

Eastern
**Theological
Journal**

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Journal**

10/1-2
2024

Eastern Theological Journal

HU ISSN 2416-2213

ETJ is a peer-reviewed academic journal,
published twice a year by the
St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute

It can be found in the list of publications
recognized as scientific journals by:

– the Italian National Agency for the
Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes
(Agenzia Nazionale di Valutazione del
Sistema Universitario e della Ricerca),
in classification area II
(History, Philosophy and Pedagogical Sciences),

– the Committee on History
(Történettudományi Bizottság II. FTO TTB [1901-] A),
– the Committee on Philosophy
(Filozófiai Tudományos Bizottság II. FTO FTB [1901-] A)
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
(Magyar Tudományos Akadémia)

Yearly subscription for institutions: 55 €

Rate for private individuals: 22 €

CIB Bank

SWIFT: CIBHHUHB

IBAN: HU83 1110 0702 1920 4893 3600 0001

EU VAT NUMBER: HU19204893

Cover and typesetting: Zoltán Szegvári

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“Thy Simple Children Gather round Thee” (*Paed.* III,12,101,3) – The Paedagogus and Its Students

Johanna JÜRGENS

1. *Introduction*; 2. *The guided and the guide(s)*; 3. *The importance of ἀγάπη*; 4. *Book and biography*

Students are omnipresent in Clement’s *Paedagogus*. They play a decisive role in the definition of “education” and its goals. They are also always related to others, both other humans and divine agents. Looking at these students can provide a new, additional perspective on Clement’s second work and the underlying pedagogy. When viewed from this new perspective of the learners, the long-term guidance that the ethical work offers its readers for the Christian life becomes clear. As this Christian life happens within the world, Clement’s ethics focus on the development of genuinely Christian relationships in both social and pedagogical settings and endeavor to continuously lead towards the ideal of charity. The literary pedagogue acts as a long-term companion in a way similar to that of his historical counterpart.

1. *Introduction*

“Thy simple children gather round thee”.¹ This gathering of children is the first plea directed towards the governing Logos in the

1 Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* (= *Paed.*) III,12,101,3 (GCS, Cl. 1, 291,5-6): τοὺς σοῦς ἀφελεῖς παιδας ἄγειρον, [...]. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, ed. Otto Stählin, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 12,1, 2nd ed., Hinrichs, Leipzig 1936. English translation according to Simon P. Wood. Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, ed. and transl. by Simon P. Wood, Fathers of the Church 23, Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 1954, 276.

final, summarizing song of thanksgiving, which is presented in the closing paragraphs of Clement's *Paedagogus*. This final part of book three is made up of many images taken directly from the entirety of the literary work which are collected to praise the Logos. He is the goal of all moral learning and development, which the students strive to reach through the teachings of the *Paedagogus* and beyond. This goal will only be fully reached eschatologically.²

But even if the divine Logos is ultimately the one who gathers the believers to himself, this idea has different facets as well. Looking at the Greek word lending its name to Clement's second work, one finds that the *παιδαγωγός* traditionally is a slave employed to accompany his masters' children to school. While this formative relation between student and pedagogue can be cordial, it is nonetheless a hierarchical one.³ The question arises how the literary form of the pedagogue, as Clement presents his second major work, interacts with the children, that is, the readers.

What the ethical teaching of the *Paedagogus* represents, then, is another facet of the gathering and guidance of children. This process is not yet concluded at the end of the *Paedagogus*. Instead, it happens gradually in the course of the present work and – the final plea quoted above expresses this hope at the end of the work – beyond. The Logos is the ultimate guide of the children, but he acts through earthly representatives like Clement and the literary pedagogue he creates.⁴

Of course, looking at gathering or guidance in this sense of processual advancement of “children” makes the following a question of education. The antique pedagogue is involved in the children's

2 Cf. Friedrich Quatember, *Die christliche Lebenshaltung des Klemens von Alexandrien nach seinem Pädagogus*, Herder, Wien 1946, 149.

3 Cf. Harald Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft*, Von Zabern, Mainz 1998, 102.

4 Cf. Judith L. Kovacs, “Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria”, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9/1 (2001), 3-25, here 25 on the idea of earthly representation.

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (Paed III,12,101,3)

education, he is the guide in the most practical sense.⁵ And the *Paedagogus* is first and foremost a work aiming at ethical education.

The quoted plea from the end of the work hints at an important finding: This and other passages affirm the importance of these children within Clement's ethical work. The recipient of guidance is a constitutive factor in this process. Guidance cannot be properly thought of without a guide, surely, but neither can it be understood without an entity which is being guided. Indeed, when Clement himself defines the eponymous παιδαγωγία in his second work, he does so within four parameters, the first of which is just this recipient of guidance or instruction.

Education is a word used in many different senses. There is education in the sense of the one who is being led and instructed; there is that of the one who leads and gives instruction; and thirdly, there is education in the sense of the guidance itself; and finally, the things that are taught, such as precepts.⁶

However, in modern scholarship, these recipients, or children are hardly ever the focus of analysis. The consideration of these children or learners is often times limited to a side note or concluding remark,⁷

5 Cf. H. Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen*, 16.

6 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,7,54,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 122,6-8): Παιδαγωγία δὲ καλεῖται πολλαχῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἀγομένου καὶ μανθάνοντος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄγοντος καὶ διδάσκοντος, καὶ αὐτὴ τρίτον ἡ ἀγωγὴ, καὶ τὰ διδασκόμενα τέταρτον, ὅσον αἱ ἐντολαί. English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 49-50.

7 Several authors conclude that the learner-orientation influences different aspects of Clement's work, e.g. Johannes Bernard, *Die apologetische Methode bei Klemens von Alexandrien*, Erfurter Theologische Studien 21, St. Benno-Verlag, Leipzig 1968, 2 on anti-heretic argumentation; Ekkehard Mühlhberg, *Altchristliche Lebensführung zwischen Bibel und Tugendlehre: Ethik bei den griechischen Philosophen und den frühen Christen*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse 272, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2006, 46 on ethics; Annewies van den Hoek, "How Alexandrian was Clement of Alexandria? Reflections on Clement and his Alexandrian Background", in *Heythrop Journal* 31/2 (1990), 179-194, here 191 on selecting source materials or Clifton H. Ward, *Clement and Scriptural Exegesis. The Making of a Commentarial Theologian*, Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2022, 194 on exegesis.

while the importance and the role of the teacher or the school in the pedagogical process is much more widely noted.⁸ This paper takes a closer look at these students in the *Paedagogus* and their potential interaction with the work or the literary pedagogue.

Of course, taking the perspective of the learners presents a challenge, as there are no primary sources from Clement's students regarding his teachings. Therefore, our approach must rely solely on the literary work of *Paedagogus* itself. This means that one can only rely on analyzing and interpreting Clement's written text to gain insight into his teaching methods and specific pedagogy. To do this, this paper will explore the learners in relation to others. These relationships are a major topic in the *Paedagogus* (II.). To advance morally is to regulate these relations well (III.), which the *Paedagogus* gradually teaches its readers.

The main question of this investigation is how the *Paedagogus* as a written work can accompany learning for its students. At the same time, the focus on the written version of the *Paedagogus* (as it would have been accessible to its readers) sets the boundaries for this analysis. Since any possible precursory oral teaching cannot be extracted from the written source,⁹ this limitation seems to be appropriate for the question of learners.

This paper provides an example of how modern educational terms can be used as heuristic instruments for the analysis of an ancient text in order to gain new insights and perspectives. By incorporating contemporary educational terminology into our examination of

8 Cf. e.g., J. L. Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria", 3-25 or Ulrich Neymeyer, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert: Ihre Lebttätigkeit, ihr Selbsterständnis und ihre Geschichte*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 4, Brill, Leiden et al. 1989.

9 Cf. Adolf Knauber, "Ein frühchristliches Handbuch katechumenaler Glaubensinitiation: Der Paidagogos des Clemens von Alexandria", in *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 23/4 (1972), 311-334, here 328-329 and Martin Pujjula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise: Clemens von Alexandria und sein Paidagogos*, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n.Chr. 9, De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2006, 93.

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ancient texts, we can enhance our understanding and interpretation of the material. This approach allows us to bridge the gap between past and present, enabling a more comprehensive analysis of the pedagogical ideas presented in Clement of Alexandria's work.

It seems in order, therefore, to give a brief methodological remark on the heuristic terms used: "Learning" is understood as a basic human process of appropriation through external and internal impulses.¹⁰ The terms "learning" and "learners" are used to reconcile the poles of certain "educational" terms that make up the framework of my study. These terms are the Greek *παιδαγωγία* and *παιδεία* on the one hand and the not quite congruent German terms "Erziehung" and "Bildung" on the other. The first German term "Erziehung" can be defined as introduction into an existing practice through intentional external influence,¹¹ while "Bildung" describes a more self-acting and non-inducible kind of learning that tends towards (self-)formation.¹² The English term "education" is situated between both German terms, though closer to "Erziehung",¹³ and may be the most accurate

10 "Lernen ist ein Grundvorgang des menschlichen Lebens, ein Aneignungsprozess, bei dem Umweltreize und interne Verarbeitungsreaktionen zusammenspielen. [...] Lernen geht, wenn es die Person betrifft, immer über kognitive Prozesse hinaus in Bildung über. Lernen gibt es nicht ohne Motivation, die Beteiligung der Phantasie und den Aufbau von Bedeutung." (Joachim Kunstmann, *Religionspädagogik: Einführung und Überblick*, Narr Francke Attempo, Stuttgart 2021, 288).

11 "Erziehung [hat] als externe Einwirkung von Menschen auf Menschen transitiven und (in der Regel) affirmativen Charakter: Es geht um die Einweisung in eine bestehende soziale, kulturelle oder religiöse Praxis, die angeeignet werden soll. Dies erfolgt wiederum absichtsvoll (intentional), z. B. durch entsprechende Institutionen mit konkreten Lehrerrollen und Curricula. Eine solche Erziehung ist grundsätzlich operationalisierbar, es lassen sich Ziele sowie Mittel und Sanktionen angeben, mithilfe derer Erziehungsprozesse gesteuert werden." (Peter Gemeinhardt, *Bildung in der Vormoderne: Zwischen Norm und Praxis*, in Peter Gemeinhardt (ed.), *Was ist Bildung in der Vormoderne?*, Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs 4, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2019, 3-38, here 20).

12 "Selbstbezüglichkeit, Selbsttätigkeit und Nichtinduzierbarkeit" (P. Gemeinhardt, *Bildung in der Vormoderne*, 20).

13 Cf. e.g., Odd Magne Bakke, "Upbringing of Children in the Early Church: The Responsibility of Parents, Goal and Methods", in *Studia Theologica. Nordic Journal of Theology* 60/2 (2006), 145-163, here 145 (note 2), 147, 158.

translation for *παιδαγωγία* in the way that Clement uses it, which includes both intentional, introductory, external and self-motivated, formative, internal components. The main focus of the pedagogical process is the practical qualification for a responsible way of life through the acquisition of knowledge.¹⁴ It therefore seems to be a fruitful perspective on ethical instruction in particular.

“Learning” encompasses ideas from all these terms, it describes external and internal educational developments and it connects different agents of education through its dynamic impetus. In a broad sense, the guided can therefore also be referred to as “learners”.

2. *The guided and the guide(s)*

Clement’s definition of children’s guidance, *παιδαγωγία*, not only includes the guided entity, the learner. As a second parameter of definition, he mentions a guide as well. The idea of guidance in itself implies relation, therefore looking at the learners must account for this relation. All terms, that reasonably can be applied to the group of the guided, connect them to a certain type of guide. This can be illustrated by three examples of such relations with pedagogical aim or emphasis:

First, the concept of childhood is an essential and formative idea within the overarching concept of the *Paedagogus*.¹⁵ The presence of the titular children in the educational processes implies the existence of parents as well. The very first educational effort usually comes from within the family, for example through the *pater familias* who first teaches his children basic societal values etc.¹⁶ Even if the learners in

14 Cf. Katrin Pietzner, *Bildung, Elite und Konkurrenz: Heiden und Christen vor der Zeit Constantins*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 77, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2013, 52.

15 Cf. F. Quatember, *Christliche Lebenshaltung*, 105, who defines the ideal of childhood as the “soul” of the work.

16 Cf. Maria Munkholt Christensen – Irene Salvo, *Die Familie als Ort religiöser Bildung*, in Peter Gemeinhardt – Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler (eds.), *Das Paradies ist ein Hörsaal für die Seelen: Religiöse Bildung in historischer Perspektive*, Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs 1, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2018, 177-200.

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the present work are not children in a biological sense, they are referred to as such in a metaphorical way. Clement takes great pains to show that the label "child", which he applies to his readers, is in no way derogatory.¹⁷ Rather, childhood describes an initial stage of learning that can be full of potential. In this stage of pedagogical childhood, so to speak, the *Paedagogus* conveys the initial moral education just like a family would.¹⁸ The familial label "child" emphasizes a close relationship between the children and the father and/or mother. This is, of course, first and foremost God or his Logos.¹⁹ Additionally, both Clement as a teacher (following in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul)²⁰ and the *ἐκκλησία*²¹ can take on a parental role in the process of educating the "children". For example, they are the ones responsible for (spiritual) nourishment.

Secondly, as a written work, the *Paedagogus* has an intended audience it addresses. If one discusses addressees this also implies a speaker who addresses them through said work. In the present case, Clement is the one who addresses potential learners through the voice of his work. Not all intended readers will actually become readers of the work and charges of the literary pedagogue. They are the people whose way of life, traditions and prior knowledge inspire central themes and topics in the *Paedagogus*. In a first pedagogical step, they are externally

17 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I, chapter 6.

18 As intentional moral education this would correspond to the German term "Erziehung".

19 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,6,42,3 (GCS, Cl. I, 115,20-22): ὁ λόγος τὰ πάντα τῷ νηπίῳ, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ τροφεύς "The Word is everything to His little ones, both father and mother, educator and nurse." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 40. This specifically Christian familial relation to God is first expressed in the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6,9).

20 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,6,35,3 (GCS, Cl. I, 111,5-7): κατήχησα ὑμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτοφυσῇ τροφῇ τῇ πνευματικῇ. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ γάλακτος ζωοτρόφος οὐσία, φιλοστόργους πηγάζουσα μαστοῖς. «I have instructed you in Christ, who is the simple and true and real spiritual nourishment.» That is what life-giving milk really is by nature, flowing from breasts of tender love." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 34.

21 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,5,21,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 102,12-13): ἡ μήτηρ προσάγεται τὰ παιδιά καὶ ἡμεῖς ζητοῦμεν τὴν μητέρα, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. "A mother draws her children near her; we seek our mother the Church." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 21.

confronted with the demands of a Christian lifestyle through the present work. They are expected to respond to this external call – that is, ideally, to begin the respective learning process.²² Hypothetically, at this stage the addressees may also decide to reject the demands on their lifestyle – the written work cannot control its reception.

It is important to note that even though those addressed here are generally more educated, wealthy and open-minded than not, the *Paedagogus* does not offer a study of a particular milieu. Nor does it seek to exclude those who do not meet the criteria.²³ But it does describe an exemplary (and particularly challenging) social environment which has a lasting influence on the entire Christian life of those addressed. The nuanced discussion of riches and their potential uses creates sensitivity to the fact that the ideal Christian life is living (with)in the world – ἐν κόσμῳ.²⁴ Taking the intended readers into consideration like this means that the choice of topics is pedagogical as well: Particularly these rich Christians need to be educated on specifically those topics discussed in the *Paedagogus*. Clement seems to pursue a pastoral goal as well.²⁵ A similar aim is apparent in his short work *Quis Dives Salvetur*.

Thirdly, the audience can become active participants in the educational process. To describe the learners as students implies the existence of a teacher or teachers – and possibly a school or school-

22 The external impulse can stem from either the teacher, the contents of the learning process themselves, or the context (cf. Bernd Schröder, *Einführung*, in Bernd Schröder (ed.), *Bildung, Themen der Theologie* 14, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2021, 1-16, here 11). Clement differentiates between those, that receive the call and those that answer elsewhere as well (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* I,18,89,3).

23 Clement has a generally favorable view of humanity, which in principle leads him to believe continuous growth possible for all humans (cf. Ulrich Volp, “Nächstenliebe als universal-ethischer Imperativ bei Clemens von Alexandrien: Stromata 7,9,52,3?“, in *Journal of Ethics and Antiquity and Christianity* 3 (2021), 102-110, here 104).

24 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,78,3 (GCS, Cl. 1, 279,21). As F. Quatember, *Christliche Lebenshaltung*, 151 notes: “Es ist viel leichter, der Welt ganz zu entsagen, als in ihr als vollkommener Christ zu leben.”

25 Cf. Hildegard König, “*Dass du dich retten lässt, das drängt mich sehr!*“ *Clemens von Alexandrien als Seelsorger: Ein wenig beachteter Zugang zu Person und Werk*, Hochschulschrift, Bonn 2010.

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (Paed III,12,101,3)

like setting. Once the listeners (or in this case, readers) decide to participate actively and responsibly in the Christian way of life, they become students both of the earthly teacher Clement and of the true teacher, the Logos, and thus enter into an extra-human relationship. They decide for God, accept their state of childhood, and choose a lasting relation with Him. At this point, the external stimulus aimed at readers becomes productive as an internal educational motivation and the gradual development towards adulthood begins.²⁶

At the same time, the students also enter into a relationship with the ἐκκλησία. The Church is first of all a transcendent agent involved in the salvation of humanity.²⁷ It is, however, a tangible entity as well, which can be encountered on earth. Whether or not it is nominally to be considered a "school",²⁸ by supporting the ethical development of students, it participates in their education.²⁹ Secondly, it is also a new social setting, which confronts its participants with a certain set of ecclesiastical norms of behavior (e.g., the kiss),³⁰ and establishes new interactions. These three examples highlight two different aspects for the question of learners. First, any approach that focusses on the learners must view them in relation to others. Education is a communicative process. This focus on relations is particularly beneficial for the current study, where the work analyzed provides insight first and foremost into the perspective of the teacher while sources from the learners themselves are missing.

26 This internal motivation is what the German term "Bildung" emphasizes.

27 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,5,22,2.

28 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,12,98,1 (GCS, Cl. 1, 289,27) has caused some controversy. This topic has been widely discussed by scholars though the text does not seem to read διδασκαλείον, cf. for example Annewies van den Hoek, "The Catechetical School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage", in *Harvard Theological Review* 90/1 (1997), 59-87, especially 65.

29 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,80,4 (GCS, Cl. 1, 280, 25-27): καὶ τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον σεβασάμενοι καταλελοίπασιν ἐνδον οὐ ἤκουσαν, ἐξῶθεν δὲ ἄρα μετὰ τῶν ἀθέων ἀλύουσι, [...]. "After paying homage to the word of God, they leave inside what they have heard; once outside, they roam about with the ungodly, [...]." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 260. As the Church can act as a mother, this is part of the familial education as well.

30 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,81,2-3 (GCS, Cl. 1, 281,5-12).

These educational relationships include, on the one hand, all those educational connections mentioned above. On the other hand, it includes everyday relationships as well. A central part of the given context of the students, which the *Paedagogus* incorporates, is inter-human social relations. Relationships with servants, between men and women, old and young, between equals etc. are recurring themes throughout the work, in both their perverted and their ideal Christian forms. Within the moral teachings, all these relations are used to illustrate certain Christian virtues: The relationship between man and woman shows a non-biological ideal of masculinity, servant and master illustrate the value of fairness and benevolence; relationships with equals are closely linked to consideration and thoughtfulness etc.

In a way, focusing on relationships to approach the learners could be classified as a “sociological approach” in the broadest sense.³¹ As the Christian life Clement envisions takes place within the world, the learner is never fully isolated. Instead, he or she remains connected socially all throughout the Christian learning process. It stands to reason, then, that these social connections are part of said process of learning. Therefore, looking at these relationships in return could provide deeper insight into the process itself.

A second aspect has been highlighted: Of course, Christian learning is a gradual process just like the term “learning” implies. Clement uses the metaphor of a hike to illustrate this.³² The first steps are generally taken within the family. For the pagan born addressees of the *Paedagogus* this childhood education must be substituted.

31 Already Gustave Bardy, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, Les Moralistes Chrétiens. Textes et commentaires, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris 1926, 27 noted, that, as the life Clement envisions for his pupils is a life within the world, his moral must be a “morale sociale”. He does not, however, look at social relations in detail. In this paper, “sociological” is understood according to this textbook definition: “Soziologie befasst sich mit dem Zusammenleben der Menschen, ihrem zwischenmenschlichen Handeln und Verhalten und sucht dabei die gesellschaftlichen «Webmuster» und Verknüpfungszusammenhänge [...] zu beschreiben, zu analysieren und zu erklären.” (Hans Peter Henecka, *Grundkurs Soziologie*, 8th ed., UKV Verlagsgesellschaft, Konstanz 2006, 15-16).

32 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,7,38,2-3 and III,7,39,1-2.

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (Paed III,12,101,3)

Afterwards, the children are ready to continue their learning with a teacher. Just like the pedagogue would accompany his charge to this next step, the literary pedagogue accompanies its readers.

Within the learning process, the relationships change as well. A closer look reveals: None of the relationships in which the learners find themselves, be they social or pedagogical, are static in the present work. This includes inter-human relations between man and woman, old and young, master and servant, between equals etc. as well as extra-human relationships between the learner and God, the Church or the (divine) teacher.

In fact, the *Paedagogus* comprises several changes in the relationship dynamic. With regard to inter-human relationships, for instance, this can mean the introduction of new *topoi* or a change in the evaluation of social relations. For example, the dynamic of man and woman in marriage is later made concrete in the example of mixed marriages between a believer and a non-believer.³³ Servants gradually move from being viewed as a possession to be properly managed³⁴ to being perceived as fellow human beings to be treated with benevolence.³⁵ The discussed relationships are also not exhaustive. Relations will be constitutive in the learners' development even after the current step of education. The *Paedagogus* hints at further inter-human relations that the learner may encounter – e.g., between educated and uneducated believers³⁶ – and to which he or she will later need to apply the Christian virtues learned through the discussion of exemplary relationships in the present work. These relationships anticipate new challenges to be encountered in the mixed social milieu of the Church – but they are

33 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,57,2.

34 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III, chapter 4.

35 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,12,92,4.

36 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,78,2 (GCS, Cl. I, 279,15-17): γράμματα, φησίν, οὐκ ἔμαθον. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἔμαθες, τὸ ἀκοῦειν ἀναπολόγητον, ὅτι μὴ διδακτόν. "I have not learned letters, he may answer. But, even if you have not learned to read, hearing is inexcusable, as if it, too, needed to be taught." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 258.

not the main focus of the written work, which for obvious reasons can only be received by the literate.

3. *The importance of ἀγάπη*

Having detected both the importance of relations for a pedagogical understanding of the *Paedagogus* and the dynamic character of these relations, the next question must be if this dynamic has a specific direction.

When looking at the central relationships developed in the *Paedagogus* – in a Christian ethical work – the most pressing question must of course be how to form these relationships in a Christian way. The main motivator that Clement presents as a central value is love. At the end of the third book, both the “Golden Rule” and the commandment of Christian charity are presented as pivotal maxims for the educated Christian, summarizing all others.

There is also the counsel that sums up everything, advice that leads to life and embraces everything: «As you wish that men do to you, do you to them.» (Luke 6,31) All the commandments may be summed up in these two, as the Lord Himself said: «Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with thy whole strength; and thy neighbor as thyself.» (Matt 22,37.39).³⁷

Relationships are not only a given in the life of the learner; they also provide a task for the new Christian. It can clearly be seen here how the ethical behavior of each individual student must ideally take into account both inter- and extra-human relationships. The “Golden

37 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,12,88,1 (GCS, Cl. 1, 284,19-24): ἔστι μὲν οὖν αὐτόθεν κεφαλαιώδης ὑποθήκη καὶ βιωτικὴ παραίνεσις, πάντα ἐμπεριέχουσα. «καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.» δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ διὰ δυεῖν ἐμπεριλαβεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς, ὡς φησιν ὁ κύριος «ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.» English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 266.

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (Paed III,12,101,3)

Rule" establishes a close relationship between the learner's self and the inter-human other, the commandment of charity extends this to a relationship between self, God and other, all three intimately connected.

Charity is the virtue of relations. It sums up all the other positive virtues connected to certain inter-human connections. Treating one's servants in a benevolent manner or being respectful to one's equals essentially is applied charity. In the implementation of charity in the new Christian lifestyle at the inter-human level, certain developments can be noted. They are closely connected with the relationship between God and self. God first enables the human to practice charity.³⁸

On the grounds provided by God, the ethical learning process begins, as Clement notes at the beginning of the practical book two, with oneself. "We should begin with ourselves, and with the way we should regulate (our actions)."³⁹

Throughout the work, this consists mainly of Clement teaching the student how to renounce the perverse love of earthly things (φιλοψία, φιλονία, φιλοκοσμία etc.),⁴⁰ in order to gain a new level of independence from his or her context.⁴¹ The divine Logos is a practical agent in this moral education, since he is the first and principal ethical example for the learner: Jesus Christ.⁴²

38 Cf. Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge et al. 2005, 137-145 who, on this basis, develops an entire system of interconnected ellipses to summarize Clement's work through this reciprocal love dynamic. Here, the human is integrated into the sphere of divine love, which in turn enables him to act charitably towards his neighbors.

39 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,1,1,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 153,20-21): ἀρκτέον οὖν ἡμῖν ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπως ἀρμόττειν γέ χρῆ. English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 93.

40 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,2,10,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 241,28-29).

41 M. Pujula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise*, 116-120 summarizes the individual development from external towards internal values.

42 Jesus is an example for properly eating (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,1,15,2), enjoying wine (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,2,32,2) or even using bath supplies (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,3,38,1).

The student is then challenged to turn towards his or her fellow human beings and to start engaging with them. *Paed.* III,10,52,1 notes first the virtue of *αὐτουργία* and only afterwards that of *κοινωνία*.

To properly turn towards one's neighbor, it is necessary to learn how the preexisting social relations with fellow humans can be well-governed and well-mannered: Naturally, the guideline is charity. For the sake of love, the Christian must practice a certain behavior, e.g., in conversation.

But make sure that the sociability arising from our drinking is twofold, in keeping with the direction of the Law. For, if «Thou shalt love the Lord thy God», and after that, «thy neighbor», (Matt 22,37.39) then intimacy with God must come first, and be expressed in thanksgiving and chanting of psalms. Only then are we free to show sociability toward our neighbor in a respectful comradeship.⁴³

This “respectful comradeship” (*ὁμιλία σεμνή*) is the quintessential ethical dimension of love or *ἀγάπη*. Such charity should define all human interactions and it is first made possible by a relationship with God.

But the *Paedagogus* goes beyond simple rules of interaction. Ideally, all these charitable social relationships can themselves be pedagogically inclined in the long run. Clement expresses such for the interaction with social equals:

43 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,4,43,1 (GCS, Cl. 1, 183,17-20): εἰ γὰρ «ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου», ἔπειτα «τὸν πλησίον σου», πρότερα μὲν ἢ εἰς θεὸν δι' εὐχαριστίας καὶ ψαλμωδίας γενέσθω φιλοφροσύνη, δευτέρα δὲ εἰς τὸν πλησίον διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας τῆς σεμνῆς. English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 132.

"*Thy simple children gather round Thee*" (*Paed III,12,101,3*)

But, if we would draw any of our fellow banqueters to virtue, we should refrain from these delicacies of the palate all the more, and make ourselves unmistakable examples of virtue, as Christ has done for us.⁴⁴

This pedagogical impetus is also charitable. Charity is not only the guiding principle in ethical questions, but also the motivator for educational pursuits. In setting a good example for others, the Christian follows in the footsteps of Christ. The virtue of *ἀγάπη* is an all-encompassing Christian ideal that aides the correct development of social relations at various stages.

This last aspect already hints at a further step: If they continue in the Christian learning process, at one point the students become teachers themselves. Even when focusing on the *Paedagogus*, the understanding of further advancement will always be influenced by the Gnostic ideal presented in the *Stromateis*. This goes to show that Clement's pedagogical concept is an overarching one that goes beyond a single work.⁴⁵ The way on which the pedagogue guides his charges leads to a teacher. The *Stromateis* define the Gnostic as follows:

These three things, therefore, our philosopher attaches himself to: first, speculation; second, the performance of the precepts; third, the forming of good men; —which, concurring, form the Gnostic.⁴⁶

44 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,1,10,4 (GCS, Cl. 1, 161,3-6): εἰ δὲ καὶ προτρεποίμεθα ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τῶν συνεστιωμένων τινάς, ταύτη πλεόν ἀφεκτέον τῶν λίγων τούτων βρωμάτων, ἐναργές ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παριστάντας, ὡς Χριστὸν ἐσχίκαμεν αὐτοί. English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 102.

45 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,1,1,3-2,1.

46 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* II,10,46,1 (GCS, Cl. 2, 137,14-16): Τριῶν τοίνυν τούτων ἀντέχεται ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς φιλόσοφος, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς θεωρίας, δεύτερον δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐπιτελέσεως, τρίτον ἀνδρῶν κατασκευῆς. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata Buch I-VI*, ed. by Otto Stählin, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 15, 4th ed., Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1985. English translation according to William Wilson, *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria*, vol. 2, Ante-Nicene Fathers 12, T&T Clark, Edinburgh 1867, 358.

Not even the Gnostic is isolated from the world. This ideal provides the background for the present work as well, students finish their studies – if such a thing can be said for the earthly realm at all – by becoming teachers themselves. They remain in relation to others.

However, even on lower “steps”, the students are encouraged to become multipliers of the Christian education: e.g., masters chastising servants like children for their own good;⁴⁷ men aiding women on their path towards virtue⁴⁸ (or on rare occasions, women men)⁴⁹; elders teasing the young for the better⁵⁰ etc.

Of course, as a work aimed at those students who only begin their learning, the *Paedagogus* values the beginning of the process. Practicability and activation of inherent abilities are main concerns. Few things are completely forbidden to all – and when they are, Clement provides detailed evidence that abstaining from them will have beneficial consequences (e.g., the health benefits of abstaining from gluttony)⁵¹. The students are continuously encouraged to keep

47 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,12,93,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 287,3-5): δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐ κολάζειν, ἐπιτιμᾶν δέ. «ὁ γὰρ φειδόμενος», φησί, «τῆς βακτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ μισεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν.» “We ought not to inflict torture on servants who do wrong, but only chastise them: «He who spares his rod hates his son.»” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 269.

48 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,5,33,2 (GCS, Cl. I, 255,21-23): χρη τοῖνυν τοὺς ἀνδρας γενναῖον ἀληθείας ὑπόδειγμα ταῖς γυναῖξι γινομένους αἰσχύνεσθαι τὰς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδύσεις καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις τὰς ὀλισθηράς. “Men, then, should give good example of truth to the women, and be loathe to undress before them.” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 226.

49 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,11,57,3 (GCS, Cl. I, 269,10-11): [...] προκεισθω αὐταῖς, εἴ γε σωφρονεῖν ἐθέλοιεν, τὰς ἀλόγους ὀρμὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταπραῦνειν ἡρέμα. “They must lead them back to simplicity quietly, by accustoming them little by little to what is more restrained.” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 245. Clement directly addresses women at certain points in his work, though his focus remains on a male audience, cf. M. Pujjula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise*, 112-115.

50 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,7,57,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 191,22-24): πρεσβῦται δὲ ὡς τέκνα ἀφορῶντες τοὺς νέους σπανιᾶτατα μὲν, ἴσως δ’ ἂν που καὶ παίξαιεν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰς τοῦτο ἐπισκώποντες, ὃ παιδαγωγῆσει τὸ εὔσχημον αὐτῶν. “Old men who look on young men as children may, perhaps, although only infrequently, jest with them, teasing them in a way that will teach them good manners.” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 143.

51 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,1,11,4 et al. On this subject cf. Alfred Breitenbach, “Wer christlich lebt, lebt gesund. Medizinische und physiologische Argumentation im Paidagogos des Klemens von Alexandrien”, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 45 (2002), 24-49, here 32-33.

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (*Paed III,12,101,3*)

up their initial pursuits.⁵² However, the importance of this particular work goes beyond that: I would argue that the *Paedagogus* offers its students a great potential for rereading.⁵³ The gradual development of properly Christian relationships needs not be a result of just a singular, linear reading. Not only does the work seek to accommodate beginners in particular, teaching them specifically how to regulate their own actions (step one as seen above), but it also offers a glimpse of further development that becomes more apparent as the students' understanding increases. It is, therefore, not only a part of a larger pedagogical concept, but also a multi-faceted pedagogical endeavor in its own right. It could be seen as a non-exclusive alternative for students to continue their Christian education in other ways, be that in the *Stromateis* or not⁵⁴ – even an intense reading and rereading of the *Paedagogus* can provide an understanding of many central Christian themes and practical requirements. Similarly, the boundaries between pedagogue and teacher could become blurry in antiquity.⁵⁵

The structure of the *Paedagogus* supports the theory of a nonlinear reading. The work itself, as it is presented, does not seem to be designed for continuous reading: The preliminary reflections can be easily separated from the ethical-practical advice, which ends in Book 3 before being followed up by two summaries.⁵⁶

Again, the Christian ideal of love provides an example: Looking at the central value of charity throughout the *Paedagogus* supports

52 E.g., *Paed.* I,12,99,2 (GCS, Cl. 1, 149,22-23): ἀλλ' ἐκπόνει καὶ μὴ ἀπόκαμνε. ἔση γὰρ οἶος οὐκ ἐλπίζεις οὐδ' εἰκάσαι δύναιο ἔν. "Labor, then, and do not grow weary; you will become what you dare not hope or cannot imagine." English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 88.

53 Clement values rereading greatly when it comes to understanding the Scriptures (cf. C. H. Ward, *Scriptural Exegesis*, 74-75). In my opinion, this could be applied to the understanding of his own teaching as well.

54 Cf. e.g., M. Pujula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise*, 53-55, who's critical towards the idea of a trilogy and tries to locate further education in oral teachings. On the other hand, e.g., E. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 6 remains more optimistic towards the idea of a trilogy of works.

55 Cf. H. Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen*, 19.

56 Many scholars have remarked on the disparate structure of the work, cf. e.g., F. Quatember, *Christliche Lebenshaltung*, 42-50.

a nonlinear reading even further. The commandment of charity is not formally introduced until Clement declares that the ethical rules of conduct have been fully explored.⁵⁷ It is part of a collection of important basic Christian doctrines that shape the transition to the next higher level of education. The implications of an ethic based on ἀγάπη, however, can be seen throughout the *Paedagogus* long before the formal introduction of this precept, e.g., during the discussion of banquets,⁵⁸ conversation, as seen earlier,⁵⁹ or the importance of sharing.⁶⁰ Every personal improvement the learner makes (according to step one mentioned above) prepares him more and more for correctly shaping his relationships (steps two and three).

Upon a first reading, ἀγάπη can be understood as an explication of the programmatic φιλόανθρωπον also known in pagan contexts, first as “a benign attitude toward man on the part of a god”⁶¹ and later as

57 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III,12,87,1 (GCS, Cl. 1, 283,31-32): “Ὅσα μὲν οὖν οἴκοι παραφυλακτέον καὶ ὡς τὸν βίον ἐπανορθωτέον, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῖν ἄδην διείλεκται. “The things we should be on our guard against at home, and how we are to preserve our lives upright, the Educator has shown us in abundant detail.” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 265.

58 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,1,6,1 (GCS, Cl. 1, 157,17-20): [...] ἡ δὲ ἐπίγειος δεῖπνον κέκληται, ὡς ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ἀποδεδείκται, δι’ ἀγάπην μὲν γινόμενον τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀγάπη τὸ δεῖπνον, δεῖγμα δὲ ἐννοίας κοινωνικῆς καὶ εὐμεταδότου. “The earthly feast, as we have proved from Scripture, is called a supper, one permeated with love, yet not identified with it, but an expression of mutual and generous good will.” English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 97.

59 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,4,43,1.

60 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,12,120,4 (GCS, Cl. 1, 229,14-16): πάρεστί μοι, διὰ τί μὴ μεταδῶ τοῖς δεομένοις; ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος τέλειος ὁ τὸ «ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν» πληρώσας. “I have something, why should I not share it with those in need?” Such a one is perfect, and fulfills the command: «Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself». English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 192.

61 Robert D. Lamberton, “«Philanthropia» and the Evolution of Dramatic Taste”, in *Phoenix* 37/2 (1983), 95-103, here 100. Φιλόανθρωπία is already connected to transmission of knowledge in (Pseudo-)Aeschylus’ Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης (Aeschylus, *Prometheus vinculus* 11,28) as well ([Pseudo-] Aeschylus, *Tragoediae: Cum incerti Poetae Prometheus*, ed. by Martin L. West, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, B.G. Teubner, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1990).

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (*Paed III,12,101,3*)

a human virtue as well.⁶² At the end of the first book, Clement gives a preview of general topics, that will follow in the next books: Students will learn from the Logos "[...] poverty (τὸ εὐτελέες) and humility (ἄτυφον) and all that goes with love of freedom (τὸ φιλελεύθερον) and of mankind (φιλόανθρωπον) and of the good (φιλόκαλόν)".⁶³ Charity is, metaphorically speaking, the human side of the coin of divine philanthropy that is prominently featured in the present work, the human way of showing love to humanity.⁶⁴ A potential rereading, with the knowledge of ἀγάπη as a central Christian doctrine from the end of the *Paedagogus* in mind, highlights this charity anew in a specifically Christian light, and can contribute to a better understanding of certain ethical requirements and bring forth another advancement in education. A well-regulated individual can now focus on improving his social interactions, well-connected learners could begin to use their relationships for pedagogical purposes.

62 Cf. Hubert Martin Jr., "The Concept of Philanthropia in Plutarch's Lives", in *American Journal of Philology* 82/2 (1961), 164-75, here 166-74. A man can be φιλόανθρωπος either by nature (Plutarch, *Vita Marcelli* 10,3; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, in Jeffrey Henderson (ed.), *Plutarch: Lives. Agesilaus and Pompey, Pelopidas and Marcellus*, transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 5 of *Plutarch: Lives*; Loeb Classical Library 87, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA – London, repr. 2004, 435-521), in his general habitus (Plutarch, *Vita Publicolae* 4,4; Plutarch, *Publicola*, in Jeffrey Henderson (ed.), *Plutarch: Lives. Theseus and Romulus, Lysurgus and Numa and Publicola*, transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 1 of *Plutarch: Lives*; Loeb Classical Library 46, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA – London, repr. 2005, 501-563) or even in a singular action (Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri* 44,3; Plutarch, *Alexander*, in Jeffrey Henderson (ed.), *Plutarch: Lives. Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar*, transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 7 of *Plutarch: Lives*; Loeb Classical Library 99, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA – London, repr. 2004, 223-440).

63 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I,12,99,1 (GCS, Cl. I, 149,19-21): [...] παρ' οὗ τὸ εὐτελέες τε καὶ ἄτυφον καὶ τὸ ὅλον φιλελεύθερον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον φιλόκαλόν τε ἐκμανθάνομεν [...]. English translation S.P. Wood, *Christ the Educator*, 88.

64 Cf. Juan Ignacio Ruiz Aldaz, "La recepción del concepto de *philanthropia* en la literatura cristiana de los dos primeros siglos", in *Scripta Theologica* 42 (2010), 277-308, here 277, who claims a culmination of the concept of *philanthropia* in Clement's work.

4. *Book and biography*

Now, the connection between the pedagogue and his students can be a very formative one. Can the literary pedagogue also claim such a sustainable influence on its adult students, who are only children metaphorically speaking?

To conclude: From a pedagogical standpoint, the *Paedagogus* does not necessarily exhaust its educational potential for students in a single reading. Just as the everyday context described in the work does not lose its importance just because it is gradually valued differently, so all the advancements made within this ethical work remain relevant throughout the Christian's life, since Christian life continuously happens within the world. Therefore, the work can have lasting importance in the life of its readers.

From the point of view of an educational approach to the students, the *Paedagogus* can be understood essentially as a work practicing relation. It endeavors to mold the existing inter-human social relationships, which make up the context of the addressees, into Christian relationships – that is, relationships governed by the central Christian virtue of love. In this process, various social relations are used to exemplify and illustrate certain lasting virtues. These are, however, not an exhaustive list of potential relations. Ideally, all the virtues taught this way become lasting guidelines for the learner and can be applied to all other human interactions the learner will encounter throughout his or her life.

At the same time, the *Paedagogus* accompanies the changing “extra-human” pedagogical relationships into which the students enter: Firstly, God is the overarching requirement for the educational process itself, but in the form of the Logos he can also connect more closely to the learned Christian in the way of the *ἔννοικος λόγος* who

"Thy simple children gather round Thee" (Paed III,12,101,3)

is already hinted at in the *Paedagogus*.⁶⁵ Throughout the instruction, he gathers the learners closer to himself and helps them to orient their lives towards this ideal connection of God and man. Even if Clement, for example, can temporarily assume the role of the teacher, speaker or even father – in the end, the one entity to which the guided are related is the true guide, teacher and father, God. The teacher interacts with the students in changing roles, calling them to himself, then teaching ethics, central Christian doctrine and first aspects of allegory. Which parts of his teaching are properly understood depends on the level of the student. Rereading, in accordance with Clement's caveat on scribality in *Strom.* VII,18,111,3,⁶⁶ can convey new information according to the new level of advancement the rereading student has reached.

Secondly, the students are slowly introduced into the Church. Although it is permanently present as transcendental agent, as a social reality it becomes a more prominent topic only in the later, summarizing parts of the present work.

The single work therefore goes beyond the initiation into Christian ethics. It is a constitutive element of an overarching project of lifelong learning, in the sense that it is a work meant to accompany its readers and guide them continuously in their own lifelong learning process. Therefore, in the pursuit of education, the reader and the work can also

65 Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* II,9,81,4 (GCS, Cl. 1, 207,10-11): «οὐ» γὰρ «χρῆ παννύχιον εὐδειν» τοὺς ἐνοικον ἔχοντας τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐργήγορον.

66 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* VII,18,111,3 (GCS, Cl. 3, 79,3-8): Οὐτ' οὖν τῆς τάξεως οὔτε τῆς φράσεως στοχάζονται οἱ Στρωματεῖς, ὅπου γε ἐπίτηδες καὶ τὴν λέξιν οὐχ Ἕλληνες εἶναι βούλονται καὶ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἐγκατασπορὰν λεληθότως καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πεποιήνται, φιλοπόνους καὶ εὐρετικούς εἶναι τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας εἰ τινες τύχοιεν παρασκευάζοντες. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ δελέατα καὶ ποικίλα διὰ τὰς τῶν ἰχθύων διαφοράς. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae Propheticae. Quis Dives Salvetur. Fragmente*, ed. by Otto Stählin, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 17, 2nd ed., Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1970. "The Miscellanies, then, study neither arrangement nor diction; since there are even cases in which the Greeks on purpose wish that ornate diction should be absent, and imperceptibly cast in the seed of dogmas, not according to the truth, rendering such as may read laborious and quick at discovery. For many and various are the baits for the various kinds of fishes." English translation W. Wilson, *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria*, vol. 2, 556.

enter into a long-term relationship. The literary pedagogue becomes a formative figure in the life of the Christian “child” just as his historical counterpart would and he guides his charges towards the true teacher, God, educating them on moral matters all along.

Abstract

Die Lernenden sind in Clemens’ *Paedagogus* omnipräsent. Sie spielen eine entscheidende Rolle für die Definition von „Erziehung“ und ihren Zielen. Sie stehen stets in Beziehung zu anderen. Wird Clemens’ Werk von dieser neuen Perspektive der Lernenden aus betrachtet, zeigt sich die langfristige Begleitung, die das ethische Werk seinen Leser:innen für das christliche Leben bietet, umso deutlicher. Clemens’ Ethik legt ihren Fokus auf die Entwicklung genuin christlicher Beziehungen sowohl im sozialen als auch im pädagogischen Setting und ist darum bemüht, kontinuierlich zum Ideal der *ἀγάπη* hinzuführen. Der literarische Pädagoge wirkt dabei ähnlich wie sein historisches Gegenstück als langfristiger Begleiter.⁶⁷

67 This paper develops a perspective on the *Paedagogus* connected to my PhD project “Christlich Lehren, Lernen und Leben nach Clemens von Alexandria. Der Paidagogos als Begleiter ethischer Bildungsprozesse”, which analyzes the learning processes described in the *Paedagogus* with special emphasis on the learners from an educational standpoint for a new understanding of Clement’s Oeuvre.