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DOCTORAL THESIS

HUMANISTIC EDUCATION – FROM *INTERPRETATIO ROMANA* TO *INTERPRETATIO CHRISTIANA*

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	2
1. Argument.....	2
1.1. Relevance of the works for the educational issues.....	2
1.2. Importance of the changing of the paradigm	3
1.3. Temporal similarities between the Late Antiquity period and the Present	3
2. Aim of research	4
3. Literature of specialty	5
4. Structure of work	8
5. Research methods	9
I. PAIDEIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.....	10
1. General context	10
2. The virtue (<i>arete</i>) of noble people in the works of poets.....	11
3. Rational approach necessary for achieving the Good in Plato’s writings	13
4. Education and salvation in the Hellenistic period.....	21
4.1. The Epicureanism: education as denial of gods’ involvement in the world	23
4.2. Ancient Stoicism: education as relation with Nature/Reason.....	23
4.3. Middle Stoicism: diminishing of interest for Logic	27
5. Roman pragmatic education.....	28
SENECA	32
I. PHILOSOPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES IN SENECA’S WORKS	33
1. The philosophical character of Seneca’s writings	33
2. The importance of the education	39
3. The principles of educational philosophy.....	40
3.1. Aim of education is the possession of the Perfect Good (Summum Bonum).....	41
3.2. Achievement of education goal supposes the absence of passions (<i>apatheia</i>)	42
3.3. The Perfect Good accomplished by cultivation of reason (divine spirit in man).....	44
3.4. Education is valuation of the <i>opportune moment (kairos)</i>	51
3.5. Necessity to correlate theory (<i>contemplatio</i>) with the practice of virtue (<i>actio</i>).....	54
3.6. Joy (<i>gaudium</i>) as result of the possession of virtue.....	56
II. THE MORAL-EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE IN SENECA’S WORKS.....	58
1. Researchers about Seneca’s language	58
2. Value judgements about the rhetorics and dialectics in Seneca’s works.....	62
3. Revealing of the conformity between the eloquence and morality	67

4. Analysis of the structure of Seneca’s texts	69
4.1. Rationality of the discourse by using the moral principles (<i>decreta</i>)	69
4.2. Using the particular moral precepts (<i>praecepta</i>) in the educational texts	73
4.3. Using the significant moral examples (<i>exempla</i>) in the educational texts.....	76
4.4. Other language procedures: comparisons, metaphors, allegories, irony, paradox	79
4.5. Argumentative approach consonant to the principle of life rationality	83
5. Rules of educational discourse in Seneca’s view	85
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA	88
I. THEOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES IN CLEMENT’S WORKS	89
1. The value of the Classical Paideia in Christianity.....	89
2. Clement report with pre-Christian culture	91
3. Authentic Paideia.....	94
4. Principles of educational theology	96
4.1. Education aims to resemble the Divine Logos.....	97
4.2. Divine education supposes passage from the protreptic moment to the pedagogical moment, ending with the didaskalic moment.....	98
4.3. Human being’s collaboration with the Divine Logos for assuming and go beyond the world.....	109
II. THEOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE IN CLEMENT’S WORKS	115
1. Christians report with the ancient oratorical culture	115
2. Specificities of Clement’s works in the specialty literature.....	117
2.1. Inclusion of Clement’s texts in the category of the diatribe	117
2.2. Clement’s writings as either literary puzzle or the result of Divine inspiration	118
2.3. Inclusion of Clement’s texts in the category of Biblical exegeses.....	120
3. Remarks on rhetoric and dialectics in Clement’s works.....	120
4. Subordination of the issue of language procedures to the issue of intact preservation of tradition.....	123
5. Analysis of Clement’s text structure	124
5.1. Structure of the protreptic language	124
5.3. Structure of the didaskalic language.....	134
5.4. Dialectics of Clement texts between humanistic/mundane and Divine/celestial.....	137
6. Rules of educational language in Clement’s view	139
CONCLUSION	142
1. Comparative approach.....	142

1.1. Educational principles.....	142
1.2. Language	147
2. The influence exerted of the works of Seneca and Clement of Alexandria.....	149
REFERENCES.....	155

Key terms:

Education (*paideia*, *cultura animi*), humanism, virtue (*arete*, *virtus*), transcendence, dialectic, rhetoric, educational principles, the perfect good (*summum bonum*), active life (*actio*), contemplative life (*contemplatio*), moral principles (*decreta*), particular precepts (*praecepta*), significant examples (*exempla*), paradoxes, comparisons, metaphors, allegories, Logos, Inner Teacher, protreptic moment, pedagogical moment, didaskalic moment, moral rules, moral examples, symbolical language, interpretive pluralism.

SUMMARY

Introduction

The reasons for which we chose to propose this thesis are the following: a. The relevance of the studied works for educational problems, b. The importance of the changing of the paradigm, c. The temporal similarities between the Late Antiquity period and the Present.

The Greeks understood by *paideia* the road that man follows in order to accede their authentic nature. The humanistic educational ideal was built around the idea of the necessity of the inner modelling of man, indispensable for a just relation with the Absolute. In general, the Ancients believed that only by education, as way of bringing the soul to its ideal form, man may surpass their condition. This content of the educational texts of the Greek and Roman classical authors became standard for their descendants.

This study is titled “Humanistic education – from *interpretatio romana* to *interpretatio christiana*”. I have approximated by the phrase *humanistic education* the content of the term *paideia* (*humanitas* or *cultura animi* at the Romans). For the Ancients, humanism was equivalent to education. By assuming this understanding of the term *paideia*, one may consider that the phrase *humanistic education* is tautological. Nowadays, *education* and *humanism* are not in a relation of identity. Thus, I believed necessary to use both terms and chose the phrase *humanistic education* in order to highlight the essence of the concept.

The works of the two authors, that are studied here, were written in the Imperial Roman world. Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius* and Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* count among the most renowned philosophical and educational works of all times. Seneca and Clement of Alexandria were familiar with the Greek classical Antiquity, and each of them attempted to present a view according to which the classical *paideia* is rendered in the spirit and environment of the period they lived in. I believe that in order to name the specificity of Seneca's Stoicism, the use of the phrase *interpretatio romana* is adequate. In order to render the spirit of the Alexandrine educational theology I decided to use the phrase *interpretatio christiana*.

I intend to capture the specificity of both authors' works. In order to do so, I intend to look for the solution to one of the essential issues of education, for the problem of the end of education. In other words, to answer the question: is *paideia* leading us to another world, a better Beyond or does *paideia* suppose an improvement of this world? Starting with the solutions/ solution to this issue, I identified the educational principles in the first part of the work, while in the other, I have approached the educational language used by the authors.

I. Paideia in the context of the Ancient world

The genesis and elaboration of the concept of education (*paideia*) derives from the necessity to surpass the tragic nature of existence. From the texts of the tragic poets we understand that the first form of human culture (*paideia*) was the establishment of the human aristocratic ideal. In one way or another, in this period the idea according to which *arête* cannot be learned is revived: the virtue comes from a divine source. The moral approach influences only those who by nature are predisposed to virtue.

The specific manner of accomplishing the aristocratic education are the mythological stories, the practical prescriptions. Treasures of popular wisdom together with primitive rules of behaviour and prohibitions most often risen of superstitions are found especially in the gnomic poetry of the period.

Under the influence of Socrates, the concept of virtue, as goal of the philosophical education, would receive a different meaning. Socrates is the one to assume the transcendence of Truth. The concept of virtue introduced by Socrates cannot remain at the level of popular ethics. In Platonism is inserted the idea of a substantial contribution from the transcendence in shaping of the human virtue: virtue, where it occurs, appears as a divine gift. However, the relation between virtue and Divinity is no longer made in a manner close to common understanding, as it was the case with the Ionian poets' period. Following Socrates, for an adequate relation between the virtue and Absolute, Plato drafts the Theory of Forms. Plato, in

The Republic, defined education as the *art to form good habits or develop native skills for virtue of those available to them*. Plato's metaphysics has no goal in itself though. Within the same work, Plato proposed the theory of the world as *prison* of the soul in the context of the description of the educational development, whereby the soul advances from sensible to intelligible. However, that return of the soul in the world of departure and persistence on illuminating the souls are essential. The capacity to see the unity of Good in the diversity of virtue specific to those who walked the way from sensible to intelligible must be used to make possible the existence of the *ideal state*. In other words, Plato needs a divine standard not to surpass this world, but to base the ideal state on it.

Regarding the issue of educational methods, Plato not only proposed a mythical story or moral precepts. Nevertheless, one should not forget that some of the best known fragments of his works are allegorical stories. However, one should not neglect the fact these myths have teaching value within a certain context, being replies in the dialogue between the disciple and the master, dialogue which is primarily validation of rational arguments and invalidation of those irrational.

The specificity of the socratic-platonic education methods derives from a political reality. By the early 5th BC, democracy brought about a preoccupation for the formation of future citizens. Such a goal was attainable only by exercise of the body and spirit. Democratic life causes power struggles: one must be persuasive and determine the citizens to take desirable decisions. A good leader must learn the language art, the dialectic and rhetoric. Both dialectic (the art of speech fragmented in questions and answers) as well as rhetoric (art of continuous speech) became indispensable tools of democracy.

Plato considered dialectic as the model of rational thinking and expression, complying to certain laws meant to ensure the accuracy of arguments leading to the truth. By comparison with the art of rhetoric, based on confrontation and using illicit techniques of persuasion, dialectic intervenes between the speakers who are not opponents, but collaborators joined by the conviction they are part of the same community, formed of men sharing the same goals. Far from the futile disputes of those who wish to prove their superiority, the dialectic is the method of thinking leading to agreement (*omologia*) over the truth.

During the Hellenistic period, another ideal of man was sought. This new ideal had to be achievable in this new world, with its universalism (cosmopolitanism). Before that Plato, but especially during the Stoicism, they are dealing with a philosophy focused on the ethical perfection of life. This is synonymous with the ascetic life, with man's aspiration to the Divinity. This religious character of the philosophical speculation is more emphasized in the

Hellenistic period. Thus, Hellenism fractions into positivism, discards the idea of the knowledge of the Absolute and religious spirit, desire for salvation. In Platonism, there was trust in the ability of human reason to find the Absolute. Classical philosophical schools who still had followers in the Hellenistic period are the Platonism and Aristotelianism. The philosophical schools of the Hellenistic period are the Cynicism, the Epicureanism, Skepticism and Stoicism. These schools had a clientele of students, hungry for learning the *art of living*. Philosophers would be then itinerant preachers.

Among the Hellenists, the Stoics had the greatest disposition to relate existence to the Absolute. By *living in agreement with Nature* and *conformity to the Universal Reason*, they express such inclination without a doubt. Max Pohlenz pointed out that one should not forget that *living in agreement with Nature* means *living in agreement with the Logos which is the force dominating the universe and individual life*. *Living in agreement with Nature* is based on the knowledge of the principle under which the individual human nature is part of the universal nature. The Divinity is the world's conscience, is material, is an active fire immanent to the universe that creates the world and desintegrates it periodically. Man's soul is part of the Divine fire, the noblest form of existence. The Divine fire enters in people at the beginning of creation and is inherited from one generation to another. Chrysippos argued that only the souls of wisemen persist after the death of the body, until the final conflagration. The wiseman understands he cannot change the course of events, but he can change his inner attitude, his views over events and phenomena. The philosophical education supposes precisely this change.

Regarding the educational methods, the Stoics admit the utility of rhetoric and dialectic. They have an obvious pedagogical utility, they help *to speak well* but also *in agreement with the Truth*. Dialectic is for Stoics a virtue, it incorporates specific virtues: prudence in offering or not offering agreement. Without the study of the dialectic, the wiseman cannot have infallible arguments. Dialectic helps us to differentiate between plausible and ambiguous phrases.

Latin education follows the Hellenistic education and is preponderantly practical. In the Roman world, the names of Cicero and Quintilian are indisputably related to this huge prestige that oratory had. Cicero brought Aristotle's rethoric to Rome giving it a specific Roman imprint. The lack of rhetoric studies made him write numerous specialty books. The rhetor and pedagogue Quintilian was the first rhetoric teacher employed by the imperial authorities. Among the ideas of the Greek philosophers, Quintilian overtakes the idea of the

Divine origin of the soul and that of the necessity of self- knowledge of the teacher: the teacher must either be knowledgeable or know he is not knowledgeable.

The philosophical schools which imposed at Rome were the Stoic and Epicurean schools. The most influent of the Roman philosophical schools is that Stoic. In close connection with the elite of the Roman society, Stoicism was to a certain extent a true religion of the times.

PART I: SENECA

I. Philosophical and educational principles in Seneca's works

Seneca was born and formed to this Roman world, on one hand extremely pragmatical, on the other obviously penchant to luxury and refinement. He came from a family of senatorial rank from Hispania. As any young from this social category, he seemed to be destined for a political career so he had to learn the art of rhetoric. Therefore, he had to learn Greek and study Greek and Roman literature. Seneca had no attraction though to political career, however, instead, he was interested in philosophy. He studied with Papius Fabianus, Sotion and Attalatus and he has acquired the Pythagorean doctrine, that Stoic as well as notions from the other philosophical schools that had followers in Rome. The topics present in his writings and their approach means fully proves such fact. However, his works cannot be framed exclusively in one or another of the Hellenistic philosophical schools existent until then. Seneca's work shows in fact, his life experience mainly. The approach of the essential philosophical issues is specific to his personality. He discusses philosophical themes approached by the predecessors but he does not agree, without exposing previous critical views, regarding none of the solutions proposed by them. Thus, valuing his own life experience but also the influence of the Medioplatonism, Seneca transforms the old Greek Stoicism in what we today call the Neostoicism. Seneca is an orthodox Neostoic, he starts from the principles of the former Stoics but returns with personal interpretations which gave birth to the Neostoicism, whose priority interest is the moral.

Seneca thought to be firstly an educator for both his contemporaries as well as the future generations. In *Letters to Lucilius*, he textually states that the philosopher is no other than the educator of the humankind. Thereafter, Seneca brings forward the tradition of the Greek philosophy which, according to the texts of Pierre Hadot, grants special importance to education.

Studying Seneca's reasonings, we may argue that the concise ideas expressing the essence of this thinking system may be grouped around three essential concepts: the Good, the Reason and the Nature. Thus, there are principles expressing the moral character of education, principles expressing the rational base of virtue as well as principles centred upon the issue of exceeding the human condition by the just relation to Nature.

Arguing that Seneca's thinking may be adequately characterised if one takes into account it is a system of educational philosophy, I have identified the following principles:

- a. The aim of education is the possession of the Perfect Good (*summum bonum*)
- b. Achieving the goal of education supposes the absence of passions (*apatheia*)
- c. The Perfect Good is obtained following the reason (our inside divine spirit)
- d. Education must be made by valuing the *opportune moment* (*kairos*)
- e. It is necessary to correlate theory (*contemplatio*) with the practice of virtue (*actio*)
- f. The possession of the Perfect Good brings with itself the joy of living (*gaudium*).

Seneca starts from the common conception of life and re-evaluates it: *people considered to be happy are in fact the most unhappy*. What one tends to consider desirable, becomes undesirable, or at most, indifferent morally when one interiorizes their condition. Loyal to the Stoic tradition, he shares the idea that young intellect must be educated so to free itself from the errors of common, vulgar conceptions and possess good knowledge. People must guide themselves according to the principle *the only good is that moral*. They must seek to possess the perfect good and not a particular good, as they are equally, aspirants to the divine grace. The good to which man aspires is no other than that possessed by the Gods, and the path to the good is always possible, but also always very difficult.

Another essential characteristic of Seneca's Neostoicism derives from the way the nature of virtue is conceived. Central to the Stoic doctrine is the idea that virtue is sufficient to life. This view on virtue is also found with Socrates and Plato. Regarding the way that Seneca understands the nature of virtue, he equally belongs to the tradition of the former Stoics. Virtue is for Zenon the only Good, there is no external or a minor good. From Stoic view, there is no intermediary between virtue and vice. The doctrine of the absence of passions (*apatheia*) was supported by Zenon in complete disagreement with the theory of limited passions. In exchange, the Peripateticians believed that virtue consists in that way of the middle, that the virtuous soul does not suppress, but limits the passions.

In order that the soul's education be complete, it must be put in consonance with the law of the universe, its rational nature must be brought to light. And this nature, as seen

above, makes Seneca use a rather powerful image and consider that man must make of himself God.

In Seneca's texts, the wiseman passed into eternity, the aspirant to wisdom use of every *opportune moment* of his life to passed into eternity and the vicious vaporizes each *opportune moment* of his life. The achievement of moral completeness supposes passing through many moods, depending on the degree of valorifying the *opportune moment* (*kairos*).

The aim of life is to acquire virtue at both levels, theoretical and practical. From this view of understanding philosophy, the wiseman idea was born, and it was so diffused later. For Seneca, philosophy is both *contemplatio* and *actio* and this finds echo even in the way that Seneca conceives his educational discourse. Seneca is much more preoccupied by the practice of virtue than theoretical investigations over its nature. Only this may be the meaning of phrases like philosophy *resides in facts and not in words* and by no means the repudiation of any theoretical interest.

The inner energy delivered by the cultivation of virtue receives, grace to the joy, its true value. This inner joy is specific, exclusively, of the wiseman. By serenity, he differentiates from any other intellectual, any other arts and sciences affectionate. Only the wiseman surpasses anxiety and finds existential rest (*otio*).

The Neostoic education proposed by Seneca supposes both the improvement of terrestrial life as well as the overcoming of this existence and happy living of the soul, in the company of the souls of wisemen of the past, after having been separated from the body. If the soul entered in the moral universe, it would comfortably live regardless if inside or outside the body.

II. The moral-educational language in Seneca's works

At present, it is common place to consider that efficient education is conditional to the use of an adequate educative discourse. Therefore, the study of communication theories takes an important role in the contemporary pedagogical theory. Seneca is presently among the most read Latin authors. This remark made us attempt to find why the language used by Seneca fascinates the contemporary man.

The first step in the approach of Seneca's educational language is the review of the appreciations present in the specialty literature. Although Seneca is explicitly against the autonomous cultivation of language arts, but, since from Antiquity he was perceived, at general level, as a great orator mainly. Seneca's orator reputation survives his death. I mention to this effect, the characterisations present in the works of Dio Cassius, Tacitus and Quintilian. Dio Cassius accounts a legend according to which Seneca was exiled by Caligula,

after having been initially almost convicted to death, because of a speech he gave before the Senate, which was so illustrious but not to the emperor's taste. Maybe precisely because of this, the modern specialty studies contain a series of formal appreciations of Seneca's philosophical works. This type of appreciation is specific mainly to those exegetical works attempting to frame Seneca's texts in the category of the didactic diatribe. The most renowned view from this standpoint, belongs to Oltramare. After having included Seneca's texts in the diatribe category, Oltramare in *Les Origines de la Diatribe Romaine* excessively quotes Seneca's moral precepts.

Another category of remarks in the exegetical writings, approach Seneca's work from the view of the philosophical doctrine of Corduban (R. Coleman, H. Abel, etc.).

Pierre Grimal and Giovanni Reale, among the latest exegets of Seneca's works, chose an interpretation between the two types above.

Secondly, we analysed the fragments in Seneca that approach issues regarding the art of the teaching language. Seneca is no admirer of eloquence by itself. A good speaker is not the one who can easily obtain the admiration of the audience. Admiration of the audience is no proof of quality. Instead, being able to argue one's statements, a speech that proves one's ability to understand the discussed issues firstly for yourself and then to convince the others, may be a quality. And this quality is indispensable to a philosopher who is, according to Seneca, an educator of the humankind. Seneca declares himself against the dialectic as it was studied in the Ancient philosophical schools. However, he is not against the dialectic in itself, but against the way that above philosophers conceived it. In exchange, Seneca values the dialectic notions to the extent they can be useful from educational and moral points of view.

Seneca believes that *the words of a man are similar to his way of being*. When the language of a period is decayed, then the morals of respective period are decayed.

The following step in establishing the specific of Seneca's writings is the analysis of the primary text. I attempted to identify the author's statements about the structure of the educational discourse. Then, we attempted to establish the elements of Seneca's discourse and the way they are ordained in order to produce the final text and if it correspond to the author's theoretical statements.

In the text *Consolation to Marcia* adopted and developed in *Letters from Lucilius*, the Roman Stoic argues that the elements of the moral discourse are the moral principles (*decreta*), the concrete precepts (*praecepta*) and the significant moral examples (*exempla*). The Stoic philosopher exposes the efficient form of rendering the ethical learning: when one wants to teach the other, then better start with moral sayings and continue with moral

examples. From *Letters* 94 and 95 we find that the used methods (moral precepts and moral examples) are philosophically fundamented.

It is worth underlining here that Seneca is no admirer of parenetics. His writing is not made up of a collection of moral principles. He believes that one should have a few moral principles which should be *diffused* like the *seeds* all over the discourse field. Principles are deemed impulse of the divine spirit into the body, they are essential in educating the spirit.

Starting from Seneca's specifications on the use of moral principles, must notes that for educational purposes, the entire discourse is grouped around a few *decreta*. Seneca builds his text appealing to a reduced number of general principles, and these principles are the background structure of each work. Principles are not rendered in a standard form but according to the context of their use we are dealing with several variants of one principle of stoic behaviour or even several principles resumed in a single phrase.

Moral principles (*decreta*) must though be differentiated from particular moral precepts (*praecepta*). Only the principles are inspired by the God and only the wiseman is able to apply these principles in concrete life situations. In exchange, the aspirant to wisdom needs to transpose these principles, needs explanations on how they must be understood and put into practice. These principles are replaced by the Stoic wiseman with the moral precepts. Education is not attainable in the absence of particular rules of behaviour, however not in the absence of moral principles either.

In Seneca's writings, moral, concrete examples like moral precepts render the practical nature of the philosophical education. Between the theoretical and practical sides there is a background unity. Thus, the significant examples which Seneca uses are always consonant to the expressed principles. The reader of the tragedies and philosophical writings permanently faces rather vivid images. In the prose, Seneca constantly illustrates by using examples and general concepts. He often presents paradigm characters, by the extremes. In the case of those *exempla* reported based on the personal life, the author no longer limits himself to render events by the extremes, but focuses on evidencing the movements of the soul, on locating it in one or another category of *proficientes*, depending on the achieved moral progress.

Subsequent the analysis of the elements of the educational discourse, of those elements of which the author himself speaks about, we analysed the text in order to identify other language procedures, basic procedures of rhetoric, commonly used by philosophers to popularize their doctrines. Thus, we noted that Seneca's texts comprise comparisons, metaphors, allegories, irony and paradoxes.

The terms *comparison*, *metaphor* and *allegory* may be correlated, they inscribe in a progression in Seneca's writings. He starts with simple comparisons, easy to anticipate, and ends with unusual comparisons. We believe that this orientation of the writing is not accidental. In Seneca's texts, metaphors are built starting from the everyday life, the concrete multitude of life situations. There are many situations when vocabulary of farming, medical or military origin is used. This predilection derives from the way that Seneca sees Nature, as ensemble of empirical and spiritual elements. In what the aim of the use of these procedures is concerned, we noted they are used for both increasing the accessibility degree of the Stoic theories as well as for enhancing the persuasive effect of the text or refute, by the use of comparisons and metaphors with negative content, vices.

Regarding the irony, we know it is used in the didactic diatribe in order to relax the audience. Most often, there is abundant irony and much is rather offensive. When analysing Seneca's writings, we concluded it is limited to a reasonable number of ironies, denoting a certain finesse of the spirit. Often, Seneca gestures over the luxury of the Romans contemporaries.

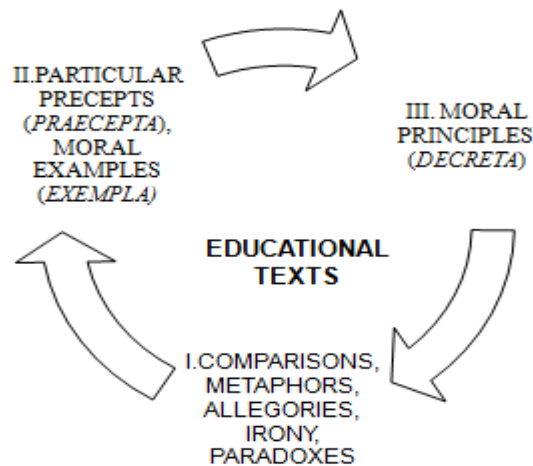
Often, the exegetes of Seneca's works argued that the structure of the used language is paradoxical. We believe that the paradox is not used only when is educationally efficient. A first category of paradoxes used by Seneca are associated to negative states, the feelings of the vicious. Thus, he underlines that the virtuous never finds himself in situations without exit, but only the vicious, who passes through paradoxal states, lacking life rationality. Such paradox is that expressed by the phrase *anxious laziness*. Another category of paradoxes rises when crossing from the common view of life to that Stoic. Such paradox is expressed by the phrase *dying they became immortal*.

Thus, we note that all these procedures, either comparisons, metaphors, allegories, irony or paradoxes are moderately used. They are often mixed in the text formed mainly of *decreta*, *praecepta* and *exempla*. They fulfill a secondary role in the education proposed by Seneca and are used only for attaining the goal of education, which is moral completeness.

Seneca makes an ample, yet focused argumentation on moral content. His dialectic passes from general principles (*decreta*), to particular rules (*praecepta*) and significant examples (*exempla*), either positive or negative. Education means outbalancing vice and emplacement of virtue, means progress. Virtue is adequation to Reason, one needs to know the moral principles in order to live according to them. There is constant passage from positive principles, precepts and examples to those negative. However, the negative principles, precepts and examples have no effective role in knowledge. Thus, we may speak

of progressive and positive dialectic. It supposed a constant advancement on the way of moral principles and the significant positive example. In Seneca's argumentation, there is no real synthesis of the contraries.

The elements are not randomly organised, but follow a moral-logical structure, are expressed so to contribute in the achievement of moral completeness. There is no stereotypy in their organisation, the author following the movements of the souls of the dialogue partners for the construction of argumentation. The organisation scheme of Seneca's moral language elements cannot be other than extremely general and may evidence only that permanent crossing from one element to another, returns and changes in the organisation of the elements:



PART II: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

I. Theological and educational principles in Clement's works

The primary Christianity occasionally prohibited any approach of the Ancient authors' books, catalogued as *pagan*. Other times, it was attempted to approach non-Christian scholars by the interpretation of classical authors consonant to the Christianity. In the 2nd C, Clement of Alexandria understood that the Christian doctrine cannot be just a religion of the simple-minded, lacking culture. In order to go beyond this level, he believed that real dialogue with science and philosophy must be established. Clement agrees that classical paideia aimed at elevating the human being. Hence, he believed that all sciences can contribute to elevating man. However, philosophy ranked first. These useful concepts found at the Greeks and the Romans may also be found in the Barbarian world, and this can only prove that divinity left

no being without support. The divine inspiration being present in all cultures, though it was used only to a certain extent. Then, he proposed the *authentic paideia*.

In Clement, the authentic paideia incorporates the classical paideia but it is chiefly the work of the divine Logos. In order to identify the principles around which educational theology is organised, one should take into account the following:

- a. The birth of the Logos is atemporal, it is the beginning of the moral world and since it is Good, it is the beginning of the natural world as it is Existence and the beginning of the rational world as it is Mind.
- b. The divine educator guides man to acquire faith, then the Good and then to pass beyond the moral universe, to enter the gnostic type knowledge.
- c. Man as image of the divinity is equally rational and able to walk an unlimited way, to continuously progress in knowledge in order to unite with his Creator.
- d. The Inner Teacher accomplishes this by use of its reason and proposes to help man be aware of his own reason and thus surpass his empirical and temporal existence.

Thus, we identified the following principles of education:

- a. The aim of the education is the achievement of the resemblance with the divine Logos
- b. Divine education supposes the passage from the protreptic moment to that pedagogical moment and ends with the didactic moment
- c. Education is only efficient when man cooperates with the divine Logos

Logos is on one hand, the perfect exterior model of any Christian and on the other, is present inside each man created *in the image and resemblance of the Logos*. The Alexandrine education has thus in the centre the Logos, the Word and is destined to surpass ephemeral existence, to transcendence. By Word, unity between the Creator and the Creation is made, the possibility to deify man, reaching the goal of the entire cultivation and education of the human being.

The three educational moments of the Logos are the protreptic, pedagogic and didactic, corresponding to the organization way of the classical paideia. The three stages were necessary to lead man to philosophical life. The protreptic moment targets the change of habits, that pedagogical the change of action and that didactic the change of passions. The *Protrepticus* is a true fragment of criticism addressed to the Ancient world, respectively to its mythology, religion and philosophy. Clement starts from the cultural universe of his possible future followers and outlines the limits of such universe. In other words, he shows to those who already have culture, which is its authenticity degree and where deviations from the Truth appear. He does not embrace the idea of the educational purism, but the idea of the

accomplishment of an authentic Christian culture that would fully make use of the already existent spiritual openness. Compared to the *Protrepticus* which addresses those with no Christian convictions, the *Pedagogus* is addressed to those already converted yet still with addictions. These beginner followers must be instructed for purification of addictions. The book contains a true recipe of the Christian practitioner and offers guidance for the most common and concrete life situations. The Alexandrine education is definitely consonant to the Hellenistic world. For him, education is cultivation of virtue, and the virtue bears a strong rational print. In Clement, virtue has intellectual base. Clement differentiates between the Teacher (as educator of those freshly initiated) and Master (the teacher of those advanced on the paths of faith and knowledge). In order to gain mystical knowledge, the Teacher's activity is insufficient. He only prepares the path for the Master. The Truth is beyond the letter of the Scriptures and only the Master may initiate in this mystical knowledge.

The two principles presented insofar targeted the way that the Inner Teacher organizes the educational activity. The latter principle identified, underlines that Clement of Alexandria assigns a significant role to the man educated by the divinity. Man is endowed with independent reason and this helps him choosing. Desirable choices are the consequence of the good will. Reason and the power to choose are closely related. Man cannot be educated and therefore, cannot be saved unless he assumes the role of *collaborator* of the divinity. The divinity respects the liberty of man's will. For Clement, the educational process conjugates the action of the Church with that of the Inner Teacher. The latter is substantial to progress, but inefficient unless man does not make his own contribution. The Christian writer associated the divine Logos to that human, following the Greek philosophy and the human reason is in the service of the will. Rational powers are subordinated to the will.

The Christians do not form an ideal community only in the skies, but are called to form a community also on earth. But, this does not always happen. Sometimes, the Christians are subject to martyrdom, can suffer great pain in order to obtain the celestial homeland, are not given the time to form here, on earth, the ideal community. Nevertheless, the end of the road is, both for those enjoying this world and those who suffer in this world, the kingdom of heavens. They only have to constantly remember that the revealed Truth completes his work together with the human intellect.

II. The theological-educational language in Clement's works

From the view of the use of the pre-Christian philosophical tradition, the works and didactical activity of the school from Alexandria, of which Clement was also part, are referential. According to the representations of the school, the metaphysics, dialectic and

rethoric and the result of the divine inspiration must be used to attain the aim of the Christian education.

I commenced the analysis of the educational language used by Clement with a review of various views present in the specialty literature. Starting from Clement's belief in the utility of takeovers from the Ancient pagan world, a series of arguments are generated in the speciality literature around the thesis of the inclusion of Clement's writings in the diatribe category. Henri-Irenee Marrou makes the most detailed demonstration of the opportunity to include Clement's texts in the diatribe category. Many other researchers, after reaching the conclusion that the *Protrepticus*, *Pedagogus* and *Who is the rich man that shall be saved?* are works designed to serve the large audience, while *Stromateis* are written for a group of initiates, concluded they are difficult to insert in one category or another, thus naming them *puzzle works*. Other researchers believe these works are structured based on the *opportune moment* in which certain knowledge can be transmitted, depending on the way that the author feels inspired. His works have this form in order to make possible the reception of knowledge only at the time when the disciples are prepared to accede a certain level. G.-I. Gargano, in a recent work, argues that Clement's text must be included in a category where all the works of the Holy Fathers of the first centuries of Christianity belong, namely the category of Biblical exegesis.

Secondly, we analysed Clement's statements regarding the importance of language for efficient learning. We noted that Clement of Alexandria believed in the necessity to cultivate language but insists on the limits of these arts. He believes that the Biblical and Apostolical message should not be alienated, that it is desirable to polish the language so it may contribute to the use of dialectic and rethoric for this purpose.

I believe that in order to analyse the language used by Clement one should firstly consider the content and purpose of his works.

Thirdly, I identified the discourse means used mainly to achieve the goal of education. As noted in the previous chapter, the three stages of the education suppose the involvement in the Christian faith or the conversion, moral purification of the body and soul and initiation in the gnostic knowledge. In the primary text we find terms, concepts and theories from the ancient mythology, philosophy and literature which are always interpreted according to Christian teachings. Their presence is typical for the protreptic language, of the conversion. The second stage of the education proposed by Clement supposes the redemption of the passions and to this end, are used moral sayings named by Clement *behaviour rules* and moral examples named *encouraging examples*. The third stage brings with itself the initiation and

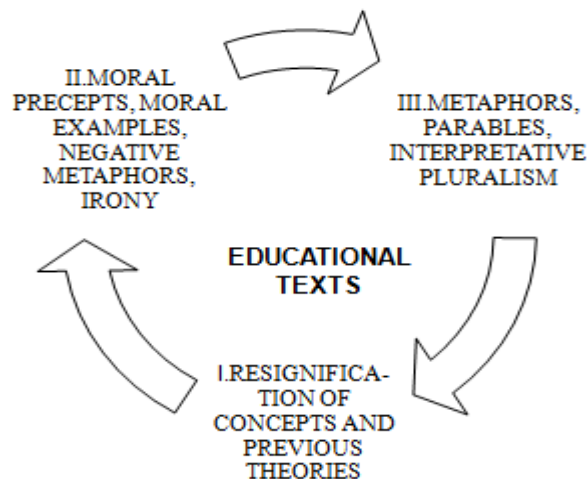
unlimited progress on the path of Christian revelation and for this, Clement uses the symbolic language.

I note we are dealing with many questions addressed to those supporting ideas foreign to the spirit of Christianity. However, every question is followed by argued critics of these views followed by their complete or partial rejection. Clement also proposed an alternate position and opens the text to other Christians themes.

Conversion is followed, in the Christian education proposed by Clement, by the redemption of passions. On the adequate language of this educational stage Clement makes a few statements in *Pedagogus*. By the beginning of the work, there are a few remarks on the necessity to use behaviour rules and edifying life examples for educational purposes. Thus, we easily recognise that these fragments underline the efficiency of moral sayings and accounts significant life examples, namely those moral language components which are also found in the Neostoicism. Still to refute the passions of the soul, Clement sometimes uses metaphors with negative content, which form acid irony to the vicious reason and behaviour.

However, given the special character of the gnostic knowledge in which the Christians are initiated, the use the *symbolical language*, metaphorical also at another level is necessary. This is the higher level of education and is accomplished under the guidance of Jesus Christ acting this time as Master. Using quotes from the Old and New Testaments, Clement makes an allegorical interpretation in the style of the School of Alexandria. Clement believes that the Bible is the place of true philosophy operating with symbolical names. However, not all Biblical names are symbolic. Instead, the Barbarian philosophy operates with metaphors, parables and enigmas. In philosophy, metaphors and enigmas are sought, often made up on purpose. To the Christian, the entire Noetic reality appears as an enigma, he must understand the metaphorical meaning of the world in order to surpass it.

Clement's text is organised on three distinct levels. Each educational stage corresponds to a certain type of language: resignification of theories is specific to the conversion stage, the use of behaviour rules, moral sayings and metaphors with negative content is specific to the moral-educational stage and the use of metaphors and parables to those evidencing the educational pluralism of the Biblical text is specific to the didactic stage. However, all Clement's writings contain to a greater or smaller extent, procedures specific to all educational stages:



Conclusion

Between the educational principles proposed by Seneca and those proposed by Clement of Alexandria there are the following resemblances: a. Both for Seneca and Clement of Alexandria, education supposes cultivation of virtue, b. Both Seneca and Clement grant to the two aspects of education, theoretical and practical, equal importance, c. The theory and practice of virtue are correlated to the doctrine of the resemblance with the divinity (*homoiosis*) for the Roman Stoic as well as for Clement of Alexandria, d. In addition, there is consensus regarding the possibility to transform man into good or bad divinity, depending on the success or failure of the educational process.

These principles are differentiated by the following: a. The final goal of the education is for Seneca, the achievement of the Perfect Good (*summum bonum*) and for Clement, the crossing beyond the universe of the moral values, beyond the Good as the goal of the educational approach is the mystical unity with the divinity, b. In Seneca, the *homoiosis* doctrine was based on the idea that man has the duty to copy the divine goodness, while Clement emphasizes the possibility of the mystical union of man with the divinity, his education is not only cultivation of virtue, c. The goal differentiations between the two educational systems are obvious by the way the authors relate to suffering: if Seneca recommends, in last resort, suicide as release from futile suffering, the Christian Clement recommends to bear any pain, the acceptance of martyrdom and refusal of suicide as release from futile suffering.

Resemblances of the educational language used by the authors above consist of the following: a. In both authors' texts we find minimal rhetorical procedures which determined some of the exegetes argue that their writings belong to the category of didactic diatribe, both in Seneca and Clement there is abundance of quotes from mythology, literature and philosophy, both authors using negative metaphors to treat infirmities of the soul, both authors recognize the efficiency of the parenetic phrase in the educational action, b. The most important resemblance is that the used moral language proposes argumentation means using *general principles* and *significant examples* or *life examples* and these are not rendered randomly but joined in logical structures according to the presented theoretical doctrines; Seneca builds structures where we find *decreta*, *praecepta* and *exempla* in accordance with the requirements of the proposed moral and Clement of Alexandria uses *moral rules* and *moral examples* in the second stage of education, in the educational stage when the soul achieves moral completeness.

The differences between the two educational languages consist of the following: a. For Seneca the metaphor and allegory are only meant to increase the persuasive force of the text, they being used, most often, in situations of negative connotations and fulfill an important role in motivating disciples to leave the vicious path and walk the virtue path, in exchange Clement uses this level of metaphors and allegories to refute the passions of the soul, but he brings an additional idea to the symbolical interpretation of the Biblical texts, understanding the elements of the mundane universe as simple symbols of superior reality.

Seneca is the creator of a philosophical system specific to the Roman world. In the history of philosophy, he is inserted in the same philosophical school as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Firstly, these philosophers had a remarkable influence on the imperial elites of the Roman world. The proposed philosophy is concurrently the product of the Roman world and arises from the effort to create a vision of the world that makes life possible in the existent social and political context. Seneca was considered a model to be followed by posterity, even if that posterity was Christian. Seneca's moral was studied with accuracy all over the Middle Ages. The language of Seneca's moral has common points with the language of the writings of authors like Erasmus of Rotherdam, Shakespeare, Voltaire or Kant. In their case, there is clear evidence they studied Seneca and made use of his legacy. *The Praise of Folly* was written by Erasmus after the model of Seneca's works, Voltaire was inspired by him in drafting the meditations and the Shakesperian drama is tributary to Seneca's tragedies. Kant, some of authors believe, was inspired by Seneca in differentiating the sayings from particular actions and the general law.

Regarding Clement of Alexandria, we may state that although he was less studied, his work has characteristics who made the scholars consider him a *Comenius of the Christian Antiquity*. The influence of Clement in Alexandria is obvious, especially over his student Origen who, beyond any accusations, remains in the history of Christianity as the first author who attempted to establish in writing the Christian dogma. Clement of Alexandria insists on the necessity to know the texts of the pagan writers and philosophers on the use of rethoric to increase the persuasive effect of a text. In *Book IV of De doctrina christiana* Augustin argues that the Christian priests must learn rethoric. Additionally, in *De Magistro* Augustin speaks of Jesus Christ using the same phrase as Clement: *The Inner Teacher*. The same symbolic interpretation of the Biblical text we also have in the Saint John Chrysostom, in Saint Maximus the Confessor in the work *Ambigua* or in *Elementary Introduction into Dogmas* of Saint John of Damascus. In the works of Saint Maximus the Confessor there are fragments from the work of Clement *About Eastern* (works preserved only in this form) and in the works of Saint John of Damascus there are fragments of *Epistles* of Clement (also, preserved only partially). The influence of Clement on these authors is obvious and consists especially in the take over of the idea of the necessity of the symbolic understanding of the Biblical text, of the initiation of the Christians in this special knowledge, that gnostic.