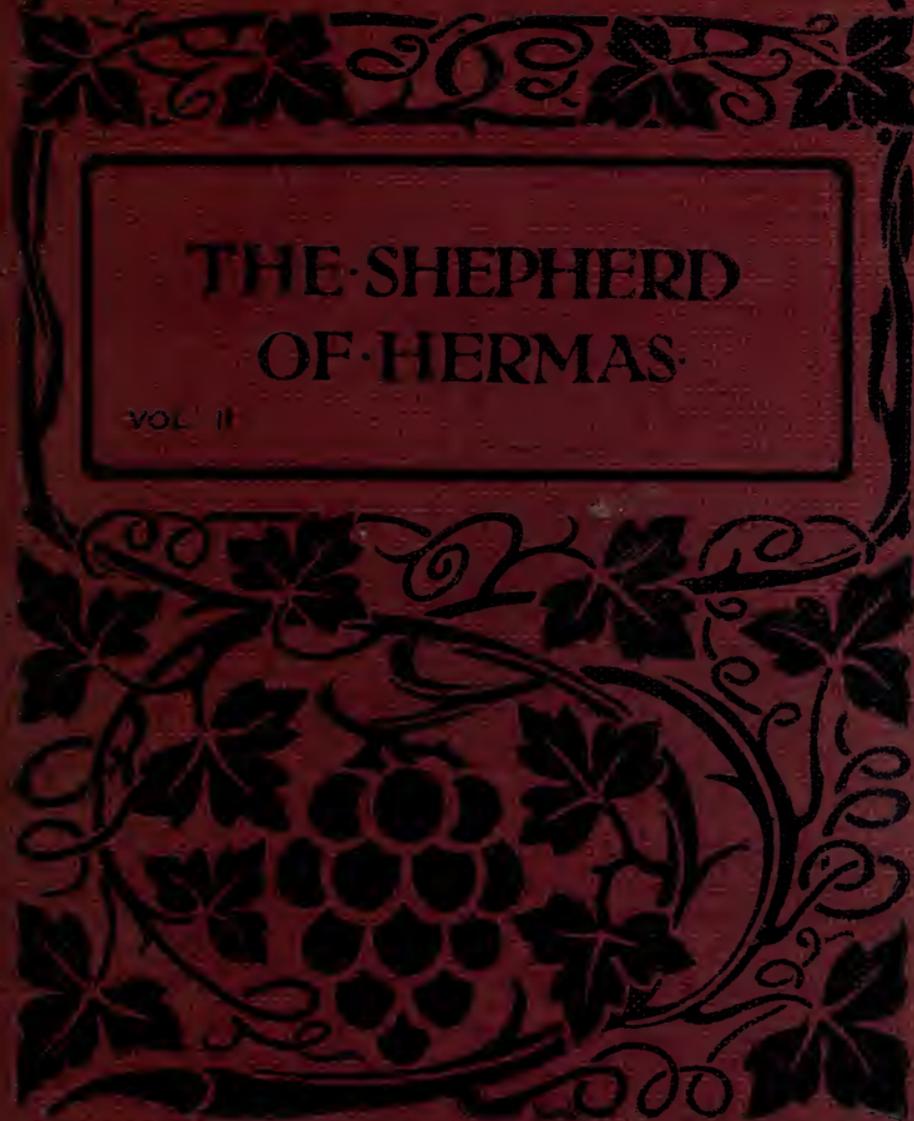


EARLY CHURCH CLASSICS

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

VOL. II



LIBRARY
ST. MICHAELS COLLEGE



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE SHEPHERD

Early Church Classics.

THE SHEPHERD
OF HERMAS

BY THE
REV. C. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D.

MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE

LONDON :
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C. ; 43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.
BRIGHTON : 129, NORTH STREET.
NEW YORK : E. S. GORHAM.

1906

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA,

OCT 15 1931

664

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C., AND
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

CONTENTS

OF VOL. II

	PAGE
THE SIMILITUDES	7
APPENDIX	133
INDEX	141

THE SIMILITUDES

BQ
1503

FIRST SIMILITUDE

I. HE said to me, Ye know, ye who are God's servants, that ye are dwelling in a strange land ; for your city is far off from this city.* If

* With *Sim.* i. 1—3 compare Lev. xxv. 23, "The land shall not be sold for ever : for the land is mine ; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" ; Psal. xxxix. 12 ; Phil. iii. 20 ; Heb. xi. 10, 13—16, xiii. 14 ; 1 Pet. i. 17, ii. 11 ; Clem. *Cor.* inscript. ; 2 Clem. v. 1, 6, "let us forsake our *sojourning* in this world (Gr. *paroikia*, whence Lat. *parochia*, parish), . . . and not be afraid to depart out of this world. . . . What then can we do . . . but . . . consider these worldly things as *alien*, and not desire them?" In Philo *De Cherub.* (34) ed. Cohn we read on Lev. *l.c.*, that every one comes into this world as into a *strange city* (Gr. *xenen*, conj. for *kenen*), and resides there as a sojourner until his allotted lifetime is ended. God alone is a Citizen properly so called, and all creation is a transient sojourner. Philo writes above (31 f.), on the same verse, that all created things belong to God, who lends them to men. Men have only the temporary use of them all as things *alien*, not excepting their bodily and mental faculties and life itself (cp. Clem. *Strom.* vii. 12, P. 877 ; Lucret. iii. 971, ed. Munro), and He as owner has the right to take them away at will. Zahn supposes

then ye know your city in which ye are to dwell, why prepare ye here fields and costly arrays and buildings and vain habitations? 2. He who prepareth these things for this city thinketh not of returning to his own city. 3. O foolish and doubleminded and wretched man,* considerest thou not that all these things are alien and under the power of another? For the lord of this city shall say, I will not that thou shouldest dwell in my city. Depart from this city, because thou observest not my laws. 4. Thou then, having fields and dwellings and many other possessions, when thou art banished by him, what wilt thou do with thy land and thine house and all the rest which thou hast prepared for thyself? For rightly saith the lord of this country unto thee, Either use my laws or get thee out of my country. 5. Thou then, what wilt thou do, seeing thou hast a law in thine own city? For the sake of thy fields and other

“this city” to be Rome. By “the power of another” is meant the power of the Evil One, cp. Barn ii. 1; Clem. *Hom.* xv. 7.

* Here again Hermas may have been thinking of the book of Eldad and Modad. See *Vis.* ii. 3. 4 n., iii. 4. 3 n., and Clem. *Cor.* xxiii. 3, 4 (2 Clem. xi. 2, 3), “Let this scripture be far from us where He saith, *Wretched are the doubleminded. . . . Ye fools*, compare yourselves to a tree; take a vine . . .,” with Lightfoot’s note.

substance wilt thou utterly deny thy law and walk by the law of this city? See if it is not unprofitable for thee to deny thy law; for if thou then desire to return to thy city, thou shalt surely not be received, because thou hast denied the law of thy city, but shalt be shut out from it. 6. Take heed therefore and, as one that dwelleth in a strange land, provide no more for thyself than the competency which sufficeth thee; and be ready, whensoever the master of this city shall choose to cast thee out for resisting his law, to leave his city and depart to thy city and use thine own law, not as suffering wrong but * rejoicing. 7. Take heed ye that serve God and have Him in your heart; work the works of God, remembering His commandments and the promises which He promised, and believe that He will perform them if His commandments be kept. 8. Instead of fields therefore purchase souls that are afflicted, according as one is able, and visit widows and orphans and neglect them not. On such fields and houses freely spend your wealth and all your array which ye have received from God. 9. For thereunto did the Master enrich you, that ye might fulfil these ministrations unto

* Gr. *anhubristos*, adv. from adj. meaning *not-insulted* or *not-insulting*. Funk here, *injuria non affectus*.

Him. Far better is it to buy such lands and possessions and houses as thou shalt find in thy city when thou goest home to it. 10. This expensefulness is fair and pleasant,* and bringeth not sorrow nor fear but joy. Practise not then the expensefulness of the heathen; for it is inexpedient for you that are God's servants. 11. But practise your proper expensefulness, wherein ye may rejoice. And counterfeit † not, neither touch that which is another man's nor desire it; for it is an evil thing to desire the goods of others. But do thine own work, and thou shalt be saved.

* Gr. *hilara*, conj. Hilg. for *hiera*, holy.

† From Gr. *paracharassein*, to misstamp, a word used metaphorically by Philo (L. & S.).

SECOND SIMILITUDE

1. AS I was walking into the country, and looking at an elm and a vine,* and discerning between them and between their fruits, the Shepherd was manifested unto me and said, What questionest thou within thyself? I am considering, sir, quoth I, about the elm and the vine, how that they are most goodly for one another. 2. These two trees, quoth he, are set for a figure to the servants of God. I would know, sir, quoth I, the figure of these trees whereof thou speakest. Seest thou, quoth he, the elm and the vine? I see them, sir, quoth I. 3. This vine, quoth he, beareth fruit, but the elm is an unfruitful tree. Yet the vine, except it climb up the elm, cannot bear much fruit,

* On the training of vines to elms, a practice which prevailed in Italy (cp. *Mand.* xi. 18 n.), Cotelier quotes Virgil and Horace; and he quotes Origen (*Hom. in Jos.* x. 1) and later writers for applications of *Sim.* ii. A Berlin papyrus edited by U. Wilcken contains fragments of *Sim.* ii., iv. (Funk, *Prolegom.*).

because it is cast upon the ground ; and what fruit it beareth is decayed if it hang not upon the elm. But when the vine is spread upon the elm it beareth fruit both of itself and from the elm. 4. Thou seest then that the elm likewise yieldeth much fruit, not less than the vine but rather more. How more, sir? quoth I. Because, quoth he, the vine hanging upon the elm yieldeth much and good fruit, but when it is spread upon the ground, what it beareth is corrupt and scant. This parable concerneth the servants of God, to wit the poor and the rich. 5. How, sir? quoth I ; acquaint me. Hearken, quoth he ; the rich hath much wealth, but in things concerning the Lord he is poor, because he is distraught about his riches. And he hath very little of confession and intercession with the Lord, and what he hath is small and faint and without power above. When therefore the rich ascendeth* upon the poor and supplieth his needs, believing that for what he doeth for the poor he shall be able to find his reward with God, because the poor is rich in intercession and his intercession hath great power with God ; then the rich bountifully supplieth the poor with all things nothing doubting. 6. And the poor, being provided for by the rich, intercedeth for him,

* Gr. *anabe*, conj from ver. 3, see Harmer.

thanking God for him that gave to him. And he becometh yet more diligent about the poor, that he may be without fail in his life; for he knoweth that the intercession of the poor is acceptable and rich unto God. 7. Both then fulfil their work. The poor maketh the intercession wherein he is rich, which he received from the Lord; with this he repayeth him that provideth for him.* And the rich in like manner supplieth to the poor nothing doubting the wealth which he received from the Lord; and this that he doeth is a great work and acceptable to God, because he understood about his wealth, and did something for the poor out of the Lord's gifts, and rightly accomplished his service to the Lord. 8. In the sight of men the elm seemeth not to bear fruit; and they know not neither consider that, if there come

* Here, as in *Sim. i.*, Hermas apparently borrows from Philo, who continues on Lev. *l.c.* (p. 9 n.), that reputed givers and receivers of bounties are in fact sellers and buyers. The donor, expecting thanks, looks for payment in the form of praise or reputation, and thus sells while he makes a show of giving; and the recipient in like manner pays his price, and is therefore a purchaser. God is the sole true and absolute Giver: the One who is not in need of anything, and for whose benefits none is able to make a return. *Sim. ii. 7* requires the sense, that the poor by his prayers repays *the rich* (not as Gr. *the Lord*) who provides for him.

a drought, the elm having water nourisheth the vine, and the vine having continual moisture yieldeth double increase, for itself and for the elm. Thus also the poor by interceding with the Lord for the rich fulfil their wealth; and again the rich by supplying the needs of the poor satisfy their souls. 9. So then both become partners in the righteous work. Whoso doeth these things shall not be forsaken of God, but shall be inscribed in the books of the living.* 10. Blessed are they that have, and understand that they are enriched by the Lord; for he that understandeth this shall be able to do some service.†

* See Enoch xlvi. 3 ed. Charles, "And . . . *the books of the living* were opened before Him." In a footnote the editor cites *Sim.* ii. 9; *Vis.* i. 3. 2, "they shall be inscribed in the books *of life* with the saints"; *Mand.* viii. 6, and other approximate parallels.

† With allusion perhaps to Acts xx. 35 Hermas says in effect, "Blessed are they that have *and give*." The Greek of the clause "for he that etc." is from the Berlin papyrus (Funk).

THIRD SIMILITUDE

1. HE shewed me many trees which had no leaves, but seemed to me as if they were dry; for they were all alike. And he said to me, Seest thou these trees? I see them, sir, quoth I, looking alike and withered. He answered and said to me, These trees which thou seest are they that dwell in this world. 2. Wherefore then, sir, quoth I, are they as if dried up and alike? Because, quoth he, neither the righteous nor the sinners appear in this world, but they are alike; for this world is winter to the righteous, and they appear not while they dwell with the sinners. 3. For as in the winter the trees when they have cast their leaves are alike, and neither the dry nor the living are seen to be what they are, so in this world neither the righteous nor the sinners appear, but they are all alike.*

* In the course of a remarkable passage on the order of nature in contrast with the lawlessness of men in Enoch ii.—v., on which see No. 58 of the 'Journal of

FOURTH SIMILITUDE

1. AGAIN he shewed me many trees, some shooting and some dried up, and he said to me, Seest thou these trees? I see them, sir, quoth I, some putting forth leaves and some withered.

2. These trees, quoth he, which are sprouting are the righteous, who shall dwell in the world to come; for the world to come is summer to the righteous but winter to sinners. When therefore the mercy of the Lord shall shine forth, then shall they who serve God be manifested, and all shall be manifested.

3. For as in summer the fruits of the several trees are manifested, and it is known of what kind they are, so also shall the fruits of the righteous be manifest; and all of

Philology,' art. *Enoch and Clement* (1904), attention is called to the trees as they are seen in winter and in summer. This, and perhaps the apocryphal scripture quoted above in the note on *Sim.* i. 3, may have helped to suggest the parables of the trees in *Sim.* ii.—iv., cp. Luke xxiii. 31 *in the green tree . . . in the dry.* The writer would have thought also of the Parable of the Tares, as in *Sim.* v. 5. 2 *The field is this world.*

them shall be known when they are blossoming in that world. 4. But, as thou sawest the dry trees, so the heathen and the sinners shall be found dry and unfruitful in that world, and they shall be burned like logs and shall be manifest; because their doing in their lifetime was evil. The sinners shall be burned because they sinned and repented not; and the heathen shall be burned because they knew not Him who created them. 5. Do thou therefore bear fruit, that in that summer thy fruit may be known. Refrain from excess of business, and thou shalt commit no sin. For they who are busied overmuch also sin much, being cumbered by their affairs and not serving their own Lord. 6. How, quoth he, can such an one ask and receive anything from the Lord, when he doth not serve the Lord? They who serve Him are they that shall receive their requests, and they who serve not the Lord shall receive nothing. 7. But if any man be employed about one matter, he can also serve the Lord; for his mind will not be corrupted away from the Lord, but he will serve Him with a pure mind. 8. So then, if thou do these things thou shalt be able to bear fruit unto the world * to come; and whoso doeth these things shall bear fruit.

* Gr. *aiona*, cp. John iv. 36; 2 Clem. R. xix. 3.

FIFTH SIMILITUDE

CHAPTER I

1. AS I fasted and sat upon a certain mountain, and was thanking the Lord for all the things He had wrought with me, I saw the Shepherd sitting by me and saying, Why art thou come hither thus early? Because, sir, quoth I, I am keeping a station.* 2. What, quoth he, is a station? I am fasting, sir, quoth I. What fast,

* Gr. *station*, from the Latin *statio*. Cotelier, writing before the discovery of the Athos Codex (vol. i. 12f.), well remarked that Hermas, as "living among Latins," used a Latinism. Supposing Gr. *stasis* to be the word rendered *statio* in his Latin text, he regarded "station," not with Tertullian and others as a military term applied to the Christian warfare, but as connoting the posture of standing in the congregation, although Hermas is here found seated and alone. Compare Mishnah *Taanith* iv. 1, ". . . at fasts and *stations* and on the day of atonement . . .," upon which Maimonides quotes Deut. x. 8, "to stand before the Lord to minister unto him"; cp. *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Addit. Note 3 (1897).

quoth he, is this that ye fast? As I was wont, sir, quoth I, thus I fast. 3. Ye know not, quoth he, how to fast unto the Lord, neither is this your unprofitable fasting unto Him a fast. Wherefore, sir, quoth I, sayest thou this? I tell thee, quoth he, that this is not a fast which ye think ye fast; but I will teach thee what is a full fast and one acceptable unto the Lord. Hearken, quoth he. 4. God desireth not such vain fasting; for by fasting thus unto God thou shalt do nothing for righteousness. But fast thou such a fast as this unto God. 5. Do no wickedness in thy life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart. Keep His precepts and walk in His ordinances, and let no evil lust arise in thy heart; but believe in God. If thou do these things and fear Him, and contain thyself from every evil deed, thou shalt live unto God; and these things if thou do, thou shalt accomplish a great fast and one acceptable to God.*

* The Shepherd expounds fasting in the sense of Isaiah lviii. 3 f., cp. Barn. iii.; Iren. iv. 29 (ed. Harvey); Clem. *Strom.* vi. 12, vii. 12 (P. 791, 877). So the Fathers *passim*, as Cotelier remarks. Plutarch (ii. 464 B) quotes as a precept of Empedocles, "To fast from evil," Gr. *Nesteusai kakotetos*.

CHAPTER 2

1. HEAR the parable which I will tell thee pertaining to fasting. 2. A certain man had a field and many slaves, and he planted part of the field as a vineyard. And having made choice of a faithful and wellpleasing honoured slave, he called him unto him and said to him, Take this vineyard which I have planted and stake it by then I come, and do nothing else to the vineyard. Keep this my commandment and thou shalt be a freeman in my house. And the master of the slave went abroad.* 3. And when he was gone away the slave took and staked the vineyard. And when he had made an end of staking the vineyard he saw that it was full of weeds. 4. So he reasoned within himself saying, This commandment of the lord I have fulfilled; I will go on now and dig this vineyard, and it shall be comelier when it is digged, and having no weeds it shall yield more fruit, not being choked by the weeds. And he took and digged the vineyard, and plucked out all the weeds that were in it; and that vineyard became very trim

* Luke xix. 13 *Occupy till I come*, Matt. xxv. 15 *and he went abroad*. Gr. for "freeman" *eleutheros*; cp. I Cor. vii. 22 Gr. *apeleutheros*, R.V. *freedman*.

and flourishing, not having weeds choking it. 5. After a time the master of the slave and of the field came and entered into the vineyard. And seeing it staked trimly and also digged, and all the weeds plucked out, and the vines flourishing, he rejoiced greatly at the works of the slave. 6. So he called to him his beloved son who was his heir and his friends who were his counsellors, and told them what he had commanded his slave and all that he had found done ; and they rejoiced with the slave at the witness which his master bare unto him. 7. And he said to them, I promised this slave liberty if he kept my commandment which I commanded him ; and he kept my commandment, and added a good work to the vineyard, and pleased me well. In return therefore for this work which he hath done, I am resolved to make him fellowheir with my son, because when he had thought a good thought, he was not negligent but accomplished it. 8. In this sentence the master's son agreed with him, that the slave should be made fellowheir with the son. 9. A few days afterwards the housemaster made a supper, and sent him many meats from the supper. And when the slave had received the meats sent to him from the master, he took as much as was sufficient for him, and distributed the rest to his

fellowservants. 10. And when they received the meats they rejoiced, and began to pray for him that he might find greater favour with the master because he had thus dealt with them. 11. All these things that were come to pass his master heard, and again he rejoiced greatly at his deed. And when the master had called his friends and his son together again, he told them what the slave had done with his meats which he had received; and they were so much the more content that the slave had been made fellowheir with his son.

CHAPTER 3

1. SIR, said I, I know not these parables neither can I understand them, except thou explain them to me. 2. I will explain all things unto thee, quoth he, and what things soever I shall speak with thee I will shew thee. Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be in favour with God and shalt be inscribed in the number of them that keep His commandments. 3. And if thou do any good thing beyond God's commandment, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory, and shalt be more honourable with God than thou wouldest

have been.* If therefore while keeping the commandments of God thou add also these services, thou shalt rejoice, if so be thou observe them according to my commandment. 4. I said to him, Sir, whatsoever thou commandest me I will keep it, for I know that thou art with me. I will be with thee, quoth he, because thou hast such earnest desire of welldoing, and I will be with all who have the like earnest desire. 5. This fasting, quoth he, when the commandments of the Lord are observed, is exceeding good. Thus then shalt thou keep this fast which thou art about to observe. 6. First of all keep thyself from every evil word and every evil desire, and cleanse thy heart from all the vanities of this world.† If thou keep these things, this shall be a perfect fast for thee. 7. And thus shalt thou do. When thou hast

* Compare Matt. xix. 17-21.

† In short, he is to fast from this world (Gr. *aionos*), cp. Clem. *Strom.* iii. 15 (P. 556) *they that fast from the world* (Gr. *kosmou*). Both writers may have had in mind the saying, "Except ye fast (from) the world ye shall not find the kingdom of God." On this and *Sim.* i., v., ix. see the present writer's essay entitled *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 10 f., 73 f. (Clarendon Press, 1899). It belongs to the former of the two sets of reputed sayings of Jesus found by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus (1897, 1903) and edited by them for the Egyptian Exploration Fund.

accomplished the things that are written, in the day when thou fastest taste nothing but bread and water; and when thou hast told the sum of that day's expenses to which thou wouldest have been put for the meats consumed in it, thou shalt give it to a widow or an orphan or one in need. Thus shalt thou humble thyself, that he who hath received of thy humbleness may satisfy his own soul and pray for thee to the Lord. 8. If thou thus accomplish the fast as I have enjoined thee, thy sacrifice shall be accepted of God, and this fast shall be registered; * for the service so performed is good and agreeable and acceptable unto the Lord. 9. These things thou shalt thus observe with thy children and all thy house; and if thou observe them happy

* *Sacrifice* and *altar* (*Mand.* x. 3. 2 f.; *Sim.* viii. 2. 5) being cognate words in the Greek, there may possibly be an allusion here and above to Polyc. *Phil.* iv. 3, "The widows . . . knowing that they are an *altar* of God," see No. 39 of the 'Journal of Philology,' art. *St. Polycarp to the Philippians*. The association of fasting with almsgiving, as prescribed by the Shepherd, is much dwelt upon by the Fathers. To Cotelier's illustrations add Aristides, *Apol.* xv. (p. 49, ed. Rendel Harris, 1891). This fast shall be registered (Gr. *engraphos*), cp. Clem. *Cor.* xlv. 8, with Laurent's conjecture, afterwards confirmed by the Bryennius manuscript. The corresponding verb to "inscribe" is found in *Vis.* i. 3. 2; *Mand.* viii. 6; *Sim.* ii. 9, v. 3. 2 ix. 24. 4.

shalt thou be, and all such as hear and observe them shall be happy, and whatsoever things they ask of the Lord they shall receive.

CHAPTER 4

1. I BESOUGHT him much to declare unto me the parable of the field and the master and the vineyard, and of the slave who staked the vineyard, and of the stakes, and of the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard, and of the son and the friends who were the counsellors ; for I understood that all these things were a certain parable. 2. And he answered and said to me, Thou art very bold in asking. Thou oughtest not to ask anything at all, for if aught must be declared to thee it shall be declared. I said to him, Sir, whatsoever things thou shewest but dost not declare unto me, in vain shall I have seen them, not understanding what they are ; in like manner also, if thou speak parables unto me but interpret them not, in vain shall I have heard aught from thee. 3. Then again he answered me saying, Whosoever is a servant of God and hath his Lord in his heart, he asketh of Him understanding and receiveth it, and he

solveth every parable, and known unto him become the words of the Lord that are spoken by parables; but such as are faint and slow unto prayer doubt whether to ask of the Lord. 4. Howbeit the Lord is abundant in mercy, and giveth without ceasing to all who ask of Him. Thou then who hast been endued with power by the holy Angel, and hast received from him such a gift of prayer, and art not slothful, wherefore dost thou not ask understanding from the Lord and receive it of Him? 5. I said to him, Sir, having thee with me I must needs ask of thee and question thee, for thou shewest me all things and speakest with me; but if I had seen or heard them without thee, I would have entreated the Lord that they might be declared unto me.

CHAPTER 5

1. I TOLD thee, even now, quoth he, that thou art knavish and bold in demanding the interpretations of the parables. But since thou art so persistent, I will interpret to thee the parable of the field and all the accompaniments thereof, that thou mayest make them known to all. Hearken, quoth he, and understand them.

2. The field is this world ; * and the owner of the field is He who created all things and ordered and strengthened them. The slave is the Son of God ; and the vines are this people which He planted. 3. The stakes are the holy angels of the Lord which hold His people together ; the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard are the iniquities of the servants of God ;

* The Shepherd's parable of the Vineyard, at first explained simply as "pertaining to fasting," is found to need further exposition. A Christological interpretation is accordingly given ; but it is ambiguous, and theologians are not agreed as to its meaning. The field is this world (Gr. *aion*, for Matt. xiii. 38 *kosmos*) ; the owner of it is the Creator ; the owner's son, according to the Old Latin (*filius autem spiritus sanctus est*), is the Holy Spirit ; the chosen slave is the Son of God ; the vines are the people of God, and the weeds their iniquities ; the stakes, and also the landowner's friends and counsellors, are holy angels ; the meats given to and distributed by the slave are commandments (John iv. 34, x. 18, xiv. 31). Thus far, it may be argued, there is no confusion ; for the son and the slave in the parable are different persons, and the Spirit and the Son of God whom they respectively represent should therefore likewise be different. But the slave in the parable is adopted and made fellow-heir with the son (2. 7—11), and in the interpretation the two together seem to represent the Son of God as both human and divine. See vol. i. 50 f. ; Hilgenfeld's notes on *Sim.* v. ; and the *Prolegomena* to Funk's *Patr. Apost.* Parables, like pictures, can but adumbrate complex ideas in a rough incomplete way ; and Hermas is not always exact and logical in the choice and use of his symbols.

the meats sent to the slave from the supper are the commandments which He gave to His people through His Son; the friends and counsellors are the holy angels which were first created; and the going abroad of the master is the time that remaineth over until His coming.

4. I said to him, Sir, all these things are of great and wondrous and glorious sort: could I then possibly have understood them? No, nor can any other man, though he were exceeding prudent, understand them. Yet further, sir, quoth I, declare unto me that which I am about to ask of thee. 5. Say, quoth he, what thou wilt. Wherefore, sir, quoth I, is the Son of God set in the character of a slave in the parable?

CHAPTER 6

I. HEARKEN, quoth he. The Son of God is not set in the character of a slave, but in great authority and lordship.* How, sir? quoth I;

* The work of the slave in the parable represents the work of one set "in great authority and lordship" in the interpretation of it, and the slave himself is raised to great dignity. So the servant of the Lord in Isaiah lii. 13—liii. 12, with which compare Phil. ii. 5—11. The atoning work of the Son is expressed in terms of the labours of the slave, and therefore without mention of

I understand not. 2. Because, quoth he, God planted the vineyard, that is to say He created the people, and He delivered them to His Son. And the Son gave the angels charge over them to keep them, and Himself purged their sins when He had laboured much and borne many toils; for none can dig without toil or trouble. 3. Having then Himself purged the sins of the people He shewed them the paths of life, giving them the law which He had received from His Father. 4. Thou seest, quoth he, that He is Lord of the people, having received all authority from His Father. Hear also how that the Lord took counsel with His Son and the holy angels about the inheritance of the slave. 5. The pre-existent Holy Spirit, which created the whole creation, did God make to dwell in flesh which He chose. This flesh then wherein the Holy Spirit dwelt served the Spirit rightly, walking in sanctity and purity and in no wise defiling the Spirit. 6. When therefore it had lived orderly and purely, and laboured and wrought with the

His death. For "all authority" (6. 4) see Matt. xxviii. 18, John xvii. 2. The idea that the Creator "took counsel" is from Gen. i. 26 *Let us make man*. For the word "counsellor" in *Sim.* v. 2—6, ix. 12. 2 see Rom. xi. 34 (Is. xl. 13). Funk, for "none can dig" (6. 2), *no vineyard can be digged*.

Spirit in every matter, quitting itself stoutly and valiantly, He chose it for a partner with the Holy Spirit ; for the way of this flesh pleased the Lord, because it defiled not itself upon the earth when it had the Holy Spirit. 7. Accordingly He took the Son and the glorious angels for counsellors, that this flesh also when it had served the Spirit blamelessly might have some abiding place,* and might not seem to have lost the reward of its service ; for all flesh found undefiled and spotless, wherein the Holy Spirit hath dwelt, shall receive a reward.† 8. Thou hast the interpretation of this parable also.

* The word for *nest* in Matt. viii. 20 and Luke ix. 58.

† See 2 Clem. viii. 6, ix. 1—5, “ So then this He saith, Keep the flesh pure and the seal unspotted, that we may receive life. And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again. Understand ye : in what were ye saved, in what did ye recover sight, if not while ye were in this flesh? We ought therefore to guard the flesh as a temple of God ; for as ye were called in the flesh, in the flesh ye shall also come. If Christ the Lord who saved us, being at first Spirit ‘ was made flesh ’ and so called us, in like manner also we shall in this flesh receive the reward.”

CHAPTER 7

1. I WAS glad, sir, quoth I, to hear this interpretation. Attend now, quoth he ; keep this thy flesh pure and undefiled, that the Spirit which dwelleth in it may bear witness to it, and thy flesh may be justified.* 2. Beware lest the thought arise in thy heart that this thy flesh is to perish, and thou abuse it with any pollution. If thou pollute thy flesh thou shalt pollute the Holy Spirit also ; the which if thou pollute thou shalt not live. 3. But if, sir, quoth I, there hath been any previous ignorance before these words were heard, how can the man who hath defiled his flesh be saved ? Of the former deeds of ignorance, quoth he, it is possible for God alone to

* Hermas gives a new turn to an expression of St. Paul in Rom. iii. 20 and Gal. ii. 16, “. . . shall no *flesh be justified.*” For his words pollution (Gr. *miasmos*) and pollute see Wisd. xiv. 26, 2 Pet. ii. 10 and Jude 8, *Sim.* ix. 17. 5. Gnostic spiritualists taught that the flesh was to perish, and that its “abuse with any pollution” was consequently a matter of indifference. See Clem. *Strom.* ii. 20 (P. 490 f.) on some who misapplied a saying of Nicolaus, and the caution of Cyril of Jerusalem in *Catech.* xviii. 20 against the doctrine and practice of the heretics who taught that “the *garment of the body*” (Gr. *chiton*, Jude 23) is alien and not part of a man’s self.

give healing ; for all power is His. 4. But now guard thyself, and the Almighty Lord, who is abundant in mercy, will grant healing of the former ignorances, if from henceforth thou defile neither thy flesh nor the Spirit ; for the two are in communion and they cannot be defiled apart from one another. Keep therefore both pure, and thou shalt live unto God.

SIXTH SIMILITUDE

CHAPTER I

1. AS I sat in my house, and was glorifying the Lord for all the things that I had seen, and thinking about the commandments, how that they are good and mighty and pleasant and glorious and able to save a man's soul, I said within myself, Happy shall I be if I walk in these commandments, and whosoever walketh in them shall be happy. 2. While I was speaking on this wise within myself, of a sudden I spied the Shepherd sitting beside me and saying, What doubttest thou concerning the commandments which I commanded thee? They are good; doubt not at all, but put on the faith of the Lord, and thou shalt walk in them, for I will strengthen thee in them. 3. These commandments are profitable to such as are about to repent; for except they walk in them their repentance is in vain. 4. Do ye therefore who repent cast off the

wickednesses of this world which wear you away ; and having put on every virtue of righteousness ye shall be able to observe these commandments, and no longer to add to your sins. If ye add no more at all to them, ye shall depart from your former sins. Walk then in these my commandments, and ye shall live unto God. All these things have been told you by me. 5. After he had spoken these things with me he said to me, Go we into the field, and I will shew thee the shepherds of the sheep.* Let us go, sir, quoth I. So we came to a certain plain, and he shewed me a youthful shepherd decked with a set

* The parable of the Shepherds and the Sheep in *Sim.* vi. is a metamorphosis of the story of Deceit and True Education sketched by Kebes (vol. i. 40—47). All men, as they enter into life, drink of the cup of Deceit, but some more, some less. When after a time of vicious and senseless enjoyment their resources fail, they are delivered to Retribution, the woman with the scourge ; and they pass the rest of their life miserably, unless Repentance chances to fall in with them. If a man is teachable, Repentance brings him to True Education, by means of whose cathartic potion he is purged from error and brought to virtue and happiness ; but others are for ever led astray by Pseudodoxy. Hermas turns the women Deceit, Retribution and Repentance into three angels, the Angel of Luxury and Deceit (2. 1), the Angel of Retribution (3. 2), and the Angel of Repentance (*Vis.* iv. 7) ; and for the men who imbibe more or less of error he substitutes sheep shepherded by the angel of luxury and

of garments of saffron colour. 6. Now he was feeding exceeding many sheep, and these sheep seemed to be pampered and very wanton, and they made merry as they leaped hither and thither. And the shepherd himself was quite merry over his flock; and his countenance was very cheerful, and he was skipping about among the sheep.* And other sheep I saw pampered and wanton, but which were in one place and not leaping about.

CHAPTER 2

I. AND the Shepherd said to me, Seest thou this pastor? I see him, sir, quoth I. This, quoth he, is the angel of luxury and deceit.†

deceit, some seen leaping and some not leaping. All this is after the manner of Enoch's history of the world from Adam with sheep and other beasts for men, his seventy shepherds being not men but angels, as Professor Charles shews in chap. lxxxix. 59 n.

* Here chap. 1 ends defectively in the Athos Codex. The clause on the "other sheep," which chap. 2. 4-6 shews to be in substance indispensable, is from the citation of *Sim.* vi. in pseudo-Athanasius *Ad Antiochum*.

† His gaudy festal dress (1. 5) becomes this angel. For "deceit" (Gr. *apate*) as here see Mark iv. 19 *the deceitfulness of riches*; Eph. iv. 22 *the lusts of deceit*; 2 Pet. ii. 13 A.V. *their own deceivings*. For "decay" (2. 2 f.) in contrast

He weareth out the souls of God's servants and subverteth them from the truth, cheating them with evil lusts whereby they perish. 2. For they forget the commandments of the living God, and walk in vain deceits and delights, and are destroyed by this angel, some unto death and some unto decay. 3. I said to him, Sir, I know not the meaning of Unto death and of Unto decay. Hear, quoth he. The sheep which thou sawest merry and leaping about, these are they that have been utterly drawn away from God, and have yielded themselves to the lusts of this world. In them there is no repentance unto life, for they added to their sins and blasphemed against the name of God. To such men belongeth death. 4. And the sheep which thou sawest not leaping about but feeding in one place, these are they that have yielded themselves to pleasures and deceits, but have not blasphemed at all against the Lord. These have been corrupted from the truth, but they have hope of repentance whereby they may live. Decay then hath hope of a renewal, but

with "death" see chap. 3 of the *Tablet*. With the saying in Harmer's text (2. 3 *fin.*), "The life (Gr. *zoe*) of such men is death," cp. 1 Tim. v. 6; 2 Clem. i. 6, "and our whole life (Gr. *bios*) was nothing else but death." Funk, *Of such men therefore is death.*

death hath everlasting destruction. 5. Again we went on a little, and he shewed me a tall shepherd like a wild man in appearance, clad in a white goatskin, and having a scrip upon his shoulders, and a very strong staff with knots and a great scourge; and his look was very severe, so that I was dismayed at him, such was his look. 6. Now this shepherd was receiving the sheep that were pampered and wanton, but not leaping about, from the youthful shepherd, and was casting them into a steep place full of thorns and briers, so that the sheep could not loose themselves from the thorns and briers, but were entangled in them. 7. These then fed thus entangled among the thorns and briers, and being smitten by him they were very wretched; and he drove them about to and fro and gave them no rest, so that those sheep had no quietness at all.

CHAPTER 3

1. SEEING them then so scourged and in misery I was grieved over them, because they were thus tormented and had no respite at all.
2. And I said to the Shepherd who was speaking with me, Sir, who is this shepherd that is so

unmerciful and cruel and quite without pity upon these sheep? This, quoth he, is the angel of retribution; and he is one of the righteous angels, and is set over punishment. 3. He receiveth therefore such as have strayed away from God and walked in the lusts and deceits of this world, and punisheth them with dreadful and divers punishments according to their deserving. 4. I would fain know, sir, quoth I, of what sort are these divers punishments. Hear, quoth he; the divers punishments and torments are torments during lifetime. For some are punished with losses, some with wants, some with sundry infirmities, some with all unsettlement; and some by being insulted by the unworthy, and by suffering many other mishaps. 5. For many who are unstable in their counsels take in hand overmuch, and nothing succeeds at all with them. Then they say that they are not prospered in their affairs; and it entereth not into their heart that they have done amiss, but they blame the Lord.* 6. When therefore they have been afflicted with all manner of affliction, they are delivered to me for good instruction† and made

* See *Mand.* ix. 8; James i. 13 with Mayor's note; Justin Apol. i. 44 ed. Otto; *Keb. Tab.* 28.

† Gr. *paideia*, as for Education in the *Tablet*. Sir Thomas Browne writes near the beginning of his *Christian Morals*, "Consider whereabout thou art in Cebes's table,

strong in the faith of the Lord, and the rest of the days of their life they serve the Lord with a pure heart ; and if they repent, the evil things that they have done come into their mind, and then they glorify God, saying that He is a just judge and that they have suffered justly, each according to his doings. And thenceforth they serve the Lord with a pure heart and are prospered in all their doings, receiving from the Lord all things that they ask ; and then they glorify the Lord for that they were delivered to me, and they never again suffer any ill.

CHAPTER 4

I. I SAID to him, Sir, shew me this further. What enquirest thou more ? quoth he. Whether, sir, quoth I, they who live in luxury and deceit are tormented for as long a while as they lived in luxury and deceit ? He said to me, They are

or that old philosophical pinax of the life of man : whether thou art yet in the road of uncertainties ; whether thou hast yet entred the narrow gate, got up the hill and asperous way, which leadeth unto the house of sanity ; or taken that purifying potion from the hand of sincere erudition, which may send thee clear and pure away unto a virtuous and happy life."

tormented for the same time. 2. Then they are tormented very little, sir, quoth I ; for they who thus live in pleasure and forget God ought to be tormented sevenfold. 3. He said to me, Thou art foolish and understandest not the power of torment. Surely, sir, quoth I, if I had understood, I should not have asked thee to declare it unto me. Hear, quoth he, the power of both of them, of pleasure and of torment. 4. The time of pleasure and deceit is one hour ; but the hour of torment hath the force of thirty days. If then a man pass one day in pleasure and deceit and be tormented for one day, the day of torment equalleth a whole year.* As many days therefore as one liveth in pleasure, so many years he is tormented. Thou seest then, quoth he, that the time of pleasure and deceit is very short, and the time of punishment and torture long.

* In accordance with Num. xiv. 34, Ezek. iv. 6 *each day for a year*, and John xi. 9 *Are there not twelve hours in the day?* although "day" there means daytime, he makes "the day of torment" equal twelve months. Compare in Aboth iv. (*Jewish Fathers*, p. 74), "Better is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come ; better is one hour of refreshment of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world."

CHAPTER 5

1. INASMUCH, sir, quoth I, as I have not quite understood about the times of deceit and pleasure and of pain, do thou shew them to me more evidently. 2. He answered and said to me, Thy folly is abiding, and thou wilt not cleanse thy heart and serve God. Beware lest the time be fulfilled, and thou be found foolish. Hear then, quoth he, as thou desirest, that thou mayest understand the matter. 3. He who spendeth one day in luxury and deceit and in doing what pleaseth him is wrapped in much folly and understandeth not the thing that he doeth, for by the morrow he forgetteth what he did the day before; for luxury and deceit have no memories,* on account of the folly in which they are folden. But when punishment and torment cleave to a man one day he is punished and sore pained for a year, because punishment and torment have long memories. 4. Being then tormented and punished all the year he remembereth at length the luxury and deceit, and

* See Eccus. xi. 27 *The affliction of an hour causeth forgetfulness of delight*; 2 Clem. x. 4, "For they know not how great torment the enjoyment which is here bringeth, and what delight the promise which is to come bringeth."

knoweth that on account of them he suffereth the evil things. All men therefore who live in luxury and deceit are thus punished, because having life they have delivered themselves up to death. 5. What manner of pleasures, sir, quoth I, are hurtful? Every act, quoth he, which he doeth gladly is a pleasure to a man. The passionate man in satisfying his own temper delighteth himself; and the adulterer and the drunkard and the slanderer and the liar and the covetous and the defrauder and they who do the like to these things indulge their proper disease, each taking pleasure in what he doeth. 6. All these pleasures are hurtful to the servants of God, and because of these deceits do they suffer who are punished and tormented. 7. But there are also pleasures which save men; for many when they do good things delight in them, being carried along by their own enjoyment. This pleasure is profitable to the servants of God, and winneth life for such a man; but the hurtful pleasures before said purchase for them pains and punishments, and if they persist and repent not they bring death upon themselves.

SEVENTH SIMILITUDE

1. A FEW days afterwards I saw him on the same plain where I had seen the shepherds, and he said to me, What more seekest thou? I am come, sir, quoth I, that thou mayest bid the avenging shepherd go out of my house, for he afflicteth me sorely. Need is, quoth he, that thou shouldest be afflicted, seeing that the glorious Angel hath thus ordained concerning thee; for he desireth that thou shouldest be proved. But, sir, quoth I, what so evil thing have I done that I should be delivered to this angel? 2. Hear, quoth he; thy sins are many, yet not so many as that thou shouldest be delivered to this angel. But thy house have committed great iniquities and sins; and the glorious Angel was very wroth at their deeds, and therefore ordained that thou shouldest be afflicted for a while, that they also may repent and cleanse themselves from every lust of this world. When therefore they repent and are

cleansed, then the avenging angel shall depart.

3. I said to him, Sir, if they have done such things that the glorious Angel is angered, yet what have I done? They, quoth he, cannot else be afflicted except thou, the head of all the house, be afflicted; for when thou art afflicted of necessity they too shall be afflicted, but so long as thou prosperest they can suffer no affliction.

4. But behold, sir, quoth I, they have repented with their whole heart. I also know, quoth he, that they have repented with their whole heart. Thinkest thou then that the sins of those who repent are straightway remitted? By no means; but he who repenteth must vex his own soul, and humble himself mightily in all that he doeth, and be afflicted with all the different afflictions; and if he endure the afflictions that come upon him, He who created and strengthened all things will surely have mercy and grant an healing.

5. This will He do when he seeth the heart of him that repenteth pure from every evil deed. But for thee and for thy house it is expedient now to be afflicted. Yet why should I say many things to thee? Thou must needs be afflicted, as that Angel of the Lord which delivered thee to me hath ordained. And herein thank thou the Lord, for that He hath accounted thee worthy to have

thine affliction shewed thee before, so that foreknowing it thou mayest bear it stedfastly. 6. I said to him, Sir, be thou with me, and I shall be well able to bear all adversity. I, quoth he, will be with thee ; and I will also entreat the avenging angel to afflict thee more lightly. Yet a little while thou shalt be afflicted, and again thou shalt be restored to thy house ; only continue to be of lowly mind and serve the Lord with a pure heart, thou and thy children and thy house, and walk in my commandments which I command thee, and thy repentance shall be able to be effectual and pure. 7. If thou keep them, with thy house, all affliction shall depart from thee ; and affliction, quoth he, shall depart from all such as walk in these my commandments.

EIGHTH SIMILITUDE

CHAPTER I

1. HE shewed me a great willow tree overshadowing plains and mountains, under the shelter whereof were gathered all who were called by the name of the Lord.* 2. And beside the willow stood an Angel of the Lord, glorious and exceeding tall, holding a great sickle; and he was lopping branches from the willow and distributing them to the people which sheltered under it, giving them small rods about a cubit long. 3. And when all had received the rods the Angel put down the sickle, and the tree was still whole as I had seen it. 4. Thereupon I marvelled and said within myself, How when so many branches have been lopped off is the tree whole? And the Shepherd

* According to a fragment of Irenaeus (Harvey, vol. ii. 494), the heavenly Word, like the grain of mustard seed, grew to be a very great tree reaching to the ends of the earth (3. 2), which sheltered the nations by its branches, the twelve apostles.

said to me, Marvel not that the tree remained whole when so many branches were lopped off; but let be till thou hast seen all things, and it shall be shewed thee what is the meaning. 5. Then the Angel which had distributed the rods to the people demanded them back from them. As they had received them so they were summoned unto him, and all of them gave up their rods; and the Angel of the Lord took and examined them. 6. From some he received the rods dry and eaten as by the moth; and the Angel commanded such as had given up their rods like this to stand apart. 7. Others gave them up dry but not motheaten; and these he commanded to stand apart. 8. Others gave them up half dry;* and these stood apart.

* Gr. *hemixeros* (chaps. 1, 4, 5, 7; *Sim.* ix. 1. 6), a rare word found in *Test. Sim.* 2. The parable of the rods being founded upon Num. xvii. 6—9, there should apparently be twelve sorts; but thirteen are enumerated in chap. 1. 6—18. The ten which are faulty (1. 6—15) are reduced to nine in chaps. 4, 5, but not in chaps. 6—10. The first half dry rods (1. 8) have been identified with those of which one half was dry and the other half green (1. 11); but the term here may mean half dried throughout, although not so used in *Sim.* ix. With the three sorts approved cp. Mark xiii. 20 *some thirtyfold, some sixty, and some an hundred.* The word for shoot or *side-growth* is used by Aristotle, see the diminutive from it in Barn. iv. 5.

9. And others gave up their rods half dry and with clefts; and these stood apart. 10. And others gave up their rods green but with clefts; and these stood apart. 11. And others gave up their rods half dry and half green; and these stood apart. 12. Others brought their rods two parts green and the third part dry; and these stood apart. 13. And others gave them up two parts dry and the third green; and these stood apart. 14. Others gave up their rods wellnigh all green, only a very little of them at the end was dry, and they had clefts in them; and these stood apart. 15. And of the rods of others a very little was green and the rest dry; and these stood apart. 16. Others came bringing their rods green as they had received them from the Angel. The most part of the multitude gave up their rods thus. And the Angel was very glad of them; and these stood apart. 17. Others gave up their rods green and with shoots; and these stood apart. And the Angel was very glad of these. 18. And others gave up their rods green and with shoots, and their shoots had as it were a kind of fruit. And the men whose rods were found so were very joyful; and the Angel rejoiced over them, and the Shepherd was exceeding glad of them.

CHAPTER 2

1. AND the Angel of the Lord ordered crowns to be brought; and crowns made as of palms were brought, and he crowned the men who had given up the rods which had the shoots and the fruit, and sent them away to the tower. 2. And to the tower he sent also those others who had given up the rods that were green and had shoots, but not shoots bearing fruit; and he gave them a seal. 3. All who went into the tower had like raiment, white as snow. 4. And he sent away those who had given up their rods green as they received them, giving them white raiment and seals. 5. When the Angel had finished all this he said to the Shepherd, I go my way; and thou shalt send these men to the walls, according as each is worthy to dwell. Examine their rods carefully, and so send them away; but examine them very carefully. Take heed, quoth he, that none escape thee. But if any escape thee, I will prove them at the altar.*

* Some things in *Sim.* viii. are accounted for by *Clem. Cor.* xliii. 2—5 (*Num.* xvii. 6 f.), "For he . . . commanded the twelve chiefs of the tribes to bring him rods each with the name of one tribe written upon it. And he took and tied *and sealed them* with the rings of the chiefs of the tribes, and put them away in the tabernacle of the

When he had thus spoken to the Shepherd he departed. 6. After the departure of the Angel the Shepherd said to me, Let us take and plant the rods of all of them, to see if any of them can live. I said to him, Sir, how can these dry things live? 7. He answered me saying, This tree, being a willow, is of a lively sort; * if therefore the rods be planted and receive a little moisture, many of them shall live. So then let us make trial and pour water over them. If any of them be able to revive, I shall rejoice with it; and if it live not, I shall not be found

testimony *upon the table of God*. And having shut the tabernacle, he sealed the keys and likewise the doors. And . . . when the morning came he called together all Israel, even the six hundred thousand men, and shewed the seals to the chiefs of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of the testimony and drew forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only with buds but also *having fruit*." Hermas accordingly describes the rods of the highest class as having fruit (1. 18, etc.); he uses Clement's story of the sealing in a way of his own (2. 2, etc.); and he arranges for a final scrutiny at the altar, with allusion to the placing of the rods "upon the table of God."

* Lit. life-loving, Gr. *philozoos* (6. 1). This verse, on which see Cotelier's note, justifies the choice of the willow from among trees as the subject of *Sim. viii*. The word for "moisture" (Gr. *ikmas*) is used by St. Luke in the Parable of the Sower, see vol. i. 30 f.

negligent. 8. Then the Shepherd bade me call them as each stood ; and they came rank by rank, and gave up their rods to the Shepherd. And he took the rods and planted them in rows ; and after planting them he poured much water upon them, so that the rods appeared not because of the water. 9. And after he had watered the rods he said to me, Let us go away, and come back after a few days and look at all the rods ; for He who created this tree willeth that all who received branches from it should live. And I also hope that, when these slips have received moisture and been watered, the most part of them shall live.

CHAPTER 3

1. I SAID to him, Sir, acquaint me what this tree is, for I am perplexed about it, because when so many branches have been lopped off the tree is whole and nothing seems to have been cut from it ; thereat I am perplexed. 2. Hearken, quoth he ; this great tree, which overspreadeth plains and mountains and the whole earth, is the law of God which was given to all the world ; and this law is the Son of

God who hath been preached unto the ends of the earth.* The peoples under the shadow of it are they who when they heard the preaching believed on Him. 3. And the great and glorious Angel is Michael, who hath the authority over this people and governeth them; for it is he who putteth the law into the hearts of them that believe. He therefore visiteth those to whom he hath given it, to see if so be they have kept it. 4. Thou seest the rods of all of them; for the rods are the law. Thou seest many of the rods made useless, and thou shalt know all them that kept not the law; thou shalt see the abode of every one. 5. I said to him, Sir, wherefore did he send some away to the tower and leave some to thee? As many, quoth he, as transgressed the law which they received from him he left in my charge for repentance; but he hath in his own power such as satisfied and kept the law. 6. Who then, sir, quoth I, are they that are crowned and enter the tower? Quoth he, All such as wrestled with the devil

* Justin and others give Law as a name of Christ. Michael (3. 3; Dan. x., xii.) as giver of the "law" illustrates Acts vii. 53, cp. Gal. iii. 19 ed. Lightfoot. In the *Book of Adam* Michael is the instrument of God's revelation to Moses, see *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II. p. 159 (M. R. James), in vol. v. of the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*.

and vanquished him are crowned.* These are they that have suffered for the law. 7. And those others who likewise gave up their rods green and having shoots, but without fruit, are they that have been afflicted for the sake of the law, but neither suffered death nor denied their law. 8. And they who gave them up green as they received them are holy and just men, who walked earnestly with a pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. The rest shalt thou learn when I have examined the rods which have been planted and watered.

CHAPTER 4

1. AFTER a few days we returned to the place ; and the Shepherd sat in the place of the Angel, and I stood beside him. And he said to me, Gird thee with raw flax and serve me. So I girded myself with clean raw linen sackcloth.
2. And seeing me girt about and ready to

* Compare the crowning in the *Tablet* (vol. i. 43 f.), and see also *Mand.* xij. 2. 5 ; *Sim.* viii. 2. 1, 4. 6 ; 2 (4) *Esdras* ii. 42—47 ; and Origen *Hom.* i. 5 in *Ezech.*, where he quotes Psalm cxxxvii. 2 with the remark, "It is written in a certain book that all believers shall receive a *willow* crown" (Cotelier on 2. 7).

minister to him, Call, quoth he, the men whose rods were planted, each in the order in which he gave up his rod. And I went away to the plain and summoned all of them; and they stood all in their ranks. 3. And he said to them, Let each pluck up his own rod and bring it to me. 4. The first to give up their rods were they that had them dry and fretted, and so they were found still dry and fretted; and he commanded them to stand apart. 5. Next they who had had the dry but not fretted ones gave them up; and some of these gave up their rods green, and some dry and fretted as by the moth. Those who gave up their rods green he commanded to stand apart, and those who gave up the dry and fretted ones he commanded to stand with the first. 6. Then they with the half dry ones that had clefts gave them up; and many of these gave them up green and without clefts, and some green and having shoots and upon them fruits, like as upon those of the men who went crowned to the tower. Others gave up their rods dry and gnawed, and others dry but not gnawed, and others half dry and with clefts as they were before. And he commanded them every man severally to stand aside, some in their own orders and some apart.

CHAPTER 5

1. THEN they with the rods which had been green and cloven gave them up; these all gave them up green, and they stood in their own order. And the Shepherd was joyful over these, because they were all changed and had put off their clefts. 2. They also that had had them half green and half dry gave them up; and the rods of some of them were found wholly green, those of some half dry, of some dry and gnawed, and of some green and with shoots. These were all sent away, every one to his order. 3. Then they with the two parts green and the third dry gave them up. Many of these presented them green, many half dry, others dry and gnawed; and they all stood in their own order. 4. Next they who had had them two parts dry and the third part green gave them up. Many of them gave them up half dry, some dry and gnawed, some half dry and with clefts, and a few green; and these all stood in their own order. 5. They also who had had their rods green with a very small part dry and with clefts gave them up. Some of these gave them up green, and some green and with shoots;

and they too went away to their rank. 6. Afterwards they with a very small part green and the rest dry gave them up; and the rods of these were found mostly green and with shoots and fruit on the shoots, and others all green. Over these rods the Shepherd rejoiced very exceedingly, because they were found so. And these went away every man to his own order.*

CHAPTER 6

1. AFTER the Shepherd had examined the rods of all of them he said to me, I told thee that this tree is one that loveth life. Seest thou, quoth he, how many repented and were saved? I see, sir, quoth I. It is that thou mayest perceive, quoth he, the abounding compassion of the Lord, how that it is great and glorious, and He gave the Spirit to them that were meet for repentance.† 2. Wherefore then, sir, quoth I, did not all repent? To them, quoth he, whom He saw ready to become pure in heart and to serve Him with their whole heart He granted repentance;

* For "order" (Gr. *tagma*, chaps. 2, 4, 5) see 1 Cor. xv. 23 *every man in his own order*.

† Or *worthy of repentance* (II. 1), probably from Matt. iii. 8, Luke iii. 8, where "works" are so designated,

but to those in whom He saw guile and wickedness, and who would have repented in hypocrisy, He gave not repentance, lest they should again profane His name. 3. I said to him, Sir, declare to me therefore now concerning those who have given up the rods, of what sort each of them is, and what is their abode; to the end that they may hearken who believed, and have received the seal and broken it and not kept it whole, and having conscience of their deeds may repent and receive a seal* from thee, and may glorify the Lord, for that He had mercy on them and sent thee to renew their spirits. 4. Hearken, quoth he; they whose rods were found dry and eaten by moths are the apostates and betrayers of the Church, who blasphemed the Lord by their sins; yea, and were ashamed of the name of the Lord by which they were called. These therefore were utterly lost unto God. Thou seest that not one of them repented, although they had heard the words thou spakest unto them, which I commanded thee. From such like life hath departed. 5. They who gave up the rods that were dry but not decayed are nigh unto them; for they were hypocrites and bringers in of

* Through repentance they receive again the grace of baptism.

strange doctrines, who turned aside the servants of God, especially those who had sinned, not suffering them to repent, but persuading them by their foolish teachings. These however have hope of repentance. 6. Thou seest that many of them have indeed repented from when thou spakest my commandments unto them; and yet more shall repent. Such as would not repent lost their life; but whoso of them repented became good and had their dwelling within the first walls, and some even went up into the tower. Thou seest then, quoth he, that repentance from sins hath with it life, but impenitence death.

CHAPTER 7

1. HEAR also about such as gave up their rods half dry and with clefts in them. They whose rods were simply half dry are men of two minds; for they neither live nor are dead. 2. But they who had them half dry and with clefts in them are doubleminded and also slanderous, never peaceable with one another but always at variance. But even to these repentance is offered. Thou seest, quoth he,

that some of them have repented ; and there is still hope of repentance among them. 3. Such of them, quoth he, as have repented have their abode in the tower ; the more tardy in their repentance shall dwell within the walls ;* and all such as repent not but persist in their doings shall die the death. 4. They who gave up their rods green and with clefts were always faithful and good, albeit they had a jealousy with one another about precedence and dignity ; these are all foolish, inasmuch as they have questions among them about precedence. 5. Nevertheless they too when they heard my commandments, being good men, cleansed themselves and repented quickly. They had their habitation therefore in the tower. But if any one convert again unto dissension, he shall be cast forth from the tower and shall lose his life. 6. Life belongeth to all who keep the commandments of the Lord ; and in the commandments there is nothing about precedence or any honour, but about patience and lowliness of mind in a man. In such like therefore is the life of the Lord, but in them that are contentious and lawless death.

* In Iren. iii. 20. 3, v. 36 (Harvey, vol. ii. 105, 427 f.) are quotations of John xiv. 2 *In my Father's house are many mansions*, and in the latter place it is connected with

CHAPTER 8

1. THOSE who gave up their rods half green and half dry are those who are much engaged in traffick, and cleave not to the saints. Because of this the half of them is alive and the half dead. 2. Many who heard my commandments repented, and such indeed as repented have their dwelling in the tower; but some fell away utterly. These have no repentance, because by reason of their traffickings they blasphemed and denied the Lord; and so they lost their life through the wickedness which they did. 3. Many of them were of doubtful mind. These may yet repent, if they will repent quickly; and their dwelling shall be in the tower. But if they delay their repentance, they shall dwell

1 Cor. xv. and the Parable of the Sower. Hermas here, on the diverse future abodes of believers (chaps 2—4, 6—10), was probably thinking of the same saying in a like connexion, see *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* (p. 120 f., 1892). Tertull. *Scorp.* vi. connects John xiv. 2 with 1 Cor. xv. 41. For Gr. *katoikesis*, habitation (7. 5, 9. 2; *Vis.* iii. 8. 8), see Mark v. 3; cf. Log. 40 in Resch's *Agrapha*, "As He hath said that our *habitation* is in heaven" (Just. *De Res.* ix.), which Ropes in his *Die Sprüche Jesu* supposes to allude to John *l.c.*

in the enclosure ;* and if they repent not, they likewise forfeit their life. 4. The men who gave up the two parts green and the third dry are those who had denied with manifold denials. 5. Many of them repented and went away to dwell in the tower ; but many revolted utterly from God. These for ever lost the power to live. And some of them were doubleminded and factious. These may repent, if they will repent quickly and not continue in their pleasures ; but if they continue in their doings, these also work death to themselves.

CHAPTER 9

i. THOSE who gave up their rods two parts dry and the third green are they that had been faithful ; but when they were grown rich and of reputation among the heathen† they put on great pride and became highminded

* Lit. *at the walls* (2. 5, 6. 3 ; cp. *Vis.* iii. 5. 5 *near the tower*). Hermas may have been thinking of the successive enclosures in the *Tablet*.

† Some connect the word *heathen* with Gr. *ethne*, nations ; but it is commonly said to be etymologically *heather*, a wild man of the *heath*. See Skeat *Etymolog. Dict.*, the *Cent. Dict.*, and the Oxford *N. E. D.*

and forsook the truth and clave not to the righteous, but lived with the heathen after their manner, and this way was the more agreeable unto them. Yet they revolted not from God, but continued in the faith, although not working the works of the faith. 2. Many of them however repented and had their habitation in the tower. 3. But others, who consorted with the heathen unto the end, and were corrupted by their vain opinions, fell away from God, and did the deeds of the heathen. These were reckoned among the heathen. 4. And others of them doubted, having no hope to be saved on account of the deeds they had done; and some doubted and made schisms among themselves. For these who doubted because of their doings there is yet repentance; but their repentance must be speedy, that their abode may be within the tower. For them that repent not, but abide in their pleasures, death is nigh.

CHAPTER IO

1. THOSE who gave up their rods green, with only the ends dry and split, were always good and faithful and honourable before God, but they sinned a very little because of trivial lusts

and small things that they had against one another; yet when they heard my words the most part of them repented quickly, and so their dwelling was in the tower. 2. But some of them doubted, and some by their doubts multiplied dissension. In these there is still hope of repentance, because they were always good; and hardly* shall any one of them perish. 3. Those who gave up their rods dry and with a very little green are they that only believed, and worked the works of iniquity; yet they never fell away from God, and they bare the Name gladly, and gladly received the servants of God into their houses. When therefore they heard of this repentance they repented without wavering, and they practise all virtue and righteousness. 4. And some of them even suffer affliction willingly,† knowing their deeds which they did. The dwelling of all these therefore shall be in the tower.

* Gr. *duskolos*, see *Sim.* ix. 20. 2. Playing upon words recorded in Mark x., he imagines persons for whom it is "hard" not to enter into the kingdom of God.

† Gr. *and* (or *even*) *fear*, a corrupt or defective reading. Harmer conjecturally, lit. *even willingly are afflicted*; Funk, *even* to suffer do not *fear*; Eth. *se ipsos afflixerunt*, cp. *Sim.* vii. 4.

CHAPTER II

1. AFTER he had finished the explanations of all the rods he said to me, Go thy way and bid all repent, and they shall live unto God; for the Lord being moved with compassion sent me to give repentance to all, although some were not meet because of their works. Nevertheless the Lord, being longsuffering, willeth that the calling given through His Son should stand sure. 2. I said to him, Sir, I hope that all when they hear thereof will repent; for I am persuaded that every one, when he considereth his own deeds and feareth God, will repent. 3. He answered and said unto me, All such as repent with their whole heart, and cleanse themselves from all the wickednesses before said, and never again add aught to their sins, shall receive from the Lord healing of their former sins if they doubt not about these commandments; and they shall live unto God. But such, quoth he, as add to their sins, and have their conversation in the lusts of this world, condemn themselves unto death. 4. Walk thou thyself in my commandments, and thou shalt

live unto God ; and all who walk in them and order themselves aright shall live unto God.

5. When he had shewed and spoken to me all these things he said unto me, The rest will I shew forth unto thee after a few days.

NINTH SIMILITUDE

CHAPTER I

1. AFTER I had written the commands and parables of the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, he came to me and said unto me, I wish to shew thee whatsoever things the holy Spirit which spake with thee in the form of the Church shewed thee ; for that Spirit is the Son of God.*

2. While thou wast yet weak in the flesh they were not declared unto thee through an angel. When therefore thou hadst first been empowered by the Spirit and confirmed in thy strength, so that thou couldest even look upon an angel, then the building of the tower was manifested unto thee by the Church ; thou sawest all things in

* The Spirit said to be the Son of God is either "the Holy Spirit" absolutely (Harn., Funk), or "that *holy* Spirit" (Gr. *hagion*, om. Old Lat.) which spake in the form of the Church (Zahn), see vol. i. 50, 126 n. ; *Sim.* ix. 24. 2, 25. 2 ; Eph. i. 22f. The Church is seen or mentioned in *Vis.* i.-iv. ; *Sim.* viii. 6, ix. 1, 13, 18.

goodly and solemn fashion as at the shewing of a virgin. Now thou seest them shewn by an angel, through the same Spirit. 3. But thou must learn all things more carefully from me. For hereunto was I given by the glorious Angel to dwell in thine house, that thou mayest behold all things stedfastly, in nothing terrified as heretofore. 4. Then he led me away to a certain domed* mountain in Arcadia, and seated me upon the top of the mountain; and he shewed me a great plain, and round about the plain twelve mountains different in appearance from one another. 5. The first was black as soot; the second bare, without herbage; the third thorny and full of briers.† 6. The fourth had herbs which were half withered, the upper parts of the herbs green and the parts at the roots dry; and some of the herbs were dried up when the sun grew hot. 7. The fifth mountain had green herbs and was rough. The sixth mountain was all full of clefts, some small and some great; and the clefts had herbs in them, not indeed very flourishing ones, but rather as if

* Gr. *mastodes*, breast-like. On Arcadia (vol. i. 13), for which Zahn would read Aricia, see Funk's note.

† Or *thistles*, as Gen. iii. 18 *Thorns also and thistles*; Matt. vii. 16 *figs of thistles*; Heb. vi. 8 *which beareth thorns and briers* (R.V. *thistles*).

they had been blighted. 8. The seventh mountain had pleasant plants and was all well liking, and cattle and birds of every kind found pasture upon that mountain. Nevertheless, as the beasts and the fowls went on feeding, the herbage of that mountain throve more and more. The eighth mountain was full of springs; and creatures of the Lord of every kind drank of the springs of that mountain. 9. The ninth mountain had no water at all but was everywhere like a desert; and it had in it deadly beasts and creeping things hurtful to men. The tenth mountain had very great trees and was shady throughout; and sheep lay resting and ruminating in the shade. 10. The eleventh mountain was very thick with trees, and the trees were covered with fruit; they made so fair a shew with all manner of fruits that any one seeing them would long to eat of their fruits. The twelfth mountain was all white and had a pleasant aspect; and the mountain was of most excellent beauty in itself.

CHAPTER 2

I. AND in the midst of the plain he shewed me a great white rock which rose up from the plain. The rock, which was higher than the

mountains,* was foursquare, and such that it could contain the whole world. 2. The rock was ancient, and it had had a gate hewn out of it; but the framing of the gate seemed to me to be recent. And the gate was more glittering than the sun, insomuch that I marvelled at the radiance of the gate. 3. Round about the gate stood twelve virgins, of whom the four standing at the corners seemed to me the more glorious, albeit the others also were glorious; and they stood at the four quarters of the gate, with two virgins between each pair of them. 4. They wore linen tunics and were becomingly girded, but had their right shoulders uncovered as if about to bear some burden; † so ready were they, for they were very cheerful and zealous. 5. When I had observed these things I wondered within myself, for that the things I saw were great and glorious. And again I was perplexed concern-

* See Isai. ii. 2, Mic. iv. 1, on the mountain of the Lord's house; and, for "contain" and "uncontainable," John xxi. 25; *Mand.* i. 1; *Sim.* ix. 14. 4 n.

† Gr. *phortion*, the word for "cargo" as in the *Tablet*. In No. 55 of the 'Journal of Philology' I wrote (p. 28, 1901), that the athletic attire of the virgins and their manfulness are accounted for by Plato's *Laws*, 833 C, D (cp. vol. i. 116 n., 136 n.), where athletic contests are prescribed not for men only but for women and girls, who (except those under thirteen) were to wear "becoming" dress.

ing the virgins, because being so delicate they stood mannishly, as if about to carry the whole heaven. 6. And the Shepherd said to me, Why debate and doubt within thyself, and bring grief upon thee? The things thou canst not understand assay not, seeing thou art prudent; but pray the Lord that thou mayest receive wisdom to understand them. 7. What is behind thee thou canst not see, but thou beholdest the things in front.* What thou canst not see let alone, and trouble not thyself; but master the things which thou beholdest, and be not busied about the rest. All things whatsoever I shall shew thee I will make plain unto thee. Have regard therefore to the things which remain.

CHAPTER 3

I. THEN I saw six men newly come, tall and glorious and alike in appearance; and they summoned a multitude of men. And they too who came were tall and goodly and strong; and the six men commanded them to build a

* He alludes perhaps to some proverbial saying, cp. Xenophon's *Mem. Socr.* ii. 3. 19.

certain tower over the rock and over the gate.* Great was the noise made by those men who were come to build the tower as they ran hither and thither round the gate. 2. Moreover the virgins who stood round about the gate spake to the men that they should hasten the building of the tower; † and the virgins had their hands spread out as if they looked to receive something from the men. 3. Now the six men were commanding stones to come up from a certain deep and go into the building of the tower. And there came up ten square bright stones not hewn. 4. Then the six men called the virgins, and commanded them to carry all the stones which were to go into the building of the tower, and to pass through the gate and deliver them to the men who were going to build the tower. 5. So the virgins one with another placed the first ten

* Harmer conjecturally, *over the gate*, Funk with brackets, *over the rock [and over the gate]*, cp. chap. 4. 2.

† So 2 Pet. iii. 12 *hasting* or *hastening* the coming (marg. A.V., R.V.). In the *Tablet* (vol. i. 42) Continence and Endurance stretch out their hands and drag the climbers up the rock. Hermas makes Continence and the other virgins do, as nearly as was possible, likewise. They spread out their hands, receive the stones (1 Pet. ii. 5) one by one, and carry them up the rock to the tower. For the word "drag" or draw (Gr. *helkein*) see *Vis.* iii. 2. 6, and No. 2 of the new *Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus*, i. e. those found in 1903.

stones which rose out of the deep upon them, and all of them together carried the stones one by one.*

CHAPTER 4

1. AS they stood ranged about the gate so they who seemed to be the strong ones lifted them, putting themselves under the corners of a stone, and the others stooped under the sides of it, and so they bare all the stones; they carried them through the gate as they were bidden, and delivered them to the men for the tower, and they, having the stones, builded.

2. The building of the tower was upon the great rock and over the gate. Those ten stones were first fitted together and covered the whole rock, and they were made a foundation for the building of the tower; and the rock and the gate bare up the whole tower.

3. After the ten stones twenty five other stones rose up out of the deep; and these also were fitted into the building of the tower, being carried by the virgins like the former ones. After them rose up thirty five; and these in like manner were fitted into

* Having discharged one "cargo" (2 4 n.), they return to lade again (vol. i. 44).

the tower. After these came up forty other stones, and all these were cast into the building of the tower; so there were four tiers in the foundations of the tower. 4. Then the stones ceased to come up from the deep, and the builders ceased a little. Then again the six men ordered the multitude of the throng to bring stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. 5. Stones therefore of divers colours hewn by the men were brought from all the mountains and handed to the virgins; and the virgins carried them through the gate and delivered them for the building of the tower. And when the various stones were put into the building, they changed their divers hues and became all alike white.* 6. Some stones, however, were presented by the men for the building and did not turn bright, but were found still the same as when they were placed there; for they had not been handed in by the virgins, neither carried through the gate. These stones therefore were unsightly in the building of the tower. 7. Then the six men, when they saw the unsightly stones in the building, ordered them to be taken away and deposited in their proper place whence they were brought. 8. And they said to the men who were bringing

* Isai. i. 18 *they shall be as white as snow* (Sim. viii. 2. 3).

the stones, Hand ye in no stones at all yourselves for the building, but lay them beside the tower, that the virgins may convey them through the gate and present them for the building ; for if, quoth they, they be not brought through the gate by the hands of these virgins they cannot change their colours. Labour not therefore, quoth they, in vain.

CHAPTER 5

1. IN that day the building ended, but the tower was not finished, for it was afterwards to be built up further ; only there was a delay in the building. And the six men commanded all the builders to retire and rest a little, but the virgins they ordered not to withdraw from the tower. And it seemed to me that the virgins were left behind to guard the tower. 2. Then after all the men had withdrawn and were resting I said to the Shepherd, Wherefore, sir, was the building of the tower not finished? The tower, quoth he, cannot be completed until the lord thereof shall have come and proved this building, so that if any stones be found rotten he may change them ; for the tower is being

built according to his will.* 3. I would know, sir, quoth I, about the tower, what the building of it meaneth ; and about the rock and the gate and the mountains and the virgins, and the stones which rose up from the deep and were not hewn, but went as they were into the building. 4. And why first ten stones were laid in the foundations, then twenty five, then thirty five, then forty; and about the stones that went into the building, but were taken away again and put back into their own place. About all these things, sir, set my soul at rest, and acquaint me. 5. If, quoth he, thou be found not vainly curious, thou shalt know them all. After a few days we will return hither, and thou shalt see the remaining things that are to come upon this tower, and thou shalt know all the parables exactly. 6. So after a few days we came to the place where we had sat ; and he said to me, Let us go unto the tower, for the owner of the tower cometh to survey it. And we came to the tower ; but no one at all was by it except the virgins only. 7. And the Shepherd asked the virgins if the master of the tower had arrived ; and they answered that he would presently come to inspect the building.

* In *Vis.* iii. 2, 5—7 only stones which have first been finally approved are used for the building of the tower. None are put into it and afterwards rejected, as in *Sim.* ix.

CHAPTER 6

I. AND lo, after a little while I beheld an array of many men approaching, and in the midst of them was a man of so great stature that he overtopped the tower.* 2. The six men who were the masterbuilders walked with him, on the right hand and on the left; and all who laboured in the building were with him, and

* Cp. 2 (4) Esdras ii. 43 *And in the midst of them was a young man of a high stature, . . . 47 the Son of God.* In the Akhmîm Fragment of the Gospel of Peter (pp. 17—19, ed. Swete) three men come forth from the tomb, the heads of two of them reaching to the heaven, and that of the third rising above the heavens. At the beginning of the *Poemandres* of Herm. Trismeg. (ed. Parthey, 1854) the Poemandres, the Mind of the Supreme, who addresses Hermes, is described as a colossal personage of boundless measure. In 'The Passion of S. Perpetua,' ed. J. A. Robinson (1891) in vol. i. of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, there is a section (pp. 26—36) on the influence of the *Shepherd* on the Visions of the African Martyrs. To Perpetua in her last vision appears, as her trainer for the contest with the Egyptian, a man of amazing stature who overtops the theatre (pp. 30 f., 77). In her first, like Hermas in *Vis.* iv. i. 6, she encounters a monstrous dragon (pp. 28, 67 f.). See also Hom. *Il.* xxi. 407; *Lucian's Wonderland*, a free rendering of Lucian's satirical 'True History' by Mr. St. J. B. Wynne-Willson (1899); and *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 167.

many other glorious ones round about him. Then the virgins who kept the tower ran to him and kissed him, and began to walk near to him round the tower. 3. And that man inspected the building carefully, feeling every single stone ; and, holding a staff in his hand, he smote every one of the stones that had been laid. 4. And as he struck, some of them became black as soot, some scabbed, some cracked, some stunted, some neither white nor black, some rough and not answerable to the other stones, and some much speckled ; such were the diversities of the stones which were found rotten in the building. 5. And he commanded all these to be removed from the tower and placed beside the tower, and other stones to be brought and laid in their place. 6. Thereupon the builders asked him from what mountain he would have stones brought and laid in their place ; and he commanded them to be brought not from the mountains but from a certain plain which was nigh. 7. So the plain was digged, and there were found bright foursquare stones, and also some round ones. And all the stones that there were in that plain were brought, and were carried through the gate by the virgins. 8. The square stones were hewn and put in the place of those taken away ; but the round ones

were not put into the building, because they were hard to hew and it could be done but slowly. But they were put beside the tower, as if ready to be hewn and placed in the building ; for they were very bright.

CHAPTER 7

1. WHEN the glorious man, the lord of the whole tower, had made an end of these things, he called the Shepherd unto him, and delivered to him all the stones lying beside the tower which had been cast out from the building, and said unto him : 2. Polish these stones carefully, and place such of them as can fit with the rest in the building of the tower ; but those which fit not hurl far away from the tower. 3. Having thus given commandment to the Shepherd, he departed from the tower along with all the men with whom he had come. But the virgins stood round about the tower watching it. 4. Then I said to the Shepherd, How can these stones go again into the building of the tower when they have been disallowed ? He answered and said to me, Seest thou these stones ? I see them, sir, quoth I. I, quoth he, will hew the most part of

these stones, and lay them in the building, and they shall fit with the rest of the stones. 5. How, sir, quoth I, when they have been chipped about can they fill up the same room? He answered and said to me, All that are found small shall be cast into the midst of the building, and such as are larger shall be placed on the outside and hold them together.* 6. When he had thus spoken with me he said unto me, Let us go away and come back after two days, and purge these stones and cast them into the building; for all about the tower must be cleansed, lest perchance the master come suddenly and find the environs of the tower filthy and he be provoked, and these stones go not into the building of the tower, and I appear negligent unto the master. 7. After two days then we came to the tower, and he said unto me, Let us examine all the stones and see which of them can go into the building. Let us examine them, sir, said I.

* Neither do large stones lie well without small ones, "as the masons say." So Plato in *Laws*, 902 E; cf. *Soph. Ajax*, 158 f., quoted by Jacobson on *Clem. Cor.* xxxvii. 4.

CHAPTER 8

1. AND beginning first we examined the black stones; and they were found just as they were when they were put out of the building. And the Shepherd commanded them to be removed from the tower and set apart.

2. Next he examined the scabbed ones; and he took and hewed many of them, and commanded the virgins to take them up and lay them in the building. And the virgins took them up and placed them in the building of the tower in the midst; but the residue he ordered to be placed with the black ones, for they also were found black.

3. Then he examined those which had the clefts; and he hewed many of them, and ordered them to be taken away by the virgins to the building. These were placed outside, because they were seen to be sounder. But the rest, on account of the multitude of their rifts, could not be planed; and for this cause they were cast away from the building of the tower.

4. Then he examined the stunted ones, and many among them were found black, and some

had formed great clefts ; and he ordered these also to be put with those which had been cast away. And he cleansed and hewed those of them that remained over, and commanded them to be put into the building ; and the virgins took them up and fitted them into the midst of the tower, for they were of the weaker sort. 5. Next he examined the half white and half black ones ; and many of them were then found black. And he commanded these likewise to be removed along with those which had been cast away. And the rest were all found white and were taken up by the virgins, and being white were fitted by them into the building ; and they were placed on the outer side, because they were found to be sound, so that they could hold fast those which were put inside, for nothing at all of them was stunted. 6. Then he examined the hard and rough ones ; and a few of them were thrown away because they could not be hewn, for they were found exceeding hard. And the rest of them were hewn ; and they were taken up by the virgins and fitted into the middlemost of the building of the tower, because they were weaker. 7. Then he examined those which had the spots, and a very few of these had turned black and were thrown away to the rest ; but those which remained over were found bright

and sound, and they were fitted into the building by the virgins, and were laid outwards because of their strength.

CHAPTER 9

1. AFTERWARDS he came to examine the white round stones, and he said unto me, What shall we do with these stones? What know I, sir? quoth I. He said unto me, Hast thou no plan for them? 2. Sir, quoth I, I have not this craft; I am not a hewer of stones, neither can devise aught. Seest thou not, quoth he, that they are very round, and that if I would make them square, much must be cut away from them? Albeit some of them must needs be put into the building. 3. If then, sir, quoth I, it must needs be, why vex thyself? Why not choose out those thou wilt for the building, and fit them into it? So he chose out the larger and bright ones of them, and hewed them; and the virgins took them up and fitted them into the outward parts of the building. 4. But the rest that remained over were taken away and laid by in the plain whence they were brought; they were not however cast away, Because quoth he, a

little of the tower yet remaineth to be built, and the master of the tower is minded that these stones at all events should be fitted into the building, because they are very bright. 5. Then twelve women were called, of very stately form and clothed in black, girt about and with their shoulders exposed and their hair loose. They seemed to me to be wild women.* And the Shepherd ordered them to take up the stones that were rejected from the building, and carry them away to the mountains whence they had been brought. 6. And they gladly took up and carried away all the stones, and placed them where they had been all taken from. Then when the stones had been all taken away, and not a stone lay any longer about the tower, the Shepherd said unto me, Let us go round the tower and see if anything is wanting to it. So I went round with him. 7. And when the Shepherd saw that the tower was of a fair structure he was very glad; for the tower was so builded that when I beheld the building I desired it. For it was built as it were of one stone and with no

* These women and the twelve virgins, who are named in chap. 15, correspond to Vice and Virtue in the *Choice of Hercules* (vol. i. 37 f.), with tacit allusion to which Philo (M. ii. 265 f.) discourses on the two women who dwell with a man, the one prompting to evil and the other to good, like the two angels in *Mand.* vi. 2.

joint at all therein ; and the stone appeared as if hewn out of the rock, for it seemed to me to be a monolith.*

CHAPTER 10

1. AS I walked with him I was glad at seeing such goodly things, and the Shepherd said to me, Go and bring lime and fine potter's earth, that I may fill up the prints of the stones which were taken up and laid in the building ; for all about the tower must be made even. 2. And I did as he commanded, and brought them unto him. Then quoth he, Minister thou unto me, and the work shall presently be accomplished. And he filled up the prints of the stones which were gone into the building, and ordered the parts round the tower to be swept and made clean. 3. So the virgins took brooms and

* Gr. *monolithos*, here and in chap. 13. 5, "of one piece with the rock"; for the sense see also *Vis.* iii. 2. 6. Herodotus (ii. 175) tells of a monolith dwelling, measuring twenty-one by fourteen by eight cubits on the outside, which was moved by two thousand men in three years from Sais to Elephantiné. Gen. Rab. 68. 11 and Yalkut i. 119 (cp. Rashi) comment upon Gen. xxviii. 1 and *he took of the stones* as if "stones" taken overnight had become *one* by the morning (ver. 18).

swept, and cleared away all the refuse from the tower, and sprinkled water; and the place became pleasant and most seemly for the tower. 4. All is now cleansed, said the Shepherd unto me; if the lord come to visit the tower he will have no fault to find in us. When he had thus spoken he would have gone his way. 5. But I laid hold on his bag and began to adjure him by the Lord to explain to me the things he had shewed me. For a little while, said he, I must be about my business; afterwards I will interpret all things unto thee. Tarry for me here until I come. 6. Alone here,* sir, said I to him, what should I do? Thou art not alone, quoth he, for these virgins are with thee. Then present me to them, quoth I. Accordingly the Shepherd called them to him and said unto them, I commit this man to you until I come; and he departed. 7. So I was left alone with the virgins; and they were the more glad and entreated me courteously, especially the four of them which were the more glorious.

* The virgins having been described so realistically, the remark "Alone here etc." is a strange one. Perhaps it is a play upon John viii. 16 *I am not alone*. For Gr. *saroun* (10. 3), to sweep, see Matt. xii., Luke xi., xv.

CHAPTER II

1. TO-DAY, said the virgins unto me, the Shepherd cometh not hither. What then, quoth I, shall I do? Wait for him until evening, quoth they; and if he come he shall speak with thee, but if he come not thou shalt abide with us until he cometh. 2. I said unto them, I will tarry for him until the evening, and if he come not I will go away home and come back early in the morning. But they answered and said to me, Thou wast given in charge to us; thou mayest not depart from us. 3. Where then, quoth I, shall I stay? Thou shalt sleep with us, quoth they, as a brother and not as a husband; for thou art our brother, and henceforward we are going to dwell with thee, for we love thee much. But I was ashamed to tarry with them. 4. Then the one that seemed to be the chief of them began to kiss and embrace me; and the rest, when they saw her embracing me, began themselves to kiss me and lead me round the tower and sport with me. 5. And I seemed to have grown young again, and began on my part to sport with them. For

some of them caroled, some danced,* and some sang; and I, keeping silence, walked with them in a circle round the tower and was merry with them. 6. Now when it was evening I would have gone home, and they suffered me not but withheld me. So I stayed the night with them, and slept beside the tower. 7. For the virgins strawed their linen tunics upon the ground † and laid me in the midst of them, and did nothing at all but pray; and I prayed with them without ceasing, and not less than they. And the virgins rejoiced that I so prayed. And I stayed there with the virgins till the morrow, unto the second hour. 8. Then the Shepherd arrived and said to the

* Two kinds of dancing being specified, as in Plato's *Laws* (802 C, 809 B), "carol" in its old sense is used of one of them. The word for *caroled* is lit *quired*, i.e. danced in quire or chorus. Harmer with brackets, "For some of them began to dance, [others to skip,] others to sing." Philo writes in *De Plant. Noe* 25 (M. i. 345), that God delights in fireless altars round which virgins dance (*Journ. of Phil.* xxviii. 27). Cp. Philo *De Vit. Contempl.* M. i. 484, and ed. Conybeare, p. 253 f. (1895).

† The account of the vigil is presumably allusive, and on that account obscure to us. The tower having been completed, the end of all things is symbolically at hand (10. 4). In *The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus*, p. 22 (1905), I suggested that Hermas may allude here to a reply of the Lord to Salome about the ideal future, said by Clem. Alex. to have been extant in the "Gospel according to the Egyptians."

virgins, Have ye done him any harm? Ask him, quoth they. I said to him, Sir, I was right glad to abide with them. On what, quoth he, didst thou sup? I supped, sir, quoth I, on words of the Lord the whole night. Did they receive thee well? quoth he. Yea, sir, quoth I. 9. Now, quoth he, what wilt thou hear first? Sir, quoth I, even as thou shewedst me from the beginning, I pray thee, sir, that according as I shall enquire thou wilt declare things unto me. As thou desirest, quoth he, I will interpret unto thee, and I will hide nothing at all from thee.

CHAPTER 12

1. FIRST of all, sir, quoth I, declare this unto me; what are the rock and the gate? This rock, quoth he, and likewise the gate, is the Son of God. How then, sir, quoth I, is the rock ancient, but the gate new? Hearken, quoth he, foolish man, and understand. 2. The Son of God is elder than all His creation, so that He became His Father's counsellor concerning His creation; therefore He is ancient.* But the gate, sir, quoth

* Compare 1 Cor. x. 4 *the Rock was Christ; Epist. ad Diogn.* xi. 4, "who appeared as *new* and was found *old*."

I, why is that new? 3. Because, quoth he, He was manifested in the last days of the consummation. For this cause the gate was new, that such as should be saved might enter through it into the kingdom of God. 4. Sawest thou, quoth he, that the stones which came in through the gate went into the building of the tower, whereas those which came not in through it were cast forth again into their own place? I saw, sir, quoth I. Even so, quoth he, none shall enter into the kingdom of God except He receive the name of His Son. 5. For if thou desire to enter into a city, and that city be walled about and have but one gate, canst thou enter into that city except by the gate which it hath? Nay, sir, for how else were it possible? If then thou canst not enter into that city except by the gate thereof, so, quoth he, a man can enter none otherwise into the kingdom of God than through the name of His Son who is beloved by Him. 6. Sawest thou, quoth he, the multitude building the tower? I saw them, sir, quoth I. They all, quoth he, are glorious angels, and by them the Lord is walled about. The gate is the Son of

Philo in *Leg. Alleg.* ii. 1 (M. i. 67) writes that God is "elder" than the cosmos. For "counsellor" see also *Sim.* v. 2, 4-6.

God; He is the one entry unto the Lord.* None otherwise shall any one enter unto Him than through His Son. 7. Sawest thou, quoth he, the six men, and the glorious tall man in the midst of them walking round the tower and rejecting the stones from the building? I saw them, sir, quoth I. 8. The glorious man, quoth he, is the Son of God, and those six are glorious

* Hermas makes the "gate" represent the Son of God, with allusion in all probability to John x. 7, 9 *I am the door . . . by me if any man enter in he shall be saved.* Why then, it is objected, did he write "gate" instead of *door*? Perhaps he was thinking also of the *Tablet* (vol. i. 40), in which all who enter into life (Gr. *bios*) pass through the gate. This, with John *l.c.*, Matt. xix. 17, 1 John v. 12 and the like, suggests "gate" of life (Gr. *zoe*), as in Clem. *Hom.* iii. 52, "*I am the gate of life, he that entereth through me entereth into life.*" The term may or may not have been applied in this way before the *Shepherd* was written. In the Syriac N. T. the same word serves for Gr. *gate* and *door* (Matt. vii. 13 f.; John *l.c.*). Aphraates in *Hom.* 10 (Wr. p. 195) quotes John x. 9 in the correct form, "I am the door *of the flock, &c.*"; and in *Hom.* 4 (Wr. p. 63) in the form, "I am the door (or *gate*) *of life*, that whosoever by me shall enter may live for ever." See Professor Burkitt's Syriac *Evangelion da-Mepharreshé*. Compare also *Vis.* iii. 9. 6 *the door of the tower*; Ignat. *Philadelph.* ix. 1 *Himself being the door of the Father*; and the question to James in Hegesip. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23, "Tell us what is *the door of Jesus.*" Gr. *eisodos*, the word for "entry" (12. 6), is found in *Wisd.* vii. 6; 2 *Pet.* i. 11. Note that receiving the Name implies baptism (16. 3 f.).

angels who fence * Him on the right and on the left. Of these glorious angels, quoth he, none shall enter in unto God without Him. Whosoever hath not received His name shall not enter into the kingdom of God.

CHAPTER 13

1. BUT the tower, quoth I, what is it? This tower, quoth he, is the Church. 2. And what are these virgins? These, quoth he, are holy spirits; † and a man can in no wise be found in the kingdom of God unless they clothe him with their raiment. For if thou receive the name only, but receive not the raiment from them, thou shalt profit nothing, forasmuch as these virgins are powers of the Son of God. If thou bear the name but bear not His power, in vain shalt thou bear His name. 3. The

* Lit. *hold-together* (*Sim.* v. 5. 3, ix. 7. 5). In the *Gospel of Peter* (p. 18, ed. Swete) two of the three who come out from the tomb conduct and "uphold" the One.

† Compare chap. 24. 2 (25. 2) *endued with the Holy Spirit of these virgins*. In respect of its manifold gifts the Holy Spirit is represented by a plurality of virgins, but is immediately afterwards (13. 5) called One (Fell). The qualities which the virgins personify are the fruit or fruits of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22). See also *Sim.* x. 3, 4.

stones, quoth he, which thou sawest cast away these bare the name, but put not on the clothing of the virgins. Of what kind, sir, quoth I, is their clothing? Their very names, quoth he, are their clothing. Whosoever beareth the name of the Son of God ought to bear their names also; for the Son Himself beareth the names of these virgins. 4. All the stones, quoth he, which thou sawest go into the building of the tower presented by their hands, and remain in the building, are such as had put on the power of these virgins. 5. For this cause thou beholdest the tower made of one piece with the rock. Even so they who have believed in the Lord through His Son, and who clothe themselves with these spirits, shall become one spirit and one body, and their garments of one hue. The dwelling of such as these who bear the names of the virgins is in the tower. 6. The stones then, sir, quoth I, which were cast away, why were they cast away, when they had passed through the gate and been put into the building of the tower by the hands of the virgins? Quoth he, Seeing thou carest for all these things and enquirest diligently, hear about the stones that were cast away. 7. These all, quoth he, received the name of the Son of God, and received also the power

of these virgins. Having then received these spirits they were strengthened and were with the servants of God ; and they had one spirit and one body and one clothing, for they minded the same things and wrought righteousness. 8. But after a time they were enticed by the women thou sawest appavelled in black robes, who had their shoulders exposed and their hair loose and were well shapen. Seeing these women they desired them, and put on their power, and put off the power of the virgins. 9. They were therefore cast away from the house of God and abandoned to those women ; but the men who were not deceived by their beauty abode in the house of God. Thou hast, quoth he, the interpretation of the castaways.

CHAPTER 14

1. WHAT then, sir, quoth I, if these men, being such like, repent and cast away the desires of these women, and return to the virgins and walk in their power and in their works? Shall they not enter into the house of God? 2. They shall enter in, quoth he, if they cast away the works of these women, and resume the

power of the virgins and walk in their works. For thereunto was there even an intermission of the building, that if these should repent they might go into the building of the tower. But if they repent not, then others shall enter in and these shall be for ever cast out. 3. For all these things I thanked the Lord, because He was moved with compassion toward all who call upon His name, and sent forth the Angel of Repentance unto us who had sinned against Him, and renewed our spirit; and when we were already perished and had no hope to live, he restored our life. 4. Now, sir, quoth I, declare unto me wherefore the tower was not built on the ground, but upon the rock* and upon the gate. Because, quoth he, thou art foolish and without understanding thou enquirest. I have need, sir, quoth I, to ask thee

* See Matt. xvi. 18 *upon this rock*. The word for "hard-to-be-understood" is found in 2 Pet. iii. 16. By "incomprehensible" (14. 5; *Mand.* i. 1) is meant *uncontainable*. With what follows in chap. 14. 5 compare Heb. i. 3; Matt. xxviii. 19 f., Mark xvi. 15 (Col. i. 23) and *preach the gospel to the whole creation*. Gr. *ktisis*, creation, occurs in the Gospels in Mark x. 6, xiii. 19, xvi. 15 only. In the *Shepherd* it is found in *Vis.* i., iii.; *Mand.* vii., xii.; *Sim.* ix. 1, 12, 14, 23, 25. Instead of "Because etc." (14. 4) Funk reads, "Art thou *yet* (Gr. *eti*), quoth he, foolish and without understanding?" Cp. Matt. xv. 16, "Are ye also *yet* (Gr. *akmen*) without understanding?"

about all things, because I cannot understand anything at all; for all the things are great and glorious and hard to be understood of men. 5. Hearken, quoth he; the name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible and sustaineth the whole world. If then the whole creation is sustained by the Son of God, what thinkest thou of such as have been called by Him and bear the name of the Son of God and walk in His commandments? 6. Seest thou what manner of men He sustaineth? Such as with their whole heart bear His name. He Himself was made a foundation for them and He sustaineth them gladly, because they are not ashamed to bear His name.

CHAPTER 15

1. DECLARE to me, sir, quoth I, the names of the virgins and those of the women clothed in the black robes.* Hear, quoth he, the names of the stronger virgins which stood at the corners. 2. The first is Faith, the second Continnence, the third Power, the fourth

* The names of the twelve virgins are found as proper or common nouns in the *Visions* or the *Mandates*. In *Vis.* iii. 8 there are seven personified Christian graces.

Patience ; and the others that were stationed between them have the names Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Joy, Truth, Prudence, Concord, Love. Whoso beareth these names and the

Chap. xiii. of the *Poemandres* of Hermes Trismegistos (ed. Parthey, 1854) enumerates twelve evils, Ignorance, Grief, Incontinence, Lust, etc. and their several opposites and antidotes. Hermas begins his dodecads with four principal virtues and vices. Professor Mayor in a paper on "The Four Cardinal Virtues" (*Trans. Camb. Philolog. Soc.* May 17, 1877) shews that Ambrose used the expression, "applying it once to the Platonic tetrad" (ib. p. 100). The *Encycl. Brit.* art *Ethics* (vii. 592 b, 1878) speaks of "Ambrose's account of what *subsequently* came to be known as the Four Cardinal Virtues." See in the same context the remark that the chief deadly sins were "at first reckoned as eight," and afterwards seven. There was a mnemonic word *Saligia* made up of the initials of the seven, including *Accidie* (*Mand.* x. 1. 2 n). Spenser in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh prefixed to the *Faerie Queene*, which was to have been in twelve books, writes that he intended to portray in Arthur, before he was king, "the twelve private Morall Vertues, as Aristotle devised," but he does not enumerate the twelve. Perhaps he was influenced by *Le Livre de droit d'Armes* (Paris, 1488), with its metrical list of the Twelve Virtues which a man must have to be "Noble et de noble courage," see Todd's *Life of Spenser* in his edition of his *Works*. To some of his characters Spenser gives Greek names, as *Acrates*, *Acrasia* alias *Acrasy*, *Agapé*. Hermas by his "shall see . . . but shall not enter" (15. 3) perhaps alludes to the case of Moses (*Deut.* xxxiv. 4) and also to John iii. 3—5.

name of the Son of God shall have power to enter into the kingdom of God. 3. Hear also, quoth he, the names of the women in the black robes. Four of these likewise are stronger than the rest; the first Unfaith, the second Incontinence, the third Disobedience, the fourth Deceit. And they that come after them are Grief, Wickedness, Lewdness, Anger, Falsehood, Folly, Slander, Hate. The servant of God who beareth these names shall see the kingdom of God indeed, but shall not enter therein. 4. And the stones from the deep, sir, quoth I, which were fitted into the building, what are they? The first, quoth he, to wit the ten which were laid in the foundations, are the first generation; the twenty five are the second generation of just men; the thirty five are prophets and ministers of God; and the forty are apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God.* 5. Why then, sir, quoth I, did the virgins deliver these stones also for the building of the tower, when they had carried them through the gate? 6. Because these,

* The world's life from the creation is divided into four ages, or "generations" of generations. The first consists of the *ten* generations from Adam to Noah inclusive; see Gen. v., Luke iii. 36—38, Aboth, v. For the *twenty-five*, from Noah to David, see Luke iii. 31—36. It does not appear how the numbers *thirty-five* and *forty* were

quoth he, first bare these spirits; and they parted not all from one another, neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits abode with them until their falling asleep. Had they not had these spirits with them, they would not have come to be of use for the building of this tower.

CHAPTER 16

1. SIR, quoth I, declare yet something unto me. What seekest thou more? quoth he. Why was it, sir, quoth I, that the stones went up from the deep and were placed in the building, when they already bare these spirits? 2. They had need, quoth he, to ascend through water that they might be made alive; for they could not else enter into the kingdom of God,* except

reckoned; but the latter may have been first chosen as a good number to end with, and the former is in fact the arithmetic mean between twenty-eight and forty-two, the numbers of the generations from David to Christ according to Matt. i. 17 and Luke iii. 23—31.

* This also is explained by John iii. 3—5 *Except a man be born again . . . of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* On baptism cp. *Mand.* iv. 3. 1, Barn. xi. 11; and on the "seal" (16. 4) as a name for it see 2 Clem. vii. 7 with Lightfoot's note.

they put off the deadness of their former life. 3. Therefore these also who were fallen asleep received the seal of the Son of God and entered into the kingdom of God ; for, quoth he, before a man hath borne the name of the Son of God he is dead, but when he receiveth the seal he putteth off his deadness and resumeth life. 4. Now the seal is the water ; they go down therefore dead into the water, and come up alive. So to them also this seal was preached, and they used it that they might enter into the kingdom of God. 5. Wherefore, sir, quoth I, did the forty stones also go up with them from the deep, when they had the seal already ? Because these, quoth he, being the apostles and teachers who had preached the name of the Son of God, when they fell asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God preached also to those asleep before them, and themselves gave them the seal of the preaching.* 6. They went down indeed with them into the water and came up again ; but these both went down alive and came up again

* On the christening of the *predormient* or predeceased as imagined by Hermas see Cotelier's learned note. To illustrate verse 6 he quotes Acts viii. 38 *they went down both into the water*, Philip baptized and baptizing, and the eunuch to be baptized ; and he touches upon the old moot point, whether the twelve apostles were actually baptized. Clem. Alex., as he shews, quotes Hermas on the

alive, whereas those who were asleep before them went down dead and came up alive. 7. Through these therefore they were brought to life and acquainted with the name of the Son of God. For this cause they also ascended with them and were fitted with them into the building of the tower, and were built together with them without being hewn; for they fell asleep in righteousness and in great purity, only they had not this seal. Thou hast therefore the explanation of these also. I have, sir, quoth I.

CHAPTER 17

I. NOW then, sir, declare unto me about the mountains; why are their appearances unlike one another and various? Hear, quoth he.

evangelisation of the pre-Christian generations, in *Strom.* ii. 9, vi. 6 (P. 452, 763 f.). Marcion, quoted by Irenaeus (lib. i. 25. 2, ed. Harvey), held that the Lord Himself saved Cain and others in Hades. He, according to 1 Pet. iii. 18—20, having preached to the generation of the Flood, believers on Him are said by Hermas to have carried on His work in the underworld (John xiv. 12). This was in their commission according to Mark xvi. 15 f. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* They were to preach, not only to the world of living men, but to all generations from the first.

These twelve mountains are twelve tribes which inhabit the whole world. The Son of God therefore was preached to these by the apostles.*

2. But explain to me, sir, why the mountains are various and each of a different appearance. Hear, quoth he. These twelve tribes which inhabit the whole world are twelve nations, and they are divers in understanding and in mind. So then, even as thou sawest the mountains various, such are also the diversities of the minds of the nations and their understanding. I will also declare unto thee the character of each.

3. First, sir, quoth I, explain this to me; the mountains being so different, how when their stones were put into the building did they turn bright with one colour, like the stones also which had come up from the deep? 4. Because, quoth he, all the nations which dwell under heaven, when they had heard and believed, were

* Compare the full title of the *Didache*, "Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Nations." Viewing an epitome of the world from a certain mountain (1. 4), with which compare the mountain of the Temptation (Matt. iv.; Luke iv.), Hermas imagines a cosmic Israel with each "tribe" or nation (17. 2) made up of men of a certain character. So the nations hostile to Israel were taken as typical of the seven or eight deadly sins (Cass. *Collat.* v. 18). Rev. vii. would have suggested a selection from each of the "tribes."

called by the name of the Son of God.* So when they had received the seal they were of one thought and mind, and had one faith and love, and bare the spirits of the virgins along with the name; wherefore the building of the tower became of one colour, bright as the sun. 5. But after they had entered into the same and were become one body, some of them defiled themselves and were cast out from the company of the righteous and again became such as they were before, or rather even worse.

CHAPTER 18

1. HOW, sir, quoth I, did they become worse when they had had knowledge of God?† He who knoweth not God and doeth wickedly, quoth he, hath a certain punishment for his wickedness; but he who hath had knowledge of God ought no longer to do wickedly but to do well. 2. If then one who ought to do well do wickedly, seemeth he not to commit greater

* Gr. after *believed*, "*on the name were called of God*"; Harmer, "*by-the-one (conj.) name were called of the Son (Lat., Eth.) of God.*"

† Cp. 2 Pet. ii. 20 f.; Heb. x. 26—29 (*Sim.* ix. 32. 5); Luke xii. 47 f.; *Sim.* iv. 4.

wickedness than one who knoweth not God? Therefore they who not having known God do wickedly are condemned to death; but they who have known God and seen His great acts and yet do wickedly shall be doubly punished and perish for ever. Thus shall the Church of God be purified. 3. As thou sawest the stones taken out from the tower and given over unto the evil spirits, so they shall be cast out; and there shall be one body of the purified ones, even as the tower became as if made of one stone after it had been purified. Thus shall the Church of God also be after it hath been purified, when the wicked and hypocrites and blasphemers and doubleminded and doers of all manner of wickedness have been cast out. 4. After these have been cast out, the Church of God shall be one body, one intent, one mind, one faith, one love. And then shall the Son of God rejoice and be glad of them, because He hath received back His people pure. All these things, sir, quoth I, are great and glorious. 5. But further, sir, declare unto me the power of each mountain and their doings, that every soul trusting on the Lord may hear, and may laud His great and wonderful and glorious name. Hear, quoth he, the diversity of the mountains and of the twelve nations.

CHAPTER 19

1. THE believers from the first mountain, which was the black one, are such as these; apostates and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God.* For these there is no repentance but only death, and therefore they are black; for their kind is a lawless one. 2. The believers from the second, which was the barren mountain, are of this kind; hypocrites and teachers of wickedness. These are like unto the former ones, being such as bear no fruit of righteousness; for as their mountain is unfruitful, so such men have a name indeed but are void of the faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. Yet for these there is opportunity of repentance, if they will make haste to repent; but if they loiter their death shall be with the former ones. 3. Wherefore, sir, quoth I, is there repentance for these but not for the first, when their behaviours are all but the same? For this cause, quoth he, repentance is set before them, because they blasphemed not

* From the first mountain come betrayers, perhaps with allusion to Judas the betrayer who was "one of the twelve."

their Lord, neither were betrayers of the servants of God ; but through desire to get gain they practised hypocrisy, and everyone of them taught according to the desires of sinful men.* Howbeit they shall pay a certain penalty ; but repentance is offered to them because they became not blasphemers neither betrayers.

CHAPTER 20

1. THE believers from the third mountain which had thorns and briers, are such as these ; some are rich, and some are mixed up with many affairs. The briers are the rich, and the thorns are they who are mixed up with divers affairs. 2. These therefore who have entangled themselves with many divers affairs cleave not to the servants of God, but go astray because they are choked by their occupations. And the rich hardly cleave unto the servants of God, for fear lest they should be asked for something by them. Hardly therefore shall such as they enter into the kingdom of God. 3. For as it is hard to walk barefoot among briers, so for such as these it is hard to enter

* Cp. Jude 16 ; *Mand.* xi. 12.

into the kingdom of God.* 4. Nevertheless for all these there is repentance, but it must be speedy; so that, seeing what they failed to accomplish in the former times, they may now run back upon the days past and do some good. If therefore they repent and do some good they shall live unto God; but if they bide in their doings they shall be delivered unto those women, who will put them to death.

CHAPTER 21

1. THE believers from the fourth mountain, which had many herbs, green above but dry at the roots and some parched by the sun, are such as these; some doubleminded, and some who have the Lord on their lips but not in their heart. 2. Wherefore their foundations

* With *Hardly therefore etc.* compare Mark x. 23, 24, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! . . . How hard is it *for them that trust in riches* to enter into the kingdom of God!" But in ver. 24 the text is doubtful. Omitting the Greek for the words in italics we should have in the Gospel eight consecutive words to the effect, *Hard it is to enter into the Kingdom of God* (W. H.; R. V. marg.), and the same in the *Shepherd*; a longer exact citation than *These are they etc.* from Mark iv. 18 (W. H.) in *Vis.* iii. 7. 3.

are dry and without strength, and their words only live but their works are dead.* They who are such neither live nor are dead. They are like therefore unto the doubleminded; for the doubleminded are neither green nor dry, they neither live nor are dead. 3. Even as their plants when they saw the sun withered, so also the doubleminded, when they hear tidings of affliction, by reason of their fearfulness turn idolators and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. 4. Such men neither live nor are dead. Yet these too if they repent quickly may live; but if they repent not, they are already given over to the women who rob them of their life.

CHAPTER 22

I. THE believers from the fifth mountain, which had green herbs and was rough, are of this kind; they are faithful but slow to learn, presumptuous and pleasers of their own selves; would be knowers of all things when they know

* Cp. Heb. vi. 1; John vi. 63. Doubters became idolators in time of persecution (21. 3), offering sacrifice as an alternative to martyrdom.

nothing at all. 2. Because of this their presumptuousness prudence hath forsaken them, and senseless folly hath entered into them. They commend themselves* as having wisdom, and choose to be professing teachers when they are without understanding. 3. Because of this highmindedness many were made vain who exalted themselves; for a great demon is self-conceit and vain confidence. Many of these therefore were cast away; but some repented and believed and submitted themselves to those who had understanding, having come to know their own folly. 4. And to the residue also of this sort repentance is offered; for they were not wicked, but rather foolish and without understanding. These if they repent shall live unto God; but if they repent not, they shall dwell with the women who devise evil against them.

* Cp. Clem. *Cor.* xxx. 6 *self-praisers*. The would-be knowers are Gnostics. Some take the word for slow-to-learn (22. 1) passively, in the sense that such persons' doctrines are hard to be understood (Funk). But see *Keb. Tab.* 35.

CHAPTER 23

1. THE believers from the sixth mountain, which had clefts great and small and blighted herbs in the clefts, are of these kinds. 2. Those with the small clefts are such as have quarrels with one another, and from their own evil speakings were blighted in the faith; yet many of these repented. And the rest shall repent when they hear my commandments, for their evil speakings are of small account and they will quickly repent. 3. But they with the great clefts are men who persevere in their slanders, and grow resentful in their ragings against one another. These were flung away from the tower and disallowed for the building thereof. Hardly therefore shall such like live. 4. If God and our Lord, who hath the mastery of all things and beareth rule over all His creation, remembereth not evil against those who confess their sins, but is forgiving; shall man who is perishable and full of sins remember evil against a man as though he could destroy or save him? 5. I, the Angel of Repentance,

say unto you, as many as are of this persuasion,* put it away and repent, and the Lord shall heal your former sins if ye purge yourselves from this devil; else ye shall be delivered unto him for death.

CHAPTER 24

1. THE believers from the seventh mountain, on which were green pleasant herbs, and the whole mount was well liking, and every kind of cattle and the fowls of heaven were feeding upon the herbs of that mountain, and the herbs they fed upon grew the more thriving, are such as these. 2. They were always simple and guileless and happy, having nothing against one another but always rejoicing over the servants of God; they were endued with the Holy Spirit of these virgins, and continually had compassion upon every man, and out of

* Gr. *hairesis*, heresy; lit. (1) *a taking* as of a city, (2) *a taking for oneself* or choice, as 1 Macc. viii. 30 R. V., "at their *pleasure*." Hence its use for a sectarian creed or the school professing it, as 2 Pet. ii. 1 A. V. *damnable heresies*, R. V. marg. *sects of perdition*. See Thayer's *N. T. Lex.*, and the Oxford *New English Dictionary* and *Greek O. T. Concordance*.

their labours they furnished every man without upbraiding or doubting. 3. The Lord therefore, seeing their singleness and perfect childliness, gave them increase in the labours of their hands and favoured them in all their doing. 4. I, the Angel of Repentance, say unto you who are such like, Remain such, and your seed shall never be blotted out. For the Lord hath proved you and written you in our number, and all your seed shall dwell with the Son of God; for ye have received of His Spirit.

CHAPTER 25

1. THE believers from the eighth mountain, where were the many springs, and the whole creation of the Lord was watered from the springs, are such as these. 2. Apostles and teachers who preached to the whole world,* and taught the word of the Lord reverently and purely, and kept not back anything for evil desire, but always walked in righteousness and truth, even as they had received the Holy Ghost. The passing of such as these is with the angels.

* They preached, taught and baptized as directed by Matt. xxviii. 19 f. and Mark xvi. 15 f., making "believers" from all the nations of the world (17. 2, 19—29).

CHAPTER 26

1. THE believers from the ninth mountain, which was desert and had in it the creeping things and beasts hurtful to men, are of this kind. 2. They with the spots are deacons who ministered amiss, and plundered the living of widows and orphans, and gat gain for themselves from the ministry which they had received to administer.* If therefore they continue in the same covetousness, they are dead and have no hope of life; but if they convert and discharge their ministry incorruptly, they shall be able to live. 3. The scabbed ones are those who denied and turned not again unto their Lord; but being grown barren and desert, not cleaving to the servants of God but keeping alone, they destroy their own souls.† 4. For as a vine left alone within a fence and treated with neglect is spoiled and wasted by the weeds, and in time groweth wild

* Gr. *therion* (26. 1, 7) is rendered "venomous beast" in Acts xxviii. 4 A. V. 2 Pet. ii. 13, if Hermas knew the Epistle, would account for his choice of stones with *spots* (6. 4, 8. 7) to represent ministers tainted with avarice.

† Cp. in the Way of Death in the *Didache*, "not cleaving to the saints"; and for Gr. *monazein*, to keep alone, see also Barn. iv. 10.

and is no longer meet for its master's use ; so such men despair of themselves, and having grown wild become unprofitable to their Lord. 5. For these however there is repentance, unless they be found to have denied from the heart ; but if one be found to have denied from his heart I know not if he can live. 6. This I say not for these days, that a man after denying should be allowed repentance, for it is impossible that one who is now going to deny his Lord should be saved ; but for those who denied long ago there seemeth yet to be opportunity of repentance. If then any one is about to repent, let him be quick before the tower is finished off ; else he shall be wasted by the women unto death. 7. The stunted ones, these are wily men and slanderers ; and the beasts which thou sawest on the mountain are these also. For as the beasts poison and destroy a man by their venom, even so do the words of such persons corrupt and destroy a man. 8. These therefore are maimed in their faith by reason of the customs which they practise ; but some repented and were saved. And the rest who are such may be saved if they repent ; but if they repent not, they shall die by the hand of those women, of whose power they are possessed.

CHAPTER 27

1. THE believers from the tenth mountain, on which were trees sheltering sheep, are such as these. 2. Bishops given to hospitality, who always gladly received the servants of God into their houses without hypocrisy; and they always* sheltered the destitute and widows by their ministry without ceasing, and they behaved themselves incorruptly at all times. 3. These therefore shall all be sheltered by the Lord continually. They who did such things are glorious in the sight of God, and their place is already with the angels if they persevere to the end serving the Lord.

CHAPTER 28

1. THE believers from the eleventh mountain, whereon were very fruitful trees decked with different kinds of fruits, are such as these. 2.

* On hospitality see the N. T. and Clem. *Cor.* i. x—xii. The Athos MS. reads, "Bishops *and* men given to hospitality . . . and the bishops always. . . ." With "their place" (27. 3) compare John xiv. 2 *I go to prepare a place for you.*

Sufferers for the sake of the name of the Son of God, who suffered readily with their whole heart and gave up their lives. 3. Wherefore then, sir, quoth I, do all the trees bear fruits, but the fruits of some of them are fairer than those of others? Hearken, quoth he; all who ever suffered for the name are honourable with God, and the sins of all these were taken away, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. But hear why their fruits are divers, and some more excellent. 4. As many, quoth he, as were brought before authorities and questioned and denied not, but suffered with a ready mind, these are in greater honour with the Lord; and theirs is the fruit which excelleth. But the fruits of those who were fearful and in doubt, and reasoned in their hearts whether to deny or confess, and so suffered, are smaller, because this thought arose in their heart; for it is an evil thought that a servant should deny his own lord. 5. Take heed therefore, ye who are thus purposed, lest this thought remain in your hearts and ye die unto God. Ye who suffer for the sake of the name ought to glorify God, for that He hath counted you worthy to bear this name,*

* Cp. Acts v. 41; 1 Pet. iv. 16. Chap. 28 presupposes a state of affairs present or past like that described by Pliny in his report to Trajan about the Christians. In

and to have all your sins healed. 6. Therefore count yourselves happy ; yea, and think that one of you hath done some great thing if he suffer for God's sake. The Lord graciously giveth you life though ye perceive it not ; for your sins were heavy upon you, and except ye had suffered for the name of the Lord ye would have died unto God because of your sins. 7. These things I say unto you who doubt whether to deny or make confession. Confess that ye have the Lord, lest if ye deny ye be committed to prison. 8. If the gentiles punish their slaves, should any one of them deny his lord, what think ye will the Lord who hath power over all do unto you ? Put away then these thoughts from your hearts, that ye may for ever live unto God.

CHAPTER 29

1. THE believers from the twelfth, which was the white mountain, are of this kind ; they are as infant babes in whose heart no thought of

cent. 2 it was held that there were two "baptisms" for the remission of sins, sc. baptism in water and martyrdom (John xix. 34), cp. Mark x. 38 f. See Melito, Tertull., etc. *ap.* Hilgenfeld. In time of persecution some suffered gladly, and some denied through fear and not "from the heart" (26. 5).

evil ariseth. They know not what wickedness is, but always continued in their infancy.

2. Such therefore dwell without doubt in the kingdom of God; because in no manner of thing did they violate the commandments of God, but they continued as it were infants all the days of their life, in the same mind.

3. Such of you, quoth he, as shall so remain, and be as babes in whom is no guile, shall be more honourable than all those before said; for all babes are honourable with God and chiefest* before Him. Happy therefore are ye, as many as remove wickedness from you and put on innocence; as firstlings of all ye shall live unto God.

4. After he had finished the parables of the mountains I said unto him, Sir, now declare unto me concerning the stones which were taken from the plain and put into the building instead of the stones that were taken out of the tower; and concerning the round ones which were put into the building, and those which were still round.

* Gr. *protā*, cp. Mark ix. 35 f. In his tale of the believers from the mountains the last are first,

CHAPTER 30

1. HEAR, quoth he, about all these likewise. The stones taken from the plain, which were put into the building of the tower instead of the rejected ones, are the roots of this white mountain. 2. Seeing then that the believers from this mountain were all found void of offence, the lord of the tower ordered these stones from the roots of this mountain to be cast into the building of the tower; for he knew that, if these went into the building of the tower, they would remain bright, and none of them would turn black.* 3. Whereas, if he had added stones from the other mountains, he would have had occasion again to visit and purge the tower. But these were all found white, being such as have believed or will believe; for they are of the selfsame kind. Happy is this kind, for it is

* From chap. 30. 3 to the end of the book we have only the Latin and the Ethiopic; except the Greek quoted by Antiochus (Hilg., Funk), and the Greek fragments which make No. 404 in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part III, in which "No line is complete, and indeed very few complete words are preserved."

innocent. 4. Hear now also about the round bright stones. All these are from this white mountain. But hear why they were found round. Their riches had clouded and darkened them a little from the truth; but they never drew back from God, nor did any evil word proceed out of their mouth, but all equity and virtue of truth.* 5. When the Lord therefore had seen their disposition to favour the truth and remain good, he commanded their wealth to be cut down, yet not all of it to be taken from them; so that they might be able to do some good with what remained to them and live unto God, because they are of a goodly kind. Accordingly they were cut down a little, and placed in the building of this tower.

CHAPTER 31

1. BUT the rest, which remained still round and had not been fitted into the building, because they had not yet received the seal, were put back in their own place; for they were found very

* So the Latin. But see Mand. iii. 1 *all truth*; i. 2, *Sim.* vi. i. 4 *every virtue of righteousness* (x. 1. 2 *aequitatis*).

round. 2. This world therefore and the vanities of their riches must be pared away from them, and then shall they be meet for the kingdom of God ;* for need is that they should enter into the kingdom of God, because the Lord hath blessed this innocent kind. Of this kind none shall perish. For even though any of them, being tempted by a most wicked devil, should have committed some fault, he will quickly return unto his Lord. 3. I, the Angel of Repentance, judge you all happy, as many as are blameless as infants, for that your estate is good and honourable with God. 4. I bid you all therefore as many as have received this seal, hold to singleness and bear no grudge, and continue not in your spite nor in the memory of vexatious offences ; be of one spirit, and mend these evil rents and put them away from you, that the Lord of the sheep may rejoice over them. 5. He shall rejoice indeed if he find all sound. But if he find some of them scattered abroad, woe to the shepherds. 6. And if even the shepherds themselves be found scattered, what shall they answer concerning their sheep ? Will they say that they have been worried by the sheep ? They would not be believed, for it is a thing

* Compare the Oxyrhynchus Saying quoted in *Sim.* v. 3 n., *Except ye fast from the world, etc.*

incredible that a shepherd should be harmed by sheep ; * and he would be the more punished for his falsehood. Now I am the Shepherd, and it is my bounden duty to give account of you.

CHAPTER 32

1. AMEND you therefore while the tower is yet being built. 2. The Lord dwelleth in men who love peace, for peace is dear unto Him ; but He is far off from the contentious and malicious. Give your spirit back to Him therefore whole as ye received it. 3. For if, when thou hast given a new garment to a fuller whole and desirest to receive it back whole, the fuller notwithstanding gives it back to thee rent, wilt thou receive it? Wilt thou not presently burn with anger and charge him reproachfully saying, That garment I gave unto thee whole ; wherefore hast thou rent it and made it useless? Because of the rent thou hast made therein it cannot be used. Wouldest thou not say all this even to a fuller about a rent which he hath made in thy garment? 4. If then thou art so vexed

* As if, in accordance with a saying of the *Didache*, the sheep had been *turned to wolves*.

about thy garment, and complainest of not receiving it back whole, what thinkest thou the Lord will do to thee, when He gave thee a perfect spirit and thou hast made it quite useless, so that it can be made no use of by its owner? For the use thereof began to be of no account when it had been damaged by thee. Will not then the Lord of that spirit destroy thee because of this thy deed? 5. Assuredly, said I, He will so do to all whom He shall have found continuing mindful of offences. Choose not, quoth he, to trample His mercy under foot; * but rather glorify Him because He is so patient toward your misdeeds, and is not as ye are. Repent therefore, as is expedient for you.

CHAPTER 33

I. ALL the things before written I, the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, have declared and spoken with the servants of God. If then ye believe and attend to my words and walk in them and amend your ways, ye shall be able to live. But if ye continue in malice and resentful-

* Lat. *calcare nolite*, cp. Heb. x. 29.

ness, none such shall live unto God. All these things which I had to say have been said unto you. 2. Then the Shepherd said to me, Hast thou asked me about everything? Yea, sir, said I. Wherefore then, said he, didst thou not ask me about the print of the stones laid in the building, whereof we filled up the prints? I forgat, sir, said I. 3. Hear now, quoth he, about them. These are they who have now heard my commandments and repented with their whole hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they were able to continue in it, He commanded their former sins to be blotted out. For these prints were their sins; and they were made even, that they might not appear.

TENTH SIMILITUDE

CHAPTER I

1. AFTER I had written out this book, the Angel which had delivered me to the Shepherd came into the house where I was, and sat down upon the couch ; and the Shepherd stood on the right hand. Then he called me and spake thus to me. 2. I have delivered thee and thine house, quoth he, to this Shepherd that thou mayest be protected by him. Yea, sir, quoth I. If therefore, quoth he, thou wilt be protected from all vexation and all harshness, and have success in every good work and word and every virtue of righteousness, walk in his commandments which I have given unto thee ; and thou shalt be able to have the mastery over all wickedness. 3. For while thou keepest his commandments every lust and delight of this world shall be subject unto thee, and success in every good thing shall follow thee. Take his gravity

and modesty upon thee ; and say unto all, that he is in great honour and dignity with the Lord ; and that he is set in great authority, and powerful in his office. To him alone is the power of repentance committed in all the world. Seemeth he not to thee to be powerful ? Yet ye contemn his gravity and the respect which he hath toward you.

CHAPTER 2

1. I SAID to him, Ask him, sir, whether since he hath been in my house I have done aught disorderly, whereby I have offended against him. 2. I also know, quoth he, that thou hast not done, neither wilt thou do, aught disorderly ; and therefore I speak these things with thee, that thou mayest persevere. For he hath given me a good account of thee. And do thou speak these words to others, that they who have repented or are about to repent may think the same things with thee, and he may give a good report of them to me and I unto the Lord. 3. I for my part, sir, quoth I, proclaim to every man the mighty acts of the Lord ; for I trust that all who have sinned beforetime, if they hear

these things, will repent with a willing mind and recover life. 4. Continue stedfast therefore, quoth he, in this ministry, and accomplish it. All such as fulfil his commandments shall have life; but they who keep not his commandments flee from their life and turn away from it, for he hath great honour with God. They therefore who despise him and follow not his commandments deliver themselves to death, and every one such becometh guilty of his own blood. I bid thee therefore be subject unto these commandments, and thou shalt have healing of thy sins.

CHAPTER 3

1. NOW I have sent unto thee these virgins to dwell with thee, for I saw that they were courteous toward thee. So thou hast them for helpers, that thou mayest the better keep his commandments; for without these virgins it is impossible that these commandments should be kept.* I see indeed that they are glad to dwell with thee; but I will enjoin them not to de-

* To be without these virgins is to be without the Holy Spirit, in whose power men walk in righteousness and truth, cp. *Sim.* ix. 13. 2 n, 25. 2.

part at all from thine house. 2. Do thou only cleanse thine house, for in a clean house they will be pleased to dwell ; forasmuch as they are cleanly and chaste and diligent, and are all in favour with the Lord. If therefore they find thine house pure they will abide with thee, but if the least taint befall they will presently depart from thine house ; for these virgins love not any manner of defilement. 3. I said to him, I hope, sir, that I shall so please them that they will be content always to dwell in my house ; and that, as he to whom thou hast delivered me layeth no complaint against me, so neither will they complain. 4. Then he said to the Shepherd, I see that the servant of God desireth to live and will keep these commandments, and will lodge these virgins in a pure habitation. 5. When he had thus spoken, he delivered me again to the Shepherd, and called the virgins and said unto them, Forasmuch as I perceive that ye gladly dwell in this man's house, I commit him and his house unto you, to the intent that ye may never at all depart from his house. And they willingly heard these words.

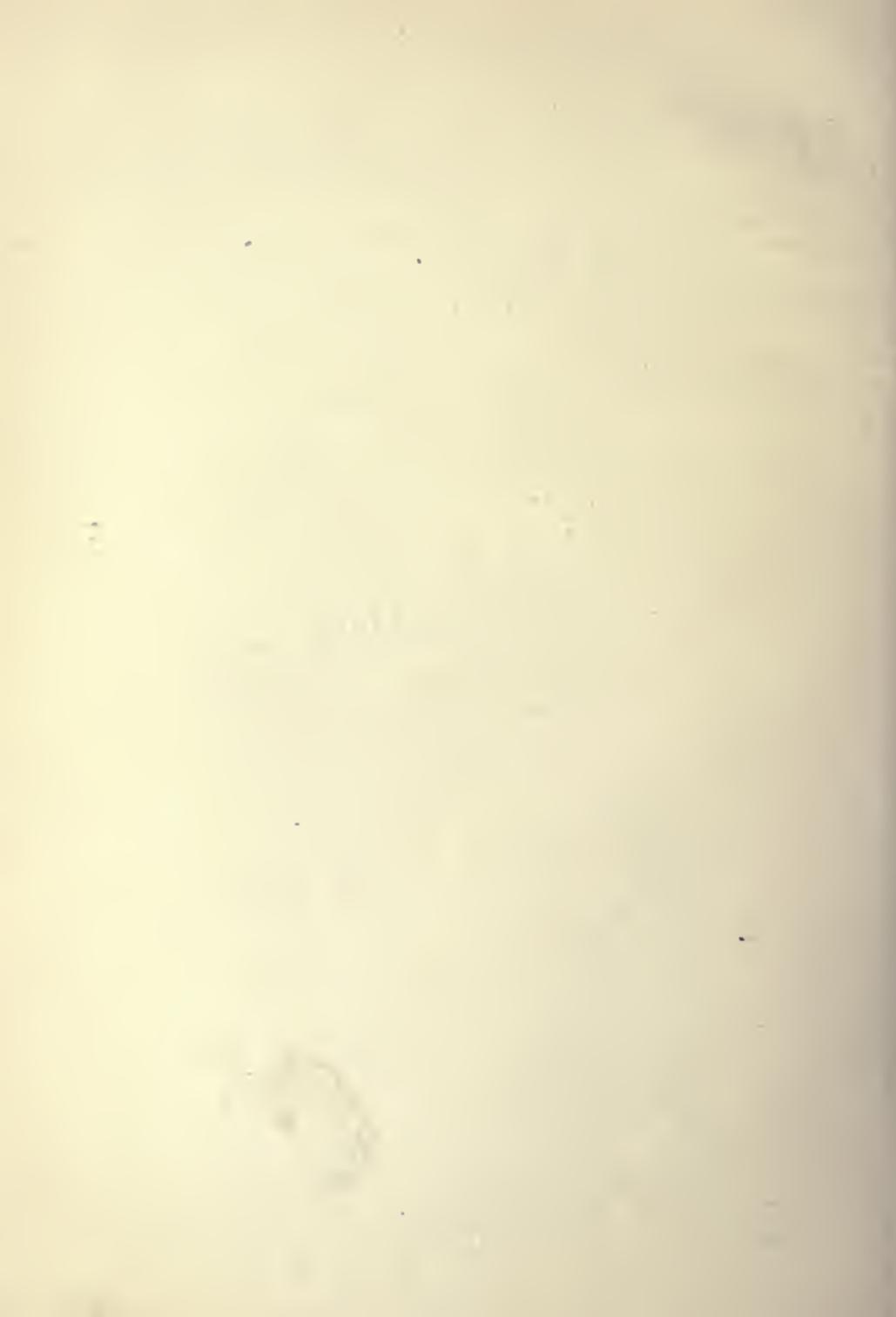
CHAPTER 4

1. THEN he said to me, Quit thee manfully in this ministry, rehearse unto every man the mighty acts of the Lord, and thou shalt find favour in this ministry. Whoso walketh in these commandments shall live and be happy in his life; but whoso disregardeth them shall not live, and he shall be unhappy in his life. 2. Say unto all who are able to do aright that they cease not to exercise themselves in good works; for that is profitable unto them. Now I say that every man ought to be delivered from distresses. For he who hath need and suffereth distresses in his daily life is in great anguish and necessity. 3. Whoso therefore rescueth the soul of such an one from straitness getteth great joy to himself; for he who is afflicted with this manner of distress is racked and tormenteth himself with the like torment as one who is in bonds. Many indeed because of such miseries, which they are not able to bear, bring death upon themselves. He who knoweth therefore the calamity of such an one and delivereth him not committeth a great sin and is guilty of his blood. 4. Do good works therefore, ye who have

received from the Lord, lest while ye delay to do them the building of the tower be finished ; for for your sakes the work of the building of it hath been delayed. Except then ye make haste to do aright, the tower shall be finished and ye shall be shut out. 5. After he had spoken with me he arose from the couch ; and he took the Shepherd and the virgins and departed,* saying however to me that he would send back the Shepherd and the virgins to my house.

* The Angel here, representing the Son of God (Harn., Funk), having said that he has already sent the virgins to dwell with Hermas (3. 1), is somewhat strangely made to take them away again, with a promise to send them back. This suggests an allusion to John xvi. 7 *if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.*

APPENDIX



APPENDIX

“THE author of the Shepherd of Hermas nowhere supplies us with a direct quotation from the Old or New Testament, and we are therefore obliged to fall back upon allusions which always admit of some degree of doubt. He may sometimes be consciously borrowing ideas from New Testament writers when the reference is veiled by an intentional change of words; and sometimes he may use identical words, and yet have derived them from some other source, oral or written. In these circumstances it is clear that references which might reasonably be assumed if we knew that the author was familiar with our canonical books, cannot be used to establish his familiarity with them *in opposition to critics who dispute it*. The following arrangement of passages, therefore, does not represent what the editors may consider historically probable, but what they think may

be reasonably deduced from a mere comparison of texts."

The above paragraph is the Introduction by Dr. J. Drummond, Principal of Manchester College, to his section on the Shepherd of Hermas in *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Clarendon Press, 1905), a valuable monograph by a small Committee of the Oxford 'Society of Historical Theology.' The net result of comparisons of the *Shepherd* with books of the New Testament varies with the point of view from which the subject is approached. Seeming allusions by Hermas to a canonical Gospel, which to one critic are more or less convincing, are dismissed by another as chronologically unlikely or impossible, the dates of the writings compared having been first settled independently. The one book which Hermas names and cites expressly is the apocryphal 'Eldad and Modad' (*Vis.* iii. 3. 4). Unobtrusive borrowings are sufficient signs of his familiarity with the Old Testament; and those who think that he wrote, or may have written, as late as about 150 A.D. can discuss his dubious uses of the New Testament without the presumption that he could not have been acquainted with it.

Dr. Drummond in his study of the *Shepherd* compares it with the Epistles and the Acts, with

the Synoptic Gospels and Tradition, and with the Fourth Gospel. Its adaptations of several of the Parables are noted, including the well known one of the Sower, which Hermas seems to have everywhere in mind (vol. i. 29-33). For his association of it with 1 Cor. xv. (vol. ii. 58, 62) there was a precedent in Clem. *Cor.* xxiv. 5.

In *Vis.* iv. 2. 6, "Woe to them that . . . hear amiss. Better were it for them not to have been born," which is rightly compared with Matt., Mark, and Clem. *Cor.* xlvi. 8, the word for "Better" (Gr. *hairetoteron*) is from a saying in a verse of Menander. For an application of the saying see Philo *De Post. Caini* (M. i. 233), "*Preferable* to life with the impious were death with the pious."

Sim. ix. 12, on the Gate, is compared with John x. 7, 9, 17, xiv. 6, and it is said, that "the passage has a Johannine colouring; but whether this is sufficient to prove a literary connexion may be reasonably questioned." The comparison however may be carried further. (1) Hermas writes, ". . . the gate was new, that such as should be *saved* might *enter through it* into the kingdom of God" (12. 3); and the Evangelist (x. 9), "by me if any man *enter in*, he shall be *saved*." And (2) both agree that there is a way of entering without passing through the

gate or door. In John x. 1 we read, "He that *entereth not by the door*, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber"; and in *Sim.* ix. 12. 4, "the stones which came in through the gate went into the building of the tower, whereas those which *came not in through it* were cast forth again into their own place." These two parallels favour the hypothesis that *Sim.* ix. 12 rests partly on John x. Mr. Inge, in his section of the Oxford monograph, concludes that, "Ignatius's use of the Fourth Gospel is highly probable, but falls some way short of certainty." The martyrdom of Ignatius, according to Lightfoot, "may with a high degree of probability be placed within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after." If Hermas wrote some decades later, we may think it as likely as not *a priori* that he knew the Fourth Gospel. In *Sim.* ix. 12 and elsewhere he writes as if he was alluding to it.

Of the few and short exact Biblical sentences in the *Shepherd* the longest are from verses of Mark iv. and x., as read by Westcott and Hort (vol. i. 87, ii. 108). The word "creation" in Mark xvi. 15 (ii. 96, 102) accounts for the story of the preaching to the sleepers in the underworld in *Sim.* ix. 16. A note of the Revisers on the 'Last Twelve Verses' of St. Mark's Gospel, which in

the Received Text supply the place of its lost original ending, has been inadvertently taken to mean that they were composed or appended in the fourth or some later century (*Nineteenth Cent.* Feb. 1889). St. Irenaeus of Lyons cited one of them as St. Mark's (xvi. 19) before the end of the second century, and they may very well have been known to the author of the *Shepherd* by the middle of it.

In connexion with vol. i. 53 note that Resch also, in his *Agrapha* (p. 36 f., 1889), quotes the reference to the pericope, John vii. 53—viii. 11, in the *Didascalía*.

In vol. i., supplying numbers omitted, read "7. Their powers" (p. 89); "6. Thinkest thou" (p. 138); "2. How, sir" (p. 144); "6. For the Spirit" (p. 147); "5. For any Spirit" (p. 150); "21. Thou seest" (p. 155). And on page 150, second line from foot, *for* "speaketh not all," read "speaketh not at all."

In vol. v. of Matt. Paris. *Chron. Majora*, ed. Luard (1880), an. 1254, pp. 465 f., 471, there are apparent reminiscences of the teaching of Hermas on 'Tristitia' (*Mand.* x. i.), and of his personification of Ecclesia (W. A. C.).

C. TAYLOR.

Cambridge,
August 1906.

INDEX

- ALIENS, God's servants as, 9
 Another, the Evil One, lord of this world, 10
- Baptism, 100; of the Apostles, 101; of water and of martyrdom, 118; implied by bearing the Name, 92
- Books of the living, 16
- Browne, Sir Thomas, quoted, 40 f.
- Carol, to, 89
- Choice of Hercules, 85
- Christ, the Gate, 92, 137 f.; Law, 54; Rock, 90 (see Sayings, Son of God)
- Christening of the dead by Apostles, 101 f, 138
- City, metaphorical use of, 9 f.
- Clement of Alexandria, quotes Hermas, 101 f.
- Clement of Rome, Epistle of, cited, 10, 51 f., 116; "second epistle" of, cited, 9, 10, 32, 43, 100
- Crowning of martyrs, 55
- Day, for a year, 42
- Descent of Christ into Hades, 102
- Didache, 103, 114, 123
- Eldad and Modad, book of, referred to by Hermas, 10, 18, 136
- Enoch, book of, cited, 16, 17, 37
- Fasting, expounded, 21, 25, 26
- Generations of the world, 99 f.
- Gnostics, 110 (see Resurrection)
- Gospels, Hermas' use of the four, 18, 22, 25, 29, 31, 42, 49, 58, 62, 65, 87, 92, 96, 99, 106, 116, 131, 136-139
- Greek words:-
- aion*, 19, 25, 29
- akmen*, 96
- anabe*, 14
- anhubristos*, 11
- apate*, 37
- apeleutheros*, 22
- bios*, 38, 92
- chiton*, 33
- duskolos*, 65
- eisodos*, 92
- eleutheros*, 22
- engraphos*, 26
- ethne*, 63
- eti*, 96
- hagion*, 68
- hairesis*, 112
- hairetoteron*, 137
- helkein*, 73
- hemixeros*, 49
- hilara* (for *hiera*), 12
- ikmas*, 52
- kakotetos*, 21
- katoikesis*, 62
- kosmos*, 25, 29
- ktisis*, 96
- mastodes*, 69
- miasmos*, 33
- monazein*, 114

- Greek words :—
monolithos, 86
nesteusai, 21
paideia, 40
paracharassein, 12
paroikia, 9
philozoos, 52
phortion, 71
pinax, 41
protá, 119
saroun, 87
stasis, 20
station, 20
tagma, 58
therion, 114
xenen, 9
zoe, 38, 92
- Heathen, derivation of the word,
63
- Hospitality, 116
- Kebes, Tablet of, adapted by
Hermas, 36 f., 63, 71, 73, 92
- Matthew Paris, 139
- Michael, instrument of God's
revelation to Moses, 54
- Parish, derivation of the word, 9
- Pericope de Adultera, 139
- Perpetua, visions of, influenced
by Hermas, 78
- Peter, Second Epistle of, 33, 73,
92, 96, 104, 114; Gospel of,
78, 93
- Philo, quoted, 9, 15, 85, 89, 91,
137
- Plato, 71, 81, 89
- Poemandres, quoted, 78, 98
- Polycarp, 26
- Repentance, 58 f.
- Resurrection of the flesh asserted
against gnostics, 32 f.
- Sayings, Oxyrhynchus, of Jesus,
25, 73, 89, 122; saying to
Salome, 89
- Seal, a name of baptism, 100
- Servant of Jehovah, 30
- Sins, mortal, 98, 103; typified by
enemies of Israel, 103
- Son of God, as angel, 131; colos-
sal figure, 78; Spirit, 68
- Spirit, the, represented by band
of virgins, 93, 128; identified
with Son of God, 68
- Vines trained to elms, 13
- Virtues, the Cardinal Four, and
Twelve, 98.
- Vol. i., errata in, 139

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
S. P. C. K.

BOOKS FOR
STUDENTS
AND
OTHERS

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

LONDON : NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C. 2

43 QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C. 4

BRIGHTON : 129 NORTH STREET. BATH : 39 GAY STREET

New York and Toronto : THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

And of all Booksellers.

Translations of Early Documents

A Series of texts important for the study of Christian origins. Under the Joint Editorship of the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., and the Rev. Canon G. H. Box, D.D.

FIRST SERIES—Palestinian-Jewish and Cognate Texts (Pre-Rabbinic)

Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra

Translated from the Aramaic by A. E. COWLEY, Litt.D. Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 4s. 6d.

The Wisdom of Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus)

By the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., Vicar of St. Alban's, Bedford Park, W.; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. 3s. 6d.

The Book of Enoch

By the Rev. R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Canon of Westminster. 3s. 6d.

The Book of Jubilees

By the Rev. Canon CHARLES. 4s. 6d.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

By the Rev. Canon CHARLES. 3s. 6d.

The Ascension of Isaiah

By the Rev. Canon CHARLES. Together with *The Apocalypse of Abraham* in one volume. 4s. 6d.

The Apocalypse of Ezra (ii. Esdras)

By the Rev. Canon Box. 3s. 6d.

The Apocalypse of Baruch

By the Rev. Canon CHARLES. Together with *The Assumption of Moses* in one volume. 3s. 6d.

Translations of Early Documents (continued).

The Apocalypse of Abraham

By the Rev. Canon Box. Together with *The Ascension of Isaiah* in one volume. 4s. 6d.

The Assumption of Moses

By Rev. W. J. FERRAR, M.A. Together with *The Apocalypse of Baruch* in one volume. 3s. 6d.

The Biblical Antiquities of Philo

By M. R. JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin, Hon. LL.D., St. Andrews, Provost of King's College, Cambridge. 8s. 6d.

The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament

By M. R. JAMES, Litt.D. 5s. 6d.

SECOND SERIES—Hellenistic-Jewish Texts

The Wisdom of Solomon

By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. 3s. 6d.

The Sibylline Oracles (Books iii-v)

By the Rev. H. N. BATE, M.A., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. 3s. 6d.

The Letter of Aristeas

By H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY, M.A., King's College, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.

Selections from Josephus

By H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A. 5s.

**The Third and Fourth Books
of Maccabees**

By the Rev. C. W. EMMET, B.D. 3s. 6d.

The Book of Joseph and Asenath

Translated from the Greek by E. W. BROOKS. 2s. 6d.

**THIRD SERIES—Palestinian-Jewish and
Cognate Texts (Rabbinic)**

The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth). Translated from the Hebrew by W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. 5s.

Tractate Berakoth (Benedictions). With Introduction and Notes by A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, D.D. 6s.

Tractate Sanhedrin. Mishnah and Tosefta. The Judicial procedure of the Jews as codified towards the end of the second century A.D. Translated from the Hebrew, with brief Annotations, by the Rev. HERBERT DANBY, M.A. 6s.

Kimhi's Commentary on the Psalms (Book I, Selections). By Rev. R. G. FINCH, B.D. 7s. 6d.

Select Passages Illustrating Neoplatonism. Translated with an Introduction by E. R. DODDS, University College, Reading. 5s.

Jewish Literature and Christian Origins :
A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, M.A., D.D., and G. H. BOX, M.A., D.D. 12s. 6d.

The Uncanonical Jewish Books
A Short Introduction to the Apocrypha and the Jewish Writings 200 B.C.—A.D. 100. By W. JOHN FERRAR, M.A. 3s. 6d.

Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache
Being the Donnellan Lectures, 1920, by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Wells. 6s.

The Acts of the Apostles
Translated from the Codex Bezae, with an Introduction on its Lucan Origin and importance by Canon J. M. WILSON, D.D. 3s. 6d.

Pistis Sophia
Literally Translated from the Coptic by GEORGE HORNER. With an Introduction by F. LEGGE, F.S.A. 16s.

Translations of Christian Literature

A NUMBER of translations from the Fathers have already been published by the S.P.C.K. under the title "Early Church Classics." It is now proposed to enlarge this series to include texts which are neither "early" nor necessarily "classics." The divisions at present proposed are given below. Volumes belonging to the original series are marked with an asterisk.

SERIES I.—GREEK TEXTS.

Dionysius the Areopagite: The Divine Names and the Mystical Theology. By C. E. ROLT. 7s. 6d.

The Library of Photius. By J. H. FREESE, M.A.
Vol. I. 10s.

The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes. By T. W. CRAFER, D.D. 7s. 6d.

***The Epistle of St. Clement, Bishop of Rome.** By the Rt. Rev. J. A. F. GREGG, D.D. 1s. 9d. (*Out of print.*)

***Clement of Alexandria: Who is the Rich Man that is being saved?** By P. M. BARNARD, B.D. 1s. 9d.

***St. Chrysostom: On the Priesthood:** By T. A. MOXON. 2s. 6d.

The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles. By C. BIGG, D.D. Revised by the Right Rev. A. J. MACLEAN, D.D. 3s. 6d.

***The Epistle to Diognetus.** By the Rt. Rev. L. B. RADFORD, D.D. 2s. 6d.

St. Dionysius of Alexandria. By C. L. FELTOE, D.D. 4s.

***The Epistle of the Gallican Churches: Lugdunum and Vienna.** With an Appendix containing Tertullian's Address to Martyrs and the Passion of St. Perpetua. By T. H. BINDLEY, D.D. 1s. 9d.

SERIES I.—GREEK TEXTS (*continued*).

- ***St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Catechetical Oration.** By the Ven. J. H. SRAWLEY, D.D. 2s. 6d.
- ***St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of St. Macrina.** By W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. 1s. 9d.
- Gregory Thaumaturgus (Origen the Teacher): the Address of Gregory to Origen, with Origen's Letter to Gregory.** By W. METCALFE, B.D. 3s. 6d.
[*Re-issue.*]
- ***The Shepherd of Hermas.** By C. TAYLOR, D.D. 2 vols. 2s. 6d. each.
- Eusebius: The Proof of the Gospel.** By W. J. FERRAR. 2 vols. 30s. (*Not sold separately.*)
- Hippolytus: Philosophumena.** By F. LEGGE. 2 vols. 30s. (*Not sold separately.*)
- The Epistles of St. Ignatius.** By the Ven. J. H. SRAWLEY, D.D. 4s.
- ***St. Irenaeus: Against the Heresies.** By F. R. M. HITCHCOCK, D.D. 2 vols. 2s. 6d. each.
- Palladius: The Lausiatic History.** By W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. 5s.
- ***St. Polycarp.** By B. JACKSON. 1s. 9d.
- The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom.** By HERBERT MOORE. 8s. 6d.
- Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian.** By A. J. MASON, D.D. 15s.

SERIES II.—LATIN TEXTS.

- Tertullian's Treatises concerning Prayer, concerning Baptism.** By A. SOUTER, D.Litt. 3s.
- Tertullian against Praxeas.** By A. SOUTER, D.Litt.

Translations of Christian Literature (continued).

SERIES II.—LATIN TEXTS (*continued*).

Tertullian concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh.

By A. SOUTER, D.Litt. 12s. 6d.

Novatian on the Trinity. By H. MOORE. 6s.

St. Augustine: The City of God. By F. R. M. HITCHCOCK, D.D. 3s. [*Re-issue.*]

***St. Cyprian: The Lord's Prayer.** By T. H. BINDLEY, D.D. 2s.

Minucius Felix: The Octavius. By J. H. FREESE. 3s. 6d.

***Tertullian: On the Testimony of the Soul and On the Prescription of Heretics.** By T. H. BINDLEY, D.D. 2s. 6d.

***St. Vincent of Lerins: The Commonitory.** By T. H. BINDLEY, D.D. 2s. 6d.

St. Bernard: Concerning Grace and Free Will. By WATKIN W. WILLIAMS. 7s. 6d.

The Life of Otto: Apostle of Pomerania, 1060-1139. By EBO and HERBORDUS. Translated by CHARLES H. ROBINSON, D.D. 8s. 6d.

Anskar, the Apostle of the North, 801-865. By CHARLES H. ROBINSON, D.D. Translated from the *Vita Anskarii* by BISHOP RIMBERT, his fellow-missionary and successor. 4s. [Published by S.P.G.]

Select Epistles of St. Cyprian treating of the Episcopate. Edited with Introduction and Notes by T. A. LACEY, M.A. 8s. 6d.

SERIES III.—LITURGICAL TEXTS.

EDITED BY C. L. FELTOE, D.D.

St. Ambrose: On the Mysteries and on the Sacraments. By T. THOMPSON, B.D., and J. H. SRAWLEY, D.D. 4s. 6d.

***The Apostolic Constitution and Cognate Documents, with special reference to their Liturgical elements.** By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 1s. 9d.

Translations of Christian Literature (continued).

SERIES III.—LITURGICAL TEXTS (*continued*).

- The Liturgy of the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitution, commonly called the Clementine Liturgy.** By R. H. CRESSWELL. 3s.
- The Pilgrimage of Etheria.** By M. L. McCLURE. 6s.
- Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book.** By the Rt. Rev. J. WORDSWORTH, D.D. 2s. 6d.
- The Swedish Rite.** By E. E. YELVERTON. 8s. 6d.
- Twenty-five Consecration Prayers.** With Notes and Introduction by ARTHUR LINTON. 7s. 6d.

SERIES IV.—ORIENTAL TEXTS.

- The Ethiopic Didascalia.** By J. M. HARDEN, B.D. 9s.
- The Apostolic Preaching of Irenaeus (Armenian).** By J. A. ROBINSON, D.D. 7s. 6d.

SERIES V.—LIVES OF THE CELTIC SAINTS.

EDITED BY ELEANOR HULL.

- St. Malachy of Armagh (St. Bernard).** By H. J. LAWLOR, D.D. 12s.
- The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran.** Translated and Annotated by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, Litt.D., F.S.A. 10s.
- St. Patrick: Life and Works.** By N. J. D. WHITE, D.D. 6s. 6d.
- St. David.** By A. W. WADE-EVANS. 7s. 6d.

SERIES VI.—SELECT PASSAGES.

- Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church.**
Vol. I.: to A.D. 313. Vol. II.: A.D. 313—A.D. 461.
Edited by B. J. KIDD, D.D. Vol. I. 7s. 6d. Vol. II. 10s.

SERIES VII.

- Lives of the Serbian Saints.** By VOVESLAV YANICH D.D. and C. P. HANKEY, M.A. 6s. 6d.

Handbooks of Christian Literature

- The Letters of St. Augustine.** By the Rev. Canon W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D. 10s.
- The Early Christian Books. A Short Introduction to Christian Literature to the Middle of the Second Century.** By the Rev. W. JOHN FERRAR, M.A. 3s. 6d.
- The Inspiration and Authority of Holy Scripture. A Study in the Literature of the First Five Centuries.** By G. DUNCAN BARRY, B.D. 4s. 6d.
- The Eucharistic Office of the Book of Common Prayer.** By the Rev. LESLIE WRIGHT, M.A., B.D. 3s. 6d.
-

Helps for Students of History

Edited by C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., and J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

1. **Episcopal Registers of England and Wales.** By R. C. FOWLER, B.A., F.S.A. 6d.
2. **Municipal Records.** By F. J. C. HEARNshaw, M.A., LL.D. 1s.
3. **Medieval Reckonings of Time.** By REGINALD L. POOLE, LL.D., Litt.D. 6d.
4. **The Public Record Office.** By C. JOHNSON, M.A. 6d.
5. **The Care of Documents.** By C. JOHNSON, M.A. 6d.
6. **The Logic of History.** By C. G. CRUMP. 8d.
7. **Documents in the Public Record Office, Dublin.** By R. H. MURRAY, Litt.D. 8d.
8. **The French Wars of Religion.** By ARTHUR A. TILLEY, M.A. 6d.

Helps for Students of History (continued).

By Sir A. W. WARD, Litt.D., F.B.A.

9. **The Period of Congresses—I. Introductory.** 8*d.*
10. **II. Vienna and the Second Peace of Paris.** 1*s.*
11. **III. Aix-la-Chapelle to Verona.** 1*s.*
Nos. 9, 10, and 11 in one volume, cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*
12. **Securities of Peace: A Retrospect (1848–1914).**
Paper, 2*s.*; cloth, 3*s.*

13. **The French Renaissance.** By A. A. TILLEY, M.A. 8*d.*
14. **Hints on the Study of English Economic History.**
By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A., F.S.A. 8*d.*
15. **Parish History and Records.** By A. HAMILTON
THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. 8*d.*
16. **A Short Introduction to the Study of Colonial
History.** By A. P. NEWTON, M.A., D.Litt. 6*d.*
17. **The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts.** By
M. R. JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A. Paper, 2*s.*; cloth, 3*s.*
18. **Ecclesiastical Records.** By the Rev. CLAUDE JENKINS,
M.A., Librarian of Lambeth Palace. 1*s.* 9*d.*
19. **An Introduction to the History of American
Diplomacy.** By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Ph.D. 1*s.*
20. **Hints on Translation from Latin into English.**
By ALEXANDER SOUTER, D.Litt. 6*d.*
21. **Hints on the Study of Latin (A.D. 125–750).** By
ALEXANDER SOUTER, D.Litt. 8*d.*
22. **Report of the Historical MSS. Commission.** By
R. A. ROBERTS, F.R.Hist.S. 2*s.* 6*d.*
23. **A Guide to Franciscan Studies.** By A. G. LITTLE.
1*s.* 6*d.*
24. **A Guide to the History of Education.** By JOHN
WILLIAM ADAMSON. 8*d.*
25. **Introduction to the Study of Russian History.**
By W. F. REDDAWAY. 6*d.*

Helps for Students of History (continued).

26. **Monuments of English Municipal Life.** By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A. 1s.
27. **La Guyenne Pendant la Domination Anglaise, 1152-1453.** Par CHARLES BÉMONT. 1s. 4d.
28. **The Historical Criticism of Documents.** By R. L. MARSHALL, M.A., LL.D. 1s. 3d.
29. **The French Revolution.** By G. P. GOOCH. 8d.
30. **Seals.** By H. S. KINGSFORD. 1s. 3d.
31. **A Student's Guide to the Manuscripts of the British Museum.** By JULIUS P. GILSON, M.A. 1s.
32. **A Short Guide to some Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.** By R. H. MURRAY, Litt.D. 1s. 9d.
- 33-35. **Ireland.** No. 33, 1494-1603; No. 34, 1603-1714; No. 35, 1714-1829. By R. H. MURRAY, Litt.D. Each, 1s. Nos. 33-35 in one volume, 3s. 6d.
36. **Coins and Medals.** By G. F. HILL, M.A., F.B.A. 1s. 6d.
37. **The Latin Orient.** By W. MILLER, M.A. 1s. 6d.
38. **The Turkish Restoration in Greece, 1718-1797.** By WILLIAM MILLER, M.A. 1s. 3d.
39. **Sources for the History of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1533-1795.** By JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J. 1s. 3d.
40. **English Time Books.—Vol. I. English Regnal Years and Titles, Hand-lists, Easter Dates, etc.** Compiled by J. E. W. WALLIS, M.A. 4s.
41. **Knights of Malta, 1523-1798.** By R. COHEN. 2s.
42. **Records for the Early History of South Africa.** By C. GRAHAM BOTHA. 1s.
43. **The Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library.** By H. H. E. CRASTER, D.Litt. 1s. 3d.
44. **Geographical Factors.** By H. J. FLEURE. 6d.
45. **The Colonial Entry Books. A Brief Guide to the Colonial Records in the Public Record Office before 1696.** By C. S. S. HIGHAM, M.A. 1s. 6d.
46. **The University Library, Cambridge.** By H. GIDNEY ALDIS, M.A. 6d.

47. **A Students' Guide to the Manuscripts relating to English History in the Seventeenth Century in the Bodleian Library.** By G. DAVIES. 1s.
48. **History and Ethnology.** By W. R. H. RIVERS, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. 6d.
49. **Some Aspects of Boundary Settlement at the Peace Conference.** By ALAN G. OGILVIE, B.Sc. 6d.
50. **The Mechanical Processes of the Historian.** By CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A., F.S.A. 6d.
51. **The Sources for the History of the Council in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.** By E. R. ADAIR, M.A. 3s. 6d.
-

The Story of the English Towns

Popular but Scholarly Histories of English Towns for the general reader, but suitable also for use in schools. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Cloth boards. 4s.

The City of London. By P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

Bath. By CONSTANCE SPENDER and EDITH THOMPSON.

Birmingham. By J. H. B. MASTERMAN.

Canterbury. By DOROTHY GARDINER. (Cheaper ed. 2s. 6d.)

Halifax. By J. S. FLETCHER.

Harrogate and Knaresborough. By J. S. FLETCHER.

Hastings. By L. F. SALZMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

Leeds. By J. S. FLETCHER.

Leicester. By S. H. SKILLINGTON. 5s.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By F. J. C. HEARNshaw, M.A., LL.D.

Nottingham. By E. L. GUILFORD, M.A.

Peterborough. By K. and R. E. ROBERTS.

Plymouth. By A. L. SALMON.

Pontefract. By J. S. FLETCHER.

St. Albans. By W. PAGE, F.S.A.

Sheffield. By J. S. FLETCHER.

Westminster. By H. F. WESTLAKE, M.A., F.S.A.

Studies in Church History

The Cathedral Church of Hereford: Its History and Constitution. By ARTHUR THOMAS BANNISTER, M.A.
7s. 6d.

The Christian Church in the Epistles of St. Jerome.
By L. HUGHES, M.A., D.D. 4s. 6d.

The Prelude to the Reformation. By the Rev. R. S. ARROWSMITH. 8s.

The Albigensian Heresy. By H. J. WARNER, B.D. 3s. 6d.

The Early Franciscans and Jesuits. A Study in Contrasts. By ARTHUR S. B. FREER, M.A. 6s.

Some Eighteenth-Century Churchmen: Glimpses of English Church Life in the Eighteenth Century.
By G. LACEY MAY, M.A. With Illustrations. 9s.

Christian Monasticism in Egypt to the Close of the Fourth Century. By W. H. MACKEAN, D.D. 8s.

The Venerable Bede. His Life and Writings. By the Rt. Rev. G. F. BROWNE, D.D. With Illustrations. 10s.

The Reformation in Ireland. A Study of Ecclesiastical Legislation. By H. HOLLOWAY, M.A. 7s. 6d.

The Emperor Julian. An Essay on His Relations with the Christian Religion. By EDWARD J. MARTIN, B.D. 3s. 6d.

The Importance of Women in Anglo-Saxon Times; The Cultus of St. Peter and St. Paul, and other Addresses. By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, D.D. With two Illustrations. 7s. 6d.

Essays Liturgical and Historical. By J. WICKHAM LEGG, D.Litt., F.S.A. 5s.

French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century. By the Rev. W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D. 5s.

An Abbot of Vézelay. By ROSE GRAHAM, F.R.Hist.S. With eight Illustrations. 3s. 6d.

The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans. By CLAUDE JENKINS, M.A. 3s. 6d.

1. **Select Passages from Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius**, illustrative of Christianity in the First Century. Arranged by H. J. WHITE, D.D. 3*d.*
2. **Selections from Matthew Paris**. By C. A. J. SKEEL, D.Lit. 9*d.*
3. **Selections from Giraldus Cambrensis**. By C. A. J. SKEEL, D.Lit. 9*d.*
4. **Libri Sancti Patricii**. The Latin Writings of St. Patrick, etc. By NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D. 6*d.*
5. **A Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick**. By NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D. 6*d.*
6. **Selections from the Vulgate**. 9*d.*
7. **The Epistle of St. Clement of Rome**. 6*d.*
8. **Select Extracts from Chronicles and Records relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages**. By F. J. C. HEARNshaw, M.A., LL.D. 9*d.*
9. **The Inscription on the Stele of Méša**. Commonly called the Moabite Stone. Translated by the Rev. H. F. B. COMPSTON, M.A. 6*d.*
10. **The Epistles of St. Ignatius**. 1*s.*
11. **Christian Inscriptions**. By H. P. V. NUNN, M.A. 1*s.*
12. **Selections from the "Historia Rerum Anglicarum" of William of Newburgh**. 1*s.* 3*d.*
13. **The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles**. By T. W. CRAFER, D.D. 4*d.* 13A. **An English Translation**. 3*d.*
14. **The Epistle of Barnabas**. Edited by T. W. CRAFER, D.D. 6*d.* 14A. **An English Translation**. 6*d.*
15. **The Code of Hammurabi**. By P. HANDCOCK, M.A. 1*s.*
16. **Selections from the Tell El-Amarna Letters**. By PERCY HANDCOCK, M.A. 4*d.*
17. **Select Passages Illustrating Commercial and Diplomatic Relations between England and Russia**. By A. WEINER, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. 1*s.* 6*d.*
18. **The Early History of the Slavonic Settlements in Dalmatia, Croatia and Serbia**. By J. B. BURY. 2*s.*
19. **Select Extracts Illustrating Florentine Life in the 13th and 14th Centuries**. By E. G. ROPER, B.A. 1*s.*
20. **Select Extracts Illustrating Florentine Life in the 15th Century**. By ESTHER G. ROPER, B.A. 1*s.*

Texts for Students (continued).

21. **Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.** By M. T. STEAD. 1s. 9d.
22. **The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.**
6d.
- 22A. **An English Translation of the above.** 6d.
23. **Extracts Illustrating Sports and Pastimes in the Middle Ages.** By E. L. GUILFORD, M.A. 1s. 9d.
24. **Babylonian Flood Stories.** 25. **Babylonian Penitential Psalms.** By P. HANDCOCK, M.A. 6d. each.
26. **The Hymn of Cleanthes.** Translated with Introduction and Notes by E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A. 6d.
27. **The Foundations of Modern Ireland.** The Civil Policy of Henry VIII. and the Reformation. By CONSTANTIA MAXWELL, M.A. 1s. 6d.
28. **Selections from the Qur'an.** Arranged by H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON, M.D., D.D. 1s.
29. **The Tome of Pope Leo the Great.** Latin Text with Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A. 1s. ; dukeen boards, 1s. 6d.
30. **The Book of Amos.** Hebrew Text edited by THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A., D.D. 2s. 6d.
31. **Sukkah.** (A Critical Hebrew Text.) By A. W. GREENUP, D.D. 2s. 6d.
32. **Readings from the Apocrypha.** Selected and Annotated by E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A. 1s. ; cloth, 1s. 6d.
33. **English Social Life in the Eighteenth Century.**
& Illustrated from Contemporary Sources. By M. D.
34. GEORGE. Each 1s. 6d. In one vol. cloth, 3s. 6d.
35. **Texts Illustrating Ancient Ruler-Worship.** Edited by C. LATTEY, S.J., M.A. 6d.
- 35A. **An English Translation of the above.** 6d.
36. **Select Passages Illustrative of Neoplatonism.** Greek edition. Edited by E. R. DODDS, B.A. 4s. 6d.
37. **Traders in East and West.** Some Aspects of Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries. By FLORENCE L. BOWMAN and ESTHER G. ROPER. 2s.
38. **Travellers and Travelling in the Middle Ages.** By E. L. GUILFORD, M.A. 2s.

Pioneers of Progress

MEN OF SCIENCE : Edited by S. CHAPMAN, M.A., D.Sc.

With Portrait. Paper cover, 1s. ; cloth, 2s.

Galileo. By W. W. BRYANT, F.R.A.S.

Michael Faraday. By J. A. CROWTHER, D.Sc.

Alfred Russel Wallace. By L. T. HOGBEN, B.A., B.Sc.

Joseph Priestley. By D. H. PEACOCK, B.A., M.Sc., F.I.C.

Joseph Dalton Hooker. By F. O. BOWER, Sc.D., F.R.S.

Herschel. By HECTOR MACPHERSON, M.A., F.R.A.S.,
F.R.S.E.

Archimedes. By Sir THOMAS L. HEATH, K.C.B., F.R.S.

The Copernicus of Antiquity (Aristarchus of Samos).

By Sir THOMAS L. HEATH, K.C.B., F.R.S.

John Dalton. By L. J. NEVILLE-POLLEY, B.Sc.

Kepler. By WALTER W. BRYANT, F.R.A.S.

Richard Arkwright. By J. H. CRABTREE. (Duxeen, 2s.)

EMPIRE BUILDERS : Edited by W. BASIL WORSFOLD,
M.A. With Portrait. Paper cover, 1s. ; cloth, 2s.

Sir Francis Drake. By WALTER J. HARTE, M.A.

Sir Robert Sandeman. By A. L. P. TUCKER, C.I.E.

Mungo Park. By W. H. HEWITT, B.A., B.Sc. (Duxeen,
2s. 6d.)

Richard Hakluyt. By FOSTER WATSON, D.Litt. (Duxeen,
2s. 6d.)

WOMEN : Edited by ETHEL M. BARTON.

With Illustrations. Paper cover, 2s. ; cloth, 3s.

Florence Nightingale. By E. F. HALL.

Dorothea Beale. By ELIZABETH H. SHILLITO, B.A.

Elsie Inglis. By EVA SHAW McLAREN.

Josephine Butler, and her work for Social Purity.

By L. HAY COOPER. With Two Portraits. Cloth. 5s.

1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880

	BQ 1503 E5	He:
27/3/37	MAR 30	
15/12/39	1 FEB	
2/9/38	OCT	
12/2/38	MAR	
	NOV	
2/2/41	MAR	
20/1/47	JAN 23	
July 1965	July 1965	

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
 47 GILBERT PLACE
 TORONTO 5, CANADA.

664.

