

# REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA'S UNIVERSITIES: A HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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## Abstract

This paper examines the role of education with regard to religious studies within the Chinese university. It addresses issues such as the tension between the objective presentation of Christianity, and its tension with Christian education as moral formation. It concludes that education needs to address questions of value and morality, and it needs to address these with students as human beings, and we should not ignore one of the fundamental characteristics of traditional Christian education, namely, an emphasis on the moral and spiritual formation of human beings.

## บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้จะตรวจสอบบทบาทการศึกษาโดยคำนึงถึงศาสนศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัยของจีน จะกล่าวถึงปัญหาต่างๆ เช่น ความตึงเครียดระหว่างการนำเสนอคริสตศาสนาในเชิงปรัชญาและการศึกษาแบบคริสต์ในเชิงการอบรมศีลธรรม บทความนี้สรุปว่าการศึกษาจะต้องตั้งคำถามเกี่ยวกับคุณค่าและศีลธรรม และจะต้องเสนอเรื่องเหล่านี้แก่นักศึกษาในฐานะที่พวกเขาเป็นมนุษย์ และเราไม่ควรละเลยคุณลักษณะพื้นฐานอย่างหนึ่งของการศึกษาแบบคริสต์ดั้งเดิม นั่นก็คือการให้ความสำคัญอย่างยิ่งกับการอบรมพัฒนาศีลธรรมและจิตวิญญาณของมนุษย์

## Greek *paideia*

The Greeks, who consider knowledge to be a formative force in education, are the first to recognize that education means deliberately molding human character in accordance with an ideal.<sup>1</sup> Werner Jaeger (1888-1961) chooses *paideia* as an all-encompassing notion to grasp the essence of ancient Greek culture. Jaeger's three-volume work *Paideia* treats *paideia*, the shaping of the Greek character, as a basis for a new study of Hellenism as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not *paideia* can be regarded as the fundamental concept underpinning Hellenistic culture is still a controversial issue among academics;<sup>3</sup> however, a consensus has been reached that *paideia* embraces the very core ideas of Greek education. Isocrates, who claims that Athens had become the "school" of all Greece, highly appreciates the Athenian *paideia* and argues that it should define "Hellenic" identity. He says, "the word "*Hellenes*" suggests no longer a race but a way of thought, and the title "*Hellenes*" applies to those who share our culture rather than those who share a common blood".<sup>4</sup>

Man is at the center of ancient Greek education. The Greeks believe that education embodies the purpose of all human effort. A unique characteristic of ancient Greek education is that every part is regarded as subordinate and relative to an ideal whole. In approaching the problem of education, the Greeks rely wholly on the realization that human life is governed by natural principles. The ideal man, according to the Greeks, is the universally valid model of humanity which all individuals are supposed to imitate. Therefore, the intellectual principle of the Greeks is not individualism but 'humanism' in its original and classical sense, meaning the process of molding man into the true form, that of genuine human nature, through education. This is the true Greek *paideia*, the molding of man.<sup>5</sup> In the fourth century C. E., *paideia* was connected with the highest *arete* attainable for human beings and was used to denote the sum total of all perfections of mind and body. This new comprehensive concept was firmly established by the time of Isocrates and Plato.<sup>6</sup> According to Plato, true *paideia* has always been the education of human beings geared toward attaining the whole of *arete*. No type of training in special activities can lead to the attainment of *paideia*. Plato defines true *paideia*, as educating minds toward spiritual perfection, as opposed training people

for certain vocations.<sup>7</sup>

Although much attention was paid to the individual human being in *paideia*, education in ancient Greece is not a practice which concerns the individual alone: it is essentially a function of the community. The character of the community is expressed in the individuals who constitute it.<sup>8</sup> The Greeks think that each individual human being reflects the truth of all human beings and never sees an event or entity as an isolated phenomenon but always as part of a greater whole: “beauty, absolute, simple, and everlasting... the irradiation of the particular by the general”.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the relationship between the individual and the community, *paideia* also concerns the divine dimension. The Parthenon, Greek mythology, and the Greek gods of Mount Olympus all remind us of the close relationship between the Greeks and the divine. The polis is not a matter of walls or ships, but a spiritual community.<sup>10</sup> The *polis* is an independent religious and political unit within which gods are the unseen partners in the city’s welfare.<sup>11</sup> In Homer, the term *arete* is used to describe not only human merit but the excellence of the power of the gods.<sup>12</sup> Hellenistic cultural life can be looked upon as a reflection and foretaste of the happy life enjoyed by the souls blessed with immortality, not only that, but as a means of obtaining it: mental labor and the pursuit of science and art are a sure means of cleansing the soul from the stains of earthly passion and of freeing it from the restricting bonds of matter.<sup>13</sup> Concerning the sacred elements of *paideia*, Marrou puts it as follows:

*παιδεία*—a thing divine—a heavenly game, a nobility of soul, was invested with a kind of sacred radiance that gave it a special dignity of a genuine religious kind. In the deep confusion caused by the sudden collapse of ancient beliefs, it was the one true unshakable value to which the mind of man could cling; and Hellenistic culture, thus erected into an absolute, eventually became for many the equivalent of a religion.<sup>14</sup>

## Platonic *paideia*

One of the most important expansions concerning the meaning of *paideia* can be attributed to Plato. This revision under Plato has played a significant role in the appearance of the Christian *paideia* in the first century. The following discussion will concentrate on some parts of Plato's educational ideas which have had a great impact on the formation of the Christian *paideia*.

Firstly, Plato's primary philosophical interests is the strenuous development of the intellect and will, motivated by a ceaseless desire to re-attain the lost union with the eternal. Moreover, Plato regards education as a process through which truth is not introduced into the mind from without, but is "led out" from within. According to this understanding, the classical *paideia* assumed the deeper metaphysical and spiritual dimensions of the Academy.<sup>15</sup> In *The Republic*, Plato points out that the capacity for knowledge is present in everyone's mind and knowledge can only be perceived by inner ability.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Plato's "Allegory of the Cave" not only represents the advancement of the soul through education but also implies the conversion of the soul. "Conversion" is a term specific to Platonic *paideia*, denoting the wheeling round of the 'whole soul' towards the light of the Idea of the Good, the divine origin of the universe.<sup>17</sup> This is what Jaeger calls the "echo-making" development in the meaning of traditional *paideia*.

Secondly, assistance from the divine begins to play a more important role in Plato's educational idea of the conversion of the soul. Plato is convinced that the ultimate concern of the soul is to strive for goodness. The Idea of the Good as the origin and the dominator of light and the provider of truth and knowledge, the core of virtue and intellect, is assigned by Plato a dominant position at the center of the cosmos.<sup>18</sup> More importantly, the Idea of the Good is proclaimed to be the ultimate cause of everything in the universe. In this regard, Plato is thought to have founded a new religion.<sup>19</sup> For this reason, the idea of *paideia* in Plato can be considered an educational idea with a religious purpose. Unlike Sophists, Plato's educational ideas serve the soul and the divine and do not aim at the secular and the human alone.<sup>20</sup> Although Plato emphasizes philosophy as the means of the salvation of the soul, we can see the human

and the divine, so strictly delineated in Homer, merging in Plato's *paideia*. In comparison with earlier Greek thinkers who generally view the divine as the original force of the cosmos or the mind that creates everything, Plato regards God as the measure of all things and the target for which we must aim.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the definition of *paideia*, according to Plato, should depend on the divine.<sup>22</sup> In *The Laws*, Plato defines the relation between God and the world as God being the teacher of the whole world.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, different with the polytheism in ancient Greek *polis*, the essence of the divinity of *paideia* in Plato has been changed.

While Plato's "Allegory of the Cave" is interpreted as a religious coloring by the Neo-Platonists, it does not necessarily follow that Plato himself understands the ascent from a religious viewpoint.<sup>24</sup> However, *paideia* reconceived by Plato goes through a significant change: a person's conversion in terms of the pursuit of divinity provides a theoretical foundation for the Christian *paideia* as proclaimed by Clement of Alexandria. Over the centuries, the goal of *paideia* shifts from the public to the private realm, from equipping people for public and political action to preparing them for inward and religious transformation. Moreover, the role of divine power in the molding of human beings emphasizes the function of divine assistance.<sup>25</sup> When the Greek *polis* perishes under the Roman cavalry, Greek *paideia* survives through the turbulent social environment. It abandons the public for a private sphere and became a religion and an article of faith.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, Greek *paideia* becomes a divine extension and is regarded by Clement of Alexandria as preparation for the truth of and proclaimed by Jesus Christ.

## **Integration of Clement of Alexandria**

For the educated Greek-speaking people of the first century C.E., *paideia* simply meant culture in a broader sense. When some of them became Christian, whether from pagan families or from Jewish families assimilated to Hellenistic culture, they came to Christianity as persons who had already been schooled according to the Greek ideal. It was unavoidable that they interpreted their new Christian faith as an alternative *paideia*.<sup>27</sup> The expression "Christian education" (Christian *paideia*) was

first used by St. Clement of Rome (fl. 96) in about C.E. 96.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the first century, facing the division of the church at Corinth, Clement of Rome wrote a letter known as Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, expressing his dissatisfaction with events there. At the same time, Clement of Rome exhorted the Corinthian Church in the teaching of God, describing the Church as a spiritual unity where the teaching of God and the community cannot be separated. At the end of his letter, Clement of Rome finally referred to the *paideia* (or teaching) of God.

To begin with, Clement of Alexandria makes a great effort to synthesize Greek philosophy with Christianity. He demonstrates a positive opinion of Greek philosophy by acknowledging that Greek philosophy shares the same origin with the truth of Christianity. For Clement, Greek culture is the covenant which the universal God made with the Greeks; it is a preparation for Christian theology. As a devout Christian, Clement cannot accept that the partial truth obtained by the Greek philosophers is beyond the providence of the God of Christianity or merely an accident. Therefore, Clement considers the Greeks as worshipping the God of Christianity in a "roundabout way":<sup>29</sup>

The Greek preparatory culture, therefore, with philosophy itself, is shown to have come down from God to men, not with a definite direction but in the way in which showers fall down on the good land, and on the dunghill, and on the houses. And similarly both the grass and the wheat sprout; and the figs and any other reckless trees grow on sepulchres. And things that grow, appear as a type of truths.....And here we are aided by the parable of the sower, which the Lord interpreted. For the husbandman of the soil which is among men is one; He who from the beginning, from the foundation of the world, sowed nutritious seeds; He who in each age rained down the Lord, the Word.<sup>30</sup>

Clement of Alexandria conducts a rather radical revision of Greek *paideia* by reshaping it into the Christian *paideia*, based on his understanding that through the interpretation of Scripture, philosophy, and Greek

*paideia*, a deeper understanding of the gospel may be achieved. On the one hand, Clement affirms the value of Greek *paideia* in the context of Christianity. On the other hand, he transforms the transcendent objective of Platonic *paideia* into the God of Christianity.

Clement of Alexandria describes the role of Christ as Tutor (or Paedagogue, or Instructor), “the Instructor being practical, not theoretical, His aim is thus to improve the soul, not to teach, and to train it up to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life”.<sup>31</sup> As stated by Clement, Christ’s teaching is perfect since He comes from God and what is learned from Him is the eternal salvation of the eternal Saviour. It is necessary to admire the Instructor and His injunctions according to which people ought to live a real life.<sup>32</sup> Clement of Alexandria expresses a dynamic idea of salvation. According to Clement, salvation is a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Saviour. Within this movement, faith along with knowledge is the movement towards salvation.<sup>33</sup> Likewise, the movement of the soul should be upwards from earth to heaven. People who learn everything from Jesus Christ who comes from above come to understand the dispensation of God’s salvation and “walk in newness of life”.<sup>34</sup> It is with this knowledge that people can live in the new life. If we think of salvation as a continuous interaction between divine and human movement, learning the knowledge of God, for Clement of Alexandria, is a means of salvation. As a result of the teaching (*paideia*) of Christ, human beings experience conversion both intellectually and spiritually.

Another essential feature of Christian education advocated by Clement of Alexandria is the cultivation of virtue. Christian education of the early Church meant, on the one hand, learning the dogmas; on the other, it also meant moral training.<sup>35</sup> We can see from the arguments given by Clement of Alexandria that he never separates knowledge from virtue, which includes valor, temperance, wisdom, justice, endurance, patience, decorum, self-restraint, and, in addition to these, piety.<sup>36</sup> He states that “being assimilated to the Lord as far as is possible for us beings mortal in nature. And this is being just and holy with wisdom”.<sup>37</sup> “Wisdom” is defined by Clement as certain knowledge that comprehends the present, past, and future which the Lord has taught.<sup>38</sup> Being assimilated to God, according to Clement, means a participation in moral excellence.<sup>39</sup>

The assimilation of God which shapes the final ethical goal of Christian teaching (*paideia*) includes purity, faith, love, benevolence, piety and so on. All the mentioned virtues are a mixture of philosophical and biblical virtues.<sup>40</sup> An essential difference between the traditional Greek *paideia* and the Christian *paideia* as developed by Clement of Alexandria is that Greek *paideia* does not put forward the universal requirements of morality as Clement did. In practice, religions in ancient Greece did not function successfully in terms of maintaining social morality.

Besides the definite moral requirements, turning from the worship of polytheism to monotheism is another noticeable change between Greek *paideia* and Christian *paideia*. Furthermore, Clement of Alexandria regards Christ as an Instructor with a universal nature. Unlike the exclusive Greek *paideia*, the teaching which flows from Christ is open for all: “the Greeks or the Barbarians, the wise or the unwise”, In comparison to the traditional Greek *paideia*, from which slaves, manual laborers, and women were generally excluded, Clement of Alexandria expands the meaning of *paideia* to one with a universal character and explicates:

The union of many in one, issuing in the production of divine harmony out of a medley of sounds and division, becomes one symphony following one choir-leader and teacher, the Word, reaching and resting in the same truth, and crying Abba, Father.<sup>41</sup>

We can perceive from Clement of Alexandria’s ideas that his synthesis of Greek *paideia* and Christianity follows an approach of “recognition – integration – transformation”. Firstly, Clement of Alexandria appraises Greek culture in a positive way and claims that its preliminary assets shared its origins with Christianity. Secondly, Clement of Alexandria makes an effort to synthesize Greek *paideia* with Christian faith. Though objections to any collusion with Hellenism could be heard among Christian theologians even in the early Christian church, the fact that Christianity is born in Hellenistic civilization cannot be denied. Accordingly, by following Christ, who is the instructor of all, souls can convert to God, the God of Christianity. The light in Plato’s “Allegory of the

Cave” now becomes the light of the Christian God. As stated by Clement of Alexandria, people can be led to heaven only under the right guidance of Christ, since salvation cannot be separated from learning the truth of God.<sup>42</sup>

### **John Henry Newman’s and *paideia* in the Nineteenth Century**

The important transmitter and modifier of *paideia* as an educational type in the nineteenth century is John Henry Newman. According to Newman, the university is a place of teaching “universal knowledge”, and its overarching goal is the “enlargement of intellect”.<sup>43</sup> Newman believes that the “enlargement of the intellect” was accomplished “not merely in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind’s energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas.....It is the action of formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquirements”.<sup>44</sup> *Paideia* is considered by Newman as the formative power to shape the human intellect through teaching. “Philosophy” or “philosophical cast of thought”, which represents a comprehensive mind, is taken by Newman to mean the “perfection or virtue of the intellect” and therefore an expanded intellect involves the conversion of a person.<sup>45</sup> The training of intellect aims at a quite secular object, “Gentlemen”, namely “good members of society”.<sup>46</sup> Here we can see how Newman’s educational philosophy diverges remarkably from Clement of Alexandria’s moral education. Newman breaks the bond of divine morality and knowledge despite his earnest eagerness to integrate the two. According to Newman, cultivating capacities of human reason will not in itself lead to the conversion of the soul to Christian faith, which constitutes Newman’s notable modification of Greek *paideia* and also of the Christian notion of *paideia* developed by Clement of Alexandria. However, Newman lamented this worldly outcome:

Liberal Education makes not the Christian, not the Catholic, but the gentleman. It is well to be a gentlemen, it is well to have a cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a can-

did, equitable, dispassionate mind, a noble and courteous bearing in the conduct of life.....but still, I repeat, they are no guarantee for sanctity or even for conscientiousness, they may attach to the man of the world, to the profligate, to the heartless,—pleasant, alas, and attractive as he shows when decked out in them.<sup>47</sup>

In view of this, Newman takes a troubling dual stance concerning the function of theology in the university. Firstly, Newman argues that theology should have a legitimate place as a branch of knowledge in a university that aims at teaching universal knowledge. Conforming to the appellation “liberal”, theology should be cultivated as contemplation instead of being limited to the purposes of the pulpit or being represented by the catechism.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the goal of studying theology, defined by Newman as “the science of God”, is to cultivate intellect without considering the utility and pastoral purposes embraced by the “Berlin type”. Secondly, Newman examines the study of theology at university on the level of notional assent, which is concerned with abstraction, analysis, and generalization. In this regard, theology as studied at university can obtain notional and exact, while not necessarily virtuous or confessional, knowledge about God.<sup>49</sup> Paradoxically, Newman actually presents a dual nature of theology, which we can perceive from his interpretation of “conscience” as one of the resources of theology. According to Newman, we can receive a vivid image of God from our conscience.

Conscience, too, teaches us, not only that God is, but what He is; it provides for the mind a real image of Him, as a medium of worship; it gives us a rule of right and wrong, as being His rule, and a code of moral duties. Moreover, it is so constituted that, if obeyed, it becomes clearer in its injunctions, and wider in their range, and corrects and completes the accidental feebleness of its initial teachings.<sup>50</sup>

All these functions of conscience, according to Newman, are independent of books, of educated reasoning, of sensory perception, or of philosophy. Furthermore, when conscience functions as “sense of duty” in contrast to “moral sense”, which is the judgment of reason and the only principle of ethics, conscience sheds upon humanity “a deep peace, a sense of security, a resignation, and a hope, which there is no sensible, no

earthly object to elicit”.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, theology as a branch of liberal knowledge has indirect religious or moral effects by means of conscience that completes “the doctrine of a particular Providence” in theology, leading people to “reverence and awe, hope and fear”. In addition, Newman conceives that a university should be made up of colleges with religious background in order to implement moral education so that a university can teach secular disciplines without straying from Christian substance.<sup>52</sup>

The reason that Newman strives to maintain the balance of secular rationality and Christian virtue, described as “unity-in-tension”,<sup>53</sup> is rooted in his eagerness to justify Christianity in the increasingly secularized society of nineteenth century Britain and to alert people to the possible invasion of human reason into the realm of Christian faith. The contribution of this twofold dimension of the study of Christianity, which he calls theology, remains meaningful. On the one hand, Newman recognizes the value of the study of Christianity in the secular sense, that is, one can understand Christianity from a neutral or detached point of view. On the other hand, Newman does not restrict it to the narrow definition of a detached and value-free field of study of the sort which has been advocated since the rise of modern religious studies as a discipline in public educational settings in the U.S. His ideas indeed make room for the theological comprehension and virtue construction of Christian faith in the public sphere.

## **Reflections on the academic study of Christianity in China’s Universities**

Surveys on Christian faith among Chinese university students which itself reflects the increasing numbers of Christians among university students have drawn a lot of attention in Chinese academia in recent years. A survey of students at Peking University, published in 2009, shows that 4.7% of the students there identify themselves as Christian (either Protestant or Catholic).<sup>54</sup> Another survey carried out among six university students in Shanghai in 2008 demonstrates that 4.7% of the students of the six universities are Protestants.<sup>55</sup> Compared with ordinary Christian believers in China, the main reason to convert for most university Christian

students lies in looking for spiritual consolation.<sup>56</sup> According to the survey taken at Peking University, 61.1% of Christian students said they came to Christianity because they want to solve the anxiety caused by the social transformation of Chinese society.<sup>57</sup> In a survey conducted in Zhejiang province in 2010, 59.3% of the students there said that the main reason for their conversion was to find meaning in life and a sense of belonging in Christianity.<sup>58</sup> Similar statistics in several other surveys confirm these findings.<sup>59</sup> In addition, as many as 76.5% of Christian students in a report carried out in 2008 said that they think the deeper significance of being a Christian lies in the glory of God.<sup>60</sup> As we can see from the statistics that, besides understanding Christianity as a knowledge, Christian students in Chinese universities also have a deep understanding of Christianity as a faith.

Change has also taken place among scholars on the study of Christianity in China's universities in recent years. In a survey conducted in 2008-09, scholars of Christian Studies between the ages of 35-45 teaching at Chinese universities were shown to have different characteristics than other more senior scholars who initiated a similar study of Christianity in the 1980s.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy, firstly, that the proportion of Christians shows a considerable increase among the younger generation scholars. Approximately 30% of the participants identified themselves as Christians in the survey. Secondly, many interviewees in the survey show an empathy for the Christian community and suggest that Christian Studies in Mainland China should face the faith community in a more gentle and positive way, which may benefit the growth of the faith community. In terms of religious affiliation, this new or third generation of scholars as a whole is relatively more religious and less alienated from the Christian churches. In terms of academic orientation, the scholars of the new generation tend to be specialists rather than generalists, to be more open to the spiritual dimension, and to be socially engaged in a more public way. These are the significant differences characterizing the scholars of Christian studies who are active in contemporary Chinese universities and who will make an important impact on this discipline in the future.

In the context of China's universities, the religious conviction of the teacher should be of no consequence in the classroom. A detached objectivity is regarded as a necessary prerequisite for the study of Chris-

tianity as a branch of religious studies in China's universities since the very beginning in 1980s. However, students (especially those who are Christian believers) may place a rather different demand on the study of Christianity concerning detachment and objectivity. As mentioned, among the topics to be discussed at this conference is the idea that, Value education starts from existential requirements. Here comes the dilemma, how can teaching *about* Christianity satisfy inquiries with regard to theological dimensions which may be raised by Christian students in university? Furthermore, on a broader level, how is a secular university to make provision for a student community which is not totally secularized?

In fact, reflection on the place of Christianity as a moral recourse in higher education and reflective ideas on religious studies under the principle detachment and objectivity have drawn attention in academia. At the university level, an inspiring critique on relevant issues is raised by Alasdair MacIntyre, who claims that the liberal university makes itself a place of unconstrained agreements, different from the preliberal modern university by abolishing religious and moral tests. However, this kind of idea presents an endangered state.<sup>62</sup> For MacIntyre, due to the logical incompatibility and incommensurability present in different traditions, criteria used to determine concepts like rationality and justice can differ among different traditions.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, he advocates that a university should be a place of constrained disagreement and should ensure that rival voices are not illegitimately suppressed. Accordingly, the most fundamental type of moral and theological disagreement can be recognized. And the university can also fulfill its mission of inspiring and teaching students in dual context of inquiry and controversy.<sup>64</sup> Although China's universities have a distinct historical background in comparison with that of the public university of the U.S., the two overlaps to some extent with regard to the current status concerning the study of Christianity. Affected by the atheist position of the government and the advocates of rationalism, universal language relates to different religious tradition gets little support in the university.

Reflecting on religious studies as a discipline in the university, academics also present diverse opinions. Extreme objectivism is criticized by David Ford who claims that religious studies at its crudest uses an ideology of academic neutrality which presumes a cool, objective ap-

proach to the phenomenon of religions.<sup>65</sup> In this light, procedural virtues such as “noninterference”, “tolerance” and “neutrality” are also considered as encouraging the intolerance of the more conventional religious studies in favor of secularism, pluralism and assimilation.<sup>66</sup> Differing with Ford’s direct approach to giving faith legitimacy in academic studies, Gavin Flood argues that religious studies and theology should be viewed as critical and non-critical, rather than insider and outsider, thereby avoiding the hegemonic implication of Ford’s idea.<sup>67</sup> Based on the survey I did, some scholars also hold that it’s difficult separating faith entirely from research but that they can keep a neutral stance in teaching. Moreover, their changing attitudes towards Christianity as a religion are likely to have a positive and healthy impact on the development of the study of Christianity in the future.

Education needs to address questions of value and morality, and it needs to address these with students as human beings. The moral heritage of Christianity creates levels of expectation and a sense of accountability. The Greeks pass on their wisdom to new generations through the educational process and appreciate the fact that it is wisdom, not just knowledge, which has power. Tracing the history of *paideia* helps us to understand the past and the original idea of harmony and unity with everything that lives. In this regard, we should not ignore one of the fundamental characteristics of traditional Christian education, namely, an emphasis on the moral and spiritual formation of human beings (*paideia*).

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), vol. I, p. xxii. Hereafter abbreviated as *Paideia*.

<sup>2</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. I, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup>*Paideia* in the fifth century B. C. simply meant child-rearing and some academics argue that it cannot be regarded as the central subject matter in studying the Hellenistic culture. See, Borit Karlsson, “Old Ideals for a New World?” *H-Ideas* (February, 2001). <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=4956> (date of access 11-03-2011). H. I. Marrou also holds the similar opinion that he thinks *paideia* as an education does not really start before schooling. See H. I. Marrou, trans. George Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup>Jeffrey Walker, *Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity* (Oxford; New York: Ox-

ford University Press, 2000), p. 178.

<sup>5</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. I, pp. xvii, xxii, xxiii.

<sup>6</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. I, p. 286. In Homer, *arete* also began to mean ethics.

<sup>7</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol.III, pp. 225, 339.

<sup>8</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. I, p. xiv.

<sup>9</sup>Edith Hamilton, *The Greek Way* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 201.

<sup>10</sup>Paul Cartledge (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 139.

<sup>11</sup>H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 76.

<sup>12</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. I, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>H. I. Marrou, trans. George Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 101.

<sup>14</sup>H. I. Marrou, trans. George Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 101.

<sup>15</sup>Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas that have Shaped Our World View* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), p. 43.

<sup>16</sup>Plato, *The Republic*, 518 b-d.

<sup>17</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol.2, p. 295.

<sup>18</sup>Plato, *The Republic*, 517c.

<sup>19</sup>David H. Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: the Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 9.

<sup>20</sup>Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas that have Shaped Our World View* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), p. 43.

<sup>21</sup>Plato, *The Laws*, 897b.

<sup>22</sup>Plato, *The Laws*, 643a.

<sup>23</sup>Plato, *The Laws*, 716c.

<sup>24</sup>Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (London: Search Press, 1946), vol. 1, p. 162. For a detailed discussion of Plato's idea on the Good and God, please see Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. II, pp. 285-287.

<sup>25</sup>David Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 10.

<sup>26</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 72.

<sup>27</sup>David Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 10.

<sup>28</sup>H. I. Marrou, trans. George Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 314.

<sup>29</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1:19; cf. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson (tr. & ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2: Fathers of the Second Century* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), p. 321. Hereafter abbreviated as *Stromata*.

<sup>30</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1:7, p. 308.

<sup>31</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *The Instructor*, 1:1, cf. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson (tr. & ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2: Fathers of the Second Century* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), p. 209. Hereafter abbreviated as *Instructor*.

<sup>32</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Instructor*, 1:1, 1:12, pp. 216, 235.

<sup>33</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 6:6; 2:6, pp. 491, 354.

<sup>34</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 4:26, p. 440; Exhortation to the Heathen, chap. 4, cf. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson (tr. & ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2: Fathers of the Second Century* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), p. 189. Hereafter abbreviated as *Exhortation to the Heathen*.

<sup>35</sup>H. I. Marrou, trans. George Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 314.

<sup>36</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 2:18, pp. 365, 366.

<sup>37</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 2:18, p. 366.

<sup>38</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 6:7, p. 492.

<sup>39</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Instructor*, 1:12, p. 235.

<sup>40</sup>Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 240.

<sup>41</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Heathen*, chapter. 9, p. 197.

<sup>42</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Instructor*, 1:7, cf. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson (tr. & ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol.2: Fathers of the Second Century* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), p. 223.

<sup>43</sup>J. H. Newman, *The Idea of A University* (1873), pp. ix, 125. Hereafter abbreviated as *Idea*.

<sup>44</sup>Newman, *Idea*, p. 134.

<sup>45</sup>Newman, *Idea*, pp. 52, 122; Oxford University Sermons (1843), p. 287.

<sup>46</sup>Newman, *Idea*, p. 177.

<sup>47</sup>Newman, *Idea*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>48</sup>Newman, *Idea*, p. 108.

<sup>49</sup>Newman, *The Philosophical Notebook of John Henry Newman* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts Publishing House, 1969), vol. 1, p. 163.

<sup>50</sup>Newman, *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870), p. 390. Hereafter abbreviated as *GA*.

<sup>51</sup>J. H. Newman, *GA*, pp. 105-106, 110.

<sup>52</sup>J. H. Newman, *GA*, p. 108. In addition, Newman conceives that a university should be made up of colleges with religious background where also provide moral education. Cf. *Rise and Progress of Universities and Benedictine Essays*, with an introduction and notes by Mary Katherine Tillman (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2001).

<sup>53</sup>Terrence Merrigan, *Clear Heads and Holy Hearts: the Religious and Theological Ideal of John Henry Newman* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), p. 7.

<sup>54</sup>Sun Shangyang, Hanqi, 'The Attitude of Peking University Students towards Christianity: An Exploratory Survey and Analysis', *Fujen Religious Studies*,

vol. 19, pp. 53-86.

<sup>55</sup>Huahua, 'A Survey on Christian Faith of University Students in Shanghai', *Youth Studies*, 2008 (1).

<sup>56</sup>Yang Huilin, 'Some Characteristics of the Understanding of the Christian Faith Among Chinese University Students', *China study journal*, 2002, vol. 17 (3), p. 11. Also, Zuopeng, 'Christians in the Ivory Tower: A survey on University Christian students in Beijing', *Youth Studies*, 2004 (5), p. 12. Huahua, 'A Survey on Christian Faith of University Students in Shanghai', *Youth Studies*, 2008 (1), p. 28.

<sup>57</sup>Sun Shangyang, Hanqi, 'The Attitude of Peking University Students towards Christianity: An Exploratory Survey and Analysis', *Fujen Religious Studies*, vol. 19, p. 69.

<sup>58</sup>Wang Kang, Feng Qun, 'A Study on Christian Faith among College Students', *The Religious Cultures in the World*, vol. 4, 2010, p. 71.

<sup>59</sup>Huahua, 'A Survey on Christian Faith of University Students in Shanghai', *Youth Studies*, 2008 (1); Zuopeng, 'Christians in the Ivory Tower: A survey on University Christian students in Beijing', *Youth Studies*, 2004 (5); Yang Huilin, 'Some Characteristics of the Understanding of the Christian Faith Among Chinese University Students', *China study journal*, 2002, vol. 17 (3); Wangkang, Fengqun, 'A Study on Christian Faith among College Students', *The Religious Cultures in the World*, 2010 (4).

<sup>60</sup>Huahua, 'A Survey on Christian Faith of University Students in Shanghai', *Youth Studies*, 2008 (1).

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Gao Xin, 'Preliminary Survey on the New Generation of Scholars of Christian Studies in Mainland China', *Sino-Christian Theology: a Theological qua Cultural Movement in Contemporary China*, edited by Lai Pan chiu & Jason Lam (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

<sup>62</sup>Alasdair MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), p. 230.

<sup>63</sup>Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (London: Duckworth, 1988), pp. 349, 351.

<sup>64</sup>Alasdair MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), p. 231.

<sup>65</sup>David Ford, 'Theology and Religious Studies at the Turn of the Millenium: Reconceiving the Field', *Teaching Theology and Religion*, vol. 1, 1, 1998, p. 5.

<sup>66</sup>Robert J. Nash, *Answering the "Virtuecrats": a Moral Conversation on Character Education* (New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press, 1997), p. 65.

<sup>67</sup>Gavin Flood, *Beyond Phenomenology: Rethinking the Study of Religion* (London; New York: Cassell, 1999), p. 226.