

SWEET GOSPEL HARMONY.COM PART I
**BARNABAS, HERMAS
AND THE DIDACHE**

BEING THE DONNELLAN LECTURES
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PREFACE

THE ultimate aim of these Lectures is to reach a point of view from which the literary character and the historical value of the Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, can be justly estimated. The study of the Epistle attributed to the Apostle Barnabas goes to show that its closing section, which treats of the "Two Ways," is wholly in character with the rest of the Epistle and is almost certainly the original composition of this rabbinically-minded author. The study of the Shepherd will suggest that Hermas knew the "Two Ways" in the form in which it is found in the Epistle of Barnabas. The Didache in its opening section offers us the "Two Ways" of the Epistle of Barnabas with an improved arrangement of its precepts and with modifications introduced from the Shepherd of Hermas as well as from the Sermon on the Mount. Moreover the closing section of the Didache has borrowed from the earlier part of the Epistle of Barnabas.

The use of Barnabas and Hermas was recognised at once by Bryennius the first editor of the Didache in 1883, and by Dr Harnack in his notable edition of 1884; and it was allowed that for this reason the Didache could not be placed earlier than c. 140-160. But the question of date was obscured by a theory propounded two years later by Dr C. Taylor, who was impressed by the rabbinic cast of much of the

Didache and accordingly suggested that the earlier part of it, at any rate, was a Jewish manual of instructions for proselytes which had been embodied with various modifications in the Epistle of Barnabas and in the Didache. The references to the Sermon on the Mount and to the Shepherd of Hermas were disposed of by the assumption that the chapter of the Didache in which they occurred was a Christian interpolation, introduced to make this Jewish manual more suitable for candidates for Holy Baptism. As the interpolation might have been made, not by the author of the Didache himself, but by a later reviser of it, neither Barnabas nor Hermas need any longer be taken into account in fixing the date of the book in its uninterpolated form. Some critics were therefore courageous enough to assign it to the first century, though Dr Harnack, who accepted the new theory, still refused to go back behind the time of Hadrian.

If what is urged in these Lectures is accepted, the theory of a Jewish manual disappears altogether, and the ground is cleared for a new consideration of the whole problem. Eight years ago I suggested that the aim of the writer of the Didache was to be gathered from the title which he himself prefixed to his work: "The Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles." In other words, he was endeavouring to present a picture of the way in which the Gentile Churches were ordered by their Apostolic founders, and he sought to confine himself, so far as he could, to such precepts and regulations as could be authenticated, directly or indirectly, by writings of the Apostolic age. In the essay which dealt with this matter, and which I have reprinted here as Appendix A, only the second portion of the Didache came under investigation; for when it was written I still held the almost universally accepted

theory of an original Jewish "Two Ways," and therefore did not attempt to apply the same principle of interpretation to the first portion of the book. This I have now done, with the result that I am more than ever convinced that the writer of the Didache was trying to represent the moral instruction and the ecclesiastical ordinances which the Apostles might reasonably be supposed to have sanctioned for their Gentile converts; and that accordingly we may not assume that the whole of the picture which he has drawn corresponded to the actual conditions of his own time, whatever that time may have been.

It is not easy to present in a course of Lectures an argument which needs for its full appreciation a constant reference to the original Greek. But I hope that what is here said will suffice to clear away some serious misconceptions and to open a new path for the criticism and interpretation of a document the discovery of which has had an extraordinary influence upon the modern presentation of early Christian institutions.

For the Table of Parallels in Appendix B I have to thank my friend Dom Connolly, who has also helped me by valuable suggestions.

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BARNABAS, HERMAS AND THE DIDACHE

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

THE contrast in spiritual power and in literary merit between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle which has come down to us under the name of Barnabas has quite justly thrown the latter work into the shade. Yet the same problem, though under different aspects, was before each of these writers. The Gentiles through the teaching and labours of St Paul had claimed and secured equal privilege with the Jews in the Christian Society. It was becoming evident that the future of Christianity was mainly with the Gentiles, and that the Jews as a people had finally refused to admit that in this joint inheritance lay the fulfilment of the Promise to the Fathers. Even after the Temple had fallen Judaism as a religion persisted, devoting itself to an observance of such parts of the Mosaic Law as were not interfered with by the loss of the unique centre of sacrifice, and upholding a morality far superior to that of the surrounding heathenism; claiming, moreover, to be the only true exponent of the doctrine of the One God, and to possess sacred books inspired by divine wisdom.

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Christianity could not forget its Jewish origin. The Law and the Prophets had been treated as divine utterances by Christ and His Apostles. The ceremonial obligations of Judaism had indeed been relaxed for Gentile converts; but it might still be urged that some of the ancient ordinances, if not obligatory, were yet of value to all Christian believers, if only as the symbols and precepts of a higher standard of sanctity. In the period of reflection which necessarily succeeded to the first enthusiasm of the Gospel message, grave questions arose. Was God's old Covenant a reality, or had the Jews been under a delusion all through their history? If it was a reality, and if it had never been formally set aside by any direct words of Christ, how did Christians stand in regard to it? How could the Old Testament be accepted by them as their Bible, and at the same time practically rejected by their refusal to obey its precepts? What if a grave and pious Judaism, with its treasures of holy memory and its careful rules of conduct, were perhaps after all a nobler and a more sustaining creed than the Christianity which, since it had broken away from its original stock, was already showing signs of decay and failing to hold the baptised to the high ideals of their regeneration? The problem was to have very various answers during the coming years. One, quite decisive in its clearness, was given by Marcion, who maintained that the Old Testament religion was false from beginning to end. The world had been created by a Being who, though divine, was less than the Highest. The Demiurge, or Creator—the Just God of the Old Testament—had deceived the Jews until the Good God of the New Testament had sent forth His Son to bring them out of their darkness. Therefore the Old Testament must be discarded altogether, and of the New Testament only St Paul's Epistles and the Pauline Gospel of

St Luke could be accepted as the authentic scriptures of the Christian Church.

That such an answer could have been suggested at all shows how real the difficulty was, and how persistently it troubled Christian minds. But in the first century, and in the early years of the second, no one proposed so drastic a purge. The value of the Old Testament was too obvious to admit the suggestion that it could be abandoned. It must be explained, and at all costs retained. On the other hand it was vital to the Christian Church that its superiority to Judaism, both as a system of thought and as a way of life, should be placed beyond doubt. Two anonymous writings of this earlier period have survived to show us in what different ways the problem was attacked. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews addressed himself to Jewish readers, who had accepted Christianity, but under the pressure of some great crisis were looking wistfully back to the religion of their fathers. With passionate earnestness he warned them against apostasy. And he brought a great message of hope. He bade them see that the Christ was more than they had ever supposed, even in the enthusiasm of their first acceptance of Him. He was the Fulfiller of the past—that sacred past in which fragments of the eternal truth had been enshrined in temporary ordinances, whose only abrogation lay in their complete fulfilment. One great thought he was inspired to give them—the Eternal High-priesthood of Christ. Here was the justification of the sacrificial system, and at the same moment its perpetual abrogation. The sacred past was theirs because it was taken up and fulfilled: to honour the record of it was a part of their loyalty to its Fulfiller. The Old Testament thus remained among the essential title-deeds of the Christian Church: its holy precepts and its inspiring examples, freed from the ceremonial

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limitations of their first appearance, would for ever be the guides of Christian life and devotion.

Strange to say this great Epistle had for a long time but a narrow circulation and a restricted influence. Clement of Rome at the end of the first century knew it and made some use of its language, but failed to reach the height of its thought. Apart from this we hear little of it. At the end of the second century it still lingered on the outskirts of the Canon. The uncertainty of its authorship weighed against its internal merit; and not till the fourth century was its claim universally admitted.

Curiously different was the fate of the Epistle to which the name of Barnabas came to be attached. It was not an epistle to Hebrews, but essentially an epistle to Gentiles. It was the offspring of a warm heart, but of a narrow mind, stored with Jewish traditions. Its writer was vigorous indeed in his rejection of Judaism, but yet wholly unappreciative of those loftier issues of Christianity which form the great argument of the writer to the Hebrews. Yet it made its appeal with a success of which the author could hardly have dreamed. We find it used by Hermas in the Shepherd, probably by Justin Martyr, certainly by Irenæus, and then frequently by Clement of Alexandria, who definitely assigns it to Barnabas, the apostle and the companion of St Paul. Like the Epistle to the Hebrews this Epistle also lingered for a while on the outskirts of the Canon. In the great Sinaitic Codex of the fourth century it stands with the Shepherd of Hermas at the close of the New Testament. But after this its glory fades, and indeed it narrowly escaped complete destruction. When Archbishop Ussher was preparing what would have been the *editio princeps* had not a fire at Oxford consumed the University Press and all but a few sheets of his work, he had but scanty materials for

constructing his text. All that could be found was an ancient Latin translation and a Greek manuscript imperfect at the beginning. This manuscript was descended from a copy which had lost certain leaves, in such a way that what remained of the Epistle of Barnabas was joined up with a portion of the Epistle of Polycarp, as though it were the conclusion of this latter work. The Sinaitic Codex remained unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was not until many years later that another copy of the Epistle in Greek was found by Bryennius in the codex from which he gave us the Didache or Teaching of the Apostles.

It was plain then that Barnabas—for so we must for convenience call the writer, though he nowhere reveals his name—made an appeal, such as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had failed to make, to the general mind of the early Church. This in itself entitles him to a respectful hearing. Let us take him for what he claims to be ; a simple man, “no teacher,” “one of yourselves” ; with a firm belief in the Incarnation and the Resurrection, and a conviction that the sufferings of Christ were foretold by the prophets, even to the details of His death upon the Cross ; with a sense, moreover, that the days are so evil that the final judgment cannot long be delayed : let us read him with sympathy, as one who, with however imperfect a mental equipment, approached a real difficulty in a spirit of sincerity and with an honest desire to be helpful ; and we shall understand how it came about that, though his main thesis regarding the Jewish Covenant could not possibly be accepted, yet much of his argument and many of his illustrations passed into the common stock of Christian apologetic. Refined and elaborated by abler minds, they remained to dominate the interpretation of the Old Testament long after his book had been forgotten ; and they

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have hardly yet been altogether superseded by that larger view of the truth which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews still waits to bring home to the Church in days when the historical criticism of the ancient Scriptures has restated the old problem in a scarcely less disquieting form.

The date of the Epistle of Barnabas remains an open question. Bishop Lightfoot inclined to place it as early as A.D. 79, Dr Harnack as late as A.D. 130 ; but neither of them would speak with confidence. The tone of the work is such as makes one eager to place it early : yet we cannot be sure that the conditions which called it forth may not have existed in some part of the Church as late as the time of Hadrian.

The warm heart of the man shows itself in his opening words : " All hail, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us. The ordinances of God are great and rich towards you." This phrase, " the ordinances of God," repeats itself again and again. It is one of the two notes of the Epistle : the other is " knowledge " (*gnosis*). The divine purpose running through the past, and leading up to themselves in the present—that is what he means by the ordinances of God towards them. The deeper meaning of the past, which has only come to light through Christ—that is the *gnosis* which he has to offer them. He proceeds in words to this effect :

The wonder of your spiritual endowment made me feel, as I spoke in your midst, that the Lord travelled with me in the way of righteousness ; and I am wholly constrained to love you more than my own soul. To minister to such spirits must bring me a reward. Therefore I am sending you somewhat, that with your faith you may have knowledge (*gnosis*) to the full. Our Master has given us through the prophets knowledge of things past and things present, with a foretaste also of things to come.

As we observe the working out of all the details just as He foretold them, we shall be enriched and uplifted in our devotion. I am no teacher, but just one of yourselves: yet I have a few things which may give you cheer at the present season. For *the days indeed are evil*; he that *worketh* (ὁ ἐνεργῶν) hath the power. Therefore must we the more search out the ordinances of the Lord.

Here we must pause to note the Pauline background of the writer's language. Again and again it is the Epistle to the Ephesians that supplies him with his phrases. We recall Eph. v. 16, "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil"; and Eph. ii. 2, "the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." He is profoundly impressed by the superhuman working—the ἐνέργεια—of a personal power of evil. Twice he names him the Black One (iv. 9, xx. 1); elsewhere the Evil Ruler (iv. 13), the Ruler of the present time of iniquity (xviii. 2), and once at least the Evil One (ii. 9): moreover he speaks of an Evil Angel (ix. 4), and of the Angels of Satan (xviii. 2).

The helpers of our faith in this extremity, he continues, are fear and patience; our allies are long-suffering and self-restraint. If we have these, then in joyful train come wisdom, understanding, learning, knowledge. So he comes again to *gnosis*. *Gnosis* is especially the true understanding of the prophets whom God fore-ordained as our teachers.

He begins with what the prophets say about Sacrifice. Here he distinguishes between what God says to the Jewish people and what He says to us. To them He says that their sacrifices are vain, are even an abomination. To us He says: "The sacrifice of God is a broken heart: a sweet-smelling savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth Him that formed it." As to Fasting the prophets have like words, spoken in turn to them and to us. Barnabas shows no

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bitterness against the Jews, but he is insistent in his warnings that we must not "be made like unto them." God has prepared for Himself "a new people in His Beloved"—here again we have an echo of the Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 6 : the only place where the word "Beloved" is so used in the New Testament). Then follows one of his many exhortations : "Let us flee utterly from all the works of iniquity, lest the works of iniquity overtake us : let us hate the error of the time that now is, that we may be loved in that which is to come." "The final offence (τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον) is at hand. The Lord hath cut short the times and the days, that His Beloved may hasten and come to the inheritance." Then as to the Covenant :

Be not deceived when they claim that it is theirs. They lost their Covenant when Moses broke the Tables of the Law because of their apostasy. Their Covenant was broken to pieces, that the Covenant of Jesus the Beloved might be sealed in our hearts. I say it again, I am no teacher ; but I love you, I am your slave. The whole period of our faith will profit us nothing, unless now, in the iniquitous time and in the offences that are to come, we resist as becometh sons of God, that the Black One may effect no subtle entrance. Let us flee from all vanity, let us hate utterly the works of the evil way. Go not in by yourselves nor abide alone, as though ye were already justified : but assemble together and take joint counsel for the common good.

So his exhortation runs on, till he reminds them of the fall of Israel after all the signs and wonders God had wrought for them, and adds the warning : "Let us take heed lest haply we be found, as it is written, *many called, but few chosen.*"

Hereupon follows a new topic, introduced with a strange abruptness, such as indeed is characteristic of the author's untrained style. "For to this end the Lord endured to give over the flesh to destruction,

that by the remission of sins we might be purified, to wit by the blood of His sprinkling. For it hath been written concerning Him, partly regarding Israel, and partly regarding us," etc. Here is the same contrast ; He suffered at their hands, but He suffered for our sake. There is here no bitterness of reproach ; but these are facts, he tells us, and they were foretold long ago. How then, he seems to imply, can *you* look towards *them* after all ?

But he has to answer a question which we may suppose some Jew to have put to his readers : If Christ be the Son of God, the Lord of all the world, to whom God said at the creation, Let us make man after our image and likeness—how could He endure to suffer at the hands of men ?

It would take too long to follow his rambling discussion in answer to this question. Enough to say that he urges the following points : He suffered for our purification ; He suffered that the sin of Israel might be consummated : He must needs have come in flesh, or men could not have looked on Him and been saved, even as they cannot look on the sun in his strength : the good Lord showed it us beforehand, that we might know it as a part of His purpose.

Some strange *gnosis* is introduced, which we can only note in passing. Thus " the land (ἡ γῆ) flowing with milk and honey " is the Lord's flesh : for " man is earth suffering " (γῆ πασχοῦσα), and " milk and honey " are the food of the new-born children. More remarkable still is the exposition of the scape-goat, " spat upon and pricked and cast out, crowned with scarlet," which shows that the writer had a knowledge of Jewish ritual beyond the injunctions of Leviticus. The influence of rabbinic lore comes out again when he plays with letters, numbers and names : for Abraham's household whom he circumcised consisted of eighteen and three hundred souls : but the Greek

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numerals for eighteen are *iota, eta* (I H), which stand for JESUS; and three hundred is the letter *tau* (T), which signifies the Cross. He prizes this as his own discovery: "No man hath ever learned from me a more genuine word; but I know that ye are worthy." We may smile at such a *gnosis*: but it is only fair to remember that dark verse of the Apocalypse (xiii. 18): "Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man."

Next, by another of his abrupt transitions, Barnabas proceeds to explain the Mosaic ordinances concerning clean and unclean meats. "It is not a commandment of God that literally they should not eat; but Moses spake it in spirit." We must not follow him now into the moral distinctions between the greedy pig or the idle and rapacious crow and the quiet, ruminating cow. But it is important to observe that here again Barnabas is not original in his method of interpretation. The like distinctions were drawn two centuries before Christ by an Alexandrine writer, who sought to commend the Mosaic legislation to the thoughtful Gentiles of his day. But there is this difference between the Letter of Aristeas and the Epistle of Barnabas, that the former justifies the literal command, as a constant reminder of the need of moral purity; while the latter utterly rejects the literal meaning, as never having been intended by God.

Ye see how wise a lawgiver Moses was. But whence should *they* perceive and understand these things? Howbeit *we*, having justly perceived the commandments, declare them as the Lord hath willed. To this end He circumcised *our* ears and hearts, that we might understand these things.

Then at once he starts on yet a new topic. "But let us inquire whether the Lord took care to signify

beforehand concerning the water and the cross." Barnabas finds these in several Scriptures, as in the first psalm: "the tree planted by the streams of water." One passage he quotes from an unknown source:

Another prophet, who saith: And when shall these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When a tree shall be bended and rise up; and when blood shall drop from a tree.

The second of these sayings is found in IV Esdras v. 5, among a number of portents which shall usher in the end (*et de ligno sanguis stillabit*); but there seems to be no proof that Barnabas knew that book. The first saying (ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ), which perhaps should be rendered "When a tree shall lie down and rise up," has not been traced to its source. Nor is it found later, except among the *Testimonies against the Jews* ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, where it is doubtless quoted from Barnabas. But there is a passage of Irenæus (V. ii. 3) which seems capable of explanation only if we suppose that he has this saying in mind. He is speaking of the way in which "the cup that has been mixed and the bread that has been made out of the natural elements of the earth become the Eucharist and the Body of Christ"; and he says:

Just as *the tree of the vine having been bended to the earth* (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου κλιθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν) bore fruit in its own season, and the grain of wheat, having fallen into the earth and been dissolved, was raised manifold by the Spirit of God which holdeth together all things . . . so our bodies, fed by the Eucharist and laid in the earth, shall rise up in their own season.

Though he uses it in a different way, it is this saying which seems to be in his mind—"When a tree shall be bended and rise up."

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After this Barnabas goes on to the outstretching of the hands of Moses in the battle with Amalek, and to the prophecy "All day long have I stretched out my hands"—passages very familiar to us in this connexion in the later literature. And then he justifies Moses for having made a serpent of brass contrary to his own express prohibition. From this he passes to the re-naming of Hoshea the son of Nun, as Joshua or (in the Greek) Jesus.

Behold again it is Jesus, not a son of man but the Son of God, and He was revealed in the flesh in a figure. Since then men were to say that Christ was the son of David, David himself prophesies, fearing and perceiving the error of sinners: The Lord said unto my Lord . . . See how David calls him Lord, and does not call him son.

He next repeats what he had said before of Moses breaking the Tables of the Law—to show that the Covenant is for us and not for them. And then he passes on to the Sabbath. The true meaning of this he finds by explaining the six days of Creation as signifying the six thousand years after which all things shall come to an end. Then shall we truly hallow the Sabbath when we have been justified and have received the promise. God's meaning is that He will make the eighth day the beginning of a new world. "Wherefore also we keep the eighth day for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into the heavens."

Finally he comes to the Temple, lately destroyed, but to be builded again "by the very servants of their enemies." An attempt has been made to fix a date for the Epistle by means of this passing phrase. But it is at least possible that Barnabas refers to the spiritual Temple, "which is being gloriously builded in the name of the Lord."

Here he draws this long exposition to a close—"so far," he says, "as was in my power and simplicity to declare it unto you. But let us pass on to another *gnosis* and teaching." And with this abrupt transition he introduces his famous description of the Two Ways, and the *gnosis* by which they are to be understood.

If we read the Epistle rapidly through in such a translation as we find in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, we are not surprised at the sudden turn at the end when the writer passes, as he says, to a different knowledge and teaching: for he has made many such sudden transitions before. Nor shall we be surprised at the broken sentence which introduces the explanation of the way of light: such a repetition as it contains has met us more than once already. And if what follows is a disjointed medley of moral sayings, if their tone is predominantly Hebraistic, this is just what we have learned to expect of our Barnabas, whose mind is full of the warnings of the ancient prophets and of the sapiential literature of the Old Testament.

He has spoken already of "the way of righteousness" in which "the Lord journeyed with him": he has bidden his readers "hate utterly the works of the evil way": he has warned them that "a man shall justly perish, who having the knowledge of the way of righteousness forceth himself into the way of darkness": he has referred in quotations from Scripture to the way of the righteous," "the way of the ungodly," and God's "righteous way." We are not surprised then, that he takes up his parable at the last and gives us a picture of Two Ways, a way of light with light-bearing angels of the Lord who is for ever and ever, and a way of darkness with angels of Satan, the lord of the present time of iniquity. This parable has a *gnosis*, which he proceeds to declare.

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The importance to our general subject of the actual wording of this final section is such that it will be necessary to give a literal translation of it, interspersed with a running comment.

There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness; and there is great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan. And the one is Lord from eternity and unto eternity, but the other is ruler of the time of iniquity that now is.

Why does he speak of the two ways as ways of *teaching and power* (διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας)? All through his Epistle he has recognised a background of spiritual forces, good and evil. If *we* are guided to a right understanding, it is by God's gift of enlightenment: if the Jews were deceived, it was by an evil angel. The unusual word ἐσόφισεν (give wisdom, instruct) is used twice: v. 3, "God instructed us"; ix. 4, "they went astray, because the evil angel instructed them." Thus there is a *power* that goes with the *teaching*. The words of the Gospel may have been in the writer's mind (Matt. vii. 29, Mk. i. 22): "For He was teaching them as having power (ἐξουσίαν)." And on the other hand, the use of ἐξουσία in the evil sense is found in Eph. ii. 2: "according to the ruler of the power of the air," and elsewhere. Twice already Barnabas has used like language: in ii. 1: "he that worketh hath himself the power" in these evil days; and in iv. 13: "the evil Ruler receiving the power against us." To Barnabas, therefore, it is not only a question of light and darkness, in the sense of knowledge and ignorance: it is the powers of light and darkness respectively that are his concern. In them lies the "great difference" between the two ways.

The next sentences are clumsy and repetitive, like much that we have had before :

The way of light then is this ; if any be willing to travel on the way, and speed by his works to the appointed place. The knowledge (*gnosis*) then, that has been given to us¹ to walk therein, is as follows : Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that formed thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death.

Barnabas begins, as he needs must, with Love to God. But his somewhat rhetorical phraseology is worthy of analysis. We may compare Ecclus. vii. 30 f. : “ With all thy strength *love him that made thee*, and forsake not his ministers. *Fear the Lord and glorify the priest.*” Here we have the same three verbs—love, fear, glorify ; as well as the exact phrase “ love him that made thee.” We know that Barnabas was familiar with Ecclesiasticus, and it is not unlikely that this passage was in his recollection as he wrote.

Next we note that the phrase “ that redeemed thee from death ” has a parallel in the twice repeated phrase “ that redeemed us from darkness ” (xiv. 5 f.) ; where also, a few lines later (xiv. 8), he quotes the passage from Isaiah (xlix. 6 f.) which had suggested the phrase to him. Yet more interesting is it to recall at this point the noteworthy addition which Barnabas had made in ii. 10 to his quotation from Ps. li. 19 : “ The sacrifice of God is a broken heart : *a sweet-smelling savour to the Lord is the heart that glorifieth Him that formed it* ” (τὸν πεπλακóτα αὐτήν). We can hardly doubt that these last words were in his mind when he wrote, “ fear *Him that formed thee*, glorify Him that redeemed thee from death.”

With many writers it would be absurd to analyse with such minuteness ; but Barnabas has a very

¹ ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις : cf. ix. 8 : τίς ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις

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limited vocabulary, and he is constantly picking up words and phrases that he has used before, especially when he has drawn them from a scriptural source.

Thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not be joined with them that walk in the way of death. Thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be humble-minded in all things. Thou shalt not assume glory to thyself. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not give daring to thy soul.

This is a mere string of counsels, with as little connexion as in some chapters of the Book of Proverbs. The writer is indeed "simple in heart and rich in spirit." He probably wishes to begin with that duty towards God, which consists in humility and straightforwardness. But he is imperceptibly passing on to duty towards the neighbour.

Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys. The word of God shall not go forth from thee in the uncleanness of some.

This last sentence is hardly intelligible. The only other passage in which Barnabas uses the word "uncleanness" (*ἀκαθαρσία*) is in his strange *gnosis* as to eating the weasel (x. 8), where at any rate we find the mention of "uncleanness" in connexion with the mouth. Moreover the unexpected precept, "Thou shalt not corrupt boys," has its parallel in the immediately preceding *gnosis* as to eating the hare (x. 6), where we read, "Thou shalt not be a corrupter of boys, nor like unto such." One thing is plain: we are dealing with the same writer in the *gnosis* of c. x and in the Two Ways of c. xix.

Thou shalt not respect persons to reprove any for a transgression. Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be quiet, thou shalt be trembling at the words which thou hast heard.

This is based on Isa. lxvi. 2: "To whom will I look, save to him that is humble and quiet and trembling at my words." Though he has not quoted this verse before, he has quoted in xvi. 2 the verse which immediately precedes it: "Who hath measured out the heavens with a span," etc.

Thou shalt not bear a grudge against thy brother.

This comes from Zech. vii. 10, which he has quoted above in ii. 8, where he has linked it up with Zech. viii. 17. Thus we have a fresh example of his picking up words which he has used before.

Thou shalt not be of a double mind, whether it shall be or no.

There is nothing in the context to help us to the meaning of this saying. The word for "double-minded" does not come in Old Testament Greek, and the only writer of the New Testament who has it is St James. In Jas. i. 8 "the double-minded man" will receive nothing of the Lord; and in iv. 8 we have: "Purify your hearts, ye double-minded." But Clement of Rome uses the word: in 1 Clem. xi. 2 we are told that Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt "to make it known unto all that the double-minded and those who doubt concerning the power of God" shall come into judgment. And this language clearly comes from an apocryphal passage which Clement quotes later (xxiii. 3): "Wretched are the double-minded, who doubt in soul, saying: These things we have heard even in the days of our fathers; and lo, we have grown old, and none of them has happened

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unto us.” This same quotation is found in an independent form in 2 Clem. xi. 2. So that it would seem that “double-mindedness” had in early days the suggestion of scepticism in regard to the divine warnings or promises. In this sense Barnabas seems to use the word here.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain.

This is the second quotation he has made from the Ten Commandments; but he has no intention of following their general scheme.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul.

This is a more than “evangelic” counsel: it has no parallel in earlier writers. It is his own phrase: twice has he assured his readers that he loves them more than his own soul (i. 4, iv. 6).

Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor again shalt thou kill it when it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not be found coveting thy neighbour’s goods; thou shalt not be greedy of gain. Neither shalt thou be joined from thy soul to the lofty, but shalt have thy conversation with the humble and the just.

There is nothing here which need detain us except the phrase “from thy soul” (ἐκ ψυχῆς σου), which has an awkward sound in the context. We may however note that the phrase has occurred before in his quotation (iii. 5) from Isa. lviii. 10: “If thou give thy bread to the hungry from thy soul” (ἐκ ψυχῆς σου). It is therefore of interest as another small indication of unity of authorship.

The operations which befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass without God.

We should naturally call them "accidents," but to our Barnabas they are "operations" (ἐνεργήματα) whether of a good or of an evil power. In the New Testament the verb ἐνεργεῖν is regularly used either of God or of an evil power. Already (ii. 1) he has spoken of "him that operateth" in these evil days (αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος). The results of such operation may be the ἐνεργήματα intended here: in any case such things are meant as are beyond human control. The general sentiment comes from Eccles. ii. 4, though the phraseology is different: "Whatsoever is laid upon thee, receive."

Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued. Thou shalt be subject to masters, as to a type of God, in shame and fear. Thou shalt not command thy servant or handmaid in bitterness, who set their hope on the same God, lest haply they should not fear the God who is over you both: for He came not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, which he has used again and again, supplies him with the general ground of this admonition (vi. 5 ff.). "Servants, obey your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling"—this he paraphrases as "with shame and fear": "in the simplicity of your heart" (ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν)—he has already said, "Thou shalt be 'simple in heart' (ἁπλους τῇ καρδίᾳ)": "as unto Christ . . . serving as unto the Lord, and not unto men." And again, "Ye masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatening, knowing that both of them and of you the Master is in heaven, and there is no respecting of persons with Him." For "threatening" he has substituted "bitterness" (πικρία), a word which comes also from the Epistle to the Ephesians, and is found nowhere else in the New Testament. St Paul's final clause "there is no respecting of

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persons with Him," he recasts, giving it a more direct application to the Christian Society, and at the same time merging it with a saying of the Gospel. He has already (v. 9) introduced the words, derived from Matt. ix. 13: "He did not come to call righteous men, but sinners." Here, changing the position of the negative, he says: "He came not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared." The last clause is an awkward one, but has a parallel in vi. 14 (*ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου*); those from whom the stony hearts are taken away are "those whom the Spirit of the Lord hath foreseen."

Thou shalt share in all things with thy neighbour, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is corruptible, how much more in the corruptible things.

It is sufficient to recall Acts iv. 32: "none of them said that any of the things which he had were his own"; Rom. xv. 27: "if the Gentiles have shared in their spiritual things, they ought also to minister to them in the carnal things?"; 1 Cor. ix. 11: "if we have sown unto you the spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" The contrast in Barnabas is between "that which is incorruptible" and "the corruptible things": compare 1 Pet. i. 4: "an inheritance incorruptible," and i. 18: "not with corruptible things (as) silver or gold." Barnabas has the same contrast (xvi. 9) in speaking of the Temple.

Thou shalt not be forward in tongue (*πρόγλωσσος*): for the mouth is a snare of death. So far as thou canst, thou shalt be pure for thy soul's sake.

In Proverbs vi. 2 we read: "A strong snare to a man are his own lips; and he is caught by the lips

of his own mouth." The phrase "snare (or 'snares') of death" is found often in the Old Testament. The expression "so far as thou canst," *i.e.* "to the utmost of thy power," has parallels in iv. 11 and xvii. 1.

Be not found stretching out thy hands to receive, and drawing them in to give.

This is an inexact quotation from Ecclus. iv. 38 : "Let not thy hand be stretched out to receive, and drawn in to give back."

Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day, and shalt seek out each day the persons of the saints, either labouring by word and going forth to exhort them and studying to save a soul by the word, or with thy hands shalt thou work for a ransom of thy sins.

In the Christian Society every one is to help others by exhortation and encouragement in these days of stress. If any one so helps you, give him the full return of your love. And remember that the time is short and the day of account is at hand. You must do your part, seeking out your brethren and toiling in the word of edification; or, if that is beyond your power, at least you may not be idle: work with your hands, so that you may give in alms for the ransom of your sins.

"The apple of the eye" is an Old Testament phrase. In saying, "Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye," Barnabas may have been seeking even to out-do St Paul's emphatic expression, "Esteem them very highly in love (ὑπερεκπερισσὸν ἐν ἀγάπῃ) for their work's sake" (1 Thess. v. 13). For the doctrine of the last clause we may compare Ecclus. iii. 30 : "Almsgiving will make atonement for sins"; also Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9 (quoted in *Ep. Polyc.* x. 2); and see Lightfoot's notes on 2 Clem. xvi.

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Thou shalt not doubt to give nor murmur in giving, but shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt keep the things that thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away. Thou shalt utterly hate that which is evil. Thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not make division, but shalt be at peace, bringing together them that contend. Thou shalt make confession of thy sins. Thou shalt not draw near to prayer in an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

It is usual to translate the words εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών as "thou shalt pacify them that contend, bringing them together." This is open to two objections: (1) the verb εἰρηνεύειν is intransitive in LXX. and New Testament, "to be at peace"; whereas the transitive use, "to pacify," is comparatively rare and late; (2) the addition "bringing them together" is thus made otiose. We shall have to return to this point when we consider the subsequent history of the saying. The phrase "an evil conscience" is found in Heb. x. 22: "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience"; and this is the only example in the New Testament of the use of a depreciatory adjective with the word "conscience." This brings to an end the description of the way of light.

That which he has called at the outset "the way of darkness" Barnabas dismisses very summarily:

But the way of the Black One is crooked and full of curse: for it is the way of death eternal with punishment, wherein are the things that destroy their souls.

A list of seventeen sins follows, beginning with Idolatry, and ending with Absence of the fear of God. This is succeeded by a yet longer list of evil persons, beginning with "persecutors of good men," and ending with a single word, perhaps coined by himself—πανθαμάρτητοι, "sinful with all manner of sins."

The Epistle now comes to its close with earnest

exhortations, such as we have had in various forms before. There is the same sense of approaching judgment, of the need of doing good while the opportunity remains, of the importance of understanding the ordinances of the Lord, and of the joy which the knowledge of them will bring. This is the note on which he ends: "Wherefore I was the more diligent to write unto you according to my power, that I might gladden you. Fare ye well, children of love and peace! The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit."

Looking back on the Epistle as a whole, we think of Barnabas as a man of earnest piety, claiming no position as a leader or teacher, yet accustomed to pour out his peculiar wisdom for the edification of such as would hear him. He has a wide acquaintance with the Greek Old Testament; but probably none with the Hebrew original—or he would not have given the meaning of Abraham's 318 servants from the Greek letters as he does. He quotes very inexactly, perhaps always from memory: he combines texts from various prophets, and adds words not found in the Canon at all. He has an acquaintance with Jewish ceremonial practices which are not attested by the Pentateuch, and with the Jewish Alexandrine exegesis of Mosaic precepts. He applies the Alexandrine method freely on his own account, and produces a new Christian *gnosis*.

But his aim is moral purity throughout. The Wisdom Books of the Old Testament, especially Ecclesiasticus, and the practical parts of St Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Ephesians—these are his quarries for precepts of conduct. The Epistle to the Hebrews he had probably read; but if so, he found it too difficult, too remote in its own lofty *gnosis*: a few of its phrases abide in his memory, but he has no use for its high argument. When he has

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delivered his message of exposition, he follows the manner of the New Testament Epistles and passes from doctrinal to practical teaching.

It is the mind of an Alexandrian Jew, whose Judaism had helped him but little, and had been wholly abandoned in favour of the Christian faith which had really met the needs of his soul. He disavows Judaism altogether, as having proved an utter failure notwithstanding all that God had done for His rebellious people. He belongs to the New People whom God's Spirit foresaw and prepared, as the true heirs of the Covenant which the Jews had rejected from the first. He is convinced that the end of the world is at hand. It is an evil world, ripe for judgment. His fear is lest Christians may fail, as the Jews as a people have failed, and be rejected after all. It is not apostasy under stress of persecution that he dreads : there is no allusion to persecution of any kind in the Epistle. It is moral failure, due to a want of recognition of God's purpose for the New People, and issuing in laxity of conduct, neglect of the bond of Christian fellowship, self-satisfaction and selfish disregard for the poorer brethren. It is to counteract this moral decadence that he calls for strenuousness of life and constant watchfulness, lest the Evil One effect a subtle entrance and rob them of their hope.

After reading the Epistle again and again I find no trace of animosity against the Jews. Severe things are said about them as a people, but with the definite purpose of showing that they have forfeited their privilege in the Divine Covenant, which has thus passed justly from them to the New People whom God foresaw. This much at least of historical insight pervades the Epistle : from the beginning, and all through the tragic failure of Judaism, God has been working out a purpose. Later writers indeed

recognised more fully the saints and heroes of Judaism, who waited for their reward and for the fulfilment of "the promise to the fathers"—to use our author's own phrase—in the coming of Christ. This had been duly emphasised in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the historical sense is much stronger. But to Barnabas Judaism is blank failure from the beginning, when Moses broke the Tables of the Law in despair. Every ceremonial ordinance of Judaism was but the witness of a spiritual precept: it had no value, even temporarily, in itself. This is the extreme to which no New Testament writer proceeds. Nor was Barnabas followed in this respect.

The immediate purpose of our rapid survey of the Epistle of Barnabas will have been attained if we have made it reasonably certain that the description of the Two Ways with which it ends is an integral part of the document, conceived in the same spirit as the rest, marked by the same clumsiness of construction, drawing upon the same literary sources, and repeating again and again phrases which the writer has previously employed. There is no reason *a priori* for imagining that this section of the Epistle is borrowed from an earlier author: on the contrary, all the internal evidence goes to show that the Two Ways, which plays so great a part in later Christian literature, is the original composition of the writer whom we call Barnabas.

II

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

IN the great Bible of the fourth century, called the Sinaitic Codex, the Epistle of Barnabas holds the last place but one, and last of all stands the Shepherd of Hermas. Until the middle of the last century the Shepherd was known only in a Latin dress ; but in 1860 an Ethiopic version was published. Shortly before this that once famous forger, Constantine Simonides, had produced from Mt. Athos almost the whole of the book in a Greek text. Part of this proved to be merely his own translation of the Latin, but the larger part had actually come from a Greek manuscript. With the text taken from this manuscript however he had played extraordinary tricks, doubtless with the intention of finding a later purchaser for the true copy which he was keeping back. Presently Tischendorf made his discovery on Mt. Sinai, which gave us an undoubted Greek text for the first quarter of the book. It took thirty years to clear up the confusion which Simonides had made, and it is with a strange interest that I myself look back to the year 1888, when I published a collation of the Athos Codex in conjunction with Professor Spyridion P. Lambros of Athens, who recently gained an unenviable notoriety as prime minister of the ex-king Constantine.

My interest in the Shepherd was at that time

further stimulated by an essay of Dr Rendel Harris, entitled "Hermas in Arcadia." In this essay he pointed out a number of coincidences between the characteristics of the Twelve Mountains surrounding the plain in which the Tower of the Ninth Similitude was built, and the description in Pausanias of the mountains which surround the plain of Orchomenus in Arcadia. He sought to account for the similarity by the theory that Hermas had used—probably not Pausanias himself, which would place him too late—but some other guide book to Arcadia which Pausanias might also have known. I endeavoured to carry the investigation a little further, and Dr Rendel Harris afterwards accepted my suggestion that Hermas, who was originally a Greek slave, was a native of Arcadia and reproduced in his vision the natural features of his old home. He went on to make the following interesting remarks. "In the century before Hermas two brothers, Arcadian slaves, rose to a great eminence in the Roman Empire. The case to which I allude is that of Pallas and Felix, who were sold to Antonia, the mother of the Emperor Claudius: both of them attained their freedom; Pallas became a leading figure in the life of imperial Rome, and Felix is known to us as the procurator of Judæa who trembled before the preaching of Paul. Now Tacitus tells us (Ann. xii. 53) that Pallas was *regibus Arcadiæ ortus*, no doubt because he was named after one of the Arcadian kings, Pallas the son of Lycaon; and if this be so, we have an exact parallel to the naming of Hermas after the great deity of Arcadia. But it may be asked, where is the brother of Hermas to complete the parallel? The answer is in the Muratorian Canon which tells us that Hermas is the brother of Pius, who occupied the episcopal chair of the Roman Church."

I may conclude this personal reminiscence by

saying that in the spring of 1888 I returned to Greece, and pushed into the heart of Arcadia, and satisfied myself that the plain of Orchomenus with its circle of hills might well have furnished Hermas with the scenery of his Ninth Similitude. We must now turn to the book itself.

Hermas begins by telling us that he was a slave, sold by the master who had brought him up to a lady in Rome whose name was Rhoda. In later years he had met her again, and had thought within himself how happy he had been if one of such beauty and goodness had been his wife. This and no more. But after a time she appeared to him in a vision, and reproved him for that in which he himself could see no wrong. To a servant of God, he was told, even the thought of wrong is in itself a great sin.

Here we have at the outset a theme which constantly recurs. Hermas is a severe moralist. He starts with the conviction that for sins committed after Baptism there can ordinarily be no forgiveness. But he represents himself as charged with a special mission to proclaim that, by an exceptional act of grace, one more chance of salvation is offered to all those who will now repent and sin no more. They must, however, clearly understand that sin is not confined to outward acts of wrong-doing: sins of thought and sins of word are no less fatal in their consequences than sins of deed.

The book is divided into three parts. First come the five Visions, in the last of which appears the Shepherd, from whom the work has received its title—"The Shepherd of Hermas." Then come twelve Mandates or Commandments; and lastly ten Similitudes or Parables.

In the first of the Visions, after the lady Rhoda has vanished, leaving Hermas in a condition of abject despair, there comes an aged lady in glistening

raiment, who assures him that it is not so much for this former thought of wrong, as for the sins of his family, that God is angry with him. She reads to him out of a book, first of all, words too terrible to be borne, and then a gentle promise that God is about to fulfil His promise for His elect. She leaves him, saying : " Hermas, play the man."

In the second Vision the aged lady reappears, and lends him the book, which he copies. After this a young man appears to him in a dream, and asks him who he thinks the aged lady is. As he had seen her in the neighbourhood of Cumae, Hermas supposes her to be the Sibyl. But he is told that she is the Church, and that she is aged, because she was created before all things, and for her sake the world was framed.

In the third Vision the same aged lady shows him a great Tower being builded upon the waters. In these three Visions he has seen the Church in various forms : first, as very aged, and seated on a chair ; secondly, standing, and with a more youthful countenance ; and thirdly, yet more youthful and altogether beautiful. He is told that the change is due to his own progress in repentance and faith.

The explanation of the final form in which the Church has appeared contains certain interesting allusions which were first pointed out by the late Dr C. Taylor. The words are as follows :

For just as when to a mourner cometh some piece of good tidings (*ἀγγελία ἀγαθή τις*), immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows, and admitteth nothing but the tidings which he hath heard, and is strengthened thenceforth unto that which is good, and his spirit is renewed for the joy that he hath received ; so also ye have received a renewal of your spirit by seeing these good things. And whereas thou sawest her seated on a couch, the position is a firm one, for the couch has four feet and standeth firmly ; for the world, too, is upheld by means of four elements.

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In the words "immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows," and "his spirit is renewed for the joy that he hath received; so also ye . . . by seeing these good things," we have a clear allusion to St John xvi. 21: "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world. And ye now therefore have sorrow," etc.

But there is more than this: the couch on which the Church sits, when she is thus revived by the good tidings, is firm because it has four feet; and the four feet correspond to the four elements of the world. Dr Taylor reminds us of the famous words of Irenæus (III. xi. 11) about the Four Gospels, and the strange parallels which he brings to show that there must needs be four and no more: moreover he points out that the allusive method of Hermas makes it reasonably certain that ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ is his way of avoiding the obvious word εὐαγγέλιον.

In the fourth Vision Hermas was going into the country by the Campanian Way, praising God for the wonders which He had shown him, when he met with a monster whose appearance filled him with the same uncertainty and horror as was produced by the earliest onslaughts of one of our modern instruments of war. We must hear his own story:

And as I gave glory and thanksgiving to God, there answered me as it were the sound of a voice, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." I began to question in myself and to say, "How can I be of doubtful mind, seeing that I am so firmly founded by the Lord, and have seen glorious things?" And I went on a little, brethren, and behold, I see a cloud of dust rising as it were to heaven; and I began to say within myself, "Can it be that cattle are coming, and raising a cloud of dust?" for it was just about a stade from me. As the cloud of dust waxed

greater and greater, I suspected that it was something supernatural. Then the sun shone out a little, and behold, I see a huge beast like some sea-monster, and from its mouth fiery locusts issued forth. And the beast was about a hundred feet in length, and its head was as it were of pottery. And I began to weep, and to entreat the Lord that He would rescue me from it. And I remembered the word which I had heard, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." Having therefore, brethren, put on the faith of the Lord and called to mind the mighty works that He had taught me, I took courage and presented myself to the beast. Now the beast was coming on with such a rush that it might have ruined a city. I come near it, and, huge monster as it was, it stretcheth itself on the ground and merely put forth its tongue, and stirred not at all until I had passed by it. And the beast had on its head four colours : black, then fire and blood colour, then gold, then white.

After his courageous encounter with this camouflaged tank, Hermas is met by a virgin clad in white, whose hair also was white.

I knew from the former visions that it was the Church, and I became more cheerful. She saluteth me saying, "Good morrow, my good man"; and I salute her in turn, "Lady, good morrow." She answered and said unto me, "Did nothing meet thee?" I say unto her, "Lady, such a huge beast, that could have destroyed whole peoples."

She tells him : "the Lord sent His angel which is over the beasts, whose name is Thegri, and shut its mouth, that it might not hurt thee." Dr Rendel Harris has shown from a comparison of Dan. vi. 22, to which allusion is here made, that the angel's name must be Segri (the Shutter). The beast is declared to be the type of the great tribulation, from which men may escape by repentance and courage.

In the fifth and last of the Visions there appears a

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man glorious in his visage, in the garb of a shepherd, with a white skin wrapped about him, and with a wallet on his shoulder and a staff in his hand. This is the Shepherd who gives his name to the book. He announces himself as the future guide, philosopher and friend of Hermas: henceforth all instruction comes from him. "Write down," he says, "my commandments and my parables." Thus we are introduced to the remaining sections of the book, the twelve Mandates or commandments, and the ten Similitudes or parables.

When we come to the Mandates, a new interest attaches to our study of the Shepherd, namely, the investigation of the sources from which the subjects and the phraseology of these commandments are drawn.

The first Mandate opens with words which are frequently quoted by later Christian writers:

First of all, believe that God is One, even He who created all things and set them in order, and brought all things from non-existence into being, who comprehendeth all things, being alone incomprehensible.

Irenæus in his work *Against Heresies* (IV. xxxiv. 2) quotes this as "Scripture"; and he embodies it, without reference to its source, in his *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* (c. 4). Hermas adds to these words: "Believe Him therefore, and fear Him and in this fear be continent." To these three points, Faith, Fear and Self-restraint, he will return in a later Mandate.

The Second Mandate begins: "Keep Simplicity, and be without malice, and thou shalt be as the babes, who know not the wickedness that destroyeth the life of men." This commandment, "Keep Simplicity," is expounded under two heads: (1) Absence of malice, as shown by the avoidance of back-biting,

and (2) Simplicity in giving, as God gives without discriminating between worthy and unworthy receivers.

This Mandate offers a good illustration of the peculiar method of Hermas in regard to the authorities on whom he draws for ideas and language. First we have an indirect use of 1 Cor. xiv. 20 : "In malice be babes" (*τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε*). Observe that he will not make an actual quotation : he never quotes Scripture, or indeed any book save the unknown apocryphal work of Eldad and Modad. He will not take over either word of St Paul exactly as it stands. "Malice" appears in the adjectival form "without malice" (*ἄκακος*) ; and out of the verb *νηπιάζετε*, "be babes," he takes the noun *νήπια*, "babes." Thus he gives us : "Be without malice, and thou shalt be as the babes." Then he proceeds :

First of all, speak evil of no man, nor listen with pleasure to one that speaketh evil. Otherwise thou that hearest also shalt be guilty of the sin of him that speaketh the evil, if thou believe the evil-speaking that thou hearest : for in believing it thou thyself also wilt have somewhat against thy brother : so then thou shalt be guilty of the sin of him that speaketh the evil. Evil-speaking is evil, a restless demon (*ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον*), never at peace, but always having its home among factions. Refrain from it therefore, and thou shalt have success at all times with all men. But clothe thyself in reverence, wherein is no evil stumbling-block, but all things are smooth and gladsome.

The prohibition of back-biting comes from St James, the author whose language is most frequently laid under contribution by Hermas. In James iv. 11 we read : "Speak not evil one of another, brethren ; he that speaketh evil of a brother, or judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law and judgeth the law." "The brother" falls out of the

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wider command of Hermas, "speak evil of no man"; but he reappears at once in the context; for in believing a slander "thou thyself also wilt have somewhat against thy brother." This last phrase is itself a kind of inverted reproduction of Matt. v. 23: "that thy brother hath somewhat against thee." The twice-repeated phrase "guilty of" (ἐνοχος) is found in James ii. 10: "he is guilty of all." From St James comes also the word ἀκατάστατος (restless); "the tongue is a restless evil" (ἀκατάστατον κακόν, iii. 8); and "the double-minded man (i. 8) is ἀκατάστατος in all his ways."

Yet more interesting is the second part of this Mandate, which enjoins Simplicity in giving. Here there must be the same freedom from malice and suspicion.

Work that which is good, and of thy labours which God giveth thee, give to all that are in want simply (ἀπλῶς), not doubting to whom thou shalt give and to whom thou shalt not give. Give to all; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties.

The first sentence is derived from St Paul (Eph. iv. 28): "working with his hands that which is good, that he may have to give to him that hath need." Out of this he has picked the phrase ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν. But his sources soon become complicated. "Give to all . . . simply (ἀπλῶς)"; and he defines the simplicity by adding: "not doubting to whom thou shalt give, and to whom thou shalt not give."

We might remind ourselves to begin with of St Paul's "he that giveth (let him do it) with simplicity" (ἐν ἀπλότητι, Rom. xii. 8). But the true parallel is with St James, as the reference to God soon shows us: for in Jas. i. 8 we read: "God who giveth to all simply (ἀπλῶς) and upbraideth not." This is the only place where the word ἀπλῶς is used in the

New Testament, and its sense is governed by the following words καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος : it means "unconditionally, simply."

The substance of this teaching is from the Sermon on the Mount. Our Lord said : "To every one that asketh thee, give. God sendeth His rain on just and unjust alike. Be ye pitiful, even as your Father is pitiful, and judge not" (Luc. vi. 30, 35-37 : Matt. v. 45). So Hermas says once again : "Give to all ; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties." And we note here that the word for "bounties" (δωρήματα) is derived from James i. 17 (πάν δωρημα τέλειον).

But there remains still a phrase which waits to be explained : "not doubting (μὴ διστάζων) to whom thou shalt give and to whom thou shalt not give." May we not here properly call to mind that strange precept of Barnabas (xix. 11) : "Thou shalt not doubt to give, nor murmur in giving" (οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι . . .) ? And may this not lead us to ask whether Barnabas has not already been laid under contribution in the same indirect way as other authorities ?

We remember that Barnabas begins his description of the Way of Light with the command to love and fear God the Creator, and then at once proceeds to say : "thou shalt be simple (ἀπλοῦς) in heart." Is it mere coincidence that Hermas should give us as his first Mandate the belief in One God the Creator and the fear of Him, and then devote his second Mandate to the duty of Simplicity ? We must not prejudge the question : it will meet us again before long.

The propriety of indiscriminate giving is next considered :

Give to all ; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties. They then that receive

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shall render account to God, why they received, and to what end : for they that receive in distress shall not be judged, but they that receive by pretence (ἐν ὑποκρίσει) shall pay the penalty. He then that giveth is guiltless ; for as he received from the Lord the ministration to perform it, he hath performed it in simplicity (ἀπλῶς), making no distinction to whom he should give or not give. This ministration then, when performed in simplicity (ἀπλῶς), becometh glorious in the sight of God. He therefore that ministereth thus simply (ἀπλῶς) shall live unto God. Therefore keep this commandment as I have told thee, that thine own repentance and that of thy household may be found in simplicity (ἐν ἀπλότητι), and thy heart pure and undefiled.

The word for "guiltless" (ἀθῶος) is that which Pilate used when he washed his hands (Matt. xxvii. 24). The ministration received of the Lord to be fulfilled is an echo of the charge to Archippus at Colossae : "Take heed of the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it" (Col. iv. 17). The last words of the Mandate, "pure and undefiled," take us back to the familiar words of St James ("pure religion and undefiled," i. 27), a source from which he is never tired of drawing.

This allusive method of Hermas characterises his whole book. He never tells you his authority. Often he takes only a word or a phrase : then he adds a striking phrase from somewhere else in the same or another writer ; and presently he returns to pick up the context which he had dropped as it were on purpose.

Before we leave the Second Mandate, it is worth while to read the description given in Simi. ix. 242 of those who came from the Seventh Mountain : "they were at all times *simple* (ἀπλοῖ) *and without malice* (ἄκακοι) and blessed, *having nought against each other*, but ever rejoicing over the servants of God, and clad

with the holy spirit of these Virgins, and ever having compassion towards every man, *and of their labours* they supplied every man *without upbraiding and without doubting* (ἀνονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστακτως). The Lord then, seeing their *simplicity* and all their *childlikeness*, increased them *in the labours of their hands*, and favoured them in all their work."

Here we have the indirect testimony of Hermas himself that in the Second Mandate he was paraphrasing the words of St James: "God who giveth to all simply and upbraideth not." Here as there the "not upbraiding" is interpreted as "not doubting" in the giving of alms.

The Third Mandate is the command to love Truth, the Fourth to preserve Purity, the Fifth to be Long-suffering. On these we must not now tarry: we pass on to the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth, which are concerned with Faith, Fear and Self-restraint.

The Sixth Mandate breaks into the series of plain injunctions, and is more elaborately conceived. It begins by referring us back to the First Mandate:

I enjoined upon thee in the first commandment that thou shouldest keep Faith, Fear and Self-restraint. Now I will show thee the powers of these, that thou mayest perceive what power and energy each of them has. For their energies are two-fold. They are set therefore over the just thing and the unjust. Do thou therefore believe the just, and believe not the unjust.

This then is what he means by the double energy, or working, of Faith: "believe the just, believe not the unjust." The exposition is clumsy, almost grotesque; but he is leading up to something, which in this awkward manner he is about to introduce. He proceeds thus:

For the just hath a straight way, but the unjust a crooked one (ὁρθὴν ὁδόν . . . στρεβλὴν). Go thou in the

straight and smooth way, and let alone the crooked one. For the crooked way hath no paths, but pathless places and many stumbling-blocks, and it is rough and thorny. It is harmful therefore to them that go therein. But they that go by the straight way walk smoothly and without stumbling: for it is neither rough nor thorny. Thou seest then that it is more profitable to go by this way.

We need not continue the quotation. Hermas agrees to go by the straight way, and the Shepherd returns to his topic of Faith: "Hear now concerning Faith. There are two angels with the man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." The respective works of the two angels are described, and Hermas is told to believe the one angel, and not to believe the other. And at the close we read: "The things concerning Faith this commandment shows, that thou mayest believe the angel of righteousness. . . . But believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are harsh; if thou do them not, thou shalt live unto God."

Let us now look back to Barnabas (xviii. 1 f.), and hear how he introduces the last section of his Epistle:

But let us pass on also to a different *gnosis* and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness: and there is great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan.

Can we seriously doubt that Hermas in writing his Sixth Mandate was under the fascination of this vivid picture, and broke the sequence of his injunctions in order at any cost to make some use of it? The two ways and the two angels are awkwardly drawn in, but the very clumsiness of their introduction shows that he has brought them from elsewhere.

The Ninth Mandate is directed against Double-mindedness, a fault which, it will be remembered,

was rebuked by Barnabas in his Two Ways. Hermas is perpetually rebuking the double-minded; but it is probable that it is to St James that he is primarily indebted for this particular word.

The Tenth Mandate is against Grief, or Sadness (λύπη), as afflicting the Holy Spirit which God makes to dwell in a man—a strange exposition of Eph. iv. 30 : “Grieve not (μὴ λυπεῖτε) the Holy Spirit of God.”

The Eleventh Mandate is against False Prophets. Incidentally it gives an interesting description of a congregation (συναγωγὴ) of believers, and the exercise in their midst of the prophetic gift.

The Twelfth Mandate is against every Evil Desire. At its close Hermas makes the Shepherd angry by suggesting that the commandments are beyond the power of a man to keep. He is warned that if he starts with such a belief it will certainly prove true; but he is encouraged to believe that he will be able to keep them by the help of the Shepherd, who describes himself as the angel of repentance.

From the Mandates we pass on to the Similitudes or parables. They take up more than half of the book. We can but enumerate them here, and select a few characteristic passages.

The First Similitude is of the Two Cities, the temporal and the spiritual—with the moral, “therefore instead of fields buy ye souls that are afflicted, as each is able, and visit widows and orphans.” Here Hermas again takes his language from St James—“to visit orphans and widows in their affliction” (i. 27). “Fields and houses of this kind . . . thou wilt find in thine own city, when thou shalt come thereunto” (Sim. i. 9).

The Second Similitude is of the Elm and the Vine—a famous picture of the interdependence of poor and rich: the fruitless poor man lifts the rich man from the ground, and so prevents the wasting of his fruit.

The Third Similitude shows the likeness of good and bad in this life, as the likeness of all trees in winter-time.

The Fourth shows some trees still bare, while others are shooting with the approach of summer—the world to come, which shall manifest the difference.

The Fifth deals with fasting. The Shepherd finds Hermas fasting, and asks what he is doing. "Sir, say I, I am keeping a station (σταρίωνα ἔχω). What, saith he, is a station? I am fasting, Sir, say I." After rebuking this fast, he tells him a parable. A landowner plants a vineyard, and bids a faithful servant fence it in his absence, but do nothing more. Having fenced it, however, the servant went on to weed it as well, and the vineyard flourished the more. His lord returning was rejoiced, since the servant had done more than he was told. He determined to make him joint-heir with his son. Presently at a feast he sent him a special portion: this the servant shared with his fellow-servants, thereby rejoicing them and rising yet higher in his master's favour. A detailed interpretation of this parable is given, the theology of which is somewhat strange. But not less strange is the moral drawn from the parable. Hermas must fulfil the commands that are laid upon him: then, having done these, he may fast and his fasting will be acceptable—the more so if he count up the saving of expenditure thereby, and give it in alms to the poor. Fasting then seems to be a work of supererogation, rather than a means of grace or even a bounden duty like almsgiving. But elsewhere in the book it is recognised and even enjoined, as a preparation for receiving spiritual revelations.

The Sixth Similitude introduces us to a gladsome shepherd and frolicking sheep. This shepherd is the angel of self-indulgence and deceit, and the sheep are those who have been led away from God by him, some

altogether and finally, others not beyond hope of recovery. The latter are given over to a stern shepherd to torture them among thorns and briars, till at length they can be passed on to Hermas's Shepherd, who is the angel of repentance.

The Seventh Similitude carries on the Sixth: for Hermas finds himself oppressed by the stern shepherd on account of the sins of his house.

The Eighth Similitude is of the great Willow tree, and the rods cut from it for each individual man, whose fate is determined by the growth or withering of his rod.

The Ninth Similitude takes up the Fifth Vision, and explains afresh the Building of the Tower. The scene is laid in Arcadia, in a plain with a rounded hill in the centre and twelve very various mountains encircling it. Some critics, having determined that the scene should still be in the neighbourhood of Rome, have altered Arcadia into Aricia. But Dr Rendel Harris, as we have said before, has shown by a comparison of the description in Pausanias that the hill and plain of Orchomenus in Arcadia exactly answer to the requirements: and we may be reasonably confident that Hermas was describing the scenery of his early home. This Similitude together with its interpretation occupies more than a quarter of the whole book. The last part of it and the whole of the Tenth Similitude are known to us only through the versions. The Greek of this part produced by Simonides was a translation made by himself from the Latin.

This last Similitude contains no new parable, but with warnings and promises brings the book to a close.

Here then we may take leave for the time being of the Shepherd of Hermas. It has a unique interest as the earliest example of the application of the

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imagination on the grand scale to the enforcement of the Christian religion and morality. Like the *Pilgrim's Progress* it comes to us from an earnest spirit in the humbler walks of life. Hermas, though he obtained his freedom, does not seem to have risen above the position of a small shopkeeper in Rome. His fame rests on his book alone; and, unlike that of Bunyan, it owes nothing to the vigorous use of a language in its prime. His style is dull and repetitive; his phrases are obviously borrowed again and again from two or three favourite writers. But his moral intensity so far prevailed that the *Shepherd* was quoted as Scripture, and only just failed to be included in the Canon of the New Testament. As to its date there is some uncertainty; but there appears to be no decisive reason for rejecting the tradition that it was written when Pius, the brother of Hermas, was bishop of Rome (c. 140–155). In modern times the *Shepherd* has been frequently cited to illustrate the extraordinary corruption which had already disfigured Christianity in Rome. But we must remember that every reformer is tempted to exaggerate the extent of the evils which he sets himself to combat; and, whatever blame may justly be apportioned to the Roman Church, it deserves to be credited, on the other side of the account, with the signal development of the moral consciousness which the teaching of Hermas represents.