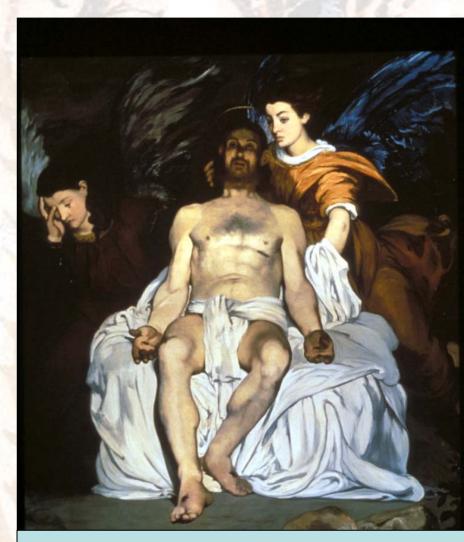
#### **Important Dates in Early Christianity**

ca. 4 BCE	Birth of Jesus
ca. 36 CE	Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus
ca. 40-64	Ministry of Paul
64	Nero blames the Great Fire on Christians
ca.65-97	Publication of the Gospels, including Gnostics
ca.100	Josephus publishes his Jewish histories
250-336	Life of Arius
284-305	Diocletian reigns as Roman Emperor
313	Constantine issues the Edict of Milan
325	Council of Nicaea (Nicene Creed)
330	Founding of Constantinople
395	Theodosius makes Christianity the only religion accepted in the Roman Empire

- the biography of
   Jesus Christ lies at
   the heart of
   Christianity
  - but from the perspective of a historian, the life of Christ is hopelessly obscure



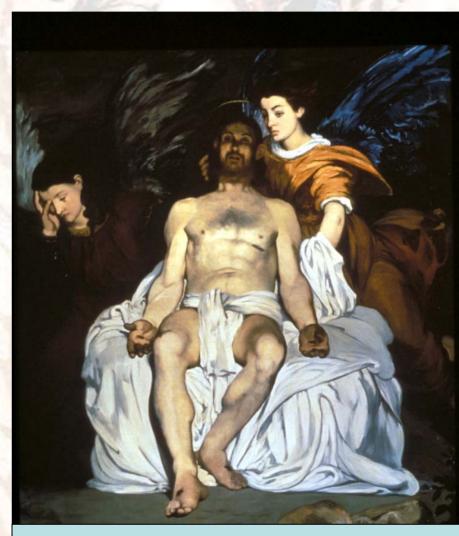
Manet's painting of Christ's body

- it's also very
   difficult to situate
   the gospels and
   Jesus' apostles in
   their historical
   context
  - they discuss events
     and issues current
     after Jesus' lifetime



Manet's painting of Christ's body

- and there are more "gospels" than those included in the New Testament
  - the so-called"Gnostic Gospels"
  - and a new one just published recently:The Gospel of Judas



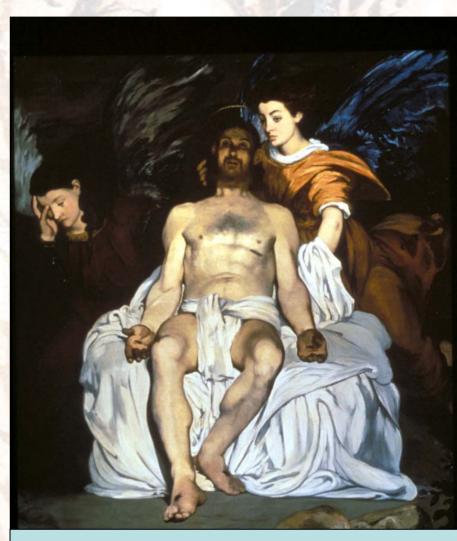
Manet's painting of Christ's body

- many early
   Christians saw
   these Gnostic
   Gospels as valid
   accounts of Jesus'
   life and teaching
  - but not the leaders of the Church



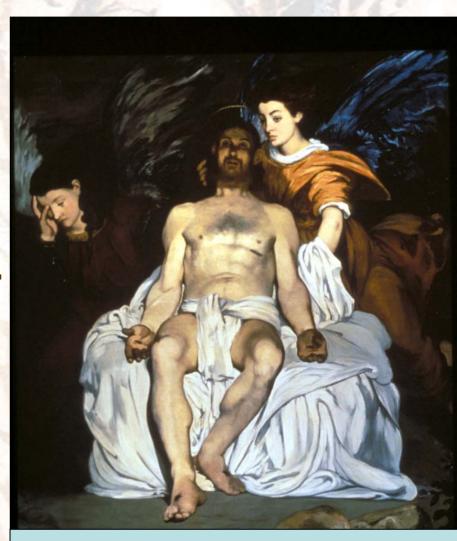
Manet's painting of Christ's body

- the Gnostic Gospels were excluded from the New Testament
  - all were destroyed
    - cf. Akhenaten
  - but a cache of
     Gnostic texts was
     discovered at Nag
     Hammadi (Egypt)



Manet's painting of Christ's body

- thus, early
   documents about
   Jesus are fraught
   with problems
  - all in all, it's best for historians not to try to puzzle out such a weighty problem on such little evidence



Manet's painting of Christ's body

**Introduction:** Jesus and History

• first external evidence: Tacitus (Sect. 1)

- but Tacitus was not an eye-witness of

Christ's life

and Tacitus'
 account of early
 Christians is
 tainted by his
 clear objective
 to revile Nero

Pontius Pilate and Jesus This Byzantine mosaic from Ravenna illustrates a dramatic moment in Jesus' trial and crucifixion. Jesus stands accused before Pilate, but Pilate symbolically washes his hands of the whole affair. (Source: Scala /Art Resource)



**Introduction:** Jesus and History

Consequently, Nero ... inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians (Christianos) by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their center and become popular.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Annals, Book XV

**Introduction:** Jesus and History

Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much for the crime of setting the city on fire, as for a hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.

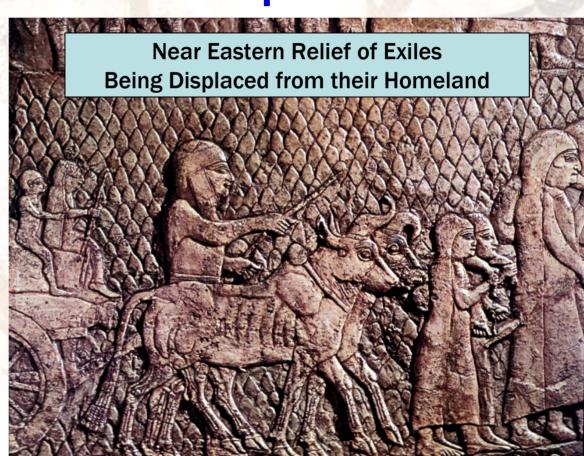
Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Annals, Book XV

**Introduction:** Jesus and History

Nero offered his Gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the Circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Annals, Book XV

- the next piece of external evidence in chronological order is Josephus
  - Jewish general
  - like Tacitus,
    did not see
    for himself
    the events
    of early
    Christianity

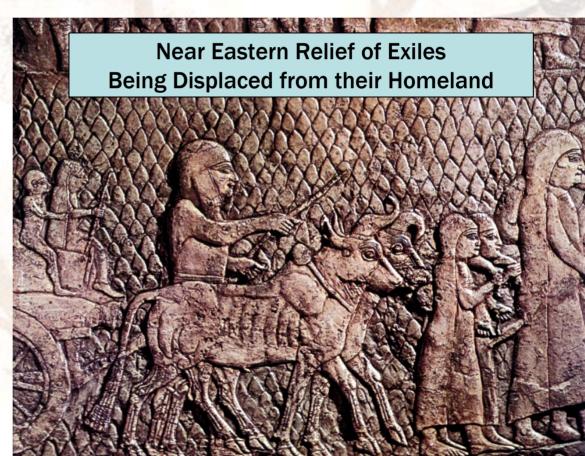


**Introduction:** Jesus and History

 Josephus wrote in the aftermath of the Romans' destruction of the Second

**Temple** 

- which led to the diaspora
- Josephus focuses on Jewish affairs



- the New Testament is written in the Greek language
  - which is also problematical for historians of the early Christian church
  - as a peasant belonging to the lower class,
     Jesus lived in a community which spoke
     Aramaic (a Semitic language)
    - cf. Arabic, Hebrew
  - did Jesus know Greek?

- the writers of the Gospels chose Greek because it was used all across the eastern Mediterranean region
  - mostly by people with international interests: merchants and scholars
  - Aramaic was a language not spoken by the upper classes or widely known
- clearly, Greek could spread the gospels to a wider and wealthier readership

- but then it's very likely that the words of Jesus were translated from the original Aramaic he spoke
  - which does not mean that the New
     Testament is not "the word of Christ," just not "the words of Christ"
  - but translation per se can cause problems, especially for those who base religious policy on specific terminology

- an excellent example of how difficult it is to situate Jesus historically is the issue of the year of his birth
  - remember that we don't even know the year Julius Caesar was born
    - pinpointing a peasant's birth year is unlikely
  - "Year 1" (A.D. or CE) is based on medieval calculations and few reliable data
    - probably not the correct year of Jesus' birth

- and Jesus' birth story (Luke) and his early years (Matthew) are troubled, when seen as histories
  - no Roman custom of taxing "all the world": not feasible in the day
    - returning to one's ancestral home-city is a Jewish custom never used by Romans
  - the Slaughter of the Innocents cannot have followed Herod's death in 4 BCE

**Early Christianity and History** 

 thus, the "history" of Christianity begins with Saint Paul (ca. 3-67 CE)

- born "Saul of Tarsus" (southeast coast of Asia Minor)
  - a Jew trained in Greek, with Roman citizenship
- the greatest of Jesus' early interpreters
  - "the second founder of the Christian Church"



Drawing of Paul from the catacombs

**Early Christianity and History** 

 Paul was by far the best educated of Jesus' disciples

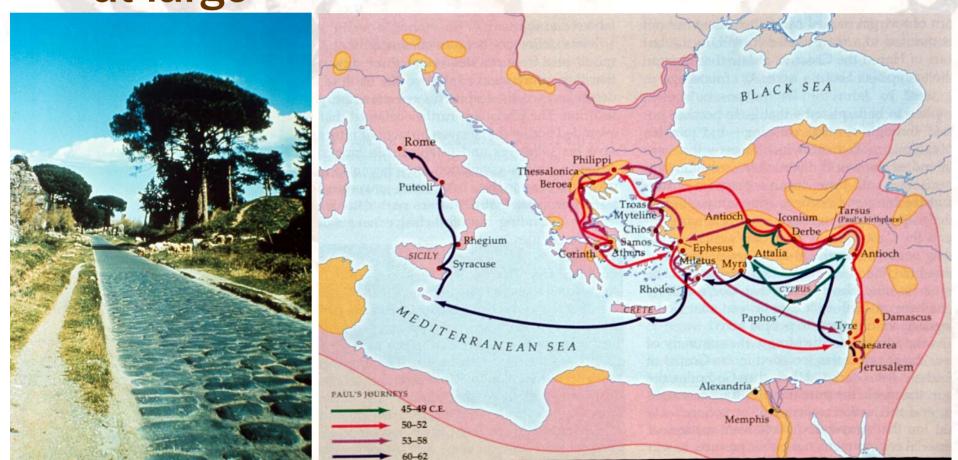
- uniquely positioned to bridge the Jewish and Greek worlds
- blended classical traditions with Christian theology
- e.g. Stoicism
  - all people are essentially equal
  - slavery and war are wrong



drawing of St. Paul from the catacombs

**Early Christianity and History** 

 Paul opened Christianity to the world at large



**Early Christianity and History** 

 Paul's letters are tied to cities outside Judea and predate the Gospels by at least a decade

- Paul set the basic rituals of early Christianity, e.g.
  - mass, communion, redemption through Christ's suffering
- also began the antagonism
   between Jews and Christians



St. Paul. From a Ravenna mosaic.

**Early Christianity and History** 

Christians irritated Roman authorities
 by preaching doom

- i.e. "Don't pay your taxes!"
- Romans saw Christians as a Jewish sect and treated them as "Jews"



**Early Christianity and History** 

Christians irritated Roman authorities

by preaching doom

- to the Romans, the Jews were already a privileged and uncooperative group
  - Jews were exempted from emperor-worship
- worse yet, Christians riled up Jews



early anti-Christian graffito

**Early Christianity and History** 

- but in general, Romans were reluctant to persecute any group
  - they were (in)famous for accepting outsiders' ideas, cf. the Pantheon
- but at first, exclusivity sounded like "atheism" to Romans
  - forbidding the worship of other people's gods looked "atheistic" — or selfish at best

**Early Christianity and History** 

- early Roman persecutions of Christians
  - random and relatively few in number
    - compared, at least, to what the Romans did to other rebellious groups, e.g. Dacians
  - during the economic crisis of the third century CE, most of the persecutions were directed against rich Christians
  - many Christians had gotten rich by living in the religious tax-shelter of Christianity

**Early Christianity and History** 

- at the end of the third century (285 CE)
   Diocletian saved the Roman state
  - tough, conservative, nononsense, lower-class
  - suspicious of anyone who didn't fight for Rome
  - ordered the last systematic persecution of Christians in the West



**Early Christianity and History** 

- 304 CE: Diocletian demanded that all Romans sacrifice to his future health
  - he persecuted those Christians who refused
- 311 CE: the last persecution of Christians in the East (Galerius)

CERTIFICATE OF SACRIFICE TO THE OLD GODS as required in 250 by the Emperor Decius from all citizens. 'It has ever been my practice to sacrifice to the gods; now in your presence, in accordance with the Command, I have sacrificed, poured libation, and tasted the offering. I beg you to certify my statement . . . I Aurelia Demos have presented this declaration. I Aurelius Ireneus (her husband) wrote for her as she is illiterate. I Aurelius Sabinus the commissioner saw you sacrificing.'



Constantine and the Triumph of Christianity

- first emperor to embrace Christianity was Constantine (ca. 285-337 CE)
  - an enigma historically
    - the illegitimate son of his father Constantius but chosen as his heir
    - raised in the West but preferred to live in the East
    - united Rome by inciting a civil war



Constantine and the Triumph of Christianity

- declared himself "Christian" but worshipped the sun like a pagan
  - founded Constantinople
- all in all, Constantine was a transitional figure in history, and apparently also a figure in constant transition himself

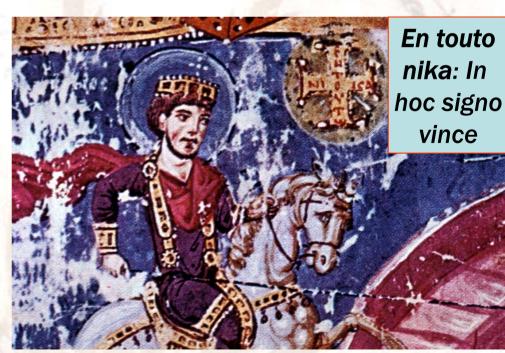
Constantine and the Triumph of Christianity

 Constantine claimed to have had a Christian vision before a crucial battle: in hoc signo vince ("with this ensign,"

conquer!")

- later "invented history"?

 cf. Schliemann's childhood dream of finding Troy



Constantine and the Triumph of Christianity

 Constantine issued the Edict of Milan (313 CE): official neutrality toward

Christianity

- but tensionswithin theChurch wereboiling over
- Constantinehad to decidetheology



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, a contemporary bronze bust now in the museum in Belgrade. Such a bronze head would have adorned his birthplace, Nish in Yugoslavia, as a symbol of imperial authority—liable to mob attack, though such an insult would bring down severe punishment.

Constantine and the Triumph of Christianity

- Constantine's conversion to Christianity failed to create social unity in Rome
  - the opposite!
  - it alienatedtraditionalpagans
  - Lat. paganus:"country-dweller"; i.e.draft-dodger



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, a contemporary bronze bust now in the museum in Belgrade. Such a bronze head would have adorned his birthplace, Nish in Yugoslavia, as a symbol of imperial authority—liable to mob attack, though such an insult would bring down severe punishment.

**Early Christian Controversies** 

also, there were also tensions within

the Church

orthodoxy
 ("straight
 opinion"):
 approved by
 the Church



A PRIMITIVE CHRIST IMAGE, with a crosslike halo surrounded by animal motifs, stands between two other sacred figures on this reliquary casket that combines pagan vigor with Christian forms

vs. heresy ("choice"): free choice

**Early Christian Controversies** 

- earliest known and most prominent heretical group is the Gnostics
  - denounced by the Church
  - the Gnostics not pagans! were the
     real enemy from the Church's perspective
- Gnostic theology is complex
  - the Church banned and burned Gnostic texts almost all of which were lost

**Early Christian Controversies** 

- Gnostic gospels rediscovered in the Nag Hammadi library
  - Naj 'Hammadi (southern Egypt), 1945
  - fifty-two lost early Christian texts, some of which were once part of accepted "biblical" scripture but later removed

#### **Early Christian Controversies**

#### The early church recognizes the New Testament

AD 100

All dates approximate

Different parts of our New Testament were written by this time, but not yet collected and defined as 'Scripture'. Early Christian writers (for example Polycarp and Ignatius) quote from the Gospels and Paul's letters, as well as from other Christian writings and oral sources.

Paul's letters were collected fate in the first century. Matthew, Mark and Luke were brought together by Ap 150. AD 200

New Testament used in the church at Rome (the 'Muratorian Canon')

Four Gospels
Acts
Paul's letters:
Romans
1 & 2 Corinthians
Galatians
Ephesians
Philippians
Colossians
1 & 2 Thessalonians
1 & 2 Timothy
Titus
Philiemon

James

1 & 2 John Jude Revelation of John Revelation of Peter Wisdom of Solomon AD 250

New Testament used by Origen

Four Gospels
Acts
Paul's letters:
Romans
1 & 2 Corinthians
Galatians
Ephesians
Phillippians
Colossians
1 & 2 Thessalonians
1 & 2 Timothy
Titus
Phillemon

1 Peter 1 John

Revelation of John

AD 300

New Testament used by Euseblus

Four Gospels
Acts
Paul's letters:
Romans
1 & 2 Corinthians
Galatians
Ephesians
Philippians
Colossians
1 & 2 Thessalonians
1 & 2 Timothy
Titus
Philemon

1 Peter 1 John

Revelation of John (authorship in doubt) AD 400

New Testament fixed for the West by the Council of Carthage

Four Gospels Acts Paul's letters: Romans 1 & 2 Corinthians Galatians Ephesians Philippians Colossians 1 & 2 Thessalonians 1 & 2 Timothy Titus Philemon Hebrews James 1 & 2 Peter 1,2&3John

Jude

Revelation

To be used in private, but not public, worship The Shepherd of Hermas Disputed Hebrews

James 2 Peter 2 & 3 John Jude The Shepherd of Hermas Letter of Barnabas Teaching of Twelve Apostles Gospel of the Hebrews Disputed but well known

James 2 Peter 2 & 3 John Jude To be excluded The Shepherd o

The Shepherd of Hermas Letter of Barnabas Gospel of the Hebrews Revelation of Peter Acts of Peter Didache

# Early Christianity and History Early Christian Controversies

#### • Elaine Pagels, The Gnostic Gospels

Yet even the fifty-two writings discovered at Nag Hammadi offer only a glimpse of the complexity of the early Christian movement. We now begin to see that what we call Christianity—and what we identify as Christian tradition—actually represents only a small selection of specific sources, chosen from among dozens of others. . . . Now, for the first time, we have the opportunity to find out about the earliest Christian heresy; for the first time, the heretics can speak for themselves.

- in general, Gnostics saw a "less literal"

  Jesus who was not part of an evil,

  material world
  - to Gnostics, Jesus' godhead was more spiritual
    - his appearance on earth was an illusion
  - thus, no suffering on the cross
    - no point in baptism or martyrdom

- the conflict between the Gnostics and the Church centered on the formation of a religious bureaucracy
  - Gnostics called Church structures and rituals (e.g. mass) "waterless canals"
  - instead, according to Gnostics, people should find their own path to heaven
    - Gnostic Theodotus: "each person recognizes the Lord in his own way, not all alike"

**Early Christian Controversies** 

 basically, the Gnostics resisted the growth of the Church as an institution

[I]nvestigation of the newly discovered Gnostic sources . . . suggests that these religious debates—questions of the nature of God, or of Christ—simultaneously bear social and political implications that are crucial to the development of Christianity as an institutional religion. In simplest terms, ideas which bear implications contrary to that development come to be labeled as "heresy"; ideas which implicitly support it become "orthodox." (Pagels)

- Gnostics focused on Christ's miracles as evidence that he was supernatural
  - thus, gender was unimportant, cf.
     Akhenaten and the aten
    - Gospel of Mary: Mary Magdalene was an apostle, the "woman who knew all"
    - other Gnostics speak of "God the Mother"

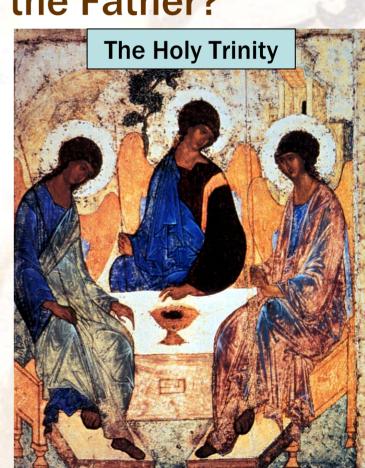
- all in all, Gnosticism offered a very different take on Christ's teaching from the early Church's position
  - Gnosticism had a more radically and fundamentally different message from almost any type of Christian doctrine formulated since antiquity
- and Gnosticism was far from the only "heresy" out there

- Gnosticism was relatively easy to crush since Gnostics refused to organize
  - individual Gnostics could be isolated and stifled or eradicated
- but a much more effective foe to orthodox policy was lurking inside the Church itself

- the nature of Christ as a deity was problematical: both divine and human at the same time
  - unlike Dionysus
     who was mortal,
     then died, then was
     reborn as a god in
     triumph

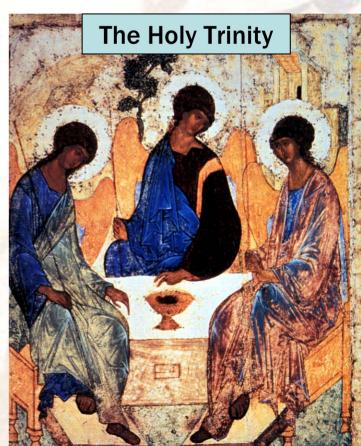


- also, what is the nature of the Trinity?
  - is the Son subordinate to the Father?
    - if he is, Christianity is then a branch of Judaism
    - if not, how does God become his own son?
  - this complex issue
     caused problems for
     those trying to convert
     uneducated barbarians



- rise of Arianism: a simpler form of Christianity than that endorsed by the orthodox Church
  - originated with a dynamic and welleducated priest Arius (ca. 250-336 CE) who lived in Alexandria (Egypt)
  - Arianism: Jesus is God's son and therefore secondary to the Father
    - hard argument for the Church to counter

- the Church's response was led by Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria
  - i.e. he was Arius' boss!
  - Athanasius' answer: the
     Holy Trinity is a mystery
    - in other words, Arius should shut up and stop making trouble



**Early Christian Controversies** 

- to solve the Arian crisis, Constantine called the Council of Nicaea, 325 CE
  - the bishops voted at Nicaea to back
     Athanasius and issued the Nicene Creed
    - Christ is "begotten, not made" by God

But those who say that there was once when he was not and before he was begotten he was not and he was made of things that were not or maintain that the Son of God is of a different essence or substance or created or subject to moral change or alteration—the Catholic and Apostolic Church condemn them to damnation.

- but despite the "damnation" of the Council of Nicaea, Arianism thrived!
  - later councils voted to support Arius' views
  - Arian Christian missionaries
     converted many barbarians





BRY AS THE DUNISHTY OF A CERMANIC WARRION ARTTGCAACY. In this functary plaque from Grein, Puydme (possibly sweeth) century, he is shown "armed as a sodier, acarmus; (Frankish battle-saz) in belt and or in hand, with other curious accourtements. He has a long phallos, there are beant round him and a make the his feet, and he wears a head-free not unworthy of a pagan good. It has points of resemblance to the ure on a benoch from Finglesham in Kent, which is now thought to the Worden—J. M. Wallace-Hadrill or Familia's Chamber, n. 8.

- the success of Arianism forced the Church to harden its policy toward all heresies and internal dissent
  - it was decided only Church authorities
     were allowed to interpret scripture
  - this is when the New Testament was set at the 27 canonical books
    - Gnostic Gospels were censured/destroyed
    - a Gnostic buried the Nag Hammadi library

**Early Christian Controversies** 

the Church endorses the seven

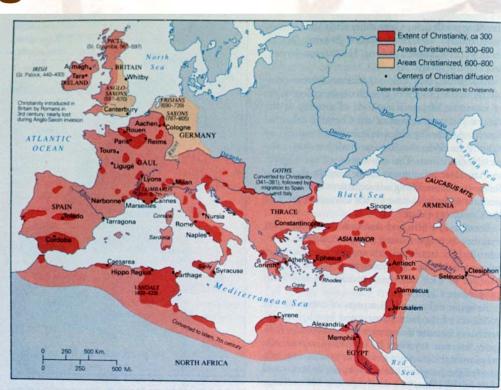
#### sacraments

- baptism
- confirmation
- Eucharist
- penance
- marriage
- ordination
- final unction





- leadership roles were assumed by the bishops governing Christian sees
  - archbishop of Rome: papa
    - i.e. the pope
  - archbishop ofConstantinople:patriarch



MAP 7.2 The Spread of Christianity Originating in Judaea, the southern part of modern Israel and Jordan, Christianity spread throughout the Roman world. Roman sea lanes and Roman roads facilitated the expansion.

- the division of the Christian world into sees and bishoprics was based on the principle of apostolic succession
  - Christ's disciples founded the bishoprics
  - probably, an invented history
    - created to tie the Western Church more closely to the New Testament

- after the "Fall of Rome," the Western and Eastern Churches grew estranged
  - in the eleventh century (1050's CE), they formally separated from each other
    - the schism between the Western Catholic
       Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church
- thus, the Church could not hold itself together as a unified body
  - the Gnostics are probably laughing!

- early Christian controversies offer a very different view of Christianity
  - e.g., God the Mother, Mary Magdalene the Apostle, Jesus not suffering on the cross
- an upside-down tree of evolution
  - greater diversity early rather than later
  - after the establishment of the Church, it was hard to change essential premises about Jesus' nature and teaching

- what is the lesson historians learn from early Christianity?
  - Christ's life is obscured by a lack of data and too much interest in his biography
  - that makes him an ideal target for invented history
    - which is not to say any particular history attached to him is invented, only that the wise historian is suspicious of any purported report about his life and teachings

- in the end, one view of Jesus' life and teaching won out over all others
  - e.g., that he was actually human and his suffering on the cross was real
- but in the day that was not the only way to see him and his ministry
  - the "realistic" view suited the society of later Rome and the Church's needs best

- and this was anything but the end of the debate about the nature of God and how to organize a church
  - others would suggest very different views about Jesus and how to read the heritage of the "ancient Hebrew scriptures"
  - next up: Muhammad and Islam!