful

---

<sup>350</sup> Campenhausen, *The fathers of the Greek Church*, p.142.

<sup>351</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.642; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.96.

before they reach the age in which they will naturally experience sexual desire, and this view supports the idea of the need for sexual education before the age of puberty.

A second protective measure is the fight against evil thoughts, and especially effeminacy and debauchery.<sup>352</sup> Chrysostom considered these kinds of thoughts to occur naturally<sup>353</sup> at the age of fifteen and over, especially for young boys. Girls could more easily control these thoughts because their problem is not sexual desire but coquetry.<sup>354</sup> The protection of hearing is very important as it is a door through which thoughts can enter into the soul. Chrysostom took the unusual step of saying more than the other preachers of his times about what a child should not hear. He suggested that children should not hear foolish fairy stories about princes and kissing. Nevertheless, because the soul loves to hear fairy tales we must replace the foolish and childish ones with others which are appropriate to real philosophers and athletes of Christ.<sup>355</sup>

Stories have a strong influence on man's soul and mind. Nevertheless, nowadays there are other much more serious dangers that threaten our children than fairy tales about kings and queens. There is concern about violence on television,<sup>356</sup> about drugs and alcohol. Fairy tales with an erotic content are perhaps the most innocent things they can read or hear today. For Chrysostom though they were still images which could create immoral thoughts in a child's soul. And if today we try not to let our children watch violent scenes on television because these can harm their feelings, Chrysostom

---

<sup>352</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.644; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.97.

<sup>353</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117.

<sup>354</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.700; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.122.

<sup>355</sup> E.I.E. 30, pp.654-656; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.101-102.

<sup>356</sup> «People who observe innovative aggressive techniques (whether live or on film) can and do acquire those techniques as behaviour potentials through observational learning...Observing violence, when that violence is permitted, condoned, or even rewarded, helps to promote the assumption that aggression is an appropriate way to deal with conflicts or disagreements.» Carver, C. S., and Scheier, M. F., *Perspectives on Personality*, p.421-433.

felt the same about the stories of his age. Most of the classic fairy tales are nothing else but love stories. Most of them, moreover, create an evil image of stepmothers who always hate their stepchildren and finally try to send them to death. These are scenes of violence and cruelty which are of no less harm to children under the age of five than is the violent reality of modern films for older children. Others create a wrong image about life, giving the impression that good always wins over evil, the fair wins over the unfair and that the rich marry the poor because they are kind. When people get used to this type of reading, they will later take pleasure in those simplistic, poorly written love stories where the penniless heroine always ends up married to the rich hero after a series of passionate adventures.

Raymond Johnston in his article «The language of myth» related the meanings of stories to the child's life. He believes that in stories, the child is given a good opportunity to identify the real world around him, discovering at the same time the inner features of his own soul.<sup>357</sup> Johnston also connected the myth with moral education, starting from the thought that stories help in emotional development. He concludes with a sentence which shows the importance he gives to the story: «If genuine moral thought and moral action demand some kind of consistency and control, as is generally agreed, then the part played by the story element in moral development becomes essential.»<sup>358</sup> The problem that comes out again is the difficulty to hold a dividing line between the moral and immoral. As Johnston said again: «How do we decide what is good morality? How do we assess the merits of a moral view? What are the rules and procedures of morality?»<sup>359</sup> For Chrysostom the solution to all these problems was given: moral is

---

<sup>357</sup> Johnston, O.R., «The language of myth», *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Temple Smith, 1975), p. 77.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

anything which comes from and leads to God. Augustine also believed that the soul must be educated «to be a temple of God. It must learn to hear nothing and to say nothing but what belongs to the fear of God. It must have no understanding of unclean words, and no knowledge of the world's songs.»<sup>360</sup> Augustine, just like Chrysostom, suggested that it is better to avoid sin than to reject it after gaining knowledge of it.

A measure against immorality is also to keep distant from those who are foul-mouthed. No parent who is honestly concerned about the life and character of children, can ever like them to have foul-mouthed friends. Children are very much influenced by their friends. They imitate each other on the way of dressing, acting and speaking. There is a Greek proverb saying exactly the same thing: show your friends to me and I will tell you who you are.

In his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* and some other of his homilies, Chrysostom again suggested that making a young man presents and promising that he will be heir to his parents' fortune and that he will find a good bride, will keep him chaste before marriage.<sup>361</sup> Concern about such promises and presents often feature in Chrysostom's educational thinking. A lot of parents use them as two strong motives which can encourage desirable behaviour in children. When parents are firm in what they want and when they keep their promises they soon realize that they are on the right path for the control of their children's character. Chrysostom, as he always showed very clearly, thought that it is easier to control the desires of the body when you live in chastity than to keep an already sinful body away from fornication.<sup>362</sup>

As for young women, Chrysostom believed that they had the natural advantage of

---

<sup>360</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, p.164.

<sup>361</sup> PG 48, 619-620; E.T.E. 30, pp.676, 690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.111-112; 117.

<sup>362</sup> PG 61, 320-321.

not being as disturbed by sexual desire as are young men.<sup>363</sup> Mothers are therefore responsible for teaching them not to live in luxury and embellishment because habits like these can push them to temptation.

**6.1.3 Positive protecting measures against immorality:** Chrysostom, did not stop at the point listing the bad things which can harm the senses and lead to immorality. As mentioned before, he moreover gave his suggestions about what can replace unhealthy shows, stories and entertainment, as every good parent should be concerned to do.

Another sense which needs protection is that of sight. The first thing one must do is to avoid shameful shows.<sup>364</sup> According to Chrysostom's thought there is a direct connection between the senses and desire. A strong control of desire depends on the control of the senses. A short historical retrospect will help us understand why Chrysostom was speaking in a severe way about the theatre and other shows, because to this day it is only with difficulty that one can form an idea of the role played by the circus and the theatre in the life of the great city of Antioch.<sup>365</sup> A comprehensive sample of Chrysostom's view of the theatre is given in the sixth homily on repentance where the theatre is characterized as the universal school of dissolution, the training-ground of unchastity and the throne of pestilence.<sup>366</sup>

What was the kind of theatre Chrysostom was talking about? At that time, there were all sorts of shows: from the refined theatre, in which the great tragic poets such as

---

<sup>363</sup> PG 62, 659.

<sup>364</sup> E.II.E. 30, p.690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117.

<sup>365</sup> cf. Campenhausen, *The fathers of the Greek Church*, pp.146-147.

<sup>366</sup> PG 49, 313-315.



Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides were played, to the common variety theatre, in which human shamelessness was freely presented. Comedy was one of the most popular types of theatre in Antioch, which appealed most to the gay frivolous nature of its people.<sup>367</sup> Because of the deep moral degradation of the theatre, the emperor Theodosius, on June 29, 394, through a law, ranked actors, pantomimes and charioteers in the class of dishonorable people. Christians were forbidden to practise any occupation of that sort. It was natural for the Church to take a stand very early with regard to these events taking place in the big cities.

For Chrysostom matters about the theatre and circus were the chief objects of concern. They were organs of Satan in which the wicked souls were trapped. He was not the only one; the emperor Julian had forbidden the pagan priests from going to the theatre<sup>368</sup>, and Libanius called the actors "people who brought everyone to corruption, people who were an open sore on the city, people who had already contributed to the ruin of more than one prominent family, who had brought the whole city into bad repute. Because of all these Libanius demanded that all actors, being worse than murderers, should be expelled from the city".<sup>369</sup> We are not sure why Chrysostom's teacher disapproved of the theatre and circus. Did he do so for the same reasons as the great preacher of Antioch or for some other reasons? That is, not on moral grounds but because the theatre enticed young men away from their studies? Whether the reasons are different or not, there is, anyway, a common theme. The educationalists and the church leaders of the time believed the theatre to be harmful for people and they disapproved of it. St. Augustine also mentioned in a mood of repentance the theatrical

---

<sup>367</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v.1 Antioch, p.243.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid, p.247.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid, p.247.

shows in his confessions: «I was captivated by theatrical shows. They were full of representations of my own miseries and fueled my fire... For the more anyone is moved by these scenes, the less free he is from similar passions. Only, when he himself suffers, it is called misery; when he feels compassion for others, it is called mercy. But what quality of mercy is it in fictitious and theatrical inventions?»<sup>370</sup> And elsewhere: «To satisfy this diseased craving, outrageous sights are staged in public shows».<sup>371</sup> These words of St. Augustine show clearly that the same feelings about the theatre existed on both sides of the church in the East as well as in the West.

The sense of feeling could also stir up desire. For this reason, a young man should not wear soft clothes nor come into contact with others' bodies.<sup>372</sup> The second measure could be realised by not bathing with women<sup>373</sup> and permitting only old women to approach him.<sup>374</sup> One would think that these were unreasonable measures for the young man of our own time, but was this the case in Chrysostom's time? The answer must be yes, if we remember that he was addressing the treatise to a group of well to do parents. This is the conclusion to which one comes while reading the treatise because Chrysostom always mentioned children with servants in their command. These children, coming of wealthy families, were never free to go or to do anything they wanted. They were always accompanied by the "παιδαγωγός" who had orders from his master as to where he should take the boy. It was also a parent's duty not to let a woman-slave serve the boy of the family. This information convinces us that Chrysostom's protective instructions - most of which were instructions about how to avoid dangers - were indeed

---

<sup>370</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, pp. 35,36.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid., p.211.

<sup>372</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.680; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.112.

<sup>373</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.676; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.111.

<sup>374</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.672; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.109-110.

applicable to the children of his times. The same tactic of avoidance is followed by Jerome too, in his advice to Laeta about how she would raise her infant daughter as a virgin consecrated to Christ: «Let no young man greet her with smiles; no dandy with curled hair pay compliments to her.»<sup>375</sup> And also in his letter to Gaudentious: «A girl should associate only with girls, she should know nothing of boys and should dread even playing with them.»<sup>376</sup> The only difference again between Chrysostom and Jerome is that the latter asked this kind of upbringing in the case of a consecrated virgin, whereas the former addresses this advice to all parents without the distinction of whether the children will be consecrated or not.

Smell is another sense which needs to be controlled. Chrysostom said that children should not wear perfumes because they excite lust.<sup>377</sup> At that time Chrysostom's opinions might have seem excessive. Nowadays, nevertheless, science discusses a lot perfumes' and some other smells' effects on the human passions. Augustine agreed once again with Chrysostom on the influence of the senses upon desire: «...From this observation it becomes easier to distinguish the activity of the senses in relation to pleasure from their activity in relation to curiosity. Pleasure pursues beautiful objects, what is agreeable to look at, to hear, to smell, to taste, to touch. But curiosity pursues the contraries of these delights with the motive of seeing what the experiences are like, not with a wish to undergo discomfort, but out of a lust for experimenting and knowing»<sup>378</sup> Augustine adds another aspect to all the others which Chrysostom spoke about. This new aspect is the individual's curiosity which allows the

---

<sup>375</sup> Ulich, *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom*, p.167.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p.170.

<sup>377</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.672; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.110.

<sup>378</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, p.211

senses to sin. Pestalozzi also alludes to the same subject suggesting that «children are too much stimulated by sensory pleasures, and their parents and friends are occupied more with those things than with deeds of love». <sup>379</sup> Pestalozzi mentioned this as a cause for human misery.

Sense has a central role in educational theories of the last two centuries. Particularly, «association theorists see learning as the result of connections (associations) between stimuli (sense impressions) and responses.» <sup>380</sup> This idea is associated to behaviourism theory which is an environmentalist position. <sup>381</sup> Chrysostom appreciated the role of the senses in the same way as behaviourists, giving them much importance. That is why he wanted Christians of all ages to be eclectic to what they were going to see or hear exactly because every stimulus would have its place in their minds and souls.

Children must look to the future as the ground of their reward for being good at the present. Chrysostom suggests that giving them promises of a fair maid and of presents are good methods to help them avoid evil. At the age of fifteen they are ready to hear about hell and the eternal punishment as an antidote to the sexual desire which is then starting to awake. There are opposing opinions about the use of fear to forestall sin. For the great Church Fathers though, fear has a completely different meaning than it had in the Middle Ages. They thought it to be a virtue of the same value as love and forgiveness. Chrysostom argued that love in no case should be put into the shade of fear. On the other hand love should not rub out the educational fear which derives from the

---

<sup>379</sup> *Pestalozzi's Educational Writings*, p.178.

<sup>380</sup> Sprinthall R. C., Sprinthall N. A., *Educational Psychology a Developmental Approach* (1981) third edition Randon House, New York, p.250.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.48-49.

law in the case of citizens or from parents and teachers in the case of pupils.<sup>382</sup> At the end saints surpass the motive of fear and they go ahead to the perfection of virtue without any kind of fear or punishment.<sup>383</sup>

**6.1.4 Spiritual medicine against desire:** Remedies against immorality and sexual desire are also given by Chrysostom in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*. Fasting can help a great deal, as can the showing of contempt for those who attend the theatre because they humiliate themselves and put the fire of desire into their hearts.<sup>384</sup>

Virtue was for Chrysostom something which could and should be encouraged by suitable stimuli. Such stimuli would include saintly men to keep company with young boys, presents as rewards, walks to the countryside, visits to worthwhile, educational places. Prayer and discussions about virtuous people are also good ways to avoid the captivity of immorality.<sup>385</sup> And the last measure recommended by Chrysostom is an early marriage, before service in the army and the start of a successful career.<sup>386</sup> Did Chrysostom agree with the existing Roman custom of marriage which required girls to get married at the age of twelve and boys at the age of fourteen? He seems to do so even if he does not define a particular age which would be the ideal one for marriage. It is certain that he wanted boys to get married after the age of fifteen when he thought sexual desire started. In another point in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* again, Chrysostom says that a teenage boy could have an affianced bride who will keep him

---

<sup>382</sup> PG 61, 512.

<sup>383</sup> PG 51, 286.

<sup>384</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.692; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.118.

<sup>385</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.690-694; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117-119.

<sup>386</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.694; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.119.

occupied in taking care of her.<sup>387</sup> An early marriage would also anticipate the sin of pre-marital sexual activity.

**6.2 Ideas on desire from other works by Chrysostom:** God planted desire in our bodies. Chrysostom found the existence of desire natural. He believed that the reason God planted desire in us was for the procreation of children. He mentioned this view many times in order to make it clear to his audience that its control is a very hard task. He also wanted to draw their attention to the fact that desire would grow from the moment someone starts to give it satisfaction.<sup>388</sup> Rousseau said the same thing in his book about education *Emile*: «Our passions are the chief means of self-preservation; to try to destroy them is therefore as absurd as it is useless; this would be to overcome nature, to reshape God's handiwork. If God bade man annihilate the passions he has given him, God would bid him be and not be;»<sup>389</sup> This might be an opinion for which *Emile* was judged worthy of being burned.

Because desire is God's gift it could be assumed that He is therefore responsible for any immorality which it might cause. Chrysostom knew that some people would think in this way and for this reason he stated that immorality is not a result of sexual desire, but an unnatural action brought about by the mishandling of desire.<sup>390</sup>

**6.2.1 The control of sexual desire.** Even if Chrysostom chose the way of celibacy, he nevertheless studied and wrote a lot about prostitution, which was a great

---

<sup>387</sup> E.II.E. 30, p.696; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.120.

<sup>388</sup> PG 59,462; 51,230; 62,690; 62,689.

<sup>389</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, p.207.

<sup>390</sup> PG 62,20; 61,258.

problem in Constantinople as well as in Antioch during his time. He did not feel ashamed to speak about such problems because, as he explained, he was interested in helping his hearers to avoid immorality even if he had to use indecent language.<sup>391</sup> He spoke freely and severely on problems such as castration, stressing the abnormality of this deed. It is amazing he found the courage to speak about sexual matters so freely and that he suggested sex education so many centuries ago. Sex education and whether it should feature as a subject taught in school, is a matter which has only relatively recently become open to discussion. Chrysostom raised another important point here: sex education has to do with Christian education. One can hardly find a similar opinion in journals or books on religious education. Chrysostom, however, did not suggest that strangers undertake the role of guides on sexual problems. He wanted parents to be responsible for guiding their children about sexual behaviour. There are, nevertheless, many problems about which parents cannot give answers without the advice of experts. In these cases, the parent must ask the experts and act accordingly.<sup>392</sup> In order to stress the need of taking the experts' advice Chrysostom mentioned a discussion about sexual desire which he had with doctors.<sup>393</sup> There is almost a complete absence of opinions about the place sexual education should have in Christian education. However, Spencer Leeson touched upon the problem with sensitivity and responsibility in complete agreement with Chrysostom: «Sex education's right place is in the children's homes and the right teachers of it to the children are their parents. But for some strange reason- shyness or ignorance or sheer indifference- many fathers and mothers leave this their obvious natural duty undone, and the schools, to their honour, try to fill the gap. The

---

<sup>391</sup> PG 61,320.

<sup>392</sup> PG 47,332.

<sup>393</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.690; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.117.

teaching they give must be and is assisted by biology and physiology».<sup>394</sup> Leeson continued that nobody can teach a boy or a girl using a scientific account of the reproductive process beginning and ending with answers about what their sex organs are unless they also teach them what they themselves are for, and that carries us straight forward to religion. Leeson's opinions are psychologically based, and the arguments given are strong and persuasive. The central idea is that teaching about homosexuality, the sexual act, contraceptives and so forth, should not take place in large classes but in its proper place; the proper place is where there is a governing purpose and a clear first principle, when we act upon the belief as to what children are and what we want to help them become. For Leeson these factors lead to «a natural function of a spiritual being directed, as all human activities should be directed, towards a moral end».<sup>395</sup>

The habit of castration was completely wrong for Chrysostom as a measure of controlling desire. He had many reasons for thinking this. Firstly, he believed that the organs of reproduction are as holy as the heart, eyes and other parts of the body. Removing these parts of the body was for him an offence to nature itself and to God because he created them for the continuity of the human race.<sup>396</sup> On the other hand, this measure would be proved useless because some eunuchs found themselves full of desire because desire is located in human nature itself and not in particular parts of the body.<sup>397</sup>

After marriage continence is difficult. Women who use the excuse of love of continence to avoid the sexual act will soon push their husbands to commit adultery.<sup>398</sup>

---

<sup>394</sup> Leeson, *Christian Education Reviewed*, p. 16.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-17.

<sup>396</sup> PG 61, 258.

<sup>397</sup> PG 62, 690.

<sup>398</sup> PG 58, 768.



To control a biological need such as sexual desire<sup>399</sup> is hard but it is not an unattainable task. A complete summary of what a Christian can do to control the sinful movements of desire can be found in Chrysostom's homily on virginity.<sup>400</sup> The main points regarding the control of desire are the following: one must do everything he can to keep his thoughts clean, to fast, to keep the commandments.<sup>401</sup> Chrysostom mentioned all these ways of controlling sexual desire for the unmarried only. As for married couples, it was the woman's duty to keep her husband satisfied and so away from any illegal relationship.<sup>402</sup>

Another way to control desire is to avoid situations which might arouse it, such as looking wickedly upon a woman, and frequenting the theatre.<sup>403</sup> The habit of malice will lead those who surrender to it into the power of the devil.<sup>404</sup> Malice includes not only evil deeds but also evil thought. The statement of the Gospel that when one commits adultery in one's heart it is the same as if one committed it in reality, is repeated in Chrysostom's writings about debauchery.<sup>405</sup>

**6.2.2 The right way to behave towards those who have sinned:** Chrysostom approached the question of the right behaviour towards those who have sinned in the same way as he approached all moral questions. He strongly and persuasively discussed all aspects of the harm that committing sin can cause to the soul. He, nevertheless,

---

<sup>399</sup> PG 48, 551.

<sup>400</sup> PG 48, 533-599.

<sup>401</sup> PG 48, 551.

<sup>402</sup> PG 62, 499.

<sup>403</sup> PG 60, 505.

<sup>404</sup> PG 54, 519.

<sup>405</sup> PG 58, 769; 58, 768.

always had in mind the case of a sin who has been committed. He in no case wanted to let down a person who might have sinned. He used every possible way to stop sin but at the same time he was ready to give all his love and compassion to the sinners. He was very careful not to give the impression that it was easy to fight against evil and temptation. He declared clearly, however, that it was easier to fight temptation without tasting it first than to fight the habit which a life of sinful passion bring about. An athlete of Christ can be anybody who wants to gain eternal life even if he or she has fallen into great error. The only thing which matters is to allow repentance to lead the sinner to an attitude of true philosophy which leads the soul to salvation.

The first advice Chrysostom gave to parents who were worried about their children living an immoral life, was to support them,<sup>406</sup> without punishment or any other kind of condemnation. He regarded the slandering of Christians who had fallen into moral sins as yet another problem for them. He described the pillorying of the debauched as a nail in their body.<sup>407</sup> On the contrary, he asked Christians to show kindness and succour to sinners.

Chrysostom quoted two scenes from the Bible to support his views about the correct way to confront who sinned. The first is the example of Christ when He accepted the tears of the harlot's repentance.<sup>408</sup> The second quotation from the Bible is taken from the Old Testament. It is given by Chrysostom as an exegesis of the version «the Spirit gives life» (2 Cor. 3,6.) Thus, the Holy Spirit gives life, being full of mercy and forgiveness of sin. This loving attitude is the best example helping to forgive our

---

<sup>406</sup> PG 62,110; 54,517-518.

<sup>407</sup> PG 62,103.

<sup>408</sup> PG 61, 278.

brothers' sins.<sup>409</sup>

Many other subjects are related to the right upbringing of Christian children. They, nevertheless, could not be included in this research because of its limitations. However, the following ideas of Chrysostom are worthy of further exploration: the entertainment which suits a Christian; rewards and punishments; the role of gender in education, family, society and the Church; freedom in education; the meaning and the right usage of wealth.

---

<sup>409</sup> PG 61, 438.

## 7. CONCLUSION

Although Chrysostom's treatise *On Education and the Right Way For Parents to Bring Up Their Children* is considered as the oldest comprehensive teaching on Christian education, hundreds of books and periodicals, as well as encyclopaedias, exclude his name from their pages when discussing the history of Christian Education. The fact that Chrysostom's treatise was excluded from Migne's edition because its authenticity was disputed, resulted in him not having the place he deserves among the other educationalists. The tract came to light in 1907, when Haidacher published a German version of it,<sup>410</sup> and also in 1914 when a new edition of the Greek text was brought out by Franz Schulte.<sup>411</sup> Since then all those who are interested in Christian education have been able to study it. Still, the truth is that the rest of Chrysostom's work, which is included in the editions of Migne and others, has not been fully studied. We must not forget, though, that John Chrysostom made his mark on the educational practices of his time and also on the Church. Trying to give answers to the dogmatic and moral problems of his congregation, he preached every Sunday and sometimes (during Lent) every day in front of hundreds of people. His fame extended beyond Antioch to Constantinople and to Rome. A proof that Chrysostom's ideas soon circulated widely to far away areas is that Augustine was familiar with his theological ideas and in one case tried to defend him against the Pelagians.<sup>412</sup>

Chrysostom tried to give answers to moral problems by helping Christians on practical subjects. He was also interested in setting Christian education in a context

---

<sup>410</sup> Haidacher, S., *Des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus, Buchlein über Hoffart und Kindererziehung samt einer Blumenlese über Jugenderziehung aus seinen Schriften übersetzt und herausgegeben* (Freiburg, 1907).

<sup>411</sup> Schulte, F., *Johannes Chrysostomus, De inani gloria et de educandis liberis* (Munster, 1914).

<sup>412</sup> See present thesis p.37.

which would bring about the formation of a Christian character, which would aim for the salvation of the soul. Pagan education and philosophy were for him inferior to Christian education and philosophy, because they could not lead to the salvation of the soul. Chrysostom believed that only the grace of the Holy Spirit could implant the seeds of the truly spiritual life into souls.

Chrysostom believed that parents can make major mistakes during the first stages of a child's life. He underlined the constancy parents should show from the beginning of their children's lives, because children can develop habits and keep them for the rest of their lives. It is also necessary for parents to be careful about what examples they give to their children, who have the natural tendency to copy their parents' habits and ways of thinking. Things which we believe cause no harm to our children could nevertheless make them selfish and- in the case of boys- effeminate. Chrysostom mentioned the custom of offering expensive clothes and jewels to the infant. Such gifts are not only of no use to a future athlete of Christ but, moreover, can permanently harm any effort for salvation. Chrysostom wanted the same treatment to be given to future bishops, future ascetics, future heads of families, future leaders or simple citizens, because they all had the same aim in life, that is, salvation. Therefore, because life's aim is the same for everybody, education and upbringing must be the same. Chrysostom's opinion is opposed to those of some other fathers of the church who believe that different groups in society should have different education and different targets in their upbringing.<sup>413</sup>

Chrysostom tried hard to persuade his contemporaries that education which was not Christian was no education at all. The content of education during that particular

---

<sup>413</sup> See present thesis p.47.

transitional period which came after the persecutions and was leading to a completely Christian society, should reject everything concealing idolatry. Chrysostom believed that the Bible and other Christian literature were enough to educate young people, giving them all the resources which they needed to be saved. It is obvious that for Chrysostom there was no distinction between education and Christian education. It is essential to point out that Chrysostom handles the Bible with an extraordinary dexterity, making it immediately applicable to his congregation's daily problems. Frederic Henry Chase, evaluating Chrysostom's use of the Bible, points out that "no man ever more powerfully brought religious teaching to bear upon the common life of men. No commentator ever spoke or wrote more profoundly influenced by the needs of his own generation."<sup>414</sup> Likewise Baur argues that it fell to Chrysostom "to honor the Holy Scriptures by the best possible teaching and edification of the people" and "in that he succeeded without any doubt, better than any of his contemporaries."<sup>415</sup>

Chrysostom's impressive ability to quote long passages of scripture,<sup>416</sup> and his skill in introducing fitting quotations and synonymous passages from all parts of scripture astonishes everyone who studies his writings. And yet, as Baur observes, there is no indication that Chrysostom "had ever known or possessed a concordance for preachers."<sup>417</sup>

Chrysostom repeatedly expresses his great respect and reverence for the scriptures and exhorts his congregation to listen willingly and take into account every detail of the

---

<sup>414</sup> Chase, *Chrysostom, a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co, 1887) p.18.

<sup>415</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time, v.1 Antioch* p.321.

<sup>416</sup> Cf., PG 51,51; 54,188; 48,892; 48,896; 48,970; 48,724.

<sup>417</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time, v.1 Antioch* p.316.

scriptures.<sup>418</sup> He underlined the necessity of studying the scriptures, arguing that their purpose is to correct of the behaviour of human beings,<sup>419</sup> that they are a resource of edification,<sup>420</sup> and declaring that without this study salvation is absolutely impossible.<sup>421</sup> Ignorance of the scriptures, according to Chrysostom, is the deeper, underlying cause of many evils, such as succumbing to the errors of heresy or the attractions of a life of sin.<sup>422</sup>

The spread of monasticism and its ideals in and around Antioch influenced not only Chrysostom's educational ideas but also his life. He devoted himself to the monastic ideals of ascetic perfection and sanctification, arguing that not only monks but all Christians should be committed to the pursuit of the monastic ideals. For Chrysostom there is no distinction between the ascetic and the secular life, and so Christian education should spread these values to everybody.<sup>423</sup> According to Chrysostom, education and life shared the same aim: they both existed to enable the soul's salvation. His strong confidence in education was based on the belief that it was a powerful factor which could change society into a Christian community. According to Chrysostom, Christian education comprises the methods and the means of teaching, relationships between teachers and pupils, the role of parents in the education of their children, relationships between parents and teachers, the characteristics of teachers, their qualifications and the issue of punishments and rewards.

Chrysostom lists a huge number of quotations outlining the virtues and special

---

<sup>418</sup> PG 53,175; 53,206-207; 54,414. 59,57; 54,523, 53,32.

<sup>419</sup> PG 56,313.

<sup>420</sup> PG 54,686; 53,321.

<sup>421</sup> PG 48,993.

<sup>422</sup> PG 62,361-362.

<sup>423</sup> Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Church*, pp.141-142; cf., PG 62,152; 48,992-994; 57,30.

characteristics teachers should possess. In general terms he wanted teachers who were dedicated to the task of encouraging the souls of children to live in an atmosphere of faith and morality. For Chrysostom, nevertheless, faith was not simply some extra qualification which a teacher might have; it was a necessary requirement for anyone who intended to teach others the way to salvation, helping them to control their passions and their love of earthly things. Their presence in a child's life should be part of what that child needs to realize the true philosophy that will lead to a saintly life. According to Chrysostom a good teacher must be a spiritually developed person, an expert in the educational process and full of love for all his pupils. It was also the belief of educationalists after Chrysostom that those who were going to teach religion should themselves be religious.<sup>424</sup>

According to Chrysostom, parents should be their children's first teachers. The example they give of how to lead a pure Christian life would be the best way to teach a follower of Christ. In no case should they misbehave because they are responsible not only for their own souls but also those of their children. A further duty of parents and teachers is to protect children from evil entertainment, and evil thoughts. Nevertheless, good Christians should stand by those who have sinned, helping and encouraging them not to despair but to repent.

Chrysostom's views on how parents should deal with children who behave badly was radical. He argued that it is not right for parents to feel offended every time their children do not behave correctly. It is selfish to think of ourselves instead of the good of our children. The main advice Chrysostom gave to those parents who were worried about their children living an immoral life, was to accept them, without any kind of

---

<sup>424</sup> See present thesis pp. 45, 46, 48.



punishment or condemnation. He regarded critical comments about Christians who had fallen into moral sins as negative reinforcement. He described the pillorying of the debauched as nails in their bodies. On the contrary, he asked Christians to show kindness and succour to sinners. The way Chrysostom viewed the treatment of sinners was original to his time because it was accepted then that badly behaved children should be disowned or rejected. One has only to glance at the contemporary Roman law which determined the rights of the head of the family to see this: "Patria potestas was the power of a Roman male ascendant, normally father or grandfather (paterfamilias), over descendants through males (liberi), provided that his marriage was valid in Roman law, and over adopted children. This power was seen by lawyers as practically unique to Roman citizens... The paterfamilias also had power of life and death over children. This was exercised soon after birth, when a father chose to acknowledge and rear a child or not to do so. Legends and some accounts from the historic period show paterfamilias executing, banishing, or disowning adult children. Private judicial action, normally on the advice of a council, shows the exercise of patria potestas; execution of traitorous or insubordinate sons by public officials, such as the famous execution of the Bruti (509 BC) or Torquatus (340) by consular fathers exemplify paternal severity in a public role. Sons are portrayed as liable to punishment chiefly for offences against the state, daughters for unchastity."<sup>425</sup>

In opposition to the cruelty towards children encouraged by Roman law Chrysostom asked for an affectionate relationship between family members. He gave characteristic advice in support of bringing up children with leniency: "Let him rather at all times fear blows but not receive them. Threaten him with the taws, but do not lay

---

<sup>425</sup> Hornblower S., and Spawforth A., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1122-1123

it on and do not let thy threats proceed to action. Do not let it appear that thy words do not pass the stage of threats; for a threat is only of use when attended by the belief that it will be put into effect."<sup>426</sup> Chrysostom, who seemed so severe in his advice on how to prevent sin, was very lenient with regard to those who had sinned. In opposition to the laws and customs of his time, he called forth all the love he had for sinners, like a good shepherd, and in doing so he gave us another insight into what our attitude towards those who sin should be.

Chrysostom was perfectly at ease when discussing sexual desire and how to deal with it correctly. He frequently stated his opinions in discussions with parents about the problems of teenagers. We can find a complete summary of his opinion in the treatise *On education*. Because desire is God's gift, it could be assumed that He is therefore responsible for any immorality which it might cause. Chrysostom knew that some people would think in this way and for this reason he stated that immorality is not a result of sexual desire, but rather an unnatural action brought about by the mishandling of desire. Nevertheless, an athlete of Christ could be anybody who wants to gain eternal life, even if he or she has fallen into the sin of immorality. What is important is to allow repentance to lead the sinner to an attitude of real spirituality, which will in turn lead the soul to salvation.

Sexual desire greatly concerned Chrysostom. He systematized his ideas on how to deal with the problem, should it arise, in his homilies, and especially in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education* where there are more than twenty references to this subject. One has the feeling that the tract was written for exactly this purpose: to give instructions about how a parent can bring up a child in an atmosphere of chastity by

---

<sup>426</sup> Laistner par. 30 pp.99-100.

offering systematic advice covering all sides of the problem.

According to Chrysostom, desire is a gift from God which allows the procreation of children. Even though desire is God's gift, He should never be held responsible for acts of moral aberration. Passion must be controlled by enforcing chastity before marriage and encouraging a limitation of sexual activity with one's spouse afterwards.

Even today Chrysostom's attitudes towards sexual education can be seen as pioneering. He wanted the church to discuss the relevant problems with all the interested parties (doctors, parents, teachers etc.) aiming to be helpful and offer correct advice to its young members. Nowadays, the Church has not managed to undertake, as it should have, a central role in sexual education.

Apparently Chrysostom, and his educational ideas, have been underrated, despite the fact that he is the first Christian writer whose educational opinions have been preserved. The present thesis tried to draw out these ideas in the certainty that modern education has a lot to gain from their study. His views on discipline, freedom, the relationships between parents and teachers and pupils and teachers, and sexual desire, could be of value to the present and provide food for thought for modern educationalists.

These ideas could also lay the foundations of a new direction in pedagogy, one which would be rooted in Christianity and aim to influence not only the development of children's characters and intellect, but also their salvation, which is the greatest mission of Christianity in all ages and places. Solutions to the deadlocks which modern education and society face must be tried out in different forms and philosophies like those offered by great Church Fathers like Chrysostom.

## 8. APPENDIX: JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S TREATISES ON EDUCATION

### 1. The treatise «Περὶ Παίδων Ἀνατροφῆς» (On children's upbringing):

Chrysostom's preoccupation with education is a summary of what great Fathers of the Early Church were thinking about children and their upbringing. Studying his homilies one can understand that youth was his priority because he did not miss the opportunity to say something about it. His interest was based on his faith that children were the future of the Church and the hope for a Christian society.

His two treatises on education are considered as the first and the best examples of Christian Education. It is worthwhile spending some time and space in this research on the study of the contents of these two treatises. Even if Chrysostom made thousands of references on education and to the right up bringing of children in his homilies and letters, his two treatises on education, illustrate his ideas to their best advantage. Speaking about the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* Kelly said: «Although one suspects young people may have found his prescriptions for training them as 'athletes for Christ' somewhat cramping, the book is the earliest surviving manual setting out a comprehensive programme for the moral and spiritual formation of young Christians at home, in addition to the education they received at school.»<sup>427</sup>

The treatise *On Children's Upbringing*, is smaller than *On Vainglory and Education*. It covers only seven columns in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Nevertheless, it can be characterized as a miniature of the other treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, because of the similar ideas which they contain.

The main idea of the *Egloga De Liberatorum Educatione*<sup>428</sup> is again the salvation

---

<sup>427</sup> Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, p 86.

<sup>428</sup> PG 63, 764-772

of the soul. Education is a means for the salvation of the soul and nothing else. The central ideas of the small treatise are the following: pure love for children is necessary for the salvation of the soul;<sup>429</sup> the only concern of good parents must be to help their children to obtain virtue and not gold;<sup>430</sup> friends can lead children away from the goal of life;<sup>431</sup> the act of neglecting his children's decency puts a father to the same position as an infanticide;<sup>432</sup> the whole family must be united when punishing children. No member of the family must take the part of the children when the father rebukes them.<sup>433</sup>

**2. Authenticity of the treatise:** «Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεῖς ἡναγρέφειν τὰ τέκνα»: The authenticity of the first treatise «Περὶ Κενοδοξίας καὶ ἡνατροφῆς τῶν παιδῶν» (On Vainglory and the Education of Children), was disputed and its value was diminished for many centuries. For that reason it is useful to quote points which show its authenticity clearly. The tract was not included in collected editions of Chrysostom's works because its authenticity was questioned, and so it was not until 1914 that a new edition of the Greek text was brought out by Franz Schulte. Haidacher published a German version seven years earlier, in 1907, adding a valuable introduction and a selection of extracts from other homilies by Chrysostom which are concerned with education and kindred topics. Haidacher's greatest service was to prove that the treatise was genuine and the doubts of the Benedictine editors were unjustified.<sup>434</sup>

---

<sup>429</sup> PG 63, 763-764.

<sup>430</sup> PG 63, 765.

<sup>431</sup> PG 63, 765.

<sup>432</sup> PG 63, 765.

<sup>433</sup> PG 63, 768.

<sup>434</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, pp.75-76.

The diarist John Evelyn who published anonymously in 1659 an English version, omitted the opening section on Vainglory. He obviously thought that the two parts of the treatise did not belong to the same tract because the transition in the address from one part to the other is abrupt. Possibly, this was also one of the reasons for which its authenticity was disputed. Nevertheless, such sudden digressions from one theme to the other are quite common in Chrysostom's oratorical style.

There are many parallel subjects and images between this work and other writings by Chrysostom. This phenomenon is not uncommon in his writings because he did not follow the rules of *rhetoric* even if he knew them very well. He spoke again and again on the same subject. «So he spoke in the famous twenty Pillar homilies of the year 387, at least twenty times, one after the other, on frivolous cursing and swearing ... Forty times on almsgiving alone; he spoke some thirteen times on poverty, more than thirty times against wrongly acquired and wrongly used wealth; all in all, ninety or a hundred sermons on the social themes of poverty and wealth».<sup>435</sup> He justified these repetitions, which were expressed differently on each occasion as follows:

Ἄλλ' ἴσως ἐρεῖ τις καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης διαλέγει καὶ φιανθρωπίας ἡμῖν. Οὐδὲ παύσομαι τοῦτο λέγων. Εἰ μὲν γάρ κατάρθωτο ὑμῖν τοῦτο, μάλιστα μὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἀποστῆναι ἐχρῆν, ὥστε μὴ ποιεῖσθαι ραθυμοτέρους.

But perhaps some one will say, «Thou art every day discoursing to us of almsgiving and humanity.» For if ye had attained to it, in the first place, not even so ought I to desist, for fear of making you the more remiss.<sup>436</sup>

Chrysostom found it necessary to speak about the same things again and again as the result of his endless desire to prepare his congregation for the strong fight for

<sup>435</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, p.217.

<sup>436</sup> PG 58, 779; Library of the Fathers, 3, p.1151-1152.

spiritual perfection. Making use of this habit of repetition and examining the similarity of topics and words between the treatise and other writings of Chrysostom, should enable us to prove its authenticity.

**3. Similar topics in other homilies of Chrysostom:** The treatise is strongly related to many other works of Chrysostom. Common subjects, method, diction and style show that they all have their origin in the same person. In his treatise, Chrysostom's main topics are vanity, the Church's schism, the right upbringing of children, and the greater importance of the soul than of the mind.

**3.1 The schism:** In Chrysostom's tenth and eleventh homilies on Ephesians, many things are mentioned, which are directly connected with the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*. First is the question in the very beginning of the treatise

Ἄρά τις ἐποίησεν ὡς ἐρώσῃ;

Has anybody done what I asked? <sup>437</sup>

which refers to the end of the tenth homily of the commentary on the Letter to Ephesians:

Παρακαλέσωμεν, ἑξομολογησώμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων αὐτῷ χάριν ὁμολογήσωμεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων αἰτῶμεν, ἵνα καταξιωθῶμεν, τοῦ θηρίου τούτου τοῦ χαλεποῦ καὶ δεινοτάτου ἀπαλλαγέντες, χάριν ἀναπέμψαι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί.

Let us implore, let us confess unto Him, let us give thanks unto Him for what is past, let us entreat Him for what is to come, that we may be counted worthy to be delivered from this fierce and most terrible monster, and to lift up our thanksgivings to the kind and loving God and Father. <sup>438</sup>

<sup>437</sup> E.P.E. 30 p. 620; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 85.

<sup>438</sup> PG 62,76; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.219.

At the time of Chrysostom's sojourn in Antioch, the ecclesiastical life of the great city was beset by many problems, both internal and external. There existed the heathens, the Jews, the heretics (Arians, Anomeans, Apollinarians). Nevertheless Chrysostom worried about another problem to which he gave the name "monster". A monster was for Chrysostom the schism in the Church which was a reflection of the theological tensions and disagreements «about the nature of the Trinity-more precisely, about the relation of the Son and the Father, and then somewhat later about the status of the Holy Spirit.»<sup>439</sup> After the council of Nicaea (325) some Christians remained loyal to the Nicene principle of the Son's full divinity and some others who were the majority gave emphasis to the distinction of the Father and the Son as «persons» and they preferred to describe their relationship with the term «likeness». The government adopted the «likeness» formulae «to achieve as wide a measure of Christian unity as possible.»<sup>440</sup> Six years after Arius's condemnation by the Council of Nicaea, a synod in Antioch removed the Nicene-minded bishop and patriarch Eustathius, and for many years his successors were sympathetic to Arianism. Those who were devoted to the Nicene creed gathered around the priest Paulinus. Thus the strict Catholics were called «Eustathians» or «Paulinians». Paulinus received, officially, his episcopal consecration thirty years later in 362 when bishop Lucifer of Cagliari went to Antioch to heal the schism among the Catholics without being invited to do so; he thought it right to consecrate Paulinus bishop when Meletius was exiled to Armenia. Thus there were two «orthodox» bishops of Antioch Paulinus and Meletius<sup>441</sup> and two Arian groups, the semi-Arians and the Arians.

---

<sup>439</sup> Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, p.10.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>441</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v.1 *Antioch*, pp. 50-53



Some twenty years later, while Chrysostom lived and preached in Antioch, the question of unity had made significant progress. The Arians had no power because the Arian bishop Dorotheus left the city by command of the emperor, and no successor was appointed. As for the congregation of Paulinus it was very small by then. His only support was from Rome which recognized him as bishop. Paulinus died in 388 and his successor in a wrongful procedure, under ecclesiastical law, was Evagrius. Evagrius was bishop for ten years and he died in 398, shortly after Chrysostom's elevation to Constantinople's Archbishopric. The latter sent an ambassador to Rome when possible to gain the recognition of Flavian. After that, a successor to Evagrius was never appointed and the Antiochian schism was finally ended after seventy years.<sup>442</sup>

The first paragraph of the treatise also describes a similar image of a monster which divides the Church.<sup>443</sup> We can also see more parts of the commentary to the *Epistle to Ephesians* strongly connected with his *Address on vainglory and education*. In relation again to the unity of the Church and the schism he wrote:

Δύο γάρ εἰσὶ διαιρέσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ μία μὲν, ὅταν ψέξωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, δευτέρα δὲ ὅταν ἀνάξια τοῦ τελεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τολμήσωμεν... Οὐδέν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν, ὡς φιλαρχία.

There are two kinds of separation from the body of the church; the one, when we wax cold in love, the other, when we dare to commit things unworthy of our belonging to that body;...Nothing will so avail to divide the Church as love of authority.<sup>444</sup>

The situation in the church was a result of the reasons mentioned before, namely love of authority and vainglory. The problem troubling the church was very serious for

<sup>442</sup> Ibid, pp.396-397.

<sup>443</sup> E.I.F. 30, p.620; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.85.

<sup>444</sup> PG 62, 84; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.228.

Chrysostom. He compares it with a fire which destroys everything. First he mentions the behaviour of Christians to each other. He says that Christians were jealous of each other, causing the Church many troubles. They were forced to jealousy especially when seeing Christians enjoying of honour:

Αὕτη ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τούτων ᾠκοδομεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν τιμίων, καὶ πολὺς πανταχοῦ διέσπαρται ὁ χρυσός.

This Church of which I speak, is not built of these stones, such as we see around us, but of gold and silver, and of precious stones, and there is abundance of gold dispersed every where throughout it.<sup>445</sup>

The other thing which worried Chrysostom was the people who composed the authority of the Church:

Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐμπρησμός ὄντως ἡ σκηπτὸς τις ἄνωθεν φερόμενος, οὕτως εἰς αὐτῶν κατηνέχθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν ὄροφον καὶ οὐδένα διανίστησιν.

Like a conflagration, a conflagration in very deeds, or like a thunderbolt hurled from on high, have they lighted upon the roof of the church, and yet they rouse no one.<sup>446</sup>

Noting all the similar pieces from among the two homilies is a difficult task. Nevertheless it is very easy for everybody to appreciate that both are the works of the same author. Topics used in both homilies are, as was mentioned before, the schism of the Church and vainglory.

**3.2 The right upbringing of children:** Moreover, in the *Commentary on the Epistle to Ephesians* there are more similarities with other homilies showing the origin of the treatise. One of those is the homily to Hannah. Chrysostom in that homily as well as in the treatise, «desires to stress the right training of character as the principal aim of

---

<sup>445</sup> PG 62, 78; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.217.

<sup>446</sup> PG 62, 78; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.216.

Christian education.»<sup>447</sup> «It is not enough to have children only, but also to raise them well. That is what gives a great reward. If your children, continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety, you will have your reward. If you manage to involve them with these, if you pray for them, if you teach them, if you advise them, God will recompense you greatly for your diligence».<sup>448</sup>

We can see the same point in the nineteenth paragraph of the treatise:

Οὐ παύομαι παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν, ὥστε πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑπάντων τέως ὑμῶν ρυθμίζειν τοὺς παῖδας. Εἰ γὰρ φείδῃ τοῦ παιδός, δείξον ἀπὸ τούτου ἄλλως δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἔχεις. Ἀκουε γάρ τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος «ἐάν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ καὶ τῷ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωκροσύνης». Καὶ εἰ σύ μυρία σουτῶ σὺνοιδας κακά, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπινόησον παραμυθίαν τινά τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς.

I shall not cease exhorting and begging and supplicating you before all else to discipline your sons from the first. If thou dost care for thy son, show it thus, and in other ways so thou wilt have thy reward. Hearken to the words of Paul, «if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.»<sup>449</sup>

**3.3 The image of the harlot:** Chrysostom often mentioned the danger which comes from loose morals. He insisted on a life of virginity before marriage for both men and women. He did so often because Antioch again offered opportunities for the opposite. He spoke openly about the problem and we can understand that relations with harlots and free sex was a very common thing.

Similar images of the harlot which Chrysostom gives in the second paragraph of the treatise, can be seen in his fifth homily on the first Epistle to Thessalonians:

Ἄλλ' ἡδεᾶ σοι φαίνεται τὰ τῆς πόρνῃς ῥήματα; Οἶδα καὶ γὰρ ἡ Γραφή

<sup>447</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.81.

<sup>448</sup> PG 54,637-638.

<sup>449</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.638; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95.

τοῦτο φησὶ «Μέλι γάρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς πόρνῃς ...ἥτις πρὸς καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα ὕστερον μέντοι πικρότερον χολῆς εὐρήσεις καὶ μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστόμου.»

But the gestures of a harlot seem agreeable to you. I know it. For the Scripture says, "The lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb...who for a season is smooth to thy throat, but afterwards thou shalt find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than a two-edged sword."<sup>450</sup>

**3.4 The vanity of the theatre:** Of all the different entertainments of his time, the theatre worried Chrysostom the most. A great part of his preaching is devoted to the theatre and the dangers it presented. Someone would be justified in asking oneself whether this was a common subject, something in fashion which was regularly dealt with from the pulpit. The answer is no. Contemporary preachers such as Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great and Cyril of Alexandria were almost never preoccupied with the theatre. Is it possible that Chrysostom insisted on a topic independently of the other Church Fathers? If that were true, then it would seem that the topic was not considered as dangerous as Chrysostom represented it. In all probability Chrysostom was rightly engaged with the problem because for Antioch the theatre and the circus were a great temptation for pagans and for Christians of all ages. Basil and the other Church Fathers were not worried about it because their cities had other problems, but not the theatre and the circus.

In Antioch actors and dancers were very popular. Theatrical shows had usually one subject, that is erotic affairs. Moralists were against the mime moreover, because that was a kind of ballet based on mythology and included presentation of erotic

---

<sup>450</sup> PG 62, 426; Library of the Fathers, II p.392.

scenes.<sup>451</sup> A very representative opinion on the subject is that of Chrysostom:

“Όταν γάρ ἀνέλθῃς εἰς θέατρον, καί καθίσῃς γυμνοῖς μέλεσι γυναικῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐστιῶν, πρὸς μὲν καιρὸν ἡσθῇς, ὕστερον δὲ πολὺν ἐκεῖθεν ἔθρεψας τὸν πυρετόν.»

For when you go up to the theatre, and feast your eyes with the naked limbs of women, for the time indeed you are delighted, but afterwards, you have nourished thence a mighty fever.<sup>452</sup>

Chrysostom could not ignore the opportunity to speak on the problem, especially when he presented his ideas on education to a group of parents. The example below is from the homily on Hannah:

Ποῖον γάρ ἂν γένοιτο κέρδος ἐκ τῆς τῶν δῆμων εὐφημίας; εἰτέ μοι. Τῆς ἐσπέρας γάρ καταλαβούσης εὐθέως ὁ κρότος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ θόρυβος ἅπας μαραίνεται, καὶ παρελθούσης τῆς πανηγύρεως ὥσπερ ὄναρ τρυφήσαντες, οὕτως ἔρημοι πάσης καθίστανται εὐφροσύνης, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στεφάνου οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης φαντασίας ἀπάσης εὐθυμίαν ἐγγινομένην αὐτοῖς ζητοῦντες εὐρεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν, ἀνέμου παντός ταχύτερον παραδραμόντων αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων.

Which is the profit from the crowd's cheering? Tell me. When the evening comes that noise wastes away and after the fair finishes like a dream, in the same way everybody becomes empty of happiness and they cannot find cheerfulness from the crowning nor the luxurious clothing and the other surprising appearances because all of these are passed faster than the wind.<sup>453</sup>

A similar point in the treatise is this:

Τί τό κέρδος; Καί γάρ καί παρ' ἐκεῖνοις ἐφήμερος ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ βοή.

What profits it? For them also the glory and the acclaim are but of a day.<sup>454</sup>

<sup>451</sup> Liebeschuetz, J. W. H. J., *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp.144-145.

<sup>452</sup> PG 62,422; Library of the Fathers, 11 p.393-394.

<sup>453</sup> PG 54, 659.

<sup>454</sup> E.Π.Ε. 30, p.630; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.90.

**3.5 Concerning the appearance of children:** Chrysostom gave attention to the appearance of children. He was very severe with parents and the habits which they passed on to their children. He tried to fight the phenomenon of assimilation between the sexes. Following the opinion of Paul on the subject, he wanted boys, as opposed to women, to have their hair cut. He also insisted on the simplicity of appearance which brought humility.

His ideas on appearance are summarized in the very first paragraph of his treatise *On Vainglory and Education*. This shows again the importance he paid to modesty.<sup>455</sup> In the fifty-third homily on John's Gospel Chrysostom underlined that the example of Christ would be a guide for parents on their presents for children:

Πάλιν ὅταν ἴδῃς αὐτόν ἐπὶ φάτνης κείμενον, οὐ σπουδάσεις τῷ παιδίῳ σου περιθεῖναι κόσμον χρυσοῦν οὐδὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἀργυρένδετον ποιῆσαι κλίνην.

When you see Him lying in the manger do not haste to give gold to your child nor to make a silver bed for your wife.<sup>456</sup>

Again in the thirty-seventh homily on Matthew's Gospel he mentioned hair and a child's appearance in relation to the need for different behaviour and appearance between boys and girls:

Ὁ μὲν γάρ ὀπισθεν ἔχει τὴν κόμην νέος ὢν, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκθηλύνων, καὶ τῷ βλέμματι, καὶ τῷ σχήματι, καὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς εἰς εἰκόνα κόρης ὑπαλῆς ἐκβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ.

That young man who has his hair long behind him, he effeminates the nature in his look, his appearance and clothes, and he tries to seem to the others like a delicate girl.<sup>457</sup>

---

<sup>455</sup> E.I.L.E. 30, p.636; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.93-94.

<sup>456</sup> PG 59, 296.

<sup>457</sup> PG 57, 426.

**4. Lexicographical similarities:** Chrysostom preached for twelve years as a priest in the cathedral, the Great Church of Antioch. From the very beginning of his new office he became the most distinguished preacher in the whole Roman empire. He knew how to attract his audience and how to keep it concentrating on what he was saying. Using comparisons and illustrations he succeeded in creating a language full of liveliness and expressiveness. This was the perfect mediator between the ocean of Chrysostom's thoughts and the souls of his hearer's.

Diction is a classical way for scholars to prove the authenticity or not of a written document. In Chrysostom's writings that is not difficult because he is a writer with very personal characteristics in his homilies. Moreover, his preaching had only one aim, the perfection of Christians. This central purpose brought out the same subjects and terms repeatedly. That makes the study of his diction easier because any book of his shows the repetition of ideas and images, using similar diction but of course employing a pleasant variety of narration.

**4.1 The word «athlete»:** The Olympic Games, the athletic competitions and the races were very common events in Antioch. For Chrysostom and for many Church Fathers like Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil, these events were a source of images. First, Paul in his Epistles<sup>458</sup> used the word *athlete*. Afterwards, many writers used the same image as the symbol of the ascetic life and the life and death of a martyr. The Christian athlete has the world for his arena. His aim is to obtain all of the Christian virtues and his opponents are the «kosmos» and Satan.<sup>459</sup>

---

<sup>458</sup> 2 Tim. 2,5; Heb. 10,32.

<sup>459</sup> Ruether, R. R., *Gregory of Nazianzus Rhetor and Philosopher*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.p.89-90.

The metaphorical use of the word athlete in the nineteenth paragraph of the treatise can be found again in many homilies of Chrysostom. The idea that the parents will have their reward from God for their effort to raise athletes for Christ, can be found in the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* in the twentieth paragraph:

Εἰ γάρ φείδῃ τοῦ παιδός, δεῖξον ἀπό τούτου ἄλλως δέ καί μισθόν ἔχεις... Καί εἰ οὐ μυρία σ' αὐτῷ σύνοιδας κακά, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπινόησον παραμυθίαν τινά τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς. Θρέψον ἀθλητὴν τῷ Χριστῷ... Θρέψον ἀθλητὴν τῷ Χριστῷ καί ἐν κόσμῳ ὄντα δίδαξον εὐλαβῇ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας.

If thou dost care for thy son, show it thus, and in other ways too thou wilt have thy reward... And even if thou art conscious of a myriad vices within thyself, nevertheless devise some compensation for thy vices. Raise up an athlete for Christ... Raise up an athlete for Christ and teach him though he is living in the world to be reverent from his earliest youth.<sup>460</sup>

Here are two relevant examples from different homilies. The first is from the ninth homily on the first Epistle to Timothy, and it referred to the parents and to their reward again:

Ἐν τούτοις οὐ μικρόν ἐξουσι τὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτων μισθόν, ἀλλὰ καί σφόδρα μέγαν, ὅτι ἀθλητὰς ἐθρεψαν τῷ Χριστῷ.

They will get not a small reward but a great one for this because they had raised athletes for Christ.<sup>461</sup>

The second example is from the letter to Stagyrion. Here, Chrysostom used the parable of poor Lazarus to encourage Stagyrion in his own sufferings. He advised his good friend to fight the Devil and he would have his wreath, just as Lazarus did:

Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ τις γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς (ὁ Λάζαρος), ἐν αὐχμῷ καί πνίγει βαρυτάτῳ παλαίῳ, καί ἐνίκησε καί ἐστεφανώθη.

Like a brave athlete wrestling under conditions of bad weather and excessive

---

<sup>460</sup> E.I.E. 30, p.238; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.95.

<sup>461</sup> PG 62, 546.



heatwave, him (Lazarus) won and received the wreath.<sup>462</sup>

**4.2 The word «κενοδοξία» (vainglory):** This word is used often by Chrysostom. It is actually one of his favourite topics in his preaching. Here are a few occasions where he uses the word. In the thirteenth homily on the Epistle to Corinthians:

Καί αὐτοί δέ οἱ ὑβρίζοντες εἰς τό σῶμα τῶν πορνευαμένων γυναικῶν διδόασιν,  
ἡλλ' οὐ φιλανθρωπία τοῦτο, ἀλλά παροινία. Τούτῳ καί ὁ κενόδοξος ἔοικε.

They too that are given to abuse the persons of prostitute women, but this is not loving kindness, but insolent treatment. Like this are the vainglorious also.<sup>463</sup>

In the same homily a few pages further on:

Κενοδοξία πάλιν τά μυρία λυμαίνεται κατορθώματα ἀλλά καί ταύτης πάλιν ἐγγύς  
ἡ πλουτῶν ἐσκήνεται.

Vainglory again damages tens of thousands of good deeds, and near to this again the rich man hath his dwelling.<sup>464</sup>

In the twenty fourth homily on the Acts:

Ἐνὸν καταχεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ, -ἡ ἀνεσις- χάσμην πολλήν καί ραθυμίαν ἐμποιεῖ, τά  
πάθη διεγείρει πάντοθεν, ὀπλίζει τύφον, ὀπλίζει ἡδονήν, ὀπλίζει θυμόν,  
βασκανίαν, κενόδοξίαν, ζῆλον.

It-easy- induces sleep in the soul, an excessive yawning and drowsiness, it stirs up the passions on every side, it arms pride, it arms pleasure, it arms anger, envy, vainglory, jealousy.<sup>465</sup>

Again in the twenty sixth homily on the Acts, when Chrysostom tried to exhort the Christians to pray and especially at nights:

Τότε οὐ κενόδοξία παρενοχλεῖ.

---

<sup>462</sup> PG 47, 439.

<sup>463</sup> PG 61,495; Library of the Fathers, 13, p.168.

<sup>464</sup> PG 61, 496; Library of the Fathers, 13, p.170.

<sup>465</sup> PG 60, 188-189; Library of the Fathers, 6, p.350.

No vainglory then intrudes upon thee.<sup>466</sup>

In his homily on the resurrection of the dead, Chrysostom mentioned vanity on another occasion placing it among the evil desires, which let the person grow inside once they have left:

Ὁ ἕσω ἄνθρωπος ἀνακαινοῦται. Ἀνανδρίας ἐξελαυνομένης ἀπάσης, ἐπιθυμίας σβεννυμένης ἡτόπου, φιλοχρηματίας, κενοδοξίας, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς τῶν διεφθαρμένων λογισμῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἀπάντων.

-The inner person is renewed- When every kind of cowardice is carried away, when the unreasonable desire goes off, when all the bad thoughts are disappeared.<sup>467</sup>

**4.3 The case of Cain:** The case of Abel and Cain seems to be a favourite one for Chrysostom. In most of his homilies one can find a reference to Cain. Chrysostom had a very good knowledge of both the Old and the New Testament. He used this knowledge to substantiate his words and to make them easily accepted. In the treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, Chrysostom used Cain's name because he narrated the whole story with his own words. His aim was not simply to tell the story; he only tried to give a practical example to parents of the best Christian education since a generally accepted system did not exist. He always underlined the value of the Scriptures as the basis for Christian education, because he thought them to be the most credible of all the relevant manuals.<sup>468</sup> The reference to Cain in the treatise covered the thirty-ninth to forty-second paragraphs.<sup>469</sup> Contemporary writers such as Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, also mentioned the name of Cain but not so often and without such

---

<sup>466</sup> PG 60, 202; Library of the Fathers, 6, p.378.

<sup>467</sup> PG 50, 424.

<sup>468</sup> PG 62, 442.

<sup>469</sup> E.P.E. 30, p.657-663; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.102-105.

emphasis as Chrysostom did. In their work of about ten volumes each, we can find Cain's name no more than fifteen times. All these cases referred to him as the symbol of the brother- murderer.

In a homily on the Epistle to Ephesians, Chrysostom says:

Ὁ Κάιν τόν Θεόν ἐπλεονέκτησεν. Ἄ γάρ ἐκείνῳ δοθῆναι ἐχρῆν, παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατασχών, ἅπερ αὐτόν ἔχειν ἔδει, ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ προσήνεγκε, καί τό κακόν ἀπό τοῦ Θεοῦ ἤρξατο.

Cain defrauded God; what ought to have been given to Him, he kept to himself; what he should have kept himself, this he offered to Him; and thus the evil began with robbing God.<sup>470</sup>

In the thirtieth homily on the first Epistle to Corinthians:

Καί γάρ κηροῦ παντός μαλακώτερος ὁ τοιοῦτος, καί αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κάιν ἁθλιώτερον βίον ζῶν, ὑπέρ μέν ὧν πλεονεκτεῖ δεδαικώς, ὑπέρ δέ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει ἁλγῶν.

Yea, and such a man is softer than any wax, and lives a life more wretched than Cain himself. For the things which he hath in excess, he is in fear; for those which he hath he trembles.<sup>471</sup>

In the commentary on the first Epistle to Corinthians, we can read in the seventh homily:

Ἐπεὶ καί ἰσχύς σώματος καλόν' ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἰς δέον ἐχρήσατο αὐτῇ-τήν σύνεσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην- ὁ Κάιν, παρέλυσεν αὐτόν ὁ Θεός καί τρέμειν ἐποίησε.

For strength of body also is an excellent thing, but when Cain used it not as he ought, God struck him with palsy, and made him tremble.<sup>472</sup>

In the same commentary:

Ἐννόησον τόν Κάιν, ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς βασκανίας ἐπετάγη. Ἐπέταξεν ἐκείνῳ σφάξαι τόν ἁδελφόν, ψεύσασθαι τόν Θεόν, λυπῆσαι τόν πατέρα, ἀναισχυνηῆσαι, καί

<sup>470</sup> PG 62, 125; Library of the Fathers, 12, p.295.

<sup>471</sup> PG 61,256; Library of the Fathers, 10, pp. 422-423.

<sup>472</sup> PG 61, 60; Library of the Fathers, 9, p.86.

πάντα ἐποίησε, καὶ παρήκουσε.

Consider Cain, what commands were laid on him by his envy. She ordered him to slay his brother, to lie unto God, to grieve his father, to cast off shame; and he did it all, and in nothing refused to obey.<sup>473</sup>

We can see two more cases where Cain is used for different reasons every time, in the commentary on the second Epistle to Corinthians. One of these is in the fifth homily:

Ὁ Κάιν πάλιν, εἰ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκείνου-τοῦ Θεοῦ- ἐδεδοίκει, ὡς δεδοικέναι ἔδει, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε, «δεῦρο, καὶ ἐξέλθωμεν εἰς τό πεδῖον»

Cain again, had he feared that sentence as he should have feared, would not have said, Come, and let us go into the field.<sup>474</sup>

Here is a last example of the use of the case of Cain which is very common in Chrysostom's commentaries:

Τί γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κάιν ἐν Παραδείσῳ στρεφόμενος καὶ τρυφῆς ἀπολαύων τοσαύτης, ὅπου γε καὶ τούτων ἐστερημένος καὶ τοῦ πατρός τὴν τιμωρίαν παρά ποδός ὁρῶν, οὐδ' αὐτως ἐσωφρονίζετο, ἀλλ' εἰς μείζονα κακίαν ἐξέτιπτε, φόνον πρῶτος αὐτός καὶ εὐρών καὶ τολμήσας, καὶ φόνον τὸν πάντων ἐναγέστερον;

What would not Cain do, living in Paradise and enjoying such pleasure, at the moment which he did not have all these and he watched his father's punishment lying in front of him either then he was brought to reason; moreover he committed a greater malice, since he was the first who conceived and committed the murder which is the most detestable thing.<sup>475</sup>

**4.4 The fruit of Sodom:** Chrysostom seems to have visited Palestine, where he saw something very shattering to him. He saw a tree which he names pomegranate, full of fruit. But when the fruit was touched, it exploded suddenly pouring out ashes and

---

<sup>473</sup> PG 61, 158; Library of the Fathers, 9, p.256.

<sup>474</sup> PG 61, 432; Library of the Fathers, 13, p.72.

<sup>475</sup> PG 47, 430.

dust. Chrysostom was impressed and he could not leave the fact without comment. He made use of the image twice. The first description is in the eighth homily on the first Epistle to Thessalonians, where Chrysostom wanted to prove by that fact, the existence of God's punishment. He said that the fruit of Sodom was the result of the punishment of Sodom. Because, according to his words, that land was previously very fertile but after God's anger nothing could flourish there except the fruit of Sodom which was actually a curse reminding us of hell:

Αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ οὕτως εὐθαλὴς καὶ πρὸς πάσας τὰς χώρας ἀμιλλωμένη, ἡ φθάνουσα τὴν εὐθηνίαν τὸν παράδεισον τοῦ Θεοῦ, πασῶν τῶν ἐρήμων ἐρημοτέρα ἐστὶ νῦν καὶ ἔσθηκε μὲν δένδρα, καὶ καρπὸν ἔχει ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀργῆς ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα. Ἐσθήκασι μὲν ῥόαι, καὶ τὸ ξύλον λέγω καὶ ὁ καρπός, λαμπράν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχουσαι καὶ τῷ ἀγνώπτι παρέχουσαι πολλὰς τὰς ἐλπίδας· εἰ δὲ ληφθεῖεν εἰς χεῖρας, διακλασθεῖσαι καρπὸν μὲν οὐδένα, κόνιν δὲ τέφραν πολλὴν δεικνύουσιν ἐναποκειμένην ἔνδον.

This, therefore, that was so flourishing, and that rivaled all countries, which for fruitfulness exceeded the Paradise of God, is now more desolate than any wilderness. And there stand trees, indeed, and they bear fruit. But the fruit is a monument of the wrath of God. For there stand pomegranates, I speak both of the trees and the fruit, having a very fine appearance, and to the ignorant holding out great hopes. But if they are taken into the hand, being broken open they display no fruit indeed, but much dust and ashes stored up within.<sup>476</sup>

In the second case, in his treatise *On Vainglory and Education*, Chrysostom used the same phenomenon as a symbol of vainglory. He once again made use of his characteristic method according to which he used every verse and every image to serve every different aim he wished to pursue.<sup>477</sup>

## 5. The two different subjects: A reason for which editors of the past did not

<sup>476</sup> PG 62, 442; Library of the Fathers, 13, p. 419.

<sup>477</sup> E.I.L.E. 30, p.624; Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.87.

accept the treatise as an authentic work of Chrysostom, might be the abrupt transition from the first part on Vainglory to the second on the right upbringing of children. A reason is that «his genius as a speaker was such, his ideas and imagery were so copious that, as soon as a new thought struck him, he had to give it instant expression. Such asides are natural and unforced, and he returns easily to his main theme. When we remember, therefore, that he regarded Vainglory as at the root of the moral and social evils which his system of education was meant to remedy, we can see that the connection in thought is very close, even though the verbal transition is sudden».<sup>478</sup>

We can see a sudden transition like that from one subject to the other in the second homily on the Ascension of Christ. Chrysostom speaks there for some ten pages on the appearance of Christ to Thomas, some four on the Book of Acts, another ten on other appearances of Christ after His resurrection and then, in the last four or five on the Ascension.<sup>479</sup>

A second reason for the sudden changes of subject is that Chrysostom showed a strong preference for moral subjects such as charity, the right use of wealth, fasting, vanity, and love. His concern was to give strength and stability to his congregation and not to flatter himself and his listeners with empty words. That is why he sometimes used hard language to those who fell into error or did not behave according to the rules of faith.<sup>480</sup> Because of this desire of his again, he changed subjects suddenly in one homily or among several homilies on the same verse of the Scripture in order to say more on moral subjects.

Chrysostom often started to analyze a verse from a Gospel or Epistle and was led

---

<sup>478</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p.76

<sup>479</sup> PG 51,773-792.

<sup>480</sup> PG 60,203-210, 209-214; 48,883-904.

on to a moral subject. Consider, for example, the central topics of his fifty-five homilies on the Book of Acts. Here are the first ten of them: one must not postpone baptism; against the Greeks and on the Resurrection; the choice of bishops and the difficulties of the office; against the heresies; against the Greeks; against those who get angered; about naivete; about virtue and not to swear; against malice and swearing; against swearing.<sup>481</sup> This example shows clearly that he waited for the opportunity to answer questions on doctrine or on morality. Even if the treatise *On Vainglory and Education* had the aim only to guide parents on the right upbringing of their children, he found it useful to spend some minutes on the problem of theatre which always puzzled his congregation.

**6. Manuscripts:** The text is preserved in two manuscripts, but its authenticity has been disputed. For this reason great patristic editors such as Savile, Montfaucon, Fronton du Duc and Migne do not include it. The two manuscripts which include the Address are Parisinus graecus 764 and Lesbos 42. Both manuscripts were copied late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century.

The first discovered manuscript is in the Codex Parisinus which was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. A second one was discovered by Papadopoulos -Kerameus in 1881 at the Greek island Mitilene (or Lesbos) and is described in a catalogue of 1885.<sup>482</sup> Chrysostom Baur stated that he discovered this second manuscript. His own words are: «Meanwhile I discovered a second manuscript in Lesbos».<sup>483</sup>

---

<sup>481</sup> PG 60,13-85.

<sup>482</sup> Quasten, *Patrology*, v.3: *The Golden Book of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*, pp. 465-466.

<sup>483</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v.1 *Antioch*, p. 179.

**7. Editions:** The Dominican Francois Combefis printed the treatise in 1659 for the first time and added a Latin translation. John Evelyn in 1659 issued an English version, omitting the first fifteen paragraphs on Vainglory. This translation, together with some other short essays by Evelyn, was reissued in 1825 by William Upcott. S. Haidacher aroused fresh interest with his publication of a German translation. In the introduction of the book he argued against the rejection of its authenticity. He added an interesting introduction and a selection of extracts from various homilies by Chrysostom in which education and kindred topics are discussed.<sup>484</sup> Haidacher's greatest service was to prove conclusively that the treatise was genuine and that doubts of the Benedictine editors and others had been unjustified.<sup>485</sup> Haidacher died in 1908 without managing to publish a new critical edition of the Greek text.

In 1914 Franz Schulte published a new critical edition of the Greek text. Both Haidacher and Schulte based their opinion regarding the book's authenticity on the relation of the book with the tenth and eleventh homilies on the Epistle to Ephesians. There, Chrysostom speaks against pride, showing off and vanity. Also they managed to show its similarity to Chrysostom's authentic writings in vocabulary, structure, language and topics.

W.L.M. Laistner has also published a translation of the book at the end of his book *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire*. The book was published in 1951 in New York by Cornell University Press.

A modern Greek edition was published in 1987 as a regular addendum to Chrysostom's works in the thirtieth volume of a series of more than forty volumes on

---

<sup>484</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 76.

<sup>485</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 76.



the work of John Chrysostom.<sup>486</sup> This edition of the Greek publications on the works of the Greek Fathers of the Church was started in 1978 and is not yet completed.

**8. Dating the book:** The first sentence of the book is a question to his audience: «I wonder, if any of you did what I have asked for. Has anybody begged God for me and the body of the church, to put out the fire which became from vanity, the fire which destroys the whole body, the fire which separates the one body into many pieces and tears love up?» The writer refers to his previous homily, which is the tenth homily on the Epistle to Ephesians, where he asks the Christians to pray for the church. This is the first evidence used by Haidacher in his effort to assign the treatise. He believed that the treatise was written about the end of the Fourth Century and not before 393, when he considered the Commentary of Ephesians to have been produced. Haidacher based his conclusions about the authenticity of the book on its many similarities to Chrysostom's admittedly authentic writings, especially in the choice of vocabulary, the structure, and the language as well as the repeat of favorite topics. The comparison of the opening of the treatise with the tenth homily on the Epistle to Ephesians made Schulte as well as Haidacher assign both works to Antioch and the year 393.

In his tenth and eleventh homilies on the Epistle to Ephesians, Chrysostom also mentions the party of two persons named Paulinus and Evagrius who were both Arian bishops. Evagrius, the successor of Paulinus was already dead by 397 and so, we must assign the Commentary to an earlier date.

The other scholars who were involved in attempts to assign the treatise, such as Stiltling, Montfaucon and Bonsdorff, considered its date of origin as being between 386

---

<sup>486</sup> Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἔργα, in 42 volumes (Greek Fathers of the Church, John Chrysostom's writings), Byzantium, 1978-1990.

and 397.<sup>487</sup> Of course in every effort to date the treatise, we must have in mind that with all his inexhaustible variety of expression, metaphor, and illustrative examples, the preacher returns again and again and at different periods of his life to the same broad topics. One of these is education, or rather the moral training, of the young; others are the dangers of riches and vanity and their resultant evils, the immorality of the times as shown in the circus and the theatre, and the prevalence of pederasty.<sup>488</sup>

This precious diamond in the history of education was buried in darkness for many centuries, but since the seventeenth century everyone has been able to read and know it. It happens to be the first comprehensive teaching on Christian education in a complete and independent form.<sup>489</sup> It is also considered as the oldest manuscript dealing with Christian education.<sup>490</sup> The book was given the title «The Golden Book on the education of children» and it was probably written during Chrysostom's deaconship or early priesthood.<sup>491</sup>

The method of illustration which Chrysostom very often uses to enliven his sermons is used once more in his «Golden Book». Images from life and nature are compared with the child and his world. Through them, Chrysostom gives an interesting presentation of his educational ideas. These ideas must be studied in a critical way and in relation to the educational system of his times.

---

<sup>487</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, pp. 170-173.

<sup>488</sup> Laistner, *John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory*, p. 81.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid p. 172.

<sup>490</sup> Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, v. I *Antioch*, p. 170.

<sup>491</sup> If the date of his birth is 347 and because he was ordained a deacon in 381 when he wrote this treatise he should be of less than forty years old.

## 9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources:

- Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 1-10, PG 20, 45-906.
- Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, PG 47, 5-82.
- Plutarch, *Selected Essays*. (Tr. by Tucher, T.G.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).
- Socrates *A History of the Church in Seven Books* (The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the first six centuries of the Christian Era, v.3; London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844).
- Sozomen *A History of the Church in Nine Books* (The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the first six centuries of the Christian Era, v.4; London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844).
- Theodoretus *A History of the Church in Five Books* (The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the first six centuries of the Christian Era, v.5; London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844).
- The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom*, (Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church (In fourteen volumes; Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843).
- Augustine, Saint., *Confessions* (Tr. by H. Chadwick; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Guide Press, 1966).
- E.Π.Ε. "Ελληνες Πατέρες της Εκκλησίας, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἔργα, (Original text with modern Greek translation, Greek Fathers of the Church, John Chrysostom's writings in 42 volumes; Thessaloniki: Patristic Publications Gregory Palamas, 1978-1990).
- PG *Patrologia Graeca* of J. P. Migne (*Patrologiae cursus completus*, Paris, 1857-1862) In volumes 47-64.

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| PG 47, 319-386.  | Πρός τούς πολεμοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τό μονάζειν ἐνάγουσιν  |
| PG 47, 411-422.  | Πρός Στελέχιον  |
| PG 47, 423-494.  | Πρός Σταγείριον δαιμονιῶντα   |
| PG 48, 533-596.  | Περὶ Παρθενίας  |
| PG 48, 623-692.  | Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης  |
| PG 48, 701-756.  | Περὶ Ἀκαταλύπτου.   |
| PG 48, 755-812.  | Περὶ Ὁμοουσίου  |
| PG 48, 813-838.  | Πρός τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλλήνας ἀπόδειξις, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός ὁ Χριστός<br>ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις πολλαχοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων. |
| PG 48, 843-942.  | Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων   |
| PG 48, 963-1054. | Εἰς τὸν πτωχὸν Λάζαρον  |
| PG 49, 15-222.   | Εἰς τοὺς Ἀνδριάντας   |
| PG 49, 243-258.  | Πρός τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι δαίμονες τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσιν   |
| PG 49, 257-264.  | Πρός τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας τίνος οὐκ ἐκ μέσου γέγονεν ὁ διάβολος   |
| PG 49, 263-276.  | Ὅτι ἐκ ῥαθυμίας ἢ κακίας  |
| PG 50, 417-432.  | Περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν Ἀναστάσεως  |
| PG 50, 441-452.  | Εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν  |
| PG 50, 587-596.  | Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἱερομάρτυραν Ἰγνάτιον τὸν Θεοφόρον  |
| PG 50, 665-676.  | Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυρα Ἰουλιανόν  |
| PG 50, 725-737.  | Λόγος εἰς Πέτρον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ Ἠλίαν τὸν Προφήτην   |
| PG 51, 87-98.    | Ὅτι χρήσιμος ἡ τῶν Γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις   |
| PG 51, 195-208.  | Εἰς τό ἀσπάζεσθαι Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν   |
| PG 51, 271-302.  | Εἰς τό «έχοντες τό αὐτό πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως»   |
| PG 51, 321-338.  | Εἰς τό «Χήρα καταλεγέσθω»   |
| PG 52, 427-432.  | Πρό τῆς ἐξορίας   |
| PG 52, 443-448.  | Ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἐξορίας   |
| PG 52, 479-528.  | Πρός τοὺς σκανδαλισθέντας   |
| PG 54, 631-676.  | Περὶ Ἀννης  |
| PG 55, 35-493.   | Εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς  |
| PG 56, 271-280.  | Εἰς τό " Ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις "  |
| PG 57, 13-472.   | Κατὰ Ματθαῖον   |
| PG 59, 23- 482.  | Κατὰ Ἰωάννην  |
| PG 60, 13-384.   | Εἰς τὰς Πράξεις   |
| PG 60, 391-682.  | Πρός Ρωμαίους   |
| PG 61, 1-610.    | Πρός Κορινθίους   |
| PG 61, 611-634.  | Πρός Γαλάτας  |
| PG 62, 9-176.    | Πρός Ἐφεσίους   |
| PG 62, 177-289.  | Πρός Φιλιππισίους   |
| PG 62, 391-500.  | Πρός Θεσσαλονικεῖς  |
| PG 62, 501-662.  | Πρός Τιμόθεον   |
| PG 62, 663-700.  | Πρός Τίτον  |
| PG 63, 491-494.  | Πρός τοὺς καλοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς καθαροὺς  |
| PG 63, 499-510.  | Γότθων ἀναγόντων  |
| PG 63, 763-771.  | Περὶ Παίδων Ἀνατροφῆς   |

## Secondary Literature:

- Adler, F., «The Scope and Aim of Ethical Education», *Papers on Moral Education* (Ed. by G. Spiller; London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1909), pp. 7-14.
- Agourides, S., *Paul the Apostle's First Epistle to Corinthians* (Thessaloniki: Pournaras Press, 1982).
- Alexander, H. A., «The Achilles' Heel of American Education: A Religious Educator's Response» *Religious Education* 89 (1994), pp. 162-166.
- Altaner, B., *Patrology* (Edinburgh, London: Nelson, 1960).
- Alves, C., «Why Religious Education?» *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975).
- Balsdon, J. P., *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969).
- Baur, C., *John Chrysostom and His Time, v.1 Antioch* (London: Sands & Co, Newman Press, 1959).
- Baur, C., *John Chrysostom and His Time, v.2; Constantinople* (London: Sands & Co, Newman Press, 1959).
- Bardenhewer, O., *Patrology; The lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church* (Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder, 1908).
- Beatrice, F. P., *Introduction to the Fathers of the Church* (Vicenza: Istituto S. Gaetano, 1983).
- Berardino, A., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (vol.1; Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1992).
- Bettenson, H., *The later Christian Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- Bowder, D., *The Age of Constantine and Julian* (London: Paul Elek, 1978).
- Brown, E. R., Meier P. J., *Antioch and Rome; New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983).
- Browning, R., *The Emperor Julian* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).
- Burstall, S. A., *The Ethical Aims, Means, and Limitations in the Public Secondary Day School. Papers On Moral Education*, (Ed. by G. Spiller; London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1909), pp. 38-41.

- Cameron, A., *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).
- Campbell, M. J., *The Greek Fathers* (New York: Cooper Square publishers, 1963).
- Campanhausen, H. V., *The Fathers of the Greek Church* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963).
- Carver C. S., and Scheier M. F., *Perspectives on Personality* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1988).
- Christian, A. R., *Educational Philosophy of John Chrysostom* (USA: Washington University, 1951).
- Chase, F. C., *Chrysostom, a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co, 1887).
- Christou, P., *Greek Patrology* (In five volumes; Thessaloniki: Kyromanos Press, 1989).
- Cox, E., *Changing Aims in Religious Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).
- Davidson F. H., and Davidson M. M., *Changing Childhood Prejudice* (London: Bergin and Garvey, 1994), pp. 111-112.
- Dill, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (London: MacMillan, 1899).
- Downey, G., *A History of Antioch in Syria From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961).
- Downey, G., *Ancient Antioch* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).
- Drever, J., *Greek Education; Its Practice and Principles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912).
- Farrar, W. F., *Lives of the Fathers; Sketches of Church History in Biography*. (In two volumes; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889).
- Florofsky, G., *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century* (Thessaloniki: Pournaras Press, 1991).
- Goldman, R., *Readiness for Religion; A Basis for Developmental Religious Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

- Gould, G., «Childhood in Eastern Patristic Thought: Some Problems of Theology and Theological Anthropology», *The Church and Childhood*. (Ed. by D. Wood; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994). Vol.31, pp.39-52.
- Grant, M., *A Short History of Classical Civilization* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991).
- Hall, S. G., *Christian Anti-Semitism and Paul's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1960).
- Hallett, P. J., *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society; Women and the Elite Family* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Hare, R. M., *Essays on Religion and Education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- Harones, B., and Lanara, O., *Educational Anthropology of John Chrysostom* (in four volumes, Athens: Byzantium Press, 1993).
- Hornblower S., and Spawforth A., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Hyde K., «The Home, the Community and the Peer Group». *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975), pp. 33-48.
- Jaeger, W., *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- Johnston, O. R., «The Language of Myth» *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975), pp. 76-93.
- Kelly, J.N.D., *Golden Mouth; The Story of John Chrysostom-Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 1995).
- Laistner, M. L. W., *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire, Together With an English Translation of John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory and the Education of Children* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1951).
- Leeson, S., *Christian Education Reviewed* (London: Longmans, 1957).
- Lietzmann, H., *The Era of the Church Fathers; A History of the Early Church*. (Vol. IV, London: Lutterworth press, 1951).
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G., *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Marrou, H. I., *A History of Education in Antiquity; Translated From the Third French Edition by George Lamb* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956).

- Martin, G. and Pear, J., *Behavior Modification; What it is and How to Do it* (USA: Prentice-Hall International, 1992).
- McGinnis, J. and McGinnis, K., «Peace it Together - Family Religious Education For Peace», *Religious Education* 83 (1988), p. 532.
- Melchert, C. F., «No ladder to the Sky» *Religious Education* 84 (1989), pp.312-314.
- Moran, G., *No Ladder to the Sky; Education and Morality* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).
- Nash, P., *Authority and Freedom in Education* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996).
- Nelson, R., «Parents as Resident Theologians» *Religious Education* 83 (1988), pp. 491-497.
- Paoli, U. E., *Rome, Its People Life and Customs* (Translated from the Italian by R. D. Macnaghton; London: Longmans, 1963).
- Pestalozzi's Educational Writings* ( in Educational Classics, ed. by J. A. Green; London: Edward Arnold, 1912).
- Politi, S. A., *Psychology of the Developing Person* (Athens: I. Gaggos, 1976).
- Quasten, J., *Patrology v.3; The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* (London: Newman press, 1960).
- Robin, B., *Greek and Roman Education* (Basingstoke : Macmillan Education, 1976).
- Rousseau, J. J., *Emile* (London: Everyman J.M. Dent, 1993).
- Ruefher, R.R., *Gregory of Nazianzus; Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- Shelton, J. A., *As the Romans did; A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Smart, N., and Horder D., *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975).
- Stinnett, T. M., and Huggett, A. J., *Professional Problems of Teachers* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963).
- Tye, K., «Those Who Teach: The Local Church School Teachers Perspective on Being a Teacher», *Religious Education* 83 (1988), pp. 337-348.



- Ulich R., *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom, Selections From Great Documents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).
- Walden, J., *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).
- Wiles, F. M., and Santer, M., *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- Wilken, R. L., *John Chrysostom and the Jews; Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1983).
- Wilson, N. G., *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975).
- Young, M. F., *From Nicaea to Chalcedon, A Guide to the Literature and its Background* (London: SCM Press, 1983).

