

C. The *Logos* the Teacher of All

1. Reassessment of Clement's Christology

In the previous chapter I treated the issue of Clement's conception of the *logos* with the double-purpose of understanding how modern scholars encompass this question in various philosophical and theological frameworks and, on the other hand, having established several coherent interpretations of Clement's *logos*, I approached the question of the roles Clement assigned to the *logos* and how this conception related to and impacted his broader theological/christological project. Consequently, I drew the conclusion that for Clement the *logos* was single, unique, and yet multifaceted agent – the Son of God, the Creator of cosmos, and the Teacher of humanity. Even if Fragment 23 of *Hypotyposes* and *Excerpta* 1.19.1 are Clement's own, which in light of Knauber's, Osborn's, and Edwards' critiques seems very unlikely, the rhetorical and theological function and implication of Clement's logology is intended to go beyond his metaphysics. It is unfolded in the field, in which Clement, a teacher himself, felt more at home, i.e., in the sphere of *paideia* and Christian initiation, school and church mediated both through rituals and texts – reading, writing, and exegesis. Interpretation of rituals and texts through the lenses of the Incarnation of the *logos* opened to Clement a way for the specifically Christian textual (mystical) initiation into Sacred Texts.

Contemporary studies on Clement's christology often claim that Clement's concept of the *logos* goes beyond the theo-anthropological dimension of christology and thereby obscures the "original" and in a sense pure Christian Gospel preached in Palestine. In the previous chapter I demonstrated that precisely the divine and cosmic

dimensions of the *logos* complement and inform Clement's christology in its particular way. It shapes Clement's christology in a positive, progressive program allowing the identification of Jesus Christ with the *logos*, and the *logos* with God's idea to exhibit the divine ontological dynamics of God's revelation both in the everyday life of a human and on a piece of papyri as a meta-level of cosmic and human existence. God's idea is simultaneously God's creative power, which is eternally expressed through the *logos*, the Son of God, who is God's thought and power that makes a new creation through the incarnate Son of God. The *logos* was incarnate also in the historical person of Jesus Christ who offered a concrete program of invitation, education, and sanctification of humanity and all creation. However, when we read the treatment of Clement's christology by such authoritative scholars as Pade, Daniélou or Grillmeier who identified Clement's christology with his logology, we are left to believe that Clement himself was slightly confused in his use of a highly speculative logological terminology and thus meagerly and unsystematically handled it, creating enormous lacunae of ambiguity and, as David Dawson would qualify it, inconsistency that had very little to do with christology. Such a perception, I believe, is misleading.

It is true that Clement's syntheses of metaphysical conceptions about God, noetic and physical worlds, and most certainly about the quintessential relation between the Father and the Son do not lie on the surface. We just as well could blame Clement for his allusive and enigmatic manner of thought, of which he explicitly had no shame whatsoever, when he intended his text to be a channel to something that is meant to go beyond a text pointing out to a certain goal that goes beyond material world: "if

knowledge is not for all (1 Cor 8:7), written compositions are for the many as the lyre for an ass, as those who tell us proverbs say,”¹ therefore “come, I will show you the *logos* and the mysteries of the *logos* describing it in detailed images that you might understand.”² The invitation to look beyond the “confusion” and logological conspiracy may lead one to see who this *logos* and what this knowledge are. They are intended not as obscure figural readings of metaphysical realities, but rather as actual hermeneutic set for such concrete vivid images as the New Song, Teacher, and High Priest, to which early Christian preachers, both of Jewish and non-Jewish descent, constantly returned.

To exemplify this hermeneutic approach, which is unequivocally informed by Clement’s socio-cultural milieu on the one hand and his understanding of who Christ is on the other, I will look at how Clement connects his logology to the christological components of Christ’s identity and uses them to shape and give theological significance to metaphysical, epistemological, and social structures. The three images Clement uses most frequently are the New Song, the *didaskalos*, and the High Priest.³ These images constitute three cornerstone theological themes often overlooked and understudied by modern scholarship, even though Clement develops them throughout his writings in a particular progressive interpretation reflected in the program given in *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3

¹ *Strom.* 1.1.2.2: εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντων ἡ γνῶσις, ὄνος λύρας, ἧ φασιν οἱ παροϊμιαζόμενοι, τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ συγγράμματα.

² *Protr.* 12.119.1: Ἦκε, [] δείξω σοι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὰ μυστήρια, κατὰ τὴν σὴν διηγούμενος εἰκόνα.

³ Besides the New Song, the *didaskalos*, and the High Priest, there are also such important images of Pedagogue, Healer (*Protr.* 1.5.4-6.3; 6.68.4.5; *Paed.* 1.2.6.1.1-1.2.6.3.1; *Quis dives salvetur* 29.3), and Governor (*Strom.* 2.7.32.1), but it seems that those three are best articulated in Clement’s writings and they subvert and integrate the other images into the three consecutive steps of spiritual (Gnostic) growth.

(i.e., persuasion, education, the care for the self and Gnostic self-realization). The New Song is the captivating fishnet that attracts and retains non-Christians and neophytes, both Jewish and the Greek educated in Alexandria. It also inaugurates the mystery of the specific sense of the newness of the *logos* in the Incarnation, which spins the course of history and thus utterly changes each individual human being belonging to the new group, congregation, synagogue or association. Secondly, Christ the Pedagogue takes the charge over the newly-converted and initiated and introduces them to the precepts of Christian ethics and as the Teacher to the higher levels of Scriptural reading and interpretation while revealing the knowledge about the identity of God that was unattainable until then, as well as the human's own identity and destiny enfolded in his, Rabbi Jesus', identity. Christ the Healer restores humanity to its pristine health, be it spiritual, psychical, and physical. In this role, Christ shows the proper way for curing, caring for, and shaping the ideal self. And, finally, as the High Priest, Christ takes the advanced "students" to the highest level of Christian Gnosis – contemplation of God, which results in the unification of human being with God through Christ's/Christian church (theosis). Education, Christian *paideia*, is the innermost component and vehicle, through which Clement's theological program operates. Even though by the time Clement taught and wrote, the distance between Judaism and Christianity was more acutely recognizable than a century before, the fusion of the Rabbi-Pedagogue-Teacher image went deeply enough to remain the portrait for Jesus Christ that shaped and harmonized the new identity of Christians in late second century Alexandria. Accordingly, the identity of Christ looked at in this ascending three-stage sequence of the

New Song, Teacher, and High Priest will help us see how Clement applied his logological intuitions to the above images. Compared to the conception of the *logos*, they are more culturally permeating, comprehensible, and convertible into the social, ethno-cultural, and specifically religious reality of the late second century Alexandrian Christians and non-Christians.

2. Subject-Object-Process Model

Before delving into the task of restoring Clement's portrait of Christ by linking his conception of the *logos* and to the three abovementioned facets of Christ's portrait, I will briefly discuss a certain paradigm of thought in Clement's writings that mirrors his christological project. I will provisionally call it a subject-object-process model, by means of which Clement demonstrated the all-encompassing transformative activity of the divine *logos*. This should also be my own interpretation of Clement's *logos*, which certainly does not answer all the questions but can hopefully shed more light on Clement's christology.

My point of departure is Eric Osborn's indication that the *logos* functions on three levels of being a) divinity; b) noetic realm; and c) created world (cosmos and humanity).⁴ But a more insightful investigation of one aspect of the relation of the *logos* to the three realms of being is found in Arkadi Choufrine. When I discussed his treatment of Clement's logology, I noted that this author highlighted an alternative approach that explicates Clement's conception of the Incarnation, aside from the "vertical" and "horizontal," namely, the progressive revelation, epiphany, or as Choufrine himself calls it "*παρουσία* of divine light."⁵ The movement of light is inscribed into a philosophical framework, which Clement drew most likely from several philosophical and religious

⁴ Cf. chapter 2, p. 96ff. The closest to the *subject-object-process* model although not exhaustively identical is the analogy of expressing meanings through a text by accepted Wittgensteinian formula that discerned the signifier-signified-signification relationships in any text or truth-bearing statement. In my case if I apply it to Clement it might lead us in a direction of linguistics while my goal is to simply single out a certain pattern of Clement's thought that persists in a recurring and consistent way through various christological passages.

⁵ See above, p. 92-93.

sources, among which I believe cults of Apollo, Dionysius, Eleusis can be good candidates.⁶ Yet still Philo and to a lesser degree other Middle Platonists show a more direct echo in Clement's light imagery, since much of the similes he used are revealed in his interpretation of the Philonic theme of light and through the precepts of causality "scholastically" discussed in the often overlooked Eighth Book of his *Stromata*.

It would be most beneficial to begin with the latter. In this book, thematically although not structurally different from the seven preceding ones, Clement speaks of the methods of perceiving the truth and prepares grounds for a discussion of the repeatedly promised but never fully explicated subject of the First Principles. Earlier, at the beginning of the First Book of *Stromata*, he gave his definition of the truth as the recognition of the fractions of truth scattered in the Greek and non-Greek philosophy and as the meticulous synthesis of those parts into one holistic picture to be gazed at, the *logos* the Truth:

In the universe, too, all the parts, even if they differ from one another, preserve a family relationship to the whole. So in the same way, philosophy, Greek and non-Greek, has made of eternal truth a kind of dismembering, not in the legends of Dionysius but in the theological understanding of the eternal *logos*. If anyone brings together the scattered limbs into a unity, you can be quite sure without the risk of error that he will gaze on the *logos* in his fullness, the Truth.⁷

⁶ I will return to the manner Clement associated Christ with a new Apollo and a new Dionysius below.

⁷ *Strom.* 1.13.57.5-6: ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπάτη ἐναντία τῇ νεάτῃ οὖσα, ἀλλ' ἄμφω γε ἁρμονία μία, ἐν τε ἀριθμοῖς ὁ ἄρτιος τῷ περιττῷ διαφέρεται, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ ἄμφω τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ, ὡς τῷ σχήματι ὁ κύκλος καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ τετράγωνον καὶ ὅσα τῶν σχημάτων ἀλλήλων διενήνοχεν. ἀτὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τὰ μέρη σύμ παντα, κἂν διαφέρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλα, τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὅλον οἰκειότητα διαφυλάττει. οὕτως οὖν ἢ τε βάρβαρος ἢ τε Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία τὴν αἰδίου ἀλήθειαν σπαραγμόν τινα, οὐ τῆς Διονύσου μυθολογίας, τῆς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ὄντος αἰεὶ θεολογίας πεποιήται. ὁ δὲ τὰ διηρημένα συνθεῖς αἰθίς καὶ ἐνοποιήσας τέλειον τὸν λόγον ἀκινδύνως εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι κατόψεται, τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

In turn, in the middle of the Eighth Book of *Stromata*, Clement says that the truth becomes apparent if one clearly defines the terms one intends to use in order to understand and explain certain truths, viz. the particles of the truth, and examines their relations and propositions in the light of those definitions. Here Clement does not show the same degree of confidence in finding the truth as at the beginning of *Stromata* where as we saw he stated that the perception of truth will be achieved “without the risk of error.” Yet still, the overall tone of the above passage radiates a positive attitude towards this search. John Ferguson claimed that such statements of the Eighth Book of *Stromata* are made in the fashion of a Middle Platonic school book on logic even though if we look at the Eighth Book as a whole, compositionally, those statements appear to be as “unorganized jottings” based on Plato and Aristotle.⁸ The central point of those jottings is, however, the recognition Clement made elsewhere that even though the material world and its laws are open for human comprehension, God still remains indemonstrable.⁹ This is where, in fact, the category of faith emerges, one that bears both a Biblical religious and Aristotelian philosophical connotations.¹⁰ No reminder is needed to stress the fact that the lack of clear compositional organization of *Stromata* is Clement’s conscious choice. Therefore, Clement suggests that if one wishes to pursue the truth one

⁸ *Stromateis: Books 1-3*. Trans. and introduction by John Ferguson. The Fathers of the Church 85 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), p. 14. See Elizabeth A. Cark, *Clement’s Use of Aristotle. The Aristotelian Contribution to Clement of Alexandria’s Refutation of Gnosticism* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1977), pp. 16-26, 113-118.

⁹ *Strom.* 5.12.81.4-82.3.

¹⁰ See Elizabeth Cark, *Clement’s Use of Aristotle*, p. 18.

necessarily calls for a point of reference that shall be taken for granted. Elizabeth Clark persuasively demonstrated that, for Clement, the point of reference is Aristotelian conceptions of axiom and four causes, i.e., active principle, object, process, and matter. Reinterpreted in terms of faith and knowledge, the axioms of faith and four causes laid grounds for Clement's understanding of the First Principles, upon which he established a rational discourse that both delimited the criteria of truth-finding methods and by means of the latter approached the issue of the discovery of truth. In his treatment of the subject, Clement showed the unacceptability of the negative (which here is not synonymous with the apophatic) approach of the Skeptics and discusses the positive truth-finding rhetorical theory of rational (or one might call it *logical* in a broader sense of the term) investigation and causality.¹¹ Apophaticism can be applied only, as I am about to show, on the highest level of the study of divinity. Clement here is most interested in the causality or rather the first causes/principles that are construed as an uphill ladder of epistemological ascent of knowing the things of the created and uncreated worlds.

Clement's first cause is the active principle, the agent that reveals itself through activity. Following the Aristotelian model, Clement uses the example of the sculptor. The sculptor envisions her design and implements it through whatever is available. The second cause is the object, upon which the activity of the first cause is directed. Following the illustration of the sculptor, it is the sculpture that she creates. And finally the third and fourth causes are those, which derive from the first and second causes, i.e.,

¹¹ Cf. *Strom.* 8.5.8.15-16.

the matter and the process, which under the activity of the sculptor are fashioned into the sculpture with the given teleological form of the sculpture.¹² This philosophical model certainly derives from the Aristotelian, Stoic, and Middle Platonic epistemological understanding of transcendental ideas and their connections and relations to the world of concrete objects.¹³ Clement espouses the four causes and yet strongly emphasizes the intrinsic unity between the original forms/ideas/energies and objects they embody, which stand in contrast to the early Platonic dualism of the form and object.¹⁴ To conclude Clement's argument, if one endeavors to grasp the meaning of, and the truth about, any given object or phenomenon through a thorough rational/logical analysis of the more apparent causes of things and through putting different bits of a puzzle together, one is able to ascend to the less apparent but more important ones that reveal the purpose of making of that or any other particular object or phenomenon and its maker.

A close and likely Middle Platonic source for Clement is Numenius, who embedded the particular ideas/powers of objects in those objects. But even the more obvious source of Clement's epistemology, as David Runia recently demonstrated,¹⁵ is

¹² *Strom.* 8.9.26.2.1-27.3.2: The first, What the cause is, as the sculptor; the second, Of what it is the cause of becoming a statue; and a third, To what it is the cause, as, for example, the material: for he is the cause to the brass of becoming a statue – Τὸ "τινῶν ἔστιν αἴτιον" λέγεται τριχῶς, τὸ μὲν ὃ ἔστιν αἴτιον, οἷον ὁ ἀνδριαντοποιός, τὸ δὲ οὗ ἔστιν αἴτιον, <οἷον> τοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα, τὸ δὲ ᾧ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ὡσπερ τῆ ὕλη· τῷ χαλκῷ γὰρ αἰτιός ἐστι τοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ γίνεσθαι οὖν καὶ τὸ τέμνεσθαι, τὰ οὗ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἐνέργειαι οὔσαι ἀσώματοι εἰσιν. Cf. also *Strom.* 8.6.18.1.

¹³ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1140a4; *Physica* 194b23-195a3; 195a20-25; 195a6-8; *Metaphysica* 983a26-35; 1013b7-8.

¹⁴ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 990b-993a.

¹⁵ David T. Runia, "Clement of Alexandria and the Philonic Doctrine of the Divine Power(s)," 256-276.

Philo, who developed his metaphysics along similar lines of the Aristotelian and Stoic object-subject-process model. He also set up the framework for Clement's Christian theme of the *παρουσία* of light. As I already noted in the previous chapter, when I treated Choufrine's discussion of the question, Philo in his *De Mutatione Nominum* 3-6 differentiated three kinds of light and three kinds of relationships between the subject, object, and the relation between them.¹⁶ First, under the cast of the *material light* the object, upon which light is cast, the source of light, the light itself, and the process of casting are clearly distinguished. Second, under the cast of the *noetic* or *symbolic light* the essence of object and process of casting of light are derivative of the *noetic* light. And, finally, in the *divine light* the borders and differences of the source, object, and process are no longer distinguishable since it is the purest light that can not be comprehended or seen even by any entity that belongs to the subject-object sphere.

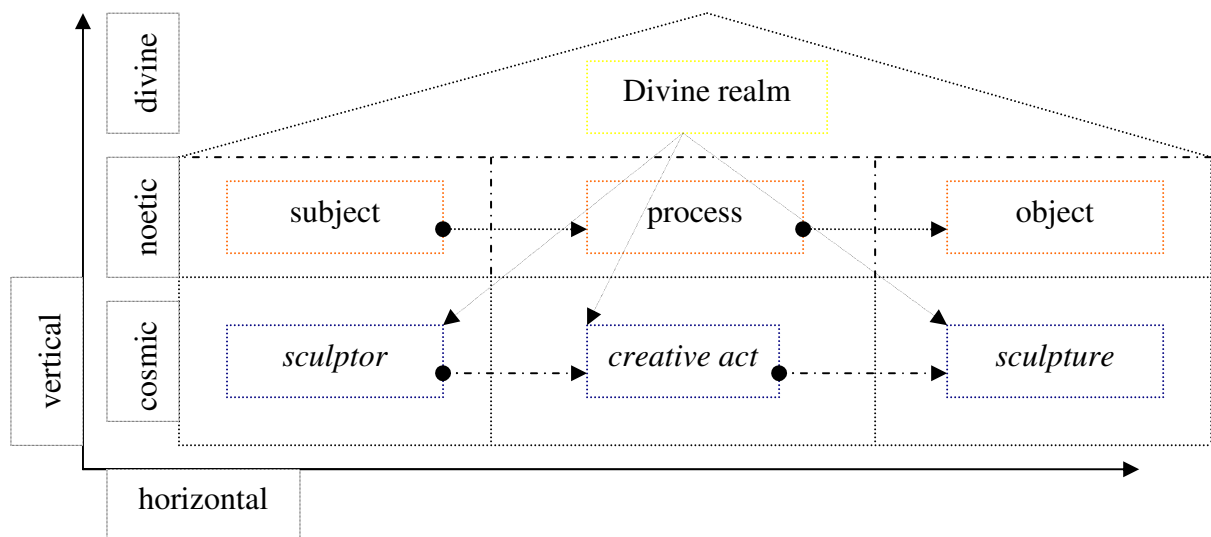


Table 1. Horizontal and vertical levels of epistemology and subject-object-process relations.

¹⁶ Cf. chapter 2, p. 93-94.

Choufrine found several uses of the Philonic epistemology in Clement. First, the third kind of light is found in Clement’s interpretation of the “radiance” of baptismal illumination that breaks into the realm of neotic and created worlds.¹⁷ The *logos* is the light in the proper sense¹⁸ that most intensely appeared in Jesus Christ as “the exemplar” (ὑπογραφή) for the humanity. Everyone, in Clement’s words, who is baptized is illuminated, being illuminated is adopted as daughters and sons of God, being adopted is made perfect, and being made perfect becomes immortal.¹⁹ Another parallel is found in *Excerpta* 1.18.2, in which Clement compares the third kind of light, i.e., the divine light, to the light, into which Christ brought Abraham and the other righteous people during his descent into Paradise/Hades. An entire argument of *Excerpta* 1.18.2 is based on Clement’s response to the earlier Valentinian statement that Jesus, Church, and Wisdom are “a powerful and complete mixture of bodies.”²⁰ Clement asserts that Valentinians

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁸ Cf. *Paed.* 1.6.26.1-1.6.27.3.

¹⁹ *Paed.* 1.6.25.3-26.1: “Will they not then own, though reluctant, that the perfect *logos* born of the perfect Father was begotten in perfection, according to economic foreordination? And if He was perfect, why was He, the perfect one, baptized? It was necessary, they say, to fulfill the profession that pertained to humanity. Most excellent. Well, I assert, simultaneously with His baptism by John, He becomes perfect? Manifestly. He did not then learn anything more from him? Certainly not. But He is perfected by the washing – of baptism – alone, and is sanctified by the descent of the Spirit? Such is the case. The same also takes place in our case, whose exemplar Christ became. Being baptized, we are illuminated; illuminated, we become sons; being made sons, we are made perfect; being made perfect, we are made immortal.” – Μή τι οὖν ὁμολογήσου σιν ἄκοντες τὸν λόγον, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου φύντα τοῦ πατρὸς, κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν προδιατύπωσιν ἀναγεννηθῆναι τελείως; Καὶ εἰ τέλειος ἦν, τί ἐβαπτίζετο ὁ τέλειος; ἔδει, φασί, πληρῶσαι τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Παγκάλως. Φημί γάρ ἅμα τοίνυν τῷ βαπτίζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου γίνεται τέλειος; δῆλον ὅτι. Οὐδὲν οὖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ προσέμαθεν; οὐ γάρ. Τε λειοῦται δὲ τῷ λουτρῷ μόνῳ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῇ καθόδῳ ἀγιάζεται; οὕτως ἔχει. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ὧν γέγονεν ὑπογραφή ὁ κύριος· βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι υἰοποιούμεθα, υἰοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα, τελειούμενοι ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα.

²⁰ *Exc.* 1.17.1: Ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ Σοφία δι’ ὅλων κρᾶσις τῶν σωμάτων δυνατὴ κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντινιανούς.

explained this mixture (κρᾶσις) as a fusion of male and female sperms that results in a child; or a seed that is dissolved in earth; or as wine mixed with water. However, Clement asserts in 1.17.3 that the christological union of divine and human in Jesus is best expressed by a word παράθεσιν, juxtaposition (Casey translated it as “conjunction”) and not κρᾶσις (blending).²¹ As a result, the integrity of each component that undergoes the union is preserved intact. At any rate, from a discussion of a unity between the *logos* and humanity, Clement or the Valentinian author²² leaps into the question of Christ’s visitation of the “paradise of Abraham.” At this moment, it is argued, the light of Christ’s post-crucifixion and pre-resurrection visit was merely the shadow of the Savior’s true glory. In other words, the Savior’s light, which is the purest light (if my hierarchy of light is correct), enters the Paradise, viz. Hades or a place of Abraham’s repose, which is the third realm of light that distinguishes subject-object-process, and is apprehended only as the shadow albeit light-emanating shadow (cf. above the Table 1).²³ Another example, which Choufrine used in a different context but not here, perfectly fits into my present

²¹ *Exc.* 1.17.3: Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ κατὰ παράθεσιν τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ κρᾶσιν. In *Paed.* 2.2.19-20, Clement uses the term of mingling of water and wine in his interpretation of the unity of the *logos* with the humanity, but the term there is still not κρᾶσις but rather the specific mixture of wine and water expressed by κιννάω. I will return to the notion of christological and eucharistic “union” in the section on the High Priest below.

²² Even though traditionally this passage is attributed to Clement, cf. Casey, p. 9 (although Casey acknowledged that at times it is difficult to pinpoint the voice of Clement and his opponents) and Sagnard, p. 9-11, I believe that the drastic shift of argumentation (a move from the question of unity of Jesus, Sophia, and Church to the question of Christ’s descent into Abraham’s place of repose and then a leap to the issue of pre-cosmic delimitation of Son from the Father and the historical Incarnation of Jesus Christ) indicates that this could be one of those “confusing” passages, in which it is difficult to discern the hand of the Valentinian author from Clement.

²³ *Strom.* 1.18.2: σκιά γὰρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ παρουσία ἡἐνταῦθα· φωτὸς δὲ σκιά οὐ σκότος, ἀλλὰ φωτισμὸς ἐστίν.

discussion. At the very beginning of the survived *Excerpta*, this is one the first issues that Clement confronts while discussing the Valentinian (or rather Theodotus') conception of Christ's Incarnation. He refers to the event of Jesus' transfiguration on Mount Tabor, since it serves Clement's purpose of underpinning the omnipresence of the *logos*, even if seemingly limited by becoming a human being. The "descent" and "ascent" of the *logos* Clement treats as the symbolical terms theology appeals to in order to describe what it fails otherwise to describe. Hence, the light remains intact everywhere without the necessity of going from one place to another, yet it is perceived by the elect three apostles according to their ability and the pedagogic allowance of the *logos*:

By reason of great humility the Lord did not appear as an angel but as a man, and when he appeared in glory to the apostles on the Mount he did not do it for his own sake when he showed himself, but for the sake of the church, which is "the elect race" (1 Pet 2:9), that it might learn his advancement after his departure from the flesh. For on high, too, he was Light and that which was manifest in the flesh and appeared here is not later than that above nor was it curtailed, in that it was translated hither from on high, changing from one place to another, so that this was gain here and loss there. But he was Omnipresent, and is with the Father, even when here, for he was the Father's power.²⁴

The subject-object-process model correlates to the three kinds of light on both vertical and horizontal dimensions. On the vertical level, there are divine, noetic (symbolic), and material realms; on the horizontal level the subject corresponds to the

²⁴ *Exc.* 1.4.1-2: ὁ κύριος, διὰ πολλὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην, οὐχ ὡς ἄγγελος ὤφθη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος. καὶ ὅτε ἐν δόξῃ ὤφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν, δεικνύς ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ "τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτόν", ἵνα μάθῃ τὴν προκοπὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐξοδόν. αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄνω φῶς ἦν, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ "ἐπιφανέν ἐν σαρκί" καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα ὄφθην οὐχ ὕστερον τοῦ ἄνω· οὐδὲ διεκέκοπτο ἢ ἀνάθεν μετέστη δένδρον, τόπον ἐκ τόπου ἀμείβων, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀπολιπεῖν· ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ πάντῃ ὄν καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ κἀνταῦθα· δύναμις γὰρ ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς.

source of light, the object is the recipient of light, and the process, respectively, is the casting of light. This division is meaningful only from the perspective of the lowest level; the pure light is eternally omnipresent and omnipotent and no category of time and space can be applied to it. However, on the first or bottom-stage of the vertical level the subject, object, and process are clearly distinct from each other; on the second stage, their underlying essences converge despite the figural distinction; and ultimately, on the third top-level the pure unity of essence forbids the subject-object-process distinction.²⁵

Precisely for this absolutely indistinguishable unity of the highest realm, i.e., the realm of divinity, the knower is incapable of perceiving it. The gnostic encounters the necessity of appealing to the apophatic way of speaking of it, since his or her epistemological apparatus is inevitably restrained by the object-subject-process matrix, from which the gnostic can strike out only on to the second, noetic (symbolic), level without crossing the dividing line between God (the purest and noblest light) and cosmos, either noetic or material.

The vertical and horizontal tripartite model and its application to the interaction of the *logos* within the divinity and outside with the cosmos for all intents and purposes are different from the categories of the “vertical” and “horizontal” of Choufrine, who intended that they describe the prehistoric and historical Incarnation(s) of the *logos*. The inadequacy of the term “vertical Incarnation” lay precisely in the recognition that on the first, highest, level of the divine light there is not and cannot be any subject-object-

²⁵ Cf. Robert Casey, “Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Platonism,” in *Studies in Early Christianity: A Collection of Scholarly Essays*. Ed. by Everett Ferguson et al. (New York: Garland, 1993), p. 120.

process distinction. That also means that there can be no distinction between the Father and the Son. This distinction only appears on the *symbolic* or *noetic* level perceived by the human intellect from its own perspective limited in its capabilities only to the symbolism of subject-object-process model, time and space. The περιγραφή of *Excerpta* 1.19.1, i.e., the delimitation of the Son from the Father “by circumference and not in essence” is the very attempt on behalf of a Gnostic author or Clement to describe the third, highest, level of divinity in the epistemological terms of the second, noetic, level. The same applies to the passage from *Paedagogus* 1.9.88.2, where Clement said that before he was Creator or even Father, God already existed and was good.²⁶ Despite any virtuoso attempts to understand that reality, they will always, according to Clement, remain approximate and inaccurate.²⁷ The only degree of certainty emerges in the realm of created world whose causes and consequences can be, as I mentioned above, explored and understood by the human intellect.

There is a general agreement among scholars that *Excerpta* 1.18.2 is Clement’s own commentary on Theodotus’ Valentinian assertion of *Excerpta* 1.17.1ff that “Jesus,

²⁶ For Daniélou’s faltering discussion of the passage, see above chapter 2, p. 75.

²⁷ See *Strom.* 5.12.82.1-3: And if we name it, we do not do so properly, terming it either the One, or the Good, or Mind, or Absolute Being, or Father, or God, or Creator or Lord. We speak not as supplying His name; but for want, we use good names, in order that the mind may have these as points of support, so as not to err in other respects. For each one by itself does not express God; but all together are indicative of the power of the Omnipotent. For predicates are expressed either from what belongs to things themselves, or from their mutual relation. But none of these are admissible in reference to God. Nor any more is He apprehended by the science of demonstration. For it depends on primary and better known principles. But there is nothing antecedent to the Unbegotten. – κἂν ὀνομάζωμεν αὐτό ποτε, οὐ κυρίως καλοῦντες ἦτοι ἐν ἡ τάγαθόν ἢ νοῦν ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν ἢ πατέρα ἢ θεὸν ἢ δημιουργόν ἢ κύριον, οὐχ ὡς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ προφερόμενοι λέγομεν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας ὀνόμασι καλοῖς προσχρώμεθα, ἵν’ ἔχη ἡ διάνοια, μὴ περὶ ἄλλα πλανωμένη, ἐπερείδῃσθαι τούτοις. οὐ γὰρ τὸ καθ’ ἕκαστον μηνυτικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόως ἅπαντα ἐνδεικτικὰ τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δυνάμεως· τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα ἢ ἐκ τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς ῥητὰ ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων λαβεῖν σίον τε περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμη λαμβάνεται τῇ ἀποδεικτικῇ· αὕτη γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων καὶ γνωριμωτέρων συνίσταται, τοῦ δὲ ἀγεννήτου οὐδὲν προὔπαρχει.

Church, and Sophia are the all-encompassing and mighty fusion of body,” to which Clement responds with his interpretation of how the *logos*/light descends into the lower levels of the universe. He asserts the historical event of the Incarnation of the *logos* in John 1:14 as the progressive entrance of the *logos* into the realm of the created world. The highest level of divine being remains unattainable and unsearchable by the human intellect even though it, i.e., the pure light, permeates all of the creation and communicates its being through the revelation of its laws and commandments. In its greatness and glory it does not cause the collapse or loss of identity of the created realm but on the contrary transforms it and brings it to the state of perfection.

The above discussion also sheds new light on the disputed passage of the *Protrepticus* 10.98.3.1-10.99.1.2, in which Clement spoke about the human intellect as the third image of God, and led some scholars to believe that if the *logos* is the second image, then it is not fully equal to the Father. On the contrary, God’s “intermediate” image, the *logos*, is the Son of the Father, or it is expressed so on the symbolical level of divine epistemology. The case of the human intellect, just one step higher than the handmade statues, is explained by his or her embeddedness in the three-dimensional matter, on the one hand, and affinity to the divine *logos*, on the other hand:

For “the image of God” is His *logos* (and the divine *logos*, the light who is the archetype of light, is a genuine Son of Intellect); and an image of the *logos* is the true man, that is, the intellect in man, who on this account is said to have been created “in the image” of God, and “in His likeness,”²⁸ because through his understanding heart he is made like the divine *logos* or reason, and so is reasonable. But statues in

²⁸ Gen 1:26.

human form, being an earthen image of visible, earthborn man and far away from the truth plainly show themselves to be but a temporary impression upon matter.

In light of what has been said above, Clement's interpretation of Trinitarian subject-object-process relations, the functions of the *logos* in the three realms of being, and its entrance into the dynamics of the noetic and material world become more apparent. The difference between the subject and object becomes unreal in the ultimate knowledge of God. Daniélou in this case rightly concluded his treatment of *Excerpta* 1.19.1 and 5 with the observation that Clement perceived the relation of the Father to the Son as begetter (subject) to begotten (object) and also emphasized their unity in essence, even though that led him to imagine that Clement does not acknowledge personhood in the Father, which apparently falls out of Clement's primary concern. Clement found his own explanation of the Father-Son relationship coherent in itself and congruent if not exemplary to the Cappadocian and Augustinian solutions although different from them on the technical level of theological expression.²⁹ For Clement, in the sphere of the noetic realm one necessarily has to be able to speak of the Father and the Son, and of the inevitably eternal process of the Father's giving birth to the Son. On the bottom level of the created world, according to Clement, the *logos* enters it, and thereby fashions and instructs it, and bestows upon it its own identity and law. The human being wrought and taught by the *logos* discovers his/her identity through the pedagogy and teaching and thereby grows, learns, becomes perfect, and acquires not only the truth about him/herself but also about the noetic realm of the Son and the Father, eventually having a glance into

²⁹ Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture*, p. 374.

the highest light, even though he or she is unable to comprehend it not to mention to coherently express it.

3. The New Song

Enough has been said about the meta- or non-historic identity of the *logos*. After the above excursus into Clement's epistemology and trinitarian theology, we are ready to discuss Clement's view of the historical person Jesus Christ even though history for Clement, just as for most of the pre-modern theology and philosophy, was never divorced from meta-history. The crucial question in the context of the entrance of the *logos* into the created world is raised by several scholars of Clement who ask whether he believed in the uniqueness, necessity, and unavoidability of the historical event of Christ's Incarnation (John 1:14) or whether this incarnation was merely one of the long sequences of God's communication with the cosmos and humanity through the prophets and adepts of divine word that continued to unfold in Christ after Christ's advent through the church and its chief teachers, of whom circuitously Clement may have enlisted himself as well.³⁰

Clement's understanding of the uniqueness of the Incarnation is often undermined by his "confusing" renderings of the three chief ways of God's communication with humanity. First, the creation of the human after the image and likeness of God implied the presence of the divine sparkle in the human constitution in a form of intellect.³¹ Second, God communicated with humanity through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit³² by instilling God's laws and commandments through the prophets and truth-loving people of

³⁰ On the discussion of Clement's understanding of the Incarnation, see Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis*, p. 100; John Egan, "Logos and Emanation in the Writings of Clement of Alexandria," p. 187ff.; Molland, *The Conception of the Gospel in the Alexandrian Theology*, p. 74ff.; Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, p. 213ff.; Pollard, *Johannine Christology and the Early Church*, pp. 82-83.

³¹ *Protr.* 74.7; *Strom.* 1.19.94.4; 5.5.29.4.

³² *Strom.* 5.13.88.1-5, 5.14.98.4, 5.14.103.1 (in Trinitarian context), 6.15.126.1.

ancient and modern times,³³ both Jewish, through Hebrew Scriptures (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and others),³⁴ and through heathen philosophy (Pythagoras, Plato and other most prominent philosophers and poets of Greco-Roman heritage).³⁵ And third, the communication between God and humanity was reestablished in the historical Incarnation of the *logos* in Jesus Christ.³⁶ Choufrine, following Molland, expressed this “confusion” in the statement I quoted previously: “the Logos for Clement ‘becomes’ any flesh It illumines by Its presence.”³⁷ Those three ways of God’s communication with humanity are similar in their purpose. They resonate in human minds and lives and yet are distinct in their instrumentality and implementation each serving a concrete purpose in a salvific history. Deflation of the Incarnation’s uniqueness undercuts its necessity: if indeed God communicated divine will in the past through prophets and most importantly through Moses and gave the Torah and the precepts of how to read it and understand it to the elect people of Israel, is not that sufficient for the receipt of the true knowledge about one’s identity, God, and ultimately, salvation? By the same token, if Christ’s Incarnation was not unique and necessary, it was also not unavoidable, since the period in which Clement lived was rich in diverse newly fashioned stories about Saviors and Redeemers originating in Greco-Roman, Iranian, Judeo-Christian, Gnostic and other circles each claiming both exclusivity and inclusiveness to grand salvation in various systems of

³³ In Church, *Paed.* 1.42.1-3.

³⁴ *Strom.* 7.16.93.4-6.

³⁵ *Protr.* 74.7; *Strom.* 1.19.94.4; 5.5.29.4.

³⁶ *Protr.* 11.112.1; *Strom.* 6.5.41-6-7.

³⁷ Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis*, p. 122.

lifestyle, societal associations with religious, cultural, economic, and political makeup. Directly and indirectly, Clement addresses these questions through the image of Christ the New Song, which synthesizes a profuse variety of Jewish, Hellenic, and Gnostic voices in his exhortation to all groups flourishing in Alexandria (and beyond).

In the opening pages of the perhaps first Christian apologetic writing by Clement, one finds a spectacular amalgam of voices: “Amphion of Thebes and Arion of Methymna were minstrels, both are celebrated in legend and to this day the story is sung by a chorus of Greeks about how their musical skill enabled the one to lure a fish and the other to build the walls of Thebes...”³⁸ Together with these two, Clement also mentions Orpheus and Eunomus who like the two abovementioned Greek musicians left legendary stories about their music: Orpheus tamed wild beasts by his song and transplanted trees by music, and Eunomus, the least well-known member of the quartet, was singing an Ode to the Dead Dragon at the Pythian Games and won the musical competition despite the sudden break of his lyre string. The figure of Eunomus is central for Clement’s purposes. Clement was mesmerized by Eunomus’ story of how this musician adapted and harmonized his melody to a melody of the Pythian cicada (or grasshopper) that happened to sing nearby and leap on to the crossbar of Eunomus’ lyre eventually helping him win the prestigious musical competition that was part of the Pythian festivals.³⁹ In contrast to

³⁸ *Protr.* 1.1.1: Ἀμφίων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος "ἄμφω μὲν ἦστην ᾠδίκῳ, μῦθος δὲ ἄμφω" (καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα εἰσέτι τοῦτο Ἑλλήνων ᾄδεται χορῶ), τέχνη τῆ μουσικῆ ὁ μὲν ἰχθὺν δελεάσας, ὁ δὲ Θήβας τεύχισας. The entire story is unfolded further until the verse 1.7.3.

³⁹ Several excellent interpretations of Clement’s New Song of *Protrepticus* are given by the following authors: Eleanor Irwin, “The Songs of Orpheus and the New Song of Christ,” in *Orpheus. The Metamorphoses of a Myth*. Ed. by John Warden (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 51-62 and Thomas Halton, “Clement’s Lyre: A Broken String, a New Song,” *The Second Century. A Journal of*

the auspicious story of Eunomus, the other three musicians Amphion, Arion, and Orpheus were perceived from the perspective of a gloomy fate as deceivers.⁴⁰

The *mise-en-scène* of Eunomus' story, as just was mentioned, is the musical competition at the Pythian Game that took place every four years in Greece at Delphi, the sacred city of oracles pronounced by Apollo.⁴¹ Clement masterfully, image-by-image, transforms the story into an entirely new setting. He explicitly constructs his disapproval of such games and later advocates their utter abolition and yet simultaneously works out a new "substitution" for these games by a transformed version of music, sports, and cultic

Early Christian Studies 3 (1983): 177-199. Halton also provided the general background to Eunomius' legend as well as the most intricate nuances of the images Clement used in order to make them serve his purpose of appealing to the Hellenistic reader and attract him to the New Song of Christ; cf. also Frederick H. Brigham, "The Concept of New Song in Clement of Alexandria's Exhortation to the Greeks," *Classical Folia* 16 (1962): 9-13, where the author briefly sketched five most plausible sources for Clement's conception of the New Song, i.e., Plato's *Protagoras*, Philo's *Moses I*, Psalms (32:2-4; 39:3-4; 97:1-3; 149:1; 143:9-10); Isaiah (42:6); and the Apocalypse (5:9; 14:2). However, Brigham concluded that even though Clement is well informed about the above sources, "there is no pagan or biblical source which records the concept precisely as it is stated by him [Clement]," p. 12. Halton went beyond Brigham to show the parallels between Clement, Philo, and the Orphic Hymns to Apollo, as well as early Christian Apologists, but he still agreed with Brigham that Clement's complexity and originality despite similarities and common sources of the image of the New Song are hardly paralleled by any other Christian author. See also Charles H. Cosgrove, "Clement of Alexandria and Early Christian Music," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14 (2006): 255-282, esp. 276-281, where Cosgrove discusses the question of Christ as the New Song. The image of the cicadas, used in Plato's *Phaedrus* as those who, according to Socrates, stimulate rhetoric and speech (*Phaedrus* 258e6-259d8) and who are the insects that are on the list of local divinities being the sources of inspiration to philosophers (*Phaedrus* 262d2-6), could be another philosophical precursor to Clement's understanding of the role of cicada or the grass hopper in Eunomius' legend. See Giovanni Ferrari, *Listening to the Cicadas. A Study of Plato's Paedrus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). I thank Peter Casarella for calling my attention the work by Ferrari and to the connotation between *Phaedrus* and Clement's *Protrepitkos*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Thomas Halton, "Clement's Lyre," pp. 178-180. Amphion, despite the fact that he was a great king who was believed to be a cofounder of music or invented the use of three additional strings was punished in Hades for jeering at Leto and her children. Arion had also a share of fame for composing for the first time the dithyramb at Corinth; he was also carried on the back of dolphin to Taenarum after he attempted to end life with a suicide. Orpheus' gloomy story is more familiar about his wife Eurydice and his bloody death by hands of Maenads.

⁴¹ There were also the Isthmian, Nemean, and Olympian Games that took place at other locations every four years thus creating quadrennial circles of Greek festivals.

figures and festivals.⁴² Thus, at first he ridicules the story about Pytho, the Dragon slain by Apollo, and associates it with the snake in the Garden of Eden.⁴³ In the proper singing competition, the sight of Delphi now has to be the Mount of Zion. The praise of Apollo's killing of Pytho is changed by the song of God's endowment of life. Eunomus is compared to and substituted by David the Psalmist. The very song now does not tame animals, transplants trees, or subjugates the cicadas for frantic games or cults of Greeks but, in Clement's words, "this undefiled song, the pillar of the universe and the harmony of all things, stretching from the center to the circumference and from the extremities to the center, reduced this whole to harmony, not in accordance with Thracian music, which resembles that of Jubal,⁴⁴ but in accordance with the fatherly purpose of God, which David earnestly sought."⁴⁵ The culmination of this transformation is near the end of *Protrepticus* where Clement reinterprets the central figure of the Pythian Game.

⁴² *Protr.* 1.2.1.

⁴³ *Protr.* 1.7.6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Gen 4:21.

⁴⁵ *Protr.* 1.5.2: Καὶ δὴ τὸ ἕσμα τὸ ἀκήρατον, ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἁρμονία τῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα διαταθέν, ἡρμόσατο τόδε τὸ πᾶν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Θράκιον μουσικὴν, τὴν παραπλήσιον Ἰουβάλ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάτριον τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἣν ἐζήλωσε Δαβὶδ.

Cf. also *Protr.* 1.2.2-4: [L]et us bring down truth, with wisdom in all her brightness, from heaven above, to the holy mountain of God and the holy company of prophets. Let truth, sending forth her rays of light into the farthest distance, shine everywhere upon those who are wallowing in darkness, and deliver men from their error, stretching out her supreme right hand, even understanding, to point them to salvation. And when they have raised their heads and looked up let them forsake Helicon and Cithaeron [and let them] dwell in Sion; "for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem," (Is 2:3) that is, the heavenly Word, the true champion, who is crowned upon the stage [*epi theatrō*] of the whole world. Eunomus of mine sings not the tune of Terpander or of Capius, nor yet Phrygian or Lydian or Dorian one; but the eternal tune of new harmony (mode) that bears the name of God, a new Levitical song, "an anodyne, mild magic of forgetfulness" (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.221). There is a sweet and true (genuine) remedy against grief (medicine of persuasion) blended with this song. – κατὰ γωμεν δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἀλήθειαν ἅμα φανοτάτη φρονήσει εἰς ὄρος ἅγιον θεοῦ καὶ χορὸν τὸν ἅγιον τὸν

Thomas Halton provided informative evidence from Philo⁴⁶ and Orphic hymns for Apollo⁴⁷ to show that Apollo was the prototype of Christ who in light of the association of the *logos* with Apollo becomes the true cosmic lyric player and orchestrator of the universe.⁴⁸ However, as Halton further points out, the *logos* is not only a cosmic figure, “the pillar of the universe and the harmony of all things” but also an immanent player on the stage of the earth, in Clement’s own words, “by the power of the Holy Spirit he arranged in harmonious order this great world, yes, and the little world of man too, body and soul together; and on this many-voiced instrument of the universe he makes music to God, and sings to the human instrument.”⁴⁹ Thus the *logos* is the creator of humanity and human purpose is to be the instrument of God’s song. At the closing of his *Protrepticus*, Clement brings up the picture of the newly created prelapsarian Adam who, like a child, played in Paradise but under the influence of the snake foolishly succumbed to the temptations of the serpent and fell into destructive pleasures and idolatry, and went astray

προφητικόν. ἢ δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα τηλαυγὲς ἀποστίλβουσα φῶς καταυγαζέτω πάντη τοὺς ἐν σκότει κυλινδουμένους καὶ τῆς πλάνης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαλλαττέτω, τὴν υπερτάτην ὀρέγουσα δεξιάν, τὴν σύνεσιν, εἰς σωτηρίαν· οἱ δὲ ἀνανεύσαντες καὶ ἀνακύψαντες Ἑλικῶνα μὲν καὶ Κιθαιρῶνα καταλειπόντων, οἰκούντων δὲ Σιών· "ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ", λόγος οὐράνιος, ὁ γνήσιος ἀγωνιστὴς ἐπὶ τῷ παντός κόσμου θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος. αἶδει δὲ γε ὁ Εὐνομος ὁ ἔμῳς οὐ τὸν Τερπάνδρου νόμον οὐδὲ τὸν Κηπίωνος, οὐδὲ μὴν Φρύγιον ἢ Λύδιον ἢ Δώριον, ἀλλὰ τῆς καινῆς ἁρμονίας τὸν αἰδίων νόμον, τὸν φερώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἕσμα τὸ καινόν, τὸ Λευιτικόν, "νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων"· γλυκύ τι καὶ ἀληθινὸν φάρμα κον πειθοῦς ἐγκέκραται τῷ ἕσματι.

⁴⁶ *De Plant.* 11.167. Cf. the association of the seven-stringed lyre with the planets in *De Opif. Mundi* 126; *Leg. Alleg.* 1.14. See also *De Cherub.* 110; *De Poster. Caini* 88; *De Spec. Leg.* 11.246.

⁴⁷ *Hymni Homerici, In Apollinem* 349-373.

⁴⁸ Thomas Halton, “Clement’s Lyre,” p. 184.

⁴⁹ *Protr.* 1.5.3: κόσμον δὲ τόνδε καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μικρὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἁρμολόμενος, ψάλλει τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὀργάνου καὶ προσάδει τῷ ὀργάνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

from the true piety and proper singing of God's praise.⁵⁰ In order to heal humanity and to teach it the true song of God, human true identity and purpose, God allowed his Son to become a new musical instrument. Clement outlined these metaphysical and cosmic paradigms in order to translate them into the realm of the human condition. This translation is channeled through the Incarnation of the *logos* in Jesus Christ. I cited the second half of the following passage in the previous chapter when I discussed the study of the *logos*. It is fitting to return to it briefly, now in the context intended by Clement, to see the logic of argumentation motivated by Clement's desire to illustrate the integrated theanthropic identity of Christ, who fixes the problems of the past and shows prospects for the future:

Because the *logos* was from the first, He was and is the divine beginning of all things. But because He lately took a name, the name consecrated of old and worthy of power, the Christ, I have called him a New Song. The *logos*, then, that is the Christ, is the cause both of our being long ago, for He was in God (John 1:1) and of our well-being. This *logos*, who alone is both God and man, the cause of all our good, appeared lately in His own person to humans.⁵¹

Besides the change of scenery, key actors on stage, and the content of the song, the victory of Apollo over Pytho is also re-inscribed from the point of view of the manner this victory was achieved. If for Apollo it was enough to simply "strike the monster

⁵⁰ Ibid., 11.111.1.

⁵¹ Ibid., 1.6.5-7.1: ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἦν ὁ λόγος ἄνωθεν, ἀρχὴ θεία τῶν πάντων ἦν τε καὶ ἔστιν· ὅτι δὲ νῦν ὄνομα ἔλαβεν τὸ πάλαι καθωσιωμένον, δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ὁ Χριστός, καινὸν ἄσμα μοι κέκληται. αἴτιος γοῦν ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλαι ἡμᾶς (ἦν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εἶναι (νῦν δὴ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις) αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἅπαντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν. This passage is the first half of the one I cited in the Chapter 2, p. 120-121, gives a proper context to Grillmeier's insistence on the unity and integrity of not only the *logos* but also of Christ.

Typhaon with a strong arrow,”⁵² Christ’s tactic is better understood through the image of Eunomus’ broken string and cicada that served as a substitute for the vibration of the absent string. Or rather, as Clement reverses the story again, Eunomus adapted his music to the melody of cicada who sat on the crossbar of the instrument and sang the natural song of its own accord. While the old songs of Amphion, Arion, and Orpheus deceptively sang about idolatrous gods and thus had a taming impact on animals and trees, the New Song, by contrast, praises the one true God and has a divinizing impact on humanity. It is the remedy and antidote of the past fall, disobedience, lust, and ignorance.⁵³ Therefore, the victory of the New Apollo over the serpent and “old” Apollo is accomplished through the ascent on the cross and through the outstretching of his hands in order to liberate the lustful human nature and to teach it how to live in a way that was intended from the very beginning when God created Adam. Christ conquered not only Apollo and Zeus – in *Protrepticus* 2.37.4, Clement informed his reader that Zeus is also dead – but also by conquering death by his death:

Clothing Himself with bonds of flesh (which is a divine mystery), he [Christ] subdued the serpent and enslaved the tyrant death; and, most wonderful of all, the very man who had erred through pleasure, and was bound by corruption, was shown to be free again, through his outstretched hands.⁵⁴

⁵² *Hymni Homerici, In Apollinem* 358.

⁵³ *Protr.* 1.2.4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.111.2-11.112.3: καὶ σαρκὶ ἐνδεθεῖς (μυστήριον θεῖον τοῦτο) τὸν ὄφιν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐδουλώσατο, τὸν θάνατον, καί, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἡδονῇ πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμένον, χερσὶν ἠπλωμέναις ἔδειξε λελυμένον.

In his *Protrepticus* as well as in one passage from *Stromata*, Clement speaks of Christ as the New Song, Singer, and Instrument, which squares well into the allegorical paradigm/model of subject-object-process on both symbolic and material levels. The *logos* is the cosmic Singer, the creator of the world; it is that song that administers and harmonizes the universe through its all-permeating activity, singing. When incarnate, i.e., descended from the noetic level into the realm of the created world (again without leaving its place on high), the *logos*, who is the Christ “the true God and true man,” (*Protr.* 1.6.7) becomes also the new Singer. Through his own crucifixion he fixed the broken string of humanity that lost its musical hearing and fell into lust and idolatry by becoming that very string, which Clement interprets as the human being. Christ is the New Song of the Gospel, according to which humanity is taught and saved; he is the victory over death through his death; and finally, he is the Instrument, “the lyre, according to its primary signification, [that] may be used by the psalmist figuratively for the Lord, but according to its secondary meaning, for those who continually strike the chords of their souls under the direction of the Choir-master, [it signifies] the Lord.”⁵⁵

The image of the New Song doubtless has further and richer connotations, although not all of them are discussed here as not all of them have christological significance (although they do play an important role in Clement’s critique of the popular religion and piety). To some of them, especially those pertaining to the teaching of the New Song and its salvific and sacrificial act, I will return in further detail in the following

⁵⁵ *Strom.* 6.11.88.3: εἶη δ’ ἂν τῷ ψαλμοῦ δῶ κιθάρα ἀλληγορουμένη κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον σημαίνονον ὁ κύριος, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον οἱ προσεχῶς κρούοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ μουσηγέτη τῷ κυρίῳ.

sections on Christ the Disaskalos and High Priest. However, there is also a clearly discernible group of historians of late antiquity and scholars of ancient Christian liturgy who see in Clement's works in general and in *Protrepticus* in particular his specific reworking of the appeal of various cults to the mystery religions, such cults as of Eleusis, Orpheus and Dionysius, to name just a few, to a new universal cult that Christianity proclaimed to offer.⁵⁶ The most significant focal points of such heightened interest are early Christian initiation rituals, baptism, Eucharist, and liturgy at large, which, however, Clement did not describe from a liturgical perspective. In his extant writings, Clement seems never to be interested in, or to describe the ceremonial processions of, initiation rituals, baptismal rites, or celebrations of Eucharist, and indeed because of the lack of such descriptions he was charged for removing himself from the congregation(s) or church(es) of Alexandria. But he certainly provided in abundance his theological interpretations of the mentioned Christian rituals, critiquing and transforming heathen cults and festivals illustrated on the example of the Pythian Games and the cult of Apollo.

⁵⁶ Cf. Herbert G. Marsh, "The Use of *μυστήριον* in the Writings of Clement of Alexandria," *Journal of Theological Studies* 37 (1936): 64-80; Harry A. Echle, *The Terminology of the Sacrament of Regeneration according to Clement of Alexandria*. Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, Second Series, 30 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949); Frederick H. Brigham, "The concept of 'New Song' in Clement of Alexandria's exhortation to the Greeks," 9-13; Ernest L. Fortin, "Clement of Alexandria and the Esoteric Tradition," *Studia Patristica* 9.3 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 94, 1966): 41-56; Jean Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture*, pp. 89-99; Andre Méhat, "Clement of Alexandria," in *The Eucharist of the Early Christians*. Ed. by Willy Rordorf. Tras. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 99-131; Hugo Rahner, "The Christian Mystery and the Pagan Mysteries," in *The Mysteries*. Papers from the Eranos Yearbook. Ed. Joseph Campbell. Vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 337-401; Eleanor Irwin, "The Song of Orpheus and the New Song of Christ," in *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of Myth* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982), pp. 51-62; Marvin W. Meyer, *The Ancient Mysteries. A Source Book. Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987); Arkadi Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis*, pp. 17-76; Michael J. Brown, *The Lord's Prayer Through North African Eyes. A Window into Early Christianity*. New York: T & T Clark, 2004.

Along with his theological reinterpretations of mystery religious cults, he also shared the Socratic/Platonic zeal to rethink popular religiosity as well as poetry, literature, and philosophy.

Clement frequently chastised Homer for ascribing passions to gods, yet at the same time acknowledged Homer's poetic intuition of the divine.⁵⁷ He paralleled biblical stories with those of the popular stories of Greek literature, such as the creation in *Genesis* and the description of the Shield of Achilles;⁵⁸ biblical Jacob who was asleep with his head on a stone (Gen 28:11) and Odysseus setting his bed in stonework (*Odyssea* 23.193)⁵⁹; Sarah who served the angelic guests (Gen 18:6) and Jethro's daughters who pastured the flocks (*Odyssea* 5.86).⁶⁰ It is not simply a parallelism in a sense that the stories are placed side by side as independently valid narratives of past events. Clement intends to achieve, in fact, three goals. First, he intends to show that the unknown (to the majority of the larger Greco-Roman society) Christian literature is just as creative and interesting as the Greek literature, although it appropriated or rather showed itself as a continuation of the Hebrew Scriptures with its ancient narratives together with the newly written ones describing the life of Jesus of Nazareth and the activity of first Christian communities. The second goal was to show that Christian literature is also more ancient and original than Greek literature in the sense that the heathen literature and philosophy

⁵⁷ Cf. *Strom.* 5.14.116.4; 5.14.117.2; 5.14.130.2; 6.17.151.5; 6.17.155.5;

⁵⁸ Cf. *Strom.* 5.14.101.4.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Paed.* 2.9.78.2.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Strom.* 5.19.123.1.

plagiarized the sources of which Clement is so fond. This method Clement clearly adopted from Philo. A similar enterprise is enfolded in the long passage of *Stromata* 1.21ff, in which through a fairly detailed although not necessarily accurate discussion of philosophy and history Clement sought to provide a means for the legitimization of Christian communities and their theological statement.⁶¹ Thirdly, Christian literature is truth-revealing and undefiled, which ought to be the natural reason why non-Christians must join the new community in order to rise from the darkness of ignorance into the light of true knowledge.

More boldly, however, Clement suggests a similar parallelism to describe the identity of Jesus Christ. Again, I provided the example of how Clement meticulously fashions the identity of Christ along the features of the cult of Apollo and Christian rituals as a de- and re-construction of quadrennial festivals dedicated to Apollo at the sight of Delphi. In the same way, Clement portrays Christ along the lines of the Homeric hero Odysseus:

Let us then shun custom, let us shun it as some dangerous headland, or threatening Charybdis, or the Sirens of legend. Pagan custom strangles human being and it turns him/her away from truth... Sail past the song, it works death. Only resolve, and you have vanquished destruction; bond to the wood of the Cross and you shall live freed from all corruption. The *logos* of God shall be you pilot, and the Holy Spirit shall bring you to anchor in the harbors of heaven.⁶²

⁶¹ See a discussion of *Strom.* 1.21ff. in Raoul Mortley, "The Past in Clement of Alexandria. A Study of an Attempt to Define Christianity in Socio-Cultural Terms," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*. Vol. 1. *The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries*. Ed. by E.P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 261-265.

⁶² Cf. *Protr.* 12.118.1-4: φύγωμεν οὖν τὴν συνήθειαν, φύγωμεν οἷον ἄκραν χαλεπὴν ἢ

The Sirens of temptation, the mast of the Cross, the wind of the Spirit, the *logos* as pilot and wise Odysseus, and the harbor of eternal life are the recurring themes Clement construed in his primitive christological sketches based on the well known images that the Greek and Roman élite studied from childhood during the classical and post-classical periods. Following the above passage on the *Odyssey*, Clement turned to another, no less renowned, image of the Bacchic rituals that celebrated god-man Dionysius. Surrounded by the “daughters of God, beautiful lambs” and not by drunken and crazed maenads, the true King of all, and not Dionysius, receives their praises while they “play the harp, angels give glory, prophets speak, a noise of music rises; swiftly they pursue the sacred band,⁶³ those who have been called hastening with eager longing to receive the Father.”⁶⁴ I called the above sketches primitive to denote not the simplicity of Clement’s christological venture but rather its fundamental appeal to the audience that is less familiar with biblical stories but raised in a Greco-Roman culture that was intimately conversant with such figures as Apollo, Dionysius, Orpheus, cults of Eleusis, and Zeus. After he manages to catch the attention of the non-Christian or Neophyte audience does Clement proceed to recount the biblical and more specifically Christian doctrines of

Χαρόβδεως ἀπειλήν ἢ Σειρήνας μυθικάς· ἄγγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποτρέπει... παράπλει τὴν ὁδὴν, θάνατον ἐργάζεται· ἐὰν ἐθέλης μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔση τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος, κυβερνήσει σε ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Clement makes reference here to *Odyssea* 12.

⁶³ θίασος – a band of Dionysius’ followers.

⁶⁴ *Protr.* 12.119.1-3: ὁ χορὸς οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸ ἦσμα ὕμνος ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως· ψάλλουσιν αἱ κόραι, δοξάζουσιν ἄγγελοι, προφήται λαλοῦσιν, ἦχος στέλλεται μουσικῆς, δρόμῳ τὸν θίασον διώκουσιν, σπεύδουσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι πατέρα ποθοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν.

initiation, study of Scriptures, and perfection through contemplation of true divinity in order that they could grow in their faith and knowledge of human and divine matters.

A passage from *Stromata* 5.10.64.4, fittingly picked up by Daniélou in his demonstration of Clement's use of Homeric exegesis, will demonstrate this point more fully.⁶⁵ The context of this passage is Clement's attempt to persuade his reader that by accepting Christian faith God will give to the recipient a gift of knowledge and by refusing it he or she will suffer destruction (63.8). The point of departure for his argument is the *Letter of Barnabas*, in which Barnabas, supposedly also of Alexandrian vicinity, continued the subversion of heathen literature and philosophy to the Judeo-Christian faith.⁶⁶ Along with various biblical quotations that exhort conversion into the true piety such as Isaiah's "I will give you the treasures of darkness and the hidden wealth of secret places, so that you may know that it is I, the Lord, the God of Israel, who calls you by your name" (Is 45:3) as well as to the passages of similar content of Ps 50:8; 18:3; Jer 23:24, Clement also appeals simultaneously to two mythical stories of Zeus' two jars and Pandora's Box and adapts them to his purpose: "for this reason the teaching that reveals hidden things, is called illumination (2 Cor 4:4), as it is the teacher only who uncovers the lid of the coffer, contrary to what the poets say, that "Zeus stops up the jar of good things, but opens that of evil (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 24.527-533; Hesiod, *Opera et dies* 94ff.)."⁶⁷ Daniélou and Alain de Boulluc⁶⁸ rightly point out that Clement here is

⁶⁵ Cf. Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁶ Barnaba, *Epistula* 6.5-10.

⁶⁷ *Strom.* 5.10.64.4: διὰ τοῦτο "φωτισμός" ἡ μαθητεία κέκληται ἢ τὰ κεκρυμμένα

engaged in a rereading of Homer's poetry that downplays the story of the hideous effect of the open lid (πῶμα) of Pandora's Box and focuses on the story of Zeus' distribution, supposedly without a great concern for humanity, of good and evil from two jars he kept on the floor of his palace. The reference to Pandora's Box is well suited here. One must keep in mind though that the general context of Clement's discourse is the necessity to receive the true and sacred knowledge. Therefore, if the sacred knowledge is received from the wrong "jar," then it is detrimental to the recipient. The implication, then, is that Zeus opens only the jar of evil, which at the same time is Pandora's Box. Zeus' act is "the very reverse" of what the true teacher does, i.e., distributes blessing and true knowledge. The figure of teacher here is unmistakably that of Christ, who overshadows Zeus in the ability to keep the jar of evils closed and the jar of blessings open. This brings us to the central theme Clement gradually develops throughout his writings, namely, the necessity to have a teacher who as the New Song attracts readers and followers to the true worship of true God and as the Pedagogue and skilled Teacher explains and instructs humanity in matters which human race constantly seeks but fails to attain because of the lack of proper education.

φανερῶσασα, ἀποκαλύψαντος μόνου τοῦ διδάσκαλου τὸ πῶμα τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἔμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Δία φασὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πίθον ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἀνοῖξαι δὲ τὸν τῶν φαύλων.

⁶⁸ *Clément d'Alexandrie. Les Stromates V.* Introduction, notes, index, commentary, and bibliography by Alain Le Boulluec. Trans. by Pierre Voulet. Vol. 2. Sources Chrétiennes 279 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1981), p. 230.

4. The *Didaskalos*

If the christological conceptions of the *logos* and the New Song belong to the higher sphere of reasoning, hermeneutics, philosophical nuance, and theological dogma, the conception of the *didaskalos* stands at their origin while at the same time it belongs to one of those categories, which David Dawson and Harold Bloom (in different contexts but directly relating to our discussion) would describe as notions commanding social performance and violent power.⁶⁹ Conceptions of *paideia* and *didaskalos* and the social, cultural, religious, economic, and political totality that go with them are not simply descriptive and interpretative categories of reality and quests for identity. They constitute the totality that calls for a change and concrete action that requires of any recipient and participant in it a lifetime of commitment as well as a specific daily manner of conduct. It also entails a constant though always self-evolving, self-generating, and self-improving social structure of school/synagogue/church, which is inseparable from the material culture of weekly gatherings and religious celebrations. It also intensely engages the use of persuasive language supplied with the employment of pens and books, compositions, editions, rehearsals, exegesis, and pronouncements of texts both in written and oral forms, all those things that once encroached into human civilization were never able to leave it, and those who possessed them more skillfully won battles of far more reaching significance than those of sharp blades. Undoubtedly, education in the period of the present research is the classical *paideia*, which is synonymous to our contemporary

⁶⁹ Cf. David Dawson, *Literary Theory* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp. 39-54. Dawson refers here to Harold Bloom's " 'Before Moses Was I Am': The New and Belated Testaments," in *The Bible: Modern Critical Views* (New Haven, Conn.: Chelsea House, 1987), pp. 291-304; *ibid.*, *The Anxiety of Influence. A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

notions of culture and social status but also certainly goes way beyond them. It is also the intellectual and physical vehicle that by its constant dynamic evolution stands at the very bottom of the social structure, organization, and identity. Harry Gamble and William Harris have shown, that “granting regional and temporal variations, throughout the entire period of classical Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman imperial civilization, the extent of literacy was about 10 percent and never exceeded 15 to 20 percent of the population as a whole.”⁷⁰ There are always exceptions to the rule. One exception directly relates to our present inquiry, namely, the higher rank of the literate population in the reformed post-Ezrian Palestine, higher than in the average Greco-Roman region due to the social structure and identity preserving/shaping nature of the synagogal institution that provided means for schooling its young and adult members.⁷¹ Another exception is the replication of the literary infrastructure throughout the Jewish Diaspora outside Palestine. Therefore, we must pay special attention to second-century Egypt and more specifically Alexandria as it remained the Greco-Roman educational and cultural capital of the Mediterranean basin, but also perhaps the largest and wealthiest Jewish Diaspora of the period.⁷²

⁷⁰ Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, p. 4; William Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 15-34.

⁷¹ Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, p. 7 and nn. 21, 22, 23; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. Trans. by John Bowden. Vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1974), pp. 78-73; Shemuel Safrai, “Education and the Study of Torah,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*. Compendia Rerum Iudaicorum ad Novum Testamentum, sec. 1. Ed. by S. Safrai and M. Stern. Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 945-70; cf. Josephus *Contra Apion* 2.204; *Ant.* 4.211; T. Levi 13.2; Philo *Ad Gaium* 115.

⁷² See Appendix 1, *Christian Education in Second Century Alexandria*.

5. Clement's *Didaskalos* Christology

Clement's statement, where he speaks of Christ "who alone is both God and man" (*Protrepticus* 1.7.1) and to which many scholars frequently have drawn their attention, clearly asserts that Christ's divine identity comes from his being God's *logos* and his human identity is fully realized in the vocation of a teacher, a vocation that cost him his life but which also brought him his life back. As the heavenly *logos* and human teacher, Christ alone was apt to teach humanity how to live well (εὖ εἶναι) here on earth in the terrestrial church, as well as eternally, in Fascher's words, in the Heavenly City/School of God.

As I noted in both of the previous chapters, the attention scholars dedicated to the issue of Clement's *logos* by far surpasses that drawn to the study of Clement's conception of the *didaskalos*. Nevertheless, a few good monographs have appeared on this question, even though their primary concern was not necessarily to see the connection between Clement's metaphysics and christology but rather, to the degree evidence allows it, to reconstruct the formation, milieu, and growth of the early church in Alexandria. As Colin Roberts pointed out, we simply do not have much concrete data for the early church in Alexandria before the installment of the bishop Demetrius in and around the year 189. All we do have is a broad recognition of the significant impact of classical *paideia* and Jewish education on the formation of early Christian communities and its

generous and ample Alexandrian illustration in Clement's and Origen's theological interpretations rather than in archeological or historiographical evidence.⁷³

Again, in the previous chapter on the *logos* I have already made reference to the article by Fascher and to a lesser degree to that by Kovacs who both made a very explicit connection between the conception of the *didaskalos* and the identity of Christ. I will return to their works once again when I focus on the discussion of particular christological passages. It should suffice here to recall that Fascher believed that Clement's logology served his purpose of emphasizing the uniqueness and divine authority of Christ. To elaborate this argument, I have to look more closely at several other studies on Clement's conception of the *didaskalos*, in particular those written by Adolf Knauber, Friedrich Normann, Alexandros Koffas, and Ulrich Neymeyer. After this, I will enter the discussion of Clement's *didaskalos* christology, concentrating my attention on the key christological passages.

⁷³ On the conception of Clement's *didaskalos*, see Erich, Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79.5 (1954): 326-342; idem, "Der Logos-Christus als göttlicher Lehrer bei Clemens von Alexandrien," In *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 77 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 193-207; Adolf Knauber, "Katechetenschule oder Schulkatechumenat? Um die rechte Deutung des "Unternehmens" der ersten grossen Alexandriener," *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 60 (1951): 243-66; idem, "Ein frühchristliches Handbuch katechumenaler Glaubensinitiation: der Paidogogos des Clemens von Alexandrien," *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 23 (1972): 311-34; idem, "Der "Didaskalos" des Clemens von Alexandrien," *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985): 175-85; Friedrich Normann, *Christos Didaskalos: die Vorstellung von Christus als Lehrer in der christlichen Literatur des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorf, 1966), pp. 153-177; Alexandros K. Koffas, *Die Sophia-Lehre bei Klemens von Alexandrien – eine pädagogisch-anthropologische Untersuchung* (Frankfurt am Main; Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 1982); Judith L. Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9.1 (2001): 3-25; Georg Kretschmar, *Jesus Christus in der Theologie des Klemens von Alexandrien*. (Doctoral Dissertation. Heidelberg, 1950); Michael Mees, "Die frühe Christengemeinde von Alexandrien und die Theologie des Klemens von Alexandrien," *Latomus. Revue d'études latines* 50 (1984): 114-26; Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert: ihre Lehrtätigkeit, ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Geschichte* (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1989), pp. 45-95; Birger Pearson, "Earliest Christianity in Egypt: Some Observations," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*. Ed. by Birger A. Pearson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), pp. 132-60.

I spoke earlier about Knauber's rebuttal of Zahn's and Casey's claim that Clement believed in the two divine *logoi*.⁷⁴ In addition to this, he also wrote several illuminating articles that deal with the early church in Alexandria and Clement's catechetical program. Knauber demonstrated that in the second-century Alexandria not only was there a clear understanding of a need for a school for catechumens but also that there was already intact a multilateral program, rules, and rituals that accompanied the program. By the time of Clement's presence in Alexandria and with his work there as a teacher, this program reached a striking level of complexity and sophistication. Clement's christological figures of Persuader (προπρεπτικός), Pedagogue (πεδαγωγός), and Teacher (διδάσκαλος) were the three facets of Christ's mission, by means of which, according to Clement, God wished to bring humanity to salvation. These three figures or roles of Christ also lay at the foundation of his catechetical program that distinguished the elementary, ethical, and advanced levels of Christian initiation.⁷⁵

In his article on the *Paedagogus*, Knauber was one of the first scholars to propose that most certainly it was nothing less than a handbook for the newly baptized members of his Alexandrian church. It reflected not so much sacramental and liturgical processions as the ethical and theological meanings neophytes needed to know for further initiation into the sacramental community. The problem with the insufficient interest in this book, Knauber underlined, was in the older claim, which to a certain extent is justified, that much of this book consisted of Clement's adaptation (and in some

⁷⁴ See this discussion above in Ch. 2, pp. 113-117.

⁷⁵ Knauber, "Katechetenschule oder Schulkatechumenat? Um die rechte Deutung des 'Unternehmens' der ersten grossen Alexandriener," 266.

instances, plagiarism) of Musonius' *Questiones*.⁷⁶ Knauber reasserted, however, the shortsightedness of such reception and demonstrated that it has much to offer to the study of the history, philosophy, theology, and customs of second century Alexandria.

In the role of a Pedagogue, Knauber maintained, Clement brought together three concepts that gave the role both a broad appeal and intensified meaning to the society, in which he lived, namely, the ethical-ascetic roots for societal norms of behavior (πολιτεία);⁷⁷ the personal, as opposed to the institutional or dogmatic, eagerness to communicate with God (πίστις);⁷⁸ and, finally, firm readiness to carry on the Gospel's missionary call, on the one hand, and preparedness to enter into the more advanced study about, and mystery of, God, on the other hand (κατήχησις).⁷⁹ Based on the contours of Clement's pedagogical/catechetical program, Knauber attempted to establish the precepts of Clement's catechesis and intended addressees of the *Paedagogus*, which he concluded to be the Christians in the full sense of the word, i.e., baptized members of the church with various ethnic backgrounds. In Clement's words, those who "have been reared with a good formation of character" are ready to meet the "bridegroom[,] the only teacher,

⁷⁶ Paul Wendland, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Religion* (Berlin: Reimer, 1895), pp. 68-73. Although many standard Stoic maximi do come from Musonius, the category of "plagiarism," as Marrou showed, is a misleading term and that nonetheless the major part of the *Paedagogus* is Clement's original composition, cf. Marrou's introduction to *Le Pédagogue*. Trans. by Marguerite Harl. Sources Chrétiennes 70 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960), pp. 43-52.

⁷⁷ Knauber, "Ein frühchristliches Handbuch katechumenaler Glaubensinitiation: der Paidogogos des Clemens von Alexandrien," pp. 314-5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-8.

good will of a good father, true wisdom, and sanctuary of knowledge.”⁸⁰ The evidence Knauber gathered on this subject allowed him to take another step further and compare Clement’s catechetical program of *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3⁸¹ with that of Origen in his *Contra Celsum* 3.59⁸² and other passages, which on the whole reflected a common pedagogical approach in early Christian communities.⁸³ The similarity between the two Alexandrians and the close reading of Clement’s *Paedagogus* gave Knauber grounds to believe that there existed a complex “Katechumenenführung,” which, however, never depended on the technical receipt of the sacraments or enactment of rituals but rather on a pastoral-pedagogical as well as personal and ascetic education.

In his other article on Clement’s conception of the *didaskalos*, Knauber proceeded with similar arguments. His three opening theses were outlined on the first page. He states: a) the *didaskalos* should not be mistaken for a literary title of a book which

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 318-322. Cf. *Paed.* 3.12.97.3-98.1.

⁸¹ *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3: 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. – σπεύδων δὲ ἄρα τελειῶσαι σωτηρίῳ ἡμᾶς βαθμῶ, καταλλήλῳ εἰς παιδευσιν ἐνεργῆ τῇ καλῇ συγχρηται οἰκονομία ὁ πάντα φιλόανθρωπος λόγος, προτρέπων ἀνωθεν, ἔπειτα παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων.

⁸² *Contra Celsum* 3.59: “We [...] at first invite all men to be healed, and exhort those who are sinners to come to the consideration of the doctrines, which teach men not to sin, and those who are devoid of understanding to those that beget wisdom, and those who are children to rise in their thoughts to manhood, and those who are simply unfortunate to good fortune, or – which is the more appropriate term to use – to blessedness. And when those who have been turned towards virtue have made progress, and have shown that they have been purified by the word, and have led as far as they can a better life, then and not before do we invite them to participation in our mysteries. ‘For we speak wisdom among them that are perfect’ (1 Cor 2:6)” – ἐπὶ τὸ θεραπευθῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προτρέπομεν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἡκεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς διδάσκοντας λόγους μὴ ἁμαρτάνει καὶ τοὺς ἀσυνέτους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμποιοῦντας σύνεσιν καὶ τοὺς νηπίους εἰς τὸ ἀναβαίνειν φρονήματι ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς ἀπλῶς κακοδαίμονας ἐπὶ δαιμονίαν ἢ, ὅπερ κυριώτερόν ἐστι εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ μακαριότητα. ἐπὶ δ’ οἱ προκόπτοντες τῶν προτραπέντων παραστήσωσι τὸ κεκαθάρθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅση δύναμις βέλτιον βεβιωκέναι, τὸ τηνικάδε καλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς παρ’ ἡμῖν τελετάς: “Σοφίαν γὰρ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις.”

⁸³ Knauber, “Ein frühchristliches Handbuch katechumenaler Glaubensinitiation,” p. 324-328.

Clement may have intended to write but either never did or it did not survive; but rather it should be understood as a term that has to do with the divine *logos* and its specific salvific mission; b) the conception of the *didaskalos* also relates to the fundamental presupposition that the comprehension of God's revelation must be preceded with an ethical-ascetic training of soul and that it requires a certain teaching (*διδασκαλία*); and c) the teaching is mediated and encircled only in the communal framework of the church (within a community).⁸⁴ Even though Knauber's article is brief and not exhaustive in illustrations, it gives an insightful blueprint for the further study of the subject, which he believed is most unambiguously and clearly spelled out in Clement's *Paedagogus* rather than *Stromata*, as some might expect. Such passages as *Paedagogus* 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.4-2.1, and 1.1.3.2-3 closely correspond to the concluding paragraphs of the book, namely, 3.12.87.1, 3.12.97.3-98.1, and 3.12.99.1. It is there, according to Knauber, that one finds the key to understanding not only Clement's portrait of Christ as Paedagogue but also a more advanced presentation of Christ as the Teacher. Knauber's remarks will prove very helpful, when I will deal with this question more closely below.

Another German author undertook the task of reconstructing a broader portrait of Christ as Teacher in the earliest Christian literature. In his introduction to *Christos Didaskalos*, Normann complained that even though "es in der theologischen Literatur immer wieder um die Lehre Jesu geht, hat man seine Gestalt als Lehrer bislang anscheinend wenig beachtet."⁸⁵ Therefore he intended his study to give a specific focus

⁸⁴ Idem., "Der "Didaskalos" des Clemens von Alexandrien," *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985): 175.

⁸⁵ Normann, *Christos Didaskalos*, p. vi.

to the notion of Jesus Christ as Rabbi-Teacher as it is represented in the New Testament and the early Christian Apologetic literature of the second century and its relation to the Gnostic conception of salvation that comes from the sacred teaching (γνώσις). Ever since similar studies were produced one generation prior to Normann by von Harnack and Bousset and dominated the academic fields of the *Religions-* and *Theologieggeschichte* in the first half of the twentieth century, the concept of the *didaskalos* along with that of the Savior came to be regarded as the main points of contact with Gnosticism and Hellenism, through which Jesus' identity took upon itself "foreign" connotations that obscured its meaning. It is generally accepted that for Gnostic salvation the γνώσις defined the identity of its transmitter and receiver; for Christians, on the contrary, the theoanthropological identity of the person of Christ defined the γνώσις and it is in the *imitatio Christi* that one finds his or her salvation. Thus, Normann viewed the figure of Teacher not as an "obscurer" but rather as a point of common ground for a debate, through which Christianity established an open dialogue with both Gnosticism and the Greco-Roman philosophy.⁸⁶ Such dialogue and polemics found its most intense expression in the works of Justin, Irenaeus, and above all in Clement of Alexandria. Almost certainly against von Harnack and in agreement with Alois Dempf, Normann contended that Clement kept a clear line of distinction between genuinely Christian theology and Gnostic spirituality and construed his christology to bring together the

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 178-179.

divinity of Savior and monotheism.⁸⁷ In his treatment of Clement's theology, Normann acknowledged his indebtedness to Fascher's article. However, instead of treating this question by exploring Clement's writings sequentially, primarily in *Stromata* but also in *Paedagogus*, as did Fascher, Normann structured his study thematically. He agreed with Fascher that Matthew's 23:8, "but do not be called "Rabbi," for One is your Teacher, [the Christ,] and you are all brethren,"⁸⁸ is "eine Fuge" of Clement's entire written corpus.⁸⁹ In his ensuing exposition of the subject, Normann demonstrated the validity of this thesis. First, he looked at the issue of the relation of the theme of Christ the *didaskalos* to the Greek philosophy.⁹⁰ He also collected and briefly discussed references to the revelations of the *logos* throughout the Hebrew Scriptures.⁹¹ Normann continued this exploration of the revelation of the *logos* in the New Testament, which culminated in the Incarnation of Christ the Teacher,⁹² whose salvific mission⁹³ was continued within the preaching and activity of church.⁹⁴ Even though his specific focus was not christology per se but rather

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 156; cf. Alois Dempf, *Selbstkritik der Philosophie und vergleichene Philosophiegeschichte im Umriss* (Wien: T. Moruss Presse im Herder Verlag, 1947), p. 224. See also Kelber, *Die Logoslehre von Heraclit bis Origenes*, p. 196.

⁸⁸ Mt 23:8: ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε, ῥαββί, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε.

⁸⁹ Cf. Normann, *Christos Didaskalos*, p. 158 with reference to Fascher, "Der Logos-Christus als göttlicher Lehrer bei Clemens von Alexandrien," p. 205; cf. *Protr.* 1.7.3; *Paed.* 1.6.25.2; 3.12.98.1; *Strom.* 1.20.97.4; 5.1.1.3; 5.14.98.1.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 156-160.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 160-163.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 163-168.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 168-172.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 172-177.

a broader anti-Gnostic theological meaning Clement invested into this conception, Normann succeeded in bringing Fascher's ideas into a larger scholarly debate, something that as I noted earlier was lacking in Fascher's article, and also to see the function of the conception of the *didaskalos* in Clement's larger theological understanding of the Greek philosophy, Jewish Law, the Incarnation of the *logos*, and the salvific work of the *logos* in the church. I will return to these questions later and avail of some of the Norman's insights while discussing them in further detail.

A different but no less interesting approach is offered by Koffas in his study of the wisdom teaching (*Sophia-Lehre*) of Clement. His thesis is the following: the salvific sacred knowledge (γνώσις) is not something entirely hidden and unknown, accessible only to the Gnostic people chosen by the quality of their inborn nature, but rather it is God's wisdom that works through different ways (πολύτροπον ὄν τὴν σοφίαν)⁹⁵ and is the core and divinely inspired motivating power of the human search and knowledge of God.⁹⁶ Foffas emphasizes that, according to Clement, the foundation of truth and God's power directly teaches humanity about the truth:⁹⁷

“Sophia” is, on the divine side, an intrinsic quality of divine identity, from which the human wisdom derives as a reflective “wisdom.” It is multifaceted, which means that by and large it covers the worldly skillfulness as embodiment of

⁹⁵ *Strom.* 1.5.29.5. Cf. Koffas, *Die Sophia-Lehre bei Klemens von Alexandrien – eine pädagogisch-anthropologische Untersuchung*, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁶ *Strom.* 2.10.47.4; 2.17.76.1; 4.7.54.3; 6.7.54.1; 6.7.61.3; 6.16.133.5; 7.3.17.2; *Ecl. Proph.* 32.3: knowledge (gnosis) belongs to the divine wisdom. – ἡ τῷ ὄντι θεία σοφία εἴη ἅν. *Strom.* 6.17.155.3: knowledge is called the wisdom. – γνώσις τε καὶ σοφία... ὀνομάζεται.

⁹⁷ *Strom.* 2.9.45.2.

general knowledge. On the created side of “Sophia” as human gnosis and science, it must be pointed out already here that Sophia presents itself as the unity of *gnosis* and *pistis* – a topic that will be dealt with by Clement in detail with regards to “Paedagogia.” Certainly, wisdom is the product of human intellect; however, according to Clement each spiritual activity is given by God⁹⁸ and fulfilled only in and by God.⁹⁹

As such, Clement associated and equaled God’s wisdom with God’s *logos*,¹⁰⁰ while enriching the latter term with the precise pedagogical connotations that wisdom had in the Jewish tradition. “Therefore, only Christ himself we call wisdom.”¹⁰¹ In him, according to Clement, wisdom is not only some attribute or personalization but also a person, Jesus the Christ.¹⁰² From that moment on, Koffas made a case that it is the divine Wisdom equaled and associated with the *logos* and incarnate in Christ that worked through him as a “good Pedagogue.”¹⁰³ Such an approach is probably justified, since Clement avails himself of all possible notions of wisdom in his philosophical and educational milieu, as well as the conception of *sophia* as portrayed in the Jewish tradition, especially in the books of Proverbs and certain Psalms. The theme of wisdom is also found in Philo’s reinvented version of it in terms of the *logos* and most likely it was at the heart of Jewish Alexandrian epistemology, pedagogy, and anthropology, which

⁹⁸ *Strom.* 6.7.54.1; 1.4.25.4.

⁹⁹ Cf. Koffas, *Die Sophia-Lehre bei Klemens von Alexandrien*, p. 23, (emphases are mine).

¹⁰⁰ *Paed.* 1.2.6.2.

¹⁰¹ *Strom.* 6.7.61.1: εἰ τοίνυν αὐτόν τε τὸν Χριστὸν σοφίαν φαμὲν.

¹⁰² *Strom.* 4.25.156.1; 6.7.58.1.

¹⁰³ *Paed.* 1.2.6.2: “a good Pedagogue, Wisdom, the *logos* of the Father.” – ὁ ἀγαθὸς Παιδαγωγός, ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς.

perfectly dovetailed into Clement's theoanthropological and pedagogical program.

However, to say that it is only God's wisdom at work in Christ's pedagogy or that it is its organizing principle is probably a slightly misconstrued viewpoint, which I do not think Koffas wanted to present. Koffas reminded us that the conception of wisdom and its divine and human manifestations should constantly be kept in mind, if one wants to see an ample portrait of Christ the Pedagogue and Teacher.

Neymeyr, the next author I will briefly review here, is also a significant recent source for our understanding of the second-century Christian teachers in general and those in Alexandria in particular. The important question he asked himself while writing the monograph concerned the impact of his career as a teacher on the theology of the early Christian authors. To answer it, Neymeyr made a helpful fivefold distinction and categorization of early Christian teachers, namely, prophets, itinerary and professional teachers, ministers and catechists, each of whom carried out his/her specific vocation even though their functions at one point or another certainly overlapped. Without any doubt, Clement, as he projected himself in his writings and realized himself in the pedagogical approach to the history of human salvation, belonged to the category of professional teachers. In agreement with all scholars of early Christian theology, Neymeyr emphasized that just as for most of the early Christian thinkers there is only one Teacher, Jesus Christ. In addition, Neymeyr argued, Clement did not simply provide religious elementary and advanced education to his Christian pupils but rather attempted to develop its higher level of a specifically Christianized system of guidance for a soul (*Seelenführung*) that included the care of the self, study of and eloquence in the Holy

Scriptures, and contemplation of the divine Being. According to Neymeyr, the *Seelenführung* was the leitmotiv of Clement's teaching career, through which he construed a philosophical model compatible to the models of the care for the soul in Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Middle Platonism.

A major factor in Neymeyr's treatment of Clement's *didaskalos* is Clement's personal relation to the local church. Neymeyr, following Friedrich Quatember's argument, was not entirely persuaded as to whether, while offering his pupils the *Seelenführung*, Clement also shared duties of the priest, a position that Hugo Koch influentially argued in his early article of 1921.¹⁰⁴ Neymeyr's case turns on two main points. Firstly, it is the title of μακάριος πρεσβύτερος, one with which Alexander bishop of Jerusalem honored Clement in his letter to the church in Antioch written between 215 and 225, and which Eusebius cited and repeated in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (6.13.3 and 6.14.9), thus introducing it to the later ecclesiastical tradition that portrayed Clement clad in sacerdotal garments. Neymeyr consented to the argument that Alexander's title for Clement was titular and honorary and did not pertain to his sacerdotal functions.¹⁰⁵ Secondly, Clement's allegorizing interest in, and explanation of, Christian rituals and sacraments in light of his guidance of the soul, as opposed to their literal descriptions and performances, made several scholars, including Neymeyr, believe that Clement belonged

¹⁰⁴ Koch Hugo, "War Klemens von Alexandrien Priester?" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 20 (1921): 43-48.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert*, pp. 46-50; Friedrich Quatember, *Die christliche Lebenshaltung des Klemens von Alexandrien nach seinem Pädagogus* (Wien: Herder, 1946), p. 15, n. 13; Annewies van den Hoek, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage." *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997): 71-79; Knauber, "Die patrologische Schätzung des Clemens von Alexandrien," pp. 289-293.

to the cohort of sheep (lay teachers) rather than to that of pastors. I will return to this question again when I discuss Clement's interpretation of the High Priest and the Jerusalem Temple in the next section, but it is important to signal here a factor that plays a critical christological role in Neymeyr's interpretation of Clement's perception of Christ the Teacher. If Clement was not a priest and was not immersed in the tangibility of Christian rituals and sacraments as a priest but was only interested in their meanings and applications to the spiritual realm of the true Gnostic, then as a result of such a "spiritual" approach his portrayal of the *didaskalos* could also be interpreted only in "spiritualized" terms. In that case, his portrayal could approach the contemporaneous Gnostic "spiritualized" depiction of Christ, which Clement while forging his Christian portrait of Christ was well aware of and used, sometimes critically and sometimes sympathetically. Neymeyr did not make such direct conclusions, as he recognized that Clement was part of a concrete community/church and not of an abstract entity, and yet he seemed to lean towards such interpretation of Clement's *Christos didaskalos* to a large extent.¹⁰⁶

Neymeyr's methodological approach to analyzing Clement's conception of the *didaskalos* resembles that of Fascher. He looks at Clement's writings of the *Protrepticus*, *Paedagogus*, *Stromata*, *Quis dives salvetur* in a consecutive order to find and interpret those passages that have direct and indirect relevance to the subject. Neymeyr built his

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer*, p. 86: "Die realgeschichtliche Betrachtungsweise der Schriften des Clemens vermittelt somit einen Eindruck von seiner vielfältigen Lehrtätigkeit, die sich aber auf den Unterricht und die Seelenführung beschränkt zu haben scheint, denn es sind keine Schriften des Clemens überliefert, die nicht mit dem Unterricht und der Seelenführung in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang stehen."

argument in the framework suggested by Knauber that incorporated such categories as a system of regulations for human societal life (πολιτεία), the instruction in the core precepts of Christian dogma (κατήχησις), and the enactment and exercise of the true faith in everyday living (πίστις), which as we saw earlier Knauber derived from the *Paedagogus*. However, Neymeyr's main focus was on the *Stromata*, which provided him with the additional evidence relevant to Clement's portrait of the divine *didaskalos*. It also illuminated Neymeyr's understanding of Clement's hermeneutics, symbolism, the relationship between faith and knowledge that corresponded to the elementary and advanced levels of Christian indoctrination, and the image of a true Gnostic, who was the ultimate model for Clement's notion of the perfect Teacher. As I just mentioned, Neymeyr's interpretation of Clement's *didaskalos* is subordinated to a belief that the role of Christ the *Lehrer* and *Seelenführer* was primarily to lead the human soul to salvation through a philosophical way of life. This path required a solid theoretical ground (faith and knowledge of God), as well as the training of the soul and the enactment of a holy life in praxis that imitated Christ's life. In this effect, Clement's culminating imperative was for each Christian, who became an advanced Gnostic and connoisseur of God, ultimately to become a teacher and continue Christ's evangelical missionary call on earth:

The gnostic dignity is augmented and increased by him, who has undertaken the first place in the teaching of others, and received the dispensation by word and deed of the greatest good on earth, by which he mediates contact and fellowship with the divinity.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ *Strom.* 7.9.52.1: πλείον δέ τι καὶ μάλλον ἐπιτείνει τὸ γνωστικὸν ἀξίωμα ὁ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς τῶν ἑτέρων διδασκαλίας ἀναλαβὼν, τοῦ μεγίστου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ ἀναδεξάμενος, δι' ἧς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον συνάφειάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐμμεσιτεύει.

This didaskalic imperative is extremely revealing as it clearly suggests that, according to Clement, the highest level of Gnostic is not a mere abstract contemplation of God and elevated mediation detached of the material world that channels human escape from the matter.¹⁰⁸ On the contrary, Clement grounds the human reality/identity in this world by necessitating the material dimension of the school and schooling, while at the same time through this pedagogical program he connects humanity and the earthly church/school to the heavenly city of Jerusalem.

Precisely with this argument Kovacs began her recent article on Clement's Gnostic Teacher and divine pedagogy.¹⁰⁹ She agreed with André Méhat that Clement's ideal Christian is not a "solitary dreamer" but rather the active human agent whose life's aspiration is driven not only by the call to board the train to Paradise but also by the zeal to invite new passengers and to share his/her knowledge with them here on earth.¹¹⁰ Kovacs also agreed with Méhat that Clement's perfect Gnostic is an idealization of his teacher Pantaenus as well as of his own life of a teacher. But most importantly, Kovacs emphasized that the true Gnostic's achievement both as the teacher in school/church and the Gnostic, who even on earth enters the heavenly realm of salvation, is enabled through

¹⁰⁸ Such an "escapist" argument that Clement's man or woman is "tiptoeing on the Earth" was recently made by John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 131-207, esp. 183-184 and 212-224.

¹⁰⁹ Kovacs cited *Strom.* 7.9.52.1 and added also 2-3 for a broader context of Gnostics missionary call on earth and the ultimate vocation in heaven. Cf. Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria," pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5. Cf. André Méhat, *Études sur les "Stromates" de Clément d'Alexandrie*. *Patristica Sorbonensia 7* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966), pp. 60-61. See also André Guillaumont, "Le Gnostique chez Clément d'Alexandrie et chez Évagre le Pontique," in *AAEΞANΔPINA: Hellenisme, Judaïsme et christianisme à Alexandrie. Mélanges offerts à Claude Mondésert* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), p. 199.

his or her connection to the *logos*, whose image he or she bears from the creation of Adam and Eve.

Just as Knauber, van den Hoek, Guillaumont, Neymeyr, and Behr, Kovacs is more interested in the anthropological implications of Clement's christology than in the christology per se. As a result, her image of the Gnostic Teacher is grounded first and foremost in the Christian Gnostic, who undergoes the Christian formation of character and spirit through a complex of "general" and "individual" pedagogical training and studies of Scriptures within the church's domain. Such training is part of God's divine plan for humanity (οἰκονομία). Her focus on the figure of Christ the *didaskalos* is as strong as it needs to be to inform her understanding of Clement's program for his pupils. Nonetheless, Kovacs grasped the christological significance of the divine *didaskalos* and distinguished the Christian teacher's dependence on the *logos* on both "general" and "individual" levels, a similar distinction we saw Osborn make, when he spoke about the relation of the *logos* to humanity at large and each individual human being in particular. This was done to emphasize the metaphysical, "general," dimension of God's οἰκονομία that involves the totality of creation.¹¹¹ But in the "individual" dimension, the *logos*, who is the divine Teacher, forms each and every soul in his psychagogy (Neymeyr's *Seelenführung*), which consisted of general secular education (ἡ ἐνκύκλος παιδεία) that prepared one for the advanced religious study of Scriptures and divine mysteries of God.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher," p. 7. Cf. *Strom.* 7.2.5.3-6.1.

¹¹² Cf. *Protr.* 11.112.1.

The several perspectives reviewed above are perhaps different in their approaches but similar in the general purpose to discern and describe the educational program Clement provided for his Christian and non-Christian audience. As noted previously, perhaps with the exception of Fascher's approach, their main underlying interest was to reconstruct the second century church in Alexandria. Since the historiographical data on it is scarce, Clement's and later Origen's theological treatises became the main sources used to deduce the contours and essence of the Alexandrian church community, structure, and activity. Again, only Fascher directly (and other scholars only indirectly) recognized the christological significance of Clement's representation of Christ as Pedagogue and Teacher. I suggest that such representation is revealed in the earthly mission of the *logos*, i.e., in a concretely structured community school/church, as well as in the basic secular and advanced Christian religious education.

The approach I intend to employ here is slightly different from the ones we have just seen. Instead of underplaying Clement's christology for the sake of highlighting the quest for the early Christian pedagogy and the role of the teacher's/rabbi's conception in its context, I will look at Clement's portrait of Christ on its own terms. Without a doubt, Clement's christology will often partly cover Clement's other themes of theology, such as the human imitation of Christ and the human achievement of the Christian initiation's most advanced level idealized in the figure of a perfect Gnostic. It will also intersect with other theological discourses, because as the introduction to his *Paedagogues* indicates Clement deliberately intended such overlapping. Therefore, by no means am I

arguing that his christology is a mere speculation on who Christ could or should have been with no relevance to the concrete *Sitz im Leben* of the church in Alexandria.

However, I will leave the task of establishing the importance of Clement's *Christos didaskalos* for pedagogical, anthropological, and soteriological functions to the experts in those fields. In the present study, however, it is vital to see how Clement connected his *logos* christology to *didaskalos* christology. The image of Christ the Teacher still remains the central conception for Clement. It connects the image of the New Song and the High Priest. Thus, this is what remains to be demonstrated below.

Knauber's suggestion to look, foremost of all, at Clement's pedagogical outline of the *Paedagogus* is laconic. In the passages I refer to below, Clement indeed discussed in ample detail what he meant in the *Protrepticus* when in an epitomized fashion he said that "faith shall lead you, experience shall teach you, and the Scripture shall train you."¹¹³ The passages below constitute a theoretical foundation, upon which Clement further built, in a more refined manner, his overarching argument apropos the one true Gnostic as the perfect Teacher and High Priest in his *Stromata*. It will also cast new light on Clement's logology and show us a more complete portrait Christ presented by Clement.

Clement commenced his pedagogical treatise with a brief psychological analysis of human behavior and immediately conferred his prescription to develop and ennoble it by introducing the human subject to the *logos*:

...there are these three things in the case of the human, habits, actions, and passions... when, then, the heavenly guide, the *logos*, was inviting men to salvation... he

¹¹³ *Protr.* 9.88.1: ἡ πίστις εἰσάξει, ἡ πείρα διδάξει, ἡ γραφὴ παιδαγωγήσει.

promised the cure of the passions within us. Let us then designate this *logos* appropriately by the one name, Pedagogue.¹¹⁴

This introduction confirms Robert Wilken's characterization of the teachers of Alexandria, who "were not interested solely in conveying knowledge or transmitting intellectual skills. They were interested in moral and spiritual formation."¹¹⁵ In the introductory chapter of the *Paedagogue*, Clement wrote that the human being exercises his/her habits according to his/her beliefs. However, even though human actions are derivative of habits, they respond to reasonable considerations and persuasion. Subjection to persuasion is the aperture to external influence that either harms or heals human behavior and passions. It is on the latter that Clement aimed to impinge. In order to correct human passions, he reintroduced his conception of the *logos* into psychological scenery and contended that the *logos* was the true foundation of the true human belief, which, in turn, was nourished by the care of the *logos* after human actions and, at last, the *logos* gave the human a good reason to transform and heal his or her passions.

The term "passion" deserves an additional comment as it plays an important role in Clement's anthropology and christology.¹¹⁶ Špidlik noted that in classical Greek the

¹¹⁴ *Paed.* 1.1.1.1, 3, 4: Τριῶν γέ τοι τούτων περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντων, ἡθῶν, πράξεων, παθῶν... ὁ γοῦν οὐράνιος ἡγεμών, ὁ λόγος, ὀπηνίκα μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρεκάλει... κεκλήσθω δ' ἡμῖν ἐνὶ προσφῶς οὗτος ὄνοματι παιδαγωγός.

¹¹⁵ See Robert Wilken, "Alexandria: A School for Training Virtue," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*. Ed. by P. Henry (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp. 15-18.

¹¹⁶ A general early Christian adaptation of the philosophical term πάθος is given by Tomáš Špidlik, who made a special stress on its influence on the later monastic spirituality of the Christian East. See Tomáš Špidlik, *The Spirituality of the Christian East. A Systematic Handbook*. Trans. by Antony Gythiel (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1986), pp. 267-281; cf. also Andrew Louth, "Apathetic Love in Clement of Alexandria," *Studia Patristica* 18 (Louvain: Peeters, 1989): 413-418.

word πάθος (derivative of the verb παθεῖν) had three meanings: a) an accident or an illness; b) a feeling, an inner good or bad disposition, an appetite or a passion; and c) a change or a transformation. Plato linked passions to his tripartite division of the soul: the rational power (λογιστικόν), the irascible power (θυμικόν), and the reproductive power (ἐπιθυμικόν), of which the latter two constituted the passionate part of the soul. Later, for Stoics the moral life was epitomized by the victory of the reason over the passions. Clement, accordingly, on the whole followed Stoic terminology but nuanced it with his Christian approach. He, like the Stoics, distinguished two tendencies of desires (passions): a natural one and the one that goes beyond or against natural needs. Such things as a desire for food (hunger) or drink (thirst) are natural. However, when one indulges in too much food or drink exceeding the measure of reason (gluttony), then such desire is “unbridled and disobedient to the *logos*.”¹¹⁷ Christ was called passionless (ἀπαθής)¹¹⁸ not because he had no emotions or did not feel pain, but because Christ’s feelings and desires are of the moral ideal perfectly suited to his natural needs.¹¹⁹ That is the kind of self-control (ἐγκράτεια) the Pedagogue taught.

¹¹⁷ *Strom.* 2.13.59.6.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Paed.* 1.2.4.1: ἔοικεν δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, ὃ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, τῷ πατρὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, ὁπέρ ἐστιν υἱός, ἀναμάρτητος, ἀνεπίληπτος καὶ ἀπαθής τὴν ψυχὴν, θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι ἄχραντος, πατρικῷ θελήματι διάκονος, λόγος θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι θεός, and *Strom.* 5.14.94.5: εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος θεῖος καὶ βασιλικός, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Theodor Rütger, “Die Leiblichkeit Christi nach Clemens von Alexandrien,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 108 (1926): 231-254, esp. 247. Rütger discussed some Docetic expressions in Clement’s writings such as *Protr.* 10.110; *Paed.* 1.2.4.1-2; *Strom.* 2.20.118.7-119.1; 3.7.57.1ff., but those expressions are also paralleled by Clement’s anti-docetic rhetoric as indicated in such passages as in *Paed.* 1.9.85.1-3; 2.12.1185; *Strom.* 2.20.103.1; 3.13.91.1; 3.17.102.1ff.; 7.2.8.6; 7.17.108.1-2; *Quis dives salvetur* 37.4 and others.

Then again, according to Clement, the Pedagogue, the heavenly guide (οὐράνιος ἡγεμών), “is practical not theoretical.” The role of Christ the Pedagogue is confined to the sphere of rearing the human character. “His aim is, thus, to improve the soul, not to teach it, and to train it up to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life.”¹²⁰

Nonetheless, it does not mean that Christ and Christian teachers like Clement were anti-intellectuals. On the contrary, intellectual formation, according to Clement’s pedagogical program, was taken over by Christ the Teacher, a shift to which I will return shortly.

Even though in his *Paedagogus*, Clement’s pedagogical corrective improvement of the human self was aimed primarily at the rearing and civilizing of his audience’s characters and conducts, Clement also applied it to the human dimension of Christ’s theo-anthropological unity. I referred to it previously when I discussed Grillmeier’s rendering of Clement’s *logos* christology in the context of the dilemma of what happened to the soul and body of the historical person, Jesus Christ, when the *logos* was incarnate in human flesh.¹²¹ In the second chapter of *Stromata*’s Seventh Book, Clement gave the answer to this question by outlining the divine identity of Christ represented in logological terms and the human identity represented by pedagogical terms of the true Teacher. God’s Son, as we saw in the previous chapter on the *logos*, has the nature “nearest to Him who alone is the Almighty One;” it is “the most perfect, most holy, most potent, most princely, most kingly, and most beneficent.”¹²² But at the same time,

¹²⁰ *Paed.* 1.1.1.4: προακτικός, οὐ μεθοδικός ὢν ὁ παιδαγωγός, ἢ καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ βελτιῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐστίν, οὐ διδάξαι, σάφρονός τε, οὐκ ἐπιστημονικοῦ καθηγήσασθαι βίου.

¹²¹ See above, Ch. 2, p. 125.

¹²² Cf. *Strom.* 7.2.5.1-6.

precisely because of his noble identity this same *logos* never ceased to care for humanity. In Clement's words, the *logos* "having assumed flesh, which by nature is susceptible of suffering, trained (ἐπαίδευσεν) it [his soul] to the condition of impassibility."¹²³ Thus, Clement informed his pupils and readers that the rearing of character the *logos* offered to the humanity was first and foremost tested on, and approved by, Christ, who by assuming human flesh healed human nature to its original state and thereby became the unsullied example of humanity and the Savior of all people, both to those who believe in him and those who are yet to be introduced to the true faith.¹²⁴ What is even more significant, Christ did not merely restore human nature, or to be more precise, God's likeness of the human being. God's image in the human remained intact, according to Clement, even after the Fall. Christ also motivated the human being's likeness of God to fulfill its teleological destiny in no other realization save immortality as he himself purposely did.

In her *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy*, Denis Buell drew attention to an extremely interesting aspect of Clement's Pedagogue. She stressed the fact that he did not simply instruct and affect "us," children, the recipients of the instruction of the *logos*,¹²⁵ but he also represented Christ himself as the "paradigmatic child."¹²⁶ While at the beginning of his *Paedagogus*, Clement brought

¹²³ *Strom.* 7.2.7.5-6: ὅς γε καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐμπαθῆ φύσει γενομένην ἀναλαβὼν εἰς ἕξις ἀπαθείας ἐπαίδευσεν.

¹²⁴ *Strom.* 7.2.7.6ff.

¹²⁵ *Paed.* 1.5.12.1; 1.7.53.1.

¹²⁶ Buell, *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 110.

together a cluster of Scriptural references to the theme of a “child” to explicate his understanding of divine pedagogy as the guidance of a child, in 1.5.23.1-2 he ventured an exegesis of Abraham’s son Isaac and made him a figure of Christ through an appeal to Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac and Jesus’ sacrifice on the Cross.¹²⁷ Buell rightly pointed out that Clement used this typological comparison to serve his appellation of Christians as children because “the Lord himself is called a child.”¹²⁸ “Not only is Christ positioned as an authority figure to be obeyed (as the *Paidagōgos*), but also he offers a model for imitation as God’s perfect and only son.”¹²⁹

Clement made it very clear that experience, and not an intellectual quest, comes first in a Christian way of life. The experience, the transformation of human habits, actions, and passions, is the prerequisite for the human advancement to the study of Scriptures and Christian doctrine. It is the moral purification and formation as well as the basic introduction to the letters and to the essential notions of Christian faith. In *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.1, Clement explicitly equated the sick of the soul with those whose passions have not been straightened up, i.e., those who have not yet undergone the moral formation. “Health and knowledge are not equal”¹³⁰ and, thus, those who are sick need a Doctor – Clement spoke earlier of Christ the New Song who is the Healer curing human

¹²⁷ Cf. *Paed.* 1.5.23.1-2. Gen 22:6; Lev 2:11; Jn 19:17.

¹²⁸ *Paed.* 1.5.24.1: τὸν κύριον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει παιδίον.

¹²⁹ Buell, *Making Christians*, p. 111.

¹³⁰ *Paed.* 1.1.3.1: ἴσον δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγίεια καὶ γνῶσις. See also further, 1.1.3.2-3.

souls¹³¹ – and those who were deprived of proper education need a Teacher. But in order to approach the Teacher, the pupil had to have his/her character morally reared to be capable and receptive of the advanced classes. This is, incidentally, the original context of Clement’s renowned gradual and complex pedagogical program of *Protrepticus* 9.88.1 and *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3, to which I referred earlier. Christ’s eager desire to perfect humanity is implemented through persuasion, training (rearing), and teaching.

Clement encircled such moral rearing by two pedagogical methods: love and discipline. Divine love is paralleled by the fatherly discipline that served the divine pedagogy with the reproof (ἐλεγχος), which Clement called the surgery of the soul’s passions.¹³² The Lord used it in the times of Israel’s unfaithfulness and applied his corrective punishments even at present to those who are hard of heart as one of the modes of Lord’s “therapy” to cure different types of human transgressions.¹³³ However, according to Clement, the *logos* instructed pupils according to everyone’s capacity through discipline, hope for a better life, and through the holy mysteries of the Incarnation, resurrection, and Eucharistic presence.¹³⁴ God’s mysteries are best understood in God’s love towards the cosmos and humanity. Love is the Lord’s nature and indeed it is the original and only reason why, all in all, God created cosmos and

¹³¹ *Protr.* 1.5.4-6.3; *Protr.* 6.68.4.5; *Paed.* 1.2.6.1.1-1.2.6.3.1; *Quis dives salvetur* 29.3.

¹³² *Paed.* 1.8.64.4; cf. Plato *Leges* 478d and Philo *Questiones in Genesim* 1.89.

¹³³ Cf. *Strom.* 7.2.6.1.

¹³⁴ *Strom.* 7.2.6.1. Cf. Kovacs, “Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher,” 7.

humanity and why God continued to care after God's works.¹³⁵ God maintained the connection with the Son and humanity by eternally expressing love towards the Son and continuously loving humankind, as Clement fitly expressed it in his discussion of divine philanthropy in *Paedagogus* 1.3.1-9 by referring to John's 16:27 and 17:23.¹³⁶ God's love also is conveyed, according to Clement, in the tenderness exhibited by God's feminine side. As Buell indicated, Clement did not speak of the divinity becoming feminine but rather appropriated characteristics of maternity to depict God's actions towards, and the relationship between, the divine and human.¹³⁷

For God's essence is love, and it became visible to us because of love. The ineffable part of God is father, while the part which has sympathy toward us is mother. Since he loved, the father became feminine, a great sign of this being that He bore from himself.¹³⁸

The idea of God's motherhood is also emphasized in Clement's rendering of the *logos* not only to be the essence of the "solid" Eucharistic meal (bread and wine) but also equally as being intrinsically present in the pre-Eucharistic, i.e., pedagogical, propaedeutics, which Clement called "milk." He employed the two images of the solid food (Eucharistic bread and wine) and pedagogical instruction (milk) from Pauline verse

¹³⁵ *Paed.* 1.3.7.2-3.

¹³⁶ On God's philanthropy, see *Paed.* 1.3.1-9, esp. 1.3.8.2 with reference to Jn 16:27: "for the Father himself loves you, because you have loved me." – ὁ πατήρ φιλεῖ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ πεφιλήκατε, and Jn 17:23: and you loved them, even as you loved me – ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας. See also *Paed.* 1.8.63.2.6-3.2. For the discussion of God's motivation to create the world and humanity, divine philanthropy, and the intrinsic connection of love between God, Christ, see Walther Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 57 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952), pp. 78-85.

¹³⁷ Buell, *Making Christians*, p. 178ff.

¹³⁸ *Quis dives salvetur* 37.2: ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη καὶ δι' ἀγάπην ἡμῖν ἐθεάθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρητον αὐτοῦ πατὴρ, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς συμπαθεῖς γέγονε μήτηρ. ἀγαπήσας ὁ πατήρ ἐθηλύνθη, καὶ τούτου μέγα σημεῖον ὄν αὐτὸς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

of 1 Cor 3:2-3¹³⁹ and some Gnostic interpretation of it, which Clement attempted to rebuke.¹⁴⁰ To summarize the christological relevance of this passage, one ought to say that the *logos* the Pedagogue constantly exercised his love towards his pupils/children and, thus, Clement described Pedagogue in maternal images as the one who on the Cross during the Passion gave birth to a new people of Christians¹⁴¹ and who continued to nourish “us,” the children of God, with him/it/herself as “food, flesh, nourishment, bread, blood, and milk”¹⁴² being a tender channel of such nourishment, i.e., God’s breasts and milk-providing nipples.¹⁴³

Besides love and discipline, the *logos* also utilized another pedagogical technique, namely, the ancient broadly employed method of instruction through enigmas and parables which, as Rabbi, the *logos* uttered and explained while on his earthly mission in Palestine and, as the Head of the worldwide church, continued to do so within the ecclesial space through his follower-teachers like Clement.¹⁴⁴ Both the Platonic¹⁴⁵ and

¹³⁹ 1 Cor 3:2-3: “I gave you milk to drink, as infants in Christ, not solid food, for you were not capable of it, neither are you able to now.” – γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἔτι ὑὸν δύνασθε. For a detailed discussion of Clement’s understanding of this Pauline verse with four possible interpretations (anti-Gnostic, epistemological, anthropological, and Eucharistic), see Buell, *Making Christians*, pp. 131-148.

¹⁴⁰ Clement dedicated to the question two large chapters of the *Paedagogus*’ First Book (1.5.12.1-6.52.3).

¹⁴¹ *Paed.* 1.6.42.2. Cf. Buell, *Making Christians*, p. 158.

¹⁴² *Paed.* 1.6.47.2: ὁ λόγος, καὶ βρῶμα καὶ σὰρξ καὶ τροφή καὶ ἄρτος καὶ αἷμα καὶ γάλα.

¹⁴³ Cf. *Paed.* 1.6.31.8; 43.2-4 and 46.1.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Strom.* 1.1.13.2, as cited by Kovacs, “Divine Pedagogy,” p. 17; she discussed this question in further detail. See *ibid.*, pp. 17-25.

¹⁴⁵ *Phaedr.* 275d-e and *Epistula* 2 312d and 314a in *Strom.* 1.1.9.1 and 1.1.14.4.

Scriptural traditions¹⁴⁶ provided Clement with the mandate of practicing the concealment of the full truth from the uninitiated. Kovacs observed that such passage as *Stromata* 7.9.53.1-2 even admits, on Clement's side, a "lie" or "misrepresentation" of truth.¹⁴⁷ But at the same time, she pointed out Clement's motive of concealment, which is constituted in a certain "accommodation" that is exercised "to save his neighbor" as part of Clement's idea of the sacred divine plan of salvation (οἰκονομία). As the next example shows, such "accommodation" was closely tied to the Gnostic's obligation not to abuse such liberty under the fear of penalty if misused.¹⁴⁸ Kovacs accurately called our attention to the Clement's gradual progression of οἰκονομία, which unfolded itself in several stages

using the law and philosophy as propaedeutics, then giving first lessons of faith in his incarnation and the literal sense of Scripture. After this, through instruction in the symbolic interpretation of Scriptures, the divine Teacher takes the advanced students through a higher education in theology.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ *Strom.* 5.4-10 and 19-66; 6.15.115.5-6; 124.3125.5; 131.3-132.5; 7.9, esp. 7.9.52; *Eclogue Propheticae* 56; *Exc.* 1.27.4-6.

¹⁴⁷ Kovacs, agreeing with Joseph Trigg, noted that such practice of "lying" was well justified by Plato's permission to the philosopher-king do so for the sake of the state and by Origen for the sake of winning the erring souls. See her "Divine Pedagogy," p. 18 and Trigg, "Divine Deception and the Truthfulness of Scripture," in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*. Ed. C. Kannengieser and W.L. Peterson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), pp. 147-64; cf. *Strom.* 7.9.53.3-5. Morton Smith also addressed this issue, when he discussed the fragment of Clement's letter to certain Theodor with a passage from a secret Gospel of Mark that Smith discovered; cf. *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). For the broader context of the notion of concealment in early Christian literature, see Guy G. Stroumsa, "From Esoterism to Mysticism in Early Christianity," in *Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religion*. Ed. by Hans G. Klippenburg and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Ernest L. Fortin, "Clement of Alexandria and the Esoteric Tradition," *Studia Patristica* 9.3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966): 41-56.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Strom.* 1.1.6.1-3; 1.1.9.2-3.

¹⁴⁹ Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy," p. 23.

Appropriately characterizing Clement's pedagogical program, Kovacs seemed, however, to underemphasize an important christological implication of Clement's concealment tactics.¹⁵⁰ In her interpretation of the passage from *Stromata* 5.9.54.2-4,¹⁵¹ which was Clement's exegesis on Exodus 21.33-34¹⁵² paralleled and reinforced with his interpretation on Isaiah 1:3,¹⁵³ she rightly recognized both the correspondence of the *logos* to the Gnostic Teacher and the Gnostic's responsibility to be very cautious of how he or she used the words of the Scripture. The phrase that calls for a separate consideration in this passage though is the "greatness of the *logos* (the word)" (μεγέθος

¹⁵⁰ Such underemphasized christological accent was compensated in her previous article on Clement's interpretation of the Jerusalem Tabernacle and the role of Christ as the High Priest; cf. Kovacs, "Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis", pp. 414-437.

¹⁵¹ *Strom.* 5.9.54.1-4: "The ox knows his owner and the ass his master's crib: but Israel hath not understood Me (Is 1:3)." In order, then, that none of those, who have fallen in with the knowledge taught by you, may become incapable of holding the truth, and disobey and fall away, it is said that you should be sure in the treatment of the *logos*, and shut up the living spring in the depth from those who approach irrationally, but offer drink to those that thirst for truth. Conceal it, then, from those who are unfit to receive the "depth of knowledge" (Rom 11:33) and so "cover the pit" (Ex 21:33-34). The owner of the pit, then, the Gnostic, shall himself be punished, incurring the blame of the others stumbling, and of being overwhelmed by the greatness of the word, he himself being of small capacity; or transferring the worker into the region of speculation, and on that account dislodging him from his improvised faith." – "ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐ συνήκεν." ἵνα οὖν μὴ τις τούτων, ἐμπροσθὶν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ διδασκομένην γνῶσιν, ἀκρατῆς γενόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, παρακούσῃ τε καὶ παραπέσῃ, ἀσφαλῆς, φησί, περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ λόγου γίνου, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀλόγως προσιόντας ἀπόκλειε τὴν ζῶσαν ἐν βάθει πηγῆν, ποτὸν δὲ ὄρεγε τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας δεδιψηκόσιν. ἐπικρυπτόμενος δ' οὖν πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ οἴους τε ὄντας παραδέξασθαι τὸ "βάθος τῆς γνώσεως" κατακάλυπτε τὸν λάκκον. ὁ κύριος οὖν τοῦ λάκκου, ὁ γνωστικὸς αὐτός, ζημιωθήσεται, φησί, τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχων τοῦ σκανδαλισθέντος ἢτοι καταποθέντος τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ λόγου, μικρολόγου ἐτι ὄντος, ἢ μετακινήσας τὸν ἐργάτην ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ ἀποστήσας διὰ προφάσεως τῆς αὐτοσχεδίου πίστεως.

¹⁵² Ex 21:33: "If anyone leaves the pit uncovered, or digs a pit and does not cover it, and an ox, or donkey falls into it, then the owner of the pit will make good the loss by compensating his owner, and the dead animal will be his." – ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀνοίξῃ λάκκον ἢ λατομήσῃ λάκκον καὶ μὴ καλύψῃ αὐτόν, καὶ ἐμπέσῃ ἐκεῖ μόσχος ἢ ὄνος, ὁ κύριος τοῦ λάκκου ἀποτεῖσει· ἀργύριον δώσει τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ τετελευτηκὸς αὐτῷ ἔσται.

¹⁵³ Is 1:3: "the ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel has not understood Me." – ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ συνήκεν.

τοῦ λόγου), which here can refer to the Scriptures and the Jewish law but also to the ultimate Teacher and the *logos*. Clement's pun on the word *λόγος* can never be overemphasized, especially here when he made the reference to Isaiah 1:3, which explicitly sets the context in the "understanding" of, and the study about, the Lord. As I will demonstrate below, almost always when Clement spoke of the Scriptures he also intended them to symbolize the *logos* incarnate in the body of the text, which is sacred precisely for the intrinsic dwelling of the *logos* in it. Just as here and elsewhere, Clement pointed out that the ultimate stage of the sacred initiation and study is the encounter, contemplation, and interaction with the *logos*, which again was undergone first by the ultimate Teacher, Rabbi Jesus, and then offered to his disciples.

The transfer of the function of Christ/*logos* from the Pedagogue to the Teacher, as Clement hinted upon at the beginning of his *Paedagogus* and amply described at the end of it, underscores the fact that, for Clement, the most sacred parable, enigma, and mystery was hidden not only in the guidance/technique/method of the Teacher but also in his own identity. Clement affirmed here again that the basic precepts apropos human habits, conduct, and regulations of everyday life are declared by the Pedagogue, who led the human soul, like a child to the school, to introduce her to the Teacher who then instructed his pupils how to read and interpret the Scriptures.¹⁵⁴ At the end of the *Paedagogus*,

¹⁵⁴ *Paed.* 3.12.87.1: "The Pedagogue has abundantly declared what has to be observed at home and how our life is to be regulated. And the things, which He is said to children by the way, while He conducts them to the Teacher, these He suggests, and adduces the Scriptures themselves in a compendious form, setting forth bare injunctions, accommodating them to the period of guidance, and assigning the interpretation of them to the Teacher." – ὅσα μὲν οὖν οἴκοι παραφυλακτέον καὶ ὡς τὸν βίον ἐπανορθωτέον, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῖν ἄδην διείλεκται· ἃ δ' οὖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὁμιλεῖν αὐτῷ φίλον τοῖς παιδίοις ἄχρις ἂν ἀγάγη αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίου μέρει δι' αὐτῶν ὑποτίθεται καὶ παρατίθεται τῶν γραφῶν, γυμνὰς παρατιθέμενος τὰς παραγελίας, ἄρμοζόμενος μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς καθοδηγήσεως, τὰς δὲ ἐξηγήσεις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπων τῷ διδασκάλῳ.

Clement did something extremely curious, which is not customarily found elsewhere. He amassed a cluster of citations whose purpose was almost certainly to summarize what he deemed the most important evangelic message for the pupils of the catechetical level taken from the Scriptural texts, both of the Hebrew and New Testaments. In these citations the words of the Lord are spoken in the first person. Clement intertwined them with his own pedagogical message and assumed the voice of Christ, formulating it quite clearly where it is a quotation but at times deliberately crossing the line between his own words and the words of the Lord:

But it is not my task, says the Pedagogue, to teach these any longer. But we need a Teacher of the exposition of those sacred words, to whom we must direct our steps. And now, in truth, it is time for me to cease from my pedagogy, and for you to listen to the Teacher. And He, receiving you who have been trained up in excellent discipline, will teach you the Scriptures (τὰ λόγια). The church is here for the good, and the Bridegroom is the only Teacher, the good will of the good Father, the true wisdom, the sanctuary of knowledge. "And He is the atoning sacrifice for our sins (1 Jn 2:2)," as John says; Jesus, who heals both our body and soul, which constitute the wholeness of human being.¹⁵⁵

The majority of scholars rightly emphasize Clement's ecclesiastical inclination in this passage since the proper teaching of the sacred words, according to Clement, ought

¹⁵⁵ *Paed.* 3.12.97.3-98.2: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμόν, φησὶν ὁ παιδαγωγός, διδάσκειν ἔτι ταῦτα, διδασκάλου δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων λόγων χρῆζομεν, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν βαδιστέον. καὶ δὴ ὥρα γε ἐμοὶ μὲν πεπαύσθαι τῆς παιδαγωγίας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ διδασκάλου. παραλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ καλῇ τεθραμμένους ἀγωγῇ ἐκδιδάξεται τὰ λόγια. διδασκα λειον δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἦδε καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ὁ μόνος διδάσκαλος, ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸν βούλημα, σοφία γνήσιος, ἁγίασμα γνώσεως. "καὶ αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν", ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἰώμενος ἡμῶν καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, Ἰησοῦς.

to take place within the space of the church.¹⁵⁶ Van den Hoek pointed out here that Eduard Schwarz even amended the phrase in MS P¹⁵⁷ εἰς καλὸν δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία into <διδασκαλεῖον> δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία, which slightly changes the meaning by turning the church into the school. This emendation, however, according to van den Hoek, who agrees with Otto Stählin, is superfluous¹⁵⁸ since “from Clement’s perspective... a contrast between church and school is nonexistent.”¹⁵⁹ Even without such textual emendation it is very clear that Clement perceived the process of education within the boundaries of the ecclesial community. However, what is even more relevant to our discussion emphasized earlier by Fascher is the potent metaphysical and christological import of the above text that does not undermine the ecclesial significance of Clement’s idea. Our Alexandrian theologian unambiguously called Jesus Christ the essence and ultimate goal of the advanced studies. The image of the *didaskalos* brought together the singularity and uniqueness, the good will of the Father, the true wisdom, and the sanctuary of knowledge; in Jesus, Clement ascertained the atoning sacrifice that redeemed both the humanity and entire cosmos.¹⁶⁰ “Christian teaching is what a Christian consists of; and if

¹⁵⁶ Van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage,” p. 65; Neymeyr, *Die christliche Lehrer*, p. 57-58; Knauber, “Ein frühchristliches Handbuch katechumenaler Glaubensinitiation: der Paidogogos des Clemens von Alexandrien,” p. 327; *ibid.*, “Der ‘Didaskalos’ des Clemens von Alexandrien,” p. 180-81; Normann, *Christos Didaskalos*, p. 174; Fascher, “Der Logos-Christus als göttlicher Lehrer,” p. 206-207.

¹⁵⁷ The Parisian manuscript, *Paris. Graec.* 451.

¹⁵⁸ Van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School of Early Christian Alexandria,” p. 65; cf. Otto Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus erster Band: Protrepticus und Paedagogus*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 12 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905), p. 289.

¹⁵⁹ Van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School of Early Christian Alexandria,” p. 71.

¹⁶⁰ ASV and KJV render ἰλασμός as “propitiation”; WEB “atoning sacrifice.”

Christian teaching is the *logos*, then Christians are part of the *logos*.”¹⁶¹ Thus, the unity of the *logos* and the *didaskalos* constitutes the quintessence of Clement’s christology.

Furthermore, as pointed out earlier in discussing Fascher’s article,¹⁶² in the following passage, which is a development of the previous passage that contains didaskalic hermeneutics, Clement leaped even farther from the pedagogical and ecclesial framework to the cosmological and eschatological domain of the heavenly school:

O nurslings of His blessed training! Let us complete the fair face of the church; and let us run as children to our good mother. And if we become listeners to the *logos*, let us glorify the blessed dispensation, by which the human is trained and sanctified as a child of God, and has his conversation in heaven, being trained from earth, and there receives the Father, whom he learns to know on earth. The *logos* both does and teaches all things, and trains in all things.¹⁶³

Here the three recurring images of training (*παιδεία*), sanctification (*ἀγιάζειν*), and conversation in heaven (*πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς*) are lined up as three steps towards what Clement called the ultimate goal of human existence. A graduation from the Pedagogue is followed by advanced studies with the Teacher, yet this is not the end of the learning experience since those two stages together are only the “prep school” for heavenly conversations with the heavenly *logos*.

¹⁶¹ Buell, *Making of Christians*, p. 159.

¹⁶² See chapter 2 above.

¹⁶³ *Paed.* 3.12.99.1-2: ὃ τῆς μακαρίου θρέμματα παιδαγωγίας· τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώσωμεν πρόσωπον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προσδράμωμεν οἱ νήπιοι μητέρα, κἂν ἄκροαται τοῦ λόγου γενόμεθα, τὴν μακαρίαν δοξάζωμεν οἰκονομίαν, δι’ ἣν παιδαγωγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀγιάζεται δὲ ὡς θεοῦ παιδίον, καὶ πολιτεύεται μὲν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς παιδαγωγούμενος, πατέρα δὲ ἐκεῖ λαμβάνει, ὃν ἐπὶ γῆς μανθάνει. πάντα ὁ λόγος καὶ ποιεῖ καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παιδαγωγεῖ.

It is worth mentioning that Clement's visionary assumption of Christ's voice and the eschatological stress of the Christian/Gnostic studies are followed by the elevated prayer to the Teacher followed by the renowned *Hymnus Christi servatoris*, both of which bring together all of the above themes of the God-Word-Spirit relationship and the unity of Godhead; the cleansing of passions and acquiring of God's peace; divine parenting and nourishment; milk and Eucharist; wisdom and good governance; pedagogy and advanced didaskalic studies and much more.¹⁶⁴ It only accentuates once again the nature of Clement's vision, which is of a holistic and integrated kind. Intellectual pursuit is never divorced from ethics; Christian philosophy and theology is always contextualized with the incentive for contemplation of the divine and a fervent prayer to God; and, in conclusion, Christ's divine identity is never discussed without his mission as a human being.

Fascher was right when he intimated that Clement subordinated his logology to his vision of the Teacher in order to endow the latter with the absolute religious authority that crowns all other identities and authorities. Behind the divinization or logolozation of Clement's portrayal of Christ the Teacher, I should, however, also recognize a figure of a Jewish Rabbi. That is not to say that Normann was wrong when in the introduction to his work on *Christos Didaskalos* he stated that the second century early Christian conception of Teacher is not a one-to-one equivalent of the Palestinian conception of the Jewish

¹⁶⁴ For a detailed discussion of the *Hymnus Christi*, see van den Hoek, "Hymn of the Holy Clement to Christ the Saviour. Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 3.12.101.4," in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine. A Critical Anthology*. Intr. and ed. by Mark Kiley et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 296-303.

Master.¹⁶⁵ Yet still, we can find in Clement’s writings references that reflect a portrait of Teacher. The Teacher, says Clement, is but a man (a human being), who addresses his audience directly. It matters not whether it is Jesus of Nazareth or any one else in Alexandria who instructs his or her audience through speech in the sacred mysteries of God.¹⁶⁶ What does matter is his ability to test and evaluate his hearers according to his judgment, “watch their words, their habits, their behavior patterns, the life, the movement, the attitudes, the look, the voice, the road, the rock, the beaten path, the fruitful land, the wooded region, and the fertile and fair and cultivated spot that is able to multiply the seed.”¹⁶⁷

Clement insisted that a live teacher has advantages over written texts, for the latter “necessarily require the assistance of someone else, either the author himself or someone who followed the author’s path.”¹⁶⁸ However, inevitably, the inspired texts of the Scriptures, too, could and did serve as a channel of the voice of the *logos* even if they veiled the *logos* under its signs and symbols. Similarly to Christ the Teacher and the Word of Scriptures, the *logos* is incarnate in the Eucharist, and Clement seems to equate the intensity of the presence of the *logos* in these three different forms.¹⁶⁹ In order to hear

¹⁶⁵ Normann, *Christos Didaskalos*, p. vii.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Robert L. Wilken, “Alexandria: A School for Training Virtue,” p. 23.

¹⁶⁷ *Strom.* 1.1.9.1: ἐπιτηρῶν τοὺς λόγους, τοὺς τρόπους, τὰ ἤθη, τὸν βίον, τὰς κινήσεις, τὰς σχέσεις, τὸ βλέμμα, τὸ φθέγμα, τὴν τρίοδον, τὴν πέτραν, τὴν πατουμένην ὁδὸν, τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν, τὴν ὑλομανοῦσαν χώραν.

¹⁶⁸ *Strom.* 1.1.14.4: οὐδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀποκρίνεται δέεται γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης βοηθοῦ ἤτοι τοῦ συγγραμμένου ἢ καὶ ἀλλοῦτος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἵχνος ἐμβεβηκότος.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Strom.* 1.1.5.1: “Both [teachers who instruct orally or in writing] must therefore test themselves: the one, if he is qualified to speak and leave behind him written records; the other, if he is in a

and receive the *logos* from Scriptures and in Sacraments (baptism and Eucharist), one necessarily needs an instructor and priest through whom the divine *logos* will continue his role of bringing humanity to salvation.¹⁷⁰

These deliberations Clement put forth at the beginning of the First Book of his *Stromata*. It looks as if in the opening remarks on justification of his writing Clement engaged more than simply a juxtaposition of oral and written transmissions of knowledge while discerning advantages and disadvantages of each. In the passage of *Stromata* 1.1.5.1, Clement also brought up the question of Eucharist and the worthiness of teaching, perhaps even of his own, to exemplify the presence of the *logos* in a speech taught in a classroom and preached during a liturgical celebration.¹⁷¹ A little further in

right state to hear and read: as also some in the dispensation of the Eucharist, according to custom enjoin that each one of the people individually should take his part.” – *ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἅμω τοῦτω δοκιμάζειν σφῶς αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν εἰ ἄξιός λέγειν τε καὶ ὑπομνήματα καταλιμπάνειν, τὸν δὲ εἰ ἀκροᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν δίκαιος· ἢ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμαντες.*

¹⁷⁰ *Strom.* 1.1.4.2-4: “But there is that species of knowledge, which is characteristic of the herald, and that which is, as it were, characteristic of a messenger, and it is serviceable in whatever way it operates, both by the hand and tongue. “For he that sows to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary in well-doing” (Gal 6:8-9). On him who by divine providence meets in with it, it confers the very highest advantages, the beginning of faith, readiness for adopting a right mode of life, the impulse towards the truth, a movement of inquiry, a trace of knowledge; in a word, it gives the means of salvation. And those who have been rightly reared in the words of truth, and received provision for eternal life, wing their way to heaven. Most admirably, therefore, the apostle says, “In everything approving ourselves as the servants of God; as poor, and yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things” (II Cor 6:4; 10:11).” – *ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν κηρυκτικὴ ἐπιστήμη ἤδη πως ἀγγελικὴ, ὁποτέρως ἂν ἐνεργῆ, διὰ τε τῆς χειρὸς διὰ τε τῆς γλώττης, ὠφελοῦσα· “ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον· τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν.” συμβάλλεται γοῦν τὰ μέγιστα τῷ περιτυχόντι κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν, ἀρχὴν πίστεως, πολιτείας προθυμίας, ὁρμὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, κίνησιν ζητητικὴν, ἴχνος γνώσεως, συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἀφορμὰς δίδωσι σωτηρίας. οἱ δὲ ἐντραφέντες γνησίως τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας λόγοις ἐφόδια ζωῆς αἰδίου λαβόντες εἰς οὐρανὸν περὸνται. θαυμασιώτατα τοίνυν ὁ ἀπόστολος “ἐν παντί” φησὶ “συνιστάντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι, ὡς πτωχοὶ, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες· τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν ἀνέφωγε πρὸς ὑμᾶς.”*

¹⁷¹ *Strom.* 1.19.96.1: “‘I encourage,’ wisdom says, ‘speaking to those who are without sense’ (Prov 9:16); clearly those who are associated with heresies, ‘touch the secret loaves with pleasure and the sweet water of theft’ (Prov 9:17); Scripture clearly does not apply the words “bread and water” to any others than the heresies who used bread and water in their offering not according to the rule of the church. For some even celebrate the Eucharist with plain water.” – *καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν παρακελεύομαι*

1.1.12.3, Clement asserted that “‘the Teacher is one’ (Mt 23:8) of both the lecturer and hearer, he waters both the mind and the word.”¹⁷² “[Jesus as the image of God in us] dwells with us, is our counselor, speaks within the soul, sits at table within it, and shares in the moral effort of our life.”¹⁷³ Immediately after the remark on the uniqueness of the Teacher, Clement turned his attention to the example of the practice of holding Sabbath sermons, which can be admitted to refer here both to Jesus’ Sabbath sermons and to the Jewish and Christian practice of preaching on the days of God’s worship. Cautiously, in the same sentence, Clement reassigned the homiletic duty from Jesus to such follower-teachers, as himself, since the Lord the true Teacher “did not hinder us from communicating those divine mysteries and that holy light to those who are able to receive them” (1.1.13.1).¹⁷⁴ Just a few lines earlier (1.1.11.2-3), Clement – and this is perhaps a single semi-autobiographical note we will ever find in his writings – established his own pedigree as a respectable “academician” who received instruction from great teachers of Magna Graecia, Coele-Syria, Assyria, Palestine and finally Egypt. It was in Alexandria, where he supposedly encountered the Christian Stoic Pantaenus, the Sicilian bee, “the first in power” who in turn derived his authority and expertise directly from the Apostles Peter, James, John and Paul. This successive historical lineage, however, is a prelude to

λέγουσα," φησὶν ἡ σοφία, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις δηλονότι, "ἄρτων κρυφίων ἠδέως ἄψασθε, καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ," ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλων τινῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ὕδατι κατὰ τὴν πρ οσφορὰν μῆκατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρωμένων αἱρέσεων ἐμφανῶς ταττούσης τῆς γραφῆς. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν.

¹⁷² *Strom.* 1.1.12.3: "εἷς γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος" καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκροωμένου, ὁ ἐπιπηγάζων καὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸν λόγον.

¹⁷³ *Prort.* 4.59.2: σύνοικον εἰκόνα, σύμβουλον, συνόμιλον, συνέστιον, συμπαθῆ, ὑπερπαθῆ.

¹⁷⁴ *Strom.* 1.1.13.1: καὶ οὐ κεκώλυκεν ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ σαββατίζειν, μεταδιδόναι δὲ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων καὶ τοῦ φωτός ἐκείνου τοῦ ἁγίου "τοῖς χωρεῖν δυναμένοις" συγκεχώρηκεν.

Clement's authority as a theologian, the authority that derives from none other than the *logos*, who reveals through him "divine mysteries and holy light." Thus, Clement designated his writings as mere memoir-notes while realizing that "the secret (forbidden) things, especially those about God, are entrusted only to speech, not to writing."¹⁷⁵ In the introduction to his *Stromata*, Clement reinstated the identity of Christ as the ultimate Teacher. He accomplished this task by fusing the notion of the divine *logos* with the social position of the *didaskalos*, a concrete teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, who is the descendant of the familial lineage that goes back to the founder of the historical ecclesial lineage of teachers/rabbis.¹⁷⁶ This concreteness of historical lineage gives the divine *logos* not simply a visible face, as the *logos* did in the contours of Scriptural words and great figures of the past, such as Abraham, Moses and Prophets, but also a transformative presence in the New Anthropos, New Adam, who by his words, deeds, life and death, taught, healed, illumined, saved, and deified humanity.¹⁷⁷

Thus, ultimately after conversion and after having received the moral preparations and propaedeutic studies of Scripture, the human is ready to ascend to the third level of Christian initiation. Faith grew into knowledge, and Christ ceased to be the pedagogue: he took the role of the teacher. In the preparatory stages, it was important for Clement to conceal the fullness of the truth in allegories and symbols so that unprepared people

¹⁷⁵ *Strom.* 1.1.13.2: τὰ δὲ ἀπόρρητα, καθάπερ ὁ θεός, λόγῳ πιστεύεται, οὐ γράμματι.

¹⁷⁶ A similar conclusion with the early Christian connections to the church, but based on the New Testament material, is made by an earlier article by Erich Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem "Quellort der Kirchenidee," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79.5 (1954): 326-342.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *Strom.* 3.9.65.1-3.

would not misunderstand the true meaning of God's plan.¹⁷⁸ Yet on the advanced level, things concealed were being revealed. As in other philosophical schools or mystery cults the main mysteries (μυστήρια μεγάλα) were kept secret from the uninitiated, so also in the Christian doctrine certain things were revealed only to those who successfully underwent proper education. At the end of this journey, therefore, the human is rewarded with a great prize: echoing a formula of Irenaeus "God became human, so that the human could become God,"¹⁷⁹ Clement claimed that preexistent (προόντος) Christ – the second hypostasis of God – is revealed as the divine Teacher in order to lead the human soul into the realm of salvation. Only the initiated can recognize the relationship between the Father and the Son. The visible and tangible Son of God reveals the invisible and unreachable God the Father.

As I indicated earlier, Clement subscribed to the classical understanding of apophatic theology formulated by Philo and other Middle Platonic philosophers, according to which the ultimate divinity – in Christian context it is God the Father – always remained bodiless, formless, indescribable, unreachable, timeless and spaceless, beyond the monad, virtue, unknown and unknowable, whereas the *logos*, the Son of the Father, plays intermediary role of connecting the Father with the rest of the world.¹⁸⁰ As

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Strom.* 5.8.54.1-4.

¹⁷⁹ Irenaeus *Contr. Haer.* 3.19.1, cf. also 3.10.2; 3.16.3.6; 3.17.1; 3.18.7; 3.20.2; 4.20.5; 4.33.11; 4.37.1.11. On the continuity of thought between Clement and Irenaeus, see L.G. Patterson, "The Divine Became Human: Irenaeian Themes in Clement of Alexandria," *Studia Patristica* 31, ed. E. Livingstone (Louvain: Peeters, 1997): 497-516; esp. p. 500-503 on the above mentioned formula.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *Paed.* 1.71.1; *Strom.* 2.2.6.1; 5.11.71.1-3; 5.12.81.5-6; *Exc. Theod.* 1.7.1. See analysis of these texts in Salvatore Lilla, *op. c.* p. 212-226, and Joseph W. Trigg, "Receiving the Alpha: Negative Theology in Clement of Alexandria and its Possible Implications," in *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997): 540-545.

in the subject-object-process model, one does not have the access to the sculptor (the Father) but can see the sculpture (the Son). One thus learns about the sculptor from her progeny.

In the pedagogical program articulated in *Protrepticus* 1.7.1.1 and then in *Paedagogus* 1.1.3.3, Clement intertwined the theme of eternal life, which was granted to humanity through Christ the Teacher, with the conception of the *logos* and the theme of New Song and *pedagogia*. In *Protrepticus* taken as a whole, one also finds that, according to Clement, Christ was the performer, musical instrument, and the song itself.¹⁸¹ In a similar manner then, if one once again recalls the subject-object-process model, Christ is the Pedagogue/Teacher and at the same time the essence of pedagogy/doctrine. Christ is even the paradigmatic child/fellow-student, who received and completed the training himself and offered it to the whole of humanity and the universe.¹⁸² On the material level, Jesus was a concrete human being with a concrete profession of a Rabbi who attracted a number of followers to offer them an ethical and theological teaching, all three components of which are distinct and distinguishable entities. On the second symbolic or noetic level, Christ the Teacher, his teaching, and his disciples began to merge while preserving their subject-object-process relationships and interchangeably sharing their essence and purpose. On the highest level, all three components collapse: the Teacher, student, and the teaching become simply one entity (the church). The collapse denotes the culminating point of Christ's fulfillment of God's

¹⁸¹ *Protr.* 1.5.4.5-1.6.3.2.

¹⁸² Cf. *Paed.* 1.1.1.1-1.2.5.1; 1.7.54.1-3; 1.9.88.2-3; *Strom.* 1.1.12.1-13.1; 5.1.1.3-5.

plan. Thus, since the *logos*, who is Christ, enjoyed the eternal life with God, his disciples, by merging with his teaching and literally with himself, received eternal life, *theosis*.

Deification, however, just as education, was a matter of process, which as part of the Christian schooling begins here on earth and continues after the separation of the soul and body. This process, as I am about to demonstrate in the following section, was aimed at a deeper discovery of God and culminated in the contemplation of the heavenly beings and God's Face and in pronouncement of his Name, which was, again, God's Son, the *logos*. Thus, besides moral formation and theological study, Clement also envisaged a third, mystical component of Christians' indoctrination, namely, participation in the new Christian rituals and liturgies that were performed within ecclesial confines. As I mentioned earlier, Clement was less interested in the description of the liturgical performance, be it the baptism or Eucharist, but he provided rich material for elucidating the theology and participatory dynamics of such a performance, which he best illustrated in his interpretation of the Jerusalem Temple and the role of Christ as High Priest.

6. The High Priest¹⁸³

Clement's christological program of the initiation, guidance, and contemplation of God as the three levels of human ascent to the divine realm is completed by Christ's role as the High Priest. This role derives directly from Clement's notion of the true Gnostic, who leads a moral way of life, learns Scriptures, and enters into the realm of the most intimate communication with God through Christ. It is generally accepted that the main contours of mystical experience in the Judeo-Christian context were drawn by Philo of Alexandria.¹⁸⁴ Philo collected the stories about the encounter and communication between God and Jewish forefathers, prophets, and in particular Abraham¹⁸⁵ and Moses¹⁸⁶ and read them allegorically and mystically. Of special interest to him was also the theme of the High Priest, who, according to the Jerusalem Temple tradition, once a year at Yom Kippur entered the Holy of Holies of the Temple in order to perform the annual sacrifice of atonement and to pronounce God's Name, Yahweh.¹⁸⁷ The collection

¹⁸³ Main concepts of this section on the High Priest were presented in as a paper under the title "Χριστός Ἀρχιερεύς: Christological Perspective of Clement of Alexandria" at the Annual Meeting of the North American Patristics Society, Loyola University, Chicago, May 26-28, 2004. A Ukrainian version of this paper is published in *Bohoslovia* 69 (2005).

¹⁸⁴ On Philo's mysticism, see David Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985); Valentin Nikiprowetzky, *Etudes Philoniennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1996); Christian Noack, *Gottesbewusstsein: exegetische Studien zur Soteriologie und Mystik bei Philo von Alexandria* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

¹⁸⁵ See Philo's *De Abrahamo* 23.121-123, 25.128-130; *De Migratione Abrahami* 35.195; *De Somniis* 10.1.60.

¹⁸⁶ *De Vita Mosis* 1.12.65-78 (burning bush, Ex 3:1-6); 1.28.155-159 (Moses enters the darkness of God's secret, Ex 20:21); cf. also *De Mutatione Nominum* 2.7; *De Posteritate Caini* 5.14; *De Gigantibus* 12.54.

¹⁸⁷ See *De Vita Mosis* 2.24.117-26.135; *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.12.66-17.97. Cf. also Josephus *Antiquitates Iudeorum* 3.179-87. Cf. Shemuel Safrai, "The Temple," in *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*. Ed.

of Philo's interpretations of ceremonies – that were not merely historical events from the past, but, for Philo, also contemporaneous rituals performed at the Jerusalem Temple every year – are the key texts for formation of Clement's understanding of the image of Christ as the High Priest. Clement, of course, already lived in times after the Jewish Temple was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. One can only speculate that the ritual and its religious hermeneutic value were of immense interest to Clement, since, as it seems, he was construing his own theological interpretation of the Christian church. Clement recognized that Christian rituals had been developing in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome concurrently with the Jewish cult, from which they sprang up and developed a particular Christian flavor.¹⁸⁸

We find Clement's interpretation of the Jerusalem Temple, the High Priest,¹⁸⁹ and the event of High Priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies based on Ex 26-28 and Lev 16.4 in his *Stromateis* 5.6.32-40. A theological interpretation of the High Priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies is also found in *Excerpta* 1.27.¹⁹⁰ A Christian prism of

by Shemuel Safrai and Moriz Stern. *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, sec. 1. Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 856-907.

¹⁸⁸ See Birger Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 132-60; Jean Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*. Trans. and ed. J.A. Baker. Vol. 1 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), p. 9; Daniel Vigne, *Christ au Jordan: Le Baptême de Jésus dans la tradition judéo-chrétienne* (Paris: Cabalda, 1992), p. 14.

¹⁸⁹ Besides *Strom.* 5.6.32-40 and *Exc. Theod.* 1.27.1-6 Clement speaks of Christ the High Priest in *Protr.* 4.59.2-3 with reference to I Pet 2:9-10; 12.120.1-121.3. cf *Paed.* 1.11.96-97, where Clement speaks of Christ as the sacrifice; 2.8.67 a wither reference to Eph 5:2; *Strom.* 2.21.1-22.1; 2.134.2; 4.151.3-152.1; 4.158.1, how to be a priest; 4.161.1-162.5; 7.9.2; 7.13.2.

¹⁹⁰ The latter passage from *Exc. Theod.* 1.27.1-6 Lilla mistakenly attributes to an author from a Valentinian school. See Lilla, p. 173-81. Despite an obviously direct influence of Gnostic ideas on Clement, the majority of contemporary scholars agree that the authorship belongs to Clement. See François Sagnard, *Extraits de Théodote*. Série annexe de textes non chrétiens. Sources Chrétiennes 23 (Paris: Cerf, 1948), p. 11; see also n. 88 of Judith L. Kovacs, "Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis," p. 433.

this interpretation is, undoubtedly, the *Letter to Barnabas*, but even more so the *Letter to the Hebrews*, in which the author, possibly also from Alexandria, directly identified Christ with the High Priest: “[Christ] was named by God a High Priest after the order of Melchizedek.”¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, the main source for Clement remained Philo, whom he quoted at times verbatim and whose writings in most cases he reinterpreted christologically.

A detailed and comprehensive summary of Clement’s dependence on Philo is found in the fundamental work of Annewies van den Hoek,¹⁹² who from the outset of her analysis of Philo’s passages reiterated that the main goal Philo pursued in his interpretation was to show the universality of the Jewish cult through cosmological and anthropological dimensions.¹⁹³ Clement closely followed such vision adding, however, a distinctly Christian perspective. Thus, he maintained that the High Priest offered the sacrifice not only for Israel but also for all humanity and even for the whole universe

¹⁹¹ Heb 5:10. See also the entire passage 4:14-10:39. The theme of Christ the High Priest is also mentioned by Clement of Rome in his 1 Cor 36.1; 61.3; 64.1 and Ignatius of Antioch in his *Phil.* 9.1; *Polic.* 12.2, *De Mart. Polic.* 14.3.

¹⁹² See Annewies van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His use of Philo*, p. 116-147, where she notes that for both of the authors the departing texts are Ex 26-28 and Lev 16.4; she also analyzes along *Strom.* 5.6.32-40 Philo’s *De Vita Mosis* 2.15.71-26.135; additional texts are *De Specialibus legibus* 1.12.66-17.97 and *Questiones et Solutiones in Exodum* 2.51-124. Cf. *Legum Allegoriarum* 2.15.56; 3.40.119; *De Cherubim* 30.101-31.106; *De Ebrietate* 21.87; *De Migratione Abrahami* 18.102ff; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit* 44.215ff; *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia* 21.117; *De Fuga et Inventione* 20.108ff; *De Somniis* 1.27.214ff; *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.54.296ff. Cf. also Kovacs, “Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis: Clement of Alexandria’s Interpretation of Tabernacle.” *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997): 414-37; Claud Mondésert, *Clément d’Alexandrie. Introduction à l’étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l’Écriture* (Paris, Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1944), p. 144ff.

¹⁹³ See M. Harl, “Cosmologie grecque et représentations juives dans l’œuvre de Philon d’Alexandrie,” in *Philon d’Alexandrie, Actes de Collque national Lyon 11-15 Septembre* (Paris, 1967), p. 189-203; H. F. Weiss, *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenischen und palästinischen Judentum. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 97 (Berlin, 1966).

(κόσμος). According to Philo, the human soul was construed after the composition of the Temple in Jerusalem and hence human soul's internal, spiritual, mystical experience was molded and enacted during her gradual ascent towards God in a similar way as the High Priest, gradually, room after room, proceeded from the forecourt to the Holy of Holies in the Temple. Clement, in turn, safeguarded these two aspects (cosmological and anthropological),¹⁹⁴ yet at the same time he modified them in christological terms. It was important for him to show the intermediary role of Christ, who was both the Creator of the universe and the perfect model for the soul that imitated him. Clement achieved this by infusing two themes: a) the Incarnation of the *logos*¹⁹⁵ and b) the true Gnostic's ascent to the heights of divine contemplation.¹⁹⁶

Developing van den Hoek's reading of Clement's conception of Archiereus, Kovacs turned scholarly attention back to Lilla's suggestion, who analyzed these passages in the anti-Gnostic polemical framework of Clement's exposition.¹⁹⁷ She rightly construed the content of *Stromata* 5.6.32-40 in the context of the previous passage (5.1.1-9), in which Clement targeted Valentinus, Basilides and Marcion in his discussion

¹⁹⁴ For a comparative table of the text of Philo and Clement with indications on thematic similarities and dissimilarities, see Claud Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture* (Paris, Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1944), p. 172-182.

¹⁹⁵ *Strom.* 5.6.34.1 and *Exc.* 1.19-20.

¹⁹⁶ *Strom.* 5.6.34.7 and *Exc.* 1.27.

¹⁹⁷ See Judith Kovacs, "Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis", pp. 414-437. She notes that van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His use of Philo*, p. 146, acknowledge but did not explicate an anti-gnostic character of this passage, whereas Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, p. 173-81, discussed the anti-gnostic polemics but drew inaccurate conclusions, since he insisted on a Valentinian authorship of *Exc. Theod.* 1.27 and its influence on *Strom.* 5.6.32-40. See also the commentary of Alain le Boulluec, *Le Stromates, Stromate V. Vol. 2. Sources Chrétiennes* 279 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1981), p. 134-66. Here I follow Kovacs' line of argumentation.

of the relationship between faith and knowledge. Scholars by and large agree that for them faith was considered to be an attribute of psychic people (perhaps the “orthodox” community) while the true Gnostics were spiritual people fully possessing sacred salvific knowledge (γνῶσις). Thus, Clement critically responded to such Gnostic disdainful attitude towards psychic people and cited the examples of the Temple, High Priest, and High Priest’s entrance into the Holy of Holies to construe the way in which the Scriptures revealed the indivisible unity of psychic and spiritual Christians and, in view of that, the interrelationship of faith and gnosis, the Father and the Son, the Jewish and Christian Testaments, the mystical contemplation and the Incarnation.¹⁹⁸

The most crucial battlefield of anti-Valentinian polemics was Clement’s defense of the “orthodox” vision of Christ’s Incarnation. For some Valentinians and Gnostics the substance of Christ’s body was psychic. For others it was spiritual and thus Christ’s appearance on earth was not fully physical.¹⁹⁹ Clement, on the contrary, believed that Christ, being the “Face of the Father” and “the first principle of all,”²⁰⁰ in his historical

¹⁹⁸ *Strom.* 5.1.1.4.4: “From faith, hence, to gnosis, from the Son to the Father.” – ἐκ πίστεως γὰρ εἰς γνῶσιν, διὰ υἱοῦ πατρός. For a broader discussion of Clement’s anti-Gnostic polemics, see 5.1.1-9. A similar interpretation of the Holy of Holies’ parts is found in Heracleon’s *Commentary on John* 10.33.

¹⁹⁹ See *Exc.* 1.1.1; 1.26.1; 3.58-62; Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* 1.6.1; 1.7.2; Hippolytus of Rome *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.25.5-7; for a discussion of these passages, see Holger Strutwolf, *Gnosis als System: Zur Rezeption der valentinianischen Gnosis bei Origenes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 155-62 and Antonio Orbe, “La Encarnación entre los valentinianos,” *Gregorianum* 53 (1972): 201-35, who contends that Valentinians did not deny the Savior’s visibility and sensibility (endowed with sense), but denied that he took upon himself a human flesh (σάρξ).

²⁰⁰ *Strom.* 5.6.34.1; 38.7.

incarnation took a normal human physical body,²⁰¹ which he once created and now had taken upon himself as an integral part of human life. In our passages of *Stromateis* 5.6.32-40, as well as in *Excerpta* 1.27, precisely this point was made as the two actions simultaneously unfold when one reads both of the passages: Clement allegorically depicts Christ's Incarnation, and a process of human deification finds its meticulous description. Keeping in mind the theme of Incarnation, Clement put a christological unification of the heavenly and earthly at the foundation of his interpretation of the Temple in Jerusalem.²⁰² In his treatment of the garments of the High Priest, he interpreted the "ritual of the priestly investment" as the "prophecy of the mission of the body, through which [Christ] entered the visible world."²⁰³ The long vestment in this passage, according to Clement and Philo, "was the symbol of the sensible world"²⁰⁴ that harmoniously fit the attire of priestly vestments together with the golden plate, worn on the forehead with the carved Name of God that belonged to the realm of spiritual, noetic (νοητός) world. Accordingly, keeping in mind the theme of human deification, which he called in his *Protrepticus* the building of a sacred temple of God in the heart of humans,²⁰⁵ Clement put forward a belief that when the High Priest was about to enter the

²⁰¹ Physical body, according to Clement, felt the pain, suffered and rose again. Cf. *Strom.* 6.15.127.1-2; 7.2.6.5; 7.5; 8.1. At the same time, however, it seems that Clement agreed with Valentinus that Christ "at and drank in a way characteristic only of him, without extraction of food" (*Strom.* 3.7.59.3).

²⁰² *Strom.* 5.6.32-36.

²⁰³ φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα, τὸν ποδῆρη, τὴν κατὰ σάρκα προφητεύειν οἰκονομίαν, δι' ἣν προσεχέστερον εἰς κόσμον ὤφθη. *Ibid.*, 5.6.39.2.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.6.37.1.

²⁰⁵ See *Protr.* 11.117.4-5: "Who is he? Learn it quickly: he is the word of truth, word of unperishability that renews the human turning him/her to the truth; the center of salvation that obliterates

Holy of Holies he was also obliged to take his priestly vestments off, i.e., to recognize the shortcoming of knowledge based on five senses.²⁰⁶ Then he washed his body, i.e., in Clement's interpretation, he took this bath in order to receive baptism and to rid himself of material notions about spiritual things. And finally he put on new garments, to become, in christological terms, a perfect Gnostic. Only then was he able to perform the sacred rituals of Yom Kippur²⁰⁷ and to pronounce God's Name, while contemplating his Face.²⁰⁸

But he himself [the High Priest] distinguishing the objects of the intellect from the things of sense, rising above other priests, hastening to the entrance to the world of ideas, to wash himself from the things here below, not in water, as formerly one was cleansed on being enrolled in the tribe of Levi. But purified already by the Gnostic *logos* in his whole heart, and thoroughly regulated, and having improved that mode of life received from the priest to the highest pitch, being quite sanctified both in word and life, and having put on the bright array of glory, and received the ineffable inheritance of that spiritual and perfect man, "which eye has not seen and ear has not heard, and it has not entered into the heart of man" (1 Cor 2:9); and having become "son" and "friend," he is now replenished with insatiable contemplation "face to face" (1 Cor 13:12).²⁰⁹

mortality and dispels death and builds his Temple in within humanity to establish among people God's tabernacle." – Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος; Μάθε συντόμως· λόγος ἀληθείας, λόγος ἀφθαρσίας, ὁ ἀναγεννῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρων, τὸ κέντρον τῆς σωτηρίας, ὁ ἐξελαύνων τὴν φθοράν, ὁ ἐκδιώκων τὸν θάνατον, ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώποις οἰκοδομῆσας νεῶν, ἵνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰδρῶσιν τὸν θεόν.

²⁰⁶ *Strom.* 5.6.33.6.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.6.39.3. This composition perfectly matches Clement's above mentioned program of exhortation, rearing, and teaching that correspond to the three levels of the human engagement in a "marvelous plan" – economy – of salvation. See *Paed.* 1.1.3.3.5-9.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *Protr.* 11.115.3.3-11.117.5.6.

²⁰⁹ *Strom.* 5.6.39.4-40.1: αὐτὸν διακρίναντα τὰ νοητὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, κατ' ἐπανάβασιν τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ διόδον, τῶν τῆδε ἀπολουόμενον οὐκέτι ὑδατι, ὡς πρότερον ἐκαθαίρετο εἰς Λευιτικὴν ἐντασσόμενος φυλῆν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τῷ γνωστικῷ λόγῳ. καθαρὸς μὲν <οὖν> τὴν καρδίαν πᾶσαν, κατορθώσας δ' εὖ μάλα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπ' ἄκρον, πέρα τοῦ ἱερέως ἐπιμείζον ἀδξήσας, ἀτεχνῶς ἠγνισμένος καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ, ἐπενδυσάμενος τὸ γάνωμα τῆς δόξης, τοῦ πνευματι-

And also

The High Priest, having entered inside the second veil, took the chalice from the altar of incense. And thus he remained in silence, having the Name inscribed on his heart. In this way, he showed the separation <of body> that he became pure as this golden luminous chalice as if through purification of soul [from body], upon which is engraved the brightness of piety and by which the Principalities and Powers recognized him as the one who belongs to the Name. He separates the body, becomes the golden weightless chalice, and “enters inside the second veil” into the noetic world, which means the second all-embracing veil of the world; and “from the altar of incense” means that he serves with the praying Angels. His soul, naked in the power of sharing knowledge, as if becomes the body of this power and passes over into the realm of spiritual, having become utterly intellectual and archpriestly. The soul becomes ready to be revitalized (inspired) by the *logos* to move upward, in similar manner, as Angels became High Priests for Angels and Firstborn for Archangels. Isn't here the true knowledge of Scripture and Teaching revealed for the soul in its clearest, perfect way? And doesn't she behold here God “face to face (1Cor 13:12)? Thus passing over the angelic Teachings and learning in Scriptures about the Name, the soul achieves the knowledge and grasp of things, no longer as the bride but becoming herself the *logos*; and beside the bride she remains with the First-called and Firstborn, staying with the friends in love, sons in teaching and obedience, and brothers in the common origin. Such was the plan to bear the golden chalice and obtain knowledge; the result, therefore, is to become the God-bearing human who is led by the Lord and who becomes His body.²¹⁰

κοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ τελείου ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀπόρρητον κληρονομίαν ἀπολαβὼν, ἣν ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐδὲ οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, υἱὸς καὶ φίλος γενόμενος, “πρόσωπον” ἤδη “πρὸς πρόσωπον” ἐμπίπλται τῆς ἀκορέστου θεωρίας.

²¹⁰ *Exc.* 1.27.1-6: ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰσιὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ δευτέρου, τὸ τε πέταλον ἀπετίθει παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ θυμιάματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν σιγῇ, τὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐγκεχαράγμενον ὄνομα ἔχων, εἰσῆει δεικνὺς τὴν ἀπόθεσιν <τοῦ σώματος> τοῦ καθάπερ πετάλου χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ γενομένου καὶ κούφου διὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν [τοῦ ὡσπερ σώματος] τῆς ψυχῆς [ἀπόθεσιν]. ἐν ᾧ ἐγκεχάρακτο τὸ γάνωμα τῆς θεοσεβείας δι' οὗ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐγινώσκετο τὸ ὄνομα περικείμενος. ἀποτίθεται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, τὸ πέταλον τὸ ἀβαρὲς γενόμενον, “ἐντὸς τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ δευτέρου”, ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ, ὃ ἐστὶ δεύτερον ὀλοσχερὲς καταπέτασμα τοῦ παντός, “παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος”, παρὰ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς τῶν

In a simultaneous descending and ascending movement of the Incarnation and human deification, Christ played the central role. First, Christ himself was the man, the High Priest, who entered the Temple to perform the most sacred ritual. Second, he was the one who received the High Priest in the Temple's Holy of Holies, since he was the purifying *logos*, the Name of God that the High Priest uttered in front of the altar and the same name, which was symbolically carved on the golden plate, by which he was recognized by the heavenly bodies (Firstborn, First-called, and Archangels). In this context, Christ was also the Face of God, which the High Priest mystically contemplated "face to face." Third, Christ as the Temple of God, who united heaven and earth was the space wherein this ritual took place. He was also the "construction worker" who built the temple inside the human being. By the temple, one has to also understand the school, a theme, to which I will briefly return below. And fourth, he was the sacrifice that was being offered on the altar. Clement did not mention the sacrifice in these passages directly but briefly spoke of the altar for incense, which is also implied in his reference to the *Letter to the Hebrews* 9:6-12. His disinterest in the sacrifice *per se* here could also be explained by the simple fact that Philo did not speak of it in the abovementioned passages, because his audience was in synagogues and study rooms and not in the

ἀναφερομένων εὐχῶν ἀγγέλους, γυμνῆ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν δυνάμει τοῦ συνειδότητος, οἷον σῶμα τῆς δυνάμεως γενομένη, μεταβαίνει εἰς τὰ πνευματικά, λογικῆ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀρχιερατικῆ γενομένη, ὡς ἂν ἐμψυχουμένη ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προσεχῶς ἤδη, καθάπερ οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερεῖς γενομένοι, καὶ τούτων πάλιν οἱ πρωτόκτιστοι. ποῦ δὲ ἔτι γραφῆς καὶ μαθήσεως κατόρθωμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκεῖνη τῇ καθαρῇ γενομένη, ὅπου καὶ ἀξιούται "πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον" θεὸν ὁρᾶν; τὴν γοῦν ἀγγελικὴν διδασκαλίαν ὑπερβᾶσα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ διδασκόμενον ἐγγράφως, ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ κατάληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔρχεται, οὐκέτι νύμφη, ἀλλ' ἤδη λόγος γενομένος καὶ παρὰ τῷ νυμφίῳ καταλύων μετὰ τῶν πρωτοκλήτων καὶ πρωτοκτίστων, φίλων μὲν δι' ἀγάπην, υἱῶν δὲ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ ὑπακοήν, ἀδελφῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς γενέσεως κοινόν. ὥστε τὸ μὲν τῆς οἰκονομίας ἦν, τὸ πέταλον περικεῖσθαι καὶ μαθάνειν εἰς γνῶσιν· τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, τὸ θεοφόρον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, προσεχῶς ἐνεργούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ καθάπερ σῶμα αὐτοῦ γινόμενον.

Temple. However, it is more plausible that Clement was more interested in the spiritual sense of this ritual, i.e., the baptism and the transformation and deification of the soul, rather than the very sacrificial performance. The conception of the High Priest, atonement, and the humanity, for the sake of whom the sacrifice was offered can also be inferred from his christological subject-object-process model. When one keeps this model in mind and looks at the sacred activity of the High Priest, one finds that according to Clement, Christ enters the dynamics of the material world, brings it to the second, noetic/symbolic level, in order to introduce it into the realm of the divine light.

Clement's understanding of the cult, however, differed from both Jewish and mystery religion's understanding (in particular Orphic cults with reference to Apollo and Dionysian). The first and most significant discrepancy is Clement's emphasis on the uniqueness, singularity, and universality of both the Christian initiation and the divine Mediator who enacted it. Clement based his argument upon the monotheistic postulate that God is one. Just as in the true teaching that there should be only one truth and one teacher, so also in the true piety, worship of God, there should also be only *one* priest. For Clement this High Priest was no one other than Jesus Christ: "This Jesus, who is eternal, the one great High Priest of the one God, and of His Father, prays for and exhorts men."²¹¹ "What need is there to say that He is the only High Priest, who alone possesses the knowledge of the worship of God (τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας)? He is Melchizedek, the "King of peace," the most fit of all to head the race of people."²¹²

²¹¹ *Protr.* 12.120.2: Ἄϊδιος οὐτος Ἰησοῦς, εἷς ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ τε ἑνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων εὐχεται καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκελεύεται.

²¹² *Strom.* 2.5.21.4-5: μόνος [ὁ] ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ μόνος ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας

It must be noted that both of these latter passages stress one truth though they are found in two different contexts. In the earlier example from my previous section of Christ the New Song, Clement reconstructed the Euripidean description of the “Bacchants”²¹³ and, while using the terminology of the Dionysiac mysteries, he transformed this ritual of initiation into a Christian mystery of the veritable worship of God, having strong baptismal overtones. In this case, it is not Dionysius – in Greek mythology Dionysius was also represented as a god who fused the divine and the earthly within himself – who escorted the human towards deeper knowledge and contemplation of the “pure light.” Rather, it was Jesus Christ, who, as Clement contended, is the only true High Priest.²¹⁴ In the second example, the context for Clement’s construal of the identity of Christ is based on the image of Moses that was well known and authoritative for Jews and early Christians. As in Philo, Clement frequently turned to the figure of Moses to show that Hellenistic philosophy is subordinated to the Jewish law.²¹⁵ Clement made a step further and, in a similarly hermeneutic manner, subordinated Jewish religious thought to Christian theology by depicting Christ in the terms of Moses the King and Lawgiver.²¹⁶ Thus, for Clement, Christ was the ultimate fulfillment of the perfect King

"βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης Μελχισεδέκ", ὁ πάντων ἰκανώτατος ἀφηγεῖσθαι τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους; cf. Heb 7:1.

²¹³ Cf. Euripides *Bacchae* 363-4.

²¹⁴ For a broader context of this passage, see *Protr.* 12.119.1-121.3.

²¹⁵ For the illustration of Philonian deliberate subordination of Hellenism and its political undercurrent, see Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, pp. 109-126.

²¹⁶ Cf. *Strom.* 2.5.21.1ff.

and Lawgiver and the only High Priest that understood and realized the true worship of God.

Besides the uniqueness and exclusivity of Christ the High Priest, Clement worked out a program for a new liturgy, which was based on a spiritual (spiritualized, rationalized) conception of the sacred sacrifice. Clement did not reject the ritual altogether as a material and unnecessary fixation, being satisfied only by the intellectual speculations on advanced education and mystical contemplation. On the contrary, he emphasized the significance of the precise performance of the rituals together with all the necessary elements that go along with it. For example, in *Stromata* 1.19.96.1-4, Clement explicitly condemned as heretical the practice of some Christian communities that used only water or only water and bread instead of bread and wine for Eucharist.²¹⁷ For him, spiritual growth could not be fulfilled without the physical engagement of the human being in his/her process of Christian initiation through baptism²¹⁸ and constant nourishment through liturgical and educational gatherings of the church in its sharing of the Eucharist.²¹⁹ Such rationale is dictated by Clement's interest in the inner meaning

²¹⁷ Cf. also *Paed.* 2.32.2-33.1.

²¹⁸ The key text for Clement's understanding of baptism is *Paed.* 1.25-32; cf. Antonio Orbe, *Teología bautismal de Clemente Alejandrino según Paed.* I, 26,3-27,2, *Gregorianum* 36 (1955) 410-48; Harry A. Echle, *The Terminology of the Sacrament of Regeneration according to Clement of Alexandria*; Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis*, pp. 17-76.

²¹⁹ On Clement's view of Eucharist, see *Protr.* 11.115.3; *Paed.* 1.6.35.2-36.1; 2.2.19-20; *Strom.* 1.46.2; 4.161.1-3.162.5; 5.48.6-8; 5.66.2-5; 5.70.2-5; *Exc.* 1.12.13; *Quis dives salvetur* 23.2.2-23.5.1; cf. also Andre Méhat, "Clement of Alexandria," in *The Eucharist of the Early Christians*. Ed. by Willy Rordorf; transl. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 99-131.

and mystagogical role of Christian initiation, and thus he tended to overlook the processional performance of these rituals.²²⁰

If, then, we say that the Lord the great High Priest offers to God the incense of sweet fragrance, let us not imagine that this is a sacrifice and sweet fragrance of incense; but let us understand it to mean, that the Lord lays the acceptable offering of love, the spiritual fragrance, on the altar.²²¹

From the passage above, Christ, according to Clement, is the most perfect sacrifice. He is the one, whom one can trust, because he is the only one who uses reason, authority and will in the best possible way, since he is God's wisdom,²²² God-Creator²²³ and a Good Shepherd,²²⁴ "he is the only one, who by his own good will offers himself as the sacrifice for us."²²⁵ As André Méhat rightly pointed out, the notion of sacrifice is synonymous, for Clement, with the notion of Eucharist²²⁶ but at the same time:

²²⁰ Cf. Herbert Marsh, "The Use of *Μυστήριον* in the Writings of Clement of Alexandria with Special Reference to his Sacramental Doctrine," *Journal of Theological Studies* 27 (1936): 64-80. Marsh believed that Clement's conception of the sacrament had no direct and exclusive connection with what in the later centuries of Christian liturgy and today is called the Sacrament of Baptism and Eucharist. Clement's mystery (*μυστήριον*) encompassed several connotations, intrinsic part of which was both the pagan understanding of this conception as articulated in such mystery religions as Orphism, cult of Apollo and Dionysius, Eleusinian rituals, and Christian interpretations of divine revelations, symbolism, and concealment of truth from the initiated.

²²¹ *Paed.* 2.8.67.1: εἰ γοῦν τῆς εὐωδίας τὸ θυμίαμα τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν κύριον, ἀναφέρειν λέγοιεν τῷ θεῷ, μὴ θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ εὐωδίαν θυμιάματος νοούντων, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης δεκτὸν ἀναφέρειν τὸν κύριον, τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐωδίαν, εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον παραδεχέσθων.

²²² *Eccl* 1:1.

²²³ *Jn* 1:3.

²²⁴ *Jn* 10:11.

²²⁵ *Paed.* 1.11.97.3: εὐνοίᾳ δὲ ὅτι μόνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέδωκεν; Clement refers to 1 Cor 5:7 and Heb 2:18; cf. also *Strom.* 5.66.2-5.

²²⁶ The best summary of Clement's eucharistic theology is found in André Méhat's article on the subject. See "Clement of Alexandria," in *The Eucharist of the Early Christians*. Ed. by Willy Rordorf. Tras. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 99-131; see also Pierre Batiffol, *L'Eucharistie: La présence réelle et la transsubstantiation*. Etudes de théologie positive sur

if everything said of spiritual food is to be related to the Eucharist (and perhaps it is), then the chief correspondence is the one between the spiritual food that is the Eucharist, and the spiritual food that is acquisition of knowledge or gnosis. The close connection between the Eucharist on the one hand, and the relation of Father and Son on the other undoubtedly shows us at least the partial object of such gnosis. For, in this sense the mystery of the Eucharist is the mystery of the end of time, the mystery of the salvation, immortality, and eternal life of which the Eucharist gives an anticipation. On all these points, Clement is heir and witness to the orthodox tradition, to which he gives new expression.²²⁷

The point Méhat's made regarding the close correlation between the Eucharist and spiritual life, as well as its trinitarian aspect unfolded in the relationship between the Father and the Son, reinforces my argument about the close, indeed indivisible, correlation between the liturgical and educational experiences, which Clement so vehemently envisioned and implemented on the pages of his writings. I return to Clement's second key passage from *Excerpta* (1.27.5-6), in which he discussed the High Priest's entrance into the Holy of Holiest and intertwined it, as did Philo, with the imagery of soul's entrance into the spheres of divine knowledge. This passage directly speaks of, and culminates in, the education and scriptural erudition, which apparently are the vehicles for, and fundamental preconditions of, achieving the ultimate state of contemplation of God's presence. I cite this passage here once again:

Isn't here the true knowledge of Scripture and Teaching revealed for the soul in its clearest, perfect way? And doesn't she behold here God "face to face (1Cor 13:12)?

l'Eucharistie, 2nd ser., 9th ed. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1930); Pierre Camelot, "L'Eucharistie dans l'Ecole d'Alexandrie," *Divinitas* 1 (1957): 72ff; Claud Mondésert, "L'Eucharistie selon Clément d'Alexandrie," *Parole et pain* 46 (1971): 302-8.

²²⁷ Méhat, "Clement of Alexandria," pp. 120-121.

Thus passing over the angelic Teachings and learning in Scriptures about the Name, the soul achieves the knowledge and grasp of things, no longer as the bride but becoming herself the *logos*.

The revelation and decoding of Scriptures attained through education, which in its broadest sense entails both the elementary acquaintance with letters and advanced cognizance in metaphysics, is accompanied by the ritual initiation of Yom Kippur for Jewish predecessors and in baptism for the new Israel, ultimately establishing the divine economic framework for the soul's salvation, unification with, and transformation into the *logos*. I spoke previously of Christ's all-encompassing role here as the High Priest who enters the Holy of Holies. The passages above indicate that, according to Clement, Christ represented entire humanity before God. He was the Name, which was inscribed on High Priest's tablets. He was the builder of the Temple, both in stone and in the human heart. Ultimately, he was God's Son and Word (*logos*), the Name and the Face of God, unto which the High Priest outstretches his intellectual and spiritual powers in order to be unified with the *logos*. In this mystical, perhaps some would argue mythical, moment of contact between humanity and divinity, Clement intensified Christ's role of the High Priest with his dynamic and powerful role of Christ the *didaskalos*. This is nothing unusual, however, for Clement. He implemented the identical association of the *logos* with the *didaskalos* in his vision of Christ and in this case, just as dexterously as he intertwined the theme of the *didaskalos* with the New Song, he centered the Scriptural erudition (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ διδασκόμενον ἐγγράφως) and initiation in Christian dogmas (ἀγγελικὴ διδασκαλία) alongside the most desirable goals of Christian life articulated in

the mystical ascent of the soul modeled after the High Priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies.

The culmination of the "upward march towards salvation" for Clement is the mystical contemplation of God's Face and pronouncement of God's Name that occur, as was demonstrated above, in the mystical and liturgical context. Clement followed the christological imagery of the *Letter to the Hebrews* that depicted Christ as the exclusive person, who fulfilled the function of the High Priest in the best possible way and was both the executor of the sacrifice and the sacrifice itself. In addition, Clement depicted Christ as the one who received or mediated the sacrifice, as well as the leader, who exhorted and enabled every one to go through the same path of entering the depths of divine gnosis, i.e., the Holy of Holies. A new aspect of Christ's individuality becomes more apparent: together with Christ's identity as the pronounced Word of Jewish Scriptures and Christian Gospel, as well as the *logos* of antique philosophy and the Gnostic idea of liberation/redemption, he is the High Priest, who in the liturgical context not only offered a cosmic soteriological sacrifice for the redemption of the humanity and cosmos, but also showed how to become an active participant in the symbolic/gnostic sacrifice and sacrificial act. Thus, by using the scheme of the subject-object-process, with the help of which Clement also construed other such representations of Christ as the Teacher, Singer, Healer, he drew the contours of a particularly Christian interpretation of the liturgy and rituals, which he saw in clearly intellectual and christological terms and laid the foundation of Christian mysticism, in accordance with which the human being

becomes high priestly (ἀρχιερατική) and undergoes the most intensive transformation of purification, sanctification, and deification.