A. Introduction

1.  Preliminary Remarks

The search for identity constitutes the broader context of christology.  A constant inquisitiveness into the purpose and destiny of human existence – e.g., the Homeric "who are you, where are you coming from, where are you going to" – has been the primary incentive for both ancient and modern thinkers to conceive the identity of humanity within a worldview that integrates all aspects of human life.  This potent interest in knowing one's self was formulated by ancients as a formation of one's multifaceted insight into who the human being *is*, *can* and *should* be.[1]  The quest for human identity is complex and can never be definitively resolved.  A speculatively construed distance or even a gap between *is*, *can*, and *should* is a source of motivation to a search for identity and gives vent to a range of portrayals of the ideal human being, whether it is a true philosopher of Socrates, sage of Stoics, *pneumatikos* of Gnostics, or even Nietzschean *Übermensch,* and "Superman" of Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster.[2]

In antiquity people construed their identities in many different ways:  familial, civic, ethnic, political, and religious.[3]  The difficulty of understanding the roles and functions of different aspects of identity – the discerning features that made people feel or think about who they are – lies in the fact that they are constantly evolving, being closely

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[1] Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 30B; Aristotle, *Nichom. Ethics* 10, 10.

[2] See a discussion of the subject by Ernst Benz, "Der "Übermensch"-Begriff in der Alten Kirche," in *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 77 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 135-160.

[3] Cf. Michael Brown, *The Lord's Prayer Through North African Eyes. A Window into Early Christianity* (New York: T & T Clark, 2004), pp. 3-17.

interrelated and interdependent on each other and on their constantly changing social environments.  Thus, it is no easy task to determine the hierarchy of priorities that contribute to the construction of the self out of diverse elements.  No doubt, however, the formation of various identities naturally began with interpersonal relations on a smaller level of kindred, household and family and gradually evolved into the more structured and normatively fixed spheres of larger communities, cities, states, and even as the *oikoumenê*.

One can hardly deny that in antiquity, unlike today, religion played the pivotal role in synthesizing, construing and cementing individual and social identifications by its aptitude to integrate different aspects of individual and social dimensions of everyday life disseminated in the rich traditions of folklore, education, art, science, ethics, and military and political establishments.  However, one comprehensively satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon of religion does not exist.  The word religion is derived from the Latin noun *religio*, which denotes both earnest observance of ritual obligations and an inward spirit of reverence.  In modern usage, religion covers a wide spectrum of meanings that reflect the enormous variety of ways the term can be interpreted.  At one extreme, believers recognize only their own tradition as a religion, understanding expressions such as worship and prayer to refer exclusively to the practices of their tradition.  Other believers do not claim an exclusive status for their tradition, but they use vague or idealizing terms in defining religion – for example, "true love of God," or "the path of enlightenment." At the other extreme, religion is often equated with ignorance, fanaticism, or wishful thinking.  Formation of any religious doctrine is a complex process

that consists, on the one hand, of historical events that once occurred at a certain point of time and space (*Geschichte*), and on the other hand, of elaborate interpretations of these events written by witnesses or later authors in order to explain current history in light of those past events (*Historie*). These hermeneutic re-examinations of history often served as an impetus for construing a social order of a given nation with its stories (histories), rituals, and ethical norms. Ancient and modern history is woven of voluminous examples of how military, intellectual, and religious groups responded to, and reflected upon, wars and disasters, successful economic and cultural prosperity. To give just a few examples, it will suffice to recall the military tensions between the Upper and Lower Egypt that were explained away by the appeal to the gods or demigods that, as it was believed, justified and finalized the political orders of the Pharaohs. The classical *topos* of war against Trojans and, later, against Persians was consequently arranged and rearranged in a religious framework of ancient Greek polytheism that allows us to speak of the ancient group identity of τὸ ἑλληνικόν. It is unimaginable to perceive the identity of Israel without its appeal to the unfolding of the ancient divine guidance of the Jewish nation into, and the blessed enjoyment of living in, the Promised Land. Such mega-empires as of Cyrus the Great, Alexander the Great and Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Augustus) with their cross-bordering political, economic and cultural magnitude facilitated the process of diffusing numerous local religious worldviews, cults and practices into metropolitan and provincial terrains, where different religious cults inescapably underwent various adaptations and syntheses necessary for their survival, livelihood, popularity, and reduplication.

Therefore, religious practices, cults, and worldviews with almost no exceptions naturally transcended the borders of one local culture, which often makes it difficult for historians and archeologists even today to trace original sources of particular religious cults with infallible certainty, leaving us with only partial textual, archeological or other material evidence that provides tangible proofs for hypothetical historical assumptions. And yet even though it is not the primary interest of the present study to reconstruct the historical identity of a certain social group, the assumption here is that religion, its inner structure, and autonomous dynamism played critical role in the formation of identity of ancient élites and ordinary people. This assumption has a direct correlation with our task of reconstructing the vibrant center of the incipient Christian religion, i.e., the identity of the Christ Jesus, rendered by the first Christian authors. One portrait of Jesus Christ is of particular interest to us here, namely that of Clement of Alexandria, precisely for its conclusive and all-encompassing character, which, as it was stated above and will be shown more fully in the course of this study, absorbed and molded a great deal of the philosophical and religious perceptions of late antiquity.

Religiously experienced by early Christian adherents and theologically construed by Clement, the figure of Christ came into view as the divine preexistent *logos*, God's countenance, the architect of universe, God himself. On the other hand, Christ was seen as the human person, who educated people about the true knowledge of God and the true way of life and himself died on the cross, having been raised up afterwards bestowing eternal life to all who believed in him. A theological vision of this divine-human was embarked on in a particular period of the history of Greco-Roman and Middle Eastern

societies, for they were undergoing a tremendous shift in their political, economic, social, and most visibly religious and cultural domains leaving a marked trace on the history of late antiquity and its posterity.

2.  In Search for the Method of Study of Early Christianity

A brief consideration of methods of study of early Christianity is particularly necessary in order to understand better Clement's vision of Christ's identity. Much has been said about the political, cultural, and religious changes that had been taking place before and during the birth of Christianity.[4] One fact is certain, i.e., however "different," "new," or "contra-cultural" the Christian worldview might have appeared at first within and beyond the borders of Palestine, it found itself in the middle of a larger culture of the Roman Empire with its diversity of races, cultures, philosophies, and religions. In such a rich milieu, the quest for human identity and thus numerous accounts about the purpose and destiny of human existence were amply developed and connected to the first etiological stories, rituals, ethical codices that evolved into a more intricate religious poly/monotheistic and philosophical matrix. These stories and sophisticated cosmological and anthropological systems expressed certain socio-psychological or inexpressibly innate longings that projected, transformed, and mythologized human ultimate anxieties, hopes, disappointments and ideals. These systems were transformed into a heavenly, transcendent realm of life in order to bring them back to earth, receive in a form of revelation, or demythologize, with a new meaning charged with the supramundane power of authority.

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[4] Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos. A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus. Translated by John E. Steely* (Nashville, TN: Abington, 1970 [1st German ed. 1913]); Angus Samuel, *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World. A Study in the Historical Background of Early Christianity* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1967); James Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1999); Ralph Martin Novak, Jr., *Christianity and the Roman Empire: Background Texts* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001); Philip Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries* (London: Longman, 2002).

Contemporary scholarship of late antique religion, philosophy, and theology analyzes the principles and functions of religious perceptions and their models of identity from varied historical, methodological, and denominational standpoints. It has been frequently and boldly reiterated that our contemporary understanding of the world and hence our understanding of ourselves to a large extent has been formed and conditioned by ancient history, philosophical categories, aesthetic tastes, religious stories, and cultural sensitivity. In a word, we are in some sense the progeny of ancient culture.[5] Unquestionably, any Christian church or community today looks back to the first centuries of early Christianity to (re)discover its identity and charisma.

At the same time, there is a strong conviction among many scholars that the Western literary heritage and its powerful institutions need to be "demystified" and thus they call for historical objectiveness and "liberation from the past" that discount the ancient "mythological" way of thinking and hence look with dismantling criticism at such religious phenomena as "faith," "authority," and "mystical experience."[6] Yet others, also appealing to historical accuracy, focus on the content of the ancient secular, religious, and philosophical texts with the realization that those *can* and even *should* be engaged in

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[5] There is an extensive literature on the subject, which deals with the notion of identity in antiquity. See Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Lin Foxhall and John Salmon (eds.), *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power, and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998); Richard Miles, *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999); Cynthia M. Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel: Architectures of Gender in Jewish Antiquity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002); François Chausson and Hervé Inglebert (eds.), *Costume et sociéte dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age* (Paris: Picard, 2003); Barbara Aland, Johannes Hahn, and Christian Ronning (eds.), *Literarische Konstituierung von Identifikationsfiguren in der Antike* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[6] See Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality. An Introduction,* vol.1, *The Use of Pleasures,* vol. 2, *The Care of the Self,* vol. 3. Trans. by R. Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987-1990) and Stephen Greenblatt, *Allegory and Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

fruitful dialogue with the present by examining different interpretations of literature throughout history.[7] The scholarly certainty that echoes with the ancient quest for truth makes the involvement of past theological texts necessary in the dialogue with present theology without the fear of falling into obscurity.[8] However, in the end it is up to an individual historian or theologian to answer the broadly discussed question whether we seek to know about the past for its own sake or we talk about it because we want to understand better the present while still entering other times, cultures, or minds through scholarly research and imagination.[9] The best attitude is perhaps expressed by John Behr, who said that in order to study Christian doctrine "[w]e might wish to suspend our belief in these [Christian in its essence] claims, but it would be hermeneutically unsound to do so on behalf of the perspective described by the early Christian texts themselves."[10]

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[7] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode,* 5th edn (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), available in English as *Truth and Method* by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum 2004); Wolfgang Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[8] Cf. Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo. Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 102-107; see also ibid., *The Philosophy of Spinosa: Unfolding the Latent Processes of his Reasoning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 20-31.

[9] John Van Engen, editor, *Educating People of Faith. Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 5. For different points of view as to the answer to the question of history, see Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997), and Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

[10] John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 15. Jaroslav Pelikan also sees the necessity of combining the historical and theological approaches to the study of early centuries of Christianity in particular and the whole history of Christian thought in general, stating that "[t]he history of Christian doctrine is the most effective means available of exposing the artificial theories of continuity that have often assumed normative status in the churches, and at the same time it is an avenue into the authentic continuity of Christian believing, teaching, and confessing. Tradition is the living faith of the dead; traditionalism is the dead faith of the living." See *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600), vol. 1 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 9.

After all, early Christian theological imagery and philosophical resourcefulness were a major project for human identity in late antiquity that had, and still has in today's postmodern age, a direct relevance to the lives of large groups of people of different social status.[11] From any point of view, it is a fascinating story. Originally, the early Christian group appeared as an insignificant religious sect in provincial Palestine.[12] However, through the enthusiastic bustle of the first Judeo-Christian missionaries it became exposed to the larger culture of the Roman Empire and went far beyond its borders. In a subtle synthesis with its culture on conceptual, ritualistic, ethical, and social levels it did and does mold and offer an inclusive and comprehensive religious system that integrates and transforms Biblical and contemporaneous worldviews.

There are different assessments of the degree of diffusion and inculturation of the Christian message into the Greco-Roman world. One can rely on a consensus among scholars of early Christian theology, such as Gustave Bardy and Jean Daniélou that the

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[11] See Paul Lakeland, *Postmodernity: Christian Identity in a Fragmented Age* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), p. 39-58. Today, however, Christianity has a different challenge of "inculturation into the world" which, on the one hand, drastically expands in various forms of globalization, but on the other hand, fragments itself while struggling to beget something equivalent to the integral classical worldview. One of the quintessential perplexities of postmodern philosophy is its relativization of truth and decentralization and thus fragmentation of the worldview. As result, the notion of God as the unifying and living principle of the universe and humanity has been reduced to a functional role of intellectual speculation or as Helmut Peukert put it, God became "the wither of transcendence." See his *Science, Action, Fundamental Theology: Toward a Theology of Communicative Action* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), p. 239; see also Gordon Kaufman's definition of God as "that reality, *whatever it might be,* orientation on which evokes our human moral and creative powers (that is, our distinctly human powers), encouraging their development and enhancement by promising significant human fulfillment (salvation) in the future." Cf., idem, *In Face of Mystery: A Constructive Theology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 79.

[12] To draw the contours of the cultural, religious and philosophical cosmology, anthropology, and theology of the late Judaism and early Christianity Hans Bietenhard turns his attention to the background and sources of ancient Babylonian and Greco-Roman systems in his book *Die Himmliche Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1951), p. 19-42.

missionary work and intellectual resourcefulness of the early Christian missionaries had

been effectively infiltrating the culture of the Mediterranean world and beyond it,

articulating its main doctrines to non-Christians in the new language of Hellenism.[13]

Harry Gamble shows in a convincing way how the tangible and thus traceable evidence

of the Christian missionary work – e.g., circulation of manuscripts and eventual books

containing the gospels, apologetic literature, correspondence, polemical and

philosophical treatises among Christians – grew with its downfalls and rises, reflecting

the expansion of Christian communities and their ingress into the non-Jewish

population.[14]  To put this process in a larger perspective, Gamble brings up a question of

the level of literacy in the first-second century Roman Empire.  Literary evidence

demonstrates that the overall percentage of the people of Hellenistic culture, who were

able to read and write, is roughly estimated to slightly exceed only ten percent,[15] whereas

the average level of literacy among Jews was estimated to be incomparably higher, since

in the first century Palestinian and Jewish Diaspora there was a remarkably well

developed infrastructure of synagogal schools and almost all boys were enrolled in them

together with some females exposed to the study of letters.[16]  This could have had its

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[13] See Gustave Bardy, *La Conversion au christianisme durant les trois premiere siècles* (Paris, 1949), p. 157; Jean Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, p. 31.

[14] Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 2-10.  Cf. also Philip Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries* (London: Longman, 2002), esp. 56-83.

[15] William Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 272.

[16] Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:78-83 and Shemuel Safrai, "Education and the Study of Torah," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, sec. 1), ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern (Philadelphia:

appeal among non-Jews of a lower rank, who could not afford to pay for prestigious schools of Greco-Roman élite but could enroll themselves into the new alternatively emerging, open to non-Jews, and possibly free schools of learning administered by Jews and early Judeo-Christians in Diaspora, who espoused Greek language and culture and envisaged a curriculum that incorporated both Jewish and Greek literary heritage.[17]  In those communities that were simultaneously religious congregations and schools of learning, early Christian preachers promised to give not only the right of entry to eternal life and salvation but also access to texts and literacy, which also meant advancement in social status.  I will later return to this question.

On the other hand, everyone agrees that the spread of Christianity in the first three hundred years was much slower, more dramatic, and ambiguous than it is usually assumed.  As only one group of a diverse urban environment of big Roman cities, indeed, itself being divided into numerous Christian and semi-Christian factions, Christian movement arrived much later into the rural areas, where the majority of the population dwelled.  Additionally, intermittent yet severe persecutions of Nero, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Diocletian on local levels had a two-way effect on the Christian communities attracting new members, for whom "the blood of the martyrs" became "the seed of the church," but also scaring off many more.  Walter Bauer once showed that

Fortress Press, 1976), 2:945-70.  Cf. also Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apion* 2.204, *Atiquitates* 4.211; T. Levi 13.2; Philo of Alexandria, *Ad Gaium* 115, 210.

[17] David Dawson exemplifies Philo's attempt not only to justify the antiquity and equality of the Jewish history and culture with the Greek one by even to subordinate the latter one to the former, but he also clearly had in mind an educational curriculum that was ready to be offered to pupils of Jewish Alexandrian aristocrats and also to non-Jews.  See his *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 109-126.

what later came to be considered the orthodox group of Christians in fact was one of many rival factions among Christian and semi-Christian communities, and Ramsay MacMullen strikingly reminds us that as a matter of fact "the [Roman] empire overall appears to have been predominantly non-Christian in A.D. 400."[18]

Christianity's encounter with Hellenism has alternately been seen as a process of Hellenizing Christianity or Christianization of Hellenism, although both of these categorizations, however seemingly helpful, are dismissed today for their shortsightedness and misguidance.[19] An extensive scholarship on the cultural, philosophical, and religious milieu of the emerging Christian world has developed into various schools of thought. Depending on which methodological standpoints one decides to rely upon, be it a history of religion, historical theology, or formation of doctrine, different presentations of early Christianity will appear in the outcome.

About a century ago, Adolf von Harnack established a conspicuous paradigmatic approach for liberal Protestant theology that had a strong influence on later theology at large. He contrasted early Christianity with Hellenism and tested the "orthodoxy" or genuineness of the Christian post-apostolic and patristic documents by analyzing to what degree Christianity mingled with, or was being "corrupted" by, Hellenism.[20] Harnack

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[18] Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100-400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 83. See also Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity.* Trans. by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins and edited by Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Mifflintown, PA: Sigler Press, 1996), pp. 111-129, 229-241.

[19] One author clearly shows deficiency of Hellenization or Christianization categories, i.e., Michael Brown, *The Lord's Prayer Through North African Eyes. A Window into Early Christianity* (New York: T & T Clark, 2004), p. 37.

[20] Adolf von Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* 4 T. (Tübingen: Mohr 1893-1914).

patterned his understanding of the early Christian teaching on a contrast between Jewish

and Hellenistic Christianity in the New Testament.  Hence, the "pure" Christianity of

Paul and John and from the patristic camp Marcion (sic) and Tertullian is confronted with

the "extremist" hellenized and gnosticized forms of Christianity in the first centuries of

Christian theological growth, represented by such early Christian authors as James,

Ignatius, Clement and Origen.  Harnack treats the latter authors as those who openly

though critically accepted Greek philosophy in Christian dogma but were unable to

safeguard the genuine Christian message from blunt corruption by Greek philosophical

ideas.[21]

A more traditional presentation of early Christianity that exemplifies a Roman

Catholic point of view is ventured by Jean Daniélou, who looked at the development of

the Christian doctrine from a perspective of the multicultural encounter of Christianity in

its diffusion throughout the Roman Empire.[22]  The early stage of the formation of

Christian doctrine took place in the Jewish milieu, which was natural for the first

Christians (Judeo-Christians).  They were gradually alienated and yet still able to

preserve their close cultural, ritual, ideological and essential social ties.  The second

critically important stage was the embracement of the larger Hellenistic culture by the

early Christians.  This blend not only brought Christianity beyond the borders of a strictly

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[21] Cf., idem, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910).

[22] See his three volumes of *A History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea. The Theology of Jewish Christianity,* vol. 1; *Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture,* vol. 2; *The Origins of Latin Christianity,* vol. 3. Trans., edited and with a postscript by John Austin Baker and David Smith (London: Darton, Longman & Todd; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973-1977).

Judeo-Christian sect but also initiated a new way of philosophical thinking that boldly

declared to have possessed the truth in a rational way and thus commenced a rethinking

and remolding of the contemporaneous religion and culture with the tools this religion

and culture had to offer:  education (*paideia*), rituals, textual/scriptural commentaries,

and above all philosophy.  Finally, the third stage of the formation of Christian doctrine

was its upgrowth in the West of Europe and Africa where, according to Daniélou, the

final systematization and ultimate solutions of trinitarian and christological tensions were

found in the refinement of the category of a divine hypostasis.  The terms of *persona* and

*subsistentia* (Greek πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις) explained the human-divine being of Christ

as the second *person* of the Holy Trinity who stood in eternal relation to the Father.  The

improvement of the term *persona* lied in its relational nature, as Augustine argued in his

*De Trinitate.*

John N.D. Kelly presented a paradigm similar to Daniélou's and strongly

emphasized the theological conceptualization of Christian beliefs in the form of thematic

sketches.  He found "an obvious convenience in placing the starting-point [of patristic

studies] outside the New Testament,"[23] since the fathers of the church marked a new

winding of doctrinal development of gospel's translation into the intellectual language of

Hellenism that was very distinct from the Christian literature of the first century.

Although Kelly did not follow the dichotomy of Christianity versus Hellenism, as

Harnack did, and accepted the fertile marriage of both, he still categorized second- and

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[23] John Norman Davidson Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines.* Revised edn (London: Longmans 1960), p. 3.

third-century Christian authors, somewhat anachronistically, into the Western and

Eastern branches, according to which Irenaeus and Tertullian were conscripted as the

main founders of the former wing of Christianity *versus* Clement and Origen as founders

of the latter one.  In fact, Kelly differentiated both trends of early Christian tradition quite

clearly by implying that early Western Christianity was rather more primitive, closer to

the Judeo-Christianity, and fairly anti-Hellenistic, whereas early Eastern Christianity was

more readily open to accepting the Hellenistic concepts into the realm of faith.[24]

Another presentation of the development of the early Christian doctrine, perhaps

the most balanced in terms of historical and denominational acuteness, is offered by

Jaroslav Pelikan, who embarked on an ambitious project of working through the whole

history of Christianity from its emergence to the current application of the multilateral

prism of the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions.[25]  In his first volume, he seeks

to define the notion of one Christian tradition of New Israel with its connection to the

antecedent Jewish tradition, on the one hand, and a philosophical tradition of the Greco-

Roman world, on the other.  Pelikan's scholarly interest is aimed at the three fields of

Christian discourse, namely, what the early Christians believed, taught, and confessed,

and this became his threefold methodological approach to the study of the history of

Christian dogma as such.  By means of this approach, he avoids some misleading

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[24] Ibid., p. 4-5ff.

[25] Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600), vol. 1; *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (600-1700), vol. 2; *The Growth of Medieval Theology* (600-1300), vol. 3; *Reformation of Church and Dogma* (1300-1700), vol. 4; *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture* (since 1700), vol. 5 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971-1989).

paradigms of antagonism between the Christian gospel and the Hellenistic culture or

theological achievements in the East and those of the West.  Pelikan is highly aware that

the realms of believing, teaching, and confessing are naturally inseparable, but each of

them indicates certain aspects of expressing the essence of the Christian tradition.  It is

the third level of confession of Christian truth that is the ultimate and formal expression

of it, and Pelikan follows a generally accepted Orthodox and Catholic emphasis on the

dogma about the human-divine identity of Christ that became of decisive importance for

Christian theology and religion.  The official theological settlement of Christ's identity

that was reached through the philosophical resourcefulness and diplomatic compromise

of many church men and women at the first local and ecumenical councils helped to

articulate the sacred mystery of the Holy Trinity.  As Daniélou, Kelly, and indeed the

majority of traditional theologians, Pelikan calls the trinitarian formulations "the climax

of the doctrinal development of the early church."[26]  This dogmatic formulation has been

upheld traditionally by the ensuing centuries of the Byzantine, Latin, and later the

orthodox Protestant theology.  According to the dogmatic formulations, every disparity or

discrepancy from christological and trinitarian dogmas, even though originally being part

of a theological discussion, had been considered as unacceptable and heretical, and hence

orthodoxy took the position of enforcing and inflicting different degrees of punitive

measurements against the bearers of "unorthodox" viewpoints.

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[26] See Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600), vol. 1, p. 172 ff.  This view is held by Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*; Vladimir Lossky's *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. Trans. by members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (London, J. Clarke, 1957); Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*; Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*; John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 1997).

3. A Quest for Patristic Christology

The dogmatic significance of christological formulations stands at the center of the widely discussed issue of patristic christology, which is inscribed in the framework of the establishment of orthodoxy and the abjuration of heresy in the early church. The historical and theological significance of the clash of orthodoxy with heresy can not be dismissie from our account of the study of early Christian christology, since it serves a comparative and evaluative role for all theological systems, either liberal or conservative, which have been continually tested against a hermeneutic principle often called from the rise of Christianity the principle of truth or the rule of faith.[27]

As John Behr reminds us, from the first glimpse at Luke's *Acts of the Apostles* or Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* we get a picture of an originally pure orthodoxy maintained by the exemplary Christian communities, which were later constantly attacked by the "demeritorious" teachings of heretics. Yet today this picture is perceived as theologically projected on the history of Christian communities after Pentecost by Luke and other apostles, apologists, and early fathers of the church in continuity with their vision of an overarching economy of salvation. It has been proven that these authors had been in a constant battle with their internal and external opponents. As was customary for late antique philosophical discussions, the disputants sought to crystallize

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[27] Henry E.W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relations between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); Alain Le Boulleuc, *La notion d'herésie dans la literature grecque IIe- IIIe siècles.* Tome 1-2 (Paris: Études Augustiennes, 1985); Henry Chadwick, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Brookfield, Vt., USA: Variorum, 1991).

the nature of true faith in, and knowledge of, Jesus Christ and the way of life and social

order that this faith and knowledge entailed.[28]

One must note that these theological polemics of the first three centuries were

generally not designated to secure supreme political or fiscal power but rather moral or

didactic authority over this or that Christian community, since there was no means of

one's direct forceful coercion to a certain religious conviction. This is also true with

regards to the sphere of other small cults and religious groups, Christianity being

originally simply one of many. Of course, Roman state religion was the perspicuous

exception, since emperors freely exercised their power to impose a state religion with the

cult of the emperor as Pontifex Maximus. Similarly, a religious cult or philosophy

preferred by the emperor benefited from his support, as it was in the case of Marcus

Aurelius (121-180). He was not only the Roman emperor but also a Stoic philosopher.

During his rule Stoicism enjoyed a privileged status among other philosophical schools

throughout the Empire. It was also not until Constantine's toleration and open support of

Christianity in the fourth century that theological debates in Christian circles began

stipulating strong political implications, and accordingly the decisions of the ecumenical

councils attained the status of the state laws.[29]

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[28] See James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity.* Second edn (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1997); cf. also the above mentioned book by Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity.*

[29] See Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

Pre-Constantinian Christianity, however, had rather an enthusiastic character freed from a strictly Jewish religious institutionalisation and theological dogmatism. It had been acquiring its own independent, dynamic, and quickly evolving structure. At the same time, it brought up, nurtured, and harbored numerous thinkers, who gave their own varied interpretations testimony of teaching of and about Jesus Christ. This creativity of christological interpretation allowed Don Cupitt to raise a rather bold question of whether the recognition in early Christian theology of one Jesus was accompanied by many portrayals of Christ.[30]

The question of the unity and diversity of early Christianity easily translates into the widely discussed question of the last two centuries of one "historical" Jesus and multiple "faith-based" "post-Easter" Christs. Without going deep into this discussion, it should suffice to say that scholars by and large agree that despite the diversity of early Christian kerygmata, primitive confessional formulae, concepts of ministry, patterns of worship and sacraments, diverse understandings of the role of tradition(s) and of the Jewish Scriptures, the unifying factor for them had always been the confession of the uniqueness of one true God and the professed uniqueness of the Son, Jesus Christ, his salvific teaching and most importantly his death and resurrection. Early Christian faith in one Jesus Christ shaped the main contours of Christian dogma. This sense of unity and uniqueness was sealed by such strong apostolic dicta as the celebrated "let they all be

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[30] Don Cupitt, "One Jesus, many Christs?" in *Christ Faith and History: Cambridge Studies in Christology.* Ed. by S.W. Sykes and J.P. Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 131-44. See also James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity,* p. 227.

one"[31] "for you are all one in Christ Jesus"[32] and brought about what John Behr calls a "conviction that there is *one right faith* …one right reading of the one Scripture."[33] The most visible attestation of the existence of this conviction at work is the formation of the New Testament canon, which collected different, or even conflicting, presentations of Jesus by Mark, Matthew, John, Luke, Paul, and by the communities, in which these authors lived.[34] The appearance of the first canon(s) established a certain unified framework, within which the identity of Jesus Christ had been inscribed and deemed as normative.[35] Thus, it is not an overstatement that the hermeneutic principle that determined the orthodoxy and normativeness of early Christian doctrines was early christology, i.e., the way early Christian communities and their heralds portrayed and confessionally articulated the identity of Jesus Christ. This leads me to my central task of this introductory section of the quest for methodological approach to christology to define the tenets of the term "christology" in post-apostolic times and particularly in Clement of Alexandria, as this will be discussed more fully later.

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[31] John 17:21.

[32] Gal 3:28.

[33] John Behr, *Formation of Christian Theology. The Way to Nicaea,* vol. 1 (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), p. 14.

[34] See a lecture delivered by Ernst Käsemann on 20 June 1951, at the Ecumenical Symposium of the Göttingen Theological Faculty, first published in *Evangelische Theologie* 11, 1951-52, pp. 13-21, under the title "Begründet der neutestamentliche Kanon die Einheit der Kirche?" Trans. by W. J. Montague in: *Essays on the New Testament Themes* (SCM Press: London, 1971) 95-107.

[35] Cf. Behr, *The Way to Nicaea,* pp. 17-48. See also Harry Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon: Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) and Brevard S. Childs*, The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1994).

The most decisive question of *christ*ology is: Who is Jesus Christ? And the simplest description or definition of christology is a *search for the identity of Jesus Christ*. But even when one says "Jesus Christ," he or she wittingly or unwittingly pronounces a certain christological formula, which affirms that Jesus is the Christ. Χριστός is the Greek translation of the Hebrew word for "Messiah," the "anointed one," which originally was not a proper name but one of several titles widely accepted and used by Jews and Judeo-Christians.[36] Along with "Christ" such titles as "Son of David," "Son of God," "Son of Man," "Kyrios," "New Moses," and many others, had been used.[37] The fact that the Χριστός and other names applied to Jesus are consequential to his identity led some Protestant theologians to believe that christology in its methodology needs to begin "from below," namely from the human nature of Jesus, who perhaps gradually ascended himself and, most definitely in the minds of Paul and John, eternally belonged to the realm of divine.[38] At the same time, most of these contemporary theologians acknowledge that the New Testament, apologetic, and patristic texts speak about Jesus

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[36] Cf. Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Jesus – God and Man.* Second edn. Trans. by Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977), p. 30ff. See also Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament.* Rev. edn. Trans. by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A.M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 111-136 and esp. Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum.* Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Altes und Neuen Testaments, 83 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 133-225, 280-333.

[37] Cf. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity,* pp. 33-59; cf. also Jean Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea. The Theology of Jewish Christianity,* vol. 1.

[38] Albrecht Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation. The Positive Development of the Doctrine*. Trans. and ed. by H. R. Mackintosh and A. B. Macaulay (Clifton, N.J.: Reference Book Publishers, 1966); Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament.* Trans. by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Scribner, 1951-1955.); Paul Althaus, *Die christliche Wahrheit. Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1969); Carl Heinz Ratschow, *Jesus Christus* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1982); Wolfgang Pannenberg, *Jesus – God and Man.* Trans. by Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977).

Christ "from above," the Christ, who as the preexistent Word of God came down from God into the world. This approach has been maintained by the traditional Roman Catholic, Orthodox and some Protestant theologians,[39] who look at the concept of Incarnation not only as a product of the mythical imagination of late antique Palestinians and even more so Hellenized Judeo-Christians but as the radical involvement of God with human history. What is the involvement of God in the world and how Incarnation became possible was a charge that the early Christian authors took upon themselves to explain by means of religious and philosophical concepts accessible to them in their epoch. In other words, the philosophical and religious concepts used by early Christian authors were a response to the charge by Hellenizing non-Christians that an immutable God could not possibly become directly involved in human history.

The process of the understanding and explanation of God's interaction with humanity has been presented in Christian theology in a larger program of the history of salvation encoded in the Jewish Scriptures (Pentateuch, Psalms, and Prophets). A specifically Christian program that incorporated Jewish tradition was articulated in such key New Testament christological passages as Luke 1:46-55; 68-79; 2:29-32; Phil 2:6-11; Col 1:15-20; John 1:1-16; Heb 1:3; 1 Tim 3:16; and 1 Peter 3:18ff. All of these texts,

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[39] Emil Brunner, *The Mediator. A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith.* Trans. by Olive Wyon (New York, Macmillan, 1934); Karl Rahner, "Current Problems in Christology," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 1 (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1961), pp. 149-200; Martin Kähler, *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic, Biblical Christ.* Trans., ed., and introd. by Carl E. Braaten (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964); Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics.* Ed. by G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance. 12 vols. (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1936-1962); Dumitru Staniloae, *The Experience of God.* Translated and edited by Ioan Ionita and Robert Barringer. Vol. 2. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994-2000); Walter Kasper, *Jesus the Christ.* Trans. by V. Green (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Paulist Press, 1976); Panayiotis Nellas, *Deification in Christ.* Trans. by Norman Russel (Crestwood, N.Y.: SVS Press, 1987).

however dissimilar they might appear, share a common belief in God's active and

unequivocal involvement with the world and humanity.  Ferdinand Hahn formulated this

early Christian program in terms of the *forming* and *reforming* of the earliest tradition

about Jesus.[40]  This tradition was recorded in the first apostolic *kerygma,* which was not

as homogeneous as I implied above.  Formation (*forming*) of the tradition about Jesus

was a result of the preceding process of the conscientious *selectiveness* of the material

about Jesus.  This process correlates, on the one hand, with the oral preaching about him

and emergence of texts based on either personal acquaintance or more conceivably with a

combination of the interpretive grounds shaped by scriptural images, apocalyptic

expectations, and the larger religious context of the given period of history.  On the other

hand, the formation of the tradition about Jesus reflects a formation of proto-canon(s) of

these different accounts on the basis of emerging awareness of the identity of Jesus as the

Christ.[41]  Thus the formation of early Christian tradition, or what Aloys Grillmeier calls

the process of its *transformation* while applying Hahn's methodology to patristic

literature, necessarily entailed a transition or growth of the lived experience of the earliest

Christians into the preached gospel, i.e., *kerygma,* and then a crystallization of a Christian

dogma brought forth by the early *kerygma.*[42]  A plausible differentiation of the lived

experience of the early church, its *kerygma,* and dogma picked up by Hahn and

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[40] See Ferdinand Hahn, "Methodologische Überlegungen zur Rückfrage nach Jesus," in *Rückfrage nach Jesus. Zur Methodik und Bedeutung der Frage nach dem historischen Jesus* (Quest. Disp. 63), ed. K. Kertelge (Freiburg im Breisgau; Basel; Vienna: Herder, 1974), pp, 19-23.

[41] Ferdinand Hahn, "Methodologische Überlegungen zur Rückfrage nach Jesus," p. 14-18.

[42] Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition.* Vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon* (451), vol. 1, p. 8.

Grillmeier corresponds to what Pelikan later called the early Christian belief system, teaching, and confession. This differentiation is most instructive for us in understanding patristic christology. It allows us to look at early Christian authors, including Clement of Alexandria, with a certain degree of confidence as to a) how much they wanted to convey to their readers the shared experience of communities they lived in; b) how much speculation, theological creativity, and exegetical skills they embedded into interpreting this experience in light of a larger context of religious, theological and philosophical ideas; and finally c) how much of what they wrote they themselves considered to be normative or even dogmatic in the threefold sense of Paul's "I speak by concession," "I wish [this was so and so]," and "not I say, but the Lord."[43]

In other words, in this dissertation the term christology is not seen as the definitive dogmatic articulation of a church, be it the second century church of Alexandria or the catholic church of that century at large. A principle of dogmatic formulation and supremacy in defining the identity of Jesus Christ became a practice in the ensuing centuries, when the local and ecumenical councils began stipulating final binding conclusions and dogmas, relating to the most essential questions of Christian faith and life. Rather, the early patristic pre-conciliar christology is the multifaceted tradition that pointed toward the Incarnation of the Word (*logos*) of God, and it is to be found in the writings of patristic authors, who participated in the living experience of the

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[43] 1 Cor 7:6-12; cf. also Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora,* in which the author distinguishes normativity of the Law in a tripartite way: "The first part must be attributed to God alone, and his legislation; the second to Moses – not in the sense that God legislates through him, but in the sense that Moses gave some legislation under the influence of his own ideas; and the third to the elders of the people, who seem to have ordained some commandments of their own at the beginning."

Christian gospel, reflected upon it, and offered their own sometimes erudite and

sometimes mind-numbing interpretations.

4.  Church as School and the Role of the Christian Teacher

The most natural environment for a religious experience, *kerygma,* and doctrine

of primitive Christians was undoubtedly found in the Jewish synagogue, *bet knesset*,

which has been a central communal institution of Judaism since the formative period.  In

fact, it had been the native educational milieu for Jesus himself, who must have been

enrolled in a synagogal school in his childhood and later used it for preaching in his adult

life.  Even though until 70 CE Jerusalem Temple was the center of the Jewish cult, the

synagogue clearly had its own particular function, serving as a local meetinghouse for

study and, also, prayer.  In effect, its administrators were none other than teachers,

*rabbis*.  When Jerusalem Temple was destroyed, the synagogue became its surrogate.

Consequently much of the liturgy and instruction of rabbinic Judaism and newly

emerging Judeo-Christianity – even the times of statutory prayer and the number of

services held on holidays and festivals – was framed to correspond with the rituals and

rhythms of the defunct Temple cult.[44]

It is in the light of Jewish school (synagogue) that the identity of Jesus of

Nazareth needs to be looked at and constantly kept in mind, since after all, being perhaps

more radical in his theological and ethical demands than his contemporaneous Jewish

milieu,[45] he was a Palestinian *rabbi* (teacher), for whose formation of identity the

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[44] Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992); Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2002); John P. Dickson, *Mission-Commitment in Ancient Judaism and in the Pauline Communities: the Shape, Extent and Background of Early Christian Mission* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[45] Gerd Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches. Creating a Symbolic World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), pp. 27-40, 96-99; idem, "The Wandering Radicals. Light Shed by the

rabbinic vocation was of the immediate and decisive importance.[46] Consequently, the

fact that he was a teacher had a crucial impact on early Christianity to a degree that early

Christians had to become teachers in order to transmit the teaching of Christ.[47] As it will

be demonstrated later, when Clement calls Christ *didaskalos*, with all divine

connotations, he does not overlook the rabbinic background of Jesus' identity.

A transition from the Jewish synagogue to the early Christian church/school was

not seen as a straightforward process. At the same time, the difference between school

and church in early Christianity has not been clearly contoured.[48] Today it is agreed that

under Hellenistic influence the institution of the early Christian school and thus the status

of teacher took on an entirely new form. For Harnack, the transition was seen through

the prism of his thesis of the Hellenization of primitive Christianity, which by the end of

the third century completely lost its genuinely "charismatic" character and succumbed to

an institutionalized schooling formed in accordance with the customs, methods, and

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Sociology of Literature on the Early Transmission of Jesus Sayings, Social Reality and the Early Christians," in *Theology, Ethics and the World of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992): 33-59.

[46] On the connection between Christ the teacher and early Christian theology, see Friedrich Normann, *Christos Didaskalos* (Münster, Westf.: Aschendorf, 1966); Rainer Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer: eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984); Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert: ihre Lehrtätigkeit, ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Geschichte* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1989).

[47] Mt 28:19; Mk 16:15; Lk 24:47; Col 1:23.

[48] Cf. Annewies van den Hoek, "How Alexandrian was Clement of Alexandria? Reflections on Clement and his Alexandrian Background," *Heythrop Journal* 31.1 (1990): 182. See also Adolf von Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius.* 2nd vol. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904), p. 3 and Appendix 1 below, *Christian Education in Second Century Alexandria.*

structure of Hellenistic education.[49]  Henrich Rengstorf and recently Alfred Zimmermann

examined the striking discontinuity between the first century Christian school that was

still part of Jewish synagogal infrastructure and the second century Christian school that

confidently and actively embraced Hellenistically fostered instruction (Tertullian and

Tatian being false exceptions, since undoubtedly they were also legitimate heirs to

Greco-Roman upbringing).[50]  Rengstorf and Zimmermann concluded that the distance

and indeed the fracture between the two periods originally took place not so much in the

realm of theological discourse as on the level of educational organization and

technique.[51]  However, Werner Jaeger and Hans von Campenhausen believed that there

actually was a historical continuity between the first and following centuries of Christian

schools, despite the drastic change that came into effect after early Christians opened the

doors of their schools to non-Christians.  As arguments in defense of this thesis, they

showed, first of all, that Christian schools of the second, third and fourth centuries

remained part of the communal undertaking of early Christians; and, second of all, the

revelatory texts, scriptural learning and interpretation continuously played a central role

for both the old and new churches, even though the methods and approaches to Christian

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[49] See Adolf von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur älteste Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1884) and *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924).

[50] On Tertullian and Tatian, see Eric Osborn, *Tertullian: The First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and G.F. Hawthorne, "Tatian and His Discourse to the Greeks," *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964): 161-88.

[51] Henrich Rengstorf, "Art. διδάσκω," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* 2nd vol. (Stuttgart: Gerhard Friedrich 1935): 138-68; Alfred F. Zimmermann, *Die urchristlichen Lehrer. Studien zum Tradentenkreis der didaskaloi im frühen Urchristentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), esp. pp. 218ff.

education of the later periods were borrowed from the larger socially established and philosophically ingrained paradigm of Hellenistic *paideia*.[52]  As I mentioned above, the evangelically justified and charged openness of early Christian schools to non-Jews and non-Christians attracted a significant number of new members, since these schools were easily accessible and in most cases free of charge and sponsored by the entire community, in contrast to Greco-Roman schools, which were open only to the élite, which thereby was maintaining and protecting its upper social status, and their studious instructors required considerable fees for the complete course of studies.

The first three centuries of the formation of Christian school and its transition from a synagogal to Hellenistic educational forms brought forth several different types of early Christian teachers, who responded to different "talents of Spirit."  They have been tentatively classified as prophets, itinerary and professional teachers, ministers and catechists, each of whom carried out his/her specific vocation even though their functions could easily overlap.  Prophets received and conceived the main guidelines of divine revelation.  Itinerary teachers traveled from town to town and preached the revelation, *kerygma,* in the most enthusiastic and earnest way.  Learned teachers explored, applied, and handed down the guidelines and content of the revelation and *kerygma* in a more structured and comprehensive way.  At last, ministers and catechists made the utmost use of the *kerygma* for ecclesiastical structuralization and growth.[53]  In the course of the

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[52] See Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961); Hans F. von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), esp. p. 210-33.

[53] See Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert,* p. 1-2.

church's progression into Greco-Roman milieu, by the end of the third century most of the teacher's functions shifted to institutionalized ones. This shift took place from the privately run congregations and/or congregational schools. These schools had been subjugated by ecclesiastical officials, presbyters and bishops, who centralized and administered the catechetical institutions and incorporated them into the larger communal infrastructure. In fact, towards the fourth century and afterwards, the institutionalization of Christianity resulted in a widely avowed exclusivity of teaching granted only to ecclesiastically approved officeholders, which by some scholars today is seen as the shift back from the "educational" revolution commenced by early Christian teachers.[54]

However, the first and second century Christian teachers, who *privately* gathered their audiences around them, felt at liberty to select, synthesize, live out, and promote the most essential kernels of their religion, i.e., theology, rituals, and ethics. They were also at the center of making strategic decisions as to whom they wanted to see as members of their Christian communities and no less importantly how to make the new and old members remain comfortably together. The literary evidence of the early Christian authors,[55] who in most cases were prominent teachers in their respective communities,

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[54] Gustave Bardy, "Les écoles romaines au second siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 28 (1932): 501-32; see also "L'église et l'enseignement pendant les trois premiers siècles," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 12 (1932): 1-28; idem, "Aux origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 27 (1937): 65-90; idem, "Pour l'histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie," in *Vivre et Penser,* 2. série. *Revue Biblique* (Paris, 1942), pp. 80-109; Roger Gryson, "The Authority of the Teacher in the Ancient and Medieval Church," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 19.2 (1982): 176-82; John K. Coyle, "The Exercise of Teaching in the Postapostolic Church," *Epistemonike epeteris tes theologikes* 15 (1984): 23-43.

[55] I include in the ranks of Early Christian authors the Pauline and Johannine interpretational creativity, the Synoptic interweaving synthesis of Jewish and Christian concepts, apologetic and later post-apostolic patristic *formation* of Christian identity, as well as the extreme syncretistic imagination of Gnostics.

shows that even though early Christian teachers centered their attention on the Jewish

scriptural texts supplemented by the new texts of Christian gospel and interpretation, they

also embraced the Greco-Roman *paideia* rich in diverse ways of psychagogy that was

concerned with not simply a pure intellectual education but also with a formation of

human character.[56]  The work that Clement undertook throughout his teaching career

stands in a direct line of a cultural amalgamation of these different cultural, religious and

philosophical traditions.  And it is to him I will finally turn my attention.

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[56] See Judith L. Kovach, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9.1 (2001): 11, esp. n. 41, where a brief but most relevant bibliography includes Paul Rabbow, *Seelenführung: Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Münich: Im Kösel, 1954); Ilsetraut Hadot, *Seneca und die griechisch-römische Tradition der Seelenleitung* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1969); Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality,* vol. 3: *The Care of the Self.* Trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1986); Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituals et Philosophie Antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), English translation with additional essays by Arnold I. Davidson, *Philosophy as a Way of Life,* ed. by Arnold I. Davidson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); André-Jean Voelke, *La philosophie comme théraphie de l'âme: Études de philosophie hellénistique* (Fribourg: Éditions Fribourg Suisse, 1993).

5.  The Life of Clement of Alexandria and His Sources

As it was already mentioned, biographical data about Clement is scarce, but from his own works and later records of Eusebius and Epiphanius we are told that in the late second century Clement arrived in Alexandria after a long search for the true philosophy in Greece, Palestine, and the Near East.  Born in Athens[57] or possibly by origin of the royal Roman ancestry as his full Roman name Titus Flavius Clemens might suggest, a pagan and perhaps even the initiate of Eleusinian mysteries, Clement joined the newly emerged group of intellectuals – the Christians – who saw in a story about the life and mission of a Palestinian the culminant turn of human history.  That story apparently changed his life, too.  Most likely he was a professional teacher of philosophy, as well as the head of the so-called Alexandrian catechetical school for neophytes and newly baptized, the supervision over which he may have taken from his supposed teacher Panthenus.[58]  Moreover, some scholars even suggested that Clement may have been a

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[57] This fact is mentioned by Epiphanius in his *Adversus haereses*, 3.23.2; 4.26.4, but some interpret it as simply Clement's Greek ethnic origin.

[58] Clement mentions that he decided to stay in Alexandria because he found there the teacher he was looking for.  According to the tradition the name of this teacher, "the Sicilian bee," is Panthenus, who was the Stoic philosopher that converted to Christianity (*Strom.* 1.1.11.2).  According to Eusebius, Panthenus was the first head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, the presidency of which soon thereafter took upon himself Clement and later Origen.  There is a discussion among scholars whether or not the catechetical school had an official character and operated under umbrella of the local bishop or rather it was a private circles of Clement's pupils, as it was the custom among philosophical and gnostic groups that flourished in Alexandria.  It seems that the majority of opinion leans to the latter scenario, although there are reasons to believe that it was something more organized and administered than merely a private meeting place.  See Gustave Bardi, "Aux origins de l'école d'Alexandrie," *Recherches de science religieus* 27 (1937): 65-95; R. van den Broek, "The Christian "School" of Alexandria in the Second and Third Centuries," in *Centers of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East,* ed. by J.W. Drijvers, A. McDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 39-47, n. 6; Annewies van den Hoek, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage," *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997): 59-87; and also her "How Alexandrian was Clement of Alexandria? Reflections on Clement and his Alexandrian Background," *Heythrop Journal* 31.1 (1990): 179-194, esp. 181-2; David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of

priest in Alexandria, since traditionally one of his titles was "a blessed presbyter."[59]  The

last years of his life he spent, however, not in Alexandria but in Cappadocia or as some

suggest in Jerusalem,[60] exiled in the years of 202-203 from Alexandria never to return,

when the Roman emperor Septimius Severus enforced the laws against the Jews and

Christians in North Africa and Egypt, thus killing thousands and forcing even more to

leave their homes.[61]

California Press, 1992), pp. 219-22, 294-95, n. 65; Judith Kovach, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria," p. 5 n. 9.  Eusebius mentions about the catechetical school in Alexandria in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.11; 6.6; 13; 14.

[59] The discussion around the question whether Clement was a priest or not depends on how one understands the title Clement was given by the bishop Alexander of Jerusalem recorded in the letter, which Eusebius cites in his *Hist. Eccl.* 6.11.6.  Jerome uses this title also in his *De vir. ill.* 38 and *Ep.* 70.4.  It was interpreted as a designation for a priest or even an honorary bishop by Friedrich Quatember, *Die christliche Lebenshaltung des Klemens von Alexandrien nach seinem Pädagogus* (Wien: Herder, 1946), p. 15 n. 13, or simply as a title for a respected teacher or instructor, as it was suggested by Michael Mees, "Die frühe Christengemeinde von Alexandrien und die Theologie des Klemens von Alexandrien." *Latomus. Revue d'etudes latines* 50 (1984): 114-26, 119.  Cf. also H. Koch, "War Klemens von Alexandrien Priester?" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 21 (1921), p. 42-8 and Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer,* p. 47-49.

[60] Cf. Pierre Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des IIe et IIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961), p. 115.  See also Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer,* p. 47.

[61] See Clement's reference to martyrdom, which most likely was connected to Septimius's persecutions in his *Strom.* 2.20, Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.26; 6.1.  On the coercive rules of Roman rule over Alexandria, see Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 69-81.

Clement's literary legacy is not exceedingly extensive, but also not small.[62]  We

have approximately ten of his existing works, of which some are treatises and some are

notes, which Clement made while preparing his lectures or other writings that are now

lost.[63]  He drew his ideas from the Scriptures, both the Jewish and New Testament, the

study of which as was previously been pointed out constituted the fundamental link and

historical continuity between the Judeo-Christian and the later Hellenized Christianity.  In

fact, as I will show, for Clement, Jesus Christ is the author, body, and true exegete of the

Scriptures.  Clement was very well acquainted not only with the Scriptures but also with

different schools of commentary, Jewish, Platonic, Stoic, neo-Pythagorean and Christian.

He drew his theological legacy and authority from Paul, John, Synoptic authors and their

interpreters, such as Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus and others.[64]  Moreover,

Clement is recognized as one of the founders of the orthodox Christian Alexandrian

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[62] See *Clement of Alexandria. Opera.* Ed. Otto Stählin. 4 vols. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 12, 15, 17, and 39 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905-1909; 3rd ed., Berlin: Ursula Treu, 1972).  The text of Stählin will be used here as a standard critical text unless otherwise indicated.  However, the references to the book, chapter, section, and verse of the Greek text are given here according to *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, CD ROM # D* (Regents of the University of California, 1992). On the discussion of Clement's literary legacy and his philosophy and hermeneutics of text, see Евгений Афонасин, *Гносис в зеркале его критиков.  Собрание античных свидетельств о гносисе и исследование христианского платонизма и гностицизма первых двух веков по Р.Х.* [Evgeni Afonasin, *Gnosis in the Mirror of it Critics.  Collection of Ancient Witnesses about Gnosis and Study of Christian Platonism and Gnosticism of the First Two Centuries A.D.*] (the manuscript soon to be published in Russia as a book has been kindly given to me for a review and private use by the author in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, 2004), p. 73-113.

[63] These are the extant works available to us today:  *Protrepticus, Paedagogus, Hymnus Christi servatoris, Stromata* that consist of eight volumes, *Eclogae ex scripturis propheticis, Quis dives salvetur? Excerpta ex Theodoto* and numerous fragments.  Among the non-extant works there may have been *Didaskalos, Peri Archon, Hypotyposes, On the Passover, Discourses on Fasting, On Slander, Exhortation on Endurance, Rule of the Church* and others.

[64] An important source for the specifically Christian reading of Clement's theology is the book by Walther Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus.* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 57 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1952).

school of interpretation-theology-christology (the terms being nearly synonymous for Clement himself) even though there are no extant commentaries of his pen per se.[65]

At the same time, having embraced Christianity Clement, with his broad cultural and educational background, was not reserved in his writings. First of all, he frequently and effortlessly used a wide range of literary, philosophical, and religious literature from Greco-Roman sources.[66] On each page of his writing one can find numerous quotations from Greek poets, dramaturges, historians and philosophers, whom Clement used to enforce his arguments.[67] As Salvatore Lilla and other scholars have clearly shown, pre-Christian Hebrew Scriptures and Greek philosophy, for Clement, were two almost equal sources of divine revelation that until the Incarnation of the *logos* had been preparing humanity for God's ultimate plan.[68]

Furthermore, a hermeneutic connection between the Hebrew Scriptures and Greek philosophy had already been established before Clement by such Jewish philosophers as Aristeas, Aristobulus, and Philo of Alexandria, who synthesized – by means of

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[65] There is no doubt, Clement exercised hermeneutic technique in his writings and may have been the author of *Hypotyposes* or *Outlines,* eight books of a commentary on the whole Bible including some apocryphal writings.

[66] Cf. Wilhelm Krause's table of early Christian authors, who had used Greek literature in their works. According to this table Clement strikingly stands out among other authors in part by his eclecticism and in part erudition in *Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur* (Wien: Herder, 1958), p. 126.

[67] See Johannes Gabrielsson, *Über die Quellen des Clemens Alexandrinus* (Upsala: C. J. Lundström, vol. I, 1906; vol. II, 1909); Mees, Michael, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Roma: Instituto di Letteratura Christiana Antica, 1970); Annewies van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria: A View of Ancient Literary Working Methods," *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996): 223-43.

[68] See Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria:  a Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism,* chapter I, "Clement's Views on the Origin and Value of Greek Philosophy," p. 9-59.

allegorical method – the Greek Platonic idea of *logos* and the Jewish religious notion of

the Word of God.  Annewies van den Hoek has most persuasively shown a strong

although not overpowering dependence of Clement on Philo.[69]

Finally, Gnostic literature that had been flourishing in Egypt in the first centuries

alongside with the emerging Christianity has been singled out as the third most important

source of Clement's theology in general and his christological vision in particular.

Clement is known to have had taken notes from several Valentinian followers, of which

one name Clement clearly identified as Theodotus, the head of the Anatolian branch of

Valentinian school of Gnosticism.  And thus, throughout Clement's corpus of writings

one gets a great sense of the dialogue that took place between him and different factions

of Gnosticism, upon which he often thrusts a strong, if not bitter, polemical

remonstration, yet in a few cases heeds earnest acknowledgement to the power of their

arguments.[70]

A reception of Clement's theology changed through the history.[71]  In the early

church Clement was received as the "good and proved man,"[72] "practiced in

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[69] For Clement's dependence on Philo of Alexandria, see Annewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His use of Philo in the* Stromateis. *An Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).  Van den Hoek also provides an extensive bibliography on the subject.

[70] For comprehensive studies on the Gnostic influence on Clement, see Judith L. Kovacs, *Clement of Alexandria and the Valentinian Gnostics.* Doctoral Dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1978) and Everett Procter, *Christian Controversy in Alexandria: Clement's Polemic against the Basilideans and Valentinians* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).  For Clement's comments of the purpose and style of his writings cf. *Strom.* 1.1.1-3, 4.1-5.4; 6.1-10.5; 5.2.1-2.

[71] For a detailed history of the reception of Clement until 16th century, especially a polemics stirred by Photius, see Adolf Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien bis zu seinem neuerlichen Bekanntwerden durch die ersten Druckedition des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten 1.* Ed. by P. Grandfield, J.A. Jungman (Münster, West.: Aschendorf, 1970), pp. 289-308.

Scriptures,"[73] "exceptionally expert in Greek history,"[74] a connoisseur of secular

literature,[75] "the most holy and blessed presbyter," and "the philosopher of

philosophers."[76] His name appears in the early Roman Martyrology and the fourth of

December was known even in the Middle Ages as the day of Saint Clement.[77] However,

Clement's acquaintance with, and use of heterotodox and Gnostic sources, had cast a

shade of suspicion upon him. Not only that but also the way ensuing theologians used

him for their arguments also tainted Clement's reputation. The suspicion towards

Clement's theology was born partially of misinterpretation and partially of certain narrow

dogmatic thinking of the past and present theologians, who characterized Clement's

christological vision as "doubtful" or "immature" versions of early Christian christology.

For example, in the ninth century, Clement was suspect of blunt Gnosticism and even

"origenism," even though this accusation is clearly anachronistic.[78] Seven centuries later,

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[72] Eusebius quotes the letter to the congregation of Antioch by the bishop Alexander, see. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.11.6.

[73] *Hist. Eccl.* 5.11.

[74] Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Julianum,* 6.216.

[75] Cf. Jerome *De viris illustribus,* 38.

[76] Maximus the Confessor *Fragments* 37, 39, 41, and 48 in Stählin's edition, vol. 3.

[77] Cf. Joseph B. Mayor's introduction to Clement's *Miscellanies Book VII: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Dissertations and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. lxi; see also Adolf Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien bis zu seinem neuerlichen Bekanntwerden durch die ersten Druckedition des 16. Jahrhunderts." In *Kyriakon. Festschrift J. Quasten 1.* Ed. by P. Grandfield, J.A. Jungman (Münster, 1970), p. 305 n. 101.

[78] Adolf Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien," p. 294-304. George Hamartolos (the Monk) in his *Chronicle* asserts that Clement was an "Origenist," and Photius anachronistically accuses Clement of the post-Nicaean heresy of the two *logoi,* cf. his *Bibliotheka* 109. See the issue of the two *logoi* in Clement discussed by Robert Casey, "Clement and the two divine Logoi," *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1924): 43-56; Marc Edwards, "Clement of Alexandria and his Doctrine

Clement's name was dropped from Martyrologuim Romanum in the West under Gregory

XIII in 1584 for polemical reasons. In 1748 Benedict XIV made his final decision not to

entertain the possibility of reintroducing him into the calendar of saints, because, as

Ulrich Schneider and Adolf Knauber have shown, Clement was used by such Protestant

theologians as Flacius Illyricus and others to criticize papal authority and justify their

beliefs in the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, justification by faith alone, married

clergy, etc.[79] In Byzantium, alternatively, despite some harsh and, as Marc Edwards

recently demonstrated, undeserved criticism by Constantinopolitan bishop Photius (I will

return to Photius' critique of Clement teaching of two *logoi* in the next chapter) and

historiographer George Hamartolos, Clement formally has remained a saint, although

clearly after negatively critical commendations his writings were not widely read in

Byzantine circles if they were read at all until the emergence of the neo-patristic

movement in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After all, Clement's position in the history of Christianity is yet to be adequately

assessed and established. As I have shown above, current evaluations of Clement's

contribution to the development of Christian theology depends to a great extent on how

the development of the first three centuries of pre-Constantinian Christianity is assessed

in general. One the one hand, we may agree or disagree with Franz Overbeck that with

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of Logos," *Vigiliae Christianae* 54 (2000): 168-171; and Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis,* c. 208-212. This issue will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

[79] Adolf Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien," p. 293; Ulrich Schneider, *Theologie als christliche Philosophie: Zur Bedeutung der biblischen Botschaft im Denken des Clemens von Alexandria* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), p. 39 n. 236, cited by Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis,* p. 209.

Clement for the first time patristic literature has reached a "point in time, in which it appears to provide substantial meanings to its entire development,"[80] or with Richard Tollinton and Henry Chadwick we may call him the first Christian liberal, who facilely synthesized the Christian message with other religious traditions of late antiquity.[81] On the other hand, we may agree or disagree with Athanasius Wintersig, who claimed that "a positive understanding of the redemptive meaning of the incarnation in Jesus is completely lacking in Clement,"[82] or with Jean Daniélou, who thought highly of Clement's erudite synthesis of classical tradition and Christian theology but regretfully admitted that Clement could "never manage to pin down" the subtle ontological nuances of the sameness and difference between the Father and the Son.[83] Thanks to his erudition and eclecticism, Clement nevertheless entered the history of early Christianity as a thinker able to synthesize Hellenistic, Judeo-Christian, and Gnostic religious and philosophical ideas circulating in the intellectual spheres of the Mediterranean basin. And even though it is not the primary goal of this dissertation to provide an adequate assessment of Clement's influence on past and present formation of theology, through the prism of study of his christology, I will show in what ways Wintersig and Daniélou were

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[80] Franz Overbeck, *Über die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1882), p. 70.

[81] Cf. Richard B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Liberalism.* 2 Vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1914); Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 31-65.

[82] Athanasius L. Wintersig, *Die Heilbedeutung der Menschheit Jesu in der vornicänischen griechischen Theologie* (München: Bremer Presse, 1932), p. 72, disapprovingly cited by Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition.* Vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon* (451), p. 138.

[83] Jean Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture*, p. 373.

shortsighted in their evaluation of Clement's theoretical contribution to Christian

theology.

6. Clement's Christological Outline

In order to understand Clement's christological project we should ask ourselves
what anthropological and cosmic roles Clement used in order to disguise and disclose the
identity of Jesus Christ.[84]  I can sharpen the question by asking whether these roles are
advantageous for our better understanding of the true identity of Christ, being part of
God's revelation and Christian post-resurrection faith.  Or, as some scholars maintained,
these designations are titular labels that obscure our understanding about Christ, when
historical Jesus of Nazareth is invested in the non-exclusively Biblical imagery.

Clement himself finds the answer to his question in the early Christian oral and
written traditions.  John portrays the *logos* becoming human flesh[85] and Paul interprets

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[84] Bibliography on Clement is extensive.  I list here only the most important works that reflect the
diversity of contemporary approaches to the study of Clement of Alexandria.  Otto Stählin, ed. *Clement of
Alexandria, Opera.* 4 vols.  Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 12, 15,
17, and 39 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905-1909); Claud Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude
de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture.* Paris, Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1944); Eric F. Osborn,
*The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957) and *Clement of
Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Andre Méhat, *Études sur les "Stromates" de
Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966); Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the
Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Salvatore
R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (London: Oxford
University Press, 1971); Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition. From the Apostolic Age to
Chalcedon* (451), vol. 1. 2nd revised edn. Trans. by John Bowden (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), p. 133-
138; Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers: Faith, Trinity, Incarnation*
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 204-217 and 269; Jean Daniélou, *A History of
Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea.  Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture*, vol. 2.
Trans., edited and with a postscript by John Austin Baker and David Smith (London: Darton, Longman &
Todd; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973), pp. 89-98, 183-187, 237-255, 364-375, 408-415, 447-464;
Elizabeth A. Clark, *Clement's Use of Aristotle: the Aristotelian Contribution to Clement of Alexandria's
Refutation of Gnosticism* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1977); Judith L. Kovacs, *Clement of Alexandria and
the Valentinian Gnostics.* Ph.D. Diss. (New York: Columbia University, 1978); Annewies van den Hoek,
*Clement of Alexandria and His use of Philo in the Stromateis. An Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish
Model.* Vigiliae Christianae Supplement 3. (Leiden: Brill, 1988); Arkadi Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany,
Theosis: Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of His Background* (New York: Peter Lang
Publishing, 2002).  For a more complete list of works on Clement, see bibliography.

[85] John 1:14.

Christ in light of the grace endowed by God through him, who "being in the form of

God… took the form of a slave becoming as human beings."[86] Indeed Christ proclaims

the Kingdom of God in the gospels, but in the Acts of the Apostles and in the later early

Christian literature Christ's disciples do not preach the Kingdom of God but evangelize

the world with the message of the Incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, who is

the exclusive door to God's Kingdom. As it has poignantly been expressed, "the

Proclaimer became the proclaimed."[87] The transition from the proclamation to the

Proclaimer explicitly shows that the authors of the New Testament were conscious of the

christologically grounded enterprise of concealing Jesus' message about God's Kingdom

in their preaching about the exalted Christ.[88] Thus, in accordance with the theological

vision of the apostles and early patristic authors, in order to be able to approach and

ascertain the truth revealed by God, the Christian had to be able to obtain the hermeneutic

code of the "titular vestments" through the initiation into the knowledge of Jesus of

Nazareth, which ultimately necessitated his/her initiation into the knowledge about

Christ.

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[86] Phil 2:6-7.

[87] Cf., Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament,* vol. 1. (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1951), p. 33; cf. also James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, p. 31. Bultmann is one the theologians that contributed a good deal into distancing the New Testament and patristic scholarships, although they still share common sources and even methodological approaches. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition.* Vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon* (451), p. 7-9, defends the point of view undisputed by the early authors that the patristic theology of the first centuries, in its diversity, continued theological developments initiated in the apostolic period. On this point, see also Bultmann's teacher Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* p. 12f.

[88] Gerd Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches*, 19-60; cf. also Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1981); Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos;* John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus.* Vol. 1: *The Roots of the Problem and the Person;* Vol. 2: *Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (New York: Doubleday, 1991 and 1994).

Clement followed this hermeneutic pattern and engaged himself in the back-and-forth process of veiling and unveiling God's "message" to the people. It has been noted on many occasions that it was important for Clement to conceal the fullness of truth in allegories and symbols from the unprepared people who could misunderstand the true meaning of God's plan.[89] Progressing stages of divine economy are revealed to the initiates only on the more advanced levels of Christian initiation after they morally purified their conduct and changed their minds (μετάνοια) and perception about God and about their own destiny. As in other philosophical schools or mystery cults, the main mysteries (μυστήρια μεγάλα) were reserved and kept secret from the uninitiated, so also in the Christian doctrine certain things must be revealed only to those who successfully underwent a long journey of adequate training. Clement's understanding of the function of the concealment of sacred knowledge from the beginners was essentially different from the proposition of some Gnostics and cults who claimed to have possessed the sacred knowledge, and thus had to reserve it only to those who understood it *by nature* and had to categorically ward it off from *hylic* and partially from *psychic* people. Andre Méhat reminds us that, for Clement, this concealment is rather part of a pedagogic method "designed to stimulate the search and to protect those who are *not yet* capable of discerning the dangers that may occur for the simple faithful."[90] Indeed, as for the author

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[89] Cf. *Strom.* 4.4.19.3-20ff; 5.4.24.1-2ff; 6.15.126.1. Cf. also Judith Kovacs, "Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis: Clement of Alexandria's Interpretation of Tabernacle." *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997): 414-37.

[90] See Andre Méhat, "Vraie" et "fausse" gnose d'après Clément d'Alexandrie." In *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism.* Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978. 1. The school of Valentinians. Ed. by B. Layton. (Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 427.

of the Fourth gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God is accessible to all who believe

and it leads them to the knowledge of the one true God[91] – the highest possible

knowledge, from which the reality of the new life springs – so also Clement places the

knowledge of, and about, the true Teacher (*didaskalos*) at the core of understanding, on

the one hand, of the ontology of God, and on the other hand, the true purpose and destiny

of humankind.

Undeniably, for Clement the center of the synthesis or, as Harold Blair called it,

"polymerization"[92] of different traditions was his christocentric thinking applied to the

fundamental notions of the philosophical and cultural discourse of late antiquity.

Examples are plentiful.  Along with the Biblical notion of the world and humanity

created by God, Clement turns to the concepts of antiquity, which praised the harmony

between the cosmos, human society, and the human individual.  Clement was more than

well aware of a classical example – interpreted by everyone who was not lazy – found in

Plato,[93] in whose *Timaeus* the human constitution and the structure of the universe are

modeled in a way of imitation (μίμεσις) after the prototype of divine eternal forms unified

around the notion of the one prime Form used by Demiurge in his creative activity.[94]  The

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[91] John 8:19; 10:15; 14:7.

[92] See Harold A. Blair, *The Kaleidoscope of Truth: Types and Archetypes in Clement of Alexandria* (Worthing, West Sussex: Churchman Publishing Limited, 1986), p. 156: "In Jesus Christ we have the sum of all the archetypes, the convergence of the energies which stem from them, but a convergence which must again be faithfully 'polymerised' into the divine society."

[93] This issue is extensively discussed by Jaroslav Pelikan in his *What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem?* Timeaus *and* Genesis *in Counterpoint* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[94] Timaeus declares that the main reason why God (*demiurge*) created world is that "being free of jealousy, he wanted everything to become as much like himself as was possible" (*Tim* 29e, trans. by

ideal human society, consequently, according to Plato's *Republic* needed to be based on a

model of human constitution meticulously regularized by the four cardinal virtues of

wisdom, courage, moderation and justice.[95]  Thus the project of macro-cosmos was

neatly harmonized with the respective project of micro-cosmos at anthropological level,

showing a vibrant recognizable dynamic of the connection between the transcendent and

immanent both being motivated by human primordial craving for growth, perfection, and

imitation of gods.  This craving was at the center of human comprehension of the limits

of the universe and *oikoumenê* and it envisaged the human achievement of his/her

ultimate fulfillment, return to its source, salvation – a transformed state of human

existence, depending on which contemporary history of philosophy one chooses to follow

terminologically.[96]

Clement takes the connection between God and the earthly realm for granted.  His

understanding of the origin of the world is directly based on the creation account of

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Donald J. Zeyl), although later he acknowledges that "we must keep in mind three types of things:  that which comes to be, that in which it comes to be, and that after which the thing coming to be is modeled and which is the source of its coming to be" (50c-d, transl. by Donald J. Zeyl), where the latter is most certainly recognized as Plato's Forms.

[95] See *Rep.* 472c-473e.  See also Carl J. Classen, "Der platonisch-stoische Kanon der Kardinaltugenden bei Philon, Clemens Alexandrinus und Origenes," in *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 68-88.

[96] Eric Osborn calls most essential two metaphysical problems, one regarding the one and many and another one regarding divine immanence and transcendence and their correlation.  These problems, according to Osborn, stand at the basis of understanding later Platonism and those intellectuals who developed their metaphysical philosophies under strong influence of Middle Platonic ideas.  See his *Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 17; for a general context of the Christian philosophical appropriation of Hellenistic concepts, see J. Dillon, *The Great Tradition. Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 1997).

Genesis 1-2, in which God is the sole agent.[97]  God alone creates the world using the

hypostasis inseparable ontologically from God, namely the divine *logos*.[98]

Transcendence of God and absolute dependability of the world on its Creator are

safeguarded by the ontological gap between the former and the latter, which in turn

echoes Platonic axiomatic differentiation between the intelligible and sensible realms.[99]

Similarly, the ideal human society and its hierarchical structure "derive directly from God

and consist in following God and his holy Son, who accord us the earth's good gifts,

external goods, and complete blessedness."[100]  The universe at large, as well as human

society, are constantly explored and comprehended by their simplest constituent, a

human, who by exploring the world is also searching for his/her own identity.  For

Clement, this constant search for "who are you, where are you coming from, where are

you going to," which integrates the *is* (present state of affairs), *can* (possibilities and

limitations) and *should* (goals and ideals)*,* took form in the figure of the New

Anthropos,[101] who, by way of his Incarnation, revelatory teaching, and triumph over

death in resurrection, gave new life to humanity[102] and enabled men and women to

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[97] *Strom.* 5.14.93.5.

[98] For different interpretations of the origin of the world by the early Christian authors, see
Gerhard May, *Creation Ex Nihilo: The Doctrine of 'Creation out of Nothing' in Early Christian Thought.*
Trans. A.S. Worral (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994).

[99] *Strom.* 5.14.93.4; cf. *Rep.* 518c, 534a; *Tim.* 27d.

[100] *Strom.* 1.24.158.2.

[101] Eph 2:15: "εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον."

[102] John 3:13-15.

realize their final purpose and destination.[103]  According to Clement, the Christian way of

looking at the veracity of this world was based, from the perspective from above, on the

divine creative, formative and redemptive activity, and, from the perspective from below,

it found its resonance in human responsiveness, trustful obedience to, and willing

cooperation with what was revealed from above.[104]  It began with Jesus' "follow me"[105]

and evolved in Paul's "it is no longer I live, but Christ lives in me."[106]  At the heart of

these downward and upward dynamics stands one Christ, who, as Clement puts it, is the

center of history, the uniting principle of heaven and earth, the meeting point of *is* and

*should*.[107]

Clement, as I have pointed several times, belongs to the category of instructors,

who was very well acquainted with, and used in his writings, both Jewish and Hellenistic

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[103] 1 Thess 5:9.  Robert P. Casey rightly notes that "[t]he lesson of the Incarnation is, that it reveals the significance of man's highest intellectual powers.  It teaches man to become fully himself and in doing so to become divine."  See his "Clement of Alexandria and the beginning of Christian Platonism," *Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925): 56.

[104] Clement appears the first of the Christian theologians who developed the concept of "synergy" as the relationship between human conduct and the power of God.  See W. Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus.*  Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 57 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1952), 121, 254-6, 458-60; Werner Jeager, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 103-54; John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 167-70.

[105] Mk 2:14.

[106] Gal 2:20.

[107] *Strom.* 4.25.156.2: καὶ δὴ οὐ γίνεται ἀτεχνῶς ἓν ὡς ἕν, οὐδὲ πολλὰ ὡς μέρη ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πάντα ἕν. ἔνθεν καὶ πάντα· κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἓν εἰλουμένων καὶ ἑνουμένων. "And the Son is neither simply one thing as one thing, nor many things as parts, but one thing as all things; whence also He is all things. For He is the circle of all powers rolled and united into one unity." See also *Strom.* 5.14.94.6: εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος θεῖος καὶ βασιλικός, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής, εἰκὼν δ᾽ εἰκόνος ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. "For the image of God is the divine and royal Word, the impassible Anthropos; and the image of the image is the human intellect."

concepts and methods of education.  He lays down his educational program in a notable

passage of his *Stromateis* 4.25.156.2:

> The all-loving Word, anxious to perfect us in a way that
> leads progressively to salvation, makes effective use of an
> order well adapted to our development:  at first, He
> persuades, then He educates, and after this He teaches.[108]

This passage draws the contours of the advancing course of Christian initiation based on

the antique model of education, according to which after the basic school (ἐγκύκλιος

παιδεία) an initiate, or simply a student, approaches the study of philosophy (φιλοσοφία),

which in turn allows him/her to delve into the depths of wisdom (σοφία) and knowledge

(γνῶσις).[109]  The philosophy and theology at hand provided Clement with the terms and

notions to describe this guiding principle of education, which was the key to

understanding early Christian religious experience, teaching and doctrine, as he clearly

testifies in his *Protreptikos:*

> The *logos*, then, the Christ, the cause of both our being in the
> primeval past (for he was in God) and of our well-being, this very
> *logos* has now appeared as man, he alone is both, both God and
> man – the source of all blessings to us; by whom we, being taught
> to live well, are sent on our way to life eternal. For, according to
> that inspired apostle of the Lord, "the grace of God which brings

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[108] *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3.5-9: Σπεύδων δὲ ἄρα τελειῶσαι σωτηρίῳ ἡμᾶς βαθμῷ, καταλλήλῳ εἰς παίδευσιν ἐνεργῇ τῇ καλῇ συγχρῆται οἰκονομίᾳ ὁ πάντα φιλάνθρωπος λόγος, προτρέπων ἄνωθεν, ἔπειτα παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων. See also *Strom.* 1.1.1.1-3.3.

[109] On the use of the Greek educational model for the formation of Christian catechesis, see Norbert Widok, "Inkulturation bei Klemens von Alexandrien," in *Studia Patristica* 26 (Leuven 1993): 559-568; F.Drączkowski, "Dowartościowanie kultury intelektualnej przez Klemensa Alexandryjskiego jako rezultat polemiki antyheretyckiej," *Studia Pelplińskie* 5 (1975): 189-196; Judith L. Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9.1 (2001): 3-25, where the author pays attention to the antique model of psychagogy, p. 10-11. See also the programmatic work of Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 46-75.

salvation has appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, justly, and righteously, in this present world; looking for the blessed hope, and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ."[110] This is the New Song, the manifestation of *logos* that was in the beginning, and before the beginning. The Savior, who existed before, has in recent days appeared. He, who is in him that truly is, has appeared; for the *logos*, who "was with God,"[111] and by whom all things were created, has appeared as our Teacher. The *logos*, who in the beginning bestowed on us life as Creator when He formed us, taught us to live well when he appeared as our Teacher, so that as God he might afterwards conduct us to the life, which never ends.[112]

Long before Christianity, Stoics had firmly established the belief that even though reality is material, the matter itself, which is passive, had to be distinguished from the *logos*, the animating or active principle, which they conceived as both the divine reason and as simply a finer kind of material entity, an all-pervading breath or fire. Accordingly, the human soul was a manifestation of the divine *logos* that was present in it as human

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[110] Tit 2:11-13.

[111] John 1:1.

[112] *Protr.* 1.7.1.1-4.1. Αἴτιος γοῦν ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλαι ἡμᾶς (ἦν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εὖ εἶναι (νῦν δὴ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις)–αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν· παρ᾽ οὗ τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι εἰς ἀίδιον ζωὴν παραπεμπόμεθα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεσπέσιον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολον "ἡ χάρις ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπεφάνη, παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξηςτοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ᾆσματὸ καινόν, ἡ ἐπιφάνειαἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος καὶ προόντ ος λόγου· ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἔναγχος ὁ προὼν σωτήρ, ἐπεφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὤν, ὅτι "ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν," διδάσκαλος, ἐπεφάνη ᾧ τὰ πάντα δεδημιούργηται λόγος· καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τοῦ πλάσαι παρασχὼν ὡς δημιουργός, τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐδίδαξεν ἐπιφανεὶς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα τὸ ἀεὶ ζῆν ὕστερον ὡς θεὸς χορηγήσῃ. See also further 1.8.4.7-9, where Clement explicitly states that "God's *logos* became a human, so that you could learn from a human, how human can become god." ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθῃς, πῇ ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται θεός.

intellect.[113]  As we can see in the above passage, Clement's *logos* is not merely a

principle of the universe, but the living Word of God, the New Song, who on many

occasions has been interacting with the world but most stunningly at one point of time

and history descended unto earth as God-man, Jesus Christ, and united the heavenly and

human by means of his education.

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[113] On the Stoic worldview, see Gretchen Reydams-Schils, *Demiurge and Providence: Stoic and Platonist Readings of Plato's* Timaeus (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Tom Morris, *The Stoic Art of Living: Inner Resilience and Outer Results* (Chicago: Open Court, 2004).

7.   The *Logos* and *Didaskalos* in the Center

There have been numerous studies dedicated to Clement's use of the notion of the *logos* in his theology and its christological implications.  Indeed, this notion is indispensable for our understanding of Clement's vision of Christ's identity, which is seen by him, on the one hand, in a connection between Christ as the Son of God with his Father at the foundation of the ontology of God, and on the other hand, in the relationship between this same Christ with the whole humanity explicated in the realms of anthropology, cosmology, and soteriology.  Therefore, the second chapter of this study will be dedicated specifically to this *logos* aspect of Clement's christology.

As I briefly demonstrated above, Clement as "the learned teacher"[114] explored, applied, and handed down the revelation and *kerygma* about Jesus Christ to his pupils in a well planned and comprehensive way.  His learned pedagogy derived from his understanding of metaphysics, anthropology, revelation, history of salvation, mystical initiation and contemplation, *paideia*, music, and medicine.  Accordingly, for Clement Christ is not only the *logos* but also the Face and Name of God, Wisdom, the Architect of the universe, the one and only Mediator between heaven and earth.  In his incarnate state, Christ is the Teacher, who at different stages of human initiation into the "good plan of salvation" also plays the roles of a good advisor.  Christ's function as Teacher is particularly significant not only because it is simply the dominant theme in Clement's christological project.  Clement deems the status of teacher as the highest stage of

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[114] Clement as the learned teacher aptly fits the third category of teachers, proposed by Ulrich Neymeyr.  See note 117.

Christian initiation: "For Clement, not only the teacher must be ideal Christian but the ideal Christian, the true Gnostic, must also be teacher."[115]  The quality of the teacher brings together the social and meta-social dimensions of the second century cultural and religious transformation embodied in a redefined form of education, *paideia*.  Therefore, after looking at the *logos*-aspect of his christology, the aforementioned qualities of Christ as *didaskalos*, Parent, Pedagogue, New Song, Healer, perfect Gnostic, and High Priest – the notion of Teacher being the synthesizing for the other roles – must be looked at from a perspective of how Clement treats God's interaction with humanity.  Thus, it will be convenient from a methodological point of view to structure this research after these qualities in the chapter three.

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[115] Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert,* p. 73: "Für Clemens muß nicht nur der Lehrer ein idealer Christ sein, sondern der ideale Christ, der wahre Gnostiker, muß auch Lehrer sein." Cf. *Strom.* 2.18.96.4; 7.9.52.1.