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THE SHEPHERD

Early Church Classics.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

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PREFACE

AMONG Early Church Classics the *Shepherd of Hermas* is distinct in species, being neither an epistle, nor a homily, nor a treatise, but a sort of "allegory or religious romance." Picturesque and pleasing in form, and credited with the inspiration which it seemed to claim, the work soon won for itself popularity and influence ; for a time it was classed with the sacred writings read in churches ; and part of a copy of it is still preserved in one of the chief manuscripts of the Bible in Greek.

Whatever may be said in disparagement of the style of "Hermas," he writes with a facility which implies that he had read discursively. For the suggestion that the *Tablet* or picture of Kebes was one of his main sources I am indebted to the Reverend J. M. Cotterill, Hon. D.D. of the University of St. Andrews. Clearly he drew also from the Old Testament and the New, but to what extent we cannot quite say with certainty ; for the reason that he merely works up or

plays upon more or less of their contents as literary material, never expressly citing either. A like free handling of the words of Holy Scripture is common to inventive composers in all ages, from the early Christian homilist (p. 162 f.) to writers and speakers of to-day.

Traces of books of the Bible in the *Shepherd* are pointed out in Zahn's *Der Hirt des Hermas*; in Resch's extra-canonical *Paralleltexzte zu den Evangelien*; and in the commentaries on *Hermae Pastor*. The Index to the Introduction and Notes in this edition is by Mr. H. J. A. Hart, Fellow of St. John's College.

C. TAYLOR.

Cambridge,
Nov. 1902.

INTRODUCTION

I. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

THE author of the *Shepherd*, who is addressed in it as Hermas, used to be reckoned one of the Apostolic Fathers, with Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and "Barnabas." The book purports to be the record of revelations made to him, the Shepherd in the main part of it being his angelic instructor and guardian, who by precept and parable gives him lessons for the edification of the Church. The story has been and is still by some accepted as historical, but in all probability it is an allegorical fiction, like *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come, delivered under the similitude of a dream by John Bunyan*.

The *Shepherd*, which was once a claimant to canonical rank, was perhaps written about 150 A.D., and not, as has been thought, some half-century or more earlier. In the last

quarter of the second century Irenæus, a link between East and West, quoted its first commandment in terms appropriate to Holy Scripture, as Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (v. 8) thus narrates, "And he not only knows, but even receives the writing of the *Shepherd* saying, Well then spake the Scripture which saith, *First of all believe that God is one, even He that created all things.*"

Not long afterwards the claim of the book to such rank was disallowed in the *Muratorian Canon*, a lost Greek list of canonical writings of which a fragment in Latin was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by Muratori. In this fragment it is said that the *Shepherd* was written in Rome quite recently "in our times," and that its author was Hermas, a brother of Pius who was then Bishop of Rome. He would accordingly have written in or before the sixth decade of the second century A.D. In the next generation the book was widely circulated and highly esteemed as a work of inspiration and authority, but some doubted. It was known in Africa to Tertullian, who condemned it in one of his treatises; and in Alexandria to Clement and Origen, who regarded it as inspired.

Origen identified the writer with the Hermas

to whom St. Paul sends greetings in Rom. xvi. 14, "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes" (R.V. *Hermas*). From a mention of Clement in the book (*Vis.* ii. 4. 3) some have argued that it was written about 90-100 A.D. by an otherwise unknown Hermas, a contemporary of Clement of Rome. Lastly Hermas may be an assumed name, chosen with or without reference to Rom. xvi. 14. It is to be noted that Rhoda and the Church in *Vis.* i. 1, 2 "salute" Hermas by name.

Autobiographical touches in the *Shepherd* may be fact, or pure fiction, or fiction founded upon fact. We learn from it that Hermas was acquainted with Arcadia (*Sim.* ix. 1), and it has been inferred that this was his native place. Sold as a slave to a lady at Rome, when he sees her again and regards her as a sister he must have become a freedman (*Vis.* i. 1). He prospers as a merchant and has a family, which with apparent exaggeration he describes as a not unmixed blessing. The gross misconduct of his children brings disaster upon him (*Vis.* i. 3); being admonished by him they repent with their whole heart (*Sim.* vii. 4); and his own loss is his gain, for when he was rich he was unprofitable to God (*Vis.* iii. 6). A didactic purpose being here so evident, Hermas may be

illustrating ideas rather than recording mere facts. Clement's assumed contemporaneity goes to prove that he was or was not still living according to the nature of the episode in which he appears. If, as we think, there was to be no real presentation of little books to Clement and Grapte, we may be sure that his generation had passed away.

2. THE TEXT AND THE VERSIONS.

A COPY of the original Greek of the *Shepherd* stood at the end of the great uncial Old and New Testament manuscript known as the Sinaitic Codex and denoted by the Hebrew letter *Alef*, which is considered to have been written in the fourth century; but only about the first quarter of this copy now remains.

For the greater part of the Greek we are dependent upon a manuscript of the fourteenth century, which was found by the famous forger and discoverer Constantine Simonides in the monastery of Gregory on Mount Athos. Of this manuscript, which is written on paper in a small cramped hand with about seventy-two lines of ninety letters each to the page, the tenth and last folio was missing; the fifth, sixth and ninth folios were brought away by Simonides and sold to the Leipsic University Library in

1855; and the other six were left in the monastery of Gregory. These last were re-discovered in 1880 by Professor Dr. Spyr. P. Lambros of the University of Athens, whose *Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* has been edited by Dr. J. A. Robinson (1888), now Dean of Westminster. In Appendix A the editor discusses the forged Greek ending from *Sim.* ix. 30. 3 by Simonides; and in Appendix B, on Hermas in Arcadia, the conjectural identification by Dr. J. Rendel Harris of the mountain scene of the ninth Similitude. A critical Greek text with a Latin ending, constructed from the manuscripts by Dr. Harmer, Bishop of Adelaide, will be found in the volume entitled *The Apostolic Fathers* by the late Bishop J. B. Lightfoot, edited and completed by J. R. Harmer (1891). For some Greek fragments of the *Shepherd* since found see Part II. of the *Amherst Papyri* (1901).

In early times the *Shepherd* was translated into Latin. In that language it was first printed (Paris, 1513), and thenceforth it was known to the world in or from the Latin only until Antoine d'Abbadie brought out the Ethiopic version (Leipsic, 1860) which he had found in the monastery of Guindaguinde thirteen years before. A note appended to this version

quotes Acts xiv. 12 (R.V. marg. *Hermes*) to prove that Hermas was St. Paul.

The book was "Englished" from the Latin by John Pringle in 1661 (E. H. G.), and again by Archbishop Wake in the four editions of his *Apostolical Fathers* (1693—1737). An English translation of it from the Greek is given in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library; another was made by C. H. H. Hoole, M.A., Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford (1870); and a translation by Dr. Harmer accompanies his own text above mentioned.

The second edition of Hilgenfeld's Latin treatise on the *Shepherd* (Leipsic, 1881) contains varied information about it, including the testimonies of patristic writers down to the tenth century, a Greek text with various readings, and an account of the work of other editors from Faber (1513) to Funk.

3. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS.

THE received tripartite division of the *Shepherd* into five *Visions*, twelve *Mandates*, and ten *Similitudes* will be retained for the purpose of reference, but it does not exactly indicate the structure of the book. Properly speaking this consists of the two parts A and B described below, in the former of which Hermas converses

successively with Rhoda and with the Church personified; and in the latter with the Shepherd, who appears to him in the so-called *Vis. v.*

A. Rhoda and the Church.

In *Vis. i.* the writer begins by describing himself as a slave, presumably from foreign parts, sold to a lady Rhoda at Rome. After her death he is on his way to Cumae, a name which prepares us for the subsequent mention of the Sibyl (p. 70), when a Spirit takes him and carries him over a pathless region through which no man could journey. On the plain ground he is praying and confessing his sins; and the heaven opens, and he sees Rhoda, who accosts him, saying, Hermas, hail! A short colloquy ensues, and the heavens are shut up again.

As he muses he sees a great white chair, and a venerable woman comes and sits down by herself upon it. She reads to him from a book which she has in her hands; and when she has done reading four young men come and carry the chair away to the East, and two others carry her likewise thither.

In *Vis. ii.* he is again on his way to Cumae, and a Spirit takes him and carries him to the same place as before. For the second time he sees the aged woman, but now walking about

and reading a little book. This she hands to Hermas, and he copies it letter by letter, not being able to make out the words. When he has copied out the letters the booklet is snatched away from him, he knows not by whom. After fifteen days the knowledge of the writing is revealed to him, and we are told what was written. Chap. 3 ends with a quotation from the now unknown book of *Eldad and Modad*, the only actual book anywhere named and quoted in the *Shepherd*.

A young man appearing to Hermas in a dream asks him whom he took the aged woman with the book to be. He replies, "The Sibyl," but is told that she is the Church. Afterwards he sees her again in a vision in his house, and she directs him to make two other copies of the little book, and to take steps for the promulgation of its contents.

In *Vis. iii.* the Church appears to Hermas by night and makes an appointment to meet him in the country, at whatever spot he may chose. Having sought out a retired place he waits there for the hour appointed; and at first he sees only an ivory bench with cushion and coverlet. Then the Church comes with the six young men whom he had seen with her before; and she leads him to the bench, and bids the

young men go and build. Hermas and the Church being left alone, she seats him upon the bench on the left, herself sitting on the right; and she waves a bright wand and shews him a great tower which is being built of square stones upon the waters. This tower, she says, is herself, the Church; and it is made up of square stones which fit well together, representing the faithful in successive ages.

Of the stones for the tower which are rejected, for a time or finally, the round white ones, according to her explanation, are they that have faith but also worldly wealth, for the sake of which, *when affliction ariseth*, they deny their Lord. These stones must be cut and squared before they can be used for the building. Others which are faulty are thrown away, and some of them *fall* on to the way and roll off again; and some *fall* into the fire and are burned; and some *fall* near to the water and are unable to roll into it. Around the tower are seen seven women representing Christian graces from Faith to Love. When the Church has done speaking, the six young men who had been building come and carry her off to the tower, and four others carry the bench likewise to the tower.

In answer to the prayer of Hermas, a young man appears to him by night and explains the

parable of the three forms of the Church, but so as to leave a riddle for the reader to find out. In the first vision she was very old and sat on a chair; in the second, having grown younger, she stands and walks; in the third she is quite young again and sits on a bench, which signifies stability; for the bench has *four feet* and stands firmly, like the world which is held fast by *four elements*.

The four feet of the bench having such significance, the chair contrasted with it must have had some other number of feet. Supposing the chair three-footed, we find that this exactly suits the contexts in which it appears.

The chair and the bench are contrasted again in *Mand. xi.*, where the false prophet sits alone on the one, and faithful men sit together on the other; as the Church in the *Visions* sits at first by herself on the chair, and afterwards with Hermas on the bench. The false prophet being likened to a heathen soothsayer, a proper seat for him would be a tripod, as was that of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi when she delivered her oracles. And so the Church sits at first upon a tripodal chair, that she may look the more like the heathen prophetess the Sibyl, for whom Hermas is to mistake her.

But the same symbol serves a second purpose.

An old man leaning on a staff was called in Greek, as by the poet Hesiod, three-footed ; and so the Church at first, when she is very old, rests on a chair with three feet, but afterwards stands, and at last sits on a bench which has four feet. The famous riddle of the Sphinx divides man's life from infancy into three parts, according as he goes on all fours, or on his feet only, or with a staff as a third foot. Tracing the three ages of man backwards with reference to the new birth, Hermas represents the Church as first old and then younger and again younger as she rests on *three* and *two* and *four* feet respectively.

In *Vis.* iv. Hermas encounters a monstrous beast, a type of the affliction that is to come ; but he goes on in the faith of the Lord, and at his near approach the beast stretches itself out on the ground and does nothing but put out its tongue. When the danger is passed, the Church in bridal array meets Hermas and felicitates him on his saving faith. Her address ended, she vanishes he knows not whither. In *Sim.* ix. we hear of her again, but only as having previously appeared and spoken to Hermas.

B. *The Shepherd.*

The Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, is

introduced in what may be said to be "The Revelation which is called the Fifth Vision." In the Athos Codex and the Versions it is headed *Vision* v., but in the Sinaitic Codex (with pl. for sing.) *Apocalypses* v. Standing properly apart from the introductory section on Rhoda and the Church, it may have been called *Apocalypse* to distinguish it from the four *Visions*, and afterwards by mistake *Apoc.* v., and then *Vis.* v. It describes the Shepherd and his revelation to Hermas, whom he instructs to write down his commandments and parables. Then come the commandments, with an admixture of dialogue, narrative and illustrative similitudes, in *Mand.* i.—xii.; and after them a collection of parables in *Sim.* i.—x., with which the book ends.

In *Mand.* xii. 3 it is said that the Shepherd has finished his twelve commandments; and here the *Mandates* might very well have ended, but the dialogue continues to the end of a sixth chapter. So the *Similitudes* might have ended with the seventh, which has a sort of peroration promising immunity from all affliction to such as shall walk "in these my commandments."

Sim. ix. begins, as if it were an appendix, with the words, "After I had written down the commandments and parables of the Shepherd,

the Angel of Repentance, he came to me." In this additional parable, which of itself amounts to all but a third of the whole book, Hermas has shewn to him again and at greater length than in *Vis.* iii. the building of the tower, which is also referred to as built in *Sim.* viii. In *Vis.* iii. seven Christian graces, from Faith to Love, stood round it; and in *Sim.* ix. there are twelve Virgins, from Faith to Love, who help to build it, and twelve opposed women in black, from Unfaith to Hate. This array of women representing good and evil qualities may have been suggested to Hermas by a Greek allegorist's personification of virtues and vices in his *Tablet* or picture of human life described below. *Sim.* x. is an epilogue to the *Mandates* and *Similitudes*, and not a separate parable.

The parts A and B of the story of Hermas have by some critics been assigned to different authors, a comparatively early date being assumed for A chiefly because of his mention of Clement as a contemporary at the end of *Vis.* ii. Hilgenfeld went further and attributed *Sim.* viii.—x. to a third writer, the supposed redactor of the entire work. But its style is both peculiar and uniform, and the same ideas and allusions appear and reappear in its various sections. These things point clearly to unity of authorship

and justify the conclusion that the *Shepherd* as we have it, with its successive additions, is a work originally composed in two books by one and the same imaginative writer and teacher, everywhere given to reiteration for the sake of emphasis, and not very methodical.

4. SOURCES OF THE SHEPHERD.

SINCE the *Shepherd* tells us virtually nothing about its sources, its one quotation being from the unknown book of *Eldad and Modad*, our conclusions about other books known to Hermas and the use which he made of them must be all more or less conjectural and uncertain. As an introduction to this difficult subject let us first notice some of the unacknowledged allusions to the English Bible by a writer who is known to have been acquainted with it.

The plays of Shakespeare contain both express references and evident though veiled allusions to Holy Scripture, while in some places it is doubtful in a greater or less degree whether his ideas can be traced to Scripture as their source or one of their sources. For a full treatment of this question the reader cannot do better than consult the late Bishop Charles Wordsworth's interesting volume on *Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible*. A few specimens of the

great poet's indirect uses of "God's Book" are given below. It will suffice here to follow Wordsworth in comparing the Authorised Version, although Shakespeare used an earlier translation.*

With allusion to the Pentateuch, if not also to the Psalms, Lorenzo is made to say to Nerissa and Portia—

Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way
Of starved people.

Merchant of Venice, Act V. sc. i.

A disguised Biblical figure of speech (Ezek. xi. 19) is easily detected in the line of *King Lear*, Act I. sc. iv.—

Ingratitude, thou marble-hearted fiend ;
and another in the sayings—

I will speak daggers to her, but use none.

Hamlet, Act III. sc. ii.

She speaks poniards, and every word stabs.

Much Ado about Nothing, Act II. sc. i.

As Absalom "stole the hearts of the men of Israel" (2 Sam. xv. 6), so (with a reminiscence of 1 Peter v. 5) it is said by or of Bolingbroke in the *First Part of King Henry IV.*—

* He is said to have retired and settled finally at Stratford in 1611.

And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,
 And dress'd myself in such humility
 That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts.

Act III. sc. ii.

and by this face,
 This seeming brow of justice, did he win
 The hearts of all that he did angle for.

Act IV. sc. iii.

Cursing the day of his birth Job exclaims,
 "Let the day perish. . . . As for that night, let
 darkness seize upon it; let it not be joined unto
 the days of the year, let it not come into the
 number of the months" (Job iii. 3—6). So of
 a certain day it is said in *King John*, Act III.
 sc. i.—

Nay, rather turn this day out of the week,
 This day of shame, oppression, perjury.
 Or, if it must stand still, let wives with child
 Pray that their burthens may not fall this day.

In imitation of Joel iii. 10, "Beat your plow-
 shares into swords, and your pruninghooks into
 spears; let the weak say, I am strong," Shake-
 speare in Act V. sc. ii. of the same play makes

ladies and pale-visaged maids
 Like Amazons come tripping after drums,
 Their thimbles into armed gauntlets change,
 Their needl's to lances, and their gentle hearts
 To fierce and bloody inclination.

Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace, which slew

their enemies but did not singe the hair of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (Dan. iii. 19—27), suggests the caution—

Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot
That it do singe yourself.

King Henry VIII., Act I. sc. i.

As a candle in a house, "Let your light so shine before men" (Matt. v. 14—16). This and 1 Cor. xv. 41 account for the words of Portia and Nerissa—

That light we see is burning in my hall.
How far that little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.
When the moon shone, we did not see the candle.
So doth the greater glory dim the less.

Merchant of Venice, Act V. sc. i.

The parable of the Tares underlies the saying—

His foes are so enrooted with his friends
That, plucking to unfix an enemy,
He doth unfasten so and shake a friend.

King Henry IV., Pt. 2, Act IV. sc. i.

Another parable supplies material for the similitude—

How like a younker or a prodigal
The scarfed bark puts from her native bay,
Hugg'd and embraced by the strumpet wind!
How like the prodigal doth she return,
With over-weather'd ribs, and ragged sails,
Lean, rent, and beggar'd by the strumpet wind!

Merchant of Venice, Act II. sc. vi.

Some familiar texts enjoin or commend hospitality. Of these, and especially Matt. xxv 35, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in," we are reminded by the words of Corin—

My master is of churlish disposition
And little recks to find the way to heaven
By doing deeds of hospitality.

As you like it, Act II. sc. iv.

The turn of expression in St. Paul's "O death, where is thy sting?" (1 Cor. xv. 55) suggests

O shame! where is thy blush?

Hamlet, Act III. sc. iv.

The prediction in 2 Pet. iii. 10—12 that all things, including the temple (Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.), "shall be dissolved" is thus paraphrased in Act IV. sc. i. of the *Tempest*—

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

Shakespeare's free literary use of Holy Scripture shews what sort of allusions we may expect to find in the *Shepherd* to any books of the Bible with which Hermas was acquainted. In

the present work we propose merely to give a few examples of such allusions ; beginning here with a parable out of which Hermas, by changing and again changing the subject, makes similitudes of his own, as Shakespeare adapts the story of the Prodigal to a sailing vessel.

A. *The Parable of the Sower.*

The parable of the Sower with its interpretation is found in Matt. xiii. 3—23, and in Mark iv. 2—20, and in Luke viii. 4—15, St. Matthew's account of it being much like St. Mark's, which is given below with some readings from St. Luke's account—

Mark iv. 2 And he taught them many things by parables, and said unto them in his doctrine, 3 Hearken ; Behold, there went out a sower to sow : 4 And it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up. 5 And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth ; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth : 6 But when the sun was up, it was scorched ; and because it had no root (Luke, *because it lacked moisture*), it withered away. 7 And some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit. 8 And other fell on good ground, and did yield

fruit that sprang up and increased ; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred.

10 And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable. 13 And he said unto them, Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables?

14 The sower soweth the word (Luke, *The seed is the word of God*). 15 And these are they by the way side, where the word is sown; but when they have heard, Satan (Matthew, *the wicked one*) cometh immediately, and taketh away the word that was sown in their hearts (Luke, *lest they should believe and be saved*). 16 And these are they likewise which are sown on stony ground; who, when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with gladness; 17 And have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time: afterward, when affliction or persecution ariseth for the word's sake, immediately they are offended (Luke, *which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away*). 18 And these are they which are sown among thorns; such as hear the word (R.V. *these are they that have heard the word*), 19 And the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of other things

(Luke, *and pleasures*) entering in, choke the word and it becometh unfruitful. 20 And these are they which are sown on good ground ; such as hear the word, and receive it (Luke, *having heard the word, keep it*), and bring forth fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixty, and some an hundred.

Hermas makes use of this parable chiefly in *Vis.* iii., *Sim.* viii. and *Sim.* ix., and was doubtless acquainted with the three versions of it.

Vis. iii. The seed of the Sower is said to fall upon ground more or less suited for its growth, three cases of failure being noted, while in the fourth case the seed prospers and brings forth fruit in greater or less abundance. Substituting stones for seeds Hermas makes a new parable, in which he imagines three corresponding cases of failure (pp. 78, 86 f.) as below.

As some seed falls by the way side and is carried off, so some of the unfit stones which are thrown to a distance from the tower first fall on to the way and then roll off from it to where there is no way. "These are they" that believed (Luke), but were of double heart and forsook their true way. Corresponding to the birds and the wicked or evil one (Matthew) who take away the seed of the word, we read in *Sim.* ix. 9, 18, 20—22 of evil "women" or spirits who

take away the rejected stones from the tower and in chap. 23 a demon takes their place.

The seed which fell on stony ground or rock was scorched (Matthew, Mark), and so some stones fall into the fire and are burned. "These are they" that finally fall away (Luke) from the living God. The word for "offended" (Matthew Mark) is used in *Vis.* iv. 1. 3; *Mand.* viii. 10.

The same seed, which is said by St. Luke to have dried up because it lacked moisture, is represented over again by stones which fall near the water but cannot, although they would, roll into it. "These are they that have heard the word" (p. 87) and are willing to be baptized, but they repent and go again after their evil desires. That stones should thus be thought to fall into the fire (Matt. xvii. 15), or to wish to roll into the water, is a curious fancy which had to be accounted for. The case of the seed which *fell* among thorns and was *choked* is alluded to below in *Mand.* x. 1. 5 (p. 145), and more distinctly in *Sim.* ix. 20. 2 (p. 32).

To the seed which produces fruit, some more some less, correspond the square stones which are at once approved for the tower and the somewhat faulty stones which are seen lying near it but are sooner or later to be used for the building. What (it is asked) are the white

round stones, which have to be squared before they can be fitted in? "These are they" that have faith, but also "riches of this world," who, "when affliction ariseth" (p. 85), on account of their wealth and their business deny their Lord. Their wealth must be cut away before they can be used. In *Sim.* ix. there are stones and stones which are approved: small ones fit only to be placed inside, and large facing-stones which hold them together (7. 5).

Sim. viii. Here the parable of the Sower is again used, with rods cut from a great willow and planted in lieu of seeds sown. When the rods are first given up, some partly withered, the angel proposes to plant and water them in the hope that many of them may live if they receive moisture (2. 7). As the seed was said to be the word of God (Luke), so the tree and its slips are "the law of God," which law is the Son of God preached to the ends of the earth, and the people under its shadow are those who have heard and believed. The planting is to give opportunity of repentance, which is not allowed for in the more elementary parable of the Sower.

The rods are examined again after the planting and, as at the former scrutiny, some are found a little or much withered, some green with

shoots only, and some with shoots and fruit. Of the corresponding classes of men some are faithful but given up to the business or pleasures (9. 4) of the world, some fall away finally from God, some repent and are admitted to the tower.

Sim. ix. 19—29. In describing the twelve mountains in the ninth *Similitude* Hermas has the parable of the Sower still in mind. The second mountain is bare and *unfruitful*, to signify that the believers from it, like those from the first, have no fruit of righteousness. The third has *thorns* and briars; the briars representing the rich and the thorns those who are entangled with much business and are *choked* by their occupations. The fourth has much vegetation, green above and withered at the *roots* or dried up by the *sun* (Matthew, Mark). Such are the doubleminded, who when they hear tidings of *affliction* timorously serve idols and are ashamed of the name of the Lord. Unless they repent they shall be delivered to the evil women who took away the rejected stones (p. 30). The *fowls of the air* feed on the herbage of the seventh mountain, but do it good and not harm. The eighth has many springs, corresponding to the water poured upon the rods in *Sim.* viii. The eleventh is covered with trees having

fruits of different kinds and in greater or less abundance, some of the fruits finer in appearance than others ; and it is explained in answer to Hermas that these varieties are typical of different degrees of faith. Thus the last verse of the parable is expounded. Chapter 29 on the twelfth mountain is based upon Matt. xviii. 2 f.

B. *The Four Gospels.*

In *Vis.* iii. 13 the Church restored to youth sits on a bench, and therefore in a firm position, for the bench has *four feet* and stands firmly as "the world is held fast by *four elements*." It is a question what and how much the writer meant by this comparison of the four feet of her seat to the four elements, but it would seem that he intended them to represent some tetrad of things belonging or related to the Church which he likens to the supposed four constituents of the material world.

Taking a suggestion from the learned Origen, who was well acquainted with and quotes the *Shepherd*, we may conjecture that Hermas was alluding to the Four Gospels. In the introductory part of his commentary on St. John's Gospel Origen writes that the Gospels, which are four in number, are "as it were elements of the faith of the Church, of which elements the

whole world consists." By the world we are to understand "the world of the Church," which (he says) is the meaning of cosmos in the Greek of the Baptist's saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29), and of St. Paul's, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself" (2 Cor. v. 19). Origen's phrase is a good periphrasis for cosmos as used in places of the *Shepherd*, and to this work he expressly refers not long after in his comments on the first clause of the same Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word." He may therefore have been thinking of the remarkable saying of Hermas on the Church and the bench and the four elements when he compared the Four Gospels to the four elements of the world of the Church.*

Writing before Origen (born about A.D. 185), and perhaps a third of a century after Hermas, Irenaeus in the third book (A.D. 175-190) of his *Refutation* of "science falsely so called" argues from the cosmos that there are not more than four genuine Gospels, nor could there be fewer. For since there are four regions of the world, and four catholic winds, it was natural that the Church, which is spread over the whole earth,

* Origen, *In Ev. Joan.* tom. i. 6, 18 (vol. i. pp. 6, 22, ed. Brooke).

and has the Gospel for its pillar and stay and breath of life, should have *four pillars* blowing incorruption from all quarters and rekindling mankind. The Word, the artificer of all things, who sits upon the Cherubim and holds the universe together, when He was manifested to men gave us the Gospel in four forms held together by one Spirit; for the Cherubim are fourfaced, and their faces are emblems of the working of the Son of God. Hence they are idle and unlearned that deform the Gospel by admitting more or fewer than four faces of it. There are four Gospels of the Apostles, and it was impossible that there should be more or fewer; for as God has made all things compounded and fitted together, so the form of the Gospel must have been well compounded and compacted.

To the modern reader this attempt to determine the number of the canonical Gospels by analogy may well seem strange and surprising; but the argument would have been not altogether new and not at all unnatural to an early Christian versed in the doctrines of Pythagoras. Irenaeus in the first paragraph of his great work refers to the well-known doctrine of that ancient philosopher that the *tetractys* or quaternion was the root of all things. The Jew

Philo, one of the writers from whom Hermas may be assumed to have borrowed, speaks in like manner of the simple tetrad or number four,* which he declares to have been the germ from which all things were evolved.

Nor is it hard to see how the notion may have arisen. The rudimentary fact that square-faced blocks fit together without leaving interstices would have led idealists to imagine a primeval mystic tetrad out of which the world was solidly and symmetrically built up. Of kindred origin must have been the old Greek expression for a blameless character, "foursquare without reproach," which Hermas illustrates by making the tower and every stone of it four-square.

At a comparatively early date the "everlasting Gospel" (Rev. xiv. 6), which was to be preached in all the world, would have been thought of as having an eternal and necessary relation to the cosmos; and afterwards, when the "Gospels of the Apostles" had been written, it would have been natural to go a step further and say that the Gospel was and must have been fourfold because all creation was fourfold.

The idea, as we see, had a history, and was not in its entirety the product of any one mind

* *De Opif. Mundi*, cap. (16) in C. & W.; Mangey, i. p. 11.

or one age. Of earlier works to which Irenaeus was referring in the passage quoted from his *Refutation* one was in all probability the book of Enoch, in which the *winds* are made to be the four pillars of the world.* Like the Word enthroned upon the fourfaced Cherubim is the universal Church on her bench with four feet. To understand these as symbols of the four Gospels gives point to the comparison of them with the four elements, which has been thought to be unmeaning. We have seen reason to think that Hermas knew three of the Four Gospels, and there are places in which he may be supposed to have borrowed from the fourth.

C. *The Tablet of Kebes.*

In his personifications of good and evil qualities Hermas builds upon a partly Christian and partly pre-Christian foundation, as when in *Sim.* ix. he expands the old Virtue and Vice into dodecads, the former named from Faith to Love like St. Paul's three Christian graces, and the latter antithetically from Unfaith to Hate.

In the apologue of Prodicus known as the *Choice of Hercules* Vice and Virtue in the form of women meet Hercules at the parting of the

* See Enoch xviii. 1—3 in the *O. T.* ed. Swete (1899), and *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, page 135 (ed. 2, 1897).

ways, the one tempting him to a life of ease and luxury, and the other commending her own more excellent but laborious way. This is quoted from Xenophon by Justin Martyr, and his contemporary Hermas would have known the story, and may be assumed to have used it as material for his allegory.*

Another description of the *Two Ways* which would have been known to him is that of Hesiod. Men according to this poet may come easily and in crowds to where Vice dwells, for it is not far off, and the way is smooth; but the way to Virtue is long and steep and toilsome, and easy only to one who is near the end.

The famous *Tablet*, which Lucian and Tertullian ascribe to Kebes, is a picture of the course of human life, in which men are helped or hindered on their pilgrimage by all manner of mental and moral qualities personified. The *Shepherd* having the same dramatic element in a like developed form, the question arises whether "Hermas" borrowed from "Kebes"; and a careful comparison of the two writings seems to shew that the comparatively lengthy work of

* See No. 42 of the 'Journal of Philology,' art. *The Two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon*; and on the *Tablet* see Nos. 54, 55 of the same.

Hermas is in part a Christian version of the anonymous *Tablet*, which we take to have been written a sufficient time before the *Shepherd*, even if not by the Theban Kebes, a disciple of Philolaus the Pythagorean and a companion of Socrates.

The *Tablet* is in the form of a dialogue between an old inhabitant of some unnamed place, whom we shall call *Senex*, and one of a party of strangers.

Chap. 1. The strangers see a number of votive offerings hung up in the temple of Kronos, and among them a symbolical picture which they cannot interpret. There are three successive enclosures, with a crowd standing outside at the gate of the first. A number of women are seen inside; and at the entrance stands an aged man, who seems to gesticulate as if giving directions to the crowd.

Chap. 3. *Senex*, who has undertaken to explain the picture, begins by comparing the riddle which the Sphinx used to propound to men. If they could not find the answer she ate them up. When it was at length found out she made away with herself. So Folly is a Sphinx to men, and she asks them the riddle, What is good, and what evil, and what neither good nor evil in life? Any one who does not understand

is destroyed by her ; not all at once like those who were devoured by the Sphinx, but by gradual lifelong decay. When a man finds out the riddle, then Folly perishes and he is "saved."

Chap. 4. Senex then with a rod points to the first enclosure, and says that the place is called Life. The multitude at the gate are those who are going to enter into life. The old man at the entrance is the Demon or Deity, and he tells them what to do when they enter, and what way they must go if they would be saved.

Chap. 5. At the gate sits a plausible, affected-looking woman with a cup in her hand. Her name is Deceit, and she drugs all who enter with error and ignorance. Do all drink of her cup, or not all ?

Chap. 6. All (replies Senex) drink of it, but some more, some less. The other women within are called Opinions, Desires and Pleasures. As the multitude at the gate come in, these women rush up to them, and embrace them, and carry them off promising everything that is good ; some of them to be saved and others to perish, because they fail to find their true way in life on account of the ignorance and error which they have imbibed from Deceit.

Chap. 7. Standing on a round stone is seen a blind woman named Fortune, who is also crazy

and deaf. And what does she do? She goes about everywhere, giving things to men and taking them away again at random, the round rolling stone signifying her instability and fickleness.

Chap. 9. Further up there is another enclosure with women outside it dressed like courtesans. Their names are Incontinence, Profligacy, Greed, Flattery. These watch for men who have received anything from Fortune, and they play the part of Vice in the *Choice of Hercules*. The man who consents to stay with them and consort with Luxury enjoys himself as long as he is under her spell, but when he comes to himself he finds that he "was not eating but being eaten and harmed by her." And so, when he has spent all that he had received from Fortune, he is obliged to serve these women and do all manner of shameful things, until when all has failed him he is delivered to Retribution.

Chap. 10. Then he lives in a strait dark place with Retribution, the woman with the scourge, and with Grief and other such personages, and ends his life in the abode of Unhappiness, unless Repentance comes to him.

Chap. 11. Repentance delivers him from his ills, and commends to him other Opinions, who

will conduct him to the True Education or to the False. If he follows the Opinion which leads to the former, he is by her purged of his error and thus saved.

Chap. 12. Pseudo-Education is then described as a respectable-looking woman whom ordinary men mistake for Education. Nevertheless those who are "being saved" must come to the False Education before they can reach the True. There is no other way.

Chap. 15. What sort of way is it that leads to her? It is a narrow mountain track by which few travel, and at the top there is a great high and steep rock.

Chap. 16. On the rock are seen two strong women, who stretch out their hands eagerly. Their names are Continnence and Endurance. They are encouraging the climbers to persevere; and they come down and drag them up the precipice, and they shew them the way above it, which is good and smooth and easy.

Chap. 17. Senex then points to the abode of the blest within the last enclosure, where dwell all the Virtues and Happiness.

Chap. 18. A middle-aged woman simply dressed stands at the gate, not like Fortune on a round stone but on a square one, which by its firm position signifies that her gifts and the way

to her are safe and sure. She is the True Education, and her gifts are knowledge and consequent independence of outward things.

Chap. 19. She stands outside that she may cure men as they arrive by her cathartic potion, the antidote to the draught given them by Deceit.

Chap. 20. Then she sends them inside to Knowledge and her sisters the other Virtues, of whom eight are named, including Continnence.

Chap. 21. These conduct the men to Happiness, the mother, who sits crowned with a fine crown of flowers on a high place, the acropolis of all the enclosures.

Chap. 22. She and the other Virtues crown a man on his arrival as victor in the greatest contests, for he has vanquished and subdued the "very great beasts" which formerly devoured and enslaved him.

Chap. 23. What manner of beasts? First (replies Senex) Ignorance and Error. Then Grief, Lamentation, Avarice, Incontinence, and Evil generally.

Chap. 24. When a man has been crowned, the Virtues take him back to the place whence he came, and shew him how wretchedly the people live there, shipwrecked and straying and led captive by Vices as if by enemies: failing

to find their way in life, because they have forgotten the injunction of the Deity.

Chap. 27. Some who are seen coming down the hill are crowned and others uncrowned. Of the latter some have been rejected by Education, and some were fearful and turned back of themselves.

Chap. 28. All manner of Evils accompany them; and when they have come back to Luxury and Incontinence, they do not blame themselves but Education and those poor creatures who give up the life of pleasure and come to her. The things that they call good are, in a word, profligacy and incontinence. Their *summum bonum* is to enjoy themselves like brute beasts.

Chap. 29. Those women who come back cheerful and laughing, who are they? They are Opinions that have brought men to Education, to be sent on by her to the Virtues, for they themselves cannot go so far as Knowledge; and they return to fetch others, as ships that have discharged their cargoes come back to lade again.

Chap. 31. A man should put no trust in fickle Fortune and her gifts, and should not be like dishonest bankers, who when they have received money on deposit regard it as their own, and are unwilling to give it back on demand.

Chap. 32. The gift that is "without repentance" is the knowledge of things that really profit, which Education gives. A man when he has come (as he must first come) to False Education, should take what she has to give as a viaticum, and go quickly on his way to the True.

Chaps. 33—42. The "myth in the tablet" having been expounded, the book ends with a discussion of the original question, What things are good, bad or indifferent in life? The things to be taken from pseudo-Education are letters and the other branches of learning, which Plato likens to a bridle for the young. Her teaching does not necessarily make men better. It is not positively false, as her name might seem to imply, but those who have it are apt to deceive themselves by fancying that they have the one thing needful. They must repent and be persuaded that they have not True Education but only Education falsely so called (chap. 35). But how can it be that gifts of Fortune such as life, health, wealth, success, and the like are not good things, and the contrary evil things? Not mere living (replies Senex) but living well is a good thing and living viciously is an evil thing, so that dying is often preferable to living; and in like manner it is often not profitable to

be in health (chap. 38). So to have wealth is good only if one knows how to use it (chap. 39). To the strangers these are hard sayings, and Senex ends with the promise to answer any further questions and remove their doubts.

There is of course an essential difference between the *Shepherd* and the *Tablet*, the one Christian and the other (to use its own words) giving a "Pythagorean and Parmenidean" view of life; but the hypothesis that Hermas adopted the leading ideas of Kebes with necessary variations accounts for some curious things in the *Shepherd* which have not been otherwise explained. In the following short comparison of the two works we begin with the *Tablet*, note things in it that would have attracted the attention of Hermas, and look for traces of them in the *Shepherd*.

Chap. 3. The introductory remarks of Senex on Folly as a Sphinx to men would have led Hermas to think of some way of bringing in the old story of the Sphinx and her riddle, and to this riddle, read backwards, we have already found an allusion in the introductory part of the *Shepherd* (p. 19). Folly is one of the twelve evil women named in *Sim.* ix. 15.

Chap. 4. The multitude at the gate must all pass through it on their entrance into life. This

is very obvious and natural in the picture ; but it is not according to nature that the stones for a tower should have to be carried by twelve Virgins through a pre-existent gate over which it is going to be built, and that otherwise they should not be able to change their colours and become fit for the building (*Sim.* ix. 4). Hermas, who has little concern for the naturalness of his symbols apart from their applications, begins with the gate of life according to Kebes and transforms those who are about to pass through it into "living stones." Then he makes all these stones for the tower pass through its gate, which, with allusion to the Gospel, is made to signify the Son of God.

Chap. 5. The story of Deceit will be found again in *Sim.* vi. with the characters in like manner transformed, an Angel in gay clothing taking the place of the woman Deceit, and sheep representing the men who drink of her cup.

Chap. 7. Fortune or Chance on her round stone would have to be disguised before she could be brought into a Christian allegory. Why does Hermas make the round stones represent the wealthy, whose riches must be cut away before they can "enter into the kingdom of God"? A round stone may be either too large or too small to fit into and fill up a given

“square hole.” The round stones for the tower are faulty only because they are not square. But Hermas has to connect roundness with the possession and the loss of gifts of Fortune, and he does this by making round stones which have to be squared and so lessened represent believers who have too much worldly wealth.

Chap. 12. With an inversion, as in his play upon the riddle of the Sphinx, the author of the *Shepherd* makes Hermas in *Vis.* ii. 4 mistake the Church for the Sibyl, the True Education (chaps. 18, 35) for the False.

Chap. 16. As in the *Tablet* two strong women, of whom one is Continnence, stretch out their hands to the climbers and drag them up the rock, so in *Sim.* ix. 3 f. twelve women, of whom four including Continnence are stronger than the rest, spread out their hands to receive the stones, which represent the climbers, and carry them up the rock to the tower.

Chap. 18. Education stands on a square stone and the tower, which represents the Church, stands on a square rock. This suggests that the Church in the *Shepherd* is meant to correspond to Education in the *Tablet*; whose name might almost be rendered *wisdom*, with reference to its use by and in connexion with Wisdom in the book of Proverbs. The Hebrew

for it there is *musar*, and this is so rendered in the Greek of Ecclesiasticus vi. 22, "For wisdom is according to her name."

Chap. 22 f. The very great beasts of Kebes, which are vanquished with the help of Knowledge, suggest to Hermas a very great beast to be overcome by Faith (*Vis.* iv.), and the crowning of the victors is spoken of in *Mand.* xii. and *Sim.* viii.

Chap. 31. With allusion to the *Tablet* and other writings, Hermas in *Mand.* iii. and *Sim.* ix. 32 illustrates the obligation to pay back deposits in their entirety.

Chap. 38. He has much to say on the subject of the discussion which follows the explanation of the picture. Thus in *Vis.* iv. 2 we read that it would have been preferable for some men not to have been born. The Gospel partly accounts for this saying, but the word *preferable* was in all probability suggested by the *Tablet*. Further traces of the *Tablet* will be pointed out in the footnotes to the translation.

5. THE DOCTRINE OF HERMAS.

1. THE first *Mandate* enjoins faith in the one God, who created and comprehends all things, and who only is incomprehensible. This was quoted by Irenaeus as before said (p. 10); and

by Origen in *De Princip.* i. 3. 3, ii. 1. 5 (*op.* i. 61, 79); and by Athanasius and pseudo-Athanasius. (See Hilgenfeld on *Mand.* i., and the numerous *Testimonies of the Ancients* prefixed to the *Shepherd* as edited by Cotelier.) On God the Father see *Vis.* iii. 9. 10; *Sim.* v. 6. 3, 4, ix. 12. 2.

2. In *Vis.* ii. 2. 5, 8 God is said to swear by His glory, and by His Son. On the person and work of the Son see *Sim.* v. 2. 4—6. ix. 1. 12—18, 24, 28.

3. Hermas has statements about the "Holy Spirit" which have been much discussed, and are by some judged unorthodox. In *Mand.* v., x., xi. he speaks of the Holy Spirit as residing in a man; and on this Wake would have the reader observe, "that he speaketh not of the *Holy Ghost* as He is the *Spirit of God* and the *Third Person* in the sacred *Trinity*, but of the *Spirit given to Christians* which dwelleth in their Souls and Bodies," and he compares the distinction in 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12, between the Spirit of God and the spirit in man "which is of God."

In the interpretation of the parable of the Vineyard in *Sim.* v. 5 Wake reads, "The Lord of the Farm is he who created and finished all things, and gave Vertue unto them. *His Son*

is the Holy Spirit: The Servant is the Son of God." The clause *His Son*, etc., is omitted by Harmer, being found in the Old Latin * only. Its omission removes a difficulty; but the similitude is of complex structure, and cannot be quite freed from ambiguity.

Virtually the same question comes up again in *Sim.* ix. 1. 1, where the "Holy Spirit" that had appeared in the form of the Church is said to be the Son of God. If Hermas were using the technical language of systematic theology, he would here be "confounding the Persons" of the Son and the Holy Ghost; but in all probability he means only to say, like the author of the oldest extant *Homily*, that Christ the Lord was Spirit before He "became flesh" (2 Clem. ix. 5). The homilist (we may suggest) was referring to Lam. iv. 20 Sept., "The Spirit of our presence Christ (the) Lord," in proof that Christ was called Spirit, as St. Ambrose in *De Spir. Sanct.* i. 105 did after him.

Professor Swete *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* begins with the statement, "In the earliest age of the Church comparatively little attention was paid to the

* The *Old Latin* version exists in about twenty manuscripts. Another Latin version, called the *Palatine*, is found in a manuscript of cent. 14, and was published by Dressel in 1857.

doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It was thrown into the background by the paramount importance of the doctrine of the Person of Christ ;" and writes in the same chapter, that " It is common to find the titles of the Holy Ghost assigned to the Logos. The Divine Nature of Christ, especially in its pre-existent state, is repeatedly described as the Spirit, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of the Creator." On this subject see also Pearson *Vind. Ignat.* i. 4 and Bull *Def. Fid. Nicæn.* i. 2. 5 (cited by Wake), Blunt *On the Right Use of the Early Fathers* (Lect. x. 2), the section on Hermas in Dorner *On the Person of Christ*, and the notes on Rom. i. 4 in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

4. The ethical teaching of the *Shepherd* is in general sound and simple, but Tertullian in *De Pud.* x., xx. reviles the book, and calls it "that apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers." Hereupon Cotelier, near the beginning of his prefatory *Critique*, tells us that a writer to Nonnus makes the mistake of thinking that Tertullian was referring to the pericope John vii. 53—viii. 11.

Hermas in *Mand.* iv. writes as if he himself were acquainted with the pericope, not necessarily as part of any canonical writing. The reasons for excising it from the Fourth Gospel are well known. Professor Blass has much to say for its inclusion in the Third, namely,

in his edition of St. Luke's Gospel, and in chap. ix. of his English work on the *Philology of the Gospels*. According to another view the pericope belonged to the apocryphal *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and was included in the collections of Papias. There is no obvious reason why the story should not have been known to Hermas also; and, if he knew it, we may almost take for granted that he would have made some use of it when occasion arose, as in *Mand. iv.*

It has been said of the pericope, that "In the whole range of Greek patristic literature before cent. (10 or) 12 there is but one trace of any knowledge of its existence, the reference to it in the *Apostolic Constitutions* [ii. 24], as an authority for the reception of penitents." But the story is referred to also in a parallel passage of the *Didascalia*, an earlier Greek work now known only in a Syriac and partly in a Latin translation, to which in the Syriac Lagarde gives a side reference in his edition of the *Constitutions* in Greek. This fact has been pointed out in the *Expository Times* (Nov. 1901) by Professor Nestle, who translates the said passage of the *Didascalia* as follows—

Therefore must thou, bishop, with all power thou canst, prescribe those that have not sinned, that they remain without sinning, and those that convert from sin thou

must heal and receive. But if thou dost not receive him that converts, because thou art without mercy, thou sinnest against the Lord God, because thou obeyest not our Saviour and our God, to do as also He did to her who sinned, whom the elders placed before Him and left the judgment in His hands, and went off. But He, the perceiver of hearts, asked her and said to her, Have the elders condemned thee, my daughter? She said to Him, No, Lord. And He said to her, Go; nor do I condemn thee. In this, therefore, our Saviour and our King must be a goal to you, bishops, and Him ye must imitate.

Fortunately "this very piece has been preserved in the Latin fragments of the *Didascalia*, discovered and edited by E. Hauler (Leipzig, 1900, p. 35)."

5. To conclude with a word about the Christian Ministry, we suppose episcopacy to have been existent in the Church as known to Hermas about 150 A.D. At the end of *Vis.* ii., where the scene is laid in an earlier age, the unique position of Clement is assumed to be understood without mention of his title. So the *Epistle of Polycarp* begins simply, "Polycarp and the presbyters with him to the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi"; whereas Ignatius, a bishop, addresses him in a letter as bishop of Smyrna, calling himself merely "Ignatius, who is also Theophorus." Hermas speaks of "bishops" in *Vis.* iii. 5. 1; *Sim.* ix. 27. 2.

VISIONS I—IV

FIRST VISION

CHAPTER I

1. HE that bred me up sold me to a lady Rhoda at Rome. Many years after I knew her again, and began to love her as a sister. 2. After a while I saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and I reached out my hand to her, and led her up out of the river. Then, seeing her beauty, I communed in my heart, saying, Happy were I had I such an one for beauty and disposition to wife. That only I thought to myself, and nothing more. 3. After a certain time, as I was on the way to Cumae, and was lauding the creations of God that are so great and notable and mighty, as I walked I fell asleep. And a Spirit took me and carried me away across a pathless region,* through which no man could

* Gr. *anodia*, a word used in Enoch lxxxix. 44, Philo, Kebes, Symmachus (Job xii. 24; Ps. cvii. 40), and again by Hermas in *Vis.* iii. 2. 9, 7. 1; *Mand.* vi. 1. 3. In *Mand.* vi. we translate it literally *no-way*, making this a noun like *nayword*, *nobody*, *nonage*, although it seems that *noway*, *noways* are in use as adverbs only.

journey ; for it was rugged, and broken up by watercourses. But when I had crossed the river there I came to the plain ground, and I knelt down and began to pray unto the Lord, and to make confession of my sins. 4. Then as I prayed the heaven was opened, and I beheld the lady whom I had desired greeting me from heaven, saying, Hermas, hail! 5. And I gazed at her and said, Lady, what doest thou here? She answered and said to me, I was received up to reprove thy sins before the Lord. 6. I said to her, Dost thou now accuse me? Nay, quoth she, but hear the things that I will tell thee: God, who dwelleth in the heavens, and who created the things that are out of nothing, and increased and multiplied them for the sake of His holy Church, is wroth with thee because thou hast sinned against me. 7. I answered and said to her, I sinned against thee? How? Spake I ever an unseemly word to thee? Did I not always esteem thee as a goddess? * Did I not always reverence thee as

* A slave and afterwards a freedman, Hermas looks upon Rhoda first as a goddess and then as a sister. By inserting a "jot" Hilgenfeld turns *goddess* into *aunt*; but according to the *Didache* (iv. 11) slaves were to regard their owners as a "type of God." The *Epistle of Barnabas* (xix. 7), omitting "Ye slaves," reads "Thou shalt be subject unto masters as a type of God."

a sister? Why, lady, dost thou falsely lay these evil and unclean things to my charge? 8. Then she, smiling upon me, said, The desire of naughtiness arose in thine heart. Seemeth it not to thee to be an evil deed to a righteous man that the desire of wickedness should enter his heart? Yea, it is sin, great sin, quoth she. For the righteous man purposeth righteous things; and his purposes being righteous, his repute is established in the heavens, and he findeth favour with the Lord in all his doings. But they who purpose wickedness in their hearts draw death and captivity upon themselves: specially they that set their affection on this world, and boast themselves in their riches, and lay not hold on the good things to come.* 9. Their souls shall rue it, seeing they have no hope, but have renounced themselves and their life. But do thou pray unto God, and He shall heal thy sins, and the sins of all thy house and of all the saints.

* Compare in Heb. x. 1 (? ix. 11) *of the good things to come*. For the figure of "captivity" see Rom. vii. 23 and chap. 24 of the *Tablet of Kebes*, where men are said to be carried off vanquished by Vices "as by enemies." Rhoda and the Church (2. 4) play upon Matt. v. 28 *in his heart*. Hermas and Rhoda have been compared with Dante and Beatrice.

CHAPTER 2

1. AFTER she had spoken these words the heavens were shut up, and I was all quaking and sorrowing. And I said within myself, If even this sin is laid to my charge, how is it possible I should be saved? How shall I make atonement to God for my sins that are full grown?* or with what words shall I pray the Lord to be forgiving unto me? 2. While I was considering these things and debating in my heart, I saw over against me a great white chair of snowy wool; and there came an ancient dame in brightly shining raiment, holding a book in her hands; and she sat down alone and saluted me saying, Hermas, hail! And I, sorrowing and weeping, said, Lady, hail! 3. And she said to me, Why art thou gloomy, Hermas, that art so patient and calm and wont to be always laughing? why thus downcast in look and cheerless? And I said to her, Because of a most gracious lady, which sayeth that I sinned against her. 4. Quoth she, Far be this thing from the servant of God. But

* This epithet of sins occurs in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, in the curious passage about the wool upon the wood (viii. 1). Compare also James i. 15.

of a surety something about her came into thy heart. Such intent maketh the servants of God guilty of sin ; for it is a wicked and mad intent in an all-reverend and tried spirit that it should desire an evil deed : specially the chaste Hermas, who withholdeth himself from every sinful lust, and is full of all simplicity and great innocency.

CHAPTER 3

1. HOWBEIT it is not for this that God is angry with thee, but to the end that thou shouldest convert thine house, which have rebelled against the Lord and you their parents. Being fond of thy children thou didst not admonish thine house, but sufferedst it to be terribly corrupted. Therefore is the Lord angry with thee. But He will heal all the former ills of thine house ; for through their sins and unlawful deeds thou hast been corrupted by the affairs of this life.

2. Yet the Lord in His abundant mercy hath had pity on thee and thine house, and will strengthen and stablish thee in His glory. Only be thou not slothful, but be of good courage and strengthen thine house. For as the smith by hammering his work prevaieth in the thing that

he designeth, so the righteous word * spoken day by day prevaieth over all wickedness. Without ceasing therefore admonish thy children ; for I know that if they will repent with their whole heart, they shall be inscribed in the books of life with the saints. 3. When these her words had ceased, she said to me, Wouldest thou hear me read ? And I said, Lady, I would. She said to me, Be attentive and hear the glories of God. And I heard in great and wondrous wise that which I had not ability to remember ; for all the words were fearsome, such as no man could bear. So I remembered the last words, for they were profitable to us and gentle : 4. Behold, the God of hosts, who by His unseen mighty power and great understanding created the world, and by His glorious counsel clad His creation with beauty, and by His strong word made the heaven fast and founded the earth upon the waters, and by His peculiar wisdom and providence created His holy Church, which also He blessed ; † behold, He removeth the

* Jer. xxiii. 29 *Is not my word . . . like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces ?*

† Here and in *Vis.* i. 1. 6 and elsewhere we have allusions to the Greek of Gen. i. 28, *And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it : and have dominion, etc.*

heavens and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and all things are made plain to His elect, that He may render unto them the promise which He promised with great glory and joy, if so be they observe the ordinances of God which they received with great faith.

CHAPTER 4

1. NOW when she had finished reading and was risen from the chair, four young men came and took up the chair and went away toward the East. 2. And she called me to her, and touched me on the breast, and said to me, Did my reading please thee? And I said to her, Lady, these last words please me, but the former words were hard and harsh. Quoth she to me,

Papias and other "ancient and first expositors" expounded all the work of the Six Days as referring to *Christ and the Church*, as St. Paul explains a part of it in Eph. v. 32, and a homilist of cent. 2 likewise makes "male and female" mean, the one Christ and the other Ecclesia (p. 71). The Jew Philo before them spiritualised "the sayings about Paradise." (See page 533 of the volume containing Dr. Harmer's text of the *Shepherd*.) Hermas interpreted the creative work in like manner. Ignatius addresses the Church of the Trallians as *holy* (Eph. v. 27) and *elect*. By his lady the Church Hermas may allude to the *elect lady* of 2 John 1-5.

These last are for the righteous, but the former were for the heathen and the apostates. 3. While she yet spake with me, certain two men appeared, and lifted her in their arms, and went away toward the East, where also the chair was. And she departed gladly, and as she was going she said to me, Be manful, Hermas.

SECOND VISION

CHAPTER I

1. AS I was faring to Cumae about the same season as the year before, as I walked I called to mind the vision of the former year; and again a Spirit taketh me and carrieth me away to the same place as the year before. 2. And when I was come to the place, I bowed my knees and began to pray to the Lord and to glorify His name, for that He had counted me worthy and made me to know my former sins. 3. And when I was risen from my prayer, I saw over against me the aged woman whom I had seen the year before, walking about and reading a little book.* And she said to me, Canst thou

* Her age, her book, and the neighbourhood of Cumae suggest the Sibyl (chap. 4), for whom Hermas was to mistake the Church (pp. 42, 48). Lactantius in *Div. Inst.* i. 6, writing of the Sibyls and their verses, relates on the authority of Varro that an image of the Tiburtine Sibyl with a book in her hand, was found in the river Anio. Earlier writers recognise one Sibyl only, and they locate

repeat these things to the elect of God? I said to her, Lady, so many things I cannot remember; but give me the little book that I may copy it. Take it, quoth she, but give it back to me. 4. So I took it, and withdrew to a certain place in the country; and I copied it all letter by letter, not being able to make out the syllables.* Now when I had finished the letters of the little book, suddenly it was caught out of my hand, but by whom I saw not.

CHAPTER 2

I. FIFTEEN days after, when I had fasted and besought the Lord much, the knowledge of the

her at Erythrae, or Cumae. For the tradition of her longevity see Aristotle (*Mir. Ausc.* 95), Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 321), and other writers. As an old woman she offered her books to Tarquinius Priscus. A fragment of Heraclitus makes her inspired voice span a millennium.

* We are to suppose the book written in archaic style without spaces to mark off the words, as Potter notes on the passage as cited in Clem. *Strom.* vi. 15 (P. 806). With combined allusion probably to Rev. i. 11, x. 2, 9—11, Hermas is made to take the little book and write what he sees in it. If the manuscript lent to him by the Church personified was imaginary, so too may have been the proposed presentation of copies of it to Clement and Grapte (p. 12). On the insufficiency of "letters," see p. 45.

writing was revealed to me. And this is what was written: 2. Thy seed, Hermas, have been disobedient unto God, and have blasphemed the Lord, and have betrayed their parents with great wickedness. And being reputed betrayers of parents, when they had betrayed them they were not bettered,* but added yet wicked lewdness and pollutions to their sins. Thus have they filled up the measure of their iniquities. 3. But do thou acquaint all thy children with these words, and thy consort, who shall henceforth be to thee a sister; for she too refraineth not her tongue, whereby she doeth wickedly. Howbeit when she hath heard these words she will refrain, and she shall find mercy. 4. After thou hast made known to them these words, which the Master commanded me to reveal unto thee, then shall all their sins which they committed before be forgiven them; yea, and all the saints who have sinned unto this day shall be forgiven, if they repent with their whole heart and remove

* Mark v. 26 *nothing bettered but*. Hilgenfeld, omitting the "not," understands that they *profited* by informing against their parents as Christians in time of persecution. According to Kebes (chap. 40) no real good can come of evil things, such as "betrayal." Among the gifts of Fortune, which are not absolutely and necessarily good, he mentions "children" (chaps. 8, 36); and his teaching is illustrated by the experiences of Hermas (p. 11).

doubts from their minds. 5. For the Master hath sworn by His glory touching His elect, that if there be more sinning after this day which He hath limited,* they shall not obtain salvation. For the repentance of the righteous hath an end; the days of repentance for all saints are fulfilled; but for the heathen there is repentance unto the last day. 6. Thou shalt charge them therefore that have the rule over the Church to order their ways in righteousness that they may receive the promises to the full with much glory. 7. Stand fast then, ye that work righteousness and be not of doubtful mind, that your passing may be with the holy angels. Happy are all ye that endure the great affliction which is to come, and that shall not deny their life. 8. For the Lord hath sworn by His Son, that they who deny their Lord shall surely be disowned of their life,† to wit they that shall now deny Him in the days which are coming. But to such as denied before He was forgiving because of His abundant mercy.

* Heb. iv. 7 *Again, he limiteth a certain day.* For the phrase *last day* see John vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; vii. 37; xi. 24; xii. 48.

† That is, of "Christ who is our life" (Col. iii. 4). The name or title Christ is not found in the *Shepherd*, except that here the Sinaitic codex has the abbreviation ΧΝ (Christ) by mistake for ΚΝ (Lord).

CHAPTER 3

1. AND do thou, Hermas, no longer bear malice against thy children, nor neglect thy sister,* to the end that they may be cleansed from their former sins; for they shall be corrected with just correction, if thou remember not evil against them. Remembrance of evil worketh death. Thou, Hermas, hast had great troubles of thine own through the transgressions of thine house, because thou hadst no care for them, but wast unmindful and entangled in thine evil affairs.

2. But thou art saved because thou didst not fall away from the living God, and by thy simplicity and much continence. These things have saved thee, if only thou continue in them; and they save all who do such like things, and walk in innocency and simplicity. These prevail against all wickedness, and continue unto life eternal.

3. Happy are all that work righteousness: they shall never be destroyed.

4. But say to Maximus, Behold, affliction cometh; if it seem good to thee, deny again. *The Lord is nigh unto them that turn again*, as it is written in the book of Eldad

* Or *neither let thy sister* (Old Lat. *ap.* Hilgenfeld).

and Modad, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness.*

CHAPTER 4

I. AND when I was asleep, brethren, a revelation was made to me by a very comely young man, who said unto me, Whom thinkest thou that the aged woman is from whom thou receivedst the little book? Quoth I, The Sibyl. Thou dost err, quoth he; she is not. Who then is she? quoth I. The Church, quoth he. I said to him, Why then is she old? Because, quoth

* The Spirit rested upon Eldad and Modad, *and they prophesied in the camp* (Num. xi. 26). Clement of Alexandria near the end of *Quis Div. Salv.* (P. 961) shews that he is thinking of the *Shepherd* by bringing in the Angel of Repentance. In the preceding chapter he speaks of "unhypocritical repentance" (*Sim.* viii. 6. 2), and concludes, "He is nigh unto them that believe and far from the godless, except they repent." The lost book of *Eldad and Modad* (MS. -at) is mentioned as late as about 828 A.D. in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus. As it is the only book expressly quoted by Hermas, it is not unlikely that he used it repeatedly in the *Shepherd*. About Maximus, the doubleminded (*Mand.* xi. 4), we have no further information. The expression *deny again* occurs in Mark xiv. 70; John xviii. 27.

he, she was created first of all things.* Therefore is she old; and for her sake the world was framed. 2. Afterwards I saw a vision in my house. The aged woman came, and asked me if I had already given the book to the elders.

* The Church would naturally have been represented as young. But Hermas takes occasion to bring out the doctrine of a pre-existent Church, which is taught in the ancient homily before mentioned, thus, "Wherefore, brethren, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the first Church, which is spiritual [*Sim.* ix. 1. 1], which was *created before the sun and moon* [Ps. lxxii. 5, 17]. . . . And I do not suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ: for the Scripture saith, *God made man, male and female*. The male is Christ and the female is the Church. And the Books and the Apostles plainly declare that the Church existeth not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning: for she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was spiritual, but was manifested in the last days that He might save us. Now the Church, being spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ" (2 Clem. R. xiv., ed. Lightfoot). Hermas and Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 20, 44) are the earliest Church writers who are known to have made express mention of the Sibyl. In the hymn *Dies irae* she is named with David and as a true prophetess, in the line "Teste David cum Sibylla." For other references to the Sibyl and her supposed oracles see the notes in Rzach or Geffcken's *Oracula Sibyllina*. An alleged mention of her by Clement of Rome is disposed of by Cotelier's simple emendation of a passage of pseudo-Justin (*Respons. ad Orthodox.* 74; *Journ. of Phil.* xxviii. 202).

I said that I had not. Thou hast well done, quoth she, for I have words to add. When therefore I have finished all the words, they shall be made known by thee to all the elect. 3. Thou shalt therefore write two little books, and shalt send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement* then shall send to the cities which are without, for that is his commission; and Grapte shall admonish the widows and the orphans. And thou shalt read to this city, with the elders that preside over the Church.

*. Obviously St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, who wrote on behalf of the Church there to the Corinthians, some half century (as we think) before the *Shepherd* was composed. Like the Clement commended in Phil. iv. 3, for whom Origen mistook him, he is sufficiently distinguished by his name alone. A romantic account of his life is embodied in the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and spurious works began to be ascribed to him not very long after his day. Grapte, whose name is somewhat uncommon, is supposed to have been a deaconess. A Grapte is mentioned by Josephus. Origen (*Princip.* iv. 11, *op.* i. 168 f.), quoted at length by Hoole, allegorises what is here written "in the book of the *Shepherd*, which some despise." Grapte, the elementary teacher, "is the bare letter." Clement is he who writes "to souls that are outside carnal things." Hermas, the disciple of the Spirit, is to announce by unwritten living words "to the elders of the whole Church who have grown grey with thought."

THIRD VISION

CHAPTER I

1. WHAT I saw, brethren, was on this wise.
2. When I had fasted oft and prayed the Lord to declare to me the revelation which He had promised to shew me through that aged woman, in that night she appeared and said to me, Since thou art thus importunate and zealous to know all things, go now into the country where thou farmest,* and about the fifth hour I will appear unto thee, and will shew thee the things which thou must see. 3. I asked her saying, Lady, to what place in the country? Where thou wilt, quoth she. Then I chose out a goodly retired spot; but before I had spoken to her

* A free rendering of *chondrizeis* (Cod. Sin., Zahn, Gebh., Funk). Harmer, from Gr. *chronizeis*, "thou abidest." With her appointment to meet Hermas in the field compare 2 (4) Esdras ix. 24—26 *But go into a field of flowers . . . then will I come and talk with thee. So I went my way into the field which is called Arduth.*

and told her the place, she said to me, I will come there where thou wilt. 4. So I went into the country, brethren, and counted up the hours, and came to the place that I had appointed for her to come to. And I saw an ivory bench set there, and on the bench lay a linen pillow, and over it was spread out a linen cloth of fine flax. 5. Seeing these things lying * and no man in the place I was sore amazed, and as it were trembling seized me and my hair stood up, and a horror came upon me, because I was alone. Coming however to myself, and calling to mind the glory of God and taking courage, I bowed my knees and began to confess my sins again to the Lord as before. 6. Then she came with the six young men whom I had seen before, and stood by me and listened as I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord.† And she touched

* Coming to the place at the time agreed upon he does not see the person whom he expected to see, but only certain things "lying." His consternation is remarkable, and needs to be accounted for. It may be suggested that he alludes to John xx. 5-7, taken with Mark xvi. 5-8; Acts iii. 11; Job iv. 14, 15. Peter and John see "the linen clothes lying," and no man in the place. The word for *linen clothes* (R.V. *cloths*) is *othonia*, and the word for *cloth* in the vision *lention* (John xiii. 4, 5).

† Thus he is made to confess in the presence of the Church, in accordance with the precept of the *Didache* (iv 14), "In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions."

me and said, Cease, Hermas, to pray all about thy sins. Ask for righteousness also, that thou mayest straightway receive some part thereof for thine house. 7. And she raised me up by the hand, and led me to the bench, and said to the young men, Go and build. 8. And when the young men were gone and we were left alone, she said to me, Sit down here. I said to her, Lady, let the elder first be seated.* Sit down, quoth she, as I bid thee. 9. Then when I would have sat on the right side she suffered me not, but beckoned to me with her hand to sit on the left. And as I thought thereon and was sad because she suffered me not to sit on the right side, she said to me, Grievest thou, Hermas? The place on the right is for others, who have already pleased God and suffered for the Name's sake. Thou comest far short of sitting with them. But continue as thou dost in thy singleness, and thou shalt sit with them; and so shall all who do their works and bear what they have borne.

* Some have made a difficulty by imagining that Hermas wanted the presbyters, of whom none were present, to sit down first. We understand him to say *Seniores priores*, instead of "Old lady, sit thou down first." So Wake from the Old Latin, "Lady, let those who are Elder sit first."

CHAPTER 2

1. WHAT, quoth I, did they bear? Hearken, quoth she: Scourgings, imprisonments, great afflictions, crosses, wild beasts for the Name's sake. Therefore the right side of the Holiness* belongeth to them and to all who suffer for the Name, and to the rest belongeth the left side. Nevertheless both they that sit on the right and they on the left have the same gifts and the same promises, only that those are seated on the right hand and have a certain glory. 2. Thou art full of longing to sit on the right hand with them, yet thy failings are many. But thou shalt be purged from them, and all who doubt not shall be purged from all their sins unto this day. 3. When she had thus spoken she would have departed; but I fell at her feet and besought her by the Lord to shew me the vision which she promised. 4. Then she took me again by the hand, and raised me up and seated me on the bench on the left side, and she herself sat on the right. And lifting up a certain bright

* Note the allusions to this in Clem. *Strom.* iv. 4, 6 (P. 570, 576). Hermas combines the teaching of the parables of the Pence (Matt. xx.) and the Pounds (Luke xix.).

wand she said to me, Seest thou some great thing? I said to her, Lady, I see nothing. She said to me, Lo, seest thou not over against thee a great tower being builded of foursquare stones upon the waters? 5. Now the tower was being built foursquare by the six young men who came with her.* And myriads more of men were bringing stones, some from the deep and some from the land, and were giving them to the six young men, and they were taking them and building. 6. All the stones drawn from the deep they put into the building as they were, for they were fitly shapen and answerable in their joining to the other stones. And they so clave to one another that no joint appeared, but the whole tower seemed to be built of one stone. 7. But some of the other stones, which were brought from the dry land, they rejected, and some they put into the building, and some they hewed in pieces and hurled far from the tower. 8. And many other stones lay round about the

* Taking a suggestion from the six days of Creation, Hermas represents his tower as built by or under the direction of six chief angels, who with the Church make up the sacred number seven. On the seeming oneness of all its stones (cf. *Sim.* ix. 9. 13) Origen remarks (com. on Hosea, *op.* iii. 439), "What signifieth the Scripture" but the unity which comes of the harmony of many things?

tower, and they were not using them for the building ; for some of them were scabbed, and some had cracks, and some were stunted, and others were white but round and would not fit into the building. 9. And I saw other stones flung far from the tower, and lighting on the way and not remaining in it, but rolling off to where there was no way ; and others falling upon fire and being burned ; and others falling near water but unable to roll into it, although they would fain have rolled and come to the water.

CHAPTER 3

1. WHEN she had shewed me these things, she would have run away. But I said to her, Lady, what doth it profit me to have seen these things and not know what they mean? She answered me saying, Thou art a knavish fellow, desiring to know all about the tower. Yea, quoth I, lady, so that I may tell my brethren, and they may be the more glad, and when they have heard these things may know the Lord in much glory. 2. Then quoth she, Many shall hear ; but when they have heard, some of them shall rejoice and some shall weep.* Howbeit

* The like is said in *Kebed* (chap. 8) of those who receive or lose the gifts of Fortune. Compare also *John* xvi. 20.

these also, if they hear and repent, shall likewise rejoice. Hear then the parables of the tower, for I will reveal all things unto thee; and then trouble me no more about revelation, for these revelations have an end, seeing they are fulfilled. Yet thou wilt not cease to ask for revelations, for thou art shameless. 3. The tower which thou seest building is myself, the Church, which have appeared to thee even now and beforetime. Wherefore ask what thou wilt concerning the tower, and I will reveal it unto thee, that thou mayest rejoice with the saints. 4. I said to her, Lady, seeing thou hast once judged me worthy to whom to reveal all things, do thou reveal them. And she said to me, Whatsoever it is possible should be revealed to thee shall be revealed. Only let thy heart be toward God, and doubt not at whatsoever thou seest. 5. I asked her, Lady, why is the tower built upon the waters? I told thee before, quoth she, and thou enquirest diligently; and so enquiring thou findest the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon water. It is because your life was saved and shall be saved by water.* But

* Compare 1 Pet. iii. 20 *saved by water*. Like the world (*Vís.* i. 3. 4; Gen. i. 2; Ps. xxiv. 2, civ. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 5), the "world of the Church" (p. 34) is said to be founded upon the waters, with allusion to baptism "in

the tower was founded by the word of the almighty and glorious Name, and it is held fast by the unseen power of the Master.

CHAPTER 4

1. I ANSWERED and said to her, Lady, this thing is great and wondrous; but who are the six young men that were building? These, said she, are the holy angels of God which were first created, to whom the Lord delivered His whole creation, to increase and build it and to rule over it. By their hand therefore must the building of the tower be accomplished. 2. But those others who were bringing the stones, who are they? They also, she said, are holy angels of God, but those six are more excellent than they. And when the building of the tower is finished, then all shall rejoice together round about the

the Name." In the opinion of Hoole, "The tower built upon the waters was probably suggested by the structures on the Alban Lake," some of which jutted into the water. By the "word," as by the "water," Hermas alludes to two things, the creative *fiat* and the Gospel (Zahn, *die Predigt vom Sohne Gottes*), by means of which the Church was founded. Compare for the epithet Wisd. xviii. 15 *Thine all-powerful word*, and for the "word" Eph. v. 26; Heb. i. 3, xi. 3; 1 Pet. i. 25.

tower, and shall glorify God because the building of the tower is accomplished. 3. Then I asked her saying, Lady, I would know what event happeneth to the stones, and what is the meaning of them. She answered and said to me, Not because thou art of all men the most worthy to have things revealed to thee, for there are others before thee and better than thou, to whom these visions should have been revealed ; but to the end that the name of God may be glorified, they have been revealed and shall be revealed to thee because of the doubleminded, who debate in their hearts whether these things be so or not.* Say unto them that all these things are true, and nothing is beside the truth, but all is firm and sure and stablished.

* So the *Didache* (iv. 4), "Thou shalt not be of two minds whether a thing shall be or not." The compound *double-minded* may or may not be new in James i. 8, iv. 8, where see Dr. Joseph B. Mayor's commentary on the *Epistle*. The idea of it is in Xen. *Cyr.* vi. i. 41 there quoted, "For clearly, quoth he, I have two minds," inclined to good and evil respectively. Hermas uses the word and its cognates very frequently, with alusion perhaps in places to the book of *Eldad and Modad*.

CHAPTER 5

1. HEAR now about the stones that went into the building. The square white stones which agree in their joinings, these are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who walked in godly gravity, and ministered purely and gravely as bishops and teachers and deacons to the elect of God; of whom some are fallen asleep and some yet are.* And they always agreed together, and had peace among themselves, and hearkened to one another. Therefore do their joinings agree in the structure of the tower. 2. And who are they that were drawn from the deep and put on to the building, which agree in their joinings with the other stones that

* In *Vis.* iii. and *Sim.* ix. Hermas expatiates on the text 1 Pet. ii. 5 *ye also as living stones are built up a spiritual house*; cp. Matt. iii. 9, Luke iii. 8, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." In *Vis.* ii. 4, iii. 5; *Mand.* iv. 3, xi. 7, 16; *Sim.* ix. 15—17, 25 mention is made of apostles, prophets, teachers, bishops, presbyters and deacons as Christian ministers, not all contemporary with the writer. From his retrospective allusions we cannot argue with certainty to his own surroundings, but doubtless the 'apostles' in any sense of the term (Gal. i. 19, ed. Lightfoot) had all passed away. Cotelier on *Vis.* iii. 5 identifies the teachers with the order of presbyters, but see Hilgenfeld's comprehensive note. Harmer compares Rev. xxi. 14.

were already laid? These are they which have suffered for the name of the Lord. 3. And the other stones, that were fetched from the dry land,* I would know, lady, what they are. Quoth she, They that went into the building without being hewn are those whom the Lord approved, because they walked in the straight way of the Lord and directed themselves in His commandments. 4. And those that were brought and put into the building, what are they? They are young in the faith and faithful. And they are admonished by the angels to do good, because wickedness was found in them. 5. And those which they rejected and flung away, what are they? These are they that have sinned and are minded to repent. Wherefore they were not flung far from the tower, because they will be useful for the building if they repent. They then that are to repent, if they repent shall be strong in the faith, if they repent now while the tower is in building. But if the building be finished, then they have no longer room, but shall be castaways. Only this they have, that they lie near the tower. †

* Like the living creatures of Gen. i. 20—24 and 2 (4) Esdras vi. 47, 53, some of the stones come from the deep and some from the land (p. 77 n.). The deep represents also martyrdom, cp. Psalm lxix. i; Matt. xx. 22.

† Mark xii. 34 *not far from the kingdom of God.*

CHAPTER 6

1. AND wouldest thou know about the stones that were hewn in pieces and flung far from the tower? These are the children of iniquity; and they received the faith in hypocrisy, and no wickedness departed from them; wherefore they have not salvation, because they are not of use for building by reason of their wickednesses. Therefore they were broken up and hurled far away because of the anger of the Lord, for they provoked Him to anger. 2. And of the many others which thou sawest lying about and not going into the building, these that are scabbed are they that knew the truth, but remained not therein, nor clave to the saints. For this cause they are useless. 3. And what are they that have the clefts? These are they that have divisions of heart against one another, and are not peaceable among themselves, but have the look of peace, and when they go away from one another their wickednesses remain in their hearts. These are the clefts which those stones have. 4. And they that are stunted are they that have believed, and are for the more part righteous, but have some parts in them of iniquity. Therefore are they maimed and not whole. 5. And

the white round stones, which do not fit into the building, what are they, lady? She answered and said to me, How long wilt thou be foolish and without understanding, asking about everything and discerning nothing? These are they that have faith, but have also the riches of this world. By reason of their wealth and their traffick, when affliction ariseth they deny their Lord. 6. And I answered and said to her, When, lady, will they be of use for the building? Quoth she, When the wealth which captivateth them shall have been cut away, then shall they be serviceable to God. For as the round stone, except it be chipped and lose somewhat of itself, cannot become square, so the rich in this world, except their riches be pared away, cannot become meet for the Lord's use. 7. Know this from experience of thyself: when thou wast rich thou wast nothing worth; but now thou art profitable and good for the use of life. Be ye profitable to God, for thou thyself also profitest * out of the same stones.

* Gr. *chrasai* as in *Sim.* i. 3, giving the sense, *Thou hast thy need supplied* "out of the same stones," *i. e.* through the ministry of persons represented by the stones of the tower. Or "the same stones" may be the round and at first useless ones, out of which Hermas had been raised up (p. 82 n.). Wake from the Old Latin, which does not fully represent the Greek, "but now thou art

CHAPTER 7

1. AND the other stones, which thou sawest flung far from the tower, and falling on to the way and rolling out of it to where there was no way, these are they that have believed, but because of their double mind they forsake their true way.* Thinking then that they can find a better way, they wander and are hardly bestead, walking about where there are no ways.

2. And they that fell into the fire and were burned, these are they that utterly fell away from the living God; and it never again came into their heart to repent, because of their wanton desires and their wickednesses which

profitable, and fit for the Life which thou hast undertaken; for thou also once *wast* one of those Stones." Lat. *Palat. utilior de ipsis lapidibus eris*, Thou (taken) from those very stones shalt be more useful. The words for *nothing worth, but now profitable* may be from Philem. 10 f., "Onesimus, who was aforesaid unprofitable to thee, but now is profitable to me and to thee." The use in *Vis.* iii. 2. 6 and *Sim.* ix. 6. 9, 29—31 of the figure of the round stones which have to be squared is accounted for by the picture of Fortune on her round stone in chap. 7 of the *Tablet of Kebes* (p. 47).

* We suppose the phrase *true way* to have been taken from Kebes (chaps. 6, 14). In this chapter there may be allusions also to some things in 2 Pet. ii., and to Eccus. xviii. 30 *Go not after thy desires.*

they committed. 3. And the others, which fell near the water but could not roll into it, wilt thou know what they are? These are they that have heard the word* and are minded to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then when they bethink them of the purity of the truth they repent, and go again after their evil desires. 4. So she finished the explanation of the tower. 5. But being unabashed I went on to ask her, whether all the stones that were cast away and would not fit into the structure of the tower might repent and have place in this tower. They may repent, quoth she, but they cannot fit into this tower. 6. But they shall fit into another much lesser place, and this after they have been tormented and have fulfilled the days of their sins. And for this cause they shall be removed, because they had been partakers of the word of righteousness.† And then it shall happen to them to be released from their torments, if so be they take thought of the evil deeds which they have committed. But if not, then they cannot be saved, because of the hardness of their hearts.

* Here in the Greek are six consecutive words from the parable of the Sower (p. 28), the longest exact quotation from the Bible in the *Shepherd*.

† Compare 2 Pet. ii. 21, and the warning of Senex near the beginning of chap. 3 of the *Tablet*.

CHAPTER 8

1. THEN when I had done asking her about all these things, she said to me, Wilt thou see somewhat else? And being full of longing to behold, I was very glad that I might see it. 2. And looking at me and smiling a little, she said to me, Seest thou seven women round about the tower? I see them, lady, quoth I. This tower, she said, is upholden by them according to the command of the Lord. 3. Hear now their operations. The first of them, the one clenching her hands, is named Faith.* Through

* Faith and Love stand first and last as in 1 Cor. xiii. 13; 2 Pet. i. 5—7. The pose of Faith betokens steadfastness; and she is made to be the *mother* of all the virtues, with allusion perhaps to the saying of St. Polycarp to the Philippians (iii. 3) that she is "the mother of us all" (Gal. iv. 26). The word for Continnence means also *temperance* and abstinence (*Mand.* i. 2 n.). The Greek for Modesty (Lat. *modestia*) might be rendered *gravity* (*Vis.* iii. 5. 1) or *reverence*. The Christian Graces here and in *Sim.* ix. 15 do not speak and exhort like Virtue in the *Choice of Hercules*, but are seen only, like the characters in the *Tablet* or picture which Hermas imitates. The bright *rod* or wand with which the Church conjures up the vision of the tower may have been suggested by the *rod* which Senex uses as a pointer (pp. 40, 77). On the solidarity of the virtues, which was a

her the elect of God are saved. 4. The next, that is girded and manlike, is named Continen-
ce. She is the daughter of Faith. Whoso followeth
her becometh happy in his life, because he will
refrain from all evil deeds, believing that if he
refrain from every evil desire he shall inherit life
eternal. 5. And the rest, lady, what are they?
They are daughters one of another; and they
are called, one of them Simplicity, one Know-
ledge, one Innocence, one Modesty, one Love.
When therefore thou doest all the works of their
mother, thou canst live. 6. I would know,
quoth I, lady, what virtue each one of them
hath. Hear, quoth she, the powers which they
possess. Their powers are knit together and
follow one another, even as they are born. Of
Faith is born Continen-
ce, of Continen-
ce Simp-
licity, of Simplicity Innocence, of Innocence
Modesty, of Modesty Knowledge, of Knowledge
Love. Their works then are pure and reverend
and divine. 8. Whosoever therefore shall serve
these women and prevail to lay hold on their
works, he shall have his habitation in the tower
with the saints of God. 9. Then I asked her
concerning the times, whether the full end was

doctrine of the Stoics, see the notes on James ii. 10, 11 in the
commentary quoted on page 81, and chap. iii. 4 of the
Introduction thereto.

yet. And she cried with a loud voice, saying, O foolish man! Seest thou not the tower yet a building? When this shall have done being built, then cometh the end. Howbeit it shall quickly be built up. Henceforth ask me nothing. Sufficient for thee and for the saints is this notification, and the renewal of your spirits. 10. Not however for thyself alone have things been revealed, but to the intent that thou mayest shew them to all. 11. After three days, for thou must first understand them, I charge thee, Hermas, to speak all these things which I am about to say to thee in the ears of the saints; that they may hear and do them, and may be cleansed from their iniquities, and thou with them.

CHAPTER 9

1. HEARKEN unto me, ye children. I bred you up in much simplicity and innocence and modesty, by the mercy of the Lord who shed righteousness upon you, that ye might be justified and sanctified from all wickedness and perverseness. Yet ye will not cease from your wickedness. 2. Now therefore hearken unto me, and have peace among you, and visit and help one another; and partake not by yourselves

alone of the creatures of God in abundance, but give a share also to them that need. 3. For some by excess of meats contract infirmity of the flesh, and injure their flesh; whereas the flesh of them that lack meats is harmed by their not having sufficiency of food, and their body is consumed. 4. This separateness therefore is hurtful to you that have and impart not to them that need. 5. Look to the judgment that cometh. Ye therefore who have abundantly seek out them that hunger while the tower is yet unfinished; for after it is finished ye shall desire to do good but shall not have opportunity. 6. Beware then, ye that boast yourselves in your riches, lest they that are in want groan, and their groaning go up to the Lord, and with your abundant goods ye be shut outside the door of the tower. 7. Now therefore I say unto you that rule over the Church and that have the chief seats, Be ye not like to poisoners.* Now they carry their drugs in boxes, but ye carry your drug and venom in your heart. 8. Ye are hardened and will not cleanse your hearts and

* Or *druggers*. Seneca in Lactant. *Div. Inst.* iii. 15 compares the censorious philosophers of his day, of whom the more part practised the vices they so virulently denounced, to physicians whose labels announce remedies while their boxes hold poisons.

mingle your minds together with a pure heart, that ye may obtain mercy from the Great King. 9. Take heed therefore, children, lest your dissensions bereave you of your life. 10. How desire ye to instruct the Lord's elect, when as ye yourselves have not instruction? * Wherefore instruct one another, and be at peace among yourselves, that I for my part may stand with joy before the Father to give account of you all unto your Lord.

CHAPTER 10

1. AND when she had done speaking with me, the six young men that builded came and carried her away to the tower, and other four took up the bench and carried that also to the tower. † The face of these I saw not, for they were turned away from me. 2. And as she was

* In the *Tablet* some fancy that they have Education or *instruction*, when they have only what is falsely so called (pp. 42, 45). The word "might almost be rendered *wisdom*" (p. 48) at the end of *Clem. Cor.* lxii., "the oracles of the instruction of God."

† The Church has a book in *Vis.* i., a little book in *Vis.* ii., and none at all in *Vis.* iii. As the poet was said to be inspired when he sat on the tripod of the Muse (*Classical Review*, xv. 257), so the Church and Hermas have to sit on the bench, that the building of the tower

going I prayed her to explain to me about the three forms in which she appeared to me. She answered and said to me, Concerning these things thou must ask some other, that they may be revealed to thee. 3. Now she was seen of me, brethren, in the first vision a year ago well stricken in age and sitting on a chair. 4. In the next vision she was younger in face but had aged flesh and hair, and she talked with me standing. And she was more cheerful than before. 5. But in the third vision she was altogether youthful and of excellent beauty; only her hair was aged. And she was quite joyous, and sat on a bench.* 6. Thereupon I was sore vexed, wanting to know this revelation. And I beheld the aged woman in a night vision, saying unto me, All prayer requireth humiliation; fast therefore, and thou shalt receive that thou askest from the Lord. 7. So I fasted one

the effect of the preaching of the Gospel, may be shewn (*Vis.* iii. 2. 4). The chair was carried off and disappeared; but the bench is deposited in the tower, there to remain as a permanent possession of the Church. All this fits in with the hypothesis that the Gospels are hinted at under the figure of the bench.

* Here Hermas plays upon the riddle of the Sphinx (p. 19), possibly thinking also of Matt. xviii. 3 as in *Sim.* ix. 29. 3, and of John iii. 4 *How can a man be born when he is old?* cp. *Mand.* xi. 19 n.

day, and in the same night a young man appeared and said to me, Seeing that thou prayest earnestly without ceasing for revelations, beware lest by thy much asking thou hurt thy flesh. 8. These revelations are sufficient for thee. Art thou able to see mightier revelations than those thou hast seen? 9. I answered and said to him, Sir, this only I ask, to have full revelation concerning the three forms of the aged woman. He answered and said to me, For how long are ye without understanding? Your double minds make you of no understanding, and your not having your heart set on the Lord. 10. I answered him again saying, But from thee, sir, we shall learn those things more perfectly.

CHAPTER II

1. HEAR, quoth he, concerning the three forms about which thou enquirest. 2. In the first vision wherefore did she appear to thee aged and sitting on a chair? Because your spirit was aged and already faded and powerless from your ailings and doubts. 3. For as the aged, having no hope any more to renew their youth, expect nothing but their last sleep; so ye, being

weakened by worldly affairs, yielded yourselves up to weariness, and cast not your cares upon the Lord, but your spirit was broken, and ye were worn out with your griefs. 4. Then I would fain know, sir, why she sat on a chair. Because, said he, every sick person sitteth on a chair by reason of his infirmity, that the weakness of his body may be comforted. There thou hast now the figure of the first vision.

CHAPTER 12

1. AND in the second vision thou sawest her standing, and with her face younger and more cheerful than before, but her flesh and her hair aged. Hear, quoth he, this parable also. 2. As when one stricken in years is already past hope of himself because of his infirmity and his poverty, and expecteth nothing but the last day of his life; then suddenly an inheritance is left him, and on hearing thereof he ariseth and is very glad and putteth on strength, and no longer reclineth but standeth up, and his spirit which was already wasted by his former doings is renewed, and he no longer sitteth down but is a man again; so were ye also when ye heard the revelation which

the Lord revealed to you. 3. For He had compassion upon you and renewed your spirits, and ye put off your ailments, and vigour came to you and ye were strengthened in the faith, and the Lord seeing you made strong rejoiced; wherefore He shewed you the building of the tower, and He will shew you other things, if with all your heart ye be at peace among yourselves.

CHAPTER 13

1. AND in the third vision thou sawest her younger and beautiful and joyous and fair of form. 2. For as when glad tidings come to one that sorroweth, he straightway forgetteth * his former sorrows, and heedeth nothing else but the news he hath heard, and is strengthened thenceforth unto good, and his spirit is renewed by the joy which he received; so ye likewise were renewed in your spirits when ye saw these good things. 3. And for that thou sawest her seated on a bench the

* From James i. 24 *he straightway forgetteth*. For a long list of passages borrowed by Hermas from St. James see the above mentioned commentary on his *Epistle* (p. 81). The expression "glad tidings" (Prov. xii. 25 Sept.; 1 John i. 5, iii. 11 *tidings*) suits an allusion to the Gospel.

position is a strong one, for the bench hath four feet and standeth firmly ; for even so the world is held fast by four elements.* 4. They therefore that repent shall be wholly young again and stablished, if they repent with their whole heart. Thou hast now the entire revelation ; ask me no more for any revelation, but if there be need of any it shall be revealed to thee.

* The Church's square seat the bench, as well as the rock in *Sim.* ix., corresponds to the square stone on which Education stands (pp. 42, 48). As a couch is a firmer and fitter seat at a symposium than a chair, so it is best, says Plutarch (*Conv.* vii. 10), that the mind should be free from tremor. The word for "hold fast" is used of the tower in *Vis.* iii. 3, 5, and of its stones in *Sim.* ix. 8. 5. From Gr. *dia tessaron*, the words for "by four," comes the name of what is known as Tatian's 'Diatessaron,' a Syriac Harmony of the Gospels in which the four were dovetailed into one. The name points to a Greek original, which may have been in use *in some form* in the days of Hermas and Justin Martyr. On the Four Gospels as the "elements of the faith of the Church" see pages 33—37.

FOURTH VISION

CHAPTER I

1. THE vision which I saw, brethren, twenty days after my former vision was for a type of the tribulation that is to come. 2. I was going into the country by the Campanian road.* From the highway it is about ten furlongs, and the place is easily traversed. 3. Walking therefore alone, I prayed the Lord to complete the revelations and visions which He shewed me through His holy Church ; that He might confirm me

* Some understand that he was going to his own "field" by the "champaign" (Deut. xi. 30) or *country* road on the right bank of the Tiber (Zahn, Funk). In contrast with the no-way (p. 57) over which he had to be carried by a Spirit, the way to his destination is now such that he can walk alone and meditate as he goes. Wake, "I was walking in the Field Way: Now from the publick Way to the Mannour *whither I went* is about ten Furlongs ; It is a Way very little frequented." Whether it was "easily" or "seldom" traversed, solitude befits the scene of the vision which was to follow.

and give repentance to His servants who had stumbled, that so His great and honourable Name might be glorified, because He had accounted me worthy that He should shew me His wonders. 4. And as I glorified and thanked Him, a sound like as of a voice answered me saying, Doubt not, Hermas. And I began to reason within myself and say, What occasion have I to doubt that am thus settled by the Lord and have seen glorious things? 5. And I went on a little, brethren, and lo, I spied dust rising as it were to heaven; and I began to say within myself, Are cattle coming and raising a dust? for it was distant from me about a furlong. 6. As the dust went on increasing, I suspected that it was some portent. Then the sun gleamed out a little, and lo, I saw a very great beast like a leviathan,* and out of his mouth went fiery

* Gr. *ketos*, a sea monster; Wake, "a Whale," but the rest of the description suits a dragon and not a whale. In the Septuagint the leviathan is called *ketos* and also a *dragon* (Job iii. 8, xl. 20; Isai. xxvii. 1). Armed with large scales like the tiling of a roof (*Mand.* xi. 20), the beast's head (Gen. iii. 15) is invulnerable. Hilgenfeld would read that it was like the head of a cockatrice (Gr. *kerastou* for *keramou*), but Zahn aptly quotes the comparison of the shell of a tortoise to tiling in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (l. 1295). Moreover some ancient writers tell of large tortoises or turtles with shells which were used for roofs. Ælian in *De Nat. Animal.* xvi. 17 relates that some of

locusts. The beast was in length about a hundred feet, and had a head as it were of tiling. 7. And I began to weep and pray the Lord to deliver me from it. And I remembered the word I had heard, Doubt not, Hermas. 8. Putting on therefore, brethren, the faith of the Lord and calling to mind the marvels which He had taught me, I took courage and gave myself to the beast. And the beast was coming on so with a whir as if he could make havock of a city. 9. I came close to him, and that so great beast stretched himself out along the ground, and did nothing but put forth his tongue, and

these measured fifteen cubits, and that they were *stronger than any tiling*. Different writings would have contributed traits to the picture of the "very great beast." In the *Tablet* the men crowned are those who have overcome very great beasts, such as Ignorance and Error, or the Sphinx, who represents Folly (pp. 39, 43). Her weapon is her riddle, or (so to say) her tongue, which she puts forth in vain against the man who has understanding. So the great beast in the *Shepherd*, encountered by one who has faith, can only put out his tongue helplessly. The same word to "put forth" (Gr. *proballein*) is used in both contexts, and nowhere else in either writing. The strange monster comes not unnaturally from the sea, like those of Dan. vii. 3 and Rev. xiii. 1. He is in the Greek notation *R feet* long, with allusion perhaps to Rome, as in the *Sibylline Oracles* (xi. 114) the number *R* means Romulus and Remus.

moved not at all until I had passed by him. 10. Now the beast had on his head four colours : black, then like fire and blood, then golden, then white.

CHAPTER 2

1. AFTER I had passed by the beast and gone forward about thirty feet, lo, there met me a virgin* decked as if coming forth from the bridechamber, all in white and with white sandals, veiled to the forehead, and capped with a turban ; and she had white hair. 2. I knew from the former visions that she was the Church, and I was the more joyful. She saluted me and said, Hail, O man ! And I in reply saluted her, Lady, hail ! 3. She answered and said to me, Did nothing meet thee ? I said to her, Yea, lady, such a monster as could destroy tribes of people ; but by the might of the Lord and His much compassion I escaped it. 4. Thou didst well escape, quoth she, because thou didst cast thy care upon God and open thy heart to the Lord, believing that thou canst be saved by none other than by the

* See Rev. xii. on the woman and the dragon, and Bousset's *Der Antichrist* (1895), or the same "Englished with a prologue on the Babylonian Dragon Myth by A. H. Keane" (1896). Harnack quotes Rev. xxi. 2, and illustrates *virgin* as a designation of the Church.

great and glorious Name. Therefore the Lord sent His angel that is over the beasts, whose name is Segri,* and he shut its mouth that it should not hurt thee. Thou hast escaped a great tribulation by reason of thy faith, and because thou didst not doubt when thou sawest so great a beast. 5. Go therefore and rehearse the mighty acts of the Lord to His elect, and say unto them that this beast is a figure of the great affliction that is for to come. If therefore ye prepare yourselves, and repent with your whole heart unto the Lord, ye shall be able to escape it, if your heart be pure and without spot, and ye serve the Lord blamelessly all the rest of the days of your life. Cast your cares upon the Lord, and He will right them. 6. Believe in the Lord, ye doubleminded, because He can do all things: He both turneth away His anger from you, and sendeth plagues upon such of you as are doubleminded. Woe to them

* Segri, *shutter*, is a simple emendation of Thegri by Dr. J. Rendel Harris, suggested by the allusion in the text to Dan. vi. 22, "hath shut" (Heb. *sgar*). See also Hilgenfeld's collection of notes on the Angel, and *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, page 156 (ed. 2, 1897). Dr. Salmon, arguing for the historicity and early date of the *Shepherd*, discusses the question of the version of Daniel here used by Hermas near the end of his *Introduction to the New Testament*.

that hear these words and hear amiss. Better * were it for them not to have been born.

CHAPTER 3

1. I ASKED her about the four colours on the head of the beast; and she answering me said, Art thou again curious about such matters? Yea, lady, quoth I; acquaint me what these things be. 2. Hearken, quoth she; the black is this world wherein ye dwell. 3. And the colour of fire and blood figureth that this world must perish by blood and fire.† 4. The golden part are ye that have escaped this world; for as gold is tried by the fire and made profitable, so are ye also tried that dwell among men. Ye therefore that abide and are tried as with fire shall be thereby purified. As the gold casteth off its dross, so ye shall cast away all sorrow and

* Lit. *more-to-be-chosen*, preferable (cp. Susann. 23), as in the saying of Menander and Kebes that death is preferable to an evil life (p. 49), cp. Enoch xxxviii. 2, Matt. xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21, "good were it for him if that man *had not been born*." The *Tablet* (chap. 3) would likewise have suggested the warning not to *hear amiss*.

† In this chapter Hermas may be thought to allude to passages of 2 Peter and other books of the Bible, and perhaps also to the Sibyl's alleged prediction of the destruction of the world by fire.

straitness, and shall be purified and be useful for the building of the tower. 5. And the white part is the world to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell; for they shall be without spot and pure that have been chosen of God unto life eternal. 6. Cease thou not therefore to speak in the ears of the saints. Ye have now likewise the figure of the great tribulation that is coming. If ye will, it shall be nothing. Remember the things before written. 7. When she had spoken thus much she departed, but I saw not whither she went; for there was a crashing, and I turned behind me being affrighted, thinking that the beast was coming.

VISION V
AND
THE MANDATES

FIFTH VISION

1. WHEN I had prayed at home and sat down upon the couch,* there came in a man of stately look, in the attire of a shepherd, cloked in a white skin, and having a scrip on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he saluted me, and I saluted him back. 2. And immediately he sat down beside me and said to me, I was sent by the most reverend Angel to dwell with thee the rest of the days of thy life. 3. Thinking that he was come to try me I said to him, But who art

* Cotelier cites Tertullian (*De Orat.* xii.) on the puerility of making this a precedent; Pindar and Plutarch as witnesses with him to a heathen custom of sitting down after prayer; and St. Jerome as remarking that some were over curious to find scriptural authority for all their doings. In describing the Shepherd (cp. *Sim.* vi. 2. 5) Hermas would naturally have thought of John the Baptist, the *messenger* who preached *repentance* (Mark i. 2—4; Matt. iii. 1—10), and who is asked in John i. 19 *Who art thou?* With the Baptist's sayings compare *Vis.* iii. 6. 7; *Sim.* iv. 4, viii. 6. 1. The book of Enoch (xl. 9) names the angel of repentance Fanuel.

thou? for I know, quoth I, to whom I was delivered. He said unto me, Knowest thou me not? Nay, quoth I. I, quoth he, am the Shepherd to whom thou wast delivered. 4. While he yet spake his visage was changed, and I took knowledge of him that it was he to whom I had been delivered; and immediately I was confounded, and fear took hold upon me, and I was quite overcome with grief at having so answered him wickedly and foolishly. 5. Then he answered and said to me, Be not confounded, but strengthen thyself in my commandments which I am about to command thee. For I was sent, quoth he, to shew thee again all that thou sawest before, to wit the sum of the things expedient for thee. First of all write thou my commandments and parables; and the rest, as I will shew thee, so shalt thou write. For this cause, quoth he, I bid thee first write the commandments and parables, that thou mayest read them oft and be able to keep them.* 6. So I

* This is quoted at the beginning of Clem. *Strom.* as we have it. Plato (*Laws*, 891 A) observes that it is helpful to have laws written and so at hand for frequent reference. We use *Visions*, *Mandates*, and *Similitudes* as titles for the sake of the abbreviations *Vis.*, *Mand.*, *Sim.*, which serve also for the Latin *Visiones*, *Mandata*, *Similitudines* of critical editions. On the title of this section see page 20.

wrote the commandments and parables, as he commanded me. 7. If therefore when ye have heard them ye keep them and walk in them and do them with a pure heart, ye shall receive from the Lord what things He promised you ; but if when ye hear ye repent not, but add yet to your sins, ye shall receive from Him the contrary. All these things the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, commanded me thus to write.

FIRST MANDATE

1. FIRST of all believe that there is one God,* the Creator and Framer of all things, who made all things to be out of that which was not, and comprehendeth all things and is alone incomprehensible. 2. Believe therefore in Him and fear Him, and fearing Him be continent.†

* Lit. *that God is one* (James ii. 19, ed. Mayor). He contains (John xxi. 25) the world, and is not comprehended (*Sim.* ix. 14. 5) or contained by it. With *Mana.* i. 1, which is cited by Irenaeus (iv. 20. 2) and later writers, compare *Vis.* i. 1. 6, 3. 4; 1 Kings viii. 27 (2 Chron. ii. 6, vi. 18); *Wisdom* i. 14; 2 Macc. vii. 28; Heb. xi. 3; and the teaching of Peter in the *Preaching* as quoted at the beginning of *Clem. Strom.* vi. 5. Origen in *op.* i. 61 (p. 50) adds that the like is written in the book of Enoch. On John i. 1 (Brooke, p. 22) he quotes 2 Macc. vii. 28, and then *Mand.* i. 1.

† Continnence (pp. 42, 43, 48), which comes next after Faith in *Vis.* iii. 8 and *Sim.* ix. 15, is first simply *power-over, mastery*. The corresponding adjective (Gr. *enkrates*) is used in its primary sense in 2 Macc. x. 15 *being masters of important strongholds, 17 masters of the positions*. Continent in the ethical sense is paraphrased by 1 Cor.

These things observe, and thou shalt cast away all wickedness from thee, and thou shalt put on every virtue of righteousness, and shalt live unto God, if thou keep this commandment.

vii. 37 *but hath power over his own will*, although the word itself is not used there. A man may exercise this power positively (p. 42) or negatively, so as to do or not to do. *Mand.* viii. commends continence or temperance in the negative sense of total abstinence, namely from evil. See also *Vis.* i. 2. 4, ii. 3. 2; *Mand.* vi. i. 1; *Sim.* v. i. 5. The phrase "every virtue of righteousness" is accounted for by the saying of Theognis, quoted as proverbial by Aristotle, that righteousness (or justice) is an epitome of all the virtues. With "live unto God" compare Luke xx. 38; Rom. vi. 10f., xiv. 8.

SECOND MANDATE

1. HE said to me, Hold to simplicity and be without guile,* and thou shalt be as little children which know not the wickedness that destroyeth the life of men. 2. First speak evil of no man, neither hearken gladly to one that speaketh evil. Else thou also that hearkenest shalt be guilty of the sin of him that speaketh the evil, if so be thou believe the slander which thou hearest. For if thou believe it thou wilt thyself also have somewhat against thy brother. So shalt thou be guilty of the sin of the slanderer. 3. Slander is mischievous; it is an unruly devil, never at peace but always dwelling in dissensions. Keep thyself therefore from it, and thou shalt be in harmony always

* The third, fourth and fifth of the seven Christian Graces (*Vis.* iii. 8) are dwelt upon in *Mand.* ii. 1—4; cp. 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2, and for the phrase "have against" Matt. v. 23. Evil speaking is personified in *Sim.* ix. 15. On *Gr. haplous*, which means single, simple, and also liberal, see Thayer's *Lexicon* of the New Testament.

with all men. 4. And put on reverence, wherein is no evil offence, but all is plain and pleasant. Work the thing that is good, and of thy labours which God giveth thee give liberally to all that need, not doubting to whom thou shouldest give or not give.* Give to all ; for God would have

* Note the parallel on almsgiving in chap. i. of the *Didache*, "*To every one that asketh of thee give and ask not back, for the Father would have gifts given to all out of His own favours. Blessed is he that gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receives. For if any one receives having need he shall be guiltless ; but he that has no need shall give account wherefore he received and for what, and being in durance he shall be examined touching the things that he did, and he shall not come forth thence till he has paid the uttermost farthing.* But further concerning this it has been said, *Let thine alms sweat into thine hands till thou know to whom to give.*" The mutual relations of the different forms of this remarkable precept have been much discussed. Its purport is to justify giving "to every one that asketh" by throwing the responsibility upon the receiver ; but Hermas inaptly says in effect, Give to all *that need*, because we are commanded to give to all *whether they need or not*. The idea of receiving *in hypocrisy* reappears in *Sim.* ix. 19. 3 and in a fragment of Clem. Alex. Note that Hermas uses the saying of the *Didache* (iv. 7) and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (xix. 11), "Thou shalt not hesitate to give," as if it forbade merely distinction of persons in giving. First he writes "not doubting" or *hesitating*, and then "making no distinction."

us give to all out of His own gifts. 5. They therefore who receive shall give account to God wherefore they received and to what end ; for such as receive because they are straitened shall not be brought into judgment, but they who receive in hypocrisy shall pay the price. 6. So then the giver is guiltless ; for as he had it from the Lord to perform the ministry, so he performed it in simplicity, making no distinction to whom to give or not give. Such service performed simply is honourable with God. He therefore who thus ministereth simply shall live unto God. 7. Keep then this commandment, as I have said unto thee, that thou and thy house may be found sincere in your repentance, and thy heart pure and undefiled.

THIRD MANDATE

1. AGAIN he said unto me, Love truth,* and let all be truth which proceedeth out of thy mouth, that the spirit which God made to dwell in this flesh may be found true with all men; and so the Lord who dwelleth in thee shall be glorified. For the Lord is true in every word, and with Him is no lie. 2. They therefore who lie deny the Lord and become robbers † of the

* Truth is one of the characters common to Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 15) and Kebes (chap. 18). With the turn of expression in "true . . . and no lie" compare I John i. 5, ii. 27, and see page 26.

† Or *defrauders*. We read in the *Didache* (iii. 5), "My child, be not a liar, since lying leads to theft"; and the precept is quoted in Clem. *Strom.* i. 20 (P. 377), as Bryennios pointed out. On *Mand.* iii. of Hermas it was said in the writer's *Two Lectures* on 'The Teaching' (p. 31, 1886), "Here he is clearly harping upon the saying that *Lying leads to theft*, which he sets to work in an artificial way to illustrate and justify. The spirit of man is a sacred deposit, one day to be returned to God who gave it: he who corrupts it by lying will have filched away something

Lord, not yielding up to Him the deposit which they received. For they received from Him a spirit void of falseness. If they return this falsified, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and become robbers. 3. Now when I heard these things I wept bitterly. And seeing me weep he said, Why weepest thou? Because, sir, quoth I, I know not whether I can be saved. Wherefore? quoth he. Because, sir, quoth I, never yet in my life spake I a true word, but I lived always knavishly with all men, and displayed my falsehood as truth to all; nor did any one ever gainsay me, but my word was believed. How then, sir, quoth I, can I live

from that deposit: consequently *they that lie have become robbers.*" By supposing Hermas to allude to Plato and Philo we may account for his phrase *defrauders of the Lord*, and for his representation of the spirit of man as a *deposit* which should be given back as it was received "void-of-falseness" (Gr. *apseuston*). See on *Hermas and Cebes* in the 'Journal of Philology,' vol. xxvii. 315, xxviii. 36. *Mand.* iii. is there compared also (pp. 286, 315) with chap. 31 of the *Tablet*, which teaches, with reference to the vicissitudes of Fortune, that men should not be like *dishonest bankers*, who treat deposits as their own and are unwilling to return them; and it is added (p. 315) upon the famous *Logion*, "Be ye trusty bankers" (Resch, *Agrapha*), as commonly explained, that "Philo, Cebes, Hermas, Matt. xxv. 27 and 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 14 suggest a better interpretation."

when I have done these things? * 4. Thou thinkest well and truly, quoth he; for it were fit that thou as a servant of God shouldest walk in truth, and that an evil conscience should not dwell with the Spirit of truth, † nor bring grief upon the reverend and true Spirit. Never before, sir, quoth I, did I hear such words aright. 5. Now therefore that thou hearest, quoth he, keep them; to the end that even those things which thou once spakest falsely in thy business may become trusty, now that this is found true. For even those may become trusty. If thou keep these things, and from henceforth speak all truth, thou shalt be able to gain life for thyself. And whoso shall hear this commandment, and keep himself from that most wicked thing falsehood, shall live unto God.

* The confessions of Hermas in *Mand.* iii. are not inconsistent with his self-praise in *Vis.* i. 2. 4. He had always understood that a certain untruthfulness was allowable in buying and selling (Prov. xx. 14). The conventional tricks of trade aptly illustrate the saying that *Lying leads to theft.*

† See John xv. 26, xvi. 13, and page 132 n.

FOURTH MANDATE

CHAPTER I

1. I CHARGE thee, quoth he, to observe purity,* and to let no thought about another man's wife or about any fornication or the likeness of any such evil things enter thy heart, for by doing this thou committest great sin; whereas if thou remember always thine own wife, thou shalt never fall into sin. 2. But if this imagination enter thy heart, thou wilt fall into sin; or should other like evil thought, thou committest sin. For this imagination is great sin to a servant of God; and if one do this evil thing, he worketh death to himself. 3. See therefore that thou keep thyself from this thought; for where modesty dwelleth, there

* Purity is one of the twelve virgins in *Sim.* ix. 15. In *Mand.* iv. the Shepherd pronounces upon questions relating to marriage, sin and repentance, with allusive reference to texts of Scripture as Matt. v. 32, xix. 9; Mark x. 11 f.; 1 Cor. vii. 11 f., 28, 39, 40.

iniquity should not come into the heart of a righteous man. 4. I said to him, Sir, suffer me to ask thee a few things. Say on, quoth he. Sir, quoth I, if one have a wife that is faithful in the Lord, and he find her in some adultery,*

* This case of a woman found in some adultery would have been suggested to Hermas by the pericope of the Adulteress (p. 53). Accordingly we look for further evidence of his acquaintance with the story, which is to the effect that the scribes and Pharisees "bring a woman taken in adultery" (Cod. Bez. *sin*); they continued asking about her, as Hermas here and elsewhere continues asking; and in the end Jesus says to her, "Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; from henceforth *sin no more*." The expression to *sin no more* is used in *Mand.* iv. 1. 11, 3. 2; and it occurs twice also in the received text of the New Testament (John v. 14, viii. 11). Turning now to *Apost. Const.* ii. 24 we find the story used "as an authority for the reception of penitents" (p. 53); and so Hermas in *Mand.* iv. 1. 8 infers from it that any one (*masc.*) who has sinned and repented should be received, having previously said that "if the husband receive her not *he sinneth*." In the *Constitutions* this teaching is accompanied by a use of the rare Greek compound *heart-knowing* (Acts i. 24, xv. 8); as also in the earlier *Didascalia*, where we read, "But He, the perceiver of hearts (Lat. *scrutator cordis*), . . . said to her, Go; nor do I condemn thee" (p. 54). In the *Shepherd* the word is used in *Mand.* iv. 3. 4 only, and there after and in connexion with the apparent allusion to the pericope John vii. 53 f. The *Shepherd* and the *Didascalia* alike seem to refer both to the pericope itself, not necessarily as part of any canonical writing, and to

doth then the husband sin if he live with her? 5. During ignorance, quoth he, he sinneth not; but if the man come to know of her sin, and the wife repent not but continue in her fornication, and the man live with her, he becometh guilty of her sin and a partner in her adultery. 6. What then, sir, quoth I, should the man do if the woman continue in this passion? Let him put her away, quoth he, and let the husband abide alone; but if when he hath put away his wife he marry another, then he likewise committeth adultery. 7. But if, sir, quoth I, after the wife hath been put away, she repent and desire to return to her own husband, shall she not be received? 8. Yea, verily, quoth he, if the husband receive her not he sinneth, and bringeth great sin upon himself. He that hath sinned and repenteth must be received; yet not often, for to the servants of God there is but one repentance. For the sake of her repentance therefore the husband ought not to marry.

an early written or oral form of teaching about it. This may or may not have been known also to the pseudo-evangelist who made up the story (*Protev. Jac.* xvi.) quoted on page 99 of *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels* (Clarendon Press, 1899). There is a good note on the evidence for the pericope at the end of Mr. Burkitt's *Two Lectures on the Gospels* (1901).

Thus the case standeth with both wife and husband. 9. And not only, quoth he, is it adultery if a man defile his flesh, but whoso doeth things after the similitude of the heathen likewise committeth adultery.* So then, if a man continue in such deeds and repent not, refrain from him and company not with him; otherwise thou also art a partaker of his sin. 10. For this cause ye are bidden to abide alone, whether husband or wife, for in such matters there may be repentance. 11. Now hereby, quoth he, I give not occasion that this thing should be consummated, but that he who hath sinned may sin no more. As for his former sin, there is One who can give healing; for it is He that hath the power over all things.

CHAPTER 2

1. I ASKED him again saying, Since the Lord counted me worthy that thou shouldest always dwell with me, bear with yet a few words from me, for I understand nothing, and my heart is

* See James iv. 4 quoted in *Mand.* x. 1. 4 n. All manner of heathen or worldly practices are "things after the similitude of the heathen." The word for "likeness" and "similitude" in *Mand.* iv. 1. 1, 9 is used of idols in the Decalogue.

grown dull from my former doings. Give me understanding, for I am very foolish and apprehend nothing at all. 2. He answered and said to me, I am set over repentance, and to all who repent I give understanding. Seemeth it not to thee that this very repenting is understanding? * To repent, quoth he, is great understanding. For he that sinned then understandeth that he hath done what is evil in the sight of the Lord, and the deed that he committed cometh into his mind, and he repenteth and no longer worketh evil, but worketh good lavishly, and humbleth and tormenteth his own soul because he sinned. Thou seest therefore that repentance is great understanding. 3. For this cause, sir, quoth I, do I enquire diligently of thee about all things; because first I am a sinner, and then I know not what things I should do that I may live, for my sins are many in number and manifold.

* In the *Tablet* repentance is an intellectual conversion from folly to understanding (p. 41). These last are personified in *Sim.* ix. 15, and knowledge in *Vis.* iii. 8. With intent to keep men from the Scylla and Charybdis of "despair and confidence" Hermas varies his doctrine of repentance, at one time granting but one opportunity and at another more than one. A like "economy," as Cotelier calls it, was freely practised by the ancients. Some, having regard to Heb. vi. 4—6, thought such teaching as that of Hermas dangerously lax.

4. Thou shalt live, quoth he, if thou keep my commandments and walk in them ; and whosoever heareth these commandments and keepeth them shall live unto God.

CHAPTER 3

1. I WILL ask yet something more, sir, quoth I. Say on, quoth he. I have heard, sir, quoth I, from certain teachers that there is no other repentance than that one, when we went down into the water and received remission of our former sins. 2. He said to me, Thou didst rightly hear, for so it is. He who hath received remission of sins must sin no more, but dwell in purity. 3. Howbeit, seeing thou enquirest diligently about all things, I will shew thee this also, not as giving occasion to such as are about to believe or have now believed on the Lord. For they who have now believed or are about to believe have no more repentance from sins, but have only remission of their former sins. 4. For them that were called before these days the Lord appointed repentance. Because the Lord, knowing the heart and foreknowing all things, knew the weakness of men and the cunning craftiness of the devil, how that he would do the servants of God some hurt and

deal wickedly with them. 5. The Lord therefore being full of compassion had compassion upon His handiwork, and appointed this repentance, and to me was given the power over this repentance. 6. But I say unto thee, quoth he, that after that great and solemn calling, should any man being sorely tempted of the devil sin, he hath one repentance. But if he sin oft and repent it advantageth not such an one, for hardly shall he live. 7. I said to him, I was quickened when I heard these things from thee thus perfectly ; for I know that, if from henceforth I add no more to my sins, I shall be saved. Thou shalt be saved, quoth he, and so shall all who do these things.

CHAPTER 4

I. I ASKED him again, saying, Sir, seeing thou bearest with me thus far, shew me further this also. Say on, quoth he. If, sir, quoth I, a wife, or again a husband, fall on sleep, and the other marry, doth he that marrieth sin? *

* 1 Cor. vii. 39 *but if the husband be fallen asleep R.V. marg.) she is at liberty to be married to whom she will.* See Cotelier on the Shepherd's reply, noting (with Funk) that it is paraphrased in Clem. *Strom.* iii. 12 (P. 548). Some, as Athenagoras, stigmatised second marriage as a respectable adultery.

2. He sinneth not, quoth he ; but if one abide alone, he winneth for himself more exceeding honour and great glory before the Lord. But and if he marry he sinneth not. 3. Do thou therefore maintain pureness and modesty, and thou shalt live unto God. All these things which I say and shall say unto thee observe henceforth, from the day thou wast delivered unto me, and I will dwell in thy house. 4. And thou shalt have forgiveness of thy former transgressions if thou keep my commandments ; yea, and all shall have forgiveness, if they keep these my commandments and walk in this purity.

FIFTH MANDATE

CHAPTER I

1. BE longsuffering and prudent, quoth he, and thou shalt have dominion over all wicked works, and shalt do all righteousness. 2. For if thou be longsuffering, the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in thee shall be clear and not darkened over by another evil spirit, but dwelling at large shall joy and rejoice with the vessel in which it dwelleth, and shall serve God with much gladness, having harmony within itself. 3. But if any ill-temper approach, immediately the Holy Spirit, which is delicate,* is straitened by not having clear space, and seeketh to depart from the place; for it is choked by the evil spirit, and hath not room

* Patience and quick temper reappear as spirits in *Sim.* ix. 15. On the Holy Spirit see page 50, and compare Susanna 45 *the holy spirit of a young youth whose name was Daniel*. Susanna was very *delicate* and beauteous to behold (ver. 31).

to serve the Lord as it would, because it is fouled by the ill-temper ; for the Lord dwelleth in forbearance, but the devil in passionateness. 4. That both the spirits then should dwell together is unprofitable and evil for the man in whom they dwell. 5. For if thou take and pour a little wormwood into a jar of honey, is not all the honey marred, and so much honey spoiled by that very little wormwood, which destroyeth the sweetness of the honey, so that it no longer hath the same favour with its owner, because it is soured and hath lost its use? But if the wormwood be not dropped into the honey, the honey is found sweet and is fit for its master's use.* 6. Thou seest then that patience is even sweeter than honey, and is useful to the Lord, and therein He dwelleth ; but impatience is bitter and useless. If then impatience be mingled with patience the patience is corrupted, and the man's prayer is useless to God. 7. I would know, sir, quoth I, the working of quick temper, that I may keep myself from it. Assuredly, quoth he, except thou and thy house

* The simile of the mixture is illustrated by words of the 'Muratorian Canon'; Ignat. *Trall.* 6; Greg. Nazianz. *Apol.* 7, quoted by Cotelier; Aphraat. *Hom.* iii. 2. See also Eccles. x. 1; 2 Esdr. v. 9; James iii. 11; *Psal. Sol.* viii. 15; *Mand.* x. 3. 3.

keep yourselves therefrom, thou hast lost all thy hope. But keep thee from it, for I am with thee. Yea, and all such as repent with their whole heart shall refrain from it; for I will be with them and will preserve them, seeing they were all justified by the most reverend Angel.

CHAPTER 2

1. HEAR now, quoth he, the working of quick temper, how evil it is, and how it trippeth up the servants of God by its operation, and how it seduceth them from righteousness. Howbeit it seduceth not them that are full in the faith, neither can it take effect upon them, because the power of the Lord is with them; but it seduceth the empty and doubleminded. 2. For when it seeth such men tranquil, it creepeth privily into the heart of a man, and for no cause at all the man or the woman is in bitterness because of the things of life, whether about meats or some pettiness, or about a friend, or about giving and receiving, or such like silly things; for all these things are silly and vain and foolish and unprofitable to the servants of God. 3. But longsuffering is great and strong, hath mighty and firm power, and thriveth in

great enlargement; is joyous, exulting, void of care, and glorifieth the Lord at all seasons; and it hath in itself no bitterness, but abideth continually meek and quiet. This longsuffering dwelleth with them whose faith is whole. 4. But quick temper is first silly and light and foolish. Then of folly is bred bitterness, and of bitterness anger, and of anger wrath, and of wrath fury. Then fury, being compounded of these many evils, groweth to great and incurable sin.* 5. For when all these spirits dwell in one vessel, where also the Holy Spirit dwelleth, that vessel holdeth them not but runneth over. 6. The delicate Spirit then, not being used to dwell with an evil spirit nor with violence, withdraweth from such a man and seeketh to dwell with meekness and quietness. 7. Then when it is departed from the man in whom it dwelt, that man is emptied of the righteous spirit, and being filled thenceforth with the evil spirits he is unstable in all his doing, being drawn to and

* The climax is in accordance with the saying that anger leads to murder (*Did.* iii. 1). Aristotle in *Eth. Nic.* ix. 3 speaks of men *incurable* in wickedness. For the word (Gr. *aniatos*) see also the Septuagint, and cp. 1 John v. 16 *a sin unto death*. The word for "run over" is found in 1 Tim. i. 14; *Psal. Sol.* v. 19. With "he-is-unstable etc." compare James i. 6—8. The word for "unstable" is rendered *unruly* in *Mand.* ii. 3.

fro by the evil spirits ; and is quite blinded in his sense of that which is good. Thus it happeneth to all who are quick tempered. 8. Keep thyself then from quick temper, that most evil spirit ; and put on longsuffering and resist impatience and bitterness, and thou shalt be found in fellowship with the reverence which is beloved of the Lord. See that thou never neglect this commandment ; for if thou have the mastery of* this commandment, thou shalt be able also to keep the rest of the commandments which I shall command thee. Confirm and strengthen thyself in them, and let all strengthen themselves who would walk in them.

* For the word see Dan. vi. 24 and chap. 26 of the *Tablet*, where it is said that the crowned pilgrim *has the mastery of all things*, and is no longer in any fear of the beasts which once had power over him. Hermas uses also a compound of it, taken from Gen. i. 28 and Eccus. xvii. 4, namely in *Mand.* v., vii., ix., xii. and *Sim.* ix. 2. 7, cp. page 160 n. This compound is used likewise in *Test. Neph.* 8, where we read of the evil doer that *every beast shall have dominion over him.*

SIXTH MANDATE

CHAPTER I

I. I CHARGED thee, quoth he, in the first commandment to keep faith and fear and continence. Yea, sir, quoth I. But now, quoth he, I would shew thee their powers also, that thou mayest understand what power and effect each of them hath ; because their workings are twofold,* for they relate to things righteous and unrighteous. 2. Do thou then believe in what is righteous, and put no faith in the unrighteous. For the way of righteousness is straight, and the way of unrighteousness crooked. Walk thou in the straight and even way, and leave

* Here and in *Mand. viii.* Hermas, like Kebes (p. 45), teaches that some things reputed absolutely good or the contrary are in the abstract indifferent, and may be actually either good or evil. There are two ways in everything. Shakespeare makes Hamlet speak of the *steep and thorny way that leads to heaven.* In Hesiod the way to virtue is at first rough : in the *Shepherd* it is "neither rough nor thorny."

the crooked way. 3. For the crooked way hath not paths but no-ways and many stumbling-blocks; and it is rough and thorny. Therefore it is hurtful to them that go in it. 4. But they who go by the straight way walk evenly and without offence; for it is neither rough nor thorny. Thou seest then that it is more expedient to walk in this way. 5. It liketh me, sir, quoth I, to walk in this way. Thou shalt walk in it, quoth he, and whoso turneth with all his heart to the Lord shall walk therein.

CHAPTER 2

1. HEAR now, quoth he, about faith. There are two angels with a man, one of righteousness and the other of wickedness.* 2. How then, sir, quoth I, shall I know their operations, seeing that both angels dwell with me? 3. Hearken, quoth he, and understand them. The angel

* These "two angels" are referred to by Origen and other patristic writers. Compare the opposed qualities or spirits of *Mand.* v.; the desire of righteousness and the evil desire as personified in *Mand.* xii. 2; and the spirits of truth and error (1 John iv. 6), which in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs' attend a man and endeavour, like Virtue and Vice at the parting of the ways, to incline the spirit of the understanding of his mind this way or that (*Jud.* 20; *As.* 1, 6).

of righteousness is delicate and shamefast and meek and quiet. When therefore he cometh into thy heart, immediately he talketh with thee of righteousness, of pureness, of modesty, of contentment, of every just work and every honourable virtue. When all these things come into thy heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with thee. These are the works of the angel of righteousness. Have faith therefore in him and his works. 4. Now see also the works of the angel of wickedness. First of all he is angry and bitter and foolish, and his works are evil and overturn the servants of God. When this one therefore cometh into thy heart, know him from his works. 5. Sir, quoth I, how I may know him I understand not. Hearken, quoth he. When any anger or bitterness cometh upon thee, know that he is in thee. Then when a longing after many doings and costly excess of meats and strong drinks and frequent revelings and all manner of luxuries and unnecessary things, and the desire of women, and covetousness and pride and boasting, and such things as are akin and like to these ; whensoever these things come into thy heart, know that the angel of wickedness is with thee. 6. Do thou therefore take knowledge of his works and withdraw from him and put no trust in him,

because his works are evil and inexpedient for the servants of God. Thou hast then the operations of both the angels; understand them, and have faith in the angel of righteousness. 7. And withdraw from the angel of wickedness, because his teaching is evil in every work; for though a man be faithful, yet if the thought of this angel come into his heart, that man or woman must needs fall into some sin. 8. Contrariwise, be a man or woman never so wicked, if the works of the angel of righteousness come into their heart, of necessity they must do something good. 9. Thou seest then, quoth he, that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, and to take leave of the angel of wickedness. 10. This commandment sheweth the things concerning faith, to the end that thou mayest believe the works * of the angel of righteousness, and doing them mayest live unto God. And believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are grievous; and so by not doing them thou shalt live unto God.

* "Believe the works," or as above "have faith" in them, may have been suggested by John x. 38.

SEVENTH MANDATE

1. FEAR the Lord, quoth he, and keep His commandments; and while thou keepest the commandments of God thou shalt be able in all that thou doest, and thy doing shall be beyond compare.* For fearing the Lord thou shalt do all things well. This is the fear which thou must fear, that so thou mayest be saved. 2. But fear not the devil; for if thou fear the Lord thou shalt have dominion over the devil, because there is no power in him. There is no fear of one who hath no power in him; but if one have glorious power, there is also fear of him. For whoso hath power hath fear; but he that hath not power is despised of all. 3. Nevertheless fear the works of the devil, because they are evil. For fear of the Lord then thou shalt fear the works of the devil and not do them, but

* Eccles. xii. 13 *fear God and keep his commandments.* The word for "beyond compare" occurs in Philo, *Test. Levi*, Tatian, and as a name Asyncritus in Rom. xvi. 14.

refrain from them. 4. There are therefore two kinds of fear.* If thou be minded to do evil, fear the Lord and thou shalt not do it; or if again thou be minded to do good, fear the Lord and thou shalt do it. So then the fear of the Lord is strong and great and glorious. Fear the Lord therefore, and thou shalt live unto Him; and all who keep His commandments and fear Him shall live unto God. 5. Wherefore, sir, quoth I, saidst thou concerning them that observe His commandments, They shall live unto God? Because, quoth he, the whole creation feareth the Lord, but doth not keep His commandments. Such as both fear Him and keep His commandments, to them belongeth life with God; but they that keep not His commandments, neither have they life in Him.

* Plato speaks of "two fears" in his *Laws* (647 A), a dialogue quoted in chap. 33 of the *Tablet* (*Mand.* xii. 1. 1 n.). Compare also Matt. x. 28.

EIGHTH MANDATE

1. I TOLD thee, quoth he, that the creatures of God are twofold. For even temperance is twofold.* Because in some things a man ought to be temperate, but in some he ought not. 2. Acquaint me, sir, quoth I, in what things it is right to be temperate, and in what things not. Hearken, quoth he. Be temperate in evil and do it not, and in good be not temperate but do it. For if thou be temperate and do not good, thou committest great sin ; but if thou be temperate and do not evil, thou workest great righteousness. Wherefore abstain from all wickedness and do good. 3. Of what sort, sir, quoth I, are the wickednesses from which we must

* Aristotle in *Eth. Nic.* iv. 9 writes of "temperance" or continence (Gr. *enkrateia*) that it is not absolutely a virtue but a certain mixed quality. In *Test. Neph.* 8 it is said that the commandments of the law are "twofold" (*Journ. of Phil.* xxi. 247). There are times for doing things and their opposites (*Eccles.* iii.), and abstinence from doing a thing in its season is sin.

abstain? Hear, quoth he; from adultery and fornication, from lawless drunkenness, from evil luxury, from many meats and lavish expence and vaunting and arrogance and haughtiness, and from falsehood and slander and hypocrisy and remembrance of wrong and all blasphemy.

4. These deeds are the most evil of all in the life of men. From these deeds therefore the servant of God must abstain; for he who doth not contain himself from these cannot live unto God. Hear therefore the things sequent upon these.

5. What, sir, quoth I, are there yet other evil deeds? Yea, many there be, quoth he, from which the servant of God must abstain: theft, lying, fraud, false witness, covetousness, evil concupiscence, deceit, vainglory, boastfulness, and all such things as are like unto these. Thinkest thou not that these things are evil, yea very evil, quoth he, for the servants of God? From all these he that serveth God must abstain. Abstain therefore from all these, that thou mayest live unto God and be inscribed with them that abstain therefrom. These then are the things from which it behoveth thee to abstain.

7. Hear also, quoth he, the things thou shouldest not abstain from but do them. Abstain not from good but do it.

8. Sir, quoth I, shew me also the power of good things, that I may walk

in them and serve them, to the end that in doing them I may be able to be saved. Hear, quoth he, the works of goodness also, which thou must do and not abstain from. 9. First of all faith, fear of the Lord, love, concord, words of righteousness, truth, patience; there is nothing better than these in the life of men. If a man keep these and abstain not from them, he shall be happy in his life. 10. Next hear the things sequent upon these: to minister to widows, to visit orphans and the needy, to redeem the servants of God from necessities, to love hospitality, for in hospitality may haply be found well doing; to be opposed to no man, to be quiet, to make thyself poorer than all men, to reverence the aged, to practise righteousness, to preserve brotherhood, to endure despite, to be longsuffering, not to have remembrance of wrong; to comfort the weary in soul, not to cast away them that have stumbled from the faith, but to convert and cheer them; to admonish sinners, not to oppress poor debtors; and if there be any other things like unto these. 11. Seem these things to thee, quoth he, to be good? Yea, for what, sir, quoth I, what can be better than these? Walk then, quoth he, in them, and abstain not from them, and thou shalt live unto God. 12. Keep therefore this com-

mandment. If thou do good and abstain not from it, thou shalt live unto God ; and all shall live unto God who do so. And again, if thou do not evil but abstain from it, thou shalt live unto God ; and they shall all live unto God who keep these commandments and walk in them.

NINTH MANDATE

1. HE said to me, Put away from thee doublemindedness, and doubt not to ask anything at all from God, saying within thyself, How can I ask and receive anything from the Lord who have so greatly sinned against Him? 2. Reason not thus with thyself, but with all thy heart turn to the Lord, and ask of Him without doubting, and thou shalt know His much compassion, how that He will not forsake thee but will fulfil the request of thy soul. 3. For God is not as men who bear malice, but He remembereth not wrong and pitieth His handiwork. 4. Do thou therefore cleanse thy heart from all the vanities of this world and the things before spoken of to thee, and ask of the Lord and thou shalt receive all things, and shalt not be disappointed of any of thy requests, if thou ask of the Lord without doubting. 5. But if thou doubt in thy heart, thou shalt surely not receive any of thy requests. For they who doubt

toward God, these are the doubleminded, and they obtain nothing at all of their petitions. 6. But such as are whole in the faith ask all things trusting on the Lord, and they receive because they ask confidently, nothing doubting. For every man of doubtful mind, except he repent, shall hardly be saved. 7. Cleanse therefore thy heart from doubtfulness,* and put on faith, for she is strong; and trust God that thou shalt receive all thy petitions which thou askest. And if at any time when thou hast made a request of the Lord thou receive it somewhat slowly, doubt not because thou didst not receive the request of thy soul speedily; for it is surely because of some temptation or some trespass which thou art not aware of that thou receivest thy request the more slowly. 8. Do thou therefore cease not to make the request of thy soul, and thou shalt receive it. But if thou faint and be of doubtful mind when thou

* James iv. 8 *Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye doubleminded.* The word *temptation* used below in connexion with prayer may have been suggested by the Lord's Prayer (cp. Matt. vi. 9—15; Mark xi. 25), to which the writer perhaps alludes in other places also. In accordance with Luke xviii. 1 he teaches that men must not *faint* in prayer. Doubt and her sisters (*Mand.* x. 1. 1) and the evil desire are *daughters* (*Mand.* xii. 2. 2) of the devil, cp. Prov. xxx. 15.

askest, blame thyself and not Him that giveth unto thee. 9. Mark this doublemindedness; for it is evil and without understanding, and rooteth up many from the faith though they be very faithful and strong. For this doublemindedness is a daughter of the devil, and dealeth very wickedly with the servants of God. 10. Therefore despise it and have dominion over it in all things, putting on faith which is strong and mighty. For faith promiseth all things, perfecteth all things;* but doublemindedness, mistrusting herself, faileth in all her works which she enterpriseth. 11. Thou seest then, quoth he, that faith is from above from the Lord, and hath great power; but doublemindedness is an^r earthly spirit from the devil, and hath no power. 12. Do thou therefore serve faith which hath power, and keep thyself from doubt which hath no power, and thou shalt live unto God; and all shall live unto God who are thus minded.

* Compare 1 Cor. xiii. 7, and see page 26.

TENTH MANDATE

CHAPTER I

1. PUT away sorrow from thee, quoth he ; for she is a sister of doublemindedness and quick temper. How, sir, quoth I, can she be sister to these? for quick temper seemeth to me to be one thing, and doublemindedness another, and sorrow another. Thou art a foolish fellow, quoth he. Perceivest thou not that sorrow is worse than all the spirits and most dreadful to the servants of God, and corrupteth a man more than all the spirits, and weareth out the Holy Spirit, and again saveth? * 3. Sir, quoth I, I am foolish and

* Sorrow is personified in *Sim.* ix. 15. In the *Tablet* (chaps. 10, 23) it is one of the worst of evils, but may lead through repentance to salvation, cp. 2 Cor. vii. 10. Kin to it is listlessness, Gr. *akedia* (Antioch. *Hom.* 26), of which the plural was rendered *weariness* in *Vis.* iii. 11. 3. Envy and ire "maken bitterness in herte ; which bitterness is moder of *Accidie*, and binimeth him the

understand not these parables; for how it can wear out, and again save, I perceive not. 4. Hear, quoth he; they who never searched about the truth nor enquired diligently concerning the things of God, but believed only, and were mixed up with business and wealth and heathen friendships and many other affairs of this world; * such, I say, as are intent upon these things understand not the parables of divinity, for they are darkened by these employments, and they decay and grow barren. 5. Even as goodly vineyards, when they meet with neglect, are made barren by thorns and all manner of weeds, so do men who after they have believed fall † into these many doings before said wander from their mind and apprehend

love of alle goodnesse." So Chaucer (ed. Skeat, 1894) in the Parson's Tale, to which the Oxford *New English Dictionary* refers under 'Accidie.' Compare Dante *Inf.* vii. 123 *accidioso fummo*, sullen fume; Sir. xxii. 13, Lat. *non acediaberis*. In "worse than all the spirits" there may be a reminiscence of Matt. xii. 45, and in "corrupteth . . . and again saveth" of chap. 3 of the *Tablet*.

* In the New Testament the word for "friendship" occurs only in James iv. 4, "Ye adulteresses, know ye not that the *friendship* of the world is enmity with God?" The soul which makes friends with the world is an adulteress, cp. *Mand.* iv. 1. 9.

† Another allusion to the parable of the Sower (p. 30).

nothing at all about righteousness; for when they hear the things of God and truth, their mind is sunk in their business, and they understand nothing at all. 6. But they who have fear of God, and search about divinity and truth, and have their heart set unto the Lord, do more quickly perceive and understand all the things said to them because they have the fear of the Lord within them; for where the Lord dwelleth, there is also much understanding. Cleave therefore unto the Lord, and thou shalt understand and apprehend all things.*

CHAPTER 2

1. HEAR now, quoth he, O foolish man, how sorrow weareth out the Holy Spirit and again saveth. 2. When the doubleminded man setteth himself to any business and faileth in it because of his doublemindedness, this same sorrow entereth into the man and grieveth and weareth out the Holy Spirit. 3. Then again, whenever quick temper hath joined itself to a man in respect of some matter, and he is in much bitterness, again sorrow entereth into the

* Compare 1 John ii. 20 *ye know all things*, R.V. marg. *ye all know*.

heart of the man that was angered, and he is grieved at his deed which he did, and repenteth of having wrought evil. 4. This sorrow then seemeth to have salvation, because when he had done evil he repented. Both behaviours therefore grieve the Spirit ; doubting, because it had not good success in its doing, and anger likewise, because it wrought evil. Both are grievous to the Spirit of God, doublemindedness and passionateness. 5. Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart and afflict not the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in thee, lest it make intercession against thee with God and depart from thee. For the Spirit of God which was given to be in this flesh beareth neither sorrow nor straitness.

CHAPTER 3

1. PUT on joyfulness therefore, which always hath favour with God and is acceptable to Him, and delight thou in her. For every joyful man worketh good things, and mindeth good things, and despiseth sorrow. 2. But the sorrowful man always doeth wickedly. First he doeth wickedly because he grieveth the Holy Spirit, which when it was given to the man was joyful ; and secondarily in grieving the Holy Spirit he worketh

iniquity, neither praying nor making confession to God. For the prayer of a sorrowful man hath never power to ascend to the altar of God.

3. Wherefore, quoth I, doth the prayer of one who sorroweth not ascend to the altar? Because, quoth he, sorrow coucheth in his heart, which sorrow then being mingled with his intercession suffereth it not to go up pure to the altar. For as wine when vinegar is mixed with it hath not the same pleasantness, so likewise when sorrow is mixed with the Holy Spirit it hath not the same power of intercession.

4. Cleanse thyself therefore from this evil sorrow, and thou shalt live unto God; and all shall live unto God, as many as put away sadness from them and put on all joyfulness.

ELEVENTH MANDATE

• CHAPTER I

1. HE shewed me men sitting on a bench, and another man sitting on a chair.* And he said to me, Seest thou them that sit on the bench? I see them, sir, quoth I. These, quoth he, are faithful, but he that sitteth on the chair is a false prophet who destroyeth the sense of the servants of God; to wit, of the double-minded, but not of the faithful. 2. These men of two minds then come to him as to a sooth-sayer,† and ask him what haply shall befall

* On the chair and the bench see page 18 f. On the text of *Mand.* xi., xii. in the Old Latin Version see Wake's footnotes. Hilgenfeld supposes that *Mand.* xi. originally stood after *Sim.* iv. as one of the similitudes; and he remarks that pseudo-Athanasius quotes *Mand.* x., xii. in reverse order as the *Eleventh* and *Tenth* commandments, and does not quote *Mand.* xi.

† The doubleminded come to the false prophet as to a *magus* (Acts xiii. 6) doubting "whether a thing shall be or not" (*Vis.* iii. 4. 3 n.). The *Didache* (iii. 4) warns against augury as leading to "idolatry."

them ; and the false prophet, having in himself no power of the divine Spirit, answereth them according to their demands and according to their unholy desires, and filleth their souls even as they wish. 3. For being himself void, he giveth void answers to the void ; because, whatsoever he be asked, he answereth according to the emptiness of the man. Yet he speaketh some true words also ; for the devil filleth him with his spirit, that peradventure he may be able to break some one of the righteous. 4. As many therefore as have put on the truth and are strong in the faith of the Lord cleave not to such spirits but keep away from them. But men who are of two minds and often repent use divination like the heathen, and bring upon themselves the greater sin by their idolatry ; for he that enquireth of a false prophet about any matter is an idolater and void of the truth and foolish. For any Spirit given of God is not enquired of, but having the power of the Godhead it speaketh all things of itself, because it is from above, from the power of the divine Spirit. 6. But the Spirit that is enquired of and speaketh according to the desires of men is earthly and light and hath no power, and it speaketh not all except it be enquired of. 7. How then, sir, quoth I, shall a man know

which of them is a prophet and which a false prophet? Hear, quoth he, concerning both the prophets; and as I will now tell thee, so shalt thou prove the prophet and the false prophet. From his life prove thou the man that hath the divine Spirit. 8. First he that hath the divine Spirit which is from above is meek and peaceable and lowly, and refraineth himself from every wickedness and vain desire of this world, and he maketh himself more needy than all men, and answereth nothing to any when enquired of, and speaketh not solitarily, neither when a man would speak doth the Holy Spirit speak; but when God willeth that he should speak, then he speaketh.* 9. Whensoever therefore the man who hath the divine Spirit cometh into a synagogue of just men who have faith in the divine Spirit, and the congregation of those men make their prayer unto God, then the Angel of the prophetic spirit which besetteth

* The true prophet, as distinguished from the Spirit within him, does not speak "of himself" (John vii. 18), nor does he vaticinate as men desire, "For no prophecy ever came by the will of man: but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. i. 21 R.V.). He is not as those who separate themselves not having the Spirit (Jude 19). A prophet is to be tested by his manner of life, and must not exalt himself, nor live in luxury, nor prophesy for hire (Matt. xxiii. 6, 12; *Did.* xi. 6 f.).

him filleth the man, and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit speaketh to the multitude as the Lord willeth. 10. Thus then shall the Spirit of the Godhead be manifest. Concerning the divine Spirit of the Lord, such is its power. 11. Hear now, quoth he, about the spirit that is earthly and void and hath no power, but is foolish. 12. First the man who thinketh that he hath the Spirit exalteth himself and wisheth to have the preeminence, and straightway he is heady and shameless and full of talk and conversant among many luxuries and other deceits; and he receiveth hire for his prophecy, and if he receive not he prophesieth not. Can then a divine Spirit receive hire and prophesy? It cannot be that a prophet of God should do this, but the spirit of such prophets is earthly. 13. And then he never at all approacheth an assembly of righteous men, but fleeth from them. And he joineth himself to the double-minded and empty, and prophesieth unto them in corners, and deceiveth them by speaking in all things emptily according to their lusts; for it is to the empty that he replieth. Because an empty vessel set with empty ones is not crushed, but they agree with one another. 14. When however he cometh to a full assembly of just men who have the divine Spirit, and intercession

is made by them, that man is emptied, and the earthly spirit fleeth away from him for fear, and the man is struck dumb and utterly crushed, not being able to speak a word. 15. For if thou pack jars of wine or oil in a cellar* and put an empty jar among them, and afterwards wish to unpack the cellar, the jar which was put away empty will be found still empty; and so the empty prophets, when they come to the spirits of just men, are found such as they came. 16. Thou hast now the life of both the prophets. From his life and works then prove the man who sayeth that he is possessed of the Spirit. 17. And believe thou the Spirit that cometh from God and hath power; and put no trust in

* The *Didache* (xiii. 6) says, "When thou openest a jar of wine or oil take the firstfruit and give to the prophets." Hermas, who would have seen quantities of wine and oil stored in cellars, empty jars set apart, and some placed by mistake with full ones and in consequence broken, takes occasion to compare the vain pretender to inspiration to an empty jar, cp. *Mand.* xii. 5. 3. Unlike the true prophet, who is the more filled with the Spirit when he comes to a synagogue (James ii. 2) of the faithful, the empty pseudo-prophet when he comes to the "spirits of just men" (Heb. xii. 23) is found still empty. Curzon in one of his *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (chaps. 7, 8) saw and examined the famous Nitrian collection of Syriac manuscripts, now in the British Museum, in "the vault beyond the oil-cellar."

the carthly and void spirit, because there is no power in it, for it cometh from the devil. 18. Hear this parable which I will speak unto thee. Take and throw a stone at the heaven, and see if thou canst touch it ; or again, take a siphon of water and spout it at the heaven, and see if thou canst bore the heaven.* 19. How, sir, quoth I, can these things be, for both these things thou hast spoken are impossible? As then, quoth he, these things are impossible, so

* To shoot at the stars (Zenob. iii. 46, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 365) is to attempt an impossibility, and "whoso casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head" (Ecclus. xxvii. 25). That waters bore or "wear" (Job xiv. 19) stones was a proverbial saying, but what could have suggested the simile of the siphon? Dr. J. Rendel Harris writes (24th June, 1901) that he was looking at some vines to the south of Rome looped and trained to the elm trees, which he had previously noticed with *Sim.* ii. on the Elm and the Vine in mind, "when the proprietor began squibbing the topmost leaves above his head with an old-fashioned squirt." In the vineyard Hermas may have noticed also the destructive force of the hailstorm ; and of a piece with all this would be his parables of the wine jars. The question *How can these things be?* is asked in John iii. 9, and the same chapter illustrates the contrast between the Spirit *coming from above* and that which is *earthly* (ver. 31). Compare also 1 John iv. 1, "Beloved, *believe not every spirit*, but *try* the spirits whether they are of God : because many *false prophets* are gone out into the world."

earthly spirits are unable and impotent. 20. Take now the power that cometh from above. Hail is a very small grain, but when it falleth upon a man's head, what pain it giveth! Or again, take the drops that fall upon the ground from the tiling and bore the stone. Thou seest then that the smallest things falling from above to the earth have great power. Even so the divine Spirit coming from above is powerful. Believe therefore this Spirit, and from the other refrain.

TWELFTH MANDATE

CHAPTER I

1. HE said to me, Put away from thee every evil desire, and put on the good and holy desire ; for having put on this desire thou shalt hate the evil desire, and shalt curb it as thou wilt.* 2. For the evil desire is fierce and hard to tame ; for it

* Kebes in chap. 33 quotes Plato (*Laws*, 808 D, E) for the comparison of secular learning to a bridle for the young, which tends to keep them from being drawn about (*Mand.* v. 2. 7) to other things. The verb to curb or "bridle" occurs in James i. 26, iii. 2 ; and again in *Epist. Polyc.* v. 3, "In like manner also the younger men must be blameless in all things, . . . bridling themselves from all evil. For it is a good thing to refrain from *the lusts in the world* (1 John ii. 16), for every lust warreth against the Spirit." To all this Hermas may allude ; and immediately below and in *Sim.* ix. 13 to the parable of the Wedding Garment (Gr. *enduma*, Matt. xxxii. 11, 12). He shews his further acquaintance with Biblical phraseology by his frequent use of the cognate verb *put on* in metaphorical senses (*Vis.* iii., iv. ; *Mand.* i., ii., v., ix.—xii. ; *Sim.* vi., viii., ix.).

is fearful, and by its fierceness it wasteth men exceedingly. Especially if a servant of God fall into it and be not prudent, he is wasted by it terribly. And it wasteth such as have not the garment of the good desire, but are entangled in this world. These it delivereth unto death. 3. Of what kind, sir, quoth I, are the works of the evil desire which deliver men over unto death? Acquaint me, that I may refrain from them. Hear, quoth he, by what works the evil desire slayeth the servants of God.

CHAPTER 2

1. FOREMOST of all is the desire for another's wife or husband, and for much outlay of wealth, and for divers vain meats and strong drinks and many other foolish luxuries; for all luxury is foolish and vain to the servants of God. 2. These desires then are evil, and slay the servants of God. For this evil desire is daughter to the devil.* Ye ought therefore to refrain from evil desires, that by refraining ye may live

* Like the devil himself (James iv. 7), his daughter will flee if resisted. The words for "fully armed" and "armed" occur each once only in the New Testament (Luke xi. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 1).

unto God. 3. But as many as are overmastered by them and withstand them not perish utterly, for these desires are deadly. 4. But do thou put on the desire of righteousness, and being fully armed with the fear of the Lord withstand them. For the fear of the Lord dwelleth in the good desire. The evil desire, if she see thee armed in the fear of God and withstanding her, will flee far from thee and be no more seen of thee, being in fear of thy arms. 5. Do thou then when thou hast triumphed over her * come to the desire of righteousness, and yielding up to her the victory thou hast won serve her even as she willeth. If thou serve the good desire and be subject to her, thou shalt be able to have dominion over the evil desire, and to subdue her even as thou wilt.

CHAPTER 3

1. I WOULD know, sir, quoth I, by what behaviour I must serve the good desire. Hear, quoth he ; work righteousness and virtue, truth and fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and whatsoever good things are like unto these. If thou do these things thou shalt be a well-

* Lit. *having been crowned against her.*

pleasing servant of God, and shalt live unto Him ; and every one who serveth the good desire shall live unto God. 2. So he made an end of the twelve commandments, and said unto me, Thou hast these commandments ; walk therein, and exhort them that hear, that their repentance may be pure the rest of the days of their life. 3. Do thy diligence to accomplish this ministry which I give thee, and thou shalt do much ; for thou shalt find favour with those who are about to repent, and they shall be persuaded by thy words ; for I will be with thee, and will constrain them to obey thee. 4. I said to him, Sir, these commandments are great and fair and glorious and able to rejoice the heart of the man who can observe them.* But I wot not if these commandments can be kept by a man, because they are exceeding hard. 5. He answered and said to me, If thou put it to thyself that they can be kept, thou shalt keep them easily, and they will not be hard ; but if it enter thy heart that they cannot be kept by a man, thou wilt not keep them. 6. Now therefore I say unto thee, If thou keep them not,

* These commandments rejoice the heart (Ps. xix. 8), but it is beyond the power of man to keep them. The like is said of the precepts of Christ by the Jew Trypho in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue* (227 c).

but neglect them, thou shalt not have salvation, neither thy children nor thy house, since thou hast already judged for thyself that these commandments cannot be kept by a man.

CHAPTER 4

1. THESE things he said to me very wrathfully, so that I was confounded and in great fear of him; for his form was changed, so that a man could not bear his wrath. 2. But seeing me all troubled and put to confusion he began to speak to me more gently and pleasantly, and said, O foolish, unwise, and doubleminded man, perceivest thou not the glory of God, how great and strong and marvellous it is; for He created the world for the sake of man,* and put all His creation in subjection to man, and gave him all authority to rule over all things under heaven? 3. If then, quoth he, man is lord of the creatures

* "For the sake of man" seems at first sight to contradict *Vis. i. 1. 6*, "for the sake of His holy Church." But Hermas everywhere allegorises the cosmogony, making it "a mystery" of Christ and the Church (p. 63). Thus in this chapter he makes man's dominion over the creatures include the power to keep "all these commandments." That to the ungodly they are "hard-to-walk-in" was perhaps suggested by Philo's use of the word in *De. Ebr. 36* (*Journ. of Phil. xxviii. 35*).

of God and hath dominion over them all, can he not have dominion over these commandments also? The man, quoth he, who hath the Lord in his heart is able to have dominion over all things and all these commandments. 4. But they who have the Lord on their lips, and their heart hardened, and who are far from the Lord, to them these commandments are difficult and hard to walk in. 5. Set ye therefore the Lord in your hearts, ye that are empty and light in the faith, and ye shall know that there is nothing easier nor sweeter nor gentler than these commandments. 6. Turn again ye that walk in the commandments of the devil, that are so hard and bitter and wild and wanton, and fear not the devil, because in him there is no power against you. 7. For I, the Angel of Repentance, who have dominion over him, will be with you. The devil hath only fear, and his fear hath no force; fear him not therefore, and he shall flee from you.

CHAPTER 5

1. I SAID to him, Sir, hear a few words from me. Say, quoth he, what thou desirest. Man, sir, quoth I, is zealous to keep the commandments of God, and there is none that prayeth

not of the Lord to be strengthened in His commandments and made obedient to them ; but the devil is strong and overpowereth them.* 2. He is not able, quoth he, to overpower the servants of God who hope on Him with all their heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but cannot throw them. If therefore ye withstand him, he shall be conquered and flee from you ashamed. But such as are empty, quoth he, fear the devil as if he had power. 3. When a man hath filled a great plenty of jars with good wine, and among

* With what is said of the devil in this chapter compare Acts x. 38 *oppressed of the devil*; James iv. 7 *resist the devil and he will flee from you*; Eph. iv. 27 *neither give place to the devil*, vi. 12 *our wrestling*. We cannot always be sure whether a verbal parallel is allusive or fortuitous. In his way of using Holy Scripture Hermas is like the homilist pseudo-Clement, the author of 2 Clem. Cor., who alludes as below to Heb. xii. 1, "Wherefore seeing we also are *compassed about* with so great a *cloud* of witnesses, let us *lay aside* every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and *let us run* with patience *the match* that is set before us." In chap. i. of his homily he writes, with a play upon the first part of the verse, "Being then *compassed about* with dimness and full of such mist in our vision, we recovered sight *laying aside* by His will the *cloud* with which we were *compassed about*"; and in chap. vii., with reference to the Isthmian games, he alludes to its ending, and at the same time to 1 Cor. ix. 24 f., thus, "Wherefore *let us run* the straight way, *the match* incorruptible."

those jars are a few somewhat empty, he cometh to the jars and looketh not at the full ones, for he knoweth that they are full; but he looketh at the empty ones, for fear they should have turned sour; for jars that are not full soon turn sour, and the sweet savour of the wine is lost.

4. Even so the devil cometh to all the servants of God, making trial of them. Such then as are full in the faith resist him stoutly, and he departeth from them, finding no place to enter. Then he cometh to the empty ones, and finding room he entereth into them, and he worketh in them what he desireth, and they become bondmen unto him.

CHAPTER 6

1. BUT I, the Angel of Repentance, say unto you, Fear not the devil. For I was sent, quoth he, to be with such of you as repent with their whole heart, and to make them strong in the faith. 2. Trust God therefore, ye that have despaired of your life and added to your sins and are weighing down your life, that, if ye turn to the Lord with all your heart and do righteousness the rest of the days of your life and serve Him rightly according to His will, He will heal your former sins; and ye shall have power to

have dominion over the works of the devil.* And fear not at all the threatening of the devil ; for he is slack like the sinews of a corpse. 3. Hearken to me therefore, and fear Him who is all-able, to save and to destroy ; and observe these commandments, and ye shall live unto God. 4. I said to him, Sir, now am I strengthened in all the ordinances of the Lord, because thou art with me ; and I know that thou wilt break all the power of the devil, and we shall have dominion over him and prevail over all his works. I hope, sir, that I am able now to keep these commandments which thou hast commanded, the Lord enabling me. 5. Thou shalt keep them, quoth he, if thy heart be pure unto the Lord ; and all who cleanse their hearts from the vain desires of this world shall keep them, and they shall live unto God.

* 1 John iii. 8 *that he might destroy* (Vulg. *dissolvat*, Aug. *solvat*) *the works of the devil*. He "has revealed them in their complete unsubstantiality. He has 'undone' the seeming bonds by which they were held together" (Westcott).

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