THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION ACCORDING TO CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE LATTER PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

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In the second half of the fourth century A.D. several of the Church Fathers gave considerable attention to the problems of education. At this time Christians were being forced to reconsider their attitude to education both for secular and religious purposes. More and more posts in the highest levels of the imperial bureaucracy were being occupied by Christians who would have had to have been educated in the traditional schools.1 Should the Christian church accept this educational system as it stood or modify it? Even within the church itself a place had to be found for learning and teaching. Apologists for the faith had to be well versed in the learning of their opponents who were at the head of a powerful pagan reaction against Christianity, and, at the other end of the scale, some training was necessary for those who preached and instructed the ordinary congregations.

The Christian attitude to education was intimately linked to the suspicion and mistrust with which the whole of ancient culture was regarded.2 There were still extremists3 who, like certain elements among the pagan philosophers, wished to reject the traditional educational system altogether. But on the whole considerable agreement had been reached by the middle of the fourth century that much could be salvaged for Christian use.4 The views of


four prominent figures will be discussed in some detail, before an attempt is made to assess the direction which Christian thought was taking in redefining the functions of education.

St. Basil the Great (c. 330–379), the son of a famous professor of rhetoric, received a full classical education, the final stages of which he completed under the professors at Athens. He taught rhetoric himself for a time, but later became a monk and then bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea (Kayseri). Like the other Cappadocian fathers, his great friend Gregory of Nazianzus (Nenizt) and his own brother, Gregory of Nyssa (a small place some eighty miles west of Caesarea), he was not hostile to classical learning and gave it a place in the education of Christians. Those passages in his works which condemn pagan literature generally occur in contexts where he wishes to emphasize some particular point of Christian behaviour or doctrine. Thus he deplores the time he spent on classical learning in his youth because he wishes to plead for a better use of time.

His considered view on the correct use of pagan literature is set out in his famous essay, the *Ad Adolescentes de Legendis Libris*, or, to use the more revealing Greek title, the Πρὸς τοὺς Νέους ὅπως ἐν εἴς Ἐλληνικῶν ὄφελοντο λόγον. It is necessary to recall the circumstances under which it was written to understand its purpose fully. Basil wrote it in his old age for his nephews, who were presumably being brought up in a devout Christian atmosphere. They were currently receiving a classical education, probably completing their study of γραμματική and proceeding to ἀρτιορική. His remarks, then, were intended to apply to Christians at a specific stage of their intellectual development, and were not meant to be taken generally.

The object of the treatise was to show these young Christians how they could benefit from the study of pagan authors. In the first place, they had to devote themselves to the good of their souls. Basil was not insensitive to the aesthetic appeal of the classics: indeed he felt that this might constitute a danger and influence his nephews to adopt pagan standards of behaviour.

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7. His time was wasted τῇ ἀναλήψει τῶν μαθημάτων τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαθηματικῆς σοφίας (Ep. 223, 2).
8. Adol. 1, 1–2
9. οἱ δὲ καταλειπότατοι λόγοι (1, 4), implies that they were reading the famous authors who were studied under the γραμματικός. Another indication that Basil is thinking of a specific stage in their development is given in 7, 7, where he says of examples of pagan ἀρετή: πολλοί δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι μιμηταί τῶν τηλικοῦτων φημή—this would be unnecessary for older Christians. Cf. 2, 3; and 2, 8, quoted below, n. 14.
10. 9, 1.
This they are to avoid at all costs, assimilating only what was advantageous: ὅσον ἐστὶ χρήσιμον... δεχομένους, εἰδέναι τῇ χρή καὶ παριθέν. In this context, 'useful' means 'useful for Christian purposes'. The ultimate criterion is the other life.

Basil drew a sharp distinction between teaching based on the Bible, and that deriving from τῆς θόραδεν σοφίαν. As the first was incomparably superior, and the second presented dangers to the immature Christian, it may be asked why it was allowed a place at all. The reason lies in the fourth century attitude to the 'mysteries' of the Christian faith, above all to baptism and the celebration of the eucharist. By what has been called the disciplina arcani, these were not divulged to the unbaptized, and children were not instructed in them. Accordingly, since full comprehension of the Bible and of Christian doctrine was reserved for manhood, other literature could be given a place in the teaching of the young. The result was that Christians could study the classics, but had to regard them as strictly propaedeutic. As Basil says at the end of his essay, he was merely giving an outline of virtue at this stage: σκιαγραφάν τινὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς, τὸ γε νῦν εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν ἐξωθέν παιδευμάτων περιγραμμέθα. What he has in mind by ἀρετῆ is illustrated by several examples, mainly of actions of forbearance. It is clear that ἀρετῆ is here taking on the modern meaning of 'virtue'. Basil’s address is largely concerned with behaviour, and (especially towards the end) adopts a sermonizing tone, where he is at pains to distinguish between what is useful and what is harmful in pagan authors according to the principle that the body and worldly pleasures are to be despised. The function assigned to a pagan training is that of introducing a Christian to what is good. The address is not primarily, as Millar puts it, 'a telling defence of classical studies', although it could be used against those Christians who rejected all pagan learning. As Giet remarks: "Le Discours aux Jeunes Gens" n’a directement pour objet “la culture classique” ni, en général, “l’utilité de la lecture des auteurs helléniques”, mais la manière d’en tirer profit pour la fin essentielle de notre vie qui est le salut de l’âme. It is obvious that education would require a broader base, if the part played by the classics was to be restricted in this way. Basil regarded the

11. 1, 5. Cf. Giet, S.: Les Idées et l’Action Sociales de Saint Basile, Paris 1941, 221 and 229, n. 7, where he points out that the ‘receiving of profit’ is grammatically subordinated to the infinitive ‘overlooking’: The danger of the classics is uppermost in Basil’s mind. Cf. Adol. 2, 2; 5, 1; 8, 9; 8, 18; 10, 4−5, and often.
14. τοῖς ἔξω δὴ τούτως (sc. παιδεύμασι) προτελεσθήντας, τηγικατα τῶν ιερῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἐπαικουσίμεθα παιδευμάτων (Adol. 2, 8).
15. 10, 1; for the metaphor, cf. Plato, Phaedo 69b; Rep. 365c.
16. Bas. Adol. 5, 1. 17. Millar, o.c. n. 4, 75.
18. Giet, o.c. n. 11, 229; Marrou, o.c. n. 1, 322 f.
main burden of education as the duty of the parents, and quotes St. Paul to that effect.\textsuperscript{19} This part of education is to be a gradual process, a training in godliness.\textsuperscript{20} The need for actual lessons in goodness is stressed: one cannot become like God without proper teaching: \textit{δομοίωσις δὲ, οὐκ ἀνευ γνώσεως· ἢ δὲ γνώσεις, οὐκ ἐκτὸς διδαγμάτων.}\textsuperscript{21} Priests and bishops were to assist the parents in this task, since they were the children's second fathers. That much more than factual instruction in dogma was needed is shown by the phrase \textit{τὴν διὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας μόρφωσιν.}\textsuperscript{22}

Further information on Basil's views on the function of education appears from what he says about the children adopted by the monks in the monasteries which he had founded. They were to be regarded as the responsibility of the whole community and instructed in the Bible and the preliminary studies needed to understand it.\textsuperscript{23} Most of the children would have come from the poorer classes of society, and it was hoped that they would become monks in their turn. But there were also other children whom their parents had formally entrusted to the monks who would later take up a secular occupation. The question arose whether they should receive a fuller education. Basil was of the opinion that a teacher could be provided for these children, provided that this did not jeopardize the essential character of the monastery.\textsuperscript{24} It is not clear precisely what would be taught. Giet\textsuperscript{25} suggests that an idea of the type of education provided can be formed from the \textit{Ad Adolescentes}. But this is unlikely. Provision was made in the monasteries for manual training,\textsuperscript{26} which was unthinkable for those reading the classics. In this connection Giet\textsuperscript{27} refers to a passage in St. Augustine which recommends the study of rhetoric as part of a Christian education. But this was intended for those training for the priesthood only, and is not applicable to all the children being brought up in a monastery. The \textit{Ad Adolescentes} presupposes attendance at the higher pagan schools, which were the preserve of the wealthier. The advice given by St. Jerome on education is more relevant. He wrote two letters\textsuperscript{28} outlining a scheme of education for two girls whose parents had decided to send them to a convent. Their reading was to be restricted to the Bible and certain of the early Church Fathers. Jerome's great enemy, Rufinus,\textsuperscript{29} alleged that he gave the boys attached to his monastery in Bethlehem a classical education. There must have been some

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} Bas. Mor., 76, 2, based on Eph. 6, 4. Cf. Bas. Hex. 9, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Spir. Sanct. 14, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ep. 300, 1.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Reg. Fus. 15.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Reg. Brev. 292.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Giet, o.c. n. 11, 217.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Bas. Reg. Fus. 53; cf. Reg. Brev. 105; 117.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Giet, o.c. n. 11, 221, referring to Aug. Doct. Chr. IV, 3, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Hier. Ep. 107; 128.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Hier. Ep. 107; 128.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ruf. Apol. adv. Hier. II, 8. It is significant that Jerome does not answer this particular charge in his reply to Rufinus. Hagendahl, o.c. n. 2, 525 f. regards the charge as essentially correct.
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substance in this charge, but it is important to note that Jerome’s commerce was largely with the children of the great. Basil’s children, therefore, would probably have only been taught reading, writing, counting, and the Bible.

Basil’s younger brother, Gregory\(^{30}\) of Nyssa (c. 331–395), received his education at home from his mother and sister, and later from Basil himself. He interrupted his training for the priesthood to become a professor of rhetoric, but was later persuaded to enter his brother’s monastery. He was eventually ordained and became a bishop. Since his attitude to pagan education and the pagan classics did not differ significantly from that of his brother, it need not be discussed in detail. But as Jaeger\(^{31}\) has recently shown, he made an original contribution to a specifically Christian concept of education.

It was his contention that, since Greek education was based on Homer and the other classics, the Christian mind should be formed by an education based on the Bible, and should then devote itself to the ἀισκήσις that leads to Christian perfection. The ultimate aim of Christian education as understood by Gregory was to become like Christ, or to imitate God: 

\[\text{χριστιανισμός ἐστὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως μίμησις}.\]

Life is transformed by a knowledge of the truth: \(\text{τὸ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας μορφωθῆναι ψυχῆν}.\) The term μόρφωσις regularly denotes assimilation to Christ on the part of Christians seeking a perfect knowledge of Him. Eventually Christ is ‘formed’ in human life. The result is a moral and spiritual transformation, and the Christian acquires justice, love and holiness. Naturally this high standard cannot be reached by human effort alone. It can only be attained by Christian regeneration. But it is important for the history of education to realize that Gregory did not conceive of the process of imitating God in exclusively religious terms. The Bible is given pride of place. Christ is called the Teacher\(^{39}\) of those practising Christian asceticism (τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας μαθητὰς). But Christ is largely known through the Bible, which, as Jaeger\(^{41}\) pointed out, Gregory regularly

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31. Jaeger, o.c. n. 4, 79 ff.
35. p. 46, line 4.
36. Cf. e.g. Prof. Chr., ed. Jaeger, p. 133, line 4. This usage was no doubt influenced by the Biblical expression μεταμορφοθήκα (e.g. Rom. 12, 2; II Cor. 3, 18).
40. Inst. Chr. p. 58, line 8.
41. Jaeger, o.c. n. 4, 93.
quotes by saying that it ‘teaches’ rather than ‘says’. Hence the importance of correct exegesis and its place in Christian education. Gregory’s use of the term ‘philosophy’ to describe Christian striving after perfection is another indication that he viewed the process in an educational light. It is true that this usage was common to many writers of the fourth century, but Gregory had an especial fondness for equating the practice of asceticism with the study of philosophy.

In Gregory’s thought education was fused with religion. Both aimed at producing Christian perfection. The highest function of education was to create favourable conditions for the life of contemplative bliss that appealed to the mystical side of his nature.

St. John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) was born into a noble family of Antioch in Syria. Like other young Christians of a similar background, he received a good classical education. To gain a full Christian education, he studied in the ἀσκητήριον of Diodorus, later bishop of Tarsus. This was not a formal theological seminary, but a voluntary association of young men living an ascetic life while being instructed in the Bible by Diodorus.

He does not seem to have felt the attraction of the classics as strongly as the Cappadocians, nor does he appear to have considered precisely what place they might hold in a Christian scheme of education. But that he was not fundamentally opposed to classical culture is shown by his use of pagan authors, such as Plato in the De Inani Gloria. He will allow a Christian to have a classical education, if his parents insist, but hastens to add that their minds must always be on higher things. Indeed he goes so far as to state that he does not advocate that the schools be razed to the ground, so long as they do not harm the soul. His comment on the famous edict of the emperor Julian the Apostle, the effect of which would have been to

43. Cf. Jaeger, l.c. n. 38, 267, and o.c. n. 4, 29; 41; 81 ff.
45. Socr. H.E. VI, 3. Cf. Chrys. In Diod. Tars. We know that Diodorus had received a good classical education because Julian disgustedly says of him that he used it to attack the pagans: Iste enim malo communis utilitatis Athenas nauigans et philosophans imprudenter musicarum participatus est rationum, et rhetoricis conficionibus odibilem adarmauit linguam aduersus caelestes deos (Ep. 90—the Greek original has not survived).
47. Chrys. Hom. 21 in Eph. 2.
exclude Christians from profane studies, is unfavourable. All this indicates that he was reluctant to deny Christians access to the study of the pagan authors taught in the schools. However, only inferior value was conceded to them: their sole use lay in the moral exempla which they contained or the rhetorical expertise which they could foster.

But the traditional education was quite unable to produce the results that Chrysostom desired. In one of his early works, the *Adversus Oppugnatores Vitae Monasticae*, he suggested a radically different approach. Several prominent young Antiochenes had left the city to join the monks and there had been an outcry. Chrysostom wrote to defend the monks against the charges that had been brought against them and then went on to claim that it was they who in fact provided the best education for the young. Arguments are addressed both to pagan and to Christian fathers. That the latter had to be convinced shows how unacceptable the idea really was. He recommended that the young be sent to the monks because he was convinced that few could resist the moral temptations of Antioch. A possible compromise might be to engage a monk to act as the young man's pedagogue. But the servile associations of this task would prevent the monk exercising sufficient influence over his charge. The ideal remained to have the youth train to be a monk. But if this were unattainable, he should at least receive a thorough moral grounding before undertaking literary studies. This concession was intended to satisfy parents who wanted their children to follow careers in the imperial civil service that depended upon a rhetorical training. For Chrysostom the essential issue was not education, but the salvation of the young in the Christian sense of the word.

The problem of Christian education forms the central theme of a later work, the *De Inani Gloria et de Liberis Educandis*. The lengthy introduction


50. For rhetoric as an aid to the Christian preacher, cf. Chrys. *In Ps. XLI*, 1: Διό ποικίλλαιν χρή τό τῆς διδασκαλίας είδος καὶ νόν μὲν πανηγυριστώρον, νόν δὲ ἄγωντικοτέρον ἀπεσεθαί λόγον (to relieve the tedium of long sermons). For the moral value of certain aspects of the classics, cf. *Hom. I on II Thess.*. One cannot agree with Baur, C.: *John Chrysostom and his Time* (tr. Gonzaga, M.) 1929, London 1959, I, 308, that 'his views and utterances concerning the pagan classics, and especially the philosophers, are very much the same as those of other outstanding men of the Christian fourth century'. He gives the impression of being much more guarded and suspicious in his approach.

51. For monks actually teaching, cf. Chrys. *Adv. Opp. Vit. Mon.* II, 1; III, 16. Even Latin is mentioned (III, 11). Of course the monks of Syria did not form teaching communities familiar from the monasteries of the Latin middle ages. They were less organized even than the monks in Basil's communities.

52. III, 12.

53. Ibid.; III, 16.

54. I, 6 ff.
maintains the position that vainglory was the cause of existing evils in the church and in society. Since it was implanted in children by the way in which they were brought up, a reformation was needed in their upbringing to eradicate the evil. It was far better for a child to have a strict tutor than luxury and trinkets. After stressing that the true aim of education was the right formation of the child's soul, Chrysostom introduced an elaborate comparison between the soul and an unruly city. In his capacity as educator the child's father must regard himself as the king of this city and administer it wisely. The gates of the city are the five senses through which only the right impressions must be allowed to enter. The ear, for example, must learn stories from the Bible, especially the Old Testament, that inculcate the proper ethical standards. Proper education should aim at wisdom, not at mere knowledge, which can only be attained if the child learns to fear God above all else. The chief function of education is to produce a Christian personality able to control its passions and false needs so that it is shielded from the love of the world.

Chrysostom’s view of the aim of education and especially the means by which he suggested it could be realized have been criticized as a counsel of perfection. Festugière remarks: ‘Il y a donc là, chez Chrysostome, quelque chose d'intempestif et d'indiscret . . . C'est un fait aussi qu'on trouve en lui une sorte de raideur, une tendance aux solutions extrêmes . . .'. However, much of his apparent narrowmindedness can be explained by the moral condition of Antioch in his day. Much of what he says is to be regarded as criticism of contemporary behaviour. He speaks as the priest and the moral reformer. But his high views on the function of education need not be discredited on this account. Ancient writers were prone to concentrate on programmes and ideals rather than on the methods by which their schemes were to be realized in practice.

St. Augustine (354–430), who was born at Thagaste in Numidia (Souk Ahras in Algeria), was the son of a pagan father and a devoutly Christian

56. 23.
57. 26.
58. 27.
59. 39; 43; 52; 61. Cain and Abel and then Isaac and Esau are suitable for younger children. Stories, ‘full of divine punishments’ such as the Flood, Sodom and Gomorrah, the plagues of Egypt can be introduced at the age of ten. At fifteen the full terrors of Hell can be unfolded. The story of Joseph illustrates how purity may be preserved even under stress. The New Testament is reserved till last with its lessons of both grace and punishment. These models are most interesting for showing Chrysostom’s attitude to the Bible and the way in which he felt it should be introduced to the young.
60. 85–7.
61. Cf. Seidlmayer, o.c. n. 46, 42.
mother. He received the typical rhetorical education of his day, but acquired an interest in philosophy from his reading of the Hortensius of Cicero in 373. He became a professor of rhetoric, but after his conversion to Christianity in 385 retired to a secluded country estate called Cassiciacum (probably Cassago in Lombardy) where he discussed philosophical problems with his companions. After spending some time in a monastery in north Africa he became a priest and a bishop. Special interest attaches to his views on education on account of the profound influence which he exercised on the development of Christian thought in the West.

Augustine criticized the education which he had received at length in various passages of the Confessions. This work belongs to 397 or 398 when he was in his middle forties, and contains his mature reflections on the subject. He starts with the elementary stages, but judges them by adult standards. He felt that it was wrong to have been told that one should be attentive at school so as to become successful in the world. He criticized the methods of discipline then current, protesting against the fear of physical punishment which made his time at school so terrifying and repugnant to him.

He condemned the strong attraction which the story of Aeneas and Dido had for him as dementia, because it had kept him from thinking about God. In contrast he rated the mere process of learning to read and write much more highly. The only value that he could find in his study of literature was that it had improved his linguistic skill: didici in eis (i.e. uanis delectationibus) multa verba utilia; sed et in rebus non uanis disci possunt...

This is a grudging concession. His final judgement on the first stage of his scholastic career reveals his true feelings: he had been taught to value grammatical correctness above moral rectitude.

He regarded his training in rhetoric at Madaura (Mdaurouch) and Carthage as equally defective. He records that his father's sending him away at great expense to continue his studies met with approbation, but then says that no precautions were taken to keep him chaste. His father was quite unconcerned about the development of his character. His rhetorical

66. 9, 15. Cf. Marrou, o.c. n. 1, 272, for the brutality of school discipline at the time.
68. 15, 24.
69. 18, 28-9. Cf. 16, 25, for the licentiousness of the classical poets.
70. II, 3, 5.
studies had the effect of making him deceitful and success made him extremely proud. 71 Because he was introducing others to error, his work as a teacher comes in for more scathing disapproval. He stresses the futility of what he was teaching, castigating himself for letting his tongue out for hire: *ministerium linguae meae nundinis loquacitatis.* 72 He further condemns rhetoric because it constantly nurtured his ambition: he had hoped that it might lead to a career in the imperial civil service. 73 Augustine found the education which he had received defective, because it was useless, and because it contradicted Christian ideals and fostered harmful attitudes of mind.

He elaborated a positive scheme of education during his ‘philosophic’ period after he had resigned from his professorship of rhetoric. At Cassiciacum, and no doubt while he was leading a monastic life on his return to Africa in 388 A.D., 74 he considered the educative role that could be assigned to philosophy. His ideas on this subject are to be found in the first place in the *De Ordine,* a treatise on Providence, and in the *De Magistro,* a treatise on the nature of teaching and learning. Teaching is, strictly speaking, an activity of the Truth, equated with Christ, working on the soul through divine illumination. This would seem to render human teaching unnecessary, but, because of his sinful nature, man cannot rely entirely on the inner light of truth. For this reason there is a place for teaching in the sense of advice, to turn the soul in the right direction. Those who fail to take advantage of this are justly punished by their falling into greater ignorance. 75

Augustine discussed the part which could be assigned to study in the training of the Christian philosopher in some detail. Advantage could be derived from the liberal arts, provided that they were studied in moderation. 76 They were not to be studied for their own sake, but as a preparation

71. III, 3, 6.
72. IX, 2, 2; for the commercial metaphor, cf. ibid. *uenalis*; IV, 2, 2; *Acad.* 1, 3.
73. *Conf.* VI, 11, 19.
74. Augustine describes his companions at Cassiciacum as *scholam nostram* (*Ord.* I, 3, 7; cf. van der Sluis, o.c. n. 64, 127 ff.). Of his monastic period Possidius (*Vit.* Aug. 3, 2) says: *Et de his quae sibi Deus cogitanti atque oranti intellecta revealed et praesentes et absentes (sc. amicos) sermonibus ac libris docebat.* His clearly refers to the Bible, mentioned in the preceding sentence. Pellegrino ad loc. seems to feel that there was no cultural activity in the monastic community. But the *De Magistro* belongs to this period, and so Marrou is probably correct in describing it as ‘un monastère de philosophes où l’accent est mis sur le travail intellectuel’ (o.c. n. 64, 167). Precision on this point can hardly be expected of Possidius.
76. *Tali enim erudito, si quis ea moderate utatur (nam nihil ibiquam optimum formidandum est) talens philosophiae militem nutrit* (*Ord.* II, 5, 14, referring to music, geometry, astronomy and mathematics).
for the higher flights of philosophy. In other words, they were to be given a purely propaedeutic function. The scope of this preparatory culture can be seen from the plan of the *Libri Disciplinarum* which Augustine proposed to write. The actual subjects were grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, geometry, astronomy and philosophy. Grammar covered both the linguistic studies which it still denotes and the exposition of literary and historical texts. As such it was the foundation of all other study. But it was a chastened grammar that won Augustine’s approval: the aesthetical and purely academic aspects of the subject had to be forsworn. It led on to dialectic or logic, *ipsam disciplinam disciplinarum, quam dialecticam vocant*. *Haec docet discere; in hac se ipsa ratio demonstrat.* By comparison, rhetoric is hardly praised at all. It was necessary to convince men of the truth which they were unwilling or unable to assent to rationally. Music, which Augustine regarded as a mathematical, and not as an aesthetical discipline, geometry, and astronomy, all served to teach numerical proportion, important for understanding divine ‘order’. Finally came an introductory course of philosophy.

This programme of studies sounds both formidable and comprehensive. Unfortunately the apparent breadth of scope is deceptive. Marrou has subjected Augustine’s own knowledge of each of the liberal arts to a careful examination and shown that it was limited and, in certain respects, almost elementary. It was only in grammar and dialectic that he showed real mastery. The preparatory culture of the Christian philosopher was not intended to be a broad general education. ‘Fondée sur la seule ἡγεμόνια τοῦ μεσαίου καὶ subordonnée à la problématique de la “vita beata”, elle n’a rien d’encyclopédique. L’âme heureuse, sa nature, ses besoins; Dieu qui explique l’une et comble les autres: voilà tout ce qu’Augustin veut savoir.’ Even more important than the knowledge which the *disciplinae* provided was the training which they gave to the mind. Augustine believed that those educated in the rhetorical tradition were not ready for metaphysical speculation. Practice gained in detailed discussions about technical

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77. *Retr.* I, 6, and Bardy *ad loc.* for what Augustine actually wrote before abandoning the project.
78. The list comes from Aug. *Ord.* II, 12, 35 ff., a detailed discussion of the subject.
79. 12, 36–7.
80. Aug. *Ord.* II, 13, 38. Elsewhere dialectic is called *uis rationandi et excogitandi* (*Quan.* An. 23, 72) or the *ars disserendi* (*Conf.* IV, 16, 30).
81. *Ord.* II, 13, 38. This line of thought was developed in the *De Doctrina Christiana*.
83. *Ord.* II, 15, 43.
84. On the difference between this and philosophy proper, cf. 18, 47.
85. Marrou, *o. c.* n. 64, 233.
86. Interest in the acquisition of factual information is stigmatized as mere *curiositas* (*Aug.* *Mus.* VI, 13, 39; *Ver.* *Rel.* 49, 94; 53, 102).
87. This is implied by *Ord.* I, 2, 4; *Sol.* II, 20, 34. One of the most valuable features of
aspects of the arts served as a valuable preparation for dealing with philosophical and theological problems.

This much was to be, and could be, gained from ordinary teaching. But the Christian desiring a philosophical training needs more than human assistance. He has to turn to prayer and await divine illumination.\(^{88}\) Reason has to be accompanied by faith.\(^{89}\) A further requirement was ethical purity. To see God involved the highest moral standards.\(^{90}\) Augustine sums up the three pre-requisites for seeing God as righteousness, prayer, and study: \textit{uidebit (sc. Deum)} . . . \textit{qui bene uivit, bene orat, bene studet} .\(^{91}\)

What was the educational value of philosophy itself as distinct from the introductory studies which it needed? The wisdom which it imparted should lead to the enjoyment of the truth.\(^{92}\) This is what is meant by happiness in Augustine.\(^{93}\) The ultimate purpose of philosophy is to fit the soul for the contemplation of God.\(^{94}\) Since this is so, it is easy to see why Augustine advocated philosophy so enthusiastically for educational purposes.

But as he grew older, he gave less weight to scholarly and intellectual ways of approaching the truth than to specifically religious methods. His sharp criticism of the earlier stages of his education in the \textit{Confessions} has already been discussed. He did not reject the liberal arts and philosophy entirely, but felt that he had assigned too important a place to them, as his criticism of the \textit{De Ordine} in the \textit{Retractationes} shows: \textit{displicet mihi . . . quod multum tribui liberalibus disciplinis, quas multi sancti multum nesciunt, quidam etiam qui scient eas sancti non sunt}.\(^{95}\) However, he remained concerned about the higher levels of Christian education,\(^{96}\) a subject to which he devotes

the liberal arts is their difficulty: \textit{cum enim arites illae omnes liberales, partim ad usum ultae, partim ad cognitionem rerum contemplationemque discantur, usum earum assequi difficillimum est nisi ei qui ab ipsa pueritia ingeniosissimus instantissime atque constantissime operam dederit (Ord. II, 16, 44)}—a revealing statement about the state of education in the fourth century! Cf. Cyr. Cat. 17, 15, for an interesting passing remark on the difficulty of gaining a good knowledge of Greek—Cyril lived in the Greek-speaking East.

\(^{88}\) 10, 28-9.
\(^{89}\) 9, 26. For the ignorant and uneducated faith alone was sufficient: 5, 15-6; 17, 46.
\(^{90}\) 20, 52. Cf. the elaborate prescription in 8, 25. For his second thoughts on this subject, cf. \textit{Retr. I, 3, 3}.
\(^{91}\) \textit{Ord. II, 19, 51}.
\(^{92}\) \textit{Ord. I, 1, 3}, for the passion with which the pursuit of truth should be undertaken.
\(^{94}\) Beat. Vit. 4, 35; cf. \textit{Ord. II, 8, 25; 19, 51}.
\(^{95}\) \textit{Retr. I, 3, 2}. For criticism of the works of his philosophical period in the \textit{Confessions}, cf. \textit{Conf. IX, 4, 7}.
\(^{96}\) There was a \textit{monasterium clericorum} (Serm. 355, 2; Pos. Vit. Aug. 24-5) in his episcopal residence, from which future priests were chosen (van der Sluis, o.c. n. 64, 13; 127). Though he would not have had the time actually to superintend their studies, concern with the matter may have been one of the reasons for his writing the \textit{De Doctrina Christiana}. In this connection it will be recalled that Augustine (\textit{Ep. 21}) had asked his bishop
a great amount of attention in the *De Doctrina Christiana*. The first two and the greater part of the third book of this work belong to 397, the end of the third and the fourth book to 427. It includes a discussion of the preparatory studies necessary for a thorough understanding of the Bible, a treatment of the principles of Biblical scholarship and an evaluation of rhetoric as a tool in the hands of the Christian preacher. This means in effect that it prescribes a Christian culture, an educational programme for priest and layman alike. 97

For the second time Augustine turns to the secular culture of the day. At this stage of his thought his attitude to it was determined by the *locus communis* of the church on pagan knowledge—the spoiling of the Egyptians by the Israelites, who rejected the idols, but took the gold and the silver: *sic doctrinae omnes Gentilium non solum simulata et superstitionis figmenta grauesque sarscinas superuacanei laboris habent, quae unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate Gentilium extiens, debet abominari atque deuitare; sed etiam liberales disciplinas usu veritatiss aptiores, et quaedam morum praecepta utilissima continent, deque ipso uno Deo colendo nonnulla vera inueniuntur apud eos.* 98 Here there is no sense of compromise or accommodation with the best elements in the old order: the Christians must take away only what is essential for learning the truth or what is morally or religiously beneficial. His application of this principle to each of the arts in turn need not be considered in detail. Of interest are the new subjects which he prescribed for the Christian scholar. A knowledge of foreign languages (Greek, of course, was not included in this category) was recommended for a complete understanding of the Bible. 99 This was a radical departure from the curriculum of the pagan schools. In them history had been reduced to a collection of moral *exempla* and of precedents useful to the orator. Augustine does not restore the discipline to its full value, but did find a different use for it. It had to be studied so that correct chronological tables could be drawn up for the Old Testament. 100 Knowledge *de locorum situ, naturisque animalium, lignorum, herbarum, lapidum, aliorumque corporum* 101 was required for the explanation of Biblical metaphors and similes: it cannot be remotely compared with geography, zoology, botany, geology and physics in the modern sense. Augustinian astronomy 102 immediately after his ordination that he might be allowed a period of theological study to prepare himself for his new duties. He felt that a priest should be educated, though a monk need not: *cum aliquando etiam bonus monachus iuxi bonum clericum faciat, si adit et sufficiens continencia et tamen desit instructio necessaria aut personae regularis integritas* (Ep. 60, 1 of 401 A.D.).

97. *Doc. Chr.* prol. 1; II, 39, 58 and Combes and Farges *ad loc.*
98. II, 40, 60, referring to Exod. 3, 22; 12, 15.
99. 11, 16.
100. 28, 42. It was permitted, *etiam praeter Ecclesiam puerili eruditione discatur,* a phrase showing Augustine's deep suspicion of the secular schools.
101. 29, 45.
102. 29, 46.
serves to fix the date of Easter. Except for those engaged in the actual trades themselves, the mechanical arts\textsuperscript{103} fell into the same category as the ‘natural sciences’ just mentioned.

At the end of his discussion of the place of the liberal arts and these new subjects in a higher Christian education, Augustine warns the student not to study them as if they could lead to the blessed life of themselves.\textsuperscript{104} He has become much more critical than he had been in the Cassiciacum period. Secular knowledge was now to be far more strictly subordinated to the needs of Christianity. His criterion was simply the \textit{utile},\textsuperscript{105} and he even suggested that it would be a great service to the church if a sort of ‘Reallexikon’ could be compiled of the pagan knowledge useful for elucidating Biblical difficulties. He was thinking of the Hebrew, Syrian and Egyptian glossaries that had been compiled for the Bible and of Eusebius’ work on historical problems raised by the sacred writings.\textsuperscript{106} With such collections of facts at his disposal the Christian would have more time for higher studies. This approach can scarcely be called Christian humanism, but it must not be forgotten that it was not confined to Augustine or to the Christians, but characterized the methods of the pagan scholars of late antiquity as well, as Marrou\textsuperscript{107} has shown.

This covers only the negative aspect of the educational programme of the \textit{De Doctrina Christiana}. Its positive side was to be based on the Bible. Much more than exegesis was envisaged. The basic principle of all Biblical study should be the love of God and one’s neighbour.\textsuperscript{108} The application of this principle depends upon moral purification.\textsuperscript{109} Augustine regarded this ethical demand as necessary an element in a good education as his insistence on good scholarship. The linking of the two is important because the study of the Bible involved what would be called theology today. This had not yet acquired the status of an independent discipline. The defence of the Bible and its theology meant for the Christian scholar that he had to be able to engage in apologetics and controversy as well. It is when viewed from this angle that Augustine’s vast literary output can be regarded as a unitary manifestation of his Christian culture. Education must enable students to maintain and develop this culture. Where at the outset of his Christian experience the liberal arts served as propaedeutic disciplines for a challenging new philosophy in which the Truth was ultimately God as revealed in Christ, now a broader scheme of preparatory studies, including such sub-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} 30, 47.
\item \textsuperscript{104} 39, 58 and Combès and Farges \textit{ad loc}. Yet to enforce his point, Augustine quotes \textit{Ne quid nimis} from Terence (\textit{Andr.} I, I)!
\item \textsuperscript{105} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{106} 39, 59. Cf. Buschick, o.c. n. 64, 44, for the term ‘Reallexikon’.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Marrou, o.c. n. 64, 407 ff. 108. \textit{Aug. Doc. Chr.} II, 7, 10.
\item \textsuperscript{109} 7, 9 and Combès and Farges \textit{ad loc}.
\end{itemize}

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jects as foreign languages and chronology, although stripped to the essentials, provided the foundation for a Christianity that explained the whole of life in fields so diverse as those of the De Civitate Dei and the De Trinitate. Theology in this sense can hardly be regarded as inferior to contemporary pagan philosophy. The exclusion of classical literature may well be regretted, but the classics as appreciated by men like Ausonius or expounded by the grammatici of the day appear to have lost much of their force and value.

The final object of all learning and teaching is the acquisition and the imparting\textsuperscript{110} of the love of God, through the cleansing of the ‘spiritual eye’. This leads to the contemplation of the Trinity, the highest activity for which human reason can be trained. These form the last two of the seven stages Augustine distinguished on the ascent from fear to the wisdom that consist of knowing and enjoying God.\textsuperscript{111} At this level God Himself assists the ascent as the Teacher Who illuminates the human spirit. As in Gregory of Nyssa education and religion flow together. This confers new dignity and value on the process of education: Augustine’s stress on  *
frui*  which he upheld as the final reward of education.\textsuperscript{112}

From this survey of these four writers, it is clear that Christian thinking about education in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. developed in two main directions. The first attempted an evaluation of existing pagan teaching, the second aimed at systems which might deepen the quality of Christian life, devotion and scholarship. The educated had never been formally excluded from the church. In fact, by the fourth century there were more and more Christians of upper-class families who had been trained in the pagan schools and yet who had reached positions of eminence in the church and gained the reputation of sanctity.

Many of these realized that they had benefited greatly from their schooling in pagan literature and rhetoric. Yet they were all too conscious of the dangerous attraction of literature for the young Christian. It could be a small step back to the old religion. If the classical authors were to be allowed a place in the education of the young, their possible influence for

\textsuperscript{110} Here rhetoric could find a legitimate use. Ideally men ought to recognise the truth when they hear it, but because they did not, the Christian preacher has to resort to persuasion. He must develop a specifically religious oratory with a spiritual purpose. He is an instructor  *earum rerum . . . quibus liberamur ab aeternis mala, atque ad aeterna peruenimus bona* (IV, 18, 37). To do this he needed the training outlined in previous paragraphs. The professor of rhetoric could not provide this, but the skill which he taught need not be despised on that account. Clarke, M. L.:  *Rhetoric at Rome. A Historical Survey*, London 1953, 153, has defined Augustine’s Christian orator as ‘a sort of combination of the “grammaticus”, the philosopher and the orator of the pagan world. For he studies his texts, teaches his doctrine and persuades his hearers.’


\textsuperscript{112} Cf. Cochran, o.c. n. 2, 436; 514.
the bad had to be neutralized. This meant that they could only be used to perform a propaedeutic function. The Christian should regard the classics critically, and make a selection on the basis of their ethical value.

In this connection it must be remembered that the family of Basil and Gregory was devoutly Christian. The influence of such a mother as Chrysostom's could offset the heady appeal of rhetoric. Behind Augustine there was Monica, who had made him a catechumen. His penetrating criticism of his elementary schooling must not be allowed to obscure the yearning for moral peace that had been implanted in him at an early age. For these men a Christian home had acted as a counterweight to the evil effects of the schools. In the light of this the stress which Basil and Chrysostom laid on the educative function of parents in the moral sphere becomes more understandable. The home or the monastery could protect the young.

Once adequate protection had been provided, further uses could be found for pagan education. The techniques of the grammaticus could be used in Biblical exegesis. Rhetoric was too good a weapon not to be used for Christian ends. In the De Doctrina Christiana Augustine consciously appropriates features of Cicero’s ideal orator for his model preacher.

This had been one great service of the Christian writers of this time, to lay emphasis on the moral aspect of education in the early years. In so doing they had not rejected ancient culture in its entirety. But in the ancient world the focus of educational attention was always directed towards the higher levels. In Plato and in Cicero education and an ideal way of life are intimately linked. The second major contribution of the church fathers lay in this sphere. The position occupied by philosophy in the last periods of antiquity was now given to Christian thought. The shrinking of the place of Christianity in the modern world must not be read back into late antiquity. For the men discussed here, Christianity presented an ever-widening field of speculation that was both philosophical and theological. Education could be assigned a vital role in leading the young to complete enjoyment of the fascinations of the new religion. Just as in Plato it is sometimes difficult to see where education ends and philosophy begins, so it is often hard to see who is the teacher in the higher flights of Christianity. At times it is Christ Himself, at times a father in God. Prayer and divine inspiration assist scholarship and human teaching. God, Who is the goal, is in a sense also the Pedagogue. The perfection of which Gregory speaks and the love which Augustine advocates are to arise out of education performing at its best level. It could be made to serve the highest of ideals.
NOTES KORT BERIGTE

I Clement 2, 4 and 59, 3: Two Emendations

(1) 2, 4:
The colon εἰς τὸ σῶμασθαί μετ’ ἔλεος (μετὰ δέος Ὡ) καὶ συνειδήσεως (Jeste-ἀγαθός LCC) τόν ἁρυβόν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ has occupied the thoughts of many editors and scholars. To the majority who reject the reading δέος, the difficulty consists in the juxtaposition of ἔλεος, a quality of God, and συνειδήσεως, a quality of the believers. Several attempts at solving the problem have been made, either by explaining ἔλεος as a human quality and συνειδήσεως in different ways, or by emendation of συνειδήσεως. J. B. Lightfoot’s last suggestion was to adopt the reading δέος because then ‘the whole clause is transferred from God to the believers and συνειδήσεως becomes intelligible’.

The word δέος, however, besides being attested only by the reputedly inferior ms. H (Hierosolymitanus or Constantinopolitanus), appears nowhere else in the epistle; Clement always uses φόβος, φοβεῖσθαι. δέος is altogether rare in ecclesiastical literature. I therefore think we may regard it as a less likely reading.

In order to understand the colon with ἔλεος correctly, we should learn from 58,2 that ‘he who with lowliness of mind . . . has . . . performed the

2. cp. 9,1; 18,1.2; 22,8; 28,1; 50,2; 56.5.16; 59,4. Human mercy is only recommended as a means to earn God’s mercy, cp. 13,2: έλεητε ἐνα ἐλεηθής.
A. Aureli e G. Brunner, La Voce dei Santi Padri, vol. I, Milano 1912: ‘colla misericordia e con la consapevolezza (di tutti i fratelli)’—In their note the authors explain συνειδήσεως as ‘consapevolezza delle debolezze altrui, e quindi soccorrendovi e incoraggiandovi l’un l’altro, si salvassero tutti.’
6. According to Goodspeed’s two indices, the word occurs only once, viz. in I Clem. 2,4.
decrees and commandments given by God shall be enrolled and chosen in the number of those who are saved (σωζόμενων) through Jesus Christ, and from 59,2 that ‘we ... will pray ... that the Creator of the Universe may guard unhurt the number of His elect’; from these two passages which are parallel to 2,4 it becomes clear that, after the salvation effected on man through the mediation of Jesus, the terms ἐκλεκτός and σώζειν become synonymous with ‘parishioner’ and ‘preserve’. R. Knopf also remarks that, although the words ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν have a predestinarian sound, Clement is far from this conception.

The latter passage also shows that God, not the believers, is thought of as preserving every parishioner. The Lord being the preserver, the essentially human συνείδησις can hardly be accepted in the sentence 2,4 and a suitable emendation is desirable. In many passages (see above, n. 2) divine mercy is linked with ideas like χρηστότης, ἀγάπη, χάρις, ἀφέσις. Near the end of the epistle, in a passage which, as regards construction, may safely be accepted as a pendant of 2,4, we read in Clement’s prayer (60, 1–2): ἔλεημον καὶ οὐκίρμιον, ἀφες ἡμᾶς τὰς ἁμομίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἁθηκὰς καὶ τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ πλημμέλειας. μὴ λογίσῃ τάσσιν ἁμαρτίαν δοῦλον σου καὶ παιδίσκιν, ἀλλὰ καθάρισον ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς σῆς ἁληθείας. Here ἔλεημον (ἐλεος) is combined with ἀφες (ἀφεσις); moreover he prays for forgiveness of all transgressions (note the emphatic repetition) of the Lord’s precepts, in order that God may keep intact the number of His elect. This passage shows that 2,4 is a continuation of 2,3. In 2, 3–5 the thought is gradually extended: in 2,3 they pray for forgiveness of their own sins, in 2,4 for the brethren, and 2,5 expresses mutual forgiveness.

I suggest the replacement of συνείδησις by συναθέσια, a neologism presumably created by the rhetorically trained Clement because the idea ‘comprehensive forgiveness’ was, in Koine, preferably expressed by means of a compound with συν-, whereas the classical συνάφεσις means ‘a letting loose together’ or ‘a running out together’ (Liddell & Scott, 1953, p. 1700), and συγγνώμη appears to have been weakened to ‘concession’ (e.g. I Cor. 7,6). As Attic law was widely known in Hellenistic countries, the Hellenistically schooled Clement is almost sure to have known the term αἰδεία (forgiveness which could be granted to the culprit by the relatives of the victim in cases of φόνος ἀκούοντος), and as he finishes 2,3 with εἴ τι οὐ ντες εἰς ἡμάρτετε, the word could easily force itself on him; all the more so

7. Quoted from Kirsopp Lake’s translation.
8. o.c., p. 46, n. 4.
9. See fullness of expression, use of synonyms and period construction (1,1); colon construction (1,2); antithetical parallelism (2,1; 3,3); litotes (ἀμετακλήτως 2,7); climax and hyperbole (3,2); avoidance of repetition (πορευόμεθα ... βαδίζειν 3,4; ἑπείδη ... ὑπο προκέκλησαν 4,2); polysyndeton (1,3); asyndeton (end of 59,3).
because, to the orthodox mind, sin is no less a crime against God’s majesty than homicide against a human being.

The words ἄγων ἢν ὤμιν are a striking representation of the anxious daily prayer which the community of Corinth used to address to the Lord before their internal dissensions, and it is on their behalf that Clement in 59 ff. prays with identical intention.

A copyist untrained in rhetoric who knew the Christian principles could easily be tempted to make a conscious correction, thinking that the word which he found in his prototype had been inadvertently miswritten. So the reading μετ’ ἐλέους καὶ συνειδήσεως (A) came into being, which in its turn was unacceptable to the mind of the scribe who made the further conscious correction μετὰ δέους καὶ συνειδήσεως (H). The addition of ἀγάθης in LCC¹ is also understandable from the same wish to make συνειδήσεως acceptable.

(2) 59,3: μόνον εὐθεργήτην (H)/εὐθέτην (LS)/κτίστην (C) πνευμάτων καὶ θεον πάσης σαρκός.¹¹

The reading εὐθεργήτην is given in the Hierosolymitanus (or Constantinopolitanus) manuscript; the meaning ‘finder’ appears in the Latin and Syriac versions, and the meaning ‘creator’ in the Coptic translations.

Clement’s prayer is not only a request for divine mercy, but also a final attempt to bring the parishioners who were responsible for the dissension to repentance. With this aim several aspects of God’s unique omnipotence are mentioned. In the corrupt colon Clement wants to point out that both the human mind and the body are in God’s hand.¹² The colon is, like several preceding ones, constructed antithetically. The contrast is based on the words πνευμάτων (σαρκός. From this we may infer that the corrupt colon must represent a parallel term for θεον. Both the reading εὐθεργήτην (H) and the translation ‘finder’ (LS) form phrases which are not very satisfactory parallels for θεον πάσης σαρκός. Taking μόνον with either εὐθεργήτην or ‘finder’ would be unnecessary and pointless, whereas this word is fully justified when taken together with a synonym of θεον, so as to express, in a different form, the idea contained in πάσης. In two later passages the Lord is called τὸν παντός πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον (59,3) and δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων (64,1), each time with an antithetical addition of God’s omnipotence over the body. This entitles us to seek a solution in the direction mentioned above. In the later passage in 59,3 ἐπίσκοπον may be regarded as a new extension of the thought, even as ἐκλεξάμενον κτλ. is a new extension on the corporal level.¹³ As in this later

¹¹. Funk-Bihlmeyer, o.c.
¹². R. Knopf’s translation ‘angels’ for παντός may be rejected because in this part of the prayer only the relation of God to man is visualised, not the relation of God to other objects of creation.
¹³. τὸν παντός πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν πληθύνοντα ἔθνη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκλεξάμενον τούς ἄγαπόντας σε . . .

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colon τόν πληθόνοντα is used as a variation for θεόν of the former one, it is improbable that κτίστην would be used in both cola without variation, although the meaning 'creator' of the Coptic translations appears to be acceptable because of the aforementioned reasons. While κτίστης is found in so many other passages, it seems difficult to believe that any copyist would have misread this word. Other synonyms of θεόν also differ too much in form from ἐδραγήτην.

I propose the replacement of ἐδραγήτην by ἐνεργήτην, another neologism, which, in my opinion, may have been coined under the influence of passages like Zech. 12,1 κύριος ... πλάσσειν πνευμα ἄνθρωπον ἐν αὐτῷ and I Cor. 12,6 θεός ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πάσιν. πνευμάτων then plainly is an objective genitive and the addition of words like (ἐν) ἄνθρωποις14 would make the passage parallel to the aforementioned Zech. 12,1. In this context ἐνεργήτην acquires a meaning hardly to be rendered otherwise than by the meaning 'creator' of the Coptic manuscripts.15

In copying from a cursive ms. the likeness of ν and υ alone would account for a reading ἐδραγήτην caused by inadvertence and by the strangeness of the word. To my mind, however, it seems slightly more probable that, here too, we are confronted with conscious corrections on the part of different copyists. Scribes not conversant with the stylistic precept permitting a moderate use of neologisms16 would deem a correction necessary. This presumably accounts for the reading ἐδραγήτην (H) under the influence of the later colons τόν τῶν κινδυνεύοντων βοηθόν, τόν τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων σοτῆρα, as well as for the meaning 'finder' (LS)—representing a Greek ἐφημένη in the prototype(s)—under the influence of the later colons τὸν ἐπιμέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἀβύσσοις, τόν ἐπότιν θανάτων ἐργόν. The notion of God as a benefactor of spirits (or souls) is extremely rare in ecclesiastical literature; in the only parallel given by commentators, viz. Ps. CXIV,17 there is a chance that ψυχή is used in the meaning 'life'.18

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14. The verb ἐνεργεῖν usually is accompanied by a complement introduced by ἐν or by a dative.
15. According to Kühner-Gerth, the objective genitive was used very loosely in Greek, but the presence of μόνον corroborates my opinion that πνευμάτων is to be understood as substitute for a direct object, because the devil is also a supernatural being capable of influencing the human spirit.
17. Rahlfis, Septuaginta.
18. The author wishes to acknowledge advice received from Prof. G. v. N. Viljoen on the drafting of this note.
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