THE SEVEN PILLARS OF THE WORLD: IDEAL FIGURE LISTS IN
THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES*

Charles A. Gieschen

Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan,
3074 Frieze Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109–1285, USA

A significant and intriguing element of the Ebionite Pseudo-Clementine
literature (Ps-Clem) is the repeated mention of ancient ideal figures in a
terse listing format.[1] The seven primary figures of these lists are found in

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of participants in the *Jewish and Christian Mediator Figures in Greco-Roman
Antiquity Consultation* at the 1992 National SBL Meeting where section 4 of this
study was read. This research is a small part of my dissertation, 'Angelomorphic
Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence'.
    1. Ps-Clem is ancient romance literature that combines the story of the supposed
reunion of Clement's long-lost family with several theological traditions that are typi-
cally classified as Ebionite by scholars. Ps-Clem is preserved as two distinct docu-
ments which parallel each other in some content and are identified as *Homilies*
(Greek) and *Recognitions* (Latin). The critical editions of these texts were recently
updated by G Strecker: *Die Pseudoklementinen. I. Homilien* (GCS, 42; Berlin:
Akademie-Verlag, 3rd edn 1992); *Die Pseudoklementinen. II. Rekognitionen* (GCS,
51; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2nd edn 1993). A two-volume concordance to this
corpus has also been compiled by Strecker, *Die Pseudoklementinen. III.
Konkordanz zu den Pseudoklementinen* (GCS; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989).
Because the chapters in Ps-Clem are short and some English translations do not
versify the text, only book and chapter references will be cited in this article. The
primary complete English translation remains the dated work in *The Ante-Nicene
Fathers*, VIII (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986 reprint). While their present forms
date from the third (*Hom.*) and fourth century CE (*Rec.*), scholars have discerned
sources like *Kerygmata Petrou* which date to the second century; see G. Strecker,
Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen (TU, 70; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag,

the Pentateuch: Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses. What is asserted about these men, however, is often from extra-canonical traditions such as those found in the OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; for example, Ps-Clem absolves them of even their most prominent sins.[2] Furthermore, these seven individuals serve as a vital component of pre-existent Christology of the True Prophet since they are considered prophets with whom Christ/the True Prophet was always present and to whom he frequently appeared.[3] What is asserted about these individuals climaxes in *Hom.* 18.13-14, where the primary figures of these lists are declared to be 'the seven pillars of the world... who were superior to everyone deemed worthy to know him [God]'.

This study will build on the work of W. Staerk by affirming that the author(s) of Ps-Clem adapted a portion of defined lists of ideal figures from Wisdom tradition, especially as found in the OT Apocrypha, to be an element in the Christology of the True Prophet (TP).[4] It will go beyond Staerk by identifying other important mediator traditions that define the relationship between these ideal figures and TP. The thesis of H.-J. Schoeps that the christological component of ideal figure lists functioned primarily as a polemic against Marcionite, Gnostic, Pauline Christian and other groups will also be developed and refined.[5] The

1958; rev. edn 1981). For a readable introduction to the multi-faceted history of research on Ps-Clem, see F. Stanley Jones, 'The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research', *Second Century* 2 (1982), pp. 1-33, 63-96. For the listing phenomena in Ps-Clem, see *Hom.* 2.16-17, 2.52, 17.4, 18.13, *Rec.* 2.47, 3.61 (compiled in section 2 below).

    2.   See *Hom.* 2.52. Such assertions could be made because Ps-Clem espouses the theory of false pericopes in the OT text; see section 4 of this study for further examples.

    3.   Cf. *Rec.* 1.52. 'Pre-existent Christology' is used here in the sense of the True Prophet/Christ being present as an angelomorphic mediator who participated in creation as the Son of God, but is not God (cf. *Rec.* 1.45; 2.42; *Hom.* 16.15). This does not preclude the presence of adoptionism (*Rec.* 1.48; 2.22; *Hom.* 3.30; see H.-J. Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity: Factional Disputes in the Early Church* [trans. D. Hare; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969], pp. 59-73) or Arianism (see Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum*, pp. 268-70). A complicated redaction history in Ps-Clem makes a systematic Christology for this literature difficult to ascertain.

    4.   The background of these Ps-Clem lists in Wisdom tradition and their polemical use is asserted by W. Staerk in 'Die sieben Säulen der Welt und des Hauses der Weisheit', *ZNW* 35 (1936), pp. 232-61.

    5.   The use of these figures as a polemic (primarily against Marcionism) is an argument of H.-J. Schoeps in his *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*

most unique contribution of this study will be the demonstration that the union of Wisdom/Spirit and Angel of the Lord mediator traditions is especially important for understanding the relationship between the TP and the pillars.

This thesis will be supported by evidence presented in four steps. Firstly, the concept of 'pillars' in Ps-Clem and other select literature will be examined. Secondly, the lists of the so-called pillars in Ps-Clem will be scrutinized to observe the patterns within these lists. Thirdly, similar lists of ideal figures in related literature will be perused; the polemical function of these lists will especially be noted. Fourthly, the descriptions given to each of the pillars in Ps-Clem and their complex relationship with the TP will be investigated.

1. *'Pillars' in Pseudo-Clementines and Related Literature*

The actual word 'pillars' (οτῦλοι; *columnae*) appears with its typical meaning as an architectural feature in both *Homilies* (8.5; 12.12) and *Recognitions* (1.35; 7.12-13, 26; 8.29). However, the term is used in a metaphorical sense in *Hom.* 18.14:

> But if, as you [Simon] say, it will be possible to know Him [God] because He is now revealed to all through Jesus, are you not stating what is most unjust, when you say that these men did not know Him, *who were the seven pillars of the world* [ἑπτὰ οτύλους ὑπάρξαντας κόσμῳ] and who were able to please the most just God, and that so many now from all nations who were impious know Him in every respect? Were not those who were superior to everyone deemed worthy to know him?

In view of the primary meaning of οτῦλος as basic architectural feature with a supporting function, it is noteworthy that the author does not explain this metaphorical usage; his audience must have been familiar with such a usage and the identity of the seven individuals so designated. This is especially apparent since only *six* individuals are mentioned in the immediate context (*Hom.* 18.13). The antecedent for the concept of

(Tübingen: Mohr, 1949), pp. 173-88. See also *idem*, *Urgemeinde-Judenchristentum-Gnosis* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1956), pp. 61-67, or his *Jewish Christianity*, pp. 121-30. The latter work is a translated and abridged form of *Theologie und Geschichte*. While I am very indebted to his provoking research on Ebionite Christianity, Schoeps's broader scope lacks specificity in defining the background of the listing genre in Ps-Clem and the Christology that results.

seven pillars in Ps-Clem is surely Prov. 9.1. A close union is made there between the hypostasized Wisdom and seven pillars: 'Wisdom has built her house; she has hewn her seven pillars.'[6] In this context στύλοι is best understood as an architectural feature of a metaphorical temple.[7] The shift that is present in Ps-Clem from this architectural usage (pillars of the *house of Wisdom*) to a cosmological usage (pillars of the *world*) is explained by the link between Wisdom and her broad role in creation according to Prov. 8.27-31 and the cosmological significance of pillars elsewhere in the OT.[8]

While there is nothing in Prov. 9.1 or its context that implies an exegetical application such as the one made in Ps-Clem, substantial evidence does exist for the personification of στύλος as an individual being. It is sometimes used as a metaphor for a proven and trustworthy human being; for example, Jer. 1.18 states that God has made the prophet 'a fortified city, an iron pillar, and a bronze wall to stand against the whole land'.[9] Especially intriguing are the various associations of στύλος with the presence of God or his mediators. Ps-Clem affirms that God's presence with Israel during the Exodus took the form of a *pillar* of cloud or fire.[10] Sir. 24.4 identifies the pillar of cloud as Wisdom:

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6. Ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπήπεισεν στύλους ἑπτά in LXX. Philo writes extensively about the cosmological house of Wisdom, but never discusses its pillars (*Congr.* 117; *Post* C.5; *Plant.* 50; *Somn.* 1.185.208; *Aet.* 112; *Leg. All.* 1.78, 3.3.152; *Agr.* 65; *Migr.* 214). Ps-Clem does not discuss 'the house of Wisdom' concept; the seven figures are broadly labeled 'the pillars of the world'.

7. For support in understanding Prov. 9.1 as an architectural feature in the Canaanite world, see W.F. Albright, 'Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom', *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M. Noth and D. Thomas; VTSup, 3; Leiden: Brill, 1955), pp. 8-9. For an alternate understanding, see W. Michaelis, 'στύλος', *TDNT* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), VII, p. 734. He asserts that the house of Wisdom in Prov. is indeed cosmological and behind it lies the wise Ishtar of Babylonia whose seven pillars are the seven planets which encircle the earth.

8. The cosmological understanding of pillar is visible in Job 9.6, 26.11 and Ps. 75.3 (HB 75.4; LXX 74.4). This architectural 'pillar' or 'column' is usually rendered עַמּוּד in the HB; מַצֵּבָה is used for 'pillar' in the sense of a sacred object or memorial.

9. Not in LXX; but cf. Aquila and Theodotion: καὶ εἰς στῦλον σιδηροῦν. See also Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 57; Aeschines, *Ag.* 896; Philo, *Somn.* 1.238-56.

10. See Exod. 13.21-22; 14.19, 24; 19.9; Neh. 9.12; Wis. 18.3; Ps-Clem *Hom.* 8.5 affirms that God himself appeared to Moses in the pillar of cloud. *Rec.* 1.35 notes the guidance of the pillar of fire. Interestingly, *Sifre Num.* 83 speaks of the

'I [Wisdom] dwelt in the high places, and my throne was in a pillar of cloud.' Philo identifies the pillar of fire as another mediator figure: the Angel of the Lord.[11]

Both early Christian and rabbinic literature offer important insights into the personification or anthropological interpretation of στῦλοι in Ps-Clem. Galatians 2.9 reflects its usage as an esteemed title which Jewish Christianity had given to James (the brother of Jesus), Peter and John.[12] *1 Clem.* 5.2 draws upon this technical usage, but applies it to Peter and Paul as οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στῦλοι. Irenaeus broadens the application of this technical title to the twelve apostles when he speaks of 'the twelve pillared foundation of the church' (*Adv. Haer.* 4.21.3). It is in this context that the promise of becoming a 'pillar' in the heavenly temple found in Rev. 3.12 can be properly understood. In *b. Ketub.* 104a the righteous are called 'pillars'. *Exodus Rabba* 2 (69a) specifies that Abraham is called the 'pillar of the world' and God has put Moses in his place. In rabbinic speculation regarding the possibility of three pillars of the world, some rabbis associated these pillars with the three sons of Korah, some with the three patriarchs, and others with the three youths in the book of Daniel.[13]

The closest parallel to the Ps-Clem usage of pillars is found in rabbinic speculation on Prov. 9.1. A discussion of the number of pillars upon which the world rests is contained in *b. Hag.* 12b: some argue for *twelve* because of Deut. 32.8; others assert *seven* based upon Prov. 9.1; and R. Eleazar b. Shammua believes that there is only *one* pillar upon which the world rests called 'Righteous' (*Zaddik*).[14] The association of

presence of *seven* clouds for Israel during the Exodus.

11. *Vit. Mos.* 1.166. For further discussion of linking the pillar of fire with the Angel of the Lord, see J. Fossum, 'Kyrios Jesus as the Angel of the Lord in Jude 5–7', *NTS* 33 (1987), pp. 234-37. Rev. 10.1 is another clear NT example of the uniting of pillar and angel traditions: '...another mighty angel...wrapped in a cloud...and his legs like pillars of fire.' Such a union of these traditions is significant for the link between Angelomorphic Christology and the seven pillars in Ps-Clem which will be examined in section 4 of this study.

12. Presupposed in this usage is the idea of the Church as God's temple (cf. 1 Cor. 3.10-17; Eph. 2.21; Rev. 3.12); see also W. Michaelis, *TDNT*, VII, pp. 734-35.

13. See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1928), VI, p. 105 n. 590, for the rabbinic sources in this discussion.

14. For similar traditions see also: *Tg. Yer.* 2.77a; *Leket Midrashim* 8b; *Tehillim* 104.442; *Seder Rabba di-Bereshit* 11 (for further bibliographical detail on the latter

'righteous' with 'pillar' is worthy of note, especially in light of Prov. 10.25, which implies that *Zaddik* is of the very foundation of the world. This cosmological question received some anthropological answers since, as demonstrated above, pillar is a metaphor used for a righteous or exemplary person.[15]

In spite of questions regarding the origin of the Mandaeans and the dating of their writings, the polemics found in their literature shed further light on the literary milieu of Ps-Clem.[16] A primary body of their writings, entitled *Ginza*, contains polemics against both Jews and

three tractates, see L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, pp. 441-46). Larger numbers of righteous such as 30, 36 or 45 are found in later cosmological discussions; see E. Urbach, *The Sages* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1975), pp. 489-92. For a discussion of *Zaddik* and *Hasid* as ideal types within Judaism see G. Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), pp. 88-139. It is noteworthy that Logion 12 of the *Gos. Thom.* links *Zaddik* and cosmology when Jesus answers the disciples' question regarding leadership: '. . . go to James the Righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being.'

15. Anthropological speculation about the identity of these 'seven pillars' is found in the rabbinic tractate *Alphabetot* 103. There the pillars of Prov. 9.1 are personified, in a manner similar to Ps-Clem, as seven pious OT figures: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David and Solomon. This rabbinic midrashim which Ginzberg cites probably dates from the eighth or ninth century (*Legends*, V, p. 12) Similarly, the Talmudic tract *Baba Bathra* 15b states that the Gentile world has received *seven* prophets.

16. Staerk postulates that some of the polemics in *Ginza* are directed against Jewish Christianity reflected in Ps-Clem; see his 'Die sieben Säulen', pp. 236-40. For a historical overview of scholarly debate regarding the origins of the Mandaeans, see the collection of essays edited by G. Widengren, *Der Mandäismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982). Numerous scholars are convinced of the antiquity of the Mandaeans as a Palestinian pre-Christian group: R. Macuch, 'Gnostiche Ethik und die Anfänge die Mandäer', in *Christentum am Roten Meer*, (ed. F. Altheim and R. Steihl; Berlin, 1973), II, p. 254; G. Quispel, 'Gnosticism and the New Testament', in *Gnostic Studies* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1974), I, pp. 207-208; H. Schlier, 'Zur Mandäerfrage', *TR* 5 (1933), pp. 1 and 69; W. Baumgartner, 'Zur Mandäerfrage', *HUCA* 23 (1950/51), p. 41; K. Rudolph, 'Der Mandäismus in der neueren Gnosis-Forschung', in *Gnosis* (ed. B. Aland; Göttingen, 1978), p. 244; and E. Drower, *The Secret Adam* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), pp. xi-xii. The Mandaeans clearly have origins that are related to Jewish baptismal groups and Samaritanism; see J. Fossum, 'Sects and Movements', in *The Samaritans* (ed. A. Crown; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), p. 309 n. 58.

Christians.[17] Of significance for this study is the figure of *Rūhā* (also identified as *Namrus*, the Mother of the World) and her 'Seven', who together are the principal representatives of darkness in Mandaeism and the opponents of *Mandâ de Hāje* (the 'Gnosis of Life').[18] Jerusalem is depicted as headquarters of *Rūhā*.[19] It is after the Seven have built Jerusalem that they are identified with the following title: 'Die sieben Säulen enstanden, von denen alle Verkehrtheit and Lüge ausgingen'.[20] Following these words the polemic becomes stronger as it speaks of *Mandâ de Hāje* destroying the Seven Pillars with his 'club of glory'.[21] This evidence from Mandaeism, especially considering the degree of bitterness in this polemic, supports the thesis that the concept of 'the seven pillars' was current and distinguishable in Judaism and Jewish Christianity during the early centuries of the Common Era.[22]

17. All *Ginza* citations are from the translation by M. Lidzbarski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925) and will include page references after the abbreviations LIDZ.

18. For an introduction to the figures of Mandaeism, see K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (San Francisco: Harper, 1977), pp. 357-59. The 'Seven' are identified with the following planets and names: Šamiš (Sun); Estrā, the Holy Spirit (Venus); Nbū, the Messiah of Lies (Mercury); Saurēl or Sin (Moon); Kēwān (Saturn); Bēl (Jupiter); and Nerig (Mars); see *Ginza r.* 1.192 in LIDZ 28; *Ginza r.* 2.1 in LIDZ 46; and *Ginza r.* 3 in LIDZ 176. Regarding *Namrus*, see *Ginza r.* 15.11 in LIDZ 340. *Rūhā* is also joined by 'Twelve' represented by the signs of the Zodiac (*Ginza r.* 3 in LIDZ 138). The prominence of seven, the planets, and creation make *Rūhā* appear to be a synthesis of many figures, including Ishtar and Sophia; see note 7 above and Staerk, 'Die sieben Säulen', pp. 237-38.

19. *Ginza r.* 15.11 in LIDZ 341. It is noteworthy for purposes of dating that King Solomon held a special position of disgust in Mandaeism since he built the first temple (*Ginza r.* 1.190 in LIDZ 28 and *Ginza r.* 2.1.124 in LIDZ 46; cf. Acts 2.47-49). Jerusalem was regarded as the 'house of God' by the Ebionites (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.26.2).

20. *Ginza r.* 15.11 in LIDZ 341.

21. *Ginza r.* 15.11 in LIDZ 343.

22. The probability of a shared literary and theological milieu between this literature and Ps-Clem is strengthened by the polemic against John the Baptist in Ps-Clem and the common fixation in both groups for baptism in flowing water, multiple ablutions, and syzygies. On the relationship between Mandaean literature and Ps-Clem, see Drower, *Secret Adam*, pp. 44-46 and 88-106. For a polemic against John the Baptist see *Hom.* 2.17 and *Rec.* 1.60. There are other uses of 'pillar' in Mandaeism and Manicheism that are not applicable to this discussion. The word *'ṣṭun* or *'ṣṭuna* in Mandaic means 'a column, support' or 'the trunk' (of a human body). Regarding these meanings Drower writes: 'In the case of Adam, whose body stands erect, the

Three conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. First, στῦλοι was used metaphorically and was at times employed as a title for exemplary or righteous individuals in various literary circles. Secondly, the usage of στῦλοι in Ps-Clem is based upon an anthropological interpretation of Prov. 9.1. Lastly, Ps-Clem was not alone in its identification of these seven pillars with individual ideal figures.

2. *Ideal Figure Lists in Pseudo-Clementines*

Who are the specific individuals that Ps-Clem identifies as 'the seven pillars'? The portion of Ps-Clem that answers this question most directly is the immediate context of *Hom.* 18.14 (the chapter which contains the only specific mention of anthropological pillars). In the preceding chapter Peter tells of six pentateuchal figures in terse succession that knew God: Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. From the context it is clear that Peter implies that all six men are of 'the seven pillars'; the list in 18.13 is the referent of ἐκείνους μὲν μὴ ἐγνωκέναι in 18.14. Using this list as a paradigm, there are five other similar lists that can be found in *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. All these lists are reproduced here with names of the pillars highlighted and are followed by a chart summarizing the figures cited in these texts.

A.   *Hom.*18.13. [Peter said] for he [Christ] being the Son from the beginning, was alone appointed to give the revelation to those to whom He wishes to give it. And thus the first man *Adam* must have heard of Him; and *Enoch*, who pleased God, must have known Him; and *Noah*, the righteous one, must have become acquainted with Him; and *Abraham* His friend must have understood Him; and *Isaac* must have perceived Him, and *Jacob*, who wrestled with Him, must have believed in Him; and the revelation must have been given to all among the people who were worthy.

B.   *Hom.* 2.52. For, as I [Peter] am persuaded, neither was *Adam* a transgressor, who was fashioned by the hands of God; nor was *Noah* drunken, who was found righteous above all the world; nor did *Abraham* live with three wives at once, who on

'*sṭun* (as in other Mandaic texts) has the meaning of "body", i.e. without the head and limbs, body in a literal sense of trunk. In Manichaeanism the Milky Way was called the "Pillar" of Glory (Parthian *b'm 'stwn*), a conception which could well have been derived from the Light-Body of the cosmic Adam' (*Secret Adam*, p. 21).

account of his sobriety, was thought worthy of a numerous posterity; nor did *Jacob* associate with four—of whom two were sisters—who was the father of the twelve tribes, and who intimated the coming of the presence of our Master; nor was *Moses* a murderer, nor did he learn to judge from an idolatrous priest—he who set forth the law of God to all the world, and for his right judgment has been testified to as a faithful steward.

C.   *Hom.* 17.4. [Simon said...] For the framer of the world was known to *Adam* who He had made, and to *Enoch* who pleased Him, and to *Noah* who was seen to be just by Him; likewise to *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; also to *Moses*, and the people, and the whole world. But Jesus, the teacher of Peter himself, came and said, 'No one knew the Father except the Son'.

D.   *Rec.* 2.47. [Simon said...] For although both *Adam* knew the God who was his creator, and the maker of the world; and *Enoch* knew him, inasmuch as he was translated by him; and *Noah*, since he was ordered by him to construct the ark; and although *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and all, even every people and all nations, know the maker of the world, and confess him to be a God, yet your Jesus, who appeared long after the patriarchs, says: 'No one knows the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son has been pleased to reveal him.'

E.   *Hom.* 2.16-17. [Peter said...] For whereas from Him [God] the greater things come first, and the inferior second, we find the opposite in men—the first worse, and the second superior. Therefore from *Adam*, who was made after the image of God, there sprang first the unrighteous Cain, and then the righteous Abel. Again, from him who amongst you is called *Deucalion* [*Noah*], two forms of spirits were sent forth, the impure namely, and the pure, first the black raven, and then the white dove. From *Abraham* also, the patriarchs of our nation, two firsts sprang—Ishmael first, and then *Isaac*, who was blessed of God. And from Isaac himself, in like manner, there were again two—Esau the profane, and *Jacob* the pious. So, first in birth, as the first born in the world, was the high priest Aaron, then the lawgiver, *Moses*. (Peter goes on to talk about the opposites between John/Jesus, Simon/Peter, False Prophet/Sower of True Gospel, and Antichrist/Christ.)

F.   *Rec*. 3.61. The ten pairs of which we have spoken have there-
fore been assigned to this world from the beginning of time.
Cain and Abel were one pair. The second was the giants and
Noah; the third, Pharoah and *Abraham*; the fourth, the
Philistines and *Isaac*; the fifth, Esau and *Jacob*; the sixth, the
magicians and *Moses* the lawgiver; the seventh, the tempter
and the Son of man; the eighth, Simon and I, Peter; the ninth,
all nations, and he who shall be sent to sow the word among
the nations; the tenth, Antichrist and Christ.

The Distribution of These Figures

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Adam	*	*	*	*	*	
Abel					*	*
Enoch	*		*	*		
Noah	*	*	*	*	*	*
Abraham	*	*	*	*	*	*
Isaac	*		*	*	*	*
Jacob	*	*	*	*	*	*
Moses		*	*	*	*	*
Jesus/Son of Man					*	*
Peter					*	*
Sower of True Gospel					*	*
Christ					*	*

The focus of analysis here will be *who* is listed, not *what* is said about
each figure. First, although there are a total of six lists in Ps-Clem, there
are only four distinct lists since C/D and E/F are the same lists that
appear in both *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. Secondly, of these four lists,
one of them (E/F) contains ten figures because it is primarily concerned
with developing examples of the syzygy phenomena throughout history.
Thirdly, the remaining three distinct lists (A, B, C/D) contain an indis-
putable total of seven figures that surely are considered to be the seven
pillars by the author(s): Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and
Moses.[23] Although the variance in these three lists may initially be
troubling to the reader, it should be interpreted as evidence that these

23. H.-J. Schoeps postulates a vacillation between seven and eight pillars, with
Jesus being the eighth; see his *Theologie und Geschichte*, pp. 105-107. There is no
need to postulate eight pillars here. as Schoeps does, since both Adam and Jesus are
incarnations of the TP; thus, they constitute one pillar.

seven were well-known, thus, the author(s) did not find it necessary to list out these figures *in toto* each time. Fourthly, the use of pentateuchal figures gives insight into the author's view of the OT, especially when the opportunity came in lists E/F to include figures that were post-Mosaic and pre-Jesus. Lastly, each of these lists is consistently terse. The rapid succession of names functions in a unique way to draw the reader's attention and recall the broader scope of divine history in which each of these figures played a role. It is precisely this phenomenon that will now be examined in greater depth.

3. *Ideal Figure Lists in Related Literature*

The canonical books of the OT provide little assistance in studying lists such as those found in Ps-Clem. The most prominent lists are the genealogies (e.g. Gen. 5; 1 Chron. 1–9) and those enumerating the twelve sons or tribes of Israel (e.g. Gen. 49), but the intention of such lists is not to highlight ideal figures. The frequent grouping of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob together as a means of identifying the God of Israel is surely a precursor to more extensive listing of ideal figures since the patriarchs usually appear as the foundational figures of these lists.[24] A more unique listing of three ideal figures is found in Ezek. 14.14 and 14.20, where Noah, Daniel and Job are catalogued together on account of their righteousness.

The most significant portions of the OT for the understanding of this listing phenomenon are the reviews of sacred history, such as those found in Ezek. 20.4-44, Neh. 9.6-38 and Pss. 78, 105, 106, 135, 136.[25] As with most of the lists in Ps-Clem, these reviews emphasize the historical involvement of God with his people by means of a terse listing format. However, a substantial difference is apparent: in these lists *God* is the subject of the verbs describing the sacred events, not *ideal*

24. For example, Exod. 3.6. See the examples which follow for the frequent occurrence of these three in various lists, especially Abraham and Jacob. All three appear in each of the lists of Ps-Clem with the exception of Isaac being absent from *Hom.* 2.52. The probable reason for this is the relative brevity of the accounts related to Isaac and that, unlike the others, his life has no recorded 'coarse' sin that needed to be defended apologetically. The *Prayer of Manasseh* 8 sums up the veneration of these patriarchs in early Judaism when it asserts that they 'did not sin'.

25. These reviews are characterized by their terseness. Broader and more lengthy reviews of sacred history are also present in Ps-Clem (e.g. *Rec.* 1.27-43).

figures. Even an allusion to the most prestigious of various OT figures is surprisingly sparse in these reviews.

The literature of Second Temple Judaism, by contrast, provides very fertile soil for the study of this listing phenomena. This literature also contains some reviews of sacred history with God as the subject (e.g. Jdt 5.5-21; Sir. 6.6-10; *2 Macc.* 2.1-8). However, a shift from *God* to a *mediator* (e.g. Wisdom or ideal figures) as the subject(s) in such catalogues of sacred history is visible in several other texts.[26] These catalogues which focus on individuals are sometimes identified as Hellenistic *exempla virtutis* or *Beispielreihen*.[27] Because such terminology usually refers to well-defined lists of exemplary figures that are carefully structured around a central theme, this study will use more inclusive nomenclature by identifying such texts as employing the *listing genre*. For purposes of this study the listing genre consists of individual figures in a terse listing format of various length with a variety of additional content which serves one or more of three primary rhetorical functions: an encomium; a polemic; or a paraenetic device.[28]

A prominent example of this listing genre is Wisdom of Solomon 10–11. It functions as an encomium that builds on the conception of the hypostasized σοφία of Prov. 8.22-31 and 9.1-6 to show that Sophia continued to be active after creation as the entity that directed, and was present with or in, all the eminent individuals of biblical history. The similarity of the ideal figures alluded to in Wisdom 10 and those listed in Ps-Clem is very apparent. Both contain seven pentateuchal figures, five of which are the same. Wisdom 10 enumerates these righteous heroes in contrast with their evil counterparts as is done in two of the Ps-Clem lists: Adam/Cain; Noah/Flood generation; Abraham/wicked nations; Lot/Sodomites; Jacob/Esau; Joseph/his critics; Moses and Israel/Pharaoh and

26. *1 Macc.* 2.49-64; *3 Macc.* 2.1-8; 6.4-8; *4 Macc.* 16.18-23; Wis. 10.1-21; Sir. 44–49; *4 Ezra* 7.106-10; *T. Naph* 3. Scholars have differing views on which texts should be categorized as being of a common genre. See D. Dimant, 'Use and Interpretation of Mikra in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. Mulder; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), pp. 391-95.

27. See M. Crosby, *The Rhetorical Composition and Function of Hebrews 11 in Light of Example Lists in Antiquity* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), Appendix A: 'Use of *Exempla* according to the Rhetorical Handbooks', pp. 93-105.

28. H. Attridge lists these as functions of the sacred reviews in Jewish and early Christian literature in his *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 306.

Egypt. The difference in two figures between the Ps-Clem pillars and the ideal figures of Wisdom 10—Enoch v. Lot and Isaac v. Joseph—can be explained easily.[29] Both documents utilize the terse listing genre, although Wisdom 10 omits the actual names as a literary device.[30] Both posit some idyllic characteristics which are not found in the OT for their respective figures. Both, especially Wisdom 10, highlight the righteousness of these figures as examples. Lastly, in both documents there is a divine mediator that has a close relationship with these ideal figures: Sophia (Wisdom 10) and the TP (Ps-Clem).[31] Because of these commonalities and the prominence of Wisdom of Solomon in the LXX, this pericope certainly has a genealogical relationship, whether intentional or unintentional, with Ps-Clem's use of the listing genre.

Closely related to Wisdom 10 is another text from Wisdom tradition that enumerates many ideal figures from a vast historical period: Sirach 44–49.[32] A further shift in the subject of sacred history is visible in this

29. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1969), p. 212. This position presupposes that this list of seven was already well defined. Other texts and the secondary significance of Lot and Joseph in pentateuchal history support such a conclusion. The omission of Enoch in this list and the apparent substitution of Lot is explained by Enoch's previous venerated mention in Wis. 4.10-15 and the author's contrast with Sodom is brought out by the inclusion of Lot. The author of Wis. 10 also appears to substitute Joseph for Isaac since the former provides opportunity for more contrast and elaboration as is visible in Wis. 10.13-14.

30. Wis. 10 uses a mild type of *Riddling Speech* that was characteristic of some literary productions of Hellenistic Alexandria. Such allusions give the reader of biblical literature the feeling of an 'insider' because he can discern the referents. This literary device is frequent in apocalyptic literature. For this interpretation and others, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, pp. 139-40. For a short example of this in Ps-Clem, see *Rec*. 4.12.

31. For a further discussion of the author's understanding of the nature and efficacy of Sophia, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, pp. 42-43. The author of Wis. has a position similar to that of Philo, who saw the patriarchs and other pre-Sinaitic figures as embodiments of Sophia; see *Vita. Mos.* 2.188-92; *Mut. Nom.* 88; *Praem. Poen.* 159; *Cher.* 49. Wis. 7.27 asserts the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration with Sophia passing into these holy souls. To understand the TP's relationship with OT figures, see *Hom.* 3.20 and section 4 of this study. Contrary to Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, p. 188), one must distinguish between transmigration and what is asserted of the TP in Ps-Clem. The TP is *incarnate* in Adam, but *appears* to the other pillars. See also Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity*, pp. 69-71.

32. This treatment will concern only that portion of the hymn which mentions figures relevant to Ps-Clem. For a discussion of its overall structure and content, see

text; neither God nor some divine mediator are the primary focus of praise, but ideal figures themselves. Sophia still plays a role in this hymn, but is not hypostasized in these chapters.[33] Rather, Sophia is a virtue of each figure: 'Peoples will declare *their wisdom* [σοφίαν αὐτῶν], and the congregation will declare their praise' (44.15). All seven of the ideal figures of Ps-Clem are given ample recognition in this hymn, especially Enoch and Adam (see Sir. 44.16–45.1 and 49.14-16).[34] As with Ps-Clem and Wisdom 10, the exemplary righteousness of these figures is highlighted even though it is not always substantiated by the OT text. While this list functions as an encomium, Ben Sira also had some paraenetic applications in mind for his audience. Given the prominence of this listing genre in Sirach 44–49, it certainly formed part of the literary milieu from which the lists of Ps-Clem took shape.

The listing genre found in Sirach may also have inspired the form of a Samaritan hymn from an ancient hymn cycle in the *Defter*.[35] The hymn contains a long list of 'mighty men who modified the anger of God': Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, Joshua and Caleb. While this list is distinct because of its Samaritan interests in emphasizing the priesthood which continues the wisdom of the patriarchs, yet its form and the common ordering of Phinehas, Joshua and Caleb point to a shared literary milieu with Sirach.[36]

B. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985) and P. Skehan and A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1987), pp. 498-545.

33. The hypostatized Sophia is found in the encomium of Sir. 24.3-22. Verse 23 then declares the union of Sophia and Torah: 'All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded us...'

34. The exalted status of Adam is prominent at the close of this hymn where he is declared to be 'above every other created living being' (Sir. 49.16). The exaltation of Adam continued in the proliferation of Adamic literature certainly is visible in Ps-Clem where Adam is equated with, and declared to be, the TP (*Hom.* 3.12-27).

35. H.G. Kippenberg, 'Ein Gebetbuch fur den samaritanischen Synagogen-gottesdienst aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr.', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 85 (1969), p. 86. This excerpt of the *Defter* is from *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans* (ed. Z. Ben Hayyim; Jerusalem: 1967), III, p. 59. Enosh and Ithamar are not found in Sir. 44–49.

36. It is clear from this list that Samaritans valued their priestly tradition (Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar and faithful Phinehas, who remained at Bethel [i.e. Mt Gerizim] after Eli moved to Shiloh) over the kingly and prophetic tradition of Israel (see Sir. 47–50). Samaritan tradition may have influenced the Ps-Clem position on

Philo also made use of a listing genre. *De Praemiis et Poenis* 11–14 is an encomium on the virtue of hope and includes a catalog of general types of hopeful people: money lenders, glory seekers, athletes and philosophers. Also significant is his list of 'God-inspired prophets' in *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 260-62: Noah, Isaac, Jacob and Moses. A similar list is present in *de Posteritate Caini* 173-74 where Philo posits that there was a progressive compounding of knowledge, virtue, and wisdom among certain pentateuchal figures: Seth, Noah, Abraham and Moses. There are several other examples of this listing genre in early Judaism that have less correspondence with the ideal figures in Ps-Clem.[37]

This listing genre was also utilized in early Christianity.[38] The most recognized text is Heb. 11.4-28. The author of Hebrews certainly drew on the varied examples of sacred history reviews and the listing genre found in the Wisdom tradition (Wis. 10; Sir. 44–49).[39] Hebrews 11

prophets; in Ps-Clem the pillars are prophets and little attention is given the Hebrew Bible prophetic literature (see section 4 of this study). In Samaritanism the priests are viewed as continuing the wisdom of the patriarchs; see R. Boid, 'Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Samaritan Tradition', in M. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. Mulder; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), pp. 595-633.

37. In *3 Macc.* 4–8 Eleazar recounts some sacred history and mentions the examples of Abraham, Jacob, the three men in the furnace, Daniel and Jonah. *1 Macc.* 2.51-60 is clearly dependent on Sir. 44–49 as it records Mattathias giving encouragement to his sons on his deathbed by listing the examples of Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elijah, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael and Daniel. In *4 Macc.* 16.16-23 a mother encourages her soon-to-be-tortured sons by enumerating the examples of Abraham, Isaac, Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael. 4 Ezra 7.106-10 is possibly dependent on the ordering of Sir. 44–49 as it catalogs the following righteous men who prayed for the ungodly: Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah and Hezekiah.

38. This study will not address simple lists in the NT such as the genealogies of Jesus (Mt. 1.1-17; Lk. 2.23-38), the lists of the twelve apostles (Mt. 10.2-4; Mk 3.16-19; Lk. 6.14-16; Acts 1.13), and the pillar apostles of Gal. 2.9, since they do not fit into the 'listing genre' as defined above; they have no purpose that unites the figures in the list to function as an encomium, polemic, or paraenetic device.

39. There are noteworthy affinities between Heb. 11 and Wis. 10. In Heb. 11 πίστις functions in a manner similar to that σοφία in Wis. 10. As with Sophia, so 'faith' is not an organizing principle that is overtly prominent in each of the ideal figures listed in Heb.; it is read into this list of ideal figures. Although Heb. has a much more extensive list from a broader historical period, both texts focus primarily on pentateuchal figures with supplemental material from other sources. Furthermore,

served as the paradigm for at least one of the several instances of the listing genre in *1 Clement*. In chs. 9–12 Clement uses the organizing theme of obedience to link together Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot and Rahab (the latter figure betraying Clement's dependence on Hebrews 11). In chs. 16–18 he cites examples of humility: Christ, Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Abraham, Job, Moses and David. *1 Clement* 5–6 utilizes a short list of martyrs as examples of patient suffering: the pillar apostles (Peter/Paul) and the women (the Daniads/Dircae). In addition, Jas. 5.10-11 contains a short list made up of the generic 'prophets' and Job as examples of patience in suffering. These examples illustrate the popular employment of this genre as a paraenetic device in early Christianity.

The use of this genre in polemical discourse is especially enlightening for the study of Ps-Clem. Both Irenaeus and Epiphanius reflect the polemical use that Marcion made of a list of ideal and evil figures:[40]

> But the serpent which was in Marcion declared that Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and the patriarch Abraham, with all the prophets, and those who were pleasing to God, did not partake in salvation. (*Adv. Haer.* 1.27.3)

> [Marcion says:] The Lord has even gone down to Hades to save Cain, Korah, Dathan, Abiram, Esau, and all the Gentiles who had not known the God of the Jews. But he has left Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Solomon there. For they recognized the God of the Jews as maker and creator, he says, and have done what is appropriate to him, and did not dedicate themselves to the invisible God. (*Panarion* 42.4.3-4)

These two texts, like the Mandaean texts discussed in section 1, provide a backdrop against which the polemical tone of the lists in Ps-Clem should be read and understood.[41] The above texts infer that Marcion attacked the credibility of the OT in his efforts to discard it. One key

the listing genre in both documents is followed by a discussion on suffering. Lastly, a clear link between Sir. 49.15 and Heb. 11.22 is visible in their common interest given to Joseph's 'bones'.

40. The particular ideal figures and their order indicate possible dependence upon Heb. 11. Solomon is mentioned in Epiphanius, but does not appear in Heb. 11 or Wis. 10. He does receive extensive mention in Sir. 47.12-22. Marcion regarded the OT saints as *refrigerium apud inferor* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem* 4.34).

41. H.-J. Schoeps possibly overstates the evidence when he asserts that Ebionism *led* the opposition against Marcion; see *Theologie und Geschichte*, p. 306. Against the Marcionite rejection of the Jewish Scriptures, Ebionites insisted upon the unity of true Judaism and Christianity through the TP. The TP incarnate in Jesus is not a Gnostic Redeemer; he is a greater Moses.

way that he sought to discredit the OT was through direct attacks on its personages, especially on venerated ideal figures such as those in Wisdom tradition lists and Hebrews 11.

It is precisely in this context of polemical writings, such as those of Epiphanius, that a proliferation of the listing genre is observed. Consider this text from the *Panarion*:

> They [the Ebionites] acknowledge Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and Aaron—and Joshua the son of Nun simply as Moses' successor, not as of any importance. But after these they acknowledge no more of the prophets, but even anathematize David and Solomon and make fun of them. Similarly they disregard Isaiah and Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezekiel, Elijah and Elisha; for they pay them no heed and blaspheme their prophecies, but accept the Gospel only. They say, however, that Christ is the prophet of truth and Messiah; that he is Son of God by promotion, and by his connection with the elevation given to him from above. The prophets, they say, are prophets of understanding, not of truth. He alone, they would have it, is prophet, man, Son of God, and Christ—and yet a mere man, as I said, though owing to virtue of life he has come to be called Son of God. Nor do they accept Moses' Pentateuch in its entirety; certain sayings they reject. When you say to them, of eating meat, 'Why did Abraham serve the angels calf and milk? Why did Noah eat meat, and why was he told to by God, who said, "Slay and eat?" Why did Isaac and Jacob sacrifice to God—Moses too, in the wilderness?' He will not believe that and will say, 'Why do I need to read what is in the Law, when the Gospel has come?' Well, where did you hear about Moses and Abraham? I know you admit their existence, and put them down as righteous, as your own ancestors.' Then he will answer, 'Christ has revealed this to me', and will blaspheme most of the legislation, and Samson, David, Elijah, Samuel, Elisha, and the rest. (30.18.4-9)

The Jewish Scriptures, particularly the Pentateuch, served as a battleground for many of these groups or sects that considered themselves to be either part of Christianity or separate from it. The rejection of the traditional prophets in Ebionite circles of Jewish Christianity can be understood as growing out of Samaritan influence.[42] Therefore, it is understandable that the primary pentateuchal figures played an important role in the polemics that were exchanged by various groups. The

42. See note 36 above. The question of why Jewish Christianity would embrace Samaritanism is a difficult one; for a discussion and examples of this relationship, see J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (WUNT, 1/36; Tübingen: Mohr, 1985), pp. 65-75 (esp. n. 130). For the position of Ps-Clem on false pericopes and the prophets, see section 4 of this study.

polemics leveled against certain Christian groups through the use of these lists can be discerned from the texts above. The use of this technique by 'heretical' groups can also be illustrated from the writings of Epiphanius and Irenaeus.[43] Furthermore, it is apparent that not only ideal figures were used in the listing genre, but also archetypal figures of evil and disobedience.[44]

It is particularly the texts from polemical contexts that promote a better understanding of the listing genre in the Ps-Clem exchange between Peter and Simon Magus. The Ps-Clem Simon Magus is surely a complex composite figure representative of numerous theological positions (Gnosticism, Marcionism, Pauline Christianity, Samaritanism, etc.).[45] The Ps-Clem lists are polemical in both their contexts and contents. The texts discussed immediately above illustrate how the polemical function of the listing genre could have been utilized against, and by, the group or individual responsible for Ps-Clem.

An important use of the listing genre which has not yet been

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43. *Panarion* 18.1.3; 2.5-6; 9.3.1-5; 26.11-12; and *Adv. Haer.* 4.16.2. Justin makes use of such lists of 'patriarchs' in his polemical *Dialogue with Tyrpho* (e.g. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, Job, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah and the mother of Moses in 46.3; Abel, Enoch, Lot, Noah, Abraham and Melchizedek in 19.3-6; and Enoch, Noah and Jacob in 45.2-4).

44. This has been illustrated already in Wis. 10 where ideal figures that Sophia guided were contrasted with Cain, the Babel generation, Sodom, Joseph's brothers and Egypt. Ideal figures are also contrasted by evil figures in two lists of Ps-Clem: Cain, the black raven, Ishmael, Esau, Aaron, John the Baptist, Simon, the false prophet, Antichrist (*Hom.* 2.16-17) and Cain, the giants, Pharaoh, the Philistines, Esau, the Magicians of Egypt, the Tempter, Simon, all nations, Antichrist (*Rec.* 3.61). Obviously, some groups would disagree with the assessment that these figures were evil. Jude 5–11 contains a list of evil figures to illustrate a historical precedent to the rebellion threatening the community he is addressing (rebellious Israel, the rebellious angels, Sodom and Gomorrah, Cain, Balaam and Korah's rebellion). Epiphanius speaks of the Cainites venerating Cain, the Sodomites, Esau, Korah and his companions (*Panarion* 38.1.2). Clement demonstrates examples of envy with the following list: Cain, Esau, Joseph's brothers, Pharaoh, Aaron and Miriam, Dathan and Abiram and Saul (*1 Clem.* 6). The paraenetic function of such lists as negative examples was the primary reason for their usage.

45. For Simon as a composite figure in various literature, see Fossum, 'Sects and Movements', pp. 357-89. For Simon as a figure representing Paul, see G. Luedemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (trans. by M. Boring; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), pp. 169-94. This anti-Paulinism is seen in *Hom.* 2.17; 17.5; 18.13-19 and *The Epistle to Peter* 2.3.

displayed is its employment in the development of Christology. It became increasingly important for Christians to show the historical continuity of Christianity from creation to Jesus by demonstrating the presence of Christ in the events and with the people of the OT.[46] Sophia became an important figure in this theological task. In two *Fragments from Lost Writings*, Irenaeus draws on Wisdom tradition from Wisdom 10 and replaces the figure of Sophia with Christ.[47] While these fragments function as christological encomiums, they may also have had a polemical function in their original context. Observe how the listing genre in these texts develops Christology:

> For it was He [Christ] who sailed along with Noah, and who guided Abraham; who was bound along with Isaac, and was a Wanderer with Jacob... He [Christ] is the First-begotten, after a transcendent manner, the Creator of man; All in all; Patriarch among patriarchs; Law in the law, the Priest among priests; among kings prime Leader; the Prophet among prophets; the Angel among angels; the Man among men; Son in the Father; God in God; King to all eternity. He was sold with Joseph, and he guided Abraham; was bound with Isaac, and wandered with Jacob; with Moses he was Leader, and respecting the people, Legislator. He preached in the prophets. (Fragments 53–54)

Other examples of this listing genre are found in the writings of Rabbinic Judaism and Jewish Mysticism. In *b. Sukk.* 52a the title of 'shepherd' is imposed on seven OT figures (Adam, Seth, Methuselah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses and David) and the title of 'prince' on eight other individuals (Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephaniah, Zedekiah, the Messiah, Elijah).[48] Also noteworthy is the fact that several rabbinic texts tell of seven righteous figures who brought about the reappearance of the *Shekinah*.[49] Although the seven figures vary, the three patriarchs

46. M. Hengel, *The Son of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), pp. 66-83. See also R. Grant, 'The Christ at Creation', in *Jesus in History and Myth* (ed. R. Hoffmann and G. Larue; New York: Prometheus Books, 1986). pp. 157-67.

47. These fragments are recorded in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977 reprint), I, p. 577. This phenomenon is also visible in the Fourth Gospel; see R. Brown, *The Gospel According to John I–XII* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. cxxii-cxxv.

48. See also *Alphabetot* 103 in note 16 above. A similar phenomenon is present in *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.5.3 where the succession of 'high priests' is imposed upon Abel, Seth. Enosh, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek and Job.

49. For this rabbinic tradition and the numerous documents which record it, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, p. 260 and V, p. 395 n. 31. H.-J. Schoeps notes that 'the

and Moses are consistently present. The influence of these lists of righteous individuals has also impacted prophet lists in Manicheism and Islam.[50]

The following conclusions can be deduced from the numerous and varied examples of lists gathered above. First, a distinct listing genre has its origins in the OT reviews of sacred history. The focus of these reviews is God and what he has done in history; ideal figures are rarely mentioned. Secondly, a clear shift is visible in the literature of Second Temple Judaism as mediators like Sophia or ideal figures became the focus of sacred history catalogues. Thirdly, a listing genre can be seen as developing primarily from Wisdom tradition texts like Wisdom 10 and Sirach 44–49. This genre is observable where there are lists of historical figures which function in three basic ways: as an encomium, as a polemic and as a paraenetic device. The role that this genre served in polemics with various groups is very clear from a number of texts which shed light on the polemical function of the lists in Ps-Clem. Fourthly, it is apparent from the texts that this genre was not limited to ideal figures, but included evil figures (either as contrasts in the same lists or as figures making up a completely separate list). Lastly, this listing genre continued to exercise influence in the history of religion, especially as it was used for series of prophets.

picture of the wandering Shekinah was widely known and frequently associated with seven righteous men' (*Jewish Christianity*, p. 70).

50. The Heralds of the Light-Mind in Manicheism are a syncretistic group made up of Seth, Noah, Enosh, Enoch, Shem, Abraham, Buddha, Aurentes, Zoroaster, Jesus and Paul; see K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (San Francisco: Harper, 1987), p. 339. The Koran's *Sura* 26.10-191 lists seven messengers who preceded Mohammad: Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hud, Salih, Lot and Shucayb. *Sura* 6.83-86 relates a list of 18 biblical prophets whom Allah guided: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Zachariah, John, Jesus, Elias, Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah and Lot. *Sura* 33.7 contains the most elite prophet list: 'And we exacted a covenant from thee [Muhammad] and Noah, and Abraham and Moses and Jesus son of Mary.' H.-J. Schoeps postulates a genealogical connection between the TP of Ebionism and the series of prophets in Mandaeism, Manicheism and Islam in his *Theologie und Geschichte*, pp. 334-42. For the Jewish roots of Muhammad's understanding of prophets, see A.J. Wensick, 'Muhammed und die Propheten', *Acta Orientalia* 2 (1924), pp. 168-98.

4. *The Seven Pillars in the Christology of the Pseudo-Clementines*

An Ebionite Christology is prominently woven into the content of Ps-Clem.[51] The presence of the seven pillars in Ps-Clem is closely related to the pre-existence of the TP. Therefore, to understand fully the pillars found in Ps-Clem it is essential that one comprehend their relationship with the TP. This task will be accomplished by first examining what is stated about each of the pillars in Ps-Clem and then by perusing what is asserted about the TP's relationship with them.

Adam. Adam is the most prominent of the pillars in Ps-Clem. Although the Pentateuch says nothing of Adam as a prophet, that is the primary title he receives in Ps-Clem.[52] *Rec.* 1.47 states that Adam was anointed a prophet: '...since it is certain he was a prophet, it is in like manner certain that he was also anointed, because without anointing he could not be a prophet' (cf. *Rec.* 2.5). According to *Hom.* 3.12-27 he had the Holy Spirit of Foreknowledge, he did not sin, he had male prophecy, he was among the 'sons of men' and had prophecy innate to his soul. Ps-Clem contrasts 'the sixth sense' of foreknowledge (προγνῶσις) with prediction (πρόλεγον) and knowledge (γνῶσις); foreknowledge being a *terminus technicus* for true prophecy in Ps-Clem.[53] 'Sons of men' appears as a title for authentic prophets (*Hom.* 3.26 and 2.17; in contrast to the 'sons of God' and 'daughters of men' of Gen. 6.1-4). Three times it is asserted that he was the first incarnation of the TP (μόνος ἀληθὴς πρόφητης; *Hom.* 3.21; 8.10; *Rec.* 4.9; cf. *Hom.* 3.20). He was divine, knew all things, and was the image of God (*Hom.* 7.10; 2.16; 10.3; 17.7). While *Hom.* 10.4 recognizes the sin of Adam, it conflicts with both *Hom.* 2.52 and 3.17 which posit that he did

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51. See H.-J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte*, pp. 71-255; and G. Friedrich, 'προφήτης', *TDNT*, VI, pp. 858-59.

52. Josephus also gives Adam this title in *Ant.* 1.70. *LAE* makes it clear that Satan was cast out of heaven for not worshipping Adam (13.1ff.). In *2 En.* he is the handiwork of Sophia herself and also a King (30.8; cf. *Jub.* 2.14; *4 Ezra* 6.53; *Apoc. Mos.* 24.4). Furthermore, he is the 'glorious man' and a cosmos in miniature in *2 En.* 30.11-13. For additional speculation re Adam, see W. Staerk, *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen* (Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. 41-61, and J. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988).

53. *Hom.* 2.10-11; 3.11-14; 3.42; *Rec.* 2.51. See also the contrast between *understanding* and *truth* noted by Epiphanius with regard to the Ebionites (*Panarion* 30.18.5).

not sin.[54] The veneration of the first Adam may have an anti-Pauline reference.[55]

Enoch. This figure is very prominent in the literature of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity.[56] Ps-Clem relates that he was translated to heaven (*Rec.* 2.47; 1.52; 4.12) and he 'pleased God' (*Hom.* 17.4; 18.13). The theme of God being 'well pleased' with Enoch is not found in Genesis, but is a prominent in Wis. 4.15, Heb. 11.5, and Philo.[57] The author of Ps-Clem confuses Enoch with Enosh when he writes that Enoch was mindful of God's grace and called upon His name.[58]

Noah. Ps-Clem states that Noah was an outstandingly 'righteous' man (*Hom.* 8.17; 2.52; *Rec.* 1.29; 7.50; 4.12), sacred (*Rec.* 8.50), did not get drunk (*Hom.* 2.52), was a king (*Hom.* 9.3), and knew God (*Rec.* 2.47).[59]

Abraham. Ps-Clem relates that the TP appeared (*apparuit*) to Abraham and disclosed to him all things he desired (*Rec.* 1.22, 33), that he was an astrologer who recognized the Creator (*Rec.* 1.32), and he did not have three wives at one time (*Hom.* 2.52).[60]

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54. The textual tradition of Ps-Clem is very uncertain; these discrepancies may have resulted from redaction.

55. Paul elevated the Second Adam, Christ; Ps-Clem sees them as one and the same (Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity*, p. 69).

56. His righteousness and popularity is well attested in the Enochic literature. *2 En.* and *3 En.* show the prominence of this figure in some Jewish circles well into the Common Era (see esp. *2 En.* 64). The prominence of Enoch in early Christianity is also well attested; for examples see W. Adler, 'Enoch in Early Christian Literature', *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), I, pp. 271-76. For Enoch regarded as a prophet in the NT, see Lk. 3.37 and Jude 14.

57. *Post.* 43; *Mut.* 34; *Abr.* 23; and *Quaest. in Gen.* 79–87.

58. Enosh's name is mentioned in the context of Gen. 4.26 when people first began to call upon the name of the Lord; cf. *Rec.* 4.12.

59. Noah is the only pillar specifically labeled as 'righteous' in the Pentateuch; see Gen. 6.9 and 7.1. There are traditions that support the perspective that Noah was a prophet of repentance; see *Sib. Or.* 1.125-36; *Sifre* 43; *Mek. Shirah* 5 (38b); Heb. 11.7; *1 Clem.* 7.6; and Clem. of Alex., *Strom.* 1.2.1. Sir 44.17 relates that Noah was 'perfect and righteous' (see also Ezek. 14.14, 20; 1 Qap. Gen. 4.2; Jub. 5.19). According to Jub., he is second in righteousness only to Enoch. *1 En.* 106 relates the miraculous birth of Noah.

60. Jub. 23.10 states that Abraham was perfect. This is affirmed in Jub. 16.28 which states that Abraham kept the entire Torah when it was yet unwritten. Sir. 44.20 states that he was blameless. *Pr Man.* 8 and *T. Abr.* 10.13 state that he did not sin.

Isaac. Very little is said specifically of Isaac in Ps-Clem except that he was 'blessed by God' (*Hom.* 2.16) and 'knew God' (*Hom.* 13.13; 17.4; *Rec.* 2.47).[61]

Jacob. Ps-Clem clearly identifies Jacob as a prophet (*Rec.* 1.49), a type of the TP (*Rec.* 5.10), pious (*Hom.* 2.16), as not having four wives (*Hom.* 2.52) and as having wrestled with an angel (*Hom.* 2.7).[62]

Moses. Along with Adam, Moses is the most prominent of the seven pillars in Ps-Clem.[63] Moses is clearly identified as a prophet (*Rec.* 1.59; *Hom.* 2.49-50). The TP appeared to him (*Rec.* 1.34; *Rec.* 1.48 states that the Son revealed the Father to him). Moses is characterized as a 'type [*typus*]' of the TP along with Jacob (*Rec.* 5.10). He is also a miracle-worker (*Rec.* 3.56-57). According to Ps-Clem, he did not murder the Egyptian, nor did his idolatrous priest of a father-in-law teach him to judge (*Hom.* 2.52). There is a lengthy discussion of salvation through doing the things taught by Jesus *or* Moses, who is a 'teacher of truth' (*Hom.* 8.4-7). This is classic Ebionism and certainly should be interpreted as part of a polemic against Marcionism and Pauline Christianity.[64] Such a uniting of Sinai-Golgotha and Moses/Jesus is reflected already in *Barn.* 4.6 where there is a warning about certain people who affirmed that Judaism and Christianity belong in the same covenant.

61. *T. Isaac* 2.7 relates that Isaac was above everyone else with Abraham and Jacob (cf. *Pr. Man.* 8) and later asserts that his soul was 'as white as snow' (7.1).

62. According to Justin, Jacob prophesied in Gen. 49.10 concerning the two advents of Christ (*Dial. Trypho* 52.1; cf. *Rec.* 1.45). The ultimate veneration of Jacob is found in the *Prayer of Joseph* which claims that Abraham and Isaac 'were created before any work' (v. 2) and that Jacob is an angel of God who is the 'firstborn of every living thing' (v. 3; see also *Pr. Jac.*, 19).

63. Jewish tradition affirms the high assessment Moses receives here. Jub. 1.16 calls Moses a 'perfect teacher' as well as a prophet and priest. *Fragment* 2 of Aristobulus mentions that Moses was marveled at on account of his wisdom and the divine spirit he possessed (8.10.3). *T. Mos.* 1.14 relates that Moses was prepared from the beginning of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant. It goes on to describe him: 'that sacred spirit, worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, mast of leaders, faithful in all things, the divine prophet for the whole earth, the perfect teacher' (*T. Mos.* 11.16). For an extensive collection of Jewish Moses traditions, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, p. 245 to III, p. 481. For background on the exaltation of Moses in Samaritanism, see J. MacDonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (London: SCM, 1964), pp. 147-224. For an intriguing study of the dialogue of early Christianity with Moses traditions, see W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King. Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

64. Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity*, pp. 66-67.

Three important observations must be made concerning what Ps-Clem asserts about these pillars. First, although the basic tradition regarding each of these pillars is found in the Pentateuch, it is obvious that the specific descriptions of them in Ps-Clem are not restricted to the contents of the Pentateuch. When Ps-Clem (primarily the *Homilies*) differs from the contents of the OT, the theory of false pericopes is posited.[65] The TP is instrumental in determining which Scriptures are true and which are false (*Hom.* 2.49; 16.14). Through the use of this theory Ps-Clem denies any form of polytheism in the OT, intensifies the value of the Law, and also denies the sins of the pillars (cf. *Hom.* 2.52; 18.14).[66]

Secondly, the matter of false pericopes also relates to the broader question of the perspective of Ps-Clem toward the OT. It is clear that the author(s) accepted as authoritative the basic 'Scriptures of the Jews' (*Rec.* 2.38, 44), with the exception of those portions which contained falsehoods. It is also evident that various portions of the OT are alluded to and specifically quoted in Ps-Clem. However, minimal use is made of the OT outside the Pentateuch.[67] Of all of the direct quotations from OT documents other than the Pentateuch, only once does Ps-Clem mention the name of that document within the text (Isaiah in *Hom.* 18.18). It is possible that some of these citations may come into Ps-Clem through oral tradition or the NT; for example, *Rec.* 1.37 is drawing on words of Jesus (in Mt. 9.13 or 12.7 where Hos. 6.6 is cited) and not on the prophet Hosea. It is also noteworthy that the one text from Joshua that

65. See *Hom.* 2.38-51; 3.3-5, 17, 21, 42, 47-49; 16.14; 18.19-20. This phenomenon is by no means exclusive to Ps-Clem; see the discussions re Ptolemaeus, *Letter to Flora* and *Jub.* in J. Danielou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), pp. 60-66.

66. For the lack of sin on the part of these figures see *Pr. Man.* 8; Tob. 3.14; *Jub.* 27.8; *T. Iss.* 7.1-9; *T. Levi* 10.2; *T. Zeb.* 1.4; *LAE* 18.1; *T. Abr.* 10.13; *2 Bar.* 9.1; *Ap. Sedr* 15. The author adapts the Fall of the Watchers to explain the origin of sin (*Rec.* 1.29-30 and *Hom.* 8.11-15; cf. Gen. 6.1-4 and *1 En.* 6–11). Ps-Clem implies that even the inclination to sin can be overcome and the image of God can be restored (*Hom.* 9.19-21; 10.6; 11.4; 17.7; *Rec.* 4.9). *Hom.* 10.4, however, affirms the sin of man.

67. Pss. and Josh. are quoted in *Rec.* 2.44; Jer., Josh., Pss. and Isa. in *Hom.* 16.6-7; Prov. in *Hom.* 16.10; Isa. in *Hom.* 18.14; Dan. in *Hom.* 17.17; Isa. in *Hom.* 18.17-18; and Eccles. in *Hom.* 9.22. It does not appear that any of these are being quoted via a NT text. Epiphanius may be negatively exaggerating the Ebionite position towards the prophets in *Panarion* 30.18.4-9.

is quoted three times is declared to be from the lips of Moses (Josh. 23.7 in *Hom.* 16.6-7 and *Rec.* 2.44). Furthermore, there appears to be a polemic against David as an adulterer and war-monger (*Hom.* 3.25; cf. *Hom.* 3.24, 52, 62) and one against some of Israel's prophets (*Rec.* 1.49; *Hom.* 3.13, 53; 2.7). In light of this evidence, the author(s) of Ps-Clem may have professed the Hebrew Bible as a *formal* OT canon, yet their *material* canon was primarily the Pentateuch minus its false pericopes plus various Jewish/Christian traditions. The numerous Samaritan interests/polemics in Ps-Clem supports the position that Ps-Clem's view of the OT may have Samaritan roots.[68]

The third important observation concerns the Ps-Clem understanding of 'prophets'. Only two of the pillars are explicitly stated as holding the office of prophet in the Pentateuch (Abraham in Gen. 20.7 and Moses in Deut. 18.15). One additional pillar is labeled as a prophet in the NT (Enoch in Jude 14 and Lk. 3.37). Ps-Clem, in contrast, presents all seven pillars as 'prophets'.[69] Much evidence supports this conclusion. Ps-Clem specifically labels three persons besides Christ as 'prophets': Adam, Jacob, and Moses. All three are pillars. *Rec.* 1.49 states: 'For the prophets—especially Jacob and Moses—spoke of the first [coming], but also the second.' Adam and Jacob are not typical prophets of the OT, yet they are pre-eminent prophets in Ps-Clem (especially Adam who is the incarnation of the TP). Ps-Clem mentions none of the traditional prophets of Israel in its text except Isaiah in *Hom.* 18.18; there he is not accorded the title of prophet. Furthermore, after Simon Magus outlines the pillars who supposedly knew God and attempts to show that this contradicts the words of Jesus about only the Son knowing the Father (*Rec.* 2.47), Peter responds:

68. Links between Ps-Clem and Samaritanism can be discerned in several areas the prominence of Simon Magus in theological debate; the discussion of Samaritan sect leaders; the discussion of the same mediator figures such as 'the Power' or 'the Standing One'; the emphasis on pentateuchal tradition and absence of prophetic literature; the prominence of Moses, who was regarded as 'the True Prophet' in Samaritanism; and the emphasis on ritual washing following baptism. For a discussion of Samaritan sects that notes these links and others to the Ps-Clem, see Fossum 'Sects and Movements', pp. 293-389.

69. J. Fitzmyer misses this point completely in his discussion of Ps-Clem's view of OT prophets; see 'The Qumran Scrolls, the Ebionites and Their Literature', *TS* 16 (1955), pp. 335-72 and reprinted in *idem, Essays on the Semitic Background of th New Testament* (Missoula: Scholars, 1974), pp. 463-65. The prophetic aspect of these patriarchs is discussed by Philo in *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.87

> For if it is the option of the Son to reveal the Father to whom He will,
> then the Son, who has been with the Father from the beginning, and
> through all generations, as He revealed the Father to Moses, so also to the
> other prophets; but if this be so, it is evident that the Father has not been
> unknown to any of them. (cf. *Rec.* 1.52)

It is specifically the pillars, one of whom is Moses, that Simon Magus
accused of not knowing God. If the other six pillars are not *at least a
portion* of the 'other prophets' mentioned here, then Peter is ignoring a
large part of the accusation leveled by Simon Magus. This does not
seem probable. This view of the pillars as prophets is also visible in
Epiphanius when he states in *Panarion* 30.18.4: 'But after these [the
pillars and Aaron] they [the Ebionites] acknowledge no more of the
prophets.' The most compelling evidence, however, comes in *Hom.* 2.15
where Peter is explaining the prophetic rule of pairs (female/male) and
preparing to give his lengthy list of ten examples of these pairs in
Hom. 2.16-17. This text links several of the pillars with the concept of a
'succession of prophets'.

> For, since the present world is female, as a mother bringing forth the
> souls of her children, but the world to come is male, as a father receiving
> his children from their mother, therefore in this world there came a *succession of prophets*, as being sons of the world to come, and having
> knowledge of men.

Each prophet, especially the pillars, has a close relationship with the
TP: the Son has revealed the Father to prophets through all generations
(*Rec.* 2.48). The TP is a person equated with the Son who has existed
from the beginning with God and participated in creation, but is clearly
not God (*Hom.* 16.15). He was incarnate in both Adam and Jesus, the
latter being the TP *par excellence* (*Hom.* 8.10, 3.15; *Rec.* 1.60). He
'appeared' to both Abraham and Moses (*Rec.* 1.33-34). Both Jacob and
Moses are described as 'types' of the TP (*Rec.* 1.10). He was the one
who had given Moses the Law and who restored it in Jesus (*Hom.* 2.38,
51; 3.18, 47). This concept of being incarnate in Adam and appearing to
the patriarchs is characteristic of the Ebionite tradition which Epiphanius
records:

> He [Christ] comes into the world when he wishes, for he came into Adam
> and appeared to the patriarchs clothed with a body. He is the same who
> went to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and who came at the end of time and
> clothed himself with the body of Adam, and who appeared to men, was
> crucified, raised, and returned on high. (*Panarion* 30.3.5)

If knowledge and truth cannot be gained apart from the TP as Ps-Clem asserts (*Rec.* 1.33, 44; *Hom.* 2.5, 12), then *all* the pillars must have had some form of contact with him. This is affirmed in *Rec.* 1.52: 'Know then that Christ, who was from the beginning, and always, was ever present with the pious...to whom He frequently appeared.'[70] Such a pre-existent Christology is clearly at work in the NT, but for a different purpose than in Ps-Clem.[71] The NT uses pre-existent Christology to support the divinity of Jesus; Ps-Clem uses it to establish the credibility of certain pentateuchal tradition against those groups attacking it.[72]

These relationships between each of the seven pillars and the TP demonstrate the complexity of the Christology that is found in Ps-Clem; it is made up of much more than the central Prophet-like-Moses tradition of Deut. 18.15. While several other Jewish mediator traditions are coalesced in the figure of the TP, only two are crucial in order to understand his appearing to and being with the pillars. It is the mediator traditions associated with Wisdom/Spirit and the Angel of the Lord that provide the backdrop for understanding the relationship of the pillars with the TP.[73]

The influence of Wisdom tradition on Christology as it relates to the pillars is especially visible.[74] As already discussed, the presence of Sophia with the various ideal figures of Wisdom 10 resembles the relationship

70. The pillars were considered the most pious people in the world (cf. *Hom.* 18.14). *Rec.* 1.45 notes that Christ anoints the pious, giving the Holy Spirit. This is possibly an installation of the pious into the prophetic office.

71. That the pre-existent Christ was closely connected with the lives of the pillars is attested to in the early church (Jn 8.56; 1 Cor. 10.4; 1 Pet. 3.18; Heb. 11.26; Jn 1.1-3, Jude 5).

72. For example, see Phil. 2.6; Col. 1.15-20; and Jn 1.1-18. In these pericopes the pre-existence of the Son is asserted to show his divinity or oneness with God.

73. A similar coalescing of christological traditions takes place in the Fourth Gospel. For a discussion of the union of Prophet and Angel traditions in the Fourth Gospel, see J.-A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium* (WUNT, 2/2; Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), pp. 341-85. Although Wisdom/Spirit and Angel of the Lord traditions are addressed as separate here, it should be understood that the hypostasized Sophia traditions as found in Wis. 10 originate from Angel of the Lord traditions; see Fossum, 'Kyrios Jesus', pp. 237-38.

74. We have already shown the dependency of Ps-Clem on the listing genre found in Wisdom Tradition. For overt influence see *Rec.* 1.40; there Christ is called the 'Wisdom of God' (cf. *Rec.* 1.37, 39). The hypostatized Sophia present at creation is acknowledged in *Hom.* 16.12; both Sophia and Logos are noted in *Rec.* 8.34.

between the TP and the pillars; Irenaeus's *Fragments of Lost Writings* 53–54 noted above demonstrate how Christians used this tradition and replaced Sophia with Christ. The precise relationship between Sophia and the ideal figures of Wisdom 10 is described in Wis. 7.27: 'In every generation she [Sophia] passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets.' Similar language is used in Ps-Clem to describe how the 'Holy Spirit of Foreknowledge' was infused into Adam by God:

> The only good God having made all things well, and having handed them over to man, who was made after his image, *he who had been made breathing of the divinity of Him who made him,* being true *prophet* and knowing all things, for the honor of the Father who had given all things to him, and for the salvations of the sons born of him...showed them the way which leads to His *friendship.* (*Hom.* 8.10)

> When God had made man after his own image and likeness, *he grafted into his work a certain breathing and odour of His divinity* [*operi suo spiramen quoddam et odorem suae divinitatis inseruit*], that so men, being partakers of His Only-begotten, might through Him be also *friends of God* and sons of adoption. When also he Himself, as the true *Prophet,* knowing with what actions the Father is pleased, instructed them in what way they might obtain that privilege. (*Rec.* 4.9)

Such imagery is also used in Ps-Clem to describe how the Spirit is imparted by the TP:

> Now the Man who is the helper I call the true Prophet; and *He alone is able to enlighten the souls of men,* so that with our own eyes we may be able to see the way of eternal salvation. (*Hom.* 1.19; cf. *Hom.* 2.5, 12; 3.15; *Rec.* 1.33, 44)

> For every person is a bride, whenever, *being sown with the true Prophet's whole word of truth, he is enlightened* in his understanding...whenever *the soul is sown by others, then it is forsaken by the Spirit,* as guilty of fornication or adultery; and so the living body, the *life-giving Spirit,* being withdrawn, is dissolved into dust. (*Hom.* 3.17-18)

This similarity in language is natural because Sophia and the Spirit are united in Ps-Clem. This influence of Wisdom Tradition on the Ps-Clem understanding of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the pillars can be understood as a similar tradition to the one found in the *Gospel of the Hebrews.* Here the Spirit, speaking as the hypostasized Wisdom, tells of her presence in the prophets as she comes to dwell fully in Christ at his baptism:

And it came to pass when the Lord was come up out of the water, the whole fount of the Holy Spirit descended upon him and rested on him and said to him: 'My Son, in all the prophets was I waiting for thee that thou shouldest come and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest; thou art my first-begotten Son that reignest forever.' (cf. *Hom.* 3.20)

The *modus operandi* of the TP in Ps-Clem, however, is not like the Pythagorean metempsychosis (or transmigration) of Sophia in Wisdom 7.27 since the TP is incarnate in Adam and he does not enter the other pillars.[75] Some scholars make uncritical use of Ps-Clem to illustrate transmigration (D. Winston) or repeated incarnations (O. Cullmann).[76] Ps-Clem presents the TP as the one who imparts the Spirit to the soul when he appears to individuals or is present with them. The strong pneumatic character of this Christology should not be denied; yet the TP himself does not pass into souls as Sophia does according to Wisdom 7.[77]

While Wisdom tradition certainly influenced the relationship between the pneumatic character of the TP and his *presence* with the pillars, it is Angelomorphic Christology that provides the context in which the *appearances* of the TP to various generations are understood.[78] It is

75. See note 31 above. Neither is this an Elchasaite Christology where Christ always manifests himself in the body of Adam; see also Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity*, pp. 69-71 and J. Fossum, 'Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism', *VC* 37 (1983), pp. 269-71.

76. See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, p. 188, and O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), p. 40. While I laud Cullmann's inclusion of Ps-Clem in his discussion of Prophet Christology, his mention of repeated 'incarnations' of the TP in the pious has probably furthered this misconception; see also S. Goranson, 'Ebionites', in D. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), II, p. 261.

77. See also J.N.D. Kelly's discussion of Spirit Christology in *Early Christian Doctrines* (San Francisco: Harper, rev. edn 1978), pp. 142-45.

78. The Angel of the Lord who appeared to some of the pillars was a natural mediator figure to use in demonstrating pre-existent Christology since this angel possessed the Tetragrammaton (Exod. 23.21). This figure played a major role in the Jewish roots of early Christology; see A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977). For a thorough treatment of the Angel of the Lord in Samaritanism and Judaism, see Fossum, *The Name of God* (cf. note 42). M. Barker argues that Ancient Israel considered this angel to be a manifestation of the lesser God Yahweh (in contrast to the high God El/Elohim/Elyon) and the early Christians considered Jesus to be a similar manifestation of Yahweh; see *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992). An understanding of the Angel of the

clear that the vivid *mal'ak YHWH* traditions in the Hebrew Bible are the fertile ground from which the appearances of the TP to the pillars grew.[79] In *Rec.* 1.32 the author recalls that 'an angel' instructed Abraham according to Gen. 15.22 and then proceeds to identify this angel as the TP in the next chapter. Christ is identified as 'the one among archangels who is greatest' in *Rec.* 2.42. In addition, *Rec.* 1.34 states that 'the true Prophet appeared to Moses and struck the Egyptians with ten plagues'; this action is accorded to the Angel of the Lord in related literature.[80] As stated above, this Angelomorphic Christology is characteristic of Ebionism as described by Epiphanius (*Panarion* 30.3.5). Furthermore, Tertullian asserts that the Ebionites believed 'that there was an angel in Him [Christ], just as there was in Zechariah'.[81] Such a Christology was not confined to 'unorthodox' sects. Ireaneus refers to Christ as 'the Angel of angels' in the fragments cited above, as do Justin and Origen who also use the title 'the Angel of Great Counsel' (Isa. 9.5 LXX).[82] The identification of the Angel of the

Lord within Israelite religion as a 'kind of bifurcation of the divine or an embryonic binitarianism' is argued against by L. Hurtado in *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), pp. 85-92. For an introduction to the presence of Angel Christology in early Christianity, see the second edition of J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos: Die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1964 [1st edn 1941]), pp. 335-52.

79. Gen. 16.7-11; 22.11, 15; Exod. 3.2; 14.19-20; Num. 22.22-35; Judg. 2.1, 4; 5.23; 6.11-22; 13.3-21. See also: 'Angel of God' in Gen. 21.17; 31.11; Exod. 14.19; Judg. 6.20; 13.6, 9; 'the Angel' in Gen. 48.16; the 'three men' in Gen. 18.1-33; 'the man' in Gen. 32.24-30; Judg. 13.3-22.

80. See Num. 20.16; Isa. 63.9; and Philo *Vita. Mos.* 1.166.

81. *De carne Christi* 14.5. The close connection between prophet and angel is documented in the OT: Zech. 1.9-21; 2 Chron. 36.15-16; and Hag. 1.12-13. The latter text unites 'prophet' and 'angel of the Lord' in the person of Haggai. Tertullian interpreted the angel in Zech. 1 as being 'inside' the prophet Zerchariah. Peter's confession in Logion 13 of the *Gospel of Thomas* asserts that Jesus is like 'a righteous angel'. For a treatment of ideal figures in early Judaism as angels, see J.H. Charlesworth, 'The Righteous as an Angel', in J.J. Collins and G.W. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), pp. 135-51.

82. For Justin: *Dial. Trypho* 126.1; see also *Dial. Trypho* 61.1. It is noteworthy that both Justin (*1 Apol.* 33.6) and *Hermas* (*Sim.* 5.6.5-7 and 9.1.1) unite the Son and the Holy Spirit and are characterized by a Pneumatic Christology. For Origen: *Comm. in Joh.* 1.277; *Comm. in Joh.* 1.210-18; *Contra Celsum* 5.53. See also the excellent study by J.W. Trigg, 'The Angel of Great Counsel: Christ and the Angelic

Lord found in the Hebrew Bible as the pre-existent Christ was clearly being made in early Christianity. Thus, the 'appearances' of Christ/the TP to the pillars and other pious individuals should be understood as influenced by Angelomorphic Christology.

There are some complexities in the relationship between the pillars and the TP that remain unresolved. Note that the author of *Recognitions* asserts an apparent contradiction when he twice emphasizes the TP's simultaneous presence and appearances with the pious:

> Know then the Christ, who was from the beginning, and always, was ever present with the pious, though secretly, through all their generations; especially with those who waited for Him, to whom He frequently appeared. (*Rec.* 1.52)

> For He [the TP] is present with us at all times; and if at any time it is necessary, He appears and corrects us, that He may bring to eternal life those who obey him. (*Rec.* 2.22)

The most promising way to understand this apparent contradiction of both *always present and yet appearing frequently* is the uniting of Angelomorphic Christology (frequent appearances) with Pneumatology (always present).[83]

Elements of an Angel Pneumatology can be discerned in Ps-Clem. Several of the texts above have demonstrated clear links between the TP, Christ, Angelomorphic Christology and the Holy Spirit. Both texts cited immediately above (*Rec.* 1.51 and 2.22) present a contrast that implies the union of Spirit and Angel in the TP; the TP is ever present with the pious (Spirit) and frequently appears to them (Angel). Such a union is visible in *Hom.* 3.20 where 'the Holy Spirit of Christ' is united with Adam/the TP who has 'reappeared again and again' since the beginning for the purpose of imparting the Holy Spirit to others.

One must be careful to distinguish between the various traditions in

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Hierarchy in Origen's Theology', *JTS* 42 (1991), pp. 35-51; esp. note the discussion of Origen's understanding of Christ as the guardian angel of pneumatics on pp. 47-49.

83. This dicotomy between angel and spirit should not be stretched; the possibility exists that the continual presence of the True Prophet could also be influenced by guardian angel traditions (cf. *Hermas, Man.* 11). However, there is only one specific guardian angel tradition in Ps-Clem, similar to that found in Mt. 18.10, and it is not associated with the True Prophet or pillars (*Hom.* 17.7). Angels are more often associated with watching over nations in Ps-Clem (see *Rec.* 2.42; 8.50).

early Christianity that evidence Pneumatology.[84] Unlike the *Gospel of the Hebrews* fragment and 1 Peter 1.11 which speak solely of the *presence* of the Spirit in the prophets as expressed in Wisdom tradition, Ps-Clem also sets forth *appearances* to the prophets by the TP who possesses and imparts the Spirit. As detailed above, Ps-Clem presents the Spirit as enlightening the souls of the pillars through appearances of the TP (*Hom.* 1.19; 2.5, 12; 3.15; *Rec.* 1.33, 44).

Ps-Clem is not alone in the uniting of such Angel and Spirit traditions. The NT contains an example of such a union in Acts 8.26-29:

> Then an *angel of the Lord* said to Philip, 'Get up and go toward the south to the road that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza'... Then *the Spirit* said to Philip, 'Go over to this chariot and join it'.

This union of traditions is also seen in the depiction of Christ in Rev. 1–4. Here he appears as an angelomorphic being and speaks as the Holy Spirit. Each of his seven letters ends with this formula: 'He who has ears to hear, let him hear what *the Spirit* says to the churches' (2.7; 2.11; 2.17; 2.29; 3.6; 3.13; 3.22).[85] *The Ascension of Isaiah* features a similar union in several texts which mention the Angel of the Holy Spirit, including two which identify this angel as the one who inspired Isaiah and the psalmists:[86]

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84. For a more comprehensive survey of these traditions, see W.-D. Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch* (München: Kaiser, 1972), pp. 80-85 and G. Quispel, 'Genius and Spirit', in M. Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts*, NHS, VII (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 155-69. An example of the uniting of Christology and Pneumatology with no explicit connection to Angel traditions is the use of 'Spirit of Christ' in 1 Pet. 1.10-12.

85. The primary question that arises from the prologue is: Who is 'his angel' of 1.1? While there are certainly many angels that are visible to the seer John in the apocalypse proper (4.1–22.7), the first figure that is present in conjunction with his being 'in the Spirit' (1.10) is the angelomorphic being described in 1.12-16 whose appearance is influenced by Dan. 10.5-10 through Dan. 7.9, 13 and Ezek. 1.26; see also C. Rowland, 'A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff. and Jewish Angelology', *JSNT* 24 (1985), pp. 99-110. The 'one like a son of man' (1.13) identifies himself as the risen Christ (1.18) and imparts prophetic oracles to John for the seven churches. This encounter and the subsequent seven letters in chs. 2 and 3 are not part of the heavenly apocalypse which begins in 4.1. Therefore, this is not a literal *merkabah* scene; it is a depiction of Christ appearing as a prophetic angel.

86. The Holy Spirit is identified as 'the Angel of the Holy Spirit' in 3.15; 4.21; 7.23; 8.14 (variant); 9.36, 39, 40; 10.4; 11.4, 33.

And I asked the angel who led me and I said to him, 'Who is this one?'
And He said to me, 'Worship him, for *this is the Angel of the Holy Spirit who has spoken in you* [Isaiah] *and also in the other righteous.* (9.36-37)

And all these things, behold they are written in the Psalms, in the parables of David the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah and of Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the psalms which *the Angel of the Spirit* has inspired. (4.21)

Christ appears as the Angel Gabriel and functions as the Holy Spirit in the conception event according to this pericope in *The Epistle of the Apostles*:

I [Christ] took the form of the Angel Gabriel, I appeared unto Mary and spake with her; her heart accepted me; she believed and laughed. I, the Word, entered her and became flesh. And I myself became a minister unto myself... It was in the appearance of an angel that I acted thus. Thereafter did I return to my Father. (v. 14; cf. *Sib. Or.* 8.456-61)

Mandate 11 of *The Shepherd of Hermas* links Angel and Holy Spirit traditions so that 'the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit' is both *present* with individuals and also on occasion *visits* them with the filling of the Spirit:

So whenever the man who has the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and a prayer is made to God by the assembly of those men, then *the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit* which is assigned to him fills the man, and that man, having been filled by the Holy Spirit, speaks to the group as the Lord wills. (*Man.* 11.9)

Hermas joins guardian angel traditions, which emphasize both presence and appearances, with the Holy Spirit and prophecy.[87] It is possible that bridal chamber imagery where an initiate is united to an angel provides some of the background for the relationship that the pillars enjoy with the TP in Ps-Clem.[88] Such imagery may help explain *Rec.* 10.72

87. *Hermas* is an important document for the study of angel pneumatology. In this writing the Holy Spirit manifests itself as the Son of God and the Church in various forms, many of which are angelomorphic beings (cf. *Sim.* 9.1.1-2).

88. See *Hom.* 3.17-18. The *Gos. Phil.* extensively expounds on this union in the bridal chamber. The presence of an angel in Christ is asserted in 56.15 and the union of the initiates with angels is spoken about in 58.13. The joining of man and angel in the bridal chamber is most clearly discussed in 65.24. Such angel pneumatology helps in understanding 'the Twin' who inspired Mani with wisdom. This being was both a guardian angel and the Paraclete/Holy Spirit: see Quispel, 'Genius and Spirit',

which states that after Faustinianus (Clement's father in the narrative) was baptized 'the whole city received him *like an angel* and paid him no less honour than they did to the apostles'.[89] It is clear that Angel Pneumatology traditions provided this Christology with a dimension that enabled the TP to be *both* continually present with, and frequently appearing to, the pillars.

Lastly, another area where the influence of Wisdom tradition on the Christology in Ps-Clem can be discerned is the theme of 'eschatological rest'.[90] Both *1 Enoch* 42 and Sir. 24.1-17 record a vivid tradition about Sophia searching far and wide for a resting place in the world. In a manner similar to several fragments of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, including the one cited above, Ps-Clem adapts this tradition of Sophia's eschatological rest to the TP who has the Holy Spirit of Christ.

> If anyone does not allow the man fashioned by the hands of God [Adam/TP] to have had the Holy Spirit of Christ, how is he ['anyone'] not guilty of the greatest impiety in allowing another born of an impure stock to have it? But he ['anyone'] would act most impiously, if he should not allow to another to have it [the Holy Spirit of Christ], but should say that he [Adam/TP] alone has it, who has changed his forms and his names from the beginning of the world, and so reappeared again and again in the world, until coming upon his own times, and being anointed with mercy for the works of God, he shall enjoy rest forever. (*Hom.* 3.20; cf. *Rec.* 2.22)

The various 'forms and names' need not be regarded as other human beings such as 'the prophets' in Wisdom 7.27 or the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, since in Ps-Clem the True Prophet is incarnate only in Adam

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pp. 168-69. Such an association between guardian angels visiting and filling the souls of virtuous men is also made by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* VI, 17.157, 4-5 (cf. *Rec.* 2.42) and Origen (cf. note 82).

89. Paul speaks of this happening to him in Gal. 4.14. There is surely parallelism between the Prophet-Angel union and the Apostle-Angel union; see Fossum, *The Name of God*, pp. 144-55, and *idem*, 'The Apostle Concept in the Qur'ān and Pre-Islamic Near Eastern Literature', *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy* (ed. M. Mir with J. Fossum; Princeton: Darwin, 1993), pp. 149-67. Guardian angel traditions are visible in Acts 12.15.

90. For a broader discussion of this religious concept, see J. Helderman, *Die Anapausis im Evangelium Veritatis* (NHS, 18; Leiden: Brill, 1984). For the 'eschatological rest' tradition in the NT and early Christianity, see esp. pp. 60-69.

and Jesus.[91] A preferable antecedent of 'forms and names' in *Hom.* 3.20 is the changing divine manifestations of Christ in the OT, such as those described by Justin in his *Dialogue with Typhro*:

> God begat before all creatures a Beginning, [who was] a certain rational power [proceeding] from Himself, who is called by the Holy Spirit, now the Glory of the Lord, now the Son, again Wisdom, again an Angel, then God, and then Lord and Logos; and on another occasion He calls Himself Captain, when he appeared in human form to Joshua the son of Nave. (61.1)[92]

The complex figure of the TP in the Ps-Clem should be understood as the umbrella under which these various Jewish mediator traditions peaceably coexist. The coalescing of these traditions enabled the group behind Ps-Clem to have the pre-existent Christ and the Holy Spirit very active in the lives of the pillars, and thus, legitimate the Pentateuch as valuable and the pillars as prophets.

5. *Conclusion*

The listing genre which Ps-Clem adapted in its six lists of ideal figures grew out of reviews of sacred history that were made popular in Wisdom literature. This genre and the seven pentateuchal figures that Ps-Clem designates as 'pillars' gave the True Prophet additional historical grounding; in Ps-Clem Christ/the TP is incarnate in Adam, is present with and appears to the other pious pillars to impart the Holy Spirit of Foreknowledge, and finally finds his 'rest' in Jesus. These lists served as one element in the rather complex pre-existent Christology of the TP which is a welding together of several Jewish mediator traditions. It is primarily Wisdom/Spirit and Angel of the Lord traditions that were joined into an Angel Pneumatology which was used by the author(s) to

91. Μορφή should be understood as 'outward appearance' or 'shape', not as 'being' or 'person'. See also Justin, *Dial. Trypho* 75.

92. The Ps-Clem understanding of the True Prophet's relationship with God is difficult to assess. The True Prophet is clearly divine, but not equal to the Most High God (*Rec.* 2.42). Ps-Clem objects to the title 'God' being used of mediator figures in the Scriptures: Moses, angels, he who spoke in the bush, he who wrestled with Jacob, and he who would be born Emmanuel (*Hom.* 16.14). M. Barker, however, asserts that Ps-Clem actually betrays evidence that some sectarians equated Jesus with Yahweh, who was regarded as a chief son of Elyon; see *The Great Angel*, pp. 190-91.

explain both the continual presence and the frequent appearances of the TP with the pillars. This listing genre functioned as a visible polemic against Marcionite, Gnostic, Pauline Christian, and other groups which sought to discredit the teaching of the Pentateuch as imparted by the Jewish Christians who produced the Pseudo-Clementine literature.