

THE
APOSTOLIC FATHERS
A New Translation and Commentary

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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

A New Translation and Commentary

edited by Robert M. Grant

University of Chicago

- Volume 1 An Introduction
by Robert M. Grant, University of Chicago
- Volume 2 First and Second Clement
by Robert M. Grant, University of Chicago
and Holt H. Graham, Virginia Theological Seminary
- Volume 3 Barnabas and The Didache
by Robert A. Kraft, University of Pennsylvania
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by William R. Schoedel, Brown University
- Volume 6 Hermas
by Graydon F. Snyder, Bethany Theological Seminary

THE
APOSTOLIC FATHERS

A New Translation and Commentary

Volume 6

The Shepherd of Hermas

by

Graydon F. Snyder

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London

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PREFACE

The text of the Shepherd has been divided according to both prevalent methods of reference: the older system, by Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes, and the newer system, by chapter numbers. Because of limitation of space for commentary, it has been impossible to repeat pertinent discussions wherever a topic recurs in the work. References printed in boldface indicate where further relevant commentary will be found.

References to the Psalms are always to the Septuagint.

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ABBREVIATIONS

References to Biblical and Apocryphal books are made with standard abbreviations. The Apostolic Fathers are abbreviated as follows:

Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
1 Clem.	Clement of Rome to the Corinthians
2 Clem.	2 Clement (sermon)
Did.	The Didache
Ign. Eph.	Ignatius to the Ephesians
Ign. Magn.	Ignatius to the Magnesians
Ign. Philad.	Ignatius to the Philadelphians
Ign. Polyc.	Ignatius to Polycarp
Ign. Rom.	Ignatius to the Romans
Ign. Trall.	Ignatius to the Trallians
Mand.	Hermas, Mandates
Mart. Polyc.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Sim.	Hermas, Similitudes
Vis.	Hermas, Visions

Other abbreviations are as follows:

<i>Adv. haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i>
<i>Adv. Marc.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Marcionem</i>
Assumpt. Moses	Assumption of Moses
Clem. hom.	<i>Clementine homilies</i>
<i>De praescr.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i>
<i>De resurr.</i>	Methodius, <i>De resurrectione</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, Dialogue with the Jew Trypho
<i>Diss.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Dissertationes</i>
Dctr	Doctrina (The Teaching of the Apostles)
Epi.	Epistles (by various authors)
Jub.	Jubilees
<i>Meg.</i>	<i>Megillah</i> (The Mishnah)
<i>Paed.</i>	Clement, <i>Paedagogus</i>

PG

J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*

PL

J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*

IQS

Manual of Discipline (Dead Sea Scrolls)

T.

Testament; T. Dan, etc.

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY VERSIONS

The text of the Shepherd of Hermas is not well attested. Nevertheless, within recent years it has become possible to produce a critical text as a basis for new translations. The present textual situation is as follows:

A. The Greek Text

There are three Greek manuscripts of the Shepherd of Hermas, none of which is complete:

1. Codex Athous (The Library of the Monastery of Hagios Gregorios on Mount Athos and the University Library of Leipzig). This manuscript is a fifteenth-century copy consisting of 10 leaves, of which leaves 5, 6, and 9 are in Leipzig,¹ the last (107:3-114:5) is lost, and the remainder still at Mount Athos. Facsimiles and transcription of Codex Athous were published by Kirsopp Lake in 1907.²

2. Codex Sinaiticus (The British Museum). Unfortunately this fourth-century manuscript contains only the first quarter of the Shepherd (to 31:6). It was published by Kirsopp Lake in 1911.³

3. Papyrus 129 (University of Michigan). A third-century papyrus, which contains most of the Similitudes (51:8-82:1), published by Campbell Bonner in 1934.⁴

In addition to these, there are a number of small fragments which are listed by Whittaker⁵ and Joly.⁶ Because of

¹ Now unavailable. M. Whittaker, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Berlin, 1956), p. ix, n. 3.

² K. Lake, *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Oxford, 1907).

³ K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. The New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas* (Oxford, 1911).

⁴ Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1934).

⁵ Whittaker, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv-xvi.

⁶ R. Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur* (Paris, 1958), pp. 58-61; see also S. Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs* (Paris, 1963), pp. 50-54; H. A. Musurillo in *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1951), 382-387; A. Casamassa, *I Padri Apostolici* (Rome, 1938), pp. 191 f.

the incomplete nature of the Greek text, a critical edition was urgently needed. This need has been supplied by two excellent editions. Miss Molly Whittaker contributed a critical text to the series *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* in 1956 and Robert Joly prepared a similar edition for the series *Sources chrétiennes*, published in 1958. The two texts differ 175 times⁷ but the variations are minor.

When all the Greek manuscripts, fragments, and patristic quotations are utilized to form a critical text, there remains yet the section 107:3-114:5, for which there is no Greek witness except 107:3b-4a; 108:5-6c; and 113:3b-5a.

B. The Latin Version

There are two Latin versions of the Shepherd: the Vulgate, published by Adolf Hilgenfeld in 1873, and the fifteenth-century Palatine (*Palatinus lat.* 150 and *Urbinas lat.* 486 in the Vatican Library), published in Gebhardt-Harnack in 1877. The Vulgate is used from 107:3 to 114:5 except where Greek fragments are known.

The Shepherd is found also in an Ethiopic translation⁸ and fragments are available in Middle Persian and Coptic.⁹ For this translation the edition of Joly has been utilized and significant variations will be noted in the commentary.

⁷ Joly, *op. cit.*, 401-405.

⁸ A second witness to the Ethiopic was noticed subsequent to the publication of the two critical texts. See A. van Lantschoot in *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 93-95.

⁹ Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 f.; Whittaker, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii f.

THE STRUCTURE

Formally, the Shepherd consists of five Visions, twelve Mandates, and ten Similitudes. However, both textual and internal criticism reveal a structure other than these formal divisions. The major transitions are in chapters 25, 78, and 46. The evidence may be summarized in this way:

A. Chapter 25

Since the turn of the century it has been assumed, for internal reasons mainly, that the Shepherd actually consists, on the one hand, of four Visions (Vis. I-IV), and, on the other, of twelve Mandates and ten Similitudes introduced by a revelation of the shepherd (Vis. V).¹ This latter work is properly "The Shepherd."

1. The shepherd first appears in Vision V (25:1). The revelator in Visions I-IV is the church in the guise of an elderly lady (2:2; 5:3; 8:1; 8:2; 9:2; 18:3; 18:5; 18:6; 18:9; 19:2; 20:1).

2. Vision V is not a vision in the same manner as the preceding, but serves as an introduction to the Mandates and Similitudes (25:5), which are the content of this particular revelation.

3. Visions I-IV presuppose a "tribulation to come" (6:7; 7:4; 22:1; 23:4 f.; 24:6), while Vision V-Similitude X presuppose a persecution in the past which produced apostates and those who denied the Lord (72:4; 96:1).²

4. Various theological distinctions,³ such as the Jewish apocalyptic orientation of Visions I-IV⁴ stand in contrast to

¹ M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Tübingen, 1923), p. 421.

² See D. Völter, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Leiden, 1904), pp. 174-231, and S. Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs* (Paris, 1963), pp. 290 f.

³ Giet, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-179.

⁴ Völter, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-175.

the more Trinitarian theology of Similitudes V and IX (chs. 59; 78).

In addition to this internal evidence, the textual structure of the Shepherd indicates the same division:

1. Sinaiticus entitles Vision V *apokalypsis e* instead of *horasis e*. Athous has *horasis e*, however.

2. The Vulgate has *Visio quinta initium pastoris* at the beginning of chapter 25.

3. The Palatine version has *Incipiunt pastoris mandata duodecim*.

4. Papyrus codex 129 of Michigan did not have Visions I-IV but, according stichometric calculations, must have begun with Vision V and ended with Similitude X.⁵

5. The Sahidic version began with Vision V.⁶

To buttress the conclusion that the primary division of the Shepherd lies between the first four Visions and the remainder of the work, we can note that most of the fathers of the church quote "The Shepherd" from Vision V on, except Clement and Origen, who quote the entire book as "The Shepherd."⁷

B. Chapter 78

While the major structural problem revolves around Vision V, the peculiarity of Similitude IX has not gone unnoticed. Arguments adduced for considering Similitude IX a later addition are:

1. The last sentence of Similitude VIII reads: "I will show you *ta loipa* after a few days" (77:5), as if what followed were other than the commandments and parables already revealed.

2. Similitude IX begins with the statement that the recipient of the revelation had already written the commandments and parables (78:1).

⁵ Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1934), p. 13.

⁶ L. Th. Lefort, *Le Muséon* 51 (1938), 244.

⁷ A. von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I (Leipzig, 1958), 53 f.

3. Transitional phrases in chapter 25 indicate that the shepherd would reveal the commandments and parables and then *ta hetera* (25:5). *Ta hetera* could best be understood as *ta loipa* of 77:5. In this case the editorial plan of the book indicates the secondary nature of Similitude IX.

4. Similitude IX is distinctly more Christological in nature. The Son of God, mentioned heretofore only in 6:8, the parable of the vineyard (chs. 58; 59), and briefly in Similitude VIII (69:2; 77:1), now plays a central role in the interpretation of the parable (89:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8; 90:2, 3 [bis], 5, 7; 91:5 [bis]; 92:2, 4; 93:3 [bis], 5 [bis], 7; 94:1, 4; 95:4; 101:4; 105:2).

5. The obvious literary intent of Similitude IX is to reinterpret the vision of the tower (Vis. III). The author states his intent from the beginning (78:3) and then uses the tower to demonstrate the effectiveness of repentance rather than as a call to repentance.⁸ The following reinterpretations could be noted as examples:

(a) In Vision III the unsuitable stones never reach the tower (10:7-9; 15:1-6), while in Similitude IX the unsuitable stones are discovered in the tower and rejected by the Lord (81:6-8; 83:3-8; 90:7-9). In other words, Vision III presupposes an ideal church not defiled by the unrepentant. Similitude IX presupposes a realistic church from which the unrepentant are to be cast out (95:3-5).

(b) Similitude IX is much more ecclesiastical in form. Baptism is an absolute necessity for entering the kingdom (93:2-4), while in Vision III the water is more a commemorative of baptism than an ecclesiastical necessity (11 5). The author of Similitude IX makes the foundation of the tower include the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament who are properly baptized into the kingdom (92:4-93:4), while in Vision III the foundation of the church is its ongoing leadership, including the first generation (13:1). In Vision III entrance into the structure of the

⁸ Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

tower depends on repentance alone (15:11), but in Similitude IX one must enter by means of the Son (89:1-5) and the resultant qualities which clothe a believer (90:1-3).

Since the style of the entire work is a masterpiece of inconsistencies, one cannot use theological differences and patterns of misuse of sources to determine multiple authorship,⁹ but this combination of structural and theological differences makes it highly probable that Similitude IX is an addition to the original Shepherd at a time when it included Visions I-IV.

C. Chapter 46

Assuming the probability that Similitude IX is a later addition, further evidence for this addition, as well as a change in the structure of the parables, can be adduced. In 46:2 the commandments cease and an exhortation on repentance and keeping the commandments follows (46:2 f.). But at this point Hermas questions whether the commandments can be kept by any man. There follows a very important dialectical discussion on believing the commandments are easy to obey (46:4-49:5). This latter section seems to be an interlude before the parables begin. But there is textual evidence to the contrary, which may be summarized as follows:

1. Athous has the word *archē* at the beginning of 46:4.
2. The Ethiopian translation has after 46:3 the following words: *Finita sunt mandata duodecim. Initium similitudinum. Similitudo prima.*
3. Added to this is the fact that some translations vary in their numbering of the parables:
 - (a) The Sahidic numbers Similitude IV as V; V, 1 as VI; and V, 2-7 as VII.
 - (b) Hamburg Papyrus 24 numbers Similitude V as VI.
 - (c) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus IX 1172 ends with the second parable, but the title that follows is Similitude IV.

⁹ As does Giet, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-279.

(d) The Ethiopian text has Similitudes VII and VIII numbered VIII and IX.

The evidence appears like this: ¹⁰

Present order	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Sahidic				V	VI/VII					
Hamburg Papyrus					VI					
P.Ox 1172			VI?							
Ethiopian	I						VIII	IX		

Assuming the double numbering of Similitude V in the Sahidic a scribal error due to the unusual wording of 55:1,¹¹ then one can conclude that at some time in the history of the text the parables began at 46:4 and that the sequential numbering followed that order up to Similitude IX.

If Similitude IX was added to that structure of ten parables, then the editor made the first parable an interlude, started the entire section with the second parable, inserted Similitude IX into its present position between what was then Similitudes IX and X, and renumbered the entire series of Similitude IX of our edition. Such a conclusion buttresses the former thesis that Similitude IX is a later insertion, but also makes the interlude 46:4–49:5 the first parable of the original work and therefore much more important in content.

¹⁰ Adapted from Giet, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ Proposed by Giet, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

THE FORM

The form of the Shepherd, that is, visions, commands, and parables, is entirely the product of Jewish-Christianity as the following analysis of each will demonstrate:

A. Visions I-IV

The visions are in the form of a Jewish apocalypse.¹ The following aspects of that structure with exemplary parallels from Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature indicate the formal nature of the visions: ²

	<i>Shepherd</i>	<i>Apocalyptic</i>
1. Fasting by recipient	6:1; 9:1	4 Ezra 5:20; 6:31, 35; 2 Baruch 9:2
2. Prayer for revelation	5:2; 9:1	4 Ezra 5:23-30; 6:38-59
3. Ecstatic manifestations	1:3; 9:5; cf. 25:4	Enoch 12:3; 60:3; 4 Ezra 3:3; 6:37
4. Confession of sins	2:1; 9:5 f.	
5. Appearance of revelator	5:3; 9:6; cf. 25:1	Rev. 1:12-16; 4 Ezra 4:1
6. Gift of book or dictation of revelation	5:3; cf. 25:5	Rev. 2:1-3:22; Ezek. 2:9
7. Mysteriousness of revelation	5:4	cf. Rev. 5:3; Odes Sol. 23
8. Unworthiness or foolishness of the recipient	9:9; 12:3; 14:5; 16:9	4 Ezra 4:2, 10-12; 5:39

¹ This is not to deny similarities with Hellenistic-Roman divine revelations, especially ecstatic manifestations and the ignorance or unworthiness of the recipient. See examples in A. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I (Paris, 1950), 51-59.

² Notice the similarity to the prophetic vision as analyzed by H. Reventlow, *Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos* (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 42 f.

9. Explanation of the revelation	11:3 ff.; 24:1 ff.	4 Ezra 4:47; 5:1
10. Charge to communicate revelation	8:3; 16:11; 24:6	Rev. 1:11; 2 Baruch 86:1

Because the visions so clearly belong to the genre of apocalyptic, it is tempting to place them, as a separate work, at the time of the flourishing of such apocalypses, that is, A.D. 70–90. This would permit us to identify the Clement of 8:3 with the author of 1 Clement. But such a position cannot be substantiated. The Shepherd of Hermas is apocalyptic in form only. Jewish apocalypticism is political and theodictic in character. The revelation received in such apocalypses treats the nature of past history, the current historical and political situation, an apology for God's involvement in these events, and a mysterious prophecy of coming events for God's people. These apocalypses collected around such events as the Maccabean war, the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and even to the revolt of Bar Kochba, after which Jewish apocalypticism is more rare.³

With the loss of such historical and political concern the form of apocalypticism went in two directions: first, it contributed to the development of Gnosticism; the apocalypticist used his imagery for the understanding of the other world rather than this.⁴ The other use was to create a homiletic device of rewards and punishments to promulgate Christian morality. These writers adopted pagan descriptions of hell and had them revealed by famous New Testament personages—so the apocryphal apocalypses of Peter, Paul, and Thomas.

Hermas does not fit these categories. The form is there, but the content is not. There is neither political apocalypticism

³ See J. Bloch, *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1952) and M. Bittenweiser, "Apocalyptic Literature, Neo-Hebraic," in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 675–685.

⁴ R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (New York, 1959), pp. 35–38.

cism,⁵ Gnosticism, nor revelations of a final judgment in the Shepherd. In fact, his use of apocalyptic is in direct contradiction to its form. Apocalyptic intends to communicate a revelation in the face of the end time. Hermas communicates a possibility because the time is not yet. His message is more: "Repent, for the kingdom of God is not yet at hand." This centrality of repentance is demonstrated by his breaking of the apocalyptic form with a confession of sins, an element impossible for the "saints" who normally receive apocalyptic visions.⁶

The apocalyptic form of Visions I-IV is, then, a fiction used by the author out of his own Jewish-Christian tradition to gain acceptance for his message in a segment of the church which preferred Jewish-Christian forms and symbols.⁷

B. The Mandates

The mandates employ a Jewish-Christian or Jewish-Hellenistic form of homily. A collective form would look like this:

	<i>Shepherd</i>	<i>Homily</i>
1. Recipient is addressed in diminutive by revelator	40:2, cf. 17:1	Jas. 2:20; Did. 3:1; T. Reuben 2:1; Dctr 3:1
2. Commandment in the imperative	27:1, etc.	T. Reuben 3:9; Did. 3:1; Barn. 19:2-12; Jas. 2:1
3. Homily or dialogue on the commandment:		
(a) An explanation of its importance	27:2-6; 28:1-4	Did. 16:1-8; T. Judah 14:2-8

⁵ With the probable exception that Thegri stands for the power of Rome (Vis. IV).

⁶ G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1927-1930), 517.

⁷ D. W. Riddle in *Anglican Theological Review* 9 (1927), 275; and K. Lake in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 (1911), 26 f.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (b) The psychology of choice (i.e., the Two Spirits or Two Ways) | 33:2-6;
36:3-10;
37:1-4 | T. Asher 1:3-6:6; IQS 3:13-4:26 |
| (c) The effect, way or power of the command (i.e., vice or virtue list) | 34:1-7;
38:2-11 | Dctr 3:1-10;
5:1 f.; Barn. 20:1 f. |
| 4. Blessing for the recipient if he keeps the commandment | 34:8; 38:12
45:2 | T. Naphtali 10:10
Dctr 6:1 f. |
| 5. Curse on the recipient if he fails to keep the commandment | 29:2; 31:6;
45:3 | Dctr 6:1 f. |
| 6. Blessing on the reader if he keeps the commandments | 42:4; 46:1 | T. Issachar 6:3;
Rev. 22:7 |
| 7. Curse on the reader if he fails to keep the commandment | 37:5 | Rev. 22:18 f. |

So the mandates of the Shepherd participate in a widespread form of Jewish-Hellenistic homily, especially in the diminutive address (most often *tekna mou*), the commandment and the homily.⁸ The closing formulas, the blessings and curses, may simply be a general form of authority used by the author to ensure a hearing and not something organically connected to the form of the homily.

C. The Parables

The form of the parable is quite simple and most closely resembles the parables of Enoch:

- | | Shepherd | Enoch |
|--|------------------|--------|
| 1. An angel tells or shows a parable (<i>parabolē</i> or <i>tupos</i>) | 52:1;
55:1-11 | 53:1-3 |

⁸ H. Thyen, *Der Stil der Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Homilie* (Göttingen, 1955), pp. 88-105.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|------------------|
| 2. The recipient asks for an explanation (<i>epiluein</i> or <i>dēloun</i>) | 52:2; 56:1 | 53:4 |
| 3. The angel gives a quasi interpretation of the parable | 52:2 f.;
58:1-3 | 53:5-7 |
| 4. Blessings and curses | 51:10; 53:8 | 104:13; 105:1 f. |

This form of the parable is not the normal one. The parable is used as a didactic device to elucidate by comparison. In the Synoptics the form usually consists of a question, by the teacher, and then a parable introduced by some word or phrase of comparison.⁹ In the Shepherd the parable conceals and only the divine revelator can give the teaching (57:2; 58:4). Parables to conceal are rare in the Bible (Ezek. 17:1-9; Mark 4:2-20; John 16:25?) and the form of the parable in the Shepherd is not related to these.¹⁰ In fact, the authors of Enoch and the Shepherd have misappropriated the word *parabolē* for their allegorical similes. While the parables of the Shepherd are not allegorical in the sense of the Philonic tradition,¹¹ unlike the parable, with its single didactic intent, these parables are so constructed that every detail has its parallel meaning in the interpretation (see especially the parable of the sticks, Sim. VIII).

As in the Visions, the interruption of the form of the mandate or the parable indicates a special concern on the part of the author. This is especially true of the teaching on repentance in Mandate IV (chs. 30-31) and the Christological material in Similitude V (chs. 58-60).

⁹ R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York, 1963), pp. 180 f.

¹⁰ Both Mark 4:10-12 and John 16:25 are too involved in the Messianic secret and/or mystery of the kingdom to be used as sources of the parable of concealment, though Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 567 f. and M. Hermaniuk, *La parabole évangélique* (Louvain, 1947), p. 361, make the connection. Possibly the *hidah* (Ezek. 17:1; Prov. 1:6) is a better antecedent than the *māshāl* proper.

¹¹ Thyen, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84.

THE SOURCES

The formal authority of the Shepherd lies in the divine revelator and not in exegesis of the Scripture. So while there is a frequent use of biblical phrases, one cannot be certain of any direct quotations from or allusions to the Old or New Testament. On the other hand, there is much in the Shepherd that has no parallel in biblical tradition or early Christianity. This material reflects the environment of the author, for, like the biblical phrase, his use of other material seems subconscious rather than deliberate. The search for sources in Hermas is one important key to understanding the situation in which his message was heard.

A. The Old Testament

That most of the Old Testament phrases are from the Psalms and Wisdom literature would indicate a general immersion in Old Testament and Jewish piety rather than an attitude toward the Law as authoritative.¹ The authority in the Shepherd is the divinely revealed vision, command, or parable, and "exegesis" is the interpretation and exposition of that revelation. In terms of the form, he might have used biblical quotes and allusions in the homily part of the mandate (cf. Barn. 19:5), but the author places the motivation for ethics in the joy (42:1) of existence with God (zēn tōi theōi, 26:2, etc.), free from the internal conflict of the Two Spirits (36:7-10) and the entanglements of this world (40:4-6). The Scripture as authority has no place in this.

At the same time Hermas does not fight the Old Testament like Barnabas (4:8).² The foundation stones of the tower in

¹ In contrast to J. Klevinghaus, *Die theologische Stellung der Apostolischen Väter zur alttestamentlichen Offenbarung* (Gütersloh, 1948), p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Similitude IX are the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament *Heilsgeschichte* (92:4) and the church is identified with the twelve tribes (94:1-4).

B. The New Testament

Although there are no quotations from or even certain references to the New Testament, we could make some observations about the influence of several parts of the New Testament:

1. The Pauline epistles. While there are several preferred phrases which sound Pauline (the one-body theme of Eph. 4:3-6 and the admonition to "be at peace" in 1 Thess. 5:13), the form of the Shepherd and its content has nothing to do with that of Paul.³ But, as we shall see (Mand. IV), his thought is not as alien to Paul as has been claimed.

2. The Johannine corpus. The phrase "enter the kingdom of God" (John 3:5) especially spoken of those who must pass through the water of baptism (93:2-4), and the reference to Christ as the *pulē* (John 10:9) in the vision of the tower and the rock (89:1) are the most likely references to John, though the dwelling of the spirit (*logos*) in the flesh of Jesus (John 1:33; 59:5) and the theology of the name (John 17:6, 11, 12, 26; Hermas 89:4-8) may indicate dependence or similarity in source.⁴ Granting the possibility that some phrases are borrowed from the Johannine tradition, still the Christian life (*zēn tōi theōi*) in the Shepherd has no formal relationship to the participation of the Christian in the incarnational existence of the Son (as in John).⁵

3. The Synoptic Gospels. Because of the Jewish-Christian orientation of the Shepherd, one would expect a close rela-

³ Rightly E. Aleith, *Paulusverständnis in der alten Kirche* (Berlin, 1937), p. 3, but her nonphenomenological method of determining the influence of Paul is lamentable.

⁴ F.-M. Braun, *Jean le théologien et son évangile dans l'église ancienne* (Paris, 1959), pp. 160-170; W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1932), pp. 8-14; J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge, Eng., 1943), pp. 16 f.

⁵ G. F. Snyder in *Biblical Research* 8 (1963), 7-11.

tionship to the Synoptics and especially the words of Jesus, but, though Hermas surely knew the Gospels, there is no evidence that he used them.⁶ Besides the similarity of words and phrases listed (pp. 161 f.), one could find in the parable of the slave (Sim. V) certain details similar to the parable of the vineyard (Mark 12:1-11 and parallels) and to the parable of the slave and the master (Luke 17:7-10).

4. James. The use of James by the author of the Shepherd has been generally assumed,⁷ but once again any concrete evidence is lacking. The several individual similarities could be explained by the common ethos of Hellenistic-Judaism. But in the case of James at least two concerns are also central to the Shepherd: (a) the *dipsychos* of James 1:8 is a man alienated from God because of conflicting loyalties (and two conflicting spirits) in his life. Such a man is the chief concern of the Shepherd (39:1-12), though he connects it with repentance in a way quite unrelated to James. (b) The debate with those who believe in faith without works (Jas. 2:14-26) is reflected frequently in the Shepherd (75:1; 76:3; 96:2; 98:2; cf. 14:1-4; 40:4 f.).

5. Hebrews. It has been maintained that the teaching on repentance in Hebrews 4:4-6 was the major stimulus for the composition of the Shepherd.⁸ This assumption is based on a misreading of the history of repentance (see Mand. IV).

6. The Revelation of John. The New Testament apoca-

⁶ So H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957). But C. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* (London, 1892), pp. 9-11, 146-148, claims the reference to four elements in regard to the four legs of the couch (21:3), and the four rows in the foundation of the tower (81:3; cf. 79:1) should be understood as the four Gospels.

⁷ A. Meyer, *Das Rätsel des Jacobusbriefes* (Giessen, 1930), pp. 60-68; C. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-29; G. Kittel in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 43 (1950/51), 55-112, finds little comparison except in the problem of faith and works.

⁸ E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1942), p. 47; *ibid.*, *The Apostolic Fathers* (New York, 1950), p. 97; L. Goppelt in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, ed. by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (New York, 1962), p. 200.

lypse relates to the Shepherd only in form: the visions and the closing formulas of blessings and curses. Both use the somewhat rare image of the Church as a bride (Rev. 21:2; 23:1).⁹

C. Hellenistic-Judaism or Jewish-Christianity

The most important consensus of recent research on the Shepherd is to place the writing squarely in the milieu of Jewish-Christianity.¹⁰ Regardless of whether the author writes this way because of training¹¹ or by deliberate literary design,¹² the conclusion remains that the Shepherd is not a watered-down version of Christianity which marks the failure of Pauline thought and the beginning of early Catholicism.¹³ Its form—visions, mandates, and parables—is Jewish-Christian. Its structural elements—angels, the glorious angel as the Son, the revelator as an aged woman or as a bride, the Two Spirits—are all aspects of Jewish-Christianity.¹⁴ Its theology—the pre-existence of the spirit and the church, the Son as the holy Spirit, the emphasis on *kurios* and the name—is derived from the same source.¹⁵ Understood in this way, then, the Shepherd ought not be judged in terms of the development of Johannine or Pauline theology, but in terms of that Christianity from which came James, 2 Clement, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Barnabas,

⁹ J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (Chicago, 1964), p. 301.

¹⁰ R. Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur* (Paris, 1958), p. 47; see also his study in *La nouvelle cléo* 5 (1953), 394-406; Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 10; J.-P. Audet in *Revue biblique* 60 (1953), 41-82.

¹¹ Audet, *loc. cit.*, p. 82.

¹² His single reference to any other work is from this milieu, Eldad and Modat (7:4). For other arguments see Lake in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 (1911), 26 f. and Riddle in *Anglican Theological Review* 9 (1927), 275.

¹³ H. Opitz, *Ursprünge frühkatholischer Pneumatologie* (Berlin, 1960), p. 53; S. Laeuchli, *The Language of Faith* (Nashville, 1962), p. 162; T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 112; Coppelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 201 f.

¹⁴ Daniélou, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-376.

¹⁵ Audet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 44-66.

Didache, Enoch (?) and finds its roots in a Judaism like that of 4 Ezra and the scrolls of Qumran.¹⁶

D. Contemporary Hellenistic and Roman Culture

Even with the affirmation of a Jewish-Christian background for the Shepherd, there remains much which appears alien to any form of Jewish or Christian literature: the parables of the tower, the mountains, the willow, the vine and the tree, the trees in winter and summer, the punishing shepherd, and various illustrations in the Mandates, such as the garment and the cleaner, the empty jars. The author lived in a segment of society that was deeply immersed in Roman culture and he utilizes this environment as a means of communicating his message of repentance. Not only does he use illustrations from his social milieu (the tree and the vine),¹⁷ but he even makes reference to Hellenistic and Roman religious structures. He confuses the elderly woman with the Sibyl (8:1) and reveals Similitude IX in the famous Arcadia (78:1-2).

Because of this, some have been tempted to find in the Shepherd major sources from the Hellenistic and Roman culture of the day. Especially significant was the argument by R. Reitzenstein that the shepherd of Vision V was Hermes, and Arcadia was used in 78:4 because it was the home of Hermes.¹⁸ This then was connected to the Poimandres of Hermetic literature. This connection with Hermes and Poimandres has been rejected for a number of reasons, principally that there can be no relationship between Hermes the revelator and Hermas the recipient,¹⁹

¹⁶ A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 48-50.

¹⁷ K. Grobel in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, I (Nashville, 1951), 50-55.

¹⁸ R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 32 ff. and 11 ff.; A. Loisy in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 8 (1922), 234-253.

¹⁹ M. Dibelius in *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 116.

and the Arcadia picture in Similitude IX is far from the bucolic picture of Arcadia in Hellenistic literature.²⁰

Denial of a specific source relationship must not eliminate the obvious use of Hellenistic-Roman material. For example, the twelve virgins of Similitude IX and their names have no Judeo-Christian counterpart, but do closely resemble the maidens and their names in the Tabula of Cebes (e.g., XVII-XX).²¹

In conclusion, the author may use that form which is most attractive to his audience, but his materials correspond to what he has received in his environment. There is no deliberate use of a specific source. That stream which comes through most clearly is the Jewish-Christian, but biblical and Hellenistic materials provide his piety and illustrations.

²⁰ G. Bardy in *Revue biblique* 8 (1911), 402 f.; W. Schmid in *Convivium* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 121-130.

²¹ C. Taylor in *Journal of Philology* 27 (1901), 276-319; and Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

THE AUDIENCE

The Shepherd was written at Rome. The geographical references will have it no other way (1:1, 3; 5:1; 22:2). Several illustrations appear Roman: the elm and the vine (Sim. II) as an agricultural device was practiced in central Italy,¹ the two cities (Sim. I) may point to the intense power of Rome. Tradition offers no other origin for the Shepherd than Rome: the Muratorian canon considers Hermas the brother of the Roman bishop Pius, while Origen links him to the Hermas of Romans 16:14. Some consider the Clement of 8:3 the author of 1 Clement and bishop of Rome.²

While the origin of the Shepherd must be Rome, less certain is the identification of the author's audience in Rome. Closely allied to the error of reading the Shepherd as a document in the development of Pauline or Johannine thought rather than as a product of Jewish-Christianity, is the unwritten fiction of a "church at Rome." We find it impossible to believe that a document written for the "Roman church" between 110 and 140 could be so totally ignorant of what had gone before and what transpired at that moment. Where is there a hint of other documents for and from Rome: Paul's letter to Rome, Ignatius' letter to Rome, Mark, 1 Peter, 1 Clement? Where is the influence of persuasive teachers at Rome: Justin, Marcion, Valentinus?

The problem is not so much the simplicity and ignorance of Hermas as it is the "church at Rome" fiction. Rome was far from a uniform city. The city was flooded with foreign elements who maintained their own language and customs.³

¹ Grobel, *op. cit.*, 53-55.

² Goodspeed, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 48.

³ G. LaPiana in *Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925), 206.

Seneca, writing from exile about the middle of the first century, consoled himself with the observation that even Romans living in Rome had been deprived of their city (*Ad Helviam* 6:2 f.). At the turn of the century Juvenal described the torrent of Greeks, Syrians, and others who poured into the city and complained: *non possum ferre . . . Graecam urbem* (Satire III, 61).⁴ In 117, Ignatius had to designate which of the churches in Rome would receive his letter with the phrases *prokathētai en topō chōriou Rōmaiōn* and *prokathēmenē tēs agapēs* (Rom. inscr.)⁵ and he hoped his own death would create of the churches in Rome a *chorus en agapē* (Rom. 2:2). And such a plurality of churches in Rome would also account for the variation in lists of bishops.⁶ The several churches at Rome belong more to the history of their own national origin than to any fabricated history of theology at Rome.

If we read the Shepherd as written for certain congregations in Rome which have a particular background, rather than as a document in the developmental history of Roman theology, the nature of the audience takes on great importance for its interpretation. We have seen already that the audience preferred Jewish-Christian forms and structural elements. It was wealthy and wealth, or preoccupation with business concerns, was a major problem for the congregation (14:5 f.; 17:3-6; 40:4 f.; 50:1-6; 51:5; 75:1; 96:3; 97:1-3; 107:4 f.; 108:2). The situation of this congregation sounds very much like that period of economic affluency

⁴ G. LaPiana in *Harvard Theological Review* 20 (1927), 183-403.

⁵ Probably the best solution to a difficult debate started by Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin* VII (1896), 111-131, who points to the local meaning of the phrase, but does not use it to mean churches within Rome. For quite other opinions see C. Chapman in *Revue bénédictine* 13 (1896), 385-400; F. X. Funk in *Kirchengeschichtlich Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen* 1 (1897), 1-23; H. Katzenmayer in *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 43 (1953), 65-72; J. Thiele in *Theologie und Glaube* 19 (1927), 701-709; O. Perler in *Divus Thomas* 22 (1944), 413-451.

⁶ For lists see H. Leclercq in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 13, 1. Partie, 1114-1117.

which followed Trajan and Hadrian, when many of the lower *bourgeoisie* tried to move into the ranks of the upper class.⁷ Such pressures of business brought to these Christians a serious conflict of interest which Hermas calls *dipsychia* (41:4; 39:1-40:6). His message to them is not a complicated, intellectual gospel, but a very simple proclamation for Christians involved deeply in the affairs of Roman life: an analysis of man's conflict (the Two Spirits; chs. 33; 34); a message of repentance for all Christians; an analysis of what happens to those who repent and those who do not (Sim. VIII and IX). His Christology and pneumatology are subordinate to this intent and are expounded in simple Jewish-Christian terms.

⁷ See M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, I (Oxford, 1957), xii, 190 f.; J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 72 f.

THE AUTHOR AND TIME OF WRITING

The following solutions to the problem of authorship have been advanced:

1. The Apostle Paul. On the basis of the identification of the god Hermes with Paul in Acts 14:12, G. H. Schodde¹ proposed Paul as the author.

2. The Hermas of Romans 16:14. Suggested by Origen in his commentary on Romans: *Puto tamen, quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur* (X, 31; PG 14, 1282), but is likely a reflection of his desire to consider it an apostolic witness (*et ut puto divinitus inspirata*).² This position was accepted by the East and even Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, 10; PL 23, 625 f.).

3. The brother of Pius, bishop of Rome (ca. 140–154). This ancient tradition was maintained by the Muratorian canon: *Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius*. It is followed by the testimony of the Catalogus Liberianus: *Sub huius [Pii] episcopatu frater eius Ermes librum scripsit, in quo mandatum continetur, quae ei praecepit angelus, cum venit ad illum in habitu pastoris*. This solution is favored by most modern scholars, but has the following difficulties: (a) How would the brother of a monarchical bishop know only of a presbyterial organization of the congregation? (See 8:3; cf. 104:2.) (b) To what persecution would the book have reference? (c) Both the Muratorian canon and the Catalogus Liberianus appear to operate under the bias of Hippolytus, who wished to show that the Shepherd was too late to be Scripture.³ It

¹ *Hérmâ Nabi* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 5.

² So B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (New York, 1929), p. 215.

³ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–215.

was the opponent of Hippolytus, Callistus, who used Hermas as an authority for his practice in repentance for the Christian (Tertullian's attack on Callistus in *De pudicitia* 10 and 20).⁴

4. An unknown contemporary of Clement of Rome. First proposed by E. Gaab⁵ and T. Zahn⁶ based on the hint in 8:3.

A variety of multiple authorships have been suggested, which attempt to put together the external, historical evidence and the apparent transitions and contradictions in the work itself.⁷ While multiple authorship is not a necessary solution to the problem, one is forced at least to some theory of additions and re-editing.

The major considerations for determining the time are as follows:

1. Visions I-IV

(a) If 1:1 is historical, then the most appropriate time for a Jewish slave to have been brought to Rome was after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70).⁸

(b) A persecution of some type is at hand for the Roman Christians (6:7).

(c) The persecutor is the beast (Rome in apocalyptic language), but the beast does not harm the faithful (22:6-9).

(d) The Clement of 8:3 might be Clement of Rome (*ca.* 92-101), who had authority to send letters or books to "other cities."

(e) In his quarrel with Callistus, Hippolytus quotes the book of Elchasai to the effect that there was preached a new remission of sins during the third year (*ca.* A.D. 100) of Trajan's reign (*Refutation* 9:8).

(f) There is not yet a monarchical bishop (8:3).

(g) The apostles parallel the bishops, teachers, and deacons (13:1).

⁴ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁵ *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Basel, 1866).

⁶ *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Gotha, 1868).

⁷ Audet, *loc. cit.*, p. 82.

⁸ W. J. Wilson in *Harvard Theological Review* 20 (1927), 28-30.

2. Vision V-Similitudes VIII, X

(a) This section does not speak of a coming persecution, but analyzes the conflict of a Christian caught between two loyalties (chs. 33-42).

(b) Similitude VIII mentions apostates, betrayers, and blasphemers (72:4; 74:2), who apparently were produced by the threatened persecution.

(c) This is the Shepherd section which is known by that name (p. 3) apart from Visions I-IV.

3. Similitude IX

(a) The apostolic period is now closed and "sacred" (92:4).

(b) The vision of the tower and the mountains points more to the effect of repentance than to its coming possibility. It calls for the church to cast out the irretrievable (94:3 f.).

(c) Similitude IX builds on Vision III, yet rests on Similitude VIII. In its transition it attempts to bind together the previously separate Visions I-IV and Vision V-Similitudes VIII, X (78:1-3).

(d) The section 46:4-49:5 was Similitude I in the older structure, but was made an interlude to make way for Similitude IX.

In conclusion: Visions I-IV were written sometime during the reign of Trajan when a persecution was threatened (Pliny, *Ep.* X, 96 and 97), but was known by some to be harmless for Roman Christians. Vision V-Similitudes VIII, X were written by the same author shortly thereafter to describe the nature of repentance for Christians who were undecided about their loyalty. Similitude IX was written to unify the work and threaten those who had been disloyal to the church and left it. The *terminus ad quem* must be Irenaeus (175) but any date before that is conjectural. I would prefer before 140, when the various divisions of the church became evident, and a monarchical bishop or recognized leader was necessary in Rome.

OUTLINE

THE VISIONS

- I. The Vision of Rhoda (1:1-9)
The First Vision of the Church:
Concerning the Sin of Hermas (2:1-4:3)
- II. The Second Vision of the Church:
Revelation of a Book (5:1-4)
The Contents of the Book (6:1-7:4)
The Instructional Revelations (8:1-3)
- III. The Third Vision of the Church:
The Building of the Tower (9:1-10:9)
The Meaning of the Tower (11:1-17:10)
A Revelation Concerning the Forms
of the Church (18:1-21:4)
- VI. The Fourth Vision of the Church:
The Tribulation to Come (22:1-24:7)
- V. The Shepherd Introduces the Mandates
and Similitudes (25:1-7)

The Mandates

- I. Believe in God (26:1-2)
- II. Be Simple and Innocent (27:1-7)
- III. Love Truth (28:1-5)
- IV. Guard Chastity (29:1-11)
Further Repentance Is Possible (30:1-31:7)
Chastity in Widowhood (32:1-4)
- V. Be Patient (33:1-7)
The Power of Ill Temper (34:1-8)
- VI. The Power of Faith (35:1-5)
The Two Angels in Man (36:1-10)
- VII. Fear the Lord (37:1-5)
- VIII. Concerning Self-Control (38:1-12)
- IX. Cast Off Double-mindedness (39: 1-12)
- X. Cast Off Grief (40:1-41:6)
Put on Cheerfulness (42:1-4)
- XI. On Testing Prophets (43:1-21)
- XII. Cast Off Evil Desire (44:1-45:5)
An Exhortation on the Commandments (46:1-49:5)

THE SIMILITUDES

- I. The Parable of the Two Cities (50:1-11)
- II. The Parable of the Elm and the Vine (51:1-9)
- III. The Parable of the Trees in Wintertime (52:1-3)
- IV. The Parable of the Trees in Summertime (53:1-8)
- V. On Fasting (54:1-5)
 - The Parable of the Vineyard (55:1-11)
 - True Fasting (56:1-9)
 - The Meaning of the Vineyard (57:1-59:8)
 - An Exhortation on Purity (60:1-4)
- VI. The Parable of the Two Shepherds (61:1-65:7)
- VII. Concerning Repentance and Torment (66:1-7)
- VIII. The Parable of the Willow Tree (67:1-68:9)
 - The Meaning of the Willow and the Sticks (69:1-8)
 - Examination of the Sticks (70:1-71:6)
 - The Meaning of the Sticks (72:1-76:4)
 - An Exhortation on Repentance (77:1-5)
- IX. The Twelve Mountains of Arcadia (78:1-10)
 - The Building of the Tower (79:1-82:7)
 - Inspection by the Lord of the Tower (83:1-84:1-7)
 - Examination of Those Stones Not Used (85:1-7)
 - The Disposition of the Stones (86:1-7)
 - Hermas Is Entrusted to the Virgins (87:1-88:9)
 - The Meaning of the Tower (89:1-93:7)
 - The Meaning of the Twelve Mountains (94:1-106:4)
 - The Meaning of Certain Stones (107:1-108:6)
 - The Analogy of a Damaged Garment (109:1-5)
 - The Meaning of the Marks on the Stones (110:1-3)
- X. Final Exhortations (111:1-114:5)

THE VISIONS

Vision I

The vision of Rhoda (1:1-9)

1.

1 The one who brought me up sold me to a certain Rhoda in Rome. Many years later I met her again, and I began to love her as a sister. 2. Sometime later I saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and I gave her my hand and led her out of the river. When I saw her beauty I thought to myself and said, "I would be happy if I had a wife of such beauty and manner." That was the only thing I thought, nothing more. 3. Sometime later, as I was going to Cumae and praising the creatures of God, as they are so great and remarkable and powerful, while I was walking along I fell asleep and a spirit took me and carried me through a certain pathless region, through which a man could not walk. The place was precipitous and broken up by the waters. When I had crossed the river, I came into level ground and I knelt down and

1:1-9. The importance of Hermas' love for and encounter with Rhoda, and her accusation against him in a vision, remains a puzzle. Rhoda has no apparent relationship with the woman who acts as revelator in the subsequent visions. The most obvious role of this introductory episode would be to establish a sin for the Christian Hermas who later will receive the good news of repentance for the baptized. Hermas does confess his sins (vs. 3) and admits his desire for Rhoda (vs. 4), yet he denies any sin (vs. 7) and the Church considers him innocent (2:4). Furthermore, his desire for Rhoda is never mentioned again, but his "sin" is that of his family (1:9; 3:1 f.; 6:2; 7:1; 27:7; 33:7; 46:6; 56:9; 66:2-7) and not himself (66:2). The role of chapter 1 is a preliminary vision to: (a) establish the identity of the visionary (Enoch 1:2; 4 Ezra 3:1 f.; Ezek. 1:1-3), (b) legitimize the author's history as a visionary (Isa. 6?; Amos 7:14 f., with the reverse intention), and (c) state the nature of the visionary's message, i.e., repentance for the Christian (Jer. 1:11-19; Isa. 6:9-13; Ezek. 2:1-3:11).

1:1. Though *trephein* can mean simply "rear" (a child), it is likely

began to pray to God and to confess my sins. 4. While I was praying heaven opened, and I saw that woman, whom I had desired, greeting me from heaven, saying, "How do you do, Hermas?" 5. And I looked at her and said to her, "Madam, what are you doing here?" And she answered me, "I have been taken up in order that I might make known your sins before the Lord." 6. I said to her, "Are you now accusing me?" "No," she said, "but listen to the words which I am about to tell you. God who dwells in heaven [cf. Pss. 2:4; 122:1] and created the things that are from that which is not, and has increased and multiplied them [cf. Gen. 1:28; 8:17, etc.] for the sake of his holy church, is angry with you because you sinned against me." 7. I answered her and said, "Have I sinned against you? Where or when have I spoken an indecent word to you? Have I not always regarded you as a goddess? Have I not always respected you as a sister? Why do you charge me falsely, O Madam, with these evil and unclean things?" 8. She laughed and said to me, "The desire for evil rose up in your heart. Or do you suppose that it is not an evil thing for a righteous man if an evil desire arises in his heart? It is indeed a sin, and a great one," she said, "for the righteous man wishes

the phrase carries the more technical meaning of "raise as a slave an infant born free," as defined by Trajan in reply to Pliny: *qui liberi nati expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitute educati sunt* (Ep. X, 66), or, at least, a slave born and reared in the house (Plato, *Meno* 85e).

In 6:3 Hermas is told his wife will be his sister and in 7:1 the sister of Hermas is mentioned in conjunction with his children. But *adelphē* is not used here to designate a fellow Christian or to describe an "encratic marriage" (as by D. Plooi in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 22 [1923], 3-5), but to insist on innocence of relationship (vs. 7).

1:2. That sexual promiscuity existed in the bathing establishments of Rome is undoubted (Juvenal, *Satire* VI, 419-25; Clement, *Paed.* III, 32-33), but that a Roman matron would have been bathing openly in the Tiber is incredible.

1:3. Since Cumae is over 130 miles distant in southern Campania, the leisurely gait of Hermas is not easy to understand, but the geographical details of the visions and parables are not to be taken literally (see 78:1-2). Seizure by the spirit (5:1) and sleep (cf. 25:1; 111:1) are ecstatic aspects of the visionary preparation (5:2; 9:6; 25:1; 88:7?), but confession of sin is peculiar to Hermas because of the intent of his writing (9:5).

righteous things. So when he desires righteous things, his reputation in heaven is set safe, and he finds the Lord favorable in everything he does. But those who in their hearts desire evil things bring death and captivity upon themselves, especially those who gain this world for themselves and pride themselves on their wealth and do not hold fast to the good things that are to come. 9. Their souls will repent: they who have no hope, but have despaired of themselves and their life. But you pray to God and he will heal your sins [cf. Deut. 30:3 LXX; Jer. 3:22], your entire house, and all the saints."

1:6. The rather formal statement of faith in God as creator occurs quite often (3:4; 8:1; 12:1; 26:1; 47:2; 53:4; 58:2; 59:2, 5; 66:4; 89:2; 91:5; 100:4) and is the only creedal statement enjoined by the author (26:1). The church as the goal of creation (8:1) corresponds to the late Jewish doctrine of Israel as the goal (4 Ezra 6:55, 59; 7:11; Assumpt. Moses 1:12; Jub. 2:19; 2 Baruch 15:7).

1:8. Phrases like "rise up in your heart" (2:4; 15:2, 6; 29:1-3; 30:2; 36:3-8; 46:5; 54:5; 60:2; etc.) to refer to volition and consciousness indicate the Jewish vocabulary of the author (cf. Isa. 65:17; Jer. 3:16). While the author uses "two-age" language (*ho aiōn houtos*), this age (14:5, 6; 39:4; 43:8; 44:2; 49:5; 52:1-3; 56:6; 61:4; 62:3; 63:3; 66:2; 77:3; 108:2) has come to mean those demands and loyalties of this world which create conflict (*dipsychia*; see 39:1-12) in the Christian and destroy his simplicity (*haplotēs*; see 27:1).

THE SHEPHERD AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Because of the implausible nature of this opening scene with Rhoda, and because of the rather crass attitude of Hermas toward his so-called children (66:3), some have considered the autobiographical notes entirely fictional. Dibelius p. 429 calls the Rhoda scene a borrowing from contemporary fiction, used by the author to attract interest in his work. E. Peterson (in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 364) understands the Rhoda vision to be a literary device taken from such Jewish bath scenes as Susanna and the Elders, David and Bathsheba, and especially Reuben and Bilhah (in T. Reuben 3:11; Jub. 33:2). Others have argued for the historicity of the material. A. von Ström (*Der Hirt des Hermas. Allegorie oder Wirklichkeit?* [Uppsala, 1936], 3-7) argues that the dissatisfaction of the family and the bad conscience in relation to Rhoda is the necessary psychological cause for the revelations. K. Clark believes the personal experience of sin and repentance must be the source for Hermas' teaching (in *Early Christian Origins*, ed. by A. P. Wikgren [Chicago, 1961], 118). But it is impossible to distinguish history from fiction in the apocalyptic or visionary form. The incident with Rhoda has been molded to announce the theme of the

**The first vision of the church: concerning the sin of Hermas
(2:1-4:3)**

2.

2 After she said these words the heavens were closed, and I was shuddering all over and was distressed. I said to myself, "If this sin is recorded against me, how can I be saved? Or how can I propitiate God for the full measure of my sin? Or with what words shall I ask the Lord to be merciful to me?" **2.** While I was considering and deliberating on these things in my heart, I saw before me a great white chair made of snow-white wool; and an elderly woman in a brightly shining garment came up with a book in her hand, and sat down alone and greeted me, "How do you do, Hermas?" And distressed and weeping I said, "How do you do, Madam?" **3.** And she said to me, "Why are you sad, Hermas? You who are so patient, so good-natured, always laughing, why so downcast in appearance and so unhappy?" And I said to her, "Because of a very good woman who says that I have sinned against her." **4.** Then she said, "By no means should this thing happen to the servant of God. But certainly a thought arose

book; the family is a formal extension of the diminutive *tekna* (*supra* pp. 10-11) to indicate the readers. Homiletically it is possible that Hermas does build on personal history, but these notices cannot be utilized to compose a biography of Hermas.

2:1-4:3. Following the introductory vision, Hermas receives a vision of the Church, in the form of an elderly lady, who chastises him for his sin and then hints of what is to come: because of God's great mercy the faithful will receive the promise even though they may have strayed (3:2, 4). The context is no longer the personal sin of Hermas with Rhoda, but is the sin of Hermas' family (extended to mean the church) and the corporate sin of Hermas as a participant in such a situation (3:1; 19:2-4).

2:1. The recording of a sin in a book is a late Jewish symbol (Enoch 47:3; 89:62 ff.; 98:7; 104:1; Jub. 5:13; 30:20 ff.; 2 Baruch 24:1; Dan. 7:1; Rev. 20:12; and the twelfth prayer of the *Tefillah*), but not foreign to Hellenistic-Roman thought (Lucian, *Cataplus* 4).

2:2. Though Jewish apocalyptic in form, many details come from the environment of Hermas; the *kathedra* is a seat of authority parallel to *thronos* (also 18:3; 19:2) in imperial Rome (see Peterson p. 254; cf. the use of *subsellium* in 9:4; 10:4; 18:1, 5; 21:3). In the biblical material the throne is one of judgment (Dan. 7:9-10; Matt. 19:28; Rev. 20:4, though the revelator speaks from a throne in Rev. 21:5).

in your heart concerning her. For the servant of God, it is such a wish as this which brings sin. For it is an evil and shocking wish for a revered and already approved spirit if it desires an evil deed, and especially Hermas, the self-disciplined, who refrains from every evil desire and is full of all sincerity and great innocence."

3.

3 "But it is not because of this that God is angry with you, but so that you might convert your children who have sinned against the Lord and against you, their parents. But being fond of children you have not admonished your family, but you have allowed it to become terribly corrupt. It is for this reason the Lord is angry with you. But he will heal all of your evil deeds which originated in your family, for because of their sins and iniquities you have been corrupted by the concerns of this life. 2. But the great compassion of the Lord has been merciful to you and to your family and will make you strong and will establish you in his glory. Only do not be remiss, but have courage and strengthen

The elderly woman serves as revelator, in several guises, throughout the first four visions (5:3; 8:1; 9:2; 18:3-6, 9; 19:2 f.; 20:1 f.). The church in the form of a woman surely derives from the vision or symbol of Jerusalem as a woman (4 Ezra 9:38-10:57) now transferred to the church as both a heavenly city (or tower) and woman (Rev. 21:2). The various guises symbolize the historical contingency of the church (18:1-21:4). See further Daniélou pp. 294-301.

2:4. Because of Hermas' concern for *enkrateia* or self-control (7:2; 16:4, 7; 26:2; 35:1; 54:5; 92:2; and above all ch. 38), his reference to his wife as sister (6:3) and his self-discipline in regard to the twelve virgins (ch. 88), he has been categorized an Encratite (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 28, 1), or ascetic (e.g., Laeuchli pp. 154 f.), but his attitude toward repentance and remarriage (Mand. IV), as well as the history of the use of the Shepherd, belie this.

Despite the affair with Rhoda, Hermas is considered sincere and innocent. The pair *akakia* and *haplotēs* is a favorite of the author (7:2; 16:5, 7; 17:1; 92:2) to designate single-mindedness that results from faith and contrasts with *dipsychia* (see 39:1-12).

3:1. Hermas does not speak of God's act of justification, since justification is the resultative right action in man (17:1; 33:7; 60:1) accomplished by God's will or divine powers. The redemptive action of God is "to heal" (1:9; 29:11; 49:2; 60:3 f.; 66:4; 77:3; 100:5; 105:5) and only rarely "to forgive" (6:4; 31:1-32:4; 66:4). Despite

your family. For just as a smith, beating his work with a hammer, becomes master of the skill which he wishes, so also the righteous word daily repeated becomes master of all evil. So do not cease instructing your children. For I know that if they repent with all their heart, they will be inscribed in the books of life with the saints." 3. After these words of hers had ceased she said to me, "Do you wish to hear me read aloud?" And I said, "Yes I do, Madam." She said to me, "Pay attention and hear the glories of God." I heard of great and wonderful things, which I was not

the claim by P. Battifol (in *Revue Biblique* 10 [1901], 349) that *iasythai* had replaced *aphienai* in the second century, the language of healing is a peculiarity in the Shepherd. There is a similar passage in 2 Clement 9:7 (cf. 1 Clem. 59:4), but healing has no major role in Christian language to this point. Ignatius refers to Christ as *iatros* (Eph. 7:2) and this reflects a continuing Syrian custom of associating physician and bishop. Later apocryphal literature does the same, but refers to healing miracles, not repentance and forgiveness (Acts of John 22; 108; Acts of Thomas 10; see J. Ott in *Der Katholik* 5 [1910], 454-458). The author takes his language from OT piety (Isa. 6:10; 2 Chron. 7:14; Gen. 20:17; Jer. 3:22; Ps. 102:3), which continued only rarely into late Judaism (*Meg.* 17 b). In the OT healing is covenantal restoration, but in the Shepherd it depends on an anthropology of the Two Spirits (see 36:1-10). If sin is caused by the presence of two spirits (1QS 3:13-4:26; T. Judah 20:1-2) or two ways (T. Asher 1:3-9; Barn. 18:1 f), forgiveness is an impossible phenomenon. In the Two Way system one must will to follow the way of righteousness, while in the Two Spirit system one must so live as to allow God to drive out the spirit of evil and to retain the holy Spirit (chs. 33-45). In the Qumran scrolls this action of God is called "to cleanse" (1QS 4:21 *thr*), but in the Shepherd it is "to heal." So according to the anthropology of the Two Spirit system the soteriological action of God is a "healing" of man's internal conflict. To expect in the Shepherd "justification" and "grace" as God's acceptance of man despite covenantal alienation would be a serious methodological error (T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* [Edinburgh, 1948], 125; Aleith, *Paulusverständnis in der alten Kirche*, [Berlin, 1937], 5).

3:4. The author follows the Jewish-Christian pattern of calling believers "the saints" (1:9; 3:2; 6:4, 5; 11:3; 14:2; 16:8, 9, 11; 24:6; 74:1), "the elect" (5:3; 6:5; 8:2; 13:1; 16:3; 17:10; 23:5; 24:5), or perhaps "people" (58:2 f.; 59:2 f.; 69:3), and nonbelievers as *ta ethna* (4:2; 6:5; 29:9; 43:4; 50:10; 53:4; 75:1, 3; 94:4; 105:8). "Sinners" are invariable believers who have broken faith in one way or another (30:3; 52:2 f.; 53:2, 4; 72:6).

able to remember, for all the words were frightening, such as a man is unable to bear. So I remembered the last words, for they were beneficial to us and mild: 4. "Behold, the God of hosts [cf. Pss. 58:6; 79:5; 83:9, etc.], who has by his invisible and mighty power and by his great understanding created the world, and by his glorious will clothed his creation with beauty, and by his mighty word fixed the heaven and established the earth upon the waters [cf. Ps. 135:6], and by his own wisdom and providence created his holy church which also he blessed; behold, he is removing all the heavens and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and everything is becoming level for his elect in order that he might keep for them the promise which he made with great glory and joy, if they keep the commandments of God which they received in great faith."

4.

4 So when she had finished reading and had risen from the chair, four young men came and took the chair and went away toward the east. 2. And she called to me and she touched my breast and said to me, "Did my reading please you?" And I said to her, "These latter words are pleasing to me, but the former

4:1. The *kathedra* of authority belongs in the East because East represents the church in the conflict of the two aeons. The Jerusalem-Rome *Heilsgeschichte* of the NT has become a Jerusalem-Rome church-state conflict in the second century (Ign. Rom. 2:2; *Rituale Armenorum* [Oxford, 1905], 92). Peterson p. 266 takes it to be paradise, much like the imperial *thronos* was in heaven, but the Shepherd indicates no such otherworldly existence. The earthly character of the church is shown by its several changes (chs. 19-21). In the same vein Peterson pp. 261 f. takes the four angels (cf. 18:1) to be derived from funeral symbolism—those who escort the dead to paradise (*Passion of Perpetua* 4:2; likely derived from the Shepherd!). In 21:3 the four legs of the couch are interpreted as the four elements that support the world. Dibelius pp. 441, 481 would identify these four elements with the four angels who sustain the cosmological Church. It is more likely that the four angels portray the four creatures which so frequently accompany visions of the throne in apocalyptic literature (Ezek. 1:5; 10:9; Rev. 4:6-8; 5:14; cf. Zech. 1:8; Isa. 6:2), especially when a revelation is to be given (Ezek. 2:9; Rev. 5:1). The function of these angels may be to transport the throne toward Jerusalem as the ultimate seat of authority (Ezek. 10:15-19; cf. Zech. 1:10-17).

were hard and difficult." Then she answered me, "These latter words are for the righteous, and the former for the heathen and the apostate." 3. As she was speaking with me, two men appeared and took her by the arms and departed toward the east, where the chair was. And she departed cheerfully, and as she was going away she said to me, "Be a man, Hermas."

Vision II

The second vision of the church: revelation of a book (5:1-4)

1.

5 While I was going to Cumae, about the same time as the year before, as I was walking along I recalled the vision of the year before, and again a spirit took me and bore me to the same place as last year. 2. So when I reached the place I knelt down and began to pray to the Lord and to glorify his name [cf. Ps. 85:9, 12; Isa. 24:15; 2 Thess. 1:12], because he had considered me worthy and had made known to me my previous sins. 3. And after I had risen from the prayer I saw before me the elderly lady whom I had seen the year before, walking about and reading a little book aloud. And she said to me, "Are you able to disclose these things to the elect of God?" I said to her, "Madam, I cannot remember so much, but give me the document so that I can copy it." "Take it," she said, "and give it back to me." 4. I took it, and having gone to another part of the field I copied it all,

These four angels plus the two of verse 3 comprise the six angels of Vision III (9:6) which are the first of creation and are in charge of the creation and the church (12:1). In the tower vision of Similitude IX they are the glorious angels who accompany the Son (89:7 f.), and are presumably the seven archangels of later Judaism (Tob. 12:15; Rev. 3:1, 5:6; see Daniélou pp. 121 f.).

4:3. Peterson p. 264 would prefer the translation "elbows" for *ankōn* to show that the elderly lady is escorted in honor (cf. Enoch 70:2; 71:3; Asc. Isaiah 3:12). The peculiar "be a man" is used here and in 4 Ezra to encourage the confused recipient (4 Ezra 10:33, *sta ut vir*; note also the divine encouragement to Polycarp, Mart. Polyc. 9:1).

5:1-4. The second vision occurs at the same place and at the same time of the year. Following the usual form of the visions (ecstatic experience, prayer, confession of sins), the elderly lady appears again

letter by letter, for I could not distinguish the syllables. After I had finished the letters of the document, the document was suddenly snatched from my hand, but by whom I did not see.

The contents of the book (6:1-7:4)

2.

6 Fifteen days later, after I fasted and earnestly asked the Lord, the meaning of the writing was revealed to me. And this is

with a little book (*biblaridion*). This time (2:2; 3:3) she reads to Hermas with the expectation that he will take the revelation to the church (2 Enoch 33:3-9), but he cannot remember so much (Jub. 32:25) as with the previous vision (3:3). Hermas is given the book to copy, but cannot read it (Odes Sol. 23:8) and so will need to wait for a further revelation of the contents.

6:1-7:4. The revelation to Hermas is at first a harsh condemnation of the family of Hermas and then a promise of forgiveness if they repent. Their repentance must drive *dipsychia* (see 39:1-12) from their hearts, a conflict created by the coming persecution. The revelation puts a limit on repentance in order to strengthen those who are wavering (6:8; 30:1-31:7). Hermas is chastized once more for his family and, this time, for his business involvements (7:1). The book ends with a threat to the unknown Maximus and a comfort for the faithful from the lost apocryphal writing Eldad and Modat.

6:3. The reference to sister here is puzzling. As biography, it could mean that Hermas' wife will soon be a Christian (taking sister as a *terminus technicus*), but this is contradicted by the obvious intent of the passage—she also will benefit by an opportunity to repent. Or it could be strongly eschatological (Matt. 22:30), used here as a veiled hint that the time for repentance is short (Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, [Gotha, 1868], p. 179), but this is refuted by the use of sister in 7:1. It could be taken in the encratic or ascetic sense (A. Lelong, *Les pères apostoliques* [Paris, 1912], 18; Joly p. 91; Laeuchli p. 154; Daniélou p. 375), but this is not convincing because (a) that which his wife is to control is her tongue, and (b) Hermas is more permissive than ascetic (26:2). Dibelius pp. 445 f. takes the family of Hermas to be a fictional model for the church; but the family problems of the author's audience are real (chs. 29 and 32). The form of the author here is to promise repentance for wife, then children, then saints. The diminutive address, *tekna mou*, has been extended, for pastoral purposes, to include family and church. The promise is: families will be restored to each other (*adelphē* in a general nontechnical sense, see von Soden in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, I [Grand Rapids, 1964], 146) by this opportunity for repentance.

what was written: 2. "Your offspring, Hermas, have rejected God and blasphemed the Lord, and by their great evil have betrayed their parents, and are called betrayers of parents, and their betrayal has not profited them, but still they add to their sin debaucheries and orgies of evil, and so their iniquities have reached the limit. 3. But make these words known to all your children and to your wife, who is about to be your sister. For she does not control her tongue, with which she sins. But when she hears these words she will control herself and will obtain mercy. 4. After you have made known to them these words which the Master commanded me should be revealed to you, then all sins which they have previously committed will be forgiven both them and all the saints who have sinned up to this day, if they repent with all their heart and put away double-mindedness from their hearts. 5. For

6:5. It would appear from this verse that (a) a Christian who sins after postbaptismal repentance is lost and (b) there is an immediate limit to the possibility for postbaptismal repentance, though heathen may still be converted. This verse coupled with 31:6 has convinced many that the major intent of the author is to declare a short jubilee on repentance, i.e., the Christian life is a state of sinlessness, but for those who failed there is one more chance. This apparent jubilee is actually a misinterpretation of the rather crude dialectic which the author keeps between the demand for sinlessness and the actuality of involvement in "this world" (see 30:1-31:7). The intent of this dialectic can be seen in verse 8: there is repentance for those who have denied the Lord, but there is none for those who are about to (cf. 7:4). For Hermas repentance is always a present possibility, but never a future promise. Within this dialectic it is quite proper to say that the heathen will have repentance until the last day, while Christians have no such promise. The attempt by K. Rahner (in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77 [1955], 395) to equate the times of repentance for saints and heathen (times are joined by *kai*) is unnecessary and destroys the intent of the author.

6:7. While there is no mention of resurrection in the Shepherd (however, there is *ananeōsis* of spirits in this life, 19:3; 20:2 f.; 21:2; 62:4; 91:3; cf. 16:9; 72:3), the author speaks of the resurrection body as angelic (102:2). This understanding of the resurrection was not uncommon in the second century (Mart. Polyc. 2:3; 2 Baruch 51:5-12; Enoch 104:7) and was based on the words of Jesus in Matthew 22:30 and Luke 20:36 (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 81). Only later was the angelic body used as a denial of the resurrection and an argument for immortality (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* III, 9; Methodius, *De resurr.* IX-XII).

the Master swore by his glory concerning his elect, that if, after this day has been fixed, there is yet sin they will not obtain salvation. For repentance for the just has an end; for the saints the days of repentance are finished, but for the heathen there is repentance until the last day. 6. So speak to the officials of the church so that they will set straight their ways in righteousness, that they may receive the promises in full with great glory. 7. So you who do righteousness [cf. Ps. 14:2; Acts 10:35; Heb. 11:33] be steadfast and be not double-minded, so that your way will be with the holy angels. Blessed are you who endure the great tribulation which is coming and who will not deny their life. 8. For the Lord has sworn by his Son that they who deny their Lord have been rejected from their life, who now are about to deny him in the coming days; but for those who denied him before, he has been merciful because of his great compassion."

In Visions I-IV there is a threat of a "coming tribulation" which will create the possibility of denying the faith (7:4; 22:1; 23:4 f.; 24:6). A. P. O'Hagan (in *Studia Patristica*, IV [Berlin, 1961], 305-311) and E. Peterson (in *Vigiliae Christianae* 8 [1954], 68) take the *thlipsis* to be the judgment of the afterlife. But the *thlipsis* will produce those who lapse from the faith in this time (besides vss. 7 f.: 7:4; 23:4) and life will continue after the *thlipsis* has passed! (23:5-6.) Since the author is aware that the persecution may bypass the faithful (22:9; 24:6), we have concluded this was the threatened persecution of Trajan which never materialized in Rome (Pliny, *Ep.* X, 96, 97).

6:8. The Son is mentioned only once in Visions I-IV and is infrequent elsewhere (58:2 f.; 59:1 f.; 69:3; 77:1) except for Similitude IX (see p. 5). Neither Jesus nor Christ appear as names in the Shepherd (though note Athous in 14:6). The question remains whether *kurios* is a Christological title. *Theos* and *kurios* are interchangeable as far as the author is concerned (100:4). In fact, there are some 32 times in the text of the Shepherd where the two names are variants (Audet p. 48; Joly prefers *theos*, 1:3; 11:1; 13:2; 22:8; 42:2; 47:4). Audet p. 50, in his attempt to demonstrate the strong Judaistic character of the Shepherd, concludes that *kurios* never refers to Christ. There are few passages to disprove his thesis. Here *kurios* appears to be Christ, because the persecution would be at the very point of affirming or denying Jesus as Lord (*qui negaverit se Christianum esse . . . veniam ex paenitentia impetret*, Pliny, *Ep.* X, 97; note also 13:2). In 15:3 baptism "in the name of the Lord" ought also to refer to the early confession (Rom. 10:9), but references to the word of the Lord (102:2) or the name of the Lord in general (especially chs. 89-94)

3.

7 "But you, Hermas, do not any longer bear a grudge against your children nor leave your sister to herself, so that they may be cleansed of their former sins. For they will be disciplined with a just discipline if you do not bear a grudge against them. Bearing a grudge produces death. But you, Hermas, have undergone great trials of your own because of the transgressions of your family, because you did not care for them; but you neglected them and became entangled in your own evil affairs. 2. But the thing that saves you is that you have not fallen away from the living God [cf. Heb. 3:12], as well as your sincerity and great self-control. These things have saved you, if you stand fast, and save all who do such things and walk in innocence and sincerity. These will be victorious over all and will endure to everlasting life. 3. Blessed are all those who do righteousness [cf. Pss. 14:2; 105:3]. They will never be destroyed. 4. But say to Maximus, 'Behold, persecution is coming; if it seems good to you, deny again.' 'The Lord is near to those who turn to him,' as it is written in the book of Eldad and Modat, who prophesied to the people in the desert."

Two instructional revelations (8:1-3)

4.

8 As I was sleeping, brethren, a revelation was given to me by a handsome young man who said to me, "That elderly lady, from

could, in Jewish theology, designate the presence of God (see Giet pp. 164-167; Daniélou pp. 151-153). *Kurios*, then, is not a Christological title in the Shepherd, but so nearly represents that presence of God which in the NT is the Son, that it can approximate a Christological meaning.

7:4. The book Eldad and Modad is listed among the apocrypha of the OT in the Stichometry of Nicephorus and other lists of Jewish books (D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia, 1964], 391-395). Nothing else is known about the book. The two men are known from Numbers 11:26-29 and the reference to the desert is likely a typological reference to the period of testing which occurs before entering the *eschaton* (Heb. 3:7-4:7; see Klevinghaus pp. 122 f.).

8:1-3. The identification of the elderly lady is revealed to Hermas by a young man: she is the Church. And she is elderly because she

whom you received the document, who do you think she is?" I said, "The Sibyl." "You are mistaken," said he, "she is not." "Who then is she?" I said. "The Church," he said. I said to him, "Why then is she elderly?" "Because," said he, "she was created first of all; that is why she is elderly; and for her the world was made." 2. Afterward I saw a vision in my house. The elderly lady came and asked me if I had already given the book to the elders. I admitted I had not. "You have done well," she said, "for I have words to add. So when I finish all the words they will be made known through you to all the elect. 3. So you shall write two little books

was the first of creation (though in ch. 19 she is elderly because of her hopeless condition). In a second vision the elderly lady orders him to make two books: one for Clement to send to other cities and one for Hermas to read to the elders of Rome.

8:1. The Sibyl: one of the famous Asiatic prophetesses, no doubt the Cumaean Sibyl (Erythraean) who supposedly wrote the Sibylline oracles kept in the temple of *Iuppiter Capitolinus*. While the location of the vision on the way to Cumae makes Hermas' reply intelligible, this feigned reply is an overt attempt to connect Christian prophecy with the Roman world (also Arcadia in 78:4), not unlike the Jewish-Christian Sibylline Oracles. That the Sibylla may have influenced the description of the elderly lady is quite possible (Völter, *Die apostolischen Väter* [Leiden, 1904], 184 f.), but the changes in appearance are due to the plan of the book, not the forms of the Sibylla (Peterson pp. 266 f.).

The aged appearance of the church is explained by her antiquity—she was the first of creation. In Valentinian Gnosticism the Church is pre-existent in the pleroma (F.-M.-M. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne* [Paris, 1947], 302 f.), or at least, as in this passage (cf. 1:6; 11:5), the world was created for the church, which hints at pre-existence (G. Thomas 13, assuming the identification of James the Just with the Church). The Church in the Shepherd is not pre-existent in an a-historical sense, but is protological. Since it is the eschatological goal of creation (1:6), it must, by Jewish logic, be a protological entity (Barn. 6:13; 2 Clem. 14:1; see N. Dahl in *The Background of the New Testament* [Cambridge, Eng., ed. by W. D. Davies and D. Daube, 1956], 423; J. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality* [London, 1960], 11-16; J. Beumer in *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 5 [1942], 13-22). The hypostatization of wisdom (Prov. 8:22-24; Sir. 1:4) shows a similar development but is not the source for the protologization of the church (Giet p. 109; R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* 85).

8:3. Whether this Clement, who has authority to send letters, is the one who sent a letter to Corinth (?) cannot be decided (Giet p. 283).

and you shall send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Then Clement will send one to the other cities, for that has been entrusted to him. And Grapte will instruct the widows and the orphans. But in this city you yourself shall read it aloud with the elders who stand at the head of the church."

Vision III

The third vision of the church: the building of the tower (9:1-10:9)

1.

9 Brethren, what I saw was this. 2. I had fasted many times and I prayed to the Lord that he make known to me the revelation which he promised to show me through that elderly lady; and on that very night the elderly lady appeared to me and said to me, "Since you are so needy and eager to know everything, go to the field where you raise grain, and about the fifth hour I will appear to you and I will show you that which you ought to see." 3. I asked her saying, "Madam, to what part of the field?" "Where-

The role of the presbyters here and the honor shown them in 9:8 indicate that the churches of Rome were unified by a presbyterian system. Grapte may belong to an order of widows or deaconesses (1 Tim. 5:3-16), or even virgins (so Peterson in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 368; such an order is unknown until the fourth century, but the role of the virgins in Similitude IX may allude to the practice; see 81:5) or the reference may be incidental (so E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* [London, 1961], 159).

9:1-10:9. The third and major vision of the Shepherd begins with a revelatory form remarkable for its composite of Hellenistic and Jewish-Christian elements. When the revelation does come, it is a tower being built on water. The details of the construction of the tower have been so ordered as to allow for various types of Christians who reach, or do not reach, the tower by various means. The author uses the same vision for different purposes in Similitude IX. For the structure of the vision see pp. 8 f.

9:2. The fast is possibly the most common preparation for a vision (6:1; 18:6 f.; 4 Ezra 5:13, 20; 6:31, 35; 9:26 f.; 12:51; 2 Baruch 5:2; 20:5 f.; Dan. 9:3 f.; 10:2 f.). However, the author questions the use of such religious practices for their own sake (54:5). This vision differs from the previous in that Hermas prays for it.

The field as a locus for revelation is not uncommon for Hermas

ever you please," said she. I chose a lovely secluded place. But before I could speak to her and tell her which place, she said to me, "I will go wherever you wish." 4. So, brethren, I went to the field and I noted the hour and I went to the place where I had arranged for her to come, and I saw an ivory couch placed there, and on the couch there was a linen cushion and spread out over it a fine linen cloth. 5. When I saw these things standing there, and no one at the place, I was utterly astonished, and a sort of trembling seized me and my hair stood on end; and a sort of shuddering came over me, because I was alone. Then when I came to myself and remembered the glory of God and took courage, kneeling down I confessed to the Lord again my sins, as previously. 6. And she came with six young men, whom I had seen before, and she stood beside me and listened attentively while I prayed and confessed to the Lord my sins. And she touched me and said, "Hermas, stop asking all of these things concerning your

(22:2; cf. 78:4) and 4 Ezra (9:26; 12:51; 13:57). This nontemple incubational revelation (cf. 25:1; 111:1) by the Church to the church gives to Hermas an extraecclesiastical authority.

9:4. The words *sumpselion*, *kerbikarion*, and *lention* are Latin loan words, *subsellium*, *cervical*, and *linteum*. C. Mohrmann in *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 [1949], 74-78, points to these and sufficient other Latinisms to conclude that the author wrote for his congregation in Greek, but spoke Latin. The use of *subsellium* is difficult. In Vision III it is the couch from which the elderly lady gives her revelation (9:7; 10:4; 18:1, 5; 21:3). Though elaborately designed and furnished, it is large enough for the elders to be seated (vs. 8), not to mention the persecuted (vs. 9). As a basis for revelation it is certain because of its four legs, which are compared to the four elements of the world (21:3). In Mandate XI (43:1) the *subsellium* is a bench on which those men sit who are listening to the false prophet (whose seat is a *kathedra*). Peterson has correctly noted the similarity of this furniture to that of the synagogue (in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 369). But the lovely furniture of Vision III hardly corresponds to this. Yet Hermas recognizes the couch as an elders' bench (vs. 8), and contrasts the authority of the teaching that comes from this *kathedra* (21:3) with that of the false teacher (43:1-13). The *subsellium* here must be the elders' bench from which the true Church speaks with authority; its elaborate appearance is due to the visionary description of the ultimate Church.

9:9. The superior value of the right side is apparent (Matt. 25:33; Mark 10:37; Rom. 8:34; Barn. 12:10; 13:5). Not only is it an honor,

sins; ask also concerning righteousness, so that you may take some part of it to your family." 7. And she raised me up by the hand and led me to the couch and said to the young men, "Go and build." 8. And after the young men departed and we were alone, she said to me, "Sit here." I said to her, "Madam, let the elders sit first." "Do as I say," she said, "sit down." 9. Then when I wished to sit on the right side she would not let me, but indicated to me with her hand that I should sit on the left side. Then as I was musing and grieving because she did not allow me to sit on the right side, she said to me, "Are you distressed, Hermas? The place of the right side belongs to others, who have already pleased God and suffered for the name. But you lack much to be able to sit with them. But if you stand fast in your simplicity, as you are doing, you also shall sit with them, and whoever does what they have done and bears what they have borne."

2.

10 "What," said I, "have they borne?" "Listen," she said. "Whips, prisons, great persecutions, crosses, wild beasts, for the sake of the name. That is why the right side of the holy place is for them and whoever suffers for the name. But for the remainder

but in 4 Ezra the recipient stands to the right of the revelator (4:47, *sta super dextram partem*). Those who could sit on the right are not sufficiently described to be identified. "Pleasing to God" is a Jewish compliment (Gen. 6:9; T. Gad 7:6; 1 Clem. 62:2; Ign. Magn. 8:2). They are the martyrs in the Apocalypse of Peter (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford, 1924], 512), but only persecution is mentioned here.

10:4. The motion of the shining staff or wand signals the beginning of the vision. Such a staff has no Jewish counterpart (though Lelong p. 30 points to the magical rod of Moses [Ex. 4:2, etc.]). Dibelius p. 458 and Peterson p. 260 take it to be a wand such as found in the magical papyrii. The elderly lady in the Tabula of Cebes (IV) uses a staff or wand in her explanation.

10:5. The origin of the tower symbol is complex (cf. ch. 78). As an analogy of man's relationship to Christ in the church, it is a common NT symbol (Matt. 16:18; 1 Cor. 3:11; Eph. 2:20 ff.; 1 Pet. 2:4-8). As an analogy, it has the possibility of appearing static and mechanical (Ign. Eph. 9; see H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* [Berlin, 1929], 110 f.; and T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* [Edin-

there is the left side. But to both, those who sit on the right and those who sit on the left, are the same gifts and the same promises; except the former sit on the right and have a certain glory. 2. And you are very eager to sit on the right with them, but your shortcomings are many. But you will be cleansed of your shortcomings; and all those who are not double minded will be cleansed of all their sins to this day." 3. When she had said these things she intended to depart, but I fell at her feet and beseeched her by the Lord to show me the vision which she had promised. 4. And again she took me by the hand and raised me up and had me sit on the couch at the left. And she sat down at the right. And lifting a shining staff she said to me, "Do you see something great?" I said to her, "Madam, I see nothing." She said to me, "Look! Do you not see right before you a great tower being built of lustrous square stones upon the water?" 5. And the tower was being built in a square by the six young men who had come with her; but myriads of other men were bringing stones, some from the deep, and some from the land, and were handing them to the six young men. They were taking them and building. 6. All the stones that were dragged from the deep were set in the building just as they were, for they were prepared and fit with the other stones at the joints. And they were joined so closely to each other that their joints did not show. And the structure of the tower looked as if it were built of one stone. 7. And of the other stones which were brought from the dry land, some they rejected, and some they placed in the building; others they broke up and threw far from the tower. 8. And many other stones were lying in a circle around the tower, and they did not use them for the tower. For some of them were rough, others had cracks, some were

burgh, 1948], 68). But the author of the Shepherd is not indebted primarily to the NT figure (though to contrary H. Pohlman in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, V [Stuttgart, 1962], 1059 f.), but has adopted the Zion symbol of Jewish-Christian apocalypticism (Ezek. 40-48; Rev. 21:10-22:5). In 4 Ezra 10:27 the woman revealer disappears and Zion appears in her place. The two pictures have been combined by the author to portray an eschatological entity, the Church (Zion) present in history as the living temple (1 Pet. 2:5). The tower is not a-historical or mythical (Dibelius p. 459), but quite concrete, inasmuch as the building is not yet finished (13:5) and participation in it has present effects (14:7).

damaged by cutting, and some were white and round, so that they would not fit into the building. 9. And I saw other stones thrown far from the tower and going to the road and not staying on the road, but rolling off the road into the rough ground; and others were falling into fire and being burned; and others were falling near the water and were not able to roll into the water, although they wished to roll and go into the water.

The meaning of the tower (11:1-17:10)

3.

11 After showing me these things she wished to hurry away. I said to her, "Madam, what good is it for me to see these things and not know what is happening?" She answered and said to me, "You are a sly one, wishing to know about the tower." "Yes, Madam," I said, "so that I may report to my brethren, and that they may be cheered, and having heard these things may know God in much glory." 2. And she said, "Many will hear, but having heard, some of them will rejoice and others will weep; but even these, if they hear and repent, also shall rejoice. Hear, then, the

Dibelius p. 464 takes the deep (*bythos*) to be the mythological *Urwasser* so often associated with the temple (Ezek. 47:1-12; Rev. 21:6) while Joly p. 105 and Peterson (in *Vigiliae Christianae* 9 [1955], 17) take it to be the abode of the dead (cf. 13:2; Enoch 17:4-8; 1 Pet. 3:20). Regardless of the origin, the author uses the water simply as the means of entering the tower by baptism (11:5; 93:4).

10:9. K. Lake (in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 [1911], 29) has noted that the description of the stones here is not unlike the quarrying practices of central Italy, where stones are quarried in the hills and rolled by a chute to the site of the construction.

11:1-17:10. The tower is identified as the church (11:3) being built by six holy angels of God (12:1). The variety of stones is explained (chs. 13-15) as the types of believers. There are three basic types: (a) the original officers of the church (13:1), those persecuted (13:2), the righteous (13:3), and the young in the faith (13:4) fit into the tower immediately. (b) Those who want to repent (13:5), those who are hypocritical (14:1 f.), the factious (14:3 f.), and the wealthy (14:5-7) are in some process of being accepted in or rejected from the tower. (c) The double minded (15:1), the ones who refused to repent (15:2), and those who cannot take the purity of repentance (15:3) have been rejected, and even if they accepted repentance, they

parable of the tower, for I will reveal everything to you. And do not trouble me any more about a revelation, for these revelations have come to an end, for they have been completed. But you will not stop asking for revelations, for you are so bold. 3. The tower which you see being built is I, the church which appeared to you now and previously. So ask whatever you wish about the tower and I will reveal it to you, so that you may rejoice with the saints." 4. I said to her, "Madam, since once you considered me worthy enough to reveal everything to me, reveal it." And she said to me, "Whatever is possible to be revealed to you will be revealed. Only let your heart return to God and do not be double minded concerning whatever you see." 5. I asked her, "Why is the tower built on water, Madam?" "As I said to you before," she said, "you are a sly one concerning the Scriptures and you seek diligently. Well, if you seek, you will find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built on water: because your life has been and will be saved through water. And the tower has been established by the word of the almighty and glorious name, and is supported by the unseen power of the Master."

4.

12 I answered her and said, "Madam, this thing is great and wonderful. But the six young men who are building, who are they, Madam?" "These are the holy angels of God who were

would find only an inferior place (15:6). To this vision is added a virtue list as a guide for the righteous (16:1-9) and the list is used as an injunction (17:1) against those in the church who disturb the peace of the church (17:2-10).

11:5. Joly pp. 108 f. accepts the phrase in Athous and the Vulgate, "you are a sly one concerning the Scriptures," while Whittaker and most others reject it. He argues that *graphas* refers to written revelations (6:1) in a general sense, but when *scriptura* became technical and Hermas was not among them, then this reference had to be omitted by later versions.

The *hydōr* is technical for baptism (Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 1; *felix sacramentum aquae nostrae*). Here the presence of the water commemorates the baptism of the believer who entered the tower. In Similitude IX baptism and the seal are developed more thoroughly (see on 93:4).

12:1. The reference to six holy angels created first is strange, but refers to the seven archangels, the primary beings (2 Enoch 20:1) of

created first, to whom the Lord committed all his creation to develop and to build up and to govern the entire creation. So through them the building of the tower will be completed." 2. "But who are the others who are bringing the stones?" "They are also angels of God, but the first six are superior to them. So the building of the tower will be completed, and they will all rejoice together around the tower and glorify God because the building of the tower has been completed." 3. I asked her saying, "Madam, I wish to know the destination of the stones and what sort of meaning they have." She answered me and said, "It is not because you are more worthy than all the others that a revelation is given to you, for others were before you and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But in order that the name of God may be glorified [cf. Ps. 85:9, 12; Isa. 24:15; 66:5], a revelation has been and will be given to you because of the double-minded ones who debate in their hearts whether these things are so or not. Tell them that all these things are true and nothing is apart from the truth, but everything is secure and reliable and well founded.

5.

13 "Hear now about the stones that go into the building. The stones that are square and white and fit their joints are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who have walked according to the holiness of God, and who have sincerely and reverently served the elect of God as bishops and teachers and deacons. Some have fallen asleep while others are still living. And they always agreed with one another and had peace with one another and listened to each other. That is why their joints fit

the heavenly creation (2 Enoch 29:3; Jub. 2:2). Since the author identifies the Son with the primary angel Michael (cf. 67:2; 69:2 f.; 80:1; 83:1; 89:8), he speaks of only six angels that actually carry out the commands of the Lord (see Daniélou pp. 121 f., 181).

12:3. In keeping with the theme of the book, the unworthiness of Hermas is stressed (1:8; 3:1; 6:2; 7:1; 18:9), while the recipient in other apocalypses is righteous (4 Ezra 6:32; 10:39; 12:7).

13:1. The primary officer of the church is the apostle (92:4; 93:5; 94:1; 102:2) who needs no legitimation, while bishops (104:2), teachers (31:1; 92:4; 93:5; 102:2; cf. 96:2) and deacons (103:2) do. Bishops and presbyters (8:2 f.; 9:8) are apparently identical since

together in the building of the tower." 2. "And the ones that were dragged from the deep and placed in the building and whose joints fit with the other stones that were already laid, who are they?" "They are the ones who have suffered for the name of God." 3. "And I wish to know who are the other stones which were brought from the dry land, Madam." She said, "Those that go into the building and are not hewn out are they whom the Lord approved because they walked in the uprightness of the Lord and carried out his commands." 4. "Who are the ones that are brought and placed in the building?" "They are the new in the faith and are faithful. They have been admonished by the angels to do good, therefore evil has not been found in them." 5. "Who are the ones they were rejecting and throwing away?" "They are the ones who have sinned and wish to repent. For this reason they were not thrown far from the tower, because they will be useful in the building if they repent. So the ones who are about to repent, if they do repent, shall be secure in the faith, if they repent now while the tower is being built. But if the building is completed they will no longer have a place, but will be excluded. And they have only this—that they lie close to the tower."

6.

14 "Would you like to know who they are that are broken up and thrown far from the tower? They are the sons of iniquity; their faith was in hypocrisy, and no evil escaped them. For this reason they do not have salvation, because they are of no use in the building on account of their evil. That is why they were

they are never listed together (E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* [London, 1961], 159). At the same time, some leaders are trying to make some distinctions (73:4; cf. 17:7; 43:12; see H. von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht* [Tübingen, 1953], 91 f., 104 f.) Not only does the author oppose these, but, despite his own prophetic or charismatic orientation (12:3; 18:6-8; 25:4), he opposes the prophet as false (Mand. XI), much like the *Didache* 11:7-12. Perhaps his favorable connection of the *didaskolos* with the *apostolos* (92:4; 93:5; 102:2) indicates that he is a teacher who uses the prophetic form even against the prophets of his day (48:1).

13:5. As throughout the book, the crucial point is repentance and

broken to pieces and thrown far away, because of the wrath of the Lord, for they provoked him to wrath. 2. And the others which did not go into the building, many of which you have seen lying around, the rough ones are those who have known the truth but do not abide in it and do not fit with the saints, therefore are worthless." 3. "Who are the ones that have cracks?" "They are those who oppose each other in their hearts and do not have peace among themselves [1 Thess. 5:13; cf. Mark 9:50], but have only the appearance of peace, so whenever they depart from each other, their evil thoughts remain in their hearts. These are the cracks which the stones have. 4. The ones that are damaged by cutting are those who have believed and live for the most part in righteousness and have a certain measure of iniquity. That is why they are damaged and mutilated." 5. "Who are those that are white and round and do not fit into the building, Madam?" She answered and said to me, "How long will you be foolish and senseless, and ask about everything and understand nothing? They are the ones that have faith, but have also the riches of this world. Whenever tribulation comes, because of the riches and their business affairs they deny their Lord." 6. And I answered her and said, "Madam, when then will they be useful for the building?" "Whenever," said she, "their riches which beguile them are hewn off, then they will be useful to God. For just as the round stone, if nothing is hewn off and cast from it, is unable to become square, so also the wealthy in this world, unless their wealth is hewn off, are unable to be used by the Lord. 7. Learn first from your own situation. When you were rich, you were not useful. Now you are useful and beneficial in life. Be useful to God, for you yourself have been used as one of the same stones."

7.

15 "And the other stones which you saw thrown far from the

its availability. Here repentance is a possibility as long as the tower is being built. There is no thought of a "jubilee" or of a final postbaptismal repentance. The urgency here is the eschatological demand for purity in the church while the mercy of God is expressed by the fact that the tower (church) is not yet completed. See 30:1-31:7, and Joly p. 27.

15:3. A chief concern of the author is that Christian who hesitates

tower and which reached the road and rolled from the road into the wasteland, they are the ones who have believed, but because of their double-mindedness left their true road. So thinking they can find a better way, they go astray and walk in misery through the wasteland. 2. The ones that fell into the fire and were burned, they are the ones who oppose the living God to the end [cf. Heb. 3:12], and it no longer enters their heart to repent because of their licentious desires and the evil things which they have done. 3. Do you wish to know who are the others who have fallen near the water and are unable to fall into the water? They are the ones who have heard the word [cf. Mark 4:18] and wish to be baptized in the name of the Lord [Acts 19:5; cf. Acts 2:38; 10:48]. Then when the purity of the truth comes to their remembrance, they change their minds and again follow after their evil desires" [cf. Sir. 18:30]. 4. So she ended the explanation of the tower. 5. Still unabashed, I asked her if all the stones that were rejected and did not fit into the structure of the tower could repent and have a place in this tower. "They can repent," she said, "but they cannot fit in this tower. 6. But they will fit in another much inferior place, and that only when they are tormented and fill out the days of their sins. And for this reason they will be changed, because they receive the righteous word. And then it will happen that they are changed from their torments, if the evil deeds which they have done come to their hearts. But if they do not come to their hearts, they will not be saved because of their hardness of heart."

8.

16 When I had stopped asking her concerning these things, she said to me, "Would you like to see something else?" Being very eager to see more, I was very glad to look. 2. She looked at me

about repentance because he sees the possibility of playing his life in this world against the infinite mercy of God. This is the most real "opponent" in the Shepherd (39:1-12; 46:4-47:7; see Lake in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 [1911], 29).

16:7. Virtue lists are rather common in early Christianity (Gal. 5:22; 2 Pet. 1:5-7; Barn. 1:6; 2:2-4), but their personification is seldom. Hermas has used Hellenistic sources to produce this scene. For example, in the Tabula of Cebes (XX, 3) occurs a list of nine virtues which are all sisters. The author uses the same motif in Simili-

with a slight smile and said to me, "Do you see seven women around the tower?" "Yes, Madam," I said. "This tower is borne by them by command of the Lord. 3. Now hear about their functions. The first of them, who governs [the others] by gestures, is called Faith. Through her the elect of God are saved. 4. The second, who is girded and appears manly, is called Self-control. She is the daughter of Faith. So whoever will follow her will be blessed in his life, because he will refrain from all evil works, believing that if he will refrain from every evil desire he will inherit eternal life." 5. "Who are the others, Madam?" "They are daughters of one another, and they are called Sincerity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. So whenever you do all the works of their mother, you can live." 6. "I wish to know, Madam," I said, "what sort of power they have." "Listen," she said, "to what powers they have. 7. Their powers are governed by one another, and they follow one another in the order which each is born. From Faith is born Self-control, from Self-control, Sincerity, from Sincerity, Innocence, from Innocence, Reverence, from Reverence, Knowledge, from Knowledge, Love. So their works are pure and reverent and divine. 8. So whoever serves these and has the strength to hold fast to their works will have a dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." 9. I asked her concerning the times, if it were already ended. And she cried out with a loud voice and said, "Oh, foolish man! Do you not see the tower is still being built? So whenever the building of the tower is finished, that is the end. But it will be built up quickly. Do not ask me anything more. Let this reminder and the renewal of your spirits be sufficient for you and the saints. 10. But these things have been revealed not to you alone, but in order that you might show them to everyone—after three days, 11. for you need to understand first of all. I command you first, Hermas, to speak all these things which I am about to say into the ears of the saints in order that they may hear these things and do them and be cleansed of their evil, and you with them."

9.

17 "Listen to me, children, by the mercy of the Lord, who fed tude IX, except that he adds five more virtues and changes the name of *Epistēmē* to *Sunesis* and *Semnotēs* to *Hagneia* (92:2).

17:2. Sinaiticus, Athous, and the Palatine version put *ek kata-*

you righteousness drop by drop, I nourished you in great sincerity and innocence and reverence in order that you might be righteous and purified from all evil and perversity. But you do not wish to cease from your evil. 2. Now then listen to me and be at peace among yourselves [1 Thess. 5:13], and be concerned for one another and help one another [cf. Acts 20:35], and do not take the creation of God for yourselves alone, but share the gravy of life with those also who are in need. 3. For by eating too much some are bringing on themselves illness in the flesh and are injuring their flesh; and the flesh of those who do not have food to eat is injured because there is not sufficient food and their body is wasting away. 4. So this lack of community spirit is harmful to you who have and do not share with the needy. 5. Consider the judgment which is to come. So let those who have more seek out those who are hungry until such a time as the tower is finished. For after the tower is finished you will wish to do good, but you will not have the opportunity. 6. So you who rejoice in your riches see to it that the needy never groan and their groaning go up to the Lord [cf. Jas. 5:4], and you be shut outside the door of the tower with your goods. 7. Now, then, I say to you officials of the church and those who have the seats of honor [cf. Matt. 23:6; Mark 12:39; Luke 11:43; 20:46]: do not become like the poisoners. For while the poisoners carry their drugs in bottles, you carry

chumatos (from the broth or soup) with the previous phrase, but there is no easy way to take God's creation out of the soup! On the basis of the Vulgate (*abundantius etiam impertite*), it should be taken with the final phrase and be understood as a colloquialism meaning "abundance." Joly has accepted this transposition.

17:3. While the author warns the wealthy of bodily injury because of overeating, his major concern about too much food (36:5; 38:3; 45:1) and excessive luxury is the dissension it causes between wealthy and poor (vss. 4 f.; 51:8; 56:7). The Stoic has the same concern, but it is a self discipline in case fortune should change (*In ipsa securitate animus ad difficilia se praeparet et contra iniurias fortunae inter beneficia firmetur*. Seneca, *Ep. XVIII*, 6).

17:7. The early church was fond of medical analogies (*Didascalia apostolorum* X; Ign. Polyc. 2:1) to describe the internal struggles of the church. *Pharmakon* has two uses: (a) to indicate the poison of heresy (Ign. Trall. 6:2; Odes Sol. 22:7); (b) the antidote (i.e., the breaking of bread in unity) to divisions or ecclesiastical death (Ign. Eph. 20:2). The references in *Didache* 2:2; 5:1; and *Barnabas* 20:1

your drug and poison in your heart. 8. You have become callous and do not wish to cleanse your heart and mix your wisdom together in a clean heart in order that you may have mercy from the great king [cf. Ps. 46:3; Mal. 1:14]. 9. See to it then, children, that these dissensions of yours do not turn you away from your life. 10. How do you expect to teach the elect of the Lord if you yourselves do not have training? So teach one another and have peace among yourselves [1 Thess. 5:13] so that I too may stand joyfully before the father and give account for all of you to your Lord."

A revelation concerning the forms of the church (18:1-21:4)

10.

18 So when she finished speaking with me, the six young men who were building came and took her to the tower, and four others picked up the couch and carried it also to the tower. I did not see their faces because they were turned away. 2. But as she was going away I asked her to give me a revelation about the three forms in which she had appeared to me. She answered me

are nonanalogical and mean magical practices. The author of the Shepherd uses *pharmakon* as divisive teachings.

17:10. *Patēr* is used here only in the absolute sense. It is used as a divine name in 59:3 f. and 89:2, but is forced by the relationship to the Son. In light of the increasing use of Father as a divine name in addressing God (Sir. 23:1; 3 Macc. 6:3; Wisd. Sol. 2:16; see the second benediction of the Palestinian synagogue, J. Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ* [New York, 1964], 130) both in Judaism (G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, II [Cambridge, Mass., 1927], 202 f.) and Christianity (J. Jeremias, *The Central Message of the New Testament* [New York, 1965], 9-30), the lack of the title in the Shepherd is puzzling. It must point either to the overwhelming influence of OT type piety (Father as a divine name is rare in the OT, Jeremias p. 10) or possibly to a subtle hint that Father is an eschatological title not yet appropriate for man's use (Jub. 1:24 f.).

18:1-21:4. Hermas describes the appearance of the revelator in the three visions and then seeks an interpretation. This is revealed by the alternate revelator, used previously to add to Vision II (8:1; the shepherd?). The three different forms are, so to speak, the history of the church (Giet p. 111): (a) the Church is decrepit because of the double-mindedness of the believers (ch. 19); (b) she receives new life

and said, "Concerning these things, it is necessary for you to ask someone else to reveal it to you." 3. Now, brethren, last year in the first vision she appeared to me as quite elderly and she was sitting in a chair. 4. But in the second vision she had a younger face, though her body and hair were elderly, and she stood as she talked to me. And she was more cheerful than before. 5. In the third vision she was completely young and remarkable for her beauty, except that her hair was that of an elderly woman. She was cheerful in every respect and sat on a couch. 6. Concerning these things I was deeply grieved, for I wanted to know this revelation, and in a vision of the night I saw the elderly lady who said to me, "Every request requires humility. So fast, and you will receive what you ask from the Lord." 7. So I fasted one day, and that night a young man appeared to me and said to me, "Why do you continually ask for revelations in your prayer? Be careful, lest by your many requests you injure your body. 8. These revelations are enough for you. Are you able to look at revelations mightier than what you have already seen?" 9. I answered and said to him, "Sir, this is the only thing I ask, that the revelation about the three forms of the elderly lady be completed." He answered me and said, "How long will you people be without understanding? Your double-mindedness makes you unable to understand and you do not turn your heart to the Lord." 10. And again I answered him and said, "But from you, sir, we will know these things more accurately."

11.

19 "Hear," he said, "about the forms concerning which you inquired. 2. Why did she appear to you in the first vision as elderly and sitting on a chair? Because your spirit is old and already faded and you lack power because of your softness and double-mindedness. 3. For just as old men, who no longer have any hope of becoming young again, look forward to nothing but their falling asleep, so also you who are softened by the cares of

from the message of repentance (ch. 20); (c) she continues to live a life of purity and power after repentance (ch. 21).

19:2. Typical of the many unresolved conflicts in the Shepherd is this flat contradiction with 8:1, where the Church was old because of her antiquity.

life, have given yourselves over to indifference and do not cast your burdens on the Lord [Ps. 54:23; cf. 1 Pet. 5:7]. But your disposition was broken and you became old with your griefs." 4. "Why, then, I would like to know, did she sit in a chair, sir?" "Because everyone who is weak sits on a chair on account of his weakness, in order that the weakness of his body might find support. You have the meaning of the first vision."

12.

20 "In the second vision you saw her standing and she had a younger face and was more cheerful than before, but the body and hair were those of an elderly lady. Listen," he said, "to this parable also. 2. Whenever someone is old and has already given up hope for himself because of his weakness and poverty, and waits for nothing but the last day of his life, then unexpectedly an inheritance is left to him, and when he hears of it he arises, and being very glad he is clothed with strength. And he does not recline, but stands up, and his spirit, which previously was broken by his former concerns, is renewed and he no longer sits down, but acts like a man. So also are you who have heard the revelation which the Lord revealed to you. 3. For he had compassion on you and renewed your spirits, and you put aside your weakness, and strength came to you and you were made powerful in the faith; when the Lord saw you were being made strong he rejoiced. And for this reason he showed you the building of the tower, and he will show you other things if with all your heart you remain at peace with one another" [1 Thess. 5:13].

13.

21 "And in the third vision you saw her younger and beautiful and cheerful and her form was lovely. 2. So just as, if some good news comes to someone who is grieving, immediately he forgets

21:3. C. Taylor (*The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* [London, 1892], 9-11, 146-148) takes the four legs to mean the four Gospels, analogous to the use of four by Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III, 11 (also J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* [London, 1920], 30). Dibelius p. 481 rightly relates the four legs to the visions of the throne in Ezekiel 1 and Revelation 4, but the interpretation of the four legs is derived from the assumption, common in Hellenism,

the former grief and thinks of nothing but the news which he has heard, and from then on is strengthened to do good and his spirit is renewed because of the joy which he received, so also you have received renewal of your spirits because you have seen these good things. 3. And since you saw her sitting on a couch, the position is secure because the couch has four legs and stands secure, for even the world is supported by four elements. 4. So the ones who fully repent will be young and made secure—the ones who repent with all their heart. You have received the revelation in full, so do not ask anything else concerning the revelation. But if anything is needed, it will be revealed to you."

Vision IV

The fourth vision of the church: the tribulation to come (22:1–24:7)

1.

22 That which I saw, brethren, twenty days after the previous vision had occurred, was as a foreshadowing of the tribulation to come. 2. I was going into the country by the Via Campana. The place is about 6,000 feet from the public thoroughfare, and is easily reached. 3. So as I was walking along by myself I asked the Lord that the revelation and vision which he had shown me through his holy church might be completed, so that he might strengthen me and give repentance to his servants who had been

that the basis of the world is four elements (Zeno Citieus in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, I, 28:28; *Wisd. Sol.* 19:18 f.).

22:1–24:7. The fourth vision begins with a detached visionary encounter which is explained to Hermas by the Church in the form of a bride. The vision (ch. 22) is an encounter with an apocalyptic beast much like the dragon or beast of Revelation 13. But Hermas is faithful and the beast does no harm (22:9). The Church explains that the beast is a type or foreshadowing of the tribulation to come (23:5) rendered harmless for those who repent. Finally, an interpretation of the colors of the beast refers to the conflict of the faithful while living in this age (ch. 24). The total vision predicts, in a rather weak apocalyptic form, a conflict of Christians with the state during which the double minded will break, but the faithful who repent will be strengthened to withstand.

lead astray, in order that his great and glorious name might be glorified [cf. Pss. 85:9, 12; 98:3], because he regarded me worthy to show me his wonders. 4. And as I was glorifying him and giving him thanks, something like the sound of a voice answered me, "Be not double minded, Hermas." And I began to reason with myself and to say, "How can I be double minded, when I have been made so secure by the Lord and have seen such glorious things?" 5. And I walked on a little, brethren, and behold, I saw a cloud of dust reaching as it were up to heaven, and I began to say to myself, "Are there not cattle coming and raising a cloud of dust?" And it was about 600 feet away from me. 6. When the dust cloud became greater and greater, I suspected it was something divine. The sun shone more brightly for a moment and behold, I saw a huge beast, something like a sea monster, and out of its mouth were coming fiery locusts. And the beast was about one hundred feet in length, and it had a head like a jar. 7. And I began to cry and to beseech the Lord to save me from it, and I remembered the word which I had heard, "Do not be double minded, Hermas." 8. So, brethren, being clothed in the faith of God and remembering the great things he had taught me, taking

22:2. As in the previous visions, Hermas receives his vision outside Rome so as to give extraecclesiastical authority to the incubation. See 9:2.

22:4. An auditory experience is not uncommon in visionary literature (Rev. 19:1; cf. Mark 1:11; John 12:28; Ign. Philad. 7:1), but is found only here in the Shepherd. More important is the content of the audition. In the remarkably similar account in the Acts of Philip 102-105, Philip recalls the words of the Lord, *mēden phobēthēte*, while under different circumstances a divine voice cries, *mē phobeisthe* in the Acts of Thomas 158. The problem here is not fear, the expected reaction, but double-mindedness. The coming tribulation is a threat to those who waver between loyalty to the church and its Lord, on the one hand, and the demands and rewards of this age, on the other. See 23:5-6.

22:5. The dust cloud simply announces the impending encounter with the beast, much like the *anemos megas kai gnophōdēs* of the Acts of Philip 102 (cf. the references to Gehinnom by E. Peterson in *Vigiliae Christianae* 8 [1954], 60).

22:6. Peterson (in *Vigiliae Christianae* 8 [1954], 60-64) has attempted to prove that the beast is Gehinnom (also A. P. O'Hagan, *Studia Patristica*, IV [Berlin, 1961], 307). The argument has no

courage, I entrusted myself to the beast. And the beast came on with a rush as if it could destroy a city. 9. I drew near to it and the sea monster, great as it was, stretched itself out on the ground and did nothing but thrust out its tongue and did not move at all until I had gone by it. 10. And the beast had four colors on its head: black, then the color of fire and blood, then gold, then white.

2.

23 After I had passed by the beast and had gone on about thirty feet, behold, a young lady met me, adorned as if coming from a bridal chamber [cf. Rev. 21:2], all in white and with white sandals, veiled up to the forehead, and her head covering was a snood, but she had white hair. 2. I knew from my previous visions that she was the church, and I became more cheerful. She greeted me saying, "How do you do, friend?" And I greeted her in return, "How do you do, Madam?" 3. She answered me and said, "Did nothing meet you?" I said to her, "Madam, a beast so

foundation in Jewish-Christian literature and destroys the basic message of present repentance in the Shepherd. The monster is a combination of the stories of Daniel in the lions' den and of Jonah, furbished in a pseudo-apocalyptic and romantic style much like the monster of the Acts of Philip 102-105. This combination has already been made in Jewish pseudo-apocalyptic literature (3 Macc. 6:7 f.) where the state threatens to destroy the city (3 Macc. 6:5; cf. vs. 8 in the Shepherd) and Eleazar prays for deliverance in the way Daniel was delivered from the wild beasts (*thērsin* in 3 Macc. 6:7; *thērion* as a mythological beast: Dan. 7:3 ff.; Rev. 11:7; 13:1 ff.; etc.) and Jonah from the sea monster (*kētos*, Jon. 2:1 LXX; 3 Macc. 6:8). As in Daniel 7:3 ff., and Revelation 13:1 ff., the beast from the sea is the ongoing power of the state which originates in evil history (Rev. 21:1). So the beast is a threatened persecution against the city (i.e., Zion or the church; cf. Sim. I). We have taken this threat to be that of Trajan (see p. 24).

22:9. Like other political symbols, this beast spoke great things (*glōssa* in 3 Macc. 6:3; but "mouth" in Dan. 7:20; Rev. 13:6). For the faithful the persecution never came and the tongue was silenced. For this reason we take it to be a persecution that never materialized, but the threat of it created some apostates among those who wavered (the double minded, see 23:5-6).

23:1. This fourth form of the Church is not explained, but her appearance as the bride of Christ, the Church victorious in the face of

great as could destroy entire peoples, but by the power of the Lord and by his great compassion I escaped it." 4. "It is only right that you escape," she said, "because you cast your burden upon God [Ps. 54:23; 1 Pet. 5:7] and you opened your heart to the Lord [cf. Ps. 61:9], believing that you could not be saved by anything but the great and glorious name. Therefore the Lord sent his angel who has authority over the beasts, whose name is Thegri, and he shut its mouth [cf. Dan. 6:23; Heb. 11:33] so that it might not hurt you. You escaped a great tribulation because of your faith and because when you saw so great a beast you did not become double minded. 5. Go then and tell the elect of the Lord about his great deeds, and say to them that this beast is a foreshadowing of the great tribulation about to come. If then you prepare yourselves in advance and repent with all your heart before the Lord, you will be able to escape it, if your heart

persecution, is so obvious a symbol that interpretation is unnecessary (Rev. 21:2, 9; 22:17).

23:4. The action of the angel Thegri is nearly a literal quotation of Daniel 6:23 (closest to Theodotion; see also Heb. 11:33). In 3 Maccabees 6:18-20 it is two angels that stop the beasts from harming the Jews, while in Revelation 20:2 an angel locks up the dragon. The closing of the mouth refers to the locusts in 22:6. The locusts are the symbolic plague of God against the unfaithful wealthy, as seen in Joel 1:1-2:11 and Revelation 9:3 (cf. the plague in vs. 6). For Hermas and the faithful the locusts are stopped, but for the double minded a threat still remains. The angel Thegri is unknown. R. Harris has suggested the name ought to be Segri, from the Aramaic *sgr* (shut) used in Daniel 6:23, but proof is lacking (J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* [London, 1920], 31).

23:5-6. While it would appear that the locusts and the beast are eschatological woes, symbols of the end-time (so Dibelius pp. 485 f.), Peterson has rightly noted that verses 5 f. eliminate that possibility (in *Vigiliae Christianae* 8 [1954], 67 f.; also A. P. O'Hagan, *Studia Patristica*, IV [Berlin, 1961], 307). The phrase *tas loipas tēs zōēs ēmeras humōn* can be understood only in terms of continuing life after the *thlipsis* has passed. The suggestion by Peterson and O'Hagan that the *thlipsis* is purgatory does not avoid the objection. Rather the *thlipsis* is a threatened persecution which the author uses as a stimulant for repentance and renewal of the church. The fate of Christians under such a persecution concerns him very little; it is repentance that is important. How a general persecution could affect the double minded and not the repentant is not stated by the author, since the plagues are a threat more than a reality. If used in the sense of Revelation 13, the

becomes pure and blameless and you serve the Lord blamelessly the rest of the days of your life. Cast your burdens upon the Lord [Ps. 54:23; 1 Pet. 5:7] and he will set them straight. 6. Have faith in the Lord, you who are double minded, because he can do all things and turn his wrath from you and send out plagues to you who are double minded. Woe to those who hear these words and disobey; it would have been better for them not to have been born" [cf. Matt. 26:24; Mark 14:21].

3.

24 I asked her about the four colors that the beast had on its head. She answered me and said, "Again you are inquisitive about such things." "Yes, Madam," I said, "make known to me what they are." 2. "Listen," said she, "the black is this world in which you live. 3. The color of fire and blood means it is necessary for this world to be destroyed by blood and fire. 4. And the gold part is you who have fled this world [cf. 2 Pet. 2:20]. For just as gold is tested by fire [1 Pet. 1:7; Sir. 2:5] and becomes useful, so also you who live among those people are being tested. Those then who endure and are made red hot by them will be purified. For just as gold casts off its dross, so also you will cast off all grief and distress, and you will be purified and be useful in the construction of the tower. 5. And the white part is the age which is to come, in which the elect of God will live, because those who have been chosen by God for eternal life will be spotless and pure. 6. So speak constantly in the hearing of the saints. You have also the foreshadowing of the great tribulation which is to come. And if you so wish, it will be nothing. Remember those things which have already been written." 7. After she had said these things she departed, and I did not see where she went, for

plagues (there *plēgē*) may enhance in the eyes of this world, but also be the ultimate mark of death (P. Minear in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 72 [1953], 97-99).

24:4. Athous and the Ethiopian version have "you who live *en autōi*." But this reading is an attempt to change the original reading *en autois* (Sinaiticus and the Latin versions) to refer to the fire. The author intended to refer to the people of the world. It is not persecution which refines the Christian, but the decisions of daily living in a world of divided loyalties.

there came a cloud and I turned back in fear, supposing that the beast was coming.

Revelation V

The shepherd introduces the Mandates and Similitudes (25:1-7)

25 After I had prayed in my house and had sat down on the bed, there came in a man glorious in appearance, in the manner of a shepherd, wearing a white goatskin and with a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he greeted me, and I returned his greeting. **2.** And he sat down beside me at once and said to me, "I have been sent by the most reverend angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life." **3.** I thought that he

25:1-7. The fifth vision differs from the preceding in both form and content and this distinction is noted by the variety of titles (see p. 4). It is not an independent vision, but a preliminary vision of the shepherd who proposes to reveal to Hermas the commandments and parables (vs. 5). As such, it is the beginning proper of the work called the Shepherd, which must have circulated separately before the four visions were attached (see pp. 3-4).

25:1. The situation of the vision is no longer outside Rome, but in the home of Hermas. The bed (111:1) points to a more usual incubation (Enoch 83:3; 4 Ezra 3:11). Peterson (in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 363) takes "sitting" to be a *terminus technicus* for receiving a vision (Ezek. 8:1; Mark 13:3). In 9:8 Hermas was forced to sit for the revelation and in 54:1 he is sitting when the *statio* would imply "standing" (see also 61:1; 111:1).

The identification of the shepherd is most difficult. In Similitude IX the archangels are glorious men (80:1; 89:8), but so are other beings (83:2). The glorious man is the Son of God (84:1; 89:8). Furthermore, the most obvious shepherd figure in early Christianity is Christ himself (Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 2:25; 5:4; John 10:11-14; cf. Ezek. 34). The author never identifies the shepherd with the Son, but the function of the shepherd is highly Christological—in terms of this book (rightly Giet pp. 181-185, 224). According to chapter 59, the Son is the presence of the holy Spirit in flesh without defilement (59:1). The Christological function is to guide man in the keeping of the holy Spirit without defilement (e.g., the giving of the Mandates; see 69:2; 69:3). Failing this, the Christological function is to bring repentance which leads to life guided by the holy Spirit (47:6 f.; 49:1-3; 91:3). In the Shepherd this latter function is assigned to the angel of repentance who is elsewhere identified with the shepherd (25:7; 47:7; 49:1; 78:1; 91:3; 100:5; 101:4; 110:1). The Christological symbols in

came to test me and I said to him, "But who are you? For I know," I said, "to whom I have been entrusted." He said to me, "Do you not recognize me?" "No," said I. "I," he said, "am the shepherd to whom you have been entrusted." 4. While he still spoke his appearance was changed and I recognized him as that one to whom I had been entrusted, and at once I was confused and fear seized me, and I was completely overcome by grief because I had answered him so wickedly and foolishly. 5. And he answered and said to me, "Do not be confused, but be strengthened in my commandments which I am about to give you. For I was sent," he said, "so that I might show you again everything which you saw before, the main points, those which are beneficial to you. So then, first of all, you write down my commandments and parables; but the other things you shall write just as I show them to you. Therefore," he said, "I am commanding you to write

the book are multiple and conflicting: the glorious man (89:8); the portico and rock (89:1); the law (69:2); Michael (69:3); the angel of the Lord (69:3); the glorious angel (69:3); a slave (by analogy, 58:2). So while no specific identification of the shepherd is made, one must conclude that the residence of the shepherd with Hermas (vs. 2; 11:2; 114:5) is the victory of the angel of righteousness (ch. 36) or the holy Spirit (ch. 33) and therefore the fulfillment of the Christological function, which results in the giving of the Mandates (vs. 5).

Attempts have been made to identify the shepherd here with Hermes and Poimandres of the Hermetic literature. Comparable is his role as revelator (Poimandres 3), his size or impression (Poimandres 1), and his change of appearance (Poimandres 4), but the functions are not comparable and the Christological nature of the shepherd figure is overwhelming evidence for a Jewish-Christian origin (see pp. 17-18).

25:2. The reverend angel is in charge of the justification of the repentant (33:7) and relates to the function of the glorious angel (57:4; 78:3; 111:1?; but see 66:1). These are not simply functions of angels as in intertestamental Judaism (Enoch 40:9), but Christological functions assigned by the author to the various angels of his Jewish-Christian literary form (Dibelius p. 494).

25:3. Hermas claims to know to whom he has been entrusted yet does not recognize the shepherd. When the appearance of the shepherd changes, he then recognizes his guardian. Dibelius p. 495 sees here a Hellenistic assumption that one sees in his guardian angel his own self (e.g., Acts of Thomas 54, 57?), but the examples are unconvincing. The form of a changing revelator is relatively common in the

first the commandments and the parables, so that you may read them immediately and be able to keep them." 6. So then I wrote down the commandments and parables just as he had commanded me. 7. If when you hear these things you keep them and live by them and do them with a clean heart, you will receive from the Lord whatever he has promised you. But if you hear and do not repent, but still add to your sins, you will receive from the Lord the opposite. The shepherd, the angel of repentance, has commanded me to write all these things in this way.

Bible (Judg. 13:18-21; Luke 24:31; John 20:16) and is used here to show that Hermas was once blessed with the presence of the holy Spirit, but had fallen into sin, and only now has repented, received again the Spirit in the form of the shepherd, and can bear the revelation of the Mandates (78:3).

25:5. As indicated by the rest of the work, the role of the commandments is to strengthen the repentant (69:3) or punish the unrepentant (vs. 7). The shepherd does not repeat the material of the first four visions, except for the message of repentance. Either this is an editorial addition to include the tower vision of Similitude IX and connect Vision V to Visions I-IV (Giet pp. 98, 100) or else the *ha eides proteron panta* refers to the previous relationship of Hermas to the angel and not to the visions at all.

Joly accepted the unsupported reading of the Rendel Harris Papyri, no. 128, *su oun*, to begin the third sentence of verse 5. See G. D. Kilpatrick in *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1947), 204 f.

The *ta hetera* following the commandments and parables likely is an editorial addition to connect Similitude IX to the main work. The dictation of the shepherd appears to close at 77:5, but there he promises to show *ta loipa* (Sim. IX) later (see pp. 14-15).

25:7. As noted above, the angel of repentance is identified with the shepherd in this verse and throughout the work. The angel of repentance is not the invention of Hermas, but is identified as the fourth archangel, Phanuel, in Enoch 40:9 (see Daniélou p. 186, and F. Stier, *Gott und Sein Engel im Alten Testament* [Münster, 1934], 94-96). But here the angels are subordinate to the Christological functions (see 89:8).

THE MANDATES

Mandate I

Believe in God (26:1-2)

26 "First of all, believe that God is one, who created and completed all things [cf. Eph. 3:9] and made all that is from that which is not [cf. 2 Macc. 7:28] and contains all things, and who

26:1-2. The first Mandate contains the basic faith (the two tablets) of the author—in terms of theology: (a) faith in God the creator (3:4; 8:1; 12:1; 47:2; 53:4; 58:2; 59:2, 5; 66:4; 89:2; 91:5; 100:4), and (b) faith in God the redeemer or renewer (1:6). In terms of ethics: self-control which results from faith in (fear of) God (2:4; 7:2; 16:4, 7; 35:1; 38:1-12; 54:5; 92:2).

26:1. The phrase "to create from nothing" is normally used in Jewish-Christian circles to indicate the gift of new life (2 Baruch 48:8; Philo in *De specialibus legibus* IV, 187; Rom. 4:17; 2 Clem. 1:8).

26:2. *Enkrateia* is the most central motif in the ethics of the Shepherd. It stands second to faith in every virtue list (16:4, 7; 92:2). For some it marks the development of asceticism (Peterson in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 368; A. Baumeister, *Die Ethik des Pastor Hermas* [Freiburg, 1912], 58) or early Catholicism (Dibelius p. 498). But the author does not hold to asceticism, nor is his use in the later church by ascetics (rightly A. d'Alès, *L'édit de Calliste* [Paris, 1914], 99); neither does he develop a discipline of Stoic emotional self-control (see 2 Clem. 15:1). Self-control is that faith-response of man to God which results in the defeat of the spirit of evil and the presence of the holy Spirit (38:1; note the development of faith, fear, and self-control again in chs. 36-38, as well as 54:5). For Hermas it is not a legal demand, but the condition of faithful man, quite like the nature of the Spirit in the Son (59:1) which results in fruits of righteousness (38:8-10). That *enkrateia* cannot be asceticism or Stoicism (control of the passions by mind or spirit) is shown in 38:8-10. There the author urges the Christian *not* to be self-controlled in doing good. So self-control is not spiritual discipline but victory over the spirit of evil.

LIVING TO GOD. The resultant of self-control and keeping the

alone is uncontained. 2. So have faith in him and fear him, and fearing him be self-controlled. Keep these things and you will cast away all evil from yourself, and you will put on every virtue

commandment or mandates (being faithful and not double minded; so Klevinghaus p. 116) is that the believer will live to God (*zēn tōi theōi*). This is the author's constant formula for the nature of redeemed life ([the question mark indicates the object *theos* is lacking] 16:5?; 26:2; 27:6; 28:3?; 28:5; 30:3?; 30:4; 31:6?; 32:3; 36:10; 37:4; 5; 38:4; 6, 11, 12; 39:12; 42:4; 45:2; 46:1; 49:3, 5; 54:5; 60:4; 61:4; 62:4?; 68:6?; 68:7?; 68:9?; 73:1?; 74:1?; 74:5?; 77:1, 4; 91:3?; 93:4?; 97:4; 98:2?; 98:4?; 99:4; 100:3?; 103:5?; 105:8; 106:3; 107:5; 110:1; 113:4?; 124:1?). The formula has, for the most part, been taken eschatologically, along with the so-called eschatological nature of the visions (W. J. Wilson in *Harvard Theological Review* 20 [1927], 36; A. Baumeister, *Die Ethik des Pastor Hermas*, 23). But just as the *thlipsis* was not simply eschatological (see 23:5-6), neither is life with God only an eschatological possibility (so F. Barberet in *Recherches de science religieuse* 46 [1958], 384 f.; Giet p. 269). The definition of life with God—life which results from keeping the commandments—is present (37:5). In the parable of the sticks to “live to God” is repentance (77:1) and every believer is in some state of life or death (68:9; 74:1, 5) except for the *dipsychos*, who is neither alive nor dead (73:1), i.e., not faithful, but not lost. Those who have fallen asleep may be brought to life through the water (93:6; life here is eschatological), but one may be baptized alive and also come alive (93:6) so that “living to God” follows baptism as well as repentance. As a resultant of faith and obedience, “living to God” is also eschatological (105:8), but the references to purely eschatological life are few (Giet p. 269, Barberet p. 384).

The nature of “living for God” is also difficult. It is not strictly ethical “living for God” or “living to please God,” though keeping the commandments and living to God is described ethically in 54:5 (the service is *not* fasting; Barberet to contrary, p. 388). If “living to God” were service then the opposite, “dying to God” (45:3?; 72:4; 73:3?; 74:1?; 76:2?; 95:2?; 103:2?; 103:8?; 105:5 f.) has no meaning. Lelong pp. 73 f. prefers both “living for God” and “eternal life” as meanings of the formula. But the primary nature of “living to God” is adherence to the community of life (rightly Barberet, p. 389). The result of faith, repentance, and self-control is to live in the tower (chs. 5; 93; 107) which is the church (see 10:5) or the kingdom (89:3-8; 90:2; 92:3; 93:2-4; 97:2 f.; 106:2; 108:2). In both the parable of the sticks and the parable of the tower it is those who live who enter the tower (67:16-69:8; 93:7). Death to God is primarily alienation from the community (72:4; 74:1; 75:1-4; 97:2; 103:3) and existence outside the tower (73:3; 90:9).

of righteousness and you will live to God, if you keep this commandment."

Mandate II

Be simple and innocent (27:1-7)

27 He said to me, "Have simplicity and become innocent, and you will be as little children who do not know the evil that destroys the life of men. 2. First, do not defame anyone nor listen gladly to one who does defame [cf. Jas. 4:11]. Otherwise you who listen will also be guilty of the sin of the one who defames, if you believe the defamation which you have heard; for by believing it, you yourself will have something against your brother. So in that way you will be guilty of the sin of the one who defames. 3. Defamation is evil; it is a restless demon, never at peace, but always dwells in dissension. So refrain from it and you will always be at peace with everyone. 4. And put on reverence, in which there is no evil reason for offense, but all is smooth and cheerful. Do good, and from your labors which God has given you give generously to all who are in need, not considering to

The identical phrase is used of martyrs in 4 Maccabees 16:25 (*zōsin tōi theōi*), but the Shepherd is closer to the meaning and usage of "live to God" in the NT (Luke 20:38; Rom. 6:10 f.; 2 Cor. 5:15; Gal. 2:19).

27:1-7. The second commandment calls for simplicity and innocence which, at first glance, appears to be an adaptation of the Two Ways ethic (T. Reuben 4:1; T. Simeon 4:5; T. Levi 13:1; T. Is-sachar 3:2-7:7; Barn. 19:2), but is used by this author to call for an end to dissensions in the church caused by defamations or gossip (vss. 2 f.) and partiality (vss. 4-6).

27:1. *Haplotēs*, simplicity, is important to the author (2:4; 7:2; 9:9; 17:1; 27:7; 101:2 f; and as a virtue 16:5-7; 92:2) because it is the opposite of *dipsychia*, double mindedness. *Dipsychia* is calculating (see 39:1-12), but the one who is *haplotēs* acts without regard for advantages (defined in 101:2 f. and 106:1-3 as childlikeness; cf. Matt. 18:3; J. Robinson in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, ed. by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder [New York, 1962], 281, takes it to be moralistic self-assurance, but cf. Daniélou pp. 362-364).

27:2. The concern for *katalalia*, defamation, is taken from Jewish-Christianity (Jas. 3:8; 4:11; Rom. 1:30; 1 Clem. 30:3; 2 Clem. 4:3), a

whom you should give or to whom you should not give. Give to all, for God wishes that from his own gifts there be a giving to all. 5. So those who receive will give account to God as to why they took it and for what purpose; for those who are in distress when they receive something will not be condemned, while those who receive something in hypocrisy will be punished. 6. So the one who gives is guiltless, for as he received from the Lord a service to fulfill, he fulfilled it sincerely, not trying to distinguish to whom he should give or not give. So this service, sincerely fulfilled, becomes glorious before God. So the one who serves sincerely will live to God. 7. So keep this commandment, as I have told you, so that the repentance of you and your family may be found sincere and pure and innocent and undefiled."

Mandate III

Love truth (28:1-5)

28 Again he said to me, "Love truth, and let nothing but truth proceed from your mouth, so that the spirit which God caused to dwell in this flesh will be found truthful by all men, and in that way the Lord who dwells in you will be glorified because the Lord is truthful in every word and there is nothing false in him. 2. So those who falsify reject the Lord and become defrauders of the Lord, not returning to him the deposit which they received. For they received from him a spirit free of falseness. If they give this back as a false one, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and have become defrauders." 3. So when I heard these

problem for Hermas because of the dissension it created (73:2; 100:2 f.; 103:7 f.).

27:5. Impartiality in giving, with the threat of judgment on the recipient, parallels precisely the teaching of Didache 1:5 f. In the Two Ways note Didache 4:7 and Barnabas 19:11 (cf. 51:5; 101:2).

28:1-5. The author anticipates his teaching on the Two Spirits (ch. 36) and the purity of that flesh in which the holy Spirit dwells (chs. 33; 34; 59:7), by calling for the virtue of truth (common in the NT and Jewish-Christianity; T. Reuben 3:9; T. Dan. 2:1; Eph. 4:25; Did. 5:2; Barn. 20:2) as a resultant of the victory of the holy Spirit (vss. 1 f.). The practical implication of truth for the congregation of Hermas is honesty in business practices (vs. 5).

things I cried a great deal. And when he saw me crying, he said, "Why are you crying?" "Sir," I said, "because I do not know whether I can be saved." "Why?" said he. "Because, sir," I said, "I have never yet in my life spoken a true word, but I have always lived deceitfully with everyone and I have represented my falseness as truth to all men, and no one ever contradicted me, but believed my word. Sir," said I, "having done these things, how then can I live?" 4. "Your judgment," he said, "is right and true, for you ought as God's servant to live in truth, and an evil conscience ought not to dwell with the spirit of truth, nor bring grief to a spirit which is reverent and true." "Never before, sir," I said, "have I heard such words so precisely." 5. "Well now," he said, "you do hear. Keep them so that even the former falsifications which you told in your business, when they are found truthful, will become trustworthy. For they also can become trustworthy. If you keep these things and from now on speak only the truth, you will be able to gain for yourself life, and whoever hears this commandment and refrains from the evilness of lying, will live to God."

Mandate IV

Guard chastity (29:1-11)

1.

29 "I command you," he said, "to guard chastity, and do not let anything occur in your heart about another man's wife or about some immorality or about any such evil things even similar to these. For if you do this, you commit a great sin. But if you

28:4. The extreme dishonesty of Hermas and the newness of his understanding of sin within the baptized Christian is a literary preparation for the central message of the book, repentance, in Mandate IV (though cf. 7:1; 14:7).

29:1-11. *Hagneia*, chastity or purity, is also a common concern of the Jewish-Christian homily (T. Reuben 4:5; T. Judah 14:18; and especially T. Joseph 10:1-3; Barn. 19:4), and is used here to establish a case analogy for the teaching on repentance in chapter 31. In fact, in the development of the homily, the teaching on repentance (30:1-31:7) has been inserted into the teaching on chastity (chs. 29; 32; see Dibelius pp. 504 f.).

always keep your mind on your own wife, you will never go wrong. 2. For if this desire arises up in your heart, you will sin, and if other things just as evil rise up, you commit sin. For to a servant of God this desire is a great sin, and if anyone commits this evil act, he brings death upon himself. 3. So watch out; refrain from this desire; for where reverence dwells, there iniquity ought not to rise up in the heart of a righteous man." 4. I said to him, "Sir, let me ask you a few questions." "Speak up," he said. "Sir," I said, "if a man has a wife who is faithful in the Lord and he discovers her in some adultery, does the man then sin if he continues to live with her?" 5. "As long as he knows nothing of it," said he, "he does not sin, but if the husband knows of her sin and the wife does not repent, but persists in her evil, and the husband continues to live with her, he becomes guilty of her sin and a partner in her adultery." 6. "What then, sir," I said, "should the husband do if the wife persists in this passion?" "Let him divorce her," he said, "and let the husband live by himself; but if when he has divorced her he marries another woman, he also commits adultery" [cf. Mark 10:11; Matt. 5:32; 19:9]. 7. "So, sir," said I, "after the woman has been divorced, if she repents and wishes to be returned to her own husband, will she not be taken back?" 8. "Yes indeed," he said, "if the husband does not take her back, he sins and brings upon himself a great sin. At least it is necessary to take back the one who has sinned and repented, but not often, for there is one repentance for the servants of God. So in case of repentance, the husband ought not to marry. This course of action is valid for both wife and husband. 9. Not only," said he, "is it adultery if anyone defiles his flesh, but also whoever does anything similar to what the heathen do com-

29:8. In his teaching that the divorced man or woman who remarries commit adultery (vs. 6), Hermas follows the NT teaching (Mark 10:11 f.), but here he introduces the necessity of repentance and remarriage when possible. It is this counsel which aroused the wrath of the Montanist Tertullian (*De pudicitia* 10) to call the Shepherd a lover of adulterers. While the teaching of the Shepherd on repentance could lead to a similar teaching in marriage relationships, this analogy should not be taken as a definitive statement on marriage and divorce. Nowhere else in the book does the author give so explicit a casuistry; this is simply an analogy for repentance based on the commandment for chastity.

mits adultery. So if anyone persists in such deeds and does not repent, avoid him and do not live with him, lest you also share in his sin. 10. That is why I order you to live by yourselves, whether husband or wife. For in such cases repentance is possible. 11. So I," said he, "am not giving a pretext for this matter to end in this way, but in order that the one who has sinned will sin no longer. Concerning his former sin there is one who is able to heal, for it is he who has power over all things."

Further repentance is possible (30:1-31:7)

2.

30 I asked him again saying, "Since the Lord considers me worthy enough for you to live with me always, endure yet a few

The author is well aware that the promise of repentance has the extreme danger of developing into an accepted system of repentance which could cut the nerve of the Christian life (vs. 11). So, as will be shown in chapter 31, the author never promises repentance, but only offers it as a possibility to the sinner. Repentance is possible for the divorcee, but it is not promised to the married person who contemplates divorce. This leads the author to say to the divorced person (the sinner), "There is one repentance for the servants of God" (see 6:5).

30:1-31:7. In these two chapters the author presents the thesis of the book. His thesis is not immediately understood (30:1); but the believer who has repented and received forgiveness can understand it very well (30:2). Triggered by teachers who claim there is no repentance (31:1), the author agrees that the believer knows only the command of perfection (31:2), but the sinner may throw himself on the all-merciful Lord (31:5).

REPENTANCE IN THE SHEPHERD. Repentance is the primary concern of the author and it is this very teaching which has become the historical battleground around his work. Protestant scholars have uniformly condemned his teaching as early Catholic. For the mediocrity of his thinking B. H. Streeter has called him the "White Rabbit" of the Apostolic Fathers (*The Primitive Church* [New York, 1929], 209) while Laeuchli p. 110 prefers "black sheep"). In his teaching on repentance Hermas is either too lax, and therefore destructive of the NT teaching (Goppelt in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, ed. by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder [New York, 1962], 200 f.; T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* [Edinburgh, 1948], 111 f., 115, 124; H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study* [London, 1902], 25; Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* [Chicago, 1942], 47; and probably Dibelius pp. 510-512), or else he has

more words from me, since I do not understand anything and my heart has been hardened [cf. Mark 6:52; 8:17] by my former deeds. Make me understand, because I am very foolish and I understand absolutely nothing." 2. He answered me and said, "I," he said, "am in charge of repentance and I give understanding to everyone who repents. Or does it not seem to you," he said, "that this repentance is itself understanding? To repent," he said, "is great understanding. For the one who sins understands that he has done evil before the Lord [Judg. 2:11; 3:12, etc.], and the deed which he has done rises up in his heart, and he repents and

converted the gospel to moralism and asceticism (J. A. Robinson, *Bar-nabas, Hermas, and the Didache* [London, 1920], 28; Klevinghaus p. 114; Laeuchli pp. 94-99, 153-162; A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* [Philadelphia, 1953], p. 262).

The Catholic discussion has proceeded along different lines. Some have maintained that the early church did not recognize the possibility of postbaptismal sin, that Hermas does propose a new teaching which is, so to speak, a jubilee on repentance (P. Battifol in *Revue biblique* 10 [1901], 337-351; Lelong, pp. lx-lxxv; J. Hoh, *Die kirchliche Busse im zweiten Jahrhundert* [Breslau, 1932], 10-34; Joly pp. 26, 160). Others, following d'Alès (*L'édit de Calliste* [Paris, 1914], pp. 52-113), have taken the demand for perfection to be the teaching to the catechumen, while the teaching on repentance is for Christians "*tombés après le baptême*" (d'Alès, p. 113; P. Galtier, *Aux origines du sacrement de pénitence* [Rome, 1951], 133; B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick* [New York, 1964], 26-35; accepted by F. L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers* [London, 1960], 26). For this latter group the urgency of repentance and its oneness (29:8; 31:6) is for pastoral and psychological purposes, but K. Rahner (in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77 [1955], 400), S. Giet (in *Studia Patristica*, III [Berlin, 1961], 214-218) and J. Grotz (*Die Entwicklung des Bussstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* [Freiburg, 1955], 13-70) take the one opportunity to be due to the nearness of the *eschaton* for the author (on the literature see Joly in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 157 [1955], 32-49).

As we have seen, the position of Hermas is neither legalism nor laxity (see 26:2). It is more correct to take the admonition to perfection as incumbent on all believers (Matt. 5:48), and the possibility of repentance for "fallen Christians" only. This is clear in chapter 31! Those who teach there is no other repentance are correct (see Dibelius p. 511) according to the Shepherd (31:2). However, when one is in sin, alienated from God, there is repentance (31:4 f.). But this is not a system or teaching on repentance—when you repent, you must repent on the assumption that forgiveness brings with it the command

no longer commits the evil deed, but does good deeds all the more and humbles and torments his own soul because he sinned. So you see repentance is great understanding." 3. "So that is why, sir," I said, "I inquire so precisely from you into everything; first, because I am a sinner, that I might know what things to do in order to live, for my sins are many and diverse." 4. "You will live," he said, "if you keep my commandments and walk in them. And whoever hears these commandments and keeps them will live to God."

3.

31 "Sir," I said, "I would like to question you still further."

of perfection (31:6), otherwise repentance is in vain (of no advantage). For Hermas, repentance is the dialectic between the perfection of man in the kingdom (church, tower) and God's mercy for man caught between the kingdom and the world.

Though poorly stated at times, the teaching of the Shepherd moves on this dialectic without fail. The opponents of the Shepherd reveal this. The teachers of 31:1 (and 72:5; 99:1-4) correctly teach that there is no postbaptismal repentance (1 John 3:4-10), but they err by saying there is no repentance for the fallen. In that sense *they* have the new teaching (Rahner in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77 [1955], 398), for the NT faith is constantly aware of the conflict of man in this age and his redemption comes only by the constant mercy of God (1 John 1:5-10; Rom. 7). The other opponent is the *dipsychos* who would manipulate the mercy of God to avoid the commandments (see 43:4 and 29:11; 31:6; 39:1-12; 46:4; 47:4-6; 72:2; 73:1 f.; 98:1-4; 103:6). He has made of repentance a future promise and, in that way, endangered the Christian existence.

There is no need to make this dialectic a chronological and pedagogical device. Both the catechumen and the mature Christian stand under the admonition to perfection and the need for the mercy of God. The urgency and once-for-all-ness of repentance (6:5; 13:5; 29:8; 31:6; 91:2; 109:1) result from the struggle of the author with those who avoid repentance and trample on the mercy of God (109:5; cf. 72:2). When they repent, it must be wholeheartedly (3:2; 6:4; 21:4; 23:5; 33:7; 35:5; 39:2; 49:1, 2; 66:4; 72:2; 77:3; 110:3) or it is in vain.

30:2. Only the one who has experienced repentance can understand its dialectic: the standard and counsel of the church is perfection only, but still there is the mercy of God (see 40:6; 99:4; cf. 57:3 f.).

31:1. The discussion here is literary and not to be taken as a

"Speak," he said. "Sir," I said, "I have heard from certain teachers that there is no other repentance except that one when we went down into water and received forgiveness of our former sins." 2. He said to me, "You have heard correctly, for that is so. For the one who has received forgiveness of sins ought never to sin again, but live in purity. 3. But since you inquire so precisely into everything, I will show this to you also, but not for giving a pretext for those who are about to believe or to those who just now believe in the Lord. For those who just now believe, or are about to believe, do not have repentance of sins, but they have forgiveness of their former sins. 4. So for those who were called before these days the Lord established repentance; for since the Lord knows the heart and knows everything beforehand, he knew the weakness of men and the cunning of the devil, that he would do something evil to the servants of God and act wickedly toward them. 5. So being full of compassion, the Lord had mercy on what he had made and established this repentance, and authority over this repentance was given to me. 6. But I tell you," he said, "after that great and holy calling, if anyone sins who has been tempted by the devil, he has one repentance. But if he continually sins and repents, it is of no advantage to such a man, for he will hardly live." 7. I said to him, "I was given new life when I heard these things so precisely from you; for I know that if I no longer continue in my sin, I will be saved." "You will be saved," he said, "and everyone else who does these things."

"school of Hermas" (Peterson in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 362). Nevertheless, the teacher who does not believe in repentance is a very real opponent (72:5; 99:1-4), as is the teacher (prophet) who advises double-mindedness (ch. 43). Without further evidence neither set of teachers can be identified.

31:3. There is no doubt that Hermas makes a phenomenological distinction between the forgiveness of conversion and the forgiveness of repentance. In this instance he uses *aphesis* (31:1, 2, 3; 32:4) for the former and *metanoia* for the latter, but 32:4 shows this is no absolute distinction. To say that Hermas has a way or system of *metanoia* while the teachers know only *aphesis* would destroy the dialectic of Christian life as the author sees it (against K. Rahner in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77 [1955], 401 f.; and K. Lake in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 [1911], 30).

Chastity in widowhood (32:1-4)

4.

32 I asked him again saying, "Sir, since you endured me once before, make this clear to me also." "Speak," he said. "Sir, if a wife," I said, "or, on the other hand, a husband falls asleep, and one of them marries, the one who marries does not sin, does he?" 2. "He does not sin," he said, "but if he lives by himself, he gains greater honor for himself and great glory with the Lord [cf. 1 Cor. 7:35-40]; but even if he marries he does not sin. 3. So preserve chastity and reverence and you will live to God. From now on, from the day you were entrusted to me, keep these things which I tell you and I am going to tell you, and I will dwell in your house. 4. And there will be forgiveness for your former trespasses if you keep my commandments; and there will also be forgiveness for everyone who keeps these commandments of mine and lives in this purity."

Mandate V

Be patient (33:1-7)

1.

33 "Be patient," he said, "and understanding, and you will overcome all evil deeds and do great righteousness. 2. For if you are patient, the holy Spirit that dwells in you will be pure, not hindered by another spirit which is evil, but dwelling in a spacious room will rejoice and be glad with the vessel in which it dwells and will serve God with great cheerfulness, having peace with itself. 3. But if any ill temper enters, the holy Spirit, which is

32:1-4. The teaching on chastity is completed, following the insertion of the teaching on repentance. Like Paul in 1 Corinthians 7:39 f., he urges the widow (or widower) to remain unmarried; nevertheless, marriage is certainly proper.

33:1-7. Like simplicity, *makrothumos* (2:3; 34:3, 8; 38:10; 73:6; as a virtue 92:2; cf. 77:1) is a necessary resultant of repentance (and a virtue of the Two Ways, Did. 3:8). The author argues for it on the basis of the Two Spirits of man (36:1-10): that patience encourages the presence of the holy Spirit while ill temper drives it out (ch. 34).

delicate, is discomfited immediately, and since it does not have a clean place, it seeks to leave the place. For it is choked by the evil spirit and it does not have room, since it was defiled by ill temper, to serve the Lord as it wishes. For the Lord dwells in patience, but the devil in ill temper. 4. So when both spirits dwell in the same place, it is of no advantage and bad for that man in whom they dwell. 5. For if you take a very little bit of wormwood and pour it into a jar of honey, is not all of the honey spoiled, and is not so much honey ruined by the very least amount of wormwood, and does it not destroy the sweetness of the honey, and it no longer has the same favor with its owner because it has been made bitter and it has lost its usefulness? But if wormwood is not put into the honey, the honey is found sweet and becomes useful to its owner. 6. You see that patience is very sweet, even more than the honey, and is useful to the Lord, and he dwells in it. But ill temper is bitter and useless. If then ill temper is mixed with patience, patience is defiled, and its prayer is no longer useful to God." 7. "Sir," I said, "I wish to know the power of ill temper so that I may guard against it." "Indeed," he said, "if you and your family do not guard against it, you have destroyed all hope. But guard against it, for I am with you and all who repent with all their heart will refrain from it; for I will be with them and I will protect them, for they have all been made righteous by the most revered angel.

The power of ill temper (34:1-8)

2.

34 "Now hear," said he, "about the power of ill temper, how evil it is, and how it misleads the servants of God by its power,

34:1-8. The problem of *oxucholia* is a special concern of Hermas (also 36:4 f.; 40:2; 41:3 f.; as a vice 40:1; 92:3) because it leads to double-mindedness (vs. 7) and drives away the holy Spirit (precisely as in T. Dan 3:1-4:7). It is not the Stoic concern for a dangerous passion (lack of anger, etc., makes men who are *eleutheroi apo pantōn*, Epictetus, *Diss.* III, 13:11; cf. Dibelius p. 517). It is probable chapters 33 and 34 were separate commands joined by the editorial sentence in 34:8 (and vs. 3?).

34:5. The analogy of the person as a *skeuos* or *keramion* (33:2, 5;

and how it makes them stray from righteousness. But it does not lead astray those who are filled with faith nor is it able to do anything to them, for my power is with them; but it does lead the empty headed and double minded astray. 2. For whenever it sees such men leading a quiet life, it maneuvers itself into the heart of that man, and for no reason at all the man or the woman becomes bitter, because of business matters, or concerning food or some trifle, or concerning a certain friend, or concerning giving or receiving, or some such foolish matters, for all these things are foolish and empty and senseless and harmful to the servants of God. 3. But patience is great and firm and possesses power that is strong and sturdy and thrives in a great expanse, is cheerful, glad, free from care, glorifying the Lord at all times [Ps. 33:2; cf. Tob. 4:19], having no bitterness in itself, remaining always meek and quiet. So this patience dwells with those who have a faith that is whole. 4. But ill temper is first of all foolish, impetuous and senseless. Then from foolishness comes bitterness, from bitterness anger, from anger wrath, and from wrath implacable fury; so this fury, consisting as it does of such evil things, becomes a great and incurable sin. 5. For whenever all these spirits dwell in one vessel, where also dwells the holy Spirit, that vessel does not hold them, but overflows. 6. So the delicate spirit, which does not customarily dwell with an evil spirit, nor with harshness, leaves such a man and seeks to dwell with gentleness and quiet. 7. Thus whenever it departed from that man, where it was dwelling, that man became devoid of the spirit of righteousness and from then on, since he has been filled with evil spirits, he vacillates in everything he does, being pulled here and there by the evil spirits, and totally blinded to a good disposition. So it goes then with all those who are ill tempered. 8. So refrain then from ill temper, the most evil spirit; but put on patience and resist ill temper and bitterness, and you will be found with a reverence that is beloved by the Lord. See to it then that you never neglect this commandment; for if you master this commandment, you will be able also to keep the remaining commandments which I am going to give you. Be strong and made powerful by these, and all who wish to live by them will be made powerful."

43:13; 48:3) in which the two spirits struggle is found elsewhere in Two Spirits literature (T. Naphtali 2:1-5; 8:6; Barn. 7:3).

Mandate VI

The power of faith (35:1-5)

1.

35 "I commanded you," he said, "in the first commandment to keep faith and fear and self-control." "Yes, sir," said I. "But now," he said, "I wish to show you their force also, in order that you might know what force and power each of them possesses, for their powers are twofold. They relate then to righteousness and unrighteousness. 2. So trust righteousness, but do not trust unrighteousness, for righteousness has a straight road, but unrighteousness a crooked one. But you follow the straight and level road, and avoid the crooked. 3. For the crooked road has not been established by use, but is pathless and has many obstacles and is rough and thorny. So it is harmful to those who travel on it. 4. Let those who travel on the straight road walk on level ground and do not stumble, for it is neither rough nor thorny. So you see that it is better to travel on this road." 5. "It pleases me, sir," I said, "to travel on this road." "Go on," he said, "and whoever turns to the Lord with his whole heart [Jer. 24:7; Joel 2:12] will travel on it."

The two angels in man (36:1-10)

2.

36 "Now hear," he said, "about faith. There are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of evil." 2. "How then, sir," I said, "will I know their powers, since both angels live with

35:1-5. The author returns to his original triad of *pistis*, *phobos*, and *enkrateia* (ch. 26; cf. 54:5), which he will now describe separately in terms of the two spirits in man (chs. 36-38).

35:2. To begin his analysis of man, the author uses the traditional Two Ways (*hodoi duo*, Doctr. 1:1; Barn. 18:1; Did. 1:1; T. Asher 1:3), but immediately switches to Two Spirits (36:1). His entire view of man, repentance, and Christ depends on the Two Spirits system, not the Two Ways.

36:1-10. The homily on faith is used not for a discussion of theology, but for anthropology; the two spirits of man. As noted before (p. 8) an analysis of the choice before man (vs. 1), and a list of the vices (vs.

me?" 3. "Listen," he said, "and understand. The angel of righteousness is delicate and modest and meek and quiet. So whenever this one rises up in your heart, he speaks with you at once concerning righteousness, sincerity, reverence, contentment, and every righteous deed, and every glorious virtue. Whenever all these things come up in your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. So these are the works of the angel of righteousness. So trust this one and his works. 4. Now observe the works of the evil angel. First of all, he is ill tempered and bitter and foolish, and his works are evil, destroying the servants of God. So whenever this one comes into your heart, know him by his works" [cf. Matt. 7:16]. 5. "Sir," I said, "I do not understand how I will recognize him." "Listen," he said. "Whenever ill temper or bitterness comes over you, know that he is in you; then comes the desire for many affairs and the extravagance of many kinds of foods and intoxicating drinks, much carousing and various and unnecessary indulgences and desires for women, and covetousness and great arrogance and pretention and whatever things resemble and are similar to them. So whenever these things come

5) and virtues (vs. 3) resulting from this choice are the heart of the Jewish-Christian homily. Structurally the effects of righteousness and evil still follow the Two Way analysis of man in 35:2-4, but the anthropology of Hermas depends on the two spirits or two angels (vs. 1).

ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE SHEPHERD. It has been generally assumed that the Mandates (especially VI-VIII) are based on a Two Ways system utilized by that Jewish-Christian ethos from which emanated Didache, Doctrina, Barnabas, Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Daniélou pp. 357-362; Dibelius pp. 520 f.; Joly pp. 44 f.; Giet pp. 202 f.; P. Lluís-Font in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 39 [1963], 92-94). But this ethos is not a uniform picture: we find in the Scrolls (1QS 3:18; *sty rwchwth*) and in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. Judah 20:1-2) two spirits rather than two ways (cf. Sir. 15:14; 4 Ezra 3:21). This distinction has been noted (Lluís-Font p. 89; Daniélou p. 358; Audet p. 66), but only rarely used as a basis for understanding the Shepherd (though see O. J. F. Seitz in *New Testament Studies* 6 [1959-60], 82-94 for anthropology and Audet pp. 73-75 for Christology). Lluís-Font, in fact, claims the two views were joined together in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and Barnabas (18:1; Lluís-Font p. 89) before Hermas used it.

The Two Ways is an ethical and moral homily. It places before man

to your heart, know that the angel of evil is in you. 6. So when you recognize his works, shun him and do not trust him, for his works are evil and harmful to the servants of God! Here you have the powers of both angels; understand them and trust the angel of righteousness. 7. But shun the angel of evil, because his teaching is evil in every case. For if any man is faithful and the thought of that angel comes to his heart, that man or woman will surely commit a sin. 8. But again, even if a man or a woman is very wicked, and there comes to his heart the deeds of the angel of righteousness, of a necessity he will surely do something good. 9. So you see," he said, "that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, to bid farewell to the angel of evil. 10. This commandment shows things concerning faith, so that you might believe the works of the angel of righteousness, and by doing them live to God, but believe that the works of the angel of evil are bad, so by not doing them you will live to God."

two choices and the results of those choices (Barn. 18:1-20:2; Did. 1:1-5:2). The problem is the will of man, not the nature of man. But in the Two Spirits structure the problem is in man: God created him with two spirits or angels, much like the *yetzer hara'* and the *yetzer hatob* of later Judaism (W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* [London, 1955], 20-23). In this structure man does not have a choice, but needs redemption (see 3:1; T. Judah 20:5; 1QS 3:1-7; 4:19-21). This is the source of the teaching on repentance. If repentance were a change of mind it could be a future promise. But repentance is a divine gift, a victory over the spirit of evil (42:2; 49:2; 60:3 f.; 109:4; 111:3) concomitant with man's choice to be self-disciplined (ch. 38, see 26:2). The goal of man, life in the tower or kingdom, is one in which the righteous spirit or holy Spirit dwells in man without defilement (59:7) and the work of Christ is precisely this victory (59:5-7) of the Spirit in the flesh. The good news for the author is the proclamation of this existence in the Son (69:2-4; rightly Audet pp. 72 f.), who has already in the Incarnation freed us from sin (58:3).

The anthropology of the Shepherd stems from a rather small element of Judaism which understands the problem of man as a battle between two spirits in him (so A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* [Philadelphia, 1966], pp. 48-50), a battle man can not control, but can refer to the Son who has won. The origin of this anthropology is not certain (perhaps the spirit of wisdom; Wisd. Sol. 1:4-6; 7:22; 9:17; see Lluís-Font pp. 95 f.; Audet p. 64), but it is certainly not in a direct relationship with any anthropology of the NT.

Mandate VII

Fear the Lord (37:1-5)

37 "Fear the Lord," he said, "and keep his commandments. So if you keep the commandments of God [Eccles. 12:13], you will be powerful in every action and your activity will be incomparable. For if you fear the Lord, you will do everything well. And this is the fear which you must have, and you will be saved. 2. Do not fear the devil, for if you fear the Lord you will overcome the devil, for there is no power in him. Where there is no power, neither is there fear; but where there is glorious power, there is also fear. For everyone who has power invokes fear, but the one who does not have power is scorned by all. 3. Fear the works of the devil because they are evil. So if you fear the Lord, you will fear the works of the devil and not do them, but avoid them. 4. So there are two sorts of fear. For if you want to do evil, fear the Lord and you will not do it; but, on the other hand, if you want to do good, fear the Lord and you will do it. So the fear of the Lord is strong and great and glorious. So fear the Lord and you will live to him; and whoever fears him and keeps his commandments will live to God." 5. "Why, sir," I said, "did you say concerning those who keep his commandments, 'They will live to God?'" "Because," he said, "all creation fears the Lord, but does not keep his commandments. So life with God belongs to those who fear him and keep his commandments. But those who do not keep his commandments have no life in them either."

37:1-5. The general Jewish-Christian "wisdom" term, fear of the Lord (Prov. 1:7; Job 28:28; Doctr 4:9; Did. 4:9; Barn. 10:11), which means "faith" and its inception, is a frequent term in the Mandates (26:2; 35:1; 37:3; 38:9; 40:6; 45:4; 46:1; 49:3; cf. 54:5; 62:5; 77:2) for the relationship of man to God which results in self-control and repentance. Here it is also used in relationship to the devil to create the most muddled passage in the Shepherd. Technically, if "fear of the Lord" is faith, then one ought not "fear the devil" (vs. 2). But actually in the Two Spirit system one does fear the spirit of evil (vs. 3; 36:6; 48:4). His attempt to put together these two meanings of fear leaves much to be desired (cf. also 47:6 f.).

Mandate VIII

Concerning self-control (38:1-12)

38 "I told you," he said, "that the creatures of God are twofold, for self-control is also twofold. For in some things it is necessary to exercise self-control, in others it is not." 2. "Let me know, sir," I said, "in what it is necessary to exercise self-control, and in what it is not." "Listen," he said. "Exercise self-control over what is evil, and do not do it; but do not be self-controlled in what is good, but do it. For if you exercise self-control with the good, so as not to do it, you do a great sin. But if you exercise self-control with evil, so as not to do it, you practice great righteousness. So exercise self-control over all evil and do that which is good." 3. "What, sir," I said, "are the evils over which it is necessary for us to exercise self-control?" "Listen," he said, "from adultery and immorality, from lawless carousing, from evil luxury, from many foods and extravagance of wealth, and boasting and haughtiness and arrogance, and from lying and defamation and hypocrisy, holding grudges and all blasphemy. 4. These actions are the most evil of all in the life of men. So over these works it is necessary for the servant of God to exercise self-control. For the one who does not exercise self-control over them is not able to live to God. Listen then also to what follows from them." 5. "Sir," I said, "are there still other evil deeds?" "Yes indeed," he said, "there are many over which it is necessary for the servant of God to exercise self-control: theft, lying, robbery, false witness, covetousness, evil desire, deceit, vainglory, ostentation, and whatever else is like these. 6. Does it not seem to you these are evil things?" "For the servants of God," I said, "they also are very evil." "For the one who is serving God, it is necessary to exercise self-control over all these things. So exercise self-control over all these things so that you will live to God and be enrolled with those who practice self-control in them. These then are the things over which it is necessary to be self-controlled. 7. But listen," he said, "to those things which do not require self-control, but which you do. Do not practice self-control in relation to good,

38:1-12. Using now the Two Spirit system of self-control (see 26:2) rather than the Two Ways and choice, he once again lists that

but do it." 8. "Show me the power also of the good things," I said, "so that I might live by them and serve them in order that by doing them I may be saved." "Listen," he said, "to the works that are good, which are necessary for you to do and not be restrained. 9. First of all is faith, fear of the Lord [Ps. 110:10; Prov. 1:7], love, harmony, words of righteousness, truth, patience; there is nothing in the life of men better than these. For if anyone keeps these things and does not practice self-control over them, he will be blessed in his life. 10. Then hear what follows these things; serving the widows, looking after orphans and those who are needy, delivering the servants of God from distress, being hospitable (for doing good is found in hospitality), resisting no one, being quiet, being more needy than all other men, revering the aged, practicing righteousness, protecting brotherhood, enduring insults, being patient, not bearing a grudge, encouraging those who are tired of life, not casting aside those who have stumbled from the faith, but converting and encouraging them, admonishing those who sin, not oppressing those who are in debt and in need, and whatever is like these things. 11. Does it seem to you," he said, "that these things are good?" "What, sir," I said, "is better than these things?" "Then live by them," he said, "and do not be restrained in relation to them, and you will live to God. 12. So keep this commandment; if you do good and do not exercise self-control over it, you will live to God, and all who do so will live to God. And again, if you do not evil and exercise self-control over it, you will live to God, and all who keep these commandments and live by them will live to God."

Mandate IX

Cast off double-mindedness (39:1-12)

39 He said to me, "Cast off from yourself double-mindedness and be not at all double minded about asking anything from God,

which is good (vss. 9 f.) and that which is evil (vss. 3, 5). Now one is to restrain that which is evil and release that which is good; the problem is discipline of that already there, not a choice between two external ways.

39:1-12. Having completed the affirmatives: faith, fear of the Lord, and self-control, the author now turns to the negative: double-minded-

by saying to yourself, 'How am I able to ask anything from the Lord and receive it, since I have sinned so much against him?' 2. Do not consider these things, but turn to the Lord with all your heart [Jer. 24:7; Joel 2:12] and without hesitating, ask of him, and you will know his great compassion, because he will not forsake you, but will fulfill the request of your soul. 3. For God is not as men, who hold grudges, but he seeks not vengeance and has compassion on what he has made. 4. So cleanse your heart of all the worthless things of this age and of all the words which were spoken to you before, and ask of the Lord, and you will receive everything and all your requests will be granted, if you ask of the Lord without hesitating. 5. If you hesitate in your heart, you will not receive any of your requests. For those who hesitate before God, they are double minded, and they do not obtain any of their requests [cf. Jas. 1:7 f.]. 6. But the ones who are complete in the faith ask for everything, since they have trusted the Lord [Ps. 2:12], and they receive it because they ask without hesitating, not being double minded. For every man who is double minded, if he does not repent, will be saved with difficulty. 7. So cleanse your heart of double-mindedness, and put on faith, because it is strong, and trust God so that you will receive all requests for which you ask. Whenever you ask something from the Lord and you receive the request rather slowly, do not be double minded because you did not receive the request of your soul speedily, for in every case it is because of some temptation or transgression, of which you are ignorant, that you receive your request so slowly. 8. So do not cease asking for the request of your soul, and you will receive it; but if you lose heart and become double minded in your asking, blame yourself and not

ness (ch. 39) and its resultant, grief (chs. 40-41). Double-mindedness signifies the continuing struggle of the two spirits in man, and as such, is used in the Shepherd as the counterpart of faith (vss. 5 f.) and self-control (vs. 9).

DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS. Contrary to the research by O. J. F. Seitz (in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 [1944], 131-140; and 66 [1947], 211-219), *dipsychia* in the Shepherd is not dependent on its antecedents in the Two Ways literature. There the *dipsychos* is the one who doubts the power of God (Barn. 19:5; 1 Clem. 11:2; 23:2 f.; 2 Clem. 11:2, 5; Jas. 1:7 f.). Even the so-called *agraphon* or prophetic saying on the *dipsychoi* (1 Clem. 23:3; 2 Clem. 11:2-4; see Daniélou p. 106;

the one who gives to you. 9. Watch out for this double-mindedness, for it is evil and foolish and it uproots many from the faith, even those who are very faithful and strong, for this double-mindedness is also the daughter of the devil and does much evil among the servants of God. 10. So despise double-mindedness and overcome it in every case, putting on a faith that is strong and powerful, for faith promises all things, perfects all things. But double-mindedness, which does not trust itself, fails in all that it does. 11. So you see," he said, "that faith is from above, from the Lord, and has great power; but double-mindedness is an earthly spirit from the devil, which has no power. 12. So serve faith, which has power, and refrain from double-mindedness, which has no power, and you will live to God and all who are so disposed will live to God."

Mandate X

Cast off grief (40:1-41:6)

1.

40 "Cast off grief from yourself," he said, "for she is the sister of double-mindedness and ill temper." 2. "How, sir," said I, "is she their sister? For it seems to me that ill temper is one thing, double-mindedness another, and grief another." "You are a foolish man," he said. "Do you not understand that grief is the most evil

Seitz, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 [1944], 140) has its *Sitz im Leben* in the theodictic problem. In chapter 39 the basic structure of the Mandate concerns the power of God (vss. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8), but the peculiar meaning of *dipsychia* for the Shepherd is also present (vss. 6, 9-11).

In the Two Spirit system *dipsychia* stands for the condition of man caught between the spirits. The double minded are neither alive nor dead (73:1; 98:2-4). For such the power of evil is a special threat (like 2 Clem. 19:2; vs. 9; 43:2-4, 13; 73:1-3), since they are undeclared in loyalty. Even worse are the double minded who play on the two spirits by repenting while assuming they can sin and repent again (15:3; 43:4; cf. 47:5; 109:5). So the author has used a term common to the Jewish-Christian homily, but has adapted it (though not always) as the key problem of man in the Two Spirit anthropology.

40:1-41:6. With a homily on grief (*lypē*) the author attempts again to play on a word within two systems. As a vice, it is unknown

of all the spirits and very bad for the servants of God, and it ruins man more than all the spirits and wears out the holy Spirit, and saves again?" [Cf. 2 Cor. 7:10.] 3. "Sir," I said, "I am foolish and I do not understand these parables. For I do not understand how it is able to wear out and save again." 4. "Listen," he said, "those who have never sought after the truth nor inquired concerning divinity but have simply believed, being mixed up in affairs of business and in wealth and in heathen friendships and many other affairs of this age—those who are absorbed in these things do not understand parables about divinity. For they are darkened by these affairs and are ruined and become barren. 5. Just as fine vineyards, whenever they are neglected, are made barren by thorns and various weeds, so men who believe and engage in these many affairs, as mentioned before, stray from their purpose and understand nothing at all of righteousness, but when they hear about divinity and truth, their mind is busy with their own affairs and they understand nothing at all. 6. But the ones who have a fear of God and seek after divinity and truth, and whose hearts are turned to the Lord, perceive and understand quickly everything that is said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in them [Ps. 110:10; Prov. 1:7]. For where the Lord dwells, there is also great understanding. So hold fast to the Lord [cf. Sir. 2:3] and you will perceive and understand all things."

2.

41 "Hear then, foolish man," he said, "how grief wears out the holy Spirit and saves again [cf. 2 Cor. 7:10]. 2. Whenever the double-minded man undertakes any enterprise and fails in it because of his double-mindedness, this grief enters into the man and it grieves the holy Spirit and wears it out. 3. Then again, when ill temper clings to a man concerning some matter, and

in Christian literature, but if double-mindedness is doubt about the power of God, then grief is a sister of *dipsychia* because it confirms and deepens the doubt (41:2). But for the theologian (40:4-6) there is another meaning. In the Two Spirit structure grief is beneficial to the *dipsychos* because it calls attention to the man's condition and he repents. The source of this teaching on grief surely derives from Paul's comment on the value of grief in his struggle with the Corinthians (2 Cor. 7:8-11).

he becomes very bitter, again grief enters into the heart of the man who is ill-tempered, and he is grieved about what he has done and repents, because he has done evil. 4. So this grief seems to possess salvation because he repented his evil deed. So both things grieve the Spirit: double-mindedness, because he did not succeed in his action, and ill temper grieves the Spirit because he did evil. So both double-mindedness and ill temper are a grief to the holy Spirit. 5. So cast off grief from yourself and do not distress the holy Spirit [cf. Eph. 4:30] which dwells in you, lest it make petition to God against you and depart from you. 6. For the spirit of God given for this flesh submits to neither grief nor distress."

Put on cheerfulness (42:1-4)

3.

42 "So put on cheerfulness [cf. Sir. 26:4], which always finds favor with God and is pleasant to him, and delight in it. For every cheerful man does good things and thinks good things and despises grief. 2. But the sorrowful man always does evil; first he does evil because he grieves the holy Spirit that was cheerful when given to man; second, after he has grieved the holy Spirit, he does wrong by not praying or confessing to God. For the prayer of a grieving man never has the power to go up to the altar of God." 3. "Why," I said, "does not the prayer of one who is grieving go up to the altar of God?" "Because," he said, "grief sits in his heart, so when mixed with prayer, grief does not allow the prayer to go up in purity to the altar, for just as vinegar and wine mixed together do not have the same pleasant taste, so also grief mixed with the holy Spirit does not have the same appeal. 4. So cleanse yourself of this evil grief and you will live to God; and all will live to God who cast off from themselves grief and put on only cheerfulness."

42:1-4. The double-minded man who grieves not only confirms his doubt, but loses his ability to pray and confess -(vs. 2). So the faithful, in whom the Spirit of God dwells, is always cheerful, a constant mark of the faithful in the Shepherd (vs. 1; 2:3; 17:10; 18:4; 67:17; 79:4; 87:3; etc., though contrast 61:6).

Mandate XI

On testing prophets (43:1-21)

43 He showed me men sitting on a bench, and another man sitting in a chair, and he said to me, "Do you see those who are sitting on the bench?" "I see, sir," I said. "They are believers," he said, "and the one sitting in the chair is a false prophet who is destroying the understanding of the servants of God. But he destroys that of the double minded, not of the believers. 2. Those who are double minded go to him as to a soothsayer and ask him what will happen to them. And that false prophet, having no power of a divine spirit in himself, talks to them in response to their questions and their evil desires, and fills their souls just as they themselves wish. 3. For since he is empty himself, he gives empty answers to empty people. For whatever is asked, he an-

43:1-21. The form of Didache 11-13 on true and false prophets is used by the author to attack false teachers who cater to the desires of the falsely pious and buttress their double-mindedness with promises of continuing repentance (vs. 4).

43:1. Dibelius p. 538 takes the situation to be a literary device for teaching how to distinguish between the two spirits, but Peterson (in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 369) is more likely right that the scene derives from an actual synagogue (vs. 9; see Jas. 2:2; Ign. Polyc. 4:2), or Jewish type house of worship, where the *subsellium* would be the elders' benches and the *kathedra* the Seat of Moses (Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* [London, 1934], 57-61). The authority is sitting on the *kathedra* giving out false teaching in contrast to the Church itself which, while sitting on a *kathedra*, gave out true teaching from the extraecclesiastical revelatory scene in 2:2 (cf. 9:4). Since it seems likely Hermas himself was a teacher (see 13:1), this could be a conflict between his authority and that of the so-called false prophet (cf. his attitude toward insubordinate teachers in ch. 99).

Hermas nowhere mentions the Christian prophet (in 92:4 it is the OT prophet), so even though the false prophet was a concern of the early church (Did. 11-13; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6:24, 41; 7:11), neither the prophet as an office nor the false prophet as a threat concerns him. This leads to the suspicion that the authority is an elder or teacher who sits in the *kathedra* of a Jewish-Christian congregation.

43:2. The *magos* is not technical here in the sense of a magician, wise man (Matt. 2:1) or diviner (Acts 13:6?), but a denunciation of

swers according to the emptiness of the man who asked. But he says some things that are true, for the devil fills him with his spirit to see if he will be able to break some of the righteous. 4. So those who are strong in the faith of the Lord, having put on truth, do not associate with such spirits, but refrain from them. But those who are double minded and repent often, practice soothsaying like the heathen, and by their idolatry bring upon themselves greater sin. For the one who asks a false prophet about any concern is an idolater and is void of truth and is foolish. 5. For no spirit given by God need be asked, but it has the power of deity in itself to say all things, because it is from above [cf. Jas. 3:15], from the power of the divine Spirit. 6. But the spirit that needs to be asked and speaks according to the desires of men is earthly and fickle and has no power; and it does not speak at all unless asked." 7. "Sir," I said, "how then will a man know which of them is a prophet and which is a false prophet?" "Hear," he said, "about both prophets, and in the manner that I am going to tell you, you can test the prophet and the false prophet. By his life you test the man that has the divine Spirit. 8. First, then, the one who has the spirit from above is gentle and quiet and humble, and refrains from all evil and worthless desires of this age, and makes himself more needy than all other men, and when asked, gives no answer to anyone. Neither does he speak by himself, nor does the holy Spirit speak whenever a man wishes to speak, but he speaks when God wishes him to speak. 9. So whenever the man who has the divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the divine Spirit, and a prayer is made to God by the assembly of those men, then the angel of the

the teacher's method of saying that which pleased his public (so Dibelius pp. 536 f.; but otherwise Joly pp. 192 f.).

43:4. The identification of the double minded with those who repent often indicates the peculiar nature of the double minded in the Shepherd (see ch. 39), as those who waver between the two spirits and use repentance as a means of avoiding the command of perfection. At the same time the teacher of chapter 43 stands in sharp contrast to the teacher of chapter 31, who knows no repentance (cf. 72:5). These two epitomize the conflict in which Hermas finds himself—a conflict at both ends of the dialectic of repentance (see 30:1–31:7).

43:9. The angel of the prophetic spirit is likely Ramiel, who presides over visions (2 Baruch 55:3; 4 Ezra 4.36; Enoch 20:8).

prophetic spirit which is assigned to him fills the man, and that man, having been filled by the holy Spirit, speaks to the group as the Lord wills. 10. So in this way the divine Spirit is known. So whatever power pertains to the spirit of deity is of the Lord. 11. Hear now," he said, "about the spirit which is earthly and empty and has no power, but is foolish. 12. In the first place, that man who thinks he has the spirit elevates himself and wishes to have a seat of honor, and right away he is bold and shameless and talkative, and lives in great luxury and in many other pleasures, and accepts pay for his prophesying. And if he does not receive, he does not prophesy. Is it possible, then, for a divine Spirit to accept a salary for prophesying? It is not possible for a prophet of God to do this, but the spirit of such prophets is earthly. 13. Next, he never comes near an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them. But he associates with the double minded and the empty, and prophesies to them in a corner, and he deceives them by saying everything in an empty manner, according to their desires, for he is answering those who are empty. For that empty vessel which is placed with others that are empty is not broken, but they harmonize with one another. 14. But whenever he comes into an assembly full of righteous men who have the divine Spirit and prayer is offered by them, that man is emptied, and the earthly spirit flees from him in fear, and that man is rendered speechless and is completely shattered, being unable to say a thing. 15. For if you store wine or oil in a storeroom and place an empty jar among them, and again you wish to empty the storeroom, that jar which you place there empty you will find still empty. So also the prophets who are empty, whenever they come among the spirits of righteous men, are found to be just as they were when they came. 16. You have before you the life of both kinds of prophets. By his deeds and life test, then, the man who says he is inspired. 17. And you yourself trust the spirit which comes from God and has power, but in no wise trust that spirit which is earthly and empty, because in it there is no power, for it comes from the devil. 18. Listen, then, to the parable that I am about to tell you. Take a stone and throw it up to heaven; see if you are able to touch it. Or again, take a water pump and squirt up to heaven;

43:13. A major mark of the double minded or unrepentant is his lack of contact with the congregation (75:1-4; see 26:2).

see if you are able to penetrate heaven." 19. "How, sir," I said, "can these things be? For the things you have spoken of are both impossible." "Just as these things are impossible," he said, "so also are the earthly spirits powerless and weak. 20. Take now the power which comes from above. The hailstone is a very small pellet, but when it falls on a man's head, what a pain it causes! Or again, take a drop that falls on the ground from the roof and makes a hole in stone. 21. You see then that when they fall on the earth, even the smallest things from above have great power. So the divine spirit which also comes from above is powerful. Trust, then, this spirit, but avoid the other."

Mandate XII

Cast off evil desire (44:1-45:5)

1.

44 He said to me, "Cast from yourself every evil desire, and put on that desire which is good and reverent, for by clothing yourself with this desire you will hate evil desire and control it as you wish. 2. For evil desire is wild and hard to tame. For it is terrifying and utterly destroys men by its wildness, especially if a servant of God falls into it and lacks understanding, he will be terribly destroyed by it; for it destroys such as have not the clothes of good desire, but are mixed up with this world; these men, then, it delivers to death." 3. "What, sir," said I, "are the works of evil desire which deliver men to death? Make it known to me so that I may refrain from them." "Hear," he said, "by what works evil desire puts to death the servants of God.

2.

45 Above all is the desire for the wife or husband of someone else, and for the extravagance of wealth, and for much needless

44:1-45:5. Mandate XII is an admonition to cast off the spirit of evil and live according to the spirit of righteousness (see 36:1-10). In 45:1 Hermas lists vices of wealth that apply especially to his congregation (see pp. 20-21); once again it is not a choice for them, but self-control (45:5) and faith or fear of the Lord (45:4) that conquers the evil spirit.

food and drink, and many other foolish luxuries. For every luxury is foolish and vain for the servants of God. 2. So these desires are evil, putting to death the slaves of God, for this evil desire is a daughter of the devil. It is necessary, then, to refrain from evil desires, so that by refraining you will live to God. 3. But as many as are overcome by them, and do not resist them, will finally perish, for these desires are deadly. 4. So put on the desire of righteousness, and being armed with the fear of the Lord, resist them [Eph. 6:13], for the fear of God dwells in good desire. If the evil desire sees that you are armed with the fear of God and are resisting it, it will flee far from you [Jas. 4:7], and, fearing your weapons, it will no longer be seen by you. 5. So when you are the victor and triumph over it, come to the desire of righteousness, and deliver to it the victory which you won, and serve it as it desires. For if you serve the good desire and submit to it, you will be able to overcome the evil desire and control it as you please."

An exhortation on the commandments (46:1-49:5)

3.

46 "I would like to know, sir," I said, "in what ways it is necessary for me to serve good desire." "Listen," he said. "Do works of righteousness [cf. Ps. 14:2; Acts 10:35] and virtue, truthfulness and fear of the Lord, faith and gentleness, and whatever good things are like these. By doing these things you will be a well-pleasing servant of God and will live to him and everyone who serves the good desire will live to God." 2. So he finished the twelve commandments and said to me, "You have these com-

46:1-49:5. The Mandates are closed by the concluding words of the shepherd (46:2 f.). The section 46:4-49:5 appears to be an interlude before Similitude I, but, according to the evidence, at an earlier stage of edition this material was Similitude I (the parable was the jars of 48:3 f.), now expanded because of its importance for the Mandates and then shifted over to Mandate XII to make room for Similitude IX (see p. 7). As the discussion over repentance progressed (chs. 30-31; 43), Hermas became more aware of the danger of the double minded and added to (former) Similitude I this crucial dialogue on the relevance of the impossible ethic.

46:4. Hermas opens the section by asking the obvious question:

mandments; live by them and exhort the ones who hear, so that their repentance might be pure the rest of the days of their lives. 3. Perform carefully this ministry which I have given to you, and you will do much, for you will find favor with those who are about to repent, and they will obey your words, for I will be with you and I will compel them to obey you." 4. I said to him, "Sir, these commandments are great and good and glorious and are able to gladden the heart of a man [Ps. 103:15; cf. Ps. 18:9] who is able to keep them. But I do not know, sir, if these commandments can be observed by man, for they are very hard." 5. He answered and said to me, "If you propose to yourself that they can be observed, you will observe them easily, and they will not be hard. But if it has come up in your heart already that they cannot be observed by man, you will not observe them. 6. Now I say to you, if you do not observe them, but neglect them, you will not have salvation, nor will your children, nor your family, since you have already decided for yourself that these commandments cannot be observed by man."

4.

47 He said these things to me very angrily, so that I was confused and very much afraid of him, for his form was changed so that a man could not endure his anger. 2. But when he saw that I was completely terrified and confused, he began to speak to me more gently and cheerfully, and he said, "Foolish man, without understanding and double minded, do you not understand how great and strong and wonderful is the glory of God [cf. Ps. 20:6], because he created the world for the sake of man and made subject to man all his creation [cf. Ps. 8:7], and gave to him all authority to rule over everything under the heaven? 3. If then," he said, "man is lord of everything created by God and rules over

Are these commandments possible to keep? The answer is not directly related to the question, but to the source of the question. If you ask that question you are already double minded (the parable in 48:3 f. deals with those jars that are not full) and open to the attack of the devil (48:4; so P. Battifol in *Revue biblique* 10 [1901], 346).

47:1. The anger of the shepherd indicates the importance of the problem, much like the harshness of the attack on the false prophet in chapter 43 (though cf. the change of the revelator in 4 Ezra 10:25).

them, is he not able also to master these commandments? That man who has the Lord in his heart," he said, "is able to master everything and all these commandments. 4. Those who have the Lord on their lips, but their heart is hardened and they are far from God, for them these commandments are hard and difficult to follow. 5. So you who are empty and vacillating in the faith, place the Lord in your heart, and know that nothing is easier or sweeter or milder than these commandments. 6. You who walk in the commandments of the devil, which are hard and bitter and wild and licentious, be converted and do not fear the devil, for he has no power over you. 7. For I, the angel of repentance, who can control him, will be with you. The devil only causes fear, but his fear has no force. So do not fear him, and he will flee from you."

5.

48 I said to him, "Sir, hear a few words from me." "Speak as you please," he said. "Sir," I said, "man is eager to observe the commandments of God, and there is no one who does not ask of the Lord to be strengthened in his commandments and obey them. But the devil is hard and dominates them." 2. "He cannot," he said, "dominate the servants of God who hope in him with all their hearts. The devil can wrestle, but he cannot pin. If, then, you resist him, he will flee defeated from you [Jas. 4:7] in disgrace. But," said he, "those who are quite empty fear the devil as though he had power. 3. When a man fills a large number of jars with good wine and among the jars are a few not full, he comes to the jars and does not take notice of the full ones, for he knows that they are full. He does take note of those not full, for fear that they may have turned sour. For jars that are not full soon sour, and the pleasant taste of the wine is destroyed. 4. So also the devil comes to all the servants of God to tempt them. All those who are filled in the faith stoutly withstand him, and he goes

47:3. The shepherd insists that what appears impossible is quite possible in the fear of the Lord. Faith without this command of perfection is useless (vs. 4). Facing those who repent often (43:4), the author insists on the dialectical tension of perfection. Klevinghaus p. 115 fails to see this when he calls the attitude of the author a "naïve optimism" about morality.

away from them, for he can find no place to enter in. Then he goes to those who are not full and, since he finds a place, he goes into them, and does as he wishes with them, and they become his slaves."

6.

49 "But I, the angel of repentance, say to you, do not fear the devil. For I was sent," said he, "to be with you who repent with all your heart, and to strengthen you in the faith. 2. So believe in God, you who because of your sins have despaired of your life, and have added to your sins and have made your life hard, because, if you turn to the Lord with all your heart [Jer. 24:7; Joel 2:12], and do deeds of righteousness [Ps. 14:2; Acts 10:35; Heb. 11:33] the rest of the days of your life, and serve him rightly according to his will, he will cure your former sins and you will have power to conquer the works of the devil. Do not fear the threat of the devil at all, for he is as powerless as the sinews of a corpse. 3. So listen to me and fear him who has all power, to save and to destroy [Jas. 4:12; cf. Matt. 10:28; Luke 6:9], and keep these commandments, and you will live to God." 4. And I said to him, "Sir, now I am strengthened in all the requirements of the Lord, because you are with me, and I know that you will destroy all the power of the devil and we will rule over him and gain a victory over all his works. And I hope, sir, that, given power by the Lord, I am able to observe these commandments which you have commanded." 5. "You will observe them," he said, "if your heart is pure toward the Lord, and all who purify their hearts of the vain desires of this world will observe them and will live to God."

THE SIMILITUDES

The Similitudes Which He Told Me [Similitude I]

The parable of the two cities (50:1-11)

50 He said to me, "You know," said he, "that you servants of God live in a foreign country, for your city is far from this city. If, then, you know," he said, "your city in which you are going to live, why do you prepare lands and expensive possessions and buildings and useless rooms here? 2. So the one who prepares these things for this city does not expect to return to his own city. 3. Foolish and double minded and miserable man, do you not understand that all these things are another's and are under the authority of someone else? For the lord of this city will say, 'I do not want you to live in my city, but depart from this city for you do not live in accordance with my laws.' 4. So you who have fields and dwellings and many other possessions, what will you do with the field and the dwelling and the other things which you have prepared for yourself, when you are cast out by him? For the lord of this country has the right to say to you, 'Either live according to my rules or get out of my country.' 5. What are you going to do if there is a law in your own city? For the sake of your fields and other possessions will you renounce your law altogether and live according to the law of this city? Beware lest it be disadvantageous for you to deny your law, for if you wish to return to your city, you will not be received because you have denied the law of your city, and you will be excluded from it. 6. So beware. As one living in a foreign country, do not prepare for

50:1-11. The parable of the two cities continues the problem of the unrepentant and double minded. The author's congregation includes many businessmen involved in the economic affairs of Rome (vs. 1; see pp. 20-21). Their involvement has disassociated them from the congregation (75:1-4; see ch. 26). So here as in chapter 22 (see 22:9), Hermas uses the threat of persecution to encourage repentance and

yourself more than is necessary to be self-sufficient, and be prepared so that whenever the ruler of this city wishes to cast you out for disobeying his law, you can leave his city and go to your city and joyfully live according to your law with decorum. 7. So beware, you who serve the Lord and have him in your hearts. Do the deeds of God, remembering his commandments [Ps. 102:18] and the promises which he promised, and trust him, for he will do them if his commandments are observed. 8. So instead of fields, purchase souls that are in distress, as each is able, and care for the widows and orphans [Jas. 1:27], and do not overlook them, and spend your wealth and all your possessions on such fields and houses which you received from God. 9. For this is the reason the master made you rich, so that you might fulfill these ministries for him. It is much better for you to purchase such fields and possessions and houses as you will find in your city when you go home to it. 10. This wealth is beautiful and cheerful, for it brings neither grief nor fear, but brings joy. Do not strive for the wealth of the heathen, for it has no advantage to you who are servants of God. 11. But strive for your own wealth, in which you are able to rejoice, and do not counterfeit or touch that of another, nor desire it. For it is wicked to desire that which belongs to someone else. Do your own work and you will be saved."

return to the church. The two cities are not earthly and heavenly (Joly pp. 210 f.; Lelong pp. 138 f.), but church and state (Rome, so T. Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas* [Gotha, 1868], pp. 121-124).

The city analogy arises from the "diaspora" language of the early church (1 Pet. 1:1, 17; 2:11; Jas. 1:1; Heb. 13:14; 2 Clem. 5:1) in conjunction with the eschatological expectation of a "new Jerusalem" (Rev. 21:2; 4 Ezra 10:27). The Shepherd identifies the "tower" with the church and the tower is a symbol of the eschatological city (see 10:5), so the natural explanation of the city symbol is the church. The author urges his wavering readers to live according to the standards and laws of the church (vss. 8 f.) rather than the laws of Rome —i.e., repent and be returned to the church (tower). This symbolic conflict between Jerusalem and Rome is well known in the early church (1 Pet. 5:13; Rev. 17:5; Ign. Rom. 2:2).

50:3. Like the beast of Vision IV (22:9) the persecution is only threatened. However, the Shepherd document, in contrast to the Visions, speaks of those who are apostate and who denied the Lord (72:4; cf. 96:1). In the period we have suggested no wholesale persecution is known, though the threat was there (see p. 24). Presumably

Another Similitude
[Similitude II]

The parable of the elm and the vine (51:1-9)

51 While I was walking in the country, and was observing an elm and a vine, and contrasting them and their fruits, the shepherd appeared to me and said, "What are your thoughts concerning the elm and the vine?" "I think, sir," I said, "that they are very well suited to each other." 2. "These two trees," he said, "appear as a type for the servants of God." "I would like to know," I said, "the type of these trees of which you speak." "Do you see," he said, "the elm and the vine?" "I see them, sir," I said. 3. "This vine," he said, "bears fruit, but the elm is a fruitless tree. But if it does not climb up on the elm, this vine is not able to bear much fruit, since it is spread on the ground, and what fruit it does bear is rotten, because it is not hanging on the elm. So whenever the vine is attached to the elm, it bears fruit both from itself and from the elm. 4. So you see, then, that the elm gives much fruit, not less than the vine, but, instead, even more." "How, sir," I said,

there are those who have apostatized under threats or else there have been individual cases of persecution.

51:1-9. The author elaborates his charge to the wealthy (50:8-11) with another parable. By using the analogy of an elm and a grape vine he shows how the wealthy and the poor of the Christian community can complement each other: social service and theological reflection or prayer! K. Grobel (in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, I, 50) has seen in the parable a Hebraic phrase chiasm (stichochiasm over against word-chiasm) structured as follows:

- (A) This vine (1) fruit
 (2) bears
- (B) (3) But the vine
 (4) unless it climb
- (C) Cannot bear much fruit
- (C') And bears rotten what fruit it bears
- (B') (4') When therefore is attached
 (3') the vine
- (A') Both from itself it (2') bears
 (1') fruit

51:1. The elm and the vine together is not an accident of nature but a form of viticulture common to Italy. According to Grobel (pp. 53-

"does it bear more?" "Because," he said, "the vine which is attached to the elm gives fruit which is plentiful and good, while that which is lying on the ground bears little fruit, which is rotten at that. So this parable applies to the servants of God, to poor and rich." 5. "How, sir?" I said. "Make it known to me." "Listen," he said, "the rich man has wealth, but he is poor in things concerning the Lord, being overburdened concerning his wealth, and his prayer and confession to the Lord are insignificant, and what he has is feeble and small and without authority. So whenever the rich man rests upon the poor man and supplies him his needs, he believes that what he does for the poor man will be able to find a reward with God, because the poor man is rich in his prayer and in confession, and his prayer has much power with God. Therefore the rich man provides everything for the poor man without hesitating. 6. Since he is supported by the rich man, the poor man, when he gives thanks to God, pleads with him on behalf of the one who shared with him, and that one is all the more zealous on behalf of the poor man, in order that he might not lack anything in his life, for he knows that the prayer of the poor man is acceptable and rich before the Lord. 7. So both complete their work. The poor man works with prayer, in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord; this he gives back to the Lord who supplies it to him. And the rich man likewise without hesitat-

55), the elm arbustum (cultivation of grape vines on a tree) is known only in central Italy. In any case, the use of the elm for such a purpose is well documented: Vergil describes the process in the *Georgics* (Book II) and specifically mentions the elm (I, 2). Seneca describes the process very much like this parable: *tenent* [the vine plantings] *et complexae sunt non suas ulmos* (Ep. 86, 20).

51:5. For all his rigor in the Mandates, Hermas is not above compromise. Here he rationalizes the wealth of his congregation as a complementary harmony between rich and poor, even though wealth is the cause of so much double-mindedness (40:4; 45:1; 50:1; etc.). The harmony of the body, a Stoic virtue (Zeno Stoic, 3, 160; Epicetetus, *Diss.* I, 4, 10-21), became a Christian virtue early (Rom. 12:4-7, 12; 1 Cor. 12:12-31; 1 Clem. 37:4 f.; Ign. Eph. 4:2; Shepherd 92:2). So strong is this harmony that even though the wealthy must have riches hewed off before they can enter the tower, still they should be allowed to keep a little to help the poor (107:5; cf. 53:7).

51:7. The poor are rich in prayer (vs. 5 also). Taken with the comment on theological ineptness among the wealthy (40:5), one suspects

ing shares with the poor man the wealth which he received from the Lord. And this work is great and acceptable with God, because he understands about his wealth and works for the poor man out of the gifts of the Lord, and rightly fulfills his ministry. 8. So to men the elm appears not to bear fruit, and they do not know or understand that whenever there is a drought, the elm, which has water, nourishes the vine, and the vine, which has a constant supply of water, gives double the amount of fruit, both for itself and for the elm. So also those who are poor, by appealing to the Lord on the behalf of the rich, complement their wealth, and again those who are rich, by supplying the necessities of life to the poor, complement their prayers. 9. So they both become partners in righteous work. So the one who does these things will not be deserted by God, but will be inscribed in the books of the living. 10. Blessed are those who have and understand that their wealth comes from the Lord, for the one who understands this will also be able to do some good service.

Another Similitude [Similitude III]

The parable of the trees in wintertime (52:1-3)

52 He showed me many trees which had no leaves, but appeared to me to be as if dried up; for they were all alike. And he said to me, "Do you see," he said, "these trees?" "I see, sir," I said, "that they are alike and dried up." He answered me and said, "These trees which you see are the ones who dwell in this world." 2. "Why, then, sir," I said, "are they as if dry and all alike?" "Because," said he, "neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent in this world, but are all alike. For this world is winter for the righteous, and they are not apparent even though they are

a rationale for the book. For the wealthy the gospel must be simple and straightforward. The poor have more time for theological reflection and so naturally you find among them the more astute theologians! (See pp. 20-21.) At least the poor theologians had sufficient to return Marcion his money after his split with them (Tertullian, *De praescr.* 30; *Adv. Marc.* IV, 4).

52:1-3. Much like the parable of the tares and wheat (Matt. 13:24-30), the author shows that one cannot now (wintertime) distinguish between the righteous and the sinners.

living with sinners. 3. For just as in the winter, the trees, having shed their leaves, are alike, and it is not apparent which are the dried up or which are the living, so also in this world neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent, but all are alike."

Another Similitude
[Similitude IV]

The parable of the trees in summertime (53:1-8)

53 Again he showed me many trees, some of which were budding, and some dried up, and he said to me, "Do you see," he said, "these trees?" "I see, sir," I said, "some budding and some dried up." 2. "These trees which are budding," he said, "are the righteous who are about to dwell in the world to come, for the world to come is summer for the righteous, but winter for the sinners. So when the mercy of the Lord shines forth, then those who serve God will be made known to all. 3. For just as the fruit of every single tree appears by summer and it is known what kind they are, so also the fruit of the righteous will be apparent and, since they are flourishing, they will all be known in that world. 4. But the heathen and the sinners, the dried-up trees which you saw, such will be found dried up and fruitless in that age and will be burned as dry wood and will be distinguishable because their conduct was evil in their life. For the sinners will be burned because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen will be burned because they did not know the one who created them. 5. So bear fruit in yourself, so that in that summer your fruit will be known. Refrain from many affairs and you will in no wise sin. For those who engage in many affairs also sin much since they are overburdened by their affairs and do not serve their Lord. 6. How, then," he said, "can such a man ask anything of the Lord and receive it, when he does not serve the Lord? The ones who serve him, those will receive their requests. But the ones who do not serve the Lord will receive nothing. 7. If anyone is occupied

53:1-8. But as in the Gospel parable the wheat was harvested and the tares were manifest, so in the *eschaton* (summer) will the dry trees (sinners) be known (vs. 4). This should be taken as warning by the wealthy to cut back on business affairs and serve the Lord (cf. 107:5).

with one concern, he is also able to serve the Lord, for his mind is not corrupted away from the Lord, but he will serve him with a pure mind. 8. So if you do these things, you will be able to bear fruit for the world to come; and whoever does these things will bear fruit."

Similitude V

On fasting (54:1-5)

1.

54 While I was fasting, and sitting on a certain mountain, and thanking the Lord for all he had done for me, I saw the shepherd sitting beside me and saying these things to me, "Why have you come here so early?" "Because, sir," I said, "I am on guard duty." 2. "What," said he, "is the guard?" "I am fasting, sir," I said. "But what," said he, "is this fast that you are keeping?" "Sir," I said, "I am fasting just as I have been accustomed to do." 3. "You do not know how to fast to God," he said, "and this useless fast you are keeping for him is not a fast." "Why, sir," I said, "do you say

54:1-5. Similitude V begins as a parable on fasting, but the secondary interpretation of the vineyard (chs. 57-59) deals with Christology. Previous to the Christological interpretation, the parable continued the theme of Similitude II on sharing (55:1) by comparing the slave who shared his food and gained favor with the master to the Christian who shared his wealth and gained favor with the Lord (55:10 f.; 56:7; cf. 51:6). At some later time in the development of the homily, the author changed the interpretation of the parable without deleting the details on fasting (Dibelius pp. 564 f.). Chapter 54 contains a dialogue between Hermas and the shepherd which sets the stage for the parable proper.

54:1. Peterson considers *kathēsthai* a *terminus technicus* for the revelatory form (in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 [1957], 363) so that Hermas is sitting here even though his task (*statiōna echō*) would demand that he stand (see 25:1).

The phrase *statiōna echō* is difficult. The Latin word *statio* is a military term for "guard duty" (J. Svennung in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 32 [1933], 294; Dibelius p. 560) which had been adopted by the early church to mean a "fast" (Tertullian, *De ieiunio* 10, 11, 13) and in later Roman liturgy the *synaxis* (C. Mohrmann in *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 [1953], 221-245). It must mean a fast in 54:1 f. also, but in what sense is not clear. The problem is:

this?" "I am telling you," he said, "that this is not a fast which you think you are keeping, but I will teach you what an acceptable and complete fast to the Lord is." "Yes, sir," said I, "you will make me happy if I may know that fast acceptable to God." "Listen," said he. 4. "God does not wish such a futile fast as this, for by fasting in this way you do nothing for righteousness. But fast to God in this way: 5. Do nothing evil in your life, but serve the Lord with a clean heart, keeping his commandments [Matt. 19:17] and following his orders, and let no evil desire arise in your heart. Believe in God, because, if you do these things and fear him and abstain from every evil deed, you will live to God. And if you do these things, you will complete a fast that is great and acceptable to the Lord."

The parable of the vineyard (55:1-11)

2.

55 "Listen to the parable which I am going to tell you concerning fasting. 2. A certain man had a field and many slaves, and in a certain part of the field he planted a vineyard. As he was going away on a journey, he selected a certain slave who was reliable and pleasing and called him and said to him, 'Take this vineyard which I have planted and fence it, until I come, and do nothing more to the vineyard. Keep this commandment of mine and you will be a freedman with me.' And the master of the slave went away on a journey. 3. After he departed, the slave took and fenced the vineyard. And when he had finished fencing the vineyard, he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. 4. So he thought

why does the shepherd not know what a *statio* is? C. Mohrmann considers Latin the mother tongue of Hermas (see 9:4; *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 [1949], 74-78; *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 [1953], 223) so that by this literary ruse he must explain this term to his Greek-speaking audience. But the attention seems to be on the type of fast (vs. 2) and the *statio* is a fast *hōs eiōthein*. In this case we are not dealing with fasting in general, but a particular private fast, an act of individual devotion. The author, suspicious of faith without social involvement (75:1; 76:3; 96:2; 98:2), calls for a fasting which produces harmony in the body much like the harmony of Similitude II (56:7).

55:1-11. The parable proper is actually two parables: (a) the parable of the vineyard (vss. 1-8), and (b) the parable of the slave and the

to himself, saying, 'I have completed the commandment of the Lord; in addition, I will cultivate this vineyard, and it will look better after it is cultivated, and with no weeds it will yield more fruit, because it is not choked by the weeds.' He took and cultivated the vineyard and he pulled out all the weeds that were in the vineyard. And that vineyard became very attractive and thriving, for it had no weeds to choke it. 5. After some time the master of the field and the slave came and went into the vineyard. And when he saw the vineyard was attractively fenced and, moreover, was cultivated, and all the weeds were pulled up and the vines were thriving, he rejoiced greatly at the efforts of the slave. 6. So he called his beloved son, who was his heir, and his friends, who were his advisers. He told them what he had commanded his servant to do and what he had found accomplished. And they congratulated the slave on the testimony which the master gave for him. 7. And he said to them, 'I promised freedom to this slave, if he kept my commandment which I gave him. He kept my commandment and added to it good work in the vineyard, and he pleased me greatly. So in return for this work which he has done, I wish to make him a joint heir with my son, because, when he had a good thought he did not neglect it, but carried it out.' 8. The son of the master approved of this decision that the slave should become joint heir with the son. 9. A few days later the master of his house gave a dinner and sent him considerable food from the dinner. When the slave received the food sent him by his master, he took enough for himself and distributed the rest to his fellow slaves. 10. When his fellow slaves received the food they rejoiced, and began to pray for him, that he might find even greater favor with his master, because he treated them in this way. 11. His master heard of all these things which had happened and again was greatly pleased with his conduct. Again the master called together his friends and his son and told them what the

food (vss. 9-11). The former relates to the "true fast" of 54:5—keep the commandments, while the latter relates to the "true fast" of 56:7—sharing with the poor. It is likely that the author modified his "true fast" of obedience by adding the second parable on sharing (vss. 9-11) and its interpretation (56:7), thus creating a continuity with his concerns in Similitudes I and II (50:8; 51:5-7; see A. Ribagnac, *La christologie du Pasteur d'Hermas* [Paris, 1887], p. 17).

slave had done with the food which he had received. They were even more pleased that the slave would be made a joint heir with his son."

True fasting (56:1-9)

3.

56 I said to him, "Sir, I do not understand these parables nor can I comprehend them unless you interpret them to me." 2. "I will interpret everything to you," he said, "and whatever I tell you I will explain. Keep the commandments [Matt. 19:17] of the Lord and you will be pleasing to him and be enrolled in the number of those who keep his commandments. 3. If you do something good beyond the commandment of God, you will gain greater glory for yourself and you will be more honored before God than you would have been. If then, while keeping the commandments of God, you add also these services, you will rejoice, if you keep them according to my commandment." 4. I said to him, "Sir, whatever you command me, I will follow it, for I know that you are with me." "I will be with you," he said, "because you have such zeal for doing good, and I will be with all," said he, "who have the same zeal. 5. This fast," he said, "is very good, if

56:1-9. The interpretation of the parable follows the concerns of the true fast in 54:5 except for verse 7 which builds on the example of 55:9-11. In verse 7 the fast is accepted as a practice if it is done for sharing and not for private piety (see 54:1).

56:3. The interpretation of 56:3 and 56:7 f. is the *locus classicus* in the Shepherd for supererogation (V. Schweitzer in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 86 [1904], 539-556; Dibelius pp. 565 f.; K. Lake in *Harvard Theological Review* 4 [1911], 35 f.). In verse 3 it would appear that there are two levels of ethics: the standard obedience and that which goes beyond the command. Out of context the verse appears this way, but understood in the light of chapter 54 it has quite a different implication. Despite the charge of legalism leveled at the Shepherd (see 30:1-31:7) he is not casuistic. His mandates are conditions of redemption (faith, fear of the Lord, sincerity, self-control) not moralisms which assure salvation. In 54:1 Hermas is performing such a moralistic practice and the shepherd recalls him to faith (54:5) away from his useless (54:3), legalistic fast.

The parable of the slave and the vineyard is given to illustrate how pleasing is that slave who acts not simply according to the com-

you keep the commandments of the Lord. So observe this fast which you are going to keep in this way: 6. First of all, guard against every evil word and every evil desire, and cleanse your heart of all the vanities of this world. If you observe these things, this fast will be complete. 7. And here is what you will do: when you have finished the above-mentioned, on that day when you are fasting, you will taste nothing except bread and water, and you will be aware of the amount of the cost of your food you would have eaten on that day which you are going to keep. Having set it aside, you will give it to a widow or an orphan or someone else in need, and in this way you will be humble minded, so that from your humility the one who receives may fill his soul and pray to the Lord for you. 8. If, then, you complete the fast in this way, as I command you, your sacrifice will be acceptable before God [cf. Phil. 4:18; Isa. 56:7; 1 Pet. 2:5], and this fast will be recorded, and the service done in this way is good and joyous and acceptable to the Lord. 9. This is the way you shall observe these things, with your children and all your house; if you observe them, you will be blessed and as many as hear them and keep them will be blessed, and whatever they ask from the Lord they will receive."

The meaning of the vineyard (57:1-59:8)

4.

57 I besought him much to explain to me the parable of the mand of the master, but for the master's best interest (55:4). In terms of the Two Spirit anthropology sanctification is the complete victory of the holy Spirit in the life of man, not his determination to make bad, good or better choices (see 36:1-10). This is the Christological interpretation of the passage (see 59:1) and 56:3 should be understood in the same fashion.

56:7-8. From the construction of the section it would appear that keeping the commandments is the standard level of ethics (a complete fast, 56:6), while fasting to serve the poor is the supererogation. This appearance is due to the double line of thought and the two parables. In 54:3-5 the shepherd declared the fast useless and called for faith which serves God. This was illustrated by 55:1-9. But in the modification of the parable the author accepts the fast (56:7 f.) if it leads to social responsibility (illustrated now by 55:9-11). So 56:7 f. is not an additional work, but a modification of the "true fast" of vss. 1-6.

57:1-59:8. Though the parable has been explained, Hermas asks

field and the master and the vineyard and the slave who fenced the vineyard, and the fences, and the weeds that were pulled up out of the vineyard, and the son, and the friends who were advisers, for I understood that all these things were a parable. 2. He answered me and said, "You are very arrogant in asking questions. You ought not," said he, "to ask any questions at all, for if it is necessary to have it explained to you, it will be explained." I said to him, "Sir, whatever you show me and do not explain, I will have seen in vain and will not understand what it is. And likewise, if you tell me a parable and do not interpret it to me, I will have heard something from you in vain." 3. Again he answered me and said, "Whoever," he said, "is a servant of God and has his Lord in his heart may ask for understanding from him and receive it [cf. Jas. 1:5 f.; 1 Kings 3:11-12], and interpret every parable, and with the help of the Lord those things spoken through parables are made known to him. But as many as," said he, "are weak and careless in prayer, those hesitate to ask of the Lord. 4. But the Lord is very compassionate and gives without hesitating to everyone who asks of him. But since you have been empowered by the glorious angel, and have received from him such a power of intercession and are not careless, why do you not ask for understanding from the Lord and receive it from him?" 5. I said to him, "Sir, since I have you with me, I will, of necessity, ask you and question you, for you show me everything and talk with me. But if I had seen or heard these things without you, I would ask the Lord that it might be explained to me."

for a more allegorical interpretation, thus setting the stage for the Christology to follow. As befits so important a revelation, the shepherd chides Hermas more than usual for his ignorance (ch. 57; cf. 47:2; 40:3-5; etc.). Then in a manner reminiscent of the interpretation of the wheat and tares (Matt. 13:88 f.), the shepherd interprets the parable of chapter 55 as an allegory (see pp. 11-12) on the nature of God and his redemptive work (ch. 58). Then in response to further questioning, the shepherd explains the nature of the Son in terms of the same parabolic allegory of the vineyard (ch. 59).

57:4. The glorious (Athous has "holy") angel is mentioned here for the first time. In the interpretation of the parable the advisers or court of God will be the holy (58:3) or glorious (59:4; 89:8) angels. The glorious angel (66:1, 3, 5; 67:2; 69:3; 78:3) is identified later as the archangel Michael (69:3). In the Shepherd angels function Christologically (see 25:1 and 69:3).

5.

58 "I told you just now," he said, "that you were sly and arrogant in asking for the explanations of the parables. But since you are so stubborn, I will explain to you the parable of the field and the rest of all that followed it, so that you can make them known to everyone. Listen now," he said, "and understand them. 2. The field is this world [Matt. 13:38] and the Lord of the field is he who created all things [Eph. 3:9; Rev. 4:11; cf. Heb. 3:4] and completed them and gave them power [cf. Ps. 67:29]. The son is the holy Spirit. The slave is the Son of God, and the vines are this people which he himself planted. 3. The fences are the holy angels of the Lord who hold his people together. The weeds which were pulled up out of the vineyard are the iniquities of the servants of God. The foods which he sent him from the table are the commandments which he gave to his people through his Son. The friends and advisers are the holy angels who were created first. The absence of the master is the time remaining until his coming." 4. I said to him, "Sir, it is all great and wonderful and it is glorious. So, how," I said, "could I have understood these things? Nor could any other man, even if he were very intelligent, understand these things. Furthermore, sir," I said, "explain to me what I am about to ask you." 5. "Speak," he said, "if you wish anything." "Why, sir," said I, "does the Son of God appear in the guise of a slave in the parable?"

6.

59 "Listen," he said, "the Son of God does not appear in the

58:2. The sentence "The son is the holy Spirit" is missing in all but the Vulgate. In pneumatic Christology it is a perfectly logical statement, but otherwise there appears to be two distinct Sons, so it was deleted by later copyists.

58:3. The pre-existence of the angels underlines their Christological function (see 12:1).

59:1. Athous does not have the negative *ou*. Joly p. 237 (see also Giet p. 217 f.) and Dibelius p. 570 argue that the denial is the author's way of dropping the parable of the slave before it does damage to his Christology. The *ou* was removed later in order to eliminate the obvious contradiction (to the contrary, Audet pp. 70 f.).

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SHEPHERD. Seen in the light of developing Christology, the thought of chapter 59 appears Adoptionist

guise of a slave, but appears with great power and authority." "How, sir?" I said, "I do not understand." 2. "Because God planted the vineyard," he said, "that is, created the people, and he turned it over to his Son. And the Son appointed the angels to protect every one of them, and having worked much and endured many labors, he himself cleansed their sins. For no one is able to cultivate a vineyard without labor and hardship. 3. So when he had cleansed the sins of the people, he showed them the paths of life [Ps. 15:11] and gave them the law which he received from his Father [John 10:18]. You see, then," said he, "that, since he received all power from his Father, he is Lord of the people. 4. But hear why the Lord took, as a counselor concerning the inheritance of the slave, his Son, and the glorious angels. 5. The pre-existent holy Spirit, which created all creation, God caused to dwell in that flesh which he wished. So this flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelled, served the Spirit well, living in reverence and purity, and did not defile the Spirit in any way. 6. So because it

(A. von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I [New York, 1958], 191; H. Opitz, *Ursprünge frühkatholischer Pneumatologie*, 58 f.; Dibelius pp. 572-576). Even later Adoptionists defended themselves by the early precedent in Rome (Eusebius, *H. E.* 5, 28, 3; but Hermas is not mentioned). The other alternative is to find here an incipient Logos Christology (R. Adam in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 88 [1906], 45).

But if the anthropology of Hermas is relatively unique (ch. 36), one should not be surprised to find a rather unique Christology. There is no reference to the historical Jesus. Normal Christological titles are vague:

1. *Kurios* is interchangeable with *theos* and only rarely, if at all, must be taken Christologically (6:8).

2. The "name of God," a Jewish circumlocution for God's presence (for Christ: Acts 10:43; 1 Cor. 1:10), is frequent in the Visions and Similitudes (5:2; 12:3; 13:2; 15:3; 22:3; 72:2, 4; 89:8; 91:3; 95:5; 105:6; absolute: 9:9; 10:1; 76:3; 90:2 f.; 96:2; 105:3, 5), but except for baptism "in the name of the Lord" (15:3), need not be Christological. In Similitude IX the Christology is explicit with "the name of the Son of God" (89:4 f.; 90:3, 7; 91:5, 6; 93:3, 5, 7; 94:4; 105:2), but the Son himself is unclear (contrast Daniélou pp. 147-157).

3. The Son occurs only once before Similitude V (6:8), here in the Christological passage, briefly in Similitude VIII (69:2; 77:1) and then frequently in Similitude IX see p. 5). In Similitude VIII the Son is the "law of God" (69:2) much like 58:3. In Similitude IX the Son is the rock (89:1-93:7) as well as the portico (89:1) and the

conducted itself appropriately and purely and worked with the Spirit and collaborated in every deed, acting with strength and courage, he chose it as partner with the holy Spirit, for the conduct of this flesh pleased God because it was not defiled while it possessed the holy Spirit on earth. 7. So he took the Son as a counselor, and the glorious angels, that this flesh also, after it served the Spirit blamelessly, should have some place to dwell and not seem to have lost the reward of its servitude. For all flesh in which the holy Spirit has dwelled, when found undefiled and

glorious man (89:8) otherwise identified as the archangel Michael (69:3).

While Christological titles are vague, it is clear that Christological functions are carried out by various angels (see 25:1) or holy (divine in Mand. XI) Spirit (33:2-4; 34:5; 41:1-2, 4; 42:2; 43:8 f.; 58:2; 59:5 ff.; 60:2; 78:1; 102:2). They are pre-existent (12:1; 58:3); they give the law (25:5; 58:3; 69:2); they bring repentance (25:7; 47:6 f.; 49:1-3; 91:3); they build the church (12:1); they are the Lord of creation (12:1; 59:5); they define the Incarnation (ch. 59). The Shepherd has a Christology expressed by the activity of the spirit and the angels in creation. While the angels play an important formal role in the Shepherd, it is the Two Spirits doctrine that determines the nature of his Christology (so Daniélou pp. 141 f.). The victory of the holy Spirit in man as the act of redemption roots in the Dead Sea Scrolls (*mlk 'mthw*, 1QS 3:24; *rwch 'mth*, 1QS 4:21; *rwch qwdš*, 1QS 4:21; see H. G. May in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 [1963], 4 f.). It is found in the anthropology of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (see 36:1-10) and the Christology of Barnabas (*skeuos tou pneumatos*, 7:3) and 2 Clement (*prōton pneuma, egeneto sarx*, 9:5). In this pneumatic Christology (A. Gilg, *Weg und Bedeutung der altkirchlichen Christologie* [Munich, 1961], 19 f.; H. Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* [Richmond, 1964], 20, 122) the power of God among men, the *ruach Jahweh*, is identified with the holy Spirit of the Two Spirit doctrine. The complete victory of this Spirit in man is the Incarnation (59:5; cf. 2 Clem. 9:5). Redemption is the victory of the flesh and Spirit in historical existence (58:3; 59:6). This victory creates or constitutes Sonship (59:6 f.) and has opened the possibility of such a victory for all men (59:7-60:2). The Christological good news consists of two basic items: (a) God has chosen the flesh of man for a victory of the holy Spirit (i.e., forgiveness and repentance is possible; 59:6 f.; see 30:1-31:7), and (b) descriptions of that new existence (i.e., the Mandates or laws; 25:5; 58:3; 69:2). In this sense the Christology of Hermas, as a phenomenon, is much like the Christology of John: redemption is participation in the existence of Jesus (*sarx*, John 6:51 ff.; see G. F. Snyder in *Biblical Research* 8 [1963], 3-

spotless, will receive a reward. 8. You have the explanation of this parable also."

An exhortation on purity (60:1-4)

7.

60 "I am glad, sir," I said, "to hear this explanation." "Listen, now," he said, "keep this flesh of yours pure and undefiled, so that the Spirit that dwells in it may bear witness to it and your flesh may be justified. 2. Beware, lest it enter your heart that this flesh of yours is mortal and you misuse it in some defilement. If you defile your flesh, you defile also the holy Spirit; and if you defile your flesh, you will not live." 3. "But if, sir," I said, "there was any previous ignorance, before these words were heard, how will the man who has defiled his flesh be saved?" "Concerning former sins committed in ignorance," he said, "it is possible for God alone to give healing, for all power is his. 4. But now keep these things, and the Lord who is very compassionate will heal them, if henceforth you defile neither your flesh nor the Spirit. For both belong together and neither can be defiled without the other. So keep both clean and you will live to God."

12) by means of the historical community and the descriptive teaching (rather than a kerygma). The Shepherd is unique, however, in stating such a Christology in terms of the Two Spirits (see p. 16).

59:6. While there is no death and resurrection in the Christology of Hermas, the Son does serve mankind in the Incarnation. Audet pp. 70 f. exaggerates the role of the servant in the Messianism of the Shepherd (therefore the deletion of the *ou* in 59:1 by Audet); the victory of the holy Spirit is the key factor.

60:1-4. The Shepherd exhorts the reader to participate in this victory of the Spirit by living in purity (vss. 1 f.), but allows that God can heal those who have sinned previously. Remaining true to his dialectic of perfection, there is no future healing (vss. 3 f.).

60:1-2. An Adoptionist Christology has great ethical and homiletical value, for in the moral exhortation the audience can be promised adoption. In the Shepherd the exhortation is to keep clean that holy Spirit given you by the mercy of God.

60:4. *Sarx* is not evil for Hermas, but the dwelling place of the Spirit (28:1; 41:6; 59:5, 7; 60:1-4). Though spirit and flesh stand in tension, there is not a *pneuma-sarx* dualism for both are *koinē* (otherwise, E. Schweizer in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, VII [Stuttgart, 1960], 147 f.).

Similitude VI

The parable of the two shepherds (61:1-65:7)

1.

61 While I was sitting in my house and glorifying the Lord for all that I had seen, and reflecting on the commandments because they were fine and powerful and joyous and glorious and able to save the soul of man [cf. Jas. 1:21], I said to myself, "I will be blessed if I walk in these commandments, and whoever walks in them will be blessed" [Ps. 118:1]. 2. While I was saying this to myself, I unexpectedly saw him sitting beside me and saying these things, "Why are you double minded about the commandments which I have commanded you? They are fine. Be not double minded at all, but put on the faith of the Lord, and walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them. 3. These commandments are beneficial for those who are going to repent, for if they do not walk in them, their repentance is in vain. 4. So you who repent must put aside the evils of this world which destroy you, and by putting on every virtue of righteousness you will be able to keep these commandments and add no longer to your sins. So by adding nothing you will cut off much of your former sins. So walk in my commandments and you will live to God. All these things have been spoken to you by me." 5. After he had spoken of these things with me, he said to me, "Let us go into the country, and I will show you the shepherds of the sheep." "Let us go, sir," I said. We came to some plain, and he showed me a young shepherd wearing a suit of clothes yellow in color. 6. He was tending very many sheep and these sheep seemed as if they were living luxuri-

61:1-65:7. The mood of Similitudes VI-IX is different. Heretofore it was exhortation; now it is assessment (Dibelius p. 577). But even the assessment is for exhortative purposes—to show the fate of those in whom the spirit of wickedness prevails. This Similitude opens with the frequent problem of the double minded (61:2; cf. 46:4) and the exhortation to perfection. The parable proper concerns two more shepherds: an attractive shepherd that misleads the flock (61:5) and a wild, repulsive shepherd (62:5) that punishes those wicked for whom there is a chance of repentance (62:6). After a description of the punishments (63:4-65:4), the readers are exhorted to avoid luxury and pleasure (65:5-7).

ously and indulgently [cf. Jas. 5:5] and were joyous as they skipped here and there. And the shepherd himself was most joyful over his flock, and even the appearance of the shepherd was very joyful, and he ran about among the sheep. And I saw in one place other sheep living indulgently and luxuriously, but they were not skipping about.

2.

62 He said to me, "Do you see this shepherd?" he said. "I see, sir," I said. "This," said he, "is the angel of luxury and deception. He destroys the souls of the servants of God who are empty, and turns them away from the truth by deceiving them with evil desires in which they are destroyed. 2. For they forgot the commandments of the living God and walk in deception and vain luxury and are destroyed by this angel, some to death and some to corruption." 3. I said to him, "Sir, I do not know what 'to death' and 'to corruption' mean." "Listen," he said, "the sheep which you see that are very joyful and are skipping about are the ones who have completely withdrawn from God and have given themselves over to the desires of this world. For these, then, there is no repentance unto life, for, in addition, they have blasphemed against the name of the Lord. For such, then, there is death. 4. But the ones that you saw not skipping about, but feeding in one place, are those who have given themselves over to luxury and deceit, but have not blasphemed against the Lord. So these are corrupted from the truth. For them, then, there is hope of repentance, by which they are able to live. So corruption has some hope of renewal, but death has eternal destruction." 5. Again we went on a little farther, and he showed me a large shepherd who seemed wild in appearance, wearing a white goatskin, and he had a bag on his shoulder, and a very hard and knotted staff in his hand, and a great whip. And he had a very bitter look, so that I

62:1. The attractiveness of the shepherd (angel) of luxury and deception (61:5) may be simply the attractiveness of this world's luxuries, a recurrent theme in the Shepherd (36:5; 38:3; 43:12; 45:1; and throughout Similitude VI; the angel is found only here). But the shepherd symbol in the book is quite explicitly a guide (cf. Enoch 89-91), either ecclesiastical (108:5 f.) or angelic (25:1, 7). The shepherd here may be more than angelic; he may be the teacher or leader

was afraid of him; such a look had he. 6. This shepherd, then, was receiving from the young shepherd the sheep, those that were living indulgently and luxuriously but not skipping about, and he set them in a certain precipitous place, full of thorns and thistles, so that the sheep were unable to disentangle themselves from the thorns and thistles, but were caught in the thorns and thistles. 7. So they were feeding while entangled in thorns and thistles and, being beaten by him, they were very miserable. And he was driving them about here and there, and he gave them no rest at all, and those sheep had no peace at all.

3.

63 So when I saw them so flogged and so miserable, I was distressed on their account because they were so tormented and had no relief at all. 2. I said to the shepherd who was speaking with me, "Sir, who is this shepherd who is so merciless and bitter and has no compassion at all for these sheep?" "This," said he, "is the angel of punishment. He belongs to the righteous angels, but he is in charge of punishment. 3. He receives, then, those who have strayed from God and walked in the desires and deceptions of this world, and he punishes them, as is fitting, with various terrible punishments." 4. "I would like to know, sir," I said, "what these various punishments are like." "Listen," said he, "to the various torments and punishments. The torments befall one during his earthly life, for some are punished with losses, some with deprivations, some with various illnesses, some with total disturbance, some are abused by unworthy persons and suffer many other things. 5. For since many are unsettled in their decisions,

who teaches repentance according to the desire of the congregation (see ch. 43).

62:3. For the first time we encounter those for whom there is no repentance, those who have blasphemed the name of God. In *Similitudes* VIII and IX, the list is increased to apostates and betrayers of the church (72:4; 96:1). They are those who, for whatever reason, have left the church and denied the faith. They are used here as a warning, but the concern of the parable is for repentance among the second group (62:4).

63:2. The angel of punishment (only here; cf. *ta pneumata tōn epagōgōn*, T. Levi 3:2) is not evil but righteous. He appears precisely

they try many things, and nothing at all succeeds for them. And they say that they do not prosper in their affairs, and it does not enter their hearts that they have done evil deeds, but they blame the Lord. 6. So whenever they suffer every kind of affliction, they are turned over to me for good instruction and are strengthened in the faith of the Lord and serve the Lord with pure hearts the rest of the days of their lives. Then whenever they repent, the evil deeds which they did come to their hearts, and then they glorify God because he is a righteous judge [Ps. 7:12; 2 Tim. 4:8] and because each one rightly suffered everything for what he had done [cf. Matt. 16:27; Rev. 2:23]. From then on they will serve the Lord with their hearts pure, and prosper in all that they do, receiving from the Lord all that they ask [cf. Matt. 21:22; 1 John 3:22]. And then they glorify the Lord because they were turned over to me and no longer suffer any evil."

4.

64 I said to him, "Sir," said I, "explain something else to me." "What do you want to know?" he said. "Whether, sir," said I, "those who live luxuriously and in self-deception are tormented for the same time as they lived in luxury and self-deception?" He said to me, "They are tormented for the same time." 2. "Sir," said I, "they are tormented too little, for those who live in luxury and forget God ought to be tormented sevenfold." 3. He said to me, "You are foolish and you do not understand the power of torment." "Well, sir," I said, "if I had understood, I would not have asked you to explain it to me." "Listen," said he, "to the power of both. 4. The time of luxury and deception is one hour, but an hour of torment has the power of thirty days. So if anyone lives in luxury and self-deception for one day, and is tormented for one day, the day of torment has the impact of a whole year. So a man is tormented for as many years as days he lives in luxury. You see, then," he said, "that the time of luxury and deception is very short, while that of punishment and torment is great."

as the angel of repentance (25:1) because he is, functionally, the angel of repentance. His torments are didactic not retributive (63:6).

64:4. The author thinks of twelve hours of daytime (John 11:9).

5.

65 "Sir," I said, "since I do not understand at all about the times of deception and luxury and of torment, explain it more clearly to me." 2. He answered and said, "Your foolishness is persistent, and you do not wish to purify your heart and serve God. Be careful," he said, "lest the time be fulfilled and you still be found foolish. Listen then," said he, "so that you understand these things, just as you wish. 3. The one who lives in luxury and self-deception for one day, and does as he pleases, has put on considerable foolishness, and does not know what he is doing. For on the next day he forgets what he has done the day before. For luxury and deception have no memory because of the foolishness in which they are clothed. But when punishment and torment cling to a man for one day, he is punished and tormented for a year, for punishment and torment have long memories. 4. So when a man is tormented and punished for a whole year, then he remembers the luxury and deception, and he knows that he suffers evil because of them. So every man who lives in luxury and self-deception is tormented in this way, for even though they have life, they have given themselves over to death." 5. "Sir," said I, "what sorts of luxury are harmful?" "Everything," he said, "which a man likes to do is a luxury for him. For even the man who is ill-tempered lives in luxury when he satisfies his passion. And the adulterer and the drunkard and the slanderer and the liar and the one who covets and the robber and the one who does such things as these satisfies his own sickness. So he lives in luxury by his own action. 6. All these luxuries are harmful to the servant of God. So because of these deceptions, those who are punished and tormented are suffering. 7. But there are also luxuries which save men. For many live in luxury because they are moved to do good by their own pleasure. So this luxury is advantageous for the servants of God and brings life to such a man. But the harmful luxuries mentioned before bring torments and punishments, and if they persist and do not repent, they bring death on themselves."

65:7. Again the author demonstrates his nonascetic understanding of ethics. The Christian life is not negative discipline but positive release and enjoyment of the power of the holy Spirit. Such luxuries are good (see 26:2; 38:8-10).

Similitude VII

Concerning repentance and torment (66:1-7)

66 A few days later I saw him in the same plain where I had also seen the shepherds, and he said to me, "What do you want to know?" "I am here to ask you, sir," said I, "to command the punishing shepherd to leave my house, for he troubles me very much." "It is necessary for you to be troubled," he said, "for so has the glorious angel given orders concerning you. For he wants you to be tested." "Why, what have I done so evil, sir," said I, "that I should be given over to this angel?" 2. "Listen," he said. "Your sins are many, but not such that you ought to be given over to this angel. But your house has done great sins and iniquities, and the glorious angel has become embittered by their deeds, and for this reason he ordered you to be troubled for a while, that they also might repent and cleanse themselves of all the desires of this world. So whenever they repent and are cleansed, then the angel of punishment will leave you." 3. I said to him, "Sir, even if they have done such things that the glorious angel has become embittered, what have I done?" "There is no other way they can be troubled," said he, "than if you, the head of the house, be troubled. For when you are troubled, they of necessity will also be troubled, but while you prosper, they can have no trouble." 4. "But look, sir," I said, "they have repented with all their hearts." "I also know," he said, "that they have repented with all their hearts. Do you think," he said, "the sins of those who repent are immediately forgiven? By no means! But the one who repents must torment his own soul and be extremely humble in everything he does and be troubled with all kinds of tribulations. And if he endures the tribulations that come to him, surely the one who created and enabled all things [cf. Eph. 3:9] will have compassion and give them some healing, 5. and this, certainly, if he sees that the heart of the one who repented is clean of every evil deed. But it is beneficial for you and your house to be troubled at

66:1-7. The relationship of punishment to repentance is exemplified by Hermas and his family (see 1:8). The only advantage Hermas has (and now everyone else) is to understand the meaning of his tribulations (vs. 5).

this time. But why do I tell you so many things? You must be troubled, just as that angel of the Lord who gave you over to me has ordered. And give thanks to the Lord for this, that he considered you worthy to show you the tribulation beforehand, so that, knowing of it in advance, you may bear it bravely." 6. I said to him, "Sir, you stay with me, and I will be able to endure every tribulation." "I will be with you," he said, "and I will ask the punishing angel to trouble you more lightly. But you will be troubled for a little while and you will be restored again to your place. Only continue to be humble minded and serve the Lord with a pure heart, both your children and your household, and walk in my commandments which I give you, and your repentance can be strong and pure. 7. And if you, with your family, keep these things, all trouble will leave you, and trouble will leave all," he said, "who walk in these my commandments."

Similitude VIII

The parable of the willow tree (67:1-68:9)

1.

67 He showed me a willow tree that covered plains and mountains, and all who were called by the name of the Lord came under the shade of the willow. 2. And an angel of the Lord, glorious and very tall, stood beside the willow, with a huge pruning hook, and he was cutting branches from the willow, and he was giving them to the people who were in the shade of the willow. He gave to them small sticks, about eighteen inches long. 3. After they had all received the sticks, the angel put the pruning hook down, and the tree was as sound as I had seen it before. 4. And I wondered and said to myself, "How is the tree sound after so many branches have been cut off?" The shepherd said to me, "Do not wonder that the tree has remained sound after so many branches have been cut off; now look at everything," he said, "and what it means will be explained to you." 5. The angel who had given the sticks to the people asked for them back again. And they were called back to him in the same order as

67:1-68:9. Unlike the parable of the vineyard, which caused troublesome analogies (59:1), the parable of the willow tree was created by the author to describe the fate of thirteen types of believers

they had received them, and each of them returned the sticks. And the angel of the Lord took them and examined them. 6. From some he received the sticks dry and eaten, apparently by worms. The angel ordered the ones who had returned such sticks to stand off by themselves. 7. And others returned them dry, but they were not worm-eaten. He also ordered them to stand off by themselves. 8. Others returned them half dry, and these stood off by themselves. 9. Others returned their sticks half dry and cracked, and these stood off by themselves. 10. Others returned their sticks green and cracked, and these stood off by themselves. 11. Others returned the sticks half dry and the other half green, and these stood off by themselves. 12. Others presented their sticks two-thirds of the stick green and one-third dry, and these stood off by themselves. 13. Others returned them two-thirds dry and one-third green, and these stood off by themselves. 14. Others returned their sticks almost totally green, but only a bit of their sticks was dry, just the tip, and they had cracks in them. And these stood off by themselves. 15. Those of others had only a little green and the rest of the stick was dry. And these stood off by themselves. 16. Others came bearing their sticks green as they had received them from the angel. The greater part of the crowd returned such sticks, and the angel was very glad for them, and they stood off by themselves. 17. Others returned their sticks green and with shoots, and these stood off by themselves. And the angel was very glad for them. 18. Others returned their sticks green and with shoots and their shoots seemed to have some fruit. And those people whose sticks were found like that were very glad. And the angel rejoiced for them and the shepherd also was very glad for them.

2.

68 And the angel of the Lord ordered that crowns be brought. And crowns were brought, apparently made of palm leaves, and

(Dibelius p. 590). They all received the same gift (stick) from the tree of life (Num. 17:1-11; 1 Clem. 43; for the tree itself note Michael [69:2-3] and the tree in the mountain parable of Enoch 24), but returned them in various states of growth or decay (67:6-18). The ones that had retained their sticks as given to them, or even improved their condition, were rewarded (68:1-4). The remainder were offered an opportunity to live again (68:6-9).

68:2. The *sphragis* here cannot be baptism since it is a reward for

he crowned the people who had returned their sticks with shoots and some fruit, and he sent them off into the tower. 2. And he sent into the tower the others who had returned their sticks with shoots, but without fruit, and he gave to them seals. 3. And all who went into the tower had the same clothes, white as snow. 4. He also sent off those who returned the sticks green, as they had received them, and gave them white clothes and seals. 5. After the angel had finished this he said to the shepherd, "I am going away, but as for you, send these people inside the walls, in so far as any are worthy of dwelling there. But examine their sticks carefully and send them off accordingly—but examine carefully. See to it that no one goes by you unnoticed," he said, "but if any do get by you unnoticed, I will test them at the altar." After saying this to the shepherd he departed. 6. After the angel departed the shepherd said to me, "Let us take the sticks from all of them and plant them; perhaps some of them are able to live." I said to him, "Sir, how can these dry things live?" 7. He answered me and said, "This tree is a willow and hardy species, so if these sticks are planted and receive a little moisture, many of them will live, and so next I will try to pour water on them. If any of them can live, I will rejoice with them; but if none will live, I will not have been found negligent." 8. And the shepherd ordered me to call them in the order that each of them stood. They came group by group and returned the sticks to the shepherd. And the shepherd received the sticks and planted them by groups. After they were planted he poured out considerable water on them, so that the sticks were no longer visible because of the water. 9. And after he had watered the sticks he said to me, "Let us go, and after a few days come back and examine all these sticks, for the one who created this tree wishes all who received branches from it to live. And I also hope that, since these roots have received moisture and been watered, the greater part of them will live."

the faithful believers, but in 72:3 it is a sign of both baptism and repentance! In Similitude IX it is always baptism (see 93:4). In Hermas the *sphragis* must be both the realized and eschatological symbol of the victory of the Spirit (see G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* [London, 1951], 105 f.).

The meaning of the willow and the sticks (69:1-8)

3.

69 I said to him, "Sir, let me know what this tree is, for I am at a loss concerning it, that, although so many branches were cut off, the tree is sound and nothing at all appears to have been cut from it. So I am confused by this." 2. "Listen," said he, "this great tree which covers plains and mountains and all the earth is the law of God which was given to all the world. And this law is the Son of God, who has been preached to the ends of the earth. And the people in the shade are those who have heard the preaching and believed it. 3. And the great and glorious angel is Michael, who has authority over this people and guides them, for it is he who puts the law into the hearts of those who believe. So he examines those to whom he has given the law to see if they have kept it. 4. But you see the sticks of each one, for the sticks are the law. So you see many of the sticks made useless, and you will know that they are all those who have not kept the law. And you will see the dwelling of each one." 5. I said to him, "Sir, why did he send some off to the tower and leave others with you?" "For the sake

69:1-8. The shepherd explains the parable as a type of the development of the church: the gospel is preached; men believe; they receive the law; some do not keep the law; and repentance is offered (vss. 1-4). Those that did keep the law are then identified (vss. 6-8).

69:2. From a Pauline standpoint, the identification of the law with the Son would be a destruction of the gospel (so Klevinghaus p. 114), but when the law is understood in *Hermas* as the description of that life where spirit and flesh are united (see 59:1; 26:2), then the Son, functionally speaking, is both that perfect existence and the description of it (cf. Barn. 2:6). This existence of the holy Spirit in the flesh is given to everyone who believes (vs. 3). The question is whether man keeps the Spirit or defiles it (the sticks in the parable; vs. 4).

69:3. In 67:2 the angel was described as very tall. Tall angels are common in Jewish-Christian angelology (2 Enoch 1:4; T. Reuben 5:7; see Daniélou p. 182); the author of the Shepherd uses this height to achieve rank, for this angel is the archangel Michael, who in Jewish-Christian thought has some functions related to the Christological functions (Dan. 10:21; 2 Enoch 22:4-9; see Daniélou pp. 124 f.). Here even Michael is subordinated to Christological functions (see 59:1)—the giving of the new existence, judgment over the unfaithful (vs. 3), and Lordship over the faithful (vs. 5). In fact, the tall, glorious man is none other than the Son in Similitude IX (89:8). It

of repentance," said he, "he left under my authority those who transgressed the law which they had received from him. But he keeps under his own authority those who were pleased with the law and kept it." 6. "Who, then, sir," I said, "are those who were crowned and went into the tower?" He answered me and said, "Those who were crowned are the ones who wrestled with the devil and conquered him. They are the ones who suffered for the sake of the law. 7. And the others who also returned their sticks green and with shoots, but without fruit, are those who were persecuted for the sake of law, but did not suffer, or deny their law. 8. And those returned them green, just as they had received them, are reverent and righteous and walk with an exceedingly pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. And you will know the rest whenever I examine these sticks which have been planted and watered."

Examination of the sticks (70:1-71:6)

4.

70 After a few days we went to the spot, and the shepherd sat in the place of the great angel and I stood beside him. And he said to me, "Gird yourself with a towel and assist me." I girded myself with a clean towel made of sackcloth. 2. When he saw me

cannot be determined whether this deliberate subordination is an attack on angelology (quite clear in 89:8; see Daniélou p. 122) or simply a way of handling Jewish-Christian angel symbols in an alien Two Spirit theology. In any case, the theology of the Shepherd does not call for a system of angelic mediators as in some genuine apocalyptic (see D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia, 1964], 235-262).

69:6. Despite the efforts of A. Stahl (*Patristische Untersuchungen* [Leipzig, 1901], 233 f.) to find martyrdom as the highest goal of the Shepherd, there is no real indication that the author urged it, or that it had occurred within the scope of his period of writing. The tower (68:1) into which these three groups went is the present church (see 10:5), with eschatological implications. The repentance offered is historical (69:5) and by it is determined present participation in the church. The eschatological vision of the church is its purity (95:3 f.). So those who suffered are not martyrs but living Christians who underwent some form of tribulation or persecution (see p. 24).

70:1-71:6. The remaining classes of believers who need repentance

girded and prepared to assist him, he said, "Call by groups the men whose sticks have been planted in the order that each of them returned their sticks." I went off into the plain and called them all and they all stood in their groups. 3. And he said to them, "Let each one pull out his own stick and bring it to me." 4. The first to return theirs were those who had them dry and marred, and, as in like manner they were found dry and marred, he ordered them to stand off by themselves. 5. Next those who had them dry and not marred returned their sticks; some of them returned their sticks green, and some dry and marred, apparently by worms. Those who returned theirs green he ordered to stand off by themselves, and those who returned theirs dry and marred he ordered to stand with the first ones. 6. Next those who had them half dry and cracked returned theirs; many of them returned theirs green and without cracks, and some green and with shoots and with fruit on the shoots, such as those had had who were crowned and went into the tower. But some returned theirs dry and eaten, and some dry and not eaten, and some were as before, half dry and cracked. He ordered each of them to stand off by themselves, some to their own group and others by themselves.

5.

71 Next, those whose sticks were green but cracked returned them. They all returned theirs green and they stood in their own group. The shepherd was glad for them because they all were changed and had lost their cracks. 2. And those also who had them half green and half dry returned theirs. The sticks of some were completely green, of some half dry, of some dry and eaten, of some green and with shoots. All these were sent off each to his own group. 3. Next, those who had them two-thirds green and one-third dry returned theirs. Many of them returned theirs green, but many half dry, and others dry and eaten. All these were sent off, each to his own group. 4. Others had returned their sticks two-

are examined. Their sticks are presented and they are regrouped according to their new condition. The author has worked out an elaborate system of conditions to indicate how likely a certain group will repent. A close examination of the results will show that the partially green sticks (71:1-6) have disappeared. The new groups are either totally green or not green at all (Giet p. 242).

thirds dry and one-third green; many of them returned theirs half dry, some of them dry and eaten, some of them half dry and with cracks, and a few returned theirs green. All these stood in their own group. 5. And those who had sticks which were green, but only a bit dry and cracked, returned theirs. Of them, some returned theirs green, some green and with shoots. These also went off to their group. 6. Next, the ones who had them only a little green and the rest dry returned theirs. The sticks of these were found for the most part green, and with shoots and fruit among the shoots, and others wholly green. The shepherd rejoiced greatly on account of these sticks because they were found like this. And they went off, each to his own group.

The meaning of the sticks (72:1-76:4)

6.

72 After the shepherd had examined the sticks of them all, he said to me, "I told you that this tree was hardy. Do you see," he said, "how many have repented and were saved?" "I see, sir," I said. "So that you might see," he said, "the great compassion of the Lord, that it is grand and glorious, he also gave the spirit to those who were worthy of repentance." 2. "Why, then, sir," I said, "did not all repent?" "He gave repentance," he said, "to those whose hearts he saw would be pure and who would serve him with all their heart. But to those whose deceit and evil he saw, and who would repent in hypocrisy, he did not give repentance, lest they again blaspheme his name." 3. I said to him, "Sir, now interpret for me what sort of person these are who have returned their sticks and where they live, so that, when they hear it, those

72:1-76:4. The elaborate parable is now explained. The remaining ten categories are identified and the varying success of repentance is clarified for each group. Only the one class—apostates, betrayers of the church, and blasphemers of the Lord—have no opportunity for repentance (62:3), though the possible fate of the double minded is not given (73:1).

72:3. For Hermas the *sphragis* is the gift of unity between the holy Spirit and flesh, and as such comes both at baptism and repentance (see 68:2; 93:4).

72:4. This group has denied their confession and for them there is no hope of repentance. We do not find here signs of a wholesale

who have believed and received the seal and have broken it and have not kept it sound will recognize their own deeds and repent, receive a seal from you, and glorify the Lord because he has been merciful to them and sent you to renew their spirits." 4. "Listen," said he, "those whose sticks were found dry and worm-eaten are the apostates and betrayers of the church, and by their sins they blasphemed the Lord, and besides, they were ashamed of the Lord's name by which they were called [cf. Gen. 48:16; Amos 9:12; Jas. 2:7]. So these finally died to God. And you see that not a one of them repented, though they heard the words you had spoken to them, which I had commanded you. From such, life has departed. 5. And they who returned theirs dry and undecayed are near to them, for they were hypocrites and brought in divergent teachings and perverted the servants of God, especially those who had sinned, by not allowing them to repent, but persuading them with their foolish teachings. These, then, have hope of repentance. 6. And you see that many of them have repented since you told them my commandments; and more will repent. But those who will not repent have lost their lives. Those of them that have repented have become good, and they have come to dwell within the first walls. And some even went up into the tower. "You see, then," he said, "that the repentance of sinners means life, but not to repent means death."

persecution. This group is not large (68:9). It would be hard to believe that in the midst of a harsh persecution the central problem of this congregation could be involvement in the economic structures of Rome (75:1; 50:1-11; see pp. 20-21). Within the time limit we have set for the Shepherd, such a persecution is not known (see p. 24), nor does it help to put Similitude VIII later (Giet pp. 300-305) since Similitude IX has the same categories (ch. 96). We must conclude that some left the church under threat of persecution (22:6) and shortly thereafter Vision V-Similitude VIII was composed, using this small group as a threat to those who did not repent.

72:5. The heterodox teachers here are the teachers of Mandate IV who would not allow repentance (31:1). Dibelius p. 596 thinks not, but he fails to grasp the significance of the dialectic of repentance (30:1-31:7), and supposes falsely that these teachers are "heretics." Since they have hope of repentance, they are still in the church. The *didachas heteras* are in relation to Hermas, not "orthodoxy." There is no indication of Gnosticism here though it is widely assumed to be (Dibelius p. 596; Joly p. 277; Giet pp. 302 f.).

7.

73 "And those who returned theirs half dry and with cracks in them, hear about them. Those among them whose sticks were half dry are double minded, for they are neither alive nor dead. 2. And those who had them half dry and with cracks in them are also double minded and slanderers, and never at peace among themselves [cf. 1 Thess. 5:13], but always factious. Even for them," said he, "repentance still exists. You see," said he, "that some of them have already repented. And hope of repentance is still in them. 3. So those of them," said he, "who have repented will have their dwelling in the tower. Those of them that repent slowly will dwell within the walls. But those who do not repent and persist in their present practices will die a certain death. 4. Those who returned their sticks green and with cracks were always faithful and good, but there was some jealousy among them over questions of priority and a particular status. But they are all foolish to be jealous of one another over priority. 5. But since they are good, upon hearing my commandments, they, too, quickly purified themselves and repented. So they came to dwell in the tower. But if any of them turns again to factionalism, he will be cast out of the tower and will lose his life. 6. Life is for all those who keep the commandments of the Lord, and in the commandments there is nothing about questions of priority or particular status, but about the patience and humility of a man. So in such as these is the life of the Lord, but in those who are factious and lawless there is death."

8.

74 "Those who returned their sticks half green, half dry, are those who are involved in their own affairs and do not associate with the saints; that is why for them one half lives and one half has died. 2. When they heard my commandments, then, many

73:1. The fate of the double minded is not given (chs. 70-71). They and the slanderers are the last class with no green, which means they are categorized as dead. It is the classes with some green that are eliminated by repentance. There are green because they have been faithful despite their sins (73:4; 75:1; 76:1), but the double minded are not faithful, for they play perfection against repentance and therefore repent slowly (73:3; see 39:1-12).

repented. For those who repented, their dwelling is in the tower, but some of them finally fell away. These, then, have no repentance, for because of their affairs they blasphemed the Lord and denied him. So they lost their lives because of the evil which they did. 3. And many of them were double minded. These still have repentance, if they repent quickly, and their dwelling will be in the tower. But if they repent slowly, they will dwell within the walls. If they do not repent, they too will lose their lives. 4. Those who returned their two-thirds green and one-third dry have denied in many different ways. 5. Many of them have repented, then, and have gone off to dwell in the tower. But many finally fell away from God; these ultimately lost their lives. Some of them were double minded and factious. For these, then, there is still repentance, if they repent quickly and do not persist in their pleasures. But if they continue in their practices, they too create death for themselves."

9.

75 "Those who returned their sticks two-thirds dry and one-third green had been faithful, but they became rich and acquired more renown among the heathen. They put on great arrogance and became haughty and abandoned the truth and did not associate with the righteous, but lived with the heathen and this way has become more pleasing to them. They did not fall away from God, but remained in the faith without doing the works of faith. 2. Many of them repented, then, and then came to dwell in the tower. 3. But others lived completely with the heathen and, driven by the vanities of the heathen, they fell away from God and did as the heathen did. These, then, will be counted among the heathen. 4. Others of them were double minded, without hope of being saved because of the deeds they had done. Others were double minded and made schisms among themselves. For these, then, that became double minded because of their deeds, there is yet repentance. But their repentance needs to be quick for them to have a dwelling in the tower. For those who do not repent, but persist in their pleasures, death is near."

10.

76 "Those who returned their sticks green, but with the very

tips dry and cracked have always been good and faithful and glorious before God, but they sinned just a little because of small desires and certain little things they held against each other. But when they heard my words, the greatest part of them repented quickly, and they came to dwell in the tower. 2. Some of them were double minded, and some, being double minded, created considerable factionalism. For them, then, there is still hope of repentance because they were always good; none of them will die easily. 3. Those who returned their sticks dry and only a little green are the ones who believed only, but did works of iniquity. They have never fallen away from God and bear the name gladly and have welcomed the servants of God into their houses with pleasure. So when they heard of this repentance, they repented without hesitating and are practicing every virtue of righteousness. 4. Some of them are even suffering, and they endure gladly for they know the things they did. So all of these will dwell in the tower."

An exhortation on repentance (77:1-5)

11.

77 And after he had finished the explanations of all the sticks, he said to me, "Go and tell all men to repent and live to God, because the Lord was compassionate and sent me to give repentance to all, though some were not worthy of being saved because of their deeds. But being patient, the Lord wants those who were called through his Son to be saved." 2. I said to him, "Sir, I hope that all who hear them will repent. For I am persuaded that each one, when he recognizes what he has done and fears God, will repent." 3. He answered me and said, "Those," he said, "who repent with all their heart and cleanse themselves of all their

77:1-5. The parable ends with a promise of repentance for those who have already sinned, an exhortation to perfection, and a threat against the double minded who repent without expecting to keep the commandments.

77:5. At a previous stage of the Shepherd the didactic section ended here and Similitude X (or equivalent) closed the work as a whole. But when Similitude IX was added, a further category of revelation was necessitated, so the shepherd promised *ta loipa*—the *ta hetera* of 25:5 (see p. 5).

aforementioned evils, and add nothing more to their sins, will receive healing from the Lord for their previous sins, if they are not double minded about these commandments; and they will live to God. But those," he said, "who add to their sins and walk in the desires of this world, will condemn themselves to death. 4. But you walk in my commandments, and you will live to God. And whoever walks in them and does rightly will live to God." 5. When he had shown these things to me and told me everything, he said to me, "I will show you the rest after a few days."

Similitude IX

The twelve mountains of Arcadia (78:1-10)

1.

78 After I had written the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said to me, "I want to show you what the holy Spirit, which spoke with you in the form of the Church, showed you; for that Spirit is the Son of God. 2. For since you were too weak in the flesh, it was not shown to you by an angel. So when you had gained power through the Spirit and were strengthened in your health, so that you were also able to see an angel, then the building of the tower was shown to you by the Church. And you saw all things well and reverently, as if from a virgin. But now you see it from an angel through the same

78:1-10. The ninth parable, inserted here at a later date (see pp. 4-6), attempts to unify the entire work by equating the holy Spirit (of the Mandates and Similitudes) with the Son (as apparent in 59:1) and the Church of Visions I-IV. Except for this more apparent Christology, which now becomes necessary for salvation (ch. 89), there is little new teaching in the parable. It reinterprets the tower vision (Vis. III) along the lines of Similitude VIII and inserts the twelve mountains to approximate the sticks of Similitude VIII (for a collation of the mountains and sticks see Giet p. 243). The parable begins with the revelation of the twelve mountains (vss. 4-10).

78:1-2. The author deliberately ties the parable to Vision III by describing Similitude IX as a reinterpretation of what the Church had revealed (8:1). From the Christology of Similitude V (see 59:1) it is clear that the holy Spirit can be identified with the Son (see Opitz, *Ursprünge frühkatholischer Pneumatologie*, 53). But that the holy Spirit spoke in the form of the Church is more difficult. In Visions I-

Spirit. 3. You must see everything more exactly with me. For this is why I was sent by the glorious angel to live in your house, so that you might see everything as clearly as possible, without fearing as you did before. 4. And he led me away to Arcadia, to a mountain rounded like a breast, and he seated me on top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain, and around the plain twelve mountains, each with a different appearance. 5. The first was black as soot, and the second was bare, without any vegetation. The third was full of thorns and thistles. 6. The fourth had vegetation that was half dry, green at the top, but dry toward the roots, and some plants were turning dry whenever the sun scorched them. 7. The fifth mountain was very rough and had green vegetation. The sixth mountain was completely full of ravines, some large and some small; and the ravines had vegetation, but the plants were not very flourishing, but appeared withered instead. 8. The seventh mountain had bright vegetation and the whole mountain was flourishing, and all kinds of cattle

IV the Church was also pre-existent or protological (8:1), but the Spirit is never connected with the Church. In Similitude IX the identification of the Church with the Spirit is an eschatological expectation within the Two Spirit doctrine. Following repentance, the believers will enter the tower (church) and become one spirit and one body (90:5, 7; 95:4). When they become one spirit and one body they will be of one stone (monolithic) with the rock (the Son). Those who have the spirit of evil will be rejected (95:3). As the Son is the perfect dwelling of the holy Spirit in flesh, so the Church is the perfect dwelling of the Spirit among men.

Verse 2 is a very muddled progression. Dibelius p. 602 has the proper understanding but neither the text nor the translation makes it clear. When Hermas was weak in the flesh (sinning) he received no revelations. When he repented and received the holy Spirit, he was strengthened and then could see an angel, the Church. And he saw well from the virgin Church. What he is about to see is by the same Spirit (vs. 1), but it will be seen more exactly through the shepherd than through the Church, because Hermas is no longer afraid (vs. 3; see 2:1; 9:5; 22:7).

ARCADIA. The setting of the twelve mountains revelation is Arcadia, a bucolic, romantic region in Greece, noted as the home of Hermes and the ideal of pastoral poets (see G. Bardy in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I [Stuttgart, 1950], 596 f.). Why does the author make this the setting for his parable? Several answers have been proposed:

and birds were feeding on that mountain. And the more the cattle and birds ate, the more the vegetation of the mountain flourished. The eighth mountain was full of springs, and every species of the Lord's creation watered from the springs of that mountain. 9. But the ninth mountain had no water at all and was all desert. But it had on it wild animals and deadly reptiles that destroyed men. The tenth mountain had huge trees and was completely in the shade, and under the shade of the trees sheep lay resting and ruminating. 10. The eleventh mountain was literally covered with trees and those trees were very fruitful, each decorated with a different fruit, so that everyone who saw them desired to eat of their fruit. The twelfth mountain was completely white, and its appearance was very bright, and the mountain was beautiful by itself.

1. T. Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas* [Gotha, 1868], 211-218) erases Arcadia by proposing a conjectured reading *Arikian* (an area near Rome) for *Arkadian*, but there is no textual evidence for this.

2. Several, impressed by the accuracy of the description, have supposed the author came from Arcadia, or at least knew it well, and so used it for his parable (R. Harris, *Hermas in Arcadia* [Cambridge, Eng., 1896]; also in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 7 [1887], 69-83; J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* [London, 1920], 27).

3. R. Reitzenstein (*Poimandres* [Leipzig, 1904], 33; see also A. Loisy, in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 8 [1922], 249) suggested Hermes is the prototype of Hermas, and that the author Christianized this Hellenistic material much as he Christianized Jewish materials. It has been objected that Hermas is not the revelator, and that the shepherd figure, as a Christological figure is quite biblical (see 25:1; G. Bardy in *Revue biblique* 8 [1911], 391-407; Dibelius in *Harnack-Ehrung* [Leipzig, 1921], 116).

4. Some have taken Arcadia to be the plain of Ardat in a similar vision from 4 Ezra 9:26 (see G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse* [London, 1912], 212 f.).

The parable here has nothing to do with the bucolic Arcadia. Like the Sibyl of 8:1, the author simply made a reference to a well-known literary figure of speech to create a bridge with Hellenistic culture (with W. Schmid in *Convivium* [Stuttgart, 1954], 130).

The origin of the twelve mountains is something else, and is significant for understanding the parable. In Enoch 24-32, the probable origin of Similitude VIII (chs. 67-68), we have a parable of the seven mountains, various mountains with exotic trees, deep ravines, streams, and splendid stones! The middle of this was Jerusalem (in Jub. 8:19, the navel). The author of the Shepherd speaks of the twelve moun-

The building of the tower (79:1–82:7)

2.

79 In the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock which had risen up out of the plain. And the rock was higher than the mountains and square, so as to contain the entire world. **2.** And that rock was old, with a portico carved out of it, but it seemed to me the carving of the portico was recent. And the portico was more radiant than the sun, so that I marveled at the brightness of the portico. **3.** And around the portico stood twelve virgins. The four that stood at the corners seemed to me more glorious (though the others were glorious too) and they stood at the four sides of the portico, each with two virgins between them. **4.** And they were dressed in linen clothes and properly girded, their right shoulders bare as though about to carry some load. So they were ready, for they were very cheerful and eager. **5.** After I had seen these things, I wondered to myself, for I was seeing great and glorious things. And again I was at a loss concerning the virgins, because even though exquisite, they stood in so masculine a stance as if about to carry the whole heaven. **6.** And the shepherd said to me, "Why do you ponder this in your own mind and become perplexed and trouble yourself? You should not try, as though you were already intelligent, to understand that which you cannot, but ask the Lord to receive the intelligence to understand them. **7.** You are not able to see what is behind you, but you see what is before you. So do not trouble yourself about what you cannot see, but what you see; master that and do not busy yourself unnecessarily with the rest. I will explain everything to you that I show you. So look then at the rest."

tains as the twelve tribes (94:1; though cf. 94:2). The mountains are Israel, the church as is. In the middle (79:1) is the eschatological Jerusalem, the true church, which is being formed by the repentance of believers (ch. 95). The parable of the twelve mountains surely came from a Jewish-Christian parable much like the seven mountains of Enoch 24–32.

79:1–83:8. Inserted in the parable of the twelve mountains (chs. 94–106) is a reinterpretation of the tower from Vision III. Here as there (10:5) it is the eschatological Zion or Jerusalem, though more explicitly so here, since it is in the middle of the twelve tribes (79:1; see 78:1–2). The building proceeds much like that of Vision III, except

3.

80 I saw that six men had arrived, tall and glorious and alike in appearance, and they called forth a multitude of men. And those who came were also tall men and very handsome and strong. And the six men ordered them to build a particular tower over the rock. And there was a great clamor of those men who had come to build the tower, as they ran here and there around the portico. 2. And the virgins standing around the portico told the men to hasten their construction of the lower, and the virgins held out their hands as if about to receive something from the men. 3. And the six men ordered certain stones to come up from a deep place and to go into the structure of the tower. And ten square stones came up, gleaming and unhewn. 4. And the six men called the virgins and ordered them to take up all the stones that were to go into the structure of the tower and to pass through the portico and give them to the men who were going to build the tower. 5. And the virgins placed on one another the ten stones which first came up out of the deep, and they carried them together, one stone after another.

4.

81 And just as they had stood together around the portico, so those who seemed the strongest took up the stone and took their place under its corners. And the others got under the stone along its sides, and in that way they carried all the stones. And they brought them through the portico as they had been ordered, and gave them to the men for the tower. And as they received the stones they built. 2. And the tower was built on the great rock and above the portico. So those ten stones were fitted together and they covered the whole rock, and they formed the foundation for the construction of the tower. And the rock and the portico supported the whole tower. 3. And after the ten stones twenty-five other stones came up from the deep place, and these were fitted

for two notable differences: (a) Now the stones must pass through the portico and be handed over by the virgins (in Vis. III there was no portico and the women were an afterthought, 16:1-9). (b) In Similitude IX the undesirable stones are rejected from the structure by the Lord of the tower (83:3-5), while in Vision III they never arrive at the tower (10:7-9).

into the structure of the tower, brought by the virgins like the previous stones. And after these thirty-five came up, and these likewise were fitted into the tower. And after these forty stones came up, and these all were placed in the structure of the tower. So there were four courses in the foundation of the tower. 4. And they ceased coming up from the deep place, and the builders also stopped for a little while. And again the six men gave orders for the multitude of people to bring from the mountains stones for the building of the tower. 5. So they were brought from all the mountains [stones] of various colors, quarried by the men and they were given to the virgins. And the virgins took them through the portico and delivered them for the building of the tower. And when the various stones were put in the building, they became all alike and changed their previous colors to white. 6. But some of the stones were delivered by the men for the construction and they did not become bright, but remained as they were when placed. For they had not been delivered by the virgins, nor had they been brought through the portico. So these stones were inappropriate for the building of the tower. 7. The six men saw that these stones were inappropriate for the building of the tower and they ordered them to be removed and taken down to their own place, whence they had been taken. 8. And they said to the men who bore the stones, "You absolutely must not deliver stones in the building, but place them beside the tower so that the virgins who take them through the portico may deliver them into the building. For if," they said, "they are not brought by the hands of these virgins through the portico, they cannot change their colors. So do not labor in vain," they said.

5.

82 And the construction was ended on that day, but the tower was not completed, for the building of it was to be continued, but there was somewhat of a pause in the construction. And the six men ordered all the builders to back off a little way and, so to speak, take a rest. But they gave orders for the virgins not to leave the tower. And it seemed to me the virgins were left to guard the tower. 2. After they had all backed off and were resting, I said to the shepherd, "Why, sir," said I, "was the building of the tower not completed?" "The tower cannot yet be completed,"

said he, "unless its lord come and test this building so that if some of the stones are found defective he may replace them, for the tower is being built to meet his specifications." 3. "I would like to know, sir," I said, "what the building of this tower means, and about the rock and the portico and the mountains and the virgins and the stones which came up from the deep place and were unhewn, but went into the building as they were, 4. and why first ten stones were laid for the foundation, then twenty-five, then thirty-five, then forty, and about the stones that were put into the building and taken out again and put back in their own place. Put my mind at ease in regard to all these things, sir, and make them known to me." 5. "If you are not found," he said, "concerning yourself with worthless things, you will know them. For after a few days we will come here, and you will see the rest of the things that happen to this tower and you will know all the parables accurately." 6. After a few days we went to the place where we had been seated, and he said to me, "Let us go to the tower, for the owner of the tower is coming to examine it." And we went to the tower, and no one at all was near it, except the virgins alone. 7. And the shepherd asked the virgins whether the master of the tower had come. And they said he was about to come to examine the building.

Inspection by the lord of the tower (83:1-84:7)

6.

83 And behold, a little later I saw a procession of many men coming. And in their midst was a man so tall that he rose above the tower. 2. And the six men who had supervised the construction walked with him at his right and at his left, and all the ones who had worked on the building were with him and many other glorious beings were around him. And the virgins who watched the tower ran up to him and kissed him and began to

83:1. The six angels in charge of the construction of the tower are the same as those in the Visions (12:1), except that they are of unusual height (as noted in 69:3). But in Similitude IX a seventh member appears who is even taller. His height indicates his superiority (the Son, 89:8) and is not an uncommon symbol of Christ in early Christian literature (G. Peter 40; 4 Ezra 2:43; see Joly pp. 300 f).

walk around the tower at his side. 3. And that man examined the building carefully, so that he handled each stone. And he held a baton in his hand and he struck each stone used in the construction. 4. And when he struck them, some of them became black as soot, some rough, some cracked, some too short, some neither black nor white, some uneven and did not fit properly with the other stones, and some with many blemishes. And these were the various kinds of defective stones found in the building. 5. So he ordered all these to be removed from the tower and put beside the tower, and other stones brought and put in their place. 6. And the builders asked him from which mountain he wanted the stones brought and put in their place. And he did not order them to be brought from the mountains, but he ordered them brought from a certain plain nearby. 7. And the plain was quarried, and splendid square stones were found, but some were also round. Then all the stones that were found in that plain were brought and carried through the portico by the virgins. 8. And the square stones were hewn and put in the place of those taken out. But the round ones were not put in the building because they were hard and it took a long time to hew them out. And they were placed beside the tower, as though about to be hewn and placed in the building, for they were very splendid.

7.

84 So when the glorious man, and lord of the entire tower, had finished these things, he called the shepherd and turned over to him all the stones which were lying beside the tower, the ones that had been removed from the building, and he said to him, 2. "Clean these stones carefully and use in the construction of the tower those that can fit with the others. And throw far from the tower those that do not fit." 3. After he had given these orders to the shepherd, he left the tower, along with all those with whom he had come. But the virgins stood in a circle around the tower to guard it. 4. I said to the shepherd, "How can these stones go back into the structure of the tower after they have been rejected?" He answered me and said, "Do you see," said he, "these stones?" "I

84:1-7. In Similitude VIII repentance was symbolized by placing the sticks in water. Here the stones will be given a chance to fit into the tower once again.

see, sir," said I. "I will hew out," said he, "the greater part of these stones and put them in the building, and they will fit with the rest of the stones." 5. "How, sir," I said, "can they fill the same place after they have been hewn all around?" He answered me and said. "Those that are found small will be placed inside the structure, and those that are large will be placed exteriorly and will hold them together." 6. After telling me these things, he said to me, "Let us go, and after two days let us come and clean these stones and put them in the building. For everything around the tower must be cleaned, lest the master come unexpectedly and find it dirty around the tower and be provoked. And these stones will not get into the structure of the tower, and I will appear careless to the master." 7. And two days later we went to the tower and he said to me, "Let us examine all the stones and let us see which ones can go into the bulding." I said to him, "Sir, let us examine them."

Examination of those stones not used (85:1-7)

8.

85 And we examined the stones, beginning first with the black ones. And these were found just the same as when they were taken from the building. And the shepherd ordered them carried from the building and taken away. 2. Then he examined the rough ones, and he took and hewed many of them and he ordered the virgins to take them and put them in the building. And the virgins took them and put them in the building, inside the tower. And he ordered the rest to be put with the black ones, for they too were found black. 3. Then he examined those with cracks, and he hewed out many of them and ordered them to be

85:1-7. Seven types of stones were rejected (83:4). These are now examined to see whether they can be returned to the tower, to the interior wall if weak, to the exterior wall if strong. The seven types of rejected stones are never explained, but have been absorbed into the parable of the twelve mountains (equivalent to the sticks of Sim. VIII). There are seven mountains of poor quality and traces of the stones can be seen: the fourth mountain is half and half (ch. 98); the fifth mountain is rough (ch. 99); and the sixth mountain has cracks or ravines (ch. 100; see Dibelius p. 611). The blemished, the short, and again the rough are considered in chapter 103.

carried into the building by the virgins. And they were placed on the exterior because they were found to be so strong. But because of so many cracks the rest could not be hewn out. So for this reason they were removed from the structure of the tower. 4. Then he examined the short ones, and found many among them to be black, and some had developed huge cracks, and he ordered them also to be put with the ones that were discarded. And when he had cleaned and hewed out those that remained, he ordered them put in the building. And the virgins took them and fitted them into the interior of the tower's structure, for they were so weak. 5. Then he examined those that were half white and half black, and many of them were found black, and he ordered them also to be taken away with those that were discarded. And all the rest were taken by the virgins, for since they were white they were fitted by the virgins themselves into the building. And, because they were found strong, they were placed on the exterior, so that they could support the ones put on the inside, for not a one of them was too short. 6. Then he examined the uneven and hard ones, and a few of them were discarded because they could not be hewed, for they were found to be very hard. But the rest of them were hewed out and were carried by the virgins and were fitted into the interior of the tower's structure, for they were so weak. 7. Then he examined those with blemishes, and a very few of them had turned black and were discarded with the rest. But the remainder were gleaming and were found strong. And these were fitted by the virgins into the building, and they were put on the exterior because of their strength.

The disposition of the stones (86:1-7)

9.

86 Then he went to examine the stones that were white and round and he said to me, "What are we to do with these stones?" "How should I know, sir?" I said. "So you notice nothing about them?" 2. "Sir," I said, "I do not possess this skill, nor am I a

86:1-7. In 83:7 stones had been brought from a special plain to replace the rejected stones. Among these were fine round stones, which now are hewed and fitted into the tower. This special class (the wealthy of the congregation of Hermas) is explained in 107:1-108:6.

stonecutter, nor am I able to understand it." "Do you not see," said he, "that they are very round? And if I wish to make them square, considerable must be cut off them. But some of them must, by necessity, be put in the building." 3. "If, then, sir," I said, "it is necessary, why do you torment yourself, and not select the ones you want for the building, and fit them into it?" He selected from the largest and brightest and hewed them out, and the virgins took them and fitted them into the exterior part of the building. 4. And the rest of those that remained were taken and put back in the plain from which they had been brought. But they were not rejected, "Because," said he, "there still remains a little of the tower to be constructed. And the master of the tower certainly wants these stones to be fitted into the building, for they are very bright." 5. And twelve women were called, very beautiful in outward appearance, clothed in black, properly girded, with shoulders bare and hair loosened. And these women seemed to me to be wild. But the shepherd ordered them to take the stones which had been rejected from the building and carry them back to the mountains from which they had been brought. 6. And cheerfully they took and carried away all the stones and put them whence they had been taken. And after all the stones had been taken and not a stone lay around the tower any longer, the shepherd said to me, "Let us go around the tower and see whether there is any defect in it." And I went around with him. 7. And when the shepherd saw that the tower was beautiful in its structure, he was overjoyed; for the tower was so built that I envied its structure when I saw it. For it was built as if of one stone, without a single joint in it. And the stone looked as if it had been cut out of the rock, for it seemed to me to be a monolith.

Hermas is entrusted to the virgins (87:1-88:9)

10.

87 And as I walked with him I was glad to see such good things.

Those stones that were rejected are then turned over to twelve attractive but wild women (vss. 5 f.) who are the vice counterparts of the twelve virgins (92:1-4). With their rejection the tower is monolithic in appearance (90:5; ch. 95).

87:1-88:9. The shepherd leaves Hermas at the tower with the vir-

And the shepherd said to me, "Go and bring some unslaked lime and a light piece of broken pottery, so that I can fill in the marks of the stones that were taken and put in the building. For everything around the tower must be made smooth." 2. And I did as he ordered, and I brought them to him. "Help me," said he, "and the work will soon be finished." So he filled all the marks of the stones that had gone into the building and ordered the area around the tower swept and cleaned. 3. And the virgins took brooms and swept and took all the rubbish from the tower and sprinkled water, and the site of the tower became gay and lovely. 4. The shepherd said to me, "Everything," said he, "has been made clean. If the lord comes to look at the tower, he has nothing for which to blame us." Having said this he wished to leave. 5. But I grabbed his pouch and began to implore him, for the Lord's sake, to explain to me what he had shown me. He said to me, "I am busy for a little while; nevertheless I will explain everything to you. Wait for me here until I come." 6. I said to him, "Sir, what shall I do here all alone?" "You are not alone," said he, "for these virgins are with you." "So commend me to them," I said. The shepherd called them and said to them, "I entrust this man to you until I come." And he departed. 7. And I was alone with the virgins. And they were most cheerful and were gracious to me, especially the four who were the most glorious of them.

11.

88 The virgins said to me, "The shepherd is not coming here today." "So what shall I do?" said I. "Wait for him until evening," they said, "and if he comes he will talk with you, and if he does not come, stay with us here until he does come." 2. I said to them,

gins who entreat him to sleep all night with them "as a brother." This strange interlude is difficult to evaluate. Laeuchli p. 154 takes it to be an erotic expression of frustrated asceticism. Its purpose appears to be a test which, when properly passed, marks the beginning of the interpretation (88:9).

87:1. The Greek word *lepton* has often been translated "fine clay," but Goodspeed shows it must be a potsherd used as a trowel for handling lime (in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 73 [1954], 85).

88:3. Some have supposed the author supports the *syneisaktoi*, those who practice spiritual marriage, but we have already determined that Hermas is not an ascetic (see 2:4; 26:2; 29:8). Furthermore, this

"I will wait for him until evening; and if he does not come, I will go home and return in the morning." But they answered and said to me, "You were entrusted to us; you cannot leave us." 3. "Where, then," said I, "shall I stay?" "You shall sleep with us," they said, "as a brother and not as a husband, for you are our brother and from now on we are going to live with you, for we love you very much." But I was ashamed to stay with them. 4. And she who seemed to be foremost among them began to kiss me and embrace me. And when the others saw her embrace me, they also began to kiss me and take me around the tower and to play with me. 5. And I, so to speak, became young again and began to play with them myself; for some did choral dances, and some danced, and some sang; and I walked with them in silence around the tower, and I was glad to be with them. 6. But when evening came I wished to go home; but they would not allow it, and they kept me from going away. And I spent the night with them and slept near the tower. 7. For the virgins spread out their linen clothes on the ground and they had me lie down in their midst, and they did nothing at all but pray. And I prayed unceasingly with them—and no less than they. And the virgins rejoiced when I prayed like that. And I stayed there with the virgins until the second hour the next morning. 8. Then the shepherd came and he said to the virgins, "You have not done anything shameful to him, have you?" "Ask him," they said. I said to him, "Sir, I was delighted to stay with them." "On what," said he, "did you dine?" "I dined the whole night, sir," said I, "on the words of the Lord." "Did they treat you well?" said he. "Yes, sir," I said. 9. "Now," said he, "what do you want to hear first?" "Just as you have shown me from the beginning, sir," I said, "I ask you, sir, to explain them to me as I ask you about them." "Just as you wish," said he, "so will I explain them to you, and I will hide nothing at all from you."

practice is not attested until a much later date (see Giet pp. 144-146; Joly pp. 312 f.).

88:5. Dibelius pp. 618 f. takes the scene to be a unity of the virtues with *Hermas*. In some respects this interpretation merits approbation. Repentance made the Church young (ch. 21). In repentance one must bear the powers of the virgins to enter the kingdom, and these powers are the power of the Son (90:2). If it were not for the patently erotic

The meaning of the tower (89:1-93:7)

12.

89 "First of all, sir," I said, "explain this to me: who is the rock and the portico?" "This rock," said he, "and the portico are the Son of God." "How is it, sir," said I, "that the rock is old and the portico is new?" "Listen," said he, "and understand, foolish man. 2. The Son of God is older than all of his creation, so that he was counselor to his Father in his creation. That is why the rock is old." "And why is the portico new, sir?" said I. 3. "Because," said he, "he became manifest at the last days of the consummation; that is why the portico is new, so that those about to be saved may enter through it into the kingdom of God [John 3:5; cf. Mark 9:47, etc.]. 4. Did you see," said he, "that the stones which entered through the portico were placed in the structure of the tower, but the ones that did not so enter were returned to their own place?" "I saw it, sir," I said. "So," said he, "no one will enter the kingdom of God [John 3:5] unless he takes his holy name. 5. For if you want to enter a city and that particular city has been walled around and has one entrance, could you possibly enter

elements (embarrassment, shame, nudity), this might be the best interpretation of his youthfulness.

89:1-93:7. The explanation of the tower is much like that of Vision III, except for several important additions and differences: 1. It is more Christological. The basis, the rock, is the Son; the entrance, or portico, is the Son; and the owner or Lord is the Son (ch. 89). 2. The virgins are the powers or attributes of the Spirit in the Son (i.e., the Mandates or laws, 69:2) and one cannot enter the church without them (90:1-5). 3. Some entered the tower and then were seduced by the evil women (vices; 90:6-9). They are the object of repentance (91:1-3). Note that in Vision III this group did not arrive at the tower (10:7-9). 4. In Vision III there were seven virtues, but in Similitude IX there are twelve, as well as twelve vices (92:1-3). 5. In Vision III the foundation of the church was the first generation of leaders and the present officers of the church. In Similitude IX the foundation is based on the OT *Heilsgeschichte*, which concludes with the first generation of church leaders (92:4-6). This is explained by the water of baptism from which came the stones (ch. 93).

89:2. The pre-existence of the Son would be assumed along with the pre-existence of the Church (8:1), and the angels (12:1). If Similitude IX is from the same author, this denies any Adoptionist interpretation of chapter 59.

89:3. In Similitude IX the author is much more aware of the

that city except by the gateway it has?" "Why, how, sir," said I, "could it be otherwise?" "If, then, you cannot enter the city except through its gateway, so," said he, "a man cannot enter the kingdom of God [John 3:5] other than by the name of his Son, who was beloved by him. 6. Did you see," said he, "the crowd that was building the tower?" "I did, sir," said I. "Those," said he, "are all glorious angels; by them the Lord has been enclosed by a wall. But the portico is the Son of God; this is the only entrance to the Lord. So no one can come to him other than by his Son [John 14:6]. 7. Did you see," said he, "the six men and in their midst the glorious and enormous man who walked around the tower and rejected the stones from the building?" "I did, sir," I said. 8. "The glorious man," said he, "is the Son of God, and those are the six glorious angels that surround him on the right and on the left. None," said he, "of these glorious angels come before God without him. Whoever does not receive his name cannot enter into the kingdom of God" [John 3:5].

13.

90 "But who is the tower?" said I. "This tower," said he, "is the Church." 2. "And who are these virgins?" "They," said he, "are

chronology of *Heilsgeschichte*. He describes the generations of the OT (92:4), insists on the newness in history of redemption (the portico), and attempts to resolve the problem created for the OT by baptizing the patriarchs (ch. 93).

The word translated "portico" is *pylē*, the gate of the kingdom in Matthew 7:13 f. (cf. 1 Clem. 48:4). That gate is not identified with Christ, but the *thyra* of John 10:7 is (also in Ign. Philad. 9:1; Clem. hom. III, 52). F.-M. Braum (*Jean le théologien et son évangile dans l'église ancienne* [Paris, 1954], 164 f.) takes the *thyra* and seeming reference to John 14:6 in verse 6 as literary dependence on the Gospel of John. W. von Loewenich takes it as a reference to 1 Clem. 48 and Ps. 117:19 f. (*Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* [Giessen, 1932], 12).

89:8. The splendid, tall man, the Lord of the tower, is now identified as the Son. Accompanied by the six glorious angels, he obviously is their chief, Michael. Indeed, he is Michael in Similitude VIII (69:3). This is not angel-Christology. In fact, the author deliberately subordinates the functions of the angels to the Son, not only in this verse but throughout (see 59:1; 25:1; Daniélou pp. 119-127; A. Bakker in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 32 [1933], 257 f.).

90:2. A change of clothes with a change of being is quite common in Jewish-Christian literature. (Apocalypse of Peter 17; Enoch 62:15 f.;

holy spirits. And a man cannot have come into the kingdom of God any other way than that they clothe him with their clothes. For if you take the name only and do not receive clothing from them, you will benefit nothing, for these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear the name but do not bear his power, you will be bearing his name in vain. 3. And the stones," said he, "which you saw rejected are those who bore the name, but were not clothed with the garments of the virgins." "What sort of garment do they have, sir?" said I. "Their names themselves," said he, "are their garments. Whoever bears the name of the Son of God also ought to bear their names; for even the Son himself bears the names of these virgins. 4. All the stones," said he, "which you saw go into the structure of the tower, delivered by their hands and remaining in the building, are clothed with the power of these virgins. 5. That is why you see that the tower has become a monolith with the rock. So also those who believe in the Lord through his Son and dress themselves in these spirits will become one spirit, one body [Eph. 4:4], and one color for their garments. And the dwelling of such as bear the names of the virgins is in the tower." 6. "So as for the rejected stones, sir," said I, "why were they rejected? For they passed through the portico and were placed in the structure of the building by the hands of the virgins." "Since everything is a concern for you," he said, "and you make inquiries carefully, hear about the rejected stones. 7. These," said he, "all took the name of the Son of God, and they also received the power of these virgins. So having received these spirits, they were strengthened and were with the servants of God, and they had one spirit and one body [Eph. 4:4] and one clothing. For they were of the same mind [cf. Rom. 12:16; 15:5; 2 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 2:2] and did what was right [Acts 10:35; Heb. 11:33]. 8. So after some time they were seduced by the women you saw dressed in black clothing, with shoulders bare and hair

2 Enoch 22:8). In Luke 9:29 f. the clothing is a sign of exaltation; in 2 Corinthians 5:1-5 it is a sign of redemption; in Revelation 3:4 f. and Zechariah 3:3-5 clean clothes are a sign of righteousness. In the Shepherd the clothes signify the victory of the holy Spirit in the believer (for the powers of the virgins are those of the Son, vs. 3; see 59:1). On the meaning of clothes and redemption see Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, III [Paris, 1953], 144-148.

loosened and lovely form. When they saw them, they desired them and put on their power and took off the clothing and power of the virgins. 9. So these have been rejected from the house of God and handed over to those women. But those who were not deceived by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. That," said he, "is the interpretation of those who were rejected."

14.

91 "So then, sir," said I, "what if these men, being what they are, repent and throw off their desires for these women and return to the virgins and live by their power and their works? Will they not enter the house of God?" 2. "They will," said he, "if they disavow the works of these women and take back the power of the virgins and live by their works. For because of this, too, there was a pause in the construction, so that if these would repent, they might go back into the structure of the tower. And if they do not repent, then others will enter, and ultimately they will be cast out." 3. I gave thanks to the Lord for all these things, because he had mercy on all who called upon his name [cf. Isa. 43:7 LXX] and sent the angel of repentance to us who had sinned against him, and renewed our spirit; and though we were already ruined and had no hope of living, he made our lives like new. 4. "Now, sir," said I, "explain to me why the tower was not built on the ground, but on the rock and on the portico." "Are you still foolish and senseless?" he said. "I need to ask you everything, sir," said I, "because I am completely incapable of understanding anything. All things great and glorious are hard for men to understand." 5. "Listen," said he, "the name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible and supports the whole world. If, then, all creation is sustained by the Son of God, what do you suppose about those who have been called by him and bear the name of the Son of God and live by his commandments? 6. Do you see, then, what sort he supports? Those who bear his name whole-

91:2. The time for repentance is accentuated here by a pause in the construction. In Vision III the reader was simply warned there was time while the construction continued (16:9). The time is not a jubilee, but simply pressure for a wholehearted decision to repent rather than a double-minded fickleness (see 30:1-31:7).

heartedly. So he has become a foundation for them and he supports them gladly, because they were not ashamed to bear his name."

15.

92 "Tell me, sir," said I, "the names of the virgins and the women clothed in black garments." "Hear the names," said he, "of the stronger virgins who stood at the corners. 2. The first is Faith, the second is Self-control, the third is Strength, and the fourth is Patience. And the others who stand between them have these names: Sincerity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Unanimity, Love. The one who bears these names and the name of the Son of God will be able to enter into the kingdom of God [John 3:5]. 3. Hear also," said he, "the names of the women with the black garments. There are also four of them that are more powerful. The first is Unbelief, the second is Self-indulgence, the third is Disobedience, and the fourth is Deceit. And the ones that follow them are called Grief, Evil, Debauchery, Ill Temper, Falsification, Foolishness, Defamation, Hate. The servant of God who bears these names will see the kingdom of God, but not enter into it" [cf. Deut. 34:4]. 4. "But, sir," said I, "who are the stones that from out of the deep place were fitted into the

92:2-3. On the use of the maidens to personify virtue and vice lists see 16:7. Vices and virtues are not presented in the Shepherd as a means of encouraging certain casuistic choices. In the Two Spirit doctrine these are attributes of the presence of the holy Spirit or the presence of the evil spirit (vs. 6; see 59:1; 36:1-10). As such, these attributes or powers appear frequently in the Mandates. On Faith see 26:1 and 36:1-10; on Self-control see 26:2; on Patience see 33:1-7; on Sincerity see 27:1; on Innocence see 27:1-7; on Purity see 29:1-11; on Cheerfulness see 42:1-3; on Truth see 28:1-5.

The vices are not precisely ordered to oppose the virtues, though there are seven certain pairs (Faith and Unbelief; Self-control and Self-indulgence; Purity and Debauchery; Cheerfulness and Grief; Truth and Falsification; Understanding and Foolishness; Love and Hate. Other possible pairs are Patience and Ill temper (see 33:1-7); Sincerity and Defamation (see 27:1-2); Innocence and Evil (Dibelius p. 624). The vices are attributes of the evil spirit and are so indicated in the Mandates: on Grief see 40:1-41:6; on Ill temper see 34:1-8; on Defamation see 27:2; for others note the opposites above.

92:4. In Similitude IX the author shows a more developed sense of "canon" than in the Visions. There the foundation of the tower was the leaders of the apostolic church and their immediate successors

building?" "The first ones," said he, "the ten that were placed in the foundation, are the first generation, and the twenty-five are the second generation of righteous men, and the thirty-five are the prophets of God and his helpers, and the forty are the apostles and teachers of the proclamation of the Son of God." 5. "Why, then, sir," said I, "did the virgins also deliver these stones for the building of the tower, after they carried them through the portico?" 6. "Because," said he, "they are the first who bore these spirits, and they did not fall away from each other at all, neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until they fell asleep. And if they had not had these spirits with them, they would not have been useful for the building of this tower."

16.

93 "Explain something else to me, sir," said I. "What do you want to know?" he said. "Why, sir," said I, "did the stones come up out of the deep place and, since they bore these spirits, find a place in the structure of the tower?" 2. "They needed," said he, "to come up through the water in order to be made alive, for otherwise they could not enter the kingdom of God [John 3:5] unless they set aside the deadness of their former life. 3. So even those who had fallen asleep received the seal of the Son of God and entered into the kingdom of God [John 3:5]. For," said he, "before he bears the name of the Son of God, the man is dead, and whenever he receives the seal he sets aside the deadness and

(13:1; likely written about A.D. 110); now the foundation is the generation of OT patriarchs and prophets to the first leaders of the church—all now dead (in 13:1 some were still alive). The author probably derived his numbers from a list such as Luke 3:23-38, where there are ten generations to Noah, twenty-five from Noah to David, though forty-two from David to Christ (instead of thirty-five). The source of the forty for the apostolic church is unknown and perhaps arbitrary. On the positive attitude of the author toward the OT see pp. 13-14.

93:4. Here the *sphragis* is undoubtedly baptism. Not only is it equated with water, but the water is defined as baptism in Pauline terms (see 11:5; Rom. 6:4). But elsewhere in the Shepherd the *sphragis* is a sign of repentance (72:3) and the eschatological seal of final approbation (68:2). A. Hamman (in *Studia Patristica* IV, 286 f.) takes the third class to be the seal of the martyr, but, as already shown, the faithful in chapter 68 are not martyrs, and neither are all the righteous in chapter 93. In the NT the *sphragis* is the

receives life. 4. So the water is the seal. Therefore they go down into the water dead and they come up alive. So this seal was proclaimed to them also and they used it to enter into the kingdom of God." 5. "Why, sir," said I, "did the forty stones, though they already had the seal, come up with them from the deep place?" "Because," said he, "when they fell asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, the apostles and teachers, who proclaimed the name of the Son of God, preached also to those who had previously fallen asleep and themselves gave to them the seal of the proclamation. 6. So they went down with them into the water and came up again, but these went down alive and came up alive, while those who had previously fallen asleep went down dead and came up alive. 7. So through them they were made alive and came to know the name of the Son of God. For this reason they also came up together with them and were fitted together into the structure of the tower and were joined together in the construction without being hewed. For they had fallen asleep in righteousness and in great purity, only they did not have this seal. You have, then, the explanation of these things too." "Yes, I have it, sir," I said.

The meaning of the twelve mountains (94:1-106:4)

17.

94 "Now, then, sir, tell me about the mountains. Why is their

presence of the Holy Spirit as a guarantee of redemption (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:13; 4:30). That it is eschatological is undoubted (Eph. 4:30; Rev. 7:2; 9:4), and in all probability the seal is also baptismal (see G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* [London, 1951], 3-94). The author of the Shepherd has adapted the guarantee of the Spirit to the Two Spirit theology. The victory of the holy Spirit in man is the seal. It occurs at baptism, it occurs at repentance, and it is confirmed eschatologically by resistance of the faithful to trial (68:2-4; 69:6-8: "wrestled with the devil"; if the sticks with fruit were martyrs, as has been suggested by some, they received crowns, not seals).

In Similitude IX the author is quite conscious of the ecclesiastical requirements for entering the tower (89:6). Baptism is one of the essentials (vs. 2). This poses a problem for the patriarchs and prophets of the OT (92:4). Therefore the author makes their eschatological seal a type of baptism given by the leaders of the early church (vs. 5).

94:1-106:4. Now Hermas returns to the mountains which corre-

appearance different and variegated?" "Listen," said he, "these twelve mountains are the twelve tribes which inhabit the entire world. So the Son of God was proclaimed among them by the apostles." 2. "But, sir, tell me why the mountains are variegated and different in appearance." "Listen," said he, "these twelve tribes that inhabit the entire world are twelve nations, and they are diverse in mind and way of thinking. So just as you saw the mountains were variegated, so there are also diversities of mind and way of thinking among these nations. And I will explain to you the way of each one." 3. "Sir," said I, "first tell me this: Why is it that even though the mountains are variegated, whenever the stones from them were placed in the building they gleamed with one color, like the stones which had come up from the deep?" 4. "Because," said he, "all the nations that dwell under heaven, when they have heard and believed, are called by the name of the Son of God. So when they have received the seal they are of one mind and one way of thinking, and their faith and love comes to be one [cf. Eph. 4:4], and with the name they bear the spirits of the virgins. For this reason, the structure of the tower gleams with one color like the sun. 5. But after they went in together and became one body, some of them defiled themselves and were rejected from the righteous people and became again as they were before, or, instead, even worse."

18.

95 "Since they had come to know God, sir," I said, "how did they become worse?" "The one who does not know God," said he, "and does evil, receives some punishment for his evil, but the one

spond to the sticks of Similitude VIII (see Giet p. 243 for the correlation). Various types of believers are analyzed and their response to repentance is reported (predicted). The purpose of the parable is to exhort all to repentance. Only those who have left the faith (the first mountain, 96:1) have no repentance (72:4).

94:1. The origin of the twelve mountains parable is Jewish, as shown by the twelve tribes (see 78:1-10), but has been adapted to the Christian church by substituting "nations" in verse 2. But the symbolism of the twelve tribes as the real Israel or church is important for understanding the tower in the middle as the ideal or eschatological church.

95:3. While in Vision III the unrepentant never reached the tower (15:1-4), here the unrepentant will be cast out of the tower. Renewal

who has come to know God ought not to do evil, but do good. 2. So if the one who ought to do good does evil, does it not appear that he has done more evil than the one who knows not God? That is why those who have not known God and do evil are condemned to death, but the ones who have known God and have seen his mighty deeds, and do evil, will be punished doubly and will die forever. So in this way the church of God will be cleansed. 3. But just as you saw the stones taken from the tower and delivered over to the evil spirits and cast out of there, and there will be one body of those cleansed, just as the tower became as made of one stone after it was cleansed, so will the church of God be after it has been cleansed, and the wicked and hypocrites and blasphemers and double minded and those who do various kinds of evil will have been rejected. 4. After these have been cast out the church of God will be one body [Eph. 4:4], one mind, one way of thinking, one faith [Eph. 4:5], one love, and then, when the Son of God has received his people cleansed, he will rejoice and be glad in them." "It is all great and glorious, sir," said I. 5. "Tell me more, sir," said I, "about the power and ways of each of the mountains, so that every person who has believed on the Lord and hears will glorify his great and wonderful and glorious name" [cf. Ps. 85:9, 12; Isa. 24:15; 66:5]. "Hear," said he, "about the variety of mountains and the twelve nations."

19.

96 "From the first mountain, the black one, are such believers as these: apostates and blasphemers against the Lord and betrayers of the servants of God. For them there is no repentance, but there is death, and that is why they are black, for their kind is lawless. 2. And from the second mountain, the bare one, are such believers as these: hypocrites and teachers of evil. These, then, are also like the preceding: they have no fruit of righteousness [Prov. 11:30; Phil. 1:11; Heb. 12:11; Jas. 3:18]. For as their mountain is barren, so also such men as these have the name, but are devoid of faith, and there is among them no fruit of truth. For them, then, there is repentance, if they repent quickly; but if they delay,

in the church has become more eschatological for the author (see 78:1-10; 85:1-7).

their death will be with the preceding ones." 3. "Why, sir," said I, "is there repentance for them and not for the preceding? For their conduct is about the same." "This is why," said he, "there is repentance for them: because they have not blasphemed their Lord nor become betrayers of the servants of God. But because of desire of gain they acted hypocritically, and each one taught according to the desires of sinful men. And they will receive some punishment, but there will also be repentance for them because they did not become blasphemers or betrayers."

20.

97 "And from the third mountain, the one with thorns and thistles, are such believers as these: some of them are rich; and some are involved in many affairs of business. The thorns are the rich, and the thistles are the ones involved in various affairs of business [cf. Matt. 13:22; Mark 4:18 f.; Luke 8:14]. 2. So these that are involved in many and various business affairs do not associate with the servants of God, but are choked by their affairs and are led astray. And the rich associate with the servants of God with difficulty, fearing they will be asked for something by them. Such, then, will enter into the kingdom of God with difficulty [cf. Matt. 19:23; Mark 10:23 f.; Luke 18:24]. 3. For just as it is difficult to walk in thorns with bare feet, so is it difficult for such as these to enter into the kingdom of God [Mark 10:23 f]. 4. But for all these there is repentance, but it must be soon, so that now they can rerun those days when, in former years they did nothing, and do something good. If, then, they repent and do some good, they will live to God. But if they continue in their ways, they will be delivered over to those women, who will put them to death."

21.

98 "And from the fourth mountain, the one with considerable vegetation which was green at the top and dry toward the roots, and some of it dried up by the sun, are believers such as these: some are double minded, and some have the Lord upon their lips

97:4. In the parable the wild, attractive women were seductresses (90:8), but here they have become executioners. For Hermas those who have given in to the evil spirit cease "living to God" (26:2).

and do not have him in their hearts. 2. That is why their substructures are dried up and have no power, and only their words are alive, but their works are dead. Such people are neither alive nor dead. So they are like the double minded; for the double minded are not green or dry either, for they are neither alive nor dead. 3. For just as these plants were dried up when they saw the sun, so also the double minded, whenever they hear of a persecution, worship idols because of their cowardice and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. 4. So such people are neither alive nor dead. But these, too, will be able to live if they repent quickly. But if they do not repent, they have already been delivered over to the women who take away their lives."

22.

99 "And from the fifth mountain, the one with green vegetation and was rough, are such believers as these: they are faithful, but slow to learn and self-determined and pleasing themselves, wanting to know everything and yet they know nothing at all. 2. Because of this self-determination of theirs, understanding has left them and foolish stupidity has come into them. But they praise themselves for having understanding and wish to be teachers on an unofficial basis, though foolish as they are. 3. So because of this haughtiness many, by exalting themselves, have been ruined, for self-determination and overconfidence are a great demon. So many of them were rejected, but some repented and believed and subordinated themselves to those who had understanding, perceiving their own foolishness. 4. And for the rest of such people there is repentance, for they were not evil, but instead, foolish and without understanding. So if these repent, they will live to God. If they do not repent, they will dwell with the women who do them evil."

23.

100 "And from the sixth mountain, the one with large and small ravines and withered vegetation in the ravines, are such believers as these: 2. those that have small ravines are the ones who have

99:3. Hermas, likely a teacher himself (13:1), has considerable trouble with teachers (30:1-31:7; 43:1). Here he claims they are unauthorized teachers at that.

something against one another and have been withered in the faith by their own defamations. But many of them repented. And the rest will repent when they hear my commandments, for their defamations are small, and they will repent quickly. 3. But those who have large ravines are the ones who persist in their defamations, and by raging against one another have become vengeful. These, then, were cast down from the tower and rejected from its structure. So such people find it difficult to live. 4. If God and our Lord, who rules all things and has authority over all his creation, is not vengeful toward those who confess their sins, but is merciful, should man, being mortal and full of sin, be vengeful toward man, as though he could destroy or save him? [Cf. Jas. 4:12.] 5. But I, the angel of repentance, tell you: those of you who hold this opinion must put it aside and repent, and the Lord will heal your previous sins, if you cleanse yourselves of this demon. But if not, you will be delivered over to him for death."

24.

101 "And from the seventh mountain, on which was green, bright vegetation, and the whole mountain was flourishing, and all kinds of cattle and birds of the sky were feeding on the plants on this mountain, and the plants on which they fed flourished all the more, are such believers as these: 2. they were always sincere and innocent and happy, holding nothing against one another, but always rejoicing in the servants of God and clothed in the holy spirit of these virgins, and always with compassion for every man, and from their labors they provided for every man without reproach or hesitation. 3. So when the Lord saw their sincerity and perfect childlikeness, he prospered them in the labors of their hands and favored them in everything they did. 4. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are such people: continue to be such, and your seed will never be blotted out. For the Lord has tested you and has recorded you among our number, and all your seed will dwell with the Son of God, for you have received of his spirit."

25.

102 "And from the eighth mountain, where there were many springs and all the Lord's creation watered from the springs, are

such believers as these: 2. apostles and teachers who preached in the whole world and who taught the word of the Lord reverently and sincerely, and misappropriated nothing at all for the sake of evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and in truth, just as they had received the holy Spirit. The way of such men, then, is with angels."

26.

103 "And from the ninth mountain, the desert which had reptiles and wild animals that destroyed men on it, are believers such as these: 2. the ones with blemishes are deacons who served badly and stole the livelihood of widows and orphans and profited for themselves from the service which they received to perform. If, then, they persist in the same desire, they are dead and there is no hope of life for them. But if they turn and sincerely complete their service, they will be able to live. 3. Those that are rough are the ones who have denied and have not returned to their Lord, but have become barren and desertlike; by not associating with the servants of God, but living alone, they destroy their own souls [cf. Matt 10:39, etc.]. 4. For just as a vine left along the fence and neglected is ruined and wasted by weeds, and in time becomes wild, and is no longer useful to its owner, so also such men have despaired of themselves and, turning wild, have become useless to their Lord. 5. For these, then, there is repentance, unless they are found to have denied from the heart. But if anyone be found denying from the heart, I do not know whether he could live. 6. And I do not say this for these days, so that anyone who denies may receive repentance. For it is impossible for him to be saved who is going to deny his Lord now. But it seems there is repentance for those who denied in time past. So if anyone is about to repent, let him do so quickly before the tower is finished, or else he will be put to death by the women. 7. Those that are short are the ones who are treacherous and slanderers, and the wild beasts you saw on the mountain are these. For just as wild beasts destroy and kill a man with their poison, so also the words of such men destroy and kill a man. 8. These, then, are short of faith because of their conduct toward

103:2-8. Unexpectedly the author returns to explain three of the uninterpreted stones from 85:1-7.

one another; but some repented and were saved. And the rest of such people can be saved, if they repent. But if they do not repent, they will be killed by those women whose power they have."

27.

104 "And from the tenth mountain, where trees were giving shade for some sheep, are believers such as these: 2. bishops and hospitable persons who were always glad to entertain, without hypocrisy, the servants of God in their homes. And the bishops, in their service, always sheltered the destitute and widows without ceasing and always conducted themselves with purity. 3. All these, then, will always be sheltered by the Lord. So those who have done these things are glorious before God, and their place is already with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord to the end."

28.

105 "And from the eleventh mountain, where trees were full of fruit, each decorated with a different fruit, are believers such as these: 2. those who have suffered for the name of the Son of God, who also have suffered readily with all their heart and have given up their lives" [cf. Acts 15:26]. 3. "Why, then, sir," said I, "do all the trees have fruit, but the fruit of some of them is more beautiful?" "Listen," said he, "as many as ever have suffered because of the name are glorious before God, and the sins of all these have been taken away because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. But hear why their fruits are varied, and some are more excellent. 4. As many as," said he, "were questioned when arrested by the authorities and did not deny, but suffered readily,

104:2. *Philoxenia* was a mark of the leader from the beginning of the church (Tit. 1:8; 1 Tim. 5:10; cf. Rom. 12:13; Heb. 13:2; 1 Pet. 4:9; 1 Clem. 10:7, etc.). It was surely a practice of charity (38:10 and here), but also a very important means of spreading the gospel in the early days of the church (Did. 11-13; 2 and 3 John). This is the meaning of "entertaining the servants of God" (see D. W. Riddle in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 [1938], 141-154).

105:2. This is the only reference to martyrs in the entire work (see 69:6). No real persecution can be detected in the Shepherd, though the threat of persecution is apparent (see 22:6). If a persecution were

these are most glorious before God. Their fruit is the more excellent. But as many as were cowardly and became doubtful and considered in their hearts whether they should deny or confess, and suffered, their fruit is inferior because this thought rose up in their hearts. For this is an evil thought, that a servant should deny his own master. 5. So be careful, you who think such things, lest this thought persist in your heart and you die to God. And you who suffer for the sake of the name ought to glorify God [1 Pet. 4:13-16] because God has considered you worthy of bearing this name and that all your sins are healed. 6. Therefore consider yourself blessed, but think of it as a great work if anyone of you suffers for the sake of God [cf. Matt. 5:11; Luke 6:22; 1 Pet. 4:14]. The Lord is granting you life, but you do not understand it; for your sins weighed you down, and unless you suffered for the sake of the Lord's name, you would have died to God because of your sins. 7. I say these things to you who are in doubt about denying or confessing. Confess that you have a Lord, lest by denying you are thrown into prison. 8. For if the heathen punish their servants, if one denies his master, what do you think the Lord, who has authority over all things, will do to you? Put these thoughts from your hearts, so you may live to God always."

29.

106 "And from the twelfth mountain, the white one, are such believers as these: they are as innocent babes, for whom nothing wicked has arisen in the heart and they do not even know what evil is, but they have remained constantly childlike. 2. People like this will undoubtedly dwell in the kingdom of God, because they have in no way defiled the commandments of God, but with childlikeness they remained in the same state of mind all the days of their lives. 3. As many of you as so remain," said he, "and will be as babes [Matt. 18:3], with no wickedness, will be more glorious than all those previously mentioned. For all babes are glorious before God and foremost with him. So blessed are you who cast off evil from yourselves and put on innocence; you will be

imminent or current the martyrs would surely be the top level, rather than the innocent (ch. 106; see Joly p. 349). These martyrs must be the faithful of previous persecutions, as under Nero, and individual cases of martyrdom, such as Ignatius.

the first of all to live to God." 4. After he finished the parables of the mountains I said to him, "Sir, now tell me about the stones that were taken out of the plain and put in the building in the place of those stones taken out of the tower, and about the round stones that were put in the building and about the ones that are still round."

The meaning of certain stones (107:1-108:6)

30.

107 "Hear also," said he, "about all these. The stones which were taken from the plain and put in the structure of the tower, in the place of those rejected, are the roots of this white mountain. 2. So since those who believed from the white mountain were all found innocent, the lord of the tower ordered them to be taken from the roots of this mountain for the building of the tower. For he knew that if these stones went into the structure of the tower, they would remain gleaming and not a one of them would turn black. 3. But if he put in those from the other mountains, he would need to visit the tower again and clean it. But all these that have been found white are ones who believe or are about to believe, for they are of the same kind. Blessed is this kind, because it is innocent. 4. Hear now about the stones that are round and gleaming. They also are all from the white mountain. But hear why they were found round. Their riches concealed them a little from the truth and darkened them, but they were never far from God, nor has any evil word gone out from their mouths [cf. Eph. 4:29], but all was just and true. 5. So when the Lord saw that their minds could be inclined toward the truth and remain good, he ordered their wealth to be cut down, though not to be taken completely away from them, so that they might be able to do some good with that which was left them, and they will live to God, because they are of a good kind. So that is why they were hewed a little and put in the structure of this tower."

107:1-108:6. The audience of Hermas was wealthy (see pp. 20-21) and the author adds to the parable a special pleading for them. They are the stones taken from a special plain to fill in for those stones rejected from the tower (83:6 f.). They need some of their riches hewed off, though not too much, lest they no longer are able to

31.

108 "But the rest, which still remained round and were not fitted into the building, because they had not received the seal, were returned to their place, for they were found to be exceedingly round. 2. So it is necessary to cut off from them this world and the vanities of their wealth, and then they will be suitable for the kingdom of God. For they must enter the kingdom of God [John 3:5], for the Lord has blessed this innocent kind. So none of this kind will perish. For even though one of them, tempted by the most wicked devil, does some wrong, he will quickly return to his Lord. 3. I, the angel of repentance, consider all of you blessed who are as innocent as babes, because your part is innocent and honorable before God. 4. So I say to all of you who have received the seal: be sincere, and do not be vengeful, and remain not in your hatred or in the bitter memory of offenses. Be also of one spirit and mediate these evil divisions and put them away from you, so that the lord of the sheep may rejoice in them. 5. And he will rejoice, if all are found safe, and none of them is missing. But if some of them are found missing, woe be to the shepherds. 6. But if the shepherds themselves are found missing, what will they say to the owner of the flock? That they are missing because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd could suffer at the hands of the sheep. Instead, they will be punished for their lie. I, too, am a shepherd, and it is exceedingly necessary for me to give account for you."

The analogy of a damaged garment (109:1-5)

32.

109 "So cure yourselves while the tower is still being constructed. 2. The Lord lives with men who love peace, for peace is

support the church and help the poor (107:5; see 51:5). Even those who do not repent are not lost, but will surely enter the kingdom sometime (108:2). Since they must be saved, they must be told of repentance. So Hermas levels a final attack at those who will not allow repentance and lose their flock (108:5 f.; 30:1-31:7).

109:1-5. The author gives a final and additional parable on perfection in the Two Spirit teaching. The holy Spirit must not be defiled (see 59:1).

truly dear to him, but he keeps his distance from those who are quarrelsome and wasted by hatred. So give back to him your spirit whole, just as you received it. 3. For if you gave a new, undamaged garment to a cleaner and wanted to get it back undamaged, but the cleaner returned it to you torn, would you take it? Will you not become angry at once and go after him with loud reproach, saying, 'I gave you an undamaged garment. Why did you tear it and render it useless? And because of the tear you have made in it, it cannot be used.' So will you not say all this to the cleaner, just about a tear which he has made in your garment? 4. If, then, you grieve so over your garment and complain because you did not receive it back undamaged, what do you think the Lord will do to you, who gave you the spirit whole, and you return it completely useless, so that it can be of no use to its Lord? For its use began to be unproductive after it was corrupted by you. So because of what you have done, will not the Lord of that spirit punish you with death?" 5. "Certainly," said I, "he will punish all those whom he finds persisting in vengefulness." "Do not trample on his mercy," said he, "but honor him instead, because he is so patient with your transgressions and is not as you are. So repent in a way that is useful to you."

The meaning of the marks on the stones (110:1-3)

33.

110 "I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have shown and have told the servants of God all these things which have been written above. If, then, you believe, and hear my words, and walk in them, and rectify your ways, you will be able to live. If, however, you continue in hatred and vengefulness, none of that kind will live to God. All the things that I had to tell you have been said." 2. The shepherd himself said to me, "Have you asked me everything?" "Yes, sir," said I. "Then why did you not ask me about the marks of the stones that were put in the building, why we filled up the marks?" And I said, "I forgot, sir." 3. "Hear now," said he, "about them. They are those who heard my command-

110:1-3. While the counsel of perfection is that man must not defile the holy Spirit (ch. 109), still the dialectic of repentance is that forgiveness is complete (vs. 3; see 30:1-31:7).

ments and repented with all their hearts. And when the Lord saw their repentance was good and pure and that they could continue in it, he ordered their former sins to be eradicated. For these marks were their sins, and they were leveled off, so that they would not be visible."

Similitude X

Final exhortations (111:1-114:5)

1.

111 After I had written this book, that angel who had turned me over to the shepherd came to the house where I was and sat on the bed, and the shepherd stood at his right hand. Then he called me and said to me, 2. "I have turned you," said he, "and your house over to this shepherd, so that you may be protected by him." "Yes, sir," said I. "So if you want to be protected," he said, "from all trouble and violence, and to be successful in every good deed and word, and have every virtue of righteousness, walk in these commandments which I have given you, and you will be able to overcome every evil. 3. For if these commandments are kept by you, every desire and delight of this world will be subject to you, but in every good concern success will follow you. Take for yourself his maturity and moderation and tell everyone that he has great honor and esteem before the Lord and has charge of great power and has authority in his office. To him alone throughout the whole world has been given authority over repentance. Does he not seem powerful to you? Yet you look askance at his maturity and moderation which he has for you."

2.

112 I said to him, "Ask [the shepherd] himself, sir, whether, since he has been in my house I have done anything contrary to his orders which would offend him." 2. "I know," said he, "that you would not do anything and have not done anything contrary

111:1-114:5. Similitude X was probably the final exhortation before Similitude IX was inserted, though it has been adapted to the new situation created by that parable (so the virgins in 113:3-5).

to his orders. And I speak this way with you so that you will continue steadfast. For he has given me a good recommendation for you. But you will tell others these things so that they, too, who have repented or are going to repent, may think the same as you, and that he can give a good account of them to me, and I to the Lord." 3. "Sir," said I, "I myself declare the mighty acts of the Lord to all men [cf. Acts 2:11], but I hope that all who have sinned previously, if they hear these things, will freely repent and regain life." 4. "Then continue," said he, "in this ministry and complete it. So all who do his commandments will have life, and such will have great honor before the Lord. But those who do not keep his commandments are fleeing from their own lives and disparage him. Such, however, have their own honor before God. So those who disparage him and do not keep his commandments are turning themselves over to death, and every one of them is guilty of his own blood. But I tell you to keep his commandments and you will get a cure for your sins."

3.

113 "But I sent these virgins to you to dwell with you, for I saw they were friendly to you. You have them, then, as helpers, so that you might be able better to keep his commandments, for it is not possible to keep these commandments without these virgins. And I see they are with you willingly, but I will order them not to leave your house at all. 2. Only keep your house clean, for they dwell willingly in a clean house, for they are clean and chaste and industrious and they all have found favor with the Lord. Therefore, if they find your house pure, they will remain with you. But if any little impurity comes along, they will leave your home immediately, for these virgins do not love impurity at all." 3. I said to him, "I hope, sir, that I will please them so that they will always dwell willingly in my house. And just as he, to whom you turned me over, found no fault with me, neither will they find any fault with me." 4. He said to the shepherd, "I know that the servant of God wishes to live and he will keep these commandments, and will provide for the virgins in purity." 5. After he said these things he once again turned me over to the shepherd, and calling the virgins he said to them, "Since I see that you like to

dwell in this house, I commit him and his house to your care, so that you must not leave his house at all." And they were pleased to hear these words.

4.

114 Then he said to me, "Conduct yourself in this ministry with virility, declare the mighty acts of the Lord to all men, and you will find favor in this ministry. For whoever walks in these commandments will live and be happy in his life. But whoever neglects them will not live and will not be happy in his life. 2. Tell every one who is able to do good not to cease; to engage in good works is profitable for them. So I say that all men ought to be rescued from misfortune. For he who is needy and suffers misfortune in his daily life is in great anguish and want. 3. So the one who rescues such a person from want acquires great joy for himself. For he who is troubled by such misfortune is tormented by the same anguish as the one who is tortured in chains. For many, because of such miseries, bring death on themselves, when they cannot bear them. Therefore the one who knows the misery of such a man and does not rescue him commits a great sin and is guilty of his own blood. 4. So do good works, you who have received from the Lord, lest while you delay action the building of the tower is completed. For because of you there was a pause in the work of constructing. So unless you hasten to do right, the tower will be completed, and you will be excluded." 5. And after he had talked with me he rose from the bed, and taking the shepherd and the virgins he departed, but he told me he would send the shepherd and the virgins back to my house.

ALLUSIONS TO SCRIPTURE

<i>Passage</i>	<i>The Shepherd</i>
Gen. 1:28	1:6
8:17	1:6
48:16	72:4
Deut. 30:3	1:9
34:4	92:3
Judg. 2:11	30:2
3:12	30:2
1 Kgs. 3:11	57:3
Ps. 2:4	1:6
2:12	39:6
7:12	63:6
8:7	47:2
14:2	6:7; 7:3; 46:1; 49:2
15:11	59:3
18:9	46:4
20:6	47:2
33:2	34:3
46:3	17:8
54:23	19:3; 23:4; 23:5
58:6	3:4
61:9	23:4
67:29	58:2
79:5	3:4
83:9	3:4
85:9, 12	5:2; 12:3; 22:3; 95:5
98:3	22:3
102:18	50:7
103:15	46:4
105:3	7:3
110:10	38:9; 40:6
118:1	61:1
122:1	1:6
135:6	3:4

<i>Passage</i>	<i>The Shepherd</i>
Prov. 1:7 11:30	38:9; 40:6 96:2
Ecccl. 12:13	37:1
Isa. 24:15 43:7 LXX 56:7 66:5	5:2; 12:3; 95:5 91:3 56:8 12:3; 95:5
Jer. 3:22 24:7	1:9 35:5; 39:2; 49:2
Dan. 6:23 (Theodotion)	23:4
Joel 2:12	35:5; 39:2; 49:2
Amos 9:12	72:4
Mal. 1:14	17:8
Tob. 4:19	34:3
Sir. 2:3 2:5 18:30 26:4	40:6 24:4 15:3 42:1
2 Macc. 7:28	26:1
Matt. 5:11 5:32 7:16 10:28 10:39 13:22 13:38 16:27 18:3 19:9 19:17 19:23 21:22 23:6 26:24	105:6 29:6 36:4 49:3 103:3 97:1 58:2 63:6 106:3 29:6 54:5; 56:2 97:2 63:6 17:7 23:6

<i>Passage</i>	<i>The Shepherd</i>
Mark 4:18	15:3; 97:1
6:52	30:1
8:17	30:1
9:47	89:3
9:50	14:3
10:11	29:6
10:23	97:2; 97:3
12:39	17:7
14:21	23:6
Luke 6:9	49:3
6:22	105:6
8:14	97:1
11:43	17:7
18:24	97:2
20:46	17:7
John 3:5	89:3; 89:4; 89:5; 89:8; 92:2; 93:2; 93:3; 108:2
10:18	59:3
14:6	89:6
Acts 2:11	112:3
2:38	15:3
10:35	6:7; 46:1; 49:2; 90:7
10:48	15:3
15:26	105:2
19:5	15:3
20:35	17:2
Rom. 12:16	90:7
15:6	90:7
1 Cor. 7:35-40	32:2
2 Cor. 7:10	40:2; 41:1
13:11	90:7
Eph. 3:9	26:1; 58:2; 66:4
4:4	90:5; 90:7; 94:4; 95:4
4:5	95:4
4:29	107:4
4:30	41:5
6:13	45:4

<i>Passage</i>	<i>The Shepherd</i>
Phil. 1:11	96:2
2:2	90:7
4:18	56:8
1 Thess. 5:13	14:3; 17:2; 17:10; 20:3; 73:2
2 Thess. 1:12	5:2
2 Tim. 4:8	63:6
Heb. 3:4	58:2
3:12	7:2; 15:2
11:33	6:7; 23:4; 49:2; 90:7
12:11	96:2
Jas. 1:5	57:3
1:7	39:5
1:21	61:1
1:27	50:8
2:7	72:4
3:15	43:5
3:18	96:2
4:7	45:4; 48:2
4:11	27:2
4:12	49:3; 100:4
5:4	17:6
5:5	61:6
1 Pet. 1:7	24:4
2:15	56:8
4:13-16	105:5
4:14	105:6
5:7	19:3; 23:4; 23:5
2 Pet. 2:20	24:4
1 John 3:22	63:6
Rev. 2:23	63:6
4:11	58:2
21:2	23:1

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