RICE UNIVERSITY

(Re)growing the Tree: Early Christian Mysticism, Angelomorphic Identity, and the Shepherd of Hermas

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

Doctor of Philosophy

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May, 2014
ABSTRACT

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This study analyzes the Shepherd of Hermas with a focus on those elements within the text that relate to the transformation of the righteous into the androgynous embodied divine glory. In so doing, Hermas is placed within the larger context of early Jewish and Christian mysticism and its specific traditions are traced back to the Jerusalem tradition evinced in the sayings source Q. Hermas is therefore shown to preserve a very old form of Christianity and an early form of Christian mysticism.

It is argued that since Hermas’ revelatory visions of the Angel of the Lord and the divine House represent the object into which his community is being transformed, already in the present, and he provides a democratized praxis which facilitates their transformation and angelomorphic identity, he is operating within the realm of early Christian mysticism.

Hermas’ implicit identification of the Ecclesia with Wisdom, along with his imaging of the righteous in terms of a vine and a Tree who are in exile and whose task it
is to grow the Tree, is shown to have its earlier precedent in the Q source wherein Jesus and his followers take on an angelomorphic identity with the female Wisdom of the Temple and facilitate her restoration.

Hermas’ tradition of the glory as a union of the Son of God and Wisdom is also shown to have its most direct contact with the Q source, in which Wisdom and the Son are understood to be eschatologically united in the transformation of the people of God. Included are two sections on how Hermas describes this union to occur presently within the bodies of the righteous through moral purity, adherence to the commandments, and baptism.

The last chapter focuses on the continuity between Q source and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, along with overlaps between *James*, Q, and *Hermas*. It is concluded that Hermas is transmitting a tradition that can be substantially traced back to the Jerusalem church.
I would like to thank my mentor Prof. April DeConick who initially sparked my interest in the Shepherd of Hermas during my first year at Rice. She has allowed me the freedom to explore Hermas’ traditions in whatever way I wished while always pointing me in the most fruitful directions for expanding and refining my ideas. Her own scholarship, patience, and skilled direction throughout earlier drafts of my thesis have been invaluable in helping the dissertation to take shape. Any remaining errors are of course my own responsibility.

This dissertation would also not have been possible without the constant support of my wife who made numerous sacrifices so that I would have the opportunity to study and write. I would also like to thank my parents and family for their support throughout the writing of this dissertation, providing me in various ways with the time and means with which I was able to complete large portions of it.
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Recent scholarly consensus on the *Shepherd of Hermas* indicates that it is a unified manuscript with one author. Its genre is that of an apocalypse, a revelatory text in the form of a narrative in which a temporal and spatial transcendent world is disclosed to a human recipient by an angelic mediator. The author Hermas is caught up in ecstasy by a spirit (Vis. I, 1:3; II, 2:1) in the same manner as the prophetic visionaries of the Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The revelations he receives concern matters of creation, the workings of divinity, ethical instruction, and eschatology which are bound up with the identity and fate of the people of God.

The text was highly valued in Egypt and enjoyed wide popularity in the ancient world. As Osiek notes, “no other noncanonical writing was as popular before the fourth century as the *Shepherd of Hermas*.”\(^1\) It was included along with the *Epistle of Barnabas* as canonical in the fourth century Codex Sinaiticus. Three other substantial Greek manuscripts are preserved in the fifteenth century Codex Athous, the third century Michigan papyrus, and the Bodmer papyrus, dated to around the turn of the fifth century.\(^2\) The complete text is preserved in two Latin translations, the late second

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\(^2\) Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 1-2
century Vulgate translation and the Palatine, extant in two manuscripts of the fifteenth
century.³

The text of *Hermas* was appreciated in varying degrees by Clement of Alexandria,
Origen, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Pseudo-Cyprian, Commodian, Pseudo-Pius, Ambrose,
Jerome, Eusebius, Athanasius, Augustine, and Cassian, who all cite it positively.⁴
Clement speaks of “the power that spoke divinely to Hermas by revelation.”⁵ Irenaeus
mentions the text in a way that understands it to be authoritative scripture.⁶ Tertullian
raised objections to it and considered it false apocrypha.⁷ Its rejection is also probably
indicated in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁸

The complete absence of the name Jesus from this quite lengthy text is notable
and is most likely due to a Jewish application of reverence to the divine name.⁹ The title
Christ only occurs three times in Vis. II, 2:8; III, 6:6; Sim. IX, 18:1 and these are found
only in “very dubious manuscript variants.”¹⁰

The *Muratorian canon* identifies the author Hermas as the brother of bishop Pius
and places the composition of the text in the middle of the 2ⁿᵈ century. Its late date is
cited as reason for its use in private study only.¹¹ Origen connects the author to the

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³ Ibid., 2. The latest critical edition of the *Shepherd of Hermas* is that of Ulrich H.J. Körtner and Martin
Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente: Hirt Des Hermas. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert*
(Schriften des Urchristentums 3; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988).
⁵ Strom. I.29.181.
⁶ Adv. Haer. II.20.2
⁷ De pud. 10; 20
⁸ NHL 78:18-19
⁹ As suggested by J. Christian Wilson, *Five Problems in the Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas:*
Authorship, Genre, Canonicty, Apocalyptic, and the Absence of the Name “Jesus Christ”
(Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Mellen, 1995), 73-79.
¹⁰ Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 34.
¹¹ Ibid., 6
Hermas mentioned in *Rom.* 16:14 and he is followed in this regard by Eusebius and Jerome. This would place the author in the latter part of the first century and is consistent with the possible reference to Clement of Rome in Vision 2:4, 3. Hermas says that he received an order from Clement to write his book, which would situate it around 90 C.E.  

The place of origin of the text is Rome and reference to local persecution of Nero in the sixties is likely. This evidence, along with the observation that *Hermas* contains all the elements of oral style and developed “through the pattern of oral proclamation and commentary,” containing regular shifts from the singular Hermas to the plural ‘you,’ supports the position that the composition of *Hermas* is best dated from a period spanning the latter part of the first century through the first part of the second century.

PERSON OF HERMAS

As is evident from Origen, the historical Hermas may be referred to in Paul’s letter to the Romans. According to the autobiographical section of his text he was a freed slave. He had apparently been formerly wealthy but lost the greater portion,
possibly due to persecution and imprisonment. Hermas admits that he formerly dealt deceitfully in his business affairs (Man. III). Hermas’ seed is said to have sinned against God (Vis II, 2:2) and he is told that on their account he has been destroyed by the affairs of this world (Vis I, 3:1), presumably indicating his business activities. He has lost much of the wealth he once had (Vis III, 6:7).

Hermas around the turn of the second century owned property in the area of the early Christian residential quarter Trastevere, which was also the main Jewish (and Christian) quarter in the first century C.E. Early Roman Christians existed on the edges of the city and were largely immigrants of the lowest social strata. Hermas himself was born outside of Rome as a slave and came to Rome via his Roman mistress Rhoda (Vis. I, 1:1).

The events of his text are triggered after his former mistress Rhoda, whom he says he “loved as a sister” and regarded as a “goddess,” is taken up to heaven and witnesses against him on account of his impure thoughts towards her. The heavens are opened and Hermas learns that his sins have been recorded which causes him great concern. Upon the heavens’ closing, Hermas encounters an old woman in a shining robe seated on a snow white chair holding a book, who later turns out to be the Church. She tells Hermas that the sins of which he need be concerned are those involving his household, whom he has let fall into corruption through failing to admonish them.

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18 Lampe, From Paul to Valentinus, 222-24.
19 Ibid., 42, 44.
20 Ibid., 46, 65.
21 Ibid., 218.
This accusation most likely applies beyond Hermas’ own immediate family. Hermas’ ‘household’ functions as a model extending out to “all the saints” of the Christian community. Hermas was the prophetic teacher of a Christian community in Rome whose behavior, along with that of his own household, appears to have prompted the creation of his work. Hermas is asked to proclaim the message given to him by the angelic elder Lady Church, written in a book, to the elect of God (Vis II, 1:3). He is to tell the leaders of the earthly church to follow righteousness through which they will be companions with the holy angels (Vis. II, 2:6-7).

The elder Lady upon appearing again to Hermas tells him that she has more words to add and when she is finished he will communicate them all to the elect. Hermas is to write two books, sending one to Clement, possibly Clement of Rome, and one to a Grapte, while he himself is to read the message to the elders of the church in Rome (Vis. II, 4:2-3).

Beginning in Vision V, Hermas is instructed by the figure of the Shepherd to write mandates and parables, which his congregation will hear. The Shepherd, the angel of conversion or repentance, has been sent by the ‘most distinguished angel’ (Vis. V, 2). These things that the Shepherd tells him are identified as what has been written above (Sim. IX, 33:1) and contain a law of purity through which Hermas and his congregation may be registered with the holy ones. The twelve commandments may be summed up as follows: faith in and reverence for the Creator who is one; to be simple and innocent as little children; to be truthful in all dealings; to refrain from lust and adultery; to be

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22 Ibid., 221.
clothed with patient endurance over bad temper; to discern rightly amongst the two spirits and avoid the crooked path; fearing the Lord by keeping his commandments; proper restraint; eliminating the doubt of doublemindedness; throwing off sadness; discernment of the correct spirit of prophecy; and the abandonment of all evil desire. Keeping these commandments is required for salvation (Man. XII, 3:6). Hermas is told that his children, if converted, will be recorded in the books of life with all the holy ones (Vis. I, 3:2).

The text of *Hermas* is an exhortation to repentance and righteousness with an appeal to the demand of the eschatological situation and the divine realm on himself and his audience. His function is that of a prophet, whose visions are “closely parallel to those in the apocalypses, where the heavens are opened and revelations are made through an angelic intermediary.”

Daniélou has remarked that “Hermas was in fact one of that class of prophets whose existence is attested by the *Didache*, and whose disappearance was regretted by the *Ascension of Isaiah*.“ Hermas is instructed in the ways of the spirit of prophecy and inspiration in order to speak correctly in the assembly of the just (Man. XI). Routinely in his text, Hermas fasts and beseeches the Lord for revelation (Vis. II, 2:1); (Vis. III, 1:1); (Sim. V, 1:1) before receiving his visions.

Hermas’ work emphasizes the direct correlation between heavenly activities and those of the earthly. Supernal activities have been suspended for a time in order to allow righteous humanity the opportunity for participation. This work concerns the building of “the Tower” which has been halted due to sin, but which must be

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24 Ibid..
completed. The Tower is identified explicitly with the Female-Ecclesia and, as will be seen, is a multivalent symbol connected with the embodied divine glory and the angelomorphic identity of Hermas and his community. There is no chance to do good once the Tower is finished (Vis. III, 9:5) and only one chance for repentance for the servants of God (Man. IV, 1:8, 3:6). The overriding concerns of repentance, baptism, and purity are explained by Hermas in the context of this urgent eschatological situation, which he reveals and expresses through a series of visions.

Visions 1-4, possibly the oldest part of the book, form a unity and Vision 5 belongs with what follows it in which the figure of the Shepherd becomes the primary revelator after the Lady Church. There are twelve mandates and ten similitudes subsequent to the first section which contain further commandments and visions which are revealed to Hermas. The content of the work has been noted as ‘Jewish-Christian’ and Hermas’ “thought context is uniformly that of Palestinian Judaism.” The audience is a “nonelite Greek-speaking” community.

There are numerous parallels to the letter of James and the Didache. In regards to James, Hermas shares the notable common word ‘doubleminded’ (dipsukeo). In James 1:8 the word occurs “in a context that indicates the kind of vacillation, discouragement, and doubt that Hermas attributes to it,” and in James 4:8 it appears

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25 Osiek, Shepherd of Hermas, 10.
26 Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 297.
27 Osiek, Shepherd of Hermas, 21.
28 Ibid., 26ff.
29 Ibid., 26
in the “context of a call to conversion for the person caught between the two spirits.”

Mandate IX may be considered as a commentary on material found in James 1:5-8.

Both Hermas and James share a concern for the poor and those in need and both are antagonistic to the rich. While Hermas’ view toward the wealthy has been observed to be less absolute than James, this may be explained by Hermas’ situation. Some Roman Christians in the first century voluntarily sold themselves into slavery, using the proceeds as a means of feeding poor Christians. This practice, indicative of the economic situation of early Christians in Rome, is looked at as a thing of the past by Clement who notes the presence of wealthy Christians in the community in the 90s.

Hermas also knows of numerous rich persons among the Roman Christians. He views the purpose of wealth in the Christian context as being for supplying the needs of the poor in the community. The rich are to provide material support for the poor in return for their prayers (Sim. II). Hermas advocates, as he himself has done, that the wealthy Christians must reduce their business dealings from many to one so as to not become too involved with the world, but still remain as a source of much-needed financial aid to the community (Sim. IX, 30:4). This represents Hermas’ wish to lower the social position of these wealthy Christians and, along with the effects of their charity

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30 Ibid., 26
32 Lampe, From Paul to Valentinus, 85.
33 Ibid., 86.
34 Ibid., 91.
35 Ibid., 93.
36 Ibid., 96.
on the status of the poorer members, to bring closer together representatives of different social strata within the Christian community.  

Both *Hermas* and *James* also share a concern regarding the inseparability of faith and works. Vis III, 6:1; Man X, 1:4-5; Sim VIII, 9:1, 10:3, 19:2, and 21:2 have been noted as the primary sections of *Hermas* that are reminiscent of *James* 2:14-16. Additionally, the quotation in *James* 4:5 on the indwelling Spirit of God is comparable to Man. III, 1 and Man. V, 2:5-7. Scholars who have noted these parallels tend to agree that there is nothing in them to indicate a literary dependence. The similarities must then be relegated to a shared traditional knowledge which has come through Jewish Christianity in Rome.

**ROMAN CHRISTIANITY AND JEWISH CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE**

Paul’s letter to the Romans and Acts 28:15 attest to the presence of pre-Pauline Christians in Rome. Paul does not know these Roman Christians at large but is acquainted with a handful of members whom he has met elsewhere and whom he asks the community in Rome to greet. The spread of Christianity in Rome followed upon

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37 Ibid., 140.
41 Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus*, 7
42 Ibid., 156-57.
the pre-Christian Jewish settlements previously established and grew in the synagogues. The Christians already in Rome prior to Paul were Jews and Godfearers who were linked to the synagogue and its traditions. Early Gentile Christians in Rome appear to have been taken from those pagans already sympathetic to Jewish tradition and existing at the fringes of the synagogues. The Roman Jewish followers of Jesus who kept the Torah, then, existed alongside these Gentile Christian Godfearers within the synagogue in the same manner as Jews and uncircumcised Godfearers. Roman Christianity of this type had existed for “a number of years” prior to Paul’s writing to the Romans in the 50s (Rom. 15:23).

Synagogal conflicts and the edict of Claudius, probably in the year 49 C.E., had the effect of separating these Roman Christians from the synagogue. It is after this separation that Gentile Christian Godfearers come to be in the majority, though their former close contacts with Judaism in the synagogue allows for Paul to address Roman Christians using Jewish language while at the same time acknowledging their general pagan background. Jewish followers of Jesus are nevertheless still present at the time of Paul’s writing and appear to be addressed directly by him. Their prominence and influence among the Roman Christian community is attested in the examples of Aquila and his wife and Andronicus and Junia (Rom. 16:3-5,7). As Lampe notes, “in the urban

43 Ibid., 9, 38-40, 158.
44 Ibid., 11, 12, 70.
46 Ibid., 69.
48 Ibid., 15.
49 Ibid., 74.
50 Ibid., 70.
51 Ibid., 72-73.
Roman history of theology of the first century, a broad stream of tradition from the synagogue plays a role. This stream includes both biblical and parascriptural Jewish traditions, as evinced in 1 Clement. The presence of these Jewish elements in Roman Christianity can be said to derive out of both an influence from Jewish followers of Jesus and from those Gentile Christian Godfearers who had contact with the synagogues. In any case, “a process of passing on Jewish-Christian knowledge existed in Christian circles of Rome.” The possessors and transmitters of these traditions were therefore not limited to Jewish followers of Jesus but included Gentile Christians such as Hermas. A few examples from Hermas of note in this regard include the Two Ways instruction, the Shepherd figure as presented in Vis V, 3, who appears as the representative angel of Hermas along the lines of Matt 18:10, Acts 12:15, and Gen 48:15-16; the idea of two angels assigned to each person given in Man. VI, 2 which is found in Test. Judah 20:1 and the Test. Asher 1:3f; the four elements of Vis. III, 13, paralleled in Wisd. 19:17ff; and Hermas’ citation of the lost apocalypse of the prophets “Eldad and Modat” (Vis. II, 3:4; cf. Num 11:26ff). It is clear from the situation of Roman Christianity at the time and place of Hermas that traditions transmitted by pre-Pauline Jewish followers of Jesus along with Gentile adherents connected with the synagogue were part of his environment. That

52 Ibid., 75.
53 See examples in Ibid., 75-76, 216-17.
54 Ibid., 76
55 Ibid., 78.
56 Osiek Shepherd of Hermas, 31ff.
58 Lampe, From Paul to Valentinus, 229. For other Jewish traditions in Hermas see ibid., 229n.48.
Hermas shares already observed affinities with James suggests that the tradition he has received derives in some form from apostles who had come to Rome from the Jerusalem church. This study, in tracing the background of the primary imagery of Hermas, will build upon this implication and demonstrate that Hermas is relating a tradition specifically and directly traceable back to the Jerusalem Church. This tradition involves an angelomorphic identity that the earthly community shares with Wisdom and the Son of God, heavenly personas whom they understand to constitute the androgynous embodied image of divine glory. The community achieves this identity in the present utilizing an ethical and baptismal praxis which allows for their participation in the cosmic restoration of the glory of Adam. This tradition may therefore be demonstrated to go beyond revelatory apocalypticism into the realm of early Christian mysticism, an earlier form of which can be detected in the sayings source Q. Since his tradition can be shown to have its basis largely in the Jerusalem Church, he is transmitting one of the oldest forms of Christianity that can be recovered.

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of Hermas’ tradition, a discussion of the broader context of early Jewish and Christian mysticism, in which Hermas’ material may be situated, is necessary.
II. PROPHETIC VISIONS, APOCALYPTIC, EARLY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM, AND HERMAS

Apocalyptic and Mysticism

Hermas functions for his community as a prophet, a visionary seer who recounts his experiences to his audience using the literary genre of an apocalypse. His visions are of a Tower being built, which he describes as a union of the Son of God with the Female-Ecclesia, consisting of the people of God as one body and one spirit. He characterizes this image in terms of the House of God and a cosmic body of Glory. His revelations in regards to his visions include ethical and ritual instructions for his community that must be followed in order for them to be transformed into the divine image that he has seen. Importantly, this ontological transformation is one which must occur now, in the present, in a way that mirrors the process revealed in his visions. The transformation is described in terms of ritual death, followed by the receiving of divine “clothing,” bearing the divine Name, and possessing the Spirit of God. In doing so, his community will then be fit to be absorbed into the cosmic form of the Tower-Body, to be completed soon at the eschaton.

The process summarized here, and to be discussed in its details throughout this study, is one which finds it place in the larger context of early Jewish and Christian mysticism. In using the debated term ‘mysticism’ I am therefore following those scholars who would define it in terms not limited to a union of the soul with God, as in the case
of the fifth century Denys the Areopagite, or to refer only to the specific practices evident in the Hekhalot material and later Jewish mysticism. Rather, following the work and observations connecting the ancient traditions of apocalyptic and later Jewish mysticism since Scholem and Gruenwald, especially the work of Segal, Morray-Jones, Rowland, Fletcher-Louis, Fossum, DeConick, Elior, Orlov, and others, I understand the phenomenon of ‘mysticism’ to have emerged in the Second Temple period and acknowledge a broader definition that refers to practices employed in order to facilitate an experience of the divine realm that involves vision, spirit possession, ascension, and a type of transformative change of status resulting in an angelomorphic identity of the seer.  

For the purposes of this study I use the term ‘mysticism’ in the context of early Judaism and Christianity to refer to the transformation of a human into the embodied divine glory that occurs in some form in the present by means of a ritual and/or ethical praxis. This is not the same as an identification between a human and God, as ultimately disembodied glory, but it is an entrance into, or putting on of, the bodily garment of glory or light that God is understood to don in order to become manifest through an angelic figure who participates in and mediates the glory. This garment of light is understood to be synonymous with the glory of the primordial Adam, lost by humanity, but may be regained by the righteous as demonstrated through the examples of


60 Alan F. Segal, Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 43, cites some of these sources.
traditions of the patriarchs, especially Enoch and Moses, but also including others such as Noah, Abraham, and Jacob. Additionally this identification may be expressed in terms of an indwelling of the divine Name or Spirit.

Examples from the apocalypses of transformation along these lines may not present a particular praxis; the seer may be caught up into heaven or may see visions of the heavens opened while on earth, without any explicit means given of how this vision is achieved. Visions themselves may not accompany the transformation of the seer, yet often it is the object of the visions, the human likeness of the glory in prophetic and apocalyptic texts, that becomes the figure into which the righteous are understood to transform. As not only the principal angelic figure, but also other angels, may be clothed with the divine Name,\textsuperscript{61} this glorification can be understood as quasi-deification or angelification.\textsuperscript{62}

The scope of this study is essentially threefold: to analyze the distinct traditions of Hermas as they relate to visionary imagery of the Body of Glory and transformation; to situate these traditions within a larger framework which includes elements of prophetic, apocalyptic, Jewish mystical traditions (parallels of which may be later than \textit{Hermas} though having roots in second Temple religiosity) and early Christian mysticism; and identifying the most probable immediate traditional stream that Hermas is transmitting, which it will be argued is the Jerusalem-based tradition evident in the Q source.


The elements evident in Hermas that can be placed in the larger context of early Jewish and Christian mysticism are 1) vision, particularly of the divine dwelling and bodily Glory, 2) identification of the seer with, and transformation into, the object of the vision, 3) the praxis which facilitates the transformation, 4) and the present nature of this experience.

Necessary at this point is a survey of the evidence of these elements in both ancient and late antique sources from the apocalypses to the Hekhalot material with attention to the relation between prophetic, apocalyptic, and mysticism.

As Fletcher-Louis notes, “since the work of Michael E. Stone, and Christopher Rowland,” the nature of apocalyptic literature is now recognized to be “concerned primarily with the revelation of heavenly secrets, such as the abode and lifestyle of the angels, the operations of the natural elements, the throne and being of God, and the courses of salvation history, of which the eschatological dénouement may be one element. In turn this perspective ties apocalyptic closely to streams of mystical experience and speculation which later emerge as merkabah mysticism in the rabbinic period.”63 Indeed, the mystical component “is an integral factor in all apocalyptic literature.”64

Scholem and Gruenwald have previously noted connections between apocalyptic ascent and throne-vision and later Merkavah mysticism. Scholem, before the discovery of the Qumran material, pointed to the shared features between 1 Enoch and later

Merkavah mysticism. Ithmar Gruenwald and others further explored the relationship between the Jewish apocalypses and the Hekhalot material, citing especially Enoch’s ascension into heaven and his Throne-vision in the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 14). Both traditions then share the common element of a human seer’s vision of the heavenly realm. Further, Enoch’s elevation in status in the course of his ascent in the Book of the Watchers is one that is made much more explicit in later Enochic materials including Sefer Hekhalot, and is a transformation paralleled in various ways by other patriarchal heroes across apocalyptic literature.

Morray-Jones has commented that “it must be recognized that the fundamental difference between the Apocalypses and the Hekhalot texts is a matter of literary form and purpose. An Apocalypse is a narrative composition in which descriptions of visions are subordinate to the writer’s didactic or kerygmatic purpose. This does not necessarily mean that the Apocalypses are mere literary fantasies having no connection with genuine visionary-mysticism, but they are not intended to tell the reader how such visions may be obtained. The Hekhalot writings, on the other hand, are liturgical and instructional ‘technical guides, or manuals, for mystics.’” Along these lines Segal has

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commented, “the myth suggests the goal; the mysticism gives the practical way to achieve it.”

It is then the experience of vision, ascent, and transformation of various heroes in the apocalypses that the mystic attempts to recreate by providing the means to do so. The experiences themselves are grounded in the visionary imagery of prophetic descriptions of the divine Glory, connected with the manifestation of God in human form as represented in other biblical texts.

As Segal notes, “the vision of the throne-chariot of God in Ezekiel 1, with its attendant description of Glory (Kavod), God’s Glory or form, for the human figure, is a central image of Jewish mysticism, which is closely related to the apocalyptic tradition. The name merkabah—that is, throne-chariot mysticism, which is the usual Jewish designation for these mystical traditions as early as the mishnaic period (ca. 220 C.E.; see Mishnah Hagiga 2.1)—is the rabbinic term for the heavenly conveyance described in Ezekiel 1.”

Segal says further, “Exod. 23:21 mentions an angel who has the form of a man and who carries within him or represents “the name of God.” A human figure on the divine throne is described in Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7, and Exodus 24, among other places, and was blended into a consistent picture of a principal mediator figure who, like the angel of the Lord in Exodus 23, embodied, personified, or carried the name of God, YHWH, the tetragrammaton. This figure, elaborated on by Jewish tradition, would become a central

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69 Segal, Paul the Convert, 39.
metaphor for Christ in Christianity.” Continuing, he states “whatever the date of Daniel or the earliest son of man traditions, this angelic figure, the figure that the Bible sometimes calls the Kavod or the principal angel of God, is pre-Christian and is a factor in Paul’s description of Christ.”

In addition to figures such as Metatron, Yahoel, Melchizedek and others, Michael, who appears in Hermas as the Angel of the Lord, functions in Jewish tradition as God’s mediator and general. Segal comments, “the principal angel is not only head of the heavenly hosts but sometimes participates in God’s own being or divinity.”

Importantly this figure functions as a kind of stand-in for the human form of the glory once possessed by Adam. Segal remarks, “several Jewish traditions discuss the eikon or image of God as Adam’s prelapsarian appearance, an especially glorious and splendid form that humanity lost when Adam sinned. The lost “image and form of God” (Gen. 1:26) is thereafter associated with God’s human appearance in the Bible or with the description of the principal angel of God who carries God’s name. The human figure on the merkabah described by Ezekiel is called “the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the Lord.” Thus God’s Glory or Kavod can be a technical term for God’s human

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70 Ibid., 41.
71 Ibid., 51.
72 Ibid., 42, cites 2 Enoch 33:10; Test. Dan. 6:1-5; Test Abr 1:4; and cf. Life of Adam and Eve 14:1-2.
73 Ibid., 42-43. Segal notes further, “the rabbis most often call God’s principal angel Metatron. In rabbinic literature and Jewish mysticism Metatron is probably not a proper name but a title adapted from the Greek word Metathronos, meaning “one who stands after or behind the throne.” This represents a rabbinic softening of the Hellenistic term synthronos, or “one who is with the throne,” that is, sharing enthronement or acting for the properly enthroned authority. The rabbis would have changed the preposition from one connoting equality (syn-, “with”) to one connoting inferiority (meta-, “after or behind”) in order to reduce the heretical implications of calling God’s principal helping angel synthronos.”
appearances.” Additionally, as Wolfson articulates, “to attribute human form to God is to attribute divine form to humans.”

Also significant is that “this enigmatic human appearance of God” appears related to the son of man figure in the vision of Dan 7:13, who appears to be identified with the principal angelic figure Michael, the heavenly counterpart of Israel. Important is the correspondence in Daniel between the ‘one like a son of man,’ the ‘holy ones of the Most High,’ and the ‘people of the holy ones of the Most High.’ The reference to the maskilim, ‘those who are wise,’ shining as the stars of heaven (Dan. 12:2) following the resurrection implies their transformation “into angels, since the stars were identified with angels in biblical tradition (e.g., Job 38:7).”

Crispin Fletcher-Louis has suggested that the reference in Sir 44:21 to God exalting Abraham’s descendants like the stars suggests a “belief in the possession of an angelomorphic identity during this life was actually prior to the post-resurrection expectation expressed in Daniel 12:3. That is to say that angelomorphism within history was conceptually prior to any expectation outside of history.” Fletcher-Louis’ definition of angelomorphism is helpful here, in the sense that it can refer to angelic characteristics possessed by humans while recognizing that humans are not angels, and without limiting their degree of divinity to an angel. Indeed, the glory accorded to the primordial Adam and figures such as Enoch and Moses who are said to have regained it

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75 Segal, Paul the Convert, 41.
76 Wolfson, Speculum, 69.
78 Segal, Paul the Convert, 41; Collins, Daniel, 306.
80 Ibid., 15.
warrants the worship of the angels. Later in this study it will be seen that in both Q and
Hermas, the earthly righteous share an angelomorphic identity with their individual
heavenly counterpart, understood as the Son of God in union with Wisdom, and
implicitly related to Michael and the glory of the primordial Adam. This identity is
achieved in the present through baptism and ethical praxis, the natural result of which is
a cosmic transformation. Their eschatological fate is only understood to occur because it
is something that has already happened in this-life.

The idea was then current in Second Temple Judaism that the transformation of
humanity into a divine form, expressed in one way in Daniel, could be experienced in
the present. Segal cites Enoch’s experience in the Similitudes and Paul’s own personal
experience as potential evidence of an adept undergoing the astral transformation
prophesied in Dan. 12:2, in the latter case “with Christ substituting for the son of man.
In both cases the believer is subsumed into the body of [the] heavenly savior and
becomes a kind of star or celestial immortal.”

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81 Segal, Paul the Convert, 47. In 2 Corinthians 12 Paul mentions an apocalyptic ascent
experience that occurred fourteen years earlier. Paul’s description of his ascent into heaven is firsthand
testimony that the kinds of experiences reflected in later Hekhalot and Merkavah mysticism were being
practiced in the first century. In those texts, as noted above, the visionary ascends through the seven
heavens and within the highest heaven the mystic has a vision of the glory and becomes identified with
that glory. Just as in Hekhalot mysticism, there is no real distinction between an out of body heavenly
ascent and an inner contemplative one, Paul cannot say whether his was out of body or in the body.
In Paul’s account he only makes it up to the third heaven, as opposed to the highest, the seventh.
His ascent experience, then, does not seem to be one of ecstatic glorification in the manner of the
Hekhalot mystics, but one that is cut short at the third heaven. It is a failed or incomplete attempt that
results in him having a thorn in the flesh, something he identifies with a messenger of Satan sent to
torment him. In Jewish mysticism, ascents into heaven are considered to be especially dangerous and
even fatal. Punishments are described as being inflicted upon visionaries for various reasons including
impurity, insufficient preparation or worthiness, or improper understandings of what is being seen. Paul’s
thorn in the flesh seems to be an affliction of this type that he has received and continues to suffer out of
this experience.
Importantly, this experience is one that is understood to begin in the present. Q 17:24 seems to certainly point to Dan 12:3, with the transformation of the son of man (righteous humanity) already having begun in the example of Jesus, who after being filled with the Spirit of God at baptism, understood in the early Jerusalem tradition as Wisdom conquers the sin of Adam in resisting temptation. Q 10:22-24, in its description of Jesus and his followers as Sons of God, demonstrates that the exalted status accorded to primordial Adam is something that is understood to have already been regained, to a significant extent, in the present. At death Jesus assumes the role of the cosmic embodied glory, now regained by a righteous human who in earthly existence embodied Wisdom and mediated the knowledge of God (cf. Dan 12:3) and shared an angelomorphic identity with the heavenly figure from Daniel. Those who follow this pattern will experience the same cosmic transformation at the eschaton. In Hermas Jesus, having merged with the Tower-Body, now functions as the gate through which

Even in the third heaven, though, Paul hears unutterable things that no mortal is permitted to repeat. It is commonplace in rabbinic tradition that the contents of mystical experiences are to be kept secret and are not permitted to be discussed publicly.

Paul says he entreated God three times about this thorn in the flesh so that God would make it leave him. After saying this, he seems to give in verse 9 something of the message he has received in relation to his ascent into heaven. It concerns a message of divine grace being sufficient and power being perfected in weakness. Paul says therefore that he will not boast of his experience, since the thorn keeps him from boasting, but only of his own weakness, which is the means through which the power of Christ has come to dwell in him.

In chapter 13 Paul says that Christ was crucified in weakness but lives by the power of God. What Paul then understands out of his revelatory ascent is that power or glorification can only be perfect through weakness and humiliation. It is weakness which must precede the type of glorification normally described in mystical ascents.

The thorn in the flesh that torments Paul is then the means through which he is made weak and consequently a vessel for the power of Christ. This gives him his authority as an apostle from his point of view since he has, in his own unique way, shared in the same experience as Christ. This allows for him now to be identified with Christ by being in the same glory that has come to dwell and be manifested in weakness, through which it is perfected. This summary is based upon the analysis of Christopher Rowland, “Paul and the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ,” in The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament (Boston: Brill, 2009), 137-65.
followers may become united to the Body of Glory. As in Q, Hermas’ community embodies Wisdom and achieves an ontological identification with the Son of God in the present. As we will see, in both sources this transformation is associated with visionary experience.

Traditions associated with the visionary accounts of the enthroned deity in texts such as Ezekiel 1, Isaiah 6, and Daniel 7 that involved actual visionary-mystical practices relating to the transformation of the seer, then, existed within first and second century Judaism. These traditions were inherited from apocalyptic circles and developed in various forms in Jewish Hekhalot tradition, Christianity, and gnostic circles.82 These traditions and the texts that reflect them, despite their manifestations in different communities and time periods often having no direct historical connection with each other, grew out of the milieu of second Temple Jewish religiosity.83 As DeConick notes, “this tradition surfaces, sometimes simultaneously, within various social contexts and historical circumstances, and the communities involved are responsible for continually reusing and reshaping this ‘shared’ mystical tradition for their own ends.”84

Mysticism is in one sense the vertical dimension of apocalyptic eschatology.85 The transformation of the seer in the apocalypses, which can take place gradually in the process of ascent through the heavens as in the Ascension of Isaiah, culminates in an absorption into the principal angel, or human embodiment of the Kavod or divine

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83 DeConick, “What is early Jewish and Christian mysticism?”, 4
84 Ibid., 4-5.
Name.\textsuperscript{86} This is an experience \textit{in the present} of the transformation that is understood to occur either at the eschaton or after death.\textsuperscript{87}

In the \textit{Ascension of Isaiah}, the prophet ascends through the seven heavens and is told “that his throne, garments, and crown await him in heaven (7:22). All those who love the Most High will at their end ascend by the angel of the Holy Spirit (7:23). At each heaven, Isaiah is glorified the more, emphasizing the transformation that occurs as a human travels closer to God (7:24); he effectively becomes one of the angels. According to the other angels, Isaiah’s vision is unprecedented; no one else has been vouchsafed such a complete vision of the reward awaiting the good (8:11-13). But Isaiah must return to earth to complete his prophetic commission before he can enjoy the rest that awaits him in heaven.”\textsuperscript{88}

Here the degrees of glory are represented vertically through higher and higher ascension, a process of transformation from one degree to another which is laid out in the temporal realm in the writings of Paul. It is the same type of transformation of a human into a divine being, and one that is occurring in the present, though in the latter case it is a process moving horizontally closer towards the eschaton.

Paul’s description of the gradual transformation of the earthly believer from one degree of glory to another into the likeness of Christ, the image of the man of Heaven, mirrors the gradual vertical metamorphosis of Isaiah in ascending through the various levels of the heavens, but in a temporal form, the fullness of which is realized at the

\textsuperscript{86} Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}.
\textsuperscript{87} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 13-14, notes the traditions of Moses’ ascension and transformation into the likeness of God at Sinai and following his death. Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 47, notes that “the ascent of the living is supposed to parallel exactly the ascent of the dead after death.”
\textsuperscript{88} Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 49.
eschaton. A similar process is described in Ephesians which shares notable affinities with the Shi’ur Qomah tradition.  

An additional example of gradual transformation is 2 Baruch 51:3ff, which mentions the righteous according to the law “who possessed intelligence in their life, and those who planted the root of wisdom in their heart” being “glorified by transformations,” eventually into the “splendor of angels” and “equal to the stars,” “from light to the splendor of glory...And the excellence of the righteous will then be greater than that of the angels.” This is a tradition that bases itself on Daniel 12:3. The imagery of Wisdom growing as a tree within the heart and adherence to God’s law as preceding the transformation is strikingly similar to the process evinced in Q and Hermas, as will be demonstrated.

VISION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE HEKHALOT MATERIAL

In the Hekhalot literature, the mystical ascent is always preceded by ascetic practices such as fasting, utterance of hymns, prayer, special bodily postures, immersion, etc., which can last for twelve days or forty days. After such preparations,

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89 Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism.”
90 Segal, Paul the Convert, 50.
the mystic begins his ascent through the seven heavens and must pass the hosts of gatekeepers through the use of magic seals. The ascent continues up to the seventh heaven where the journeyer enters into the throne room which results in a vision of the glory of God, or body of the Presence/Shekinah, enthroned in the seventh palace. The mystic stands before the glory and participates in the angelic liturgy. Afterwards the mystic is placed “either on the throne of glory or on a seat alongside it in order to have a vision of the glory,” signifying an elevation of the mystic to the highest angel, “a form of quasi-deification or angelification.” This is “in line with the older tradition expressed in apocalyptic literature concerning the transformation of individuals into angelic beings.”

Murray-Jones comments that “it seems that the mystic is identifying himself with the Merkabah and asking God to be enthroned upon or within him. In other words, he is seeking to become, like the patriarchs and righteous men of mythical history, a vehicle for the manifestation of the divine Image or Glory.” The culmination of the visionary’s experience in the Hekhalot texts is “the appearance of God as a vast and overpoweringly glorious human form of fire or light (Ezekiel’s ‘likeness of the appearance of man’),” who

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94 Schäfer, Synopse, §251-257//§§260-266 (Davila, Hekhalot, 133-142
95 Wolfson, Speculum, 83
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid., 84.
is seated upon the throne of glory or the Merkavah. This is the form whose gigantic dimensions are the object of the Shi’ur Qomah passages of the Hekhalot material, “which utilize the imagery of Isaiah 6:1-4, 66:1, and the Song of Songs.” The corporeal form on the throne is identified with the Kavod, or the Glory, terminology deriving from Ezekiel and reflected in apocalyptic literature. The Glory is a “materialization of the divine essence in human form and/or as light.”

It is also important to note that what is seen is further represented as a union of male and female, “with the throne serving as the feminine element in relation to the masculine glory.” In Hermas, the visionary image is also represented as a union of male and female aspects of divinity, although in different terms, as will be seen.

In the Hekhalot literature, “the role of the imagination is critical in shaping the vision of the luminous form in terms of corporeal substance” and the content of the vision is informed largely by received prophetic and apocalyptic traditions concerning the representation of the divine in anthropomorphic or luminous form.

The theophanic shape of God which is contemplated is the symbolic expression of the divine Presence realized in the visionary’s imagination. In comparison, Ezekiel’s vision uses language (demut and mar’eh) which relates to “two aspects of the imagination: one component of the imaginative process produces an image or copy of something, a likeness of that which is represented, whereas the image produced allows

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100 Ibid., 2; Segal, Paul the Convert, 55-56.
101 Schäfer, Synopse, §§ 695-704 (Davila, Hekhalot, 329-336, 366)
103 Ibid., 3.
104 Wolfson, Speculum, 99-105
105 Ibid., 112.
the phenomenon to appear, to take shape, to be manifest.” The combination of these two words suggests that “this vision is an imaginative one, for the form in which the glory is manifested on the chariot is constituted in the prophet’s imagination.” It is, then, the prophet, and the imagination of the prophet, which provides the divine image that becomes the object of transformation.

The “phenomenological basis” for this “corporealization of God within the human imagination is provided by Hosea 12:11, which describes the prophetic process, “I have multiplied visions and in the hands of the prophets I was imaged.” “The visionary realm of the imagination becomes, in the Jewish mystical tradition, the locus of God’s self-revelation.”

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106 Ibid., 69.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid., 70. Elements of the visionary ascent such as the conception of ‘palaces,’ along with “the very possibility of and techniques for achieving such an ecstatic experience” are not found in the biblical texts. However, it is apparent that the mystic visionaries “seek to re-experience” what is described in previous documents in an “attempt to transform biblical allusions into direct personal experience” (Wolfson, Speculum, 123). In this sense, the mystical practice outlined is both continuous with older prophetic and apocalyptic sources as well as innovative. Wolfson, Speculum, 106-7, comments, “In addition to the anthropomorphic imagery, the glory, throne, and attendant angels are described in the Hekhalot literature primarily by images of light or fire as they are in the apocalypses”...but they are “not corporeal entities seen by the physical eye.” “Within the imaginal consciousness of the mystic that form is real, indeed real as imagined.”

The idea that the vision is not one seen by the eye in the normal sense is indicated already in the biblical sources for the imagery. As Segal, Paul the Convert, 52-53, notes, “the term Glory is itself a way of safeguarding the actual appearance of God.” Glory is the form in which the unknowable God is revealed. Segal says further, “the terms for likeness...suggest two things: first, that the experience is visionary, not normal; second, that Ezekiel saw an appearance or an image of the Glory, not the Glory itself, which further safeguards the majesty of God. No one can see God and live (Exod. 33:20), nor apparently can one see his Glory directly as Moses did, but people do see images of his Glory in religiously altered states of consciousness. Once the dignity of divinity is protected, the human features of his appearance are described with no sensitivity to anthropomorphism.”
HERMAS THE VISIONARY

In the case of the visionary prophet Hermas, he has visions of the divine glory which include the process of the incorporation and absorption of the members of the earthly community, including the righteous of the past, into the divine body, and these visions are recounted in his text. The audience who hears them is then able to also see these visions themselves, through their imagination,\(^{110}\) and to collectively experience the ‘mysteries of divinity’ as they are connected with Hermas’ descriptions. In a manner comparable to that of the Qumran Sabbath Songs, which itself shares numerous affinities with later Hekhalot mysticism,\(^{111}\) Hermas as the visionary recounts his visions to an audience with the effect that they will become incorporated into the divine Building.

Hermas himself refers to his writings as “parables of divinity” (Man X, 1:4). It is important at this point to outline some of the major visionary figures of Hermas. Consistent with other apocalypses, Hermas’ work contains visions and revelations which relate to the same essential picture but are expressed using varying imagery and figures.\(^{112}\) The most prominent feature of the visions of Hermas, the building of the Tower, a theme which runs throughout the entire text, is of central prominence.

\(^{110}\) On the connection between contemplative or religiously altered vision and ascension in the Hellenistic period see Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 53-55. See also the comments of DeConick, “What is early Jewish and Christian mysticism?”, 24.


\(^{112}\) Cf. the comments of Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 17.
Inexorably linked with the building of the Tower is the ascension of the righteous into it or the separation of the wicked from it. Humans are accordingly represented as stones. For instance, in response to a vision of this building process, Hermas inquires of his angelic mediator the Shepherd in Similitude IX, 5:3-4 as to the meaning of the building of the Tower and the stones that ascend to it. According to the explanation given to Hermas in Similitude IX, 15:4, 16:5-7, the deceased Jewish patriarchs from Adam to Noah, the generations from Shem to David, the thirty-five prophets of Israel mentioned in the Tanakh, along with the no longer living first generation of apostles and teachers, are those who ascend into the Tower. Literal death is described in the language of baptism. Hermas then asks why the stones of the twelve tribes, represented as mountains, “when placed in the building, became one color, shining like those also that had ascended out of the deep.” The answer given in Similitude IX, 17:4-5 is that these had received the seal of the Son of God and bore the spirits of the (twelve) virgins, becoming bright as the sun. The righteous who are properly clothed are thus described as being built into a divine Tower as one glorified body.

It is primarily though associations between the major figures of Hermas’ visions that the details of his overarching picture emerge. The first major symbolic figure in the text is the ‘Lady’, who first appears to Hermas in the form of an elderly woman seated upon a white chair and holding a heavenly book. She is identified as the Ecclesia (Vis. II, 4:1), the first of creation (Vis. II, 4:1), and she is associated with six angels (Vis. III, 1:6) who were also created first (Vis. III, 4:1). These together make a total of seven to whom

113 Sim. IX, 17:3
the Lord handed over his entire creation and through whom the building of the tower will be brought to completion.

The Lady is identified with the Tower that is being built, itself identified as the Church (Vis. III, 3:3). The Tower is founded on the word of “the almighty and glorious Name” and “is strengthened by the invisible power of the Lord” (Vis. III, 3:5). The Tower is built on waters that represent baptism which saves from death. Seven women support the Tower (Vis. III, 8:2) and it is said of these seven women that if one does the works of “their Mother” that one will live (Vis. III, 8:5).

The Glorious man, another figure within the text, is the Lord of the whole Tower (Sim. IX, 7:1) and the Master. He is also identified as the Son of God (Sim. IX, 12:8) and it is said that, like the Lady, he is accompanied by six glorious angels who support him on the right hand and on the left. The Son of God is also identified as the first of creation (Sim. IX, 12:2).

The juxtaposition of statements in Vis. II, 2:5, “the Lord has sworn by his Glory,” and in Vis. II, 2:8, “the Lord has sworn by his Son,” along with the identification of the Son of God with the Glorious man indicates an equation between the Son of God and the embodied Glory/Kavod, with which the earthly members of the Ecclesia are united.\(^{114}\)

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\(^{114}\) See discussion below. See also Bogdon Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and other Early Christian Witnesses* (Vigilae Christianae Supplements 95; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 121n.22
The Son is further implicitly identified with Michael,\textsuperscript{115} the angel of the LORD, who gives the Law into the hearts of the righteous, symbolized by a great Tree, and who crowns the elect who have suffered before their entrance into the Tower (Similitude VIII). The Holy Spirit (who is elsewhere described as preexistent and the creator of all things) appears in the form of both the Ecclesia and the Son of God (Similitude IX, 1:1-2).\textsuperscript{116} In Similitude IX, 14:5, it is the Name of the Son of God, also associated with the Tower, which supports the whole cosmos and creation and is borne by the heart of the righteous as a support.

From all of the associations throughout the text of Hermas a picture emerges in which the Tower serves as an anchoring image for speaking about the nature of the Feminine Ecclesia as a preexistent reality and a physical structure inhabited by the righteous, along with the nature of the Holy Spirit, the Son of God, the Angel of the Lord, and the relationship of these to Hermas’ community. Scholars have attempted in various ways to explain the relationship of these major figures of Hermas, concluding in some cases that there is no attempt to be theologically consistent,\textsuperscript{117} while others have noted more sophistication.\textsuperscript{118} In any case, the mythological roots and symbolic character

\textsuperscript{115} See Daniélou, \textit{Jewish Christianity}, 121-27. Cf. Halvor Moxnes, “God and His Angel in the Shepherd of Hermas,” \textit{StTh} 28 (1974): 49-56. As will be seen below, the interchange between ‘glorious man’ and ‘glorious angel’ may be understood in light of an identification with Michael, the highest angel who appears as the ‘one like a son of man’ in Daniel. Cf. Collins, \textit{Daniel}, 310, 318-319. A comparison of Similitude VIII, where Michael gives the Law, with Similitude V, 6:1-4, where the Son gives the Law, supports the notion that Michael is identified with the heavenly Son of God.

\textsuperscript{116} See Daniélou, \textit{Jewish Christianity}, 119-31, for a discussion of some of these identifications. See also Bogdan Bucur, “The Son of God and the Angelomorphic Holy Spirit: A Rereading of The Shepherd’s Christology”, \url{http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/bogdan2.pdf}, 127.

\textsuperscript{117} Osiek, 35.

of apocalypses in general bound up with a lack of aspiration for conceptual consistency, utilizing diverse but complementary formulations revolving around the same theme, informs the nature of Hermas’ material.\textsuperscript{119} The key to unraveling the particular relationships of the figures in \textit{Hermas} lies in Hermas’ understanding of the ‘mysteries of divinity.’ It will be seen further that the relationships between these figures is substantially paralleled in the Jerusalem tradition of the Q source.

Mandate X, 1:4-2:1 illustrates Hermas’ emphasis on the importance of investigating the mysteries of divinity and inquiring into the nature of the Godhead. Many of the visions that Hermas describes have this purpose; that is, they function primarily as descriptions of the divine nature as it relates to creation and the events surrounding the eschatological Kingdom. These are presented in simple individual episodes by Hermas who then uses these images to emphasize the importance of his law of purity as it relates to one’s angelomorphic identity with, and ascension to, the Tower. As a visionary prophet Hermas is imaging the embodied Glory and relating that image to righteous humanity and the eschatological divine plan. He is going further in providing the means of transformation into the image of God.

Within the \textit{Shepherd of Hermas} lies the notion of a direct correspondence between the heart of the righteous and the androgynous body of the Glory. This body is presented by Hermas as a Tower that is in the process of being (re)built by (re)incorporating the primordial feminine Ecclesia-Wisdom. The righteous elect who comprise the Ecclesia are the repentant pure of heart who have been baptized and who

\footnote{\textsuperscript{119} Cf. the comments of Collins, \textit{The Apocalyptic Imagination}, 17.}
adhere to the Law of God as mediated by the Son. They are clothed with twelve virgins in the form of Spirit, symbolizing the inner garment of Ecclesia-Wisdom, and receive the seal of the Son of God, the divine Name, representing the female and male aspects of the embodied human form of the glory. This makes possible their angelomorphic identity with both the heavenly preexistent Son of God and Wisdom in the present. As earthly incarnations of this image, they are then able to participate in the integration on a cosmic scale of the female aspect with the Son, ascending either after death or at the eschaton, being built as individual stones into the eschatological Tower as a part of her.

Hermas sees in his visions, which are sometimes spontaneous and at other times facilitated by fasting and prayer, the process of the transformation of the Ecclesia in union with the Son of God. This process includes the transformation of the earthly community of the righteous into the bodily Kavod. Hermas’ vision of the divine body as a transformative union between the Female Ecclesia and the masculine Son of God precedes the metamorphosis of the human community into this body. The mandates that are required, alternatively expressed as the Law of the Son or the Law of the True City and therefore Wisdom (as will be demonstrated further), are given via Hermas’ visions and are recounted as a form of revealed knowledge necessary for the transformation. The outward ethics and right inner dispositions that are revealed are an essential means through which the Spirit, both in the form of the Son and the twelve virgins as a symbol of the feminine Ecclesia, comes to dwell in the heart. That Hermas’

120 The explicit ascent language with regard to the pure of heart’s conjoining to the divine body can be seen in Sim. 8, 6:6; 9, 3:5; 16:5-7; 17:1; cf. Sim. 9, 15:4-6.
visions of the divine body in the form of the Tower precede the process of transformation is important to note since in Jewish merkavah mysticism, and in early Jewish traditions of the transformations of the patriarchs, it is the vision of the divine body that facilitates or is directly associated with transformation of the seer’s body into a glorious quasi-divine body.\textsuperscript{121}

In the Qumran Sabbath Songs, the process of the transformation of the poet-sage which is based on his visions of the supernal realm, envisioned as a Temple, is collectivized in recounting the descriptions of this visionary experience which illumines the community and allows for their own transformation into the glory of Adam.\textsuperscript{122} In Hermas, the visions themselves do not immediately cause the transformation of Hermas or his community, but they are the means through which the process of transformation is begun. The angelomorphic identity shared with the androgynous human form of the divine glory that the individual members of the Ecclesia take on through baptism and ethical praxis, one which is reflected in their possession of the Spirit as both Female Ecclesia-Wisdom and Son, along with the divine Name, is a mirror of the process of divine union that Hermas has seen in his visions. Ultimately this earthly mirrored identification leads to an actual cosmic identification.

\textsuperscript{121} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 22-23, notes that “The idea that the vision of God involves the transformation of the visionary into an angelic or supra-angelic being is found at several places in apocalyptic literature. This transformation is described in the familiar terms of robing, crowning, anointing, enthronement and metamorphosis into fire or light.” He cites 1 En 71; 2 En 22; Test Lev 8; and Asc Isa 9. Additionally he notes midrashic traditions of the transformation of the children of Israel into “fiery angelic likenesses clothed with the Name of God.” The connection between vision and transformation in the Hellenistic period is noted by Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 53-56.

The Qumran materials reflect a similar pattern of vision of the celestial House of God, followed by the recounting of those visions to an audience, and ending with an identification of the audience with this divine reality, although through different means. Additionally both *Hermas* and Qumran describe this in terms of an identification with the divine building and with the glory of Adam, although *Hermas* relates the body to the latter only implicitly.

Directly impacting the tradition of *Hermas* is the Jerusalem tradition evinced in Q. Here too it is vision that facilitates illumination (Q 11:34-“the eye is the lamp of the body”) and this illumination takes place in full at the eschaton (Q 17:24) and is described, as will be demonstrated, in language corresponding to the glorification of Wisdom and the glory of the primordial Adam. It is a process that has begun during the interim period between the arrival of John and the full manifestation of the Kingdom. The earthly community in both Q and *Hermas* is understood to embody a restored Wisdom in union with the Son of God. It is a democratized eschatological transformation beginning with vision, illumination, and angelomorphic identification with Ecclesia-Wisdom and the Son, and culminating in an ultimate metamorphosis into the cosmic androgynous Body of Glory.
PRIEST-TEMPLE TRANSFORMATION

In the manner that “visionaries are often depicted as either beholding or traveling to heavenly sanctuaries, especially in times when the earthly shrines become physically destroyed or polluted and thus no longer able to fulfill their cultic responsibilities,” Hermas’ vision, too, is of the “House” of God, one of his designations of the Tower.

Since Hermas envisions the transformation of his community, and of the righteous in general, to be one bound up with the House of God, a building along the lines of the Temple, it is important to note the heavy priestly material that is linked with the transformation of the seer in apocalyptic sources. The transformation that the High Priest is perceived to undergo temporarily upon his entrance into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement is directly relevant to how the transformation of the one who ascends into the heavenly Temple is described.

In both the priestly ritual on the Day of Atonement and in many apocalyptic accounts, “the seer’s entrance into the Deity’s abode often coincides with the metamorphosis of his earthly body. A new member of the celestial community has arrived, one who now needs new “clothing” to secure his safety in heaven.”

Orlov comments, “As in the narratives of apocalyptic ascent, the transformation of a human person upon entering God’s domain stands at the very center of the Yom

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124 Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 127.
Kippur ritual. As the apocalyptic literature often casts the visionary’s ascent in terms of return to the protological abode lost at the Fall, so too the Yom Kippur ritual seems to entertain an important ontological transition, tied at once to the story of the original sin and to humankind’s eschatological restoration....This ritual is not only a reenactment of the drama of humankind’s demotion and expulsion beyond the boundaries of the celestial garden. It speaks also of the exiled creature’s eschatological joy; for he is now permitted, by means of this ritual, to reenter his lost abode and regain his abandoned domain and status."  

The entrance into the divine Temple, or the House of God as expressed in Hermas, is one which is inexorably linked to a regaining of the glory of Adam and a re-entrance into Eden as the heavenly Temple. The Garden of Eden is related to the Temple traditionally, for instance in Jubilees, where Adam performs priestly duties. So too Adam’s garments are in some sources represented as priestly robes. For Philo the garments donned by the High Priest upon his entrance into the Holy of Holies signify immortality and the transition from a mortal state to a quasi-divine state. In the apocalyptic texts this transformation is represented in terms of an ontological metamorphosis, which in the Apocalypse of Abraham reflects symbolism corresponding to the priestly ritual of the Day of Atonement.
Earlier in the Book of the Watchers, Enoch becomes an angelic priest in the heavenly Temple.\textsuperscript{130} Orlov remarks that “in both Testament of Levi 8 and 2 Enoch 22, the priestly investitures of the hero appear to be understood as the glorious garments of the first humans.”\textsuperscript{131} Himmelfarb notes in the case of 2 Enoch that this is “a heavenly version of priestly investiture.”\textsuperscript{132} The removal of the filthy garments in exchange for pure ones by the High Priest and the connection with this and the Tree of Life of the Garden of Eden, with its earthly counterpart being the Temple, has roots in Zechariah 3:1-4:3.\textsuperscript{133}

Rachel Elior has argued that the authors of the Hekhalot material “identify themselves with a disaffected priestly class of the first century C.E., particularly as expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and some of the Jewish apocalypses. After the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., the priestly traditions are carried on by this disaffected class of Jews in the Hekahot literature in order to transport the ruined earthly cult into the heavenly spheres.”\textsuperscript{134} DeConick notes that “no single group was responsible for the practice and preservation of this tradition, although there is mounting evidence that one of the main origins of the tradition was within Jewish priestly circles.”\textsuperscript{135} In this light, then, the priestly influence that extends through the apocalyptic visionary and ascent experiences to the Hekhalot texts provides for a

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 134-135; Himmelfarb, “Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple,” 212-213; Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, \textit{All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls} (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 40.
\textsuperscript{131} Orlov, \textit{Heavenly Priesthood}, 136-137.
\textsuperscript{132} Martha Himmelfarb, \textit{Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 40; see also Fletcher-Louis, \textit{All the Glory of Adam}, 23-24.
\textsuperscript{133} Orlov, \textit{Heavenly Priesthood}, 138-141.
\textsuperscript{134} DeConick, “What is early Jewish and Christian mysticism?,” 10.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 10-11.
traditional framework, one taken up by *Hermas*, in which the transformation of humanity into the divine is related in terms of entrance into the divine Building.

In the case of both Q and *Hermas* the union with the presence of the Temple and the Ecclesia-House of God, both identified with Wisdom, respectively, has already occurred within the bodies of the righteous who also share an angelomorphic identity with the Son. This present union necessarily requires a present transformation of identity into a holy state in a manner similar to the High Priest, who takes on an angelomorphic status with regards to his bearing of the divine Name, his clothing, his entrance into the Holy of Holies, along with special access to, and contact with, the angelic and divine. This status is bound up with the people of Israel for whom the High Priest is an embodiment. Both Hermas and Q describe the transformation of the righteous in terms of glorious clothing (Q 12:27-28; Sim. VIII, 2:3) and both sources use the language of entering the divine House (Q 13:25; 14:23, Sim IX, 14:1). Additionally, on account of the eschatological situation and the role of these to grow Wisdom herself, the full form of their angelomorphic identity will occur when their individual bodies are used to build the celestial Ecclesia-Wisdom, the House of God, which is at the same time the Body of Glory. It is at this time that they *enter* the heavenly Temple and their metamorphosis into the cosmic Body once possessed by Adam is complete.

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137 Ibid., 172.
DESCRIPTIONS OF TRANSFORMATION: POSSESSION OF THE NAME, CLOTHING, AND GLORIFICATION

In many early sources the divine Glory is identified with the divine Name, Power, the creative Word or Logos, and is also identified with the Son and Wisdom.\textsuperscript{138} Melchizedek in some sources is identified as the Name-bearing angel.\textsuperscript{139} Figures such as Enoch, Moses, and Abraham, function as models of the righteous who receive and become an embodiment of the divine Name.\textsuperscript{140} Segal notes that “the various incarnations of God’s principle angel carry or personify his name, which can be identical to the form of man. Exemplary men can also ascend to divinity by identification with or transformation into the enthroned figure.”\textsuperscript{141} Morray-Jones comments that “a variety of mythical and historical figures were credited with having achieved such a transformation [analogous to Enoch’s transformation into Metatron] on what might be called a ‘cosmic’ scale and with having become veritable incarnations of the Name or Power of God...it seems that such a transformation was also considered possible, if only temporarily, for exceptionally holy individuals in this life. Such men were gifted with supernatural power and knowledge, and became intercessors between the divine and human worlds, because they had become conformed to the divine Image or \textit{kabod} and, like the High Priest in the Temple sanctuary, had been vested with the Name of God.”\textsuperscript{142}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{138} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 3-6, 12. .
  \item \textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 18-19.
  \item \textsuperscript{140} Ibid., 18-19.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 45.
  \item \textsuperscript{142} Morray-Jones, Transformational Mysticism,” 26.
\end{itemize}
In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, “the divine Name becomes not simply the aural medium of the transition to the upper realm; it becomes the angelic mediator who leads the seer into heaven. Abraham’s transition to the upper realm accompanied by the embodied Name provides a conceptual framework for future Jewish mystical developments, in which visionaries are transposed to the upper realm by the means of the divine Name.”

Yahoel here is the embodiment of the Name. In *Hermas*, too, the divine Name functions as a vehicle of ascent into the Tower, received in baptism, and those who are called by the Name are brought into the Tower by Michael, who embodies the Name (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4; Sim. IX, 14:5, 16:3).

The divine Glory is further identified with a garment of light that is put on by God and comes to be identified with “one or more intermediary figures.” It is a garment that can be put on by worthy adepts, and this is demonstrated as possible through the experiences of patriarchal heroes of the past. The well-known figure Metatron who wears a glorious robe like God, who embodies the divine Glory and the Name, whose body fills the world, is at the same time the transformed patriarch Enoch, who is understood to have regained the primordial glory of Adam. The transformation of Enoch into this figure is a development from earlier Enochic

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143 Orlov, *Heavenly Priesthood*, 60.
144 See further the section on ‘Baptismal Praxis and the Name’ below.
146 Ibid., 6-9; Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 96ff.
traditions. A corresponding figure in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Yahoel, appears as the embodied divine Glory in human form, who bestows upon Abraham his celestial garment. Abraham is taught how to prepare sacrifices in order to enter the presence of God, fasts for forty days and nights in the manner of Moses, and is told he will receive the garments formerly belonging to Azazel. This type of metamorphosis “signals a return to the original luminosity the first humans lost after their transgression in Eden.” Similar transformational quasi-deifications are ascribed to Moses, Jacob, Isaiah, various gnostics, individuals represented in the magical papyri, the Qumran sectarian s, Jesus, and the visionaries represented by the Hekhalot material.

In New Testament Christian tradition, Jesus is represented as the Son of Man at the right hand of the Power or Glory, as God’s image and likeness, the bodily form of the

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150 Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 10-11, cites 1 En 15; Jub 4; BT Hagigah 15a: “There is evidence, then, of the early existence of a tradition concerning the ascent to heaven of an exceptionally righteous man who beholds the vision of the divine kabod upon the Merkabah, is transformed into an angelic being and enthroned as celestial vice-regent, thereby becoming identified with the Name-bearing angel who either is or is closely associated with the kabod itself and functions as a second, intermediary power in heaven.”


152 Orlov, *Heavenly Priesthood*, 97-108. Orlov states on 108 that “it is possible that Abraham’s progressive movement into the heavenly Holy of Holies might be understood as encompassing not only priestly but also sacrificial dimensions, in view of the fact that Abraham and Azazel are opposites, and Azazel plays the role of celestial scapegoat. If Azazel drew the lot of scapegoat, that could imply that Abraham is to be pictured as a heavenly sacrificial goat for the Lord...In light of these traditions, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Yahoel’s and Abraham’s entrance into the heavenly throne room in Chapter 18 is to be understood as an allusion to the entrance of the high priest who brings the purifying sacrifice into the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur.”

153 Ibid., 120.

fullness of God, the Glory itself, and the embodied Word and Name.\textsuperscript{155} In the Syriac Acts of Thomas the messiah is said to have “put on the First Man.” Other Christian gnostic sources refer to the putting on of the divine Name or ‘First Man’, understood as the divine image or Glory, which have their roots in “apocalyptic traditions of the investiture in heaven of the ascending hero.”\textsuperscript{156} It appears that putting on this garment of glory makes one identical with the embodied glory including its preexistent nature.\textsuperscript{157}

That righteous humanity is understood to have the ability to put on the garments of glory, to embody the Name, and to be transformed into the bodily image and likeness of God is directly dependent upon the tradition that Adam in his primordial (and androgynous) condition was in this form.\textsuperscript{158} To be identified with and transformed into this cosmic luminous body is to return to the original state of humanity before the garments of light were replaced by garments of skin. A play on the Greek word \textit{phos} which can mean either ‘light’ or ‘man’ allows for a reading of Genesis in which the primordial light of creation is identified with a luminous man who exists from the beginning, a tradition taken up in various ancient sources.\textsuperscript{159} Morray-Jones comments that “some mystical circles, regarded by the rabbis as heretical, associated or identified the primordial Adam with the divine \textit{kabod}.”\textsuperscript{160} In the \textit{Primary Adam Books} and alluded to in other sources, Adam is portrayed as superior to the angels who are commanded by

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{155} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 11-15.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 12-13.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 13, cites a Samaritan source saying of Moses: “He was worthy to put on the Name whereby the world came into being.”}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{158} See sources cited in Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 16n.77; Orlov, \textit{Enoch-Metatron}; Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}; Fletcher-Louis, \textit{All the Glory of Adam}.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{159} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 16; DeConick, \textit{Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas}}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{160} Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 17.}
\end{footnotes}
God to worship him, with only Satanael refusing. Adam’s cosmic gigantic body resembles the size of Metatron’s and the descriptions of the anthropomorphic extent in the Shi’ur Qomah material, a body that is too large to behold except through imagination.

In the world to come the righteous will “recover the glory of Adam.” They are described regularly in early Jewish and Christian literature as being transformed, enthroned, given garments and/or crowns of glory, and becoming superior to the angels in the manner of Enoch-Metatron or Adam before his fall, being conformed to the image of God. When Paul states that members of his community will judge angels, this is indicative of the completion of their transformation, already occurring in the present, into the garment of glory with which Christ has been clothed, the same degree of glory accorded to Adam in extrabiblical accounts or to Moses in the account of Ezekiel the Tragedian.

The veneration of Adam in his original glory by angels in Jewish sources is a precedent for the veneration of Jesus by angels in the Matthean temptation account. Read in this light, Jesus in resisting temptation has conquered the sin of Adam and has regained this status already, in the present. That this is Q material seems likely in that it

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162 Wolfson, Speculum; Segal, Paul the Convert, 50, notes that the cosmic size of the body is an ancient aspect of Indo-European thought.
163 Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 17; Fletcher-Louis, All the Glory of Adam
164 Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 17-18; Segal, Paul the Convert, 48; Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 121ff.
165 Cf. Segal, Paul the Convert, 57-58.
provides the basis for the statement in 10:22—“All things have been delivered to me by my Father.” As Allison notes the correspondence here with Moses traditions, the descriptions of Moses’ being granted divine authority follow his transformation into a divine figure, resembling traditions of Adam (in that the stars, representing angels, bow to him in Ezekiel the Tragedian’s account), the son of man figure from Daniel, and the rank of the principal angelic figure. The status accorded the glorified Son has been granted through conquering the sin that led to loss of Adam’s glory. The state of the son of man (Q 9:58; cf. Ps 8) who has always repeated Adam’s sin has now been reversed. Jesus and his followers in Q have begun the process of being transformed into the cosmic human likeness of the embodied Glory. Having been given the Spirit of Wisdom as a form of revelatory knowledge and Torah (cf. Daniel 12:3), Jesus and his followers take on an angelomorphic identity with the Son of God and Wisdom. Their identification with the Son of God and Wisdom is represented in terms of clothes of glory (Q 12:27-28). Wisdom appears to function both as the Spirit and glorious garment of the Son.

Hermas uses the language of both indwelling and clothing to refer to the transformed state of those who enter the Tower. In Similitude IX, those who receive the Name must also receive the clothing of the Name, represented by the spirits of the virgins, who are elsewhere identified with the Holy Spirit, as is the Son. The righteous bear the Name and also receive the clothing, or Power. They become one spirit, one

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168 Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 44. On 55 Segal notes that the figure of Metatron, into whom Enoch is transformed in 3 Enoch 3-15 “bears a striking resemblance to Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian’s play.” The similar features include the reverence of the angels.

body, and one clothing. It is this angelomorphic identification that provides the medium of ascent and is that which ascends into the Tower.\textsuperscript{170} Hermas, in Sim. VIII, 2:3, says that “all who went into the Tower had the same clothing, white as snow.” The language recalls traditions of putting on the clothing of glory, such as Enoch being given clothes of glory by Michael in 2 Enoch 22:8-10, recension A. Segal notes that Enoch’s transformation is “effected through a change in clothing. The clothing functions as or symbolizes Enoch’s new, immortal flesh, as they are immortal clothes emanating from the throne room, not from earth. This parallels Paul’s future glorification of the mortal body in 2 Cor 5:1-10. Enoch has been put \textit{in} the body of an angel, or he is \textit{in} the manlike figure in 1 Enoch 71. This could explain Paul’s use of the peculiar terminology \textit{in Christ}.”\textsuperscript{171}

For Hermas, it appears that the receiving of the divine Name, shared by the Angel of the Lord, and the reception of the clothing of the virgins, the garments of the Name, function as the transformed self, expressed also as the Holy Spirit, that is taken on through baptism. It is especially noteworthy that this clothing is received in the present as necessary to make one worthy to enter the Tower. As indicated in Sim VIII, 2:3, they already have their garments before entering the Tower. The identification with the divine Name, corresponding to the principal angelic figure as the Son, along with the putting on of the clothing, corresponding to the Female Ecclesia-Wisdom, must occur in the earthly realm as a necessary process of the transformation of humanity

\textsuperscript{170} Cf. Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 47.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., 49.
from its current state, which must be divested through symbolic death, into the cosmic Body of Glory.

PRAXIS OF TRANSFORMATION

Murray-Jones remarks that “the process of ascent involves stripping off the corruptible body, anointing (‘sealing with the Name’) and reclothing in a glorious heavenly body, after which transformation it is possible to see God without fear. In Gosp. Thom., log. 37, this transformation is presented as a return to the asexual state of Adam in Paradise.”172 The idea of removing the corruptible body and sealing with the Name is originally associated with heavenly ascent and transformation and becomes ‘democratized’ in the ritual of baptism.173 DeConick notes that “avenues for mystical transformation other than the visionary were also popular in Judaism and Christianity, including asceticism, imitation, washing, spirit possession, eating “divine” food or drink, anointing the body with a sacramental oil or dew, chanting permutations of God’s Name, and so forth. Thus the period-literature is filled with references to practical activities associated with a mystical praxis.”174

Hermas, in his description of baptism, utilizes imagery of death and ascent (Similitude IX, 16). The process of being cosmically united with the Tower has already begun with the receiving of the Name and the garments (Sim. IX, 16:3; 13:2). The ritual

174 Ibid.
in this sense is a vehicle of transformation and ultimately ascension. Morray-Jones comments that “Paul’s understanding of baptism seems to be rooted in the same tradition of transformational mysticism: ‘you have put off the old nature with its practices and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its Creator’ [Col. 3:9f].” The connection with receiving the Name and immersion in water is found in later Jewish mystical tradition.

As in some of the apocalypses and in the writings of Paul, the garment of flesh must be divested before the garment of glory can be put on. For Paul this means imitating the act of Jesus’ relinquishing of the flesh at his death through the ritual of baptism. In Hermas, comparably, baptism serves as a ritual death through which one bears the divine Name and initiates the process of incarnation and ultimate transformation into the cosmic body of Glory. In both Paul and Hermas, in line with the apocalypses, it is the present experience of transformation which serves to confirm the realities of the future. Baptism as a symbolic death necessarily means that actual physical death is not required for angelomorphism. In Hermas, the identification with the divine body must take place first in the present in order to be built into the Tower after death or at the eschaton.

The bearing of the Name and the twelve virgins as one’s new Spirit sets up an ontological identity with the androgynous divine image in the bodies of the earthly members of the Ecclesia, which is achieved through baptism and through adherence to

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175 Cf. Ibid.
177 Ibid. 29-30
178 Segal, Paul the Convert.
the commandments received and transmitted by Hermas. It is an inner angelomorphic transformation of the earthly Ecclesia into mirrors of the divine which characterizes the present experience. The masculine and feminine aspects of the Tower are understood to dwell as the divine Spirit in the human body. This inner dwelling is a consequence of having divested the earthly body through ritual death and having transformed the inner through purity of heart and thought, and right action in accordance with the Law of God. This, for Hermas, facilitates an inward correspondence with the divine that is described in terms of incarnation that must precede the cosmic actualization of this identity through the completion of the Tower. Because the Tower includes all the righteous, the full transformation and glorification cannot be achieved until all those remaining worthy are brought in.

Having surveyed the broader context of mysticism in Jewish and Christian sources, it is important to identify the distinctive aspects of early Christian mysticism specifically which form the particular context in which Hermas’ traditions may be situated. DeConick has recently outlined the major features of early Christian mysticism. To begin with, there is the notion that apocalyptic revelations are understood to be ongoing and continuous within the Christian community. These revelations are connected with the gift of the Spirit and concern the knowledge of the Glory, into which Christians are already being transformed, along with hidden divine mysteries, teachings, commandments, or instruction. These revelatory experiences stem

from visions of the exalted Jesus, who takes on various forms of appearance based on particular Christological perspectives, and who is merged with the angelic human form or image of God.

These apocalyptic visions further involve a transfiguration of the seer into the object of the vision, which may be the glorified Christ or the entity or state to which Jesus has attained such as the glory of Adam, the human form of the glory, the Son of God, the Angel of the Lord, the manifest image of God, or the Kavod, these being functionally equivalent figures. The ability to recreate in the present this heavenly image in the earthly body comes through the indwelling of the Spirit, which is the faculty that allows for a conquering of bodily passions.

DeConick notes that within early Christian mysticism these experiences become democratized through sacraments such as baptism, in which one receives the Spirit or the divine Name. This effects an identity with the form that the exalted Jesus has attained and a transformation into this form in the same manner as those seers who have had transformative visions of the glory. Lastly, within early Christian mysticism all of this is inexorably bound up with an apocalyptic Jewish eschatological perspective of the resurrection of the dead. This event constitutes the restoration of the righteous into “a glorious angelic-like body reflecting God’s image,” the body lost by the primordial Adam. DeConick observes that early Christian mysticism internalizes the cosmic glorification of the eschaton on a personal and communal level and fosters this eschatological experience in the present.

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180 DeConick, “Jesus Revealed,” 321.
Hermas’ tradition is one that is based upon a visionary apocalyptic revelation that comes through the Spirit and concerns the body of Glory with which Jesus is understood to have merged. As the “new gate” he now functions as the means through which others may be transformed. Hermas provides a democratized praxis through which his community achieves an angelomorphic identity with the object of his vision and ultimate cosmic transformation into the Tower. It is an eschatological quasi-divinization that occurs within the earthly body in the present. These features place Hermas’ tradition very much within the realm of early Christian mysticism. As Hermas shows intimate contact with the Jerusalem tradition evinced in the Q source, his tradition is at the same time a very old form of Christianity.

In addition to the ritual of baptism, Hermas advocates an ethical praxis of transformation. The mandates of Hermas correspond to the obedience and right inner disposition necessary in order to regain the primordial Glory held by Adam before his breaking of a commandment. Hermas and Q presuppose that following the Law of God is a necessary part of the process of transformation that facilitates the indwelling of the Spirit that is a vehicle of transport into the Tower-Body. Further, the ethics provided by Hermas serve as a purifying force for the female Ecclesia-Wisdom necessary for the cosmic construction of the divine body. It will be seen that Q reflects a very similar tradition and that the commandments required by Hermas reflect a presupposition that it is righteous humanity’s task to grow the tree of Wisdom and “justify” it or “make it righteous.” Wisdom is transformed and glorified through the community of the righteous through their own regaining of the primordial glory once held by Adam. In
both Q and Hermas, the tradition is one of the righteous embodying Wisdom as the House of God and the Body of Glory, and restoring the primordial state of both humanity and Wisdom, symbolized through their growing or transformation of a tree, which is divine Wisdom itself.

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181 The identification between the holy community, the Temple, and the Body of God is one made at Qumran. See Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge”.
III. THE FEMALE ECCLESIA-WISDOM

The Tower as Wisdom in Hermas

This chapter gives evidence that Hermas identifies the female Ecclesia with Wisdom and that this identification is connected with his imaging of the people in terms of a vine and a Tree who are in exile from their True City. A survey of the mythological, historical, and traditional background relating to the story of Adam, the exile of Israel, and the female divine Presence of the Temple is given in order to elucidate his presupposed worldview that forms the basis of the angelomorphic identity that his community shares with Ecclesia-Wisdom. It is argued that the Q source evinces the earlier form of the tradition transmitted by Hermas.

The Tower in Hermas is represented in terms of the kingdom of God, the true City, the Church, and the House of God (Sim. IX, 12:1-14:2; 31:1-2). The Lady Church is identified in Hermas as being created before all things (Vis. II, 4:1). As Daniélou has noted, the notion of the pre-existent Church belongs to “a line of speculative thought common to both Jewish and Jewish Christian apocalyptic.”182 This ancient female-building theme of Hermas derives from the thought-world of Palestinian Judaism, as is evident also in 1 Enoch 90:29, 4 Ezra 7:26 and elsewhere,183 and B. Peskhim, in which the holy Temple-City belongs to that reality created in the beginning. It is a “Jewish

182 Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 298.
apocalyptic theme which Christian apocalyptic later applied to the Church.”\textsuperscript{184} Hermas reflects this tradition of a primordial Female Sanctuary comprised of humanity.\textsuperscript{185} This city-building imagery is further identified with primordial Wisdom.

The image of the seven women who support the Tower in Vis III, 8:2 recalls Proverbs 9:1 which reads: \textit{Wisdom has built her house, she has hewn her seven pillars.}

The Tower in \textit{Hermas} is also referred to as the “House of God” in Sim. IX, 13:9. The primeval creation of the Ecclesia and her instruction as mother are also Wisdom motifs.\textsuperscript{186} The Lady Church is the Wisdom instructing Mother in Vis. III, 9:9-10. God is said to have created the holy Ecclesia by means of his Sophia (Vis I, 3:4). The Tower may thus be viewed as the body of feminine Wisdom.\textsuperscript{187} The seven women who support

\textsuperscript{184} Daniélou, \textit{Jewish Christianity}, 298. Cf. 2 Clement 14:1; Heb 12:22-23; Gal 4:26; Asc Isa 3:15; Strom. VII, 107:3-6.

\textsuperscript{185} In the \textit{Tripartite Tractate} the Church is said to have existed from the beginning in those realities in which the Father and Son exist. This ‘gnostic’ text goes further to say that “it is the Church consisting of many men that existed before the aeons” (NHC I, 5; 58:30-35). They are the holy spirits upon which the Son rests. The illumined Logos creates an aeon according to the image of the Pleroma referred to as “Synagogue of Salvation,” “Storehouse,” “Bride,” “Kingdom,” “the Church,” and “Paradise.” This place is described as a beautiful city having the form of the Church in the aeons (NHC 1,5; 92:22-97:9). The Christ is sent for the sake of the Church while baptism is likened to the bridal chamber through which members receive the restoration as a whole body, united to the Church, into the Pleroma.

This teaching of the primordial supernal Church preexisting in the mind of God around which all Creation is based is noted by the author of Eph. 3:9-10. It is a secret plan hidden for all ages in God and it is through the Church that the Wisdom of God may be known. Origen in his commentary on the \textit{Song of Songs} writes that the bride of Christ or the Church not only existed from the foundation of the world, but \textit{before} its beginning. He draws on Eph. 1:4-5 in tracing the mystery of her primordial nature which states that the Church was chosen before the foundation of the world “that we should be holy.” Origen continues that Christ came to increase the numbers of the saints of the Church and through perfection transfer it from earth to heaven. This source is reminiscent of the tradition found in the Liber Graduum wherein the earthly Church is depicted as a nursing mother bringing forth and rearing children for the heavenly Church on High (Robert Murray, \textit{Symbols of Church and Kingdom} (New York: T&T Clark, 2006, 143). So also the bishop Cyprian speaks of the mother Church whose sons are born from her womb, who is the Spouse of Christ, and who “enrolls into the Kingdom the sons she has borne” (Cyprian, De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitae, 5-6). So too Hermas understands his earthly community as being made worthy to be joined to the supernal form of the primordial Lady Church, a designation of which is the Kingdom of God.

\textsuperscript{186} Osiek, \textit{Shepherd of Hermas}, 58, 80.

their mother Wisdom are her seven pillars. If this is the case, there is in Hermas an assimilation of the Church to Sophia. This means that as the servants of God are pieces of the body of the Church being built into the Tower as stones, they are the carriers and embodiment of primordial Wisdom herself, who is their Mother. The ancient female Ecclesia is then identified with Wisdom.

In several ancient sources Creation occurs through the partnership of YHWH and Wisdom, she being the first of Creation (Prov. 8:22; 3:19; Sir 1:4; 24:9) who is his daily delight (Prov. 8:30). She instructs her sons (Prov. 8:32). She has a throne in a pillar of cloud in the highest heavens (Sir 24:4) and in this description she is linked with the biblical Angel of the Lord of Exodus 14:19. Wisdom comes forth from the mouth of the most High and is in this sense an utterance or word of God (Sir 24:3). She seeks a resting place and the Creator of all things sends her to make her dwelling in Israel and she is established in Zion (Sir 24:7-10; cf. 1 En 42:1-3). She dwells in Jerusalem and takes root in an honored people, in the heritage of the Lord (Sir 24:12). Wisdom is created with the faithful in the womb (Sir 1:12). She is the knowledge and discerning comprehension rained down by God and he exalts the glory of those who hold her fast (Sir 1:17). She is described in terms of a tree whose branches are long life (Sir 1:18). The tradition of an exalted primordial Wisdom who instructs her children and makes a dwelling within the people of God is one transmitted by Hermas in the form of Ecclesia-Wisdom.

The association of the image of a woman and a building is also found in 4 Ezra and Revelation, noted by Daniélou, *Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 296. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 5n.20 notes that Wisdom is correlated with the biblical Angel of the Lord in some sources (compare Sir 24:4 and Exod 14:19; compare Wis 18:15-16, 1 Chron 21:16, and Wis 9:1-2; compare Wis 10:1-21 and Gen 18-19).
Hermas’ implicit identification of the Church with Sophia is a tradition found elsewhere. For instance, in the excerpts of Theodotus recorded by Clement, the Church is regarded as the collection of ‘seeds’ which made up Sophia. Ptolemy is reported by Irenaeus to have made the same identification. Accordingly, the earthly Church is “the pre-existent Church-Wisdom fallen from the Pleroma.” In line with these observations Hermas in Vis. I, 3:4 appears to link the creation of the earthly Ecclesia with her supernal counterpart, Sophia. Murray notes that in the Acts of Judas Thomas the Church as daughter of light in Syriac is secondary to the form represented by the Greek, in which the ‘daughter of light’ is Sophia. In Sirach 51:13-14 the Shekinah or the divine indwelling in the Temple is understood to be the female Wisdom (Sophia). Sophia’s connection with the Church is, then, a Christian adaptation of a Jewish tradition concerning the divine presence of the Temple.

A number of texts identify the human assembly as being in a special marital bond with the divine Father. This is related to the myth of Wisdom as God’s Creative partner and Mother of the children of God who has made her home with the people of God (cf. Wisd 8:2-4). Philo explicitly describes Wisdom as God’s bride. As will be seen further, it is this background which allows for Hermas to depict the Ecclesia, imaged as an old woman, to reappear transformed as a young bride in Vis. IV, 2:1.

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189 Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 313
190 Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, 133-34
191 Israel, the assembly who comprises the holy city, is also imaged as a bride in the wilderness or as a maiden (Jer. 2:2-3, 32; Isa 62:1-7). In the Song of Songs, the divine bride is represented as a garden, a fountain, an orchard, a well of living water, and is symbolically understood as the assembly of Israel in the Jewish tradition. The botanical imagery builds upon the traditional biblical conception of Israel as a vine or a vineyard planted and tended by God (Ps. 80:8; Jer 2:21; Ps. 80:14; Ezek 17:1-8; Ezek 19:10-14; Hos. 10:1; Isa 27:2-3; Isa 5:7).
192 On the Cherubim 1:49. See also Kugel, Traditions of the Bible, 63.
The people of God are elsewhere represented by Hermas as vines and a vineyard (Sim. V, 5:2, 6:2; IX, 26:4). This imagery is shared with other sources which envision the Assembly of God in terms of a holy plantation and is an adaptation of the traditional biblical conception of Israel as a vine or a vineyard planted and tended by God (Ps. 80:8; Jer 2:14; Ezek 17:1-8; Ezek 19:10-14; Hos. 10:1; Isa 27:2-3; Isa 5:7).

This imagery is elsewhere connected with the figure of Wisdom. In Sirach 24 primordial Wisdom, who speaks in the assembly of the Most High and comes forth from the mouth of God, is established in the beloved city Zion and is likened to a tall tree and a vine. She is further described in terms of water for an orchard or garden. In Sir 24:22-34 the Torah is Wisdom herself who fills humanity with wisdom and waters them through instruction as her garden. A comparable association of imagery is found in Hermas. In one passage (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4) the people of God who have already been stated to embody primordial Ecclesia-Wisdom are represented as parts of a Tree. Their fate as a consequence of adhering to the Torah of God as mediated by the Son is one of transformation into the glorified body of Wisdom herself, represented by the Tower. In Sirach and in Hermas there is a conceptual association of botanical imagery, the people of God, the Law of God, and Wisdom in connection with the divine House.193

193 Wisdom is connected with the image of the Garden and the Sanctuary elsewhere in Jewish tradition. See Kugel, Traditions of the Bible, 110-112. As expressed in Sefer ha-Bahir §5: The King wants to build a palace and so mines into bedrock, discovers a spring of living water, and says “since I have flowing water, I will plant a garden. Then I will delight in it and so will the world.” This ‘delight’ is primordial Wisdom (Prov. 8:30). The fullness of Wisdom encompasses both the source of irrigation and the garden that is irrigated (Elliot R. Wolfson, Alef, Mem, Tau: Kabbalistic Musings on Time, Truth, and Death (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 127. Primordial Wisdom as the Garden is God’s dwelling in which the children of God also dwell. In rabbinic tradition the souls of the righteous function as co-creators dwelling in Paradise (Ephaim Urbach, The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs (trans. Israel Abrahams, 3rd ed; Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1994) 237. All souls are understood
In order to clarify Hermas’ use of this imagery in connection with the myth of Wisdom, the situation and task of humanity following the fall of Adam, and the transformation of the righteous, it is necessary to examine a number of other texts which appear to inform the picture presented by Hermas.

PRIMORDIAL WISDOM, ADAM, AND THE IMAGERY OF THE TREE AND THE VINE

The myth of Adam is one which is inextricably bound up with the Temple. The story is not attested in any pre-exilic prophets and is a primordial event told in a manner that corresponds and gives meaning to the destruction of the First Temple and the exile of Judah into Babylon. In an important element that constitutes the formation of Judaism, it is an extension of Judah’s situation outward to all humanity. As Israel’s sins caused the ruin of the Temple and their own banishment along with the divine Presence, Shekinah, who goes with them, so Adam, through his sin, caused the corruption of the Tree of Knowledge/Wisdom and the exile of both. Just as Judah is able to restore the Temple and re-enter it along with the divine Presence, so humanity’s ability to regain its glory and image through its possession of Wisdom is possible.

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to have been created in the six days of Creation and are dwelling in the Garden of Eden (Urbach, *The Sages*, 245). This is a female palace or sanctuary (Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Jewish Publication Society: Princeton University Press, 1987), 158; Jub 8:19). These sources recall the designations of the “Assembly of the Firstborn,” the pre-existent Church consisting of many men,” and the “seeds that make up Sophia” in the Christian sources noted above. The common conception is that of a primordial Female, imaged as a building, garden, or Wisdom, containing and consisting of a pre-existent humanity.
God’s female counterpart is separated and defiled through the actions of humanity. From the prophetic perspective, human disobedience and sin is ultimately responsible. From the apocalyptic perspective evil cosmic forces play a significant role in the corruption of humanity and even the defiling of the Tree of Wisdom. In some sources, the gift of Wisdom as the Spirit functions as a means of restoration that allows for the potential of transformational return.

In Wisdom of Solomon 8:21 and Sirach 1:8, Wisdom is a gift from God who can then grow herself and the person in whom she dwells as a Tree of Life. As Adam is represented as being full of Wisdom (Ezek 28), or being gifted the Spirit of Wisdom (2 En 30:8, 11-12; cf. Wisd 7:7), and then being lopped down as a tree (Daniel 4 and Ezekiel 31), God re-gifts Wisdom to Israel with whom they are to be obedient and grow back in purified form. The exile may be represented in terms of both humanity and the Tree of Wisdom, alternatively expressed as Israel and Shekinah, with the latter having been corrupted and needing to be restored (in the manner of Lady Zion and the Temple from the post-exilic perspective). This is accomplished through the effort of the righteous combined with God’s giving of the Spirit of Wisdom which functions as a source of instruction, covenantal obedience, or revelatory knowledge as a form of Torah, and in some sources imaged as a tree. As such, the Spirit acts as the means through which the temptation and desire associated with Adam and Wisdom’s corruption may be overcome. As will be seen, both Q and Hermas presuppose this situation.

194 This is comparable to the giving of the Spirit that restores life to exiled Judah in Ezekiel 37:14. Cf. Neh 9:20; isa 32:14-16.
195 Cf. Isaiah 59:21; Wisd 7:7; Ezek 36:24-28; 37:14; Neh 9:20; Isa 32:14-16
The later Zoharic notion that Adam’s sin is one of separating the Tree of Wisdom from its union with the Tree of Life has a historical resonance in the attitudes of the Deuteronomic reforms under Josiah, and echoed in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who view the worship of the tree of Asherah or the “Queen of Heaven” negatively as compromising the monotheistic worship of YHWH. The reforms were not entirely successful on the popular level which led to an exilic and post-exilic perspective that idolatry, including the worship of Asherah or the Queen of Heaven, was a primary cause of the exile. The Deuteronomic covenant with Israel, which is given as the impetus for Josiah’s reforms, served as a counter to the idea of Asherah as the divine bride since it functioned like a marriage contract with Israel who is YHWH’s bride in the wilderness.

Some explanation for prophetic and Deuteronomic criticisms of Asherah may lie in evidence that suggests that the Asherah tree provided an access to divine knowledge “that competed with prophetic inquiry.” If so, the prohibition of eating from the tree of knowledge given to Adam in the Garden of Eden myth may reflect an anti-Asherah polemic. As Asherah symbolism resurfaces in the Wisdom tradition, the tradition of the female Tree of Wisdom as bride is fused with the notion of Israel as the bride, with the righteous being those who possess her, in the form of Torah, heavenly revelation (as in

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197 Deut 16:21-22; Judges 6:25-30; 2 Kgs. 21:3-7; Jer 7:18, 44:17-30; and elsewhere. The Queen of Heaven mentioned by Jeremiah may refer to Asherah or to another goddess such as Astarte associated with the Judean cult. There is evidence that the term asherah could be used interchangeably to refer to goddesses in general. Astarte further shows “traits and roles earlier reckoned to Asherah” (Mark S. Smith, The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 127-29.
198 Jer 7-8; Ezek 8, cf. 2 Kgs 21:7. Ezekiel’s “image of jealousy” may refer to another Asherah-like statue that had been installed, or was seen to have been installed in the prophet’s vision, in the Temple after Josiah’s burning of the previous one. Cf. the arguments of David Noel Freedman, “Yahweh of Samaria and His Asherah,” Biblical Archaeologist 50 (1987).
200 Smith, Early History of God, 117.
the apocalyptic tradition), or as the Spirit of God gifted as a means of return. Wisdom is alternatively envisioned as exiled with the people of God who must restore her corrupted state and/or her original place in the Temple.  

In several ancient sources Wisdom is something that Adam is said to have possessed in his primordial state. In 2 Enoch 30:11, for instance, God assigns Adam to be a great and glorious second angel and a king to reign on the earth, and to have God’s Wisdom. Adam’s mother Wisdom is given to him by God (2 En 30:8, 11-12; cf. Wisd 7:7). This connection between exalted Adam and Wisdom also appears in Ezek 28:12 (cf. Apoc. Sed 6:1f). According to Philo Adam is a king taught by Sophia. It is said of Sophia in the Greek Wisdom of Solomon that “She guarded to the end the first formed father of the world that was created alone, and preserved him from all personal sin, and gave him strength to get dominion over all things.” In the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies 16.12, Peter interprets the plural form in Genesis 1:26 (“let us make man in our image”) as a reference to the male God and feminine Wisdom, with Wisdom represented as God’s Spirit, a duality that is ultimately understood as a unity. In the Pseudo-Clementines, Adam possesses Wisdom as his Spirit.

The exilic prophet Ezekiel writes in mythological language that the king of Tyre, in the manner of Adam, who was full of Wisdom (Ezek 28:12), has corrupted Wisdom for the sake of splendor (Ezek 28:17), considering himself wise like a god (Ezek 28:4). Judah

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201 Cf. DeConick, Holy Misogyny, 7-14.  
205 Wisdom of Solomon 10:1-2
has betrayed God through the “image of jealousy” in the Sanctuary (Ezek 8:3-6) which may refer to the Tree of Asherah/Wisdom, or the Queen of Heaven.  

In exile, God gives the Spirit which restores life to exiled Judah (Ezek 37:14). This has a transformative effect which is taken up by later authors and linked with Wisdom, and the restoration of the glory of Adam.

In 4 Ezra, the correlation between Wisdom, the heart, understanding, the Mother, Torah, cultivation and growing as a tree, is also related in 4 Ezra 6:26 to the notion of a transformation of the heart into a different spirit, based on the Ezekiel’s prophecy of a new heart and a new spirit. Here the growing of Wisdom as a tree in the heart is related to a common apocalyptic tradition in which pre-existent Wisdom “will be granted to the righteous at the eschaton.”

2 Baruch 51:3ff mentions the righteous according to the law “who possessed intelligence in their life, and those who planted the root of wisdom in their heart” being “glorified by transformations,” eventually into the “splendor of angels” and “equal to the stars,” “from light to the splendor of glory...And the excellence of the righteous will then be greater than that of the angels.” This is a tradition that bases itself on Daniel

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206 Freedman, “Yahweh of Samaria and His Asherah”; DeConick, Holy Misogyny, 11.
207 Stone, Fourth Ezra, 123-124. Stone notes that 4 Ezra 8:3-6 “presents the idea that the soul or heart receives wisdom, cultivation, fruit, and life. The term “understanding” is ambiguous. In 8:4 it stands parallel to wisdom, while in 8:6 it corresponds to “heart.” Consequently, it is both that which is given and the faculty that receives. This cognitive faculty is related to birth and death, so connecting with 7:62-64 which speaks of the mind that grows up with humans. It is also related to the imagery of agricultural produce. In a number of passages there is reference to the Torah producing fruit of life...Moreover, the notion that the understanding or heart can be cultivated connects with 4:26-30. In 4:30 evil is said first to have been sown in Adam’s heart and “if the place where the evil has been sown does not pass away, the field where the good has been sown will not come” (4:29). Here it receives a clearly eschatological dimension. In 8:12, in the continuation of the passage, God is said to have brought children up in righteousness and instructed them in wisdom.”
The imagery of Wisdom growing as a tree within the heart and adherence to God’s law as preceding the transformation is strikingly similar to the process as evinced in Q and Hermas, as will be seen further below.

**TREE OF WISDOM CORRUPTED**

*3 Baruch* is a text which relates the tradition of the Tree of Knowledge or Wisdom that has been corrupted, cast out, and is in need of restoration by righteous humanity. This text represents one example of the early fusion of two originally distinct mythologies of evil, that of the story of Adam in which evil is the result of human desire and that of the story of the Sons of God in Genesis 6, elaborated in the Enochic Book of the Watchers, in which evil is the result of a Satanic conspiracy to corrupt and destroy humanity.\(^{210}\) In *3 Baruch* 4 it is Satanael who plants the vine in the Garden which is identified with the tree through which Adam and Eve were deceived. It is the sinful desire spread over them by Satanael and because of this the vine has been cursed by God. This evil desire appears to originate out of the primordial event of Satanael’s refusal to venerate Adam, and whose own exalted position is lost in contrast to the elevation of the protoplast.\(^{211}\)

Baruch asks his interpreting angel how it can still be of use since it has been cursed. The angel replies that when God flooded the earth, the flood waters rose above

\(^{209}\) Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 50.


\(^{211}\) Orlov, *Dark Mirrors*, 120; idem, *Heavenly Priesthood*, 121-126.
the highest mountains and entered the Garden, taking all that was blooming and bringing out one shoot from the vine as the waters withdrew. As dry land begins to appear and Noah goes out from the ark he finds the vine lying on the ground. He thinks to himself that this is ‘truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed. So if I plant it, then will God not be angry with me?’ Noah kneels down and fasts for forty days, praying and weeping, asking God what will happen if he plants this vine. The Lord sends the angel Sarasael who tells Noah to rise and plant the vine, and alter its name and change it for the better (3 Bar. 4:7-15).

Early materials associated with the Book of Giants seem to allude to some of the traditions found in 3 Baruch. One such source is the Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael in which the one tree that remains after the destruction of the Garden containing three branches is identified with Noah and his three sons which has a parallel in the Qumran fragment 6Q8. In both 3 Baruch and the Book of Giants “the surviving ‘plant’ from the flooded garden is paralleled to the escape of Noah from the flood.”

In the text of 1 Enoch preserved by Syncellus, it is stated that from Noah ‘a plant shall be planted and established for all generations forever.’ Additionally, in Jub. 7:1, Noah is said to have planted a vine at the mountain where the ark had come to rest.

In 3 Baruch 4 “a strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who

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212 Slavonic text; Orlov, Dark Mirrors, 114-15.
214 Orlov, Dark Mirrors, 116-117.
215 Ibid., 121.
216 Ibid., 123.
217 Ibid., 123.
discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding floodwaters.  

The vine, then, which is cast out, is traditionally linked with the remnant of righteous humanity, but also with the evil deception, which must be changed for the better through the efforts of the remnant. It is in this task that Noah is told to plant the vine and necessarily help it to grow in a manner that transforms it from its fallen state. This imagery strongly recalls that of the description of feminine Wisdom, such as in the Q source, who is made righteous by her children and which may be expressed elsewhere in the text through the image of a tree, a common traditional symbol of Wisdom, sown and grown in a garden as a manifestation of the Kingdom of God.

Q understands that the sins of the inhabitants have caused the female divine Presence, Wisdom, to have left the Temple and she is now embodied in her children, Jesus and his followers (Q 13:34-35). That she is understood to have been defiled through human sin is indicated by the statement of Jesus that her children justify her, or make her righteous (Q 7:35; cf. 1 Enoch 94:5). Just as 3 Baruch relates a tradition in which the corrupted Tree of Knowledge associated with the sin of Adam is reduced to a

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219 In 1 Enoch 32:4-6 the tree from which Adam and Eve ate is identified with the tree of wisdom and is described as “very large,” “beautiful,” “glorious,” “magnificent,” with its fragrance penetrating far beyond the tree. See George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. Vanderkam, 1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 48. Already in the Genesis account the tree is described as being desirable as a source of wisdom.
220 A comparison of Matt 23:34-39 with Luke 11:49-51; 13:34-35 indicates that Q preserves a quotation from a lost Jewish source known as the ‘Wisdom of God’ in which the speaker of Q 13:34-35 is Sophia. She has abandoned the Temple and will not be seen until she is recognized as being within those who come “in the Name of the Lord.”
vine in the cosmic Flood and brought down to earth and Noah is given the task to regrow it and change it for the better, so it is righteous humanity’s task in Q to transform Wisdom into her uncorrupted state prior to the defilement of the Temple by the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

THE RESTORATION OF THE TREE OF WISDOM AND HUMANITY

In Q, Jesus and his followers receive the gift of the Holy Spirit/Wisdom from the Father (Q 11:9-13; James 1:5; Wis 6:12, 7:7). Wisdom as the Spirit of God is within them. The Kingdom of God is depicted as being like a seed sown and grown into a Tree in a garden with the people depicted in terms of trees (Q 10:21-24; 13:18-19; cf. Q 3:9). Jesus and his followers are the laborers of the eschatological harvest. As mediators of their mother Wisdom (Q 7:35) they are the sowers of the seed (Cf. Sir 24:22-34).

Divine Wisdom is depicted as being transformed and glorified through the community of the righteous through their own regaining of the primordial glory once held by Adam. By being in the image of God through obedience to the divine will, extreme righteous behavior, repentance, and the removal of desire and attachment to the things of the world, the Wisdom that has been corrupted through sin is restored.

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221 The Holy Spirit is feminine and identified with Sophia in the Jewish Christian literature of the Pseudo-Clementines and in the Book of Wisdom. Adam in some Jewish and Jewish Christian traditions had possessed Wisdom as his Spirit. In 1 Enoch 48-49, the Spirit of Wisdom dwells within the heavenly man and it is Wisdom who reveals him to the righteous. See Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology,” 276-280; DeConick, Holy Misogyny, 1-38.
Their own restoration and transformation constitutes the changing of the vine or Tree of Wisdom that is received by God, and planted and grown by the effort of the righteous within themselves. The evil desire associated with the evil spirit placed in the heart must be expelled in order for the root to grow, for the Spirit to make its dwelling. Simultaneously this is understood to be the removal of the association of the evil desire from the tree of wisdom. Jesus tells his followers to “Be as wise as serpents and as innocent as doves” (Q/Matt 10:16). This appears to be a reference to the possession of Wisdom or Knowledge associated with the serpent in the Garden of Eden but without the evil inclination, desire, corruption, temptation, or grasping attachment associated with Adam’s fall (cf. Ezek 28:17).

Accordingly, Jesus and his followers are depicted as recapitulating the exodus from Egypt, which is identified with the worldly life and material possessions (Q 12:33; 14:26; 17:27). As having experienced the world which is ruled by sin and Satanic power, they are instructed by Jesus to resist it, and to go up out of ‘Egypt,’ to regain the glory of Adam and restore Wisdom to her uncorrupted state. This is a process that occurs within each individual’s body and also in cosmic terms.

A separation is already occurring between the lot of good and the lot of evil in preparation for the judgment. Jesus says in Q 12:51 that he has come to bring division. This appears to be an eschatological separation of humanity into the lot of God and the lot of Satan, which have up to this point lived in an intermingled fashion even within

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222 That this saying is part of the Q/Jerusalem tradition is supported by its presence in the kernel of the Gospel of Thomas (logion 39), a sayings source, like Q, associated with James and the Jerusalem Church. See DeConick, Recovering.

223 This is a theme highlighted by Allison, The Intertextual Jesus.
familial relationships. The *Gospel of Thomas*, logion 57 and 40, depicts this situation in language where the wicked are represented in terms of weeds and a vine that has been planted outside of the Father.

That Jesus and his followers in Q are the sowers of the seed on one level reflects a prophetic perspective in which the Judean situation is imaged in terms of a tree that has been burnt down or lopped down by God. What remains following this is the stump of the tree or the holy seed or true remnant of Israel. The statement in Isaiah 6:13 that “the holy seed is its stump” is a reference from the point of view of the postexilic editor to the fact that Judah was reduced to a small remnant by the Babylonians a little more than a century after Isaiah’s time. On that occasion the remnant provided the “holy seed” for the restoration of Judah after the exile. Jesus and his followers are recapitulating this pattern as the representatives of the true Israel and God’s eschatological harvest.\(^{224}\)

In the post-exilic Jewish tradition the remnant who return to the Land and formulate the covenantal identity of Second Temple Judaism are those who begin the process of rebuilding the Temple. The re-establishment of their own relationship to God through repentance and obedience is, then, inseparably connected with the reconstitution of the Temple as the symbol of God’s Presence (Shekinah) and

\(^{224}\) The whole process of burning a tree down and exile, with a remnant or a holy seed or a stump preserved is understood as a purifying process that is necessary and ultimately more effective from the point of view of the divine plan than if the people had repented and saved themselves before all this happened. What remains is the potential for new growth and a re-growing of the tree through obedience and trust in God.
covenantal protection. The ‘gift of Dwelling,’225 God’s own Palace, and female Beloved, which has been given to Israel, and gone into exile with them, must be restored to her Place. The story of Adam and Eve in the Garden and their sin in relation to the Tree of Knowledge, and Israel’s post exilic account of its disobedience and pride, resulting in the destruction of the Temple and the mutual banishment of the divine Shekinah,226 who are both restored with the return of the remnant, are essentially the same story, imaged in different ways.227

As the Tree imagery is used of the exiled and restored remnant of Israel, so too in post-exilic writings Tree symbolism is associated with the fall of Adam. The location of the Tree described in Ezekiel 31 as being in the Garden of Eden before its expulsion parallels the situation of Adam, whose exalted status in the Garden is lost and who is expelled by God from this abode.228 Additionally the description of the tree in Daniel 4 has been taken as a “symbolic rendering of the protoplast story. The metaphor of the

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226 On Shekinah’s exile along with the people of Israel see sources cited in Urbach, Sages, 43, 54. Wicked acts cause Shekinah to depart.
227 Cf. Zohar 1:237a; Daniel C. Matt, The Zohar: Pritzker Edition Vol. III (Standford: Standford University Press, 2006) 440-42. Adam’s sin in the Garden is that he drives out the female Shekinah, one of whose symbols is the Tree of Knowledge. In doing so, Adam also separates Shekinah from himself. The Zohar interprets the Isaiah 50:1, “For your crimes your mother was sent away” with reference to Shekinah as the Mother who is divorced from God repeatedly on account of the people’s sins. The figure of Shekinah corresponds to that of Wisdom in some sources. In Sirach 51:13-14 the Shekinah or the divine indwelling in the Temple is understood to be the female Wisdom (Sophia). In Q it is Wisdom who is banished on account of the sins of the inhabitants and who is in exile with her righteous children. As with the case of Wisdom, so it is represented that wicked acts cause the departure of Shekinah (see Urbach, Sages, 43). Urbach, Sages, 64-65 notes that “in the ideology of the Sages of the Talmud and the Midrash the term ‘Shekhina’ is not connected with ‘Wisdom’, and the two are not identified...they contain no feminine element, an element that subsequently played a significant role in the Cabbala, under the influence of Gnostic doctrines, and which, relative to Wisdom, is already found in Hellenistic literature.” It appears, based on Q especially in light of other ancient sources cited, that the tradition attested in the Zohar regarding Shekinah/Wisdom being associated with the Tree of Knowledge/Wisdom expelled by Adam and separated from himself, is antique and is presumed and alluded to in several sources noted in this study.
228 Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 37.
fallen tree forewarns of the demise of the original condition of humanity.”

In Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4, then, the image of the glorious tree functions as a symbol of exalted humanity which has been diminished by the Creator. Both Adam, as a symbol of humanity’s status, and Wisdom are then traditionally represented in terms of an exiled vine or tree in need of re-growing. The restoration of the one is inextricably bound up with the other. This has its basis in a reading of Genesis in which Adam is created in the divine image through a union of YHWH and Asherah/Wisdom. Already in Ezekiel 28:17, the notion that Wisdom is infused within humanity by God but has been corrupted by a grasping for splendor is present. What surfaces later in the Wisdom tradition as the divine bride living within the righteous, then, appears to be a formulation that has its roots in reformatory exilic attitudes towards the worship of the tree of Asherah.

The towering trees of Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4 may be read in light of the Genesis account of the tree which seduced Adam and Eve as being linked with the desire to become like God through actions that are apart from God. On another level the tree’s

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230 Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 39.
231 DeConick, Holy Misogyny, 8; Kugel, Traditions of the Bible, 45.
232 Cf. DeConick, Holy Misogyny, 11-12. The Ugaritic mother goddess Asherah, the consort of El, whose symbol was a tree or pole, once existed in the Jerusalem Temple. Mark Smith has suggested that perhaps as early as the period of the Judges the incorporation of Asherah into the Hebrew God’s symbolic repertoire allowed for both masculine and feminine imagery to be ascribed to YHWH (Smith, The Early History of God, 108-47). In Hosea 14:9, which may be seen as one of the many condemnations of Asherah in the Tanakh, it is now YHWH who is described as the tree bearing fruit. The continuation of the impact of Asherah may be seen in the post exilic period where she is assimilated to the feminine Wisdom in Proverbs 1:9 as the “Tree of life.” This same association with Sophia-Wisdom and a Tree can be found in Sirach 1:26. Undoubtedly, this trend within Judaism is relevant to what is occurring in the Hermas in the symbolic linking of the feminine Tower with a ‘Great Tree’ and with Wisdom.
association with Wisdom represents primordial humanity’s grasping for Wisdom and
divine status of their own accord. The converse to this is in the tradition that Wisdom is
bestowed as a gift by God and the exalted status in the image of God comes along the
same lines, out of God’s will in creating humans, not through human desire, arrogance,
or pride (cf. Ezek 28.). The language connected with the arrogantly exalted and fallen
trees in Ezekiel 31 and Dan. 4 (‘birds of the air nesting in the branches’) recalls the image
of the Kingdom of God in the Q source (13:18-19) as a tree that grows into one which
provides shade and nesting for all creatures. In Daniel 4:26 it is said that the tree can
only be regrown once the sovereignty of God is recognized.

Jesus elsewhere appears to reference this theme in the saying “Be as wise as
serpents and as innocent as doves.” As already stated, this may be a reference to the
possession of Wisdom associated with the serpent but without the evil inclination,
desire, temptation, or grasping for exaltation via Wisdom associated with Adam’s fall.
This is also bound up with the transformation of the son of man from a state below that
originally accorded to humanity as described in Psalm 8 (Q 9:58) to one of cosmic
proportions (Q 17:24), resembling traditional depictions of Adam’s exalted state and
that of Wisdom.

In the Q source, the people of God are understood to be in exile along with
Wisdom herself (Q 9:58; 13:34-35; cf. Sim I, 1:1, 6). The female divine presence has
abandoned the House of God due to the iniquities of the inhabitants (Q 11:49-51; 13:34-
As has been noted already, that she is understood to have been defiled is evident from the statement in Q 7:35 that her children are those who make her righteous. This expresses a version of the tradition that the wicked can harm Wisdom and cause her banishment, as attested in 1 Enoch 94:5 (in a manner analogous to wicked acts causing the corruption of the Temple and the exile of Shekinah.)\(^{234}\) The divine Feminine Wisdom is embodied in and exalted by the earthly community of God (Q 7:35, cf. Q 13:34, 11:13; Sim. IX, 24:2). Wisdom is the Mother whose children make her righteous (Q 7:35; cf. Isa 50:1). Like Wisdom (1 En 42:1-3) the Son of Man and his followers have nowhere to lay their head and rest. As Wisdom has abandoned the Temple, she is in exile with the Son of Man, righteous humanity exemplified in the prophets of the past and in the persons of John, Jesus, and their followers.

Jesus and his followers in Q receive the gift of the Holy Spirit/Wisdom from the Father (Q 11:9-13; James 1:5; Wis 6:12, 7:7). Wisdom as the Spirit of God is within them.\(^{235}\) The Kingdom of God is depicted as being like a seed sown and grown into a Tree in a garden with the people depicted in terms of trees (Q 10:21-24; 13:18-19; cf. Q 3:9). Jesus and his followers are the laborers of the eschatological harvest. As the sons of God (Q 10: 16, 22-23)\(^{236}\) they are vessels and mediators of their mother Wisdom (Q 7:35) and are the sowers of the seed (Cf. Sir 24:22-34). This Wisdom throughout Q functions as revelatory knowledge and commandments in continuity with Torah. The

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\(^{233}\) A comparison of Matt 23:34-39 with Luke 11:49-51; 13:34-35 indicates that Q preserves a quotation from a lost Jewish source known as the ‘Wisdom of God’ in which the speaker of Q 13:34-35 is Sophia. She will not be seen until she is recognized as being within those who come “in the Name of the Lord.”

\(^{234}\) Cf. the corruption of wisdom in Ezek 28:17; the defilement of the daughter of Zion in Lamentations 1:1. 2-8, 15, 17-18; 2:1, 13; 4: 12-13, 22; Jer 12:7

\(^{235}\) Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology,” 276-80.

\(^{236}\) See discussion below on the Son of God in Q.
law of the Son is then the same as the law of Wisdom. The imagery reflects the tradition of the re-growing of humanity into its primordial glory which is bound up with the re-growing of the vine or tree of Wisdom that became corrupted initially through Adam, a process repeated via the sins of Israel who cause the corruption and banishment of Wisdom from the Temple.

The kingdom consists of righteous humanity who follows God’s law and fills the House of God (Q 13:25; 14:23). The growing of the tree in the Garden here may function as a depiction of the restoration or ‘justification’ of Wisdom who is traditionally depicted in terms of a Tree. The activities of Jesus and his followers may function as a recapitulation of Adam’s original cultivation of Wisdom as a Tree.\textsuperscript{237} That the Kingdom is represented in terms of a Tree appears to allude to Wisdom as a Tree of Life (Prov 3:18, 11:30; Sir 1:18, 24:12-16),\textsuperscript{238} as well as to the direct link between the exaltation and justification of her children and Wisdom herself (Q 7:35, 17:24; Cf. Prov 8:32; 11:30: “The fruit of the righteous is a Tree of Life;” Sir 24:12ff: “I [Wisdom] took root in an honored people...I grew tall like a cedar”).

As will be discussed later, the exaltation of the Son of Man and his associates in the Kingdom as glorified Sons of God constitutes their becoming Wisdom in her full radiance, fulfilling Israel’s role as both firstborn Son of God (Exod 4:22-23) and Bride of God (Jer. 2:2-3, 32, 12:7-15; Isa 62:1-7; Cf. Prov 8:22-Wisdom as Firstborn; Wis 8:1-4-

\textsuperscript{237} Philo, \textit{Questions and Answers on Genesis} 1:56.
\textsuperscript{238} Kugel, \textit{Traditions of the Bible}, 125, notes that sometimes the Tree of Life and the Tree of Wisdom are fused.
Wisdom is Bride; Cf. 4 Ezra 10:25; Cf. Q 17:24). So too the transformation of the Son of Man corresponds to the primordial cosmic body of Adam.

In comparison with Q, Hermas contains remarkably similar imagery related to the tradition of the restoration of Wisdom through the efforts of righteous humanity. In Hermas the eschatological Tree is made up of members of the Female Ecclesia-Wisdom who adhere to the Law of the Son of God.\(^{239}\) They have been granted the Spirit of Wisdom by God (Man. X, 2:6; Sim. IX, 24:2).\(^{240}\) In one passage (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4) the Tower-Church is imaged in botanical terms, being made up of watered parts of a tree, representing the baptized and righteous elect. The angel of the Lord stands next to a willow tree representing the Law of God which is the Son of God. This splendid and very tall angel trims branches from the willow and gives them as sticks to the people under its shade. When he asks for them back, he crowns those whose sticks show new growth and bear fruit and sends them off to the Tower.\(^{241}\) Those with new growth but no fruit are sent off to the Tower with seals. Those who returned their sticks as green as they had received them are also sent to the Tower with seals. All of these are clothed with garments white as snow (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4). The sticks are then planted and watered, completely submerged by the Shepherd and sent into the walls accordingly. Here those considered most worthy are given crowns (cf. Sir 6:31; 15:6) while all who go into the Tower are given holy garments, attire appropriate to the body of the divine Bride.

\(^{239}\) The imagery connecting the servants of God with a growing tree, garden, and kingdom is reminiscent of that found in the Odes of Solomon wherein the righteous who ascend to paradise ‘grow in the growth of the trees’ (Ode Sol. 11:16-19). DeConick, Recovering, 221-22

\(^{240}\) On the identification of the Holy Spirit and Ecclesia-Wisdom in Hermas, see the ‘Indwelling of the Spirit Powers’ section below.

\(^{241}\) Cf. (4 Ez. 2: 40-47).
In *Hermas* the law of God is that which is mediated by the Son yet it is also depicted as the law of the True City (Sim I, 1:1-9), which is necessarily Ecclesia-Wisdom, the divine Dwelling. In *Hermas*, then, the commandments of God are those of Wisdom as mediated by the Son, which is also the case in Q. The people receiving branches as the law of the Son of God, with these being planted and watered, may therefore be interpreted as their receiving Wisdom/Torah as given by the Son. It is their task to grow these individual branches as part of one great Tree, being the restoration of Wisdom in union with the Son. Each individual is responsible for (re)growing part of the tree of Wisdom. It is a collective restoration of Wisdom by those in whom she is embodied, as in the Q source.

In *Hermas* the Tree is, like the Tower, made up of the elect, the members of the Ecclesia who possess its branches. Hermas understands the sins of his household, his Church, to be the factor which has yet prevented them from being joined to the Tower and their true City, the Kingdom of God. The human assembly and the entity of the Church, like Wisdom and her children in Q, are intertwined in their fate of sin, exile, and restoration. The slaves of God are in exile and separated from their true City with which they will be joined if they are righteous and are obedient to the commandments (Sim I, 1:1-9). The elect of God are thus in a foreign land to which attachment must be minimal. Identity and behavior must be based upon the laws of their true City, which is Ecclesia-

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242 The Church as a Tree is an image expressed elsewhere. The mid third century bishop Cyprian, for instance, images the Church as the beloved of the Lord referred to in the *Song of Songs* and “as a tree with many boughs but one trunk, whose foundation is the deep-seated root; and as when many streams flow down from one source” (Henry Bettenson, *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection From The Writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 264.)
Wisdom, so that they may be fit to participate in their incorporation into it. The return to the ‘true City’ is expressed most prominently throughout the text as the rejoining of the elect to the Tower, the female holy City-Temple constituted by her members. This is a less extreme version of the same type of exodus typology found in the Q source in which possessions must be sold and worldly activities and ties are renounced in the face of the Kingdom of God, at which time the possessors of Wisdom will enter into their House (Q 13:25-29).

TRANSFORMATION OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD AND THE DIVINE HOUSE

This theme of exile, separation, and return is traditional and connected with the people of God in terms of the female spouse of God (Jer. 12:7-15; Lam 1:1. 2-8, 15, 17-18; 2:1, 13; 4: 12-13, 22). Along these lines, and as noted already, the post exilic situation of Judah and the Temple is extended to the myth of Adam in terms of the Tree of Wisdom, the divine Female, and the Sanctuary itself. According to 2 Baruch, the preexistent city building was removed from Adam along with Paradise after he sinned and shown to Abraham and Moses as the likeness of its earthly counterpart in the tabernacle and its vessels (2 Bar 4:2-7). The imagery of the Garden of Eden is therefore connected with the idea of a primordial city or building which will be the inheritance of the righteous (Pirke Avot 5:22-24). According to 4 Ezra this city along with the land (presumably of Paradise) which is now concealed will be given as an inheritance to Israel in the time to come (4 Ez 7:6-12, 26). 4 Ezra 8:52-54 combines the language of Paradise
being opened, the Tree of Life being planted, the City built, Rest appointed, good works established, and Wisdom perfected all in its description of the preparation of the future age. So too the City is manifest in the image of a woman, Zion (4 Ez 10:27). She is the celestial City who nurtures her son (4 Ez 10:40-50). Here are found traditional Jewish associations linking pre-existent Wisdom, a Tree, a City, a transformed woman, the people of God, and eschatological inheritance that are transmitted in the imagery of *Hermas*. Humanity’s entrance into the Female Ecclesia in this sense may be seen to restore the original relationship between Adam and the dwelling of God, which in *Hermas* is Ecclesia-Wisdom.

The tradition of the earthly assembly forming and being incorporated into the Temple (or House) of God, also identified with the divine body and the glory of Adam, is found in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* from Qumran. The exiled Qumran community’s ritual construction and embodiment of the eschatological heavenly Temple is further imaged as Eden.

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243 Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 335, notes that the here there “is no explanation of interpretation of the son; indeed he is merely a cardboard player. The center stage is held by the woman and city; the things that happen to her are interpreted in terms of the city. Among them are the birth, nurture and death of the son. The birth is a new, happy beginning; the nurture a period of peace; and the death the tragedy of destruction. The son as such plays a completely passive role.”

244 Wisdom is connected with the image of the Garden and the Sanctuary elsewhere in Jewish tradition. See Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 110-12, who cites Philo and Ben Sira as equating Eden with Wisdom. As expressed in *Sefer ha-Bahir* §5: The King wants to build a palace and so mines into bedrock, discovers a spring of living water, and says “since I have flowing water, I will plant a garden. Then I will delight in it and so will the world.” This ‘delight’ is primordial Wisdom (Prov. 8:30). The fullness of Wisdom encompasses both the source of irrigation and the garden that is irrigated (Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 127). Primordial Wisdom as the Garden is God’s dwelling in which the children of God also dwell. In rabbinic tradition the souls of the righteous function as co-creators dwelling in Paradise (Urbach, *The Sages*, 237). All souls are understood to have been created in the six days of Creation and are dwelling in the Garden of Eden (Urbach, *The Sages*, 245). This is a female palace or sanctuary (Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 158; Jub 8:19). These sources recall the designations of the “Assembly of the Firstborn,” the pre-existent Church consisting of many men,” and the “seeds that make up Sophia” in Christian sources. The common conception is that of a primordial Female, imaged as a building, garden, or Wisdom, containing and consisting of a pre-existent humanity.
Morray-Jones comments that the liturgy of the Qumran community serves as a process of “ritual construction” with regard to the celestial Temple. Elsewhere in the scrolls, the community itself is identified with the Temple (1QS 8:4-9). So too their identity is linked with the notion of “an eternal plantation” which reflects a traditional connection between the Sanctuary and Eden. Being both the primordial and future paradise, “incorporation into the structure of the temple confers “advance membership” of the world to come and is, at the same time, a return to humanity’s original state of angelic purity” in which the glory of Adam is regained. The Qumran yahad identifies itself as the sevenfold eschatological Temple, the Garden of Eden, or the eternal plantation, which is also understood to be the divine body comprised of seven potencies. Wolfson notes importantly that the mention of the ‘seven mysteries of knowledge’ in the Qumran Sabbath Songs should be interpreted as seven potencies that constitute the fullness of God. He suggests that in the particular literary context of the

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246 Ibid. Morray-Jones further remarks on 168 that “the same tradition occurs in a variety of rabbinic sources, where the righteous in the world to come are divided into seven hierarchical classes and where the garden of Eden is described as a series of seven concentric celestial chambers, built of gold, silver, and precious stones.” James R. Davila has noted further the sect’s conceptual reality of itself as Eden in James R. Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise,” RevQ 17 (1996): 457-78. An important point of note is that the leaders of the Qumran sect are identified with the Sons of Zadok in CD 3:12-4:4. Morray-Jones notes that these Sons of Zadok, “according to Ezek. 44:15, are to serve as priests in the restored and purified temple of the coming age. According to this text, Ezekiel’s eschatological temple already exists as a metaphysical reality. It is closely associated with the glory of Adam, and, for the community that “holds fast” to it, it is the means of access to eternal life” (Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 150. The divine glory belonging to the primordial Adam was ritually embodied in the person of the high priest and Fletcher-Louis suggests that at Qumran the head priests of the yahad were considered in their liturgical function to be visible manifestations of the divine glory. They served to represent and mediate the kavod to the community of worshippers, who were thereby incorporated into the angelic hierarchy of glory (Fletcher-Louis, All the Glory of Adam, 356-94; Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 165). In virtue of his vision, “the priest is glorified, that is, he is transfigured into an angelic body and becomes part of the celestial retinue while remaining a leader of the yahad below” (Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge, 200.
seventh hymn of the cycle the number seven stems from the conception of the divine as a corporate body composed of seven potencies.\textsuperscript{247}

From Qumran some very important conceptual parallels may be seen with the *Shepherd of Hermas* with regard to the community’s self-identification with, and construction of, the sevenfold Temple/Body of God as seen in visions.

Firstly, in the Sabbath Songs, as already mentioned above, the process of the transformation of the poet-sage which is based on his visions of the supernal realm, envisioned as a Temple, is collectivized in recounting the descriptions of this visionary experience which illumines the community and allows for their own transformation into the glory of Adam.\textsuperscript{248}

Most importantly the Qumran materials reflect a similar pattern to *Hermas* of vision of the celestial House of God, followed by the recounting of those visions to an audience, and ending with an identification of the audience with this divine reality, although through different means. Additionally both *Hermas* and the Qumranic literature describe this in terms of an identification with the divine building and with the glory of Adam, although *Hermas* relates the body to the latter only implicitly.

A noteworthy difference in the process is that Hermas’ visions are not immediately connected with his own glorification. There is much more of a time lapse in the transformational process which is explainable in the context of the sins of Hermas’ community and the lack of purity of the heart that has prevented the union from beginning to take place. At Qumran, the pure heart refers to the one that both sees and

\textsuperscript{247} Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 204-5

\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
is luminously glorified. The strict practices of purity necessary for entrance into the
community reflect a much different situation than that of Hermas’, in which purification
of the inner and of outward practice is considered as lacking. This is given as the reason
for the delay in the completion of the Tower, and necessarily for the delay in the full
transformation of the earthly community.

That the Temple is understood as the primordial Eden and is linked with the
reward of the righteous at Qumran is a tradition analogous to that of Hermas in which
the House of God is both ancient and eschatological. The Tower, angelomorphically
identified with the people of God, is imaged in botanical terms as people planted by God
(Sim V, 6:1) and as a divine body constituted by the union of Ecclesia-Wisdom and the
Son, which as will be seen further below, constitutes the body of the Glory. Hermas
additionally connects the Tower-Church with the number seven in that the angelic Lady
is linked with six other primordial angels (Vis. III, 1:6, 4:1) and it is said that through
these the Tower will be brought to completion. In both the tradition of Hermas and that
of Qumran, the embodiment and manifestation of the House of God is connected with a
situation of exile which is overcome through a mystical identity of the holy assembly
with the divine Sanctuary.

So too the Qumran community’s incorporation into the Temple being connected
with the glory of Adam is informative for the tradition in Hermas. The juxtaposition of
statements in Vis. II, 2:5, “the Lord has sworn by his Glory,” and in Vis. II, 2:8, “the Lord
has sworn by his Son,” along with the identification of the Son of God with the Glorious
man indicates an equation between the Son of God and the embodied Glory/Kavod, with which the earthly members of the Ecclesia are united.\textsuperscript{249}

This angelomorphic identity that righteous humanity shares with the divine Dwelling, bound up with a regaining of the embodied Glory of the primordial Adam, serves as a restoration of the type of situation as described in \textit{2 Baruch}, in which the primordial supernal House is removed from Adam.

The tradition of the supernal Building, removed from Adam, whose earthly likeness exists in the form of the Tabernacle and its vessels in \textit{2 Baruch} along with Lady Zion rearing her children in the city in \textit{4 Ezra} recalls the traditions of Wisdom noted above in which Wisdom is sent to make her make her dwelling in Israel and she is established in Zion (Sir 24:7-10; cf. 1 En 42:1-3). She dwells in Jerusalem and takes root in an honored people, in the heritage of the Lord (Sir 24:12) and instructs her sons (Prov. 8:32). The myth of primordial Wisdom as reconstructed here is then one which involves her original placement with Adam before losing his glory,\textsuperscript{250} her seeking out and dwelling with her children as the earthly form of the Assembly of God, and their eschatological transformation back into the supernal form of their Mother-Wisdom as the divine Dwelling.\textsuperscript{251} This tradition appears as presupposed in the Q source and is one which is transmitted by Hermas.

\textsuperscript{249} See discussion below. See also Bucur, \textit{Angelomorphic Pneumatology}, 121n.22

\textsuperscript{250} According to Philo Adam is a king taught by Sophia (Philo, Opif. 148. Orlov, \textit{Enoch-Metatron Tradition}, 216n.20). In 2 Enoch Adam’s mother Wisdom is given to him by God (2 En 30:8, 11-12; cf. Wisd 7:22) and he is understood to have possessed Wisdom as his Spirit (See also Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology,” 277.) Cf. Kugel, \textit{Traditions of the Bible}, 111-12.

\textsuperscript{251} This may be expressed in Christian tradition in the language of the earthly Church rearing her children for the Church on High. Notable is the tradition found in the Liber Graduum wherein the earthly Church is
Through a comparison of *Hermas* to other sources involving the Female Sanctuary or Mother Wisdom noted thus far it is evident that the situation of the human *Ecclesia* of God involves the idea of the Wisdom making an earthly dwelling in the House of God and with the people of God, following the loss of the original glory of Adam with whom Wisdom is associated. This is the mythic version of the historical situation of Judah in which the pattern is repeated in the manner of the Female divine presence abandoning the intended Dwelling of God due to human sin and taking residence among the exiled people of God. Accordingly her separation and fate is bound up with that of the people in whom she dwells. Hermas expresses this situation in the form of exile and return.

*Hermas*, in Sim. V, 6:2, mentions the purging of sins of the people by the toil and labor of the Son who shows them the path of life by giving them the Law, represented elsewhere as a Tree, the parts of which are used in the building of the Tower-Church, having produced growth through the actions of those to whom its sticks were given.

The Lady Church is the Wisdom instructing Mother in Vis. III, 9:9-10 who urges her children to proper action that she may give a favorable accounting of them when she stands before the Father. As the representative figure of the earthly Ecclesia, the redemption of the Lady Church is dependent upon the righteousness of her members. These are those who have adhered to the Law of the Son of God and thus their following of the commandments as mediated by the Son facilitates their transformation into the divine Building. This imagery appears to draw upon the Jewish tradition that depicted as a nursing mother bringing forth and rearing children for the heavenly Church on High (Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 143).
adhering to the Torah is what facilitates obtaining Mother Wisdom (Sir 15:1-3) and through doing the will of God one gains the Tree of Life (4 Macc 18:16, cf. Ps 1:1-3).\textsuperscript{252}

The language of transformation in both *Hermas* and Q indicates that the angelomorphism of the righteous corresponds to that of Ecclesia-Wisdom or Wisdom, respectively. The Lady Church appears in three forms to Hermas, as old and seated upon a chair, with a younger face but elderly hair and skin while standing, and youthful and lovely with an elder’s hair seated on a couch (Vis. III, 10:1-5). These three forms of appearance relate directly to the spirit of Hermas and his earthly congregation. As corresponding to the first form of the Lady, their spirit has been aged through worldly concerns, apathy, and sadness. The second is related to an old person who has abandoned hope and looks forward to death, and then suddenly receives the good news of an inheritance, becoming renewed in spirit. The third youthful appearance corresponds to Hermas and his audience having forgotten their former sadness on account of seeing the good things concerning the building of the Tower, becoming completely new. (Vis. III, 11:1-13:4). The transformation of the Lady is in parallel terms to the earthly assembly. The one color of the Tower is as bright as the sun (Sim. IX, 

\textsuperscript{252} The Tower imaged as a Great Tree may have origins going back into the religion of ancient Israel wherein the Ugaritic mother goddess Asherah, the consort of El, whose symbol was a tree or pole, once existed in the Jerusalem Temple. Mark Smith has suggested that perhaps as early as the period of the Judges the incorporation of Asherah into the Hebrew God’s symbolic repertoire allowed for both masculine and feminine imagery to be ascribed to YHWH (Smith, *The Early History of God*, 108-47). In Hosea 14:9, which may be seen as one of the many condemnations of Asherah in the *Tanakh*, it is now YHWH who is described as the tree bearing fruit. The continuation of the impact of Asherah may be seen in the post exilic period where she is assimilated to the feminine Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9 as the “Tree of life.” This same association with Sophia-Wisdom and a Tree can be found in *Sirach* 1:26. Undoubtedly, this trend within Judaism is relevant to what is occurring in *Hermas* in the symbolic linking of the feminine Tower with a ‘Great Tree’. These observations are consistent with the traditions of Wisdom and the Church, imaged as a Tree and as the beloved or partner of God.
17:4). This imagery reflects the notion of a shared angelomorphic identity between Ecclesia-Wisdom and Hermas’ community.

A comparable text which expresses a connection between the transformation of Lady Zion and the human seer is 4 Ezra, which shares other traditional parallels already noted above. In the Jewish core of this text, Ezra sees a woman mourning with ashes on her head who turns out to be the glorious Zion incognito. The seal of her glory has been lost. However, she is transformed into an “upbuilt city” according to the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic readings. Her transfigured face shines brightly and flashes like lightning. In this source again there is the theme of lament and transformation as well as exile and return symbolism. The transformation of Ezra himself, and that of the righteous in general, mirrors that of Zion, the Mother of all. Further, the shining faces of the righteous correspond to traditions concerning Adam’s luminous face.

In addition to traditions which link the fate and transformation of the Female Sanctuary and the righteous, the Jewish Christian sayings source Q provides an example of the exaltation of Wisdom bound up with the people of God. In this source, those humans or “sons of man” who are illuminated by their mother Wisdom (Q 7:35) will embody the eschatological radiance of Wisdom herself. The description of the glorified Son of Man in Q 17:24 as being like lightning from one end of the world to the other recalls that of Wisdom elsewhere who reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the

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253 4 Ezra 10:25
255 4 Ezra 7:97, 125; 10:25; Stone, Fourth Ezra, 327.
256 Stone, Fourth Ezra, 327n.4; cf. 244-245
other (Wisd. 7:29-8:1) or the Shekinah who radiates from one end of the world to the other (3 En 5:3-4). There is then, an implied tradition in Q in which the transformation of the human envoys of God mirrors that of glorified Wisdom herself. In other words it is a metamorphosis of the Female Wisdom embodied in the people of God. As Hermas identifies the Tower-Ecclesia with Wisdom, whose own exaltation is correlated with that of the human community, this tradition evinced in Q appears as one transmitted by him.

In Hermas the righteous are identified with the separated and soon to be restored Ecclesia-Wisdom. The former sins of Hermas and his community have kept them from their true City and their place in the Tower, though their process of restoration and transformation is now at hand. The glorification of the members of the earthly Ecclesia who are envisioned as stones to be joined with this heavenly Tower-Building mirrors that of the Tower’s exaltation itself.

WISDOM AND THE TWO SPIRITS

It appears that Q and Hermas pick up a fusion of traditional elements evident in the sources noted above. The general picture is as follows: the vine associated with the tree of wisdom has been cast down to earth as a result of its association with Adam’s fall and evil desire. It is righteous humanity’s task to grow the tree of wisdom and “justify” it or “make it righteous” as expressed in Q. Wisdom is transformed and glorified through the community of the righteous through their own regaining of the

257 In later Zoharic tradition Adam is understood as having driven out the Tree of Knowledge from the Garden and as having separated the Female aspect from the male, the Tree of Life.
primordial glory once held by Adam. Their own restoration and transformation constitutes the changing of the vine that is planted by them, and in them. The evil desire associated with the evil spirit placed in the heart must be expelled in order for the root to grow, for the Spirit to make its dwelling. Simultaneously this is understood to be the removal of the association of the evil desire from the tree of wisdom. This is the desire that has been fused with it due to the primordial actions of Satanael/Azazel and/or Adam and Eve in Jewish tradition.

Accordingly, this myth appears directly related to the tradition of the Two Spirits or the Two Ways in apocalyptic thinking. The cosmic forces of evil play a role in this picture and the situation is depicted in terms of an inner struggle between two spirits, one associated with the evil angel responsible for the corruption of humanity and/or the Tree of Knowledge or Wisdom, and the other, associated with the restoration of Wisdom and the gift of God that has come through the situation of Israel’s exile.

The Qumran community, for instance, conceived of themselves as “the holy ones” who lived in the “house of holiness” because “the Holy Spirit” dwelt with them and no longer resided in or hovered over the corrupt Temple. The Community rule relates that there are two spirits living within all humanity. God will “refine for himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of injustice.” God will use the spirit of Truth to

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258 In the Apocalypse of Abraham, Azazel’s abode is the tree from which Adam and Eve eat (Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 86).

cleanse and purify. The spirit of truth is identified with Wisdom and Knowledge of the Most High. Those chosen will regain all the Glory of Adam.²⁶⁰

In the Apocalypse of Abraham, the seducer of Adam and Eve is identified as Azazel. This figure exercises joint authority over the world with God, who has given Azazel authority over the wicked.²⁶¹ Here also humanity is divided into two parts, identified as the lot of God and the lot of Azazel.²⁶² The conflict between the two spirits takes place in the person of Abraham.²⁶³ This type of dualism has been observed to be reflected at Qumran in the doctrine of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13-4:26), the Prince of Lights and the Prince of Darkness, fighting in the heart.²⁶⁴

The presence of the Two Ways tradition in Hermas appears to be reflective of this type of worldview bound up with the myth described above but deriving ultimately out of the Jerusalem tradition. In the letter of James, Wisdom is something given by God as a gift to those who ask in faith without doubting (James 1:5-6). Wisdom is described here in the same way as the Holy Spirit in Q 11:9-13. In the Jerusalem tradition, the Holy Spirit is feminine Wisdom who is the Mother. The Wisdom that comes down from above is meek and shows itself through a good life. It is pure and gentle and full of good fruits without uncertainty or insincerity. This Wisdom is associated with the harvest of righteousness that is sown in peace by those who make peace (James 3:17-18). This is similar imagery to what is found in the Wisdom of Ben Sira or the Wisdom of Solomon

²⁶⁰ 1QS Col. IV, 20ff.
²⁶² Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 75.
²⁶³ Ibid., 76, cf. 70.
²⁶⁴ Ibid., 76-77.
where Wisdom is a gift by God that grows within a person like a plant or a Tree. The earthly and unspiritual wisdom that is of the devil is characterized by bitter jealousy, selfish ambition, boasting, and falsehood (James 3:14-16). This type of wisdom can also grow within a person. Temptation for James is caused through being enticed by one’s own selfish desire that grows into sin and ultimately leads to death (James 1:14-15).

The statement included in the sending out of the seventy in the Q source in Matthew’s version (Matt 10:16) implies an internal separation of the corruption associated with the serpent in the Garden from the divine Wisdom. This separation appears to be extended outward into two lots of humanity (Q 12:51) as mentioned above. The Gospel of Thomas in this context uses language reminiscent of an evil vine in relation to the wicked (GosThom 57; 40). Further, Q 9:23-24 advocates a willful annihilation of the self for the purpose of preserving one’s life. The implication is one of the death of selfish desire and grasping attachment for life associated with Adam’s sin and the nature of the corrupting spirit which allows for the immortality that comes through the divine Wisdom Spirit as the new self. Hermas in Similitude IX, 22 identifies loftiness of mind, self-will, vanity, self-exaltation, and an arrogant desire for too much knowledge with false wisdom (sunesis) and a ‘great demon.’ This is

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265 A similar notion appears in the Ascents of James, which speaks of the place of sacrifice as being God’s Wisdom (Recognitions 1.37.1-2, Latin text; Robert E. Van Voorst, The Ascents of James: History and Theology of a Jewish-Christian Community (SBL Dissertation Series 112; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989, 53) and the purification of the Wisdom of God that comes through baptism (Recognitions 1.39.1-2, Latin text; Van Voorst, Ascents of James, 55). Jesus has come as a physician to heal evil desire (Recognitions 1.64.3, Syriac text; Van Voorst, Ascents of James, 68) and it is the Wisdom of God that preserves from error (Recognitions 1.40.3, Syriac text; Van Voorst, Ascents of James, 56). The idea may be that one offers an internal sacrifice of self-desire and self-will and receives a new or purified self in the form of the Spirit of Wisdom.
reminiscent of Adam’s desire for the tree of knowledge for the purpose of self-glorification that comes through demonic influence. Those of this type are rejected from the Tower while those who repent will live. Repentance is elsewhere identified as a ‘great wisdom’ (sunesis) (Man IV, 2:2). The female Ecclesia is linked with the true Wisdom (Sophia) (Vis I, 3:4) who instructs as Mother (Vis. III, 9:9-10).

In *James*, *Q*, and *Hermas*, it is the keeping of the commandments that subdues desire and temptation associated with the sin of Adam (*Q* 4:1-12; James 1:14-15; Sim X, 1:3; Man XII, 2:5, cf. Sim VIII, 3:2-8; Q 4:1-12). The commandments are identified with the divine Wisdom that is given by God and which functions to subdue the corrupting wisdom associated with Satan and with human desire. The Two Ways then are identified in the Jerusalem tradition and *Hermas* on the one hand with a divine Wisdom linked with the Spirit, adherence to the commandments, and a growing transformation of that Wisdom and the individual, and, on the other hand, a corrupted and corrupting wisdom associated with the sin of Adam as human desire and temptation along with Satanic influence. It is the divine Wisdom in the form of the Spirit which the Son possesses that functions to overcome and/or purify the Wisdom that has been corrupted in that it is the means which provides victory over desire and leads to an angelomorphic transformation and a regaining of the glory of Adam.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ This tradition appears as an earlier version of a similar tradition outlined in Paul, in which Sin, the functional equivalent of the evil spirit, is overcome through the Spirit of the Son, with whom Paul identifies Wisdom and the Power of God (cf. George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 81-82. A major difference is the feminine nature of Wisdom in the Jerusalem tradition along with the stance, contra Paul, that the Wisdom provided by God, specifically the Wisdom prior to the exaltation and unleashing of the Spirit from the Pauline perspective, is able to overcome the evil inclination and facilitate the regaining of the glory of Adam.
Texts such as the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* evince a tradition in ancient Judaism of Wisdom being identified with Torah which allows for ethical admonitions to be expounded without explicit reference to particular written commandments of the Torah. In texts such as 1QS and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, ethical instruction is represented through “abstract vices and virtues, which are themselves functions of the good and evil spirits.” Jewish apocalyptic provides a context for Hermas’ understanding of the law of God as Wisdom in continuity with Torah as revelatory knowledge. Ethical instruction as presented in 1 Enoch, for instance, does not appeal to the explicit written commandments of the Mosaic Torah, but bases its authority on Enoch’s heavenly ascent and visions and, like *Hermas*, utilizes the imagery of the two ways.

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268 Ibid., 41.
269 Ibid., 41-42.
IV. THE TOWER AND THE BODY OF GLORY

The Tower and the Embodied Glory

Hermas understands the ancient Lady Church and the angelic Glorious Man as two angelic entities who are united in the building of the Tower. The Tower is the body of the Lady Church, comprised of the members of the earthly Ecclesia, and it is the Glorious man who is ‘Lord of the Tower.’ This Glorious Man is identified as the Son of God (Sim. IX, 12:8). Elsewhere the authoritative entity is identified as the highest, most distinguished and glorious angel (Vis 5:2; Man V, 1:7; Sim VII, 1). In Similitude VII, 5 the glorious angel is explicitly called the ‘angel of the Lord.’ In Similitude VIII, 3:3 this figure is identified with Michael.

Hermas is presenting a picture in which the earthly righteous share an angelomorphetic identity with both a masculine and feminine angel whose union they facilitate. This chapter will explore some parallel traditions in which the union of a principal male and female angel is associated with the human form of the divine glory and a regaining by the earthly community of the glory of Adam. It will be argued that, while sharing notable contacts with Jewish mystical traditions, Hermas’ tradition seems

270 As Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 308, has importantly noted, the unity of the Rock and the Tower in Sim. IX, 13:5 is “another version of the unity of the Man and the Woman” in that the Tower is Female and the Rock is elsewhere explicitly identified with the Son of God, the foundation of the Tower-Church (Sim IX, 12:1-5). That Hermas uses the symbol of the Tower in reference to both male and female divinities is paralleled in the Tanakh (Mic 4:8; Ps 61:3; Prov 18:10).

271 Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 308.

272 The interchange between ‘glorious man’ and ‘glorious angel’ may be seen in light of an identification with Michael, the highest angel who appears as the ‘one like a son of man’ in Daniel. Cf. Collins, Daniel, 310, 318-319. See also Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 121-27.
directly dependent upon the Q source’s understanding of the body of Glory being constituted by the union of the Son of God and Wisdom. We will then turn to an examination of Hermas’ description of the means through which this angelomorphic identity and union of masculine and feminine is achieved.

Traditionally the Angel of the Lord carries the divine Name is often indistinguishable from God himself.  

The highest angel may be understood to be the anthropomorphic representation of the invisible God, the embodied Glory who mediates the Kavod or the Spirit of God itself, and is sometimes represented as the Son of God. In the Hebrew Bible it is the “angel of the LORD” who guides the children of Israel in the wilderness and who possesses the divine Name (Exod 23:20-21). In Hermas it is the Name which is the foundation of the divine Tower and it is borne in the heart of the elect (Sim IX, 14:5-6). This Name is identified as either “the Name of God” (Sim. IX, 13:7) or the “Name of the Son of God” (Sim. IX, 16:3). The firstborn Son possesses and mediates to the people of God the Spirit of God (Sim. IX, 24:4) and the Son is

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273 Exod. 23:21
274 The angel Israel in the Prayer of Joseph is described in terms corresponding to Michael in Daniel 12 and the Son of God in Colossians (See J.Z. Smith, “The Prayer of Joseph,” in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume Two (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 699-714; Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma Traditions in Jewish and Hellenistic Sources,” in The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament (Boston: Brill, 2009), 560-62. The Youth in the Shi’ur Qomah is sometimes identified as the Son of God (Murray-Jones, “Shiur Koma and the Angelic Youth,” 524-25). Joseph in Joseph and Aseneth is described in terms that parallel the archangel of chapter 14ff and is identified as the Son of God and “God’s firstborn Son” (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 166). It is possible that 4Q246 provides an early witness to an identification between the heavenly figure of Daniel, corresponding to Michael, and the title Son of God (See John J. Collins and Adela Yarbro Collins, King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 64-75; García Martínez, “The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246,” in idem, Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 178. See also Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 126-27. Melchizedek may also have been traditionally linked with a preexistent Son of God (Collins, King and Messiah, 84; Kugel, The Traditions of the Bible, 280-81). The Danielic Son of Man, ‘the one resembling a man flying with the clouds of heaven’ of 4 Ezra 13 is identified with “my [God’s] son the messiah” in 4 Ezra 7:28-29. Cf. the comments of Collins, King and Messiah, 96-7.
understood to be the embodied Glory of God (Vis. II, 2:5, 8), or the Spirit as embodied
divine power (Sim. IX, 13:3).\textsuperscript{275}

Morray-Jones has argued that the pre-rabbinic form of the tradition later
associated with the Body of the Glory in the Shi’ur Qomah material of the Hekhalot
literature “is the source of teachings encountered in Gnostic and Jewish sectarian
sources going back to the first century C.E.”\textsuperscript{276} This early form posited two enthroned
figures, one being the Kavod and the other being the angelic Youth or Servant-Messiah,
who shared the divine Glory and the Name. The Youth “was identified with the male
Beloved of the Song of Songs, whose ‘Bride’ was the Community of Israel.”\textsuperscript{277} In Hermas,
the juxtaposition of statements in Vis. II, 2:5, “the Lord has sworn by his Glory,” and in
Vis. II, 2:8, “the Lord has sworn by his Son,” along with the identification of the Son of
God with the Glorious man indicate an equation between the Son of God and the
embodied Glory/Kavod.\textsuperscript{278} This figure is distinct, however, from the Creator.\textsuperscript{279} His union
in the Tower is with the bride Ecclesia-Wisdom, who is made up of the earthly
community of the righteous. These elements are consistent with the pre-rabbinic Jewish
model noted by Morray-Jones.

\textsuperscript{275} Bucur, \textit{Angelomorphic Pneumatology}, 121 n.22; 126. The Ascension of Isaiah (9:36; 11:4) shares
Hermas’ identification of the angel of the Holy Spirit with the Angel of the Lord, as noted by Bucur, “The
Son of God and the Angelomorphic Holy Spirit: A Rereading of The Shepherd’s Christology”,
http://www.marquette.edu/magom/bogdan2.pdf, 123.

\textsuperscript{276} Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, “The Epistle to the Ephesians,” in \textit{The Mystery of God: Early Jewish

\textsuperscript{277} Ibid., 609.

\textsuperscript{278} See also Bucur, \textit{Angelomorphic Pneumatology}, 121n.22

\textsuperscript{279} God is depicted as creator in Vis. I, 1:6, 3:4; Man. I, 1, Sim. V, 5:2; 6:2. Cf. the descriptions of the angelic
Youth in Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma and the Angelic Youth,” 518ff, who embodies and mediates the Glory
but is distinct from the enthroned Creator-Kavod, and is identified as the Son of God.
This early version of the Shi’ur Qomah tradition is preserved in Christian sources, especially in Ephesians wherein Christ along with the female Church and its individual members become the Body of the Glory.\textsuperscript{280} In the tradition of the Valentinian Gnostic Markos the masculine Logos is paired with a female angel who embodies the primordial Name, identified as both Truth and Ecclesia.\textsuperscript{281} The system of Markos understands Ecclesia to “embody the totality of the Creative Word” and this figure corresponds to the female hayya called Israel evinced in a Hekhalot fragment.\textsuperscript{282} In this Hekhalot text cited by Morray-Jones, a principal male angel and a female angel named Israel lead the heavenly liturgy.\textsuperscript{283} The enthroned principal angel mentioned in the pre-Christian tradition of the Magharians is identified with the appearance of Adam, with the angel who bears the divine Name of Exod 23:20-21, and with the male Beloved of the Song of Songs.\textsuperscript{284}

The Jewish Christian Elchasaites relate a tradition of a twofold angel, the male Son of God and Female Holy Spirit who are both ninety-six miles high.\textsuperscript{285} Morray-Jones notes that the Son of God angel whose female consort is the Holy Spirit in the teaching


\textsuperscript{281} Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma Traditions in Jewish and Hellenistic Sources,” 569-574. Irenaeus mentions a Valentinian tradition of the syzygy Anthropos-Ecclesia, directly related to the tradition of the Church as the Bride of Christ (On these traditions see Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 301-11.) Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. IV, 10, 3) himself writes of the Word who is the Son and was always with the Father along with Wisdom, the Holy Spirit, who was with the Father before Creation. Accordingly he says that God always has at his side his Word and Wisdom, the Son and Spirit.

\textsuperscript{282} Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma Traditions in Jewish and Hellenistic Sources,” 572, cf. 567-68; Schäfer, Synopse §296.

\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 567-68.

\textsuperscript{284} Ibid., 576-78.

of the Jewish-Christian Elchasai also reflects “a common Jewish background, in which an early form of the shiur koma was associated with allegorical exegesis of the Song of Songs.”

The ancient basis for a tradition of two angelic beings, one male and one female, whose union is linked with the earthly Assembly, may be found in the figures of the two cherubim of the First Temple. The Talmudic tradition attributed to R. Qatina regards the nature of the cherubim as masculine and feminine (B. Yoma 54a; Baba Batra 99a).

The cherubim (keruvim) are identified early in tradition with both the hayyot of Ezekiel and the seraphim of Isa 6:2 (who have six wings). The comment by Origen which he attributes to his Jewish teacher that the two six winged seraphim spoken of by Isaiah were the only begotten Son and the Holy Spirit (On First Principles 1:3) may then be seen in light of the male and female cherubim.

As Elior notes, the descriptions of the cherubim “usually imply a posture characterized by reciprocity or contact: ‘They faced each other,’ or also ‘their wings touched each other’ or were even joined together [2 Chron. 3:12].” The language used implies sexual union. The merger of the intertwined male and female cherubim is

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287 Wolfson, “Image of Jacob,” 43.
288 Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 310-11, 315. Ezek 10:14-15 identifies the hayyot with the keruvim (cf. Sir 49:8 and 1 En 14:18). Just as the wings of the hayyot are joined in Ezek 1:9, so are the wings of the keruvim joined above the ark in 2 Chr 3:12. In 4Q403, “the fact that the keruvim are associated with ofanim (wheels) identifies them clearly as Ezekiel’s hayyot” (Morray-Jones, “Temple Within,” 315).
289 Origen (De Principiis I, iii, 8) understands the “two living beings” in the Psalm of Habakkuk as the Son and the Holy Spirit.
290 Rachel Elior, The Three Temple: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism (Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 67. Elior notes, “In biblical tradition, the phrase ‘to spread wing(s)’ is used both of the cherubim and of the shelter given to a woman by a man, as when Ruth addresses Boaz: ‘Spread your robe [Heb. Kenafkha, lit. ‘your wing’] over your handmaid’-an idiom based on the semantic
related in Jewish tradition to that of God and his Beloved, both in the supernal world
and between earth and heaven, with the act of ritual immersion as an act of preparation
of the bride for the wedding. 291 The Holy of Holies is “the place of the intertwined,
‘betrothed’ cherubim, likened to male and female.” 292 Rabbi Akiva is the figure who
establishes the link between the covenant at Sinai as a holy union between God and

range of the Hebrew word kanaf, ‘wing’ which also means, by extension, ‘extremity, corner,’ especially of
a piece of clothing (and also of the earth). Sometimes kanaf is used synecdochically to denote an entire
garment, as in the idiom ‘to expose, remove another person’s kanaf,’ which is associated with uncovering
another person’s genitals and hence with the sexual act, permitted or otherwise.”

291 “While these traditions only alluded to this aspect of the cherubim and refrained from explaining the
secret meaning of the touching wings—the various verbs used, both in the Bible and elsewhere, imply
varying degrees of proximity and contact-later tradition was more explicit, clearly indicating the identity
of the cherubim as a mythical symbolization of reproduction and fertility, expressed in the form of the
intertwined male and female:

Whenever Israel came on pilgrimage on festivals [to the Temple in Jerusalem], the curtain would
be removed for them and the cherubim were shown to them, whose bodies were intertwined
with one another, and they would be thus addressed: Look! You are beloved before God as the
love between man and woman [BT Yoma 54a]” (Elior, Three Temples, 67).

Elior notes Rashi’s interpretation here is “The cherubim are united one with the other, and cleaving to
each other and intertwining one with the other as a male hugs a female. Intertwining is a language of
conjugal union.” She further notes that “the root d-b-k or d-v-k, signifying ‘conjugal union’ (Gen. 2:25), is
associated with the cherubim in the sanctuary in 4Q405, frg. 19,2-7 (DJD XI, 339, 341), where they are
called ‘figures of godlike beings’ or ‘images of living godlike beings.’”

She suggests that the pilgrimage festival referred to in the passage is Shavuot, “the Covenant
festival described in later mystical tradition as celebrating betrothal, on earth and in heaven, or hieros
gamos, the sacred union” (ibid., 68). She notes further that “There is some similarity in the Zohar between
Shavuot and the Day of Atonement. On the latter, as on Shavuot, the Deity is coupled with the Shekinah,
and the ritual immersion practiced on the eve of the Day of Atonement has the same motive as on
Shavuot, which as it were prepares the ‘bride’ for the wedding (Zohar III, 214b)” (ibid, 68n.39). “Various
traditions, both early and late, link Shavuot, the festival of the Covenant and the Temple, with the
perception of the Covenant between heaven and earth as a pact or oath of betrothal, marriage, and
sacred conjugality in the supernal worlds” (ibid, 157, 160-61). “Moreover, the grammatical relationship
between the Hebrew words for the Holy of Holies-kodesh hakodashim-and for betrothal-kidushin-
suggests an ancient common ground of heavenly and earthly union” (ibid, 158).

292 ibid., 159. “The terrestrial Holy of Holies is a representation of the Garden of Eden or Paradise—that is
to say, of the Pardes...and the location of the Chariot Throne of the cherubim, which represents the world
of the heavenly Merkavah” (Ibid., 245). Pardes is the mystical Holy of Holies (Ibid., 159, cf. 245-49ff).
Elior notes that “the equivalence of the Garden of Eden and the Temple may already be found in Jubilees: ‘And
he knew that the Garden of Eden was the Holy of Holies and the dwelling of the Lord.’ [Jub 8:19]” (Ibid,
248).
Israel, the Song of Songs, and the Holy of Holies. The angels of the cherubim are then representative of the union between the earthly assembly and the divine.

Important for the discussion as it relates to Hermas is the antique tradition stemming out of the First Temple of two angelic beings, one male and one female, whose union (as one body) is connected with the earthly assembly’s union with God. Comparably, in Hermas, the union of the female Ecclesia-Wisdom and the male Son of God as one body in the Tower is in parallel to that of the earthly assembly’s union with the divine. So too baptism, as will be seen further below, is the ritual act which prepares the individual for this sacred union.

Additionally, in later Jewish mysticism, the practice of the commandments functions as an ethical praxis for uniting the two cherubim as they relate to the divine Name and the Glory. In Hermas, comparably, it is adherence to the commandments of God (as mediated by the Son) which allows members of the earthly Ecclesia to participate in the Tower and thus facilitate the union of the two principal angels, the female Ecclesia-Wisdom and the masculine Son of God.

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293 Ibid., 158.
294 The entire Torah is dependent upon the glorious Name, citing Deut. 28:58—“If you fail to observe faithfully all the terms of this teaching (torah) that are written in this book, to reverence this honored and awesome Name, the Lord your God” (Wolfson, “Image of Jacob,” 46). According to Ashkenazi tradition, “it follows that within the glory itself the two cherubim or names are unified, and the unity of the latter comprises the 613 commandments, or the entire Torah” (ibid, 47). The name ‘God of Israel’ has the numerical value of 613. God is not called by this name together with Israel except when they fulfill the 613 commandments (ibid.). Adhering to Torah here then unites the glory with the God of Israel. In the language of Eleazar, when the glory is full or augmented, it “comprises the two names, YHWH and Adonai, that correspond to the cherubim” (ibid.). “The unity of the names within the glory-symbolized by the title “Lord, God of Israel”—is dependent upon the actions of Israel below.” Performing the commandments unites the two divine names corresponding to the two cherubim (ibid,48).
The cherubim become associated with the appearance of the Glory, which is revealed through them. Their union is associated with the image of Jacob, which serves as a symbol for the human form of the Glory. David Halperin has noted an ancient targum to Ezekiel 1:26 that interprets the reference to the “semblance of a human form” upon the throne in terms of Jacob’s image. Jacob functions as an Adamic figure, replacing Adam as the ideal Israel, and the image of Jacob, as it is understood to comprise the two cherubim, is represented as androgynous, with a male and female aspect.

Notable as these traditions relate to Hermas is the observation that the appearance of the Glory is based upon the union of the male and female angels, as represented in the earthly Temple or dwelling of God, and this androgynous image is correlated with the regaining of the glory of Adam. Importantly for Hermas the

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295 Eleazar cites Midrash Tadshe in that the two cherubim correspond to YHWH Elohim, the unity of the divine Name. He notes the word keruvim has the numerical value of mar’eh kavod (‘appearance of the glory’). The source of this numerology is in the writings of Judah the Pious and the implication is that the glory is revealed through the cherubim (Ibid, 44.)
298 “However, it is possible that even in this passage the face of Jacob symbolizes the heavenly or ideal Adamic figure without any connection to the feminization of the ecclesia of Israel (Wolfson, “Image of Jacob,” 26; cf. 18-19).”
299 In a passage from Hekhalot Rabbati, the glory embraces, fondles, and kisses the visage of Jacob engraved on the throne (Cf. Wolfson, “Image of Jacob,” 13, 25). Wolfson comments that in this text “the image of Jacob, or more precisely the visage (qelaster panav) of Jacob is described vis-à-vis the divine king who sits upon the throne in terms befitting a feminine persona” (Ibid, 26). Wolfson notes, “The image of Jacob engraved on the throne is utilized by Eleazar as a symbol for the union of the two divine names or attributes, both of which are correlated with the cherubim. In other words, according to Eleazar, the image of Jacob is the cherub that comprises two cherubim (ibid, 50). In the esoteric teaching of Eleazar, “the image of Jacob has a masculine and a feminine aspect” (ibid, 51). As noted by Wolfson, “the androgynous quality of that image is expressed in terms of the two cherubim and the split throne (ibid, 51).
300 For Hermas, the ultimate form of the angel of the Lord, Michael who is the ‘Lord of the Tower,’ appears as the androgynous embodied Glory, the merging of the Son with Ecclesia-Wisdom, the Rock and
cosmic union of the Son of God and Ecclesia-Wisdom occurs within the Tower, a designation of which is the divine House. Further, as noted above, the union of these male and female entities is representative of the wedding of the earthly assembly and the divine and the union of the divine Name, which is facilitated by baptism and adherence to the commandments of God.

Elsewhere the angel of the Lord is represented in terms of a unification of male and female. In Jewish mystical Hekhalot tradition, for instance, the heavenly image of Jacob, which serves to represent the supernal counterpart of the earthly assembly of Israel, is represented in both masculine and feminine imagery. The heavenly Jacob personifies the principal angel of the Lord as well as the Bride. The angelic Youth, or Prince of the Presence, the heavenly Messiah enthroned alongside God, is also represented in terms of both God’s Beloved and the Beloved of the bride Israel of the Song of Songs. Hermas’ representation of Ecclesia-Wisdom and the Son as two entities and as ultimately one in the union of the Tower may be seen in light of these traditions. In the examples of the angelic Youth-Metatron and the heavenly Jacob, both are represented in Jewish tradition as the angel of the Lord, the mediating bodily form of the Glory, enthroned alongside God, and are each described in terms of the masculine Son of God and the female Bride. The designation as bride indicates a shared angelomorphic identity between the community of Israel and their heavenly counterpart Jacob-Israel just as Hermas’ community shares an angelomorphic identity

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302 Ibid. 527-43.
with the female Ecclesia and the Son of God, whom he also implicitly identifies as the angel of the Lord.

TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SON AS THE GLORY OF ADAM

The angelomorphic identity that the earthly community of the righteous may share with the principal angel who is the embodied divine Glory is dependent upon Adam's primordial form corresponding to the body of Glory and Israel's designation as the firstborn Son of God. The Youth figure from Jewish mystical tradition is commonly identified with Metatron and is also represented as the Son of God. In the Shi’ur Qomah the Youth "participates in and mediates the Glory of the Holy One." The figure of the Youth possesses attributes often shared with Michael, whom Hermas implicitly identifies as ‘Lord of the Tower,’ and appears to originally have been the Prince of Israel or the heavenly Messiah. Accordingly, “he was almost certainly identified with the occupant of the second throne in Dan 7:9-14, i.e., the relatively

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303 The angel Israel in the Prayer of Joseph is described in terms corresponding to Michael in Daniel 12 and the Son of God in Colossians (See J.Z. Smith, “Prayer of Joseph”; Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma Traditions in Jewish and Hellenistic Sources,” 560-62). The Youth in the Shi’ur Qomah is identified as the Son of God (Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma and the Angelic Youth,” 524-25). Joseph in Joseph and Aseneth is described in terms that parallel the archangel of chapter 14ff and is identified as the Son of God and “God’s firstborn Son” (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 166).


305 Ibid., 535.
youthful ‘Son of Man’ who appears before the ‘One Aged in Days.’” The Danielic Son of Man figure will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Gershom Scholem has distinguished two traditions concerning Metatron, one in which Metatron is a primordial angel and another in which Metatron is understood to be the transfigured Enoch. Traditions concerning Yahoel or Michael seem to have played a formative role in the development of the former and Metatron is sometimes identified with Michael. In 3 Enoch Metatron embodies three originally separate figures—Enoch, Yahoel/Lesser YHWH, and Michael/Metatron.

Orlov notes that “Adamic imagery played a formative role in the shaping of the Metatron tradition.” Scholars have observed that the traditions of the patriarch Enoch’s transformation into the cosmic body of the angel Metatron appear to represent a regaining of the gigantic and luminous divine body and status accorded to Adam before his fall. Enoch’s transformation into Metatron is one in which Enoch regains the glory once held by Adam and so the glorious cosmic angelic body of Metatron equals that of Adam’s primordial body, both of which are modeled on “the divine anthropomorphic extent.”

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306 Ibid., 536. An early precedent for the identification of the Danielic Son of Man with the title Son of God may be found in 4Q246. See Collins, King and Messiah as Son of God, 64-75.
309 Orlov, Enoch-Metatron Tradition, 239.
310 Ibid., 248ff. In Samaritan tradition, Moses through his vision of the image of God is bestowed with the luminous form which Adam had in the Garden (DeConick, Recovering, 206).
The divine archetype of Adam corresponds to the body of God, the Kavod, and the Son. Philo attests to a tradition that the first humans possessed gigantic bodies (QG 1:32). The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4-6 describes Adam as “very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under the tree of Eden.”

2 *Enoch 30* identifies Adam as the great and glorious “second angel,” a description which corresponds to the figure of the Angel of the Lord who may also be understood as enthroned. In the *Testament of Abraham* Adam is represented as seated on a throne at the entrance to paradise and his appearance is the resemblance of divine glory.

Adam’s name is connected with the cosmic proportions of his body, corresponding to the four directions or corners of the world. Rabbinic tradition relates Adam was created “extending from one end of the world to the other” (Gen. R. 8:1, citing Deut 4:32 “Since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from one end of heaven unto the other” as a proof), filling the whole world; “extending over the whole world” (Gen. R. 21:3); “from one end of the universe to the other” (Lev. R. 14:1); “from the earth to the firmament.”

Adam’s spirit is created from the Lord’s spirit and from wind (2 En 30:8). He is the king of the earth, viceroy of God, appointed over everything, with everything

312 Fossum, “Jewish-Christian Christology,” 269
314 Ibid., 237
315 Ibid., 238-39
316 Ibid., 238.
317 Ibid., 240ff.
318 See sources compiled in Ibid., 242ff. See also Gnostic examples in Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology,” 266ff.
subjected to him by God (Gen 1:26-30; 2 En 30:12; 58:3).\textsuperscript{319} Traditions associating Adam with Wisdom have been noted previously. From these sources an early traditional picture emerges of Adam corresponding in his original glory and size to the figure of the angel of the Lord and associated with primordial Wisdom, which he possesses as his Spirit.

The Jewish Christian sayings source Q, in 17:24, in its description of the Son of Man being as lightning flashing and lighting up the sky “from one end under heaven to the other” depicts this restoration of Adam’s former glory and size, the regaining of the cosmic body which is at the same time the full radiance of Wisdom herself whom her children have justified. Their earthly function as mediators of divine knowledge and their eschatological role of mediators of divine judgment corresponds to that of the highest angel Metatron as heavenly mediator of knowledge and judgment.\textsuperscript{320} Important here for the discussion as it relates to \textit{Hermas} is that in Q the cosmic body into which the Son of Man will be transformed is linked with the transformation of Wisdom as embodied in the people of God. It is also implicitly linked in traditional language with the glory of Adam and with the Son of God.

\textsuperscript{319} Orlov, \textit{Enoch-Metatron Tradition}, 215.
\textsuperscript{320} Ibid., 104-12; 184-87
Hermas understands the Body of the Glory to be comprised of a unity between a transformed Ecclesia-Wisdom, made up of the people of God, and the Son of God, with whom those built into the Tower also share an identity. The direct precedent of the tradition Hermas is transmitting appears to be the Jewish Christian tradition, evinced in Q, in which the body of Glory is described as a union between Son and Wisdom which is facilitated by the earthly righteous.

The Son of God in Q is a designation used of Jesus as the one who conquers sin through his resisting temptation in the wilderness (Q 4:1-12) but is also a collective designation referring to mediators of divine knowledge or Wisdom, and the only entity though whom the Father is known (Q 10:21-24). Scholars have noted that the exclusive mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son recalls the relationship described elsewhere between God and Wisdom: “God knows Wisdom (Job 28:1-27; Sir 1:6, 8; Bar 3:15-32), and only Wisdom knows God Prov 8:12; Wisd 7:25ff.; 8:3f., 8f.; 9:4, 9, 11), and Wisdom is the one who reveals God to other men (Wisd 7:21; 9:17; Sir 4:18).”321 Read in this fashion, the Son of God in Q embodies Wisdom. Dale Allison has argued that the “claim to be the exclusive revealer of divine knowledge is best read, despite the scant

321 Christopher Tuckett, Q and the History of Early Christianity (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 278.
verbal links, against the backdrop of Exod 33:11-23 and the related traditions about Moses as the unique mediator of divine revelation (esp. Num 12:6-8 and Deut 34:40).

Q 10:22, in its designation of the Son, then, connects the Son with Wisdom, and the Son of God is a shared identity in that the followers as well as Jesus are the mediators of divine knowledge. This knowledge implies Wisdom as Torah, which they receive and possess from God. The Son then is the designation that applies to the possessors of the Law, an image which is also transmitted by Hermas (Sim VIII, 1:2-4). As Moses is understood in tradition to have regained the glory of Adam, so does the Son of God in Q, especially when read also as an allusion to Psalm 8 and Daniel 7.

In Q 10:16, 21-24 the Son of God is described in language which recalls the status bestowed upon the ‘one like a son of man’ figure from Dan. 7:14 (Q 10:22a; cf. Wisd. 2:13; 3:8.) and “the son of man” from Psalm 8:4-6, recalling Adam’s former glory. The earlier son of man saying in Q 9:58: “Foxes have holes, birds of the air have nests, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head and rest,” may also be viewed as a comment on Psalm 8:4-8, but from the point of view of a present situation in which the son of man has lost his created status. Reading then the situation of the son of man in Q 9:58 alongside what is said of Jesus as the Son in Q 10:22a, a picture emerges of a state of humanity inconsistent with Psalm 8:6 which is resolved through an identification of

322 Allison, The Intertextual Jesus, 43-49.
323 As stated in the Exagoge of Ezekiel, Moses says “I beheld the entire circled earth, both beneath the earth and above the heaven; and a host of stars fell at my feet, and I numbered them all” and Moses sees all “things present, past, and future.” The worship of Moses by the stars as angels recalls the worship of Adam by the angels and indicates implicitly that Moses has regained this glory.
324 It is possible and even probable that 4Q246 contains an early interpretation of Daniel’s ‘one like a son of man’ which identifies this figure as the Son of God. See arguments cited in Collins, King and Messiah as Son of God, 65-74.
the son of man with the Son of God, a transformation of humanity into an
angelomorphic status, implicitly connected with the glory of Adam. If Matt 4:11 forms
part of the Q temptation account, then this verse implies that Jesus has already
regained the glory of Adam. In Q 12:27-28 Jesus tells his followers that they too will be
clothed in the garments of glory once possessed by Adam. The description of the
eschatologically transformed Son of Man in Q 17:24 supports this interpretation in that
the language “from one end under heaven to the other” parallels the traditional
language used of Adam’s primordial luminous body, as noted above. So too the
language recalls descriptions of Wisdom’s radiance (Wisd. 7:29-8:1) which is appropriate
given that the Son of God embodies Wisdom. Wisdom and the Son are understood to be
eschatologically united in the transformation of the people of God, with whom they
share an identity, just as in Hermas Ecclesia-Wisdom and the Son are to be joined in the
completion of the Tower. In both of these sources, as will be seen further in the
discussion below, the union of the Son and Wisdom occurs within the bodies of the
righteous.

Hermas implicitly identifies the Son of God with Michael (Sim VIII),
corresponding to the angelic figure of the traditions surveyed above who occupies a
second throne next to God and who is associated with the embodied divine image. As in
Q 22:28-30, Hermas understands the righteous to be enthroned in the traditional
position of Wisdom and the Son of God. In Hermas, the exaltation of his community to

325 Cf. Zohar 2:105a: “The Blessed Holy One has one son who shines from one end of the world to the
other. He is a great and mighty tree, whose head reaches toward heaven and whose roots are rooted in
the holy ground.” Translation from Daniel Matt, Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment (Mahwah: Paulist
the place alongside God corresponds to that of both Wisdom and the Son. Those who endure suffering will collectively experience the inheritance of the Son, being seated at the right hand of God. Martyrs, those approved by God, and those who have suffered for the sake of the Name have a special place of honor at the right hand of holiness (Vis. III, 1:9-2:1). Hermas is told by the Lady Church to continue in his simplicity and that he too will share this exalted position along with all who act accordingly and endure suffering. Hermas’ offspring will dwell with the Son of God, having a portion of his Spirit (Sim. IX, 24:4). Since the preexistent Holy Spirit dwells in the flesh according to Similitude V, 6:5, the pre-existent model of this incarnation is the bodily form of the Spirit-Kavod, identical with the Son as the embodied Glory (Vis. II, 2:5, 8) and manifested in the form of Ecclesia-Wisdom (Sim. IX, 1:1). Hermas’ community is depicted as being transformed into “one spirit and one body” (Sim IX, 13:5), luminous as ‘bright as the sun,’ and, as it is the firstborn Son who possesses and mediates to the people of God the Spirit of God (Sim. IX, 24:4), the transformation of the earthly Ecclesia is into the Body of the Glory itself, who is traditionally enthroned next to God.

That the righteous in Hermas will be built into the body of the Tower which is comprised of the body of the feminine Ecclesia-Wisdom illustrates their elevation parallel to Wisdom. Wisdom is understood to be seated beside the divine throne (Wisd. 9:4) in the same manner as the Youth-Messiah, the Son of God, and the Son of man (Ps. 110; Ps. 2; Dan. 7; Ps. 80:17). The Lady Church is depicted as the Wisdom instructing Mother who stands before the Father in Vis. III, 9:9-10 and represents her children. The

326 Those who have not borne afflictions for the sake of the Name sit at the left of God and receive the same inheritance as those on the right, but not the same degree of glory (Vis. III, 2:1).
picture presented by Hermas, then, is one of a transformation into the Son and Wisdom, unified into one luminous Spirit-Body of Glory (Sim IX, 17:4). These are first created beings occupying positions before the Throne of glory who mediate the Holy Spirit to those whom they represent. Likewise in Q the transformation of Jesus’ followers into the Son in union with Wisdom is represented in terms of a luminous cosmic body (Q 17:24) and enthronement (Q 22:28-30).

INDWELLING OF THE SPIRIT POWERS, MORAL PURITY, AND ANGELOMORPHIC IDENTITY

The exaltation of Hermas’ community to the place of the Son of God and Ecclesia-Wisdom is predicated on an angelomorphic identity that is assumed during earthly existence. For Hermas, in order to be joined into the Tower, one must be pure of heart and bear both the seal of the Son of God and the twelve virgins, identified with the (twelve) powers of the Son of God. These virgins are described as Holy Spirits, and it is stated in Sim. IX, 13:2 that “men cannot otherwise be found in the kingdom of God unless these have put their clothing upon them: for if you receive the Name only, and do not receive from them the clothing, they are of no advantage to you. For these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear his Name but possess not his power, it will be in vain that you bear his Name.” It is notably significant here that the
virgins are the clothing of the Name, the female outer garment of the male. Ecclesia-Wisdom functions as both the Spirit and the glorious garment of the Son.\(^{327}\)

The names of these twelve women are given in Sim. IX, 15:2: Faith, Restraint, Power, Endurance, Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Joy, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, and Love. These may be understood as hypostatic forms of divine attributes which also serve as moral qualities which must be internalized by Hermas and his community. Possession of these attributes facilitates the transformation of members into a state suitable for entrance into the divine Tower. Parallels to this process may be found in some tannaitic midrashim regarding the seven middot of Wisdom, Righteousness, Justice, Mercy, Compassion, Truth, and Peace who serve before the divine Throne and whose incorporation results in a union with God.\(^{328}\)

The twelve virgins, as Seitz has noted, recall the twelve men of Joshua 4 who took up stones from the Jordan, representing the raised up and unified twelve tribes of Israel.\(^{329}\) These virgins likewise bear stones from the twelve mountains which symbolize the twelve tribes of those who make up the Church (Sim. IX, 1:17-19). In Sim. IX, 6:2 these virgins run to kiss the Glorious man of the Tower which suggests their symbolic identification with the Lady Church as his female counterpart. Since these twelve also

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\(^{327}\) On the tradition of Wisdom or the Spirit as glorious clothing cf. Sir 6:9-21; 19:20; 40:27; compare Odes of Solomon 25:8; 1QS IV, 6-8.


\(^{329}\) Oscar J. F. Seitz, “What do these stones mean?” *JBL* 79 (1960): 247-49. On the identification of the twelve stones from the Jordan and the twelve apostles in Syriac tradition see Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 175. On the twelve disciples as forming the body of the Church see ibid, 217. The twelve stones of Jacob’s vision at Beth-El are to be raised up as one according to the midrash of Genesis Rabbah 68. As Seitz has noted, “there can be little doubt that the deduction that Jacob set up twelve stones, which symbolize the tribes, was suggested by the text of Josh 4, though the idea that these twelve stones became united as one stone resulted from reflection on the language of Gen. 28.”
must be borne by the elect, they may serve in one sense to represent the ‘Church of the heart,’ or the inner manifestation of Ecclesia-Wisdom.\textsuperscript{330}

The twelve virgins are explicitly identified as both powers of the Son of God and Holy Spirits. Their description as powers reflects a traditional perception in which the Spirit of God denotes the power of God.\textsuperscript{331} Those who rejoice in the servants of God are elsewhere said to be clothed with the Holy Spirit (sing.) of the young women (Sim. IX, 24:2). As twelve, the virgins function as a plural designation of the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{332} As Hermas understands the twelve virgin spirits to be vehicles of transport into the Tower, Clement of Alexandria comparably images this process as a journey of the divine children being transferred to the city of the Father (cf. Sim. I, 1:1-9) being borne along the way by “the Holy Spirit” who is the “inexpressible Wisdom.”\textsuperscript{333}

The Son bears the names of the virgins (Sim. IX, 13:3). Elsewhere it is stated that Hermas’ offspring will dwell with the Son of God, having received something of his Spirit (Sim. IX, 24:4). Hermas states in Similitude V, the parable of the Son, Slave, and the Vineyard, that the flesh in which the Holy Spirit dwells is the slave of that Spirit and “the Son of God,” who shares the inheritance of the Firstborn Son. Osiek notes there is no

\textsuperscript{330} Cf. Murray, \textit{Symbols of Church and Kingdom}, 262-74; Origen, Commentary on Matthew, xii, 10


\textsuperscript{332} Bucur, “The Son of God and the Angelomorphic Holy Spirit,” 129-130.

\textsuperscript{333} Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus III, 12, 101. Primordial Wisdom is described in terms of the Holy Spirit in \textit{Wisdom of Solomon} (1:4-7; 9:17). Within Jewish Christianity the Holy Spirit is called Mother, which presupposes the feminine Hebrew noun \textit{ruah} rather than the neuter form in Greek (Daniélou, Jewish Christianity, 23). Origen’s Commentary on John II.12, for instance, notes that the \textit{Gospel of the Hebrews} includes a saying of Jesus which reads: “even now did my mother the Holy Spirit take me by one of my hairs and carried me away.” So too in the writings of Aphrahat, the \textit{Odes of Solomon}, and the \textit{Acts of Judas Thomas}, the Holy Spirit occupies the place of the Mother (Murray, \textit{Symbols of Church and Kingdom}, 143). See further DeConick, \textit{Holy Misogyny}, 1-4, 15-38.
reason to view the Spirit indwelling in the flesh as different from the Holy Spirit dwelling in earthly community although Jesus is the implicit “primary referent.”\textsuperscript{334}

In Sim V, 6:5 the preexistent Holy Spirit is said to have created every creature, a description which recalls the traditional creative functions of the Spirit of Wisdom.\textsuperscript{335} God causes this Spirit to dwell in the flesh which he chooses. The Holy Spirit has been granted as a gift to dwell in Hermas and his community (Man. X, 2:6) in the manner of Q and James and the traditions discussed above.

The parabolic identification by Hermas of the Holy Spirit with God’s son in Similitude V, 5:2 appears to stem from an understanding of the Son as possessor and mediator of the Spirit in which the one in whom the Spirit dwells is a joint heir with the firstborn Son of God. Taking the parable and its interpretation as an intended coherent whole, the status, inheritance, glory, and identity of the supernal Son is transferred to the earthly servant by means of the Holy Spirit. The Son is the one in whom the Spirit dwells and the Son’s identity depends entirely upon the possession of the Spirit. The slave of the parable is accordingly also the Son of God since both the Son of God and the slave possess the same Spirit.

This interpretation is supported elsewhere in the text by the necessity of the virgins as a plural designation of the Holy Spirit to dwell within the righteous as powers of the Son of God. The firstborn Son possesses and mediates to the people of God the


\textsuperscript{335} Cf. DeConick, \textit{Holy Misogyny}, 1-2, 5
As the Son is understood to be the embodied Glory of God (Vis. II, 2:5, 8), so may he be identified with the Spirit as embodied divine power (Sim. IX, 13:3). Jesus, as the model of this process, has become “Lord of the people,” gaining the power and function of the Son of God in a manner that is extended to others. All who possess the Spirit, represented in terms of female virgin moral qualities, share an angelomorphic identity with the firstborn Son of God. The distinction between Jesus and his followers lies here in his specially chosen nature (Sim. V, 2:2) and in his identification elsewhere with the New Gate of the Tower (Sim IX, 12:1-3), indicating his angelomorphic identity with the primordial Son of God which serves as a model and the means through which others enter into the Body of Glory. From the parable in Similitude V, however, his exalted status is dependent upon his being a proper vessel for the Holy Spirit. Living in a pure manner, being subject to the nature of the Spirit without defilement (Sim V, 6:5-7) is necessary for the receiving of the glory and authority designated to the Son (Sim V, 6:4).

The Son is represented in terms inextricably bound up with feminine imagery, both in terms of his Spirit and his clothing. As Hermas and his community are to become coheirs with the Son, their glorification is also depicted in terms of the female

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336 Cf. Rom. 1:4; 8:14-17; Gal.4:6-7
337 Bucur, *Angeomorphic Pneumatology*, 121 n.22; 126
338 Comparably, Wisdom functions as the Spirit of God in the *Wisdom of Solomon* and this also appears to be the implication in *Sirach*. In the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies 16, ch. 12, Peter interprets the plural form in Genesis 1:26 (“let us make man in our image”) as a reference to the male God and feminine Wisdom, with Wisdom represented as God’s spirit, a duality that is ultimately understood as a unity. The heart of God is associated in bahiric passages with the feminine and related to the thirty two paths of wisdom. The feminine is an emanation of the masculine wisdom (Elliot Wolfson, “Hebraic and Hellenic Conceptions of Wisdom in Sefer Ha-Bahir,” *Poetics Today* Vol. 19 No. 1, Hellenism and Hebraism Reconsidered: The Poetics of Cultural Influence and Exchange I. (Spring 1998): 160). Wolfson notes on 162 that “Father and daughter are ontically of the same nature.”
Ecclesia-Wisdom, as discussed previously above. This is appropriate given their possession of the female Spirit. Hermas’ community is depicted as being transformed into “one spirit and one body” (Sim IX, 13:5), indicating their transformation into both the Son of God and the supernal form of Ecclesia-Wisdom. The Ecclesia may in this sense be understood as the bodily garment of the Son while the Spirit of the Son is Ecclesia-Wisdom in the form of the female spirits.\(^{339}\) In other words, the Spirit of the Son is the Spirit of Female Wisdom. As noted previously above, In Q, Jesus and his followers, who are identified as Sons of God, receive the gift of the Holy Spirit/Wisdom from the Father (Q 11:9-13; James 1:5; Wis 6:12, 7:7). So too their transformation is appropriately bound up with Wisdom herself. This appears as the immediate traditional precedent for what is transmitted by Hermas.

For Hermas, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, in the form of the powers of the Son which are imaged as female, by the earthly community, affects the cosmic union in the Tower in that such a one forms part of the Ecclesia, and is built into the divine Body, facilitating the union of the Son of God as the Rock with the Female Tower-Church-Wisdom which is at the same time a union of human and divine. There is a shared angelomorphic identity between the righteous of Hermas’ community, the Son of God, and Ecclesia-Wisdom.\(^{340}\) This particular angelomorphism will be discussed further in relation to Q’s tradition in the next chapter.

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\(^{339}\) This understanding is based on the tradition of Wisdom or the Spirit functioning as a garment of glory. Cf. Sir 6:9-21; 19:20; 40:27; compare Odes of Solomon 25:8; 1Q5 IV, 6-8.

\(^{340}\) In regards to the merger of the divine dwelling with the Son of God, an interesting tradition is found in *Joseph and Aseneth* in which Aseneth’s identification with the female divine Dwelling is bound up with her designation as the bride of the Son. In this tale, Aseneth, who lives in a large and high tower (*purgos*) accompanied by seven virgins, is a virgin herself who reveres many gods and sacrifices to idols (*JosAsen*
In addition to the possession of the Spirit that comes through internal moral purity, the ritual of baptism functions for Hermas as the means through which the divine Name is acquired, designated as the seal of the Son. Hermas, in his description of baptism, utilizes imagery of death and ascent (Similitude IX, 16). It has already been mentioned that the idea of removing the corruptible body and sealing with the Name is originally associated with heavenly ascent and transformation and becomes ‘democratized’ in the ritual of baptism.\(^{341}\) The process of being cosmically united with the Tower has already begun with the receiving of the Name (Sim. IX, 16:3). The ritual in this sense is a vehicle of transformation and ultimately ascension.\(^{342}\) The Name and the female powers, which are the Spirit(s) of the Son and a designation of Ecclesia-Wisdom, 2:1-12). She vows to marry the “firstborn son of the great king” (JosAsen 4:15). After the arrival of Joseph, who is dressed in royal garments and whom she soon recognizes as “the Son of God,” she realizes her foolishness and mourns in sackcloth and ashes, fasting for seven days (JosAsen 5:6; 6:2; 9:2; 10:11-20).

At the close of this period, she is visited by a man from heaven, the lightning-like “commander of the house of the Lord and chief captain of the Most High,” whose appearance was “like Joseph in every respect,” and she takes on an angelomorphic identity with the City of Refuge and Bride of the firstborn son of the Great King (JosAsen 14:1ff). This text reflects the conversion of a gentile into an angelomorphic identity implicitly shared by all Jews, with Joseph having his heavenly twin as Michael, Son of God, and Aseneth having her identity transformed into the Mother-City.

Here the identification of Aseneth with the divine Dwelling is paired with her identity as the female counterpart of the Son of God. There is “a community of identity between herself, Joseph and the archangel,” while her eating the food of paradise recalls the original glory of Adam (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 167). Further, in this text, “angelization is democratized to the whole people” (ibid). Hermas, comparably, connects the glorification of Ecclesia-Wisdom, made up of the stones of the righteous, and her union with the Son of God as the Rock of the Tower. For members of Hermas’ community, individuals take on an angelomorphic identity with both heavenly entities.

\(^{341}\) DeConick, “What is early Jewish and Christian mysticism?”, 23.

\(^{342}\) Cf. Ibid.
function as the new immortal angelomorphic self which replaces the old self that dies in the water.

Gieschen’s study on baptismal praxis in the *Revelation of John* touches on a number of points relevant to the traditions of *Hermas*. He notes that the seal of the divine Name - that which is in the angel of the Lord in the Tanakh - is the Name shared by God, the Son, and the new Jerusalem, itself the visible manifestation of the Holy Spirit as the personal reality of the bride Church.\(^{343}\) So too “the church as the Holy Spirit in the visible form of the woman is also an aspect of the pneumatology of the Shepherd of *Hermas*” evident in Vis. IV, 2:1.\(^{344}\) As in Matt 28:19 and *Hermas*, this Name is imparted in baptism. Vis. III, 3:5 and Sim. IX, 16:3-4 identify the Tower as being built on water and the utterance of the divine Name. It is the Name of the Son of God and the water of baptism which are indicated as the seal which gives immortality and entrance into the Kingdom of God (Sim. IX, 16:3).

Gieschen observes further in *Revelation* that the white garment imagery is indicative of baptism as an eschatological wedding ceremony between the members of the Church who are cleansed, clothed as a Bride in the “righteous deeds of the saints,” and joined as a corporate entity with the Bridegroom Christ.\(^{345}\) *Hermas*, in Sim. VIII, 2:3, says that “all who went into the Tower had the same clothing, white as snow,” expressing this same concept of the individual members of the Assembly being dressed in the holy attire appropriate to the body of the divine Bride which they embody and

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\(^{344}\) Gieschen, “Baptismal Praxis,” 343n.3.

\(^{345}\) Ibid., 351. See also the identification of baptism and bridal chamber in Tripartite Tractate 128:30-34.
constitute. As Hebrews 10:19-22 expresses this tradition, the earthly baptized are granted access to the heavenly Sanctuary, “the city of the living God, “the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the Firstborn who are enrolled in heaven.”

In *Hermas*, Vis. III, 2:4, it is said that the Tower is built upon waters, just as in Vis. I, 3:4 the foundations of the earth are upon the primordial waters. After inquiring as to why the Tower is built on the waters Hermas is told by the Lady in Vis. III, 3:5 that it is because his life will be saved through the waters. That this passage continues with the mention of the founding of the Tower on the utterance of the almighty and glorious Name indicates a Creation context. Baptism in *Hermas* is then connected with those ancient things of Creation and the creation of the Tower is conceptually linked with the creation of the world. This element completes a picture in which Hermas understands the motifs of House of God, cosmos, holy community, and divine body to be correlated in a way comparable to Jewish mystical tradition in which these are “complementary expressions of the same paradoxical and mystical reality.”

It is apparent that the primordial Tower consists of a union of the Son of God and Ecclesia-Wisdom:

"And these virgins, who are they?" "They are Holy Spirits, and men cannot otherwise be found in the kingdom of God unless these have put their clothing upon them: for if you receive the Name only, and do not receive from them the clothing, they are of no advantage to you. For these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear His name but possess not His power, it will be in vain that you bear His name. (Sim IX, 13:2)"

346 Cf. 1 En 69:17: “And through it [the hidden Name spoken in the oath] the earth was founded upon the water, And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters, From the creation of the world and unto eternity.” As Elior, *Three Temples*, 188, notes, the Divine Name “is the formal principle underlying existence, the antithesis of chaos, which endows the world with its sacred image, signifying the world’s connection with its divine roots, with an oath in God’s name.”

I asked her, "Why was the tower built upon the waters, O Lady?" She answered, "I told you before, and you still inquire carefully: therefore inquiring you shall find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon the waters. It is because your life has been, and will be, saved through water. For the tower was founded on the word of the almighty and glorious Name and it is kept together by the invisible power of the Lord."
(Vis III, 3:5)

If these two passages are read in light of each other, the Name upon which the Tower is founded corresponds to the Son of God (the Rock as the foundation of the Tower who bears the Name) while the virgins as a symbol of the Female aspect, and identified as Holy Spirit(s), correspond to the Power of the Lord, or the Power(s) of the Son (Sim. IX, 13:2), which holds it together. The implication is that of Ecclesia-Wisdom as the Holy Spirit in union with the primordial Son. This picture is most reminiscent of the (androgy nous) glory of Adam who possessed Wisdom as his Spirit (2 En 30:8, 11-12; cf. Wisd 7:22).  

In being individual pieces of Ecclesia-Wisdom, each member must have the foundation of the Name (Sim IX, 14:6), upon which the world and the Tower was established, in their heart. The receiving of the divine Name through the primordial waters of baptism recapitulates the creation of the firstborn Ecclesia-Wisdom and facilitates the angelomorphic identification between the Female Ecclesia-Wisdom and the earthly assembly as a body the size of the world. As the divine Name is also shared by the Son of God, imparted as a seal by the water of baptism, so too this serves as a means of collectively identifying the members of Ecclesia-Wisdom with the Son through which to recapitulate the primordial union of the Son with Ecclesia-Wisdom, the androgynous Body of Glory.

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348 See also Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology,” 277.
In another passage discussed previously (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4) the Tower-Church is imaged in botanical terms, being made up of watered parts of a tree, representing the baptized and righteous elect. The angel of the Lord, identified as Michael, stands next to a willow tree representing the Law of God which is the Son of God. Michael trims branches from the willow and gives them as sticks to the people under its shade. When he asks for them back, he crowns those whose sticks show new growth and bear fruit and sends them off to the Tower. Those with new growth but no fruit are sent off to the Tower with seals. Those who returned their sticks as green as they had received them are also sent to the Tower with seals. All of these are clothed with garments white as snow (Sim. VIII, 1-2:4). The sticks are then planted and watered, completely submerged by the Shepherd and sent into the walls accordingly. Here those considered most worthy are given crowns while all who go into the Tower are given holy garments, attire appropriate to the body of the divine Bride Ecclesia-Wisdom. As stated earlier, in Hermas the law of God is that which is mediated by the Son yet it is also depicted as the law of the True City (Sim I, 1:1-9), which is necessarily Ecclesia-Wisdom. In Hermas, then, the commandments of God are those of Wisdom as mediated by the Son. The people receiving branches as the law of the Son of God, with these being planted and watered, may therefore be interpreted as their receiving Wisdom/Torah as given by the Son. It is their task to grow these individual branches as part of one great Tree, being that of Wisdom in union with the Son. Here again baptism is the ritual praxis connected with participation into this union. Ethical praxis is evident in that the tree consists of those who have adhered to the Law of God.
V. THE SHARED TRADITION OF Q AND HERMAS

The sayings source Q is an important witness to a stream of tradition that Hermas has taken up. Its traditional continuities with *Hermas* are important in tracing the themes of *Hermas* back through a Jewish Christianity associated with James and the Jerusalem church. In addition to the numerous parallels between the letter of James and Q, Clement of Alexandria writes that James himself commissioned these compositions to be used for proselytizing.⁴⁴⁹ Thus Q’s provenance is most likely Jerusalem. Q contains Galilean traditions and all the Galilean followers of Jesus that we know of are associated with Jerusalem. The traditions within Q originate from Galilean followers of Jesus who relocated to Jerusalem. It was probably composed as a speech gospel for the Greek speaking Jewish proselytes.

In attempting to trace traditions of *Hermas* through a stream going back to the Jerusalem Church, a number of overlaps with the Jewish Christian source Q are notable: Asking without doubt or doublemindedness (Q 11:9; James 1:5; Man IX; cf. Wisd. 7:7, 6:12); Faith as inseparable from works (Q 6:46-49; James 2:22; Vis III, 6:1; Man X, 1:4-5; Sim VIII, 9:1, 10:3, 19:2, 21:2); The Kingdom as a Tree made up of people who live in accordance with divine Law as mediated by the Son (Q 10:21-24; 13:18-19; cf. Q 3:9-people as trees; Sim V, 6:3; VIII, 3:2-8); Kingdom as House (Q 13:25; 14:23, Sim IX, 14:1);

⁴⁴⁹ DeConick, *Recovering*, 35.
Eschatological activity compared to building a Tower/House (Q 14:28; 6:47-48; Vis III, 3:3, etc.); Community in exile (Q 9:58; Sim I, 1:1, 6); Divine Feminine Wisdom embodied in and exalted by earthly community of God; possession of the Spirit in female terms (Q 7:35, cf. Q 13:34, 11:13; James 1:5, 4:5; Sim. IX, 24:2); Woes against the rich, concern for the poor (Q 6:20-21, 24; 12:16-21; James 5:1-3; Vis III, 6:6; Vis III, 9:6); Community to be enthroned next to God (Q 22:28-29; Vis. III, 1:9-2:1; Sim. IX, 24:4); Community to be transformed into primordial body/Kavod (Q 17:24; Sim IX, 13:5; Vis I, 3:2; cf. Vis. II, 2:5, 8); Situation of persecution (Q 6:22; 12:8-12; Sim IX, 28:4; Vis II, 2:2; cf. Sim VIII, 6:4; IX, 19:1); Shared angelomorphic identification with the Son (Q 10:21-24; 6:35; Sim. V; Sim IX, 14:5; 24:4; Sim. VIII, 1-2:4); Son of God as possessor of the Law (Q 10:22; Sim VIII, 1:2-4); Repentance, almsgiving (Q 12:33; Sim II; Didache 1:6, 15:4); Holy Spirit/Wisdom as instructor (Q 12:12; Vis. III, 9:9-10; cf. James 3:13; 3:17; Man XI, 1:6); Enduring trials/suffering brings the “crown of life” (James 1:12; Q 22; Vis. III, 1:9-2:1; Vis IV, 3:2-6); Judgment of fire (Q 3:9, 17, 12:49; Vis IV, 3:3; James 5:3); Resistance, separation, escape from the world (Q 9:58, 12:33; James 1:27 4:4; Vis IV, 3:3; Sim IX, 31:2); Some of the faithful to be shut out of the House/Tower (Q 13:28; Sim VIII, 8:1-4); Ethics/Law as means of transformation (Q 6:35; Sim VIII, 3:2-8); Purification of the inner (Q 6:42; 11:34-41; James 2:4, 4:8; Sim V, 3:6; Man V, 2:5-8); Enter through the door/gate (Q 13:24; Sim IX, 12:5); The Two Ways represented by a wisdom associated with the sin of Adam and the demonic, on the one hand, and a Wisdom that grows into a Tree that brings life, on the other (Q 9:23-24; 10:21-24; 13:18-19; cf. 3:9; Q/Mt 10:16; James 1:5-
Keeping commandments subdues desire/temptation [sin of Adam] (Q 4:1-12; James 1:14-15; Sim X, 1:3; Man XII, 2:5; cf. Sim VIII, 3:2-8; Q 4:1-12); Those of the Kingdom like children (Q 10:21-24; Sim IX, 29:2); Law as Wisdom mediated by the Son (Q 10:21-24, Sim I, 1:1-9); People of God linked with stones (Q 3:8; Vis III, 6:5; Sim IX, 12:4; 17:3-5, etc.); People of God given clothing of glory, understood in terms of Wisdom (Q 12:27-28; Sim VIII, 2:3-4; IX, 13:2-7). These overlaps suggest a common traditional connection between the Jewish Christianity coming out of the Jerusalem Church and that of Hermas.

According to the tradition evinced in Q, Wisdom is the Mother who is being purified and exalted through those who possess her, the righteous in the desert in whom she dwells (cf. 1 En. 42:1), and the true Israel as God’s son (Cf. Sir 24:7-8). Jesus and his followers receive the gift of the Holy Spirit/Wisdom from the Father (Q 11:9-13; James 1:5; Wis 6:12, 7:7). Wisdom as the Spirit of God is within them.351

Jesus and his associates are the envoys of Wisdom, identified with Torah (Cf. Sir 24:22-34) as mediated by them. As the embodiment of true Israel, they are sons of God, the mediators of divine knowledge. Right action in accordance with the Torah comes through the gift of the Holy Spirit or Spirit of Wisdom which instructs those who ask in faith. This Torah involves the purification of the inner which facilitates right action and the purification of others. The good treasure of the heart produces good action (6:45). Taking the log out of one’s own eye precedes taking the speck out of another’s. They mediate Wisdom/Torah to others in order that they who respond will be granted access

to the Kingdom of God. In *Hermas* the law of God is that which is mediated by the Son yet it is also depicted as the law of the True City (Sim I, 1:1-9), or Ecclesia-Wisdom. In both *Hermas* and *Q*, then, the commandments of God are those of Wisdom as mediated by the Son.

In *Q*, as noted above, the Kingdom of God is depicted like a seed sown and grown in a garden. Jesus and his followers are the laborers of the eschatological harvest. As mediators of Wisdom they are the sowers of the seed (Cf. Sir 24:22-34 in which the Torah is Wisdom herself who fills humanity with wisdom and waters them through instruction as her orchard or garden). The kingdom consists of the righteous who follow God’s law and fill the House of God. The growing of the tree in the Garden (Q 10:21-24; 13:18-19; cf. Q 3:9-people as trees; Sim V, 6:3; VIII, 3:2-8) here may function as a depiction of the restoration or ‘justification’ of Wisdom as the Tree of Life (Prov. 3:18; 11:30; Sir 1:18, 24:12-16). In *Hermas* the eschatological Tree is made up of members of Ecclesia-Wisdom who adhere to the Law of the Son of God.352

That the Kingdom becomes a Tree, in addition to alluding to Wisdom as a Tree of Life, also functions as a symbol of the direct link between the exaltation and justification of her children and Wisdom herself (Q 7:35; Cf. Prov 8:32; 11:30: “The fruit of the righteous is a Tree of Life;” Sir 24:12ff: “I [Wisdom] took root in an honored people...I grew tall like a cedar”). The exaltation of the Son of Man and his associates in the Kingdom as glorified Sons of God constitutes their becoming Wisdom in her full

352 The imagery connecting the servants of God with a growing tree, garden, and kingdom is reminiscent of that found in the Odes of Solomon wherein the righteous who ascend to paradise ‘grow in the growth of the trees’ (Ode Sol. 11:16-19). Cf. DeConick, *Recovering*, 221-22.
radiance, fulfilling Israel’s role as both firstborn Son of God (Exod 4:22-23) and Bride of God (Jer. 2:2-3, 32, 12:7-15; Isa 62:1-7; Cf. Prov 8:22-Wisdom as Firstborn; Wis 8:1-4-Wisdom is Bride of God; 4 Ezra 10:25; cf. Q 17:24).

The Son of God is an identity shared by the earthly righteous (Q 10:21-24; 6:35; Sim. V; Sim IX, 14:5; 24:4; Sim. VIII, 1-2:4) equated with Wisdom’s children who embody her in the form of the Holy Spirit (Q 7:35, cf. Q 13:34, 11:13; James 1:5, 4:5; Sim. IX, 24:2) and whose eschatological transformation corresponds to the body of Glory possessed by Adam (Q 17:24; Sim IX, 13:5; Vis I, 3:2; cf. Vis. II, 2:5, 8). As in the case of Hermas, the Son is identified through the possession of the Spirit, which in Hermas is expressed as his possession of the names of the twelve virgins as a plural designation of the Spirit. These female virgins are necessarily a symbol also of Ecclesia-Wisdom. God’s partner in Creation, then, Wisdom, is given to the Son as a bride.

As the sons of God in Q are the bearers of Wisdom, so the righteous in Hermas are the bearers of Ecclesia-Wisdom, united in their also bearing the divine Name through baptism with the primordial Son of God. They restore the divine unity within themselves as the means to restore the original unity of the androgynous Body of Glory, rejoining Wisdom to God in the body of the Son. This may be understood as the eschatological reciprocation of the gift of Wisdom.

Q 17:24, in its description of the Son of Man being as lightning flashing and lighting up the sky “from one end under heaven to the other” depicts the restoration of Adam’s former glory and size, the regaining of the cosmic body which is at the same time the full radiance of Wisdom herself whom her children have justified. Their earthly
function as mediators of divine knowledge and their eschatological role of mediators of
divine judgment corresponds to that of the highest angel Metatron as heavenly
mediator of knowledge and judgment.²⁵³

The designation Son of God is used in Q (6:35-36; 10:22; 11:2, 13; 12:30, 32)
where it refers implicitly and explicitly to Jesus’ disciples as well as to Jesus himself. This
title is directly connected with Jesus and his followers as the mediators of divine
knowledge.²⁵⁴ Sophia is their Mother (Q 7:35). In using the term “son of man” to depict
luminous transformation, Q 17:24 makes an implicit identification between the “one like
a son of man” in Dan. 7:13, and the maskilim who will “shine like the splendor of the
firmament” (Dan. 12:3). Q thus interprets the “one like a son of man” from Daniel 7 in
terms of those who possess and teach wisdom. Since the figure from Daniel is an angelic
figure in human likeness, with Michael being a primary candidate, Q 17:24 understands
Jesus and his followers, as Wisdom’s children and mediators of divine knowledge, to be
transformed into this figure.

Q 10:22b speaks of the Son of God as a hidden entity known only to the Father
through whom the Father is revealed. The Son in this passage is described as being in a
relationship with God parallel to Wisdom, as noted already above.²⁵⁵ This may imply a
hidden heavenly figure, ideal, or form with which Jesus and his followers become

²⁵³ Orlov, Enoch-Metatron Tradition, 104-12; 184-87
²⁵⁴ In Q 10:22 there is a parallel in thought with Wisdom of Solomon 2:13 where the righteous sufferer,
who claims to be the Son of God, also claims knowledge of God. The followers of Jesus who are continuing
his message are themselves also acting as the mediators of the knowledge of God. The fact that Q 10:22 is
placed in Q between two sections having to do with Jesus’ followers where they are identified with Jesus
(10:16) and identified as recipients of a revelation denied to prophets and kings of the past (10:21, 23-24)
supports this interpretation.
²⁵⁵ Tuckett, Q and the History of Early Christianity, 278.
identified through their receiving of the Spirit connected with the baptism of repentance and their subsequent resistance to temptation.

The hiddenness of the Son in this sense may potentially be comparable to the hidden preexistent Son of God of 4 Ezra or the hidden Enochic Son of Man of the Similitudes who, in those texts, is revealed to the chosen.\textsuperscript{356} In the latter text it is through the ‘wisdom of the Lord of Spirits’ that this angelomorphic human being,\textsuperscript{357} who preserves the lot of the righteous, is revealed to the righteous (1 En 48:7). This figure, like the primordial Adam, possesses the spirit of Wisdom (1 En 49:3). He has been given all the secrets of wisdom (1 En 51:3). He is described in language elsewhere applied to the figure of Wisdom,\textsuperscript{358} just as is the Son of God in the Q source. The earthly Enoch is identified with the preexistent Son of Man who is the heavenly counterpart or representative of the earthly community of the righteous in the manner of the “one like a son of man,” or Michael, and the maskilim in Daniel. In Daniel 10-12, the teachers of wisdom who fall by the sword and who are raised as the stars share in the victory of Michael their Prince against the “Prince of Greece.”\textsuperscript{359} That the ‘one like a son of man’ in Daniel has characteristics heavenly and earthly, angelic and human, and that his status is paralleled by the “people of the holy ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:27) indicates that this figure functions as the representative of an angelomorphic elect.\textsuperscript{360}

\textsuperscript{356} Collins, \textit{King and Messiah}, 89, 97-98
\textsuperscript{358} Collins, \textit{King and Messiah as Son of God}, 89-90.
\textsuperscript{359} Collins, \textit{The Apocalyptic Imagination}, 276. Collins notes that in a similar manner, the martyrs of the \textit{Revelation of John} share in the victory of Michael over Satan through not clinging to life. Importantly here this is possible through the example of Christ as the ‘blood of the Lamb.’ Jesus in this sense has become the means through which those who renounce life in this world can participate in the role of Michael.
Similitudes, Enoch’s angelomorphic identity appears to be extended to all the righteous.\textsuperscript{361} Enoch’s ignorance that he is the heavenly Son of Man is paralleled in the \textit{Prayer of Joseph} where Jacob is reminded by the angel Uriel that his heavenly persona is Israel, the chief angelic captain of the Sons of God.\textsuperscript{362} The angel Israel is described in the \textit{Prayer of Joseph} in terms corresponding to Michael in Daniel 12 and the Son of God in Colossians.\textsuperscript{363}

Q identifies, like 4 Ezra and 4Q246, the “one like a son of man” from Daniel and the Son of God.\textsuperscript{364} The Son of Man in Q along these lines may therefore be, on the one hand, a heavenly representative or persona,\textsuperscript{365} corresponding to the embodied glory in human form, and, on the other, a collective designation referring to the portion of righteous humanity who carry Wisdom, share an earthly angelomorphic identity, and are united in transformation with the Son of God, or Michael, as in \textit{Hermas}. In Q 12:8-10 Jesus speaks of the Son of Man as his angelic counterpart with whom he shares an


\textsuperscript{363} Smith, ‘Prayer of Joseph.’ In the \textit{Prayer of Jacob}, preserved in the Greek Magical Papyri, The angel Israel functions as a paradigm of transformation that may be bestowed already in earthly terms as a gift (Fletcher-Louis, \textit{Luke-Acts}, 163).

\textsuperscript{364} It is possible that 4Q246 provides an early witness to an identification between the heavenly figure of Daniel, corresponding to Michael, and the title Son of God. See Collins, \textit{King and Messiah as Son of God}, 64-75; García Martínez, “The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246,” in \textit{idem, Qumran and Apocalyptic}, 178. The Danielic Son of Man, ‘the one resembling a man flying with the clouds of heaven’ of 4 Ezra 13 is identified with the messianic Son of God in 4 Ezra 7:28-29 who, although human, is preexistent. Cf. the comments of Collins, \textit{King and Messiah}, 96-7.

\textsuperscript{365} Cf. Collins, \textit{The Apocalyptic Imagination}, 186-187; Vanderkam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71.” Michael functions as the heavenly counterpart of Israel in Daniel while the Son of Man in the Similitudes of Enoch functions as the heavenly double of the righteous into which Enoch, and presumably other ‘righteous’ ones, become united. Comparably, in 1 Enoch 90:37-39, the righteous are transformed into white cows, the model of which is the Messianic white cow (Segal, \textit{Paul the Convert}, 46).
angelomorphic identity. That the description of the Son of God in Q 10:22b is preceded by the statement of Jesus that “all things have been delivered” to him as the Son indicates that the status, inheritance, glory, and identity of this hidden angelic counterpart is one that has been bestowed upon the earthly Jesus. Jesus and his followers, like Hermas and his community, possess an angelomorphic identity represented in terms of the Son of God. Hermas, in making an implicit identification between Michael, the Son of God, and the Glorious Man (Sim. VIII, 3:2-3; IX, 7:1, 12:8; cf. Vis. II, 2:5,8), appears to implicitly be equating the Son of God with the man-like figure of Daniel 7 in the same manner as the Q source. Sim V, 6:4 describes the Son as having been given all authority from the Father which recalls Q 10:22b and the status bestowed upon the ‘one like a son of man’ in Daniel 7:14.

Jesus, in Mark 12:35-37, indicates an understanding of the figure who is installed at God’s right hand in Psalm 110 to be a heavenly entity whom he identifies as the Messiah. This reading of Psalm 110 would identify the figure as Melchizedek, the heavenly Son of God. It appears from the Testament of Amram at Qumran that

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366 The angel Israel is described in the Prayer of Joseph in terms corresponding to Michael in Daniel 12 and the Son of God in Colossians (Smith, “Prayer of Joseph”). It will be recalled that the occupant of the second throne in Dan 7:9-14, i.e., the relatively youthful ‘Son of Man’ who appears before the ‘One Aged in Days’ is traditionally identified with the figure of the angelic Youth, represented as the Son of God and corresponding to Metatron, or Michael, the one who in the Shi’ur Qomah “participates in and mediates the Glory of the Holy One” (Morray-Jones, “Shiur Koma and the Angelic Youth,” 535-36). Youthful terminology is used of Adam, having been made in the image of God, in SibOr 1:20 (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 144).

367 The interchange between ‘glorious man’ and ‘glorious angel’ may be seen in light of an identification with Michael, the highest angel who appears as the ‘one like a son of man’ in Daniel. Cf. Collins, Daniel, 310, 318-319.

368 Kugel, Traditions of the Bible, 278-81.
Melchizedek could be identified with Michael, these being two different names of the same Prince of Light.\(^{369}\)

In Q 7:34, the statement that the Son of Man has come eating and drinking, “relies on the axiom that angelomorphic beings do not eat ordinary food.”\(^{370}\) That the Son of Man is accused of being a friend of tax-collectors and sinners “relies on the assumption that an angel or angelomorphic being would not associate with those outside the appropriate purity boundaries. In other words Jesus’ statement is based on his deliberate subversion of the current norms regarding angelomorphism with respect to purity and the relative materiality of heavenly and earthly modes of existence.”\(^{371}\) Unlike John the Baptist, who eats heavenly food like an angelomorphic being and is accused of having a demon, Jesus as the angelomorphic Son of Man is denying that his ordinary “eating and drinking in any way undermines that identity.”\(^{372}\)

It is likely that Jesus takes on this angelomorphic identity of the heavenly Son of God/Son of Man at baptism along with the possession of the Spirit of Wisdom.\(^{373}\) It is at this point that the heavenly Son of Man/Son of God/Michael is understood to indwell with the earthly son of man, Jesus.\(^{374}\) This would function as the precedent for Hermas’ community taking on an angelomorphic identity with both Ecclesia-Wisdom and the Son of God in baptism.

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\(^{369}\) Cf. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God*, 82-3


\(^{371}\) Ibid., 241-42.

\(^{372}\) Ibid., 243.

\(^{373}\) Cf. the tradition of the Ebionites as related by Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.16 and Tertullian, *De Carn. Christ* 14.5

\(^{374}\) On Christological Michael traditions see Daniélou, *Jewish Christianity*, 121-27.
Following the earthly messianic model of Jesus in Q, this angelomorphic identity is then extended outward to followers in that they too function as sons of God who mediate divine knowledge, possessing the Spirit of Wisdom. The heavenly Son of Man is their advocate and counterpart too (Q 12:8; cf. Mt 18:10) and Wisdom is their divine Mother (Q 7:35). Those who are faithful and wise will be given authority over their master’s household and possessions by the exalted Son of Man (Q 12:40-44), just as all things are delivered to the hidden Son by the Father (Q 10:22). Just as the people of the holy ones of the Most High in Daniel 7:22 have angelic counterparts in the ‘holy ones’ (Dan 7:18) and have their individual counterpart in the ‘one like a son of man,’ or Michael (Dan 7:14; Dan 12:1), or as the earthly chosen or righteous in the Similitudes of Enoch have angelic counterparts (1 En 43:1-4; 61:4) and an individual counterpart in the Son of Man, Chosen One, or Righteous One, who takes over functions of the Davidic king and possesses the Spirit of Wisdom, so too do the followers of Jesus (Q 12:8; Mt 18:10). Hermas preserves a version of this tradition. His personal angelic representative is the Shepherd (Vis. V, 3) while Ecclesia-Wisdom, elsewhere identified with the heavenly Son of God via the Spirit (Sim IX, 1,) functions as heavenly advocate for the elect (Vis III, 9:9-10). Michael in Similitude VIII, 3:3 functions as their angelic governor and superintendent. In both Q and Hermas it is these two entities together, the heavenly Son of God/Son of Man/Michael in union with Wisdom, into which all of the righteous are transformed. The innovation in Q, in blending ideas of a heavenly and earthly Messiah figure, is that the angelomorphic Messiah personally experiences the

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375 Collins, Daniel, 317.
376 Jesus is implicitly identified with the exalted Davidic King in Q 13:24-27. Cf. Psalm 6:1-0.
lot of the earthly righteous, is exalted in glory, and serves as the model and ‘gate’ (Sim IX, 12:3; cf. Eusebius, HE 2.23.4-18: James proclaims the ‘door of Jesus’ = exalted Son of Man) through which followers will share in the same glory. It is this shared experience that solidifies the angelomorphic identity that the suffering righteous have with the heavenly Son of Man (Q 6:22).³⁷⁷ For Hermas too, those who endure suffering will collectively experience the inheritance of the Son, being seated at the right hand of God (Vis. III, 1:9-2:1).

As mentioned previously, in Q 10:16, 21-24 the Son of God is described in language which recalls the status bestowed upon the ‘one like a son of man” figure from Dan. 7:14 (Q 10:22a; cf. Wisd. 2:13; 3:8.) and “the son of man” from Psalm 8:4-6, recalling Adam’s former glory. The earthly sons of God have the same revelatory knowledge of God or Wisdom possessed by the ideal Son, which has been gifted as the Spirit and allows for the resistance to sin and the regaining of the original glory of humanity. The hidden Son of God known only to the Father will be revealed through the transformation of the righteous into the glory of the Son of Man, the heavenly personification of their inheritance,³⁷⁸ at the time of the judgment (Q 17:23-24, 27, 30; 22:30).³⁷⁹ This is comparable to the hidden heavenly Righteous One, or Son of Man, in the Similitudes of Enoch who, when revealed, will cast down the mighty and exalt the lowly who are the earthly righteous ones.³⁸⁰ Seemingly implied also in the Similitudes,

³⁷⁷ Cf. Mk 9:11-13, where the designation ‘Son of Man’ is applied to John the Baptist on account of his suffering.
³⁷⁸ Cf. the Qumran covenanters as the inheritance of the heavenly Melchizedek in 11Q13; Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 80.
³⁸⁰ Collins, Apocalyptic Imagination, 274.
the earthly righteous are transformed into the glory of this figure.\textsuperscript{381} On another level, in Q and Hermas, the heavenly ideal or glory of the Son is hidden within until it is made cosmically manifest at the eschaton.\textsuperscript{382} It is an angelomorphic identity that has already been attained, just as Jesus is represented in Q/Matt 4:11 as having already regained the glory of Adam. The present earthly nature of this identity is what guarantees cosmic eschatological glorification.\textsuperscript{383} The Son of God in both Q and Hermas, then, functions as a heavenly model, functionally equivalent to the glory of Adam or the human form of the glory,\textsuperscript{384} into which the earthly righteous, who become Sons of God through their possession of the same Spirit, are ultimately transformed. In the case of Q, those who are Wisdom’s children have taken on the role of the Son of God as possessors and mediators of Wisdom. Their exaltation is consistent with the astral transformation of the bearers and teachers of wisdom in Daniel 12:2.

Just as the term maskil is connected with divine knowledge at Qumran,\textsuperscript{385} so too are the Q community identified as the mediators of divine knowledge in Q 10:16, 21-24, a section which also has close links with Dan. 7:14 (cf. 10:22a—“All things have been

\textsuperscript{381} 1 Enoch 70-71; Cf.1 Enoch 49:3, in which the Elect One has the spirit of the deceased righteous within him. Compare the transformation of the righteous into white bulls in 1 Enoch 85:3 and 90:37-38.
\textsuperscript{382} In 1 Enoch 38:4-5 the luminous state of the righteous will be revealed on earth at the judgment. Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 3:7-9. Cf. the degree of correspondence between Joseph and the luminous chief angel in Joseph and Aseneth. Joseph is said to have ‘a great light’ within him (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 166).
\textsuperscript{383} This is comparable to the angelic mode of existence of the Qumran community who are to gain the glory of Adam or the recovery of the primordial state coming through being an ‘earthly angel’ in the History of the Rechabites (Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 144-5).
\textsuperscript{385} Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 208.
delivered to me by my Father,” and Wisd. 2:13.\textsuperscript{386} The “eye” being the lamp of the body, indicates that vision facilitates illumination.\textsuperscript{387} The connection between knowledge, illumination, and vision is made as well in the Excerpts of Theodotus XXXII:

“...Knowledge, shedding its light and brightness on things, shows itself to be in truth the divine Wisdom, the pure light, which illumines men whose eyeball is clear, unto the sure vision and comprehension of truth.” Here, as also in Q, it is Wisdom which is being mediated and which illuminates the seer.

Those humans or “sons of man” who are illuminated will embody the eschatological radiance of the Wisdom herself, who “is more beautiful than the sun, and excels every constellation of the stars. Compared with the light she is found to be superior, for it is succeeded by the night...She reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other (Wisd. 7:29-8:1).” An analogous tradition is found in 3 Enoch 5:3-4 where the brilliance of the Shekinah is 365,000 times brighter than the Sun and radiates from one end of the world to the other. The language ‘from one end to the other’ recalls also the giant luminous body of primordial Adam which stretched from one end of the world to the other. This is the description of the exalted and transformed Son of Man in Q 17:24. The dominion, glory, and kingdom given to the ‘son of man’ in Dan. 7:14 recalls the traditional position of Adam in his original condition which is regained through the transformation of a human agent.\textsuperscript{388}

\textsuperscript{386} See Christopher Tuckett, \textit{Q and the History of Early Christianity}, 276-81.
\textsuperscript{387} A comparable association between knowledge and illumination is found at Qumran as argued by Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 177-213.
\textsuperscript{388} On Enoch’s acquiring the lost glory and original functions of Adam through his transformation into Metatron see Orlov, \textit{Enoch-Metatron Tradition}, 211-253.
The veneration of the primordial glorious Adam by angels in Jewish sources is a precedent for the veneration of Jesus by angels in the Matthean temptation account.\textsuperscript{389} As Orlov comments, “The ancient enemy of humankind appears to be trying to take revenge for his protological mishap involving the First Adam by asking now for the veneration and worship from the Last Adam-Christ. But Jesus refuses to follow this demonic trap, and after he rejects Satan’s proposal, the motif of angelic worship is then invoked again, this time directly and unambiguously in the text. Matt 4:11 tells its readers that after the temptation was over, angels came to worship Jesus.”\textsuperscript{390}

Read in this light, Jesus in resisting temptation has conquered the sin of Adam and has regained this status already, in the present. That this is Q material seems likely in that it provides the basis for the statement in 10:22-“All things have been delivered to me by my Father.” As Allison notes the correspondence here with Moses traditions,\textsuperscript{391} the descriptions of Moses’ being granted divine authority follow his transformation into a divine figure, resembling traditions of Adam (in that the stars, representing angels, bow to him in Ezekiel the Tragedian’s account), the son of man figure from Daniel, and the status of the principal angelic figure.\textsuperscript{392} The status accorded the glorified Son has been granted through conquering the sin of Adam which has led to the current state of the son of man (Q 9:58). Therefore the transformation and identification is already occurring but the full cosmic glorification will not be fully realized until the day of the

\textsuperscript{390} Orlov, Dark Mirrors, 106, 107-112.
\textsuperscript{391} Allison, Intertextual Jesus, 43-49.
\textsuperscript{392} Segal, Paul the Convert, 44. On 55 Segal notes that the figure of Metatron, into whom Enoch is transformed in 3 Enoch 3-15 “bears a striking resemblance to Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian’s play.” The similar features include the reverence of the angels.
Son of Man (Q 17:24). In the meantime, adherence to the law of God as mediated by the Son is required, which is also the case in Herma. Jesus and his followers in Q have begun the process of being transformed into the cosmic human likeness of the embodied Glory, having been given the Spirit and possessing Wisdom (cf. Daniel 12:3) which allows for them to overcome the temptation, desire, corruption, and attachment associated with the sin of Adam.

There is then, an implied tradition in Q in which the human envoys of exiled Wisdom facilitate her transformation into the Body of Glory possessed by Adam. In other words it is a metamorphosis of the Female Wisdom embodied in the people of God into the exalted body of the Son. This is then a tradition transmitted by Hermas that can be traced back to Jewish Christianity associated with James and the Jerusalem Church.393

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393 The explicit language of male and female becoming one, particularly, making the female male, and the entering into the Kingdom is expressed in the Gospel of Thomas: “When you make the two one, and when you make the inside like the outside, and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below. And when you make the male and the female into a single being, with the result that the male is not male nor the female female…and an image in place of an image, then you will enter the Kingdom” (Gos Thom 22:4-5,7; DeConick, Recovering, 163,) This language recalls Gal. 3:26-28 and 1 Cor 15:48-49 where it is said ‘there is neither male or female’ but “all are one in Christ” and these now bear the “image of the man of heaven.” Elsewhere in Thomas it is said “when you make the two one you will become sons of Man” (Log 106). The Man here is the heavenly Anthropos who is both male and female. The picture in both of these texts is one of an eschatological reintegration of male and female connected with the image of the divine body. It is striking, given what I have described as implicit in Q, that this explicit connection between joining the male and female as the ideal primordial androgynous body and entering the Kingdom in Thomas, corresponding to much of the imagery in Hermas, is found in a text that places ultimate authority with James.
CONCLUSION

This study has argued that Hermas transmits a tradition which is best understood within the context of early Jewish and Christian mysticism with Hermas’ tradition being directly traceable back to the Jerusalem Church as expressed in Q. It therefore represents one of the oldest forms of early Christian mysticism. It is the visionary experience of the prophet Hermas which provides the divine image that becomes the object of transformation. Hermas sees in his visions, which are sometimes achieved through his own means, such as fasting or prayer, the process of incorporation and absorption of the members of the earthly community, including the righteous of the past, into the divine body, and these visions are recounted in his text. The audience who hears them is then able to also see these visions themselves, through their imagination, and to collectively experience the ‘mysteries of divinity’ as they are connected with Hermas’ descriptions. Hermas’ vision of the divine body, as a transformative union in itself, precedes the metamorphosis of the human community into this body.

That Hermas’ visions of the divine body in the form of the Tower precede the process of transformation provides a link with Jewish merkavah mysticism, and in early Jewish traditions of the transformations of the patriarchs, in that it is the vision of the

394 On the connection between contemplative or religiously altered vision and ascension in the Hellenistic period see Segal, Paul the Convert, 53-55. See also the comments of DeConick, “What is early Jewish and Christian mysticism?”, 24.
divine body that facilitates or is directly associated with transformation of the seer’s body into a glorious quasi-divine body.\(^{395}\)

Just as “visionaries are often depicted as either beholding or traveling to heavenly sanctuaries, especially in times when the earthly shrines become physically destroyed or polluted and thus no longer able to fulfill their cultic responsibilities,”\(^{396}\) Hermas’ vision, too, is of the “House” of God, one of his designations of the Tower. The priestly influence that extends through the apocalyptic visionary and ascent experiences to the Hekhalot texts provides for a traditional framework, one taken up by Hermas, in which the transformation of humanity into the divine is related in terms of entrance into the divine building.

In the case of both Q and Hermas, the union with the Presence of the Temple and the Ecclesia-House of God, both identified with Wisdom, respectively, has already occurred within the bodies of the righteous followers of the Son. This present union necessarily requires a present transformation of identity into a holy state in a manner similar to the High Priest, who takes on an angelomorphic status with regards to his bearing of the divine Name, his clothing, his entrance into the Holy of Holies, along with special access to, and contact with, the angelic and divine.\(^{397}\) Both Hermas and Q describe the transformation of the righteous in terms of glorious clothing (Q 12:27-28; Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 22-23, notes that “The idea that the vision of God involves the transformation of the visionary into an angelic or supra-angelic being is found at several places in apocalyptic literature. This transformation is described in the familiar terms of robing, crowning, anointing, enthronement and metamorphosis into fire or light.” He cites 1 En 71; 2 En 22; Test Lev 8; and Asc Isa 9. Additionally he notes midrashic traditions of the transformation of the children of Israel into “fiery angelic likenesses clothed with the Name of God.” The connection between vision and transformation in the Hellenistic period is noted by Segal, Paul the Convert, 53-56. Orlov, Heavenly Priesthood, 73. Fletcher-Louis, Luke-Acts, 118-129.)
Sim. VIII, 2:3) and both sources use the language of entering the divine House (Q 13:24-25; 14:23, Sim IX, 14:1). Additionally, on account of the eschatological situation and the role of these to grow Wisdom herself, the full form of their angelomorphic identity will occur when their individual bodies are used to build the celestial Ecclesia-Wisdom, the House of God, or the Tower (Q 14:28; 6:47-48; Vis III, 3:3, etc.) which is at the same time the Body of Glory. It is at this time that they *enter* the heavenly Temple and their metamorphosis into the cosmic Body once possessed by Adam is complete.

Hermas describes this ultimate transformation in terms of ascent. As in a number of apocalyptic accounts of ascension and transformation, the divine Name functions as a vehicle of ascent and, along with Wisdom, is the new self. For Hermas it appears that the receiving of the divine Name, shared by the Angel of the Lord, and the reception of the clothing of the virgins, the bodily garments of Wisdom worn by the Son of God, function as the transformed self, expressed also as the Holy Spirit, that is taken on through baptism. The clothing that is put on is consistent with accounts of transformation in the apocalypses in which the patriarchal hero or seer is clothed in garments of glory, identified with the highest angel and with the original glory of Adam. The idea of removing the corruptible body and sealing with the Name is originally associated with heavenly ascent and transformation and becomes ‘democratized’ in the ritual of baptism. Hermas, in his description of baptism, utilizes the imagery of death and ascent. The process of being united with the Tower as stones has already begun with the receiving of the Name and the garments of Ecclesia-Wisdom. The ritual in this

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sense is a vehicle of transformation and ultimately ascension.\textsuperscript{399} As a visionary prophet who is imaging God, and relating that image to humanity and the eschatological divine plan, Hermas goes further in providing the means of achieving an angelomorphic identity and ultimate transformation into that image of God.

The descriptions of enthronement and glorification are consistent with the experiences of apocalyptic seers and mystical adepts. What Hermas envisions is the Glory in terms of a union of male and female, which is conceptually similar to Jewish mystical traditions of the glory as both masculine and feminine, or the union of the male and female cherubim.

Hermas’ tradition is one that is based upon a visionary apocalyptic revelation that comes through the Spirit and concerns the body of Glory with which Jesus is understood to have merged. As the “new gate” he now functions as the means through which others may be transformed. Hermas provides a democratized praxis through which his community achieves an angelomorphic identity with the object of his vision and ultimate cosmic transformation into the Tower. It is an eschatological divinization that occurs within the earthly body in the present. These features place Hermas’ tradition very much within the realm of early Christian mysticism.\textsuperscript{400} An important distinction between Hermas’ tradition and the Christocentric examples of early Christian mysticism cited by DeConick is that in \textit{Hermas} the object of the vision (and the heavenly source of revelation) retains an identity distinct from the person of Jesus. The Son of God is in Similitude VIII is implicitly linked with Michael and Ecclesia-Wisdom preserves

\textsuperscript{399} Cf. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{400} On the features of early Christian mysticism see DeConick, “Jesus Revealed,” 299-324.
her female character. Wisdom has not, for instance, been assimilated to the masculine Christ, as in Paul’s thought (1 Cor. 1:24). It has been argued above that in Q the Son of God is a hidden heavenly persona with which Jesus and his followers identify based on an interpretation of Daniel 7-12 and this is likely the source of the tradition transmitted by Hermas. So too Wisdom is the female Spirit in both Q and Hermas which makes possible an identification with the Son. This distinction is then indicative of the antiquity of Hermas’ tradition relative to other early forms of Christian mysticism.

Q and Hermas provide further support that the idea was current that the transformation of humanity into a divine form, expressed in one way in Daniel in the form of the righteous who possess wisdom, could be experienced in the present in terms of a transformational identity with the body of the Glory.

Having affinities with 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, Q and Hermas transmit a tradition of the pre-existent Wisdom that grows in the heart as a Tree and represents a new Spirit which is transformative in its effects. It functions as the law of God through which the righteousness required for glorification is possible. This tradition has a basis in Daniel 12:3. This indwelling of the Spirit of Wisdom and the present earthly identification that is made between the righteous and the Son of God in both Q and Hermas, including the present nature of the divine clothing of Wisdom, serves to make righteous humanity incarnated divine mirrors of the cosmic androgynous embodied glory with which they will be joined at the eschaton. As in 2 Baruch, it is a splendor greater than that of the angels, and therefore ‘angelomorphic,’ precisely because it is a regaining of the superior glory of Adam.
This tradition of growing Wisdom as a Tree within appears to presume the tradition of a primordial corruption of Wisdom via Adam and/or Satanic influence. In *James* this corrupted Wisdom grows within through following one’s own desire and self-will and is therefore a repetition of Adam’s sin. The Wisdom from above, as in Q, *James*, and *Hermas*, functions as the antidote of this corrupted Wisdom, and grows into a ‘harvest of righteousness’. In Q and *Hermas* this growing of Wisdom functions to restore primordial Wisdom to her uncorrupted state and to restore humanity to its primordial glory.

In *Hermas* the situation of the human *Ecclesia* of God involves the idea of the Wisdom making an earthly dwelling in the House of God and with the people of God, following the loss of the original glory of Adam with whom Wisdom and the Primordial Sanctuary are associated. On the terrestrial plane this pattern is repeated in the manner of the Female divine presence abandoning the intended Dwelling of God due to human sin and taking residence among the exiled people of God. Accordingly her separation and fate is bound up with that of the people in whom she dwells. The people function as a collective Temple for the exiled divine Presence.

As the earthly community in *Hermas* is understood to embody and become joined to the ancient and eschatological House of God as a cosmic body, a precedent for the tradition of the earthly assembly forming the holy Sanctuary and being incorporated into the celestial Temple (or House) of God, also identified with the divine body and the glory of Adam, is found in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* from Qumran. These parallels are important since this text shares numerous affinities with later Jewish
mysticism. As the transformation of the earthly Assembly mirrors that of the Ecclesia-Wisdom herself, their True City in Hermas, comparable traditions concerning the metamorphosis of human figures and Mother Zion, are evident in texts such as 4 Ezra and Joseph and Aseneth. Yet it is in the tradition evinced in Q that the Mother Wisdom, explicitly, having abandoned the Temple, is understood to become embodied in the righteous.

There is an implied tradition in Q in which the transformation of the human envoys of Wisdom mirrors that of glorified Wisdom herself. In other words it is a metamorphosis of the Female Wisdom embodied in the people of God, who together are in exile. As Hermas identifies the Tower-Ecclesia with Wisdom, whose own separation and exaltation is correlated with that of the human community, this tradition evinced in Q appears as one transmitted by him.

Linked with this is the tradition of the primordial androgynous Adam, in his original image of the cosmic Body of Glory, being imparted Wisdom as the Spirit of God as his own Spirit, and the tradition of the earthly Son of God, with Solomon as an example, being given Wisdom, which in Jewish mystical tradition is the means to restore the original divine unity. Solomon functions as the biblical model of the Son of God (1 Chr 22:10) who asks for wisdom and knowledge (2 Chr 1:7-10), who is granted these by God (2 Chr 1:12), who literally builds the house of the Lord (1 Ki 6:2; 1 Chr 22:10; 2 Chr 6:1-2, etc.), which is a temple for the Name of the Lord (2 Chr 2:1). The Name of God

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then dwells in the House, in a manner informative of the Son as the bearer of the Name
dwelling within the structure of Ecclesia-Wisdom. It is likely that when Q 11:31 states
that “something greater than Solomon is here” the implication is that the cosmic House
of Wisdom corresponding to the divine Dwelling/Body is being built through the
regaining of the glory of Adam by the sons of God (Q 12:27-28) who come “in the Name
of the Lord” (Q 13:35).

The Son of God in Q embodies Wisdom. The followers as well as Jesus are the
mediators of divine knowledge, and this knowledge implies Wisdom as revelatory Torah,
which they receive and possess as Spirit. The Son then is the designation of those who
possess the Law, an image which is also transmitted by Hermas (Sim VIII, 1:2-4). The
ethical praxis in Hermas comes through Wisdom as heavenly revelatory knowledge and
commandments which function as preparatory for the indwelling of the good Spirit and
as manifestations of its qualities. The one who is a proper vessel for the Spirit is
identified with the Son. In Q, and in the manner of the hymn in 1 Enoch 42, iniquity has
prevented the presence of Wisdom from dwelling in the Temple and so she pours down
from above as an apocalyptic Spirit upon those in exile who have forgone attachment to
the world.

In Hermas, the Son is identified with the manifest Glory and the Spirit, and it is
the Son’s mediated Spirit which the earthly Assembly possesses which allows for their
participation and construction of the Body of this Glory.\textsuperscript{402} As the preexistent Holy Spirit

\textsuperscript{402} The building of the Tower is directly dependent on the righteousness of the earthly Ecclesia (Sim. X,
4:4-5). Hermas is instructed to be patient and of good understanding that he may be a suitable vessel for
the Holy Spirit, and to refrain from anger so this righteous spirit may not depart, being choked by the
dwell in the flesh according to Similitude V, 6:5, the pre-existent model of this incarnation is the bodily form of the Spirit-Kavod, identical with the Son as the embodied Glory and manifested as well in the form of Ecclesia-Wisdom (Sim. IX, 1:1). Ecclesia-Wisdom may in this sense be understood to be the bodily garment of the Son while the Spirit of the Son is Ecclesia-Wisdom in the form of the female spirits who are designated also as the Holy Spirit (Sim. IX, 24:2). The two seemingly distinct figures of the Son and Ecclesia are actually “one body and one Spirit” through the efforts of the earthly community.

The precedent for the unification of two angels, one male and one female, who manifest the glory, and whose union into an androgyne is associated with the earthly assembly appears to be the antique tradition stemming out of the First Temple of the two cherubim, one male and one female, whose union (as one body) is connected with the Body of Glory and is representative of the wedding of the earthly assembly and the divine and the union of the divine Name, which is facilitated by baptism and adherence to the commandments of God. Comparably, in Hermas, the union of the female Ecclesia-Wisdom and the male Son of God as one body in the Tower is in parallel to that of the earthly assembly's union with the divine.

Notable as these traditions relate to Hermas is the observation that the appearance of the Glory is based upon the union of the male and female angels, as represented in the earthly Temple or Dwelling of God, and this androgynous image is spirit of iniquity (Man. V, 1:1-7). It is only through baptism and subsequent strict moral purity that the Holy Spirit will remain in the heart and allow the righteous to act as a dwelling of the divine Feminine, carrying a part of her in ascension to the Tower.
correlated with the regaining of the glory of Adam. The divine archetype of Adam corresponds to the body of God, the Kavod, and the Son.\textsuperscript{403} The tradition of Adam corresponding in his original glory and size to the figure of the angel of the Lord and associated with primordial Wisdom, which he possesses as his Spirit, informs the tradition which is being transmitted by Hermas. Hermas’ description of the primordial Tower implies an ideal union of Son of God and Ecclesia-Wisdom. This picture is most reminiscent of the (androgy nous) glory of Adam who possessed Wisdom as his Spirit (2 En 30:8, 11-12; cf. Wisd 7:22).\textsuperscript{404} The angelomorphic identity that Hermas’ community shares with the Son and Ecclesia-Wisdom, an identity that facilitates a cosmic union, has its most direct precedent in the sayings source Q, wherein Jesus and his followers take on an angelomorphic identity with the Son of God and the Female Wisdom of the Temple. As in Hermas, this identity comes through baptism and adherence to the commandments of Wisdom mediated by the Son, and leads to a cosmic restoration of the glory of Adam.

The tradition evinced in \textit{Hermas} is in continuity with the early Jerusalem tradition evinced in Q, although with a development and expression appropriate to the Roman Christian environment at the time of Hermas. In the time that has passed relative to the production of the Q source, Hermas is now addressing a more established Ecclesia. Himself a Gentile in possession of a stream of Jewish mystical tradition, he has framed his material in form that is accessible to his audience and easily remembered.

\textsuperscript{403} Fossum, “Jewish-Christian Christology,” 269.
\textsuperscript{404} Ibid., 277.
His work is an example of a retransmission of Jewish Christianity by a non-Jew in an orally performed popular form.

Hermas is writing at a time after Roman Christianity had separated itself from the synagogue and Gentile Christians’ exposure to biblical and extrabiblical Jewish tradition was thus diminished. It is then expected that he would frame his received tradition in language familiar to an audience not necessarily versed in synagogal or biblical tradition. The imagery can nevertheless still be shown to be in continuity with the Jerusalem tradition. As with apocalyptic writers and visionary and mystical experience in general, Hermas’ own visions and experiences are related in his text through the traditional language, theology, authority, and symbols known to him. That the text shares so many affinities with the letter of James, as scholarship has already noted, and traditional elements which can be teased out of Q, suggests that Hermas presents an incredibly full and coherent picture of an early Jewish Christianity with its roots in the Jerusalem church headed by James.

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