

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

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THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

Hermas, the author of the "Shepherd", has, from the earliest times, been accorded a place among the Apostolic Fathers. That is to say, he has been reckoned among those writers of the Early Christian Church who, in the Sub-Apostolic age, handed down to later generations the tradition which they had received from the Apostles of Christ. He appears among them as the representative of an order in the Church, distinct from that of the Apostles and their successors, and from that of the Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers. Beside Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp, overseers or bishops who occupied the place of those to whom Christ entrusted the care of the Church and the propagation of the Gospel, beside the writer who bore the honoured name of Barnabas, the Companion of Paul, beside the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Hermas appears as representing the order of the Prophets, a man of the people, whom the Spirit of God has endowed with a special gift and appointed to fulfil a special mission.

A man with a message, calling upon all professing Christians, high and low, learned and ignorant, to consider their ways, and prepare for a time of searching trial, which should try every man's work, such was Hermas, and such his claim upon the attention of the Church. Men with such credentials had appeared under the Old Dispensation in times of special crisis. Such were ^{some of} the

Prophets of Israel and Judah. So also in the times of the Apostles prophets had appeared for the warning and edification of the Church of Christ.

The occasion which called for the mission of Hermas was the growth of a spirit of carelessness in the Church, such as was apt to arise in days of seeming security, when the storm of persecution had for a season ceased to rage, and Christians were in danger of forgetting their high calling. It was a time of peace. The Christian community in Rome enjoyed a season of comparative tranquillity. No alteration had been made in the law under which any person who called himself a Christian or who, accused of belonging to that proscribed sect, refused to abjure Christ, was declared to be guilty of treason and worthy of death. On the contrary, the celebrated Rescript of Trajan, (*) according to which the confession of the name of Christ was a capital offence, stood in the Statute book of the Empire as the last word on the subject. Nevertheless, since that Rescript discountenanced informers, and forbade the use of inquisitorial methods, it was consistent with a certain measure of tolerance, inasmuch as it left the enforcement of the law largely to the discretion of the magistrates. Thus it happened that there were frequent intervals, during which, alike in Rome and in the provinces, the Christians were unmolested.

(*) Friedländer Sittengeschichte Roms. III, 518. Boissier La Religion Romaine, I, 388.

Another circumstance which contributed to this result was the existence of Guilds or Brotherhoods, long a popular institution among the Romans. Of these the most notable was that of the "Fratres Arvales", or "Agricultural Brethren", an ancient religious society revived by Augustus, as one means among others of restoring the old national spirit of Rome, by promoting the study and practice of those forms of religion which were associated with the best days of the Republic. It enjoyed, from the days of Augustus onwards, the special patronage of the Emperors, who were members of the guild in virtue of office - a circumstance which prevented Trajan, notwithstanding his avowed antipathy to secret societies, from interfering^(*) with other clubs which were formed on the model of this ancient institution, and which were more or less democratic, and partook more or less of a religious character. Here the Christian Church found an opportunity of which she was^(*) not slow to avail herself. Denied the privileges of a "licensed religion", Christian communities conceived the idea of forming themselves into benefit societies, such as burial clubs and the like; and ^{since} ~~once~~ such associations had each their own religious rites, it was possible for Congregations of Christians, meeting like ordinary guilds, to conduct their services in comparative security. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, and when nothing occurred to rouse the suspicions of the magi-

(*) Friedländer l.c. III, 492. Boissier l.c. 362 ff. id. l.c. II, 279 ff.

(**) Id. l.c. II, 314, 327; cf. same writer - La Fin du Paganisme, I, 401, 422.

strates or of the populace, the authorities left them in peace, not caring to inquire too curiously into the proceedings of a benefit club.

The upper classes of Roman society were indifferent to religion. Abhorring everything that savoured of fanaticism,^(*) they were inclined rather to ignore Christianity, or to treat it with contempt as a vulgar superstition, than to controvert its doctrines or persecute its adherents. For their own part, they contented themselves with frequenting the temples of Roman, Greek, Egyptian or Eastern deities, or with attending the lectures of popular philosophers. And the most sceptical among them, however much they might, in private, scoff at the fables of Roman and Greek mythology, did not hesitate to show outward conformity to the national religion, and had no scruples about offering their formal tribute of worship at the shrines of deities in whose existence they had long ceased to believe, or whose power they had long ceased to fear.

The middle and lower classes^(**) were those whom the Christians had most cause to dread. Their innate conservatism, always strongest in questions of religion, their dislike of innovation, their incurable suspicion with which they regarded foreign ideas and practices, all contributed to the bitter hatred which they cherished against Christianity. Besides these causes for hostility

(*) Friedländer, l.c. III 426.

(**) Ibid. 425; Boissier l.c. II 267 f. Rénan, Marc Aurèle, 60.

to the new faith, such was their thirst for amusement, and especially for the excitement of the amphitheatre, that it required little to rekindle at any moment their fierce animosity towards the representatives of Christianity, and to induce them to call upon the magistrates to provide, from among the ranks of the proscribed sect, fresh victims to be exposed to the wild beasts of the arena. The Christians had, nevertheless, their seasons of respite, during which their chief danger was that occasioned to their faith by the polluting influence of the Pagan^(*) atmosphere in which they lived. For example, the schools were so dominated and pervaded by heathenism, that it was long a question of the gravest perplexity to the Church how far Christian parents should be allowed to expose their children to so fruitful a source of temptation.

Then the literature of the time teemed with allusions to heathen mythology, and the Christian Church, most of whose members belonged to the poorest classes, had not yet been able to provide herself with a literature fitted to counteract that influence, except that of the Old Testament, and the writings of the New, not yet collected into a recognised Canon, besides Christian and Jewish Apocalyptic works, and such treatises as the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius and Barnabas, and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. All that the Church could do towards surrounding her children with pure and elevating influences, was to pay

(*) Boissier - La Fin du Paganisme I, 171, 234, 249, 268.

special attention to the systematic instruction of young and old in the truths and principles of the Old Testament, and the teachings of Christ and the Apostles.

At such a period and under such circumstances, Hermas came before the Christian community in Rome, with a message to this effect: (*) "Remember that as Christians you are sojourners in a foreign land. The laws of the people among whom you dwell are not those of the Kingdom to which you belong. Take heed, therefore, lest you become so much conformed to the ways of the heathen, and so deeply engrossed in the cares and business of the State under whose rule you live, as to find it difficult to depart when its ruler commands you to obey his laws or quit his dominions."

It was a season of practically universal toleration. All types of religion were represented in Rome. A stranger visiting the World City had no difficulty in finding a place of worship suited to his belief. If he came from Egypt he scarcely required to be directed to the Temple of Isis. Shrines dedicated to the deities of Syria and Asia were equally accessible. The Jew knew where to find the Synagogue. Even the Christian could readily find the address of some office-bearer of the Christian Community, all the more that, through the admirable organisation of the Church and the vigilance of her Strangers' Committees, there was always some representative of the Congregation in Rome, on the outlook

(*) Sim I.

for such brethren from the provinces as might chance to visit the Imperial Metropolis.

Regarding the conditions of Church life or the ordering of worship in Rome in the time of Hermas, much is left to conjecture. Still we find, in the work^(*) ascribed to him, data sufficient to enable us to form some idea of the Community to which he belonged, and of the occasion on which he first made known his message.

We gather that, in addition to the ordinary services of public worship, there were special meetings for prayer and fellowship. At some such meeting Hermas appears to have offered his testimony. Of a similar nature, probably, was that over which Grapte presided, of whom we read in the Second Vision that she had charge of the Widows and Orphans. At these meetings it was no doubt open to any member of the Church to call attention to questions bearing upon the spiritual welfare of the people.

Hermas seems to have held no official position in the Church. Apparently some time had elapsed since there was a recognised order of prophets, men and women like Agabus and the daughters of Philip, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles. Hermas, a man of the people, hitherto invested with no recognised authority in the Roman community, appeared, like Elijah or Amos, in the days of old, or like John the Baptist immediately before Jesus of Nazareth began His ministry, his only credentials being the simple fact that the word of the Lord had come to him and charged

(*) Dobschütz, Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden, 214.

him with a message - "The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesy?" He was not unknown to the brethren. Before the last great persecution, he had been held in repute among them as a prosperous man of business who was loyal to Christ. In the course of that persecution, he had suffered the loss of all things, and been obliged to begin the world again, as a small farmer, in the neighbourhood of Rome, so that he was held in still higher esteem for the quiet courage and simple faith with which he had endured the fiery trial and confessed Christ. He was noted among the brethren for the singular simplicity of his character, and especially for the sunny cheerfulness of his disposition. When, therefore, he rose in his place in the fellowship meeting and offered his testimony, we can well believe that he was accorded an attentive hearing, the more readily on this account, that he made no claim to authority in the Church, but contented himself with saying that he had seen visions of God, and been charged with the responsibility of making known to the brethren what the Lord had revealed to him.

I. THE REVELATION.Visions I, II: The Confessions of Hermas.

The prophet began with a singularly short and simple account of his call and commission. This narrative, contained in the first two Visions, may be fitly styled "The Confessions of Hermas" - for his testimony to the Church begins with a testimony against himself.

"He who brought me up sold me for a slave to Rhoda in Rome. After many years I became again acquainted with her, and began to love her as a sister." Thus abruptly he introduces the Confession which follows. Of his life before he came to Rome, of his nationality, of his experiences as a slave, of the circumstances under which he received his freedom, or of the manner in which he spent the years which elapsed between the termination of his service in Rhoda's household and his return to Rome, he gives no account. We can only gather, from incidental allusions in his book, that after his emancipation he left Rome, and established himself in some kind of business, in which he succeeded in amassing a considerable fortune. During this period also he married, not very happily, for his wife had a shrewish tongue, and his children turned out badly, adding to other sins the crowning offence of betraying their parents in a time of persecution. Hermas had confessed his faith and been punished with the confiscation of his property.

On his return to the capital, and prior to his arraignment,

he again joined the congregation in Rome and renewed his acquaintance with Rhoda.

But the purpose of Hermas was not to tell the story of his life, which was probably well known in the Community, but to confess a sin of which he had been guilty, and to communicate a revelation which he had received from God.

The confession was to this effect. Walking one day by the Tiber, he chanced to see Rhoda bathing. With ready courtesy he assisted her out of the river. As he did so, he was impressed more than ever with her beauty and her gentleness, and the thought arose within him: "How happy had I been with one so fair and lovable for my wife!" It was but a passing thought, forgotten as quickly as it arose. Not long afterwards, Rhoda died. Some time after her death, he was walking along the Cumaeen Way, filled with gratitude to God as he mused on His glorious works, when he fell into a trance. The spirit caught him up, and carried him away to a pathless region, broken with clefts and intersected by brooks. Upborne by the Spirit, he crossed the waters, proceeding till he reached a level place. There he knelt in prayer, confessing his sins. As he prayed, the heavens were opened, and he beheld the glorified form of Rhoda, who saluted him. Returning her greeting, he asked: "What doest thou there?" She answered that she had been taken up in order that she might convict him before God of his sin against her. Lost in amazement, he asked of what sin he had been guilty, reminded her of the respect in which he had never

ceased to hold her, and challenged her to convict him of so much as an unseemly word uttered in her presence. She smiled and said that an evil thought concerning her had entered his heart. "That," she said, "was a sin, and a great sin. For the righteous man entertains righteous thoughts. By thinking righteous thoughts his glory is maintained..... but they who cherish evil thoughts draw upon themselves death and bondage..... But do thou," she continued, "pray to God, and He will heal thy transgressions, and those of thine house, and of all the saints." Upon this the heavens closed. Hermas abandoned himself to grief and terror, as he reflected: "If that thought be imputed to me as sin, how shall I be saved?" As he thus lamented he again lifted up his eyes, and saw before him a chair covered with snow white wool. A very aged woman, in glistening apparel, and holding a little book in her hand, came forward, seated herself on the chair, and saluted him. He returned her salutation sadly and in tears. She asked why he was so distressed, and he answered that a most excellent woman had charged him with a sin against her. "Never," rejoined the woman, "could anything so shameful be laid to the charge of a servant of God. But peradventure the thought entered thine heart. Such a thought is indeed shameful in the servants of God, but especially in one so chaste as Hermas, who refrains from every evil thought, and is full of simplicity and innocence." After having so far confirmed Rhoda's testimony, she hastened to add that God was no longer angry with him because

of the evil thought which had been brought to his remembrance, but because of other sins, especially his neglect of his duties as a parent. He was responsible for the sins of his family. The unbelief which led his children to denounce their parents in the late persecution, was a consequence of his neglect of their spiritual interests. But God was ready to forgive all the sins of Hermas and his family, his neglect and their unbelief, if he would atone for his past carelessness by diligent, persevering effort for his family's reformation.

Thus far the revelation is personal. The prophet must appear first in the guise of a penitent. He must take home to himself the message he has received from God, in order that he may deal with others as one who has himself obtained mercy.

As a Confessor, who, for the testimony of Christ, had suffered shame and loss, Hermas was doubtless highly esteemed, and the Church would be ready to listen to any message with which, however simple and unlettered he might be, he was charged by the Spirit of God. But the Spirit constrained him first of all to testify against himself, confessing his own sins, including among them a thought which he had not expressed in words, or even allowed to remain in his mind.

One is surprised at the childlike simplicity of these Confessions, and perhaps still more, that it should appear to have been in the recognised order of things that a member of the Church should speak thus openly of what to us seems fitted for the privacy of the closet, not for reference at a Christian

fellowship meeting, and still less for communication to the Church at large. "There," as has been aptly remarked, "is a fresh proof of the moral earnestness of the man in all its strength but not of the man only, but of the Christian community of that period, which expected such things of its members."

The narrative goes on to say that the Woman proposed that she should read to Hermas out of the little book which she held in her hand. He agreed, and she read the revelation, a few words of which are quoted, in the usual style of Apocalyptic literature, predicting the near approach of a day of searching trial. When she had finished reading, she rose from her seat. Four men now appeared, took up the Chair, and carried it away, departing towards the East. The Woman asked Hermas whether the reading had pleased him. He answered that he was pleased with the latter part of it, which was good and profitable, but that the first part was so grievous and harsh that a man could not endure it. She explained that the latter part was for the righteous, while the former was addressed to the heathen and apostates. As she spoke, two men appeared, took her by the arms, and departed with her towards the East whither the Chair had just been removed. She left with a cheerful countenance, saying as she left, "Play the man, Hermas."

Thus the First Vision ends. At this point the centre of interest is shifted from Hermas himself to the Church. The spiritual condition of the prophet and his household represents the microcosm of the Church at large. The secret sin charged

against Hermas, his neglect of parental duty, and the results of his unfaithfulness, are used to illustrate the degenerate condition of the Church of Christ. And the Vision teaches that, to the Church, as to Hermas and his family, forgiveness is offered, on condition of repentance and amendment.

THE SECOND VISION.

After the lapse of a year, another vision appeared, in circumstances similar to those of the former. As Hermas was walking on the Cumaean Way, at the same season, he was again caught up by the Spirit, and borne through the same pathless region to the scene of the First Vision. Again he knelt and prayed, returning thanks for the forgiveness of his sins, and for the special mercies vouchsafed to himself and to his family. Rising from his knees, he found himself in the presence of the Woman who had appeared to him the year before.

She was not now, as on the former occasion, seated on a chair, but pacing to and fro, reading her little book. She asked Hermas whether he was prepared to make the revelation known to the saints of God. He answered that he could not remember it all, and should like to make out a copy. The Woman handed him the book and he retired to a convenient spot where he transcribed the message; but, the manuscript being written continuously, he could not distinguish the words. As he finished his task, the book was snatched away by an unseen hand.

The meaning of the writing was revealed to him fifteen days

later, as he fasted and prayed. It contained a record of the sins of his children, who had blasphemed Christ and betrayed their parents, and also of the sins of his wife, who had failed to bridle her tongue, and enjoined upon him to communicate the revelation to his wife and family, with the assurance of the forgiveness of all their sins, if only they would repent. To this message was added a call to repentance, addressed to the whole Church. In this, office-bearers were warned against jealousy and strife. One Maximus, who had denied his Lord, was exhorted to beware lest he should deny Him a second time. Hermas was admonished not to bear a grudge against his children neither to suffer his "sister" - i.e., his wife, "to have her own way." And the message closed with the express warning that the present was the only opportunity of repentance provided for the elect of God. "For the Lord sware by His own glory, as concerning the elect, that, now that this day has been set as a limit, if sin shall hereafter be committed by them, they shall not find salvation; for repentance for the righteous has an end, the days of repentance are accomplished for all the saints, whereas, for the Gentiles, there is repentance until the last day."

After Hermas had received this revelation he beheld in vision, as he slept, a young man of surpassing beauty, who asked him whether he knew who this woman was, from whom he had received the book. Hermas replied: "It was the Sibyl." "Thou art in error," rejoined this stranger; "it was the Church, who appeared old, for that she was created first of all things."

Some days after Hermas had returned to his own house, the Woman again appeared, and enquired whether he had made known the revelation to the Elders of the Church. He replied that he had not done so, whereupon she said that he had acted rightly, because she had still some words to add. When she had communicated to him those additional words, she gave him authority to make the revelation known to the Elect; and charged him further to make out two copies of the complete message, the one for Clement, that he might send it to "foreign cities", that being his province, the other for Grapte, that she might read it to the widows and orphans. Hermas, for his own part, was to read the revelation to the assembled congregation, in presence of the presbyters.

Thus ends the first distinct section of the work, which we have ventured to call the Confessions of Hermas. Though it contains but a meagre account of the contents of the little book of which Hermas speaks, it has all the appearance of being complete in itself. The Visions which follow, and the later sections of the work - the Commands and Similitudes - appear as successive supplements to the original revelation, added for the purpose of explaining more fully what had gone before.

In view of this, it is not surprising that some scholars have held the view that the Shepherd, as it has come down to us, is by no means a unity. Thus Völter, in his treatise entitled "Die Visionen des Hermas", advances the opinion that the first two visions are the original work, written from a Jewish standpoint, and addressed to Jewish proselytes. In support of

this view, he points out that we learn from the Visions themselves that the scene of the revelations is somewhere on the road to Cumas; and that Hermas, in answer to the question who the Woman of the Visions is, says without the least hesitation "It is the Sibyl," meaning of course the celebrated Sibyl of Cumae. The young man who puts the question says indeed that Hermas is mistaken in his opinion, and that the Woman is not the Sibyl but the Church. But Völter explains this correction as being an interpolation by a later hand, designed to adapt the Vision to the requirements of the Christian community. Why that reference twice repeated to the Cumaean Road, where the Seer was walking when he was transported to the scene of the Visions? And why was Hermas so confident in his reply if the Woman who appeared on the Way to Cumae was not the Cumaean Sibyl herself?

It must be admitted indeed that the explanations offered in the book as we have it of the venerable appearance of the Woman of the Visions are not consistent with one another. In the Second Vision the Young Man says the Woman appears old because she is the Church who is as old as the Creation.

In the Third the same interpreter says that the aspect of extreme age which she bore when she first appeared meant the degenerate condition into which the Church had sunk, and that the greater freshness and vigour which she showed in later appearances denoted the result of her revival under the preaching of repentance to which Hermas was called.

Such discrepancies, however, may be easily accounted for by

the circumstance that considerable intervals occurred between the Visions. The author makes no pretensions to literary skill, and it is therefore no matter for surprise that he seems to have made no effort to reconcile these discrepancies. A study of the book as a whole shows that the complete revelation was made known in separate sections, the earlier visions serving as an introduction to those which follow. In the later visions the figure is used to set forth and illustrate the difference between the Church as she was when the word of God first came to Hermas, and as she was destined to become as the result of her repentance in response to the Divine call.

From the Fifth Vision onwards the Woman has disappeared, her place as the Medium and Interpreter of the revelations being taken by the Shepherd himself who is first introduced to our notice as the young man of the Second and Third Visions.

Chapter III

THE REVELATION - VISION III - SIMILITUDE X.
-----GENERAL SURVEY.

In the Third Vision we pass at once to the main body of the work, consisting of Visions III-V, the Twelve Commands, and the Ten Similitudes.

In response to the prayer of Hermas for a fuller explanation of the previous revelations, the Woman again appeared and made an appointment to meet him in one of his fields. Hermas repaired thither at the time agreed upon, but when he arrived at the appointed place he found himself alone. He saw before him only an ivory bench with a cushion upon it of white linen over which was spread a cover of similar material. Filled with fear, for that there was no one to explain what these things meant, Hermas knelt down and prayed, and while he was thus engaged the Woman appeared accompanied by the six young men whom he had seen in the first vision.

The Woman waited a brief space, and then touched him, and bade him pray no longer for forgiveness but rather for righteousness that so blessing might come to his household. Then she took him by the hand and led him to the bench, and after bidding the young men to "go and build", requested him to sit on the bench by her side. Hermas at first objected, saying that the Elders should first be seated. The Woman insisting, he was about

to comply, sitting on her right hand, when she again checked him and made him sit on her left, explaining that the right hand was reserved for those approved of God and who had suffered for the Name. Hermas, she said, should yet have his place among them when he became like them in doing and in suffering. Upon this she seemed about to close the interview, but on his entreaty she remained, he sitting as before on her left hand. Then, pointing with a gleaming wand which she held she called his attention to a great tower in process of building. It stood in the midst of a sheet of water. It was square and composed of stones of dazzling whiteness. Those engaged in the work were the six Young Men who had accompanied the Woman, aided by tens of thousands of labourers who fetched stones for the building. Of these stones some were taken from the "depth" - i. e., out of the water amid which the tower was built, and others from the dry land. The former were square, requiring no dressing, and were at once fitted into the building, with the result that the structure appeared as if it consisted of a single block. Of the latter, some were at once fitted into the Tower, some thrown aside, others broken in pieces and cast far away from the building. Of those thrown aside, some fell on the wayside, and rolled off into waste ground, some fell into the fire, some rolled near the water but somehow were prevented from falling into it. Other stones, more or less blemished, or only in need of dressing, lay round the building.

Thus the woman explained the Vision. The Tower was the

Church of God. The builders and their assistants were arch-angels and angels. The stones which were fitted into the building were believers approved of God and therefore members of the true Church. Some of these were still alive, but some had fallen asleep.

Of the stones outside the tower, lying around it, or thrown to a distance from it, some represented imperfect believers, and some hypocrites and apostates. Those which rolled near the water, but could not enter it, signified catechumens who shrank from baptism because of the vows which it entailed.

The Prophet now saw seven women standing round the tower, as if supporting it, in the manner of Caryatids. These were explained as representing the Seven Powers of the Holy Spirit by which the Church is sustained, viz., Faith, Self-Control, Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Holiness and Love. These Virtues are related thus:-

Faith is the mother of Self Control, Self Control of Simplicity, and so on. "Whosoever," the Woman of the Vision said, "shall have these virtues, and do their works with diligence, shall have a place in the tower with the saints of God." When she had interpreted the Vision, she charged Hermas with a message to the brethren, in which, after calling to their remembrance the care with which she had brought up her children, and the purity and simplicity of their early days, she exhorted them to cultivate a spirit of harmony and beneficence. After a prediction of a season of trial when the time of the Church's

opportunity should expire simultaneously with the completion of the tower, the message closed with a special admonition addressed to the leaders of the Church, warning them to avoid variance among themselves, and exhorting them to be faithful in the discharge of their duties.

The six Young Men had returned now, and carried the Woman and the bench to their appointed place in the tower.

Thus ends the Vision of the Bench and the Tower. What follows is added by way of a supplement, explaining those points in the Vision which still called for interpretation.

Hermas, resuming the narrative, tells us that this supplementary vision appeared the following night when he had again fasted and prayed. On this occasion the interpreter of the revelation was no longer the Woman who had represented the Church in the first three visions, but the beautiful youth who had appeared at the close of the Second Vision, and who is later identified with the Shepherd, to whose care Hermas was committed in connection with all subsequent revelations. Here, however, this heaven-sent Interpreter announces the purpose of his mission as being that of explaining the three aspects under which the Woman had appeared. This is the explanation. The Woman is the Church. As at her first appearance, she seemed old and feeble, inasmuch that she required the support of a chair, so the Church was weak and seemingly past all hope of regaining her strength. It was God's purpose to rouse her from her languor, and restore her to vigorous health. Such should be

the result of the prophet's mission. Thus she appeared in the Second Vision as if her revival had begun. No longer seated in a chair, she was moving about, active, fresh and strong, though her face and hair were still those of extreme old age. "When an old man," said the Youth, "despairing of himself by reason of infirmity and poverty, and looking only for the end of his days, has an inheritance unexpectedly bequeathed to him, he, having heard thereof, rouses himself, and, in the fulness of his joy, girds himself with strength. Such an one no longer reclines, but stands erect, and his spirit, which had begun to languish by reason of his former manner of life, revives again. Thus he no longer sits, but is vigorous and strong. Even so shall it be with you, when ye have received the revelation which the Lord made known to you. When the Woman appeared the third time, she was fresh, happy, fair and strong. So when some mourner receives a piece of good news, he straightway forgets his former griefs, and attends to nothing but the message which he has heard. In like manner have your spirits been revived at the sight of these good things. And whereas thou sawest her seated on a bench, her position is secure. For the bench has four feet, even as the world is compounded of four elements. They, therefore, who wholly repent, shall be renewed, and be firmly established, repenting with all their heart."

VISION IV: THE GREAT TRIBULATION.

Twenty days after the previous vision, Hermas was walking along the Campanian Way, and meditating upon what he had seen and heard. Having reached a solitary place, he prayed the Lord to complete the revelation, and grant restoration to all that had erred or stumbled. As he was giving thanks to God for His goodness, he heard a voice saying: "O, Hermas, be not of doubtful mind." Wondering what this meant, he proceeded on his way, when he saw before him a great cloud of dust, as if a herd of cattle was drawing near. It grew denser and denser, darkening the air, till the sun shone through the gloom and disclosed the approach of a terrible monster, a hundred feet in length. Its head was of the colour of red pottery, and fiery locusts issued from its mouth. Hermas wept, and prayed for deliverance, then remembering the voice which bade him banish doubt from his mind, he armed himself with faith, and pressed forward. The monster still came on, seeming as though it would devour the whole city, but as Hermas steadily held on his way, it lay down, with tongue protruding, and suffered him to pass safely. When he had passed, the Woman of the Vision advanced to meet him, clothed in shining raiment, and with aspect fair and beautiful, like a bride. She hailed him with cheerful voice, and asked whether he had encountered anything. He replied that he had met with a monster, which seemed to

threaten all mankind with destruction, but that the Lord, in His infinite mercy, had enabled him to pass safely. "It was well," the Woman rejoined. The Lord had sent Thege^r, the Angel that was over the wild beasts, and shut the monster's mouth, because Hermas had not doubted, but had cast his cares upon the Lord. Then she explained that the monster was a type of the coming tribulation, and she bade Hermas tell the Vision to the Church, in order that by repentance, simple faith, and steadfast continuance in the service of the Lord, she might so prepare herself that she should safely endure the trial which awaited her. Hermas then asked the Woman to explain the meaning of the colours of the monster's head - black, red like fire and blood, golden, and white, which he had noted as he passed. She replied that the black signified this present evil world; the red the destiny of the world, to perish in fire and blood; the golden colour denoted the saints who, like gold, tried and cleansed, not destroyed, by fire, should escape the power of the world; the white, the coming age, in which they should be made perfect in holiness. After further exhorting him to continue to testify these things to the Church, and assuring him that the faithful should pass safely through the Great Tribulation, the Woman vanished from his sight. Thick darkness then descended, and Hermas turned back fearing that the Monster was again drawing near.

Thus, with startling suddenness, and amid ominous forebodings of trouble, ends the Fourth Vision.

VISION V. THE SHEPHERD.TRANSITION TO THE COMMANDS.

In this Vision the Shepherd, by whose name the book is known, is for the first time introduced to our notice as the medium and interpreter of the revelations. From this point we become aware of a marked difference in its tone. Hermas was sitting in his own house, absorbed in prayer, when a stranger of noble bearing, but habited as a shepherd, entered and saluted him.

As Hermas returned the greeting, the stranger sat down beside him, and said that he had been sent by "the most holy angel" to abide with him all his life. Surprised at this announcement, and thinking that his visitor only meant to prove him, he asked: "But who art thou? For I know unto whom I was delivered." "Knowest thou me not?" replied the stranger, and, Hermas answering in the negative, he continued: "I am the Shepherd to whose care thou wast delivered." As he spoke, his form was changed, and Hermas was confounded, for now he recognised in his companion the Counsellor who had appeared in former visions; and he was grieved and ashamed that he had received him so rudely. "Be not ashamed," said the Shepherd, "but make thyself strong by obedience to the commands which I am about to lay upon thee." He went on to say that he had come to explain again the more important points of the previous visions, but in

the first place to make known the Commands and Similitudes,
which Hermas was to write down for his own edification and that
of the Church.

Chapter IV

THE APOCALYPTIC FORM OF THE SHEPHERD.

The shepherd is a figure of authority and guidance, often associated with the role of a leader or a deity. In the context of the apocalyptic form, the shepherd is depicted as a powerful figure who leads his flock through a dark and perilous landscape. This imagery is used to convey a sense of divine protection and guidance, as well as a warning of the consequences of disobedience. The shepherd's role is central to the narrative, as he is the one who interprets the signs and omens of the apocalypse and leads his people to safety.

The apocalyptic form of the shepherd is a powerful and enduring symbol. It represents the idea of a divine shepherd who guides his people through the darkest of times. This imagery is used to convey a sense of hope and faith, as well as a warning of the consequences of disobedience. The shepherd's role is central to the narrative, as he is the one who interprets the signs and omens of the apocalypse and leads his people to safety.

At this point, and before we pass to the Commands and Similitudes, it will be appropriate to deal with a question suggested by the opening Visions, characterised as they are by a peculiar tone of urgency, familiar in Apocalyptic literature: How are we to account for the presence of that element in the Shepherd? Is that work a genuine Apocalypse? Or has its author merely adopted the Apocalyptic style in order the better to commend his message to his readers, and the more strongly to impress upon them the urgent need of revival in which they stood and awake them to earnestness for that the time was short and the Judge was at the gate?

We hope in the following remarks to explain and justify our view that Hermas was a Prophet, not an Apocalypticist, and that he used the Apocalyptic style where it seemed to him best suited to make the impression he desired to produce upon the mind and consciences of his readers.

That Hermas was familiar with, and influenced largely by Apocalyptic literature of the Christian and the Jewish type, appears partly from the fact that in the Shepherd we find points of resemblance ^{to} with Apocalypses like ⁴ Ezra, the Assumption of Moses and the like, partly from the allusion to Eldat and Modat in the Second Vision, ^{and} which is supposed to have been the title of a book of an apocalyptic character no longer extant. These hints and suggestions seem to indicate that Hermas knew and was

influenced by works of that class, which were popular and widely read by Christians of his time: and that what impressed him most was the note of urgency which characterises all Apocalypses.

In a word, Hermas was a prophet, possessed and overmastered by the importance of his message. His mission was to rouse a languishing Church to spiritual and moral earnestness, and thus he was led on occasion to adopt the tone and assume the manner of ^{who is} one impressed with the thought - the time is short, and the Lord is at hand."

The form in which the revelations of Hermas are presented to us, and certain passages in the Shepherd, occurring principally in the opening visions, suggest the question whether the work is to be regarded as belonging to the category of Apocalyptic writings, or whether it should be held to be considered to be the production of a Prophet who chose to adopt the Apocalyptic manner of expression in order the better to convince his readers of the urgency of his message.

That we may arrive at an accurate conclusion we must in the first place compare the prophecy of Hermas with such specimens of that kind of prophecy which we call Apocalyptic, as have come down to us from Jewish or Christian sources, and then deal with the question how far the Shepherd corresponds in style or matter with these Apocalypses.

Burkitt, in his Lectures entitled The Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, ^{which} has given a very concise and perspicuous statement

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of the essential characteristics of that class of writing, which at once commends itself as closely corresponding to what we find in such writings as ⁴the Revelation of Baruch, and the like.

According to that writer the first and most conspicuous feature in a genuine Apocalypse is that its central idea is that of the imminent approach of the end of the present age. God is represented as being about to manifest Himself as the Judge of all nations, for the deliverance of His chosen people, for the vindication of the righteous, and the condemnation and final destruction of all God's and His people's enemies.

We observe the working out of this thought in all genuine apocalypses - Jewish and Christian, canonical and uncanonical.

Such vivid anticipations of the speedy approach of the final judgment of the world appeared among the Jews, first in connexion with the Messianic hope, in the form which was held in those times when, amid the wars of the contending world empires, the Jewish nationality seemed to be threatened with utter extinction. They were accentuated and brought into prominence in the days of the Maccabees, by the deadly struggle of the Jews with the successors* of Alexander the Great, particularly with Antiochus Epiphanes. Expectations of a temporal Messianic Kingdom began to assume definite shape at the time when the Book of Daniel was written. So long as the Jews cherished these expectations, the writings which embodied the national

hope were popular among the people.

In the same way, among the Early Christians, Apocalyptic writing was held in universal reverence so long as they clung to the belief that the Second Coming of Christ was to take place in the very near future, and that then His Kingdom should be finally established and the Church's enemies and persecutors for ever overthrown. Under such circumstances the inspired book in which St. John recorded the revelations which God made known to him, (written in the familiar and popular Apocalyptic form.

For the same reasons, among Jews and Christians alike, Apocalyptic writings lost much of their influence and interest in proportion as their sanguine expectations failed to materialise, and the coming of the eagerly expected Deliverer came to be relegated to a dim and distant future. Thus, when Jerusalem fell, and the Jewish State was destroyed by the Roman legions, Jewish theologians set to work at the reconstruction of their system of religious thought upon a new scheme, in which Apocalyptic had no place. In the same way, the Christian writers, who clung long to their earlier expectations of the coming of Christ to reign on earth, came less and less to value that class of religious writing, as they began gradually to understand that it was not given to them to know the times and seasons.

The notes of urgency, and of the immediate imminence of the Day of the Lord, are the central features of Apocalyptic properly so-called. Judged by this feature, the Shepherd is not an

+ Burkill p 84

* Id p 49

Apocalypse. A tendency to indulge in Apocalyptic forms of expression is indeed clearly shown, but this is almost entirely confined to the Early Visions - Vis. 1, 3, 4 is a case in point, where the Woman says "Behold the Lord removeth the heavens and the mountains and the hills and all things shall be made plain for His Elect." So are those passages in the Second and Third which speak of the shortness of the respite allotted for the repentance of unfaithful members of the Church, and those which warn the Seer and his readers that the Tower shall soon be completed, and the time of opportunity lost. Then Vis. IV speaks of the imminent approach of the Great Tribulation, at the end of which the Church shall appear in her glorified form, and seems to indicate that the New Age must dawn in the near future. But from Vis. V. onwards the note of urgency ceases. From the series of Commands, the next section of the work, we gather the impression that the author no longer speaks as if he was still convinced that the end of the age was close at hand, but as if he contemplated the revival and restoration of the Church as involving a long process of development. Not the future but the present \dagger present duty, to the faithful discharge of which one must devote oneself in humble reliance upon the grace of God, is the all engrossing theme of the Shepherd

Here we are
 Connected with this ~~is~~ the strongly marked difference between the outlook of a prophet and teacher like Hermas and that of Apocalyptists. The latter are wholly occupied with the future, the sphere of hope. To them the Second Coming is so

near that the days may be numbered that must pass before Christ shall appear, and the signs of the times are so clear that they may be read by the faithful who are willing to understand what the Apocalyptists regard as the plain teachings of Divine providence. The former live in the present as the preparation for the future.

Again there is a marked difference between the Shepherd and Apocalyptia in respect of their references to Christ. The thought of the Christ as the Messiah, and the blessings of His Personal Reign is that which characterises Apocalyptic writings. * The thought of Christ as God Incarnate is foreign to the Apocalyptic conception. So also is that of Salvation as purchased by His atoning death. So when these * events are alluded to, as in the Ascension of Isaiah, the result is confusion. It is a case of new wine in old bottles. The work is Apocalyptic; therefore it must tell us of the End. The real interest of the writer is in the theological doctrine of the Descent of Christ through the Seven Heavens and the events which followed, and for those events Apocalyptia was not the suitable vehicle or medium.

Now ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Hermas Christ, as Son of God, is Head of the Church, which He redeemed by His atoning sufferings and rules by His Spirit. The author of the Shepherd is at great pains to define

* Burkitt, l.c. 47.

his views of the Person of Christ and the operations of the Spirit of God.

2. Other notable features are those of pseudonymity, and silence as to the names of contemporaries of the writers and those of the subjects of their predictions. (a) Pseudonymity. The Apocalyptists, most of whom, if not all, wrote after the settlement of the Canon, wrote under the names of well-known men, belonging to the past, and recognised as authorities in the Old Testament Church. The names were chosen out of regard to the purpose of the Apocalypse, or with respect to those to whom the Revelation was addressed. For example, the Books of Enoch, as being addressed to all mankind, bore the honoured name of an ancestor of the human race. The Ascent of Isaiah, addressed to Christians, bore the name of the Hebrew prophet who most clearly foresaw and predicted the ministry and sufferings of Christ. The Apocalypse of ¹ Ezra, the ² Esdras of the Jewish Apocrypha, inasmuch as it made the Destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar the type of the final extinction of the Jewish nationality by the Roman power, bore the name of Ezra, a leader of the Exiles who returned from the captivity ⁱⁿ to Babylon.

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(b) Silence regarding names of contemporaries of the writer, and of ^{persons} those to whom he referred, a notable feature of Apocalyptic. Thus Daniel, describing the Wars with the Antiochi, mentioned no name later than the times of Belshazzar, Cyrus and Darius, and only spoke of Rome, whose intervention in the Wars of the successors of Alexander broke the power of the

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Antiochi, under the name of Kittim, the Old Testament expression ^{for} of Cyprus, from beyond which the Roman ships came.

In both these respects the Shepherd of Hermas appears in marked contrast to the Apocalypses with the single exception of that of St. John. Hermas shelters himself under no pseudonym. He writes as a simple member of the Roman church and save for a solitary allusion to Eldad and Medad whose position was analogous to his own, private members of the Church in the Wilderness as he was a private member of the Roman community mentions none but contemporaries, the Roman Christians, Rhoda, Maximus, Clement and Grapte. Of these the last two were entrusted with copies of the revelation which he had received.

3. Lastly, we learn from the testimony of ⁴ Ezra that to the Apocalypstists the revelations came through Visions, seen in a state of ecstasy. Hermas, on the other hand, was in full possession of his natural faculties when he beheld his Visions. Like the Apocalypstists, he had to prepare in many cases by fasting and prayer. But never once does he even hint at such an experience as that described in ² ^{*} Ezra, when the writer says that Ezra prayed for a special strengthening of his memory that he might record his visions.

Hermas was no Apocalypstist. Like all Christians of his time he was, in all probability, well acquainted with apocalyptic literature. With the example of Jude before him, who, as an Apostle and an inspired writer, did not hesitate to quote from

* 2 Ezra 12, 24 Comp Box 2, Ezra p 306, 318, 319

the Book of Enoch as a recognised authority on the subject on which he wrote to his fellow Christians, Hermas may quite conceivably have used Apocalyptic expressions, when he had occasion to look forward to the future Coming of Christ, and warn the Church in Rome to awake to righteousness and prepare themselves, so that that day might not overtake them as a thief. *Beyond that he has nothing in common with Apocalyptic writers.*

The Revelation Section

~~REV~~ III

Chapter ^V ~~IV~~ (1) THE COMMANDS.

Chapter III
PART III - THE COMMANDS.

This portion of the work is of the nature of a catechetical manual, for which purpose it seems to have been designed; as, indeed, it was for some time used by the Church.

COMMAND I - FAITH.

This command enjoins faith in One God, Who created all things, and formed the universe out of nothing.

It also calls attention to the virtue of Godly Fear, and the duty of refraining from Self-Indulgence.

COMMAND II - SIMPLICITY.

Be like children in respect of Simplicity and Guilelessness. Speak evil of no man, neither give ear to the slanderer, lest thou share his guilt. Be clothed with innocence; be kind also, and generous to those in want. Give freely, without doubting to whom thou shouldst give or refrain from giving; leave all responsibility to the recipient of thy bounty.

COMMAND III - TRUTH.

Love and speak the truth. "God^(*) is truthful in everything. The spirit of God Who dwells within thee, is true; beware therefore lest, failing at last to render back to Him that holy deposit, thou mayest rob God."

Here the author resumes his narrative, and tells us that when he heard these things he wept much, and was in despair; for this command reminded him that he himself had in times past been guilty of much falsehood and dishonesty in business. But the Shepherd comforted him with the assurance that if for the future he should cleave to the truth, the falsehood and unfaithfulness of the past should be transformed into truth and honesty.

COMMAND IV - CHASTITY.

Every adulterous desire, every impure thought, is a heinous sin. The wife who has once been guilty of adultery, if she repents, is to be forgiven and restored. If she continue in sin, she is to be put away, and her husband must not marry another woman, neither may his wife return to him, because there is only one opportunity of repentance.

To live after the manner of the heathen is also adultery.

At this point Hermas interposed a question as to the opinion of "certain teachers", who declared that there was no second opportunity of repentance in the case of mortal sin

(*) Donaldson's translation. The Apostolical Fathers, p. 344.

committed after baptism. The Shepherd replied that those teachers were, on the whole, right. "Nevertheless," he continued, "the abounding mercy of the Lord has now provided a special opportunity of repentance, and given to the Angel of Penitence a special power of absolution. But after that great and holy calling, there is no restoration for the backslider."

For believers there is forgiveness in respect of past sins, but not in respect of those which they may afterwards commit.

In reply to a question as to the lawfulness of Second Marriage, the Shepherd said that widowers or widows are not forbidden to marry, but that those who refrain from a second marriage are more acceptable to God.

COMMAND V - LONGSUFFERING AND ANGER.

Through Evil Temper, the Holy Spirit Who dwells within thee is crowded out, and goes away. As a little wormwood destroys the sweetness of honey, so Longsuffering, which is sweeter than honey, is tainted by the bitterness of Anger; and the prayer of him whose heart is thus polluted finds no acceptance with God. Evil temper engenders bitterness, and bitterness wrath, and wrath anger, and anger spite. These cause the Holy Spirit to depart from a man, and the evil spirits gain the mastery of him, and drag him hither and thither, till he is utterly blinded, and bereft of his good intent.

COMMAND VI - FAITH, GODLY FEAR, AND SELF-CONTROL.

This is explanatory of Command I, and deals with the virtues which are there commended. In this connexion it calls attention to the doctrine of the "Two Ways" - the straight and the crooked; and to that of the Two Angels who attend upon every man, and prompt him to good or evil.

COMMAND VII - THE TWO FEARS.

Fear God, so shalt thou master the Devil. Fear not the Devil. That is wrong and foolish, because the Devil has no power.

COMMAND VIII - THE TRUE ABSTINENCE.

There are two kinds of abstinence. We must abstain from some things, and not abstain from others. Abstain from evil. Here follows an enunciation of the Evil things referred to, and of the Good things which ought to be done.

COMMAND IX - DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS.

Let no one think that God is like men, who are disposed to harbour a grudge. He is forgiving, and will hear thy prayer, though thou mayest have often sinned in times past. Pray, therefore, without doubting, and thou shalt receive. But, if thou doubt, thou shalt obtain none of thy requests. Let prayer

be persevering and importunate, and, however long the answer may be deferred, it must prevail. "Doubt is the daughter of the Devil, and accomplishes nothing. Faith comes from God, and has great power."

COMMAND X - SINFUL SORROW.

There is a kind of sorrow which is the sister of Double-Mindness, and of Bitterness, which crowds the Holy Spirit out of the heart, and destroys a man; and again there is a sorrow which saves him. When a man of doubtful mind sets his heart upon anything, and, by reason of his double-mindedness, fails to obtain his desire, sadness enters his heart, and the Holy Spirit is grieved and crowded out.

Again, when angry temper has possessed a man, it may be that Sorrow on account of this enters his heart, and he repents of his sin. This is Godly Sorrow, and it saves, in that he who has done evil repents. But, forasmuch as the Holy Spirit Who dwells in a man is a Spirit of Joyousness, let the believer clothe himself with cheerfulness. For the cheerful man does good deeds, thinks good thoughts, and contemns grief; but the sorrowful man does evil, for he grieves the Spirit, and his sorrow hinders his prayers, because it mingles with them, and does not suffer them to ascend in purity to the throne of God.

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COMMAND XI - THE FALSE PROPHET AND THE TRUE.

This Command was revealed in a vision.

The Shepherd showed Hermas a prophet seated on a chair, and a number of persons sitting before him on a couch. He explained that this prophet was one who deceived the servants of God, and that those on the couch were believers who consulted him; and proceeded to show wherein this man differed from a true prophet.

The Spirit which inspired him was earthly and fickle, prompting him to answer the questions of his disciples. These came to him as a soothsayer, and enquired what should be their future. And he, having none of the power of the Divine Spirit, spoke to them according to the questions which they put, and according to their evil desires, filling their souls with their own idle wishes. For he, being himself vain and foolish, vainly answered those foolish men. Certain of his answers were true, but only because the Devil inspired him, that he might do harm to the just. Such practices were idolatrous on his part and on theirs. "No Spirit which is of God is questioned, but speaks spontaneously, as he has given to him the power of the Godhead."

The Shepherd proceeded to illustrate the difference between the False Prophet and the True in this way. If a false prophet and a true were to enter an assembly of believers, the former, finding himself in the presence of men filled with the

Spirit of God, would straightway be deserted by the earthly spirit, and be utterly confounded. The latter, possessed by the Angel of the Prophetic Spirit, and full of the Holy Ghost, would, after prayer offered by the brethren, speak before the congregation according to the will of God. The true prophet was gentle, peaceable, and lowly, and abstained from all wickedness. The false was proud, self-assertive, ambitious, shameless, and talkative. He prophesied for gain, and was given to indulgence in all kinds of luxury. He avoided the assemblies of the faithful, and associated only with the foolish and the double-minded. "Listen (then)," (*) continued the Shepherd, "to the parable which I shall tell thee. Take a stone, (*) and throw it up to heaven - see if thou canst reach it; or again, take a squirt of water and squirt it up to heaven - see if thou canst bore through the heaven." "How, Sir," answered Hermas, "can these things be? For both these things which thou hast mentioned are beyond our power." "Well, then," rejoined the other, "just as these things are beyond our power, so likewise the earthly spirits have no power, and are feeble. Now take the power which cometh from above. The hail is a very small grain, and yet, when it falleth on a man's head, what pain it causeth! Or again, take a drop which, falling on the ground from the tiles, bores through the stone. Thou seest then, that the

(*) Lightfoot's translation.

(**) Lightfoot's translation.

smallest things from above, falling on the earth, have great power. So likewise, the divine Spirit, coming from above, is powerful. This Spirit, therefore, trust, but from the other hold aloof."

COMMAND XII - EVIL DESIRE.

Remove from thyself every evil desire, and that thou mayest do this, clothe thyself with that desire which is good and holy. Thus shalt thou hate Evil desire, and bring it into complete subjection to thy will. Evil desire is fierce, and hard to tame, and, by its violence, it grievously destroys men. Especially grievous is the mischief which it causes when a servant of God becomes a prey to it, not having prudence or wisdom to withstand it..... Now these evil desires.... are, first and before all others, desire after another man's wife or another woman's husband, then those of extravagance, gluttony, drunkenness, and many foolish lusts..... This wicked desire is the daughter of the Devil; and they who are overcome by it, and cannot withstand it, must perish for ever. Clothe thyself, therefore, with good desire, and arm thyself with the fear of the Lord. For the fear of the Lord dwelleth with good desire, and lust flee-eth far from him who is so clothed and armed.... Practise righteousness and truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and all such virtues, thus shalt thou be a servant of God, well-pleasing unto Him; and whosoever shall

serve good desire shall live unto God.

At this point the narrative is resumed and the dialogue with which this Section closes forms the transition to the Similitudes.

When the Shepherd had set forth and expounded the Commands, Hermas was filled with doubt and dismay, for they seemed so hard that he wondered whether it could be in the power of any man to keep them. The Shepherd replied in great wrath, that if anyone would only make up his mind that they could be kept, he should find that they were not grievous. If Hermas harboured the thought that they were beyond human power, he should find them beyond his own power. Woe was unto him, he was self-condemned, and there was no salvation for him or for his house. Upon this Hermas trembled exceedingly, but the Shepherd, observing his distress, comforted him. "God," he said, "had created the world for the sake of man, to whom He gave dominion over all things under heaven. If man had such power over the creatures, he could surely keep these commands. Let any man," he continued, "admit the Lord into his heart, and he shall receive this power. For though the Devil may withstand, he cannot overcome those who are strengthened with the grace of Christ, and with whom the Angel of Repentance dwells. When a man would fill a sufficient number of jars with good wine, if some few of those jars be altogether empty, when he comes to the jars, he takes no notice of the full ones, for he knows they are full, but he examines those which are empty,

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fearing that they may be sour, for perfectly empty jars soon become sour, and the sweet savour of the wine is destroyed. So the devil comes and tries all the servants of God. All those that are full of faith strongly resist him, and he departs, having no room to enter. Then he goes to those who are empty, and, finding space, he enters them and works his will with them, and they become his servants. Fear not the Devil, therefore, but, influenced by the grace of repentance, and full of faith, fear Him Who has all power to save and to destroy. The Devil cannot enter the heart which is full of faith." When he heard these words, Hermas answered: "Lord, now I am strengthened with the justifying grace of the Lord. For Thou art with me, and I know that thou shalt destroy the works of the Devil, and we shall overcome him. I trust that I, too, shall be able, the Lord giving me strength, to keep these commands."

After speaking a few more words of encouragement, the Shepherd proceeded to set forth the nature and the laws of the Kingdom of God, in a series of similitudes.

Section
~~PART~~ III. ~~Chapter~~

Chapter V (2) THE SIMILITUDES.

PART III - THE SIMILITUDES.

SIMILITUDE I - THE TWO STATES.

Christians are, in this world, like strangers in a foreign land. The laws of that state in whose territory they sojourn are very different from those of the Kingdom of God to which they belong. Let every believer remember this, and order his life accordingly, as he reflects that the lord of the country in which he dwells may at any time enforce his laws and bid him quit his dominions. And let him, by works of charity, and by the faithful discharge of his duty as the Lord's steward, lay up treasure in heaven, not on earth. Take heed that thou deny not the law of thine own country, for then on thy return thither thou shalt be shut out, forasmuch as thou hast renounced the laws of that country. Live therefore as a stranger here, seeking no more than suffices for thy wants; so that thou mayest be prepared, when the lord of the country of thy sojourn desires to cast thee forth for disobedience to his laws, to obey the summons and depart to thine own country, where thou mayest abide with gladness and without offence. Buy then afflicted souls instead of fields, and care for widows and orphans. Much better is it to buy such lands and possessions..... as thou shalt find in thine own country, that thou mayest have thy portion there.

SIMILITUDE II - THE VINE AND THE ELM.

As Hermas was walking in the country, he observed how the vines were trained to cling to elm trees, and meditated upon the uses of these trees. The Shepherd met him, and showed that they were emblems of the servants of the Lord. The Vine bears fruit, the Elm bears none. But the Vine is fruitless except it cling to the Elm. Again, the Elm bears fruit, in a sense, no less than the Vine, ^{as} inasmuch as, apart from the Elm, the Vine would bear little fruit, and that rotten. This is a parable of the rich and the poor. The rich has much wealth, yet is he poor in respect to the Lord. For he is prone to be so much engrossed with his wealth, that his confession of the Lord, and his prayers, become small and ineffectual, and thus his spiritual life suffers loss. The Vine is an emblem of the poor man who is rich in faith and mighty in prayer. The poor, cared for by the rich, pray for them, and their prayer availeth much, even as the Vine owes its health and fruitfulness to the support of the Elm. Thus rich and poor are fellow labourers in the work of righteousness, the poor using well that grace, in which God has made them to abound, and the rich giving ungrudgingly to the poor of the blessings which God has bestowed upon them.

SIMILITUDE III - THE TREES IN WINTER.

The Shepherd, one winter day, called the attention of Hermas to many trees, all dry and leafless, as if withered and dead. There seemed to be no difference among them, for this reason, that in winter time one cannot tell the green tree from the dry. Such, he said, are men in the present age, among whom the righteous and the wicked can hardly be distinguished, the one from the other, all seeming alike destitute of life.

SIMILITUDE IV - THE TREES IN SUMMER.

Again, on a day in summer, the Shepherd showed his disciple many trees, of which some had put forth leaves, while others were dry and bare. And he said: that a day was coming when the difference between the righteous and the wicked should be made manifest to all, even as in summer every eye can distinguish the green tree from the dry. This present age is as winter for the just. So it is not manifest to all that they are just, dwelling as they do among the wicked.

The age to come shall be like summer to the just, like winter to the unjust. For then the fruits of the righteous shall appear, and then the wicked shall be seen for what they are, dry and barren. Then shall the righteous receive their reward in the favour of the Lord, when His mercy shall shine forth; but the wicked shall be burned like withered logs.

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Some sinners shall be burned, because they sinned and repented not, but the heathen, because they knew not their Creator.

SIMILITUDE V - THE FAITHFUL SERVANT.

Early one morning, when Hermas was fasting and praying on a certain mountain, the Shepherd came to him, and, sitting down beside him, enquired what he did there at that early hour. He replied that he was "keeping station". What is that?" asked the Shepherd. Hermas replied that he was fasting. Again his companion asked what kind of fast he was keeping, to which Hermas rejoined that it was just the customary fast. Upon this the Shepherd observed that such fasting was in the present case unprofitable and unacceptable in the sight of God, for Hermas did not know what it was to fast unto the Lord. He went on to explain what was the true principle of fasting. What God desired was a holy life, and that He should be served with a pure heart. "Keep His commandments, walk in His precepts, let no evil thought enter thine heart, and trust in God. If thou doest these things, and if thou fearest Him, refraining from every evil work, thou shalt live unto God. If thou doest thus, thou art keeping a great fast, well pleasing unto God." The Shepherd then put forth a parable, "relating to the subject of fasting."

THE VINEYARD AND THE FAITHFUL SERVANT.

A certain man had an estate, and many servants. He planted a vineyard on a portion of his lands. He called unto him one of his servants, a faithful man with whom he was well pleased, and bade him fence the vineyard, giving him no other charge, and promising him his freedom as the reward of obedience. The master then went away into a far country. The servant did as he was commanded, and fenced the vineyard. But when he saw that it was full of weeds, he reasoned thus with himself: "I have already obeyed my lord's command. But now I shall trench the ground, and remove the weeds, that the vines may be more fruitful, and that the weeds may not spring up and choke them." The servant did as he proposed, and the vineyard was fair and beautiful, and the ground clean. When the Master returned, and saw all that had been done, he was greatly delighted with the diligence of his servant. He called his well-beloved son, who was his heir, and the friends with whom he was wont to take counsel, and told them what had been done; and they rejoiced with the servant because of his lord's testimony. The Master then told them that he had already promised his servant that he should receive his freedom as the reward of his obedience; but that he was now resolved to make him joint-heir with his son, inasmuch as he had done not only what was commanded, but also, in addition, that good work for

the vineyard. The son assented to this decision of his father. A few days afterwards, the Master made a great feast, and sent the faithful servant many dishes from his table. Of these the servant kept for himself only what was sufficient for his wants, and distributed the rest among his fellow servants, who rejoiced greatly, and began to make request that the Master might bestow upon him yet higher favour. When the Master heard of this, he again summoned his son and his friends, and informed them of his servant's generosity, whereupon they rejoiced exceedingly, and more than ever approved of the Master's intention to make him joint heir with his son.

The Shepherd thus explained the lesson of the parable: "Keep the commandments, and thou shalt be accepted of God." As the servant fenced the vineyard in obedience to his Master's orders, so must the servants of God guard against every wicked word and every evil desire. As he trenched and cleaned the ground, so must they cleanse their hearts from all the vanities of the world. As he shared with his fellow-servants the dainties sent from the master's table, reserving only so much as sufficed for himself, and giving them the rest, thus winning their good will, insomuch that they besought their Lord on his behalf, and earning moreover the approval of the Master and his Son and his friends; so shall it be with those who render unto God that extra service, that perfect fast which He approves.... When, therefore, thou hast observed 'those things which are commanded' (i.e. the revealed will of God), if thou desirest by

fasting to enjoy the special favour of God, thou shouldest, on the day of thy fast, partake only of bread and water, and, making a careful calculation of what thou hast saved by thine abstinence, distribute the amount among the widows and the destitute. So shall he who has received of the fruits of thy humility satisfy thy soul, and pray unto the Lord for thee, and thy sacrifice shall be acceptable unto Him."

Hermas asked of the Shepherd an additional explanation of the parable, some of the details of which he did not understand. After rebuking him for his dulness and lack of faith, the Shepherd complied with his request, and explained some points which he had omitted in his exposition. The estate is the world. The Son is the Holy Spirit. The servant is the Son of God. "The vines are this people which He Himself planted." The stakes which form the fence round the vineyard are the holy angels who guard the people of God. The weeds are the sins of God's servants. The dishes which the Master sent from his table to the faithful servant are the commandments which God gave His people by His Son. The friends of the Master are the angels who were first created. The Master's absence means the time which is to elapse before His appearing.

This explanation did not fully satisfy Hermas, who failed to understand why the Son of God was represented as a servant. The Shepherd's answer to this objection was to this effect: "God planted the vineyard, (that is to say, created His people) and delivered it to the Son. The Son set the angels to guard

'His people', and He Himself purged away their sins, at the cost of much labour, and of the many sufferings which He endured, as a vineyard cannot be trenched and weeded without trouble and toil. He Himself, then, having purged away their sins, showed them the paths of life." Then, after a singular exposition of the Incarnation of Christ, the Shepherd spoke of His subsequent glorification, and showed that this was what the similitude referred to, when it described the Lord as taking counsel with the Son and the Angels concerning the reward to be conferred upon the Faithful Servant. The Similitude concludes with a practical application of the example of Christ:—"Keep thy body pure, that so the Spirit who dwells therein may bear testimony to its purity, and thy body may be justified."

SIMILITUDE VI - THE TWO SHEPHERDS.

1. The Angel of Pleasure.

After conversing with Hermas on the subject of true repentance, the Shepherd asked him to go with him into the country, that he might show him "the shepherds of the sheep." He took him to a certain plain, and showed him a youthful shepherd clothed in yellow raiment, who was tending many sheep. These were feeding greedily, and skipping, in their wantonness, hither and thither. The shepherd himself was exceedingly merry, and was running to and fro among the sheep.

This was the Angel of Deceit, who corrupts the minds of God's servants, turning them aside from the truth, and deceiving them, by ministering to their sinful desires. Thus they are corrupted, and delivered over, some to death, some to grievous loss. As some of those sheep were skipping hither and thither, while others were feeding quietly in a place by themselves, so there was a difference in the character and destiny of those who were deceived by this Angel. The wanton sheep represented Apostates, who had altogether fallen away from God, adding to their other transgressions the sin of blaspheming His name. For them there was no hope of repentance. The others, who had given themselves over to luxury and pleasure, but not fallen into apostasy, might be restored.

2. The Angel of Punishment.

After this, Hermas was conducted a little farther, where he saw a tall, rough-looking shepherd, clad in a white goat-skin, with a shepherd's wallet over his shoulders, and a knotty staff and a great whip in his hands. This Shepherd took from the other those of his sheep which had been feeding luxuriously, and drove them into a stony place full of briars and thorns. While they sought to graze there, they got entangled among the thorns, and were grievously beaten and driven about by the shepherd. This was explained to be the Angel of Punishment, one of the holy angels indeed, but one whom the Lord had appointed to afflict such of His servants as had erred, to visit them with

severe discipline, worldly losses, poverty, and all manner of sickness and distress. When they had endured a certain amount of this discipline, they should be handed over to that Shepherd who abode with Hermas himself, in order that, under his admonitions, they might become strong in faith. The Similitude explains further that the discipline to which God's people are subjected is proportioned to the amount of sinful indulgence of which they have been guilty. The proportion is stated thus: "The time of the self-indulgence^(*) and deceit is one hour. But an hour of the torment hath the power of thirty days. If then one live in self-indulgence and be tormented for one day, the day of the torment is equivalent to a whole year. For as many days then as a man lives in self-indulgence, for so many years is he tormented."

SIMILITUDE VII - THE ANGEL OF PUNISHMENT IN THE HOUSE OF HERMAS.

Hermas was in great distress, for the Angel of Punishment had visited his house. So he sought the Shepherd at the scene of the last vision, entreating his help. The prophet does not mention the nature of the visitation, only that the affliction was severe. He asked what evil he had done, that he should be delivered over to this angel. The Shepherd answered that it was not because of his own sins, but in order that, through his sufferings, his family might be brought to repentance. "But,"

(*) Lightfoot's transl.

said Hermas,..... "they have (*) already repented with their whole heart." To this the Shepherd rejoined, that in no case could forgiveness and complete restoration immediately follow repentance. Much sore discipline must be endured. Let Hermas bear that with meekness and humility, and the Creator may, in his mercy, grant some relief. Upon this Hermas besought the Shepherd might tarry with him, that he and his household might receive strength to endure their troubles. The Shepherd granted this request, and promised further to intercede with the Angel to mitigate the severity of his discipline.

SIMILITUDE VIII - THE WILLOW.

The Shepherd showed Hermas a great willow, under whose shadow was gathered a great multitude of the elect. By it stood an angel of gigantic stature, armed with a great sickle, with which he cut from the tree an immense number of slips, which he distributed among the multitude, each receiving one.

Herms observed that, with all this, the tree suffered no diminution, but remained as it had been before. After an interval, the Angel commanded, and the slips which he had distributed were returned to him, and carefully examined, when notable differences were observed in their condition. The Angel marshalled the multitude into ranks, according to the condition in

which they had returned their slips. Of these, three classes had presented them in a perfectly healthy state. One, including the great majority of the people, returned their slips green, as at first. The second returned theirs green, and with little twigs sprouting from them; and those returned by the third bore blossoms as well as twigs. The Angel rejoiced over all three classes, but especially over the third, and the members of each class received as their reward seals and white robes; those of the third receiving, in addition, crowns of palm. All these were sent to the tower which Hermas saw in the Third Vision.

All the other slips had sundry defects, being worm-eaten, or cracked, or more or less withered. These last were committed to the care of the Shepherd, who was instructed to plant and water them, after which he was to examine them a second time, and to deal with their owners according to the result of his inspection, sending them to the tower or to its outer walls, or rejecting them as reprobate.

The writer goes on to describe the manner in which the Shepherd followed his instructions, and the results of his efforts for the restoration of the defective slips; and observes that many were found to have revived partially or wholly, while a few were dead.

The Tree is explained to denote Christ preached to the whole world; the multitude, those who have believed; the slips given to each, their interest in Christ. The Great Angel is Michael. Those believers whose slips were approved at the

first inspection included, first, the great majority of the faithful, secondly, the Confessors, thirdly the Martyrs. All the rest were more or less degenerate. For the most of these last there was hope if only they did not delay their repentance. In connexion with this it is carefully explained that it is on account of its singular tenacity of life that the willow is chosen as an emblem of the faith of Christ. As for hypocrites and apostates, whose case is illustrated by those whose slips were quite dead, they are utterly excluded from hope of restoration.

SIMILITUDE IX - THE TOWER.

The Shepherd led his disciple into Arcadia. Standing on the summit of a breast-shaped hill, he showed him a great plain, surrounded by twelve mountains of diverse character. In the centre of the plain rose a rock of primeval antiquity, white in colour and cubical in shape. It was higher than the encircling mountains, and seemed capable of holding the whole world. This rock was pierced by a gate, which seemed as if newly hewn, and shone more brightly than the sun. By the gate stood twelve beautiful maidens, in raiment of dazzling white. They seemed to be endowed with superhuman strength, and were girded so that they might bear a heavy burden. Six men, strong and beautiful, and followed by an immense multitude of labourers, all strong and beautiful like themselves, now appeared, and proceeded to build a square tower upon the rock and above the gate. The Six directed the work, and the Maidens carried each several stone through the gate, and handed it over to the labourers, who placed it in position. Thus were laid, first, four successive courses of masonry, consisting of stones which came out of the Depth, of which we read in the Third Vision. Then, at the bidding of the six master builders, stones were quarried out of the Twelve Mountains which stood round the plain, and fitted into the tower. All the stones which were borne by the Maidens through the gate,

and fitted into the building, no matter what had been their original colour, at once became pure and white, so that the whole structure seemed formed out of a single block. A long pause followed, during which the workmen retired for rest. The Maidens remained, awaiting the coming of the Lord of the Tower. In a little while he appeared, accompanied by a glorious retinue, and was very affectionately greeted by the maidens. Then, attended by them, the master-builders, and his own train of followers, he proceeded to walk round the tower, testing, with the rod which he carried, each stone of the building. At the touch of this rod, some stones changed in colour and character, becoming as they had been at first, black, spotted, mildewed, cracked, and so forth. These the Master ordered to be removed, and replaced with fresh stones, quarried, not like the others, out of the mountains, but from a plain at the foot of the Twelfth Mountain, which consisted of pure white rock. These were fetched accordingly. Some of them, being already square and beautiful, were at once dressed, and fitted into the building. The rest, which required hewing, were deposited beside those which had been removed, and reserved, under the care of the Shepherd, for a further examination. The work of the Shepherd upon these stones, and its results, are then described; and we learn that some were, upon inspection, dressed and fitted into the tower, others reserved for subsequent trial, and others again finally rejected, and delivered to twelve women in black

raiment, and with black, loose-flowing hair, who at this point appeared, and carried them away. When at last the work of building was finished, the ground at the foot of the tower was carefully levelled and cleansed, and the whole structure once more appeared as a complete unity, as if it consisted of a single stone.

The Shepherd then departed, to return the following morning and interpret the vision. At the bidding of the Maidens, Hermas remained and spent the night with them, passing the time in prayer.

Next morning the Shepherd returned and explained the Vision. The Rock and the Gate represented Christ, the former denoting the Son of God, as He was from before the foundation of the world, the latter, Christ manifested in the Gospel Age, as being for men and angels, the only way unto the Father. The Lord of the Tower, who visited and tested it, is also an emblem of Christ, representing Him as King and Head of the Church. The Twelve Virgins symbolise the powers of the Holy Spirit, and the Master Builders and the labourers signify Angels of higher and of lower place. The Women in Black, the opposites of the Twelve Virgins, are the powers of Evil.

The four foundation courses of the building mean:-

1. 2. The Patriarchs, in two generations.
3. The Prophets of the Old Testament Dispensation.
4. The Apostles and Teachers of the New Testament Dispensation.

The Twelve Mountains symbolise the nations of the world, and the stones quarried from them, and those from the plain at the foot of the White Mountain, signify various types of believers.

The account which the Shepherd gives of the significance of these stones follows the general line of the classifications in the Third Vision and the Eighth Similitude, with this difference, that in the Ninth Similitude, for the first time, importance is attached to natural disposition, as favourable or otherwise to a consistent Christian life.

The Similitude, of which the concluding portion (c.30,3-c.33) is found only in the Latin versions, ends with a final call to repentance and an exhortation addressed to the leaders of the Church, to be faithful to their trust.

SIMILITUDE X.

EPILOGUE - THE EXALTED ANGEL IN THE HOUSE OF HERMAS.

When Hermas had finished writing these things, the Angel, who had committed him to the care of the Shepherd, entered his house, and seated himself on a couch, the Shepherd standing by. The Angel addressed to the prophet a few parting words of counsel, in the course of which he told him that the Shepherd was to abide with him all the days of his life, and promised that the Twelve Virgins also should dwell with him, and remain to the end, if only his household should continue pure.

Chapter ~~VIII~~ VIII
PART IV.

THE CHURCH.

HERMAS ON THE CHURCH.

We find the kernel of the Shepherd in three ⁽¹⁾ closely related portions of the book, the Third Vision, and the Eighth and Ninth Similitudes. Each of these contains an exposition of the author's conception of the Church. In his references to this subject strong emphasis is laid on the antiquity of the Church of God. Thus, at the close of the Second Vision,⁽²⁾ the Young Man who appears to Hermas explains the aged aspect of the Woman of the Visions. He says that she is not the Sibyl, as the Seer imagined, but the Church, who looked old because she is indeed of great age, forasmuch as God created her first of all things. In the Third Vision this thought is developed, and a parallel is drawn between the Creation of the World and the formation of the Church. As the world arose out of the waters of primeval chaos, so the Church of God is founded in the water of baptism. This conception of "Christianity as old as the Creation" appears again in the Ninth Similitude,⁽³⁾ where, as in the Third Vision, the Church is represented as a great tower in process of building, and

(1) Zahn. Der Hist. des Hermas, pp. 139 ff.

(2) Vis. II., 4, 1.

(3) Harnack, History of Dogma (Engl. translation) I, 318ff.

where special attention is called to the foundation, a rock of primeval antiquity. On the other hand, in the further development of this conception which we find in the same Similitude, the antiquity of the Church is treated as only ideal.

The Church there described is that which Christ founded, and which is built upon faith in Him as He is manifested in the Gospel. No place is found for the Old Testament saints in the Third Vision or the Eighth Similitude, and though in the Ninth Similitude they are represented by the foundation courses of the tower, it is expressly stated that they were admitted to the Church only after they had, in the place of the departed, received the Gospel and the Seal of Baptism at the hands of the Apostles. It appears, therefore, that Hermas regarded the Church as having, in the ages before the coming of Christ, existed only in the purpose of God, as an ideal which could not be realised until the Son of God became incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth.

In order that we may understand our author's view of the Church, it will be necessary to study in detail these three principal revelations, the Third Vision, and the Eighth and Ninth Similitudes.

THE THIRD VISION.

Here the Church is described under three distinct figures, the Woman, the Bench and the Tower.

(1) She appears first as the Woman who spoke with Hermas and interpreted the Vision. This Woman is represented as of extreme old age. Two widely different interpretations are given of this. According to the one the figure means that Church has existed from the beginning, being coeval with Creation. According to the other, it illustrates the degenerate⁽¹⁾ condition into which the Church has fallen, having lost all her youthful freshness and vigour. A reminiscence of the former explanation appears in the Ninth Similitude where we read of the primeval antiquity of the rock on which the tower is built. But though Hermas attaches great importance to the pre-existence of the Church, declaring that the world was created for her sake, he seems in this part of his work to regard these as well-known truths, but truths with which the present revelation has no immediate concern. Therefore the other explanation of the aged appearance of the Woman is offered at the end of the Third Vision⁽²⁾ as being more in keeping with the practical purpose of the revelation. According to this, the Church has fallen into an enfeebled condition, grown old before her time. Consistently with this explanation, we find, in the later appearances of this Woman, illustrations of the result of the Mission of Hermas - the restoration to the Church of all her youthful freshness and vigour.

(1) Vis. III., 11-13; comp. Vis. IV., 2.

(2) Vis. III., 11 ff.

(2) Another emblem of the Church is the Bench, upon which, in the Vision, the Woman bade Hermas seat himself by her side. One is tempted to dwell upon this figure, particularly in view of the parallel which the Young Man, who appears in this Vision, draws between the bench⁽¹⁾, supported by four feet, and the world compacted of four elements. It has been suggested by Dr. Taylor, in his book⁽²⁾ on "The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels", that the parallel is explained and illustrated by the teaching of Irenaeus, that the security of the Church rests upon the fourfold Gospel, and that, in this passage in the Shepherd, we have a testimony to the authority which already, in the days of Hermas as in those of Irenaeus, the Church had ascribed to the four Gospels of the New Testament Canon. At the same time, such a parallel, however interesting or important it may be in itself, has little to do with the theme of the Shepherd, which is the practical question, how the Church as she was in the days of Hermas, weak and degenerate, through neglect, and conformity to the world, could be revived and restored to her former purity, simplicity and strength. As a matter of fact, Hermas makes no effort to work out the thoughts suggested by this figure. The figure itself is almost immediately departed from, and nothing more is said of the bench until the close of the Vision, where we are informed of

(1) Vis. III., 13.

(2) Taylor, l.c. pp. ff.

its removal. The symbolic significance of the bench lies in this, that the conditions which entitle believers to a place upon it, correspond to those which determine the fitness of stones to be built into the tower. As every stone must first be tested before it can have a place in the building of God, so only those have a place on the bench who have been tried and approved by the Lord.

(3) The chief figure that here symbolises the Church is the Tower. The building of the tower, of which Hermas has so much to say, signifies the realising of the Ideal of the Church, or the construction of that ideal out of the materials of the actual. According to the description of this process which is given in the Third Vision, all the stones used in the building, with the single exception of those which illustrate the case of catechumens who shrank from Baptism, denote members of the Visible Church. The Vision represents the Church as comprising two classes, those who are admitted to her fellowship here, but have not been approved by the Lord Himself, and those whom He acknowledges. The distinction is not between the Church on earth and the Church in heaven, but between the Church on earth as she is, and the same Church as she ought to be. We are ^{repeatedly} ~~respectfully~~ reminded that the tower is still in process of building, and we

(1) Vis. III., 2-7.

are also assured that, so long as that process is going on, there is hope for most members of the Church of being numbered among Christ's true people.

To the figure of the tower itself, this Vision adds, ⁽¹⁾ by way of supplement, that of the Seven Women who stand around it, guarding and, as it were, supporting it. These signify the graces or virtues of the Holy Spirit, through which the Church is kept by the power of God.

According to the Vision, those stones which, being square ⁽²⁾ and white, and in need of no hewing or cleansing, are first fitted into the tower, represent believers approved of God. They include, firstly, the Apostles and Teachers of the Word, who faithfully preached the Gospel to the whole world; secondly, the Martyrs, tried and proved by suffering and death for the name of Christ; and, thirdly, those who, though young in the faith, have that childlike spirit which Jesus loves.

The remaining stones, ⁽³⁾ all more or less defective or in need of hewing, represent those who, though admitted into the fellowship of the Church, have not yet been approved of God. The detailed classification of these last is best considered in connection with the parallel lists of the Eighth and Ninth Similitudes, which supplement, and explain more fully, this first essay

(1) Vis. III. 8, 2 ff.

(2) Vis. III. 5. 5.

(3) Vis. III. 5. 5.

at a description of the nature and present condition of the Church of Christ.

I. THE EIGHTH SIMILITUDE.

The characteristic features of this Similitude are:

(1) its conception of Christ as the New Law, and (2) its view of the conditions of membership in the Ideal Church. The Similitude does not suggest the thought of Christ⁽¹⁾ as Law-giver, or represent the Gospel as a new Law. Instead of this, Christ is described as being Himself the new Law, implanted in the hearts of those who have received the Gospel. Faith is thus taken to mean the indwelling of Christ in the believer. The tree described in the parable signifies Christ preached among the nations, for the slips which Michael cuts from it are not mere branches, but actual reproductions of the tree. What Christ is to the Church as a whole, He is to each individual who has received Him.

We read that "this Law⁽²⁾ is the Son of God, preached unto the ends of the earth". Here the word "Law" (νόμος) is used in a personal sense, not as in the Fifth⁽³⁾ Similitude, where we read that the Son of God showed His disciples the paths of life, giving

(1) Sim. VIII. 1, 3; 1, 2.

(2) Sim. VIII. 3, 2. Comp. Zahn, l.c. 151.

(3) Sim. V., 6, 3.

them the law which He received from the Father. When, therefore, Harnack⁽¹⁾ quotes the latter passage in illustration of the expression just quoted from the Eighth Similitude, he does not give an exact parallel. On the other hand, those passages which, in the same note, he quotes from Justin Martyr⁽²⁾, the Praedicatio Pauli et Petri, Ignatius, and Tischendorf's Acta Apocrypha, are entirely apposite. Thus Justin says: "Christ was given as the eternal and final law, and the faithful covenant, after which there is neither law, nor precept, nor commandment;" and again, using almost the words of Hermas: "Christ, who was preached to the whole world as Eternal Law and New Covenant". Again, in the passage quoted from the Praedicatio Pauli et Petri, Christ is called "Law and Word". Lastly, Ignatius, in the passage referred to, describes Christ as the "Counsel of the Father" (*πατρὸς ἡ συνήμω*).

The expression "Law" used in this peculiar personal sense, occurs elsewhere, in the Similitude,⁽³⁾ as where that class of persons, of whom we read in the Third Vision that they are "well pleasing unto God", are said to be "well pleasing unto the Law"; and again, where the Martyrs are referred to as having "suffered

(1) Hermas^c Pastor 178-180.

(2) Dial. c. Tryph. 1 & 2, II. 2283, 43, 261 C; Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. fasc. IV. p. 59, 8. Ignat. Eph. 3, 2. comp. Diagnet, c. 6.

(3) Sim. VIII. 3; Comp. Vis. III., 1; Sim. VIII. 3, 5. Comp. 3, 4, 6, 7.

for the Law", and the Confessors as having "endured persecution for the Law" and "not denied their Law" - expressions plainly equivalent to what we find in the Second Vision - "denying their Lord". This personal use of the word "Law" is common among Early Christian Writers, and is explained, not only by the nearly synonymous terms "Word" (*λογος*), "Counsel" (*βουλή*), but by Justin's application of Isaiah 42, 6: "I will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles," and the LXX rendering of Isaiah 2, 4, where "Law" and "Word" are closely conjoined, and the parallelism of the verse shows that they are synonymous:

"For the Law shall proceed out of Sion

And the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

Here "Law" corresponds to "Word", as Sion to Jerusalem.

The term "Law" therefore, as used in the Eighth Similitude, means Christ Himself, not a set of precepts given by Christ. Indeed, one of the distinctive features of the Similitude is its representation of Christ dwelling in believers as the source of their life, the same thought that is expressed by Hermas, when he refers to the indwelling of the Spirit of God, and when he explains the hope of the Shepherd, that most of the slips cut from the willow shall recover their freshness, by reference to the marvellous vitality of that tree. The thought of the Fifth Similitude, to which Harnack refers, is entirely different. Christ is there represented as giving to His disciples the law which He received from the

Father. That is "the New Law", of which so much is made by those who attribute legalistic views to Hermas. It consists, as that Similitude plainly says, of express statutes to be observed by those to whom they are issued. The connection in which the passage occurs, suggests the impression that the writer believed in works of supererogation. It deals with the conduct of the Faithful Servant, who did more than he was instructed to do. His generosity to his fellow-servants is on the same principle as his extra service in the vineyard. It is an act of self-denial, which was not asked or expected of him, and the Master honours him all the more on that account, because he, of his own accord, shared with others what was meant for his own use. And the explanation of this story of extra service is that it is a parable of the atoning work of Christ, and the benefits purchased by Him and bestowed upon His disciples. The extra service rendered by Christ is said to consist in the purging away of the sins of His people, and the making known to them of the paths of life, that is to say, the new law which He received from the Father. But this very singular passage, so far from expressing the author's understanding of the Doctrine of the Atonement, or his interpretation of the nature of saving faith, is to be accounted for by the exigencies of an infelicitous parable, and is only intended to suggest a possible solution of a problem, which, in the end, is left practically unsolved - whether there is room, in the theology of the Church, for a doctrine of extra service. All

that he can say amounts to this, that such a doctrine, if there is room for it, must proceed on lines which were followed by Christ Himself, our only exemplar. Apart from this, that semblance of legalism, and those mechanical views of Christian duty, which perplex us in the Shepherd, result from a confusion, familiar in the early centuries of our era, between Christian doctrine and those rules of discipline which the circumstances of the time appeared to call for on the part of the Church. We cannot forget,⁽¹⁾ and we must attach due weight to the fact, that the Eighth Similitude, which professes to sum up the teachings of the revelation, has, as its characteristic feature, the representation which it offers of the essence of saving faith. To have accepted Christ as He is offered to us in the Gospel, means to have received a principle of life which is in itself a sufficient motive to holy living, and which Christ will not willingly suffer to perish. Hermas has no doctrine of Perseverance as we understand it. On the contrary, his teaching is pervaded by the thought of the danger of falling from grace.

The⁽²⁾ Similitude describes no fewer than ten classes of those whose faith is weak, or ready to die, or already dead. It tells us that it is possible for some, even after their

(1) Zahn, L.c. 143, ff.

(2) Sim. VIII, 1, 16.

restoration, to be cast forth from the tower itself. At the same time, in this, the only section of the book in which the proportion is stated between faithful and unfaithful recipients of the Gospel, it is expressly noted that the former constitute the great majority. Most returned their slips green, as they had received them. As for the rest, such is the natural vitality of the willow, that the Shepherd confidently expects the revival of the greater part of them.

II. THE NINTH SIMILITUDE.

The careful and elaborate exposition of the nature of the Church, offered in the Eighth Similitude, is followed by that of the Ninth, which, though professedly a recapitulation of what has gone before, really amounts to an additional statement of doctrine, into which entirely new matter is introduced. It opens with a statement to the effect that the whole revelation has already been made known. "After⁽¹⁾ I had written down the commands and parables of the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, he came to me and said: 'I wish to show thee all things that the Holy Spirit, who spake with thee in the form of the Church, showed unto thee In fair and seemly manner hast thou seen all these things,' (instructed) 'as it were by a Virgin, but now thou seest' (being instructed) 'by an Angel, though by the same

(1) Lightfoot's translation. Sim. IX, 1, 2.

Spirit; yet now thou must learn more accurately from me.'"
Thus Hermas introduces the Ninth Similitude.

The additional instruction evidently means the new elements which we find in the revelation, the purpose of which is to combine, in one complete picture, those which have gone before, and, at the same time, to set forth the author's final conclusions as to the relation in which the actual Church stands to the Ideal.

This Similitude describes the foundation and building of the tower, in terms similar to the description given in the Third Vision, but with the following points of difference:-

(1) The dogmatic⁽¹⁾ statement of the Vision, that the Church "is founded by the Word of God, and upheld by the great and infinite Name", is illustrated by an additional figure, which represents the Church as a tower, built upon a rock of primeval antiquity, and over a gate newly pierced in that rock. That gate signifies Christ, who was manifested in the Fulness of Time as the Way unto the Father.

(2) A place is now,⁽²⁾ for the first time, found for the saints who lived before the coming of Christ.

(3) The Bythos, or Deep, which lies at the base of the tower as described in the Third Vision, and is now explained to denote

(1) Sim. IX., 2, comp. c, 12.

(2) Sim. IX, 16.

Baptism, and again said to mean Martyrdom, is, in the Ninth Similitude, used simply as an emblem of Baptism. The ascent out of the Deep of the stones of the first three courses of masonry, signifies, in this supplementary picture, that those whom they represented came up out of the bath of regeneration. (1) And the universal necessity of Baptism as an indispensable condition of Salvation, of which we are reminded in the Third Vision, is now emphasised by the statement that the saints of the Old Testament required to be baptised by the Apostles in the place of the departed, before they could be admitted to the Church.

In both representations of the Church the central lesson is that the essential conditions of membership are Faith and Baptism.

(1) Faith:

The necessity of Faith is clearly illustrated in this Similitude by the figure of the Rock pierced by the Gate. (2) Christ is the object of faith. He is the One foundation, and the one way of access to the Father. The rock is old, as the Church was founded in the beginning. The gate is new, since Christ was manifested only in Gospel times. Thus, according to

(1) Sim. IX. 16.

(2) Sim. IX, 16, 1-7; comp. Vis. III, 4, 5.

(3) Sim. IX, 12.

the Similitude, the object of saving faith is Christ, as He appeared in history⁽¹⁾ Before the Son of God was thus manifested, no Church existed or could exist. Till Christ was revealed as the way of access, it was impossible for man to enter the Kingdom of God.

Thus all the stones in the tower as now described, including those which represent Old Testament saints, are carried through the Gate, in order to be built upon the foundation. Great stress is laid upon this point. The saints of old time were excluded from the Kingdom of God until Christ came. Though they believed the promises, and in faith looked forward to the coming of the Saviour, and were faithful to the Covenant, and though, in a measure, the Spirit of God rested upon them, they could not be members of the Church of the Redeemed till they had been led to Christ under the preaching of the Apostles.

It is difficult to understand, in face of this extreme statement of the doctrine of Salvation by Christ alone, how Hermas could be regarded as a Judaeo-Christian,⁽²⁾ or why it should be asserted that his conception of the object of faith was limited to the first article of the Creed, that of belief in One God.

(1) Zahn, l.c. 231-232.
(2) Ritschl, Alt Katholische Kirche 343, comp. Nitzsch, Dogmengeschichte I. 112.

The strange expedient by which he finds room in the Church for believers of pre-Christian times, clearly shows that he regards the Church as being, to all intents and purposes, a new creation - a thought widely different from that of Judaizing Christians, who habitually magnified the Old Testament at the expense of the New.

Further, the faith described in the Ninth Similitude by the figure of the stones of the Living Temple, which are carried by the Virgins, who symbolize the power of the Holy Spirit, through the Gate, which is Christ, in order that they may be built on the Rock, which again is Christ; or the faith illustrated in the Eighth Similitude by a figure suggestive of the indwelling of Christ in the hearts of believers, is in every sense fuller, more living and personal than that of which the First Command appears to speak.

In point of fact, there is an element of confusion among these different attempts on the part of Hermas to explain his views on Saving Faith. According to the Eighth Similitude, to believe the Gospel means to receive Christ into the heart as the new principle of life, as, in the Fifth Command, the believer is described as a vessel filled with the Holy Spirit. The lesson of the Ninth is, that to believe unto salvation means to be led to Christ by the Spirit, and, through His grace, to be built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets.

But these various conceptions and illustrations are confused in the mind of the author, largely because of his inability to distinguish clearly between justification⁽¹⁾ and regeneration, and between justification and sanctification. The importance of sanctification is indeed illustrated in the Ninth Similitude, where we read that the Twelve Virgins⁽²⁾ must abide in the house of the believer, and where we are told further that the believer must be clothed with their raiment. In this connection some of the prophet's utterances are indefinite, and his figures startling and even questionable.⁽³⁾ But, in spite of this, one cannot fail to be impressed with the intensely practical view which he takes of the Christian life. Faith must prove itself by works, or it is dead. Believers are called unto holiness, and to sanctification by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and "if any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of His". Therefore it will profit nothing to have received Christ as the New Law if one is unfaithful to Him and disobedient to His will.

(2) Baptism:

Faith is the first condition of salvation, but Baptism is the indispensable seal of Faith. "The tower is⁽⁴⁾ built,

(1) Zahn, l.c. 335 ff. Comp. Mand. V. 1.

(2) Sim. IX., 13 ff.

(3) Sim. IX., 11.

(4) Vis. III., 3, 5. Comp. Sim. IX, 16.

therefore, upon the waters, because it is by water that the Church is saved". It is impossible to mistake the importance attached by Hermas to this sacrament, to which he ascribes an almost magical efficacy, though, strangely enough, he makes hardly any allusion to the Eucharist.

Of the very strong views of Hermas on Baptism, two explanations suggest themselves:

- (1) One is, that in his time, such a public confession as that involved in baptism was regarded as an indispensable guarantee of devotion to the name and the cause of Christ;
- (2) The other is connected with interpretations, current in the Early Church, of New Testament teaching on the subject.
 - (1) In times of persecution, when the very name of Christ was odious to Jew and Pagan, baptism into that name meant a breach with Judaism or heathenism, so complete as to testify to all the world that the person who submitted to the rite had publicly and formally cast in his lot with the proscribed sect. The Church, therefore, made the most of an ordinance so significant, and, naturally believing that only those persons would consent to be baptised who had counted the cost of discipleship, insisted upon it as the pledge of a sincere profession. For the same reason, modern Christian missionaries insist upon the baptism of their converts, notwithstanding the serious consequences which, as experience has taught them, are almost certain

to follow for their converts themselves and for the Churches they represent. All parties recognise the rite as entailing upon the convert an irrevocable breach with his past life. He loses caste among his former associates, and incurs the risk of all kinds of persecution at their hands. The case described in the Third Vision,⁽¹⁾ of catechumens who were almost persuaded to confess Christ by baptism, but drew back because they shrank from the obligations which the ordinance involved, has frequent parallels in the experience of missionaries of our own times. Notwithstanding this, our Churches hold themselves bound to insist upon baptism; and, when the faith of their converts is strong enough to enable them to face the risks involved, it is not surprising that the rite itself and the profession which it confirms acquire a value like that which was attached to them in the days of the Early Church. It was the natural and necessary voucher of faith, and many allusions in the Shepherd can be thus explained.

(2) But there are other references which do not admit of this explanation, and which distinctly attribute to Baptism regenerative efficacy. Such is the case with the notable passage in the Ninth Similitude which speaks of the baptism of the saints⁽²⁾

(1) Vis. III., 7. 5.

(2) Sim. IX, 16.

of the Old Testament in the underworld. They were righteous persons, approved of God. They died in hope of the promised redemption. But then^{ir} salvation was not accomplished till, in the place of the departed, they received the Gospel and accepted baptism at the hands of the Apostles. And the reason is given in the express statement of the Shepherd: "Before⁽¹⁾ a man bears the name of the Son of God, he is dead, but when he receives the seal, he lays aside death, and receives life. The seal, then, is the water; they therefore descend into the water dead, and come up alive". These words are closely parallel to those of the Epistle of Barnabas,⁽²⁾ in a passage where we read: "We descend into the water full of sins and uncleanness, and come up from it bearing fruit in the heart". Both passages teach the doctrine of the saving efficacy of Baptism, but what lends special force to the testimony of Hermas is the connection in which we find it - the application of the saving work of Christ to Old Testament Saints. For them also there was no salvation apart from Christian baptism. We know from the testimony of contemporary writers, that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration was the current opinion of the Church of that time. Thus the importance of the ordinance is illustrated by the common use in connection with it of the terms "seal" (σφραγίς); "illumination", "enlightenment", "enlighten" (φωτισμός, φωτίδεν); "bath of regeneration" (λούτρον ἀναγεννησεως), - expressions which indicate a

(1) Sim. IX. 16, 3. (2) Barn. C. XI., 11.

magical view of the ordinance, or which at least involve a very literal interpretation of Scripture passages regarding regeneration, which it was customary to explain as referring to baptism. Thus St. Paul's words, "the sealing of the Spirit,"⁽¹⁾ were referred to that rite. It is, moreover, probable that the use, in this connection, of the words "enlighten", "enlightenment", is traceable to the interpretation generally accepted in the Early Church of the celebrated passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "It⁽²⁾ is impossible for those who were once enlightened and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost ... if they shall fall away, to renew them unto repentance". That was taken as referring to Baptism, a rite which could not be administered more than once.

To these texts must be added those which either directly allude to baptism, or speak of the Spirit's work of regeneration, of which Baptism was the recognised symbol. Thus in the First Epistle of St. Peter, we read: "The like figure⁽³⁾ whereunto" (i.e. the salvation of Noah and his family in the Ark) "even baptism doth now save us" - a passage recalled in the Third Vision of Hermas, where we read: " By water the Church is saved". Expressions like these are enough to account for

(1) Eph. 1, 13.

(2) Heb. 6, 4-6.

(3) I Pet. 3, 21.

the description of Baptism as a "bath of regeneration".

But Hermas may have been influenced chiefly by such sayings of Our Lord as that of John 3,⁵: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God". He appears, in short, simply to have accepted, and reproduced in his own statements of doctrine, what he found in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, but without being able thoroughly to assimilate it, or to make it harmonise with his own system. That, however, is quite what one would naturally expect of a writer like Hermas, who does not claim to be regarded as a theologian, but only as a plain man who believes the Scriptures. He accepts, without question, what "is written", just as he accepts the revelation which God has given him, whether he can reconcile the one with the other or not.

If he found on the Gospel page the words: "He⁽¹⁾ that believeth and is baptised shall be saved", he felt that he could not but accept that statement as it stood, and say that Baptism, equally with Faith, was essential to salvation.

III. THE CHURCH VISIBLE AND THE CHURCH INVISIBLE.

From the position that, without Baptism, an objective visible ordinance, there is no salvation, to the conclusion

(1) Mark, 16,¹⁰.

that there is no salvation⁽¹⁾ apart from the Visible Church,
 There is but a step,
 the one follows from the other. Here, therefore, we have to
 face the question: What is the opinion of our author on the
 subject of the Church? The answer of these revelations is
 that the Church consists of the whole body of those who
 have accepted the Gospel, and confessed Christ by baptism
 into His name. The Church, therefore, according to Hermas,
 must have a visible organization on earth. But we find also
 that, notwithstanding his strong views on the subject of
 institutional Christianity, as exemplified by his opinion
 of the necessity of Baptism, his conception of the Church
 differs widely from those which we are accustomed to asso-
 ciate with Cyprian, or even with Ignatius.⁽²⁾ He makes
 a clear distinction between those whom man acknowledges as
 members of the Church, and those whom the Lord approves; or,
 to use the figurative language of the Shepherd, between the
 first gathering of stones for the building of God, and
 their incorporation in the Tower. This distinction is un-
 affected by questions of ecclesiastical authority. It
 depends wholly upon those of personal relation to Christ and
 obedience to His commandments. Here we have nothing to do
 with conformity or non-conformity to any particular eccle-

(1) Zahn. l.c. 201, 203.
 (2) Zahn, l.c. 201, 203.

siastical system or theory of Church government.

Bishop Gore, in his work on the Christian Ministry, takes a different view. After quoting Irenaeus⁽¹⁾ in support of his opinion as to the doctrine of the Early Church on the subject, he claims Hermas as an⁽²⁾ exponent of the same ideas. Thus, with reference to Bishop Victor's attempt to excommunicate the Churches of Asia, he says regarding the views held by the Roman Church: "We may go back in the same Church, at least to the earlier part of the Second Century, to the days of Hermas, the Seer of the 'Shepherd'. In his visions the Church is represented as an aged lady, who appears to Hermas, and through whom he receives visions and revelations. ... The Church is here thought of as in a way existing from the beginning in the purpose of God, in the ideal world. But this divine idea has become a fact. The actual Church, made up of those yet alive, and of some who have departed in the faith of Christ, is represented to Hermas under the figure of a tower with a marvellous unity, which is being built by the angels upon the waters of baptism, the stones

(1) "In the Church God placed apostles, prophets, doctors, and the whole operation of the Spirit, and all who do not have recourse to the Church do not participate in Him, but deprive themselves of life ... For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where is the Spirit of God, there is the Church and all grace." "God will judge all those who make schisms." Gore l.c. 17 ff.

(2) Id.

which are used for the tower, and those which are rejected, representing all sorts of men. The actual Church, which is in process of being constructed, is declared to be identical with the ideal Church. What existed before in idea is now real. And this real, visible Church is the only way of salvation When the tower is finished, those who have not yet repented can no longer find place, but will be cast out There is another vision of the building to the same effect. In this it is made plain that the Church in the present state is imperfect. Many who have been gathered out of the nations 'into the one body' have fallen away and been cast out for a while or for ever. Those who are members of the Church are evil as well as good, many will have to be cast out; and thus the Church as a whole will be purified into complete holiness and unity. Still, as it is, the Church represents God's will, God's purpose of redemption; and those who separate themselves from it separate themselves from the hope of salvation - like the covetous and the extortionate. They are represented as men diseased: 'they who are covered with scabs are they who denied their Lord, and turned not to Him, but have become dry and desert-like, and cleave not to the saints of God, but, isolating themselves, lose their own souls.' How could imagery express more strongly the idea of salvation through the Church?"

In this representation of the teaching of Hermas, Bishop Gore loses sight of some very important points:

(1) For example, with the single exception of those represented in the Third Vision by the stones which "tried, but were unable, to roll into the water" - a figure which is explained to mean catechumens who shrank from baptism - all the classes described consist of members of the Church. All the rest, the stones used for building and those rejected, represent, not "all sorts of men", but all sorts of members of the Church.

(2) Then it is a mistake to say that "what existed before in idea is now real". The thought of Hermas is that it is only becoming real. According to all three revelations on this subject, the true Church is only in process of development, as the tower is only in process of building.

(3) Lastly, that passage in the Ninth Similitude to which Bishop Gore appeals, as teaching that there is no salvation apart from the Church - the passage where the leprous stones are spoken of, expressly refers to those who denied their Lord, and who, instead of repenting of their sin, isolated themselves, and forsook the society of the saints. What Hermas teaches is that there is no salvation apart from the true Church, that is, from a sincere profession of faith,

confirmed by the seal of baptism. But the true Church is not coextensive with the actual Church on earth, as it exists in the imperfect state. The aim of the revelation is to revive and purify the visible Church, which has become degenerate, and the seer declares that the ideal of the Church cannot be realised, until all that is evil in it has been removed, and all unworthy members have been brought to repentance or cast out. Hermas is seeking something like pure communion, and, while his sympathies are more with the Catholic view, that absolutely pure communion is unattainable on earth, than with the opinions of extremists, he insists upon the closest possible association of the idea of the purity, with that of the unity of the Church. The difference between the author's conception of the Church and those so-called Catholic ideas which are associated with the teaching of Cyprian, has been well illustrated by Nitzsch: "The (1) Montanists, Novatians and Donatists (compare also Herm: Past: Sim. IX, 18, Vis. III, 6.) made the holiness of the Church dependent upon the actual (relative) purity of all her individual members, or at least upon the fact of the Church not being defiled by the toleration, within her pale, of those notoriously guilty of mortal sin; the Catholics, on the con-

(1) l.c. I. p. 233.

trary, grounded it upon the possession of objective means of grace, or upon the prerogative of the Bishops, who represented the Church, the holy body of Christ, in their capacity of successors of the Apostles, representatives of Christ, and dispensatores Dei..... As the ideal Israel is to be distinguished from the empirical nation of Israel, whose place has been occupied by Christianity, so the inalienable and fundamental features which constitute the nature and idea of the Church, are to be distinguished from the constitution of that empirical association of Christians which is conditioned by human freedom and fallibility, and by human institutions. That is, that the ideal Church is to be distinguished from the Church of experience. The latter is not coextensive with the former, but has in the former only its basis and its aim, and, so long as it is still in the process of development, always presents only an imperfect realisation of its principal idea This view of the matter, which may fairly claim to be in accordance with the New Testament, soon gave place to theories which identified the ideal with the actual. Irenaeus appears to have favoured some theory of the latter kind. But, so far was this identification from being general in the period under consideration, that Clement of Alexandria clearly distinguishes between the ideal and the actual Church, when he speaks of the Church on Earth as being the image of the Church in heaven; and that,

while Origen says that 'the Church properly so called' (*ἡ κυρίως ἐκκλησία*) 'is the association and fellowship of the saints, which reaches from heaven down to this earth', he distinguishes between that and the external Church, whose individual congregations are only means of education, with a view to participation in that one, invisible fellowship."

This, the view of Clement and of Origen, is what we find in the Shepherd. The Third Vision represents the Ideal Church as the tower as it shall be when completed. The actual Church it represents, partly under the figure of the stones lying outside the structure, to be used for building or rejected, according to the condition in which they are found after careful inspection, and partly by those which are already fitted into the tower. Again, in the Eighth Similitude, the Ideal Church is referred to under the figure of a building, to which none are admitted but believers who have been tried and approved by Michael. Lastly, in the Ninth Similitude, while the tower appears at first to have been intended to represent the actual Church, attention is called to the distinction between the actual - the Church as she appears on earth - and the ideal - the Church acknowledged by Christ, the body of the faithful whose names are written in heaven. This distinction appears in what is said of the trial to which each stone in the building is subjected by the Lord of the tower.

(1)

Bishop Gore seems to overlook the distinction which Hermas himself draws, and on which he lays special emphasis, between the Visible and the Invisible Church. Thus he says: "The tower, which is the visible Church on earth, is the ideal Church which appeared to Hermas ... If Hermas' Church of the Divine Idea is spoken of as a sort of Aeon (Rothe, Anfänge, p. 642, n. 2), it must be remembered that the Idea is realised by Hermas, as the Word is made flesh. This differentiates the Church's system from the Gnostic; the Valentinian Aeon ἐκκλησία is (by contrast) only ideal."

But the fact that the Church appeared to Hermas, at the beginning of the revelation described in the Ninth Similitude, in the form of a completed building, does not prove that the seer recognised no distinction between the Visible and the Invisible Church. The tower appears in a vision which is meant to illustrate symbolically the truth that there is such a distinction, and this is associated with a solemn reminder that only "the Lord knoweth them that are His". The Third Vision shows clearly that the idea is⁽²⁾ only in process of be-

(1) l.c. p. 21, note 4; comp. Vis. III, 3; Bishop Gore quotes the words of the Woman: "Ὁ μὲν πύργος ἃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομούμενον ἐγὼ εἶμι, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἣ ὀφθεῖται σοι καὶ τὸ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρότερον." (The tower which thou seest in process of building is I myself, the Church, who have appeared to thee both now and aforetime)."

(2) Vis. III, 3.

ing realised. So far from saying that the tower which represents the Church is the Idea realised, it shows that the Visible Church is not yet identical with the Ideal, but that it shall be so when the work is completed. The realisation of the Idea is reserved for the future. Thus we read: "Whosoever⁽¹⁾ therefore shall serve these women," i.e. the Seven Christian Graces, symbolised by the female figures standing round the tower, "and shall have strength perfectly to do their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." "Then I asked her concerning the times, whether the consummation is even now. But she cried aloud: 'Foolish man, seest thou not that the tower is still building? Whosoever, therefore, the tower shall be finished, the end cometh; but it shall be speedily built.'"

Such is Hermas' conception of the Church, outside of which there is no salvation. It consists of all baptised believers, who have Christ in their hearts, are clothed with the Spirit, and are faithful to the truth which they have received. The question is, how far that has been realised in actual experience; and it is the purpose of these revelations, that the Church on earth may, under the Ministry of the Angel of Penitence, be purified, all unfaithful members having been brought to repentance or cast out. The true Church

(1) Vis. III., 8, 8 ff.

of Christ is the whole body of the redeemed, whom the Master acknowledges as His own. The unity of the Church is a present fact, only in so far as all true believers are members of it. It shall be made clearly manifest in the future, when the work of grace is done. "There⁽¹⁾ shall be one body of them that are purified, just as the tower, after it had been purified, became made as it were of one stone. Thus shall it be with the Church of God also, after she hath been purified, and the wicked, and hypocrites, and blasphemers, and double-minded, and they that commit various kinds of iniquity, have been cast out."

Hermas takes little interest in ecclesiastical organisation, or even in discipline as exercised by the Church's office-bearers. He refers to Church leaders in the most general way, and, instead of accentuating their authority, warns them of the danger of worldly ambition. Ideas of Catholicity, as we find them in the teachings of Cyprian, have no place in the Shepherd. They belong to a later age, and were in great measure the result of a long process of development, the chief factors in which were contributed by the conflict with Gnosticism, and with other varieties of teaching, more or less heretical, which engaged the attention of the Church at periods later than any that can be assigned

(1) Sim. IX, 18. Lightfoot's transl.

to this treatise. In this connection, one of the most remarkable features of the Shepherd is the circumstance that, though it clearly alludes to errors of doctrine, it never stigmatises as heretical those whose opinions and practices it most strongly condemns. "The Church⁽¹⁾ is thought of as distinguished from the wicked, from the heathen, not from heretics or schismatics." Hermas "divides the world, one might almost say, into Christian and non-Christian, and heretics are to him mistaken teachers, as they are to Paul in Phil. I. 15-18." With such teachers, Hermas does not call upon the Church to deal by way of discipline. There may even have been tendencies in the Church of his time which, left unchecked, might lead to heresy or schism; and some allusions in the book might easily be held to refer to those which actually issued in Gnostic heresy or Montanist dissent. Farther than this we cannot safely go.

Again, there is no distinct reference to ordinary ecclesiastical discipline. Some writers have supposed the functions ascribed to the Shepherd, or Angel of Penitence, to imply such reference. Thus, in the Third Vision, he superintends the cleansing and dressing of faulty stones; and in the Eighth Similitude he is charged with the duty of planting and watering defective slips cut from the willow - func-

(1) Ramsay. "The Church and the Roman Empire", p. 369.

tions which seem to suggest the work of the office-bearers of the Church. But the Shepherd does not represent such office-bearers. He is merely the agent of the ministry of repentance, and cannot be identified with ecclesiastical officials, over whom he exercises the right of criticism and censure. If therefore the Shepherd of the Visions is not to be looked upon as a supernatural being, or as the impersonation of the Spirit of prophecy, the authority ascribed to him is like that which "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" assigns to the Prophets of the Church, of whom Hermas himself may have been one. ⁽¹⁾

IV. THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH AS DESCRIBED

BY HERMAS.

The detailed descriptions of the spiritual condition of the Church which we find in these revelations have been the subject of much difference of opinion. Pfleiderer characterises them as "nothing less than brilliant". ⁽²⁾ Other scholars find them rather bewildering. Harnack ⁽³⁾ adds the three lists together, and represents Hermas as describing no fewer than twenty-two different types of char-

(1) Ewald, Hist. of Israel. (Eng. transl) VIII., 234 ff. comp. Bartlet, Apostolic Age, pp. 330, 331.

(2) *Drchristentum* 861.

(3) *Herms Pastor*, LXXIX, n.2.

acter, founding upon this an additional argument in favour of a late date. We find nothing to warrant this cumulative method of dealing with these lists, which, though so far independent that none of them appears to be a copy of the others, are so far parallel that each can be studied by the light of the others. They are really successive editions of a single classification, the list in the Eighth Similitude being a revised and extended edition, brought up to date. This view is justified by an explanation in the first of these revelations, which attributes the degeneration of the Church to three causes: (a) Indifference, caused by security and luxury; (b) Double-mindedness; and (c) Dissension. The principle followed by the author is that of simplicity, not complexity, as appears on careful examination of the three lists.

(1) The Third Vision describes⁽¹⁾ thirteen classes, of which the first four consist of those approved of God, and are represented by the first courses of the tower; while the remaining nine, of as many varieties of character, designate:

1. Backsliders, who are cast aside for a season, but not absolutely rejected;
2. Apostates and hypocrites of the worst type, cast away as beyond hope;
3. Those who know the truth, but are unfaithful, and "cleave not unto the saints";

(1) Vis. III, 5, 5, - c.7.

- 4. Those who live at variance;
- 5. Those whose lives are seriously inconsistent;
- 6. Rich and worldly believers;
- 7. Mistaken teachers and their disciples;
- 8. Those who, continuing impenitent, are finally lost;
- 9. Catechumens, who shrink from Baptism and relapse into their former sins.

(2) In the Eighth Similitude thirteen⁽¹⁾ classes are described, of which three are found excellent, at the first trial; the remaining ten representing:

- 1. Apostates, Blasphemers and Traitors;
- 2. Hypocrites of the milder sort, also Mistaken Teachers and their disciples;
- 3. Double-minded persons;
- 4. Those who live at variance;
- 5. Ambitious office-bearers of the Church;
- 6. Worldly believers, inclined to forsake the fellowship of the saints;
- 7. Those who have, in various ways, denied their Lord;
- 8. Another class of worldly believers;
- 9, 10. Two types of slightly inconsistent believers.

(3) The Ninth Similitude⁽²⁾ describes twelve types, of which four are approved at the first trial; the other eight classes consist of:

- 1. Apostates;
- 2. Those who denied Christ, and of whom some in despair separated themselves from the saints;

(1) Sim.VIII. 6, 4. c.10. (2) Sim. IX., 19 - 31.

3. Those who live at variance;
4. Inconsistent believers, including some who are treacherous, and guilty of backbiting;
5. Double-minded persons;
6. Those who are dull of heart and hanker after strange doctrines;
7. Unfaithful Deacons;
8. Those who, though otherwise excellent, are hampered by the influence of wealth.

In each of these lists, one class is described as utterly hopeless, that of Apostates, Blasphemers and Traitors. Their sins cannot be pardoned. There are betrayers, like the children of Hermas, who in ignorance and unbelief denounced their parents to the heathen rulers, who may be forgiven. On the other hand, there is no forgiveness for baptised members of the Church who become Apostates. In this view Hermas is in full agreement with the strict party in the Church of his time. But it is to be noted that that class of lapsed persons is treated differently in the Third Vision from the way in which the same class is dealt with in the Eighth and ⁽¹⁾Ninth Similitudes. In the former, the question of their restoration is not even raised. In the latter they are subjected to the treatment prescribed for all, and are pronounced hopeless, simply because the Shepherd has not succeeded in restoring them. Of this apparent modification of view the author offers no explanation,

(1) Sim. VIII., 6, 4. Sim. IX, 26, 3.

but it appears as if, as he proceeded with his work, he had been led to consider the whole question from the standpoint of experience. "Thou seest," says the Shepherd, "that not one of them repented, although they heard the word which thou speakest unto them as I commanded thee."

(2) The prophet pronounces a very different judgment in the case of those who ⁽¹⁾ only denied the name, and whom the Ninth Similitude describes under the figure of mildewed or leprous stones. For them there is hope, if they have denied Christ with their lips only, and not in their hearts. This kind of denial seems to be referred to in the Second Vision, where Maximus is warned to take heed lest he again deny his Lord. We have no clear indication of the precise nature of the sin of this Maximus, but when we find that "denial" was specially common among the rich and worldly, we are reminded of the fact that confiscation was a form of persecution much favoured by Domitian, who sought by such means to replenish his impoverished exchequer.

Those passages which associate the sin of denial with idolatry remind us of persecutions under Trajan. So Pliny, in his letter, tells his Imperial Master that it was his practice to compel all that denied the charge that they were Christians, to prove their innocence by offering incense at the shrine of the

(1) *Vis.* II, 3, 4.

Emperor, and Trajan in his reply approves of that course being followed. In other places, a form of denial is mentioned which consisted of an extreme form of worldly conformity, the case of Christians dissembling their faith, and hiding their religious opinions from their heathen neighbours. The comparative leniency with which Hermas judges such forms of denial suggests the probable frequency of the offence in his time. He appears anxious, in view of this, to express his opinion that the case of many such offenders is not so desperate as they themselves fear. His idea seems to be that the Church should encourage them to repent, and, as far as possible, should smoothe the way to their restoration; and he expresses the opinion that it is only their own doubts and fears that hinder them from seeking to return. Thus we find in the Eighth Similitude, that of those who denied in various ways (ποικίλας ἀρνήσεις), some were held back from repentance by double-mindedness, but many repented and were restored. Double-mindedness is indeed repeatedly described by Hermas as itself a heinous sin, but in this passage the word seems meant to describe the natural feeling of remorseful despondency which followed their failure in the hour of trial. "Others of them were double-minded, despairing of salvation on account of the deeds which they had committed." Again, we read in the Ninth Similitude of those who denied and did not turn again to their Lord, but isolated themselves, and, not

cleaving unto the saints, lost their souls. Whether this tendency to isolation was, as Rénan⁽¹⁾ suggests, the result of that excessive strictness of Church discipline which imposed upon them lengthened periods of probation, during which they were treated as social lepers, or was only the result of intolerable shame because of their failure to confess Christ, we can understand the difficulty of their position, and the disheartenment which would prevent them from seeking to be restored. In either case, Hermas assures all such persons that they need not fear. If only⁽²⁾ they will use the opportunity afforded them by the special message of grace with which God has charged him, and repent, avoiding a repetition of their past unfaithfulness, they shall be saved. If not, their ruin must follow their rejection of the present offer.

3. Another class of faulty members is that of false teachers and their adherents. It is not easy to determine to whom the author refers. His allusions to doctrinal error suggest that he regarded it as existing in the Church rather as a tendency, than as a line of thought which had crystallised into a definite system. The Eighth Similitude, indeed, describes a particular⁽³⁾ type of false teachers as being in a condition al-

(1) L'Eglise Chrétienne, p. 392, Sim. VIII. 6.

(2) Sim. VIII, 9.

(3) Sim. VIII, 6.

most as desperate as that of Apostates. Again, the Ninth speaks of those who plume themselves upon their knowledge⁽¹⁾ and who, being without understanding, would fain make themselves teachers; and the Third Vision tells of some who wandered⁽²⁾ from the truth, "supposing that they had discovered some better way." Then again, an allusion in the Fifth Similitude recalls one of the varieties⁽³⁾ of Gnostic teaching; and lastly, the False Prophet of the Eleventh Command has been identified by Harnack with a "quack"⁽⁴⁾ or charlatan of the type of Lucian's Peregrinus, of whose doings Irenaeus (I.15.) gives such an abominable picture."

But, while it is true that the passage referred to in the Fifth Similitude does contain a suggestion of one point in the teaching of the Gnostic Carpocrates, and that other features of Gnosticism are recalled in the Ninth, where love of gain is attributed to the false teachers whom it describes, there is no allusion to the leading characteristics of the Gnostic Schools. No reference is made to the Demiurge, the Aeons, or the question of the Origin of Evil. Further, notwithstanding his

(1) Sim. IX, 22, Comp. c. 19, 2.
 (2) Vis. III, 7, 1.
 (3) Sim. V, 7, 2.
 (4) Hist. of Dogma, (Eng. transl. I, 238).

manifest zeal for the purity of the Church, and his love for the simple, childlike faith of former times, our prophet recognises the mistaken teachers and their adherents as members of the Church, and describes many of them as being so far under the Church's influence that they repent at the call of the Shepherd.

The False Prophet of Command XI belongs to a different category. It is hardly necessary to review the widely varying theories which have been advanced regarding him, from those of Hilgenfeld and Harnack, who consider him a representative of the quacks of heathenism, to that of Ritschl⁽¹⁾, who sees in him a picture of the ambitious cleric, occupying the Cathedra of ecclesiastical authority. Here it is enough to point out that Hermas places his False Prophet in a different class from that of the mistaken teachers of whom he speaks, and who, with all their faults, are acknowledged as members of the Church. For though there are believers ($\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$) who consult him, he himself is not a Church⁽²⁾ member. He shuns the assembly of the righteous, and utters his vain oracles in corners. He is not a heretic, but a heathen, inspired with the spirit of the devil. The faults of the mistaken teachers whom Hermas describes in these revelations are practical rather than doctrinal, and

(1) Ritschl, l.c. 4, 63, 532, 535. Comp. Dorner. Hist. of Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ. (Eng. transl.) I. 155.

(2) Zahn. l.c. 105.

this is quite in keeping with the theme of the Shepherd. Thus the chief subject of the Commands is ethical, and deals with the moral virtues and their contrary vices. Of the Seven (1) Virtues or Graces described in the Third Vision, three are essentially moral qualities: and the names of the Twelve Virgins of the Ninth Similitude, like those of their opposites, the Women in Black, illustrate in like manner the strong ethical bias of the work. In the author's opinion, the chief cause of the Church's decline was moral laxity. Doctrinal speculation was of little moment in comparison. The teaching to which he objected was, in his eyes, merely foolish and unprofitable, and, since no vital doctrine was, so far, threatened by it, he was not prepared to denounce it as heretical. What did concern him was the prevalence of the Antinomian opinion, that moral offences were of comparatively (2) little account, so long as one believed the Gospel. In his view the chief cause of the degeneration of the Church was worldliness in its various forms. Thus, in the Eighth Similitude, (3) he illustrates the influence of the secular spirit by the case of those who were so deeply absorbed in business that they forsook the assembly of the saints, and again (4) by that of persons who, through pride of

(1) Vis. III, 8.
 (2) Comp. Sim. V, 7. 2.
 (3) Sim. VIII, 8, 1.
 (4) Sim. VIII, 9, 1.

wealth, were led to conformity with the ways of the heathen. Here lay the danger. In a time of comparative tranquillity, Christians mingled more freely with their heathen neighbours, and were more exposed to the lowering influence of Pagan society. To use the figure of the earlier visions, the Church had become enervated, she was suffering from the malaria which poisoned the moral atmosphere. This loss of tone showed itself in various ways, in an undue love of worldly wealth, in a growing tendency among prosperous members of the Church to neglect their poorer brethren, and to prefer the society of heathen of their own position, and in a spirit of self-indulgence, under whose influence they were tempted to neglect their duties as Christians, and to suffer the great hope of the Church, the Second Coming of their Lord, gradually to fade out of their minds. There was imminent danger of the complete disappearance of the line of demarcation between believers and the heathen, Christians seeking to conciliate their Pagan fellow citizens, by doing as little as possible to offend their prejudices. People of wealth and position were peculiarly exposed to this kind of temptation, and all classes of Christians were more or less liable to be led astray by it. Thus it happened that familiarity with heathen ideas and practices blunted the moral sense of many, and inclined them to lax interpretations of their duties as professed followers of Christ. In the opinion

of Hermas, this process of degeneration had already advanced so far that the Church and the world, Christians and the Christless were like trees in⁽¹⁾ the season of winter, the green indistinguishable from the dry.

But, in our efforts to piece together from the representations of Hermas a picture of the Church as he knew it, we must be careful to distinguish between what can fairly be charged against those early Christians, and what was merely the natural result of their environment. If we were to lay undue stress upon all that he says of avarice, gluttony, and unchastity, we should conclude that they were common faults in the Churches of his time. We are not warranted in believing that they were. The heinousness of such sins was so deeply impressed upon the conscience of the Church that Hermas, or any other religious teacher, had no need to call special attention to them. From other sources we learn that the laws of discipline were very strict, and very rigorously enforced. Justin Martyr finds in the pure life of Christian women one of the strongest proofs of the claims of Christianity. "Of this moral purity," says Hatch, "the officers of each community were the custodians. They watched for souls as those that must give account. Week after week, and, in some cases, as the Jewish Synagogue had done, on two days a week, the Assembly met, not only for prayer but for discipline." Offences against

(1) Sim. III.

chastity were visited with deprivation of Church privileges, and Hermas quotes with approval the opinions of teachers of the stricter sort, who held that, for such lapses on the part of baptised persons, there was no forgiveness. "Moral purity was not so much a virtue at which they were bound to aim as the very condition of their existence". What Hermas feared was that the Church, influenced by her Pagan surroundings, might tone down her testimony. The evil was present rather as an influence to be guarded against than as actual sin calling for discipline. But the temptation to laxity to which the Church was exposed was itself accounted sinful, like the passing thought of Hermas regarding Rhoda, of which he tells us in the Introduction to the Shepherd.

The author is far from taking the gloomy view of Christian society in Rome which some writers have attributed to him. Thus he tells us in the Eighth Similitude ⁽¹⁾ that, of professing Christians, the great majority were found faithful. Some had failed in the hour of trial, and the Church had suffered in consequence. But on the whole her condition was hopeful. Her ranks had been recruited, and among her recent accessions were converts of whom Hermas speaks in language of highest praise, as being "like innocent babes, into whose heart no evil enters." Others again ⁽²⁾ were people of wealth and influence, who, after suffering loss for Christ's sake, were accepted and approved.

(1) Sim. VIII, 1, 6.

(2) Vis. III, 6, 7. comp. Zahn, l.c. 241, ff.

But elements of danger were not wanting. In all classes there was a spirit of worldliness at work. It was beginning to show itself among the clergy in the form of strife and emulation, and Hermas was called to admonish them with all faithfulness: "Be not like poison-mixers. ⁽¹⁾ Dealers in poison carry their drugs in boxes, ye bear your drugs and poisons in your hearts". He had to warn contentious Church leaders that, if they persisted in this sin, they should be cast away. In those times of security the Church was in danger of losing sight of that hope in the glorious appearing of her Lord, which had shone most brightly in her times of trial, and of forgetting that her citizenship was in heaven, not on earth. In a word, she had need of revival, therefore was Hermas sent with his call to repentance. But, for this end, the prophet could only repeat and emphasize, with urgent and earnest insistency, the old, familiar message: "The Lord is at hand". "The Day of Grace has its limits." "To-day if ye will hear His voice harden not your hearts".

(1) Vis. III. 9, 7.

Chapter VI

HERMAS AND KEBES.

The text in this section is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a list of references or a detailed table of contents, possibly including names of authors and titles of works. The text is organized into several columns, but the specific content within these columns cannot be discerned due to the low contrast and noise of the scan.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS AND THE TABLET OF KEBES.

Dr. C. Taylor in his Shepherd of Hermas, seeks to work out in detail the hypothesis, suggested by Dr. Cotterill, that the Shepherd is an adaptation to Christian purposes of an ancient moral allegory, attributed to a Greek writer ^{who belonged} ~~belonging~~ to a period shortly after that of Socrates, and entitled "The Tablet" or "The Picture". He argues that the Shepherd, being the larger work was probably based upon The Tablet, and illustrates and supports the theory by giving a synopsis of the latter, and by calling attention there, and in the Commentary on the Shepherd which follows, to points of similarity between the two allegories.

Dr. Taylor admits at the outset that there are essential differences between them, inasmuch as the Shepherd is a Christian allegory, while the Tablet presents a Pythagorean and Parmenidean view of human life, is wholly ethical in fact, and relates entirely to life in this world. That scholar might well have added to this admission, some reference to the marked contrast between the avowed object which the author of the Shepherd had in view, and the question propounded and studied by the author of the Tablet. The aim of the Shepherd is to call the attention of the Church of Christ to the degenerate condition into which she has sunk and awake her to her need of repentance, and to enforce his message by a warning of the approach of the appearing of Christ as Judge.

1⁸ h. 39

1 18, 19

The aim of the Tablet is to deal with a speculative question in which all mankind are interested, but which relates ^{only} to the present life. 'What is good and what is evil in life?' And again 'what is neither positively good nor positively evil'. Or it may be stated more concisely: 'how must one live if he would extract from life all the good he can derive from it?' or 'how may he make the best use of his opportunities as a citizen of this world? The aim of the Tablet is speculative, the aim of the Shepherd is spiritual and practical.

There are indeed considerations which lend some degree of plausibility to the hypothesis that the Shepherd is largely based upon the Tablet, if not also modelled upon it. Among these is the circumstance that Justin Martyr, a writer nearly contemporary with Hermas, made use of the Apologue of Prodicus, quoted from Xenophon, of the Choice of Hercules. Two women, one representing Virtue, the other Vice, appear to Hercules and seek to influence his choice as to which of the two ways, the good or the evil, he should follow.

We cannot but compare with this the frequent use of the figure of the Two Ways by the Early Christians. We find it in Barnabas and again in Hermas, while the latter associates it with his teaching as to the Two Attendant Angels who accompany each individual and prompt him to choose the good or the evil. The same thought appears in the Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus speaks of the Broad and the Narrow Ways. All these are

+ Justin Martyr p. 37

more or less analogous to the story of the Choice of Hercules. If that Apologue then had such vogue in the time of Justin and Hermas, why not also the Tablet of Kebes, an allegory of the same type and dating from the same or nearly the same period? It may thus have been known to Hermas as well as to Justin, though we must remember that the latter was a Platonist philosopher who was never ashamed of his philosophy but made use of it in his vindication of the Gospel, while speculation had no interest for the Author of the Shepherd. It may have been known to him, and may to some extent have contributed some of the thoughts which he expressed in his work on Christian life and duty. But even so, Hermas may easily have made use of that in Kebes which was a commonplace part of the ethical teaching of the age without basing his own work upon it. Dr. Taylor has not, in our opinion, done more than establish some sort of probability that Hermas' thought was influenced or coloured by that of the Tablet, and he is scarcely justified in his assertion that the hypothesis that Hermas adopted the leading ideas of Kebes, with necessary variations, accounts for some curious things in the Shepherd which have not otherwise been explained.

Taylor
l.c., I.
18, 19.

Some of Dr. Taylor's suggestions seem too ingenious. For example, the parallel which he draws between Kebes' allusion to the Riddle of the Sphinx with which the Interpreter, the "old inhabitant", who explains the meaning of the "tablet" to the multitude, prefaces his remarks, and the threefold form in which

the Church appeared to Hermas. The Sphinx propounded a riddle concerning the ages of human life. According to the fable, those who failed to read the riddle aright were devoured by the Sphinx, but the man who succeeded destroyed her. The Interpreter applies the fable thus. Folly is the Sphinx with whom mankind have to do, and those who fail to answer her question must perish at her hands, while those who succeed gain the victory over her. Now her question is this: What is good in this life? What is evil? And what is neither positively good nor positively bad? To answer this rightly and act accordingly, is the secret of a successful and happy life. To fail here is to fall into the power of Folly and be devoured by her. In this reference to the Sphinx Dr. Taylor finds a parallel with what Hermas tells us, in the opening visions of the Shepherd, of the Woman, the Chair and the Bench. The Woman represents the Church and appears first old and feeble, and therefore is seen seated on a chair. Again she is seen strong and active, moving about freely, as if she were renewing her youth, and at last, her health and vigour fully restored, she is seen seated with Hermas on a bench, that is, the sure foundation ^{of} ~~on~~ the Word of God. It is suggested that here we have the riddle of the Sphinx inverted. According to the latter, man appears first in the helplessness of infancy, going on all fours, then in the vigour of youth and manhood, then in age, leaning on a staff. According to the order in Hermas, we have the woman resting on a chair.

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Seated

then walking about, then on the bench.

In the Riddle the order is this: 4. 2. 3. Four feet, two feet, three feet.

In Hermas 3. 2. 4. Three, two, four ^{feet}

In order to make good this parallel, Dr. Taylor bases his argument upon what is said in the Shepherd about the stability of the Bench, resting securely on four feet, like the world compacted of four elements. This suggests to him a contrast with the chair and implies some other number of feet. Now Hermas mistook the Woman for the Sibyl, i.e., for a prophetess of the heathen type, like the priestess at Delphi, who delivered her oracles seated on a tripod. Again in the Commands, Hermas saw the False Prophet seated on a chair, and those who consulted him, though they were believers, on a bench. That chair also may have been a tripod, its occupant being even as a heathen sorcerer inspired by an evil spirit. But in the case of the False Prophet, the chair (Cathedra) is clearly used as indicative of authority, while in that of the Woman who represents the Church it is explained to mean that, being old and weak, she required the support of a chair. It is altogether gratuitous to suppose that the chair was a tripod in the one case or in the other; and the notion that the bench was occupied by inconsistent believers who ~~are~~ ^{were} so foolish as to consult the False Prophet, is the same of which we read in the Visions, an Emblem of the Church established on the Word of God, involves a glaring absurdity. The moral drawn by the Shepherd is that those enquirers should not be there

seated on that bench, apparently part of the furniture of the room or hall where the impostor received his clients. Again in the case of the Woman of the first three Visions, if support was necessary on account of infirmity why should a tripod be chosen for the purpose? There would be no appropriateness in the choice of such a seat, and in any case no thought is suggested of drawing a contrast between the chair required for the support of the Woman and the more stable support afforded by the Bench. What is said of the secure position of the Bench is merely a conceit, which has no connection with the explanation of the Chair, as being necessary in view of the Woman's infirmity, ^{but} ~~but which~~ refers rather to the conception of Irenaeus, of the Church as based upon the fourfold Gospel, and to the parallel which that suggested to the Early Christians with the universe compacted of four elements. Dr. Taylor has given a very interesting and suggestive comparison of the Shepherd with the Tablet, from which we may infer that though the subjects with which they deal are different, and regarded from a different standpoint, the later work may have been indebted to the earlier for some of its ideas. But the parallel between the Tablet of Kebes and the Shepherd of Hermas is at no point so close as to warrant the conclusion that the latter was in any real sense based upon the former. Between the successive circles depicted in the Tablet on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the Tower as described in the Third Vision and the Ninth

Similitude, or the ~~W~~^Talls and the ~~T~~^Iower referred to in the Eighth Similitude ~~by~~^{of} the work of Hermas, the resemblances are not so clear as to justify the opinion that the Shepherd is the Tablet in another form. Throughout the Shepherd, the thought present to the mind of the writer is that of the Visible Church of Christ, and its actual or possible members. In the Tablet, the multitude standing outside the enclosures are all mankind, all of whom naturally desire to make the most of life.

The work of Kebes is an allegorical exposition of the problem of life, and its dominant thought is that of the Socratic philosophy, that Virtue is Knowledge and Vice Ignorance.

Jaylor l.c.
I. 39 ff

It sets out with an account of a mysterious picture on a tablet, seen hanging in the Temple of Kronos among the votive offerings which adorn its walls, ^{and} the meaning of which none of the strangers present can understand. An old inhabitant of that region volunteers to explain this picture to the multitude. He prefaces his exposition with a reference to the celebrated fable of the Sphinx. This monster lay in wait for travellers in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and propounded a riddle to those whom she accosted. Her conditions were that those who failed to interpret the riddle should be devoured by her, while she herself must be destroyed by the first that was fortunate enough to explain its meaning. This, the Interpreter says, is an allegory. We have to do with such a ^Ssphinx. Her name is Folly. The riddle which she propounds is, like that of the Theban Sphinx, the riddle

Jay's I 4/5

of human life. Those who fail to find the answer are destroyed, not suddenly, like the victims of that monster of old, but by lifelong decay; while those who are successful destroy the Sphinx of Folly. After this preface, the Interpreter points with a rod to the picture he is about to explain. In this tablet are represented three concentric enclosures in ascending tiers. At the entrance to the first is a multitude gathered. Among them is a venerable man gesticulating as if seeking to make them understand. This enclosure is Life, the multitude those who are entering life, and the old man, the Daemon ^{or} and Deity who tells them what they must do when they enter, and what way they must choose if they would be saved. At the entrance sits a woman of plausible aspect. In her hand is a cup. Her name is Deceit, and with the contents of her cup, ignorance and error, she drugs all that enter. All drink - some more, some less. Within this first enclosure are seen other women, who rush up to and embrace those who enter, carrying some of them off and promising them all that is good. These are Opinions, Desires and Pleasures. Of those who are saved from ~~their~~ blandishments, some may nevertheless perish, because, under the influence of the ignorance and error which they have imbibed from the Cup of Deceit, they fail to find the true way. Here also is seen a blind woman standing on a round stone. This is Fortune, crazy and deaf as well as blind, who goes everywhere giving gifts to men and taking them away again at

random. The round stone symbolises her fickleness.

I 1/4

Outside the gate of the Second Enclosure, are women dressed like harlots, who watch for the recipients of Fortune's gifts, and tempt them to stay with them and consort with Luxury. Their names are Incontinence, Profligacy and Flattery. The man who is enticed by them enjoys himself while under the spell of Luxury, till, having spent all the gifts of Fortune, he finds himself obliged to serve those women, and that all this time, instead of eating, he was being himself devoured by these hurtful lusts. At last he is delivered into the hands of Retribution, and condemned to dwell in a strait dark place with a Woman with a Scourge, with Grief and other such persons. Unless Repentance come to his relief, he must end his days in the abode of unhappiness. The function of Repentance is to deliver him from the consequences of his folly, and to commend him to the care of ^{the} Opinions, who conduct him to True Education. The way of salvation for him is to follow the guidance of the Opinion that leads to True Education. But, according to Kebes, all must come first to False Education. No other way is open to them. By False Education we are to understand letters, and other branches of learning, which do not make a man better but are apt to delude him* into the idea that he knows everything and so cause him to fail to seek the one thing needful, the gift without repentance, that is to say, knowledge of the things that are really profitable. The Way that leads to the True Education is then described.

It is a steep mountain path, ending in a precipitous rock which must be climbed. At the top of this rock are two strong women, Contenance and Endurance, who reach out their hands eagerly to the climbers, and even come down to drag them to the summit, and show them the way above, which is smooth and easy.

Thus is reached the Third Enclosure, the Abode of the Blessed, where dwell Happiness and all the Virtues. At the gate, standing upon a square stone, is a middle-aged woman, simply attired. This is True Education, and the stone on which she stands means stability, in contrast with the round stone on which Fortune stands; the figure signifying that the gifts of True Education, Knowledge and consequent independence of outward things, unlike Fortune's gifts, are sure and stable. She stands outside the gate in order to administer to all that enter a cathartic potion, a sure antidote for the poison of the cup of Deceit. After doing this, she sends them inside to Knowledge and her sisters, the other Virtues, of whom eight are named, including Contenance, who in turn conduct them to Happiness, the Mother, who sits crowned with flowers, in the Aeropolis of all the Circles, and who, with the other Virtues, crowns them also with flowers, as the reward of their victory over the noxious beasts of Ignorance, Error, Grief, Lamentation and Evil generally. After this the Virtues conduct those whom they have crowned back to the place from whence they came, and show them the wretched state of those who dwell there. A number of people, some crowned,

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some uncrowned, are seen descending the hill. Of the latter, some were rejected by True Education, some turned back of themselves, and reverted to their old habits of luxury and incontinence, all manner of evils accompanying them. These latter, instead of taking to themselves the blame of their misfortunes, laid it upon Education, and those poor creatures who give up the life of pleasure. Women are also seen who descend the hill, cheerful and laughing. These are the Opinions which conduct men to Education, who in her turn sends them on to Happiness. For Opinions cannot themselves get as far as Knowledge. Therefore, having accomplished their mission, they return to fetch other pilgrims, like merchant-ships which, after unloading their merchandise, return for fresh cargoes. The Exposition concludes with the reflection that men should deal with the gifts of Fortune like honest bankers, who do not regard the deposits committed to their care as their own property, or show any unwillingness to return them on demand: and with emphasizing the truth that the gift without repentance is that knowledge of the things that are really profitable which True Education gives. All must come in the first place to False Education, but they must use her gifts merely as helps in their pilgrimage, and go quickly forward on their way to True Education.

The rest of the book is taken up with a discussion of the question of what are the good, the evil and the indifferent things in life.

Reference has already been made to the parallel, drawn by Dr. Taylor, between the use which Kebes makes of the Fable of the Sphinx and the explanation in the Third Vision of the Shepherd, of the threefold aspect in which the Church appeared to Hermas. In this connection it is to be noted that whereas in the Tablet the Sphinx and her riddle are used as the text of the exposition of the allegory, Hermas makes not the slightest allusion to the Sphinx, and has no occasion, for the purpose which he has in view, to make any use of her riddle on the life of man.

Neither is there any real parallel between the rod used by Kebes' interpreter as a pointer and the glittering wand with which the Woman in the Third Vision of the Shepherd directs the Seer's attention to the building of the tower. In neither case have we to do with an enchanter's wand. All that can be said is that the Woman, like the aged man of whom Kebes speaks, makes use of a pointer to call the attention of her audience to the details of the Vision which she is about to explain.

Dr. Taylor finds in what Hermas says of the round stones which represent people whose spiritual life suffers from the deceitfulness of riches, a reminiscence of the round stone on which in the Tablet of Kebes Fortune stands. But the shape of that stone is explained to mean the proverbial fickleness of Fortune, and corresponds to the familiar figure of Fortune's Wheel.

In the vision of Hermas, on the other hand, the round stones

are at first rejected because their shape unfits them for a place in a square edifice composed of square stones and built in the manner of Cyclopean walls so closely jointed that the completed structure appears as if it had been composed of a single block. These round stones are described as being of excellent quality and Hermas sees in them an emblem of believers who, though otherwise worthy of a place in the Church, are prevented by their wealth with its attendant cares and temptations from finding that place. Their riches thus appear as an excrescence or superfluity, which must be trimmed away before they are fit for a place in the spiritual temple. So the Shepherd illustrates his interpretation of the figure by adducing the case of Hermas himself who had been stripped of his fortune before he rightly realised that his treasure was in Christ.

The idea of instability in the sense of the uncertainty of riches has nothing to do with the subject present to the mind of Hermas.

In connection with this, the representation of believers under the figure of stones is strongly objected to by Dr. Taylor, in a passage in which he contrasts the description in the Tablet, of a multitude passing through the gate of the Third Enclosure that they may attain to Knowledge and Happiness, with that in the Shepherd, of the stones for the Tower being borne by the Twelve Virgins through the gate hewn in the rock, in order that they may be built over that Gate. We fail to understand the force of the objection. There is nothing in the description

which we find in the Ninth Similitude to justify the conclusion that Hermas took over the representation of the pilgrims passing through a gate, which he found in the Allegory of Kebes, and transformed them into stones to suit his own allegory. It is much more reasonable that the thought of Hermas was influenced by the Gospel description of Christ as the Door of the Sheepfold, the only way of access to the Father, and that he sought to adapt that Scripture emblem to the other which represents Christ as the One Foundation and believers as living stones built upon that foundation.

Similarly, when Hermas describes the Twelve Virgins, who symbolize Powers of the Holy Spirit, as carrying each several stone through the Gate, and handing them to the builders, that is merely a parabolic way of expressing the thought of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians: "Through Him we all have access by one spirit unto the Father." It is altogether improbable that the description was suggested by the picture in the moral allegory of Kebes, of the two strong women reaching forth eager hands to the pilgrims, and dragging them up the precipitous rock at the summit of the Way to Knowledge.

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And the case is not at all strengthened by the circumstance, that as in the Tablet, Continnence is one of the women who drag the climbers up the rock, so in the Shepherd Continnence is one of the four Virgins who are stronger than the rest of the twelve. That is only a coincidence which serves to illustrate the importance

attached to that virtue by the heathen as by the Christian moralist. In the Similitude of Hermas all the Virgins take part in lifting and carrying each individual stone, and the mention of Continnence as one of the strongest of the twelve only accentuates the conviction which the author shared with other Christian teachers of his time, that as those fleshly lusts which war against the soul are among the most potent hindrances to the work of the Spirit in the heart of man, so their contrary virtues are among the most potent aids to a consistent Christian life.

According to Dr. Taylor's view, Hermas took the Tablet as his model, which he followed at every point, adapting it so far as he could to the purpose of his own allegory, by giving it a Christian dress, and all this with little concern for the naturalness of the symbols apart from their application.

The instances above given illustrate this view. Another illustration we find in the parallel between the Woman who sits at the entrance of the First Enclosure and compels all to drink of her poisoned cup, and the Gay Shepherd described by Hermas in the Sixth Similitude who encourages the sheep under his care to feed luxuriously and wax wanton. This parallel is far from obvious as it stands. To make it complete it would be necessary to show what in the picture of Kebes corresponds to the Rough Shepherd in the same Similitude, otherwise described as the Angel of Punishment, whose stern discipline is in some cases ultimately efficacious.

Kebes also has what bears some resemblance to this Angel, in that ^{are delivered} Being into whose hands those who yield to the seductions of the Pleasures who appear in the First Enclosure. But the Retribution described by Kebes is not the Being who delivers men from the noxious effects of the Cup of Deceit. That is the function of True Education, who administers her antidote to those who have ascended the mountain path and reached the gate of the Third Enclosure, having proved victorious over all hindrances. Then again all pilgrims without exception are drugged with the Cup of Deceit, whereas in Hermas there is a distinction between the flocks of the Foolish and the Wise Shepherds.

As for the view that Hermas took over the discipline of Kebes, and transformed the men of the latter into sheep, all that can be said is that the two allegorists adopted different emblems to illustrate the truths which they set forth. There is nothing unnatural or incongruous in the use which Hermas makes of the figures of stones in the Temple of God, a familiar New Testament emblem, and perhaps still less in his use of the ancient emblem of the Shepherd and the sheep.

Chapter VII Spitta's Theory of a Jewish Original

STUDIES ON THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums

By ^{Richard} Frederick Spitta;

Second Volume.

The object of Spitta's Essay is to prove that the Shepherd is a Jewish work, redacted by a Christian writer. According to that scholar, the treatise, in its original form contained no Christian feature. He regards it as a comparatively simple task to separate the original work from its later accretions, and is satisfied that the Shepherd, thus purged of all interpolations, appears as a homogeneous whole, and as a treatise by a Jew and addressed to Jews. He claims that, on this hypothesis, the anomalies in the book which have so long perplexed scholars disappear, and that Hermas is not to be regarded as the confused, unskilful writer that he was so long considered to be, whose mixed metaphors render it hard to understand his meaning, but as one whose work has suffered much at the hands of his Christian interpolator.

He prepares the way for the establishment of his theory by a careful examination of the text as we have it, associated with an ingenious rearrangement of the treatise. He admits at the outset that the first four Visions hang together. But he thinks that the First Vision, whose abrupt opening is so perplexing, is incomplete. A part, most likely the beginning, has been lost, the part which probably gave an account of circumstances and incidents, a knowledge of which would explain sundry allusions in the present text. Such would be those that related to the early life of Hermas, to his relations with his family, to his business career, etc., and, an important matter, the story of his first

introduction to the Shepherd, from whom the author devised the title of his work. That last memorable incident in the early career of the writer is referred to in Vision V and Similitudes IX and X as if it was well known to the author and his readers.

Referring to the suggested rearrangement of the various parts of the book, the scheme proposed by Spitta is as follows:

Part I. The Visions. First the lost portion. Then Visions I - IV; Sim. IX, chaps. 1-31, 3; Sim. X.

Part II. The Commands. First the Prologue, comprehending Vis. V. 1-5; Mand IV. 2,3; Vis. V. 6-7.

Then Twelve Commands, Mand: I, II, III, IV 1-4, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X 1, 1b, 2, 3, Sim. I. Mand XII. 1, 1-3, 1.

Then the Epilogue Mand. XII 3,2-6, 5. Sim. VIII 11, 1-5.

Part III. The Similitudes. (1) Sim. V. (2) Sim II. (3) Sim. III, V. (4) Sim. VIII. (5) Mand. XI. (6) Sim. VI. VII. (7) Lost piece and Sim. IX 31, 4 - 33,1.

This scheme has its own points of interest, though the Essayist treats it as of secondary importance. Among these is the addition of Sim. IX 1 - 31,3 and X to the Visions, which, however, closely related as it is to a very extensive redaction supposed to have taken place, need not be noted at this stage. Again there is something to be said for Spitta's objection to reckoning Mand. XI as really a Command, since it has all the marks of a Similitude; and similarly for his suggestion that Sim. I, which is not properly a Similitude but a Command, should take its place to complete the number twelve, as the precept which forbids the sin of Avarice, a subject with which the Commands, as we

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have them, do not deal. But the suggested regrouping is of trifling consequence in comparison with the main subject of the essay.

The aim of the writer of these "Studies" is obviously to simplify the problem of the Shepherd by cutting out those portions of the work which bear a distinctively Christian character on the ground that they were interpolated by the redactor. The essayist accordingly begins with the Fifth Similitude. He admits Chapters 1 - 2, 5, and C.3 as belonging to the original text. The rest, to which he adds the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ in 2,1, the passage which represents the Householder in the parable as consulting a second time with his son and his friends as to the proposed reward to be conferred upon the Faithful Servant, he rules out as the work of the interpolator. He points out that the subject of the Similitude is that of Fasting. Hermas was fasting when the Shepherd appeared and inquired what he was doing. The Shepherd took the religious exercise in which Hermas was engaged, as the occasion of his explanation of the kind of fast in which God took pleasure. In order to illustrate his meaning, he put forth the parable of the Faithful Servant, which, with an exposition of its meaning and its application, closes with C.3. Here the Similitude comes to a natural end. But in the text as we have it, Hermas asks the Shepherd for a further explanation, and his interlocutor, in complying with the request, deals with other matters which have no proper relation to the

purpose of the parable.

One of these has to do with the subject of the Faithful Servant, in whom the writer of the second part of the Similitude sees a reference to Christ and part of the additional exposition deals with the question raised by Hermas: "Why is the Son of God represented under the figure of a servant?" According to the first part of the Similitude, the Son of God is not Christ but the Holy Spirit, who, along with the archangels represented by the friends of the Householder, is consulted by God with reference to the proposal that the Servant should be made joint heir with the Son, i.e., with the Holy Spirit. The discussion arising out of the question of Hermas, of the humiliation of Christ and the Divine ^{glory} and power to which He was exalted because of His faithful service, is out of place in a parable which expressly relates to the spiritual exercise of fasting and its true purpose and use and ought for that reason alone to be regarded as an interpolation. Spitta maintains that this view is confirmed by the way in which the passage is introduced. In c 4,1 Hermas asks for an interpretation of the parable, though he has already received one in c. In c 4,2 he says that without the elucidation for which he asks the whole Similitude is useless. All this shows, according to Spitta, that the additional exposition given in answer to these requests is one which according to C,1 was by no means intended.

Proofs of interpolation are said to be furnished by the ex-

position of some details in chapters 3 and 4. One of these has already been alluded to, where the Servant of whom we are told that he was adopted as joint heir as the reward of his faithful service is himself really the Son of God by nature. This, says Spitta, is of itself a proof of the way in which the interpolator knew how to confuse instead of enlightening his readers. Another case is that in which both the stakes of the Vineyard and the friends of the Householder both represent angels.

Similarly both the Vine-plants and the fellow servants of the subject of the parable are explained as signifying members of the community of believers. The dishes sent from the banquet given to the Son and the Friends of the Householder are said to denote the Laws which the Son of God gave to His people, though the Similitude describes them as being also a personal gift to the Servant as an additional reward for his extra service.

Further C.2, 6-8 according to which the Householder had already decided to adopt that Servant because of his work in the Vineyard, cleaning and trenching the ground at the cost of much pain and labour, is held to be inconsistent with c.2,9, according to which the Servant, though now made a Son, is not even admitted to the Master's table, but has dishes sent him; and still more with the request of his fellow servants, with whom he shares these dishes, that he should be still more highly honoured because of that generosity. What higher honour, asks Spitta, could be conferred than that of adoption?

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What the essayist characterises as ~~the~~ defacement of the Similitude ~~by~~ the addition of C.2,6-8, i.e., the passage which relates the consultation held with the Son and the friends of the householder as to the further honour to be conferred upon the Servant, and the words c.2,11 *ἔτι μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.* is, in his opinion, easily accounted for on the assumption that the addition was made by the author of cc. 4-7, to whom it was self-evident that the Servant would receive at once the full honour of sonship. He concludes therefore that cc 1-3, with the exception of the additions noted, represent the original Similitude and that cc 4-7 are from the hand of the interpolator, and observes that whereas the latter are permeated throughout by Christian conceptions, the former are wholly destitute of every Christian trait. The fasting described in the original is of the Jewish type, and the figures of the Householder and his Son are quite in accordance with the stereotyped characteristics of similar parables of purely Jewish origin. In making this sweeping statement, the essayist appears to have wholly overlooked the singular expression used at the commencement of Chapter I, where Hermas in reply to the Shepherd's question says: "I am keeping station". The word is Latin transliterated into Greek, and is noted by Commentators as peculiar to Christian conceptions in a period considerably later than that of Hermas, its presence in the Shepherd being the first known instance of its use though it became common among Christian writers from Tertullian onwards.

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It was a military term taken over by the Christians from the Roman Army.

Spitta's treatment of the Fifth Similitude illustrates the principle upon which he proceeds in the meticulous examination to which he subjects all sections of the Shepherd. We see this principle specially exemplified in the case of the Third Vision, the Ninth and Eighth Similitudes, the Fourth Command and the Second Vision.

In the Second Vision he detects only one small interpolation, but it is significant as illustrating the bias of the essayist. It is the passage c.2,8. "For the Lord swear by his Son, etc." The objection is founded upon the form of this oath. It is unusual to represent the Father as swearing by the Son, and therefore the passage is suspicious. The whole bent of this critic seems in point of fact to be in the direction of ruling out as spurious all that savours of a recognition of Christ. The expression is certainly rare. But it is not on that account to be rejected as impossible. Might not a Christian, recognising Christ as the Word of the Father, represent the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ through and in Whom He has revealed Himself, use such language? The expression "to swear by His glory" is used of God. Why then regard as incongruous an oath by His Son being imputed to the Father by an early Christian writer?

In the essayist's treatment of the Third Vision, his strong bias in favour of a Jewish original is clearly seen. That sec-

tion he represents as being seriously interpolated. He takes exception in the first place to the interpretation of the Tower built on the water as an emblem of the Church founded upon Baptism in the name of Christ. He does so on the ground of its alleged inconsistency with what is said in Vis. I, 3,4 of the world being established on water, and that in connection with a parallel between the Creation of the World and the foundation of the Church. In that passage he says that water is spoken of as the unstable, and even the hostile element, and the establishment of the world upon water is taken as a proof of the divine omnipotence, ~~and~~ the reference ^{being} is to Psa. 24,²⁰, Psa. 104³. In view of this, and of the parallel between the world and the church, it is inconsistent to speak of the Church, ^{as} being founded on Baptism. For that involves a totally different conception of water, which is regarded no longer as a hostile power, but the very opposite. So we read: "For it is by water that your life was saved and shall be saved." Then again the Church, like the world, is said to be "founded by the Almighty Word of God and by the great and glorious Name." Regarding this, Spitta contends that here Name cannot be taken as meaning the name of the Son of God, - Who is the subject of the Gospel preached to the world, but as the name Jehovah; and that the thought of Baptism is foreign to the passage. (~~It is enough to say, with regard to these objections, on the one hand that the parallel between the creation of the world and the foundation of the Church is familiar~~

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~~in Early Christian literature; and on the other, that though water is in the account of the Creation spoken of as the hostile element while here, it is associated with Baptism to which saving efficacy is ascribed, we find in I Pet¹ a similar parallel between the saving water of baptism and the destructive waters of the Flood. And further the expression "The Name" is true, as the passage in the Third Vision adds the explanation. For by water you are saved and shall be saved. Then again the Church, like the world, is founded by the Almighty Word of God and the great and glorious Name. Spitta maintains that Name here cannot mean the Name of the Son of God, the subject of the Gospel of Christ preached to the world. The Name is that of Jehovah and the thought of Baptism is foreign to the passage.~~

To this it is enough to answer that the parallel between the creation of the world and the foundation of the Church is familiar in Early Christian literature. As to the objection that water, the hostile element, is in this passage used as an emblem of baptism, to which saving efficacy is ascribed, in I Peter,²¹⁰ a parallel is drawn between baptism and the ^WWaters of the Flood. Further the expression "The Name" as applied to Christ in connection with Confession was constantly used by Christians in the times of persecution, while Baptism was as constantly associated with the thought of the Name.

~~But the conclusion at which Spitta arrives, that the passage in which these thoughts are expressed must have been introduced by a later hand, affects all subsequent references found in the text to the Son of God, to the Name, and to Baptism, which there~~

~~fact~~

~~tion as spurious because of its alleged inconsistency with what we find in the First Vision.~~

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This judgment affects his view of all subsequent references in the Third Vision to the Son of God, to the "Name", and to Baptism, which he ascribes to the interpolator. To take one of these as an example. In c, 5,2 the Bythos, or Deep, from which certain of those stones were quarried which were fitted into the Tower, means baptism, but in c, 7,3 it is explained to mean baptism. But this seeming discrepancy may be partly accounted for by the recognised fact that when the book was written martyrdom was regarded as a baptism of peculiar efficacy.

Proof of interpolation is found in another case, in that, while C.2 enumerates only two classes of stones those from the Deep and those from the Dry Land, a third group is introduced in C.5,1, ^{where} ~~inasmuch as~~ Apostles and Teachers are described as one of the foundation courses of the Tower. The passage referring to them is clearly a later addition.

Again the reference to Bishops, ^{is pronounced a later addition,} on the ground that the original knows nothing of bishops.

For similar reasons the essayist would attribute to the interpolator the entire section Vis. III, 10,13. He says that c.10,1 is misplaced. It should come before, not after, the Removal of the Bench. In c,10,2, the passage in which Hermas asks the ^Woman to explain the three aspects in which she appeared, is characterised as a clumsy addition to the original and the

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exposition which follows is set down as a piece of wild allegorising, involving an explanation of the aged aspect in which the woman first appeared, which directly contradicts Vis. II, 4,1, where an entirely different account is given. Spitta ridicules the representation of the Chair as an emblem of her weakness, and says it was a teacher's seat, not a grandfather's chair, ^{that} which she occupied, while her feebleness did not prevent her instructing Hermas out of her little book. In addition to these reasons, the section c 1, 2-13,4 should, in Spitta's opinion, be struck out as interrupting the line of thought, and destroying the connection between Visions III and IV.

An instance of interpolation is seen in Vis. IV, s. 3,1-5, where an allegorising exposition is given of the colours of the head of the monster which Hermas encountered near Rome. That monster is described as a type of the Great Tribulation which is to try the people of God. It is represented as a demonic power, and as such is held in check only by the grace of God, who sent His angel ^{Thegi} ~~Magi~~ who is set over the wild beasts. To make the colours, seen on the head of this ^e ~~Evil~~ ^h Monster, the text of such an allegory as is here given, is strangely out of place. For these colours are explained as a revelation of the gracious purpose of God, to purify His people in the furnace of affliction, and fit them for participation in the glory to be revealed.

This we can admit. There is ^a ~~h~~ strange incongruity here. But that does not constitute an argument for the rejection of

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the passage. But Spitta does not dwell upon this, and the Vision is on the whole allowed to pass, as in the main the work of the original author.

Ninth Similitude. The close relation between this and the Third Vision has been generally recognised, as indeed it professes to be a recapitulation, or a second edition of that Vision, describing, as the Vision does, the Ecclesia, or Church, or Kingdom of God, under the figure of a Tower built of living stones. If we simply follow the guidance of the introductory words of the Similitude we naturally regard it as a continuation of the subject with which the Vision deals; "After I had written down the Commands and Similitudes of that Shepherd ... he came to me and said: "I wish to show thee what was showed thee by the Holy Spirit who spoke with thee, appearing in the form of the Church ... but now thou seest it through an angel but by the selfsame Spirit."

Between these allied revelations there are numerous differences more or less important, but just such as we might expect to find in a revised and improved edition of any ordinary work. The most important difference, and it is peculiarly significant, between the Vision and the Similitude, is the absence from the latter revelation of that note of urgency which is so prominent in the former. This can best be accounted for on the theory that a long interval must have elapsed between them. Our essayist, proceeding on a different principle, and influenced by his

strong bias in favour of a Jewish original, continually seeks confirmation of his theory by diligently noting and accentuating the points of difference between these two revelations.

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First he calls attention to the Tower described in both, and starts with a consideration of Sim. IX, c,13. He explains the Tower to mean the Ecclesia, or the Kingdom of God. The Twelve Virgins seen standing by the Gate in the Rock on which the Tower stands, are described in this chapter as signifying Holy Spirits. But here Spitta notes that this contradicts the explanation in c, 15,2, where they are represented as Virtues. The latter is the more natural interpretation, and seems to be borne out by the names which they bear, the list beginning with Faith and ending with Love, and by comparison with the Seven Virtues of Vis. DII, of which also Faith is first and Love last. Then, with reference to the fact that the stones which the Virgins bring into the tower must all be of one colour, white like their raiment, the explanation, offered is that he who bears the names of the Virgins but is not clothed with their raiment cannot enter the Kingdom of God. But "this interpretation is suddenly altered, for we are informed that the Virgins are Powers of the Son of God, again that their names are themselves their raiment, and yet again, that whosoever bears the name of the Son of God must also bear the names of the Virgins, for that He Himself bears their names. Then we read in c 15,2, in which the Twelve Virgins are contrasted with the Twelve Women in Black, after the names

Virgins

of the women have been given, that he who bears their names, and the name of the Son of God, shall enter the Kingdom. With regard to this confusion of imagery, Spitta rejects as unsatisfactory Zahn's opinion, that it arises from the peculiar way that Hermas has, of explaining one figure by the use of others, with little regard to conformity, and accounts for it by the irrelevant references to the name of the Son of God. A double interpretation, he says, argues redaction by a later hand. Therefore the words "Having believed in the Lord through His Son" are to be rejected (c. 13,5) as an addition by the interpolator.

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Again in C,12, the whole of which the essayist sets down as an interpolation, confusion is caused by the interpretation given by which Rock, Gate and the Glorious Being (ἑνδοξος ἀνὴρ) elsewhere called the Lord of the Tower, all represent the Son of God. We read in c 2,2 that the Rock is old, but the Gate pierced in it is new. That suggests the question put by Hermas in c,12,1, how ^{it} ~~that~~ agrees with the interpretation that both Rock and Gate signify Christ. And the answer is, that the antiquity of the Rock refers to Christ as pre-existent Son of God and, the newness of the Gate refers to His manifestation in Gospel times. But this, says Spitta, is inconsistent with Vis. III, 3,5 which explains the Tower as meaning the Ecclesia founded by the Word of the Almighty, and Glorious Name, and sustained by the invisible power of the Lord (τὸν θεοπρότου). We must bear in mind that for Spitta, neither Word, nor Name nor Lord, in the original

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has any reference to Christ. Again he observes, that according to Sim. 5,2 it is the Holy Spirit, not the Son, who is represented as Counsellor of God at the Creation.

Then he asks why it should be said that all the stones must be carried through the Gate if it means Christ as manifested in the Gospel Age? What about the three foundation courses which denote the patriarchs and prophets? Such statements are contradictory of those of the Third Vision. Another anomaly appears in the saying that the Angels themselves, here described as companions of the Lord of the Tower, have access to God only through that Gate which is Christ. Here Spitta finds the acme of absurdity."

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Again with reference to the Stones used in the building, according to c 3, 3,4 the three foundation courses consist of ten, twenty-five, and thirty-five, and represent the first and second generations of patriarchs (say from Adam to Noah, and from Shem to David or Solomon), and the Prophets of the Old Testament. These numbers 10 + 25 + 35 make up the significant figure 70. But to these are added 40, representing Apostles and Preachers of the Word. Here, we are told, is a glaring interpolation, for not only is forty a number of no significance, besides being in contradiction of the original exposition in Vis. III, 5,1, but the introduction of the Apostles in this connection is irrelevant and absurd. Again, when it is said that the ^aAscent of the first three courses out of the Deep means the baptism of the Old Testa-

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ment Saints, and then that those Saints were baptised by the Apostles in the underworld, it is plain that the same interpolator that caused confusion by referring to Baptism in Vis. III, 3,5 was responsible for introducing the Apostles here. All these difficulties ^{the Essigist says} disappear, once we accept the view that the Rock means only the Eternal Will and Purpose of God, the Gate ^{His} Revealed Law, and the Tower the People of God, who know, and are faithful to the Law that came by Moses. It is the interpolator who renders the figure unintelligible, by making entrance to the Tower depend upon faith in the Son of God and baptism in His name.

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The same thing is seen in the Interpretation of the Twelve Mountains. These mean the nation of Israel, the number twelve being regularly used of the Jews, as the number seventy ^{is} of the Gentile nations. The interpolator's misunderstanding of the meaning of the Tower results from a misunderstanding of the signification of the Twelve Mountains. Faith and Baptism have nothing to do with the question of the difference between the Mountains in colour and character, and the acceptance or rejection of the stones from those mountains depends upon their excellences or their defects. Now, with regard to these criticisms, it must be admitted that there is a considerable amount of confusion in the exposition. For example, the precise relation between the quality of the stones, and the nature of the mountains from which they were taken, is not clearly explained.

The first Mountain is black, and the stones quarried from it

are of the same colour, and are therefore rejected. These represent Apostates and Betrayers, for whom there is no hope. As for the other mountains, though stones taken from them were found serviceable, those from the Twelfth being specially good, nevertheless, on the whole the Lord of the Tower judged it best to procure all further supplies of material, not from the Mountains themselves, but from the Plain, of which we learn that it was really the roots of the Twelfth, or White Mountain. Without examining in detail the differences between mountains and stones, and Spitta's comments upon them, it is sufficient to point out that, ^{while} in the Similitude no adequate account is given of the reason why no more stones were taken from the Twelfth Mountain, though practically the same commendation is given ^{to} them as is given to the stones from the Plain, ~~and that~~ the essayist dwells unnecessarily upon the difference between the account which the Similitude gives of the stones for the Tower, and that which we have in the Vision. Apart from this it is worthy of remark that the one point on which Spitta lays special stress is this - that the Twelve Mountains can only mean the Twelve Tribes of Israel. That, he maintains, is the only explanation of the significant number Twelve, and of the fact that Hermas calls the peoples which they represent "tribes" (φυλαί) not "nations" (ἔθνη), - conclusive proof to Spitta that the Gentiles cannot be referred to. For the same reason the Stones from the Plain at the foot of the Mountains can only mean proselytes to the Jewish religion. With

all this, no reason is suggested for the fact that the scene of the revelation is laid in Arcadia, in the heart of the Peloponnesus. Why should twelve Greek hills, situated in the centre of the most intensely Hellenic part of Greece, and which, as Prof. Rendel Harris has shown, can almost be identified, be used as emblems of the Tribes of Israel? And this suggests further questions: Which of the Tribes of Israel corresponds to the First, or Black Mountain, the Stones from which represent Apostates and Betrayers? And why are no more stones taken from the other eleven? Must the place of the true Israel, born Jews, be taken henceforth by the proselytes from the heathen, of whose faith and devotion to the Cause of Judaism, in the face of the Roman persecution of the Jews, our essayist speaks in such glowing terms?

Spitta deals with Chapter 17 in the same way, rejecting the whole ^{the} passage in which the acceptance of believers is made to depend, not upon the moral excellence, but upon their reception of "the Seal"; and with those that follow on the same lines making the most of discrepancies between Sim. IX and Vis. III. Throughout his examination of the Similitude his bias is manifest.

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Similitude VIII. Spitta's conclusions regarding this Similitude can be briefly stated. The interpretation of the Willow and its slips is to be taken literally. They refer to the Law. Where, as in C 3,2 it is said to mean the Son of God, we can, as in the cases already proved in Sim. IX, detect the hand of the interpolator. In this Similitude the subject is always

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the Law, *Noμó's*, in its literal sense, never the Son of God. The Angel who cuts the slips and gives them to the people is Michael, in his capacity of guardian of Israel and Mediator of the revelations of God to the Chosen Race. This representation is in accord with the tradition that the law was given through Angels. To represent Michael as giving the Law of Christ, i.e., Christ Himself to the hearts of men is, we are told, a very extraordinary conception, all the more singular when we compare it with Sim. V, 6,3, where the Son Himself gives men the laws which He received from the Father. For it involves the identification of Michael with the Son of God. The Seal (*σφραγίς*) referred to as being given to recipients of the slips does not mean Baptism, as in the interpolate passage of Sim. IX, but merely the confirmation of their right to a place in the Tower. So in c 2, 2-4, On the other hand in c 6,3 it must mean baptism for there we read that there were some who received the Seal but failed to keep it.

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Again the Tower and the Walls, of the supposed distinction between which so much has been said by scholars, are really the same. They both mean the Holy City Jerusalem.

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The essayist concludes, as the result of his study of Visions, Similitudes, and Commands, that Baptism is nowhere, except in proved interpolations, made a condition of admission to the Ecclesia. These interpolations, which can easily be detected, are the sole cause of the confusion which perplexes us in the

text of the Shepherd. If we strike them out we shall find the original, a consistent homogeneous whole. In a word, the critic means to say that no passages can be genuine which suggest Christian ideas. If we get rid of them, the residuum is a purely Jewish work.

The Jewish Original.

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In the concluding part of the essay Spitta marshals his arguments for his solution of the Hermas problem.

1. First he notes the total absence of the words "Jesus", "Christ", "Evangelism^{ism}."

2. He then discusses the use in the book of the word "Ecclesia". At first sight, the absence of all reference to distinction of parties in the Church looks like an indication of the Christian character of the Original. On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that the word Ecclesia is used, not of the Christian Church, but of the Jewish Community, considered sometimes in the Empiric, sometimes in the ideal sense. No doubt, in view of the fact that the term was taken over from the Jewish Community and applied to Christian uses, we cannot, from the occurrence of the mere expression, infer either the Christian or the Jewish character of the work in which it occurs. We find ^{it} in the Jewish sense in the New Testament as e.g. Act 17³⁸, where Stephen speaks of the Church in the wilderness. It occurs in the L1 XX, alongside of $\sigma\upsilon\nu\delta\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\eta}$, as a translation of the Heb. ~~עֵדוּת~~
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in the sense of a separate gathering, as well as of the whole people. After noting these instances, Spitta remarks that the fact that the Ecclesia appears in the Shepherd as an Old Woman, is a proof that the original is a Jewish work written for Jews. In Vis. II 4,1 this is explained to mean that the Ecclesia was founded at the beginning of the Creation, and that the world was created for her sake. So also in Vis. I 3,4 she is associated with the Creation, and with the blessing pronounced on Adam in Gen. 1 28. This conception, Spitta declares, belongs unquestionably to Jewish literature. Thus in 4 Ezra 6,54 Adam is described as the ancestor of the Ecclesia, and this agrees with Sim. IX 15,4, where the first course of masonry in the Tower represents the first generation of Patriarchs, the second the second generation, and the third the Prophets, etc. These number in all 70 stones, — a perfect number in the Jewish sense. With all this New Testament ideas have, in Spitta's opinion, nothing to do; and, as he claims to have proved, the baptism of O.T. Saints by the Apostles is only a grotesque absurdity. What strikes us here is the cool assumption of the essayist that the Patriarchs, as ancestors of the Jews, are to be reckoned as Jews, and that God's blessing upon Adam in Genesis meant the foundation of the Jewish Ecclesia in the most exclusive sense of the word. On a par with this is his assertion, that it is only on the hypothesis of a Jewish Original and a wholly Jewish reference for the Shepherd, that we can understand what is meant

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in Sim. IX ^{by} ~~of~~ the removal of faulty stones from the Tower and the substitution of the beautiful white stones from the Plain. These last cannot mean "the young in faith", for how could a fresh supply of Christian converts be found when all mankind had heard the Gospel and even the underworld had given up its dead? Therefore they must mean Jewish proselytes. So they are described as brilliant, (λαμπροί), a term corresponding to the recognised words for proselytes of the inner and outer circles, the square stones meaning those who accepted the whole Law, including Circumcision, the round and hard ones, which required to be hewn, those who shrank from full conformity.

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φοβούμενοι
 or εβραϊσμοί
 τῶν θεῶν

Again the Ecclesia is called "The People" (ὁ λαός) in Sim. VIII. The fact that the multitude to whom the slips of willow are given are so called, and are under the charge of Michael, proves the reference to the Jewish nation. What is said of the Law delivered to the People over all the world, tallies with the historical fact that the Jews were at this time scattered among the nations. The whole difficulty arises from a misunderstanding of the word "Law", (ὁ νόμος), as synonymous with Logos and as a reference to the Son of God. Spitta insists upon the literal interpretation of the ^{word} ~~word~~ as "Law", and objects to the view that it can be used as another name for Christ. But as we have seen, ⁺ this personal use of the word ^{occurs} ~~seems~~ in Justin Martyr Dial c. Tryph. ; ~~in~~ One passage indeed, ~~this~~ has the expression, "Christ, who was preached to the world as

+ p. 76 above

Eternal Law and New Covenant," the very thought of the passage which Spitta rejects as an interpolation; again in the Praedicatio Pauli et Petri where Christ is called "Law and Word".

Again Spitta explains the Seal (σφραγίς) given by Michael to those proved faithful, in token of their acceptance, as meaning, not Baptism, but simply such a sealing as is described in Rev. 7 1-8.

3. All the figures used of the Ecclesia the essayist claims to be elsewhere used of the Jewish Community:-

- (a) The Ecclesia as a Woman (1) As a Bride, Vis. IV 2,1. Israel the Bride of Jehovah, a familiar thought in the O.T. Also in Assumptio Mosis; (2) As a Mother, Vis. III 9, Comp. Isa. 54 1, Lam. 1¹; 4 Ezra 9 38, 10 7 - "Zion the Mother of us all." (3) As an Old Woman. The reason assigned for the use of this figure, the primeval antiquity of the Ecclesia, proves its Jewish reference.
- (b) The Ecclesia as a Tower. This means the Jewish people. It is immediately associated with other figures. So in 4 Ezra 9, 18 where the mourning Woman suddenly appears as a city and the explanation is given "This is Zion".
- (c) The Ecclesia as "The Walls", Sim. VIII, 2,5. This means the City. Comp. Sim. I. where Jerusalem is contrasted with Rome. That Similitude does not refer to the Christian, whose citizenship is in heaven, and who is therefore commanded to live in the world as not of the world. The two

cities are Jerusalem and Rome, literally understood, and the reference is to the liability of the Jews in Rome to be banished, and ordered to return to their own country. This interpretation is held to be proved by the repeated use of the word "to return" (εἰσὶν ἀνακλῆσαι) as one cannot return to a place which one has not left. Our critic never thinks of reflecting that the Similitude can equally well be understood of the frequent alternative presented to Christians in the time of Trajan, for example: Conform to the State regulations and sacrifice to the Emperor, or expect to be treated as hostile to the State. As a matter of fact, Jews were more inclined to the conformity demanded by Rome, than were the more aggressive Christians.

- (d) The Church as a Temple, Vis. III 2,1. "Their place is on the right hand side of the Sanctuary."
- (e) The Tower, like the Old Woman, means the Ecclesia as the Community of the Just. The Tower can only be understood as a figure of the Ideal Israel. So Sim. IX, Vis. III, Sim. VIII describe it as the ideal Community.
- (f) The Twelve Mountains mean, not unconverted humanity, but the People of Israel. Here Spitta notes that the difference between Sim. IX and Vision III is, that while the latter merely states who belong and who do not belong to the Ideal Ecclesia, the former makes the broader statement, that it is possible that those who have for some time belonged to

the Ideal Ecclesia may not prove faithful.

Whether represented as the Old Woman or as The Tower, it means the Ideal Community of Israel. The Kingdom of God, according to the original of the Shepherd means that invisible mystical Community of the faithful which begins with Adam and becomes manifest in the end of the days.

4. The Empiric Church. What this means in the Shepherd we gather from the use of the names of the office-bearers in the Community or Congregation. These are all distinctly Jewish. Such are the Leaders (προηγούμενοι) who are exhorted to make straight their ways. Elders, (πρεσβύτεροι), Vis. II, 4,3, are to be taken literally as the ^{oldest} Members of a Jewish Congregation. Presidents (πρόιστάμενοι), and Leaders, are mentioned in connection with Jewish circumstances. Occupier of the chief seat (πρωτοκαθιδρύτης) Spitta describes as a peculiar expression, but considers that the κάθισμα to which it refers is not the Chair of a bishop or teacher but merely a seat in the Synagogue. The Shepherd, he observes, knows nothing of bishops. Where the word ἐπίσκοποι occurs in our copies, as in Vis. III, 5,1, Sim. IX, 27,2, it is in passages which are pure interpolations. The Clement who is mentioned in Vis. II 4,3, is not a bishop but a subordinate officer (ὑπὸψιτης) appointed for a special service, analogous to the function assigned in the same passage to the woman Grapte, whose duty it was to read the revelation of Hermas to the widows and orphans. The Shepherds referred to in Sim. IX, 3,5 are not bishops. With regard to

the expressions "occupier of the Chief Seat" etc., Spitta maintains, that, in the absence of parallels in Christian literature referring to the constitution of the Church, we must regard them as constituting a strong argument in favour of the Jewish character of the original. In this connection we are to compare them with Matt. 23⁶; Mark 12³⁹; Luke 11⁴³, 20⁴⁶.

The Deacons, mentioned along with the Old Testament prophets, (Διάκονοι τοῦ Θεοῦ), are to be regarded as declaring God's will to Israel, not in their official capacity, for the Greek διακονεῖν, like the Latin ministrare, refers to serving with food and drink, but as private members, who according to the traditions of the Synagogue, were allowed to expound Scripture to the congregations if they wished to do so. Thus, the Commission of Hermas to communicate his revelations is called Διακονία in Mand. XII, 3,3. In a similar connection, Spitta notes regarding the False Prophet in Mand. XI that the author describes what often occurred. Compare Christ's warning in Matt. 7²⁷.

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The essayist, after calling attention to the fact that in Mand. XI the expression συναγωγή ἑνδρῶν δικαίων occurs four times, while ἐκκλησία is not once used, and quoting Harnack's Comment to the effect that συναγωγή is constantly used as the specific word for a Jewish assembly, and that for that reason it fell into discredit among the early Christians, concludes that since in the utterances of the Shepherd

regarding the empiric community, every Christian feature is wanting, and its members are often contrasted with the Gentiles, never with the Jews, the work is Jewish and not Christian.

God and Lord of the Community.

Spitta declares further that the references which the Shepherd makes to God differ in no point from those of later Judaism. The Creation of the world out of nothing is purely Jewish, and it is still more evident that the passage, Mand I. "Who created all things, but remains alone infinite", is a Jewish conception. Even where it is said that the Creator founded the Ecclesia, and gave her great authority, we find not one Christian feature. The "authority" means Israel's universal dominion. On this we need only remark that Adam is to be regarded as himself a Jew, if Spitta is right.

Again the names given to God, even where He is not described simply by the expression The Name in Old Testament fashion, do not go beyond what we repeatedly find in Judaeo-Hellenic literature. Such a title as Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is unknown to the Shepherd. The Fatherhood is never mentioned but once, Vis. III, 9, 10. We read of the Son of God as Lord of the Church only in manifest interpolations. But much is said of the Lord of the Community. This is clearly Michael, for the functions ascribed to him in Sim. IX as the Glorious Man who inspects the Tower, exactly correspond to those assigned to Michael in Sim. VIII. So in Sim. VIII, 3, 5, the Shepherd or

Angel of Repentance thus distinguishes his own province from that of the most Glorious Angel. "As many as transgressed the law which they received from him (i.e. Michael) he left under my authority with a view to their repentance, but those who were already pleasing to the Law he keeps under his own power". Again, it is Michael who hands ~~over~~ ^{over} Hermas to the Shepherd, and to the care of the Twelve Virgins, and at another time, when he ^{is} was angry with the house of Hermas, to the Angel of Punishment. Michael is also to be identified with the Most Holy Angel who justifies those who repent with all their heart, as in Sim. VIII he is represented as trying at the Altar the slips of those, of whose condition after the ministrations of the Angel of Repentance, there is any uncertainty. With reference to Michael's connexion with the Tower, the Essayist identifies him, as we have seen, with the Lord of the Tower himself. In support of this theory, he points to the titles given to Michael in Jewish literature - Prince of Jerusalem,

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רַבָּה רַב־חַשְׁלִים Prince of Zion רַבָּה

רַב־זַוּוּן and quotes Sebach 62: "The altar was built and the great prince Michael stood and offered thereon." This offering the Midrash explains as meaning the souls of the just.

To Michael is ascribed the highest place among the Seven Archangels to whom according to the Jewish theologians God gave dominion over the world. He is the highest, as being Lord of the Ecclesia, for whose sake the world was created. To this Ecclesia, and to the faithful in Israel who are its members,

Michael stands in the place of God, Who being Himself transcendent, works through the mediation of Michael. (Comp. Sim. X, 2,2). He it is who gives the Law to the hearts of his people and watches over its fulfilment. He is described as being angry at transgression and threatens ^{us} the transgressors with punishment (Comp. Sim. VII). On earth, as in heaven, he decides who shall be admitted to the fellowship of the righteous.

That Christ, not Michael, appears to be identified with the Lord of the Tower, is partly the result of the additions made by the interpolator, and partly that of the difference in the figures in Simil. IX and Sim. VIII. In the former, the absence of the Lord of the Tower is so protracted, that his return seems to be identical with the Second Coming of our Lord, and this impression seems justified by the fact that in Sim. VIII Michael is referred to as an Angel, and never as Lord of the Tower.

In the latter Similitude Michael is absent a comparatively short time, leaving the Shepherd in the interval to water and tend the slips of willow committed to his care. But the difference of figures must be borne in mind. In Sim. VIII the Tower is in the background, as being the place to which the faithful are received, and the emphasis is consequently laid upon the keeping of the Law. In Sim. IX the Tower is represented as being built with living stones, which denote the just and the penitent.

No significance is attached in the Ninth Similitude to the absence of the Lord of the Tower while the building is going on.

any more than to the absence of Michael while the slips are being watered.

Zahn admits the resemblance between Michael and the Lord of the Tower, but makes much of the fundamental distinction between Christ and the Angels, and in that connection points out that while Michael is active at the entrance of individuals into the Ecclesia, but is not the subject of preaching and of faith, the reverse is true of the Son of God in Sim. IX. To this representation of Zahn, Spitta's answer is, that in the original there is no word of the Son of God as the subject of preaching, or of the Son of God as contrasted with angels.

In another instance Zahn, commenting on the fact that six not seven is the number of archangels mentioned in the Shepherd, observes that the addition $6 + 1$ is not completed. That seems to indicate that the Lord of the Tower who is attended by six archangels must be higher than all angels. But the difficulty arises from the fact that Zahn does not recognise that the Lord of the Tower is really identical with Michael. Now Jewish theologians make Michael specially prominent and he is finally characterised as head of all the angels. Here is an exact parallel to what we find in Sim. IX. Six Archangels carry on the building of the Tower, ^{he} Michael, the principal Archangel, inspects it.

Spitta sees in the Angelology of the Shepherd a strong argument for its purely Jewish character. Zahn explains the fact that the only angels named in the Shepherd are Michael,

Theg^{ri} and Satan, by reference to the purpose of the book, that of representing the Church as the spiritual Israel. Spitta rejects this explanation on the ground that, in his opinion, the Shepherd indicates no such purpose. Michael is mentioned, and great prominence is given to him, because he is so clearly identified with the interests of the Hebrew people. According to the Shepherd, the Prince of the Angels is the Prince of Israel, the Mediator of the Covenant with the Chosen People. The Angelology of Hermas is that of the Jewish theologians, the hierarchy of Angels, thrones, dominations, principalities and powers. Under the Seven Archangels are myriads of angels. These dwell in heaven with the just. The righteous, who faithfully observe the Law given to Moses, have the promise of having their abode among the angels. Theg^{ri} is one of the numerous angels whom the Hebrew theology assigned to every department of Creation, and to him is ascribed power over the wild beasts. The Angel of Repentance, called The Shepherd in the Book of Hermas, is identified with Fannel, one of the four who stand before the Throne of God. Spitta calls special attention to the definite article - the, not an, angel of Repentance. So we read in the Book of Enoch: "And the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life is Fannel." This corresponds to Mand. IV 2,2: "I am set over repentance." So also there are Angels of Punishment; and moral and immoral qualities are likewise represented as angels in the Shepherd

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just as in Jewish Angelology. Spitta seems to forget that the first Christians, being Jewish by birth and education, took over much of the old Jewish teaching, and in this, as in other respects, had a great deal in common with their brethren who rejected Christ and the Gospel. Further ~~the Book of Enoch~~ ^{(The Book of Enock} which, as is well known, Jude the Apostle was not ashamed to quote in support of his exhortations. The Old Testament was their Bible ^{of the Early Christians} upon whose teachings they based their instruction. Why should they not, as God's spiritual Israel serve themselves heirs to the Prophets and Teachers of the Old Covenant, and regard Michael, the tutelary Angel of Israel as having the true people of God under his care?

Again Spitta argues from the names given to the faithful that the Shepherd is a Jewish writing. Some of these he admits are common to Jew and Christian, but he maintains that in the Shepherd we never find them in the connection in which they occur in the New Testament. This is surely an unsubstantial foundation for the claim made by the essayist.

Then he makes much of what is said of the laws of God being easy to keep as a proof of Jewish legalism, forgetting apparently, that in the First Vision the thought of Hermas regarding Rhoda was imputed to Hermas as sin, and that this is the starting point of the whole treatise. Fasting, prayers, almsgiving are all according to Jewish Law; but Sim. V. tells that Hermas, ^{When asked why he was} fasting, said that he was "keeping station", a Christian term, not ^a Jewish.

Even the persecutions referred to are of Jews, not Christians. Therefore we are to understand Sim. I as referring not to the times of Domitian ^{an} or Trajan ^{by the author, to that} but of Claudius, to whose date the Shepherd belongs! "Credat Judaeus Apella."

The essayist, while he has succeeded in making an interesting contribution to the literature of the subject, in the course of which he offers valuable suggestions, and opens up lines of thought, which, carefully followed, should lead to a better understanding of the subject, has not made out a good case for his theory. It is quite evident that he is so strongly biassed in his partiality for ^{the} his hypothesis of a Jewish original, that he generally strikes out as spurious those portions of the text which would lead to a different view of the work. He contends that his restoration of the original text makes the Shepherd a clear, intelligible, and homogeneous whole. But he rests almost exclusively upon internal criticism. He seems to have ignored the canon that a difficult reading is often preferable to an easy one, proclivae ^{lee} rationi praestat ardua, and he makes no effort to account for the fact that scholars like Origen and Clement should have quoted the Shepherd with respect, as a Christian writing, that Athanasius should have approved of its use as a catechetical manual, and that Tertullian should have had no suspicions that the work which he denounced for its dangerous laxity, was a Jewish treatise, which he needed not to criticise, but only to dismiss with contempt.

Ceterum

Chapter IX
PART 2

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SHEPHERD.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SHEPHERD.

THE FIFTH SIMILITUDE.

The name of our Lord does not occur in the "Shepherd". It is none the less evident, however, from the frequent occurrence in the revelations, of such expressions as "Son of God", "The Name", "The Great and Infinite Name", in a connection clearly referring to Christ, that the Author thought of Him as a Divine person, and as the central object of the Church's faith. On the other hand we find, especially in the Fifth Similitude, language which seems to suggest that the Author held views of the Person of Christ so different from that of Catholic writers of the time, that a strong case can be made out for those who regard him as representing one of those early Adoptionist Christologies according to which Christ was Divine only in a subordinate sense. This opinion is in great measure based upon the representation of the work of Christ which we find in the Similitude referred to. Hermas tells us that when the Shepherd had put forth his Parable of the Vineyard, he, being surprised at the way in which the ministry of the Redeemer was described, asked: "Why ⁽¹⁾ is the Son placed in the position of a Servant?" To this the Shepherd replied: "The Son of God is not placed in the position of a servant, but is appointed unto great authority and lordship. God planted the vineyard, that is, created His people, and delivered it unto His Son. The Son, again, set the Angels to guard 'His

(1) Sim: V.55.

people,' and He," i.e. the Son, "Himself purged away their sins at the cost of much labour and of the many sufferings which He endured, even as a vineyard cannot be trenched and weeded without trouble and labour. He Himself then, having purged away their sins, showed them the paths of life, giving them the laws which He received of the Father." Then, referring to that passage in the Similitude which describes the Lord of the Vineyard as taking counsel with his Son and his friends as to the reward to be bestowed upon the servant for his faithfulness, and appointing him joint-heir with his Son, the Shepherd goes on to say: "God caused⁽¹⁾ the pre-existent Holy Spirit, Who created the universe, to dwell in a Body (σάρξ) which He chose according to His pleasure. This Body, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, served that Spirit faithfully, walking in holiness and purity, and in no wise polluting the Spirit. This Body, then, after it had walked in all holiness and purity, and laboured in fellowship with the Spirit, and co-operated with Him in all things, living steadfastly and bravely, God chose to be joint-heir with the Holy Spirit. God was well pleased with the life and conversation of this Body, for that, possessing the Holy Spirit, it lived on earth without defilement. Therefore he took into His counsel the Son and the glorious angels, in order that this Body, having faithfully served the Spirit, might have some place of rest, (σὺν τοῖς ἀγγελοῖς καὶ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ) and might not seem to have lost the reward of its service. For

(1) Sim. V.6.

every body (σάρξ) in which the Holy Spirit has dwelt, shall receive a reward, if it be found pure and without blemish."

The last sentence marks a transition from the parabolic representation, in the Similitude, of the work of Christ, to the practical application which follows in c.7:- "Keep thy body pure and spotless, that so the Spirit which inhabits it may testify to its purity, and thus thy body may be justified."

1. According to some interpreters the purpose of these passages is to set forth the author's conception of the Person of Christ. On this point Harnack is very emphatic. He says: ⁽¹⁾ "From this one Similitude we obtain a correct understanding of the Christology of the author." Again he observed, in opposition to Zahn, who finds nothing in the Shepherd inconsistent with the Catholic doctrine of the pre-existence and essential Deity of Christ: "But Hermas thought out this parable for himself in order to declare the true type of his Christology; no one palmed it off upon the writer." Baur finds in the Similitude a proof ⁽²⁾ of his theory; that, in the teaching of the Primitive Church, the pre-existent Son of God was identified with the Holy Ghost. Hilgenfeld ⁽³⁾ takes it as an evidence of the ²⁷¹ Monitism of Hermas, and says that the Holy Spirit, called in the Similitude the "Son", is only one

(1) Hermae Pastor, p.151, note on passage.

(2) Baur. Hist. of Dogma, II.pp.83,88.

(3) Apostolischen Väter 167-169.

out of many Holy Spirits. The supposition that Hermas ascribes distinct personality or true deity to "the Son" or to "the Spirit," he considers inconsistent with the First Command, and maintains that the distinct personality of "the Spirit," as He is described in the Similitude, cannot be inferred from what is said of the "Body" being obedient to that Spirit, inasmuch as the term "Spirit" is used in a vague and general way. Further, he holds that there is nothing in other references in the Shepherd to the pre-existence of Christ to show that the writer distinguished him from one of the higher angels.

Harnack, ⁽¹⁾ in his History of Dogma, classes Hermas with those theorists who ascribed to Christ merely an ideal pre-existence, and held that He became Son of God only by adoption. With regard to what the Similitude says of the adoption of the servant as joint-heir with the Son, in reward for the additional service rendered by him, Harnack treats it, not as part of the imagery of the parable, but as an express statement of the author's own view of the Person of Christ, and finds in it a criterion to be applied to all other references in the Shepherd to our Lord's person and ministry. According to this opinion, with which Nitzsch ⁽²⁾ and Pfleiderer are in substantial agreement, the Christology of Hermas is not that of St. Paul, as in Phil. 2⁶⁻⁹, but teaches rather that Jesus, a man

(1) Vol. II (Eng. trans.) pp. 186-194; see esp. p. 191 n. 1.
 (2) Nitzsch, Dogmengeschichte I 189, 292; Pfleiderer Urchristentum p. 856.

whom God chose as a vessel of the Holy Spirit, because he should fulfil the Divine purpose by living an absolutely holy life, and by labouring and suffering for the benefit of mankind, was, not exalted, in the Pauline sense of the word, but adopted, made what he was not before.

Dorner, who ⁽¹⁾ considers the Christology of the Shepherd to be of a moderate Judaeo-Christian type, inclining to the ²⁶ⁱ Sionitic left rather than the Gnostic right, holds that we are not entitled to take, as definite, dogmatic statements, the peculiar expressions of a single parable, the aim of which is merely to illustrate a point of Christian practice, and points out that Hermas represents himself as expressing surprise at the way in which his interlocutor speaks of Christ: "Why does the Son appear as a servant?" Again, he says that the representations of the Fifth Similitude ought not to be taken by themselves, but compared with the express statements of the Ninth concerning the Person and work of Christ. In the latter Similitude, which professes to be a recapitulation of the whole series of revelations, the Son of God is not only distinguished from the Holy Spirit, but represented by figures which set Christ forth as the One Foundation, and the only Way of access to the Father. ⁽²⁾ Gaab, Zahn, Brüll, and Donaldson agree with

(1) Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ (Eng. trans.) I.125 ff.

(2) ^{Hüb} Gaab, Der Hist. des Hermas pp.86,87; Zahn l.c. pp.143 ff.; Brüll, Der Hist. pp.42-49; Donaldson, The Apostolic Fathers, 354 ff.

Dorner in the view that the language is parabolic, and does not warrant our reading into it a statement of the author's dogmatic position. The Son of the Lord of the Vineyard, called "Son of God" for the purpose of the Similitude, is not to be identified with the Holy Ghost of the Baptismal Formula, and the term "Holy Spirit" is used only to designate "the Divine in Christ."

At the same time, it must be admitted, that the language of the Fifth Similitude is open to misconstruction. Its description of the human nature of Christ has a strong resemblance to that form of Christology which is known as Adoptianism, and probably there was current in the Church, from a very early period, a tendency in that direction. Thus Eusebius quotes an anonymous writer, who claims that that type of doctrine was taught by the Apostles themselves, and held by the Roman Church down to the time of Bishop Victor. Extravagant as this may seem, it is at least remarkable that expressions which recall Adoptianist ideas should occur in the writings of a Roman Christian like Hermas, whom an early tradition identifies with a brother of Bishop Pius.

It may help us to understand why some writers claim Hermas as an Adoptianist, if we compare the passages in the Shepherd which have been taken as proofs of their theory, with the late Principal Rainy's account of Adoptianism. Referring to the Theodoti and Artemon, that writer thus describes Adopt-

ianist teaching: "Jesus is physically a man⁽¹⁾ only. But his birth was supernatural (apparently this was acknowledged) and he became the bearer or vehicle of Divine power in an extraordinary degree. He lived a life of steadfast righteousness and was enabled to reflect the Divine likeness, and convey the Divine message with consummate fidelity and completeness. Thus Jesus attained to a divine sonship, and our adoption takes place on the model of his.....The details of this teaching may have varied in different circles. The descent of the Holy Ghost was, for them, the decisive event, the era of that connexion with divine power which rendered the man Christ unique. In this way the Spirit's presence with Christ would be considered as an impersonal, divine influence. But there were some whose theory appears to have differed from this in an interesting way. They regarded the Holy Spirit as having a personal character, and as being the Son of the Father in the true and highest sense. Then, at the Baptism, this Person descends in a special manner on the man Jesus. The precise nature and effects ascribed to this union are obscure. But Jesus became qualified, in consequence of it, to be our Master, and his manhood experienced at the same time a kind of divine elevation or deification. It was a question among some of them whether Jesus as yet had become God at his baptism, or not till after the resurrection; and they are thus led to

(1) The Ancient Catholic Church, p.212.

contrast the Holy Spirit, as true Son of God, with the man Jesus as adopted Son."

There are strong resemblances between the language of Hermas in the Fifth Similitude and the Christology thus described. As Zahn puts it:⁽¹⁾ "The work of the Baptist is, then, considered as the beginning of the New Testament proclamation, and at the same time as the beginning of a New Testament community of believers." "The Similitude lays special emphasis on the humanity of Christ. According to it, the Holy Spirit dwelt in this humanity, in this Body, that is to say, in the man Jesus. The Holy Spirit is the Son of God by nature, the pre-existent Son, who was the Father's counsellor at the Creation. He dwelt in Jesus, that is, in that Body or humanity which God chose for Him. To Him Jesus was obedient, and, because of that obedience, it is said in the Similitude that 'it pleased the Father and the Holy Spirit, the well-beloved Son, to reward Jesus by making him Son of God, equal with the pre-existent Son of God.' The life of Jesus is considered only in respect of his Ministry on earth. He is distinguished from the pre-existent Son, in that while the latter is Son by nature, Jesus is Son by adoption. Then, in a manner which seems to confirm the impression that the Holy Spirit of the parable is the Holy Spirit of the Baptismal Formula, Hermas goes on to speak as if he meant to imply that it is the same Spirit, who dwelt in and inspired the man Jesus.

(1)

l.c.p. 50.

that dwells in believers as the agent of their sanctification."

If we consider this Similitude alone, it is easy to understand why Hermas is claimed as an Adoptianist. The language which he uses suggests the feature of Adoptianism described by Rainy: "They⁽¹⁾ are led to contrast the Holy Spirit, as true Son of God, with the man Jesus, as adopted Son." We can understand also how Adoptianists of later times would take the words of this Similitude as proving that their view of the Person of Christ was held by the Roman Church in the time of Hermas. Nor would the occurrence, in other parts of the Shepherd, of passages pointing to a different conclusion, be regarded as an insuperable objection to such an opinion. For it could be urged that, while Hermas, in the latter class of passages, does ascribe pre-existence to Christ, the language which he uses is quite compatible with that unsubstantial idealism, which, according to Harnack,⁽²⁾ was common at the time. That scholar observes that at that period two types of the conception of pre-existence were current - the Jewish and the Hellenic. According to the former, everything of real value which appears on earth has existence in heaven. The material nature of a thing is not the inadequate expression of it, nor a second nature added to the first. The expression employed in connexion with this is the word *ἐκυρροῦσθαι*, 'to be mani-

(1) Rainy, l.c.p.213.

(2) History of Dogms (Eng. trans.) 321, 324.

fested. The theory was founded upon the omniscience and omnipotence of God, to whom the events of history do not come as a surprise, not who regulates their course. According to the Hellenic idea, the objects to which pre-existence is ascribed are meant to be ennobled by that attribute. They have no relation to God. Their material appearance is regarded as something inadequate. Speculations about phantasma, assumptio humanae naturae, mixtura, duae naturae, are necessarily associated with these." Harnack remarks that there was an important advance in Jewish theological literature of the period of the Maccabees under the simultaneous influence of the Hellenic and of the Hebrew spirit, one result of which was, that "conceptions of pre-existence were now applied to persons, which had not been the case before;" another result being that "the copy appearing in this transient aeon was regarded as inferior to the original." Thus, in the Apocalypses, pre-existence is attributed to Moses and the Patriarchs; "while, what is more important, is, that sacred things on earth are considered of less value, regarded as mere instalments, pending the fulfilment of the whole promise." Thus, in both types, the conception of pre-existence resulted from a species of Idealism, and it would have been easy for an Adoptianist, on the supposition that Hermas was influenced by that kind of philosophy, to explain away all that he says of pre-existence in connexion with Christ, or with the Holy Spirit, or with the Church. But it is very doubtful that

a man so simple and practical as Hermas would have been influenced by ideal theories of that kind, either Jewish or Hellenic. All that he says of the pre-existence of Christ, and the manifestation of the Son of God, is easily explained on the assumption that he was acquainted with those elements of Christian teaching which were familiar to the Church from the earliest times. Thus the representation which he gives in the Fifth Similitude of Christ and His work may have been suggested by Phil. 2⁶⁻⁹, a passage which, like that parable, is associated with a lesson in Christian ethics. The author's purpose is eminently practical. He takes the Saviour's life of self-denying service as an example for the imitation of all Christians. In this connexion he necessarily speaks of Christ as he appeared on earth, as a man among men, and deals only with those points in His life and ministry in respect of which He is our example. His aim is to draw a parallel between Christ's obedience to the Father, and His fidelity to the Spirit of God that dwelt in Him, and the obedience to God, and to the Spirit of God dwelling in them, which Jesus expects of all His followers. In the same way he draws a parallel between the reward bestowed upon Christ by the Father, and the glory and honour which shall be the portion of those who not only keep God's commandments, but also render service to Him over and above that which is expected of all God's people.

At the same time, the manner in which he illustrates these lessons is such as can easily lead to misconstruction. By

calling attention exclusively to that part of the life of Christ which began with His baptism and ended with His Ascension, and by his silence regarding His pre-existence as Eternal Son of God, Hermas appears to ignore His essentially Divine nature. This impression is strengthened by the account which is given of the Exaltation of Christ, together with the parallel suggested between the glory bestowed on Him and that which is in store for those who follow His example of self-denying service. In all this Hermas seems to suggest the idea that Jesus attained to Deity only by adoption, and as the reward of His faithfulness to Him who sent Him. Still, it is to be borne in mind, that all preachers and theologians who have occasion to draw special attention to the Humanity of our Lord, and to deduce practical lessons from the life of Jesus, are apt to expose themselves to the risk of misunderstanding. We are familiar with this in connexion with explanations of St. Paul's language in Philippians with reference to the Humiliation of Christ. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in a passage where the argument leads him to dwell almost exclusively upon the human aspect of Christ's ministry, Hermas should be so far misunderstood as to be taken for a representative of Adoptionism. That anonymous writer whom Eusebius quotes, to the effect that that type of Christology was held by the Roman Church from the days of the Apostles down to those of Bishop Victor, may have had this Similitude in

view. Thus Harnack observes, regarding the statement quoted by Eusebius, that it is "exaggerated⁽¹⁾ but not incredible, after what we find in *Hermas*;" and Hilgenfeld⁽²⁾ says that such views were tolerated, though not accepted or approved, by Justin Martyr. But we are not entitled to conclude even from the passage in the *Similitude*, taken by itself, that *Hermas* approved of the Adoptianist Christology. On the contrary, the author himself, by the question which he represents himself as putting to the Shepherd, and by the answer which he receives, carefully guards against such a misconception. "Why," asks the Seer, "does the Son appear as a Servant?" The Shepherd replies: "It is not so. The Son of God is not represented as a Servant, but is appointed unto great power and lordship." However we may interpret the words *κεῖνος ἐστίν*, which Lightfoot renders: "is represented in the form of", the surprise shown by the Seer in the question which he puts, plainly suggests that he regards the guise of a servant in which Christ appears, as a figure of speech, of the propriety of which he is doubtful. The idea of the *Similitude* is certainly, as Harnack points out, the writer's own. But so also is the question which he represents himself as addressing to the Shepherd. This little touch is added with the evident intention of cautioning his readers against taking the parable and its interpretation for a complete statement of his Christological standpoint. We are entitled to regard the expressions, "The Son of God,"

(1) *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. trans.) I.191 n.1.

(2) *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthum* p.313.

"In the parable," "The pre-existent Holy Spirit," as those which Hermas desires specially to emphasise. The doctrine which the parable illustrates, but which must be carefully distinguished from the parabolic dress in which it is presented, contains these important points:- (1) The Person who is described as the servant is the Son of God, to whose care God committed His people, the vineyard which He planted. "He," i.e. the Son here spoken of, "set the angels to guard them." This is alleged of the Son during His ministry, and before His exaltation, which Hermas describes as the reward of the Servant's faithfulness. Here is not the case of a mere man becoming the Son of God only by adoption. Christ is the Son from the beginning. Thus the Shepherd describes Him as being Lord of men and angels, to whom God has entrusted His people to keep and govern. The Son "Himself" ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$) appoints the angels to guard them. (2) Then, the doctrine of the Similitude, as distinguished from its form, appears in what the writer says of the pre-existence of that Being Who is here called "the Holy Spirit," and of the act of will by which God is said to have chosen a Body in which that Spirit should dwell; and again, in what is said of the special act which is called 'Adoption' for the purpose of the parable, but which really denotes the glorification of the Humanity ($\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) of our Lord as such, the fitting reward of Christ's redemptive work. From this point of doctrine, the

exaltation of Christ's human nature, there follows, as its natural corollary, the practical lesson, that believers may not defile the body which has thus been glorified in the person of the Man Christ Jesus.

In attempting to estimate the Christology of Hermas, the question of the writer's terminology must be kept in view. How are we to understand the expressions: "The Son of God," "The Holy Spirit," "The Flesh," or "Body"? Some colour is given to the representations of those who argue that Hermas identifies the pre-existent Son of God with the Holy Spirit, by the way in which he expresses himself in this Similitude. Thus, in the Shepherd's interpretation of the parable, it is stated that "the Son of God⁽¹⁾ is the Holy Spirit." Again, when we turn from this Similitude to the Ninth, we find in the very first sentence: "The Holy Spirit which spake unto thee.....that Spirit is the Son of God." Such language appears at first clearly to justify the conclusion that the author identifies the pre-existent Son with the Third Person of the Trinity. But a few considerations will show that this is not so.

(1) As Dorner⁽²⁾ points out, there is no trace of the existence of any party that taught the doctrine of an hypostatic Holy Ghost before that of an hypostatic Son of God.

(1) Sim. V.5,2. comp. Sim. IX.11.

(2) l.c.I p.391. Comp. 2 Clem. 9,5. "Christ our Lord who saved us, being first Spirit, became flesh and so saved us."

(2) The use in the Similitude of the words "Son", "Beloved Son", in referring to the Being Who is there called "the Holy Spirit," is obviously intended to meet the exigencies of the parable. To that Being the writer ascribes those special functions which, from the earliest times, were ascribed by Jewish theology to "The Word," ("Memra", "Shekinah," etc.) as, for instance, that of God's Counsellor and Agent in the work of Creation.

(3) Again, Dorner reminds us that in the Apocrypha, and there especially in Ecclesiasticus, "Word" and "Spirit" are imperfectly distinguished, while the use of the term "Spirit" in the works of the Ante-Nicene writers, and even in the Gospels, shows that it often denotes only "the Divine in Christ."

Whatever view we take of the New Testament use of the word "Spirit", it is clear from the way in which it is employed by well-known writers of the Early Church, that the use of this term is by no means singular, and does not warrant the conclusion that "the Holy Spirit" of the Fifth Similitude is the Third Person of the Godhead. Thus, Barnabas, while teaching the pre-existence of Christ, describes His humanity as ⁽¹⁾ the "vessel of the Spirit" (σκεῦος πνευματος). Ignatius speaks of Christ as "the union ⁽²⁾ of the Flesh and the Spirit." Justin Martyr ⁽³⁾ says: "The Spirit and the

(1) Barn: Epist. 7,3. (2) Magnes: 1,2.

(3) Quoted, Dorner l.c.391 ff.

Power which is from God, it is lawful to regard as nothing less than the Logos, which is also the First Begotten of God." Lastly, Tertullian, commenting upon the words of Gabriel in Luke 1³⁵, observes: "The Spirit⁽¹⁾ will be the same with the Word. For so, when John says: 'The word was made flesh,' we understand Spirit also in the mention of the Word....Both (are true); the Spirit is the substance of the Word, and the Word is the operation of the Spirit, and the two are one." In view of such passages, we are not surprised to find a similar use of these terms in Hermas. We can understand, especially when we consider the vague manner in which he uses the word "Spirit," why he speaks of "the Holy Spirit," where we should have expected "the Word." Thus, in the Similitude, "the Son is the Holy Spirit;" and, again, the Divine principle which was present in the "Body", that is, in the Human nature of Christ, is the "pre-existent Holy Spirit." The same word is used of the Spirit who dwells in believers. It is "the Divine Spirit" who inspires the true prophet, according to the Eleventh Command. And the word is thus used in the "Shepherd" in the sense both of a Divine Person, and of a Divine principle or quality which is to be distinguished from "Body" or "Flesh" - that which the Body obeys, as in the case of Christ in His life on earth, or as in the case of the Christian who is led and taught by the

(1) Prae: 26.

Spirit. That want of definiteness in the use of the word 'Spirit' was natural, during the long period which elapsed before the Church was in a position to formulate, with all the precision of a Creed, that distinction of the Persons in the Godhead which was elaborated only after ages of controversy. On the other hand, as we have seen, the Ninth Similitude, that section of the Book of Hermas which was expressly designed to supplement and explain the teaching of its earlier portions, shows that the author could, and did distinguish between the work of Christ and that of the Holy Spirit.

1. To sum up what we have said of the Christology of the Fifth Similitude. The pre-existent Holy Spirit, of Whom it speaks, is the Son of God before His Incarnation, the same Who, as Logos, was associated with the Father in the work of Creation. "Where we expect ⁽¹⁾ the Logos doctrine," Hermas "only speaks of the Holy Spirit." But "though the Johannine term is not present, what is said of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is analogous to what is taught in John of the Logos and its general determination, and, at all events, forms an actual parallel;" and that "without formally associating itself with" the terminology of the Fourth Gospel, "the Shepherd, in its doctrine of the Person of Christ, is in substantial harmony with the Gospel."

2. Another question suggests itself: "What view does Hermas take of the Incarnation? We may conclude, that by the

(1) Gaab l.c. p.118.

"Body", of which the Similitude speaks as having been the abode of the Holy Spirit, the author means Christ's Human nature. For that reason Jesus is represented as standing to His disciples in the relation of a fellow-servant, and His fidelity to the Divine Power which dwelt in Him is set forth as the pattern for all in whose hearts the Spirit dwells. A thought analogous to this is suggested by a recent writer. ⁽¹⁾ "The truth is.....not that the Spirit was identified with Christ, but that it was from the first so completely one with Him in His Divine Humanity, that He became its perfect organ and ^{but} expression, not merely in a temporary and impersonal sense, but in a personal and divine manner, or, viewed from the Divine side, that the Spirit, or rather God through the Spirit, was fully incarnated in Christ in a permanent, Divine-human, personality.....What remained, then, when Jesus had put off the flesh? What but Himself in His perfect unity with God and identity with the Spirit that had dwelt all along, not in His Body as a shell, but in His Spirit as a Shrine or Organ which it had made wholly its own, and in which, in its Divine Humanity, the Spirit can come and dwell in us all in a new, personal, Divine-human form. Or, to view the question on its Divine side, that which remained was God, as He had expressed His life in Christ, in a Divine-human personal form."

(1) Walker, "The Spirit and the Incarnation," pp.83,84.

The similarity between the thought of Hermas and that of the passages just quoted, is the more striking, that, in both cases, the Spirit Who dwelt in the Divine Humanity of Christ is described in language which leaves it uncertain in what sense, or to what degree, the Spirit spoken of is to be regarded as a Divine personality. The uncertainty is greater in the case of Hermas, because he is dealing, in the Similitude, not with the Incarnation as a whole, but only with that period in the life of our Lord which began at His Baptism. The subject of the parable, and of its interpretation, is not the Incarnation, but the ministry of Christ, and those features of that ministry which make it an example for believers. The author does not, like St. Paul in Phil. 2⁶⁻⁹, deal with the whole history of the Humiliation, and take that as an example for Christ's followers. He deals only with so much of His ministry as suffices for the purpose in view. If he had meant his parable to illustrate the Christian virtues of humility and self-abasement, he would probably have taken a wider view of Christ's mission and work. Since however, his object is merely to illustrate the principles of obedience to God's commandments, and of voluntary service, rendered over and above the duties appointed to the followers of Christ, he confines his attention to that period of Our Lord's life on earth which began with the descent of the Spirit at His Baptism, and which he takes as corresponding to that part of the life of believers which begins when, in Baptism, they receive the gift of the

Spirit. The Similitude, in short, does not profess to deal with the whole subject of Christology, but with certain aspects of the ministry of Christ which the author considers calculated to suggest practical lessons in Christian life and conduct.

The limitations imposed on Hermas by the conditions of the parable sufficiently account for his failure to do justice to what we can gather from other portions of his work to have been his real views on the Person of Christ. On the other hand, the Similitude offers, though only in an incidental way, a valuable contribution to Christology, in what it teaches respecting the Humanity of Christ. It draws special attention to the perfect human life of Jesus, and reminds us of the glory which that life has shed upon the human race. It shows how God has highly exalted humanity in the person of the man Christ Jesus, and, in and through Him, in the persons of all His followers. That Adoption of which we read in the Similitude means, in a word, the exaltation of the Human nature of Christ, and of Christians through the finished work of the Redeemer.

II. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE NINTH SIMILITUDE.

We cannot base our estimate of the Christology of the Shepherd upon the Fifth Similitude alone. We must take into account other portions of the work; and a comparison with these justifies the conclusion that the author held that Christ ex-

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isted as Son of God before His manifestation in history, that He is the Word through Whom all things were created, and that He is to be distinguished from, not confounded with, the Holy Spirit.

All these points are distinctly dealt with in the Ninth Similitude, which professes to be a summary of the entire revelation. That the author accepted the doctrine of the Logos, we gather from the Eighth, in which Christ is described as the Law implanted in the hearts of believers. But the clearest proof of his belief in the eternal pre-existence of Christ is found in the Ninth, where he represents Him under the figure of the primeval rock, on which the Tower is built, and in which the new gate is pierced. "The Rock and the Gate," the Shepherd explains, "are the Son of God." In this Similitude the writer is so far from identifying the Son with the Holy Spirit that he represents the Spirit and His work by a separate figure, that of the⁽¹⁾ Twelve Virgins, whose function is to carry through the Gate and hand to the builders the stones to be used in the construction of the Tower. These virgins work under the directions of the Lord of the Tower, who again is a figure of Christ, as Head of the Church. Christ is thus represented by three distinct figures, the rock, the gate, and the Lord of the Tower; and the Virgins illustrate the work of the Spirit in applying to believers the redemption brought by Christ.

That rock is Christ. "Why an⁽²⁾ ancient rock?" Hermas asks

(1) Sim. IX.13,2.

(2) c.14,4.

the Shepherd. The answer is not to be mistaken. "Because the Son of God is older than all created existences." It is He Who was Counsellor with the Father in the work of Creation. Pre-existence, as an essentially Divine Being, could have been more distinctly ascribed to Christ. The same truth is set forth with equal clearness, where, in answer to the seer's question why the tower is built upon the rock, the Shepherd says: "The name of the Son of God is great and infinite, and upholds the whole universe. If, then, the entire creation is upheld by the Son of God, what thinkest thou of those who have been called by Him, and who bear the name of the Son of God, and walk in His commandments? Seest thou then what manner of persons He beareth?" Here the Shepherd emphasises these points:-

- (a) The part taken by the Son of God in creation, and the close connexion between the Creation of the world and the foundation of the Church.
- (b) The significance of the word "the name", an expression constantly associated by Hermas with the relation which subsists between Christ and believers.
- (a) The first point is worthy of notice, not only because it is characteristic of those passages in the New Testament which most clearly teach the pre-existence of Christ, and also of those references to the work of the Logos which we find in the Old Testament, in Hebrew theology, and in early Christian literature; but because the Shepherd ascribes real, not ideal pre-existence

to Christ. On this subject the statements of Hermas, like similar statements in the New Testament, lay stress upon the essential oneness of Christ with the Father, and ascribe to the Son the attributes of creative might and Divine omniscience in the establishment and government of the Universe. "By Him all things were created, and by Him all things consist," etc. Our author, in fact, emphasises those points which Harnack describes as being characteristic of the Pneumatic, as distinguished from the Adoptianist Christology. "The ⁽¹⁾ Pneumatic Christology meets us wherever there is earnest occupation with the Old Testament, and wherever faith in Christ, as perfect Revealer of God, occupies the foreground.....The future belonged to this Christology, because the current exposition of the Old Testament seemed to require it, because it alone permitted the connexion between Creation and Redemption, and because it furnished the proof that the world and religion rest upon the same Divine basis."

In the passages above quoted from the Ninth Similitude, and in others to a similar effect, which occur in the First and Third Visions, we note those very features to which Harnack refers as characteristic of the Pneumatic Christology. Notwithstanding the ambiguous language to which we have alluded, occurring in the Fifth Similitude, and which seems at first to savour of Adoptianism, it is clear from the Ninth that Hermas makes much of faith in Christ as perfect Revealer of God, and no less of the close relation between Creation and Redemption. Hence we

(1) History of Dogma (Eng.trans.) I.197.

are justified in the conclusion that the pre-existence which he ascribes to Christ is real, not ideal.

(b) Again, in his use of the expression "the Name,"⁽¹⁾ applied to Christ in connexion with His work in Creation, Providence, and Redemption, there is much significance. It is the classic word of the Primitive Church, used to designate the most characteristic feature of the Christian faith. It occurs in this sense in the New Testament. It is intimately associated with memories of the Church's early struggles in those days in which the question of life or death turned upon the denial or the confession of the name of Christ. As in Old Testament times, "the Name", without any definition, always denoted the unspeakable Name 'Jehovah', so among the Early Christians the word was used with reference to Jesus, whose was the only "Name given under heaven among men whereby they must be saved." This word is used by Hermas in connexion not only with the gate, newly pierced in the primeval rock, but with the rock itself. It is applied to describe Christ as the One Foundation. Thus we read in this Similitude: "The Name"⁽²⁾ of the Son of God upholds the whole universe," while, in the Third Vision, to this Name, almighty, creative power is ascribed: "The tower is founded by the word of the almighty and glorious Name." On that rock then, which is Christ, is founded, by the Name of Christ, the Church of the

(1) Vis. I.1,6.

(2) Sim. IX.14,5; comp. Vis. III.3,5.

Living God.

But, inasmuch as He through Whom God made all things, has been manifested in these last times as the only mediator between God and Man, the Similitude illustrates that manifestation with the additional figure of the gate. We cannot mistake the meaning of this. By his use of the emblem of the new gate out in the old rock, and by the explanation which he offers of it, Hermas associates himself with those Fathers of whose belief in the identity of Christ with the pre-existent Son of God there is least doubt. The Rock is old, because the Son was "in the beginning⁽¹⁾ with God andwas God." The Gate is new, because the Son was manifested in the Gospel age. Here the parallel between this representation and those of Clement of Rome and Ignatius at once suggests itself. Thus, the former says: "Many gates, then, being opened, this, which is in righteousness, is that in Christ, by which all who enter, and who direct their steps in holiness and righteousness, are blessed;" and the latter: "And He is Himself the door of the Father, through which enter Abraham.....and all the prophets." Any uncertainty, therefore, which the Fifth Similitude may leave in our minds, is removed by the clear, emphatic language of the Ninth. Rock and Gate are one. They represent Christ as the Son of God Who was from the beginning, the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and Who is now revealed as the One Mediator, the One Way of access unto the Father. Add

(1) John 1¹ (2) 1 Clem. 48,4; Ignat.Philad. c.9.

to this, one of the principal teachings of this Similitude, that of the Eighth, ⁽¹⁾ of Christ implanted in the hearts of believers, together with what the Ninth says of Him as the Mediator for men and angels, and of the functions which it ascribes to him as Lord of the Tower, and we have a complete view of the Christology of the Shepherd.

III. CHRIST AND THE ANGELS.

~~RELATIONS OF~~ ANGELS.

III Christ and the Angels

~~HIERARCHY OF ANGELS.~~

~~THE VIEWS OF HERMAS ON ANGELS AND SPIRITS.~~

In dealing with this subject we must always keep the fact in view that we have to do with an allegorical work, and that it is not always easy to determine when the author is speaking of spiritual beings, in whose existence and relation to the world of nature and to the souls of men he believed, and when he is merely using allegorical figures.

The references to Angels may be thus classified:

(1) In the First Vision he describes the Creator of the World as the God of the Powers. *Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Δυνάμεων*. This is thought by some to be a reference to one of the orders in the hierarchy of spirits believed ⁱⁿ by Jewish theologians, and ^{by} the Judeo-Hellenic thinkers who were more or less influenced by them. But the author gives no indication of his meaning, and the expression may be used in a sense like that of the beginning of St. Ambrose's Collect, "God of all power and might."

(2) Angels in the general sense are frequently referred to. The reward of the faithful is described as consisting in having their walk or their abode with the holy Angels. In Vision III and Similitude IX they appear as the builders of the Tower - God's Living Temple - the Church of Christ. They are described in the Fifth Similitude as the guardians of the

people of God and represented under the figure of the fence round the Vineyard or as the word used is also rendered, the stakes to which the Vines were attached: Again, the young in faith are said to be admonished by the Angels.

(3) In Mand VI 2 we read of the Two Angels supposed to attend every soul, one prompting to Good, the other to Evil. This may be compared with what we find in Barnabas 18, 1, Test of XII Patriarchs, Jud. 20.

(4) Two angels, one good, one evil, are described in Sim. VI, VII, the Angel of Punishment, who subjects to discipline those who have fallen into sin or error; and the Angel of Pleasure and Deceit who leads souls astray. These appear as shepherds - the Rough Shepherd and the Shepherd in Gay Apparel.

(5) The Angel of Repentance is the Shepherd, who gives its title to the Revelation.

(6) The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit described in Mand. XI. This is identified by Harnack with the Holy Spirit, but regarded by that scholar as a Power rather than a Person.

(7) The Angel Theg^{ri}ir, apart from Michael and Satan, the only angel mentioned by name. He is described as the Angel who has power over the wild beasts.

(8) The Six Archangels who appear as the master builders of the Tower. These six are described as the angels who were first created, the same as those referred to in Sim V, who, along with the son of the Householder in the parable, were consulted

as to the proposal of the latter to adopt the Faithful Servant as a reward for his fidelity. They appear again in Sim IX as the retinue of the Lord of the Tower. (9) E. Donaldson enumerates besides these, other six of the higher angels, presumably those represented in the Third Vision as attending the Woman, and removing the chair and the bench at the end of the interview with Hermas.

~~Whom they represent the author does not inform; yet they seem to be identified with the Archangels already mentioned from the Similitude~~
But the young men of the first vision are in the Shepherd identified with those of the third; and the latter are the same as the Master Builders of the already mentioned from the Similitude

(10) Michael who appears in the Eighth Similitude.

(11) The angel who entrusted Hermas to the care of the Shepherd and of the Twelve Virgins ^{and} who is variously described as the Glorious Angel (ὁ ἐνδοξὸς ἄγγελος), the Most Holy Angel (σεμνότητος), the Glorious Man (ἐνὶ ἄνθρωπος), and the Lord of the Tower.

(12) Satan, the head of the Angels of Wickedness.

(13) The Twelve Virgins of Sim IX, the Seven Women of Vis. III, and the Women in Black appear to belong to a different category. The first-named are described not as Angels but as Powers of the Holy Ghost, and their names like those of the two other groups would seem to indicate that they were rather personifications of the cardinal virtues and their contrary vices.

In commenting upon the above references to spiritual beings, and illustrating by them the conceptions held by the Author on the subject of the Spirit World, it will be convenient

to single out a few typical cases, and to begin with the angels noted second in the list. They are guardians of the people of God. They are used by God as His servants, in the spheres of providence and redemption. They are the ministers of His ^mMercy and judgment. That the range of their ministrations is conceived as very wide and far-reaching, appears from what we read of them as God's agents in building up His Church. The builders of the Tower, the figure under which they are represented, fetch the stones to be used in the work, reject some, accept others as ready for building, and subject others again to cutting and hewing. What the process referred to means, we can infer from what Hermas says of the nature of the discipline to which inconsistent members are subjected. Thus the Shepherd, speaking of the treatment of those stones which, otherwise excellent, must be cut to the shape required, and have the roundness trimmed away, explains that these represent rich believers whose wealth operates as a hindrance to their spiritual life, and refers to the seer's own experience as an illustration of his meaning. The impoverishment of Hermas by the confiscation of his property was the hewing to which he was subjected. That is, that temporal loss is among the chastisements which as God's ⁴Agents angels are empowered to inflict.

When we compare with this what is said in Sims. VI, VII, of the discipline of the Angel of Punishment and its exemplification in the afflictions of the household of Hermas through

the agency of that angel, the inference seems clear, that Hermas shared the views, current among the Jews and the Early Christians, that angelic agencies were used in sending bodily trouble or curing it - that in fact all kinds of sickness and disease are traceable to the working of some angelic or demonic power.

To the Jew and the Early Christian this was an accepted belief, held by high and low, learned and ignorant. There were angels everywhere, according to Rabbinical teaching. The tradition of the Pool of Bethesda illustrates this principle of angelic agency, in the cause and cure of disease.

Again, angels were believed to have power to convey divine suggestions and warnings to those to whom they were sent. We find this indicated in the Shepherd, as when Hermas speaks of the young in the faith being admonished by angels.

2. Connected with the belief in angels as elemental powers is the mention, in Vis. IV, of Theg^{ri}ir, the Angel to whom belonged the power of rousing or restraining wild animals. Of this we cannot say much, so far as the Shepherd is concerned, for Hermas makes only a single reference to him, and this allusion may easily have been suggested by the well-known passage in Daniel, "My God hath sent his Angel and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me" (Dan. 6, 22).

3. Hermas shares with Barnabas and Hebrew theologians the belief in two attendant angels, the one of righteousness, the other of wickedness, by whom every soul is attended. But the

* On the subject of gigantic Angels and Angelic powers generally. Compare Saab l. c. 81 ff. "Supernatural Religion" I 92-121. *Zweiländer Sittengeschichte Roms* IV. 431. *Boissier La Religion Romaine* I. 158, 163

mention of them is appropriate to the passage in which it occurs, that concerning the two ways, and belief in them was part of the common heritage of Jew and Gentile in the time of the author.

4. There is some difficulty in connection with what is said of the Most Holy Angel, of whom Hermas says that it was he who entrusted Hermas to the care of the Angel of Repentance, and who authorised that angel to make known the will of God, and to give the final and authoritative interpretation of the Revelation; and of Michael, who is described in the Eighth Similitude as having authority over the people of God, to whom he gives the slips which he cuts from the great tree.

Both of these are spoken of in such a way as to suggest that they describe a being endowed with Divine attributes. So also is the personage to whom is given the title of Lord of the Tower, and who appears in the midst of a retinue of glorious angels to inspect the building. Harnack and Spitta agree in identifying all three figures as representing the same Being. To the former, the Most Holy Angel, Michael, and the Lord of the Tower, are different expressions for the Son of God. Spitta, on the other hand, argues that the person thus variously described is the Archangel Michael, the Guardian of the historical Israel, and that no thought of Christ or of Christianity was present to the writer. In considering the problem, the natural method of procedure is to inquire first what is said by the author in reference to that being or those Beings. What

are the functions attributed to (a) the Most Holy Angel; (b) to Michael?

(a) ^{Of} ~~By~~ the former we are told that He sent the Angel of Repentance to Hermas to make known the Divine Will. It was He who charged that angel and the Twelve Virgins to abide with Hermas all his days. It was He Who, at the intercession of that angel, the Shepherd, commanded the Angel of Punishment to mitigate the severity of the discipline with which he had begun to afflict the household of the seer. Of Him it is said (Mand. V, 1) that He justifies repentant sinners. When we compare all these features, especially the last, with the picture of the Man of Gigantic Stature who, in the Ninth Similitude, inspects the Tower, and, with a touch of the rod he wields, makes each stone in the structure appear in its true character, and who, after ordering the removal of all faulty stones, gives instructions as to their treatment and as to the quarter from whence fresh stones shall be quarried - this ~~Man~~ Man, the Lord of the Tower, is expressly declared to be the Son of God Himself. Sim. IX, 12, 8.

(b) Regarding Michael, the points in which he can be ^{compared to} ~~equalled with~~ the personage called Most Holy Angel, and Lord of the Tower are, his lofty stature, the authority ascribed to him, his decision as to the condition in which the slips were returned by their respective recipients and the rewards or penalties to be allotted to them; but most of all, what is said of Michael

Sim VIII
2,3.

trying at the altar the character of those of whom any doubt remained. These points, especially the last, all seem to suggest that the picture of Michael so closely resembles that of the Lord of the Tower as to justify the identity^{fiction} of the two.* If we interpret the Willow and its slips as is done by Spitta, with the Law given to Israel by the mediation of Michael, and regard all references to the Son of God as Christian interpolations, as that critic claims that we should, the identity is clearly established.

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But if, as has been shown above, Hermas uses the word "Law", on the analogy of similar expressions in Ignatius and Justin, as equivalent to the Logos, and if the Gospel, not the Law, is the subject of the Shepherd, Michael must be distinguished from the Lord of the Tower, as the Angels are to be distinguished from the Divine Lord of Angels.

For Hermas, as for St. John in his Apocalypse, Michael holds, under the New Dispensation as under the Old, his honoured position as "one of the chief princes." So in the Shepherd he appears as Guardian of the true Israel of God, the Spiritual Israel, and even as Mediator in the work of making known to the nations the Gospel of Christ. Like the Early Christians generally, the author of the Shepherd has taken over, as Apocalyptic literature^{was} long popular in the Church, many of the Rabbinic Teachings contained in that literature, Hebrew angelology among them. Hence these frequent references to angelic influence. The Early

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Church, like the ~~Israel~~ Synagogue, to which she in many respects served herself heir, peopled the whole universe with myriads of spirits, good and evil. Angels of God were present in all the elemental powers of Nature, fulfilling the errands on which they were sent, of mercy or of judgment, of comfort or of chastening, to the world and to the souls of men. Similarly the universe was peopled with demoni~~s~~c spirits, under the control of the arch-enemy, Satan, the Prince of the Powers of the Air. Thus the whole realm of Nature, and the soul of every member of the human race, was the scene of incessant strife between good and evil, a conception which was illustrated by the belief above noted, that each individual soul was attended by two angels, his good and his evil genius, the one stimulating him to follow after righteousness, the other tempting him to wickedness.

The Angels of God were regarded as having a special interest in, and being guardians of God's elect people. Through their mediation the Law was given to Moses. They were essentially ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who should be heirs of salvation, and their influence extended to the bodies as well as to the souls of men. They formed also the Court of Heaven, like a celestial bodyguard around the Throne of God, the Armies of the Lord of Hosts.

Of the different orders in the hierarchy recognised in Hebrew Angelology, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, and the Innumerable Company of Angels, Hermas refers

To

distinctly to only the archangels, seven in number, with Michael at their head, and the Innumerable Company of Angels, represented by the Builders of the Tower. "The Powers," as we have already noted, may have been intended in the expression "The God of Powers" (ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Δυνάμεων) but the allusion is too indefinite to enable us to form any clear opinion on the subject.

Again, referring to the Seven Graces standing round the Tower in the Third Vision, and the Twelve virgins at the Gate in the Ninth Similitude, Hermas does not make it clear whether they denote Angels or spirits or whether we should regard them as simply allegorical figures, representing in pictorial form the virtues or graces which go to make up the Christian character. So also he leaves it doubtful whether their opposites, the Women in Black, to whom according to the Similitude referred to, the Unfaithful are delivered, signify actual evil demons, or only, as their names seem to imply, the vices and passions which destroy the soul.

But, when he describes the Twelve Virgins as Holy Spirits (Ἅγία Πνεύματα), or Powers of the Holy Ghost (δυνάμεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος), whose names all the faithful must bear, and in whose raiment they must be clothed, what he says of these virgins, like what we note in the Third Vision about the Seven Graces, recalls to our minds the Seven Spirits of God of whom St. John speaks in the Apocalypse, and suggests that we have to do with a symbolic description of the power of the Holy Ghost in converting, cleansing and sanctifying the souls of men. Here in any case we

read the assurance that the powers of God to deliver from all evil are greater and mightier than all the powers of darkness.

To conclude, according to Hermas this is God's scheme of government in the realms of Providence and Redemption.

I. The Almighty and All-merciful Creator rules over the whole universe.

II. One with Him by nature, but subjected to Him by reason of His Sonship and of His humiliation and sufferings for our salvation, is Christ the Word of God and Son of the Father.

III. Under the authority of Father, Son, and Spirit, are the innumerable hosts of angels, at whose head stands Michael, Representative of the True Israel of God, and Chief of the Seven Archangels, ever watching over the interests of the Church of Christ.

IV. CHRIST AND THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The work of Christ and the part taken by the Holy Spirit in applying the benefits of Christ's Atonement, in the regeneration and sanctification of His people, are illustrated by what the Ninth Similitude says concerning the Lord of the Tower and the Twelve Virgins.

Christ is the One Foundation of the Church, and, for saints and angels, the one way of access to the Father. But, forasmuch as the Christian hope looks forward, beyond the present, to the Second Coming of our Lord, this Parable represents Christ as absenting Himself for a season. Again, as He is even now ruler of the whole body of believers, it describes Him as visiting and trying the Church at special times of crisis in the interval between the present time and the day

(1) Coloss. I, 15, 16.

(2) Sim. IX.6, lff.

of His final appearing. These thoughts are expressed by the figure of the Lord of the Tower, who comes at that time of special trial, of the approach of which it is the mission of Hermas to warn the Church. He is represented^{as} carefully inspecting the building, ordering the immediate removal of all blemished or defective stones, and then departing, to return when the Tower is finished. The period of his absence is co-extensive with the season of respite, during which backsliders may be restored. The visitation described in the Similitude denotes the present revelation by which the Church is warned that she is on her trial.

During His absence Christ is represented by the Twelve⁽¹⁾ Virgins, who work under His instructions. Who are these Virgins? We are told that they are "Holy Spirits;" ~~the~~ names given them at first suggest that they are merely personifications of the Christian graces; but we learn, from the functions assigned to them, and the way in which they are spoken of in the interpretation of the vision, that they denote the Holy Spirit Himself. Thus, the Shepherd describes them: "They are Holy Spirits, and a man cannot be found in the Kingdom of God except they clothe him with their raiment; for, if thou receive the name only, but not the raiment from

(1) c.15,2; Zahn l.c.268.

(2) Sim. IX.13,2.

them, it shall profit these nothing. For these virgins are powers of the Son of God. If then thou bear the name, but do not bear His power, thou shalt bear His name to no purpose.....Their raiment....is the names themselves. Who-so bears the name of the Son of God must bear their names also; for the Son Himself bears the names of these Virgins." As the Virgins, in the Similitude, take each individual stone, all, in every case, taking part, carry it through the gate, and hand it to the builders, so the "Powers of the Son of God" apply to each individual believer the redeeming work of Christ. Again, we are told that these Virgins must abide continually with the Church, and with each member of the Church, and further, that each believer must be clothed with their raiment, that is, endued with their character, like the Son of God Himself, who "bears the names of these Virgins." Here are clearly signified the works of regeneration and sanctification, by which the benefits of redemption are assured to believers.

In all this, indeed, there is a measure of indefiniteness. One is at a loss to understand for instance, why, in this Similitude, there are twelve "Holy Spirits," whereas the Graces or Virtues of the Third Vision, to which similar functions are ascribed, are seven in number. The author's conceptions of the Person and the Work of the Holy Spirit are of a somewhat fluid description. But notwithstanding this, the idea present to his mind corresponds on the whole to the Johannine

doctrine of the Paraclete. A clear distinction is recognised alike in person and in function, between the Son and the Spirit. We are justified, therefore, in concluding that the Twelve Virgins of the Similitude and the Seven Women of the Third Vision, to which we may add the "Holy Spirit" of the Fifth Command, are all meant to describe and illustrate the work of the Holy Ghost.

The conception of the Holy Spirit as a Being Whose Person and Work are to be distinguished from those of the Father and the Son, was present to the Church from the earliest period. It is embodied in the Baptismal formula. We are entitled, therefore, to suppose that an Early Christian writer, in whose teaching Baptism, as the indispensable seal of regeneration, holds the conspicuous place that it does in these revelations, was able in some way to distinguish between the Son and the Holy Spirit. It was not possible for a man like Hermas, to whatever period we may assign the writing of the Shepherd, to treat the Doctrine of the Trinity with that precision of detail which one could expect of those who were acquainted with an elaborate creed, and not merely with a bare formula.

In the Christology of Hermas there is one very obvious defect. It has no clear conception of the Atonement. We find indeed something like an allusion to this doctrine, in the meagre reference to the sufferings of Christ which occurs

in that passage in the Fifth Similitude where the Shepherd uses these words: "He⁽¹⁾ Himself purged away their sins, having laboured much and endured many toils." But here nothing is said of substitution, and the work ascribed to Christ is mentioned only in connexion with the subject of the parable, which is that of Extra Service. It is clear, therefore, that Hermas dwells chiefly upon the Incarnation of our Lord. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that such an idea of the significance of the Appearing of Christ has often prevailed in the Church, and is not uncommon in our own times. We may refer in this connexion to a passage⁽²⁾ from one of the writings of the late Bishop Westcott: "Christian Doctrine is, so to speak, the partial and progressive approximation towards the complete intellectual expression of the truth manifested to men once for all in the Incarnation. That one Supreme Fact contains all Christian Doctrine, and all separate dogmas contribute towards the understanding of it. That fact is for us the great revelation of the Father, the final revelation of God in His relation to man and to the world. In that fact the three antitheses which underlie all human existence are seen to be reconciled, the antithesis of the seen and the unseen (the cosmical antithesis); the antithesis of the finite and the infinite (the metaphysical antithesis); the

(1) Sim. V.6,2; comp Heb. I.3.

(2) "Lessons from Work," p. 63.

antithesis of man and God (the personal antithesis); and it does not appear that any other reconciliation would have been possible."

We must also remember that the aim of the Shepherd is throughout, purely practical, not doctrinal. Further, however, we may interpret the expression above quoted from the Fifth Similitude: "Himself purged away their sins," where it is possible to trace a reference to the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "When He had by Himself purged our sins;" we find in other parts of the Shepherd, enough to show that Hermas accepted in all essential particulars the Pauline conception of the source of salvation - "Christ in you, the hope of glory."⁽¹⁾



(1) Col. 1²⁷.

~~PART VI~~

Chapter X HERMAS AND MONTANISM

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HERMAS AND MONTANISM

On the subject of the relations between the Shepherd and Montanism there has been great difference of opinion. Cotelier⁽¹⁾ maintains that the Shepherd of Hermas was a "bulwark of the Catholic faith against the harsh severity of Montanism." This view, though supported in recent times by Hefele, is now generally abandoned. Lipsius⁽²⁾ considers Hermas a Montanist before Montanus. This opinion is shared by Dorner.⁽³⁾ Brüll finds⁽⁴⁾ in the Shepherd a clear reference to the early beginnings of Montanism in Rome, whilst Ritschl⁽⁵⁾ regards it as a development of Montanism. Other scholars, with Hilgenfeld,⁽⁵⁾ Bonwetsch, Gaab, Zahn, and Harnack, fail to see any connexion whatever between the Shepherd and that movement.

The truth seems to be that Hermas had in view an object similar to that of the Montanist prophets, but sought to attain it on different lines and by different methods. Like

(1) Pastor Hermae, note in Mand. IV. 3. Comp. Hefele, Patres Apostol: note in Mand. IV. 3.

Hist (2) Der Hist. des Hermas und der Montanismus in Rom in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie 1865, 1866 quoted by Gaab, Der Hist. des Hermas p. 170.

(3) Person of Christ (Eng. trans.) I. p. 176.

(4) Der Hist. des Hermas pp. 55 ff.

(5) Altkatholische Kirche pp. 509 ff. comp. 527: Hilgenfeld Apostol: Väter p. 176 comp. Bonwetsch Montanismus p. 65; Gaab l. cf. 109; Zahn, Der Hist. des Herm; pp. 107 ff. Harnack Hist. of Dogma Eng. trans. II. p. 105 n. 2.

Hist.

them, he sought to promote a revival of religion, and, like them, he proceeded upon the assumption that the age of prophecy had not passed away. He believed that spiritual gifts were still bestowed upon believers, irrespective of their position in the Church. Like Montanus, Hermas regarded himself as a prophet in so far as he was charged with a special Divine mission to the Church. But it is just at this point, where the resemblance between Hermas and Montanus is strongest, that we begin to note the differences between them. Hermas was a prophet merely in respect of that series of revelations which he had received. He regarded himself as a prophet on a footing similar⁽¹⁾ to that of Eldad and Medad, to whom he refers in one of his visions, or to that of the prophets of whom we read in the New Testament, who were inspired to communicate some special revelation to the Church. The Montanist prophets, on the other hand, claimed to belong to a new order, and to inaugurate a new era. One of the more distinctive characteristics of those enthusiasts was their belief that the Church of Christ, which had been destined to pass through three stages of development, had now reached the highest, that of the Paraclete. Hitherto she had been, so to speak, in her nonage. Now she had at last attained to maturity. Hermas held no such theory. His aim was, not to usher in a new era, but simply to seek the

(1) Vis. II.3,4: comp. Numbers 11²⁶.

Bonwetsch l.c. pp. 123, 150; comp. Harnack l.c. II 105 p. 2.

restoration of the Church to her original purity and earnestness. "In these degenerate⁽¹⁾ days she had waxed old and feeble." She could renew her youth and vigour only by returning to first principles.

(2) Again, in the Shepherd we look in vain for that peculiar doctrine regarding prophecy, that of Ecstasy, which was one of the most characteristic features of Montanism. According to this,⁽²⁾ the recipient of the Divine afflatus is entirely passive. Thus an utterance of Montanus is quoted in which he says, speaking in the name of the prophet, i.e. Spirit: "Behold the man is as a lyre, and I fly like the quill; the man sleeps, but I wake; behold it is the Lord who inspires the hearts of men and gives thoughts unto men." Again, in a quotation from a work, no longer extant, of the Montanist Tertullian, that writer thus expresses himself:⁽³⁾ "An inspired person, when he sees the glory of God or when God speaks through him, must lose his senses, seeing that he is overshadowed by the Divine Power." He compares the condition of the prophet at such a time to that of St. Peter on the Mount of Transfiguration, when "he wist not what to say, for he was sore afraid," and to that of St. Paul when he was

(1) Vis. III. 11,12.

(2) Bonwetsch l.c.p.57: comp. Ritschl l.c., 466 ff.

(3) Bonwetsch pp.59 ff. Mk.9⁶; Lk.9³³; 2Co.12^{2.3}.

caught up into the third heaven. That which formerly was an exceptional experience was now the essential feature of prophetic inspiration. And when Tertullian⁽¹⁾ tried to prove that this view was not entirely novel, he appealed to the New Testament, and interpreted Christ's words: "It is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost," as meaning the temporary suspension of the individuality of the prophet. Such exaggerated conceptions may have been held by others besides the Montanists. We find a trace of the same thought in that passage in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,"⁽²⁾ which says: "And every prophet who speaks in the Spirit ye shall not try nor prove, for every sin may be forgiven but this sin shall not be forgiven."

In the Shepherd such a view is conspicuous by its absence. Hermas appears like the prophets of the Old Testament and simply delivers the message which he has received. The idea of ecstasy is not once suggested. There is no suspension of the reasoning faculties of the seer. When the message comes, in whatever form the Spirit of the revelation may appear, as the Woman or as the Shepherd, Hermas is free⁽³⁾ to question and reason with that Spirit. He asks the meaning of what he hears. He compares what is revealed to him with what

(1) De Anima 11.21. comp. Mk.18¹¹; Mt.10¹⁹ Lk.12¹¹, 21¹⁴.

(2) XI.7. (3) Bonwetsch p.66.

he has heard from recognised religious teachers; and occasionally he puts his questions and states his difficulties in such a way⁽¹⁾ as to expose himself to severe rebuke. The strongly marked individuality of the prophet is never once lost sight of. Not only so, but in a passage⁽²⁾ specially dealing with the subject of prophetic inspiration, these very features are commented on as among the marks by which the true prophet is to be recognised.

(3) But Hermas resembles the Montanists in this, that he uses great freedom in passing judgment upon all classes of the Christian community. He roundly accuses the office bearers of the Church of ambition, and a spirit of variance and discord. He warns them to take heed how they rule the Church of God and reminds them of their duty to be "examples unto the flock." In the Third Vision⁽³⁾ he addresses the Church leaders in a tone which recalls the independent spirit of Tertullian. "Be not like the magicians, etc." We instinctively contrast the boldness of Hermas with that extreme reverence for those in authority which Ignatius enjoins in his Epistles.⁽⁴⁾ In the one

(1) See Mand. IV.3.1.
 (2) Mand. XI.2,7 ff.
 (3) Vis.III.9,7.
 (4) See Ad.Philad.VII.1,2.

case we recognise the sentiments of a layman, to whom official authority is of trifling importance in comparison with the question of a revival of the Church. In the other we see the spirit of a Sacerdotalist, who seeks to defend the Church against error and schism by upholding the sacred prerogative of ecclesiastical authority.

According to Dorner, indeed, the Shepherd is the embodiment of a protest against officialism in the Church. He finds a scornful allusion⁽¹⁾ to the Sacerdotal spirit in that passage in the Third Vision which represents the Woman as seated on a chair. That chair, regarded by so many as the recognised symbol of authority, is really an emblem of weakness, and weakness means unbelief. So Hermas tells us that, once the Church is revived and becomes strong in faith, she no longer requires the support of the chair.

The tone of the Shepherd hardly warrants such a view. Hermas has no idea⁽²⁾ of disparaging ecclesiastical authority as such, though he considers that mere officialism means the presence of a worldly spirit, which must be injurious to the spiritual health of those who cherish it, and no less to their influence over the people for whose welfare they are responsible to the Lord. The attitude which he takes up is merely this. He, a private individual, has received from God a message for

(1) Person of Christ I.186. comp. Ritschl 535.

(2) Harnack, Hist. of Dogma II.69.

the Church, and for all orders within the Church. That message contains severe strictures upon certain office-bearers, but Hermas does not on that account set up a claim to be their instructor or their judge. He does not even appear to claim the position of a recognised prophet, of the kind referred to in the Didaché, where peculiar authority and privilege are associated with the office. He expressly tells us that his message was submitted to the Presbyters before it was communicated to the Church, and that, after it had been laid before them it was to be communicated to other churches in the regular way, by the hands of Clement,⁽¹⁾ that Presbyter whose duty it was to correspond with the various Christian communities.

Here the so-called "free prophecy" of Hermas is sharply contrasted with the "new prophecy" of the Montanists, who claimed⁽²⁾ for their prophets an authority independent of, and superior to, that of the Church's office-bearers.

(4) The point at which the message of Hermas most closely resembles the teachings of the Montanists is that feature of the revelation which has been referred to as "The Second Repentance." Here he appears to revise the laws of Discipline recognised by the Church, or at least her conception of Christian Ethics, and to issue a new pronouncement on the sub-

(1) Vis. II. 46.

(2) Bonwetsch 58.

ject of sins committed after Baptism. "The Second Repentance" is spoken of⁽¹⁾ as if it were a kind of supplement to the grace bestowed in Baptism. It seems to mean a new departure in the spiritual life. By a special dispensation of the Divine mercy, altogether peculiar, and, like Baptism itself, incapable of being repeated, an opportunity is afforded to backsliders, of making a complete breach with the past, and of beginning a new life of obedience. This dispensation is associated with the principle, formerly asserted by teachers of extreme strictness, that there was no forgiveness for heinous sins committed by baptised persons. After⁽²⁾ this present day of grace, this special opportunity of repentance, there is no restoration for those who, having accepted the present offer, again fall into mortal sin.

Now it is to be noted that the teaching⁽³⁾ of the "Shepherd" on this subject covers the same ground, and deals with the same questions, as the Novissima lex of the Montanists. This appears in connexion with the following points:-

- (1) The question of intercourse with the world, and the use and abuse of worldly wealth.
- (2) The relations of the sexes.
- (3) The question of fasting.
- (4) The question of martyrdom.
- (5) The treatment of the "lapsed".

(1) Vis. II. 4. 3. comp. Harnack's note in loc.; Bonwetsch 109-14.

(2) Mand. IV. 3.

(3) Ritschl 493 ff. Bonwetsch 123 ff.

(1) On the subject of intercourse with the world, the new Law of Montanism made certain matters, which the Apostles had dealt with on the broad principle of Christian expediency, the subject of strict and definite rules. Montanism allowed no such latitude as Paul prescribed, as for example with reference to the eating of things offered to idols. It left no question open, acknowledged no "things indifferent." It insisted that what was not commanded was forbidden, what was not clearly right must be clearly wrong. But, while a certain tendency towards a reaction against the growth, within the Church, of a secular spirit, is common to Hermas and the Montanist teachers, the former is very chary of dogmatising on the subject of conformity to the world. He is no advocate of Montanist strictness. He is content with pointing out, in a general way, the danger, and warning against the seductive influence, of the world's allurements. He devotes one⁽¹⁾ of his Similitudes to the question of those temptations which are associated with the possession of property, and with the social privileges which wealth gives. He says there, that the Christian, as a stranger and a sojourner in the world, has no right to claim a portion in that State whose laws he does not recognise. In another⁽²⁾ Similitude he speaks as if he re-

(1) Sim. I.

(2) Sim. II.

garded rich believers, as such, as inferior to their poorer brethren in respect of faith and power with God. Such sentiments are common in the teachings of Montanism. But, while in the latter they are insisted on to the point of exaggeration, Hermas discriminates, and avoids sweeping assertions. He readily admits that, in many cases, riches are a snare. They were so in his own experience, as he tells us. His spiritual health suffered from his intercourse with the world in the way of business, till he was subjected to the discipline of temporal loss. And he regards his own case as typical. Thus we read⁽¹⁾ in the Third Vision that, as there were many stones, which, though otherwise good, required to be hewn before they could be fitted into the Tower, so there are many believers who cannot have a place in the Living Temple, till much of the wealth which encumbers them has been taken from them. Elsewhere he points out that an engrossing interest in secular business, and the cares associated with the possession of worldly wealth, are apt, in times of persecution, to tempt Christians to deny their Lord. At the same time, Hermas is no extremist on the subject of riches. He recognises the principle of the stewardship of wealth. Thus he tells us in the Similitude of the Vine and the Elm,⁽²⁾ that there must be rich and poor in the Kingdom of God. As the Vine requires the support of the Elm, so the poor believer requires the ministra-

(1) Vis. III.6,7. comp. Vis. I.3.

(2) Sim. II.

tions of his rich brother. Then there are sufferers to be relieved in times of dearth, and prisoners to be delivered in times of persecution; and provision has to be made for widows and orphans left destitute by the martyr death of their bread-winners.

Such considerations prevent Hermas from sharing the impracticable views of the fanatic and the extremist.

(2) On the subject of the relations of the sexes, the Montanists taught Asceticism of a very austere type. Tertullian, for example, expresses himself sometimes as if he considered marriage to be little better than a concession to human weakness. With such exaggerated austerity Hermas has no sympathy. There are, indeed, passages in the "Shepherd" which seem at first sight to suggest a leaning towards Montanist rigour; such⁽¹⁾ as that in which the wife of Hermas is spoken of as "his spouse, who "should" in future be his sister." It must be remembered, however, that it is not always easy to understand when we are to take the author literally, and when figuratively. Further, when he deals with the questions of adultery and second marriage, he expresses opinions which clearly show that he occupies a standpoint widely different from that of Montanism. With reference to adultery, and the restoration of those who have been

(1) Vis. II.2,3.

guilty of that sin, Hermas, after expressing general approval of the view⁽¹⁾ of those whom he quotes as saying that there is no forgiveness for those who, after Baptism, fall into mortal sin, goes on to say that the unfaithful husband or wife is to be restored on repentance, but only after a single offence. So far is this opposed to the spirit of Montanism, that Tertullian,⁽²⁾ in his Montanist period, denounced the "Shepherd" as "that writing which alone favours adulterers."

Again, second marriage was expressly forbidden by Montanist teachers, who considered it a gross breach⁽³⁾ of the law of chastity. For man or woman to marry oftener than once was to be guilty of a species of adultery, a mortal sin not to be forgiven in the case of any baptised person. Hermas, on the other hand, notwithstanding that extremely strict views on this subject were already beginning to prevail in the Church, boldly admits that second marriage is not unlawful. He does not approve of it. His conviction is that it is no sin, but that God regards with greater favour those who abstain from it. Only he shows a wise reluctance to express any opinion which would tend to make the Church's standard of Christian Ethics more strict than that which Scripture teaches.

(3) With regard to fasting, Hermas is very far from show-

(1) Mand. IV.3.

(2) De pudicitia. c.10.comp. c.20.

(3) Ritschl 500 ff.

ing any sympathy with Montanist austerity. The early Church generally gave a very important place to that exercise. It was enjoined upon all believers, as a necessary part of their preparation for services of special solemnity. According to the Didaché,⁽¹⁾ it was required of Catechumens, and of the officiating clergy themselves, before the administration of Baptism. We gather from the "Shepherd" itself that the author found it conducive to that frame of mind which was most favourable to the reception of Divine revelations. Thus he prepared himself, by fasting and prayer, for the visions which he relates. Apart from these cases, certain stated periods of fasting were prescribed or recognised by the Church. A notable passage at the opening of the Fifth Similitude appears to show that, in the time of Hermas, the System⁽²⁾ of Stationes had begun to come into use, but so recently that the Shepherd himself enquires of the seer what he means by the expression: "I am keeping Station." According to the system to which the Similitude refers, fasting was practised on Wednesday and Friday of every week, the period of abstinence on those days lasting till three in the afternoon. In addition to these, an absolute fast was appointed for Good Friday and Easter.

The Montanists extended this rule, and made it more stringent, claiming as their authority the Paraclete Himself. They made the fasts recommended by the Church continue till the

(1) Chap. VII. (2) Bonwetsch 93-98. Sin. V.1.1, ff.

evening, and, in addition to these, appointed two weeks of partial abstinence (xerophagia), during which their followers were forbidden flesh, wine, and dainties, and even the use of the bath. Hermas, on the other hand, who himself conformed to the strictest rules of the Church, teaches in this Similitude that fasting is not a binding duty, and is not in itself meritorious. The act, the exercise itself, is nothing, the spirit is everything. The fast which finds favour with God is that which the prophet describes: "Is not this⁽¹⁾ the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickadness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry and that thou bring the poor which are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

Fasting has its own place in the teaching of Hermas.⁽²⁾ But he treats it rather as an exercise which a spiritually minded man may find profitable than as a duty binding upon the Conscience. He who would derive practical benefit from his abstinence and win the favour of God, must carefully calculate the value of the food which he denies himself and give the proceeds of his self-denial to the destitute.

Montanist asceticism was very different from that which

(1) Isa. 58⁶⁻⁷.

(2) Sim. V.3.7.

Hermas recommends. The Montanist, adding to the authority of tradition that of an express Divine revelation, transformed a time-honoured custom of the Church into a universal and inflexible rule, besides increasing the number, duration, and rigour of the fasts to be observed by believers.

(4) The fanatical tendency⁽¹⁾ of Montanism is by nothing more forcibly illustrated than by its teachings on the subject of martyrdom. The Church, during her times of persecution, naturally paid exceptional honour, and attached peculiar value to the heroism of her Martyrs and Confessors. By common consent, the highest place in the kingdom of God was held to belong to the martyrs. Their sufferings came to be regarded as a kind of Baptism, not merely in that sense in which Jesus used the word with reference to His own sufferings and those of his followers, but in the sense of a sacrament of atoning efficacy. Such ideas were universal and Hermas shared the current beliefs of his time. Thus,⁽²⁾ according to the Third Vision, the right hand side of the Bench is reserved for saints who have passed through the fiery trial of persecution. According to the Eighth Similitude⁽³⁾, the fruit-bearing branches of the Willow, to whose possessors the highest honour is given, represent the faith of the martyrs; and next to them are ranked the Confessors, whose slips bore twigs but no fruit. We gather

(1) Ritschl 497. Bonwetsch 98. (2) Vis. III.1.9;2.1;
Vis.II.2.7; Vis.III.5.7.

(3) Sim. VIII.3.6.7.

from the Ninth Similitude⁽¹⁾ that Martyrdom has an atoning efficacy for those who suffer for "the Name." The greater the willingness, and even the enthusiasm, with which they meet their doom, the greater the honour which they receive from their Lord. On the other hand, to suffer the doubt to arise in their minds as to whether they should confess or hold back, is to detract from the merit of the sacrifice. The martyr is to face his doom with courage and with joy. Hesitation is unnatural and unreasonable, for martyrdom is a mark of special Divine favour, and means the complete cleansing away of sin. So far Hermas is in full agreement with those who like Tertullian⁽²⁾ and others, most highly extolled the honour of martyrdom; but, so far as this, Catholic and Montanist were at one. The Montanists went further and treated Martyrdom as a thing to be desired by all Christians. Thus Tertullian maintained that the words of our Lord: "When they shall persecute you in one city, flee ye into another," did not apply to that age, the dispensation of the Paraclete, the period of the Church's maturity. In that age the Church must not seek self-preservation, but rather court danger and rush upon martyrdom (*ultra irrumpere*). The Spirit, he says, exhorts nearly all to seek, not flight, but death. He quotes as an utterance of the Spirit such a saying as this: "Desire not rather to die in your beds.....or by

(1) Sim. IX.28,2,3.

(2) Bonwetsch 98; Tertull.De Fuga. c.9.

enfeebling fevers, but by Martyrdom, that He may be glorified Who suffered for you." Hermas avoids all such extravagance. Where he extols the merit of a courageous, and even exultant, testimony, he is dealing with the case of those who are actually compelled to decide between confession and denial of the Name, and to whom the occasion of Martyrdom has come in the course of providence, altogether without their seeking. That the view⁽¹⁾ of the "Shepherd" on this matter is far removed from Montanist fanaticism, is clear from that passage in the Ninth Similitude, which describes those pure and childlike souls who are represented by the stones hewn out of the Twelfth or White Mountain: "These are as innocent babes, into whose hearts no evil entered, neither did they know what wickedness was, but they always continued in innocency.....As many of you, therefore, as shall continue thus, and shall be as babes, free from evil, shall be more highly honoured than all that have been mentioned before; for all (such) babes are had in honour with God, and are first in His sight." No mention is made here of martyrdom. A comparison, therefore, at once suggests itself, between the thought of this passage and the views which Hermas expresses elsewhere, giving the highest place to the martyrs as such. This⁽²⁾ Ewald regards the words just

(1) Sim. IX.29; comp. 30.1.2.

(2) Hist. of Israel (Eng. Trans.) VIII.239.n.5.

quoted as showing that the author modified his original opinion, and therefore gave, to such believers as he there describes, a place above the martyrs, "as if history had convinced him that men like the Apostle John, though they did not die among the army of martyrs, might reach a still higher degree of glory." Hilgenfeld⁽¹⁾ even expresses the extraordinary opinion, that, in the Fourth Vision, Hermas speaks of deliverance from Martyrdom as a sign of Divine favour. For this there is no justification in the Fourth Vision itself. The Monster there described is indeed said to be an emblem⁽²⁾ of the coming "tribulation," where the word so translated (*Θλίψις*), is the same that often occurs in the special sense of persecution. But, though the interpretation which the Woman who appears in the Vision gives of the colours of the Monster's head, does contain a reference to the sufferings of the saints, the Monster itself does not mean persecution. To suffer from its rage would be to meet a fate very different from the glorious death of the martyr. Amid the perplexity which this Vision occasions, and which is best accounted for by that tendency to confusion of thought and to mixed metaphor which we find in the "Shepherd", this at least is clear, that the tribulation symbolised by the Monster cannot mean a persecution. In the view of Hermas, as in that

(1) Apostol: Väter (1853) p.178.

(2) Vis: IV.2,5. comp. 3,2-5.

of the Church of his time, it would be sweet and glorious to suffer for the Name of Christ. Now the Woman of the Vision says: "If ye then prepare yourselves,⁽¹⁾ and turn unto the Lord with your whole heart, ye shall be able to escape from it; if your heart be pure and blameless and ye serve the Lord without fear all the days of your life." To apply this to persecution is absurd. The victims of the Monster are not martyrs, but "the abhorred of the Lord," fatally overcome by the evil which is in the world. The Vision teaches, not that it is a sign of Divine favour to be saved from the fury of the persecutor, but that they who resist temptation by faith in God, shall be kept by His power, and preserved unto eternal life. The passage in the Ninth Similitude⁽²⁾ to which reference has been made, only means that those whom God holds in highest honour may not necessarily be called to seal their testimony with their blood. The highest place is theirs because of their character, as childlike, guileless souls, to whom Christ's blessing is promised, whether they are called to suffer for His sake, or whether, like John, it be their lot to witness for Him only by a loving consistent life.

When persecution assails a Christian, he must not flinch. He must confess with all boldness and cheerfulness. It is the

(1) Vision IV.2,5.

(2) Sim. IX.29.

part of a craven to deny his Lord, or even to hesitate whethed to confess Him or to hold back. But he may not court persecution. If it be the Lord's will, that he glorify him only by a life of faithful service, he may be as highly honoured as the bravest of the martyrs. Hermas, therefore, while not und-influenced by the spirit of his age, is so far from sharing the extravagant zeal of the Montanist, that he approximates rather to those views of Martyrdom, which, in later and less troubled times, commended themselves to the Church.

The Shepherd

(5) On the subject of the Lapsed, "The Shepherd" takes up a position in very strong contrast to that of the Montanists. We note this in connexion with its revelation of "the second repentance."⁽¹⁾ According to this, a special opportunity was afforded to backsliders, of making a new beginning in the Christian life. Hermas, like the Montanist prophets, claimed to have received a special revelation of the Divine will. But the revelation to the former contained an express offer of restoration to backsliders and degenerate believers. That which came to the latter was all on the side⁽²⁾ of strictness. It accentuated the austerity of existing rules of discipline, and added new precepts more uncompromising than the old. In their passion for pure communio^{on}, the Montanists contemplated,

(1) Mand. IV.3,4-6. Brill, 55-57.

(2) Tertull. De pudicitia, 3,18,21. Bonwetsch 112,114.

without dismy,⁽¹⁾ the danger of weakening the Church, by permanently excluding from her membership those who had fallen into heinous sin, and by repelling those who were out of sympathy with principles of such extreme rigour. Hermas, on the other hand, viewed that danger with serious concern. He would rather have proclaimed, if possible, a universal amnesty. He makes much of the thought of the abounding compassion of God. So he says in one passage: "God is⁽²⁾ not like man, implacable, bearing a grudge on account of past offences." The expression of St. James, "very pitiful," as used of God, is a favourite⁽³⁾ word with Hermas. In the Eighth Similitude⁽⁴⁾ he tells us that the great majority of the recipients of the Gospel were found faithful, and that there is good reason to hope for the restoration of most of those who have degenerated. For, such is the abounding compassion of God, that He is slow to suffer any to perish, in whose hearts the word of Christ has once been implanted. While Hermas admits that the worst class of apostates are wholly reprobate, he makes an exception in favour of those who have denied the Name⁽⁵⁾ "with the lips only, not in their hearts," and declares that they will be restored if they repent during the day of grace. Such a judgment is opposed to the whole trend of Montanist⁽⁶⁾ teaching. The ideal

(1) Harnack, Hist. of Dogma I.172. (2) Mand.IX.3.

(3) Mand.IV.3,5; Sim.V.7,4. (4) Sim. VIII.2,7. (5) Sim.IX.26

(6) Montanism did not absolutely exclude backsliders from hope of salvation, but admitted a kind of "uncovenanted mercies." Comp. Bonwetsch 112,114; Tert.De Pud. 3.18.

of pure commun^{on} is as dear to Hermas as to the Montanist. He is by no means satisfied with an external or mechanical conception of religion. But, while the Montanists sought to purify the Church at all hazards, Hermas recognised the necessity of dealing with facts as they were; thus, according to his view, it is not for the Church to distinguish by hard and fast rule between the faithful and the unfaithful. "The day shall declare it."⁽¹⁾ Only the Lord of the Tower can distinguish the true from the false. Meanwhile, this is His message to all that seek revival: "The Lord is nigh unto all that turn to Him." It is the commission of Hermas, as His prophet, not to call upon the office-bearers of the Church to add to the strictness of her discipline, but to exhort and encourage each individual member to prepare by faith and repentance, for the coming of the Lord. These are the terms of his message: "Now, in this day of grace, while the Tower is building, turn unto the Lord. Trust in His abounding mercy, believing that His commandments are not grievous, for that Divine grace is stronger than the power of the adversary." Here the teachings of "The Shepherd" appear in the strongest contrast with the impracticable strictness of Montanism.

5. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL HOPE. THE SECOND ADVENT.

We find, as it is only to be expected, that we should, in a prophetic book like that of Hermas, considerable stress

(1) Sim.III, Sim.IV. comp. Vis.II.3,4,etc.

laid upon the subject of the Second Coming of Christ. It is natural also that in this connexion, parallels should suggest themselves between the views of Hermas and those of the Montanist prophets. The latter made much of their expectation of the Advent of Christ in the near future. Hermas gives prominence to a similar expectation, especially in the earlier portion of his book, where he attributes the declension of the Church largely to her forgetfulness of that approaching consummation. Montanus anticipated a Personal Reign. Christ was shortly to appear, and establish His Kingdom on earth, with Pepuza in Phrygia for His capital. We gather from the "Shepherd" that Hermas expected some such millennial reign. For the completion of the Tower, whose speedy accomplishment is more than once referred to in his book, does not mean the end of the world, but only the close of the present dispensation. The interval which was to pass between the date of the prophecy and that of Christ's appearing was the time allowed as a respite, during which backsliders might be restored. In connexion⁽¹⁾ with this, Hermas makes a distinction between the respite allowed to degenerate believers and that allowed to the heathen. The former must repent during the present day of grace, while the Tower is still in process of building, the latter may repent before the last day." The period between the terms thus mentioned, the completion of the Tower and the Last Day, appears to correspond with the Millennial period, which many expected in the time of Hermas.

(1) Vis. II. 2.

The Eschatological Scheme of "the Shepherd" has been described by Zahn as comprising these events or periods: "A great final⁽¹⁾ tribulation for the Community of believers from which the faithful shall emerge unscathed, the completion of the Church, and the second Coming of the Son of God; then a period during which, beside the perfected Church, there are sinners still requiring conversion and capable of it. Then "the Last Day", the final judgment, which knows no more degrees and intermediate stages, but either condemns to the fire which shall destroy the world, or introduces to the eternal life of the coming age." This scheme is in close agreement with the representation of the Fourth Vision, according to which the advent of the "Great Tribulation" marks the close of the present day of grace. When that Tribulation has passed the Church shall appear in her perfect state. But that is not the end of the world for then come "the days of the Gentiles," when, unlike those degenerate Christians who are rejected because they have not used the present opportunity of repentance, the heathen may yet come to a knowledge of the truth and be added to the Church. After that comes the Day of Judgment.

The Eschatology of Hermas coincides with that of Montanism only at those points on which there was general agreement throughout the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Age. "Maranatha," "Our Lord Cometh," was long the watchword of the Church. The

(1) p. 325.

thought of Hermas, that her degeneration was in great measure due to her forgetfulness of the truth that her Lord was at hand, and his belief that the wide diffusion of the Gospel, the gradual cooling down of Christian zeal, and the advent of a time of severe trial, were indications of the near approach of the Day of the Lord were commonplaces of Christian belief at the time when he wrote. Every religious movement, every effort to revive the faith and deepen the spiritual life of the Church, was associated with the warning: "The Lord is at hand." Hermas reflects the current beliefs of the Church. One singular illustration of this is afforded by the way in which in the later parts of his book, he appears to modify the views expressed in the earlier with regard to the time of Christ's appearing. Zahn⁽¹⁾ and Baumgärtner call special attention to this peculiarity of "the Shepherd." The former, referring to the first section of the work, observes: "It is certainly a thundering call to repentance that we note in this section, arising from the persuasion that it is high time for the congregation to be converted, if the end of all things is not to surprise them in the midst of their impenitence. But this expected end has not come as a matter of fact, and that explains the complete change of tone in the Commands and the Similitudes from all that goes before. Even in the preface to the Command how completely the scene is changed! The

(1) pp.344 ff. Comp. Baumgärtner "Die Einheit des Hermasbuches", 69ff.

Shepherd enters the house of Hermas, and declares his intention to abide with him all the days of his life, in order that, in circumstances of perfect peace, he may impart ethical instruction to him. Here the ragings of that final tempest which had been approaching have suddenly subsided; the whole situation is that of most profound calm."

That remarkable change of tone is clear to every careful reader. But, whatever other conclusions may be drawn from it, it is quite in accordance with what we might have expected of a writer who sought, on the authority of a special revelation to promote a revival of the Church, but tried at the same time to keep within the lines of recognised beliefs as to the times and the seasons. The prophet's change of attitude is only a faithful reflection of the Change which, at a very early period, took place in the views of the Church herself, and is easily explained, if Harnack, Baumgärtner⁽¹⁾ and others are justified in their supposition that the writing of "The Shepherd" extended over a considerable period. To the mind of Hermas, the clearness and simplicity which distinguished the faith of the Church in primitive times, were associated with the place which the anticipation of the Second Advent held in her thoughts. He hoped, therefore, by promoting a revived interest in that theme, to find a sure means of attaining that object which he had at heart, a revival of pure

(1) Chronologie I.264 ff. Baumgärtner, lib.cit.74 ff.
Dobsonitz, Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden, 214, 215.

and undefiled religion. As to the times and seasons of Christ's appearing, he could not pretend to a greater degree of certainty than that possessed by the Church herself, as the result of her study of the teachings of Christ and His Apostles. Thus it was that when first the revelation came to him, he was led by the urgency of its warnings, together with the common expectation of the more spiritually minded members of the Church of the day, to believe that Christ was to appear in the near future, after the lapse of a very brief interval. Later experience and subsequent revelations showed him that the day of grace was to extend far beyond the period which he had anticipated it would. The eschatological belief of Hermas was thus simply representative of that of most earnest members of the Roman Church in his own days.

An enthusiast of the Montanist type, with exaggerated views of his own gift of prophecy, and of his consequent superiority to, and independence of Church authority, would not have been so humble and cautious, or so ready to modify his views of the Second Advent, as Hermas shows himself in "The Shepherd." The position of Hermas is much nearer to that of the moderately conservative party within the Catholic Church, than to that of those reactionaries whose excessive zeal led them ultimately into active opposition to the recognised authorities of Christian communities.

Such a view as this would go far to account for the high

reputation which "The Shepherd" enjoyed in the Church for a long period.

6. HERMAS A "CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOURER", NOT A SECTARY.

Though we cannot see in "the Shepherd" any of the distinctive marks of Montanism, we must recognise a certain analogy between the prophecy of Hermas, and that movement which Montanus and his followers initiated against officialism in the Church. We can also understand, that circumstances might easily arise, in which a movement in the direction of revival within the Church might end in a revolt against the Church and her authority. Earnest members of the Church, distressed by the worldliness and moral laxity which were showing themselves among professing Christians, and by the growth within the Church of a cold, official spirit, might very easily come to look favourably upon extreme views like those of Montanism, and even to act as Tertullian did, and desert the Catholic party altogether. As Rainy has put it: "It is likely.....that in the Christian Congregations features appeared that suggested a falling off from an earlier and intenser time. Probably, in spite of the persecutions which the Christians had to bear, there were symptoms of worldliness of life, and of accommodation to Gentile notions. There might be, coming into the modes of worship and into the method of Church arrangement, something of a mechanical order

of things contrasting sensibly enough with the freedom, the vivacity, the spiritual impulse of an earlier day."⁽¹⁾

"....We can understand the spread,⁽²⁾ here and there in the Christian Churches - especially perhaps among the humbler members, so far as these were earnest and clung to the memories of earlier days - of a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust. It would aim at having room made and effect given to impulses and convictions which the Spirit of God inspires in Christian hearts as against secularity and worldly conformity as against set methods that turn Christianity into a mechanical system going on of itself as against worldly wisdom and philosophy; finally as against the hierarchy and the centralised ecclesiastical authority which seemed to leave no room for the free outburst of the Christian heart to assert its claims and make good the result it longed for."

"The dissatisfied section⁽³⁾ were too apt to assert, as the true marks of real Christianity - of the Spirit's presence and power - certain approved forms of self-denial and methods of work-righteousness; and they were apt to arrive at these by what seemed to them the readiest means, as if, when they got these things to be required and to be complied with, they would then have real and satisfactory Christianity. Thus they too went astray with their own forms of externalism. And they deprived themselves, by so doing, of all durable in-

(1) The Ancient Catholic Church pp.121 ff.

(2) Ibid.p.135.

(3) Rainy 136.

fluence; for it could, with perfect truth and fairness be maintained against them, that no such yoke as they would impose had been laid by the Lord upon His Church."

These observations, bearing as they do upon tendencies which were at work throughout the Second Century, ⁽¹⁾ well illustrate the question with which we have been dealing. There was a tendency in the direction of ecclesiasticism and officialism. There was also a tendency, which was apt to show itself in times of comparative tranquility, when the Church,

in consideration of her increasing numbers and influence, was tempted to show an accommodating spirit, to relax the rigorous strictness with which she had hitherto accentuated the differences between Christians and their heathen neighbours. There

was a third tendency, in the direction of excessive austerity. The tendency of the ecclesiastical spirit was to mediate between the extremes of laxity on the one hand and of rigour on the other. It sought to do this in virtue of the authority with which the Church claimed to have been invested by Christ.

But the Church, in her effort to mediate between the two extremes, came to exercise her functions in such a manner as to awake in the minds of some the suspicion that she herself was growing lax and worldly. It also happened that, within the Church, there were not a few conservative persons who were inclined to look askance upon the well-meant efforts of those

(1) Baumgärtner, 73, 74.

who seemed to them to adopt new and unheard of methods in order to promote the revival which they sought.

The history of Montanism, like that of analogous movements since its days, illustrates the manner in which perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy revival movements may, through want of tact on the part of those in authority in the Church, be driven into active opposition to institutional religion, and then degenerate into mere fanaticism, injurious to the cause which they sought at first to serve.

The Christian Endeavour movement of Hermas was far from having reached that stage. It proceeded on Church lines. It recognised constituted authorities. The strict teachers of whom he speaks in the "Commands" were men of repute in the Church. So far from opposing himself to those in authority in the Christian community, he counted upon the sympathy and support of the office-bearers of the Congregation in Rome. He abhorred all that savoured of separation. For him, as for the strictest of ecclesiastics, repentance means restoration to Church privileges after submission to the Church's discipline. What he might have been had he been received with coldness, and his prophecies been treated as idle dreams, it might be hard to say. He might possibly have been driven to assume, like the Montanists, an attitude of protest or defiance. Such was not the experience of Hermas. His treatise long enjoyed the confidence of the Church, part of it - the

Commands - being prescribed for a catechetical manual, while not a few practices, adopted by the Church at a later period, may easily have been suggested by the "Shepherd."

Hermas was not a forerunner of the Montanists of the West. He proceeded on very different principles. Montanism, in all its forms, was of the nature of an extreme. But the author of the "Shepherd" was no extremist. On the contrary, he sought to mediate between the opposite tendencies which were prevalent in his time, towards laxity on the one side, and excessive severity on the other. It was, above all, his aim to persuade all parties in the Church, to return to that simplicity of faith and holiness of life which had distinguished the Apostles of Christ and the first generation of the disciples of the Master.

Chapter XI
PART VII.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHEPHERD.



(1) External Evidence.

1. The earliest reference to the "Shepherd" occurs in the Muratonian Fragment, where the writer is identified with Hermas, a brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. Referring to the Apocryphal writings, the Fragmentist says: "But the 'Shepherd', Hermas wrote very recently in our times, when his brother Pius occupied the Chair of the Church of the City of Rome, and therefore it ought indeed to be read, but never to be publicly used in the Church, either among the Prophets, whose number is complete, or among the Apostles."

(2)
2. From other sources we learn that there was a person named Hermas who was brother to Pius, and wrote a work, presumably of the nature of the Shepherd. Thus C. Marcius Victormus, author of "Poems against Marcion", who wrote in the Middle of the Fourth Century, refers to Hermas as brother of Pius, and describes him as "the Angelic Shepherd."

(3)
3. In the Chronicon Liberianum (A.D.354) we read: "Ermas, during the Episcopate of Pius, wrote a book in which is contained the commandment which the angel gave him, when he came to him in the guise of a Shepherd."

(1) Frag: Mur: No.73-80, see Gebhardt and Harnack, Hermae Pastor XLVII, n.l.
(2) See G. & H. LI; Carm: adv: Marc: IV. 294 (G.& H.LII, n.l.)
(3) L.C. LXII.

(1)

4. A letter, attributed to Pius himself, tells us that an Angel of the Lord appeared to Hermas in the form of a shepherd and instructed him that Easter should be celebrated on a Sunday.

5. To a similar effect are those notices of the Shepherd which occur in the Catalogus Felicianus, the Liber Pontificalis, and the ^{Acta} Sceta Sanctorum; but these are of little value as authorities, since they are all of later date, and all contain moreover that puzzling reference to the Paschal Controversy, to which there is not the faintest allusion in the book as it has come down to us. Some of them indeed, occurring as they do in doubtful catalogues of Roman bishops, and belonging to a period in which forgeries were becoming frequent, have the appearance of having been derived from a common source, such as the Chronicon Liberianum, or the letter of the pseudo Pius already mentioned.

The testimony of the Muratorian Fragment belongs to a different category and is not to be lightly set aside. It mentions the book in connection with its claim to Canonical authority, and the Fragmentist, while frankly expressing the opinion that it has no place in the Canon, has no doubt as to its date and authorship. The evidence of this writer, the date of whose work can be fixed at some period between 130 and 200 A.D., so clearly ascribes the

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- (1) I.c. LXI.
 (2) I.c. LXII.
 (3) Comp. Gaâb I.c.-18.
 (4) Comp. Brüll I.c. 21.

Shepherd to the period of the Episcopate of Pius, and to the pen of a brother of that bishop, is so circumstantial, and so consistent with what we find in the book itself, that only the strongest reasons would justify us in rejecting it. According to the testimony, the Shepherd belongs to a date between 139 and 154 A.D., a period during which Pius is known to have been Bishop of Rome, therefore to a date sufficiently near to that of the Fragmentist to justify the words "very recently in our times",
 (1)
 and yet sufficiently remote to account for the favour in which
 (2)
 the Shepherd was then held. The other evidences which we have quoted have value only so far as they point to the existence of an accepted tradition which identified the author with the brother of a Roman bishop, with a man therefore, whose reputation in the Church lent weight to his views on the Easter Controversy, long after his book had ceased to be in general use.

- 6. Irenaeus, (130-200) quotes as "Scripture" a passage from the Shepherd⁽³⁾ but without naming the author.
- 7. Clement of Alexandria (165-220) mentions Hermas three times by name, but says nothing as to his date.⁽⁴⁾
- 8. Origen, who seems to have been the first to identify the author of the Shepherd with Hermas to whom St. Paul sends a⁽⁵⁾

(1) Hefele Patr: Apist. XCVI No.2. Pfleiderer l.c.853.
 (2) Harnach Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur I 257f.
 (3) G.&H. I.c.XLV.
 (4) Id: LIII
 (5) Id. LIV.

salutation in Romans 16th, quotes the book as "Scripture".

(1)

9. Tertullian, writing (between 193 and 196) on the subject of posture in prayer, quotes the Shepherd as if he regards it as invested with a kind of Canonical authority.

On the other hand, the same writer in a later work, belonging to his Montanist period, speaks of the book with bitter contempt. "I would agree with you," he says, "if the writing of the Shepherd... had deserved to be stamped with the Divine Approval, instead of being reckoned by every Council of the Churches, even of your own, among Apocryphal and spurious works.But my opinion is derived from the Scriptures of that Shepherd which cannot be broken." The connection of this passage, however, suggests that Zephyrinus, to whom the words are addressed, may have appealed to the book in justification of his views on the subject of the Lapsed, which would imply that in his time the Shepherd was popular in Rome.

(2)

10. In the book De Aleatoribus, falsely attributed to Cyprian, and belonging to some period in the Third or Fourth Century, the Shepherd is quoted as divina Scriptura, and mentioned along with the writings of St. Paul.

(3)

11. Eusebius, in connection with his list of Canonical Scriptures, assigns to the Shepherd a place among the better class of

(1) Id. XLVII. Comp. XLIX quoting the passage De Pudicitia 10.

(2) G. & H. VIII.

(3) Id. LVI. LVII.

(1)

Apocryphal books. Here it is interesting to note that in the Sinaitic MS. it is found after the Apocalypse and the Epistle of Barnabas. That is, that as late as the Council of Nicaea (325) it was reckoned as part of the appendix to the Canonical writings, or, in other words, as a treatise which, though forming no part of the rule of faith, was regarded as profitable for the edification of the Church.

(2)

12. Athanasius offers no opinion as to the origin of the Shepherd, but quotes it as of quasi-Scriptural authority, and refers to it in terms of high praise, as a treatise used by the Church for the instruction of Catechumens.

(3)

13. Jerome has four references to the book, one of which shows that in his time the belief was current that the author was the Hermas mentioned in Ro.16.¹⁴.

(4)

14. Rufinus (410) refers to the Shepherd in these terms:

"Also the little book of Hermas, which is called that of the Shepherd, whom Paul mentions in his Epistles, has by most not been received, but it has been thought necessary in the interests of those who receive instruction in the first elements of the faith. Wherefore also it is read in some Churches, and many of the old writers have made use of its testimony. It

(1) G. & H. VIII.
(2) G. & H. LVIII.LIX.
(3) Id. LXIII.
(4) Id. LXIV note.

must be known, however, that there are other books also which have been called by those of former times not Canonical, but ecclesiastical. But there is, in the New Testament, the little book which is called that of the 'Shepherd', or of Hermas, entitled "The Two Ways," or "The Judgment of Peter". All which they desired to be read in Churches, but not adduced in proof of the doctrines of the faith. The other Scriptures, however, they called Apocryphal, which they would not suffer to be read in Churches."

These examples show, that from the time of Irenaeus to that of Augustine, that is, from the middle of the Second Century to the Fourth, the book was well known, and more or less used as an authority only inferior to the Canonical Scriptures. From them it also appears that at a comparatively early period its popularity began to decline, till the personality of its author, and latterly even the nature of its contents, came to be very much a matter of conjecture.

So far as concerns external evidence, our conclusions must be determined by the testimony of the Muratorian Fragment, and by the use made of the work by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian. Origen's opinion, that the author is the same Hermas to whom St. Paul sent greeting at the close of the Epistle to the Romans, might be accounted for by the feeling prevalent at the time that a work of such repute must

have been written by an Apostolic person. Thus, as the Epistle of Barnabas, a treatise in some respects similar to the Shepherd, was ascribed to the Apostle of that name, and held a place only slightly inferior to that of the Canonical Scriptures, it would seem natural to attribute the book which bore the name of Hermas to St. Paul's friend in Rome, and again, to account by that supposition for the reputation of the book. But the opinion of Origen was only conjectural, whereas the Fragmentist distinctly asserts that the Shepherd was the work of a brother of Pius, the date of whose episcopate was well known.

Internal Evidence.

Here we encounter difficulties, and have to deal with questions, the settlement of which must affect any judgment which we might be inclined to pronounce on the ground of external evidence alone. These questions arise in connection with the following points:-

1. The form of Church government which was known to the author.
2. Allusions in the Shepherd to the survival, in his time, of early preachers of the Gospel.
3. Statements as to the spread of the Gospel throughout the world.

4. The author's account of the degeneration of the Church.
5. References to persecutions.
6. References to controversies in the Church.
7. The author's conception of Christian doctrine.

(1)

1(a) We gather from the Shepherd that, in the time to which it refers, the Church was ruled by a body of office-bearers who are variously called 'Presbyters' (πρεσβυτέροι), 'Overseers' or 'Bishops' (ἐπίσκοποι), 'Teachers' (διδάκαλοι), or more generally, 'Leaders' (προηγούμενοι), 'Presidents,' (προιστάμενοι), 'Occupants of the Chief Seats,' (πρωτοκαθεδρίται), 'Pastors' (pastores).

To these office-bearers are attributed the exercise of government and discipline, and the care of strangers and the poor. Some of them appear to have engaged in the duties of preaching and teaching, but this branch of work is spoken of in such a way as to suggest that there were teachers who did not belong to the body of Presbyters, but acted under their instructions.

Under the leading office-bearers were the Deacons, charged with the financial affairs of the congregation, and in particular

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- (1) Baumgärtner l.c.61; Dorner, l.c.I.186; Allen, Christian Institutions 54-86; Zahn, l.c.98 ff.
- (2) Ramsay - The Church and the Roman Empire 368.

with the duty of ministering to the wants of the poor.

But, though lists of office-bearers are given, they are mentioned in a general way, without classification, and with no distinct definition of the duties of each order. Nothing is said of the three-fold division of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. In two passages Presbyters only are mentioned, that in which Hermas is asked whether he has communicated the revelation to the Elders of the Church, and that in which, in answer to the command of the Woman to take his seat on the Bench beside her, he says: "Let the Elders first be seated."⁽¹⁾

The lists of office-bearers are these, (1) Apostles, Overseers (bishops), Teachers and Deacons; (2) Prophets and Deacons; (3) Apostles and Teachers. In other places Overseers and Deacons are mentioned separately.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾⁽⁴⁾⁽⁵⁾

"Certain teachers"⁽⁶⁾, whose functions and authority are not explained, are quoted as holding strict views on the subject of Repentance.

Again, the False Prophet of the Eleventh Command is represented as sitting on a 'chair', the word used being Cathedra, which is

- (1) Vis: III.1,8.
- (2) Vis: III.5,1.
- (3) Sim: IX.15,4; 16,5.
- (4) Sim: IX.25,2.
- (5) Sim: IX.26,2.
- (6) Mand:IV. 3,1.

commonly associated with the authority of the presiding Presbyter, but is here employed in connection with an impostor.

In the Third Vision a warning is addressed to "the leaders" of the Church, ~~and~~ "the occupants of the chief seats"; the officials so described being asked: "How can ye, who cannot rule yourselves, exercise discipline over the Elect of God?"

The singularly indefinite terms in which the ^{rulers} rules of the Church are described, suggest the conclusion that Hermas wrote at a time when, in Rome at least, the question of orders was still treated as a matter of subordinate importance. 'Presbyter' and 'Bishop' are used almost as synonymous terms. The special office assigned in the Ninth Similitude to Bishops, is the care of the widows and the destitute, and they are very honourably mentioned in that connection. But their rank and functions are nowhere differentiated from those of their Presbyters. The duties which are assigned to them, and the virtues for which they are commended, are those referred to in Timothy, with this exception, that the work of teaching, of which St. Paul speaks, is not associated with bishops or presbyters as such. Further, Hermas recognises no one presbyter as being, in virtue of his office, president over his colleagues. Where reference is made to distinctions of rank, it is always in connection with warnings

(1) Vis: III.9,7.

(2) Ritchl. 1.c.403: G. & H. Past. Herm: LXXXI.

against ambition.

Some scholars see in these points indications of a very early date. Others, again, who believe that the author was acquainted with Montanist views, see in them merely ^a proof that he describes the constitution of the Roman Church, not as it was in his own time, but as it had been before the Monarchical Episcopate was introduced in the West.

All that we can gather is that Hermas treated the question of orders as one of small moment. At the same time, we are naturally led to ask, why did he so regard it? How are we to account for an indifference which contrasts so strongly with the sentiments of Ignatius, and even of Irenaeus? Does it mean only that, in his anxiety to draw attention to matters which he considered of urgent importance to the spiritual welfare of the Church, he was tempted to ignore those points which the vanity of ambitious Churchmen treated as of supreme consequence? Such questions can be satisfactorily dealt with, by reference, not only to those data which have been mentioned, but to other points also, which a study of the Shepherd suggests.

(a) Another aspect of the question is suggested by the celebrated passage in the Second Vision, in ⁽¹⁾ which Hermas is instructed to give a copy of his revelation to Clement, for communication to "foreign cities", where the words are added: "for that is his province". If the person referred to is the well-known Clement

(1) Vis:II.4,3.

of Rome, it is obvious, either that he was a contemporary of the writer, or that the latter sought, for some reason or other, by a literary artifice, to conceal his own identity, and thus referred to Clement as if he were a contemporary.

Then again, the words "for that is his province", seem calculated to remind us that the duty of corresponding with other Churches was often, in the Roman Community, assigned to the Bishop, or President of the College of Presbyters. This of itself is enough to account for the readiness with which commentators have identified the Clement mentioned by Hermas with the writer of the Epistle which bears his name. Plausible reasons might be assigned for so identifying him. Clement of Rome wrote an important Epistle to the Church of Corinth, in which, in virtue of the authority with which he was invested, he exhorted the Corinthian community to refrain from envyings and dissensions. It is argued that he wrote as the recognised head of the Roman Church, just as the Apostles had addressed such exhortations, in Epistles to Christian communities founded by them, or which sought their advice. Thus the words "for that is his province" are taken to refer to the authority ascribed to Clement of Rome, and to the manner in which he exercised it. As Clement, in his official capacity, wrote that letter to the Corinthian Church, it was fitting that the revelation which Hermas

(1) Zahn, l.c. 41-47; G. & H. Hermae Past. 26, n.2; Harnack, Chronologie I 265, 266 Comp. Ramsay, l.c. 365.

received, not only for the Church in Rome, but for other Churches as well, should be communicated to the latter by Clement.

The date of Clement's Episcopate is, of course, well known, and if Hermas was his contemporary, the Shepherd could not have been written later than about the close of the First Century.

On the other hand, in the absence of clear, concurrent testimony, pointing to the time of Clement of Rome as the date of the revelation of Hermas, or as the period to which it relates, the mention, in an isolated passage of that book, of a name so common as Clement, coupled as it is with the name of Grapte, a woman of whom we know nothing, is a very insufficient ground for a conclusion as to the date of the Shepherd.

2. More convincing arguments for an early date are those which are based upon allusions to the survival of Apostolic men at the period to which the revelation refers. It is noted in (1) the Third Vision, that, of the Apostles and Teachers of the Word represented by the best stones of the tower, some were still alive: "These are the Apostles and Bishops and deacons, who walked according to the holiness of God, and exercised the office of oversight, and taught and ministered chastely and holily unto the elect of God. Of these some have fallen asleep, but some still survive." Here the Apostles and their successors, including various classes of office-bearers, are spoken of, but nothing is said about their number. Again, the Ninth Similitude (2)

(1) Vis. III. 5,1.

(2) Sim. IX. 15,4.

describes, next to the saints of Old Testament times, who are represented by the first three courses in the tower, a fourth class, which includes the earliest members of the Christian Church. These are explained to be "Apostles and Teachers of the preaching of the Son of God", and in a subsequent chapter we read that they, "having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to those who had departed aforetime, and themselves gave them the seal of their preaching."

(1)

These New Testament saints are represented as forty in number. They are described in language closely similar to that of the passage above quoted from the Third Vision, but with these differences, that in the Vision they include Apóstles, Bishops, and Deacons, while the Similitude names only Apostles and Teachers; and again, that in the Vision some are said to be still alive, whereas the Similitude describes all as having fallen asleep.

Now, since the tower of the Vision is the same as that of the Similitude, we naturally infer that the Apostles, Bishops, and Deacons mentioned in the former, are identical with the Apostles and Teachers referred to by the latter. But in that case, there is this inconsistency between the two representations, that, according to the Similitude, there are no survivors of the Apostolic men. The discrepancy would, however, disappear, if we could accept the theory that the description in the Similitude is a revised edition of that of the Vision, brought up to date, and that there was a considerable interval between the time when the Third Vision

(1) Cf. Baumgärtner l.c. 57, 58.

was written, and that when Hermas recorded the supplementary revelation. Certainly the natural interpretation of the reference, in the Ninth Similitude, to the Apostolic men is, that they all had passed away, and is, therefore, inconsistent with the view that the Shepherd, in its present form, appeared so early as the beginning of the Second Century.

3. A very important consideration, bearing upon the question of date, appears in the statement of the Eighth Similitude, ⁽¹⁾ that the Gospel had already been preached throughout the world. This is the interpretation offered of what the prophet saw in the vision - a vast multitude, but of every nation under heaven, gathered beneath the shade of the Great Willow Tree. To the same effect is the interpretation of the Twelve Mountains of the Ninth Similitude. These mountains, from which the stones used in the building of the tower are quarried, are explained as signifying, not the tribes of Israel, but all the nations of the world. ⁽²⁾ In these allusions Baumgärtner detects a note of triumph, which would be singularly out of keeping with the condition of things at the close of the First Century, or at the beginning of the reign of Trajan; though the same note of triumph was sounded by Justin and Irenaeus, and especially by Tertullian, who, in the middle of the Second Century, confidently asserted the world-wide diffusion of Christianity.

(1) Sim: VIII.1; Comp. IX.17.

(2) l.c. 59.

Now, though we can hardly admit that Baumgärtner's expression, 'a note of triumph,' is consistent with anything that we find in the Shepherd, the avowed object of which is to warn the Church of her weakness, still, the way in which the author speaks of the diffusion of the Gospel in his time has a significance of its own. Instead of making a claim, in the exaggerated, rhetorical style of Tertullian, Hermas makes a simple statement, in the quiet tone of a man who is confident that what he says is not open to question, and in this we have a strong argument for a late date.

4. Another argument in the same direction is founded upon the account which the author gives of the degenerate condition of the Church. It is, indeed, possible to overestimate the significance of his language in referring to this, and we ought to remember that reformers are generally in the way of depicting in the darkest colours the evils which they seek to remedy. Still, when we have made due allowance for this, we must admit that the condition of the Church as Hermas describes it, was such as we cannot associate with the beginning of the reign of Trajan. The degeneration of which he speaks, has all the appearance of being the result of a process which has been going on for a considerable time. The brief interval of security enjoyed by the Church under Nerva would not allow time enough for the extensive growth of the worldly spirit which our author describes. He speaks of an evil of long standing. He takes occasion to contrast the inconsistencies of Christians of his own time, with the simplicity and

earnestness which characterised believers in former days. He describes primitive Christianity as if he were looking back through an atmosphere which softens and mellows the past, and one can hardly believe that the period which he thus idealises, ended only a year or two before the date of his visions. Again, the early date assigned to the Shepherd by Gaßb and Zahn, does not harmonise with what it says of that gradual fading away of the Church's expectation of the near approach of the Second Advent, to which, in great measure, it attributes the spiritual declension of which the prophet complains. It is difficult to imagine that that explanation, so fondly cherished by the Church, should have so far faded from the minds of people who were nearly contemporaries of the earliest believers, that Hermas should have found it necessary to remind them of its importance to the vitality of their faith, and, in that connection, to reiterate the assurance of the Apostles that the Day of the Lord was at hand.

4. Another important element in the case, is that of the persecutions referred to in the revelation. ⁽¹⁾ One great persecution to which allusion is made in the Third Vision, is easily identified. When we read that, among those whose faithfulness entitled them to a seat on the right hand side of the Bench, are those who, "for the 'name'", had endured "stripes, imprisonments, grievous tortures, crosses, wild beasts," we recognise the characteristics of the persecution under Nero. The martyrs referred to are those

(1) Brühl l.c.22; Zahn l.c.238; Hilgenfeld Apost Väter 159; Friedlander l.c.504ff; Boissier La Religion Romaine I.267, 388.

of the heroic age of the Church, and their sufferings are noted as typical examples of what Christians endured in the past, and may be called to endure in the future.

(1)

But other persecutions are alluded to, under one of which we learn that Hermas himself suffered. Its leading features appear to have been the encouragement of informers, and the penalty of confiscation imposed upon those who confessed Christ. These were peculiarly characteristic of the persecution under Domitian, who sought in this way to enrich the Imperial exchequer. Hermas speaks of this persecution as a past event, but without indicating what interval elapsed between the time when he suffered under it, and the date of his revelations. This we gather, that the interval was long enough to give him the opportunity of so far retrieving his fortunes, that he had established himself as a fairly well-to-do farmer; and, further, that the Church enjoyed sufficient rest from active persecution to let her forget her past trials, and to

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enable her members to acquire wealth, and cultivate friendly relations with their heathen neighbours. The reign of Nerva was too short to allow time for all this. Then Hermas seems to refer

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to a persecution, later than that under which he suffered, and one conducted on different lines. During those later troubles, many Christians proved unfaithful. Some renounced the faith, and blasphemed the name of Christ, but those cases were not numerous.

(1) Vis.3. (2) Sim. I.
(2) Vis: II.3,4; Sim.VIII 3,7;8,4;IX 26,3,5,6. c28,4,7,8.

The persecution was so conducted as to give Christians an opportunity of dissembling their faith. Of these milder forms of denial, instances are given, in which that act of cowardice is associated with idolatry. Moreover, we gather that during this persecution, the Church was no longer exposed to danger at the hands of informers, for it was now possible for Christians and Pagans to live together in comparative harmony. These points suggest the conditions which prevailed in the time of Trajan, whose celebrated Rescript, while it treated the mere profession of Christianity as a capital offence, forbade all inquisitorial methods of dealing with suspected persons; and instructed magistrates to content themselves with exacting a simple denial of Christ, followed by an act of worship of the gods, which might consist of the mere sprinkling of a few grains of incense on the altar of the Emperor. In these circumstances it was easy for the magistrate to evade the duty of enquiry, and for the Christian to dissemble his faith. Allusions in the Shepherd indicate that a persecution of this description had already been experienced. The First Similitude illustrates the general grounds upon which the Emperors treated Christianity as an unlawful religion. They looked upon it as a form of treason, and punished the profession of it as such. Thus we read that "the Lord of this State" may at any moment enforce the law, which has been enacted and never re-

pealed.

Again we are reminded of the persecution under Trajan by the frequent⁽¹⁾ use in this book of the expressions "the Name", "being ashamed of the Name," denial of the Name."

Persecution of this kind was naturally intermittent,⁽²⁾ and allowed of seasons of respite. There is therefore, nothing inherently improbable in the supposition, that Hermas wrote either after the death of Trajan, or at some period of his reign when the Church was already familiar with the methods of procedure sanctioned by that Emperor in dealing with Christians, but when there was practically no persecution. What gives probability to such a view is the way in which the author speaks of the risk to which believers are exposed, in the event of the law being enforced, and Christians being faced with the alternative of confession or denial.

It is argued by Brüll, that the Shepherd appeared at the close of a long period of peace, probably that of the mild reign of Antoninus Pius, and immediately before the outbreak of the Great Persecution which marked the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and which would thus correspond to the "great tribulation" which Hermas apprehended as imminent. But this sup-

(1) Vis. III.1,9, et al.

(2) Boissier, La Fin du Paganisme, I,403 ff.

position assumes, that the searching trial spoken of in the Fourth Vision means persecution - an assumption which there is nothing in that Vision to justify.

All that can be reasonably inferred, then, from allusions to persecutions, amounts to this, that the Shepherd appeared at one of those periods, during which, as was not infrequently the case, the Church enjoyed a season of comparative tranquillity.

5. Though by no means a doctrinal work, the Shepherd contains references to speculations and controversies current at the time of the writer.

(a) Some of these have been supposed to allude to the views of the earlier Gnostic Schools. Thus the Third Vision⁽¹⁾ speaks of those who wandered from the way, and, by reason of their double-mindedness, imagined that they had found some better way. A warning appears in the Fifth Similitude⁽²⁾ against the error of those who believe that because the body is perishable it is a light thing to defile the flesh. An express reference to false teachers occurs in the Eighth Similitude,⁽³⁾ where we read: "These were hypocrites, and perverted the servants of God, but especially those who had sinned, not suffering them to repent, but persuading them by their foolish doctrines.

(1) Vis.III.7. comp. Ritschl l.c.288; Baumgärtner, Einheit d. Hermasbuchs, 74; Nitzsch, l.c.I.113; Buill, l.c.17.

(2) Sim.V.7,1.

(3) Sim.VIII.6,5.

Again, the Ninth⁽¹⁾ describes two kinds of false teachers:

(1) Teachers of wickedness, who, led by the desire of gain, played the hypocrite and taught according to the lusts of sinful men, and, (2) those who were really believers, but slow to learn; also self-pleasers, who desired to know everything, though in reality they knew nothing at all.

The False Prophet⁽²⁾ of the Eleventh Command, as we have seen, is a heathen impostor, of a type which it is not easy to identify.

Lastly, we find in the Third⁽³⁾ Vision and the Eighth Similitude, certain persons described as being separatist or schismatical, "not cleaving unto the saints."

Some of the above allusions suggest reminiscences of well-known Gnostic ideas, especially that of the importance of "knowledge." (*gnōsis*) from which the Gnostics derived their name. A frequent characteristic of those theorists was the practice of teaching for gain, to which one of the references above quoted seems to allude.

Again, many of them held lax views on the subject of

(1) Sim. IX.19,2;22.

(2) Harnack, Hist. of Dogma (Eng.trans.)I,238, comp. Pfeleiderer, l.c.854; Brill 17.

(3) Vis.III.6,2; Sim.VIII,1. comp. Harnack, Hist. of Dogma (Eng.trans.) I.250.

morality, based sometimes upon the theory of the essential evil inherent in matter, and the perishable nature of the body; sometimes upon light opinions regarding sin and repentance. All these features were more or less characteristic of the Gnostic tendency, which appeared at a very early period in the history of the Church.

On the other hand, even where we find the nearest approach to a description of Gnostic opinions, the Shepherd contains no allusion to those distinctive theories which the Church found herself in process of time obliged to denounce as heretical. There is no reference⁽¹⁾ to theories of the Origin of Evil, of the Demiurge, or of Aeons, Emanations, Syzygies and so forth, characteristic of Gnosticism properly so-called. And, what is still more remarkable, with the single exception of the impostor, described in the Eleventh Command, Hermas does not deny, to the mistaken teachers and their followers to whom he refers, the name of believers. On the contrary, he admits⁽²⁾ that they are open to the influence of sound doctrine, and describes some of them as repenting of their errors under the preaching of the Angel of Repentance.

Hermas could not have taken this charitable view of Gnostic teaching, in the form which it assumed between 140 and

(1) Zahn 302; Gaab, 106.

(2) Sim. VIII.6,5; IX.19,2.

145 A.D., though one could quite easily understand that he might have done so at a time when Gnosticism was known chiefly as a tendency,⁽¹⁾ or when vague conceptions of a Gnostic type were beginning to crystallise and assume something like a definite shape. This would be quite compatible with the opinion that the Shepherd appeared just before the beginning of the controversy with Marcion, i.e. about 140 A.D. What makes this the more likely is the fact that Hermas shows no interest in philosophical or theological speculation. Gnostic thinkers may have theorised long before it occurred to him to inquire into their views. If their speculations, however, had in his time become so well known that the Church recognised the necessity of controverting them, he could not have failed to warn his readers of their danger. But so long as Gnosticism existed chiefly as a tendency he could deal with it only in the most general way.

The False Prophet of the Eleventh Command belongs to a different class. He is a heathen impostor, pure and simple.

(b) The opinion expressed by the Shepherd in the Fourth Command⁽²⁾, on the subject of strict views on repentance attributed to "certain teachers", is, by some scholars, supposed to refer to the friendly attitude which the Church at one time adopted in her relations with the Montanist movement.

(1) Harnack, *Chronologie*, I.258 f. note 1.

(2) *Mand.* IV.3,1; *Bull.* I.c.55 ff.

Thus Brüll suggests that the Shepherd represents the views of Bishop Pius, brother to Hermas.

According to this supposition, Hermas here alludes to genuine Montanism, which, in that case, must have already spread as far as Rome, though it would appear to have been confined to the "certain teachers" of whom he speaks in this passage, and who are identified by Brüll with the presbyters Florinus and Blastus. But this would bring the date of the Shepherd to a period considerably later than A.D.156, the date commonly assigned for the commencement of the career of Montanus as a prophet. And this again would involve the strange inconsistency, that Hermas was acquainted with the views of Montanus and his followers in Rome, and yet ignorant of the fact that Gnosticism, which he was not prepared to consider a distinct heresy, was already regarded by the Church as a source of serious danger to the cause of Christianity. If, therefore, Brüll's theory is to any extent justified, it can only be so far as this, that, as the Gnostic spirit was prevalent long before the Gnostic teachers were recognised as heretical, so there were Montanists before Montanus. We gather this from history.

Montanism, in fact, represents, in an extreme form, one of two distinct streams of tendency which exerted their influence for a long time during the Second Century: (1) One of these⁽¹⁾ showed itself in the appearance, early in that

(1) Harnack, Chronologie, I.266,267.n.

Uxai

century, of the Book of ~~Uxai~~, the other, in that reaction in favour of ascetic strictness which culminated in Montanism. The worldly spirit which, at the beginning of the Second Century, prevailed in all Christian communities, among Uionites as well as among Catholics, together with the frequency of cases of declension, led to the appearance of the Uionite Book of Uxai. This book, published in the third year of the reign of Trajan, contained a revelation which was said to have been made to a man named ~~Uxai~~ ^{Uxai} by an angel of gigantic stature. Its aim, like that of the Shepherd, was practical, and its principal feature was a proclamation, supposed to have been revealed by Christ Himself, offering the remission of sins committed after baptism. Such remission was imparted through that rite, which might, according to the revelation, be repeatedly administered. The appearance of the book seems to have indicated the prevalence, at the time, of a spirit of laxity, to counteract which various expedients were devised. The ^{Uionites} ~~Uionites~~, as represented by the book of ^{Uxai} ~~Uxai~~, tried a method of accommodation. Recognising the inherent frailty of man, and the consequent need of altering the law which forbade the repetition of baptism, they made that ordinance, which carried with it the remission of sin, available at any time for the restoration of backsliders.

(2) The other tendency was to deal with the evil by reviving and enforcing the strictest rules of discipline, and adopting

the most severe measures in the case of the lapsed.

These streams of tendency⁽¹⁾ prevailed from the beginning of the Second Century down to the period of the Montanist Controversy. It has been argued that the Shepherd must have appeared at some stage in the history of this twofold tendency. Its aim was to follow a middle course. As Baumgärtner puts it, Hermas "takes the two streams of tendency and unites in himself that which leads towards a relaxation of the old strictness, with that which leads in the direction of a reaction against laxity." According to this view, the point to be settled is at what stage the mediating effort was made. It might reasonably be inferred, from the similarity of the strict teaching of which Hermas speaks, to that of the "New Prophecy", that it was made not very long before the first emergence of the Montanist movement, or as near as possible to the date assigned to the Shepherd by the Muratorian Canon. The book would thus have been written about 140 A.D. A later date, as we have seen, is inconsistent with the vagueness of its allusions to Gnostic theories.

6. The last point to be considered in dealing with the question of date is that which concerns the doctrinal position of the author.

(a) Referring to the first⁽²⁾ article of the Creed, the

(1) Baumgärtner, *Einheit des Hermasbuchs*, 73, 74.

(2) *Mand. I.1.*

Shepherd lays strong emphasis upon the Unity of God, as the supreme object of faith. God, the Creator of the Universe, formed all things out of nothing. He created⁽¹⁾ the world for the sake of the Church. He is the God of infinite holiness and goodness, grace and mercy.

(b) With regard to the Person and work of Christ, Hermas wrote at a time when Doketism had ceased to have influence in the Church. He makes much of the Humanity⁽²⁾ of Christ. Though the term "Logos" does not occur in the Shepherd, the essential features of the Logos doctrine are suggested by the author's use of such terms as "Law" (νόμος) and "Spirit" (πνεῦμα) in connexion with the indwelling of Christ in the heart of the believer, and by indications of his familiarity with the Johannine⁽³⁾ writings. Like most early writers, Hermas lays stress upon the Incarnation rather than upon the Atonement, as the object of Christian faith. He distinguishes between the offices of Christ as Revealer of the Father and Mediator between God and man, and the ministry of the Holy Spirit, to whom he ascribes the work of applying to believers the benefits of Redemption.

(c) A very singular feature of the Shepherd is its silence on the subject of the Eucharist, in this matter presenting a remarkable contrast to other writings of the Second Century, in which a strong Sacramentarian tendency showed itself, from the time of Ignatius onwards. This is the more

(1) Vis. I. 1, 6; II. 4, 1; III. 3, 5.

(2) Sim. V. esp. cc. 5, 6.

(3) Sim. IX, passim.

striking, that Hermas attributes an almost magical efficacy to the rite of Baptism, his language on this subject suggesting a late stage in the development of the doctrine of the Sacraments.

On this point, however, his teaching is so anomalous that no definite conclusion as to date can safely be based upon his utterances on the subject.

(d) Some remarkable evidences in favour of a late date, are found in connexion with questions affecting the daily life of believers. Thus in the Fifth Similitude Hermas represents himself as saying, in answer to a question of the Shepherd: "I am keeping Station," and as finding it necessary to tell his interlocutor what that expression means. This is the earliest reference to the system of "stationes jejunii", "stations of fasting", or fixed periods of abstinence from food, Wednesday and Friday of each week being set apart for the exercise; and it is the first instance on record of the use of statio as a technical term. It is common in the writings of Tertullian, but before his time it occurs only in this passage in the Shepherd. Further, Hermas uses the word in such a way as clearly to indicate that he is referring to a practice already well known, at least in the Roman Church, and it is only the question put by the Shepherd that leads him to explain what he means by the word "station."⁽¹⁾

(1) G. and H., 142 note ad loc. Sim.V.1,2.

Then the Shepherd himself, still treating the word as if it related to a new institution, bids Hermas and the Church be careful to make their practice serve a profitable purpose. At what period stationes were introduced we have no means of deciding with any certainty; but the fact that they are unnoticed by any writer between Hermas and Tertullian, suggests that a comparatively short interval must have elapsed between the time when the former could refer to them as a recognised custom in Rome, and the time of Tertullian, when they had become general in the Church. And that again adds to the probability that, when the Shepherd was written, the ascetic tendency which led to Montanist extremes, had already begun to influence the Church in Rome.

Another passage in the same Similitude, which appears to refer to the doctrine of Works of Supererogation, points to the same conclusion. There the Shepherd, after reminding Hermas that what God has ordained is not fasting, but simple obedience to "what is written", says that God will not only accept extra service at the hands of the faithful, but show them special favour on account of it. Further, the obvious moral of the parable which the Shepherd put forth to illustrate his meaning, is that such service is exceptionally meritorious in God's sight. The Faithful Servant received special honour, because he did more than his master commanded, and was still more highly honoured because he shared with his fellow-servants

the reward bestowed upon him for that extra service. Here are clearly suggested the beginnings of the doctrine of Works of Supererogation, which did not appear in the earlier ages of Christianity, but in later times, when legalist notions of merit tended to obscure the apostolic view of grace and works.

(e) The allusions in the Shepherd to the treatment of the Lapsed, and of those backsliders whose repentance was imperfect or too long delayed, point in the same direction. Thus we read in the Third Vision, ⁽¹⁾ of certain stones which lie beside the tower and which, though they must be subjected to careful trial at the hands of the builders, may after all find no place in the structure. The reference is to those who must undergo discipline on account of backsliding. Of some of them it is observed that they shall yet be restored, and obtain mercy of God, though they shall not be admitted to the tower, but to "a far inferior place." This place is again referred to in the Eighth Similitude where we read of those believers who are appointed to be sent to "the Walls", ⁽²⁾ by which it would seem we are to understand a sort of outer court, a position near the tower but outside it - a position intermediate between that of complete restoration, and that of total rejection from the favour of God. Corresponding to these statements, are those passages in the Sixth and Seventh ⁽³⁾ Similitudes which suggest a doctrine of Penance, and which distinctly teach, that in every case repentance must be followed

(1) Vis. III. 7, 5, 6.

(2) Sim. VIII. 2, 5; 6, 6; 7, 3; 8, 3.

(3) Sim. VI 2, 3, 4, 5; Sim. vii. comp. Rothe, Anfänge, 611. Brüll, 13.

by discipline, exactly proportioned to the degree of guilt. In these passages Catholic writers find evidence of a doctrine of Purgatory also. It may be urged, that the strongest expressions used in them are insufficient to warrant such a conclusion, but at the same time, they tend to show, that, at the time, they were written, ^{that} ~~that~~ severe discipline had begun to be enforced, which was reduced in the Third Century to a regular system, and out of which the theory was developed upon which the doctrine of Purgatory was based. If the expressions used by Hermas, "sharp trials", "a far inferior place," and the like, do not in themselves involve an acceptance of that doctrine on the part of the author, they at least so strongly remind us of the stern ⁽¹⁾ discipline to which, in the Third Century, the Lapsed were subjected by the Church, as to go very far to justify the conclusion that the Shepherd must have appeared at a time when there was already a strong tendency in that direction, or, in other words, at a date near the middle, rather than at the beginning, of the Second Century.

Internal evidence, therefore, tends on the whole to confirm the testimony of the Muratorian Fragment, and we are justified in concluding that, while the book may have been the first of a succession of prophetic studies extending over a period of from twenty to five and twenty years, it was published in its final form about 140 A.D.

(1) Bingham, Origines Ecclesiasticae, Bk. xviii Vol. VI. pp. 445 ff.

HERMAS AND ARCADIA.

In an interesting essay by Professor J. Rendel Harris, entitled "Hermas and Arcadia", additional evidence as to date has been offered in connexion with the journey of Hermas to that country, as described in the Ninth⁽¹⁾ Similitude. Dealing with the question whether we have here to deal with fact or fiction, Dr. Rendel Harris notes the following points, which for convenience we shall take in this order:-

(1) The significance of Arcadia in the religious thought of the time.

(2) The correspondence between the account given in the Shepherd of the scene of the revelation in the Similitude and the topography of Arcadia.

(3) The question whether Hermas derives his description from personal knowledge or from the accounts of other writers.

(1) Dr. Rendel Harris points out that there would be peculiar appropriateness in making a plain in Arcadia the scene of a Similitude like this. It was described by ancient tradition as a country specially favoured by the gods. It was regarded as a terrestrial paradise. Its highest hill, Mount Kyllene, was fabled to be, like the Vale of Avalon of English legend, a halcyon region, unvisited by cloud or wind. Its people boasted of their ancient origin, having been settled in the country before the moon, and called themselves for that

(1) c.1.4.

reason, Proselenoi.

The Arcadians of legendary history were a primitive and virtuous people, dear to gods and men, and celebrated for their hospitable disposition and love for their fellow-men. Arcadia, situated in the heart of the Peloponnesus, ringed round by the other Dorian countries, Laconia, Argolis, Achaea, Elis, and Messenia, and defended by mountain ridges on every side, was celebrated by the poets as an ideal region. Early Christian writers appear to have been influenced by the same sentiment. Thus a passage occurs in the homily called the Second Epistle of Clement, which seems to claim the Christian Church⁽¹⁾ as the true Arcadia.

(2) Though there is no plain in that district exactly corresponding to the scene described by Hermas, the Plain of Orchomenos, from which rises, immediately from the low ground, the mountain of the same name, and the other summits grouped around would easily suggest the picture presented by the Similitude.

This latter, Dr. Rendel Harris considers as corresponding to the round topped hill on which Hermas represents himself as standing with the Shepherd. Mount Trachy he has no hesitation about identifying with the Fifth of the encircling Twelve. Hermas, referring to it, calls it "rough" and though we have

(1) 2 Clem: c.14. Rendel Harris, 6.

no means of determining whether he uses that word as an adjective or as the name of the mountain, the way in which he repeats the expression, coupled with the fact that this particular hill, Mount Trachy, was so called on account of its ruggedness - "Mount Rough" - increases the probability of the author's having been familiar with the district. So too the Ninth Mountain is identified with Mount Sepia, so called from the deadly viper 'seps' (σῆψ) which infested it, and which, according to an old tradition caused the death of the Arcadian King Aepytus when hunting on that mountain. Then in name, character, and situation, Mount Skiathis answers to the description of the Tenth Mountain, the umbrageous hill of the Similitude.

In addition to these identifications, Dr. Rendel Harris quotes with approval the suggestion of ^{Dean} ~~Professor~~ Armitage Robinson in his notes on the Essay, that we have, in Mount Knakalos and Mount Trikrena, the Third and the Eighth Mountains respectively. The name of the former, derived from the Doric form of 'knekos' (κνῆκος) a kind of thistle, suits the description in the Shepherd - a mountain full of thorns and briars. That of the latter was, according to popular opinion, derived from the wells with which the mountain abounds, and in one of which the god Hermes was said to have been bathed after his birth by the nymphs who tended him, corresponds to the description of the Eighth Mountain, "full of water springs."

(3) The question here meets us: From what source did Hermas get his information? A comparison of the "Arcadia" of

Pausanias suggests at once that the account in the Shepherd was based upon that work. But this would involve the necessity of bringing down the date of the Shepherd to a period much later than 140 A.D., which would be inconsistent with other circumstances, which, as we have already seen, must be taken into account, for example that of allusions to heresies in the book. Further, Pausanias himself had the reputation of borrowing from other authorities, and we have no means of determining what accounts of the region in question may have been in existence at the time when the "Arcadia" was written. Dr. Rendel Harris, in his note in the supplement, referring to the suggestions of Dr. Armitage Robinson, abandons the view that Hermas borrowed from Pausanias, and accepts that scholar's theory that the author of the Shepherd was an Arcadian by birth, and thus acquainted with the topography of his native country. This conclusion is justified by the description, in the Ninth Similitude, of the building of a Cyclopean tower. No mortar is used in the structure. The stones of the lowest course are only ten in number, ^{and} consequently are of immense size. Of the other blocks used in the building, a great number require no cutting; they are unhewn as in those primitive structures. That and the Shepherd's explanation⁽¹⁾ of the use of the fragments left after he has dealt with defective stones, trimming off inequalities, and removing faulty portions,

(1) Sim. IX.7.4.

agrees with the account which Pausanias gives of the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns.

So Dr. Rendel Harris says: "He tells us⁽¹⁾ that these walls are made of unwrought stones, of such a size that a team of mules would not be able to shake even the smallest ones; and that smaller stones than these are fitted into the interstices of the larger ones, so as to produce the closest union between them."

Now Cyclopean remains are found in a number of places in the Peloponnesus. Such remains occur on the Hill of Orchomenos. Then the tower built over the gate recalls the celebrated Gate of the Lions of Mykenae, in the adjoining territory of Argolis, and the gate of ~~Syene~~^{Lycosura} described by Curtius: "a gate with a projecting tower." If Hermas belonged to this country, and his childhood was spent in the neighbourhood of such relics, his visions and revelations would be suggested or influenced by reminiscences of them.

Again, the name Hermas is another form of that of the god Hermes, and was common in Arcadia: and it is probable that our author was, from his earliest years, familiar with the legend of the god whose name he bore; ^{thus} and we can understand

(1) l.c.14.

how the many fountained hill where Hermes was bathed by the nymphs would have a place in the imagery of his vision.

It is further suggested that, as ⁽¹⁾Arcadian slaves were generally sold in pairs, Hermas may have been sent to Rome along with a brother, and that this was no other than Pius, who was Bishop of Rome at the time that the Shepherd of Hermas appeared. Whatever may be said of this, it seems sufficient to rest content with the belief that the author of the Shepherd was an Arcadian, and so far influenced by early memories as to have found the scene of his final Vision of the City of God in the neighbourhood of the home of his childhood.

The theory of Zahn, ⁽²⁾ according to which, instead of 'Arcadia', we should read 'Aricia', is ingenious, and that writer succeeds in showing remarkable points of correspondence between the description given by Hermas and the configuration of the country in the Alban district; Monte Cavo, for example, having many points of resemblance to the hill on which the tower was built.

But these points are not clear enough to justify the alteration of the text proposed by Zahn. There is no call for such an emendation. It is safer, therefore, to seek reasons why Arcadia was taken by a man like Hermas as the scene of the

(1) l.c.20.

(2) l.c.pp.211,218.

revelations. Then again, as the Similitude designedly recalls the Third Vision, in which the building of the tower is first spoken of, and at the beginning of which Hermas says that he was borne by the Spirit to the scene of the revelation, it is reasonable to suppose that the Shepherd, that supernatural angelic being who communicated the revelation, should, in the present case, be represented as transporting the seer to a distant country. And no place more appropriate could be chosen than a spot in Arcadia, recognised alike by heathen mythology and by Christian sentiment as an emblem of heaven upon earth.

Chapter XII
PART VIII

REFERENCES TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE
SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

REFERENCES TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

A notable feature of the Shepherd is its lack of distinct references to Scripture. The only direct allusion to other writings is a reference to an apocryphal book which has not come down to us, - the "Prophecy of Eldad and Modad". Nevertheless the author shows some acquaintance with the New Testament Scriptures, though his allusions are, for the most part, hard to identify. His method of using his authorities has been thus described:⁽¹⁾ - "He allegorises, he disintegrates, he amalgamates. He plays upon the sense, or varies the form of a saying, he repeats its words in fresh combinations, or replaces them by synonyms, but he does not cite a passage simply and in its entirety. This must be taken into account in any attempt to ascertain the extent of the author's indebtedness to the Canonical Scriptures.

All that we can expect to find, are expressions which suggest a reminiscence of Scripture passages, or else the use of words characteristic of the style of individual Scripture Writers."

(1) Taylor, The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels. p. 29, n.

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I. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

A. St. Mark.

The author appears to have had some acquaintance with all three Synoptic Gospels, but to have been specially influenced by the thought and diction of the Second Gospel.

1. In his description, in the Ninth Similitude, of the Gate in the Rock, which is explained as representing Christ as the Way to the Father, he uses the word "glistered" ($\epsilon\sigma\gamma\lambda\beta\epsilon\nu$) an expression characteristic of St. Mark. Compare with the passage referred to, Sim: IX 2,2., Mark 9³, where, speaking of the Transfiguration of our Lord, the Evangelist tells us that "his raiment became glistening" ($\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\beta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$).

2. Hermas lays stress in several places, quite in the style of St. Mark's reports of the sayings of Jesus, upon the difficulty which people find in understanding parabolic teaching; and accounts for it, as is done in St. Mark, by that dulness and slowness of heart which are the result of unbelief, and of the distracting influence of the cares of the world. (a) Compare, for example, Vis: III 6,5, where the Shepherd asks Hermas: "How long art thou dull and void of understanding, and askest all things, and understandest nothing?"; with Mark 7¹⁸: "Are ye also so without understanding? Do ye not perceive?" etc.

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(b) Again, in Mand. X. 1,4., the Shepherd observes: "They who have never inquired concerning the truth, nor sought to learn concerning divine things, (*περι τῆς θεότητος*) do not understand parables."

With this compare Mark 4¹¹ ff. "Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables; that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand, lest at any time they should be converted and their sins should be forgiven them. And he said unto them: Know ye not this parable, and how then will ye know all parables."

(c) Similarly, Vis. III. 10, 9: "How long are ye without understanding? But it is your doubts that render you void of understanding, and because your heart is not turned to the Lord;" suggests a reminiscence of Mark 9¹⁹: "O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you?"

(d) In Mand. IV. 2,1, Hermas thus addresses the Shepherd: "Suffer yet a few words from me, since I understand nothing and my heart has been dulled by reason of my former actions. Instruct me, for I am very foolish, and know nothing at all... (c,3,7) Lord since thou hast once shown patience towards me,

explain this also." This may be compared with: Mark 6³²
"For they considered not the miracle of the loaves; but
their heart was hardened."

In Mand. XII, 4, 2, a passage occurs which recalls Mark 8^{7 ff}
"And seeing me altogether troubled and perplexed, he began to
speak more gently to me, and saith: "Foolish one, void of
understanding and double-minded, perceivest thou not the
glory of God?... But they who have the Lord on their lips,
but having their heart hardened, and being far from the Lord,
to them these Commandments are hard and difficult."

In the passage in St. Mark we have: "Perceive ye not yet,
neither understand, have ye your heart yet hardened?.....
How is it that ye do not understand?"

3. Regarding the need of an explanation of parables, an
expression occurs which is characteristic of the Second Gospel,
in Sim. V. 3: the word for 'interpret' (ἐπιλύσης).

Hermas has: "Lord, I know not these parables, and cannot
understand them except thou interpret;" and again, in the
answer of the Shepherd: "I shall interpret all things to thee,
and whatsoever I shall say unto thee I will explain." Again
in Sim. V. 4, 2, we read: "Lord, whatsoever thou showest unto
me and dost not explain, it will be in vain that I have seen
them without understanding what they mean. Even so, if thou
speakest parables unto me and dost not expound (ἐπιλύσης)
them, it will be in vain that I have heard anything from thee."

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To this the Shepherd replies: "Whosoever.... is a servant of God and has his Lord in his heart, asks of Him understanding, and receives it, He expounds also every parable, and the words of the Lord which are spoken by parables become known to him." Again, in the same Similitude, c. 5, 1, we find: "I have just told thee.... that thou art wicked and obstinate, asking me in addition for the explanation of the parables. But, since thou art thus alone, I will expound unto thee also the parable of the Estate and the other matters which follow from it.... (c. 6, 8) Thou hast also the exposition of this parable.... (c. 7, 1)... I am rejoiced, Lord,.... to have heard this exposition."

Compare Sim: IX 11,9: "As thou desirest, he says, I shall explain it unto thee, and shall hide absolutely nothing from thee;" and c. 16, 7: "Thou hast then the explanation of these things also."

These passages recall Mark 4¹⁰ (Lk. 8⁹) "And when they were alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable." V. 32, "But without a parable spake he not unto them; and when they were alone, he expounded (ἐπελάουσ) all things to his disciples."

4. Again we may trace the influence of St. Mark, in the view which Hermas takes of the Gospel. He represents it as beginning with the ministry of the Baptist. Further, in this

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connexion, we note a resemblance between the function attributed to the Shepherd, that of Angel or Messenger of Repentance, and St. Mark's account of John as the Messenger spoken of by Malachi, together with the emphasis which the Evangelist lays upon the preaching of repentance, as the necessary preparation for the reception of the Gospel. Compare Sim: IX 1, 1; (Sim: VI. 3) and Mark 1^{2.4}.

B. St. Matthew and St. Luke.

1. The doom of the unfruitful tree, referred to in Sim. IV. 4, 4. "But as for the heathen and the wicked, the withered trees which thou didst see, they shall in that age be found dry and fruitless, and shall be burned as logs"; and the fate of the rejected stones which fell into the fire, described in Vis. III 2, 9, recall the language of Matthew 3^{7 ff.}, where we read of the tree which must be "hewn down and cast into the fire", and of the chaff which must be "burned in fire unquenchable" (Comp. Matt: 13^{30, 40 f.}).

2. In Sim: VIII. 11, 1, the words: "The Lord, being moved with compassion, sent me to give repentance unto all, though some, by reason of their deeds, were not worthy," remind us of Matthew 3⁸ || Luke 3⁸: "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."

3. The words of the Baptist, as recorded by St. Matthew, with which he describes Christ's Winnowing Fan, (ch. 3¹²) may have

been in the mind of Hermas when, in Sim: IX. 6, 3, 4, he spoke of the Wand with which the Lord of the Tower tested every stone in the building, and at whose touch the true condition of each became manifest, whereupon the good stones were retained, and the bad or defective removed from the tower.

4. The unconscious sin against Rhoda, which, as we learn from Vis: I 1, 8, was the occasion of the Revelations, has an obvious relation to our Lord's teaching in Matthew 5²⁸: "Who-soever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

Other references to the laws of Chastity, and the principles which ought to regulate marriage and divorce, suggest acquaintance with the Synoptic Gospels - an impression only deepened by that divergence, entirely in harmony with the manner in which Hermas often quotes his authorities, which we observe between his language on this subject in Mand. IV, and that which we find in these Gospels.

5. Those passages in which, as in Sim: IX 31, 2, a high place in the Kingdom of God is given to childlike souls, - "this innocent class the Lord blessed (benedixit Dominus)," at once recall what we find in Luke 18¹⁸ || Mark 10^{15,16}, || Matthew 19¹⁸ (Compare Matt. 11²⁵; Ch. 18¹).

6. We find a reminiscence of Matthew 7^{15 ff.} in Mand. XI., in the description of the False Prophet, and of the test by which the impostor is to be detected: "Ye shall know them by their fruits."

7.- Again, the language of St. Matthew and St. Luke is recalled by passages which deal with the duty of confessing, and the heinous guilt of denying Christ, and by what is said of the blessedness of the Martyrs. Thus Sim. IX c. 28, 5, 6.

"Think yourselves happy if ye suffer for God's sake" etc. reminds us of Matt. 5^{11,12}: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, etc."

So also are the numerous passages which refer to confessing Christ's name, suggestive of acquaintance with Matt. 10^{32, 33}. At the same time, such thoughts were among the commonplaces of Christian belief and feeling, and so, naturally frequent in the writings of the "testifying church".

8. The expression "the great king", which occurs in Vis. III. 9, 8, reminds us of Christ's words in Matthew 5³⁵ "The City of the Great King", though the phrase may have been taken from Psalm 48² or Malachi 1⁴.

9. The simile of the Two Ways, which we find not only in the Shepherd but also in the Epistle of Barnabas,⁽¹⁾ and the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles", has a strong resemblance to the saying

(1) cc. 18-20.

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of our Lord in Matthew 7^{13.14} - "Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat. Because strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it:" (Comp: Lk. 13²⁴).

As it appears in the Shepherd indeed, the simile assumes a form so different from that in which we find it in St. Matthew, that it seems almost to convey a different meaning. Nevertheless, a comparison of the various forms in which we find it in early Christian writings, as that in the Shepherd, and those already referred to in Barnabas and the Didache, to which should be added that which occurs in the Clementine Homilies, and which approximates most closely to the passage in St. Matthew, suggests that they may all be traced to that passage. Thus Clement of Alexandria remarks: "The Gospel (1) (Mt. 7, ^{13,14}) proposes two ways, as do likewise the Apostles (probably the Didache) and all the prophets (Jer: 21³). They call the one narrow and circumscribed, which is hemmed in according to Commandments and prohibitions, and the opposite one, which leads to destruction broad and roomy (πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρον) open to pleasures and wrath." In conformity with the purpose

(1) Strom: V. 5. quoted by Schaff, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles", p. 163, note 1.

which our author had in view, and in order to be consistent with other statements, as for example that of Mand. XII, that God's Commandments are not grievous, he probably took this commonplace of Christian teaching, not direct from St. Matthew, but from such an adaptation of the saying as that which we find in the Didaché.

We may compare with this manner of using the figure, that of Bunyan in the Pilgrim's Progress. That writer, in working out the thought and applying it to the purpose which he had in view, modified the original figure so far as to describe the Way of Life as being "straight as a rule can make it", and the Way of Destruction oblique and crooked. Thus again Formality and Hypocrisy are described as finding the ways which they preferred to that which led up the Hill Difficulty, to be really full of fatal obstacles; and, in a later passage Christian and Hopeful discovered that the easier path which they preferred to the highway contained a dangerous pitfall, and led straight to the Castle of Despair.

10. The Similitudes of the Trees in Winter and in Summer (Sims. III. IV.) present strong analogies to the leading thought of Christ's Parable of the Tares, that of the difficulty of telling, in this life, the difference between true and false disciples; and the lesson of these Similitudes is

that of the Gospel parable, that "the day shall declare it".
(Matt. 13^{24-30; 37, 42}).

Again, the words in Christ's Exposition of that Parable:
"The field is the World," are identical with the first sentence
of the Shepherd's explanation of the Similitude of the
Faithful Servant.

Sim. V. 5, 2, comp. Matt. 13³⁸.

11. In Sim. VIII 1, 1; 3, where we read of the vast multitude
that found shelter beneath the branches of the great tree,
we are reminded of Christ's parable of the Grain of Mustard
Seed. Matt. 13³² || Mk. 4³⁰ || Lk. 13¹⁹.

12. Dr. Taylor finds in Vis. III 2, 5, 6, ⁽¹⁾ where we read that,
of the stones which were cast away by the builders, some
fell on the highway, a suggestion of the Parable of the
Sower. - "Some seeds fell by the wayside." (Matt. 13⁴
|| Mark 4⁴ || Luke 8⁵). Undoubtedly the thought of the
Similitude differs widely from that of the Parable in these
important points. In the former, the stones were simply
cast aside as unsuitable, in the other, good seed was being
sown in hope of a crop, and some was lost because it fell on
the beaten path. Nevertheless, there is a coincidence in this
respect that in his subsequent references to the ultimate
destiny of the rejected stones, the author is careful to show

(1) L.c. p. 40.

that their rejection was not final; just as we learn from the Parable that all that was wanted to make the seed fruitful in every case was the careful preparation of the ground. Again, one of the lessons of the Parable is recalled in Sim. IX. 20, where the secular cares, which in the case of many believers hinder the work of faith, are illustrated by the figure of briars and thorns.

13. The Similitude of the Faithful Servant may have been partly suggested by similar parables in the Gospels. Thus the departure of the Lord of the Vineyard into a far country recalls the Parables of the Wicked Husbandmen, the Talents, and the Pounds. Again, the statement of Sim: IX, 13, of believers requiring to be clothed with the raiment of the Virgins, reminds us of the Parable of the Marriage Feast, the word used for garment by Lermas being the same as that which is used with reference to the wedding garment in Matt: 22."

14. Further points of resemblances between passages in the Shepherd and in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke appear in the use of rare words characteristic of these Evangelists. Thus the word used for "moisture" (ἰκμάς) in Sim. VIII. 2, 7, is the same that occurs in St. Luke's version of the Parable of the Sower, - Luke 8⁶ "because it lacked moisture." Another instance is found in the expression in

Sim. V. 6, 7, "a place of rest", where the word for "rest" (κατασκηνώσεως) is the same that occurs in Matt: 8²⁰

Luke 9⁵⁸, of the shelter of birds: "the birds of the air have nests" (κατασκηνώσεις). Again, the language of Mand. IX, 8: "If thou hesitate, and doubt as thou prayest," recalls that of Luke 18¹: "Men ought always to pray, and not to faint", where the word used for hesitate by Hermas, ἔκκακῆν, corresponds to that used for "faint" in St. Luke, the more usual ἐτκακῆν.

15. Mand: V. 2, 7, where we read of unclean spirits taking possession of the empty heart, recalls our Lord's words in Matt: 12⁴³ ff. || Luke 24 ff., "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man..... he saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out, and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept and garnished. Then cometh he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first."

16. The language of Mand. VII.1 ff. to the effect that God is to be feared, and not the Devil, recalls that of Matt: 10³³ || Luke 12⁵.

17. The warning addressed in Vis. III. 9, 7 to the occupants of the chief seats, and similar allusions to ambition among the leaders of the Church, recall our Lord's Censure of the

Pharisees for their love of pre-eminence. Matt. 23⁶ || Luke 11⁴³
20⁴⁶ || Mk. 12³⁹.

18. When we read in Vis. IV 2, 6, of the doom of those who fail to repent: "It were better for him not to have been born", we are reminded of the words of Jesus regarding Judas, "It had been good for that man if he had not been born;" Matt. 26²⁴.

19. Those passages (Vis. II. 2, 7; IV. 2, ff. etc.) which predict great tribulations destined to come upon the Church, recall our Lord's discourses on the Last Things. Thus the words in Sim. IV. 2, to the effect that the coming age is summer for the Church of God, recall Matt. 24^{32, 33} (Comp. Mark 13²⁶, || Luke 21²⁹); "Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: so likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors."

20. Passages such as those in Sim: VIII. 1, 1; IX. 25, 2, representing the Gospel as having been preached throughout the world, remind us of the Commission of the Apostles, Matt. 28¹⁹, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," etc.

It is to be noted also in this connexion that the words of Sim. V. 6, 1-4, that the Son is "appointed for great power", "having received great power from the Father," are closely parallel to those of Matt. 28¹⁸: "All power is given unto me, etc."

II. THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

1. Although, as has been already noted, the term *Egos* does not occur in the Shepherd, we can recognise the influence of the Prologue of the Gospel, in the way in which it refers to the "Holy Spirit", or the Divine in Christ, to whom pre-existence, and a share in the Creation of the world are ascribed. (Compare Sim. V. 6.)

Again, when, as in Sim. V. 6, 7, a parallel is drawn between the Holy Spirit dwelling in Christ, and His presence in the believer, he seems to express in another form what St. John says of the "light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." (John 1.)

Again, the expression in Sim. V. 6, 7 - "a place of rest" (*κατακλιθῆναι*), in connection with the exaltation of Christ, suggests that the author had in his mind what St. John says (Jn. 1¹⁴) of His humiliation: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) among us." It is quite in keeping with his usual method, that he should thus take the expression used by St. John in connection with our Lord's "tabernacling" among men, and apply it in this special way, with reference to His exaltation.

2. Remarkable reminiscences of characteristic Johannine expressions, suggest very strongly that our author must have been acquainted with the Fourth Gospel. These are to

be noted, for example, in connection with Baptism and Re-
generation. Thus we read in Vis. III. 3, 5, that the
tower "is built upon the water, because by water your life
is saved and shall be saved," a passage which, like that
remarkable one in Sim. IX., 16, which tells us that
baptism was necessary even for Old Testament saints before
they could be admitted to the Church of God, at once recalls
John 3⁵. In this connection it is significant, that in
Sim. IX. 13, 2, 3, Hermas makes what looks like a homiletic
application of John 3^{3, 5}, by the distinction which he em-
phasises, between seeing and entering the Kingdom of God.
Speaking of a particular class of professed believers he says:
"These shall indeed see the Kingdom of God, but shall not
enter it."

3. The contrast drawn in Mand. XI, 6, between the earthly
spirit which inspires the False Prophet, and the Spirit
from above who dwells in the true, reminds us of John 3³¹ : "He
that cometh from above is above all; he that is of the earth
is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from
heaven is above all."

4. Sim. V. 5, 3, where the dishes sent to the Faithful
Servant from his Master's table are explained to mean the
new commandments of the Lord; and Sim. IX. 11, 8, where the
words occur: "I supped all night upon the words of the Lord,"

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recall the sayings of Christ in John 4^{32, 34}. "I have meat to eat which ye know not of." "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish his work."

5. Mand. IV. 3, 5: "If any man, after the great and solemn call being tempted of the devil, sinneth, he hath but one repentance. But if he sin often and repent, it doth not profit him, for he shall hardly live," suggests the warning of our Lord in John 5¹⁴: "Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee."

6. Expressions, peculiarly Johannine, are of frequent occurrence. Such are those which speak of "life", "quicken-
ing, witness-bearing", and the search of truth. Compare Mand. IV. 3, 7; Sim. IX 16, 2, 3; with John 5³¹ f.; and Mand. III. with John 8³² etc. Then again the phrase "the last day", in Vis. II. 5, referring to the respite allowed to the heathen; and the word "true" (*ἀληθινός*) used in the sense of "genuine", "faithful", which, out of ten instances in the New Testament, occurs nine times in St. John, occurs in Vis. III. 7, 1, "lose their true life"; and again in Mand. III. 5: "that, thy later deeds being found genuine, thy former deeds also may become faithful."

Further, the thoughts of freedom by the truth, of obedience as the way of true liberty, and of sin as bondage, are characteristic of the Shepherd, as they are of the Fourth Gospel.

Compare Vis. I. 1, 8; Mand. XII. 2, 5; with John 8^{31 ff.}

7. The thought of faith as a Work of God, the first work of all, and the condition of all others, is prominent in the Shepherd, and reminds us of a notable feature in St. John.

Thus Mand. XII. 3: "Work righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and whatever good things are like them;" (Comp. Mand. 1; Sim. I.7) recalls John 6^{28, 29}

6^{28, 29}: "What shall we do that we might work the works of God? And Jesus answered and said unto them: This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom He hath sent."

8. In the representation of Christ, in Sim. IX. 12, 5, as the Only Way to the Father, we are at once reminded of the teaching of our Lord in John 10^{7, 9 14⁶}. In this connection St. John uses the word "door" (*θύρα*) to describe Christ as Mediator, which we find again in Ignatius (Philad: 9); while the word in the Shepherd is "gate" (*πύλη*). But the thought is the same, that of access through Christ to the privileges of the Kingdom. Again, the Similitude of Hermas, like that of the Good Shepherd in John X, refers to other ways of entering the Kingdom which have been tried, and declares that there is only one way by which we may enter. Only those stones find a place in the tower which have been carried through the Gate.

9. The use by Hermas, throughout his work, of the figure

of a Shepherd, itself reminds us of Christ's Parable of the Shepherd and the sheep in St. John; and all that he says of different kinds of shepherds recalls what we find in the Fourth Gospel, where a distinction is made between the hireling who "careth not for the sheep", and "the Good Shepherd" who "giveth His life for" them. Compare Sim. IX. 31⁵.

Sim V. 6, 3, 4: "Giving them the law which he received from the Father;" reminds us of John 10¹⁸: "This Commandment have I received of the Father," and of Ch. 15¹⁸: "All things which I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you."

10. The Fifth Similitude is permeated with Johannine thoughts. Its leading idea is that of the parallel between Christ's obedience and that which He enjoins upon His disciples, a conception which recalls John 15¹⁰: "If ye keep My Commandments ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's Commandments and abide in His love"; and Ch. 17¹⁹: "And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified by the truth."

We trace, throughout this Similitude, the influence of the Johannine Conception of that continuous relation, of giving and receiving, which was maintained, between the Father and the Son, during Christ's ministry.

11. The Shepherd's words in Sim: VIII. 2, 7, regarding the vitality of the Willow and its slips, and his remark in Ch. 2, 8: "He who planted this tree desires that all should live who have received slips from this tree," remind us of John 6³⁹; "And this is the will of him that sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day", and of Ch. 10²⁵: "And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, etc."

These resemblances are all the more striking, that Hermas does not appear to have held the doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints. It is, however, worthy of careful notice, that where he approximates most closely to that doctrine, his utterances recall those passages in the Fourth Gospel which most strongly support it. It is as if, while himself unable to understand or assimilate such a doctrine, his acquaintance with the Gospel of St. John, together with his reverence for "what is written", constrained him to give due weight to what he found there.

12. The Similitude of the Willow itself illustrates the same truth that is taught in John 15¹ ff., in the Parable of the Vine and the Branches. But the thought is worked out differently. According to our Lord's parable, believers are vitally united to Christ, living and bearing fruit, in-

asmuch as they share His life, as the branches are in the vine, deriving their support from the parent stem.

According to the Eighth Similitude, all that welcome the Gospel, receive Christ into their hearts; and the branches described in that representation are slips, i.e. actual reproductions of the tree from which they are cut - the tree multiplying itself in the slips which have been taken from it.

13. The absence of the Lord of the Tower, of which we read in Sim. IX, 7. 3, and the functions attributed to the Twelve Virgins, who guard the tower while it is building, and hand each individual stone to the builders, remind us of those discourses in St. John's Gospel, in which Jesus declares the necessity of His departure from the world, and describes the mission and work of the Comforter, and the relation of the work of the Holy Ghost to His own work.

14. The Mission of the Apostles, their preaching of the Gospel and the Unity of the Church, as these are set forth in St. John's Gospel, and notably in Chapters 14 and 17, are repeatedly alluded to in Sim. IX. and elsewhere.

III. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

1. Mand. XII. 3-6, in which emphasis is laid upon the assurance that sufficient grace has been promised to enable believers to keep all the commandments, recalls I. John 5³: "His commandments are not grievous," and the statement in Ch. 2^{ff.} of the law of sinlessness.
2. Sim. VIII. 7, 6: "In such is the life of the Lord;" and Vis. II, 4, 3: "Thou shalt refrain from all iniquity, and shalt abide unto eternal life. Blessed are all they who work righteousness, they shall not be destroyed for ever," remind us of I. John 2,¹⁷ "He that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."
3. We find a characteristic Johannine expression in Vis. III, 6, 2, where it is said of hypocritical members of the Church, that "they knew the truth, but did not abide in it." Compare with this I. John, 2,²⁴: "Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father." V. 27. "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him

(Marg. it)." The use also of such expressions as "be turned from the truth," "destroyed", or "corrupted from the truth," (Sim. VI. 2, 1, et al.) suggests an acquaintance with St. John's Writings, including the First Epistle.

4. The occurrence of the word "to manifest"; (*φανερώω*) in connection with the Incarnation (Sim. IX. 12, 3), "He became manifest in the last days of fulfilment, therefore the gate is new," recalls I. John, 1, ² : "For the life was manifested, and we have seen it," and (Ch. 3, ⁸) "The Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil."

5. Sim. IX. 24, where we read that the innocent souls, represented by the stones from the Seventh Mountain, are clothed with the spirit of the Virgins, we are reminded of I. John, 3, ²⁴ : "Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us," and similar passages.

6. Mand. XI. 7, which speaks of the marks by which we may distinguish the False Prophet from the True, recalls I. John, 4, ¹ : "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God, etc."

IV. THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

The influence of this Epistle upon the thought and diction of the Shepherd has been very generally admitted. Whole paragraphs are so permeated by the characteristic teaching of

St. James as to justify the inference, not only that the author was acquainted with the Epistle, but that his mind was steeped in it. This is the more remarkable that, as Zahn⁽¹⁾ points out, we find no trace in the Shepherd of that distinction between faith and works, the misapprehension of which has occasioned so much controversy, and given rise to the opinion that the teaching of St. James was radically different from, if not utterly opposed to, that of St. Paul. In every other respect, the standpoint and general tendency of the Shepherd are in close agreement with those of the Epistle of St. James. Like St. James, Hermas is intensely practical. He demands that faith should show itself, not only in undoubting trust in God, but also, and particularly, in a pure, consistent life. He insists so strongly that faith should be proved by works, that his language seems suggestive of legalism, and has often been so interpreted.

1. A notable feature⁽²⁾ of the Shepherd is its oft repeated warning against double-mindedness. To this the entire Ninth Command is devoted. It reads like a homily on James 1, 5: 8, and as if the author had the epistle before him as he wrote. Words descriptive of the condition of those whose faith

(1) l.c. 408.

(2) Comp. Zahn, l.c. 396.

is enfeebled by doubt, 'double-mindedness' (διψυχία), 'double-minded' (διψυχος), 'to be double-minded' (διψυχεῖν) 'to doubt' (διταράσσειν), 'to hesitate' (διεκρίνεται) , are repeated almost ad nauseam. In Mand. IX. 6: "Every double-minded man.... shall with difficulty be saved", we are reminded of James 1,^{6,8}: "But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord. A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways" Again, Mand. V. 2,7: "being filled with evil spirits, he is restless, dragged hither and thither by the evil spirits," recalls the expression used in the last verse of the passage just quoted - "unstable" (ἀκατάστατος), a word peculiar to this Epistle, and meaning 'unstable' (Ja. 1⁸) and 'unruly' (ch. 3,⁸). The state of mind is described by Hermas, as by St. James, specially as a hindrance to prayer. He regards it as peculiarly sinful. The believer should have no uncertainty as to whether God will hear him or not. Whatever blessing he desires, let him ask in faith, and it shall be given him. So in Sim. V. 4, 3, 4: "Whoso is a servant of God, and has the Lord in his heart, asks of Him wisdom, and receives that, and the interpretation of every parable; but they who are slow in respect

of prayer hesitate to ask of the Lord. Yet the Lord is very pitiful, and ceases not to give to those who ask of Him." Here again we are reminded of James 1, 5, 8; and, in the last sentence, the expression very pitiful (πολύσπλαγχνος) recalls ch. 5.11.

2. The Epistle of St. James, like the book of Hermas, makes much of the relations of the rich and the poor. Thus in the former, the rich are taxed with oppression, with despising the poor, and dragging them before their judgment seats (James 2, 1-7), and again with defrauding the hireling of his wages, and with living in self-indulgence (ch. 5, 4); and in the latter, the rich are charged with neglect of the poor, and failing to minister to their necessities, also with hoarding their wealth, instead of distributing of their abundance to the needy. We may compare, in this connection, the description which Hermas gives of the sheep which he saw "luxuriating and waxing wanton" - (Sim. VI. 1, 6) (τροφῶντα καὶ σπαταλῶντα) with the language of St. James (5, 4), where the rich are thus addressed: "Ye have lived in pleasure and waxed wanton on the earth", the same words being used (ἐτροφῆσατε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐσπαταλήσατε).

So much does Hermas dwell upon the thought of riches as a hindrance to the spiritual life, that in one passage he even seems to represent the poor as being, almost as a matter of

course, richer in faith and in power with God, than the possessors of worldly wealth. In the Second Similitude he represents the special service of the rich as being that of using their means for the relief of the poor, and so gaining an interest in their prayers; while it is the part of the poor to use their power with God, by interceding on behalf of the rich. This looks like an application of James 2,⁵: "Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the Kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?"

The rich, for their part, are expected to practise a sort of indiscriminate benevolence. According to Mand. II, 2, 4-6, they are to "give with simplicity, and without doubt" or hesitation, asking no questions as to the necessity of the case, and leaving all responsibility as a matter between those who solicit their bounty, and the Lord who is the Judge. (Comp. Didache, 1, 5.)

3. Mand. X. 10 treats this as one of the fruits of faith: "To minister to widows and to attend to orphans and the destitute." Again, in Sim. V. 3, 7, the lesson of the acceptable fast is thus applied: "Thou shalt give" the amount saved by thine abstinence "to the widow or the orphan."

Here we are reminded of Ja: 1, ²⁷: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself

unspotted from the world."

4. The close of the verse just quoted has its parallels in Mand. II. 7; "That thine heart may be found pure and undefiled"; in Sim. V. 7, 2: "Beware lest thou abuse" thy flesh "with any defilement. For if thou defile thy flesh thou wilt also defile the Holy Spirit;" and in frequent references elsewhere to the contaminating influences of the present world.

5. Again Hermas shows familiarity with Ja. 1, ²⁶: "if any man among you seemeth to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue... this man's religion is vain:" where (Mand. XII. 1) he speaks of the bridling of evil desires; and the same passage in the Commands where he declares that God has endowed man with power over all created things, and where he alludes to the taming of wild animals, recalls Ja. 3, ^{2, 3, 7}: "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body. Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may obey us; and we turn about their whole body." V. 7, "For every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of serpents, and of things in the sea, is tamed, and hath been tamed of mankind."

6. In Sim. IX. 23, and Mand: IX; XI. (in the last of which whole portions are close parallels of Ja. 3, ¹³⁻¹⁶) Hermas, quite in the style of St. James, denounces the sins of evil speaking, back-biting, and dissension among brethren, a subject which, like St. James, he makes a prominent feature of his

teaching.

7. Mand. XII, 2-6, on the hopefulness of the Christian conflict, has been aptly described as "an ⁽¹⁾ almost continuous paraphrase of Ja. 4, 7-12."

From these typical instances, we are clearly entitled to conclude, that the author of the Shepherd was acquainted with, and strongly influenced by, the Epistle of St. James.

V. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

1. The leading thought of the Fourth Vision is that of the trial of faith. Thus we read in c. 4, in the interpretation of the colours of the head of the monster which is described as a type of the coming tribulation; "And the golden part ye are, who have escaped from the power of this world. For, as gold is tried by fire, so are ye tried who dwell in it. Here is an apparent allusion to I. Peter 1, 7: "That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold which perisheth, though it be tried by fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ."

Again, what is said, in Vis. III. 1, 9, of persecution as qualifying believers for a place on the right-hand side of the

(1) Zahn, l.c. 405.

Bench; and, again, in Sim: IX. 28, 5, with reference to the sufferings of the Martyrs, recalls I.Peter 4, 12, 13: "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you: but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings: that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy."

2. The inspection and trial of the stones of the tower, in Sim. IX 6, 2-5; and the testing by Michael of the slips of willow, in Sim. VIII. 1, 5, recall I.Peter 4, 17, 18: "For the time is come that judgment must begin at the House of God. And if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of Christ? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

3. Sim: IX. 12, 3, where it is said, in the interpretation of the figure of the Gate, that the Son of God became manifest in the last days of consummation, recalls the words, as well as the thought of St. Peter (I.Peter.1, 20, 21): "Who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you, who by him do believe in God, etc." Here the expression of Hermas: "became manifest,"

(ἀδύερος ἐφάνητο) corresponds to that of the Apostle (ἀκνερωθέντος).

4. The tower, of which so much is said in the three principal

revelations, the Third Vision, and the Eighth and Ninth Similitudes, corresponds to the "spiritual house" of I. Peter 2, ⁵: "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house". "The living stones" of which the Apostle speaks answer to the description given in Vis. III. 5, 1, where, at the word of command, the stones "came" (out of the "depth" or out of the "dry land") to be placed in position by the builders. The expression in the Shepherd is peculiar, seeming to attribute to the stones a certain power of volition.

Similarly, the thought of Christ as the corner stone, holding the building together, (I. Peter, 2, ⁶) "Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone") is expressed in the Shepherd, by the figure of the Spirits of God who uphold the tower (Vis. III. 8, 2 ff. etc.)

5. Where the Shepherd, referring to Baptism, says, (Vis. III. 3, 5.): "The tower is built upon the water, for by water your life is saved and shall be saved;" we are reminded of I. Peter, 3, ^{20, 21}: "which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls were saved by water, The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us." Salvation by water is spoken of in both cases, and, in both, direct reference is made to

baptism; though the Apostle finds his type in the waters of the Flood, while Hermas finds it in the primeval waters, from amid which God called the world into being, and both seem to ascribe saving efficacy to the sacrament of baptism.

6. On the relation of Old Testament saints to the New Testament Church, in Sim. IX. 15, 16, the first courses in the tower represent four orders of believers, viz: the first and the second generations of patriarchs, the thirty-five prophets, and lastly, the forty "Apostles and Teachers". Of all four orders, we are told that they were the first that "bore those Spirits", i.e. the Spirits represented by the Twelve Virgins, and symbolising the powers of the Holy Ghost. With all of them those Spirits abode "until their sleep". Thus, in respect of the indwelling and inspiration of the Spirit of God, the saints and prophets of the Old Dispensation are associated with the apostles and teachers of the New. This description recalls I. Peter 1, 10, 11, where the Old Testament prophets are described as "searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow". (Comp. 2 Peter, 1. ²¹). (1). "That the Spirit of Christ was active in the prophets before Christ," is a thought which "before the time of Hermas was expressed by no one so strongly as it

(1) ^{3ahn} l.c. 425.

was by St. Peter."

7. The statement of Sim. IX. 16, 4, 5., that the Gospel was preached, and baptism administered by the Apostles, to departed saints, recalls I. Peter 3, ¹⁹, according to which Christ "preached to the spirits in prison", and the parallel, (ch. 4, ⁶) "for, for this cause was the gospel preached also unto the dead."

This correspondence between the Shepherd and I. Peter is none the less striking, that St. Peter ascribes that preaching in the place of the departed, not to the Apostles, but to Christ, and that he makes no reference to baptism in that connection. ⁽¹⁾ The first early Christian writer to quote St. Peter in support of this belief, is Clement of Alexandria, and it is remarkable that he associates I. Peter 3, ¹⁹, with this passage in the Shepherd; for the early belief that Christ preached to the dead was generally based, not upon the text in St. Peter, but, as in Irenaeus, upon a passage in the Pseudo Jeremiah, and Eph. 4, ⁹ ff.

8. The influence of I. Peter is again suggested by the conception of faith, as consisting of simple trust in God, and casting all one's cares upon Him, - a characteristic thought of Hermas; and by the representation of the ideal of the Christian spirit, as that of childlike guilelessness, together with the avoidance of malice and evil-speaking. Compare Vis. IV. 2, 4: "It is well that thou didst escape, for that thou didst cast thy care on God;" and Vis. III, 11, 3, where the Church says to her

(1) Zahn. l.c. 425 ff.

degenerate members: "Ye did not cast your cares upon the Lord"; with I. Peter 5,⁷: "Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you." So also the commendation of guileless believers, in Sim. IX. 29: "They are as simple babes" (νηπια βρέφη), corresponds to I. Peter 2,^{1, 2}: Wherefore putting away all malice, (κακία) and all guile and hypocrisies and envies, and all evil-speakings (καταλαλίξας), as newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word."

Here the expression of Hermas, "simple babes" (νηπια βρέφη), answers to that of St. Peter, "newborn babes" (ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη). Similarly, Simplicity, or Innocence is the subject of Mand. II., where the repeated use of expressions for evil-speaking, etc. makes the correspondence more marked.

7. Those passages in the Shepherd which describe the Christian life as that of loyalty to the name of Christ, recall similar utterances in I. Peter. Thus Sim. IX. 14, 5-6: "Therefore He became their foundation, and He gladly upholds them, because they are not ashamed to bear His name" (Comp. ch. 28, 5), reminds us of I. Peter 4, 14, 16: "If we are reproached for the name of Christ, blessed are ye....." "But if any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf."

VI. THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

In view of the doubt which, from the earliest times, has attached to the authenticity of this Epistle, the indications which we find in the Shepherd of the Author's acquaintance with it, are very remarkable.

1. The conception of faith, as knowledge, which we find in Sim. IX. 18, 2, where emphasis is laid on the importance of knowledge (σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη), and it is said that the heathen shall be destroyed because they knew not God, reminds us of 2 Peter 1, 2: "Grow in grace, and in the knowledge (ἐπιγνωσθε) of God.

2. The names of the Seven Women in Vis. III. 8, 3, and the relation in which they stand to one another, remind us of the list of Christian graces in 2 Peter 1, 6-7. There is a difference between Hermas and 2 Peter, in respect of the order followed, and also of the names and number of the graces. In the Shepherd the order is: (1) Faith; (2) Self-Control; (3) Simplicity; (4) Knowledge; (5) Innocence; (6) Holiness; and (7) Love. In 2 Peter, it is (1) Faith; (2) Virtue (Excellence); (3) Knowledge; (4) Self-control; (5) Patience; (6) Godliness; (7) Brotherly kindness; (8) Love. Still, the resemblance between the two lists is close enough to suggest relationship. Thus 'Holiness' (σεμνότης), 'purity' including more than ἁγνότης,

'chastity'), in the Shepherd, corresponds to 'Godliness' (*εὐσεβεία*) in the Epistle; and again, 'Simplicity' in the former, to 'Virtue' (Excellence) in the latter. What is more important, however, is the organic connection which, in both lists, exists between the different graces. Hermas notes that Self-control is the daughter of Faith, Simplicity the daughter of Self-Control, and so on. 2 Peter represents each successive grace as the fruit of that which it follows:- "In your faith supply virtue, etc." (R.V.) Again, a correspondence appears in the comment which, in each case, follows the enumeration of graces. Thus Hermas says of them: "Their works then are pure and holy and godlike. Whoso therefore shall serve them, and have power to master their works, shall have his abode in the tower with the saints of God, (Vis. III. 8; 7, 8; and in 2 Peter (ch. 1, ⁸); we read "For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."

3. Both the Shepherd and 2 Peter refer to errors of the Gnostic type. The false prophets of the Epistle are, indeed, unlike the mistaken teachers described in the Shepherd, distinctly charged with heresy. Still they are, in both cases, described as would-be wise persons, who teach for gain, and hold lax views of moral obligations. Those for example, who are referred to in Vis. III. 7., under the figure of the stones which rolled off the highway into waste places, are described

in language similar to that of 2 Peter. The Shepherd explains:

"These are they who have believed, but by reason of their double-mindedness lose their way, which is that of the truth: thinking, therefore, that they can find a better way, they wander and are miserably deceived, walking in pathless places."

Compare with this 2 Peter 2, ^{2, 3}, "And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the truth shall be evil spoken of." Then the words of Sim. IX. 19, 3: "persons teaching according to the desires of sinful men, for lust of gain,"

recall 2 Peter 2, ¹⁵: "Which have forsaken the right way.... following the way of Balaam the Son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness." So also Sim. IX. 22, 1, where we read of those "Who would know all, but really know nothing,"

may be compared with 2 Peter 2, ¹⁰: "Presumptuous are they, self-willed..... (v. 12) These as natural brute beasts..... speak ~~of~~ evil of the things that they understand not."

4. Vis. III. 4, 3 attributes the degeneration of the Church, largely to the fading away of her belief in the early appearing of the day of Christ: "These things are revealed....because of the double-minded, who reason in their hearts as to whether they be true or not." So also 2 Peter 3, ³ mentions, in connection with the degeneracy of the last times, those who shall doubt the promises of Christ's coming.

5. Vis. IV. represents the case of Hermas, delivered by simple faith from the rage of the monster, as an emblem of the deliverance of believers from the power of this present evil world. Compare with this 2 Peter 2,²⁰: "After they have escaped the pollutions of the world by the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

6. The description, in Sim. VI. 1, 6, of those sheep which were luxuriating and waxing wanton; and of others which were entangled among briars and thorns (c. 2, 6, 7), reminds us of 2 Peter 2,¹³, where reference is made to "those who count it pleasure to riot in the daytime"; (*την εὐ ημεραν τρυφην*); and v.20 of those who "are again entangled" in the defilements of the world.

The whole chapter indeed, in respect of thought and expression, may be compared with Sim. VI.

7. On the subject of back-sliding, we find in Sim. IX. 17, 5; 18, 1, where back-sliders are said to become worse than they had been before, a resemblance to the language of 2 Peter 2,²¹: "It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn away from the holy commandment delivered unto them."

8. The appeal of Vis. IV. 2 to "that which hath been written in former times," and its recommendation of a study of scripture to all that would endure the coming tribulation" remind us of 2 Peter 3,²: "Remember the words written afore-

time by the holy prophets, etc." In each case this counsel is given in connection with a discourse on the coming end of the age.

9. Even more remarkable than these parallels, is that of Sim. VIII. 11, which emphasises the long-suffering of God, and the hope to be based upon that of the salvation of many, even of the most unworthy, with 2 Peter 3, 9, 15: "The Lord..... is long-suffering towards you, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." "Account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation." Compare with this the words of the Similitude: - "But the Lord, being long-suffering, desires that the election which is through His Son should be saved."

VII. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

The main object of the Shepherd being the same as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to promote the revival of spiritual life in a community which was showing signs of degeneration, it is only natural that we should find many points of resemblance between them. Such similarities are not wanting.

1. We read in Vis. III. 3, 5, in connection with a statement in which the foundation of the Church is associated with the creation of the world: "The tower is founded by the word of

the Almighty and Glorious Name."

So also Sim. IX. 14, 5, declares: "The Name of the Son of God is great and infinite, and bears the burden of the whole universe..... The Son of God upholds likewise all that are called by Him and bear His name." Here we have a reminiscence of Heb. 1, 2, 3, where it is said of Christ: "By whom also He made the worlds. Who..... upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." The Epistle, like Hermas, associates the Works of Creation and Redemption.

2. Sim. V. 6, 2, 4, in which emphasis is laid upon the thoughts of Sonship and Inheritance in connection with Christ, says: "And the Son" (the word occurring without qualification only in this passage in the Shepherd) "set the angels over them to guard them.....And whereas the Lord took his Son and the glorious Angels into his Counsel concerning him, hear what it meaneth." Compare the passage in Heb. 1. 1 ff.: "God..... hath..... spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things."

3. Sim. IX. 12, describes the Gate as being a figure of Christ "become manifest in the last days of fulfilment." The language here, especially when taken in connection with what is said of the relation of the pre-existent to the incarnate Christ - the Incarnation being described as a manifestation of

the Divine power, points to an acquaintance with the Epistle to the Hebrews as well as with the Johannine writings. Again the passage in Sim. IX. 2, 2: "Now the gate appeared to me to have been newly hewn," and the use, in that connection of the word "fresh", "recent" (*πρόσφατος*), at once recall the language of Heb. 10,²⁰: "A new (*πρόσφατος*) and living way which he hath consecrated for us." If we compare this again, with the exposition given in Sim: IX. 12, 3, we recognise the thought of the complete argument of the writer of the Epistle (ch. 10, 19-22): "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; and having an high priest over the house of God; let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water."

4. On the subject of angels, and their place in the economy of grace, we find interesting parallels between the Shepherd and this Epistle.

According to Sim. V. 5, 3, the highest angels were consulted by the Father with reference to the work of the Faithful Servant. On the other hand, in c. 6, 2, it is the Servant himself who sets the angels to guard the people of God; and

again we read in Sim. IX. 12, 8, that even the angels can approach the Father only through Christ. In other words, though Christ is represented as having been subordinated to the angels, that is, to those of highest rank, so far that they were consulted as to the honour to be bestowed upon Him for his faithful service, Hermas is careful to remind us that it was Christ Himself who appointed to angels the duty of guarding the people of God, and that even the highest angels can approach God only through Him. Here we recognise thoughts closely similar to those of this Epistle, on the subject of the relations of Christ and the Angels, and find in the teaching of the Shepherd a clear parallel with Heb. 2, 5-9: "Unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak. But one in a certain place testified, saying; What is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet. For in that he put all in subjection under him; he left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him. But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man."

Though, in His humiliation, he was for a season made lower than the angels, "He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." (Heb. 1⁴).

5. The use of the figure of a rock in Sim.IX, as an emblem of Christ, and the description of the building of God raised upon that foundation, suggests comparison with Heb. 12²²⁻²⁴: "Ye are come into Mount Sion and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.....and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, etc." The Rock, like the Tower, is foursquare, and in size capable of containing the whole world. The Tower itself corresponds to the City of which the Epistle speaks, and which is described in the Apocalypse as that within which are gathered all that have come to God through Christ. Though the form of the figure is different, the thought is the same. And when in other places (Vis.II.2,7; Sim.IX.25,2; comp. c.24,4) Hermas speaks of a place among the angels being reserved for the faithful, we are reminded of the description in Hebrews (12²²) of the society of the heavenly Jerusalem.

6. The Shepherd describes the spiritual life of Old Testament saints as incomplete, in this sense among others, that they had not received the name of Christ and the seal of baptism. Without these they could have no place in the City of God. Hermas thus expresses a belief commonly held in the Early Church, as we gather from the words used with

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special reference to baptism, as "perfect"; "make perfect"; "perfection" (τέλειος, τελειόω, τελείωσις) . Hermas does not indeed use these expressions in the technical sense. The cognate verbs, meaning "shall be completed" (τελειοθήσεται, συντελειοθήσεται) occur in Vis. III: 4, 1.2, in the ordinary sense: - "the tower shall be finished," "shall be completely finished". Still, though he does not use the word in its technical sense, he is evidently influenced by the thought which underlies that technical application. The idea is present to his mind, that something was lacking to the faith of Old Testament believers, a want which had to be supplied in some way by the New Testament Church. Like other Early Christians, Hermas concluded that what was wanting was baptism into the name of Christ. Under the influence of this thought, he interpreted those passages in the New Testament on the subject of perfection with which he was acquainted. What he says of the imperfection of saints under the old dispensation, as where (Sim. IX. 16) he refers to them as receiving baptism at the hands of the Apostles in the place of the departed, suggests a thought characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Compare ch. 11, ^{39, 40}, "These all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect;" ch. 12, ²³: "the spirits of just men made perfect."

With this conception of perfection, as associated with the ordinance of baptism, we may compare the interpretation which the Early Church put upon Hebrews 6, 4, 6, and to which reference has been already made in connection with the views of the Shepherd on that subject: - "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, etc." The word "enlightened" was itself used in a technical sense, as referring to baptism, and thus the whole passage was explained to mean that that ordinance could only be administered once, and that there could be no repentance in the case of heinous sins committed after baptism.

7. On the subject of the Lapsed, the views of Hermas appear to have been strongly influenced by thought of the limitation of the day of grace to which prominence is given in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus Vis. II. 2, 8: "For the Lord swore by His glory concerning the elect; if, after this day has been appointed as a limit, sin is any more committed, they shall not be saved, for repentance for the just hath an end." 7, a passage in which, as in the Shepherd, recalls Heb. 3, 7 - 4, reference is made to an oath of God, and stress is laid upon

the limitation of the season of repentance.

Again, with reference to the danger of falling from grace, we find a close parallel between Vis.II. 3, 2: "This saveth thee, thou hast not fallen away from the living God"; Mand. V. 2, 7 "Then when He (i.e. the Spirit) departs from that man in whom He has dwelt, that man becomes empty as concerning that righteous Spirit; and being for the rest filled with evil spirits, becomes unstable, and is dragged hither and thither, and is wholly blinded as to all pious discernment; and Heb. 4¹ "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it;" v. 11: "Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief;" ch. 6.⁴⁻⁶: "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened etc;" ch. 12,^{15 ff.} "Looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God" (marg: 'fall from'). Again, Sim. IX, 22, 5, almost repeats Heb. 10,²⁹: "Trample not His clemency under foot," the language of the epistle being: "Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God....and hath done despite unto the Spirit of Grace."

Finally, besides the parallels which we have noted we find in the diction of the Shepherd characteristic expressions of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus Vis: III. 7, 4, "partook of the righteous word" recalls Heb. 6,^{4,5} "tasted

the good word of God, etc."

VIII. THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

I. Ephesians and Colossians.

1. The conception of the Church as a living Temple, built upon that rock which is Christ - one of the leading thoughts of the Shepherd, and the theme of Vis. III. and Sim. IX., clearly indicates an acquaintance with Eph. 2, 20, 22:

"Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone: in whom the whole building, fitly framed together, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together unto one habitation of God through the Spirit."

2. On the subject of the pre-existence of Christ and of the Church, we find in Vis. II., 3, 5: "The tower is founded by the word of the Almighty and Glorious Name, and is ruled by the invisible power of the Lord; Sim. IX. 12, 1, 2: "This rock and the gate are the Son of God:" "The Son of God is older than His whole creation;" a reminiscence of Eph. 1, ⁴: "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, etc."

3. Sim. IX. 6, 7, where the Twelve Virgins are described as

carrying the stones through the gate, recalls Eph. 2. ¹⁸:
 "Through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the
 Father."

4. On the Unity of the Church, the language of the same
 Similitude, c. 15, 5: "They shall become one Spirit, one
 body, and one colour;" c. 17, 4: "They had one thought and
 one mind, and they held one faith and one love;" c. 18, 4:
 "The Church of God shall be one body, one feeling, one mind,
 one faith, one love, and then shall the Son of God rejoice;"
 reminds us of Eph: 4, ²⁻⁵: "Endeavouring to keep the unity
 of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body,
 and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your
 calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and
 Father of all who is above all, and through all, and in you
 all." Again, in the importance attached by our author to
 unity among brethren, we are reminded of the whole practical
 exhortation of the chapter in which these verses occur.

5. Sim: IX. 12, 8, representing Christ as being, for men and
 angels, the one way of access to the Father, recalls Eph:
 1, ¹⁰: "That..... he might gather together in one, all
 things which are in heaven and which are on earth."

Compare Col. 1, ²⁰: ".- by him to reconcile all things unto
 him; by him, I say. Whether they be things in earth or
 things in heaven."

6. The words of Sim: IX, on the necessity of baptism, (comp. Vis. III. 3, 5; Mand. IV. 3) recall Eph: 5²⁶: "that he might sanctify and cleanse it" (i.e. the Church) "with the washing of water by the word."

7. Mand. IV. 3, 5; IX. 3, where believers are called God's workmanship (ποίησιν) are an echo of Eph: 2, 10: "We are his workmanship" (ποίημα).

8. Sim: VIII. 6, where we read of seals bestowed upon accepted believers; and Sim. IX. 17, 4, in which baptism is called "the seal", remind us of Eph. 1, 13; 4 30; of the sealing of the Spirit.

9. Sim. IX. 13, 3, 5, 7, on the need of being clothed with the raiment of the Virgins, recalls the language of Eph: 4, 24, Col. 3⁹⁻¹⁴, on the garments of the renewed soul: - "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." So Col. 3⁹⁻¹⁴: "Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; v. 12. Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering... 14, and above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness."

10. Mand. III. commends love of Truth in language which recalls Eph. 4^{25, 29, 31}: - "Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour etc."

11. In Mand. X. 2, 3; 4,5, Hermas warns against grieving the Holy Spirit, just as, in the same connection, that of warnings against bitterness, and wrath, anger, clamour, evil-speaking and malice, such admonitions occur in Eph: 4³⁰.

12. When we read in Sim. IX. 12, 7, the expression "by the name of His Son Who is beloved of Him," we are reminded of Eph: 1, 6: "Wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved."

(2) THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

1. The figure of the Rock in Sim. IX. suggests a reminiscence of I. Cor. 10, 4; "and that Rock was Christ," though in that passage St. Paul speaks of the smitten rock which gave refreshment to the thirsty Israelites, while the reference in the Shepherd is to Christ as the one foundation.

2. Hermas, like Paul, discountenances Second Marriage (Mand. IV. 4, comp. I. Cor: 7²⁷⁻³¹) but for a different reason, for the Apostle advises against it in view of "the present distress"; whereas Hermas recommends abstinence from Second Marriage as being more acceptable to God."

3. Sim. V. 6., 7; 7, 1-7 on the sanctity of the body, reminds us strongly of I. Cor. 18-20, 3 16-17.

- 4. On the subject of Spiritual gifts, Mand. XI. suggests comparison with I. Cor. 12.
- 5. Sim. IX. 13, 5 ff. on the Unity of the Spirit, may be compared with I. Cor. 12, 4-14, as well as with Eph. 4 3-6.
- 6. Mand. X. 1 ff. with its account of the contrast between true repentance and mere remorse, so vividly recalls 2 Cor. 7¹⁰: "Godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation, not to be repented of, but the sorrow of the world worketh death," that the whole Command might be read as an extended commentary upon the words of St. Paul.

(3) THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS; (also 2 THESSALONIANS).

- 1. The frequent warnings in the Shepherd against trifling with Divine Grace, and its repeated references to the long-suffering of God, remind us of Rom. 2⁴: "Despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?"
- 2. The reference, in Vis. I.18, to sin as bondage, and the thought, in Sim. IX. 16, 2, 3, of regeneration as involving the death of the old nature, recall Rom. 6^{6-12; 16-23}.
- 3. The conception of faith which we find in the Eighth Similitude, as meaning the indwelling of Christ in the heart, recalls Rom. 8.
- 4. Sim. IV.4., with its statement as to the final destiny of the wicked, and the principle upon which God judges them,

reminds us of Rom. 2⁶ ff., but still more strongly of 2 Thes.1⁸: "In flaming fire taking vengeance of them that know not God;" for the ground of the condemnation of the wicked, according to the Shepherd, is ignorance, whereas Rom.2 dwells upon their unfaithfulness to the light they have.

5. The frequent admonitions in the Shepherd against worldly conformity may be compared with similar warnings in Rom.12-15 (comp. 1 Cor. 5⁸⁻¹⁰).

(4) THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

1. Sim.V.6, by its application of the example of Christ, naturally recalls Phil: 2⁵ ff: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus; who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, etc." As we have seen, however, while the aim of Hermas, like that of St.Paul, is to draw practical lessons from the humiliation of Christ, the way in which he works out his theme differs from St.Paul's treatment of the subject.

2. The references to the Book of Life in Vis.I.3,2: "Their names shall be written in the books of life among the saints;" Mand.VIII.6: "Refrain therefore from all these things, that thou mayest live unto God, and be enrolled among those who refrain from them;" Sim.II,9: "He therefore who doeth these things shall not be forsaken of God, but shall be written in

the books of the living;" remind us of Phil. 4³: "With Clement also, and with other my fellow labourers, whose names are in the book of life."

3. Vis. II.3,4: "The Lord is near unto those who turn unto Him," though professedly quoted from an apocryphal work, "The Book of Eldad and Modat," suggests a reminiscence of Phil.4⁵ (comp. 1 Cor.16²²): "The Lord is at hand."

IX. THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. In Mand.IV,3,4, the words: "For the Lord, knowing the heart," (Καρδιόγνωστῆς), recall Acts 1²⁴, where St. Peter uses the same expression: "Thou Lord, who knowest the hearts of men."

2. Vis. IV,2,5, where Hermas is bidden "go and declare unto the elect of the Lord his wonderful works(,μεγαλετή), and Sim. IX.18,2, referring to those "who have known God, and seen His wonderful works, use the same expression, peculiar to the Acts of the Apostles.

3. Vis.IV,2,4: "No man can be saved but by the great and glorious Name," suggests a reminiscence of the words of St. Peter, Acts 4^{11.12}: "This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

4. Sim.IX.28,5: "But ye who suffer for the Name ought to glorify God, for that God hath counted you worthy that ye should bear this name, and that all your sins might be healed;" reminds us of Acts 5⁴¹: "And they departed from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name."

5. On the subject of the heathen, and their ignorance of God, Sim.V.7,3: "But if there was ignorance in them before they heard these words, how shall he be saved who defiled his flesh?" may be compared with Acts 17^{30,31}: "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent; because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained."

X. THE SECOND & THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN and
THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE

1. There is no clear indication of an acquaintance with the lesser Epistles of St. John, apart from the admonition addressed in Vis.III.9,6 to those who occupy the chief seats, which recalls the censure of Diotrephes, 3 Jn.9: "I wrote unto the Church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not."

2. The description of false teachers in Sim.IX.19,2,3. recalls

Jude 16: "These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage." (Comp. 2 Peter 2¹ ff: "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways.....And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, etc.") Again the warning in Sim.V.7, against the defiling of the flesh reminds us of Jude 23: "Hating even the garment that is spotted with the flesh."

XI. THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

1. In respect of the functions ascribed to them, the Seven Women of Vis.III suggest a reminiscence of the Seven Spirits of God in Rev.1⁴. Compare the Twelve Virgins of Sim.IX, who are expressly said to represent Powers of the Holy Spirit.

2. Then, the main theme of the Shepherd, that of the need of the revival of the Church, being also the subject of the first section of the Apocalypse of St. John - the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, we are prepared to find analogies and parallels between the two writings.

Thus references in Vis. I,3,2; III,2; Mand.VIII,6;

Sim. II,9; to the Book of Life, recall Rev. 3⁵; 13⁸; 17⁸; 20^{12,15}; 21²⁷; 22¹⁹: "I will not blot out his name from the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels." "All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him," (i.e. the beast), "whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." etc.

3. The use of the expression "the name" (Sim.IX.15.2.et al) recalls Rev.3¹²: "I will write upon him the name of my Godand my new name."

4. The symbolism, in Vis.IV,1,10, of the colours of the Monster's head is similar in some respects to that of the horses described in Rev. 6^{2,4,5,8}.

5. Michael, in Sim.VIII, may be compared with the mighty angels described in the Apocalypse, as Rev.7¹; 14¹⁸; etc.; but it is to be remembered that gigantic angels are common to all apocalyptic literature.

The same is true of the elemental angels so prominent in the Revelation of St. John. The angel ^{Therzi}~~Therzi~~, mentioned in Vision IV, is rather a reminiscence of Daniel 6²², where we read of the angel who shut the lions' mouths while Daniel was in the den, than of anything we find in the Apocalypse.

6. The Monster of the Fourth Vision, strongly reminding us of the great dragon described in Rev.12^{3,4,7,9,13,17}; and of the beast of which we read in Chapter 13¹ ff, point to

the probability that the author of the Shepherd was acquainted with the Apocalypse of St. John. So also the locusts proceeding from the mouth of the Monster, in Vis.IV, correspond to those described as coming out of the abyss, Rev.9³.

7. The position assigned, in Sim.VIII,3,3 to Michael, that of ruler of God's people, suggests an allusion to Rev.12⁷ which represents Michael and his angels as defending the cause of the Woman who symbolises the Church, though we must note also that Hermas gives Michael the position assigned to him in Dan.10^{13,21}12¹.

8. The rewards bestowed on the Martyrs and Confessors, in Sim.VIII.2., white robes, seals, and crowns, remind us of Rev.7⁹: 13-14: "What are these which are arrayed in white robes and whence came they?.....These are they which came out of great tribulation, etc."

9. Again we find parallels between the little book which Hermas describes in Vis.II,4,2 and which contained the revelation which the Woman directed him to make known to the Church; and the little book which John saw in the hand of the Angel, Rev.10²: 8-10; and again between the altar (θυσιαστηριον) at which, according to Sim.VIII,2,5. certain of the slips of willow were to be tested and proved, and the altar on which, in Rev.8⁸, the prayers of the saints are offered. (Comp. Mand. X.3,2.3. For always the prayer of the sad man has no power to ascend to the altar of the Lord.)

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10. More notable than these resemblances, are those seen in the figures by which the Shepherd represents the Church, now that of a Woman (Vis.I-IV. comp. Rev.12¹ etc.) again that of a stately building. (Vis.III. Sim.IX. comp. Rev.21¹ ff where she appears as a city). Another thought, common to the Shepherd and the Apocalypse, is that of the Church in her regenerate state appearing as a bride adorned for her husband (Vis.IV.2.1; Rev.21²). In the Shepherd the beauty of the bride is directly associated with the thought characteristic of the work, that of the revival and rejuvenescence of the Church. Hermas works out in detail, and makes practical application of the figure which we find in the Apocalypse.

11. The picture presented in Sim.IX, of the Church as a stately tower of dazzling whiteness, whose foundation courses represent the Apostles and Teachers of the Word, clearly reminds us of St. John's description of the New Jerusalem, built upon the twelve foundations, graven with the names of the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb (Rev. 21¹⁴). The Tower of the Shepherd, like the Holy City of the Apocalypse, appeared as a perfect square, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, and large enough to contain the whole world.

And the supposition that the author of this work had in view the visions of the Book of Revelation, is only strengthened by the way in which he appears to have extended and applied the characteristic thoughts of that New Testament writing.

