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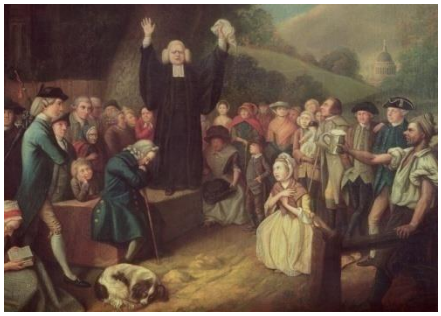

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THE WHITEFIELD PAPERS

By

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"Reformed Church Hermeneutics"

NOTES

on

David S. Dockery's *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*

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INTRODUCTION

My childhood in rural, northern Florida during the 1970s was dominated by the Protestant Church (mostly Black Primitive Baptists and African Methodists) and there were frequent calls amongst the Christian faithful to purify existing church practices and to return to the letter and spirit of the Holy Bible, as exemplified in the "Early Church" [1] of the New Testament. In retrospect, I understand now that these twentieth-century Christians were carrying on the tradition of the Protestant Reformation,-- a tradition of purifying Biblical hermeneutics in an effort to sustain the orthodox rule of faith, righteous living, holiness, and salvation.[2] Hence, David S. Dockery's book, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics in the Light of the Early Church*, reminds me that within non-Catholic Churches today, the spirit of the Protestant Reformation still lives through Protestant and Reformed-Church hermeneutics.

Indeed, Dockery's *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now* provides a historical survey of the theology of the "Early Church," which, Professor Dockery argues, offers a wealth of knowledge for today's church.[3] The Early Church—i.e.,

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[1] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 187 ("Early Church. A rather broad and somewhat ambiguous term used to describe the Christian church from its inception through its development in the first five centuries. Sometimes the terms earliest church, earliest Christianity, primitive church, or *primitive Christianity* are more focused upon the first-century church.")

[2] In more recent years, I watched this same Reformed tradition play out in the Wesleyan Covenant Association, which was formed by a group of United Methodists in an effort to purify existing ecclesiastical policies regarding human sexuality and marriage within the United Methodist Church.

[3] It should be stated here that "Reformed Protestant Theology" was a reaction to the theology of the Roman Catholic Church as it existed during the mid-sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries. The Protestant Reformers wished to return to the true, authentic church—to the Early Church! This required the Protestant Reformers to review Roman Catholic theology, philosophy, and liturgy, and to cull out all of the papists' false doctrines. Rev. Martin Luther led the way, but Rev. John Calvin seemed to have reached the pinnacle of reformed theological analysis and critic of Roman Catholicism in his path-breaking book, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In general, the Protestant Reformers rejected all of the Roman Catholic councils that occurred after the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451, A.D. Thus, the Protestant Reformers accepted only four of the first nineteen ecumenical councils, as follows:

1. **First Council of Nicaea in 325**
2. **First Council of Constantinople in 381**
3. **Council of Ephesus in 431**
4. **Council of Chalcedon in 451**
5. Second Council of Constantinople in 553
6. Third Council of Constantinople from 680-681
7. Second Council of Nicaea in 787
8. Fourth Council of Constantinople in 869
9. First Lateran Council in 1123
10. Second Lateran Council in 1139
11. Third Lateran Council in 1179
12. Fourth Lateran Council in 1215

the first 500 years of Christianity—is the key to Reformed Protestant theology and hermeneutics. According to Dockery's *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, the Early Church has much to offer to modern-day theologians and pastors who have run into a hermeneutical loggerhead. "The present state of biblical studies," writes Dockery, "is seemingly headed toward a hermeneutical impasse,"[4] meaning that the "problem of interpreting Scripture"[5] has "no simple answer,"[6] and that, consequently, modern-day theologians from all walks of life and various denominations have taken contradictory approaches to hermeneutics. These approaches range from being (a) *author-oriented*; (b) *reader-oriented*; and (c) *text-oriented*, in perspective.[7] The "author-oriented" perspective, writes Professor Dockery, is most akin to the "literal-grammatical," the "historical-contextual," and the "historical-critical" approach to interpreting the Sacred Scriptures. The focus here is on the biblical authors' original intentions, including their political and socioeconomic environments.

Thus, Professor Dockery suggests that the modern-day, author-oriented perspective traces its roots to the catechetical school of ancient Antioch. On the other hand, the "reader-oriented" perspective is quite new and unique to the

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13. First Council of Lyons in 1245
14. Second Council of Lyons in 1274
15. Council of Vienne from 1311-1313
16. Council of Constance from 1414-1418
17. Council of Basle/ Ferrar/ Florence, 1431-1439
18. Fifth Lateran Council from 1512-1517
19. Council of Trent from 1545-1563

The Protestant Reformers also adopted the first three major creeds (i.e., the "Ecumenical Creeds") of the Christian Church—the Nicene Creed of 325 A.D.; the Apostle's Creed of 341 A.D.; and the Athanansian Creed (4th century, A.D.—which were promulgated during the period of the first four ecumenical councils, up through the beginning of the fifth century, A.D. The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers thus rejected the other remaining fifteen ecumenical councils—from the Second Council of Constantinople up through the Council of Trent. For this reason, the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which had been held in response to the work and doctrines held by Martin Luther and other Reformers, was designed to formulate a response to the Protestant Reformation, which the Roman Catholics called the "Counter-Reformation." It thus should here be noted that the Protestant Reformers largely embraced only the imminent Western and Eastern Catholic divines who lived before the year 500 A.D.—men such as Jerome, Augustine, Theodore of Mopsuesitia and John Chrysostom—after which period (i.e., the fifth century, A.D.), according to the Protestant Reformers, the Western and Eastern Churches has spiraled out of control, and fallen into a downward spiritual decline of doctrinal heresy ad internal corruption. The Protestant Reformers thus sought to extract the historical ancient church of the first century, A.D., from the grip of teachings of the Medieval papists. (Although Henry VIII's Church of England did not make so clean a break from Roman Catholic rituals and practices as did the Lutherans and the Calvinists).

[4] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 169.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 170.

[7] Ibid., pp. 170-176.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, allowing the reader to pull out the basic moral principles from the biblical texts and to apply those principles to modern-day issues and problems in a creative way in order to achieve social justice. Professor Dockery notes that "[i]n the contemporary church, the reader-response model has been adopted by many interested in liberation and feminist theologies."[8] Hence, we may conclude that in common law nations such as Britain, the United States, Australia, and Canada, that liberal political parties and churches have subscribed to this "reader-oriented" perspective of Christian biblical hermeneutics.

And, finally, writes Professor Dockery, there is the "text-oriented" approach that reveals the biblical authors' "intentions," as does the "author-oriented" approach; but the goal of the "text-oriented" perspective is also to discover the biblical authors' "results." This approach looks at both the historical and grammatical context of the texts, but yet does not ignore the universal moral teachings that can and must be extracted from those texts, in order to ascertain a pragmatic ecclesiastical "canon" or moral "rule" of conduct from the modern-day Christian church. Therefore, the fundamental concerns or objectives which undergird the "author-oriented" and the "reader-oriented" perspectives of biblical hermeneutics are merged together toward a unifying synthesis in the "text-oriented" perspective.

Lastly, in *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, Professor Dockery recommends that modern-day Christian theologians consider the "canonical context" of the Sacred Scriptures. I find this to suggest that the Old and New Testament be treated as "Christian jurisprudence," as well as theology. In other words, the Bible is a moral guide for real, practical problems—personal, socioeconomic, and political problems, as well as spiritual, theological, and ecclesiastical problems. It thus behooves church leaders to consider the social issues and problems of the day, in light of the "canonical" texts of the Bible. To this point, Professor Dockery writes that "the historical meaning and the contemporary understanding belong together in a single canon of Scripture" that require us to "wrestle with both sides of the problem, the then and now communicated to us by canonical text itself…. In this sense the canon becomes the interpreter's primary rule of faith…. The canonical message speaks authoritatively to the human condition."[9]

[8] Ibid., p. 174.
[9] Ibid., pp. 179-181.

In other words, if we construe the Bible as a "canon" or as a "book of law," then we shall begin to construe this sacred text as a "book of Christian jurisprudence,"[10] containing laws, statutes, injunctions, and equitable maxims, together with short stories, historical analysis, prophecies, poetry and parables, and sermons, — all leading to the fundamental moral law (i.e., a canon), as stated in the Epistle of James, "[p]ure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world…. If ye fulfill the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well…."[11] If the ultimate goal of Christian hermeneutics is thus to remind bible readers to find the "law of love" within the Biblical texts, together with the understanding of the fact that "God is love," then we do well.[12] As Augustine of Hippo reminds us, the "love of God and neighbor" is the ultimate objective of biblical hermeneutics.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not pay homage to the two major catechetical schools of Alexandria and Antioch. In *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, Professor Dockery reminds us that, following the first century A.D., these two schools made Christianity into a sophisticated world religion. In Alexandria, Egypt, the most advanced scholarship in the world was created during the second and third centuries, A.D., producing men such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius of Alexandria. And in Antioch, theologians such as Lucien of Antioch, Theophilus of Antioch, Theodore of Mospseustia, and John Chrysostom emphasized literal-historical-grammatical hermeneutics in order to advance and improve bible scholarship. Together, both Alexandria and Antioch left a combined legacy of biblical hermeneutical methodology upon which theologians such as Jerome and Augustine of Hippo built the Western Church.

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[10] Roderick O. Ford, *Jesus Master of Law: A Juridical Science of Christianity and the Law of Equity* (Tampa, FL.: Xlibris Publication, 2015).
[11] James 1:27; 2:8
[12] 1 John 4:8 ("He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love.")

SECTION ONE:
Introduction to David S. Dockery's *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*

The focus of Professor Dockery's book *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now* is the development of Christian hermeneutics from the time of Christ up through the first five centuries of Christianity. This text asks the important question: how did Jesus of Nazareth himself interpret the Old Testament? How did his disciples (including the Apostle Paul) interpret the Old Testament in light of Christ's teachings? How did the Apostolic Fathers approach the Old Testament and the New Testament epistles?

Both Christ and his disciples adopted a typological interpretation of the Old Testament, which means Christ himself believed that he was actually fulfilling many of the prophesies written in the Old Testament. At this point, the Gospel of John, which sets forth Christ's divinity, points us to the "patristic" fathers (i.e., those men who were in direct contact with Christ's disciples) and to the Greco-Roman influences of catechetical school of Alexandria. In Alexandria, the Jewish scholar Philo, who was a contemporary of Christ and the first disciples, developed a theology of the divine *Logos* (which he borrowed from Greek philosophy) as well as an "allegorical" method of interpreting the Hebrews Scriptures. Specifically, Professor Dockery writes:

> Alexandria was a center of great learning. Here Philo developed his allegorical hermeneutics. The school of thought represented in Alexandria had streams of Platonic, neo-Platonic, and Gnostic thought, and these streams of thought influenced the way Judaism and Christianity were articulated. At the beginning of the third century A.D. Alexandria became important as a seat of Christian theology. The school was characterized by its dependence upon neo-Platonic philosophy and its application of the allegorical method of biblical interpretation.[13]

Following their predecessor Philo in Alexandria, the three great Christian theologians were Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius.

In Antioch, writes Professor Dockery, "Lucien of Antioch (ca. A.D. 240-312) founded the School of Antioch in conscious opposition to the excesses of

[13] Ibid., p. 185.

Origenism."[14] In Antioch, the allegorical method was rejected in favor of a "historical-literal-grammatical" method of interpretation. This hermeneutical method attempted to stay true to the historical context of the Biblical authors as well as the precise meaning of words, phrases and texts within the biblical texts. (The three greatest Christian theologians at Antioch were Theophilus of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and John Chrysostom.) But there was no fine line between "allegorical" interpretation and reading the plain meaning of prophetic texts or the metaphors within the parables of Christ. The titans of the western church, Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, and Theodoret of Cyrus, moreover, utilized both the allegorical and the historical-literal-grammatical methods, as the western church developed during the fourth century.

In *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, Professor Dockery reminds us that many of the same theological questions that challenged the Early Church "are still raised concerning the meaning of biblical texts" today.[15] He suggests that although the hermeneutical "labels" have changed, the substance of the general concerns facing the modern church have not substantially changed from those facing the Early Church— today, there is secularism, Gnosticism, humanism, and many other non-Christian views that challenge Christian orthodoxy. Professor Dockery also suggests that what is needed today, more than ever, is *a theological or canonical synthesis*, "not unlike the approach of Augustine and Theodoret in the fifth century."[16] This theological synthesis, which is rooted in the spiritual genius of the Early Church, is the very foundation and primary goal and function of the Reformed Church theology in the twenty-first century.

[14] Ibid., p. 97.
[15] Ibid, p. 21.
[16]

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER ONE:

The first century A.D., marks the beginning of Christian hermeneutics. During the time of Christ, there were various Jewish approaches to Biblical interpretation. These various approaches adopted three general principles:[17]

First: they believed the Bible to be of divine inspiration;[18]

Second: they affirmed the Torah as containing "the entire truth of God for the guidance of humanity"[19]; and,

Third: they considered both (a) the literal meaning and (b) the implied meaning of the Torah.[20] The "implied meaning" of the Torah, in turn, took on various hermeneutical methods, including the typological,[21] the literal,[22] the allegorical,[23] the peshar,[24] and the midrash[25] methods. It may safely be concluded that the "Christological" hermeneutical method—used by Christ and his apostles—included a combination of each of these traditional Jewish hermeneutical methods.[26]

By the time of Christ, the Jewish community had become a Jewish Diaspora throughout the Greco-Roman imperial world. Unfortunately, most rank-and-file Jews could not read Hebrew, and most of them were bi-lingual or tri-lingual, with Hellenistic Greek (koine) as their primary spoken and written language. In fact,

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[17] Ibid., p. 27.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] See Appendix C, "The Typological Hermeneutical Method."
[22] "The literal interpretation was considered foundational for all other hermeneutical interpretations." Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* p. 28.
[23] "The most prominent practitioner of allegorical exegis among first-century Jewish interpreters was Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus whose major work was simultaneous with the earliest days of the church." Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* p. 32.
[24]Pesher is "an exegetical method or collection of such interpretations (pesharim) that suggest that the prophetic writings contain a hidden eschatological significance or divine mystery that may be revealed 'only by a force and even abnormal construction of the biblical text.' The Pesher hermeneutical method was not known to exist amongst ancient Jews until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* p. 30.
[25] "Midrash was the term designating the normal way that the rabbis and Pharisees interpreted Scripture…. Bloch notes five major characteristics in her description of this approach: (1) its foundation is in Scripture; (2) it is homiletical; (3) it seeks to clarify the meaning of the text; (4) it attempts to contemporize the Scriptures being considered; and (50 it seeks to discover the basic principles inherent in the legal sections." Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* p. 29.
[26] Ibid, pp. 34-44.

there were more Jews in Greek-speaking, Hellenized Alexandria (Egypt) than in Jerusalem, during the time of Christ. Since both Jew and Gentile were most familiar with the Greek tongue, during the time of Christ, the Christian religion was established and spread largely through the Greek tongue. The Early Church was thus largely a Greek-speaking church.

During the first century, A.D., the *Septuagint*[27] (a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible) was likely accessible to Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples who interpreted the Old Testament Scripture. This *Septuagint* was the preferred text of the Apostle Paul, who likely spoke fluent Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. Indeed, the Greek tongue was likely the only language which allowed for the Apostle Paul and other missionaries to evangelize Asia Minor. But I would be remiss if I did not point out, too, that not simply the Greek tongue was in vogue during the first century, but the Early Church had to contend with Greek culture, philosophy and religion. The cross-currents of Greek though—literature, philosophy, and religion—influenced both the Early Church and first-century Judaism, especially in Alexandria, Egypt. Perhaps the most important of all Greek approaches to religion—to hermeneutical interpretations of divine texts, especially allegorical methods—were not wholly rejected by the Early Church, particularly in North Africa (e.g., Carthage, Hippo, Alexandria, etc.).

The *Septuagint* had also been used by the Jewish theologian Philo of Alexandria and by the Apostle Paul, as well as the Apostolic Fathers. By the time of Christ, most literate Jews of the ancient Greco-Roman world could read Latin and Greek, but not Hebrew. This is significant, because Hellenistic Greek thought and culture influenced New Testament Scripture, particularly the Gospel of John,

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[27] The *Septuagint* is a Greek version of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), including the Apocrapha, made for Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and adopted by the early Christian Churches. "According to the legend, seventy-two Jewish scholars were asked by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the Greek king of Egypt, to translate the Torah from Biblical Hebrew to Greek for inclusion in the Library of Alexandria.[13] This narrative is found in the pseudepigraphic Letter of Aristeas to his brother Philocrates,[14] and is repeated by Philo of Alexandria, Josephus (in Antiquities of the Jews), and by later sources (including Augustine of Hippo).[16] It is also found in the Tractate Megillah of the Babylonian Talmud:

> King Ptolemy once gathered 72 Elders. He placed them in 72 chambers, each of them in a separate one, without revealing to them why they were summoned. He entered each one's room and said: "Write for me the Torah of Moshe, your teacher". God put it in the heart of each one to translate identically as all the others did.

"Philo of Alexandria, who relied extensively on the Septuagint, writes that the number of scholars was chosen by selecting six scholars from each of the twelve tribes of Israel. According to later rabbinic tradition (which considered the Greek translation as a distortion of sacred text and unsuitable for use in the synagogue), the Septuagint was given to Ptolemy two days before the annual Tenth of Tevet fast."
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Septuagint

Chapter 1:1-3 ("In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made.") Here, it has been argued that the influence of Philo's theology of the Logos, which he borrowed from Greek Stoicism, had influenced the Apostle John in writing these words.[28]

Thus, the Greek Old Testament, by the time of Christ, had begun to receive a Hellenistic, neo-platonic, Christological, and an allegorical interpretation, especially from theologians such as Philo of Alexandria, who interpreted of God's "Word" in the Old Testament (i.e., the *Logos of Greek philosophy*) as the mediator between God and man. This Hellenistic definition of the Logos coincided with the Old Testament's Messiah ("Hebrew") of Christ ("Greek"). It was Jesus of Nazareth himself who commenced the "typological" interpretation of the Old Testament. As Professor Dockery tells us, "[t]his new method was a Christological reading, meaning that Jesus read the Old Testament in light of himself."[29] This self-testimony of Jesus of Nazareth (i.e., his typological interpretation) is presented most clearly in the Gospel of John, chapter 5:16-47:

> **16** And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day….

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[28]There is no evidence that the Apostle John read Philo's writings, but there are written accounts from the Apostle John's student that John had growing concerns as to the confusion regarding the divinity of Christ near the end of the first century. John identified Jesus as the Logos, in order to clarify the growing conflict. "[Logos] became a technical term in Western philosophy beginning with Heraclitus (c. 535 – c. 475 BC), who used the term for a principle of order and knowledge…. Within Hellenistic Judaism, Philo (c. 20 BC – c. 50 AD) adopted the term into Jewish philosophy.[7] Philo distinguished between *logos prophorikos* ("the uttered word") and the *logos endiathetos* ("the word remaining within"). The Gospel of John identifies the Christian Logos, through which all things are made, as divine (*theos*), and further identifies Jesus Christ as the incarnate Logos. Early translators of the Greek New Testament such as Jerome (in the 4th century AD) were frustrated by the inadequacy of any single Latin word to convey the meaning of the word *logos* as used to describe Jesus Christ in the Gospel of John. The Vulgate Bible usage of *in principio erat verbum* was thus constrained to use the (perhaps inadequate) noun *verbum* for "word", but later Romance language translations had the advantage of nouns such as *le mot* in French. Reformation translators took another approach. Martin Luther rejected *Zeitwort* (verb) in favor of *Wort* (word), for instance, although later commentators repeatedly turned to a more dynamic use involving *the living word* as felt by Jerome and Augustine…. Despite the conventional translation as "word", *logos* is not used for a word in the grammatical sense; instead, the term *lexis* (λέξις, *léxis*) was used.[11] However, both *logos* and *lexis* derive from the same verb *légō* (λέγω), meaning "(I) count, tell, say, speak." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Logos

[29] Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, p. 24.

> **19** Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise….
>
> **22** For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son:
>
> **23** That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him….
>
> **30** I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me.
>
> **31** If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true….
>
> **45** Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust.
>
> **46** For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.
>
> **47** But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

Hence, Jesus of Nazareth early and largely, during the course of his ministry, used the Pentateuch and the writings of the prophets to bolster his Christological interpretation of the Torah. Following the resurrection of Christ, the Apostle Paul, who was the most prolific of all the New Testament writers, continued to rely upon the *Septuagint* (i.e., the Greek Torah) in order to prove the divinity and validity of Christ's theological interpretations.

Although the author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is unknown, it is widely believed to be the work of the Apostle Paul; and this *Epistle to the Hebrews*, perhaps more than any other book in the New Testament, succinctly summarizes the first-century Christological and typological interpretation of the Torah.[30] Hence, the Apostles Peter, Paul, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and several other first-century Christian writers—as reflected in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*—were

[30] See Appendix C, "The Typological Hermeneutical Method."

generally concerned with setting forth a Christological or typological interpretation of the *Torah*.[31]

[31] Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* pp. 42-44.

CHAPTER TWO:
The Second Century: From Functional to Authoritative Hermeneutics

The growth of the Early Church was concentrated in the Mediterranean world, especially at Alexandria and Antioch, where Christian theology became most developed. By the middle part of the second century, the first Apostles of Christ had passed down the Christian faith (i.e., the Christological interpretation of the Torah) to another generation of leaders. For example, the Apostle Peter, who was the first bishop of both Rome and Antioch, had trained Clement of Rome; he also trained Ignatius of Antioch and the Apostle (John) Mark. The Apostle (John) Mark, in turn, laid the foundations for the influential Holy See and the Catechetical School of Alexandria.

The Apostle Paul had trained the Apostle Luke the Evangelist and most of the first bishops of several of the Greek churches. The Apostle John had trained leading theologians such as Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, Papias, and several others.[32] Collectively, many of these men, because they had received direct

[32] The Muslim claim that the Old and New Testaments were tampered with or modified has never been substantiated in any of my research into the question. For example, in *The City of God*, Augustine of Hippo described in detail how the Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew language into the Greek language, as ordered by King Ptolemy of Egypt, writing:

> One of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, desired to know and have these sacred books. For after Alexandere of Macedon, who is also styled the Great, had by his most wonderful, but by no means enduring power, subduded the whole of Asia, yea, among other kingdoms of the East, had entered and obtained Judea also, on his death his general did not peaceably divide the most ample kingdom among them for a possession, but rather dissipated it, wasting all things by wars. Then Egypt began to have the Ptolemies as her kings. The first of them, the son of Lagus, carried many captives out of Judea into Egypt. But another Ptolemy called Philadelphus, who succeeded him, permitted all whom he had brought under the yoke to return free; and, more than that, sent kingly gifts to the temple of God, and begged Eleazar, who was the high priest, to give him the Scriptures, which he had heard by report were truly divine, and therefore greatly desired to have in the most noble library he had made. When the high priest had sent them to him in Hebrew, he afterwards demanded interpreters of him, and there were given him seventy-two, out of each of the twelve tribes six men, most learned in both languages, to wit, the Hebrew and Greek; and their translation is now by the custom called the *Septuagint*. It is reported, indeed, that there was an agreement in their works so wonderful, stupendous, and plainly divine, that when they had sat at this work, each one apart (for so it pleased Ptolemy to test their fidelity), they differed from each other in no word which had the same meaning and force, or in the order of the words; but, as if the translators had been one, so what all had translated was one, because in very deed the one Spirit had been in them all. And they received so wonderful a gift of God, in order that the authority of these Scriptures might be commended not as human but divine, as indeed it was, for the benefit of the nations who should at some time believe, as we now see them doing….[T]he authority of the Septuagint translation, which, saving the honour of the Hebrew origin, is to be preferred to all translations." *The City of God* (New York, N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1950), pp. 651-652.

The translation of the Torah into Greek (i.e., the Septuagint) began during the third century and was completed in the year 132 B.C., so that by the time of Christ, the Septuagint was Sacred Scriptures which both Jews and Christians relied upon. The Septuagint thus conjoined with the New Testament gospels and epistles (also written in

Greek) to form the sacred texts of the Christian bible. Hence, the sacred writings were passed down from the first-century Jewish communities to the first students of the Early Church. And these first students became the "Apostolic Fathers," who passed along their writings succeeding generations of Christians. The Apostolic Fathers, in turn, rooted out heresy and continued to pass down their orthodox Christian theology to succeeding generations of church leaders.

Of significant historical fact, to my mind, is the authenticity of the letters of the Apostle Paul, which pre-date the writings of the four synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Paul met with, and learned about the teachings of Jesus, directly from the first Apostles. And Apostle Paul (c 5 AD – 67 AD) himself confirms, as early as 40 A.D., the Apostolic creed that Jesus of Nazareth was the son of God; that Jesus preached, was crucified, and rose from the dead; and the Jesus was the fulfillment of the Old Testament Law and the Savior of the world. Next, the Apostle Mark (c 5 A.D. – c 68 A.D.), who is the author of the Gospel of Mark, learned of Jesus' teachings directly from the Apostle Peter. The Apostle Mark also had interactions with the Apostle Paul as well. The Apostle Luke (c. ??A.D.—84 A.D.), who is the author of the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts, learned of Jesus's teachings directly from Apostles Peter and Paul. Luke was an aid and disciple of the Apostle Paul. In addition, the first Church Fathers learned of Jesus's teachings directly from these first Apostles. For example, Clement of Rome (35 A.D.- 99 A.D.), pastor of the church in Rome around 90 A.D., learned of Jesus' teachings directly from Apostles Paul, Peter, and others. Clement's "Letter to the Corinthians" was written around the same time as the Book of Revelations. Clement became the second successor to Peter as bishop of Rome. A contemporary of Clement, a "hearer" of the Apostle John, and a bishop of Antioch, Ignatius (35 A.D.- 108 A.D.) was another important figure in the early church. Ignatius left behind seven letters, as follows:

The Letter to the Ephesians
The Letter to the Magnesians,
The Letter to the Trallians
The Letter to the Romans
The Letter to the Philadelphians
The Letter to the Smymeans
The Letter to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyma

Ignatius' letters are important in that they reveal not only the history, order, and organization of the Early Church, but they also prove the authenticity of the Christian creed from the first century, A.D.

Another contemporary of the apostles was **Polycarp** (69 A.D. to 156 A.D.), who knew and learned from the Apostle John. "It is recorded by **Irenaeus**, who heard him speak in his youth, and by **Terullian**, that he had been a disciple of John the Apostle. Jerome wrote that Polcarp was a disciple of John and that John had ordained him bishop of Smyma." See, e.g., "Polycarp," Wikipedia. **Papius** (60 A.D. – 163 A.D.) was a contemporary of Polycarp and also a "hearer" of the Apostle John; and it is believed that Papius did much to confirm the original accounts of the Four Gospels. Papius wrote an important book titled *An Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*. "Papias describes his way of gathering information in his preface:

> I shall not hesitate to put into ordered form for you, along with the interpretations, everything I learned carefully in the past from the elders and noted down carefully, for the truth of which I vouch. For unlike most people I took no pleasure in those who told many different stories, but only in those who taught the truth. Nor did I take pleasure in those who reported their memory of someone else's commandments, but only in those who reported their memory of the commandments given by the Lord to the faith and proceeding from the Truth itself. And if by chance anyone who had been in attendance on the elders arrived, I made enquiries about the words of the elders—what Andrew or Peter had said, or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples, and whatever Aristion and John the Elder, the Lord's disciples, were saying. For I did not think that information from the books would profit me as much as information from a living and surviving voice.

"Papias, then, inquired of travelers passing through Hierapolis what the surviving disciples of Jesus and the elders—those who had personally known the Twelve Apostles—were saying. One of these disciples was Aristion, probably

training from the first Apostles, became known as the "Church Fathers" or the "Apostolic Fathers." Their primary task and achievement, it seems, were to build upon the Christological foundations of the first-century witnesses, to establish the institutional foundations of the Early Church (i.e., church offices (e.g., the office of bishop, presbyter, deacon, etc.); liturgical practices; ecclesiology, etc.), and to develop parameters for rejecting the burgeoning heretical teachings, such as Gnosticism, that had become quite rampant.[33] Hence, the second century (i.e., 100 A.D. to 200 A.D.) witnessed the institutional development of the Early Church. Perhaps the primary achievement of the Church Fathers was the Christian canon[34] which became known as the "New Testament," which was the culmination of a hermeneutical process which allowed the Church Fathers to combat against heresy, but also allowed them to explain the Sacred Scriptures during worship services.[35]

During the second century, worship became formalized and uniform, as follows:

I. The Liturgy of the Word

a. Lessons from the Old and New Testaments
b. Sermons
c. Prayers
d. Hyms

II. The Liturgy of the Eucharist

a. Kiss of Peace
b. Offering of Bread, Wine, and Water
c. Prayers and Thanksgiving over Bread and Wine
d. The Narrative of the Last Supper and a Command to Continue in It

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bishop of nearby Smyrna, and another was John the Elder, usually identified (despite Eusebius' protest) with John the Evangelist, residing in nearby Ephesus, of whom Papias was a hearer; Papias frequently cited both. From the daughters of Philip, who settled in Hierapolis, Papias learned still other traditions." See, e.g., "Papias," Wikipedia.

Irenaeaus of Lyons (130 A.D.- 202 A.D.) was one of Polycarp's students. "Irenaeus… c. 130- c. 202 A.D.) was a Greek cleric noted for his role in guiding and expanding Christian communities in what is now the south of France and, more widely, for the development of Christian theology by combatting heresy and defining orthodoxy. Originating from Smyrna, now Izmir in Turkey, he had heard the preaching of Polycarp, who in turn was said to have heard John the Evangelist." See, e.g., "Irenaeus," Wikipedia. Irenaeus wrote that each of the four Gospels were written by the first apostles whose names appear in the title of each of the four books.

[33] Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, p. 45 ("While the apostolic fathers were on the whole more wildly fanciful than the New Testament writers, they followed the New Testament exegetical pattern and remained, like the apostles, Christocentric in their interpretation.")
[34] Ibid., p. 46
[35] Ibid.

e. Amen, Said by All the People
f. Communion/ Lord's Supper
g. Concern Offered for the Poor and Reserved Portions of the Supper Taken by the Deacons to Those Absent[36]

Indeed, for it was during these liturgical services that hermeneutical interpretation became most significant to second-century Christianity: *the sermon was of paramount importance because it was supposed to make the listeners "wise unto salvation which is in Jesus Christ."*[37] In fact, this is how the New Testament canon came into existence during the second century: the Gospels and the Epistles were read aloud during the church services. The readings of these Scriptures were accompanied by their exposition (i.e., sermons). These sermons initially set forth what later became identified as typological exegesis, that is to say systematically interpreted the Old Testament in a manner that typologically pointed to Christ.[38]

Perhaps the first major challenge to the Early Church occurred during the second century, stemming from the issue of how Judaism would relate to the new Christian faith. Actually, this was an old issue which the Apostles Peter and Paul addressed during the first century. But during the first century, the Early Church held its "first church council" in order to address this issue.[39] During the second century, this issue was largely unresolved, but the typological (i.e., Christological) approach to hermeneutics appeared to provide the solution.[40]

Professor Dockery points out in *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now* that the second century is critically important to the development of Christianity because of a group of men known as the "Apostolic Fathers," or men "who were not apostles but were disciples of apostles."[41] In other words, this was the group of men who learned directly from the apostles, including Apostles Peter, Paul, and John. Professor Dockery lists the following men as "Apostolic Fathers":

A. Barnabas (cir. ?--?, first century A.D.);
B. Clement of Rome (cir. 35- 99 A.D.);
C. Ignatius (cir. 35- 107 A.D.);
D. Papias (70- 163 A.D.); and,
E. Polycarp (69- 155 A.D.).

[36] Ibid, pp. 46-47.
[37] Ibid, p. 47.
[38] Ibid, p. 48
[39] Ibid, pp. 55-56
[40] Ibid, p. 56.
[41] Ibid, p. 49.

The writings of these Apostolic Fathers have come down to the church as being authoritative and highly regarded, although various church denominations afford greater to lesser degrees of importance to the writings of these early church fathers. "The recognized standard work, *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, edited by Robert M. Grant (1964), includes 1 Clement, 2 Clement, Barnabas, the Didache, Ignatius, Polycarp, Martydom of Polycarp, Papias, and the Shepherd Hermas."[42] Professor Dockery insists that these Apostolic Fathers generally adhered to typological and Christological hermeneutics; that is to say, the general theme of their hermeneutics was that *Christ fulfilled the Old Testament*.

The later part of the second century saw the work and genius of Christian theologians such as:

A. Justin Martyr (cir. 100- 165 A.D.)[43];
B. Irenaeus (130-200 A.D.)[44]; and,
C. Tertullian (cir. 155-255).[45]

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[42] Ibid.

[43]"Justin Martyr (Latin: *Iustinus Martyr*), an early Christian apologist, is regarded as the foremost exponent of the Divine Word, the Logos, in the second century. He was martyred, alongside some of his students, and is venerated as saint by the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Most of his works are lost, but two apologies and a dialogue did survive. The *First Apology*, his most well known text, passionately defends the morality of the Christian life, and provides various ethical and philosophical arguments to convince the Roman emperor, Antoninus, to abandon the persecution of the Church. Further, he also indicates, as St. Augustine would later regarding the "true religion" that predated Christianity, that the "seeds of Christianity" (manifestations of the Logos acting in history) actually predated Christ's incarnation. This notion allows him to claim many historical Greek philosophers (including Socrates and Plato), in whose works he was well studied, as unknowing Christians." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justin_Martyr

[44]"**Irenaeus** (/ɪrɪˈneɪəs/;Greek: Εἰρηναῖος *Eirēnaios*; c. 130 – c. 202 AD) was a Greek bishop noted for his role in guiding and expanding Christian communities in what is now the south of France and, more widely, for the development of Christian theology by combating heresy and defining orthodoxy. Originating from Smyrna, now Izmir in Turkey, he had seen and heard the preaching of Polycarp, the last known living connection with the Apostles, who in turn was said to have heard John the Evangelist. Chosen as bishop of Lugdunum, now Lyon, his best-known work is *Against Heresies*, often cited as *AdversusHaereses*, an attack on gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus. To counter the doctrines of the gnostic sects claiming secret wisdom, he offered three pillars of orthodoxy: the scriptures, the tradition handed down from the apostles, and the teaching of the apostles' successors. Intrinsic to his writing is that the surest source of Christian guidance is the church of Rome]and he is the earliest surviving witness to regard all four of the now-canonical gospels as essential. He is recognized as a saint in the Catholic Church, which celebrates his feast on 28 June, and in the Eastern Orthodox Churches, which celebrates the feast on 23 August." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irenaeus

[45]"**Tertullian** (/tərˈtʌliən/; Latin: *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus*; c. 155 – c. 240? AD) was a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa. Of Berber origin, he was the first Christian author to produce an extensive corpus of Latin Christian literature. He was an early Christian apologist and a polemicist against heresy, including contemporary Christian Gnosticism. Tertullian has been called "the father of Latin Christianity and "the founder of Western theology." Though conservative in his worldview, Tertullian originated

To these men fell the task of combating the great heresies of the second century, such as the widespread heresy of Gnosticism. During the second century, Gnostic writings spread rapidly throughout North Africa and Asia Minor. These writings spread false ideas about the teachings of Christ and misrepresented and distorted the orthodox Christian faith. For example, the Gnostic movement created falsified gospels that were alleged to have been written by several of the first apostles (e.g., the *Act of Peter*, the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Acroryphon of James*, the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, etc.). The Gnostic doctrine also held very many unorthodox views about the nature of Christ, the relationship of the God of the Old Testament to Christ, and the nature of the soul and salvation. Popular Gnostic theologians included Marcion, Valentinus, Ptolemy, Basilides, and Saturnians.[46]

In response to this Gnostic movement, "[t]he second century saw the rise of a normative canon, an authoritative bishop, and an accepted rule of faith… under the guided authorities of the rule of faith and the bishops or presbyters of the church."[47] During the second century, the Early Church was to "struggle to define its Scriptures"[48] and from this struggle came "the emergence of the Christian Bible."[49] Both the allegorical and typological hermeneutical methods likely undergirded these developments. And perhaps the greatest defense against the Gnostic movement came from the Christian scholars and theologians of Alexandria, Egypt. For in Alexandria—the metropolis of the Mediterranean world—the first major seminary, the Catechetical School of Alexandria, was founded. There, the "allegorical" method of Christian hermeneutics was developed in large measure to respond to the inadequate dogmas or heresies of neo-Platonism and Gnosticism.

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new theological concepts and advanced the development of early Church doctrine. He is perhaps most famous for being the first writer in Latin known to use the term *trinity* (Latin: *trinitas*). Unlike many Church fathers, Tertullian was never recognized as a saint by the Eastern or Western catholic tradition churches. Several of his teachings on issues such as the clear subordination of the Son and Spirit to the Father, as well as his condemnation of remarriage for widows and of fleeing from persecution, contradicted the doctrines of these traditions."https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tertullian

[46] Ibid, pp. 60-61.
[47] Ibid., p. 72.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE:
The Alexandrian School: Allegorical Hermeneutics

In this chapter, Professor Dockery analyzed the contributions which the ancient catechetical school at Alexandria made to allegorical hermeneutics. Allegorical hermeneutics was developed primarily to address the challenges of Gnosticism during the second century. Two key figures are highlighted: Clement of Alexandria (150-215 A.D.) and Origen (185- 254 A.D.). Dockery acknowledges their brilliance, and especially that of Origen's; but he also acknowledged Origen's excesses, to which "Lucian of Antioch (ca. A.D. 240-312) founded the School of Antioch in conscious opposition to the excesses of Origenism."[50]

Professor Dockery does acknowledge, however, that the Alexandrian school itself curtailed these excesses, beginning with the great Alexandrian theologian Athanasius (296 - 373 A.D.), whose "methodology greatly influenced the three great Cappadocian fathers: Basil of Caesarea (ca A.D. 329-379), his friend Gregory of Nazianzu (ca. A.D. 330-389), and his brother Gregory of Nyssa (ca. A.D. 330-395)."[51] It is perhaps through the great Alexandrian Bishop Athanasius—whom the Athanasius Creed is named—that the Alexandrian School should be named and remembered—not Origen. Not only did Athanasius fight off the theological doctrines of Arius (i.e., the theological view that Christ was subordinate to God), but he put together the first twenty-seven books of New Testament canon.[52]

Professor Dockery does address the work and influence of Athanasius in his section "Initial Response to Allegorical Hermeneutics," in which he writes: "To some extent, the allegorical hermeneutics of Clement and Origen was checked by the theological concerns of Athanasius, the Cappadoncians, and Cyril of Alexandria (d. ca. A.D. 444). Though the allegorical method continued to be used for the interpretation of the Old Testament, its value was seen to be the prefiguring of truths of the New Testament….While Cyril continued the practice of Alexandrian allegorical interpretation, with the developments of Athanasius and especially Cyril, the Alexandrian creativity began to give way to a full-orbed

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[50] Ibid, p. 97.
[51] Ibid., p. 101.
[52] "Athanasius is the first person to identify the same 27 books of the New Testament that are in use today. Up until then, various similar lists of works to be read in churches were in use. Athanasius compiled the list to resolve questions about such texts as *The Epistle of Barnabas*. Athanasius includes the Book of Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah and places the Book of Esther among the "7 books not in the canon but to be read" along with the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Judith, Tobit, the Didache, and the Shepherd of Hermas." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athanasius_of_Alexandria

canonical and catholic interpretation which became so dominant with Jerome and Augustine."[53] This may be true, from the perspective of the Roman or Latin church; but the Alexandrian influence remained strong in the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches.

We now turn to the "allegorical method" which the Alexandrian school is credited. One thing is given, however, in biblical hermeneutics: the rule that the allegorical method of interpretation is absolutely necessary in Christian hermeneutical interpretation, because "the meaning of a text may actually exceed the conscious intention of the original authors or the understanding of the original readers."[54]

What this means is that the various methods of finding the New Testament lying hidden in the Old Testament, or to see the Old Testament lying open in the New Testament, the allegorical method of interpretation is essential. With the allegorical interpretation, the text of the Old Testament is construed to contain many persons, acts, things, events, etc., which are figurative or symbolic in nature, and which contain some other meaning—often not expressly mentioned by the various biblical authors inside of the original texts—that have a spiritual or mystical meaning, not referenced or mentioned until written in the New Testament, or in the writings of the patristic fathers, etc.[55] For example, the types of allegorical interpretation include: typological, tropological, and anagogic interpretative methods, as follows:

A. *Typological*—this is a Christian form of allegorical exegsis which connects the Old Testament to the New Testament. "Typological (or allegorical) interpretation connects the events of the Old Testament with the New Testament, particularly drawing allegorical connections between the events of Christ's life with the stories of the Old Testament."

B. *Tropological interpretation*—this is a Christian form of allegorical exegesis which points to a moral teaching that regulates human behavior.[56] This form of exegesis means "'the moral of the story,' or how one should act now. Many of Jesus' parables and the Book of

[53] Dockery, Biblical Interpretation Then and Now, p. 101.
[54] Ibid, P. 177.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

Proverbs and other wisdom books are packed with tropological meaning."[57]

C. *Anagogic interpretation*—points upward to some spiritual, heavenly idea or event.[58] "Anagogic interpretation: dealing with the future events of Christian history (eschatology) as well as heaven, purgatory, hell, the last judgment, the General Resurrection and the second Advent of Christ, etc. (prophecies)."[59]

The parables of Christ may generally be construed as requiring a "tropological" method of allegorical interpretation. A classic example of this "tropological" method can be found in Augustine of Hippo's spiritual interpretation of Jesus' "Parable of the Good Samaritan." This parable is recounted in the Book of Luke, chapter 10, as follows:

> **30** And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.
>
> **31** And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.
>
> **32** And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.
>
> **33** But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him,
>
> **34** And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

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[57] Wikipedia On-Line: "Allegorical Interpretation of the Bible" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegorical_interpretation_of_the_Bible#:~:text=Allegorical%20interpretation%20of%20the%20Bible%20is%20an%20interpretive%20method%20(exegesis,opposed%20to%20the%20literal%20sense.

[58] Wikipedia On-Line: "Anagoge" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anagoge#:~:text=Anagoge%20(%E1%BC%80%CE%BD%CE%B1%CE%B3%CF%89%CE%B3%CE%AE)%2C%20sometimes%20spelled,detects%20allusions%20to%20the%20afterlife.

[59] Wikipedia On-Line: "Allegorical Interpretation of the Bible" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegorical_interpretation_of_the_Bible#:~:text=Allegorical%20interpretation%20of%20the%20Bible%20is%20an%20interpretive%20method%20(exegesis,opposed%20to%20the%20literal%20sense.

> **35** And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.
>
> **36** Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?
>
> **37** And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

Now Augustine of Hippo gives his "allegorical" interpretation of this parable as follows:

> A *certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho;* Adam himself is meant; *Jerusalem* is the heavenly city of peace, from whose blessedness Adam fell; *Jericho* means the moon, and signifies our mortality, because it is born, waxes, wanes, an dies. *Thieves* are the devil and his angels. *Who stripped him*, namely; of his immortality; *and beat him*, by persuading him to sin; *and left him half-dead*, because in so far as man can understand and know God, he lives, but in so far as he is wasted and oppressed by sin, he is dead; he is therefore called *half-dead.* The *priest* and the *Levite* who saw him and passed by, signify the priesthood and ministry of the Old Testament which could profit nothing for salvation. *Samaritan* means Guardian, and therefore the Lord Himself is signified by this name. The *binding of the wounds* is the restraint of sin. *Oil* is the comfort of good hope; *wine* the exhortation to work with fervent spirit. The *beast* is the flesh in which He deigned to come to us. The being *set upon the beast* is belief in the incarnation of Christ. The *inn* is the Church, where travelers returning to their heavenly country are refreshed after pilgrimage. The *morrow* is after the resurrection of the Lord. The *two pence* are either the two precepts of love, or the promise of this life and of that which is to come. The *innkeeper* is the Apostle. The supererogatory payment is either his counsel of celibacy, or the fact that he worked with his own hands lest he should be a burden to any of the weaker brethren when the Gospel was new, though it was lawful for him "to live by the gospel" (Dodd 1961: 13-14; slightly abridged).[60]

[60] https://parablesreception.blogspot.com/2014/10/augustine-and-good-samaritan-augustine.html

As one commentator has noted, regarding Augustine's allegorical interpretation of the "Parable of the Good Samaritan"[61]:

> In Augustine's interpretation, almost everything has a symbolic meaning. *Jerusalem*, for example, designates the physical city of Jerusalem *and* the spiritual "heavenly city of peace." Like Origen, Augustine also appeals to the etymology of *Samaritan,* notes its connection to "guardian," and specifically connects it to Jesus as "guardian" in this parable (cf. Ps. 120:4), a claim, he argues, made by Jesus himself. Thus this parable, for Augustine, becomes symbolic of Jesus' incarnation and the process of redemption of human beings, which explains the identifications Augustine makes in the rest of the parable's details (Teske 2001: 350). Augustine even postulates additional symbolism in other interpretations, such as the "Apostle/innkeeper," being "perhaps" Paul (*Tractate on John* 41.13; for other examples of his allegorical readings, see also: Sermon 69.7; Sermon 81.6; Tractate on John 43.8.2).
>
> Many visual representations of the parable of the Good Samaritan reinforce the allegorical interpretations of Irenaeus, Origen, Augustine, and others that the parable symbolizes fallen humanity, Satan's attacks, the Law's inadequacy, and Jesus' mercy.[62]

In the *Book of Matthew,* chapter 13, Jesus of Nazareth provides an anagogic (i.e., "eschatological") allegorical interpretation to his own "Parable of the Wheat and the Tares,"[63] stating:

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[61] Dr. David B. Gowler (Oxford College of Emory University); Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Matthew 13:24-30 ("The Parable of the Wheat and the Tares":

> **24** Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field:
> **25** But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.
> **26** But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.
> **27** So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?
> **28** He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?
> **29** But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.
> **30** Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.

35 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.

36 Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field.

37 He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man;

38 The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one;

39 The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels.

40 As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world.

41 The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;

42 And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.

43 Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Here, Jeseus of Nazareth provides an anagogic or eschatological interpretation to his "Parable of the Wheat and the Tares," stating that each of the fictional characters within that parable represent spiritual beings—Christ, the angels, Satan,-- etc. at the end of time at the Last Judgment. The author, Matthew, provides in verse thirty-five, a topological (allegorical) interpretation, stating, to wit: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of

the world."[64] Here, Matthew states that by teaching in parables, Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilling Old Testament prophecy.[65]

Therefore, much conflict amongst Bible scholars, theologians, and pastors revolve around which hermeneutical technique is appropriate for interpreting various types of scripture, without running afoul of the theological essence of the Bible's organic message and spiritual meaning. For example, one of the fundamental differences between Protestants and Catholics or Orthodox churches revolve around the definition of "sacrament" as exemplified through the life of Jesus Christ in the New Testament. "Many denominations, including the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed, hold to the definition of sacrament formulated by Augustine of Hippo: an outward sign of an inward grace, that has been instituted by Jesus Christ."[66]

And yet, through different hermeneutical approaches to the Sacred Scriptures, the various Christian denominations consider various and different rites as "sacraments," and other rites to be merely "sacramental" as opposed to being a "sacrament." Moreover, Christian rites which are considered to be "sacraments" in some major denominations are nevertheless considered to be "non-sacraments" or "non-sacramental" in other major branches of the Christian faith; and these differing hermeneutical definitions of the word "sacrament" have unfortunately led to major points of religious conflict and theological differences between various branches of the Christian faith. During the early days of the Protestant Reformation, for instance, Martin Luther and John Calvin deduced from the Bible only two "sacraments" of (1) baptism and (2) the Lord's Supper; but they reject the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches' other five major "sacraments" known as: (3) confirmation; (4) penance; (5) holy matrimony; (6) holy orders; and (7) extreme unction (anointing the sick). These points of liturgical and hermeneutical difference have led to insurmountable schism between the Christian faithful. In fact, it was the opinion of both Luther and Calvin that Augustine of Hippo had defined only two sacraments, to wit, baptism and the Lord's Supper, but that the remaining five sacraments were heretical inventions or "add-ons" by the Latin and Orthodox churches during later centuries. But I believe that if we keep the goal of hermeneutics as finding the true method of salvation for the common man with an average understanding between good and evil, then we shall see plainly the

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[64] Matthew 13:35

[65] Psalm 78:2 ("I will open my mouth in parable: I will utter dark sayings of old…."); Isaiah 6:9-10 ("And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.")

[66] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacrament

hermeneutical method of Christ himself, which was to make the road of salvation easily understandable and easily accessible to the common man.

CHAPTER FOUR:
The Antiochene School: Literal-Historical and Typological Hermeneutics

We turn now to the Catechetical School at Antioch. One of Alexander the Great's generals founded the city of Antioch around the year 300 B.C. as an imperial Greek outpost in what is present-day Turkey. The Catechetical School at Antioch early and largely distinguished itself from the Alexandrian school. "The Alexandrians looked to the rule of faith, mystical interpretation, and authority as sources of dogma. On the other hand, the Antiochenes looked to reason and historical development of Scripture as the focus of theology."[67]During the earliest days of Christianity, Anthioch had become an important catechetical outpost. In Antioch, the Apostle Peter established its first church and was its first bishop; and the Apostle Paul performed several missionary journeys there, and continued to build its church. We may thus safely conclude the Antioch is the "house that Paul built" during the first century, A.D.

A. The First Antochene School

The Antiochene school was founded, according to tradition, around the year 200 A.D.

> **School of Antioch**, Christian theological institution in Syria, traditionally founded in about AD 200, that stressed the literal interpretation of the Bible and the completeness of Christ's humanity, in opposition to the School of Alexandria (*see* Alexandria, School of), which emphasized the allegorical interpretation of the Bible and stressed Christ's divinity. Flourishing in the 4th–6th century, the School of Antioch produced several significant theologians, including Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, St. John Chrysostom, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus.[68]

Professor Dockery writes that "primary representative of the first Antiochene school" was Theophilus of Antioch (b. ?? – died 185 A.D.)[69] Theophilus insisted that the Bible is literally true, as well as historical. For this reason, according the Theophilus, too-much allegorical analysis and interpretation of the Bible tended to obscure its historicity, veracity, and divinity. Hence, the "literal" and "grammatical" emphasis of hermeneutics began with Theophilus in the Antiochene

[67] Ibid., p. 120.
[68] https://www.britannica.com/topic/School-of-Antioch
[69] Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, P. 103.

school. The one exception, however, was the Antiochene school's Christological or typological interpretation of the Old Testament. This was inevitable: Christ had to be found in the Old Testament, in order for the New Testament to make sense. And besides, "God generated the Logos and through the Logos he made all things (John 1:3). The Logos also spoke through Moses and the prophets. As would be expected, Theophilus emphasized the literal meaning of the moral exhortations in Scripture. He likewise attempted to show the harmony between the laws of the Old Testament and the New."[70]

B. The Second Antiochene School

According to western theological tradition, the second catechetical school at Antioch was founded during the third century B.C. "The earlier tradition of the Antioch school centered around the practices of Theophilus and was passed on to Lucian, Diodore , and the later Antiochenes, who were also influenced by the Jewish teachers of Antioch. Within this development, the rejection of allegorization increased."[71]

Lucian of Antioch (b. 240 A.D. – d. 312 A.D.) is considered the founder of the Second Antiochene School. He was well-versed in Hebrew and had studied the allegorical method. "Lucian emphasized careful textual criticism, and philological and historical studies. Following the paths of the pagan schools in the city, Lucian and the Antiochenes applied classical learning of rhetoric and philosophy. The result was a sober-minded hermeneutic emphasizing the literal sense of the biblical text. They took the historical sense seriously, but also developed a typological exegical approach very similar to early Christian typology."[72]

Diodore of Tarsus (b. ???- d. 390 A.D.) rejected allegorical interpretation, because he "contented that allegorizers abolish history and make one thing mean another…. Diodore rejected the Alexandrian opinion that the reference of the prophets to the coming of Christ was something added to the original prophecy."[73] He held to the view that "[t]he prophets' predictions were at the same time both historical and Christocentric" and "argued that the double sense was different and distinct from that which the allegorists superimposed upon an original literal meaning."[74] Finally, according to Professor Dockery: "Diodore insisted upon the factuality of the original setting and explored the text for clues to its historical

[70] Ibid., p. 105.
[71] Ibid., pp. 105-106.
[72] Ibid., p. 106.
[73] Ibid., p. 107.
[74] Ibid.

reconstruction. But in addition to the historical meaning, there was the typological or theoria that taught ethics and theology. The content of Scripture was thus lifted to a higher analogy, but the historical meaning did not oppose or contradict the theoria."[75] Professor then places Diodore's legacy into the following context, stating: "These examples provide insight into the Antiochene typological exegesis that reached full bloom with Diodore's students, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The school of Antioch protested against the allegorical hermeneutics of Alexandria. Generally it can be said that the Antiochene school had a strong historical and philological interest and wanted exact interpretations based upon historical and contextual factors."[76]

But it is important, I think here, to say a word about Diodore the man. The following summation is taken from Wikipedia on-line:

> During his priesthood, Diodore **founded a monastery and catechetical school near the city of Antioch**. It was through this school that Diodore became the mentor of the controversial theologian and liturgist **Theodore of Mopsuestia**, but also of the legendary homileticist **John Chrysostom**. This school would give rise to the unique Antiochene perspectives on both biblical interpretation and Christology known as the Antiochene School. Ultimately, taken to the extreme, **the perspective set out for this school by Diodore led to the teachings of Nestorius, which were first condemned at the First Council of Ephesus in 431**.
>
> **It was his role as the head of the Antiochene School which led to Diodore's exile in 372**. Banished to Armenia by Emperor Valens, Diodore encountered a fellow supporter of the Nicene faction, Basil of Caesarea, during his exile.When Diodore returned from exile following the death of the emperor in 378, Basil was serving as the archbishop (or patriarch) of Caesarea, and he **appointed Diodore as the bishop of Tarsus….**
>
> As bishop of the see of Tarsus, **Diodore continued to speak out for the Nicene understanding of the relationship between the human and the divine in the person of Jesus Christ. He actively opposed both the Arianism and the Apollinarianism of his day** (Arius taught that Jesus Christ was not fully divine, Apollinaris of

[75] Ibid., p. 108.
[76] Ibid.

Laodicea spoke of the Incarnation in ways that left him open to the charge that Christ was not fully human).

Diodore played key roles in both the local Council of Antioch (379) and the ecumenical First Council of Constantinople in 381. When their mentor Meletius died in 381, Diodore recommended his friend Flavian as his successor, thus prolonging the division in the Antiochene church.Diodore died around 394….

The Christology of Diodore was condemned as heretical by later generations, most explicitly at a local synod in Constantinople in 499 which described Diodore's views as Nestorian.Certainly, a similarly negative view of Diodore was held by Cyril of Alexandria. However, **in his own generation Diodore was seen as someone who supported the orthodoxy of Nicaea**, and in his official decree ratifying the actions of the First Council of Constantinople, **Emperor Theodosius I described Diodore as a "champion of the faith."**

The **specifics of Diodore's theology are difficult to reconstruct**, as all that remains of his works are fragments of uncertain provenance. **Much of Diodore's theology has been inferred** from the later statements of his students and the intellectual heirs of the Antiochene School.

According to the Universalist clergyman John Mather Austin (1855) Diodorus was also a Universalist since Saloman, Bishop of Bassorah in his Book of the Bee (1222) proclaimed the salvation of all men and cited the opinions of both Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsuestia in support of his view.

According to Universalist writer J. W. Hanson (1899) Diodorus believed that God's mercy would punish the wicked less than their sins deserved, inasmuch as his mercy gave the good more than they deserved and he denied that God would bestow immortality for the purpose of prolonging or perpetuating suffering.

Diodorus according to Joseph Simon Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1728)

> *— "For the wicked there are punishments, not perpetual, however, lest the immortality prepared for them should be a disadvantage, but they are to be purified for a brief period according to the amount of malice in their works. They shall therefore suffer punishment for a short space, but immortal blessedness having no end awaits them, the penalties to be inflicted for their many and grave sins are very far surpassed by the magnitude of the mercy to be showed them. The resurrection, therefore, is regarded as a blessing not only to the good, but also to the evil.*

We may thus safely conclude that Diodore of Tarsus was a "controversialist." This does not mean that his theology was incorrect or unorthodox, but with few of his original writings it is difficult to ascertain the precise character of this thought and theology. The baton of leadership, within the Antichene school, was passed from Diodore to Theodore of Mopsuestia (cir. A.D. 350-428) and John Chrysostom (cir. A.D. 354-407).

Theodore of Mopsuestia (cir. A.D. 350-428) was born into a wealthy family and educated along with John Chrysostom by the rhetorician and philosopher Libanius. He was ordained a presbyter in 383 and consecrated bishop in 393. "Apart from questions that arose following his death about his influence upon the Christological thought of his student Nestorius, his doctrinal integrity is generally unquestioned."[77] Professor Dockery writes: "[i]n order to understand Theodore's method, it is necessary to recognize his distinction between typological, allegorical, and prophetical material."[78] Thus, Theodore insisted that there was an important distinction between "typological" hermeneutics, which is essentially Christological hermeneutics, other forms of allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament. But Professor Dockery also points out that "in reality Theodore did not always clearly make such distinctions,"[79] which might suggest our current analysis of ancient Alexandrian and Antiochene hermeneutics are skewed by modern-day agendas.[80] Dockery writes: "Thus we can see that Theodore rejected allegorical interpretation completely. Yet, Theodore did include metaphorical meaning as part

[77] Ibid., p. 109.
[78] Ibid., p. 110.
[79] Ibid.
[80] "Perhaps, as Rowan A. Greer has suggested, it is better to think of typological exegis as the normative method of Antiochene exegesis. Allegorical exegesis, if legitimate at all, and distinct from Alexandrian allegorical practices, represented "left wing typology," while fulfillment of prophecy represented "right wing typology." Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, p. 110.

of the literal meaning."[81] But what was the difference between "allegory" and "metaphorical meaning"? Dockery does not provide examples, and so this leave open the question of whether there was any significant distinctions between Alexandrian allegory and Antiochene typology and metaphor. "Theodore," writes Dockery, "attempting to present a unified theological exposition, viewed the Bible as a record of the historical development of the divine redemptive plan."[82]But even Theodore's methods were not above criticism from other theologians of his day: Theodore upheld the *Septuagint* as the supreme interpretation for the Bible, much to the chagrin of a few; he rejected the Books of Job and the Song of Solomon as canonical; and he did not believe that the entire Book of the Psalms was messianic.

The other major titan of Antiochene school was John Chrysostom (cir. A.D. 354-407). Chrysostom studied under Libanius and Diodore, before becoming a lawyer. "Abandoning his law career, he devoted himself to Christian asceticism."[83] His asceticism was so stringent that his health suffered. In 381, he was ordained a deacon; in 386, he was made a preaching elder, which eventually brought his claim to notoriety and fame. He was known as "golden mouth" because of his preaching and oratory skills. Most noteworthy about his sermons is that they "drew insightful spiritual and moral applications from a grammatical and literal exegesis of Scripture."[84] Chrysostom's effective preaching style, together with the desire amongst the local magistrates of Antioch to improve the morals of the general population, made him a local rock star. "In this situation, Chrysostom, by consensus, became the most popular and unquestionably orthodox of the Antiochene fathers."[85]

Chrysostom's hermeneutical method promoted the theological interpretation of the Bible "with a unified voice."[86] He also promoted the "tropological" approach to hermeneutics: the Bible was viewed as a very practical sacred text: "[t]he Antiochencehomilitician insisted that the main reason the Bible existed was for Christians to read it, read it again, meditate over it, and, thereby escape the snares of sin."[87] "Chrysostom … preferred to interpret the text literally and historically."[88] But Chrysostom also allowed for some allegorical interpretations, for so long as the following rules applied. In fact, Chrysostom himself wrote:

[81] Ibid., p. 112.
[82] Ibid., p. 113.
[83] Ibid., p. 113.
[84] Ibid., p. 114.
[85] Ibid., p. 114.
[86] Ibid., p. 115.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., p. 116.

> We are not the lords over the rules of interpretation, but must pursue scripture's interpretation of itself and in that way make use of the allegorical method…. This is everywhere a rule in scripture: when it wants to allegorize, it tells the interpretation of the allegory, so that the passage will not be interpreted superficially or be met by the undisciplined desire of those who enjoy allegorization to wander about and be carried in every direction.[89]

Chrysostom's definition of "type" or "typological hermeneutics is displayed as follows:

> The type is given the name of the truth until the truth is about to come: but when the truth has come, the name is no longer uses. Similarly in painting: an artist sketches a king, but until the colors are applied he is not called a king; and when they are put on the type is hidden by the truth and is not visible; and then we say, "Behold the King."[90]

Chrysostom also held the rule that "Scripture interprets Scripture."[91]Professor Dockery explains why Chrysostom's typology was significantly different from the Alexandrian allegory.

> Chrysostom and the Antiochence school distinguished allegorical interpretation from typological in two primary ways. Typological interpretation attempted to seek out patterns in the Old Testament to which Christ corresponded, while allegorical exegesis depended on accidental similarity of language between two passages. Second, typological interpretation depended on a historical interpretation of the text.[92]

Dockery concludes that "Chrysostom avoided treating Old Testament passages allegorically of Christ and the church; instead he sought typological meaning when the text allowed for it."[93] Chrysostom considered theology and hermeneutics to be both practical and pastoral, with goal being to save people's lives from sin. He certainly had a pastor's heart.

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. 118.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., p. 119.
[93] Ibid., p. 118.

C. Apostle Paul, Origen and Chrysostom

Professor Dockery next turns to a comparison of Alexandrian and Antiochene hermeneutics through the writings of Origen's and Chrysostom's analysis of the Pauline letters—namely, soteriology.

Origen (b. ? – 254 A.D.) believed in universal grace; he "set the whole concept of grace in a broad cosmic setting."[94] First off, according to Origen, the act of creating "rational human beings"—which God did not need to do—was an act of "divine grace."[95] Likewise, "faith" is itself a gift of the spirit that comes from God. Origen acknowledges a degree of human voluntariness—"an initial germ of faith that is believed to be something within the believers' own power."[96]

Similarly, Chrysostom also believed that grace was a "joint operation of God and humanity."[97] Professor Dockery writes: "[h]e regarded the desire to respond to God's liberating work as a joint operation of God and humanity…. He interpreted the words, 'it is God who works in you to will and to act according to his good purpose,' to mean if humans will on their part, then God gives strength to the willing."[98]

Origen categorized human being into three basic types:

1. Persons who live in the flesh, which wars against the spirit. These cannot please God;
2. Persons who walk by faith, but do not "see" due to a lack of spiritual wisdom or spiritual maturity; and,
3. Persons who walk by "sight," because they have reached varying progressive stages of spiritual maturity.

Origen believed that most Christians still walked by faith and that it is possible for a person to be a fence-straddler, "'partly in the flesh and partly in the spirit,'" because believing, walking and being in Christ required was a long process of progressive realization.[99] This idea is similar to the sanctification process described by the Rev. John Wesley (1703-1791).

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[94] Ibid., p. 121.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., pp 121-122.

Professor Dockery concludes that "Chrysostom's approach contrasted with Origen's" but he fails to show precisely the nature of this contrast; that is to say, he fails to display any material differences that might drastically alter the ultimate outcome of the Christian walk of faith.[100] He writes that "Chrysostom construed faith working with reason," but this statement failed to show how Origen's theology contrasted with Chrysostom, particularly since Chrysostom did not himself mention or criticize Origen. At best, Chrysostom's theology might be described as having a different emphasis, such as how faith might be construed or understood "as the appropriate means to apprehend true spiritual matters."[101] Chrysostom's emphasis upon reason, however, does not necessary contrast with Origen's assessment of Christian sanctification. I believe that it is the plain duty of 21st-century theologians to disdain unnecessarily drawing inconsequential distinctions between great theologians of the Christian faith—distinctions which create division within the Church.

Origen had a unique theology of "good works," as follows:

1. A person who does not have faith could commit good works, but such good works could not bring eternal salvation (unless, such persons never access to hearing or learning about the true faith, they would not have had an opportunity to reject the "*merits of Christ*");
2. A person who has faith, but does no good works, could not attain true glory but could be saved from eternal damnation (since it is the "*merits of Christ*" that ultimate wins eternal salvation); and,
3. A person who has faith and does good works would attain eternal salvation. But, ultimately, the "*merits of Christ*" is what earns this eternal salvation).

Professor Dockery does not contrast Origen's views on "good works" with that of Chrysostom's, but rather to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore believed in a theology of "resurrection" and "forgiveness."[102] "The idea of faith and forgiveness had a necessary and future reference in Antiochene thought." But even thus, Professor Dockery failed to set forth a contrast between Origen's theology and Theodore's theology, since both positions acknowledge that the "merits of Christ," not the merits of individual Christians, warrants eternal salvation.[103]

Origen viewed the sacrament of baptism as a sort of "dying with Christ." The "old man" dies, and the "new man" emerges through this sacrament.

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[100] Ibid., p 122.
[101] Ibid., p. 122.
[102] Ibid., p 122-123.
[103] Ibid.

Nevertheless, Origen contended, and rightfully so, that the mere act of baptism does not work magic upon a truly unrepentant heart or a non-believer. Origen "said Christians do not really believe that Christ has been raised from the dead unless he is risen and is living in their hearts as the embodiment of all Christian virtues."[104] Similarly, Theodore's and Chrysostom's theological view of baptism was this sacrament did not perform any magic but was only a symbol of a spiritual state. Theodore considered "that the real evidence … could not be found in believers' present experience, but only in the future."[105] And Chrysostom believed that baptism "was not a change of nature, but a ruling purpose in the life of believers. This change did not guarantee a life of virtue, but it did make such a life achievable."[106]

Origen believed that the present age was imperfect in a neo-Platonic sense and that the duty of the Christian was both to die and to live with Christ, with hope in an infinitely perfect future and in everlasting salvation. Chrysostom emphasized the Pauline struggle of the Christian to war against fleshly lusts. He "interpreted Paul to mean that sin died at the time of the believer's baptism, but it could be brought to life again."[107] Similar to Origen, Chrysostom believed that all Christians were "essentially still in pilgrimage."

There were other minor differences between the Alexandrian and Antiochene theologians. For example, St. Clement of Alexandria considered the Mosaic law to be "a tutor to bring people to Christ and as the first stage in confining the reign of sin."[108] Similarly, Origen considered the Mosaic Law to be "the first law," in preparation for "a second law for the Christian pilgrimage," provided by Christ himself.[109] At that point, Origen concluded the Christians were indeed free within the law of Christ to take a spiritual path. That spiritual path—a life of ascetic living—was in essence "different levels of spirituality," depending upon the individual believer. Origen, in turn, disdained converting the second law of Christ into a battery of rules and laws for holy living. The Antiochenes did not differ significantly from the Alexandrians in this regards. Both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom deduced two aspects of the New Testament epistles: the doctrinal and the moral: "[e]xhortation to moral obedience was built upon doctrinal truth…. Humility was the root of virtue, and humility could be discovered in the extent of Christ's incarnation and salvific work (Phil. 2:5-8).

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[104] Ibid., p. 123.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., p. 124.
[108] Ibid., p. 126.
[109] Ibid., p. 125.

Thus, behind the precepts of regular Christian living lay the matchless wonders of divine grace (Rom. 11:33-12:2)."

In sum, Professor Dockery favors the Antiochene school's theological approach over that of the Alexandrians, who appeared to have had "Gnostic, neo-Platonic, and Stoic influences upon their interpretations."[110] The Antichenes, on the other hand, "read Scripture christologically. This was accomplished through typological exegesis similar to that of Jesus, the apostles, and Justin."[111] Both the Alexandrians and the Antiochenes generally interpreted the Pauline letters literally, while they differed in their hermeneutical approach to the Old Testament, wherein "[t]he Alexandrian allegoria led the soul into a realm of true knowledge where the vision of truth could be discovered. The Antiochene *theoria* led humans into a truly moral life that developed in goodness and maturity that would continue into eternity."[112]

As the next chapter will discuss, the Latin Church (i.e., Roman Catholic Church), which was influenced by theologians such as Tertullian, Jerome, and Augustine of Hippo also emerged. Thus, the heritage of Christian theology in the West trace is roots from three sources: the Alexandrian, the Antichene, and the Roman Catholics. Of these three sources, the **Reformed Church** of the seventeenth century concluded that the *Antiochene school was most theologically sound.* In other words, in the Reformers' efforts to purge the Protestant churches of Roman heresy, the seventeenth-century Protestant Reformers settled upon the Antiochene theological worldview as its foundational model.

[110] Ibid., p. 126.
[111] Ibid., p. 127.
[112] Ibid., p. 128.

CHAPTER FIVE:
Toward Canonical and Catholic Hermeneutics

In this chapter, Professor Dockery concludes that the Antiochene-style of "literal and historical interpretation" was embraced by "the greatest doctors of the church, Jerome and Augustine."[113] But interestingly Professor Dockery ignores the works of Tertullian of Carthage, even though Tertullian is considered to be the "Father of Latin Christianity" and "Founder of Western Theology,"[114] and he omits the influence of Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria upon the Cappadonian Fathers, whose works were absorbed by both Jerome and Augustine. Be that as it may, we may safely conclude that the Roman Catholic Church, through Jerome and Augustine of Hippo, developed a unique brand of theological interpretation that included the allegorical, literal, and historical hermeneutical methods found in the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools.

The Antiochene School	**The Latin Church/ North African Fathers**
Theophilus of Antioch (???- 185 A.D.)	Tertullian (c. 155- c. 255)
Lucian of Antioch (240- 312 A.D.)	Jerome (???- 420 A.D.)
Diodore of Tarsus (???- 390 A.D.)	Augustine of Hippo (354- 430 A.D.)
Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428 A.D.)	
John Chrysostom (354- 407 A.D.)	

[113] Ibid., p. 129.

[114] "**Tertullian** (/tərˈtʌliən/; Latin: *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus*; c. 155 – c. 240? AD)[1] was a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa. Of Berber origin,he was the first Christian author to produce an extensive corpus of Latin Christian literature. He was an early Christian apologist and a polemicist against heresy, including contemporary Christian Gnosticism.Tertullian has been called **"the father of Latin Christianity"** and **"the founder of Western theology**." Though conservative in his worldview, Tertullian originated new theological concepts and advanced the development of early Church doctrine. He is perhaps most famous for being the first writer in Latin known to use the term *trinity* (Latin: *trinitas*). " https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tertullian

Thus, Diodore, Jerome, Theodore, Augustine, and Chrysostom were contemporaries of each other.

I. Jerome

Jerome lived in Antioch, Constantinople, Rome, Bethlehem, and Alexandria, Egypt. Jerome may have known the Anthiochene theologians Theodore and Chrysostom. He was ordained in Antioch, where he learned Greek. Then he retreated into a Syrian desert. "With the aid of a Jewish convert, Jerome began the study of Hebrew and eventually gained a mastery unequalled among the church leaders of his time…. After visiting the holy places in Jerusalem and throughout Palestine. Jerome and Paula settled in Bethlehem in 386 and established separate monasteries for men and women. A fruitful period of study and writing began. It was, however, frequently interrupted by personal illness and a series of controversies with (1) Jovinian, a Roman monk; (2) Origenism in the West; (3) John of Jerusalem; (4) Rufinus, a close friend of Jerome; (5) Vigilantius; (6) Augustine; and (7) followers of Pelagius. Near the end of his life Jerome finally fashioned a form of ascetic life that combined his ideals of withdrawal with his needs of companionship and intellectual activity."[115]

Using his knowledge of original Hebrew, Jerome became a masterful bible interpreter. He preferred the Hebrew canon. "As a result Jerome refused to accept the apocryphal books that were being circulated at that time in manuscripts of the Greek and Latin versions. Because Jerome was conscious of the difficulty of arguing with Jews on the basis of books they spurned… he was adamant that anything not found in the Hebrew canon was to be classed among the Apocrypha and therefore noncanonical."[116] Perhaps his greatest legacy was his interpretation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Latin, which became known as the Vulgate.

While in Alexandria, Jerome visited Didymus the Blind (ca A.D. 313-398), who was a follower of Origen. In Alexandria, Jerome "developed his early love for the spiritual sense of Scripture…. While accepting Origen's three senses of Scripture, he deemed that recourse to the spiritual meaning was made necessary by the anthropmorphisms, inconsistencies, and incongruities that seemingly abounded in the Bible. He therefore attempted to combine attention to the literal sense of

[115] Ibid., pp. 130-131.
[116] Ibid., p. 131.

Scripture learned from Hebrew scholarship with a Christological and spiritual interpretation."[117]

While in Antioch, Jerome "came under the influence of the literal-historical method, taught him by Apollinaris of Laodicea. The influence of the school of Antioch, along with the Jewish influence, caused Jerome to devalue the allegorical method, even as presented in its modified form by Gregory of Nazianzus…. Through Jerome's influence, a modified Antiochene literalism was mediated to the later church."[118] "His eclectic methodology combined what was best in both the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools."[119] Jerome's "influence as an orthodox theological interpreter and a biblical translator endures."[120]

II. Augustine of Hippo

Augustine of Hippo is today known as the founding father of the Western Church and the godfather of the Protestant Reformation. He lived in Milan, Italy and Carthage, North Africa. His primary Christian influences was his mother, Monica, and Bishop Ambrose of Milan. His biography, the *Confessions*, would have a profound influence on Western philosophy, as well as theology. His work, *The City of God*, would catapult him to position of Doctor of the Church. This path-breaking work merged the Old and New Testaments into a unified whole. "The city of God was equally present in the Israel of the Old Testament as it was with the church in the New. Thus Augustine presented a unified and canonical approach to the Bible that still allowed for the significance of the coming of Jesus Christ, while maintaining the essential unity of the two Testaments. From this canonical framework, Augustine developed his hermeneutical approach."[121]

Augustine's hermeneutical approach was multifaceted and complex. For Augustine, it was of paramount importance that one first believe the Sacred Scriptures, before he attempts to interpret them "I believe in order that I may understand," he proclaimed.[122] He combined the literal, historical, spiritual, and allegorical methods of interpretation.[123] But Augustine's "spiritualizing methodology was closer to Chrysostom's typological exegesis than Origen's

[117] Ibid., p. 132.
[118] Ibid., pp. 132-133.
[119] Ibid., p. 135
[120] Ibid., p. 136.
[121] Ibid., p. 139.
[122] Ibid., p. 140.
[123] Ibid.

allegorizing."[124] Of primary influence on Augustine's hermeneutics was Tyconius's *Book of Rules,*[125] which Augustine favorably construed in his work *On Christian Doctrine*. According to Tyconious, there were seven rules of interpretation which, if "accepted without prejudice as we set it down here, every closed door will be opened and light will be shed on every obscurity. Guided, as it were, by these rules in paths of light, a person walking through the immense forest of prophecy may well be defended from error."[126] Tyconius's seven rules include:

1. Of the Lord and His Body
2. Of the Lord's Bipartite Body
3. Of the Promises and the Law
4. Of Species and Genus
5. Of Times
6. Of Recapitulation
7. Of the Devil and His Body.[127]

In fact, Augustine's theme about the two cities had been borrowed from Tyconius. "The vision of history as the battleground of the true and false church, of course, found its lasting expression in Augustine's two cities characterized in his *City of God*. His hermeneutics was a commentary on a theme also adopted from Tyconius. The goal of all biblical interpretation should prioritize the love of God and neighbor (cf. Matt 22:37-39), the ordering of the Christian life toward its heavenly home."[128] Hence, Augustine of Hippo adopted within his hermeneutics:

1. Old and New Testament as a unified whole;
2. Priority of faith ("I believe in order that I may understand.")
3. Signs (or the significance of "signs" in figurative language)
4. Literal meaning of the text
5. The "law of love" (or the goal of love)

In addition, Augustine embraced the allegorical method of interpretation. "As Augustine explained, it was his spiritual father, Bishop Ambrose, who opened the method of allegorical exegesis for him: ' I listened with delight to Ambrose, in his sermons to the people, often recommending this text most diligently as a rule: "The letter kills, but the spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:6), while at the same time he drew aside the mystic veil and opened to view the spiritual meaning of what seemed to

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid, pp. 142-145.
[126] Ibid., p. 142.
[127] Ibid., p. 142-143 ("Augustine… disagreed with the claim that these rules would solve 'all obscurities' in the law… but apart from these minor points … his review was positive and enthusiastic.")
[128] Ibid., p. 143.

teach perverse doctrine if it were taken according to the letter.'"[129] This led Augustine to adopt a four-fold sense of hermeneutics:

1. Literal;
2. Allegorical (e.g., typological);
3. Tropological or moral; and,
4. Anagogical (prophetic; eschatology).

Augustine agreed with certain aspects of Origen's hermeneutics. "As with Origen, anything that might be dishonoring to God must be interpreted figuratively, because the words of Scripture were viewed by Origen as the expression of eternal truth. The allegorical method was also to be employed to explain seemingly insignificant details."[130] Professor Dockery thus explains:

> Thus [Augustine] allegorized every detail in John 2;1-11, the story of the wedding at Cana. The six waterpots represented the six ages from Adam to Christ, while the two or three measures indicated all humanity, the two measures pointed to the circumcision and uncircumcision, and the three measures were viewed as the three sons of Noah, the ancestors of the human race. Perhaps Augustine's most famous allegorical interpretation was his understanding of the story of the good Samaritan (Luke 10).[131]

Augustine was unable to offer an all-inclusive rule for when to use the allegorical method, but he suggested that when interpreters were unable to distinguish between the literal or figurative meaning, then they should fall back upon the "rule of faith," as presented by the Catholic magisterium. "In sum, Augustine stressed the priority of faith for understanding the Bible. He thought much of the Bible was to be understood both literally and allegorically, yet the historical was never to be disavowed. Scripture was to be interpreted canonically, allowing Scripture to interpret Scripture. The entire canon served as the context for each unit of Scripture. Allegorical interpretation was profitable to deal with difficulties and details, as well as to discover the theological meaning of the passage being studied. What Augustine always stressed was that the entire canonical text should produce love for God and for neighbor in the lives of those in the church."[132]

[129] Ibid., p. 144.
[130] Ibid., p. 145.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., p. 146.

Next in influence, after Jerome and Augustine of Hippo, is Theodoret of Cyrus (ca. A.D. 393- 466), who is also known as "the Augustine of the East."[133] The name Theodoret means "given by God." Theodoret was born and bred in Antioch, where he became accustomed to the unique theological school of Antioch[134] and familiar with the writings of Diodore, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. He embraced the typological method of hermeneutics.[135] Hence, "Theodoret evidences a heavy debt to the Antiochene tradition…. Thus it was the Antiochene tradition, more than direct teaching by the Antioch theologians, that shaped Theodoret's exegesis."[136] His hermeneutics was shaped by his pastoral duties, and thus he provided a "pastoral" context to hermeneutics. He depended almost entirely upon the Greek texts. As a bishop of Cyrus, his primary "work as textual critic indicate that his primary work as an interpreter was to explain and clarify the text for a Christian readership, underlying his pastoral concerns and framework…. The fundamental reason for writing the commentaries was Theodoret's concern to nourish the flock…. Thus the crucial point for Theodoret's interpretation involved his thoroughgoing commitment to interpreting the Scriptures for the benefit of the church. His exegesis was intended to bring the reader into the prescence of the blessings and benefits which the Word of God provided."[137]

But Theodoret did not wholly reject the allegorical method that was so highly esteemed by the Alexandrians either. He preferred a more balanced approach. "Whatever referred to history, he explained historically, but matters that could be understood as typologically pointing to Christ, the church, or the preaching of the apostles were so interpreted…. Undoubtedly, the Christological and soteriological factors of the time influenced the convergence between the Alexandrians (Cyril) and the Antiochenes (Theodoret)."[138] Hence, Theoret's work evidences "a creative synthesis with other traditions,"[139] and he "demonstrated an eclectic hermeneutic representative of the canonical and Catholic concerns of the fifth-century church."[140]

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[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., p. 149 ("His exegesis was intended to bring the reader into the presence of the blessings and benefits which the Word of God provided.")
[135] Ibid., p. 150 ("We can see Theodoret's fondness for typological interpretation and his great flexibility in his employment of it. Verbal resemblances, as with the names of Joshua and Jesus, were enough to argue that the Old Testament writer was prefiguring some portin of the messianic age.")
[136] Ibid, pp 147-148.
[137] Ibid., p. 149.
[138] Ibid., p. 152.
[139] Ibid., p. 153.
[140] Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX:
Biblical Interpretation Then and Now

The Early Church—i.e., the first 500 years of Christianity—is the key to Reformed Protestant theology and hermeneutics. In *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* Professor Dockery analyzes the critical theological issues and historical concerns that arose during the first through the fifth centuries, A.D., beginning with Jesus' own Christological and typological interpretation of the Old Testament; the challenges facing the first apostles and the Apostolic fathers during the second and third centuries; and the two major theological schools of Alexandria and Antioch. By the emergence of the fifth century, A.D., these theological developments converged into a newer synthesis which Reformed Protestants believe reflect the true, authentic heritage of the Western Church.[141]

According to Dockery's *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now,* the Early Church has much to offer to modern-day theologians and pastors. There is today, he concludes, a hermeneutical loggerhead: "the present state of biblical studies," writes Dockery, "is seemingly headed toward a hermeneutical impasse,"[142] meaning that the "problem of interpreting Scripture"[143] has "no simple answer,"[144] and that, consequently, modern-day theologians from all walks of life and various denominations have taken contradictory approaches to hermeneutics. These approaches range from being (a) author-oriented; (b) reader-oriented; and (c) text-oriented, in perspective.[145] The "author-oriented" perspective, writes Professor Dockery, is most akin to the "literal-grammatical," the "historical-contextual," and the "historical-critical" approach to interpreting the Sacred Scriptures. The focus here is on the biblical authors' original intentions, including their political and socioeconomic environments.

Thus, Professor Dockery suggests that the modern-day author-oriented perspective traces its roots to the catechistical school of ancient Antioch. The "reader-oriented" perspective is quite new and unique to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, allowing the reader to pull out the basic moral principles from the biblical texts and to apply those principles to modern-day issues and problems

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[141] It has thus been said, amongst the Reformed Protestants, that the Roman Catholics were actually the "first Protestants," because they broke away from the true apostolic, holy, and catholic church.
[142] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 169.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid., p. 170.
[145] Ibid., pp. 170-176.

in a creative way in order to achieve social justice. Professor Dockery notes that "[i]n the contemporary church, the reader-response model has been adopted by many interested in liberation and feminist theologies."[146]

Hence, we may conclude that in common law nations such as Britain, the United States, Australia, and Canada, that liberal political parties and churches have subscribed to this "reader-oriented" perspective of Christian biblical hermeneutics. And, finally, writes Professor Dockery, there is the "text-the biblical authors' "intentions," as in the "author-oriented" approach; but rather the goal of the "text-oriented" perspective is to discover the biblical authors' "results." This approach looks at both the historical and grammatical context of the texts, but yet does not ignore the universal moral teachings that can and must be extracted from those texts, in order to ascertain a pragmatic ecclesiastical "canon" or moral "rule" of conduct from the modern-day Christian church. Therefore, the fundamental concerns or objectives which undergird the "author-oriented" and the "reader-oriented" perspectives of biblical hermeneutics are merged together toward a unifying synthesis in the "text-oriented" perspective.

Lastly, in *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now*, Professor Dockery recommends that modern-day Christian theologians consider the "canonical context" of the Sacred Scriptures. I find this to suggest that the Old and New Testament be treated as "Christian jurisprudence," as well as theology. In other words, the Bible is a moral guide for real, practical problems—personal, socioeconomic, and political problems, as well as spiritual, theological, and ecclesiastical problems. It thus behooves church leaders to consider the social issues and problems of the day, in light of the "canonical" texts of the Bible. To this point, Professor Dockery writes that "the historical meaning and the contemporary understanding belong together in a single canon of Scripture" that require us to "wrestle with both sides of the problem, the then and now communicated to us by canonical text itself…. In this sense the canon becomes the interpreter's primary rule of faith…. The canonical message speaks authoritatively to the human condition."[147]

[146] Ibid., p. 174.
[147] Ibid., pp. 179-181.

CONCLUSION

The Christian religion grew out of the Jewish faith and, as such, it borrowed heavily from the Hebrew Old Testament, particularly the *Septuagint*. Jesus of Nazareth interpreted the Old Testament in light of himself, as the fulfillment of its prophecies. That interpretation was recorded in the four Gospels, and then handed down from the first apostles to the Apostolic Fathers. Hence, during the first two centuries of Christianity, the primary theological concern involved Christological matters. The chief concern amongst early Christian theologians was hermeneutics. During the second century, A.D., the first school to emerge was the Catechetical School of Alexandria, which stressed the allegorical method of hermeneutics largely in an effort to address challenges of Gnosticism and neo-Platonism. The second school to emerge was the Catechetical School of Antioch, which stressed the literal and historical method of hermeneutics. The contributions of both the Alexandrian and Antiochene catechetical schools were rich and influential. In many respects, their differences were merely a question of semantics. And much of what was termed as "allegory" amongst the Alexandrians could also be called "typology" amongst the Antiochenes. In any event, towards the end of the fourth century, the two great hermeneutical traditions converged together in both the Latin (Western) and the Greek (Eastern) churches. In the Western church, Augustine of Hippo's theology best reflected this convergence of the Alexandrian and Antiochene traditions, while in the Eastern church, Theodoret of Cyrus' theology reflected the same convergence. This is the same convergence of theology of the Early Church—the Rule of Faith—that became the foundation of Luther's and Calvin's Reformed Church Theology.

THE END

APPENDIX A. "A History of the First Apostles" by Roderick O. Ford, Litt.D.

The Early Church[148] was Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; but it was mostly Greek. Almost from the very beginning, the Early Church was multicultural and multinational—and it early and largely conceptualized itself as being universal or catholic.

Indeed, the new Christian faith represented a merger of Jew and Gentile, and stood for the ideal that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation…." (Acts 17:26). Its liturgy and sacred literary texts, however, were largely Greek:

> The New Testament was written in a form of Koine Greek, which was the common language of the Eastern Mediterranean from the conquests of Alexander the Great (335-323 B.C.) until the evolution of Byzantine Greek (c. 600 B.C.).The New Testament Gospels and Epistles were only part of a Hellenistic Jewish culture in the Roman Empire, where Alexandria had a larger Jewish population than Jerusalem, and Greek was spoken by more Jews than Hebrew…. Many of these diaspora Jews would have Greek as their first language, and the Torah and then other Jewish scriptures (later the Christian "Old Testament") were therefore translated into standard Koine Greek, i.e., the Septuagint. Greek scriptures were in wide use by the time of Jesus and Paul of Tarsus (early Christianity) because most Christian proselytes, God-fearers, and other gentile sympathizers of Hellenistic Judaism could not read Hebrew. The text of the Greek Old Testament is quoted more often than the original Hebrew Bible text in the Greek New Testament (particularly the Pauline epistles) by the Apostolic Fathers, and later by the Greek Church Fathers. Modern critical editions of the Greek Old Testament are based on the Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Vaticanus.[149]

NOTE: The Vulgate is a late-4th century Latin translation of the Bible. It was to become the Catholic Church's officially promulgated Latin version of the Bible

[148] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 187 ("Early Church. A rather broad and somewhat ambiguous term used to describe the Christian church from its inception through its development in the first five centuries. Sometimes the terms earliest church, earliest Christianity, primitive church, or *primitive Christianity* are more focused upon the first-century church.")

[149] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Septuagint

during the 16th century and is still used in the Latin Church alongside the Hebrew and Greek sources.[150]

The first Apostles of Christ, however, carried to the Gospel throughout the known world, establishing churches and disciples, who in turn carried out the sacred traditions. It is important to recognize that the first Apostles passed along their knowledge of the Christian faith *directly* to men who would become known as the Church Fathers:

Jesus of Nazareth was executed in ancient Judea, 33 A.D. The careers and legacies of his First Apostles laid the foundation of the Christian Church	**Life Span/ death of the First Apostles**	**Where ministries of the First Apostles occurred**	**Famous Pupils/ Catechists of the First Apostles**
a. Peter ("Simon Peter")	**Born:** 1 A.D., circa. **Death:** between 62 and 68 A.D. **Nature of Death:** executed by Roman Emperor Nero.	**Antioch** (modern-day Turkey); Bishop of Antioch) **Rome** (modern-day city of Rome); Bishop of Rome	**Peter directly taught or influenced:** **Mark**(or John Mark): he was the author of the *Gospel of Mark*. He was the son or nephew of the Apostle Barnaba, who served with the Apostle Paul. Mark went on at least one missionary journey with both Barnabus and

[150] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vulgate

			Paul. Mark is believe to have founded the Coptic Church of Alexandria, which arguably become the most importan Holy See in the Early Church. The Coptic Church believes that Mark was born in Cyrene in North Africa. Mark was the first Bishop of Alexandria, where he taught, baptized, and consecrated **Anianus** (b. ?-cir. 86 A.D.), who would become the second Pope of Alexandria. Mark is also credited with founding the Catechetical School of Alexandria. This school would produce the great second-century theologians **Clement of**

			Alexandria (c. 150- c. 215 A.D.) and **Origen of Alexandria** (c. 184 – c. 254 A.D.). Mark is believed to have to have baptized and consecrated **Justus of Alexandria**. Justus became the first "Dean" of the Catechetical School of Alexandria and the sixth Pope of Alexandria. **Clement of Rome** (35 A.D. – 99 A.D., was the second or third Bishop of Rome. He was "consecrated" by, and a student of, the Apostle Peter; he was a leading member of the early church at Rome. The Apostle Paul appears to have mentioned Clement in the New Testament

			(Epistle to the Philippians 4:3). Clements writings have survived to this day, and he was well known throughout the Greco-Roman world as an influential bishop. Clement was martyred at Rome.
b. Andrew	**Born:** circa 5 A.D. to 10 A.D. **Death**: 60 A.D. **Nature of Death**: Executed in India Andrew was the younger brother of Apostle Peter.	According to tradition, Eastern Europe; Asia Minor. Kiev (Ukraine) Norvgood (Russia) Thrace (Bulgaria, Greece, Tukey) Founder of the Holy See at Constantinople.	**Andrew taught or influenced:** **Stachye the Apostle:** he became the second Bishop of Byzantium (which later became Constantinople). He was a student of both Apostle Andrew and Apostle Peter.
c. James (son of Zebedee)	**Born:** Circa4 A.D. **Death:** 44 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Executed in India. Andrew was the	One tradition suggest that James may have traveled to the Iberian peninsula.	**James influenced:** Unknown

	younger brother of Apostle Peter.		
d. John (brother of James, son of Zebedee)	**Born:** Circa 6 A.D. **Death:** 100 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Died of natural causes John was the brother of James (son of Zebedee); Author of the Gospel of John; 1st and 2nd Epistles of John; and the Book of Revelation. He in known today as "John the Elder"; "John the Evangelist"; and "John of Patmos."	Asia Minor (Greece; Turkey)	**John taught or influenced:** **Ignatius of Antioch:** (Bishop of Antioch)(born: ? to 108 A.D.); he was a ***student of the Apostle John***. **Polycarp:** (Bishop of Smyrna)(69 A.D. to 155 A.D.); he was also a **student of the Apostle John**. **Irenaeus:** (Bishop of Smyrna)(130A.D. to ???); he was a student of Polycarp. Irenaeus would, in turn, greatly influence theologians of the second century, including **Tertulliam of Carthage** (155 – 240 A.D.) and

			Hippolytus of Rome (170 – 235 A.D.).
e. Philip	**Born: Circa, unknown** **Death: 80 A.D.** **Nature of Death:** Executed; crucified upside down in Hierapolis (Greece)	Asia Minor (Greece)	**Philip taught or influenced:** Unknown
f. Bartholomew (also called "Nathanial")	**Born:** unknown **Death:** unknown **Nature of Death:** Executed in the city of Albanopolis (Armenia)	Armenia; Ethiopia; India; Mesopotamia (Iraq, Kuwait, Syria, Turkey), Parthia (Iran), and Lycaonia Bartholomew is a founder of the Armenian Apostolic Church (the Kingdom of Armenia was the first state to adopt Christianity as its official religion under King	**Bartholomew influenced:** Unknown

		Tiridates III).	
g. Matthew (also called "Levi")	**Borne:** unknown **Death:** unknown **Nature of Death:** Executed in either Ethiopia or Greece.	Ancient Judea; Greece; and Ethiopia	**Matthew taught or influenced:** Unknown But Matthew's *Gospel of Matthew* had a profound influence upon the universal church.
h. Thomas (also called Didmyus). **He is also nicknamed "Doubting Thomas"**	**Born:** unknown **Death:** July 3, 72 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Executed in India	He traveled as far as Kerla, Indis; China; and Ethopia	**Thomas influenced:** **Unknown** Thomas was known as the Patron Saint of India; his legacy in India was profound, as there are ancient churches in India which trace its apostolic succession to the Apostle Thomas.
i. James (son of Alphaeus)	**Born:** unknown **Death:** circa, 62	Egypt	**James taught or influenced:**

	A.D. **Nature of Death:** Executed or stoned to death in Egypt Also known as "James the Less"		Unknown
j. Simon	**Born:** unknown **Death:** unknown; 65 A.D. ?? **Nature of Death:** unknown; but tradition holds that he may have been executed in Lebanon along with the Apostle Jude ("Thaddeus"). He was also known as the "Zealot." He is described as one of the most obscure of the Apostles.	Unknown	**Simon taught or influenced:** Unknown

k. Jude (He was also called "Thaddeus")	**Born: unknown** **Death: unknown; 65 A.D. ??** **Nature of Death: Executed in what is modern-day Beirut, Lebanon; tradition holds that he was executed together with the Apostle Simon.**	Judea; Samaria; Idumaeu; Syria; Mesopotamia; and Libya.	**Jude taught and influenced:** Unknown
l. Judas Iscariot	**Born:** unknown **Death:** 33 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Suicide by hanging in Jerusalem.	Judas betrayed Jesus to Jewish religious establishment in Jerusalem, ancient Palesine in 33 A.D.	N/A
m. Mathias (Replaced Judas Iscariot)	**Born:** unknown **Death:** 80 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Executed probably in	Ethiopia; Asia Minor	**Mathias taught or influenced:** Unknown

	Ethiopia or Asia Minor According to the *Book of Acts*, Mathias had been affiliated with Jesus and the twelve Apostles.		
n. Paul (his Hebrew or Jewish name was "Saul"; and his Latin name was "Paul.")	**Born:** circa 5 A.D. **Death:** circa 67 A.D. **Nature of Death:** Executed in the city of Rome.	**First Missionary Journey (Paul, John Mark, and Barnabas):** Cyprus, Pamphylia; Pisidian Antioch; Jerusalem; Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. **Second Missionary Journey (Paul and Silas):** Derbe, Lystra, Phillipi, Thesalonia, Berea, Corinth, Athens, Ephesus, and Antioch. **Third Missionary Journey:** Galatia, Phrygia, Ephesus,	**Paul taught or influenced:** **Apostle Luke:** he was also known as "Luke the Evangelist"; he was author of the Gospel of Luke and the *Book of the Acts*. **Dionysius the Areopagite:** he was a judge at the court Areopagus in Athens who lived in the first century A.D. As related in the Acts of the Apostles, (Acts 17:34), he was converted to Christianity by the preaching of the Apostle Paul during the Areopagus

		Philippi, Thesalonica, Berea, Miletus, Caesarea, and Jerusalem. **Fourth Missionary Journey:** imprisoned in Jerusalem; transferred to Caesarea; then transported to Rome, where he was executed by the Roman Emperor Nero.	sermon. According to Dionysius of Corinth, quoted by Eusebius, Dionysius then became the first Bishop of Athens. **Timothy:** he "was an early Christian evangelist and the first-century Christian bishop of Ephesus, whom tradition relates died around the year A.D. 97…. His relationship with Paul was close and Paul entrusted him with missions of great importance. Timothy's name appears as the co-author of 2 Corinthians; Philippians; Colossians, 1 Thessalonians; 2 Thessalonians; and Philemon. Paul wrote to the Philippians about Timothy, 'I have no one like him' (Philippians 2:19-23). When Paul was in prison and

			awaiting martyrdom, he summoned his faithful friend Timothy for a last farewell." **Onesimus:** he was also called "Onesimus of Byzantium" and "The Holy Apostle Onesimus" in some Eastern Orthodox churches, was a slave to Philemon of Colossae, a man of Christian faith. He may also be the same Onesimus named by Ignatius of Antioch as Bishop in Ephesus which would put his death close to 95 A.D. Regardless, Onesimus went from slave to brother to Bishop. The name 'Onesimus' appears in two New Testament epistles—in Colossians 4:9 a person of this name is identified

			as a Christian accompanying Tychicus to visit the Christians in Colossae; nothing else is stated about him in this context. He may well be the freed Onesimus from the Epistle to Philemon. **Aristarchus:** he travelled with Paul to Rome; he was identified as one of "the 70 disciples" in the New Testament; he is described by Paul as a fellow laborer; he is believed to have been a Bishop of Apamea. **Barnabas:** he travelled with Paul during his first missionary journey. He is believed to have been martyred in 61 A.D. He is considered the founder of the Cypriot Orthodox Church.

			John Mark: he was the cousin or nephew of Barnabas. John Mark wrote the Gospel of Mark, and is believed to also have accompanied the Apostle Peter. **Epaphras:** he is mentioned as a "fellow servant" in Paul's letters. **Gaius:** he is mentioned as a traveling companion in Paul's letters.

THE END

APPENDIX B: "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Early Church" by Roderick O. Ford, Litt.D.

The *Book of Hebrews* provides a vivid example of *typological hermeneutics* with "the Old Testament as a foundation."[151] It thus provides insight into how the "Early Church"[152] interpreted the Old Testament in light of Christ.[153] "The author of Hebrews," writes Professor Dockery, "approaches the Old Testament with a straightforward question, What do the Scriptures mean viewed from a christocentric perspective?"[154]

Chapter one of the *Book of Hebrews* concludes, in no uncertain terms, that God's Son had appeared among us, that he is the sole heir to God's everlasting throne, — "a scepter of righteousness… the scepter of thy kingdom."[155] Thus, in chapter one of *Hebrews*, the author deduces that God's Son has been appointed "heir of all things,"[156] and that he sits at "the right hand of the Majesty on high"[157]; that he is much higher than the angels in heaven; and that this same Son is said to "[s]it on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?"[158]

Chapter two of Hebrews then tells us that the terms of our existence is that we shall reap what we sow, that punishment awaits sin and injustice, but that God has made intercession for all of humankind through his Son Jesus. That through his several apostles bearing him witness, "both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost," so that we might believe, accept Christ, and be saved. This same Son of God "was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death," on our behalf.[159] In this role, Christ served as a "faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."[160] Through suffering, Christ suffered for us; through dying, Christ

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[151] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 43.
[152] David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics* in the Light of the Early Church (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Co., 1992), p. 187 ("Early Church. A rather broad and somewhat ambiguous term used to describe the Christian church from its inception through its development in the first five centuries. Sometimes the terms earliest church, earliest Christianity, primitive church, or *primitive Christianity* are more focused upon the first-century church.")
[153] Ibid., p. 44 ("The author depended upon a typological approach that combined the ideas of the corporate solidarity of the people of God with historical correspondence.")
[154] Ibid.
[155] Hebrews 1:8.
[156] Hebrews 1:2.
[157] Hebrews 1:3.
[158] Hebrews 1:13.
[159] Hebrews 2:9.
[160] Hebrews 2:17.

died for us, in order to exonerate us from all wrongdoing. As such, he delivered us, even those of us "who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."[161] That is to say, through fear of death, brought on by carnal-minded deception, many of us remain in bondage, that is, unable or unwilling to live or to act freely—that is to say, to experience true freedom and life that is the fruit of obedience to God's will.

Christ Jesus is like unto Moses, as the head of his own house; and yet Jesus "was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house."[162] And yet the terms of household membership, whether under Moses or Christ Jesus, are similar—we must have faith. Even those who witnessed the miracles performed by Moses, who "came out of Egypt by Moses… could not enter in because of unbelief."[163] Similarly, today, many Christians will not enter into the kingdom of heaven because of their unbelief. The author of Hebrews thus states, "[l]et us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it."[164] For, indeed, along with having the Gospel preached and heard, a person must receive the Gospel through faith (i.e., belief). The duty of "belief" is critically important; for there are those "whom [the Gospel] was first preached entered not in because of unbelief."[165]

The eternal rest of God, which is "the seventh day," prefigures the coming of Christ's kingdom, whereby we should endeavor to enter into; for "[t]here remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God"[166]; and that rest is none other than the second coming of God's kingdom through our Lord Christ Jesus. "Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief."[167] In the meanwhile, this same Jesus is our "high priest taken from among men," "a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedic,"[168] so "that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins."[169] "For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him… King of Salem, which is, King of peace; [w]ithout father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life;

[161] Hebrews 2:15.
[162] Hebrews 3:3.
[163] Hebrews 3:16-19.
[164] Hebrews 4:1.
[165] Hebrews 4:6.
[166] Hebrews 4:9.
[167] Hebrews 4:11.
[168] Hebrews 5:6.
[169] Hebrews 5:1.

but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually."[170] Jesus thus was the other "priest" who arose "after the order of Melchisedic, and not … called after the order of Aaron…. For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law."[171] Jesus himself "sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood. And it is yet far more evident: for that after the similitude of Melchisedic there ariseth another priest."[172]

Up to this point, both Catholics and Protestants are in full agreement regarding the supremacy of Christ. The breakdown between them was caused by fundamental differences regarding the role of the New Testament priesthood. According to the *Book of Hebrews*, Jesus Christ is, in addition to being a king, a "priest for ever after the order of Melchisedic."[173] But not only is Christ a priest, but so, too, are all believers in Christ—hence, the universal priesthood of all believers. That is to say, all true believers are also priests to the most high God; "[f]*or such an high priest became us*, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens…."[174] Nor under the New Covenant, as the Reformers interpreted it, is there a need for a "priestly" estate and a "lay or secular" estate, because in the New Covenant Church all person for least to greatest "shall know the Lord."[175] Thus, the Reformed doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers"[176] is hereby confirmed: *a law of holiness shall be written upon the hearts of all, from the least to the greatest*:

> For this the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: And **they *shall not teach*** every man is neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, **Know the Lord**: **for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest**. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more. In that he saith, A new covenant, he hath made

[170] Hebrews 7:1-3.
[171] Hebrews 7:11.
[172] Hebrews 7:14-15.
[173] Hebrews 7:17.
[174] Hebrews 7:26.
[175] Hebrews 7:10-13.
[176] It should be noted here that the Roman Catholics used to hold that there was a "Priestly" estate and a "Lay or Secular" estate. Today, they hold that all Catholics are "priests," but that there is a difference between the "lay" priesthood of all believers" and the "ordained priesthood," which is governed by the Bishop of Rome and the Roman College of Bishops (i.e., the *magisterium*). This Catholic teach, along with its seven sacraments, distinguishes it from the Protestant and Reformed Churches.

> the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."[177]
>
> This is ***the covenant that I will make with them*** after those days, saith the Lord. ***I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds*** will I write them; and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more.[178]
>
> Let us hold fast to the profession of our faith without wavering: (for he is faithful that promised;) and let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works; ***not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together***, as the manner of some is; ***but exhorting one another***: and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

The Protestant doctrine of "justification by faith alone" is also manifested here. Under the new covenant, ushered in by Christ, we can be made perfect through washing away of sin through the blood of Christ; for "without shedding of blood is no remission."[179] "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many…."[180] For the Law of Moses, in and of itself, cannot make one perfect; but the "blood of Christ" will, if it is accepted through faith. And so, believing in Christ's new covenant, Christians must live amidst difficulties and challenges, through faith.

As the author of Hebrews says: "[n]ow the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."[181] As stated in chapter eleven in the *Book of Hebrews*, this "faith" was exemplified in the Old Testament: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen…. But without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."[182] "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward."[183] The righteous people of the Old Testament "all died in faith," having need received the "New Covenant" of Christ, but rather having received a "type of

[177] Hebrews 7:10-13.
[178] Hebrews 10: 16-17.
[179] Hebrews 9:22.
[180] Hebrews 9:28.
[181] Hebrews 10:38.
[182] Hebrews 11: 1-6.
[183] Hebrews 11:24-26.

New Covenant" through the Old Covenant of law of Moses.[184] But the New Covenant has now come into the world, with Jesus Christ as the Mediator, "that we might be partakers of his holiness."[185] Therefore, concludes the *Book of Hebrews*, "[l]et brotherly love continue…."[186]

[184] Hebrews 11:13.
[185] Hebrews 12: 10.
[186] Hebrews 13:1-25.

CONCLUSION

The Protestant and Reformed Churches relied upon the *Book of Hebrews* not simply as an example of *literal, historical,* and *typological hermeneutics*, but they also patterned their church structure (i.e., ecclesiology) after the egalitarian description of the church as described in this New Testament book. They believed in the doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers," where no one person—clergyman or otherwise—would have spiritual authority to teach or instruct anyone else. Rather, every true believer, from the least to the greatest, would be holy, having the laws of God sewn into their hearts and minds; and where every true believer would exhort each other. According these Protestants (Lutherans, Calvinists, Baptists, and others) the *Book of Hebrews*' egalitarian description of the church was a stark contradiction to the Roman Catholic magisterial and hierarchal structure.

EXHIBIT C: Methodism and the Ancient Church of Alexandria
by Roderick O. Ford, Litt.D.

During the period of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1787), a crisis occurred in churches of England and America because of war and strained relations between the colonists and the British. Within the Methodist movement, which was still considered to be a part of the Church of England, the problem of ordination of Methodist ministers soon emerged. Ordained Methodist ministers were then required to be ordained by a Bishop within the Church of England. After the commencement of the Revolutionary War in North America, the Bishop of London, who had jurisdiction over all Anglican churches there, refused to ordain any Anglican priests, let alone ministers within the Methodist movement. Rev. John Wesley, who was the leader of the Methodist Movement, was himself an ordained priest within the Church of England; but Anglican priests (i.e., presbyters) were not allowed to ordain ministers—only Bishops had this authority. At that time, the Church of England followed the same ecclesiastical rule as found in the Church of Rome: only the Bishop retained the authority to ordain a minister. A crisis soon occurred within the Methodist movement in North America: how would their ministers be ordained, without authority from a Bishop within the Church of England?

Thus faced with this crisis, Rev. Wesley searched the Scriptures and looked to ancient ecclesiological practices of the Church of Alexandria, Egypt for guidance. In doing so, he essentially returned to the dogma of the Early Church. In this case, Wesley bypassed the Western Church and looked to the first Oriental Orthodox Church—the Coptic Church of Alexandria, Egypt. That church has been founded by the Apostle John Mark (i.e., the author of the Gospel of St. Mark). In this ancient North African church, as noted by Martin Luther and others, the Bishops were elected by presbyters and elders—not appointed by an archbishop or a pope. Therefore, while following the ecclesiological example of the ancient Church of Alexandria, Rev. Wesley reasoned that ordained Anglican priests and elders, who were a part of the Methodist movement, retained emergency power to elect a superintendent or "bishop" for the Methodist movement in North America.

> John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist tradition, believed that the offices of bishop and presbyter constituted one order, **citing an ancient opinion from the Church of Alexandria**; **Jerome, a Church Father**, wrote: "For **even at Alexandria from the time of**

> **Mark the Evangelist until the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius the presbyters always named as bishop one of their own number chosen by themselves and set in a more exalted position, just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know to be diligent and call him archdeacon**. For what function, excepting ordination, belongs to a bishop that does not also belong to a presbyter?" (Letter CXLVI). **John Wesley thus argued that for two centuries the succession of bishops in the Church of Alexandria, which was founded by Mark the Evangelist, was preserved through ordination by presbyters alone and was considered valid by that ancient Church**.[187]

Citing this authority from the ancient Alexandrian habitude, Rev. Wesley, one other ordained Anglican priest, and two elders ordained Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury the first superintendents of the Methodist Church in British North America. Both Coke and Asbury assumed the title of "bishop," and this American church adopted the name "Methodist Episcopal Church."

It should be noted her that the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines of the "priesthood of all believers" were also central to Wesley's position on the ordination of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury to the position of superintendent (i.e., "bishop") in the Methodist church. Under the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, both "presbyters" and "bishops" are either appointed or elected by the congregation, which was the "priesthood of all believers," as defined as follows: "[b]ut ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light…."(1 Peter 2:9); and "[y]e also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." (1 Peter 2:5). This doctrine led the Methodists to also reach a different theological conclusion on the doctrine of Apostolic succession; the Roman Catholic, Anglican and other Orthodox churches tended to stress the unbroken chain of the laying on of hands and passing on through consecration and ordination the Apostolic succession through the college of bishops (i.e., through episcopacy); but the Methodists stressed "fidelity to apostolic doctrine," rather than the unbroken chain of laying on of hands from the first Apostles of Christ down to the current ecclesiastical leaders of a particular church. In other words, the Methodist clergy cared little for having a direct linkage to the first Apostles of Christ through person-to-person laying on of hands, ordination,

[187] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesleyan_theology

and consecration.[188] But rather the Methodists emphasized spiritual holiness through following the authentic doctrine of the Gospels. Hence, the Methodists emphasized orthopraxy (i.e., "right practice") and orthodoxy (i.e., "right belief"), and these they retained largely from the Church Fathers and the Early Church.

THE END

[188] "'In addition to the aforementioned arguments, in 1937 the annual Conference of the British Methodist Church located the 'true continuity' with the Church of past ages in "the continuity of Christian experience, the fellowship in the gift of the one Spirit; in the continuity in the allegiance to one Lord, the continued proclamation of the message; the continued acceptance of the mission;...' [through a long chain which goes back to] "the first disciples in the company of the Lord Himself ... This is our doctrine of apostolic succession' [which neither depends on, nor is secured by,] 'an official succession of ministers, whether bishops or presbyters, from apostolic times, but rather by fidelity to apostolic truth.'" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesleyan_theology