

THE . S H E P H E R D . O F
H E R M A S :
S O M E . A S P E C T S . O F . I T S
C O M P O S I T I O N . A N D
T R A N S M I S S I O N

b y

ALASTAIR KIRKLAND

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Supervisors: Prof. J.E. Atkinson, University of Cape Town

Prof. G.H. Ettlinger, Saint John's University

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S U M M A R Y

The authorship and time of origin of the *Shepherd* have not been subjected to the same rigorous enquiry as the First Epistle of Clement and the Epistles of Ignatius. The reason for this is probably that the *Shepherd* has had little to contribute to contemporary polemics in the way that the other two Apostolic Fathers did.

The method followed in this study is the reconstruction, where possible, of the contents of each codex of which we have fragments or quotations, and the comparison of the contents of these codices.

Where the content of the original codex appears to have been only a part of the *Shepherd*, calculations based on the traditional three sections - Visions, Mandates and Similitudes - have been used. Where these have not sufficed, manuscript notations have been called into play.

The results indicate that there are a number of lines of cleavage within the *Shepherd* where ancient codices began or ended their selection of material. These lines of cleavage, it is hypothesised, must have originated in the process of composition of the *Shepherd*.

Yet at the same time there was in the ancient codices a perception of the various parts of the *Shepherd* as a unity. The oldest codex known to us contains the *Shepherd* in its entirety.

Once the lines of cleavage have been established by means of the reconstructed codices and the manuscript notations, a study of internal inconsistencies of the sort traditional in "Quellenkritik" or "Literary Criticism" is undertaken, and a chronological schema of the different strands which make up the *Shepherd* is offered.

It is suggested that the core (Viss. I to IV, Mandd. I to XIIIa, Simm. I singular parts only, II to VIII) came from one hand, probably towards the end of the first century. This core underwent four subsequent editorial reworkings which produced the text known to us today by the end of the second century.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

FORSCHUNGSBERICHT

This study is essentially an examination of the history of transmission of the *Shepherd* of Hermas. As such it is one of a kind; to the best of the writer's knowledge, this is the first study of its sort. Accordingly, it is difficult to review, as in the traditional introduction to a thesis, the relevant literature pertaining to the topic under study, when there is virtually none at all which is appropriate to the study.

However, some of the conclusions which arise out of this study have, in some measure, been looked at before; and in this section a brief overview of any such works, whether published or not, will be given.

Thiersch¹ was probably the first critical scholar to raise the idea of the *Shepherd's* being a composite work. The Visions were the product of the Hermas mentioned in Romans 16:14. The Mandates and Similitudes were written by the brother of Pius mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. De Champagny² modified this by making the division fall

¹Thiersch, H.W. *Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Herder & Zimmer, 1852, p. 350-358.

²De Champagny, F. *Les Antonins: études sur l'empire romain*. Paris: Bray & Retaux, 1863; 3rd ed. 1874, p. 144.

³Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Teil II: Die Chronologie. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 259 note 5.

between Viss. IV and V, not between Vis. V and Mand. I, as Thiersch had done.

Harnack³, in the context of theories about the first four Visions having had a history independent of that of the rest of the work, mentions not only Thiersch and Champagny, but also Gueranger in the early 1870s.

In 1884 Haussleiter⁴ modified the two-author hypothesis by suggesting that it was the brother of Pius who was responsible for Vis. V, the Mandd. and Simm. (as before), but that Viss. I to IV had been fabricated at the end of the second century and antedated through the reference to Clement.

For two and more decades following the "anni mirabiles" of the latter 1850s and early 1860s (during which time the Greek and Ethiopic texts of the *Shepherd* were recovered) the study of the *Shepherd* was dominated by Adolf Hilgenfeld⁵ and his theories about the authenticity of the ending published by Simonides (now discredited) and about the composite nature of the *Shepherd* (which I would like

⁴Haussleiter, J. *De versionibus Pastoris Hermae latinis*. Erlangen: Müller & Luchs, 1884 [Acta Seminarium Philologici Erlangensis, 3]; also separately, Deichert, 1884.

⁵*Hermae Pastor: graece e codicibus Sinaitico et Lipsiensi scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum excerptis*. Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1866, p. xxi-xxix.

Hermae Pastor: veterem Latinam interpretationem e codicibus edidit A.H. Leipzig, 1873. [Continued on next page

to defend, although not in the form in which Hilgenfeld cast it). According to him, there are three separate strands within the *Shepherd*:-

- a) "*Grundschrift, den eigentlichen Hirten oder die ἐντολαὶ καὶ παραβολαὶ, Vis. 5-Sim. 7*". This was a product of Jewish Christianity at Rome under Domitian or (at latest) under Trajan. This author Hilgenfeld christened "Hermas pastoralis".
- b) the work of "Hermas apocalypticus", an anti-Pauline product of Jewish Christianity at Rome (like the *Grundschrift*) comprising Viss. I to IV and written after Trajan's presecution of the Christians, i.e. probably under Hadrian.
- c) Simm. VIII to X, composed about the middle of the second century by "Hermas secundarius", who also reworked the whole into its present form.

Hilgenfeld of course relied on traditional literary-critical methods to reach his results. As such his work could be (and was) subjected to the criticisms to which all literary-critical methods are vulnerable. The results of his labours are further rendered suspect by his lack of rigour in applying the method - the very fact that he could regard the Mandates and the former Similitudes (which differ formally) as a single product indicates this. Moreover, his division

Hermae Pastor: graece e codicibus Sinaitico et Lipsiensi scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum excerptis, collatis versionibus latina utraque et aethiopica, libri clausula latine addita, restituit, commentario critico et adnotationibus instruxit, Elxai libri fragmenta adiecit Adolphus Hilgenfeld. Editio altera emendata et valde aucta. Leipzig, 1881.

Novum testamentum extra canonem receptum: Hermae Pastor. Leipzig, 1884.

Hermae Pastor: graece integrum ambitu primum. Leipzig, 1887.

between the former and the latter Similitudes at the end of Sim. VII (instead of at the end of Sim. VIII) does not inspire confidence.

An argued refutation of Hilgenfeld's position was offered, independently, by Adolf Link⁶ and P. Baumgärtner⁷.

Hilgenfeld responded in glorious style⁸, being alternatively magisterial and sarcastic; but to no effect.

The position advocated by his opponents became the accepted view, the witness of the Muratorian Canon to a single (and late) author being regarded as determinative.

Of a quite different sort is the attempt by Spitta⁹ to unravel Jewish sources in the *Shepherd*. No-one will deny that at least parts of the work rest on sources used by the author(s) in the construction of what is substantially a new work¹⁰. Spitta might well have something of value, even today, to contribute to the source criticism of the

⁶*Die Einheit des Pastor Hermae*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1888.

⁷*Die Einheit des Hermas-Buches*. Freiburg-im-Briesgau: J.C.B. Mohr, 1889.

⁸Review article, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 32, 1889, p. 363-373.

⁹Spitta, F. *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*. Zweiter Band: *Der Brief des Jakobus; Studien zum Hirten des Hermas*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896.

¹⁰See most recently Hilhorst, A. *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermae*. Nijmegen, 1976 [Graecitas Christianorum Primorum, 5].

Shepherd. But his is not a theory of different stages of composition, since the "author" of the *Shepherd* is, in his view, not the second-century Christian reworker and reorganiser of the Jewish source, who is merely an editor, but the mid-first-century composer of that source.

Spitta's work elicited a refutation by Hendrik Antonie van Bakel¹¹. Van Bakel proved that at least some of the Christian elements which Spitta had identified as the work of the Christian redactor were in fact integral to the original conception of the work. Within the Mandates he so far agreed with Spitta as to identify different stages in the growth of the collection on literary-critical grounds: the core being Mandd. I to IV; Mandd. V, IX and X being added first; then Mandd. VI to VIII and the interpolations in Mand. V; then the first two chapters of Mand. XII; and finally Christian interpolations in Mandd. IV and X, and Mand. XI. Similarly in the Similitudes van Bakel sees Simm. II to IV and VI to VIII as the original core, to which were added by a convert to Christianity Simm. IX and X and the interpolations in Sim. VIII. Simm. I and V were later Christian additions to this Christianised work. This schema, based entirely on internal literary considerations, seems to me to be more than the evidence will comfortably bear. It bears little relation to the divisions and stages of composition to be proposed below.

¹¹*De compositie van den Pastor Hermae*. Amsterdam: De Roever, Kroeber en Bakels, 1900.

For the greater part of the past century the view of the *Shepherd* as the work of a single author has held the field. This situation was first challenged in the mid-sixties, when Giet¹² and Coleborne¹³ independently advocated a multiplicity of authors for the work. Nonetheless as late as 1977 Wilson¹⁴ was still working within the one-author framework.

Giet revived Hilgenfeld's three-author schema, though effectively inverting it, while Coleborne detected six different hands within the work. Both of course relied exclusively on literary-critical criteria. Giet placed particular emphasis on doctrinal discrepancies between various sections of the work. In his view, the eschatology of Viss. I to IV marks that section as the most primitive. It is contemporary with Clement, and is therefore dated to the reign of Trajan. Sim. IX is concerned to explain the delay in the Parousia; Giet dates it to the reign of

¹²Giet, S. *Hermas et les Pasteurs: les trois auteurs du Pasteur d'Hermas*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.

¹³Coleborne, W. *A linguistic approach to the problem of structure and composition of the Shepherd of Hermas*. Newcastle, N.S.W., Australia: University of Newcastle, 1966. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Also "The *Shepherd* of Hermas: a case for multiple authorship and some implications", *Studia Patristica*, Vol 10, 1967. Berlin: Akademie, 1970, p. 65-70 and "A linguistic approach to the problem of structure and composition of *The Shepherd of Hermas*", *Colloquium*, 3, 1969, p. 133-142.

¹⁴Wilson, J.C. *Toward a reassessment of the milieu of the Shepherd of Hermas: its date and its pneumatology*. Duke University, 1977. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Antoninus Pius and sees it (logically, given the relation between Sim. IX and Vis. III) as an elaboration of the earlier work. Finally the rest of the work (Vis. V, Mandd., Simm. I to VIII and X) was appended to these two strata some time after the middle of the second century. Wilson's comment¹⁵ is apt: "Giet's approach ... differs little from that taken by the nineteenth century scholars who contended for multiple authorship. ... A completely different approach emerged ... in the work of W. Coleborne."

Coleborne first isolated "lines of cleavage" within the work, then applied to selected ten-line portions of text within these sections a series of grammatical and lexical tests. "Underlying the whole concept ... is the idea that the mechanics of writing is based on a mass of habits. Therefore any variation in these habits could mean that a different hand was at work". Different hands were discerned in:-

Viss. I to IV;
 Vis. V and Mand. XII: iii, 4 - vi, 5;
 Mandd. I to XII: iii, 3;
 Simm. I to VII;
 Sim. VIII;
 Sim. IX.

Sim. X, which is not extant in Greek, could not be accommodated within this system.

The conclusions reached in this study via a different route cohere closely (with the exception of that regarding Similitude VIII) with Coleborne's findings.

¹⁵*Idem*, p. 33.

INTRODUCTORY

The *Shepherd* of Hermas is a product of Christian antiquity which has not received the thorough investigation of some of its near contemporaries (one thinks of the First Epistle of Clement, or the Ignatian correspondence, both of which have been exhaustively investigated). One of the consequences of this relative obscurity is that what passes for the scholarly consensus regarding the *Shepherd* is in fact not grounded in any scholarly enquiry. It is dangerously near to folk wisdom accumulated over the past century and a half and passed on to subsequent academic generations as the wisdom of the ancients. Even the rash of new editions of the *Shepherd* since the end of the Second World War¹ has done little to dispel the miasma of misinformation about the true origins of this work.

¹ Ruiz Bueno, *Padres apostolicos*. Madrid, 1950.

Πολυκαρπος Σμυρνης, Ἑρμας, Παπιας, Κοδρατος, Ἀριστειδης, Ἰουστινος (μερος α'). Athens, 1955.
Edition of the Apostolic Fathers by B. Mustaki, Athens, 1953 et seqq.: Ἀποστολικῆς διακονίας βιβλ. Ἑλλην. Πατερων και Ἐκκλησιαστικων Συγγραφεων, III.

Die apostolischen Väter: Neubearbeitung der Funkzschen Ausgabe von Karl Bihlmeyer. Zweite Auflage mit einem Nachtrag von Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Erster Teil. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1956.

Die apostolischen Väter I: Der Hirt des Hermas, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kommission für Spätantike Religionsgeschichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, von Molly Whittaker. Berlin: Akademie, 1956 [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 48].

The present enquiry seeks to dispel some of this misinformation by following a rigorous method of investigation. It is proposed to start with the known and the tangible - in this case, the extant texts and versions - and to reconstruct their hypothetical original forms. The information gleaned from these reconstructions will then be traced backwards in time into the "prehistory" of the text, i.e. that time prior to the earliest extant witnesses to the text. The date of writing will be determined as nearly as possible on the basis of this method, not of any external attestations, i.e. mentions of the work or its author (the uselessness of which will be demonstrated in the conclusion).

The rigours of this method will have to be mitigated somewhat by a consideration of the content of the various sections of the *Shepherd*, and the lines of junction between them - old-fashioned "literary criticism" or "Quellenkritik", in fact, of the type which today is so grievously out of

Naissance des lettres chrétiennes: Odes de Salomon, Lettre de Barnabé, Symbole des Apôtres, Didaché, Pasteur d'Hermas: textes établies et présentés par A. Hamman. Paris: Éditions de Paris, 1957.

Hermas, Le Pasteur: texte, traduction, introduction et notes de R. Joly. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1958. [Sources chrétiennes].

Die apostolischen Väter I: Der Hirte des Hermas. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Berlin: Akademie, 1967 [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 48:2].

Hermas, Le Pasteur: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de R. Joly. 2. édition. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968. [Sources chrétiennes].

fashion. But consideration of these matters will throughout be kept subordinate to the principal method of tracing the history of transmission of the text through extant texts and versions and through citations and allusions in the writings of the fathers.

SOME THOUGHTS ON METHOD

We have extant a variety of texts and versions of the *Shepherd*, "complete" to a greater or lesser degree. These texts and versions have in common with the printed editions a substantial proportion of content; they also have in common with the printed editions the order in which that content is presented. They differ from the printed editions in a very small proportion of content; they differ also from the printed editions in the amount of content that they originally contained, or in the amount of content that an exemplar (to whatever degree removed) originally contained.

Upon this last fact, which is wholly overlooked in every other study of the *Shepherd* known to me², is based the first part of this study. The differing compasses of the texts and versions indicate that what we call the

² With the single exception of Bonner's fallacious suggestion (and the comments derived from that suggestion) that the text contained in P. Mich. 129 excluded Viss. I to IV. See *A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2-9) with a fragment of the Mandates*, edited by Campbell Bonner. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934 [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XXII].

Shepherd was unknown to many in antiquity. All they knew were one or more "sections" of the *Shepherd*. There are two possible explanations for this fact:-

a) they did not have access to the complete work (i.e. the work as envisioned by the author) because a scribe somewhere in the line of transmission of the text had not had space for it, or had found it tedious to copy all of it, or was working from a damaged exemplar, or was interested in only part of it (for whatever private reason), and so copied only that part or those parts.

b) the "complete" work as it appears in the printed editions is in fact an agglutination of works which were written at different times, perhaps by different people, and which have been brought together by the accident of contiguity in a manuscript, or by perceived common themes, or by a process of growth by additions to a core.

Both of these are extreme positions; neither of them can be proved or disproved given existing evidence. All that we can strive for is a balance of probability on the one side or the other. The writer is aware of the tenuous nature of many of the conclusions that will be advanced below, and he asks the reader to bear in mind throughout the caveat here expressed.

LITERARY CRITICISM (QUELLENKRITIK)

Traditional "literary criticism" or "Quellenkritik" is based upon the detection of inconsistencies. While there is currently a reaction against such detection, even the sternest opponents of traditional "literary criticism" have to concede that inconsistencies there might be nonetheless. A strategy for dealing with them if they exist should thus be formulated.

In dealing with the authorship of a work like the *Shepherd*, the normal pattern has been to identify any internal inconsistencies, and deal with them in one of two ways:-

- a) a theory of interpolation or editorial activity; or
- b) a theory of different sources.

Structural inconsistencies (i.e. inconsistencies of form, disruptions between sections) are much less important, in that in principle they could have arisen by accidental rearrangement of the text or by lacunae developing during the course of transmission.

No one disputes that the author of Mandd. and Simm. drew on earlier works, probably written ones, for at least some sections of his work. This adds to the problem of identifying the author(s) of the work in its present form, for internal inconsistencies could arise from the fact that

an author does not sufficiently incorporate his source; and the point of view of the author of the source and that of the author of the whole might be in conflict, without the latter's having realised it (although one has to guard against regarding the author of the whole as so "weak of mind" as not to recognize such inconsistency).

One therefore has to face the question: When does one ascribe an inconsistency to different sources, when to editorial activity? An editor must be recognised when the differences or inconsistencies arise on a point about which the author of the whole can be demonstrated to have felt strongly - a point, in short, which would not have escaped his attention in his source. Where there is a conflict in some such matter, one must conclude that the final whole has been moulded by more than one hand - a subsequent editor or interpolator has been at work on the product of the person properly described as "the author of the whole."

The same argument applies to stylistic criteria - the style of a source can be incorporated unknowingly by the author of the whole whose style is different from that of the author of the source he uses. Multiple authorship (i.e. editorial activity) can be suggested on stylistic grounds only if such contamination can be ruled out as the explanation of a differing style.

Hence in principle one can recognise three different levels of authorship which might exist in a work such as the *Shepherd* of Hermas and which might be identifiable:-

- a) authorship of a source
- b) authorship of the whole
- c) subsequent editorial activity (altering the whole in small compass).

The differences between these levels of authorship are a matter of degree; if "subsequent editorial activity" is radical enough to produce what is instinctively felt to be a new work, then clearly one must cease regarding the person who effected such a radical change as an "editor" and must instead regard him as an "author" using previous materials as sources. In theory the process is endless, particularly in a text like the *Shepherd* which has been regarded as authoritative in a community of faith (and which therefore has run the risk of attracting to itself that which desires to be authoritative). However in practice it would be impossible to distinguish more than the three levels described above, and it is to those that the following examination will be confined.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

It may be instructive, before considering the manuscript tradition of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, to look fleetingly at the manuscript traditions of some of the other early Christian works commonly lumped together as "The Apostolic Fathers". I use the definition of this term embodied in the article of this title in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*³.

The first of the Apostolic Fathers is PAPIAS, whose work(s) exist(s) exclusively in quotations. No manuscripts of his work(s) as a whole have survived.

The EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS has survived to the present only in printed editions, the sole manuscript which endured into the nineteenth century having perished in a fire. Subjoined to the text of the epistle in this MS. was a fragment of another work, without title or intervening division, treated as if it were part of the Epistle. This adjunct comprises chapters 11 and 12 of the printed text.

Something similar has happened in the case of the EPISTLE OF POLYCARP. In eight Greek MSS (obviously deriving from a common hyparchetype) the complete text is not preserved, but

³Ed. F.L. Cross. Corrected edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1958, repr. 1963, p. 74. "They are Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Hermas, Polycarp, and Papias, and the authors of the Ep. of Barnabas, of the Ep. to Diognetus, of 2 Clement, and of the Didache."

it is cut short after chapter 9 and has appended to it, as if part of the same work, the Epistle of Barnabas. Were it not for two lengthy quotations in Eusebius and a Latin version of the Epistle of Polycarp, we would have no way of proving that these MSS in fact embodied two separate works.

P.N. Harrison proposed⁴ (and I find his theory totally convincing) that what we call the "Epistle of Polycarp" is in fact two separate works that have been amalgamated in the Greek manuscript tradition. He sees the last chapters as (part of) the covering letter for the Ignatian epistles, and the rest of the work as a separate letter written long after the first and dealing with an entirely different situation. If this theory is correct the Greek manuscript tradition of the Epistle of Polycarp embodies a double conflation - first the two letters of Polycarp were joined into one, and then this double work in truncated form was joined with *Barnabas* (from chapter 5).

The EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, apart from the eight Greek MSS which unite it without title to the Epistle of Polycarp, exists in two separate Greek witnesses (Codex Sinaiticus and the Constantinopolitan codex that also contains I and II Clement and the Didache). In addition there is a Latin version which comprises chapters 1 to 17 of the Greek text (i.e. without that section called the "Two Ways" which also occurs in

⁴*Polycarp's two epistles to the Philippians*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.

slightly differing form in the Didache). There are thus grounds for believing that the Latin version represents the "original" and that the Greek MSS are a conflation of the Epistle of Barnabas with the "Two Ways" material.

What makes the DIDACHE particularly interesting is that we can watch the process of incorporation of this work into subsequent works. The Didache is used in so-called Church Orders, and is incorporated wholesale into the seventh book of the Apostolic Constitutions. Had it not been for the discovery by Bryennois late in the last century of the Constantinopolitan Codex we would have little but theory to unravel the source of these later works. However, now that we have the source in something like its original form before us, we can watch the editorial process of the ancients as it progresses through various stages of incorporation.

But this "original" Didache also appears to be a conflation. Chapters 1 to 6, the so-called "Two Ways", are appended in a somewhat different form to the Epistle of Barnabas, and leave traces too in the *Shepherd* of Hermas. The suggestion that this was an originally Jewish catechetical document taken over by Christians and added to some of their own writings seems to demand support. In this view, the "Two Ways" was prefaced as moral exhortation to the more ritual instructions of chapter 7 to 15 of the Didache, the whole being concluded with the apocalyptic chapter 16.

It has further been suggested that the Latin version of the Didache, the so-called *Doctrina Apostolorum*, is in fact an earlier version of the work known to us in Greek dress from the Constantinopolitan codex, rather than a mere translation. If this is so then the history of the Didache can be traced through several stages:-

- a) original work (substantially chs. 7 to 15) with ch. 16 as conclusion.
- b) 'Two Ways' prefixed to (a) (combination accessible to us in Latin).
- ci) reworking or second edition of the combined work (accessible to us in Greek).
- cii) adaptation of the first edition in the Church Orders.
- d) incorporation of the second edition into Apostolic Constitutions Book 7.

The EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS present us with almost as complex a tradition. These exist in three forms:- the "short recension" discovered by Cureton and consisting of three letters in Syriac; the "middle recension", being a short form of the seven epistles known to Eusebius, combined in the MSS with six epistles not quoted by Eusebius present also in the "long recension" and with a further four epistles to and from Saint John and the Blessed Virgin; and the "long recension", being the seven Eusebian epistles in an expanded form, together with the six "spurious" epistles attached also to the "middle recension".

Since Lightfoot it has been orthodox to accept as "genuine"

or "original" the middle recension text of the Eusebian epistles only. The short recension is thus seen as an abbreviation of the original, while the long recension bears witness to an interpolated version. The existence of the epistles to and from St John and the Blessed Virgin is evidence of the power of attraction exerted by the genuine Ignatian corpus on the productions of subsequent ages. If Lightfoot's theory is correct it shows three processes at work in the transmission of a manuscript:-

- a) abbreviation of the original text.
- b) interpolation into the original text.
- c) addition of related works.

On the other hand, if one accepts the Curetonian epistles alone as "genuine" or "original", a twofold process of interpolation and addition is revealed.

The so-called SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT, while having been preserved as a distinct entity in the MSS, has (as its title shows) been attracted by the only one of the Apostolic Fathers which has been transmitted in substantially unaltered form, the FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT. In the three witnesses to the text of II Clement, namely the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Constantinopolitanus, and the Syriac, the "second" epistle occurs immediately after the first. Lightfoot used this close connexion between the two works in his attempt to

date II Clement. It has subsequently transpired that I Clement exists separately in versions (Latin and two separate Coptic versions), but there is as yet no evidence that II Clement has been transmitted apart from I Clement.

In short, of the eight "Apostolic Fathers" discussed above, not one has been transmitted integrally without accretions or deletions of one sort or another. The works of Papias have not survived outside of quotations in other writers. The Ignatian letters and the Didache have attracted interpolations and additions; the epistles of Barnabas, of Polycarp and to Diognetus as extant are composite works; in one manuscript tradition Barnabas and Polycarp form a unity; and II Clement is found only in conjunction with I Clement. Accordingly it would certainly not be unreasonable to conclude that a similar process has occurred within the work known to the copyists of extant MSS as the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

STRUCTURAL PARALLELS

One of the strange things about the *Shepherd* of Hermas is its structure. Formally it is divided into three unequal parts, the Visions, the Mandates, and the Similitudes. A happier structural division would be a fourfold one, the latter Similitudes (Simm. IX and X) being separated from the former Similitudes (Simm. I to VIII). The Visions proper (I to IV) comprise 805 Loeb lines of Greek; the Mandates proper (I to XII: iii) 801 Loeb lines of Greek; the former Similitudes proper (II to VIII) 981 Loeb lines of Greek; and the Ninth Similitude 994 Loeb lines of Greek and 80 Loeb lines of Latin. The four sections thus are of roughly equal length, the mean length being 916 Greek lines. There may be a correlation between this length and the length of the book in antiquity, but I am not competent to do more than suggest this as a possibility.

Between these four divisions there is little structural connection and (except between the former and latter Similitudes) no formal connection. Yet they are parts of a single work. Are there any parallels in antiquity of a conceptually unified work having two or three formal divisions of this sort?

¹Perhaps most easily available in translation edited by R.H. Charles, *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. Volume II: Pseudepigrapha. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, repr. 1969, p. 715-784.

One work which certainly antedates the *Shepherd* may be seen as a parallel. This is the *Book of Ahikar*¹, fifth-century-B.C. Aramaic fragments of which have been found at Elephantine in Upper Egypt, the site of a Judaic colony. In translation the work is extant in a reworked form as a life of Aesop; but there must also have been an authentic Greek version current in antiquity, since an Old Church Slavonic version, which must have been translated from Greek, exists. The *Book of Tobit*² betrays knowledge of the name Ahikar, and has parallels with some of the wisdom sayings which recur in later versions. This book, as part of the Septuagint, would have been accepted as canonical in the Greek-speaking church of which Hermas was a member; so a knowledge by him of a work (*Ahikar*) mentioned in a canonical scripture (*Tobit*) cannot be regarded as impossible.

The difficulty lies in trying to establish the form of the *Book of Ahikar* which would have been current at the beginning of the Christian era. The extant versions (Armenian, Syriac and Arabic) are preserved in late-mediaeval manuscripts; it may be doubted whether they preserve the

²1:21-22 (Esarhaddon appointed Ahikar over the administration); 2:10; 11:18 (Ahikar and his nephew Nadab/Nasbas); 14:10 ("See, my son, what Nadab/Aman did to Ahikar who had reared him, how he brought him from light into darkness, and with what he repaid him. But Ahikar was saved, and the other received repayment as he himself went down into the darkness. Ahikar gave alms and escaped the deathtrap which he had set for him; but Nadab/Aman fell into the trap and perished." R.S.V. translation.

form of the book current a millenium or a millenium and a half earlier. Charles noted that the Aramaic fragments, unlike the extant versions, appeared to amalgamate proverbs and parables, while the "Life of Aesop" contains no parables, only proverbs.

The structure of the extant versions of the *Book of Ahikar* bears a striking resemblance to the *Shepherd*. There is, first of all, a brief (1-page)³ biographical introduction, describing how the childless Ahikar (Khikar in Armenian, Haiqar in Arabic), principal adviser to Sennacherib, king of Assyria, adopts his nephew Nadan (Nathan in Armenian) as his son, while the king chooses Nadan as Ahikar's successor in office. This bears some relation to the biographical section of the *Visions*.

The second part of the *Book of Ahikar* in the extant versions is given over to a series of wisdom sayings addressed by Ahikar to "my son". This encompasses 3 pages in the Syriac and Arabic and 4 pages in the Armenian. The parallel to the *Mandates* is obvious. In the Armenian this is followed by a brief (1-page) section called "Questions of the King's sons and answers of Khikar", continuing the wisdom-motif of the previous section. Like the *Mandates*, this second section has had an existence in Arabic and in Ethiopic independent of the rest of the *Book*.

³Page calculations are based on the length of a two-column page of English in the translation.

The third part of the *Book of Ahikar* in the extant versions is a narrative of how Nadan, disinherited by Ahikar in favour of his brother Boudan (Armenian), Nebuzardan (Syriac) or Benuzardan (Arabic) as a result of his misbehaviour, forges letters from Ahikar to Pharaoh (only, Armenian) and the king of Persia, Akhi (Syriac; Achish in the Arabic) and from Sennacherib to Ahikar⁴. When Nadan shows Sennacherib the letter(s) to the foreign rulers, Sennacherib orders Abusmaq (Armenian), Nabusemakh (Syriac) or Abu Samik (Arabic) to behead Ahikar. In consequence of a former like favour from Ahikar, the executioner spares and hides him, killing another in his place.

Pharaoh, on hearing of the supposed execution of Ahikar, sends to Sennacherib demanding someone to assist him in building a palace that will touch neither heaven nor earth and who will be able to answer all his riddles. The executioner reveals that Ahikar is still alive; Sennacherib restores him to favour and Ahikar prepares for his journey to Egypt by training two eagles to carry two children aloft. In Egypt Ahikar confounds all Pharaoh's manoeuvres and returns to a grateful Sennacherib, who gives Nadan into his hands.

This section (apart from the fact that it is an allegory against filial ingratitude) has no obvious parallel in the

⁴According to the Armenian this letter is sent at the King's command, but as this destroys the narrative unity it must be based on a misunderstanding by the translator.

Shepherd. In the extant versions it has attracted much extraneous folklore - the 5 pages of the Armenian narrative become 6 pages in the Syriac and 9 pages in the Arabic.

The fourth section, labelled "Parables" (one notes the similarity even in nomenclature with the *Shepherd*), consists of Ahikar's comparisons of the ungrateful Nadan with a variety of things. In the Armenian this occupies 2 pages, and 3 each in the Syriac and the Arabic.

It is tempting to see the *Book of Ahikar* as known from the extant versions as an almost exact parallel to the *Shepherd* in its biographical introduction, its commands, and its parables, all three forms being contained within a single work. But, as has already been stated, for the parallel to be significant it has to be shown that the *Book of Ahikar* had this structure at the beginning of the Christian era. Every indication, in fact, is that it did not.

The Life of Aesop which derives from the *Ahikar* story has a three-fold structure, not a four-fold one: firstly, a one-page biographical introduction about Ennus, adopted by Aesop, who seduced his father's concubine and so was disinherited. Ennus then forged a letter to the enemies of King Lykeros and showed it to him. In consequence Hermippus was ordered to do away with Aesop, but he saved and hid him. Meanwhile Nectenabo, king of Egypt, ordered from Lykeros a man who

could build a heavenly tower and who could answer all his questions. Hermippus now told Lykeros that Aesop was still alive. Aesop was restored to favour and Ennus was handed over to him (at this point, not after the return from Egypt, as in the extant versions).

The second section is a one-page exposition by Aesop to Ennus of good advice (the wisdom sayings which in the extant versions come in the training of the adopted son for high office). Stricken in conscience, Ennus died shortly after receiving these wise words.

The third section, longer than the preceding two together, describes the training of four eagles (not two, as in the extant versions) to carry boys, and Aesop's successes in Egypt.

This is not so clearly a parallel to the structure of the *Shepherd* as are the extant versions. Instead we have a series of wisdom sayings (= Mandates) inserted between a tale of an ungrateful son and a narrative about a wise man who answers riddles and overcomes obstacles.

That this latter structure is the original one appears to be confirmed by the Aramaic fragments, which preserve only two sections - the narrative about Ahikar, adviser to Sennacherib, and his adopted son Nadin, adviser to Esarhaddon. Nadin for some reason plots against Ahikar, and

Nabushumishkun, who is entrusted with the execution of Ahikar, saves and hides him, and kills another in his stead. At this point the narrative breaks off, but it is clear that it originally continued with the restoration of Ahikar to favour and the disgrace of Nadin.

The second section of the Aramaic is a series of wisdom sayings. Very few of these (admittedly highly fragmentary) proverbs reappear in the extant versions and other witnesses. Whether there was a third section recounting Ahikar's exploits in Egypt is unknown.

If this is the form in which the *Book of Ahikar* was current at the beginning of the Christian era, it is difficult to claim it as a parallel to the *Shepherd*. All that it proves is that a narrative and a series of wisdom sayings could coexist within one work.

An almost identical structure to that found in the "early" form of the *Book of Ahikar* - namely two sections of narrative separated by something other than narrative - is seen in the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*⁵. Here two sections

⁵Charles, *op. cit.*, prints only the two narrative sections, regarding the apocalyptic section as a later product. The complete text can be found in translation in Hennecke, E. *New Testament apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, Eng. trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson. Vol. II: Writings related to the apostles; apocalypses and related subjects. London: Lutterworth, 1965, p. 642-651 (651-663, "The Vision which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw", appended in some witnesses to the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, is an entirely independent work).

of narrative - chs. 1-3 and 5 - are separated by a revelation by Isaiah - ch. 4 - delivered in the first person and concerning the end of the world.

This pattern of narrative interrupted by non-narrative matter (in this case sermons or preaching) is of course familiar to us from the canonical book of *Acts*, and the pattern reappears in many of the apocryphal Acts: thus the *Acts of Peter*⁶, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*⁷ (where the preaching is poetic in form), and the *Acts of John*⁸ (where John's preaching about the life of Christ is in turn interrupted by a formally different section, the Hymn of Christ).

In the *Acts of Paul*⁹ the narrative is interrupted not by a sermon but by an exchange of correspondence with the Corinthian church, while in the *Acts of Thomas*¹⁰ the

⁶Hennecke, *op. cit.*, p. 259-322; narrative p. 279-287; preaching p. 288-289; narrative p. 289-322.

⁷*Idem*, p. 353-364.

⁸*Idem*, p. 188-259; narrative p. 215-224; preaching p. 224-227; Hymn of Christ p. 228-232; preaching p. 232-235; narrative p. 235-258.

⁹*Idem*, p. 322-390; narrative p. 364-374; letter of the Corinthians to Paul p. 374-375; Paul's letter in reply p. 375-377; narrative p. 377-387.

¹⁰*Idem*, p. 425-531; First Act narrative p. 442-445; song p. 445-446; narrative p. 446-451. Second Act narrative p. 451-456; prayer at the chrismation p. 456-457; narrative p. 457-458. Fifth Act narrative p. 466-470; prayer at the Eucharist p. 470; narrative p. 471. Ninth Act narrative p. 486-498; Hymn of the Pearl p. 498-504; narrative p. 504-506. Most recently it has been established [Continued on next page

narratives of Acts 1, 2, 5 and 9 are interrupted by songs or prayers poetic in form.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*¹¹ the structure is rather different. Here there are two narrative passages adjacent to one another - the first (chs. 1-8) dealing with Abraham's contempt for the idols made by his father Terah, and his departure from his father's house just before its destruction by fire; the second (chs. 9-16) describing his journey with the angel Jael to the Mountain to offer sacrifice to God. This is followed by a brief (ch. 17) song to God, followed in turn (chs. 18-31) by a revelation of God's throne, the seven heavens, the Abyss, the Garden of Eden, the Fall, the Temple and its destruction, the ten plagues of the End, and the advent of the Elect One. In short, there is here a fourfold structure, as in the *Shepherd* - two narratives, a song, and a revelation - but the relative lengths of the four parts are very different from the lengths of the four parts of the *Shepherd*.

Finally there is the structure of the work mentioned at the end of the *Clementine Recognitions* Book III¹². This

that at least the Hymn of the Pearl is not an original part of the work; see Poirier, P.H. *L'hymne de la perle des Actes de Thomas: Introduction, Texte-Traduction, Commentaire*. Louvain, 1981.

¹¹Most easily accessible in translation in the edition by Box, G.H. & Landsman, J.I. *The apocalypse of Abraham*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918, p. 35-86' [TED Series I].

work, the *Κηρύγματα Πέτρου*, is now lost; but we have preserved here in ch. 75 its Table of Contents. Strecker suggests¹³ that the *Epistle of Peter to James* (a kind of "covering letter" to the books of his preaching) and the *Contestatio* or *Διαμαρτυρία*, an account of James's reaction to the letter, these two items now prefaced to the *Clementine Homilies*¹⁴, were originally prefaced to the work mentioned in *Recognitions* III, 75. The structure of this lost work would then have been as follows:-

- 1) An epistle (Peter to James).
- 2) Narrative, the reaction to the epistle.
- 3) Books 1 to 6, six sermons on various doctrinal matters.
- 4) Book 7, "what are the things which the twelve apostles treated of in the presence of the people in the temple" - preaching interspersed with narrative?
- 5) Books 8 to 10, three sermons on various doctrinal matters.

All the works treated above either were in existence at the

¹²Most easily accessible in translation in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson, Vol. VIII: *The Twelve Patriarchs, excerpts and epistles, the Clementine, apocrypha, decretals, memoirs of Edessa and Syriac documents, remains of the first ages*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951, repr. 1974, p. 134.

¹³In Hennecke, E., *op. cit.*, p. 102-127, at p. 106.

¹⁴Most easily accessible in translation in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 215-217; or in Hennecke, E., *op. cit.*, p. 111-115.

time that the first four Visions, the Mandates, and Similitudes II to VIII of the *Shepherd* were written, or reach the light of historical day approximately contemporaneously with the *Shepherd*, i.e. at the end of the second century. They prove that a single work in a variety of forms was not an impossibility for an ancient writer.

I have refrained from discussing the structure of clearly composite works such as the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* ("I Enoch"), the component parts of which have different histories. The same reasoning has made me avoid the parallels in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. I have rather sought formally different parts of a single work emanating from a single writer. Some of the above examples might be held not to have met this criterion, but the cumulative effect is impressive. Visions, Mandates and Similitudes could well have formed part of a single work emanating from a single writer.

THE TOWER VISIONS

There is one apparent doublet within the *Shepherd* which needs examination as the final stage of introduction to our study. This is the Tower Vision which occupies a part of Vision III¹, being interspersed with exhortations to Hermas² and to the members of the Church³, and the Tower Vision which comprises most of Similitude IX⁴. Interspersed with the narrative sections of the vision are exhortations by the Shepherd or meditations by the human recipient of the revelation⁵.

These two accounts of the building of the Tower have much in common. In both the building of the tower is entrusted to the six men⁶. These are allegories for the "holy angels" (Vis. III: iv, 1) or the "glorious angels" (Sim. IX: xii, 8). The six men are assisted in the first version by "myriads of men" whose task it is to bring stones (Vis. III:

¹ii, 4b-9; iii, 3, 5; iv, 1-2; v, 1-5; vi, 1-6; vii, 1-6; viii, 1-8; x, 1a.

²iii, 1-2, 4; iv, 3; vi, 7; viii, 9-11.

³ix, 1-10.

⁴i, 4-10; ii, 1-4; iii, 1-v, 1; vi, 1-x, 3; xii, 1-xiv, 2, 4-xxiii, 3; xxiv, 1-3; xxv, 1-xxviii, 4; xxix, 1-2, 4; xxx, 1-xxxii, 2; xxxiii, 2-3; the vision of the twelve mountains is subordinate to and incorporated into this Tower Vision.

⁵ii, 5-7; v, 2-7; x, 4-xi, 9; xiv, 3; xxiii, 4-5; xxiv, 4; xxviii, 5-8; xxix, 3; xxxi, 3-xxxlii, 1.

⁶Vis. III: i, 6-7 and x, 1a; Sim. IX: iii, 1.

ii, 5). The actual building here is done by the six men, the myriads being mere assistant labourers. In the second version the six men are overseers; the actual building is done by a "multitude of men" (Sim. IX: iii, 1; iv, 1). These assistants are angels, like the six men⁷. In both versions the tower is an allegory for the Church⁸.

The foundation of the tower in each case comprises firstly "square stones"⁹ which in the case of the second version number ten and come from "the deep" (the place from which they come is not identified in the first version). These represent "apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons" according to the first version (Vis. III: v, 1) or "the first generation" according to the second (Sim. IX: xv, 4)¹⁰. The second version adds to these a further 20 stones from the deep (Sim. IX: iv, 3)¹¹. These, if the number is twenty rather than twenty-five, would be the generations from the Flood to Phinees the priest inclusive, this latter being the ultimate descendant of Adam whose ancestry is traced in the Pentateuch¹². The meaning of twenty-five I am unable to

⁷Vis. III: iv, 2, "holy angels"; Sim. IX: xii, 6, "glorious angels".

⁸Vis. III: iii, 3; Sim. IX: xiii, 1.

⁹Vis. III: ii, 4 and Sim. IX: iii, 3 and iv, 2.

¹⁰i.e. presumably the first ten generations according to the Septuagint from Adam to Noe inclusive: Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Maleleel, Jared, Enoch, Mathusala, Lamech, Noe.

¹¹interpreted in xv, 4 as "the twenty-five [sic] are the second generation of righteous men".

suggest. The second version continues with a further 35 stones from the deep (Sim. IX: iv, 3)¹³. Apart from the fact that these are clearly Old Testament figures, I am unable to elucidate their identities. Finally the second version has in the foundation a further 40 stones from the deep (Sim. IX: iv, 3)¹⁴.

The first version also knows of stones brought from the deep (Vis. III: ii, 6, standing for those "who have suffered for the name of the Lord", v, 2).

The body of the tower in both cases is made with stones from the land (Vis. III: ii, 7) or from the mountains (Sim. IX: iv, 4). In the second version some on being put into the tower change colour and become bright (Sim. IX: iv, 5); these are those which came in through the porch and were handed on by the maidens (xvii, 3-4). Others retain their original colour (iv, 6) because they have not come in through the porch and been handed on by the maidens (cf. xvii, 1-2); they are returned to the places from which they had come (iv, 7). Yet others, which had originally changed colour, on being struck by the Lord of the tower reveal various

¹²Noe, Sem, Arphaxad, Cainan, Sala, Heber, Phaleg, Ragan, Seruch, Nachor, Tharrha, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Caath, Ambram, Aaron, Eleazar, Phinees.

¹³interpreted in xv, 4 as "the prophets of God and his servants".

¹⁴interpreted in xv, 4 as "the prophets and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God".

imperfections (vi, 3, interpreted in xvii, 5-xviii, 2). They are placed outside the tower (vi, 5, interpreted in xviii, 3-4), and are in turn replaced by square stones brought not from the mountains but from the plain (vi, 6, 8, interpreted in xxx, 1-3). In this version there are thus four categories of stones from the land.

In the first version the stones are subjected to examination before being incorporated into the tower, not afterwards, as in the second version. Some are put into the building without alteration, some are discarded, and some are broken up and cast far away (Vis. III: ii, 7). The explanation presupposes not three categories of stones, but four, as in the second version: some which are used without alteration (the righteous, v, 3); some who seem to undergo some testing process (the young in faith, v, 4); those discarded (sinners who desire to repent, v, 5); and those broken up and cast far from the tower (the hypocrites, vi, 1). It will be noticed that the four categories differ from one version to the other.

Similarly, both versions know of some stones taken from the land which are not used for the tower. In the first version (Vis. III: ii, 8) they are of four types: those which are rotten (interpreted in vi, 2 as those who knew the truth but did not remain in it); those which have cracks (interpreted in vi, 3 as the malicious); those which are too short

(believers who are imperfect, vi, 4); and those which are round (rich believers, vi, 5-7). These four categories, Hermas is told (vii, 5-6), cannot be placed within the tower, but will eventually find a less honourable role to play.

There are in addition three categories of stones which are rejected and cast far from the tower (Vis. III: ii, 9):

those which roll from the road into the rough ground (the doubleminded, vii, 1); those falling into the fire

(apostates, vii, 2); and those falling near water but not quite reaching it (who prefer heathen lusts to Christian purity, vii, 3).

The second version also knows of seven categories of rejected stones (Sim. IX: vi, 4), but these are discerned not before incorporation into the tower (as in the first version) but after trial by the Lord of the tower. The Shepherd is ordered to clean them, to place into the tower those which are fit, and to throw away the rest (Sim. IX: vii, 1-2). These "questionable stones" are those which after trial become black (absolutely thrown away, viii, 1); the rotten ones (some incorporated into the middle of the tower after reworking, the rest put with the black ones, viii, 2); the cracked ones (some incorporated into the outside of the tower, the rest thrown away, viii, 3); those which are too short (the majority fitted into the middle of the tower, the rest rejected, viii, 4); those half white and half black (some fitted into the outside of the tower, many rejected,

viii, 5); the rough ones (most incorporated into the middle of the tower, a few rejected, viii, 6); and the stained ones (most fitted into the outside of the building, a very few rejected, viii, 7). Not one of these categories of "questionable stones" is given an allegorical meaning in the second version - surely an unintentional omission!

In addition Sim. IX knows of round white stones taken from the plain but not initially used in the building of the tower (vi, 8). The largest are hewn and incorporated into the outside of the tower (ix, 1-3; these are rich believers, xxx, 4-5), the rest put back in their places on the plain, but not rejected (ix, 4; these are the rich who have not yet received the seal, xxxi, 1-2). Finally the Shepherd fills in the holes in the plain left by the stones removed to make up the empty places in the tower (Sim. IX: x, 1-2; this means that former sins are blotted out, xxxiii, 3) and the maidens sweep the surroundings of the tower (x, 3). The tower now appears a unity (Sim. IX: ix, 7), meaning that there is one body and one spirit (xiii, 5).

There are differences of interpretation rather than conception between the two versions. In the first, the tower is built upon the water (Vis. III: ii, 4), presumably signifying baptism (iii, 5); in the second, it is built upon the white rock above the porch (Sim. IX: iv, 2), both rock and porch signifying the Son of God (xiv, 4-6). This rock

and porch were revealed prior to the building of the tower (Sim. IX: ii, 1-2; interpretation xii, 1-3). The deep (from which the four tiers of foundation come) is interpreted in the second version (Sim. IX: xvi, 1-4) as baptism, and it is found necessary to explain (xvi, 5-7) why the Christian 40 have to receive the "seal" a second time (the reason being that they had given their "seal" to the non-Christian dead in the underworld!) It is significant that in the first version, where the stones from the deep are clearly Christian martyrs and confessors, this difficulty is not felt. Then in the first version the seven women merely "support" the tower, without playing any significant role in its construction¹⁵. In the second version, on the other hand, the twelve maidens have a significant role to play in the building of the tower: they carry the stones through the porch¹⁶, and encourage the builders (Sim. IX: iii, 2). Their meaning is outlined in Sim. IX: xliii, 2-4 ("holy spirits" whose raiment has to be borne by those accepted into the tower), and their names given in xv, 2 (Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Δύναμις, Μακροθυμία, Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεία, Ἰλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὁμόνοια, Ἀγάπη). The twelve women who are ordered in the second version (Sim. IX: ix, 5) to take

¹⁵Vis. III: viii, 2; interpretation viii, 3-7: Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Ἀπλότης, Ἐπιστήμη, Ἀκακία, Σεμνότης, Ἀγάπη.

¹⁶Sim. IX: iii, 5-iv, 1; interpretation xii, 4-5 and xliii, 4.

away the rejected stones (those which bore the name but were not clothed with the maidens' raiment, xiii, 3, 7-9) back to the mountains from which they had come (ix, 6) presumably were originally intended as mirror images of the twelve

maidens (Sim. IX: xv, 3). Ἀπιστία, Ἀκρασία,

Ἀπείθεια, Ἀπάτη¹⁷, Λύπη¹⁸,

Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὁεχυκολία, Ψεῦδος,

Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλία, Μῖσος¹⁹. However, the two

¹⁷Used in Mand. VIII, 5 in a catalogue of sins; combined in Mand. XI, 12 and Sim. VI: ii passim, iv, 4, and v passim with τρυφή; and in Sim. VI: iii, 3 with ἐπιθυμία. One would have thought that Ἀπάτη would be the antithesis of Ἀπλότης rather than of Μακροθυμία. (Dibelius, M. *Die Hirt des Hermas*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1923, p. 624 [*Handbuch zum neuen Testament, Ergänzungs-Band: Die apostolischen Väter IV*] suggests that Μακροθυμία and Ὁεχυκολία form a natural pair. I accept this suggestion).

¹⁸Used in Vis. III: xi, 3 and xii, 2; IV: iii, 4; V, 4; Mand. III, 4; X passim; Sim. I, 10; IX: ii, 6. Λύπη seems a better antonym of Μακροθυμία than of Ἀπλότης, although Dibelius offers Ἰλαρότης as the natural partner of Λύπη, and I agree. He also suggests that Καταλαλία and Ἀπλότης are a pair. This seems to me an unnecessary complication.

¹⁹In the two Latin versions the correspondences are:

PALATINE	VULGATE
Fides-Perfidia	Fides-Perfidia
Abstinentia-Intemperantia	Abstinentia-Intemperantia
Patientia-Incredulitas	Potestas-Incredulitas
Incredulitas is surely not a translation of Ἀπείθεια!	
Magnanimitas-Dulcedo	Patientia-Voluptas
(Palatina translates Μακροθυμία by two variant words.)	
Simplicitas-Maestitia	Simplicitas-Tristitia
Innocentia-Nequitia	Innocentia-Malitia
Concordia-Libido (!)	Castitas-Libido
Caritas-Iracundia	Hilaritas-Iracundia
Castitas-Mendacium (!)	Veritas-Mendacium
Hilaritas-Stultitia (!)	Intelligentia-Stultitia
Veritas-Detractio	Concordia-Inflatio
Prudentia-Odium	Caritas-Odium

[Continued on page 42

lists have developed independently of each other. We suggest the following as the original scheme:

GREEK	VULGATE	PALATINE
Πίστις - Ἀπιστία	Fides - Perfidia	Fides - Perfidia
Ἐγκράτεια - Ἀκρασία	Abstinentia - Intemperantia	Abstinentia - Intemperantia
Δύναμις Ἀπίθεια	Potestas -Incredulitas	-Incredulitas
Μακροθυμία - [Ὁξυκολία]	Patientia - [-Iracundia]	Patientia - [Iracundia] Magnanimitas - ["]
[Ἰλαρότης] - Λύπη	[Hilaritas] - Tristitia	[Hilaritas] - Maestitia
Ἀπλότης - Ἀπάτη	Simplicitas - Voluptas	Simplicitas - Dulcedo
Ἀκακία - Πονηρία	Innocentia - Malitia	Innocentia - Nequitia
Ἀγνεία - Ἀσέλγεια	Castitas - Libido	[Castitas] - Libido
Ἀλήθεια - Ψεῦδος	Veritas - Mendacium	[Veritas] - Mendacium
Σύνεσις - Ἀφροσύνη	Intelligentia - Stultitia	[Prudentia] - Stultitia
Ὁμόνοια - Καταλαλία	Concordia - Inflatio	[Concordia] - Detractio
Ἀγάπη - Μῖσος	Caritas - Odium	[Caritas] - Odium

Perhaps the most significant difference between the two versions of the Tower Vision lies not in matters of detail but in the underlying conception of the church. In the first version (Vis. III) every stone is examined BEFORE it is incorporated into the Tower. Even believers can be refused incorporation into the tower and relegated to some (undefined) lesser role in the scheme of salvation, as in the case of the round stones. We have here what might anachronistically be called a Donatist view of the church as a perfected society. In the second version (Sim. IX), on the other hand, the stones are incorporated into the tower before the final testing by the Lord of the tower; and even then those which are removed after being found inadequate are subjected to a further inspection and reworking by the Shepherd, many of the stones being once again incorporated into the tower. Those which are not so incorporated, which are returned by the twelve women to the mountains, still have a chance for repentance. The pause in the building of the tower (v, 1) is specially designed for that purpose²⁰; and even after the examination by the Lord of the tower (vi, 1-2), who is the Son of God (xii, 8), repentance remains a

Some disarrangement has clearly taken place in the last five pairs of the Palatine version, over and above the disarrangements that took place in the Greek original. If it is presumed that somehow the pairs Μακροθυμία-³Οξυκολία and ⁶Ιλαρότης-Λύπη became unlinked in the sequence, everything else in the Greek and the Vulgate becomes explicable (except ⁷Ἀπειθεία=Incredulitas!).

²⁰Sim. IX: v, 2, interpreted in xiv, 1-2.

possibility. Anything less rigorist could hardly be imagined.

In short, it seems to me that the same mind could not have conceived both versions of the Tower Vision. Dependence of one version upon the other, or of both upon a common source, is the only likely explanation. In view of the elaborateness of the second version, I would regard the first as prior.

Giet²¹ offers some other respects in which the Tower visions of Vis. III and Sim. IX differ. In the former the young men escort the Church, in the latter they escort the Son of God. In the former, the Tower is other-worldly, in the latter it is mundane. The rôle of the Church is less transcendent, more involved in the world, in Sim. IX than in Vis. III. Whereas the End in Vis. III is in the near future, in Sim. IX it has already begun: it has been lengthened into a period covering years.

Not all of these are differences of equal weight, but the cumulative effect of them is persuasive. The Tower visions in Vis. III and Sim. IX are not products of the same mind.

²¹Giet, S. *Herma et les Pasteurs: les trois auteurs du Pasteur d'Herma*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963, p. 257 and 274-276.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

INTRODUCTION .

There are at this stage (1989) a total of twenty Greek texts of the *Shepherd* on papyrus and vellum which can, with a degree of certainty, be ascribed to Egypt. Of the twenty, fully eight come from Oxyrhynchus, dating from the third and fourth centuries (the earliest possibly from the late second century)¹; four come from the Fayum², dating from the third to the fifth centuries (the earliest possibly from the late second century) including the most extensive, which derives from Theadelphia and dates from the second half of the third century; two are from Hermopolis Magna and date from the fourth century (the earlier perhaps from the late third century)³; one, of the fourth or fifth century, comes from near Nag Hammadi⁴; and five derive from areas unknown, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries (the earliest perhaps from the late fourth century). We include in this list of Egyptian witnesses to the Greek text P. Berol. 5513, which Ehrhard⁵ suggested might have been written in Italy, but which was found in the

¹Nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 13 in the sequence which follows on pages 53ff., i.e. P. Oxy. 3528, 3527, 1828, 5, 404, 1783, 1172 & 3526 and 1599 respectively.

²Nos. 2 (P. Mich. 130), 4 (P. Mich. 129), 5 (P. Berol. 5513; this may not be Egyptian at all) and 19 (P. Berol. 5104) in the following sequence.

³Nos. 8 (P. Iand. I, 4) and 12 (P. Berol. 13272).

⁴No. 14 (P. Bodmer 38).

⁵Ehrhard, A. "Die Berliner *Hermas-Fragmente* auf Papyrus", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 74, 1892, p. 294-303, at p. 302.

Fayum.

For eleven of these twenty witnesses we are able to deduce, from traces of pagination or the capacity of the page, the approximate original extent of the codices from which they derive. As will be argued in the survey of these fragments, the following picture emerges:

- 1) P. Oxy. 3528 survives from a codex containing everything from Vis. I to Sim. IX: xxii on the page numbered 120 (where the extant fragment ends).
- 2) P. Wessely survives from a codex containing everything from Vis. I to Sim. VI: i, 3 (where the extant fragment ends). It probably extended to include Sim. VIII.
- 3) P. Oxy. 1599 survives from a codex containing a truncated form of the Visions (perhaps omitting Vis. III), otherwise everything up to and including Sim. VIII: viii, 3 on the page numbered 73 (where the extant fragment ends).
- 4) P. Oxy. 1172 and 3526 survives from a codex containing a truncated form of the Visions (probably omitting Viss. I and V), otherwise everything up to and including Sim. II on the page numbered 71 (where the extant fragment ends).
- 5) P. Berol. 5104 survives from a codex containing a truncated form of the Visions (probably omitting Viss. I and V), otherwise everything up to and including Mand. V: i, 4 on the page numbered 62 (where the extant fragment ends).
- 6) P. Bodmer 38 contained in an eleven-sheet codex three works, the last being Viss. I to III.
- 7) P. Oxy. 3527 survives from a codex containing the Visions (I to IV) and Similitudes I to VIII: v, 2 in the column numbered 83 (where the extant fragment ends), but not the Mandates or Vision V.

- 8) P. Mich. 129 survives from a codex containing the Visions (I to IV) and Similitudes I to IX, but not the Mandates or Vision V (or Sim. X?).
- 9) The Amherst Papyri 190 survive from a codex containing the Visions and Mandates (up to and including Mand. XII: iii, 3) and Sim. IX (and X?).
- 10) P. Rendel Harris 128 survives from a codex probably containing just Vis. V and the Mandates.
- 11) P. Berl. 6789 survives from a codex probably containing just the first eight Similitudes.

The codices the contents of which can be determined with a degree of certainty are spread both in place (two from the Fayum, four from Oxyrhynchus, one from Nag Hammadi, four from areas unknown) and in time - one from the late second or early third century (P. Oxy. 3528); one from the earlier third century (P. Oxy. 3527); one from the latter third century (P. Mich. 129, from the Fayum); two from the fourth century (P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526 and P. Oxy. 1599); two from the late fourth or early fifth century (P. Bodmer 38, from Nag Hammadi, and P. Wessely, provenance unknown); two from the fifth century (P. Harr. 128, provenance unknown, and P. Berl. 5104, from the Fayum); one from the late fifth or early sixth century (P. Amherst 190, provenance unknown); and one from the sixth century (P. Berl. 6789, provenance unknown). No regional characteristics in the contents of the codices can be detected - the Fayum yields a codex that comprised the first four Visions and the first nine

Similitudes (P. Mich. 129) as well as one that comprised Viss. II to IV and the Mandates (P. Berl. 5104); and the Oxyrhynchus codices vary from one that apparently contained the whole *Shepherd* (P. Oxy. 3528), through one that omitted Vis. III (P. Oxy. 1599) and one that omitted Viss. I and V (P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526) to one that contained only Viss. I to IV and Simm. I to VIII (P. Oxy. 3527). Nor are there any consistent variations over time (although omission of Vis. V and the Mandates seems to be confined to two third-century codices, and truncation of the Visions appears confined to some 4th-century codices and one 5th-century codex) - the codices that contain the complete text of the *Shepherd* are among the earliest (2nd/3rd century) and the latest (4th/5th century) in date; and of the two 6th-century codices, one seems to have comprised only the former Similitudes, while the other omitted the former Similitudes.

The other nine witnesses (i.e. those which cannot be placed within the context of a complete codex) represent the following sections of the *Shepherd*:

- 1) Mand. II and III (a private copy, on the back of a tax roll): P. Mich. 130, from the late 2nd/early 3rd century.
- 2) Mand. IX (on a parchment palimpsest; perhaps therefore also a private copy): P. Oxy. 1783, from the early 4th century.
- 3) Mand. XI (perhaps in a citation; otherwise in a form longer than any extant text of this Mandate): P. Oxy. 5, from any date between the late 3rd and early 5th centuries

- 4) Mand. XI and XII: P. Iand. 4, from the late 3rd or 4th century.
- 5) Sim. II and IV on a papyrus roll (without Sim. III intervening): P. Berol. 5513, from the 3rd century. This is the item which Ehrhard tentatively ascribes to Italy.
- 6) Sim. IV and V on parchment: P. Hamb. 24, from the late 4th/early 5th century.
- 7) Sim. V on parchment: P. Berol. 13272, from the 4th century.
- 8) Sim. VI on parchment: P. Oxy. 1828, from the 3rd century.
- 9) Sim. X: P. Oxy. 404, from the late 3rd/early 4th century.

Horsley⁶ makes the following comment on the spread of passages from the *Shepherd* covered by the Greek fragments: "*Vis.* is attested in these papyrus and parchment finds only in two codices at the end of the period. Virtually all the *Mand.* fragments are from a section between where the *Sinaiticus* leaves off and *Athous* begins. No significance should probably be drawn from either point though, since these texts are chance finds and the scraps which survive mostly presuppose a considerably longer text."

Horsley's *caveat* is very much to the point; for the pagination of those leaves where page numbers survive, or

⁶Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri* published in 1977. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 161.

where the contents of the codex can otherwise be reconstructed, shows that the Visions were indeed represented in the codices from which the extant leaves derived, as was indicated in the tabulation above. The Visions appear by themselves⁷, in combination with the Mandates⁸, in combination with the Similitudes⁹, with the Mandates and the ninth Similitude¹⁰, with the Mandates and (at least) the former Similitudes¹¹, and with all the rest of the *Shepherd*¹².

The Mandates (probably with Vision V as introduction) appear quite independent of any preceding part of the *Shepherd* in P. Harr. 128. They also appear in combination with the Visions in P. Berol. 5104; with the Visions and (at least) former Similitudes in P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526, P. Oxy. 1599 and P. Wessely; with the Visions and the ninth Similitude in P. Amh. 190; and with all other parts of the *Shepherd* in P. Oxy. 3528. The Mandates are also richly represented by four fragments which tell us little more than appears on the surface.

⁷P. Bodmer 38, Viss. I to III.

⁸P. Berol. 5104; perhaps the former Similitudes were also included in this codex.

⁹P. Oxy. 3527 and P. Mich. 129.

¹⁰P. Amh. 190.

¹¹P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526, P. Oxy. 1599 and P. Wessely.

¹²P. Oxy. 3528.

The former Similitudes (I to VIII) appear in the Egyptian Greek tradition independently¹³; in combination with the Visions and the Mandates¹¹; with the Visions and the ninth Similitude¹⁴; with all the rest of the *Shepherd*¹²; but nowhere certainly in combination with only the Mandates. In addition there is a range of four fragments from the former Similitudes which cannot be placed in the context of a codex.

What is surprising is the almost complete lack of testimony to the last two Similitudes; although it might be as well to bear in mind Horsley's *caveat* and not build too much upon a witness from silence. The Ninth Similitude occurs in combination with the former Similitudes and the first four Visions in P. Mich. 129 as originally constituted; and P. Oxy. 404 preserves one of the few Greek witnesses to the text of Sim. X. In addition P. Amh. 190 contained the ninth (and tenth? It is impossible to be certain.) Similitude(s) in combination with the Visions and the Mandates, but without the former Similitudes; and P. Oxy. 3528 contained the last two Similitudes together with all preceding matter from the *Shepherd*.

¹¹P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526, P. Oxy. 1599 and P. Wessely.

¹²P. Oxy. 3528.

¹³P. Berol. 6789.

¹⁴P. Mich. 129.

The Greek remains which can with a fair degree of confidence be attributed to an Egyptian provenance show in short the following combinations of sections of the text of the *Shepherd*:

- 1) Visions I to III independently - P. Bodmer 38.
- 2) Mandates independently (preceded by Vis. V?) - P. Harr. 128.
- 3) Former Similitudes independently - P. Berol. 6789.
- 4) Visions + Mandates - P. Berol. 5104.
- 5) Visions + Mandates + former Similitudes - P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526; P. Oxy. 1599; P. Wessely.
- 6) Visions + Mandates + Similitude IX (and X?) - P. Amh. 190.
- 7) Visions + former Similitudes - P. Oxy. 3527
- 8) Visions + former Similitudes + Similitude IX - P. Mich. 129.
- 9) Visions + Mandates + former Similitudes + Similitude IX - P. Oxy. 3528.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(1) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . 3528 .

Published in 1983 as part of the series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*¹ was a small fragment of a single-column codex containing on the recto Sim. IX: xx, 3-4 and on the verso Sim. IX: xxii, 1. Significant is the fact that the top of each page is preserved, so the exact compass of each page can be reconstructed. The recto covers just over two lines of Greek text as it is printed in the Loeb edition²; between the end of the recto and the beginning of the verso the Loeb text comprises just over 28 lines. So as a rough guide a page of this codex was equal to some 30 lines of Loeb text.

Even more significant is the fact that the recto retains traces of pagination, which the editor reads as $\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\theta}$, i.e. 119. The pagination is sufficiently clear for Roberts to be sure that it was inserted by a hand other than that of the original scribe, which, he says, "points to the codex having been a professional production." The preservation of pagination enables one to establish the compass of the codex preceding our preserved leaf. It comprised 118 numbered pages at an equivalence of approximately 30 Loeb lines per page, hence a total of 3540 Loeb lines. Allowing 15 lines

¹*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*: Volume L, edited with translations and notes by ... C.H. Roberts ... London: Egypt Exploration Society for the British Academy, 1983, p. 21. [Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 70].

²*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas; The Martyrdom of Polycarp; The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

for that part of Sim. IX: xx preceding our preserved p. 119, 729 lines for Sim. IX: i to xix, 1040 lines for Simm. I to VIII, 928 lines for the Mandates (including Vis. V), and 805 lines for Viss. I to IV, we find that what in the Loeb edition precedes Sim. IX: xx, 3 would fit exactly (3517 lines) into the codex from which P. Oxy. 3528 derives, with a mere page's difference (23 lines). It would be difficult to defend any conclusion other than that the codex of which our fragment originally formed part - the earliest codex of which we have any evidence - contained the whole of the *Shepherd* known to us from the printed versions.

It is therefore all the more difficult to understand the statement by the editor that "it affords proof that, as has been suspected, in Egypt at any rate the *Similitudes* circulated independently of the *Visions* and the *Mandates*." On the contrary, it affords proof that the *Similitudes* (up to Sim. IX certainly, and therefore almost certainly including Sim. X) were joined to both the *Mandates* and the *Visions* at this early date.

As to date, Roberts favours "late second/early third century" on palaeographic grounds. He compares the writing with that of the Chester Beatty Pauline Epistles, which are normally dated to A.D. 200.

A puzzle is presented by the direction of the papyrus fibres, which on the recto are horizontal and on the verso vertical.

As the diagram below shows, our pages 119 and 120 should have been the middle leaf of the eighth gathering, if each of the gatherings was a quaternion (four sheets, eight leaves, sixteen pages) - a not unreasonable presupposition, since quaternions were by far the most usual size of gatherings. The fact that it was part of the inmost sheet might well explain its survival, while its companion sheets have perished.

Yet our leaf came from the first half of the gathering, and therefore one would have expected its fibres to have been vertical on the recto and horizontal on the verso. Turner³ maintains that, since the sheets which formed the papyrus codex were probably cut from a roll and laid one on top of each other, the normal form (at least in the third century) was for all the right-hand pages in the first half of the gathering to have fibres vertical, and all their conjugate leaves in the second half of the gathering to have fibres horizontal. Yet the evidence he adduces does not support the regularity of his thesis. Of the certainly 3rd-century papyrus codices of multiple quires, not one follows his proposed paradigm (the Hamburg *Πραξεις Παυλου* of C3/4 does⁴). One (the Bibliothèque Nationale Philo⁵)

³Turner, E.G. *The typology of the early codex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p. 64f.

⁴*Idem*, p. 66 Table II B I (b) (1).

⁵*Idem*, p. 66 Table II B III (1).

has the right-hand pages in the first half of each gathering with horizontal fibres; three (the Chester Beatty Numbers and Deuteronomy of C2/3⁶; the Bodmer St John of A.D. 200-250⁷; and the Oxyrhynchus Philo⁸) have like facing like throughout, i.e. the sheets are laid with the top showing different fibre directions for each consecutive sheet. It appears, therefore, that at this date the preferred system was, for papyrus as for parchment, for like to face like, although the other two, alternating, systems (which we refer to in the diagram below as Turner's *normal*, starting with vertical fibres, and as *unusual*, starting with horizontal fibres), were not unknown. Our fragment could bear witness to a like-facing-like system or to a system of alternating fibre directions starting with the horizontal.

⁶*Idem*, p. 67 Table II B V (1).

⁷*Idem*, p. 66 Table II B II (1).

⁸*Idem*, p. 66 Table II B IV (1).

QUATERNION A:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
01	vertical	horizontal	vertical
02	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
03	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
04	horizontal	vertical	vertical
05	vertical	horizontal	vertical
06	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
07	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
08	horizontal	vertical	vertical
09	horizontal	vertical	vertical
10	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
11	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
12	vertical	horizontal	vertical
13	horizontal	vertical	vertical
14	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
15	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
16	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION B:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
17	vertical	horizontal	vertical
18	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
19	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
20	horizontal	vertical	vertical
21	vertical	horizontal	vertical
22	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
23	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
24	horizontal	vertical	vertical
25	horizontal	vertical	vertical
26	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
27	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
28	vertical	horizontal	vertical
29	horizontal	vertical	vertical
30	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
31	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
32	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Γ :	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)	
-----	33	vertical	horizontal	vertical	
	34	horizontal	vertical	horizontal	
	-----	35	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		36	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	37	vertical	horizontal	vertical
		38	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	-----	39	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		40	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	41	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		42	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	43	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		44	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	-----	45	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		46	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	47	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		48	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Δ :	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)	
-----	49	vertical	horizontal	vertical	
	50	horizontal	vertical	horizontal	
	-----	51	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		52	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	53	vertical	horizontal	vertical
		54	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	-----	55	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		56	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	57	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		58	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	59	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		60	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	-----	61	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		62	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	63	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		64	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION E:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)	
-----	65	vertical	horizontal	vertical	
	66	horizontal	vertical	horizontal	
	-----	67	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		68	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	69	vertical	horizontal	vertical
		70	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	-----	71	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		72	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	73	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		74	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	75	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		76	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	-----	77	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		78	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	79	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		80	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION E:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)	
-----	81	vertical	horizontal	vertical	
	82	horizontal	vertical	horizontal	
	-----	83	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		84	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	85	vertical	horizontal	vertical
		86	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	-----	87	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
		88	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	-----	89	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		90	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	91	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		92	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	-----	93	horizontal	vertical	vertical
		94	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	-----	95	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
		96	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Z:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	97	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	98-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	99	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	100-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	101	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	102-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	103	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	104-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	105	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	106-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	107	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	108-	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	109	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	110-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	111	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	112-	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION H:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	113	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	114-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	115	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	116-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	117	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	118-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	<u>119</u>	vertical	<u>horizontal</u>	<u>horizontal</u>
	<u>120-</u>	horizontal	<u>vertical</u>	<u>vertical</u>
	121	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	122-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	123	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	124-	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	125	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	126-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	127	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	128-	vertical	horizontal	vertical

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(2) PAPYRUS MICHIGAN . 130 OLIM 44-H

The second-earliest Greek text of the *Shepherd* was published by Campbell Bonner¹. It is on a piece of papyrus roll, 12,1cm high and 8,7cm broad at its largest extent, containing Mand. II, 6 to Mand. III, 1.

On the date Bonner comments², "The writing of the verso is an upright hand, semi-cursive rather than literary ... I did not venture at first to think of a date earlier than the third century, but continued study of the hand ... forces me to the conclusion that it is nearer to the style of the second century than to that of the third ... I think that the verso writing may be assigned to about 200 A.D."

The "verso writing" is the extract from the *Shepherd*; on the recto are "entries which probably belong to a tax register", and which are significant in containing the word αἰγιαλοῦ ("shore-land"), which "is of importance as showing that the papyrus came from the Fayum. The writing is of the latter part of the second century after Christ."³

The fragment, as already indicated, contains an extract from the Mandates. What else it contained is unknown; and Bonner rightly cautions, "Speculation as to the original length of the roll is also scarcely worth while. Our text was written

¹"A new fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas (Michigan Papyrus 44-H)", *Harvard Theological Review*, 20, 1927, p. 105-116.

²*Idem*, p. 106-107.

³*Idem*, p. 106.

on the verso of a discarded document, and since the hand is not a practised book-hand, it may be that only a few chapters were copied for the writer's personal use. . . . We may imagine that the writer of our fragment had before him the modest aim of copying only the Mandates, which might have been contained in a roll of moderate length."⁴

This fragment, in any event, witnesses to the circulation of at least the Mandates in an unofficial (i.e. private, not ecclesiastical) form at the beginning of the third century.

⁴*Idem*, p. 108.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(3) PAPYRUS MICHIGAN . 129 , OLIM 917 .

INTRODUCTION

This early Greek codex of the *Shepherd* of Hermas was acquired during 1922 in two portions. The larger, containing the better-preserved leaves, was part of a lot purchased jointly by the British Museum and the University of Michigan from a Cairo dealer who said that they came from Theadelphia (modern Batn-el-Harit) in the south-west of the Fayum, a place where numerous papyri have been found, but which effectively ceased to exist as a town during the third century. The Hermas leaves in this lot fell to the share of the University. The smaller portion was part of a lot of small pieces and fragments of papyrus bought for the two institutions by a Dr Askren of the Fayum, who obtained them from a native of Assyut¹.

When the pieces had been located relative to one another, they were mounted between panes of glass and deposited in the Manuscript Room of the university library, with the inventory number 917. This number covered 26 separate mounts - 19 separate leaves, 6 sheets still attached at the middle, and one with six very small unplaced fragments. The six sheets belonged to the middle of the book and are largely intact, apart from their margins being broken away to a greater or lesser extent². The current measurements of the double

¹This historical conspectus is derived from p. 4 of Bonner's edition of the manuscript: *A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2-9), with a fragment of the Mandates*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934.

leaves are 24,3 cm x 22,2 cm³. The columns of writing vary from 19 to 20 cm in height and 8 to 9 cm in width, although some are no more than 7 cm wide. The space between the two columns on a sheet varies between 2 and 3 cm⁴.

The commonest page length is 30 lines, although the range varies from 28 to 34. The number of letters per line varies from 14 to 24, although this wide variation does not substantially affect the breadth of the columns: the hand is simply more or less spreading. This fact, of course, makes an accurate assessment of the original capacity of the book impossible⁵.

The pages were numbered in the middle of the upper margin by a hand different from that which wrote the text. The pages that survive must have been numbered between 55 and 120, although only sixteen of these have even a trace of legible numbering extant, as most of the upper margins have been lost. Two leaves which must have been numbered 62-63 and 117-118 have been lost⁶.

The recto of each leaf had vertical fibres and the verso horizontal fibres in the first half of the book (up to Extant

²*Idem*, p. 5.

³*Idem*, p. 6.

⁴*Idem*, p. 7.

⁵*Ibid*.

⁶*Idem*, p. 8.

Sheet	First leaf		Second leaf	
1	pages 0-1		pages 173-174	
2	pages 2-3		pages 171-172	
3	pages 4-5		pages 169-170	
4	pages 6-7		pages 167-168	
5	pages 8-9		pages 165-166	
6	pages 10-11		pages 163-164	
7	pages 12-13		pages 161-162	
8	pages 14-15		pages 159-160	
9	pages 16-17		pages 157-158	
10	pages 18-19		pages 155-156	
11	pages 20-21		pages 153-154	
12	pages 22-23		pages 151-152	
13	pages 24-25		pages 149-150	
14	pages 26-27		pages 147-148	
15	pages 28-29		pages 145-146	
16	pages 30-31		pages 143-144	
17	pages 32-33		pages 141-142	
18	pages 34-35		pages 139-140	
19	pages 36-37		pages 137-138	
20	pages 38-39		pages 135-136	
21	pages 40-41		pages 133-134	
22	pages 42-43		pages 131-132	
23	pages 44-45		pages 129-130	
24	pages 46-47		pages 127-128	
25	pages 48-49		pages 125-126	
26	pages 50-51		pages 123-124	
27	pages 52-53		pages 121-122	
28	pages 54-55		pages 119-120+	*61-62
29	pages 56-57	*1-2	pages 117-118	
30	pages 58-59	*3-4	pages 115-116+	*59-60
31	pages 60-61+	*5-6	pages 113-114+	*57-58
32	pages 62-63		pages 111-112	*55-56
33	pages 64-65	*7-8	pages 109-110	*53-54
34	pages 66-67	*9-10	pages 107-108	*51-52
35	pages 68-69	*11-12	pages 105-106	*49-50
36	pages 70-71	*13-14	pages 103-104	*47-48
37	pages 71-72	*15-16	pages 101-102	*45-46
38	pages 73-74	*17-18	pages 99-100+	*43-44
39	pages 75-76	*19-20	pages 97-98+	*41-42
40	pages 77-78	*21-22	pages 95-96+	*39-40
41	pages 79-80	*23-24	pages 93-94+	*37-38
42	pages 81-82	*25-26	pages 91-92	*35-36
43	pages 83-84	*27-28	pages 89-90+	*33-34
44	pages 85-86	*29-30	pages 87-88+	*31-32

* Extant pages

+ Traces of numbering extant

Page 30), and the reverse after that page. The verso of the middle right-hand page has the number (88) clearly preserved⁷. All of this suggests, as Bonner correctly observes, a single-quire codex of at least 43 sheets, probably 44, numbered as in the diagram above.

BONNER'S THEORY

Bonner's presentation of the evidence is admirably clear; but he appears to have gone astray in the conclusion he draws from that evidence. Because he approached the remains with a certain set of presuppositions, unstated but nonetheless present, he tended to read the evidence in the light of those presuppositions. This statement is best illustrated by following the process of his logic and commenting upon its shortcomings.

Since the first surviving page begins near the end of Sim. II, 8 and the verso of the left-hand middle leaf ends with Sim. VII, 3, "it is possible, by using a plain printed text without footnotes, to determine within fairly close lines the position of page 1. From this calculation it appears that the first numbered page must have begun in Mandate 4, probably about the end of the first chapter or early in the second"⁸. This is all very well, but it presupposes that the contents of the codex would have been, in order and

⁷*Idem*, p. 9.

⁸*Idem*, p. 8-9.

in sequence, what our modern printed texts contain.

Because it would be nonsensical for a copy of the *Shepherd* to start in the middle of the fourth Mandate, Bonner had to posit a loss of six leaves near the beginning and end of the codex prior to the numbering of the leaves. Although such a procedure (the pagination of a defective codex from page 1) is certainly not unknown, it hardly seems necessary to resort to so drastic a solution when one more coherent with the facts is available.

Bonner's fundamental error here was in failing to do his sums with sufficient thoroughness. Had he calculated the point in the text at which the final numbered page ends, he might have felt less compelled to postulate some lost leaves. As it was, he was so mesmerised by what he thought the first half of the codex contained that he dismissed the second half with a mere approximation: "The injured book would have contained, at the time when the pages were numbered, just as many leaves after the middle as before it, and we may calculate that its last numbered page ended somewhere in Sim. 9, 30, SINCE THAT IS ABOUT AS FAR FROM THE END OF THE WHOLE WORK AS PAGE 1 WAS FROM THE BEGINNING OF VIS. 5"⁹.

In fact, a more accurate calculation yields a somewhat different picture. The first sixteen pages in the second half of the codex (Extant Pages 31 to 46; original page

⁹*Idem*, p. 9, emphasis added.

numbers 87 to 102) cover Sim. VII, 3 to Sim. VIII: vi, 5 - 280 lines of Greek text in the Loeb edition with a further line devoted to the heading of Similitude VIII. The average is thus 17,5625 lines of Loeb Greek text per page of the codex - significantly higher, by the way, than the average in the corresponding sixteen pages of the first half, but differences in the capacity of the first and second halves of single-quire codices are well known.

The next set of sixteen pages in the second half of the codex must have contained Sim. VIII: vi, 5 to Sim. IX: iv, 5, which is where the Extant Page 61 begins. The original pagination would have been 103 to 118; the final leaf of these sixteen pages has been lost, but its extent is easily determined by the fact that the beginning of the next page (p. 119 originally, Extant Page 61 in the Michigan numeration) survives. The fourteen surviving pages bear the Michigan pagination 47 to 60. This set of sixteen also covers exactly 280 lines of Loeb Greek text, with a further line for the heading of Similitude IX - once again an average of 17,5625 Loeb Greek lines per page of the codex.

The remainder of the ninth Similitude after Sim. IX: iv, 5 comprises the following number of lines in the Loeb edition:-

Sim. IX: iv, 5-xiv, end.....	436 lines
Sim. IX: xv-xxix.....	404 lines
Sim. IX: xxx-end.....	equivalent to 114 lines of Greek.

This total of 954 lines, at 17,5625 lines per page on average, would cover exactly 54,3 pages of the codex, beginning with the extant page 119. The conjugate of page 119 was page 55; hence the final numbered page would have exactly coincided with the end of the ninth Similitude - not with Sim. IX: xxx, as Bonner suggests. Such a coincidence cannot lightly be dismissed. It surely suggests that the codex originally ended with the final chapters of the ninth Similitude (not the tenth, as Bonner assumes without debate); and accordingly it suggests that the pagination represents the original scope of the codex in its first half as much as in its latter half.

If the pagination is original in the first half, Bonner is surely correct in assuming that the codex could hardly have begun in the course of the fourth Mandate. The solution lies, not in postulating lost leaves, but in entertaining the possibility that the Similitudes (one must surely accept that the codex included the first Similitude, even though the extant pages begin only with Sim. II, 8) were preceded by something other than the Mandates.

The final sixteen pages of the first half of the codex (originally pages 71 to 86; Extant Pages 15 to 30) are, as one would expect in the middle of a large codex, not particularly capacious: they cover only Sim. V: vi, 3 to Sim. VII, 3, i.e. 241 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition plus

two lines for the headings to the sixth and seventh Similitudes. This averages a mere 15,1875 lines of Loeb Greek text per page of the codex - significantly lower than the average for the conjugate leaves in the second half of the codex.

The second batch of sixteen pages before the end of the first half of the codex (originally pages 56 to 71; Extant Pages 1 to 14, with a leaf missing) was slightly more capacious, the pages probably being broader and certainly the writing being more easily done the further from the middle of the codex the scribe had to operate. These pages cover Sim. II, 8 to Sim. V: vi, 3, or 259 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition with three lines given over to headings. This yields an average of 16,375 lines of Loeb text per codex page.

Presumably the extant first Michigan page was preceded originally by the remains of the second Similitude, and by the first. In the Loeb edition this covers a total of 124 lines of Greek. If allowance is made for two lines for the headings to the first two Similitudes, and a further two lines for a heading to the Similitudes as a whole, a total of 128 lines has to be accounted for. At an average of 16 lines of Loeb text to the codex page, this figure would cover exactly 8 pages of the codex. The Similitudes thus clearly began on the page originally numbered 48.

What occupied the first forty-seven pages? Calculating at an

average of 17,5625 lines of Loeb text per codex page, the 891 lines of the Mandates would occupy 51 codex pages, four too many. It is at this point - where apparent stalemate is reached - that a computation of the extent of the first four Visions casts an unexpected light. These cover in the Loeb text a total of 805 lines. At 17,5625 Loeb lines per codex page, this would yield exactly 46 pages.

As Bonner preferred a computation of the original pagination that had 54 pages (not 55) prior to the first extant page (and accordingly 46, not 47, pages before the beginning of the Similitudes), for a codex that at the time of its pagination comprised 43, not 44, sheets, this figure for the Visions coheres remarkably with his preferred solution.

CONCLUSION

It is suggested that the above brief study has shed some light on the original contents of the Michigan codex. Bonner suggested that its original compass was Vis. V to Sim. X. In order to accommodate this content, he had to postulate six leaves missing at the beginning and the end when the codex was paginated.

Our study has revealed that the final page of the codex as paginated coincided with the end of Similitude IX. This fact suggests that the pagination, although not in the hand of the original scribe, was almost certainly made when the codex was intact. Accordingly an alternative to the Mandates has to be

sought as content for the 46 or 47 pages of the codex preceding the beginning of Similitude I. The first four Visions would fill these pages exactly.

It is therefore suggested that Pap. Mich. 129 (*olim* 917) was originally a single-gathering codex of 43 sheets (the fifth largest of the single-gathering codices positively identified¹⁰), and that it comprised the first four Visions and the first nine Similitudes - an unusual combination of parts of the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

Regarding the date of this codex, Bonner notes¹¹, "I have found no specimen of literary writing that very closely resembles this hand, though it has points of contact with several sloping uncials which competent judges have attributed to the third century; and I can see no decadent tendency in the writing of the Hermas which would justify one placing it in the fourth century, where a good many coarser and less elegant examples of the sloping uncial may be found." A date in the second half of the third century, therefore, seems palaeographically all but certain. If this MS originated in Theadelphia or its environs, moreover, a date later than the third century becomes impossible, since after that date Theadelphia had ceased to exist.

¹⁰See the table in that section of this study below dealing with the Akhmimic version.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, p. 15.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(4) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . 3527 .

In 1983 there was published in the series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* as No. 3527¹ "three joined fragments of a leaf" comprising the top outer part thereof; parts of the top and outer margins survive. The editor comments, "The proportion of breadth to height is such that it can safely be assumed that there were two columns to the page"².

The text that survives covers Sim. VIII: iv, 1-5 on the recto, and Sim. VIII: iv, 6 to v, 2 on the verso. The equivalent passages in the Loeb edition³ cover 15 and 16 lines respectively. Between the end of the recto and the beginning of the verso the Loeb edition has text covering a further four and a half lines; adding this to the fifteen lines of the recto one is left with an equivalence of approximately 20 Loeb lines per column of text. (Since the surviving fragments are from the outer part of the leaf, it is clear that the preserved column on the verso follows immediately upon the preserved column on the recto).

Significant is the fact that both preserved columns are numbered, 82 and 83 respectively. That this numbering refers

¹*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*: Volume L, edited with translations and notes by ... C.H. Roberts ... London: Egypt Exploration Society for the British Academy, 1983, p. 17-20. [Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 70].

²*Idem*, p. 17.

³*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

to the columns and not the pages is shown by the fact that the numbers are centred at the top of each column, and not towards the outer part of the page or the centre of the page, as might be expected if they were page numbers. This numeration of the columns was added by a second hand, and perplexed the editor no end: "It can be calculated that the first column of the codex would have begun with *Mandates* 4.6 or thereabouts or, if headings were omitted or placed in the margin, at the beginning of *Mandate* 4. Neither appears a likely starting place were it not that the great Michigan codex, M, on a strict calculation of space would have opened with *Mandate* 4. Its editor, Campbell Bonner, argued that pagination must have been added after the initial (and final) leaves of the single-quire codex had been lost"⁴. The affinity of compass between the codex from which P. Oxy. 3527 derives and that from which P. Mich. 129 derives is significant; obviously both codices contained the same sections of the *Shepherd* and were following a similar model of what that work comprised. However, a similarity of model does not imply a similarity of text; Roberts makes plain that "the text of the two papyri differs so widely" that one could not have been copied from the other.

Roberts therefore has to fall back upon the conjecture that the codex from which P. Oxy. 3527 derives befell the same

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 17-18.

fate as the codex from which P. Mich. 129 derives, losing the same number of leaves from its beginning, or being incorrectly paginated in exactly the same way. To state this hypothesis is to refute it. Instead, a consideration of the possible compass of the original codex points to a more rational conclusion. The preserved column 82 was preceded by 81 numbered columns, each equivalent to approximately 20 Loeb lines of text (as column 82 was originally). Thus prior to Sim. VIII: iv, i the codex had capacity for the equivalent of 1620 Loeb lines. Sim. VIII: i to iii and the beginning of iv cover 144 lines in Loeb; Simm. I to VII cover 658 lines - a total of 802 lines. Mandd. IV to XII (the contents favoured by Roberts simply because he cannot break away from the sequence "Mandates/Similitudes") cover 815 Loeb lines - as the editor said, just enough to account for the earlier part of the codex if headings were omitted. But a far more rational supposition is that, preceding the earlier Similitudes (I to VIII) the codex contained Viss. I to IV - which in Loeb account for 805 lines. Taking headings into account, the first four Visions would just fit into the early part of the codex.

There is another problem raised by P. Oxy. 3527. This is the fact that on the recto the fibres of papyrus are vertical, on the verso horizontal. This should imply that the preserved leaf came from the first half of a quire, since normally (on Turner's model⁵) all rectos had papyrus fibres vertical

and all versos had fibres horizontal. The reverse would be true, of course, in the second half of the quire, where the conjugate leaves of those in the first half of the quire would have the horizontal side as recto and the vertical side as verso.

Yet if all quires were quaternions, the leaf bearing columns 82 and 83 would in fact have been the first leaf of the second half of the quire, as illustrated in the diagram below. There are three possible explanations for this discrepancy: (a) that an additional leaf was inserted at some earlier point (unlikely at this early stage in the codex); or (b) that the "normal" arrangement of unlike sides facing each other was preserved, but that the first sheet had fibres horizontal rather than vertical; or (c) that the sheets were laid with horizontal side facing horizontal side rather than horizontal side down, vertical side up throughout.

This third method, with "like side facing like side", is normal in parchment quires, but allegedly unusual in papyrus ones. However, as was pointed out above in our discussion of P. Oxy. 3528, at least as regards third-century codices the common view of the makeup of a papyrus codex does not hold.

There are thus two probabilities to explain the direction of the fibres on our preserved fragments: either that the codex

⁵Turner, E.G. *The typology of the early codex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

QUATERNION A:	Column Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	01 02	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	04-03-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	05 06	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	08-07-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	09 10	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	12-11-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	13 14	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	16-15-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	17 18	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	20-19-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	21 22	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	24-23-	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	25 26	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	28-27-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	29 30	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	32-31-	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION B:	Column Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	33 34	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	36-35-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	37 38	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	40-39-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	41 42	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	44-43-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	45 46	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	48-47-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	49 50	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	52-51-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	53 54	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	56-55-	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	57 58	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	60-69-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	61 62	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	64-63-	vertical	horizontal	vertical

Column Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
65 66	vertical	horizontal	vertical
68--67-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
69 70	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
72--71-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
73 74	vertical	horizontal	vertical
76--75-	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
77 78	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
80--79-	horizontal	vertical	vertical
81 82	horizontal	<u>vertical</u>	<u>vertical</u>
84--83-	vertical	<u>horizontal</u>	<u>horizontal</u>
85 86	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
88--87-	vertical	horizontal	vertical
89 90	horizontal	vertical	vertical
92--91-	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
93 94	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
96--95-	vertical	horizontal	vertical

from which they derive was made up of quires where like page faced like, or that it was made up of unlike facing pages but began with a page where the fibres ran horizontally.

Roberts⁶ dates the leaf palaeographically to the early third century on the basis of the similarity of the hand to those of the Bodmer St John and the Oxyrhynchus Iliad, both second-century texts. (Turner⁷, however, dates the Bodmer St John to A.D. 200-250). It differs from them, though, in that the shapes of its letters are apparently later. In short, it is almost contemporary with the Michigan papyrus 129, with which it coheres also in content.

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 66.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(5) PAPYRUS BEROLINENS . 5513 .

This fragment was first published in facsimile by Ulrich Wilcken in his *Abhandlungen zur älteren griechischen Paläographie nach Originalen des Berliner Museums*¹, as Number iii. He described the fragment without explanation as "Aus der Faijum", and continued, "Die Hds. hatte Rollenformat und zwar ist der Papyrus nur einseitig beschrieben. . . . Die zierliche Schrift hat ganz die eigenthümlichkeiten der jüngeren Unciale . . . Sie erinnert merkwürdig an das fragmentum [sic] mathematicum Bobiense. Doch muss die Hds. schon wegen des Rollenformates um Jahrhunderte älter sein als jenes Fragment angesetzt wird (VIII. Jahrh.)."

The origin of the contents was first identified by H. Diels and A. Harnack². They agree with Wilcken's early dating on the grounds that at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries the *Shepherd* began to go out of favour with the Great Church, possibly on account of its popularity among the Arians: "Über das Alter des Papyrus lässt sich auf Grund seines Inhaltes sagen, dass er schwerlich später geschrieben ist als um den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts."³ Ehrhard⁴ favoured a date in the

¹Leipzig/Berlin, 1891.

²"Über einen Berliner Papyrus des Pastor Hermæ", *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historischen Classe* vom 30. April 1891, p. 427-431.

³*Idem*, p. 428.

3rd-4th century for the origin of the fragment, primarily on account of its roll format. Horsley⁵ in fact dates it to the third century, as does Whittaker⁶.

Ehrhard⁷ puts the cat among the pigeons in suggesting that our fragment might have been written, not in Egypt, but in Italy, on account of its palaeographic affinities with the Bobbio fragment: "Darnach wäre es andererseits auch nicht unmöglich, dass jene Ähnlichkeit in Gesamteindruck der beiden Fragmente gerade daraus beruht, dass auch das Fragm. Berol. in Italien geschrieben wurde; eine Hypothese, die ich nur ausspreche, um keinen Gesichtspunkt unbeachtet zu lassen." He is clearly not committed to this theory, and makes no attempt to explain how a roll written in Italy could have landed up in the Fayum.

The Bobbio fragment in question is easily accessible in facsimile in E.M. Thompson's *An introduction to Greek and Latin palaeography*⁸, where it appears as No. 48 and is

⁴"Herma'sfragmente auf Papyrus", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 9, 1892, p. 223-226, at p. 225.

⁵Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977*. Macquarie University, 1982, p. 160.

⁶*Die apostolischen Väter: I, Der Hirt des Herma's*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. xiv.

⁷"Die Berliner Herma's-Fragmente auf Papyrus", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 74, 1892, p. 294-303, at p. 302.

dated to the seventh century (not to the eighth, as by Wilckens). It is now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, which about the year 1803 (when that institution was about 200 years old) received many ancient MSS. from the Bobbio library. In 1740 Muratori had published⁹ a catalogue of the Bobbio library as it was in the 10th century, wherein some 700 MSS. were listed. A Greek Hermas does not appear among them; so if our fragment of the *Shepherd* had been written at Bobbio during the first century of the existence of that house (i.e. contemporaneously with the Mathematical Fragment, during the course of the seventh century), it must have left Bobbio (presumably on its way to Egypt) before the compilation of the catalogue.

There is of course no compelling reason why the Bobbio Mathematical Fragment should have been written at Bobbio; it could as well have been written elsewhere and come into the possession of the Bobbio library at some later date. If this possibility is entertained it is no longer necessary to date the Mathematical Fragment to the seventh century; it could then have been written elsewhere at an earlier date. Even more fundamentally, we could simply dismiss the perceived likeness between the Mathematical Fragment and our fragment

⁸Oxford University Press, 1912; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d., p. 211-212.

⁹Muratori, L. *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*. Volume III. Milan, 1740, p. 817-821. This was the same volume as contained the Muratorian Canon on p. 851-854.

as a coincidence, having no bearing upon the determination of either date or place of writing of the latter.

When all this has been said, however, there still remains a degree of unease at the palaeographic affinity of our fragment with a work dated to the seventh century; at the links of that work with Italy, not Egypt; and at the (for Egypt) blatant discrepancy of a Christian work on a roll rather than in codex format. There is, as will be shown below, another apparent discrepancy with what is known from other sources of the Egyptian transmission of the *Shepherd* which induces caution in identifying P. Berol. 5513 as Egyptian.

Column I, with 29 partially preserved lines, ends with the end of Sim. II. Column II, with 23 partially preserved lines, contains Sim. IV, 2-5. The question arises as to whether we have preserved merely half of the depth of the roll (in which case there would have been space for Sim. III between the end of Sim. II and the beginning of Sim. IV), or whether our fragment is in fact the greater part of the depth of the roll, or even in the case of the first column the entire depth. Diels and Harnack¹⁰ comment, "würde Col. II mit Sim. IV begonnen, sie würde demnach, wenn man den etwa 7 1/2 Zeilen füllenden Anfang dem Erhaltenen zurechnet, 7 + 23 = 30 oder 8 + 23 = 31 Zeilen gehabt haben.

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, footnote 3.

Im letzteren Falle würde zwar die Anfangszeile der Col. II auf gleiche Höhe zu stehen kommen mit der ersten erhaltenen Zeile von Col. I."

The difference in the number of lines between the two columns is also capable of satisfactory explanation¹¹: "Dass Col. I zwei Zeilen weniger hat als Col. II, die sicher mit L. 23 endigt, erklärt sich daraus, dass der Schreiber das neue Cap. mit neuer Col. beginnen wollte."

Diels and Harnack postulate¹² that Sim. III must have been omitted from this manuscript, at least at this point, for otherwise one would have to visualise a preposterously deep roll: "so muss (vorausgesetzt dass Sim. III nicht etwa umgestellt oder ausgelassen war) Col. II 23 + 27 = 50 Zeilen oder nach dem Umfange des Erhaltenen berechnet eine Schrifthöhe von 25 cm gehabt haben."

A. Ehrhard¹³ gives reason for supporting the theory that we have preserved not a mere half of the depth of the original roll but by far the greater part. He points out that Wessely and Diels in different contexts had established that "die Normalanzahl der Zeilen auf den Papyrusrollen von Faijum zwischen 27 und 35 schwankt." This would cohere better with the suggestion that we have the greater part of

¹¹*Idem*, footnote 2.

¹²*Idem*, p. 428 and footnote 3.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 299.

the depth of the papyrus preserved than with the suggestion that we have preserved only the bottom half of the papyrus; but it does presuppose that our fragment was written in the Fayum.

Column I contains the end of Sim. II; its adjunct, Column II, which is missing seven or eight lines at the beginning, began therefore with Sim. IV.

The omission of the Third Similitude (i.e. the passage from the second directly to the fourth) is assumed here by Whittaker¹⁵: "Im Berliner Papyrus 5513 folgte das vierte Gleichnis auf das zweite." We shall see below (see the section on P. Oxy. IX. 1172) that another Greek witness might also have omitted the Third Similitude in this place, although the evidence in that case is decidedly less compelling than that here.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(6) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . XV . 1828 .

In 1922 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt published a "fragment of a vellum leaf, inscribed in well-formed rather small sloping uncials of, probably, the third century"¹.

It was identified by S.G. Mercati² as containing paragraphs 3 (recto) and 5 (verso) of Sim. VI: v.

Grenfell and Hunt, by identifying the recto as the "flesh side", printed the two sides of the fragment in reverse order. Paragraph 3 is written on the hair side and paragraph 5 on the flesh side; but no significance can be attached to this fact, as Turner³, referring to Gregory⁴, observed, for a common practice was to have hair side facing hair side and flesh side facing flesh side in the compilation of a codex (see above, the sections on P. Oxy. 3528 and P. Oxy. 3527).

The connection with Egypt is established, of course, by the origin of the fragment. It derives from the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus, near the town of Bahnasa in Middle Egypt. This is the earliest of the preserved parchment fragments containing sections of the *Shepherd*.

¹*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*: Part XV, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1922, p. 230.

²"Passo del Pastore di Erma riconosciuto nel Pap. Oxy. 1828", *Biblica*, 6, 1925, p. 336-338.

³Turner, E.G. *The typology of the early codex*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p. 56.

⁴Gregory, C.R. *Canon and text of the New Testament*. Edinburgh, 1907, p. 324.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE . . .

(7) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . I . 5 . . .

In 1898 the first volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*¹ included as item 5 a "fragment of a Christian homily or treatise on the spirit of prophecy. The papyrus, which is a leaf out of a book, is written in a good-sized informal uncial hand of the late third or early fourth century." Turner, on the other hand, dated the papyrus to the fourth or fifth century².

The greater part of the Recto was legible, yielding the following translation³: "and that man being filled with the Holy Spirit speaks as the Lord wills, the spirit of the Divine nature will thus be manifest. For the spirit of prophecy is the essence of the prophetic order, which is the body of the flesh of Jesus Christ, which was mingled with human nature through Mary."

In *The Athenaeum*, No. 3689, of 9 July 1898, p. 65-66, F.C. Conybeare identified part of the fragment as "really a citation of the 'Hermae Pastor,' mand. xi., sections 9 and 10, followed by a fragment of an early commentary. The interest of the latter is extreme, because of its identification of "the prophetic order" of the Church with

¹Part I, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898, p. 8-9.

²Turner, E.G. *The typology of the early codex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, no. 528.

³*Op. cit.*, p. 9.

"the body of the flesh" of Jesus Christ.

"This commentary belongs to the same age and circle of believers as 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' and the fragment is a fresh proof of the wide circulation in the earliest Church of the 'Hermae Pastor.' "

A few days later Adolf Harnack⁴ made a similar identification. Of the work in which the citation from the *Shepherd* is embedded, he had this to say: "Die Benutzung des Hirten einerseits, der dogmatische Ausdruck

"τὸ σῶμα τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ μὲν τῇ
ἀνθρωπότητι διὰ Μαρίας"

andererseits erlauben es, die Zeit des Verfassers noch genauer zu bestimmen: man wird nicht irren, wenn man ihn in die zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts versetzt."⁵

He places the author of the citing work in a Montanist or proto-Montanist circle. "Aber auch das Ansehen, welches das Buch des Hermas in der ältesten Christenheit genossen hat, empfängt durch unser Fragment ein verstärktes Licht. Das Wesen der Prophetie hat der Verfasser nach Hermas, Mand. 11 bestimmt; er commentirt die Stelle wie einen biblischen Text."⁶

⁴"Über zwei von Grenfell und Hunt entdeckte und publicirte altchristliche Fragmente", *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* vom 14. Juli, 1898, p. 516-520.

⁵*Idem*, p. 519.

⁶*Idem*, p. 520.

The fact that the text of the *Shepherd* could be treated in this authoritative fashion by the writer who quotes it, makes one think of the way in which Clement of Alexandria, at the beginning of the third century, regarded the *Shepherd*. On the other hand such use of the *Shepherd* need not necessarily be a mark of an early date; Ehrman⁷ has recently shown that as late as the latter fourth century it could be cited as scripture.

Harnack continues⁸, "Eine Tractat "über die Prophetie" hat Clemens Alex. an mehreren Stellen seiner Stromateis angekündigt; aber wir wissen nicht, ob er ihn wirklich geschrieben hat. Dagegen hat uns Eusebius den Titel einer Schrift des Bischofs Melito von Sardes περί προφητείας mitgeteilt... Leider ist sie uns nicht mehr erhalten." H. Paulsen⁹ amends the last two lines of the recto of the fragment to include the reading διαδοχή and also suggests that the time of origin of the citing work was the early period of the Montanist movement.

A few months after Conybeare, Vernon Bartlet¹⁰, writing in *The Athenaeum*, and plainly unaware of the

⁷Ehrman, B.D. "The New Testament canon of Didymus the Blind", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 37, 1983, p. 1-21.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 520.

⁹"Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 7.5 und die ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ", *New Testament Studies*, 25, 1978-1979, p. 443-453.

¹⁰No. 3702, 8 October 1898, p. 491-492.

identifications and theories already advanced, suggested that the whole was in fact from the *Shepherd*: "The peculiar section begins at "For the prophetic Spirit", &c., and is of great interest. It suggests that a whole section of the original Hermas has been deliberately omitted in our existing authorities (Greek, Aethiopic, Latin) on account of what seemed to later times its unorthodoxy. That this is the true account of the matter . . . is confirmed by

(1) the fact that our other authorities, especially the Latin, vary considerably in the phrasing of the next sentence in the *textus receptus*;

(2) the fact that the papyrus is apparently as early as "the late third or early fourth century".

"The verso, on which words and parts of words are legible only in sporadic fashion, shows that there was at least as much more of the omitted section as all that is on the recto side." Bartlet's theory has found no critical favour (I have never even seen it discussed; Whittaker *ad loc.* simply states baldly¹¹, "Zitat in einer unbekanntem Schrift über Prophetie"); yet the disorganization of the text at this point makes it not unlikely that an editorial hand has been at work, either in the hyparchetype from which all our other authorities are derived, or independently in the various texts and versions. Mandate XI could well have been longer in the original than it is in our current texts.

¹¹*Die apostolischen Väter, Der Hirt des Hermas. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage.* Berlin: Akademie. 1967, p. 41; see also p. xv.

Although published as early as 1912, this fragment was identified for the first time in 1979, too late by twelve years to feature even in the second edition of Whittaker's text.

Our text, a fragment of a papyrus codex, was found in 1907 at Hermopolis Magna (now Ashmunain in Middle Egypt) and is stated in the original publication¹ to date from the 4th century. On the recto (papyrus fibres vertical) the ends of thirteen lines are preserved, while on the verso (papyrus fibres horizontal) the beginnings of thirteen lines can be seen². It forms the upper half of a leaf, with the upper margin still intact.

In 1979 J. Lenaerts, and in 1980 M. Gronewald³, independently identified the contents as coming from Mand. XI, 19-21 and Mand. XII: 1, 2-3. While Lenaerts favoured a date at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century, Gronewald identified the fragment as dating from the fourth century.

¹Schaeffer, E. *Voluminum codicumque fragmenta graeca cum amuleto christiano: Papyri Iandanae*. Fasc. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912, p. 12-13 and Table III.

²Lenaerts, J. "Un papyrus du Pasteur d'Herma: P. Iand. 1, 4", *Chronique d'Egypte*, 54, 1979, p. 356-358, at p. 356.

³"Ein verkannter Herma-Papyrus", *Zeitschrift fuer Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 40, 1980, p. 53-54.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(9) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . III . 404 .

In 1903, as part of their publication of papyri from Oxyrhynchus, Grenfell and Hunt published three fragments of a leaf from a papyrus codex¹, "inscribed on both sides in a sloping uncial hand of the late third or fourth century". The first two fragments nearly join, but between them and the third fragment it appears that a line of text has been lost. (Refer to Plate IV in the *editio princeps* for a graphic representation of the situation). For the *editio princeps* Vernon Bartlet identified the text of the fragments as coming from the *Shepherd*, the recto covering Sim. X: iii, 2-5, and the verso of Fragment C (the versos of the first two fragments contain only a few legible letters) containing part of Sim. X: iv, 3-4.

The interest of this find lies in the fact that it is one of the sole Greek witnesses to the text of the tenth Similitude, which is reconstructed almost wholly from the two Latin versions and the Ethiopic. The editors note² that the fragments form "a useful supplement to P. Amh. 190, Fr. (h) verso, another papyrus fragment of the missing Greek portion of the same work, and demonstrate with equal clearness that Simonides' version of the last leaf of the Athos codex was a forgery".

¹*The Oxyrhynchus papyri: Part III*, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903, p. 7-9 and plate IV, at p. 7.

²*Ibid.*

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(10) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . XV . 1783 .

In 1922 there was published in the series *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*¹ "the lower portion of a vellum leaf containing a few verses from *Mand ix.*" Between the recto and the verso the editors estimated that seven lines were missing; allowing for an upper margin as deep as the lower, the original size of the page would have been about 13cm. "The hand is a round upright uncial of medium size and rather graceful appearance, which may be referred to the earlier part of the fourth century."²

Mercati³ suggested tentatively that this fragment might derive from the same codex as P. Oxy. 1828: "Non potrebbe forse appartenere all' altro frammento di Hermas, pure pergamenaceo, che porta il n.º 1783?"

P. Oxy. 1828 was described thus by the editors⁴:

"Fragment of a vellum leaf, inscribed in well-formed rather small sloping uncials of, probably, the third century. The contents are of an ethical character. Apparently the lines were of no great length, but their point of division is not fixed. The vellum is thin and rather discoloured."

¹*The Oxyrhynchus papyri*: Part XV, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1922, p. 15-17.

²*Idem*, p. 15.

³Mercati, S.G. "Passo del Pastore di Erma riconosciuto nel Pap. Oxy. 1828", *Biblica*, 6, 1925, p. 336-338, at p. 338.

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 230.

1783 and 1828 have in common the fact that both are written on parchment; yet, as Horsley⁵ points out, there are a number of dissimilarities. Firstly there is the difference in the hand: 1783 in a "round upright uncial of medium size", 1828 in "well formed rather small sloping uncials." Moreover "1783 has noticeably fewer letters per line, though note that no entire line of 1828 survives." Thirdly there is the date of each: 1828 is third century, 1783 fourth century.

There is a fourth consideration against identifying the codices from which 1783 and 1828 derive. The editors state of 1783⁶, "The leaf is a palimpsest, but the original text, which ran in the reverse direction, is so much obliterated that its identity has not yet been established."

There is no indication whatever that 1828 is a palimpsest. It may be concluded, therefore, that these fragments are two separate witnesses to the Egyptian tradition of the *Shepherd*.

P. Oxy. 1783 contains most of Mand. IX, 2-3 on the recto and Mand. IX, 4-5 on the verso. It is yet another witness, in short, to the popularity of the Mandates in Egypt.

⁵Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977*. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 160.

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 16.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(1 1) PAPHYRI OXYRHYNCH . IX . 1 1 7 2
ET L . 3 5 2 6 .

The nearly complete leaf from a papyrus codex published in 1912 as number 1172 of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* is significant in that its two pages retain their numeration: 70 and 71 respectively. "The script is a medium-sized sloping semi-cursive which I should assign to the fourth century."¹

Page 70 begins at Sim. II, 4, some 23 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition² after the beginning of this Similitude.

Its twenty-five lines of Greek text equal 24 lines in the Loeb edition. Page 71 has twenty-two lines of Greek text and a title; the twenty-two lines of text equal 25 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition.

What is immediately eye-catching in this pagination is that the recto is evenly numbered, the verso bearing an odd number. This surely implies (presupposing that the pagination has not erred at some stage) that the first numbered page was on the verso of a leaf, and that the recto of the first leaf was left blank, perhaps as a title page or a cover. On the other hand, it is possible that an error of pagination has occurred, and that the writing began on the recto of the first leaf, but that subsequently a page number has been repeated, so that correctly our extant pages should

¹*The Oxyrhynchus papyri*: Part IX, edited with translations and notes by Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1912, p. 11-16, at p. 11-12.

²*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake, in two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

have been numbered 71 and 72. That such errors are not unknown is shown by the presence of a similar error in P. Mich. 129, on which see above.

In the event of the pagination being correct, our extant leaf was preceded by 69 pages of Greek text, each presumably bearing approximately the same amount of matter as the extant pages, i.e. the equivalent of 25 lines of Loeb Greek. Those 69 pages would then have borne the equivalent of 1725 Loeb lines prior to Sim. II, 4.

Visions I to IV cover 805 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition; the Mandates (including 37 lines for Vision V) cover 928 lines; Similitude I covers 59 lines; and that part of Similitude II preceding the preserved leaf covers 23 lines. In all, the Loeb edition has 1815 Greek lines preceding the preserved fragment. The difference between this figure and the figure (1725) for the capacity of the codex from which our leaf is taken is a mere 90 lines, or 5% - a margin of error in calculating from a printed edition to a manuscript which does not seem excessive. If, moreover, one is prepared to suggest that Vision V (37 lines in the Loeb edition) may not have been contained in this codex, one comes even closer to unity. More will be said below on the contents of this codex, when the evidence of P. Oxy. 3256 is taken into account.

More problems arise, however, in considering the implications of the title line at the end of Page 71, which the editor represents as "ἰθὲ παραβολῆ δ", the initial theta being uncertain.

"This line", says the editor³, "may be regarded as either an *explicit* or an *incipit*, though at the bottom of a column the former is more natural." Although it may be more natural, it presents almost insuperable problems to regard the preserved leaf as having been numbered "παραβολῆ δ", since it is difficult to see what THREE items preceding it in the usual order could have been numbered 1, 2 and 3. On the other hand, if this title is an *incipit*, it implies that the contents of the preserved leaf were numbered "παραβολῆ γ", which is not only possible, but probable: the Similitudes could have been regarded as starting with Mandate XII: iii, 4 (numbered 1), our Sim. I being numbered 2, and our Sim. II being numbered 3. In support of this scenario is the fact that just before Mand. XII: iii, 4, the Athous codex reads "ΑΡΧΗ", while at this point the Ethiopic version (a witness much closer to the Egyptian tradition) has "Finita sunt mandata duodecim. Initium similitudinum. Similitudo prima"⁴.

³*Op.cit.*, p. 15, ad l. 48.

⁴So both the Loeb edition, *Op.cit.*, p. 130, and Whittaker's edition, *Die apostolischen Väter: 1, Der Hirte des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. 44.

This system of numeration does not, of course, necessarily imply that what followed the preserved leaf was what we know as the fourth Similitude; it could as well have been our Sim. III, which according to the system just outlined could well have been numbered 4. It is, therefore, not possible to argue that this fragment displays the same sort of arrangement as P. Berol. 5513, where our Sim. IV clearly does follow Sim. II; although, equally, such an arrangement is not necessarily precluded here.

The other problem is the number at the beginning of the title line. Hunt suggests⁵, "The other number, if it be a number, which stands in front of parable may refer to some such larger division into sections as is apparently also indicated by P. Amh. 190 (*K*). There are traces of ink in front of the (quite doubtful) θ , but whether another figure preceded is not clear." As this number might have been almost anything (ranging from 9, through 19, 29, 39 etc. virtually to infinity) there is little point in speculating on exactly what its significance was; but it might be important in showing at least that the early Similitudes were regarded as part of a larger whole. Is it possible that the *Shepherd* was divided in this codex into sections comparable to the ancient divisions in some Greek gospel

⁵*Op.cit.*, p. 15-16.

⁶A useful overview of some of these is given by Y. Burns, "Chapter numbers in Greek and Slavonic gospel codices", *New Testament Studies*, 23, 1976-1977, p. 320-333.

codices?⁶. The purpose of the divisions in the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Zacynthius, and the cursive Ms. 579 is unknown, but might have something to do with a lectionary division⁷. Two other ancient forms of numbering are known in the gospels, the Ammonian sections and the Eusebian canons, both of which are peculiar to the gospels in that they presuppose common matter in different literary works⁸. It is not suggested that the *Shepherd* was treated in the same way for lectionary purposes as the gospels; but some functional division into sections is possible as an explanation for the figure which precedes the title in our fragment.

In 1983 there was published⁹ a further leaf from the same codex as P. Oxy. 1172. This assertion of identity was based on an independent comparison of the handwriting of the two leaves by T.C. Skeat. P. Oxy. 3526 was reconstructed from seven fragments, and yields the text of the end of Mand. V and the beginning of Mand. VI - unfortunately without any

⁷For Mark this was argued by P. Carrington, *The primitive Christian calendar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952. For Matthew a similar idea was propounded by M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and lection in Matthew*. London: S.P.C.K., 1974.

⁸Some explanation of these systems is given by C. Nordenfalk, "The Eusebian canon-tables: some textual problems", *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series 35, 1984, p. 96-104.

⁹*The Oxyrhynchus papyri: Volume L*, edited with translations and notes by ... C.H. Roberts... London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983, p. 14-17.

trace of pagination surviving, since there are no margins left.

Significant for reconstruction purposes is the fact that this leaf has the papyrus fibres of its recto horizontal, while the fibres of the verso are vertical; hence it must derive from the second half of a quaternion, unlike P. Oxy. 1172, where the fibres are apparently (this is not stated in the edition, but can be taken as given unless otherwise stated) vertical on the recto and horizontal on the verso, indicating a leaf from the first half of a quaternion.

A consideration of what must have intervened between the end of 3526 and the beginning of 1172 is informative. The equivalences in the Loeb edition are as follows:-

Mand. VI: i, 2b to Mand. IX	222 lines of Greek
Mand. X to Mand. XI	200 lines of Greek
Mand. XII: i to iii	075 lines of Greek
Mand. XII: iv to Sim. I	150 lines of Greek
Sim. II, 1 to 3	023 lines of Greek
TOTAL	670 lines of Greek

The average for 1172 is 25 lines of Loeb Greek per page of the codex (an average slightly higher than that for 3256, where the recto covers the equivalent of 24 lines of Loeb Greek and the verso thirteen lines of Mand. V, eight lines of Mand. VI, and one line for the heading), this would have covered 27 pages. But there could not have been an odd number of pages between 3526 and 1172, since they are both

nearly-complete leaves. Recalculation at an average of 24 lines of Loeb Greek per page of the codex yields 28 pages between the two preserved leaves, as follows:-

p. 42-45	Mand. VI: i, 2b to Mand. VII	095 lines of Greek
p. 46-48	Mand. VIII	072 lines of Greek
p. 49-52	Mand. IX and X: i	092 lines of Greek
p. 53-54	Mand. X: ii and iii	047 lines of Greek
p. 55-62	Mand. XI and XII: i to iii	191 lines of Greek
p. 63-68	Mand. XII: iv to Sim. I	150 lines of Greek
p. 69	Sim. II, 1 to 3	023 lines of Greek

This scheme would make 3256 a leaf from the second half of a gathering, as required by the direction of its fibres (see the diagram below).

Quire:	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Fibre
	0	16	32	48	64	Vert
	1	17	33	49	65	Hor
	2	18	34	50	66	Vert
	3	19	35	51	67	Hor
	4	20	36	52	68	Vert
	5	21	37	53	69	Hor
	6	22	38	54	<u>70</u>	Vert
	7	23	39	55	<u>71</u>	Hor
	8	24	<u>40</u>	56	72	Hor
	9	25	<u>41</u>	57	73	Vert
	10	26	42	58	74	Hor
	11	27	43	59	75	Vert
	12	28	44	60	76	Hor
	13	29	45	61	77	Vert
	14	30	46	62	78	Hor
	15	31	47	63	79	Vert

Both 3256 and 1172 are (if the codex from which they derive was composed of quaternions) the inmost leaves of their respective quaternions, i.e. those leaves which were most likely to be preserved.

What is of interest is to speculate on the contents of the first 39 pages, at the amended average of 24 lines of Loeb Greek per codex page. The eleven pages preceding p. 40 (i.e. p. 29 to 39) would have accommodated the equivalent of (11 x 24 =) 264 Loeb lines. This would have covered the following sections:-

Mand. V: i and the first part of ii	061 lines
Mand. IV	123 lines
Mand. III	036 lines
Mand. II	032 lines
Mand. I	008 lines
TOTAL:	260 lines

The remaining 28 numbered pages would have accommodated the equivalent of (28 x 24 =) 672 lines of Loeb Greek. Yet preceding Mand. I there are 842 lines in the Loeb edition. Hence our codex was 170 lines too short to accommodate all the Visions - a position exactly analogous to P. Berol. 5104, which is 167 Loeb lines too short to accommodate all the Visions. It is suggested that an exact correspondence of this sort cannot be fortuitous; that there must be a rational explanation why both these codices appear to start the Mandates at exactly the same point from the beginning of the codex, yet at a point which cannot accommodate all the Visions.

Presupposing that Vis. V was absent (37 Loeb lines) and that individual Visions were not truncated, that can only mean that Vis. I (134 Loeb lines) was missing. Unlikely though this seems, it is the only rational explanation at this stage for the existence in two quite separate codices of just enough space to accommodate Viss. II, III and IV before the Mandates and the earlier Similitudes.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(1 2) P A P Y R U S B E R O L I N E N S . 1 3 2 7 2 .

The first publication of this piece of a parchment codex was made by O. Stegmüller in 1937¹. It had been found in 1906 in Ashmunain, the ancient Hermopolis Magna, and comprises the upper portion of a parchment leaf².

Stegmüller dated it palaeographically to the 4th century:

"Es handelt sich um eine sehr schöne, gefällige, sorgfältig ausgeführte Buchschrift, ein frühes Beispiel des sog. Bibelstils, die man dem ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert zuteilen wird."³. In fact, so impressed was he by its appearance that he postulated for it an origin as a Biblical codex: **"Das Format des Blattes war demnach ungefähr 25 x 20 cm. Dieses Format, der sehr breite Rand, die sorgfältige Beschriftung und die feine Qualität des Schreibstoffes legen die Vermutung nahe, dass das Blatt aus einer Bibelhandschrift stammt"**⁴.

The recto contains Sim. V: i, 5-ii, 2, the verso Sim. V: ii, 4-6. Unfortunately no page numbers or other indications of relative position are to be found, so the full extent of the codex from which this fragment derives cannot even be guessed at.

¹**"Christliche Texte aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung", *Aegyptus*, 17, 1937, p. 452-462. The Hermas text appears as no. 2, p. 456-459.**

²*Idem*, p. 456.

³*Idem*, p. 457.

⁴*Ibid.*

Stegmüller draws particular attention⁵ to the affinities of the text of the fragment with P. Mich. 129 and with the Latin Vulgata version, the origin of which he dates to the 3rd century.

⁵*Idem*, p. 459.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(13) PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCH . XIII . 1599 .

The complete leaf published as No. 1599 of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* is interesting for a number of reasons. First, there is the fact that it is paginated - pages 72 and 73 respectively. Secondly, the leaf is a complete one, so the capacity of the leaf can very easily be established, and accordingly the capacity of the preceding pages can equally easily be calculated. Thirdly, it appears to suffer from some strange reversal of recto and verso, unexplained by the editors. They simply print, without comment, page 72 under the heading "Verso" and page 73 under the heading "Recto"¹. Presumably they mean by this a reversal of the normal direction in which the papyrus is laid; but this need mean no more than that our leaf came from the second half of a quire. Fourthly, this leaf is of interest because it suffers from the same problem of pagination as No. 1172 of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, already discussed, namely the fact that the even-numbered page precedes the odd-numbered page. Either this means that the recto of the first leaf was left unnumbered as a title page or an outside cover; or it means that an error of pagination has occurred somewhere before our page was reached. Lastly, this leaf is noteworthy because it proves that the codex from which it derives could not have contained the whole of that part of the *Shepherd* which normally precedes the contents of our leaf in the form in which it is

¹*The Oxyrhynchus papyri: Part XIII*, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1919, p. 15-19, at p. 16.

Known to us. The nature of the proof will appear shortly.

The leaf derives from a papyrus codex and contains on page 72 Sim. VIII: vi, 4-vii, 3, and on page 73 Sim. VIII: vii, 4-viii, 3. The editors date it to the fourth century: "The leaf was found with dated third-century documents, but the writing hardly suggests so early a date, and it more probably belongs to the fourth century, like 1172, than to the last quarter of the third."² They also note the presence of two quite different hands on page 72: "Something seems to have gone wrong with the verso, where the original writing has been obliterated in ll. 5-6 and from 7 onwards, and a larger and less practised hand, which imitates the style of the first, takes its place up to the end of the page."³

It has already been mentioned that this leaf proves that the codex from which it derived could not have contained the entire preceding part of the *Shepherd* in the form known to us. This may be demonstrated by a consideration of the following figures.

The text contained on page 72 is the equivalent of 31 lines of Greek text in the Loeb edition⁴. Similarly, the text

²*Idem*, p. 15.

³*Ibid*.

⁴*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake, in two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Epistle to Diognetus.* London: William Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

on page 73 is equivalent to 31 lines of Loeb Greek. It may be taken, therefore, that all preceding pages bore approximately the same amount of Greek: equivalent in every case to 31 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition.

If there were 71 pages preceding our preserved leaf this would imply an equivalence of $(71 \times 31 =) 2201$ lines of Loeb Greek. If on the other hand there had been an error of pagination before our current leaf, there would have been a text equivalent either to $(72 \times 31 =) 2232$ Loeb lines or, less likely in my opinion (as it would have been easier to repeat a page number than to omit one altogether), $(70 \times 31 =) 2170$ Loeb lines.

Now that part of Sim. VIII: vi preceding our preserved leaf covers 31 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition; the five earlier chapters of Sim. VIII cover 205 lines; and Simm. I to VII cover 658 lines - a total in all of 894 lines, which must have covered some 29 pages $(29 \times 31 = 899)$ in the codex, i.e. the pages numbered 43 to 71 inclusive (if there was no error of pagination).

If Vision V and the Mandates had been present, they would have occupied a further 30 pages - at 31 lines a page yielding an equivalence of 930 lines of Loeb Greek, compared to the actual 928 lines occupied by that section. These would have been the pages numbered 13 to 42 inclusive. This would have left insufficient space for the first four

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(8) PAPYRUS IANDANUS I . 4 .

Visions, which occupy 805 lines in the Loeb edition, and at 31 lines per codex page would have needed 26 pages, not the 12 left over according to our computation at the beginning of the codex. This codex, therefore, was 14 pages too short - some 434 Loeb lines - to accommodate the whole of the *Shepherd* preceding our preserved leaf.

The only unit of text which comes anywhere near this figure is the 459 lines of Loeb text occupied by Vision III. If the codex from which our leaf derives was purely a Hermas codex - a not unreasonable assumption - the obvious way of explaining the apparent discrepancy between the codex and our printed texts is to postulate that Vision III (or the greater part of it) was missing - yielding a total of 346 Loeb lines for Visions I, II and IV, which would just have fitted into 11 pages of the codex.

This solution, although supported by the second codex of the first Sahidic version (which also appears to have just enough room for Viss. I, II and IV before the introduction to the Mandates formed by Vis. V) does not commend itself as a happy one, but it is certainly an obvious one. Perhaps it may be refined (by postulating a text of the Visions different in order and substance from the one now preserved to us); but whatever one's feelings on the subject, P. Oxy. 1599 makes clear that the codex from which it came did NOT contain the whole of the *Shepherd* as that work is known to us.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(14) PAPYRUS BODMER . XXXVIII .

This as-yet-unpublished MS which includes part of the *Shepherd* was brought to the attention of the world by the publication in 1984 of the first work in the codex which includes the extract from the *Shepherd*¹. It is a papyrus codex which comprises eleven sheets in a single gathering. The first ten of these forty-four pages are devoted to a verse work, the "Vision of Dorotheus", which was the subject-matter of the 1984 publication. That is followed by an as-yet-unpublished work, like its precursor in hexameters, involving Biblical characters. The second half of the codex, pages 23 to 44, is devoted to the first three Visions of the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

Kasser and Cavallo date the codex to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. It was found in Upper Egypt, not far from Nag Hammadi.

The significant question relates to the contents of the exemplar from which the extract from the *Shepherd* was copied. It is easy to understand why the Visions alone feature in P. Bodmer 38: the codex is a collection of visions from different sources. But did the exemplar from which it was copied also contain only the Visions, or did they contain more? Carlini² seems to believe that the heading in our

¹*Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorotheos*, édité avec une introduction, une traduction et des notes par A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt. En appendice: Description et datation du Codex des Visions, par R. Kasser et G. Cavallo. Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1984.

codex is decisive: the fact that this selection is called "Ἐρμῶ ὁράσεις" rather than "Πομπήν" means that the exemplar contained only the Visions. But such a line of argument really assesses the intelligence of the compiler of our codex too poorly. If he was capable of seeing a similarity of form in the works which he brought together, he must surely have been capable of seeing that the first section of the *Shepherd* (if he knew the complete work) was different in form and substance from the rest. So the nature of the exemplar is not established.

What is more significant in my view is that our codex contains only the first three Visions, and omits the fourth. Of course, in its present form the fourth Vision makes no sense, and appears to fit not at all into the schema of the three appearances of the Lady. A compiler such as the one who produced our codex might well have felt this, and himself omitted Vis. IV from his compilation. Above, notice was taken of a codex which apparently omitted Viss. I and V (that from which P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526 derive). Another, to be noticed shortly, had the same range (P. Berol. 5104). Another (from which we have P. Oxy. 1599) appears to have omitted Vis. III. It would appear that omission of one of the Visions was not altogether unknown in Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries.

²Carlini, A. "Un nuovo testimone delle Visioni di Erma", *Atene e Roma*, 30, 1985, p. 197-202.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(15) PAPYRUS HAMBURG . INV . 24 .

Although it is written not on papyrus but on parchment (and therefore, in the absence of any other indication of provenance, cannot without further ado be ascribed to Egypt), the fragment here under consideration was not only acquired in Egypt (and therefore was probably found in that country) but also shows decided affinities with the system of numbering the Similitudes¹ known within the Egyptian cultural realm, whereby the second part of our Mand. XII is called the First Parable, and all succeeding Similitudes thus have a number higher by one than they bear in the printed editions.

The fragment in question was bought from a dealer in Egypt, then passed to the Hamburg City Library, and first published in 1909². As to date, its editors state that its script belongs to the 4th or 5th century, without elaborating. It comprises the greater part of a leaf, intact save for some damage to its upper half. On account of that damage there are no traces of pagination, so nothing can be said of the codex as a whole.

The text on the recto covers the end of Sim. IV and the beginning of Sim. V, together with the heading "Παράβολη

¹See above, the section on P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526.

²Schmidt, K. & Schubart, W. "Ein Fragment des Pastor Hermae aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzung vom 28. Oktober 1909*, p. 1077-1081.

¶" between the two. As printed in the *editio princeps* this can only be a heading, for a line is left open between the end of Sim. IV and the heading, whereas the text of Sim. V follows immediately on the line below the heading. As was indicated above, a system of numbering the Similitudes in which our Sim. V would be numbered Parable 6 is well attested from other Egyptian fragments. The verso covers the text up to Sim. V: i, 5, and includes a sentence found also in the Latin Palatine version but not in the Latin Vulgate, the Ethiopic or the Athous Codex. (Whittaker *ad loc.*³ ascribes this omission to homoioteleuton. She of course was concerned to explain this omission from the "original text" in three important witnesses, not to discern relationships between texts. But it is clear that the presence of this sentence in two such geographically diverse witnesses as the Latin Palatine and the Hamburg fragment is much more significant than three independent slips of the scribal eye!)

The text of the verso of our leaf covers 12 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition⁴. For the average per page one would have to add another two lines to account for the "additional" sentence (which is omitted from the body of the Loeb text).

³*Die apostolischen Väter: I, Der Hirt des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. 52 [*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte*].

⁴*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes: II: The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

That part of Sim. IV which precedes the preserved text covers 30 Loeb lines; Simm. I to III cover 147 lines; the Mandates (with Vis. V) 928 lines; and Viss. I to IV 805 lines, for a total of 1910 Loeb lines preceding our leaf. This would imply 136 preceding pages at 14 Loeb lines per page, 128 of which would have comprised eight quaternions (presupposing that the codex was made up of quaternion gatherings). Our leaf would then be the first leaf of the second half of the ninth quaternion (unfortunately the editors provide no information about which is the hair side and which the skin side). Its preservation thus can be ascribed to the fact that it is part of the middle sheet of the gathering.

The codex, if it contained everything which preceded Sim. IV in our published editions, was already a thick one. The six pages of the ninth gathering which followed our preserved leaf would have accommodated 84 Loeb lines. As the balance of Sim. V after the text preserved in our fragment covers 219 Loeb lines, a tenth gathering would have been necessary, and even more must have followed to accommodate the 176 lines of Sim. VI, the 59 lines of Sim. VII, and the 382 lines of Sim. VIII. In short, from the end of our preserved leaf to the end of Sim. VIII, the Loeb edition has 836 lines of Greek, which at 14 Loeb lines per page of the codex would have covered 60 pages - a further four gatherings after the ninth. The ninth and tenth Similitudes would have required a further five gatherings for a total of eighteen - a very thick

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION:

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(16) POPYRI WESSELY PRAGENSES
GR . II 516 , GR . III 1228 ET IV 164 .

An article by Rosario Pintaudi published in 1983¹ was the first announcement of the existence of these papyri, and was followed in 1988 by their publication².

In 1904 Carl Wessely had acquired from an Armenian merchant some 7000 Greek papyri, now lodged in the University of Prague³. Among them are three fragments which form two leaves of a papyrus codex of the 4th/5th century, identified by A. Carlini as from the *Shepherd*, and covering Mand. VIII, 9-10 and 11-12 (respectively the vertical and horizontal sides of Gr. II. 516), and Sim. V: vii, 3-4 and Sim. VI: i, 2-4 (respectively the horizontal and vertical sides of Gr. III. 1228). The junction between Simm. V and VI is not preserved, which is a pity; the numbering which might have appeared in the heading would have been an interesting item to contemplate. Nonetheless the fact that the codex was made of papyrus is enough to fix with a considerable degree of certainty the provenance thereof as Egypt.

No traces of pagination remain; yet it is clear that this codex of the *Shepherd* must have contained at least the

¹"Propempticon: nuovi frammenti papiracei del *Pastore di Erma*", *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 33, 1983, p. 117-118.

²Pintaudi, R., Dostalova, R. & Vidman, L., eds. *Papyri Graecae Wessely Pragenses (PPrag. I)*. Florence: Gonnelli, 1988, p. 17-25 and plates [Papyrologica Florentina 16].

³Pintaudi promised a fuller history of the Wessely collection in "un prossimo volume della rivista *Eirene*" (*Op. cit.*, p. 117 note 1). I have as yet been unable to determine whether this history has appeared in print.

Mandates and the earlier Similitudes. Its contents cannot further be determined with any precision. At a rough estimate (based on the space between the point at which each recto begins and the point at which each verso begins), each page of the codex covered text equivalent to 18 lines in the Loeb edition⁴. Between the beginning of the first leaf (Mand. VIII, 9) and the point just before the beginning of the second leaf (Sim. V: vii, 2) there are 863 lines in the Loeb edition, which at 18 lines per page would account for 48 pages or exactly 3 quaternion gatherings. Hence (if the codex had consisted of quaternions) our two preserved leaves would have come from consecutive points in their respective quaternions - probably being inmost leaves, Gr. II. 516 being the left-hand inner leaf and Gr. III. 1228 the right-hand inner leaf of the respective quaternions. Some such position would explain the different directions of the fibres in each.

From the beginning of the second leaf to the end of Sim. VIII there are 626 Loeb lines, equivalent to 34,8 pages of the codex. Allowing six pages in the quaternion of which Gr. III. 1228 formed a part, there would have to have been a further 29 pages to accommodate what remained to the end of Sim. VIII. Hence there would have had to be at least two additional quaternions to accommodate the text up to the end

⁴*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas; The Martyrdom of Polycarp; The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

of Sim. VIII, three pages at the end of which would have been blank had the text ended at that point.

What came before the first preserved leaf can be determined in the same rough-and-ready fashion. Vis. V to Mand. VIII, 8 cover 479 Loeb lines, or 26,6 pages at 18 lines per page. Both the number of pages (at the nearest whole number an odd total - 27) and the number of quires they would constitute (one and three quarter quaternions) make it all but certain that this was not the total content of the codex prior to the first preserved leaf. If we take into consideration the first four Visions (805 Loeb lines) as well, for a total of 1284 Loeb lines or 71,3 pages (better, 70), a happier picture emerges. The number of pages is an even number, and those pages would have constituted four and a half quaternions, so making the first preserved leaf one of the middle leaves of the fifth quaternion with the page numbers 71 and 72. The second preserved leaf would have been the second middle leaf of the eighth quaternion, with the page numbers 121 and 122. Sim. VIII would have ended towards the end of the tenth quaternion, with three pages to spare. What, if anything, followed Sim. VIII is impossible to determine; Simm. IX and X would have required an additional four quaternions after the tenth; and a codex of fourteen quaternions would not have been an impossibility. So it is all but certain that the codex from which our two leaves derive contained everything before the first leaf which our

printed editions have. What came after our second leaf - the Similitudes up to VIII only, or all the Similitudes up to X - is impossible to determine. The diagram below presents a reconstruction of the codex as described.

As has been seen in our discussion of some of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Turner⁵ maintains that, since the sheets which formed the papyrus codex were probably cut from a roll and laid one on top of each other, the normal form during the third century was for all the right-hand pages in the first half of the gathering to have fibres vertical, and all their conjugate leaves in the second half of the gathering to have fibres horizontal. Our codex, as reconstructed above, would conform to that pattern, even though it dates not from the third but from the fourth/fifth century.

⁵Turner, E.G. *The typology of the early codex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p. 64-65 and Table II on p. 66-67.

QUATERNION A:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
01	vertical	horizontal	vertical
02	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
03	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
04	horizontal	vertical	vertical
05	vertical	horizontal	vertical
06	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
07	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
08	horizontal	vertical	vertical
09	horizontal	vertical	vertical
10	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
11	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
12	vertical	horizontal	vertical
13	horizontal	vertical	vertical
14	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
15	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
16	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION B:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
17	vertical	horizontal	vertical
18	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
19	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
20	horizontal	vertical	vertical
21	vertical	horizontal	vertical
22	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
23	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
24	horizontal	vertical	vertical
25	horizontal	vertical	vertical
26	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
27	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
28	vertical	horizontal	vertical
29	horizontal	vertical	vertical
30	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
31	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
32	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Γ :	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	33	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	34	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	35	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	36	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	37	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	38	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	39	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	40	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	41	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	42	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	43	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	44	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	45	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	46	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	47	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	48	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Δ :	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	49	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	50	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	51	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	52	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	53	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	54	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	55	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	56	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	57	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	58	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	59	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	60	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	61	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	62	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	63	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	64	vertical	horizontal	vertical

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
65	vertical	horizontal	vertical
66	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
67	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
68	horizontal	vertical	vertical
69	vertical	horizontal	vertical
70	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
71	<u>vertical</u>	horizontal	horizontal
72	<u>horizontal</u>	vertical	vertical
73	horizontal	vertical	vertical
74	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
75	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
76	vertical	horizontal	vertical
77	horizontal	vertical	vertical
78	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
79	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
80	vertical	horizontal	vertical

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
81	vertical	horizontal	vertical
82	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
83	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
84	horizontal	vertical	vertical
85	vertical	horizontal	vertical
86	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
87	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
88	horizontal	vertical	vertical
89	horizontal	vertical	vertical
90	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
91	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
92	vertical	horizontal	vertical
93	horizontal	vertical	vertical
94	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
95	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
96	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION Z:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	97	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	98	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	99	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	100	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	101	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	102	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	103	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	104	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	105	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	106	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	107	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	108	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	109	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	110	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	111	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	112	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION H:	Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
	113	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	114	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	115	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	116	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	117	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	118	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	119	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	120	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	<u>121</u>	<u>horizontal</u>	vertical	vertical
	122	<u>vertical</u>	horizontal	horizontal
	123	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	124	vertical	horizontal	vertical
	125	horizontal	vertical	vertical
	126	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
	127	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
	128	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION 0:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
129	vertical	horizontal	vertical
130	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
131	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
132	horizontal	vertical	vertical
133	vertical	horizontal	vertical
134	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
135	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
136	horizontal	vertical	vertical
137	horizontal	vertical	vertical
138	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
139	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
140	vertical	horizontal	vertical
141	horizontal	vertical	vertical
142	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
143	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
144	vertical	horizontal	vertical

QUATERNION I:

Page Nos.	Fibres (normal)	Fibres (unusual)	Fibres (facing)
145	vertical	horizontal	vertical
146	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
147	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
148	horizontal	vertical	vertical
149	vertical	horizontal	vertical
150	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
151	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
152	horizontal	vertical	vertical
153	horizontal	vertical	vertical
154	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
155	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
156	vertical	horizontal	vertical
157	horizontal	vertical	vertical
158	vertical	horizontal	horizontal
159	horizontal	vertical	horizontal
160	vertical	horizontal	vertical

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(17) PAPYRUS RENDEL HARRIS 128 .

This fragment, published in 1936 by Enoch Powell as no. 128 of *The Rendel Harris Papyri*, was identified by G.D. Kilpatrick in 1947¹. It covers Vis. V, 5 and 7 on the inner part of a leaf. Neither top nor bottom margin of the leaf is preserved, so its full extent is difficult to determine (although Kilpatrick does imply that the last line of the recto is the last line of the page). Kilpatrick estimated that we have eight of the original thirteen or fourteen lines of each page surviving - just over half of the depth of the page, and rather more than half of its width. The date is given by Horsley² as 5th century, presumably following the editor. Although its exact provenance is unknown, the fact that it is written on papyrus makes its derivation from Egypt almost certain.

The text between the last line of the recto and the last line of the verso - hence a page - in the Loeb edition³ covers exactly seven lines. Preceding the last line of the recto there are 26 lines of Vis. V in Loeb - so Vis. V must have started (26/7 =) 4 pages (allowing two lines for a heading

¹"A new papyrus of the *Shepherd of Hermas*", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 48 o.s., 1947, p. 204-205.

²Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977*. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 161.

³*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus*. London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

and for the extra matter which appears at the beginning of the preserved recto) before the end of our recto, one of which of course is our recto. Preceding the preserved leaf, then, there was another leaf containing Vis. V, 2-3 on its recto and Vis. V, 4-5 (the first part) on the verso. Before that, in turn, there was another leaf which began Vis. V on the verso. What occupied its recto is a matter for conjecture. It might be that the recto was left blank as the outer cover of the codex, and that what we have is the third leaf of the first gathering of the codex (Kilpatrick does not indicate the direction of the fibres). In view of the fact that Viss. I to IV would have occupied ($805 \text{ Loeb lines}/7 =$) 115 pages of this small-format codex, and that Vis. V and the Mandates would have covered a further ($928 \text{ Loeb lines}/7 =$) 133 pages, it seems more likely that the codex was originally designed to hold only the Mandates with Vis. V as introduction. Even this would have required a codex of 144 pages or nine quaternion gatherings ($16 \text{ pages} \times 9 \text{ quires} = 144$), for so small-leaved a codex as this a substantial size. Hence our conclusion (albeit speculative) is that P. Harr. 128 represents a leaf from a codex which originally contained only Vis. V and the Mandates.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(18) AMHERST PAPYRI 190 .

Originally published in 1901¹, these eleven fragments represent seven leaves in a greater or lesser state of preservation. All seven leaves are said to derive from a single codex, which Whittaker² dates to the sixth century, but Horsley³ to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. Although the exact provenance of the codex is unknown, the fact that it is written on papyrus makes it all but certain that it originated in Egypt.

The contents of the seven leaves are as follows:-

- Leaf 1 (fragment a) contains Vis. I: ii, 2-4 and ii, 4-iii, 1, equal to 11 and 10 Loeb lines respectively.
- Leaf 2 (fragments b & c) contains Vis. III: xii, 3 and xiii, 3-4, both Recto and Verso equal to 5 Loeb lines each.
- Leaf 3 (fragment d) contains Mand. XII: i, 1 and 3, equal to 2 1/2 and 4 Loeb lines respectively.
- Leaf 4 (fragment e) contains Sim. IX: ii, 1-2 and 4-5, equal to 5 and 4 1/2 Loeb lines respectively. (Unlike the other leaves, this one has horizontal fibres on the Recto and vertical fibres on the Verso).
- Leaf 5 (fragment f) contains Sim. IX: xii, 2-3 and 5, equal to 3 1/2 and 3 Loeb lines respectively.

¹Grenfell, B.S. & Hunt, A.S., eds. *The Amherst papyri*: being an account of the Greek papyri in the collection of the right hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney. Volume II. London, 1901.

²*Die apostolischen Väter: 1. Der Hirte des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. xiv.

³Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity*: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 161.

Leaf 6 (fragment g) contains Sim. IX: xvii, 1 and 3-4, both Recto and Verso equal to 3 1/2 Loeb lines each.

Leaf 7 (fragment h) contains Sim. IX: xxx, 1-2 and 3-4, equal to 4 and 5 Loeb lines respectively.

For the first three leaves, the amount of text which intervenes in the Loeb edition⁴ between the point at which each Recto begins and the point at which each Verso begins averages 15,3 lines, while the text between the end-points of each Recto and Verso occupies 15 Loeb lines. In short, it appears that in the first part of this codex at any rate, each page bore the equivalent of 15 lines of Loeb text. This means that the 805 lines of Viss. I to IV would have occupied 53 or 54 pages, while the 763 lines from Vis. V to Mand. XI would have occupied a further 50 or 51 pages - for a total of between 103 and 105 pages preceding the preserved Leaf 3, with its beginning of Mand. XII.

In the second half of the codex it appears that the average compass of the page was less, for the average of the last four leaves (calculating from beginning of preserved recto to beginning of preserved verso and from end of preserved recto to end of preserved verso) is a mere 13,4 lines of Loeb Greek. Thus the 1175 lines of Sim. IX would have occupied some 88 pages, while the 95 lines of Sim. X (if that had been present) would have occupied a further 7 pages.

⁴*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

Working on an average of 15 Loeb lines per page for the first part of the codex (the average of the first three preserved leaves) and 13 1/2 Loeb lines per page for the latter part of the codex (the average of the last four preserved leaves), we are presented with the following skeleton table of contents:

	Lines	Pages
Preceding the first preserved leaf: Vis. I: i-ii, 1	61	4
First preserved leaf: Vis. I: ii, 2-iii, 1	29	2
Vis. I: iii, 2 to Vis. III: xii, 2	585	38
Second preserved leaf: Vis. III: xii, 3-xiii, 4	24	2
VISIONS I TO III	699	46
Vis. IV to Mand. XII	869	58
Third preserved leaf: Mand. XII: 1, 1-ii, 3	31	2
Mand. XII: ii, 4 to Mand. XII: iii, 3	30	2
VISION IV TO MAND. XIIa	930	62

(It will be noticed that the above calculation ends the Mandates with XII: iii, 3, the point at which several Egyptian witnesses mark the beginning of a new section. If (as I believe likely and shall attempt to demonstrate below) the codex from which the Amherst leaves derive omitted the earlier Similitudes, this point would have formed the natural ending of the Mandates).

Sim. IX: i	52	4
Fourth preserved leaf: Sim. IX: ii, 1-6	27	2
Sim. IX: ii, 7 to Sim. IX: xii, 2a	365	28
Fifth preserved leaf: Sim. IX: xii, 2b-6a	26	2
Sim. IX: xii, 6b to Sim. IX: xvi	273	20
Sixth preserved leaf: Sim. IX: xvii, 1-5a	26	2
Sim. IX: xvii, 5b to Sim. IX: xxix	302	22
Seventh preserved leaf: Sim. IX: xxx, 1-5a	26	2
Sim. IX: xxx, 5b to Sim. IX: xxxiii	78	6
SIMILITUDE IX	1175	88

If the 95 Loeb lines of Sim. X were included, they would have occupied a further seven pages of the codex.

The direction of the fibres in six of the seven leaves is vertical on the Recto and horizontal on the Verso. In the fourth preserved leaf, however, this order is reversed, indicating that this leaf alone of the seven came from the second half of a quire. The only pattern that can accommodate this fact and the presumed space between each preserved leaf is a codex comprising ten (or eleven) quiniones, gatherings made up of five sheets each. The first three preserved leaves would have been the third leaves of the first, third and sixth gatherings respectively. If Sim. IX had followed immediately on Mand. XII: iii, 3, the fourth preserved leaf would also have come from the sixth gathering, being its seventh leaf (the second leaf in the second half of the quire). The fifth preserved leaf would have been the second leaf of the eighth gathering, the sixth preserved leaf the third leaf of the ninth gathering, and the last preserved leaf the fifth leaf of the tenth gathering. Sim. IX would have ended two leaves (4 pages) before the end of the tenth gathering. If Sim. X had been present, it would have required seven pages; the scribe would have miscalculated to the extent of three pages out of 200 the capacity of his codex. This miscalculation could have been remedied by the addition of a single sheet (4 pages) at the end of the tenth gathering to accommodate the latter half of Sim. X.

Page Nos.:	Quire A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Ξ	Z	H	Θ	K	Fibres
	01	21	41	61	81	101	121	141	161	181	vertical
	02	22	42	62	82	102	122	142	164	182	horizon.
	03	23	43	63	83	103	123	<u>143</u>	163	183	vertical
	04	24	44	64	84	104	124	<u>144</u>	164	184	horizon.
	<u>05</u>	25	<u>45</u>	65	85	<u>105</u>	125	145	<u>165</u>	185	vertical
	<u>06</u>	26	<u>46</u>	66	86	<u>106</u>	126	146	<u>166</u>	186	horizon.
	07	27	47	67	87	107	127	147	167	187	vertical
	08	28	48	68	88	108	128	148	168	188	horizon.
	09	29	49	69	89	109	129	149	169	<u>189</u>	vertical
	10	30	50	70	90	110	130	150	170	<u>190</u>	horizon.
	11	31	51	71	91	111	131	151	171	191	horizon.
	12	32	52	72	92	112	132	152	172	192	vertical
	13	33	53	73	93	<u>113</u>	133	153	173	193	horizon.
	14	34	54	74	94	<u>114</u>	134	154	174	194	vertical
	15	35	55	75	95	115	135	155	175	195	horizon.
	16	36	56	76	96	116	136	156	176	196	vertical
	17	37	57	77	97	117	137	157	177	197	horizon.
	18	38	58	78	98	118	138	158	178	198	vertical
	19	39	59	79	99	119	139	159	179	199	horizon.
	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200	vertical

The fact that the seven preserved pages fit so clearly into this pattern (a codex of ten quiniones) and no other makes it all but certain that our reconstruction is the only correct one. The codex from which these seven leaves derive contained originally Viss. I to V, the Mandates (up to Mand. XII: iii, 3), and the ninth (and tenth?) Similitudes.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE .

(19) PAPYRUS BEROLINENS . 5104 .

The Berlin fragment numbered 5104 was first published by K. Treu in 1970¹. It is the upper half of a leaf from a papyrus codex², deriving from the Fayum and dated to the fifth century³. The recto contains Mand. IV: iv, 4-Mand. V: i, 2, the verso Mand. V: i, 3-4. Significant is the fact that the verso is paginated, bearing the number 62; and equally significant is the fact that from this can be derived a certainty that the codex from which our fragment came did not contain everything preceding Mand. V in the *Shepherd* as we know it from the printed texts.

The recto starts with the last two lines of Mand. IV in the Loeb edition⁴; the verso starts 12,5 lines into Mand. V in the Loeb edition. In short, between the beginning of the recto and the beginning of the verso there is text equivalent to 14,5 lines of Loeb Greek.

Preceding the numbered page were 61 pages. The numeration here presents no problems, since the even-numbered page is, as one would expect, a verso, not a recto. Those 61 pages

¹"Ein neuer Hermas-Papyrus", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 24, 1970, p. 34-39.

²Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977*. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 159, 161. Treu is less certain: *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³*Idem*, p. 161.

⁴*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake, in two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Epistle to Diognetus*. London: William Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

would have borne text equivalent to $(61 \times 14,5 =) 884,5$ lines of Loeb Greek.

In the Loeb edition that section of Mand. V which precedes the numbered page is, as already stated, 12,5 lines. Mand. IV is 123 lines, Mand. III 36 lines, Mand. II 32 lines, and Mand. I 8 lines. The Mandates proper, therefore, covered 211,5 lines preceding page 62, and Vision V (if present) would have accounted for a further 37 lines, for a total of 248,5 lines. At 14,5 lines per page, this would have accounted for 17 pages $(17 \times 14,5 = 246,5)$, which presumably would have been those numbered 45 to 61 respectively (except that it appears that page 61 - the recto of our fragment - did not bear a number).

That leaves the first 44 pages to be accounted for, at 14,5 Loeb lines per page. This would yield text equivalent to 638 lines of Loeb text. But Viss. I to IV account for 805 lines in the Loeb edition; they would have required 55,5 pages $(55,5 \times 14,5 = 805)$, not 44.

The codex appears therefore to have been 11,5 pages (equivalent to 167 lines of Loeb Greek) too short to have accommodated both the Visions and the Mandates. These conclusions cohere with those of Treu⁵, who concludes that either a major error of pagination or an omission must

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 36

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 161.

be postulated, and with those of Horsley⁶, who used Whittaker's text as the basis for his calculations. He states, "Sixty pages prior to this in the codex would not provide sufficient room to include the rest of the work up to this point. . . . My rough calculation is that c. 75 pages (i.e. c. 37-38 leaves) would have been needed for the sections up to the surviving sheet [sic]. A further possibility is that the page number enumerates surviving pages from a damaged codex, as in the case of *P. Mich. 129*".

This last possibility is made less plausible by our having proved, in our discussion of the Michigan Papyrus alluded to here, that there was in fact no damaged codex at all. This was a figment of Bonner's imagination, and cannot be drawn upon to explain the situation that pertains in the Berlin fragment here under examination.

It has already been remarked above, in our discussion of the codex witnessed to by *P. Oxy. 1172* and *P. Oxy. 3256*, that there appear to be decided affinities of compass between the codex from which those two leaves derive, and that from which *P. Berol. 5104* derives. That codex was 170 Loeb lines too short to contain the whole of the Visions; this codex is 167 Loeb lines too short to contain the whole of the Visions. It was suggested there that the obvious solution (presupposing that none of the Visions was attenuated in any way) was that

both codices omitted Vis. V (37 Loeb lines) and Vis. I as well (134 Loeb lines). Unhappy as this solution may be (I would prefer to argue that these codices present a truncated text of Vis. III, save that there is no evidence to support such an argument), it is the only one that coheres with the fact that two quite independent codices of the *Shepherd* have almost identical spaces before the beginning of the Mandates, spaces that can be filled on present knowledge only by Viss. II (106 Loeb lines), III (459 Loeb lines) and IV (106 Loeb lines), for a total of 671 Loeb lines preceding Mandate I.

One must of course presume that the codex contained all the Mandates up to and including the first part of Mand. XII. The 570 Loeb lines up to Mand. XII: iii, 3 would have occupied 39,3 pages after our preserved page 62. What followed that is uncertain; but had it been all the Similitudes (2240 Loeb lines, 155 pages) it would have been an extremely bulky codex. Even adding Simm. I to VIII (1040 Loeb lines, 72 pages) would yield a codex of some 180 pages.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(1) THE GREEK EVIDENCE :

(20) PAPYRUS BEROLINENS . 6789 .

These two consecutive leaves from a papyrus codex, containing Sim. VIII: 1, 1-12, were first published in 1910¹.

Although the locality in which they were discovered is unknown, the fact that they are papyrus products makes some or other Egyptian provenance all but certain.

The first problem arises in determining the compass of a page in the original codex. Measurement against a common standard, the Loeb edition², from the beginning of the recto of the first leaf to the beginning of its verso or from the end of the recto of the first leaf to the end of its verso yields a consistent picture - 11 Loeb lines of Greek separate the two points. In the case of the second leaf, however, only 9 Loeb lines separate the beginning of the recto from the beginning of the verso or the end of the recto from the end of the verso. As these two leaves come from the same codex, and are adjacent leaves at that (not separated by a large number of intervening leaves during which the scribe's writing may have altered in spread), such a discrepancy needs to be explained. The most probable explanation is that the Loeb edition prints in its text, between the point at which the recto of the first leaf ends

¹Schmidt, C. & Schubart, W. *Altchristliche Texte*. Berlin, 1910. [Berliner Klassikertexte 6], no. 2, p. 17-20.

²*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas; The Martyrdom of Polycarp; The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

and its verso begins, one and a half lines which both the Latin versions omit. As both Lake and Whittaker³ observe, these one and a half lines were probably omitted in our codex. So the correct figure for the number of Loeb lines between the beginning of the recto and the beginning of the verso of Leaf 1, or between the end of the recto and the end of the verso, is 9 1/2 lines, and this coheres much more closely with the figure for the second leaf. The original compass for each page, therefore, was equivalent to 9 1/2 Loeb lines. Leaf 1 recto began about one Loeb line into Sim. VIII: 1, 1 and ended with 1, 3; the verso began with 1, 4 (omitting the section "λέγων, Πῶς τοσοῦτων κλάδων κεκομμένων τὸ δένδρον ὑγιές ἐστί") and ended a few words into 1, 6. Leaf 2 recto began there and ended one Loeb line into 1, 10; its verso carried on to a line or a line and a half into 1, 14.

As no page numbers have been preserved, the compass of the codex as a whole cannot be determined; but on the basis of page size, some guesses may be hazarded. Presumably our codex must have contained at least the earlier Similitudes; in the Loeb edition Simm. I to VII cover 658 lines. Add a further line for the beginning of Sim. VIII, and the number of pages preceding our preserved first leaf would have been (659 / 9,5 =) 69,4 for the Similitudes. The 928 Loeb lines

³*Die apostolischen Väter: I, Der Hirt des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. 66.

perhaps 111 - just within the 112 pages which seven quaternion gatherings would provide. For a codex of such small page size, such a (comparatively small) bulk would be not disproportionate.

As to date, there is all but universal agreement that this codex dates from the sixth century. Van Haelst⁴ foolishly attempted to attribute these leaves to the same codex as the Amherst papyri (late fifth-early sixth century); but, as Horsley⁵ correctly points out and as our own calculations confirm, the differing capacity of the pages makes such an attribution impossible.

⁴Van Haelst, J. *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*. Paris, 1976, No. 666.

⁵Horsley, G.H.R. *New documents illustrating early Christianity: a review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1977*. North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1982, p. 161.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS :

INTRODUCTION .

On the possibility of making an exhaustive list of writers of antiquity who used the *Shepherd*, Harnack had this to say:

"Ein genaues Verzeichniss der "Zeugnisse" zu geben ist desshalb unmöglich, weil der Hirte ein so viel gelesenes Buch in der alten alexandrinischen und der alten abendländischen Kirche gewesen ist, dass er die Vorstellungen geradezu beherrscht, ja auch manche Institutionen hervorgerufen hat oder doch zur Beschreibung resp. Bestätigung derselben benutzt worden ist. An nicht wenigen Stellen darf man daher Einfluss des Hermas vermuthen, ohne doch diesen Einfluss beweisen zu können."¹

In the survey which follows, however, an attempt is made to cover comprehensively all those passages in the Greek works of those fathers who wrote in Egypt which cite, quote or echo the *Shepherd*. Excluded are references to the work or to Hermas which are not accompanied by a citation, whether explicit or implicit.

At the beginning of the third century CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS quotes from the Visions (5 times), from the Mandates (twice), and from the Ninth Similitude (twice). Notable is the absence of any material from the first eight Similitudes. Clement's *Shepherd*, like the Akhmimic version of a century later, clearly omitted the earlier Similitudes; but unlike the Akhmimic version, it included the Visions. Clement's *Shepherd*, in fact, coheres in extent exactly with P. Amherst 190, as reconstructed above.

¹Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Teil 1: Die Überlieferung und der Bestand. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, repr. 1958, I, p. 51.

ORIGEN, later in the third century, quotes in works which he wrote in Egypt from the Visions (once) and from the Mandates (four times, but three of these are from Mand. I, 1). The similarity of range to the *Shepherd* of Clement of Alexandria is remarkable, save only that Origen did not quote from the ninth Similitude, whereas Clement did. Apart from these two fathers, no other Christian writer of antiquity certainly quotes from Visions I to IV. Both Clement and Origen, moreover, confuse the identity of the Angel's interlocutor in the Mandates with Hermas, who is named only in the first four Visions.

The Michigan liturgical papyrus (6427) shows that Mand. I, 1 was sufficiently well known in Egypt for it to have made its way into private prayer books by the early fourth century.

The same century yields ATHANASIUS, also quoting from Mand. I, as well as Mand. IX. Whether Athanasius's words must be interpreted to mean that Mand. I was not preceded even by Vis. V is unclear; it might well be that the text known to Athanasius comprised the Mandates alone. In this respect the text of the *Shepherd* known to Athanasius would have been similar to that contained in P. Rendel Harris 128, as reconstructed.

Athanasius' contemporary DIDYMUS reveals a text of the *Shepherd* which certainly included the Mandates and the ninth Similitude. It is possible that the tenth Similitude

is also vouched for in his references. The presence of the Visions (which of course would make it exactly the same as the form of the text known to Clement of Alexandria) is not so certain. The fact that Didymus in the preserved references does not make mention of Hermas, but consistently cites the work as the *Shepherd*, tends to raise doubts about whether he knew the first four Visions.

Finally, the Der Balizeh liturgical papyrus shows that Mand. I, 1 continued to enjoy widespread popularity, having by the sixth century or earlier moved from private to public prayer.

The Egyptian fathers, from Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century to Athanasius during the fourth, yield a picture as varied as the Egyptian tradition in general. Clement knew of a *Shepherd* which comprised the Visions (I to IV), the Mandates (preceded in Clement's case by Vision V) and the Ninth Similitude (if the Mandates were preceded by Vis. V one would expect also Sim. X to have been included).

Origen had in Egypt a *Shepherd* that clearly included the Visions and the Mandates. Whether it included Sim. IX is not certain.

Athanasius, on the other hand, apparently knew of a *Shepherd* that began with the Mandates (whether or not preceded by Vis. V is unknown), and so did not include the first four Visions.

Didymus had a text which included the Mandates and Sim. IX (and X?), and possibly the Visions (although the citations which have been seen as alluding to the Visions could better be ascribed to Sim. IX).

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS :

(1) CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS .

At the beginning of the third century Clemens Alexandrinus quotes from the Visions (5 times), from the Mandates (twice in *Στρωματεῖς*), and from the Ninth Similitude (twice). Notable is the absence of any material from the first eight Similitudes. Clement's *Shepherd*, like the Akhmimic version of a century later, clearly omitted the earlier Similitudes; but unlike the Akhmimic version, it included the Visions.

The first significant passage for our purposes occurs in *Στρωματεῖς* VI: xv¹, where Clement explicitly refers to Vis. II: i, 4:

"Did not the Power also, that appeared to Hermas in the Vision, in the form of the Church, give for transcription the book which she wished to be made known to the elect? And this, he says, he transcribed to the letter, without finding how to complete the syllables".

This is followed by an exposition of the relative merits of a literal and a figurative reading of the Scriptures, for which the passage from the *Shepherd* becomes the proof-text.

Vis. II: i, 3-4 reads as follows in the Loeb translation:

"I said to her: 'Lady, I cannot remember so much; but give me the little book to copy.' 'Take it,' she said, 'and give it back to me.' I took it and went away to a

Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁράσει τῷ Ἑρμᾷ ἢ δυνάμει ἐν τῷ τύπῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φανείσα ἔδωκεν τὸ βιβλίον εἰς μεταγραφὴν, ὃ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς ἀναγγεῖλαι ἐβούλετο, τοῦτο δὲ μετεγράψατο πρὸς γράμμα, φησί, μὴ εὐρίσκων τὰς συλλαβὰς τελέσαι". I use the translation of the *Στρωματεῖς* in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*: translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. Vol. II. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1977, p. 510 = *Στρωματεῖς* VI, 131.

certain place in the country, and copied it all, letter by letter, for I could not distinguish the syllables."

The second significant passage occurs at the end of the first chapter of the second book of the *Στρωματεῖς*²:

"For the power that appeared in the vision to Hermas said, 'Whatever may be revealed to you, shall be revealed.'"

This echoes Vis. III: iii, 4, which in the Loeb translation reads,

"And she said to me: 'What is permitted to be revealed to you shall be revealed; only let your heart be turned towards God and do not be double-minded as to what you see.'"

Then in *Στρωματεῖς* I: xxix³ there is a citation of another part of Vis. III:

"Divinely, therefore, the power which spoke to Hermas by revelation said, 'The visions and revelations are for those who are of double mind, who doubt in their hearts if these things are or are not.'"

Vis. III: iv, 3 reads in the Loeb translation,

"She answered me and said: 'It is not because you are more worthy than all others that a revelation should be made to you, for there were others before you and better than you, to whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But in order that "the name of God might be glorified" they have been, and shall be, revealed to you because of the double-minded who dispute in their hearts

²*Idem*, p. 348 = *Στρωματεῖς* II, 3 (Stählin II, 114, 23f). "φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὄραματι τῷ Ἑρμᾶ ἢ δύναμις ἢ φανείσα, ὅ ἐάν ἐνδέχεται σοὶ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται."

³*Idem*, p. 341 = *Στρωματεῖς* I, 181 (Stählin II, 111, 1-3). "Θείως τοίνυν ἢ δύναμις ἢ τῷ Ἑρμᾶ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν λαλοῦσα τὰ ὄραματά φησι καὶ τὰ ἀποκαλύμματα διὰ τοὺς διψύχους καὶ διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστι ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν".

whether these things are so or not."

ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΪΣ II: xii⁴ contains a passage which

might refer to either Sim. IX or to Vis. III:

"The virtue, then, that encloses the Church in its grasp,' as the Shepherd says, 'is Faith, by which the elect of God are saved; and that which acts the man is Self-restraint. And these are followed by Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Decorum, Love,' and all these are the daughters of Faith."

This is followed by a quotation from the Mandates.

Vis. III: viii, 3-5 reads as follows,

"Hear now their qualities. The first of them who is clasping her hands is called Faith. Through her the chosen of God are saved. The second, who is girded and looks like a man, is called Continnence; she is the daughter of Faith. Whosoever then shall follow her becomes blessed in his life, because he will abstain from all evil deeds, believing that if he refrains from every evil lust he will inherit eternal life.' 'But who are the others, Lady?' 'They are daughters one of the other, and their names are Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When therefore you perform all the deeds of their mother, you can live."

Sim. IX: xv, 1-2 reads as follows:

"Explain to me, Sir,' said I, 'the names of the maidens, and of the women who are clothed in black raiment.' 'Listen,' said he, 'to the names of the stronger maidens who stand at the corners. The first is Faith, the second is Temperance, the third is Power, the fourth is Long-suffering, and the others who stand between them have these names:- Simplicity, Guilelessness, Holiness, Joyfulness, Truth, Understanding, Concord, Love. He who bears these names and the name of the Son of God "shall be able to enter into the Kingdom of God."

The affinity of Clement's citation is clearly with the

⁴*Idem*, p. 360 = *ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΪΣ* II, 55 (Stählin II, 142-143). "ἢ τοίνυν συνέκουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς φησιν ὁ ποιμὴν, ἀρετὴ ἢ πίστις, διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ" κτλ.

passage from Vis. III; but the fact that it is ascribed to "the Shepherd" rather than "the power" (as the other references to the Visions, apart from the one about to be discussed, are) makes it likely that at least a measure of influence from the Sim. IX passage is to be detected.

The last clear reference to the Visions in the

Στρωματεῖς occurs in IV: ix⁵:

"For instance, the Shepherd says: 'You will escape the energy of the wild beast, if your heart become pure and blameless.'"

Again the *Shepherd* is used, together with scriptural

texts, as a proof-text. This passage is an echo of Vis. IV:

ii, 5, which reads,

"Go then and tell the Lord's elect ones of his great deeds, and tell them that this beast is a type of the great persecution which is to come. If then you are prepared beforehand, and repent with all your hearts towards the Lord, you will be able to escape it, if your heart be made pure and blameless, and you serve the Lord blamelessly for the rest of the days of your life."

Significant here is the fact, not as easily explained as in the case of the preceding citation, that these words are ascribed to the Shepherd, whereas in the text of the fourth Vision as we have it they are spoken by the Lady in the form of a young maiden, and should therefore in Clement's parlance have been ascribed to the "Power". This is as clear an indication as one could wish for that in the exemplar from

⁵*Idem*, p. 422 = *Στρωματεῖς* IV, 74 (Stählin II, 281, 27f). "Αὐτίκα ὁ ποιμὴν φησιν, Ἐκφεύξεσθε τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ ἀγρίου θηρίου, ἔὰν ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμωμος."

which Clement is quoting the Visions were united either with the Mandates (and with Vis. V, their introduction, the locus where the person of the Shepherd comes most clearly to the fore), or with one or more of the Similitudes, in which the Shepherd is the heavenly interlocutor.

That Clement's copy of the *Shepherd* contained Vis. V is made probable by the wording of the very opening of the *Στρωματείς*, which (although not a citation in our sense, since it is not explicitly ascribed to our work in the extant text) is accepted by all editors as a quotation of Vis. V, 5.

The passage already alluded to above (*Στρωματείς*

II: xii) continues with a citation of Mand. IV⁶:

"Accordingly he says, the Lord is to be feared in order to edification, but not the devil to destruction. And again, the works of the Lord - that is, His commandments - are to be loved and done; but the works of the devil are to be dreaded and not done. For the fear of God trains and restores to love; but the fear of the works of the devil has hatred dwelling along with it. The same also says 'that repentance is high intelligence. For he that repents of what he did, no longer does or says as he did. But by torturing himself for his sins, he benefits his soul. Forgiveness of sins is therefore different from repentance; but both show what is in our power.'"

Compare this with Mand. IV: ii, 2:

"He answered me and said, 'I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all those who repent. Or do you not think,' said he, 'that this very repentance is

⁶*Idem*, p. 360 = *Στρωματείς* II, 55f (Stählin II, 143, 10f). "φοβητέον οὖν τὸν κύριον λέγει, εἰς οἰκοδομήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν διάβολον εἰς καταστροφήν" κτλ.

itself understanding? To repent,' said he, 'is great understanding. For the sinner understands that he "has done wickedly before the Lord," and the deed which he wrought comes into his heart, and he repents and no longer does wickedly, but does good abundantly, and humbles his soul and punishes it because he sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great understanding."

Apart from this last sentence, Clement's rendering of the original is free, but still recognisable as deriving from the *Shepherd*. The same is true of the immediately following chapter in the *Στρωματεῖς*, Book II chapter xiii, which like the immediately following chapter of the *Shepherd* (Mand. IV: iii) deals with a second repentance (after baptism, the "first repentance").

The *Eclogae Prophetarum* contain a saying ("ἡ μακροθυμία γλυκυτής ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι") obviously patterned upon Mand. V: i, 6 ("ἡ μακροθυμία γλυκυτάτη ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι"); but again, as it is not explicitly ascribed to our work, we may disregard it for the purposes of this survey.

The second specified quotation from the Mandates occurs in *Στρωματεῖς* I: xvii⁷:

"But among the lies, the false prophets also told some true things. And in reality they prophesied 'in an ecstasy,' as the servants of the apostate. And the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, says to Hermas, of the false prophet: 'For he speaks some truths. For the

⁷*Idem*, p. 319 = *Στρωματεῖς* I, 85 (Stählin II, 55, 13-15). "...λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας τῷ Ἑρμῶ περὶ τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου, τινὰ γὰρ ῥήματα ἀληθῆ λαλεῖ" κτλ.

devil fills him with his own spirit, if perchance he may be able to cast down any one from what is right."

Compare this with Mand. XI, 3:

"But he also speaks some true words, for the devil fills him with his spirit, to see if he can break any of the righteous."

We note, in confirmation of the conclusion already drawn, that "the Shepherd, the angel of repentance" (a figure who appears only in the Similitudes, in Vis. V and Sim. X) is linked with Hermas (a person who appears by name only in Viss. I to IV). Clement had a text conformable to our texts of the *Shepherd* to the extent that it united the first four Visions (featuring Hermas and the Church) with those parts of the rest which feature the Shepherd and his unnamed interlocutor.

Mention has already been made of the conclusion that Clement's *Shepherd* did not contain the first eight Similitudes, a conclusion based on the statistically significant lack of any citation from that section in the preserved works of Clement. Against this might be pleaded the dependence of *Στρωματείς* Book VI chapter xv⁸ on the second Similitude:

"And the elm teaches the vine to be fruitful by leading it up to a height."

Such a conclusion, however, is not justified. Firstly, Clement does not indicate that he is citing any work at all.

⁸*Idem*, p. 507 = *Στρωματείς*, VI, 117.
 "καὶ τὴν ἄμπελον ἢ πτελέα εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγουσα
 εὐκαρπεῖν διδάσκει."

Secondly, those who see a reference to Sim. II have to explain the lack of similarity of expression (although of course there is similarity of concept). Thirdly, it has been shown⁹ that the idea of the elm supporting the vine was a commonplace of ancient viticulture, being mentioned by Pliny the Elder¹⁰ as well as by Hermas and Clement, and several other writers¹¹. Another parallel that has been discerned between the works of Clement and the first eight Similitudes is between Book II of the *Παιδαγωγός* and Sim. VIII: iii¹²; but any similarity in either thought or expression has escaped my powers of observation. In his edition with Gebhardt¹³, Harnack damns the alleged parallel with very faint praise, not even printing the supposed echo. Perhaps he too had difficulty in finding it!

Finally there are two references in the *Στρωματεῖς*

⁹Grobel, K. "Shepherd of Hermas, Parable II", *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, 1, 1951, p. 50-55.

¹⁰*Naturalis historia*, XVII, 23.

¹¹Virgil, *Georgics* I, 2; Horace, *Carmina* IV: v, 30; Juvenal, *Satires* VIII, 78 and VI, 150; Seneca, *Epistle* LXXXVI, 20; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV, 661-664; Columella, *De re rustica* III, 4; Polybius, XXXIV: xi, 1.

¹²Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Teil I: Die Überlieferung und der Bestand. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, repr. 1958, p. 53, attributes this perception to Zahn. I am unable to locate the reference.

¹³*Hermae Pastor graece; addita versione latina recentiore e codice Palatino*. Recensuerunt et illustraverunt Oscar de Gebhardt/Adolfus Harnack. Lipsiae: J.C. Hinrichs, 1877, p. liv. "Zahnus l.c. Paed. II p. 205 c. Sim. VIII, 3 contulit."

to the same passage in Sim. IX. The first, Book II: ix¹⁴,
is the more extensive:

"And the Shepherd, speaking plainly of those who had fallen asleep, recognises certain righteous among Gentiles and Jews, not only before the appearance of Christ, but before the law, in virtue of acceptance before God, - as Abel, as Noah, as any other righteous man. He says accordingly, 'that the apostles and teachers, who had preached the name of the Son of God, and had fallen asleep, in power and by faith, preached to those that had fallen asleep before.' Then he subjoins: 'And they gave them the seal of preaching. They descended, therefore, with them into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those, who had fallen asleep before, descended dead, but ascended alive. By these, therefore, they were made alive, and knew the name of the Son of God. Wherefore also they ascended with them, and fitted into the structure of the tower, and unhewn were built up together: they fell asleep in righteousness and in great purity, but wanted only this seal.'"'

The quotation from the *Shepherd* is here used to prove a doctrinal point, as has happened before.

The other quotation occurs in *Στρωματείς* VI: vi¹⁵
which reads,

"And it is well said by the Shepherd, 'They went down with them therefore into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive.'

¹⁴*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 357 = *Στρωματείς* II, 43f. (Stählin II, 136, 5-20). "Ὁ ποιμὴν δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων θεῖς τὴν λέειν δικαίους οἷός τε τινὰς ἐν ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ οὐ μόνον πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ νόμου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐαρέστησιν, ὡς Ἀβελ, ὡς Νῶε, ὡς εἴ τις ἕτερος δίκαιος. φησὶ γοῦν τοὺς ἀποστολλοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους" κτλ.

¹⁵*Idem*, p. 491 = *Στρωματείς* VI, 46 (Stählin II, 455, 12-15). "Καὶ καλῶς εἴρηται τῷ ποιμένι, κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' οὗτοι" κτλ.

But those who had fallen asleep, descended dead, but ascended alive."

Compare these two passages with Sim. IX: xvi, 5-7:

"'Why, Sir,' said I, 'did the forty stones also come up with them from the deep, although they had received the seal already?' 'Because,' said he, 'these apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to those who had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave to them the seal of the preaching. They went down therefore with them into the water and came up again, but the latter went down alive and came up alive, while the former, who had fallen asleep before, went down dead but came up alive. Through them, therefore, they were made alive, and received the knowledge of the name of the Son of God.'"

In summary, two facts are significant about Clement's exemplar of the *Shepherd*. Firstly, it contained the section that mentions Hermas (the first four Visions) amalgamated with (at least part of) the sections that mention the Shepherd (Vis. V and the Similitudes). This is proved by the two instances where there is a confusion of the form of reference, namely in the citation from Vis. IV (which is ascribed to the Shepherd) and in the citation from Mand. XI, which is introduced by Clement as a speech of the Shepherd to Hermas.

Secondly, Clement bears witness to a *Shepherd* which comprised the Visions (I to IV), the Mandates (possibly preceded by Vision V) and the Ninth Similitude. (If the Mandates were preceded by Vis. V one would expect also Sim. X to have been included). There is no evidence (apart from two highly fanciful alleged parallels) that Clement's exemplar contained Similitudes I to VIII.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS :

(2) ORIGEN .

Origen, later in the third century than Clement of Alexandria, quotes from the Visions, the Mandates, and the former and latter Similitudes. A number of these quotations occur in the *De Principiis*, extant for the most part only in Latin translations by Rufinus and Jerome, and in the first books of the *Expositions on John*. As Eusebius specifically affirms¹ that the *De Principiis* and the first five books of the *Expositions on John* were written in Alexandria, before Origen removed to Caesarea, we may without further ado regard the quotations from the *Shepherd* occurring therein as representative of the Egyptian tradition of that work.

In addition there are numerous references to the *Shepherd* in his other writings. Of these Eusebius specifically affirms² that the *Commentaries* on Matthew, on Ezekiel, and on the Twelve (minor) Prophets were written after Origen had left Alexandria. By implication also (in that he tells us³ that the commentaries on the first twenty-five psalms were written in Alexandria) Eusebius avers that the *Homilies* on the latter psalms⁴ were written

¹H.E., VI: xxiv, 3 (*De Principiis*); xxiv, 1 (*In Joannem*).

²H.E., VI: xxxii, 1-2 (Ezekiel); xxxvi, 2 (Matthew; Dodekapropheton).

³H.E., VI: xxiv, 2.

⁴See H.E., VI: xxxviii on the *Homily on Psalm 82*, which also apparently dates from the period of Origen's residence in Caesarea.

in this later period of Origen's life, when he was resident in Caesarea.

Uncertain are the times of origin of the *Commentaries* on Luke, on Joshua, and on Numbers. Some tentative conclusions regarding the dates of the latter two will be offered below.

In the works which were certainly written while he was resident in Egypt, Origen quotes the Visions (once) and the Mandates (four times; three of these are quotations of Mand. I, 1). These citations are as follows⁵:-

De Principiis IV: 1, 11 (also referred to as IV: ii, 4)⁶.

"For as man consists of body, and soul, and spirit, so in the same way does Scripture, which has been arranged to be given by God for the salvation of men. And therefore we deduce this also from a book which is despised by some - *The Shepherd* - in respect of the command given to Hermas to write two books, and after so doing to announce to the presbyters of the Church what he had learned from the Spirit. The words are as

⁵English translations of *De Principiis* are taken from *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*: translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. Volume IV. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1979.

⁶*The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV, p. 359-360. The translation given is that of the Greek, which survives in the *Philocalia*. "... Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ τινῶν καταφρονουμένῳ βιβλίῳ τῷ ποιμένι, περὶ τοῦ προστάσσεσθαι τὸν Ἑρμᾶν δύο γράψαι βιβλία καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀναγγέλλειν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἃ μεμάθηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτω διηγοῦμεθα, ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη, γράψεις δύο βιβλία, καὶ δώσεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ, καὶ Γραπτῇ μὲν νοουθετήσει τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, Κλήμητις δὲ πέμψει εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, σὺ δὲ ἀναγγελεῖς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας".

follows: 'You will write two books, and give one to Clement, and one to Grapte. And Grapte shall admonish the widows and the orphans, and Clement will send to the cities abroad, while you will announce to the presbyters of the Church.'

Compare this with the Loeb translation of Vis. II: iv, 3:

"You therefore shall write two little books and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement then shall send it to the cities abroad, for that is his duty; and Grapte shall exhort the widows and orphans; but in this city you shall read it yourself with the elders who are in charge of the church."

De Principiis I: iii, 3⁷ reads as follows:

"For even in that little [sic] treatise called *The Pastor or Angel of Repentance*, composed by Hermas, we have the following: 'First of all, believe that there is one God who created and arranged all things; who, when nothing formerly existed, caused all things to be; who Himself contains all things, but Himself is contained by none.'"

Origen, like Clement, here unites the name of Hermas (who is named only in Viss. I-IV) with the figure of the Pastor (who occurs only in Vis. V and the Similitudes). Significant is the fact that (in one of the variant readings) he knows the *Shepherd* also under the title "The Angel of Repentance", who is the central figure in the Mandates.

Then in *De Principiis* II: 1, 5⁸ the same passage is

⁷*The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV, p. 252. "Nam et in eo libello qui Pastoris dicitur angeli paenitentiae, quem Herma [or Pastoralis dicitur de angeli positione quem Hermas] conscripsit, ita refertur: "Primo omnium crede, quia unus est deus qui omnia creavit... ipse vero a nemine capitur"."

⁸*Idem*, p. 270. "Sed et in libro Pastoris in primo mandato ita ait: "primo omnium crede, quia unus ... ut essent universa"."

again quoted:

"In the book of the Shepherd also, in the first commandment, he speaks as follows: 'First of all believe that there is one God who created and arranged all things, and made all things to come into existence, and out of a state of nothingness.'"

Thirdly in the *In Joannem* I: 1⁹ we have:

"But to those among you not persuaded that God made what is out of what is not, as ... the angel of repentance taught in the *Shepherd*."

Compare these three statements with the Loeb translation of Mand. I, 1:

"First of all believe that God is one, 'who made all things and perfected them, and made all things to be out of that which was not,' and contains all things, and is himself alone uncontained."

Finally in the *De Principiis* III: ii, 4¹⁰ we have

this:

"The book of the Shepherd declares the same, saying that each individual is attended by two angels; that whenever good thoughts arise in our hearts, they are suggested by the good angel; but when of a contrary kind, they are the instigation of the evil angel."

This is a clear reference to Mand. VI: ii, 1-4.

The number of quotations from the works written in Egypt is

⁹32, 16, 187 (Preuschen IV, 451, 26-28). "ἀλλ' οὐ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῖς πειθομένοις, ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, ὡς ... ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἄγγελος ἐν τῷ Ποιμένι ἐδίδαξε" =

"Secus vero apud nos est, qui credimus ex non entibus deum entia fecisse; ut mater illa septem martyrum in Macchab. gestis et paenitentiae angelus in Pastore docuit."

¹⁰The *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV, p. 332. "Sed et Pastoris liber haec eadem declarat dicens quod bini angeli singulos quosque hominum comittentur" etc.

clearly too limited to allow firm conclusions; but the similarity of range of Origen's *Shepherd* and that of Clement of Alexandria is remarkable, with the single exception that Origen does not quote the Ninth Similitude. Both even make the confusing identification of Hermas and the interlocutor of the Shepherd. An interesting amplification of this is the statement by Origen in his commentary on Romans 16: 14: "Puto tamen, quod Hermas iste [scil. mentioned in the last chapter of Romans] sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur, quae scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata."

Apart from these two fathers, moreover, no other Christian writer of antiquity quotes from Visions I to IV.

A very different picture of the *Shepherd* known to Origen emerges from a consideration of the references in those works which definitely date from the period of his sojourn in Caesarea. In the *Commentary on Matthew* there are citations of Mand. XII: v, 3 (i.e. that part of this Mandate which is sometimes numbered Sim. I in the Egyptian tradition) introduced by "apud Pastorem"; of Sim. III, introduced by "in aliqua parabola refertur Pastoris"; and of Sim. VIII: iii, 3, introduced by "ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποιμένος". In the *Commentary on Ezekiel*, written partly in Caesarea and partly in Athens according to Eusebius, there are citations of Sim. VIII: ii, 1, introduced by "in quodam libro", and of

Sim. IX: xv, 1f., introduced by "in libro Pastoris, in quo angelus paenitentiam docet." In the *Commentary on Hosea* there is a reference to the tower which might be the tower in Vis. III or that in Sim. IX; that the latter is more likely is indicated by the introductory words, "ἐν τῷ Ποιμένι". Finally in the *First Homily on Psalm 37* there is a reference to Sim. VI: iii, 2, introduced thus: "Quemadmodum describitur in quodam loco angelus paenitentiae, qui nos suscipit castigandos, sicut Pastor exponit, si cui tamen libellius ille recipiendus videtur."

That leaves allusions in three works the date of which is uncertain. The first is the *Commentary on Luke*, with a citation of Mand. VI: ii, 1, introduced by "volumen quod titulo Pastoris scribitur". If this is from the post-Alexandrian phase of Origen's life, it will be the only citation of a Mandate he made during that period. Clearly he knew the Mandates from his Alexandrian period, and could well have referred to them when writing later in life; but otherwise the pattern of his post-Alexandrian phase is clear: citations in every case from the Similitudes (including under this head the latter part of Mand. XII). My inclination is therefore to ascribe the *Commentary on Luke* to the earlier period of Origen's life, when he was still resident in Alexandria.

Hence the other undated works which cite the *Shepherd*,

the *Commentary on Joshua* (referring to Sim. II, 1f. and introduced by "in libello qui appellatur Pastoris") and the *Commentary on Numbers* (which refers to Sim. VI: iv, 4 and introduces the citation by "in libello Pastoris") will on the basis of the pattern of quotation already established, be ascribed to the post-Alexandrian phase of Origen's life rather than to the phase while Origen was resident in Egypt.

In short, it is suggested that in Egypt Origen had at his disposal a text like that of his mentor Clement: a *Shepherd* which comprised the Visions and the Mandates (possibly with Vision V), and Similitude IX (probably with Similitude X). No quotation or reference from works which clearly date to the period while Origen was resident in Egypt presuppose knowledge of any of the earlier Similitudes. On the other hand, the works which date from his Caesarean period refer exclusively to the earlier Similitudes and Sim. IX. It would appear, therefore, that at Caesarea Origen for the first time made acquaintance with the earlier Similitudes; and it would be a fair inference that the *Shepherd* (properly so called - no mention here of Hermas, as there had been during the period while Origen was resident in Egypt!) of Caesarea comprised only Similitudes I to IX, omitting even the Mandates.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS :

(3) ATHANASIUS .

The fourth century sees Athanasius quoting from the Mandates (five times, four of them being citations of Mand. I, 1).

The citations of the first Mandate are introduced as follows:

"But the inspired teaching and the faith according to Christ ... spoke through Moses on the one hand ... and through the most valuable book of the Shepherd on the other." (*De incarnatione Verbi* 3)¹.

"But in the Shepherd (when they do not cast this out of the canon) it is written." (*De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 18, 3)².

"Ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ποιμένι γραφέν,
πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον" κτλ. (*Ad Afros episcopus epistula* 5).

"If one does not take exception to the witness of the Shepherd, then one might refer to the beginning of his book, where he says" (*Festal epistle* 11, A.D. 339, preserved only in Syriac³).

It will not have escaped notice that the assured assertion of the first of these, that the *Shepherd* is on a par with the works of Moses, gives way to the more apologetic statement of the second and fourth, which almost make excuse

¹Ἡ δὲ ἐνθεος διδασκαλία καὶ ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστις ... φησὶ διὰ μὲν Μωσέως ... διὰ δὲ τῆς ὠφελιμωτάτης βιβλίου τοῦ ποιμένου, πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον" κτλ.

²Ἐν δὲ τῷ ποιμένι γέγραπται (ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ὄν ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος προφέρουσι), πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον" κτλ.

³Published by Larsow, *Die Festbriefe des heiligen Athanasius*. 1852, p. 117: "Wenn man nicht selbst an dem Zeugniß des Hirten Anstoss nimmt, so mag's gut sein auch den Anfang seines Buches anzuführen, wo er sagt: Vor allem glaube, dass ein Gott" u. s. w.

for the citation of the *Shepherd*. (This attitude is manifested most explicitly in the *Festal epistle* 39 of A.D. 365 or 367, the famous epistle preserved in Greek, Syriac and Coptic, dealing with the canon, in which the *Shepherd* is listed together with the *Didache* and other works as not included in the canon).

The other significant comment is contained in the last of the quoted introductions, where Athanasius attributes Mand. I, 1 to "the beginning of his book". It is clear from this (and from the absence of the name of Hermas from the introductions) that the text available to Athanasius, possibly unlike that which was available to his contemporary Didymus, and definitely unlike that of Clement and Origen a century earlier, lacked Visions I to IV. What is not sure is whether it also lacked Vis. V, which functions in our current texts as the introduction to the Mandates, and which was probably included in the text of the *Shepherd* which Clement had used a century earlier. Strictly, if Mand. I, 1 is "the beginning of the book" then there was no Vis. V as introduction, and therefore probably no Sim. X as conclusion.

The fifth citation of the Mandates is a reference to Mand. IX, 8, introduced as follows: "Τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς ὁ ποιμὴν εἶρηκεν, ἐκγονόν ἐστι διατόλου;" (*De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 4). This is the only indication we have that Athanasius knew any part of the *Shepherd*

other than Mand. I.

Athanasius thus apparently knew of a *Shepherd* that began with the Mandates (whether or not preceded by Vis. V is unknown), and so did not include the first four Visions. It is also uncertain whether his *Shepherd* included the Similitudes or not; on the basis of what he cites, it may have been confined to the Mandates. On the other hand, the fact that he cites it regularly as "the Shepherd" tends to indicate that he knew a text which at least referred to that figure, and not merely to the Angel of Repentance (the principal figure in the Mandates); so Vis. V, or some at least of the Similitudes, were probably present in Athanasius's text.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS :

(4) DIDYMUS THE BLIND .

Fourth-century Egypt yields use of the *Shepherd* by Didymus, in addition to its use by Athanasius. To be considered here are the *Commentaries* by Didymus on Genesis, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes and Zechariah discovered in 1941 in a grotto near Tourah. Therein the *Shepherd* is referred to twice in the *Commentary on Job* (one of these references has also long been known from its presence in a catena, with the ascription therein of a marginal comment which derives from the *Shepherd* to Didymus's *Commentary on Job*) and thrice in the *Commentary on Zechariah*.

In the fragment of his *Commentary on Job* which appears in a catena¹ as well as in the Tourah fragments² Didymus alludes as follows to the tower vision: "Ὁ ἀσεβῆς οὖν ἅπασαν τὴν διαγωγὴν ἐν οἴκῳ κακίας ἔχει, διαλελυμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἔξω τῆς οἰκοδομῆς λίθους, οἱ οὐκ ἀρμόζουσι τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου κατὰ τὸν ποιμένα."

Ehrman refers this to Vis. III: 11, 7, Harnack to Vis. III: 11, 8; but it could equally well refer to Sim. IX: 4v, 6-7. The fact that Didymus refers to the Shepherd (who of course does not appear in Vis. III) makes it more likely that the

¹Reprinted in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristliche Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Teil 1: Die Überlieferung und der Bestand. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, repr. 1958, p. 55, from Migne, J.P. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Graeca XXXIX, p. 1142.

²Ehrman, B.D. "The New Testament canon of Didymus the Blind", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 37, 1983, p. 1-21.

reference is to Sim. IX. Ehrman moreover places "τῆ οἰκοδομῆ τοῦ πύργου" in quotation marks, as if this were a direct citation from the *Shepherd*; these words occur only in the Similitude IX passage. The relevant passages are as follows:-

Vis. III: ii, 7: "Of the other stones, which were being brought from the dry ground, they cast some away, and some they put into the building and others they broke up and cast far from the tower."

Vis. III: ii, 8: "And many other stones were lying around the tower, and they did not use them for the building, for some of them were rotten, and others had cracks, and others were too short, and others were white and round and did not fit into the building."

Sim. IX: iv, 6-7: "But some stones were given by the men for the building, which did not become bright but proved to remain as they were when they were put in. For they had not been given by the maidens, and had not been brought in through the door. Therefore these stones were unseemly in the building of the tower. And when the six men saw the unseemly stones in the building they commended them to be taken away and to be brought down to their own place, whence they had been taken."

Similarly in the *Commentary on Zechariah* (p. 86, ll. 24-27) there is a statement³ that can be read as referring to both the Visions and Similitude IX:

"Many things are referred to in the book of catechism entitled the *Shepherd*, being set forth through women and virgins".

The point of reference that springs most immediately to mind is the series of revelations made by the Woman in Viss. I to

³Translation from Ehrman, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
 "φέρεται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς κατηχήσεως τῆ
 Ποιμένι ἐπιγεγραμμένα πολλά διὰ γυναικῶν καὶ
 παρθένων δηλούμενα."

IV; but the reference to virgins fits best with Sim. IX: ii; xi; xiii and xv, and Sim. X: iii (moreover, in Vis. III: viii, 2 those involved in the building of the tower are "women", not "virgins").

In the *Commentary on Job* (p. 184 l. 33) there occurs a quotation⁴ clearly recognisable as coming from Mand. II, 2: "For it has been said, 'do not slander or hear gladly those who slander.'"

The last two passages for consideration⁵ are from the *Commentary on Zechariah* (p. 234 ll. 21-22 and p. 355 ll. 20-24). The first describes the Ethiopians as the children of the devil because they are black, "As is made clear in the book of repentance called the Shepherd, and in the epistle of Barnabas". The second is more direct: "For in the Shepherd and in the epistle of Barnabas, Satan is called black."

It is likely that Didymus had in mind the women dressed in black (Sim. IX: xv) and the black mountain and its inhabitants (Sim. IX: xix, 1)⁶.

⁴Translation from Ehrman, *Op. cit.*, p. 11. "Εἴρηται γὰρ, Μὴ καταλάλει μηδὲ ἡδέως ἄκουε καταλαλοῦντος."

⁵Translations from Ehrman, *Op. cit.*, p. 13. "Ὡς δηλοῦνται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς μετανοίας, Ποιμένι ὀνομαζομένη, καὶ τῇ Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολῇ" and "Ἐν γὰρ τῷ Ποιμένι καὶ τῇ τοῦ Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολῇ μέλας ὁ Σατανᾶς προσαγορεύεται."

⁶Note that Ehrman, p. 13, cites this incorrectly as 9, 9, 1 for IX: xix, 1.

From the above survey it is plain that Didymus knew a *Shepherd* that comprised at least the Mandates and the ninth (and tenth?) Similitudes. It is possible that it included also the Visions, although the fact that the work is consistently cited as the *Shepherd*, never as *Hermas*, makes this somewhat doubtful. In short it would appear that Didymus knew a text that comprised the Mandates and Sim. IX, with possibly Sim. X as conclusion. As in the case of Athanasius, it is uncertain whether the Mandates were introduced by Vis. V. If Sim. X concluded Didymus's text, it is almost a foregone conclusion that Vis. V began it.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS .

(5) PAPYRUS MICHIGAN . 6427 .

The locale in which this fragment was found is unknown, and cannot be stated certainly to have been Egypt; but the fact that it is written upon papyrus makes Egypt its most likely provenance, and it will be treated as Egyptian in what follows.

The first publication of this fragment took place in 1974, when M. Gronewald published a "liturgical papyrus"¹ in five fragments which could be joined into two pieces, one of 13,5 x 12 cm., the other of 9,5 x 4,5 cm. Upper and lower margins are preserved, upper on the first piece and lower on the second. Between the two pieces the Recto has some 10-12 lines missing (the Verso, on account of its larger writing, had in the equivalent missing area only between 8 and 10 lines). The right-hand margin of the Recto is preserved, but on the left-hand side there are some 9 to 12 letter-spaces missing.

The Recto is written in a hand of the early fourth century, the Verso in a hand of the later fourth century. The interesting thing for our purposes is that the prayer on the Recto, in the course of an ascription of epithets to God, reproduces an epithet found in Mand. I, 1: "πάντα κρωῶν, [μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὢν."

From the date of the hand on the Recto it is clear that this

¹"Ein liturgischer Papyrus: Gebet und Ode S. P. Mich. Inv. 6427", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 14, 1974, p. 193-200.

prayer dates from the early fourth century at the latest. (The Verso contains the *Benedicite Omnia Opera*, the Song of the Three from Daniel, which the Greek church numbered as the eighth of the forty Old and New Testament *Odes* which were used as a supplement to the Psalter. From this fact it appears that the prayer on the Recto derives from some sort of prayer book which at a later date was supplemented by new material, in this case in the form of the *Benedicite*).

The prayer on the Recto has decided affinities in form and content with the wordy openings of the Eastern eucharistic prayers. It is, however, unlikely to be such a eucharistic prayer, since the second piece of the leaf clearly contains a singular: "καὶ ὁὸς μου", which must surely be unusual in a eucharistic prayer.

In any event the echo of Mand. I, 1 may be taken as evidence of knowledge of the opening Mandate (either at first-hand or at some remove) by the compiler or author of the prayer. In view of the frequency with which this particular part of the *Shepherd* is quoted by the Fathers, this fact does not significantly advance our knowledge of the distribution of the *Shepherd* in Egypt.

It is interesting (but perhaps not very significant) that an identical echo of the identical passage of the *Shepherd* occurs in another Egyptian prayer book, the Der Balizeh liturgical papyrus.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS .

(6) PAPYRUS BODLEIAN . GR . LIT . D 2 - 4 .
(THE DER BALIZEH LITURGICAL PAPYRUS) .

In 1907 Flinders Petrie, the renowned Egyptologist, discovered at Deir Balyzeh (the transliteration differs widely from publication to publication) in Upper Egypt a batch of Greek liturgical fragments on papyrus. He entrusted them to W.E. Crum, who made a transcript which was made available to Dom Pierre de Puniet, a Benedictine of Solesmes, who was the first to publish some of the fragments¹ in the *Report* of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress held at Westminster from 9th to 14th September 1908², and in the *Revue Bénédictine*³.

The lines that interest us, lines 17 and 18 of the verso of Leaf 1, appear in de Puniet's editio princeps thus:

line 16 [sic]] o p [
line 17 [sic]] τ [

That this did not convey very much to anybody is not particularly surprising; yet within a couple of years the origin of the allusion (Mand. I, 1) was commonly known⁴.

¹I derive this history from C.H. Roberts and Dom B. Capelle, *An early euchologium: the Der-Balizeh papyrus enlarged and reedited*. Louvain: Museon, 1949. [Bibliothèque du Museon, 23].

²London: Sands, 1909, Appendice I (Description et texte des nouveaux fragments sur papyrus de Der Balyzeh), p. 395-398.

³"Le nouveau papyrus liturgique d'Oxford." *Revue Bénédictine*, 26, 1909, p. 34-51.

⁴Schermann, T. *Der liturgische Papyrus von Der-Balyzeh: eine Abendmahlsliturgie des Ostermorgens*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910, p. 12. [Texte und Untersuchungen, 36/1b].

The reading was confirmed⁵ by Roberts in the late 1940s, when he managed to locate several additional fragments.

The date of the fragments was originally placed in the seventh century. Thus Dom Gregory Dix⁶: "The Der Balyzeh fragments were written in the seventh or eighth century, though the liturgy of which they contained a copy might well be a century or two older in composition." However Roberts favoured a date for the fragments in the sixth century⁷.

Somewhat later H.E.W. Turner - not a papyrologist - stated that "The date normally assigned to the papyrus has now receded to the fourth century"⁸; but it seems likely that he has confused the date of the papyrus and the date of composition of the liturgy it contains.

On the date of composition of the prayers contained in the Der Balizeh fragments Kelly⁹ comments, "An extravagantly early date has sometimes been proposed for the Der Balyzeh euchologion, the beginning of the third or even the last decades of the second century being mentioned". Thus Wessely

⁵*Op. cit.*

⁶"Primitive consecration prayers", *Theology*, 1938, p. 261-283, at p. 266.

⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸*The pattern of Christian truth*. London: Mowbray, 1954, p. 366.

⁹Kelly, J.N.D. *Early Christian creeds*. Third edition. London: Longmans, 1972, p. 88.

hand or at some remove.

Nonetheless the use of the *Shepherd* in what is patently an official liturgical work (unlike P. Mich. 6427, which to me looks like a book of private devotion) witnesses to the esteem in which it was held in fourth-century Egypt.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(2) THE GREEK FATHERS .

(7) JOHN CASSIAN .

According to Gennadius¹ John Cassian (ca. 360-435) was ordained deacon in Constantinople by St John Chrysostom, and presbyter at Marseilles. In this latter town he established two monasteries, one the abbey of St Victor. He spent a part of his youth among the monks of the desert of Scete in Egypt². In his accounts of conversations with them on spiritual matters, there occur two passages which clearly refer to the *Shepherd*. Strangely, though, both accounts refer to the same passage, namely Mand. VI: ii, 1. This surely would tend to suggest that Cassian himself, rather than his interlocutors, was the source of the quotations - unless the proof text from the *Shepherd* about the two angels in man had become a commonplace in Egyptian monastic circles. Origen had certainly made extensive use of the idea in his commentary on Luke 2: 10 (*hom.* 12), and again (with explicit reference to "volumen quod titulo Pastoris scribitur") in the commentary on Luke 12: 58f (*hom.* 35).

Cassian's first allusion to this verse from the *Shepherd* occurs in *Collationes* VIII (the second conference of Abbot Serenus), 17. It reads as follows:-

"Nam quod unicuique nostrum duo cohaereant angeli, id est bonus et malus, scriptura testatur ... [This is followed by references to Matt. 18: 10, Psalm 34: 7 and Acts 12: 15] ... de utrisque vero liber Pastoris plenissime docet".

¹*De viris illustribus*, 52.

²Chadwick, O. *John Cassian: a study in primitive monasticism*. 1950.

The second allusion occurs in *Collationes XIII* (the third conference of Abbot Chaeremon), 12, which reads as follows:-

"Adiacere autem homini in quamlibet partem arbitrii libertatem, etiam liber ille qui dicitur Pastoris apertissime docet, in quo duo angeli unicuique nostrum adhaerere dicuntur, id est bonus ac malus, in hominis vero opinione consistere, ut eligat, quam sequatur."

The first task is to determine whether Cassian's (or his interlocutors') knowledge of the *Shepherd* passage is first-hand or is derived from Origen. The three relevant passages are juxtaposed below:-

ORIGEN	<i>Collationes XIII</i>	<i>Collationes VIII</i>
Quod si cui displicet transeat ad volumen, quod titulo Pastoris scribitur, et inveniet cunctis hominibus duos adesse angelos, malum, qui ad perversa exhortatur, et bonum etc.	Liber ille qui dicitur Pastoris apertissime docet, in quo duo angeli unicuique nostrum adhaerere dicuntur id est bonus ac malus, in hominis vero opinione consistere, ut eligat, quam sequatur.	Nam quod unicuique nostrum duo cohaereant angeli, id est bonus et malus, scriptura testatur ... de utrisque vero liber Pastoris plenissime docet.

Apart from "Pastoris" (in the genitive), "duo" and "angeli", not even "bonus" and "malus" are common to the three accounts: for in Origen the order is reversed, the evil angel being dealt with before the good.

Both of Cassian's introductions are similar, in stating that "liber Pastoris" most clearly (in both cases a superlative, but different adverbs) "docet"; and further, the content in

each is similar, in that "unicuique nostrum" "duo angeli" adhere or cohere (the same root verb, but with different prefixes), "id est bonus & malus". No dependence upon Origen's account can be postulated.

The next step must be to determine any possible relationship between Cassian's source and the two Latin versions. For the purposes of this comparison I have constructed a "common reading" from the two passages in the *Collationes*.

PALATINA	<i>Collationes</i>	VULGATA
Audi nunc, inquit, de fide. Duo sunt nuntii cum homine: unus iustitiae et unus nequitiae.	Liber Pastoris clarissime docet, unicuique nostrum duos angelos haerere, id est bonum & malum.	Audi nunc, inquit, primum de fide. Duo sunt Genii cum homine: unus aequitatis, et unus iniquitatis.

Even a cursory glance will indicate that Cassian is dependent upon the Latin versions for neither his vocabulary nor his phraseology. If he knew the *Shepherd* at first hand, he must have known it in Greek; and the chances are overwhelming that Egypt was where he got to know it. Strictly, therefore, Cassian must if anything be accounted as a witness to the Egyptian transmission of the *Shepherd* in Greek.

However, there remains in my mind a question as to whether he did in fact know the *Shepherd* at first hand. There is something so pat about the similarity of the introductions to the reference to Mand. VI: ii (even though in one case the

reference is separated from its introduction by three citations from other sources) that one cannot but think that this is a formulaic introduction to a well-known proof-text which is known apart from its context. It is perhaps significant that into the pattern of "introduction" ("Liber Pastoris planissime docet") and "proof-text" ("Unicuique nostrum duo angeli cohaereant, id est bonus et malus") Cassian (or his interlocutor, Abbot Serenus) has interpolated three citations from the Scriptures that do not prove the existence of two angels at all, but relate merely to the good angel. In short, the introduction is determined not (as would be natural) by its immediate context (the three Scripture quotations), but by the reference from which it is separated (that to Mand. VI: ii). The conclusion that the introduction is a formulaic one belonging with the reference to Mand. VI: ii almost forces itself upon one.

In sum, then, Cassian (or his interlocutors) probably did not know the *Shepherd* at first hand. Rather, they knew a quotation from the *Shepherd* which had been furnished with a formulaic introduction and used as a proof-text for a certain anthropology. This proof-text had of course circulated quite separately from its original context.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(3) THE COPTIC VERSIONS :

INTRODUCTION .

In the following sections the nature of the different Coptic versions of the *Shepherd* will be traced. The following will be demonstrated:-

The Akhmimic version (preserved in the remains of a fourth-century codex) probably contained Mand. I to XII and Sim. IX; it is possible that Sim. X was also included.

Lefort's first Sahidic version (in the remains of two codices of the 6th-7th century) contained Mand. XII to Sim. V: ii (numbered respectively Παραβολη Α' and Παραβολη Ζ') together with the Mandates, Simm. VI, probably VII, certainly VIII (numbered we know not how), and Sim. IX (not numbered in sequence, but preceded by APXH). What else of the *Shepherd* it contained cannot be determined, although it could not have contained the whole text known to us from the printed editions. It appears that one codex omitted Vis. III, while the other omitted also Viss. I and II.

Lefort's second Sahidic version (in the remains of a 5th-6th century codex) contained the whole *Shepherd* up to Sim. VIII. Whether or not it also included Simm. IX and X is impossible to say.

The Coptic tradition thus reveals clearly, by inclusion and exclusion, that it knew of at least four sections of the *Shepherd*:-

- a) Viss. I to IV (included in Sahidic B; included in part in Sahidic A; excluded from Akhmimic).
- b) Mand. I to XIIa (included in all three Coptic versions).
- c) Mand. XIIb to Sim. VIII (included in both Sahidic versions; excluded from Akhmimic).
- d) Simm. IX (and X?) (included in Sahidic A and Akhmimic; possibly also in Sahidic B).

The four sections identified above could be combined in a variety of ways, as indeed they are in our extant Coptic witnesses:-

The first Sahidic version contains part of (a), together with (b), (c) and (d).

The Akhmimic version contains (b) and (d).

The second Sahidic version contains (a), (b) and (c).

To what extent these four divisions are original, or are simply convenient groupings in a very long work, remains to be established; but the clear evidence of the Coptic tradition, confirmed by the Ethiopic as well as by evidence from other areas of transmission, bolsters what has already been seen of the transmission of the Greek text in Egypt: namely, that the *Shepherd* was in antiquity so far from being regarded as a unity that it could be split up in a variety of ways.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION .

(3) THE COPTIC VERSIONS :

(1) THE AKHMIMIC VERSION .

The Akhmimic version of the *Shepherd* of Hermas exists in a unique codex, in fragmentary state, part of a lot of such fragments obtained by Jean Doresse from the Cairo antiquary Albert Eid¹. The eight extant leaves of the codex - four with both upper and lower margins extant (and for that reason important in showing the number of lines of text per page), three with upper margins missing and one with the lower margins missing - were published by Lefort in 1952². The leaves - none of which is numbered - contain the following sections of the *Shepherd* of Hermas:-

1) Recto, with 30 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 20,625 letters per line): Mand. IV: iii, 5-iv, 3 (4-5 lines missing at the beginning).

Verso, with 30 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 20,615 letters per line): Mand. IV: iv, 4-Mand. V: 1, 4, with a line devoted to the heading of the fifth Mandate (4-5 lines missing at the beginning).

2) Recto, with 31 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 16,929 letters per line): Sim. IX: 1, 4-8 (3-4 lines missing at the end).

Verso, with 30 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 16,6 letters per line): Sim. IX: 1, 9-11, 2 (4-5 lines missing at the end).

3) Recto, with 35 lines of text and upper and lower margins partially preserved (average 17,469 letters per line): Sim. IX: ii, 3-7.

¹This brief history is derived from p. ii of Lefort's edition. I am unaware of the present whereabouts of this codex.

²L.T. Lefort. *Les Pères apostoliques en Copte*. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1952. [Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 135; Scriptorum Coptici, 17]. The next volume in the series contains a French translation of the Coptic.

Verso, with 35 lines of text and upper and lower margins partially preserved (average 18,179 letters per line): Sim. IX: ii, 7-iii, 3.

4) Recto, with 32 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 17,4 letters per line): Sim. IX: iii, 4-iv, 3 (2-3 lines missing at the beginning).

Verso, with 34 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 17,633 letters per line): Sim. IX: iv, 3-6 (1 line missing at the beginning).

5) Recto, with 30 lines of text wholly or partially preserved (average 18 letters per line): Sim IX: iv, 6-v, 1 (4-5 lines missing at the beginning)

Verso, with 31 lines of the text wholly or partially preserved (average 16,679 letters per line): Sim. IX: v, 2-5 (3-4 lines missing at the beginning).

6) Recto, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 17,581 letters per line): Sim. IX: vi, 6-vii, 3.

Verso, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 18,222 letters per line): Sim. IX: vii, 3-6.

7) Recto, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 16,923 letters per line): Sim. IX: ix, 4-x, 1.

Verso, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 17 letters per line): Sim. IX: x, 1-6.

8) Recto, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 16,333 letters per line): Sim. IX: xi, 8-xii, 2.

Verso, with 34 lines of text and upper and lower margins preserved (average 17,731 letters per line): Sim. IX: xii, 2-5.

Lefort³ dates the codex to the fourth century, largely on the basis of its codicological form.

CODICOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The contents of leaves 2, 3, 4 and 5 indicate that these four are a sequence. Notable is the fact that the papyrus strips on the recto of each of these leaves are vertical, while those on the verso of each leaf are horizontal. Exactly the same is true of leaves 1 and 6. On the basis of this fact Lefort concluded that the extant leaves represent the remnants of a single-quire codex, i.e. a codex consisting of only one gathering. Leaves 1 to 6 formed part of the first half of that gathering; leaves 7 and 8, where the direction of the papyrus strips is reversed (horizontal on the recto, vertical on the verso), came from the second half of the codex.

Although Lefort did not mention this (indeed, he blandly stated that each line contained 20-22 letters, which as the above tabulation indicates is not true), the significant variation in the average number of letters per line between the first leaf (which obviously came from near the front of the codex) on the one hand, and the remaining seven leaves on the other (from near the middle of the codex), supports this conclusion. If the gathering had been folded and its outer margins trimmed before the scribal process began, it is apparent that the writing surface of the inner sheets would have been smaller than that of the outer sheets nearer to the beginning and end of the codex.

³*Idem*, p. ii.

It is clear that the middle of the codex must have been reached between the preserved leaf 6, containing Sim. IX: vi and vii, where the recto is vertical and the verso horizontal, and leaf 7, containing Sim. IX: ix and x, where the recto is horizontal and the verso vertical. Lefort⁴ suggested implicitly that our leaf 6 was the last in the first half of the codex: "Le milieu de la farde tombait donc ici entre notre f.6 et notre f.7, c'est-à-dire à la fin du ch. vii ou au début du ch. viii de la IXe Similitude." The end of Sim. IX: vii must have occurred early on the page immediately following our leaf 6 verso. However, a more satisfactory explanation for the preservation of our leaves 2 to 8 is the hypothesis that the middle sheet of the codex is missing; the following diagram illustrates what the original middle sheets would have comprised:-

FIRST HALF	SECOND HALF
Our leaf 2 = Sim. IX: i & ii	Missing Leaf
Our leaf 3 = Sim. IX: ii & iii	Missing Leaf
Our leaf 4 = Sim. IX: iii & iv	Missing Leaf
Our leaf 5 = Sim. IX: iv & v	Our leaf 8 = Sim. IX: xi-xii
Missing Leaf	Missing Leaf
Our leaf 6 = Sim. IX: vi & vii	Our leaf 7 = Sim. IX: ix & x
Missing Leaf	Missing Leaf

The suggestion therefore is that we have preserved to us two pairs of conjugate leaves, numbers 5 & 8 and numbers 6 & 7, with the intervening sheet and the subsequent sheet both having been lost. The other four preserved leaves have come down to us without their conjugates.

⁴*Idem*, p. iii.

As was indicated above, the precise size of the codex cannot be established, since no numeration of pages survives (if indeed it was ever present).

However, as a great deal of what follows will turn upon this question, it might be as well to append below a list of certain single-quire codices, indicating the number of sheets contained and the date of each⁵.

Sheets	Leaves	Pages	Codex	Contents	Date
70	140	280	P. Milan Vogliano V	Coptic Paulines	5th c
59	118	236	Chester Beatty IXf	Ezek, Dan, Sus, Est.	3rd c
56	112	224	Chester Beatty VII	Isaiah	3rd c
51	102	204	Chester Beatty XI	Pauline Epistles	3rd c
(52 according to Bonner)					
43	86	172	Univ. Michigan 129	Shepherd	3rd c
42	84	168	Berol. Or. oct. 987	Akhmimic Proverbs	4th c
(41 according to Bonner)					
41	82	164	P. Bodmer XXIV	Psalms	3/4 c
38	76	152	Nag Hammadi III	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
37	74	148	Nag Hammadi II	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
36	72	144	P. Bodmer XIV-XV	St John & St Luke	3rd c
36	72	144	P. Berol. 8502	Coptic Gnostic	5th c
35	70	140	Nag Hammadi VIII	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
34	68	136	Mississippi Crosby 1	Coptic Melito, 1 Pet., Jonah	4th c
33	66	132	Nag Hammadi VII	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
31	62	124	Pierpont Morgan	Iliad	4th c
25	50	100	P. Oxy. 208 + 1781	St John	3rd c
25	50	100	Brit & For Bib Soc	Coptic St John	4th c
23	46	92	Inst fr arch or	Akhmimic Ep	4th c
				Apostolorum	4th c
22	44	88+2	Berol Or fol 3065	Akhimic I Clement	4th c
(21 according to Bonner)					
20	40	80	Nag Hammadi VI	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
19	38	76	Nag Hammadi IX	Coptic Gnostic	4th c
19	38	76	Freer Ms V	Minor Prophets	4th c
(24 according to Bonner)					
18	36	72	Paris Suppl Or 574	Magical	4th c
16	32	64	P. Bodmer	Menander	4th c

Others, with 10 sheets or less, have been omitted from this list.

In sum, of the 58 codices listed by Turner as either definitely or probably single-quire codices (35 Greek, 23 Coptic), only four (fewer than 7%) are of more than fifty sheets. It cannot but be concluded that these are exceptional products; quite apart from their bulk, the wastage from trimming must have been considerable, even had the manufacturer been careful in his cutting of the original roll. Any theory postulating a single-quire codex of this magnitude must have considerable supporting evidence to make it plausible.

As to the date of this form of the codex, it is sufficient to quote Turner⁶ to show that Lefort's judgement was substantially correct: "It is noticeable that the dates suggested by palaeographers are almost all iii A.D. or iv A.D. The Milan Coptic letters of Paul is probably v A.D., and it is wise to reckon with the possibility that some of the other Coptic hands could be as late as v. The relatively early character of this make-up is a striking fact ... It is worth noting that no example of a single-quire codex of parchment has yet been identified."

⁵This list is extracted from E.G. Turner, *The typology of the early codex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p.58-60. Turner's listing is as complete as he could make it - although it does not include our codex. I have utilised only those items where the number of sheets can be determined and where it is clear that a single-quire codex is involved.

⁶*Idem*, p. 58.

STICHOMETRIC CONSIDERATIONS

Again a tabulation may be the most convenient way of presenting the information on which the conclusions to be offered will be based.

Page	Contents	Lines defective	Gk lines
f. 2 recto	Sim 9:i, 4-8 Sim 9:i, 8-9	3-4 lines at end	16 4
f. 2 verso	Sim 9:i, 9-ii, 2 Sim 9:ii, 2-3	4-5 lines at end	18 2
f. 3 recto	Sim 9:ii, 3-7		19
f. 3 verso	Sim 9:ii, 7-iii, 3		21
f. 4 recto	Sim 9:iii, 3-4 Sim 9:iii, 4-iv, 3	2-3 lines at beginning	2 21
f. 4 verso	Sim 9:iv, 3 Sim 9:iv, 3-6	1 line at beginning	1 19
f. 5 recto	Sim 9:iv, 6 Sim 9:iv, 6-v, 1	4-5 lines at beginning	2 19
f. 5 verso	Sim 9:v, 1-2 Sim 9:v, 2-5	3-4 lines at beginning	3 18
Missing	Sim 9:v, 5-vi, 6		40
f. 6 recto	Sim 9:vi, 6-vii, 3		22
f. 6 verso	Sim 9:vii, 3-6		21
Missing 2	Sim 9:vii, 6-ix, 4		77
f. 7 recto	Sim 9:ix, 4-x, 1		19
f. 7 verso	Sim 9:x, 1-6		21
Missing	Sim 9:x, 6-xi, 8		40
f. 8 recto	Sim 9:xi, 8-xii, 2		18
f. 8 verso	Sim 9:xii, 2-5		19

Total number of pages covered: 22

Total of Greek lines: 442

The exact extent and equivalence of the leaves from the middle of the codex can easily be established, since they are either consecutive or are separated by only one or two missing leaves, as shown above.

Although calculating length of lines in one language by means of another language cannot be an altogether satisfactory and accurate means of measurement, the results obtained have sufficient consistency to inspire confidence. The twenty-two pages of Coptic text from Sim. IX: i, 4 (the beginning of the recto of our Leaf 2) to Sim. IX: xii, 5 (the end of the verso of our Leaf 8) are equivalent to 442 lines of Greek in Lake's edition⁷, an average of 20 lines of Greek text per page of Coptic. This equivalence, of course, applies only to the pages near the middle of the codex. As was pointed out above, those pages nearer to the extremities of the codex, whether beginning or end, would have accommodated slightly more by virtue of their slightly longer lines.

This observation is confirmed by a consideration of the Greek equivalence of the Coptic text of our Leaf 1:-

Page	Contents	Lines defective	GK lines
f. 1 recto	Mand. 4:iii, 4b	4-5 lines at beginning	3
	Mand. 4:iii, 5-iv, 3		22
f. 1 verso	Mand. 4:iv, 3-4	4-5 lines at beginning	4
	Mand. 4:iv, 4-5:i, 4		21

⁷*The apostolic fathers: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. II: The Shepherd of Hermas; The Martyrdom of Polycarp; The Epistle to Diognetus.* London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970.

The Greek equivalent of the Coptic text on these two pages is 25 lines, as against 20 for the other pages, a measurement which is approximately proportional to the respective length of the lines on the inner pages and the outer leaf. In the middle leaves the fourteen preserved pages have an average of seventeen and a third letters per line, as against the average of 21,12 letters per line in the first leaf, a proportion of approximately 4 to 5. It follows, therefore, that for the missing pages preceding our first leaf one would have to calculate at the rate of at least 25 lines of Greek text per Coptic page; for the missing pages intervening between the first and second preserved leaves a compromise calculation of 22,5 lines of Greek per Coptic page will provide an accurate enough guide; while for the missing conjugates of our leaves 2, 3 and 4 the calculation will be based on 20 lines of Greek per Coptic page.

These preliminary technicalities will come into their own below; in the interim, however, I consider the theory advanced by Lefort⁸. After noting (in the sentence quoted above) that the middle point of our codex appears to have occurred^r at the end of Sim. IX: vii or the beginning of Sim. IX: viii, he proceeds, "Or, selon C. Bonner, à cet endroit du texte on se trouve assez exactement au milieu d'un Pasteur ne comprenant pas les Visions, sauf la V^e, qui servait d'introduction." As a statement of fact this is

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. iii

defective; so the theory which Canon Lefort erected upon it cannot be taken seriously, as elementary arithmetic shows. What Bonner (discussing Pap. Mich. 129, olim 917) had in fact said was this⁹: "The middle left-hand page of the surviving portion of the manuscript (p. 86) ends in Sim. VII. 3, near the end of the section. Now this is almost exactly the middle point of that portion of the *Shepherd* which is contained between the beginning of Vis. V and the end of the whole work." Lefort's misunderstanding of "Sim. VII" as "Sim. IX: vii" vitiates his suggestion that our codex is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek P. Mich. 129 as reconstructed by Bonner, namely a work embracing that portion of the *Shepherd* contained between Vis. V and Sim. X inclusive.

CONTENTS

What, then, did the codex originally contain? One method of determining the answer would be to work backward from the middle (or in effect from our Leaf 2). The number of Greek lines of text between Mand. V: i, 4b (the ending of our first leaf) and Sim. IX: i, 4a (the beginning of the second) is 1740. Presupposing 22,5 lines of Greek as equivalent to one Coptic page, this would imply 77 1/3 pages (better, 78, since there would have to be a number divisible by two to allow for

⁹Bonner, C. "A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas." *Harvard Theological Review*, 18, 1925, p. 115-127 at p. 118.

the fact that each leaf embodies two pages), or 39 leaves. Add to this the first preserved leaf and the seven leaves postulated between the second preserved leaf and the middle of the codex, and one may conclude that from our first preserved leaf to the middle of the codex there were 47 leaves inclusive. It will not have escaped notice that this figure is dangerously near the unacceptably high number of 50, the credibility of which as a single-quire codex requires hard evidence rather than hypothetical reconstruction.

If it is postulated that our codex began with Mand. I, it is necessary to add a further seven pages or four leaves before the first preserved leaf, to accommodate the 168 lines of Greek between the beginning of the first Mandate and Mand. IV: iii, 4a at 24 lines of Greek per Coptic page (the first page being left blank). If, on the other hand, the entire work was contained in our codex, this would require a further 34 pages (844 lines of Greek for Viss. I-V at 25 lines per page) or 17 leaves, giving a codex with no fewer than 68 sheets - a total exceeded only by the Milan Pauline Epistles. Even without Viss. I-V a codex of 51 sheets is presupposed - a figure reaching the outer limits of credibility.

That suspicion on this account is well-founded may be demonstrated by a consideration of the contents of the second half of this hypothetically-reconstructed codex. The scribes of antiquity seem to have been fairly adept at choosing a

codex of size suitable for the work they were about to copy, usually managing to estimate to within a page or two the amount of space they would require. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that any scribe would have wished to include in one single-quire codex both the *Shepherd* (even if only from Mand. I) and any other work or works. Yet if the first half of the codex began with Mand. I and included all the Mandates and all the Similitudes up to the first part of Sim. IX, this is precisely what must have happened, since the end of Sim. X would have occurred long before the end of the codex as thus visualised. Consider these figures:-

The three leaves conjugate to our preserved leaves 2, 3 and 4 would have contained the Coptic equivalent of 120 lines of Greek (6 pages at 20 lines per page). This would carry us one-third of the way through Sim. IX: xv (19 lines for that part of Sim. IX: xii after the verso of Leaf 8, 52 lines for Sim. IX: xiii, 36 lines for Sim. IX: xiv, plus thirteen of the 37 lines of Sim. IX: xv). The remainder of Sim. IX preserved in Greek (up to IX: xxix) comprises 391 lines, equivalent to 17,4 pages of Coptic at 22,5 lines per page. The rest of Sim. IX, preserved in Latin, comprises 104 lines, which would be roughly equivalent to 114 lines of Greek, a further 5 pages. Sim. X, at 97 lines of Latin or 107 lines of Greek, would occupy a further 4,7 pages. Thus by no stretch of the imagination could the remainder of the *Shepherd* in the order known to us (and there is no

concrete evidence of any other) have comprised more than 27 or 28 pages after the conjugate leaf of our preserved Leaf 2, or a total of 14 leaves.

Now a single-quire codex of 21 sheets (the fourteen to accommodate the remainder of Sim. IX and X, plus the seven postulated as the middle sheets of the codex) is inherently more believable than a single-quire codex of 51 or 68 sheets, with 72 leaves (or 88) occupied by the *Shepherd*, the remaining 30 (or 48) by some other work or works. Here, I believe, lies the solution to the problem of the original size of our codex. At most it would have consisted of 21 sheets (or perhaps a few more if the scribe was not particularly skilled in estimating the number he would require), and so could not have contained the entire *Shepherd* or even a substantial part of it.

What parts of the *Shepherd* is our codex likely to have contained? It may be accepted without question that it comprised the whole of Sim. IX, since a substantial part (chs. i to xii) of that section is contained in the extant leaves. In addition, the presence in our extant first leaf of parts of the fourth and fifth Mandates indicates that all the Mandates were contained in the codex, since it is difficult on formal grounds to conceive of this section of the *Shepherd* as being divided.

The number of lines from Mand. V: i, 4b (the end of the verso

of our first leaf) to Mand. XII: iii, 3 in Lake's edition is 571. Allowing 23 lines of Greek per page of Coptic, this would imply 25 pages or 13 leaves between our Leaves 1 and 2. The verso of the last of these missing leaves probably contained the beginning of Sim. IX (22 lines of Greek - i.e. just a page of Coptic).

Lastly, it remains to consider what preceded our first preserved leaf. If the codex began with Mand. I, there would be 168 lines of Greek between the beginning of that Mandate and Mand. IV: iii, 4b, or (at 24 lines of Greek per Coptic page) 7 pages, 4 leaves, the recto of the first leaf having been left blank as an outer cover.

It is suggested in the light of what has been argued above that the original form and content of our codex were as follows:-

Sheet	First half	Lines of Greek	Pages	Second half	Lines of Greek	Pages
1	}			Blank		
2	} Mandates	168/24	7	Blank		
3	} I - IV:iii			Blank		
4	}			Blank		
5	= f.1 Mand.IV: iii-5:i	50/25	2	Blank		
6	}			} Sim. X	107/25	4+
7	}			}		
8	}			} Sim. IX:	114/22,5	5
9	}			} xxx-xxxiii		
10	}			}}		
11	} Mand.V:	509/23	22	}		
12	} i, 4b-			}		
13	} Mand. XI			}		
14	}			} Sim. IX: xv,	391/23	17
15	}			} 3-xxix, 4.		
16	}			}		
17	} Mand.XIIa	83/21	4	}		
18	} & Sim.IX:i			}		
19	= f.2			} Sim. IX: xii,	120/20	6
20	= f.3			} 5b-xv, 2.		
21	= f.4			}		
22	= f.5			= f.8		
23	Missing			Missing		
24	= f.6			= f.7		
25	Missing			Missing		

This reconstruction would imply that the scribe had overestimated the amount of space he required to the extent that the last four and a half or five leaves of the codex would be blank, so that Sim. X would have ended on the conjugate leaf of the first preserved leaf (or perhaps on the immediately preceding one, leaving the conjugate of our f.1 blank). Such an overestimate (of just under 10%) does not strain credibility unduly. Should Sim. X have been present, one would expect the codex to have included also Vis. V, occupying an additional leaf at the beginning of the codex.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(3) THE COPTIC VERSIONS :

(2) THE SECOND SAHIDIC VERSION

In 1939, the year following his groundbreaking amalgamation of some Sahidic leaves of the *Shepherd* into one codex, (on which see the next section) Lefort published a sheet¹ which he had recently obtained from a dealer in Cairo and which contained on its first leaf Sim. VIII: v, 6-vi, 4 in Sahidic. The first leaf is paginated p. 162-163 and contains the gathering number 11. The second leaf, however, which is extensively damaged, "ne porte aucune trace d'écriture" (p. 224). The writing ceases abruptly on the 18th line of page 163, in the middle of a word.

As no complete Coptic version of the *Shepherd* of Hermas exists in any dialect, any consideration of line measurement will have to be made with reference to the Greek text (and, for Sim. IX: xxx to the end of Sim. X, to the Latin)². For purposes of comparison the edition employed will be that of Lake³.

The first extant page contains the Coptic equivalent of 17 lines of Loeb Greek; the second page, only two-thirds full, the Coptic equivalent of 12 lines of Loeb Greek. In the Loeb

¹Lefort, L. Th. "Le Pasteur d'Hermas, un nouveau codex Sahidique", *Le Muséon*, 52, 1939, p. 223-228

²In what follows, I take, for convenience' sake, the Latin text to be identical in length to the Greek. However, as a general rule the Greek would occupy between 5% and 10% more space than the Latin, and this difference will be taken into account in the final computations.

³*The apostolic fathers, with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake, in two volumes. Volume II. London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970. [Loeb Classical Library, 25].*

edition, 2593 lines of Greek precede the point at which the fragment begins. If one is to allow 17 lines of Greek per page of Coptic (the equivalence of the only full page - page 162 - of this codex which we have), the preceding portion of the *Shepherd* would have made up the ten quaternion gatherings (allowing for a single error of numeration) which preceded the first page of the extant eleventh gathering:
 $2593/17 = 152,5$ pages, near enough to the 160 pages of ten quaternion gatherings to inspire confidence that the codex originally did contain all that precedes Sim. VIII: v, 6 in our printed editions.

It is clear, therefore, that this Sahidic codex could, and probably did, contain all of the *Shepherd* preceding Sim. VIII: v, 6 in the form and in the order in which we know it from the printed editions.

Problems arise, however, in considering what followed, rather than what preceded, the extant leaf. It has already been mentioned that the bottom third of the second page is blank, and the second half of the sheet - the conjugate leaf of the leaf containing pages 162 and 163 - similarly has no trace of writing.

In the Loeb edition there are 153 lines of Greek from the point at which our fragment ends to the end of Sim. VIII. At 17 lines per page, this would require a further nine pages before the end of that similitude was reached. If the

eleventh gathering (of which we have the first sheet) were a quaternion, as the pagination tells us all its predecessors were, it would quite clearly be able to accommodate the rest of the Eighth Similitude within its compass (*pace* Lefort, who asserts the opposite) before the blank conjugate leaf of pages 162 and 163. In fact, if the quaternion contained only the balance of the Eighth Similitude, there would be TWO blank leaves at the end of the quaternion, and a further blank page before them, as follows:-

Sheet	Page	Contents	Page	Contents
1	162	Sim. VIII: v, 6-vi, 4	177	Blank
	163	Sim. VIII: vi 4-6	176	Blank
2	164	Sim. VIII: vi, 6-vii, 3	175	Blank
	165	Sim. VIII: vii, 3-6	174	Blank
3	166	Sim. VIII: vii, 6-viii, 3	173	Blank
	167	Sim. VIII: VIII: 3-ix, 1	172	Sim. VIII: xi, 3-5
4	168	Sim. VIII: ix, 1-4	171	Sim. VIII: xi, 1-3
	169	Sim. VIII: ix, 4-x, 2	170	Sim. VIII: x, 2-xi, 1

What needs explanation, though, is not why Similitudes IX and X are missing from this codex, but rather why the writing stops abruptly on page 163, and why this, the outer sheet of a quaternion (normally the sheet most liable to damage) has been preserved while there is no sign of the rest of the quaternion or, indeed, of the codex of which it was to be part.

If the pagination was done at the same time as the writing of the text, an explanation of these facts is possible. It has already been noted that the pagination of our leaf reflects an error. As it is the first leaf of the eleventh quaternion, it should be preceded by $(10 \times 16) = 160$ pages, not 161. It is conceivable that the pagination was correct up to the page immediately preceding our leaf, and that the error of pagination was made at the beginning of the eleventh quaternion. The scribe, realising his error only when he was nearing the end of the next page, rather than making two erasures simply discarded the incorrectly-numbered leaf (and its blank conjugate) and began again.

This is, admittedly, an unusually extravagant waste of fine parchment; but this theory alone can explain not only the sudden cessation of writing in the middle of a word, but also the preservation of an outer sheet alone. This sheet, we accordingly postulate, was discarded or used for padding a cover, and so survived independently of the codex of which it was intended to be a part.

According to Lefort the hand is of the 5th-6th century; so the conclusion may be drawn that this small-format codex containing at least the Visions, the Mandates and the first eight Similitudes, witnesses to a Sahidic version of these sections of the *Shepherd* by the end of the fifth century. Whether or not the ninth and tenth Similitudes were also to

be included in this codex is uncertain; certainly their presence cannot be postulated without some support, and such support is not preserved.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(3) THE COPTIC VERSIONS :

(3) THE FIRST SAHIDIC VERSION :

(A) THE FIRST CODEX .

In 1938 L.T. Lefort suggested¹ that eight Sahidic fragments published between 1903 and 1909 (three of them published twice, first by J. Leipoldt and again by L. Delaporte) proceed from one MS of the *Shepherd*, probably of the sixth century. (In his edition of the Coptic Hermas for the series "Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium" Lefort subsequently amended this dating to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century²). Two of the previously published fragments form one leaf; the other six represent more or less complete leaves. To these Lefort added a further six leaves in various states of preservation, like all but one of the others from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Combination of the first seven of these thirteen leaves in sequence yields the following picture:

- 2) Skin-Hair, numbered 56-57, containing Mand. XII, iii, 4-iv, 5.
- 3) Hair-Skin, numbered 66-67, containing Sim. II, 3-7a.
- 4) Skin-Hair, numbered 68-69, containing Sim. II, 7b-III, end
- 5) Skin-Hair, numbered 72-73, containing Sim. IV, 8-V, ii, 2.
- 6) Hair-Skin, [not numbered], containing Sim. V, iii, 7-iv, 1.

¹"Le Pasteur d'Herma en copte-sahidique", *Le Muséon*, 51, 1938, p. 239-276.

²See his *Les Pères Apostoliques en copte*. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1952, p. v [C.S.C.O. 135 & 136, *Scriptores Coptici* 17 & 18].

- 7) Hair-Skin, [not numbered], containing Sim. VI, 1, 4-6.
 8) Skin-Hair, numbered 88-[], containing Sim. VI, ii, 1-7.

Presupposing gatherings of four sheets (regular quaternions, i.e. eight leaves, sixteen pages), with skin side facing skin side and hair side facing hair side, one is presented with the following picture:

Quire	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S
A	0,1	2,3	4,5	6,7	8,9	10,11	12,13	14,15
B	16,17	18,19	20,21	22,23	24,25	26,27	28,29	30,31
Γ	32,33	34,35	<u>36,37</u>	38,39	40,41	42,43	44,45	46,47
Δ	48,49	50,51	52,53	54,55	<u>56,57</u>	58,59	60,61	62,63
E	64,65	<u>66,67</u>	<u>68,69</u>	70,71	<u>72,73</u>	74,75	76,77	<u>78,79</u>
Ξ	80,81	<u>82,83</u>	84,85	<u>86,87</u>	<u>88,89</u>	90,91	92,93	94,95
Z	96,97	98,99	100,101	102,103	104,105	106,107	108,109	110,111
H	112,113	114,115	116,117	118,119	120,121	122,123	124,125	126,127

Using the Loeb edition as base, one can calculate the line count as follows:

Mand. XII, 1-iii, 3	64 lines of Greek	} 2 missing leaves
Mand. XII, iii, 4-iv, 5	36 lines of Greek	Leaf 2, pp 56-57
Mand. XII, iv, 6-vi	65 lines of Greek	}
Similitude I	59 lines of Greek	} 139 ll, 4 leaves
Sim. II, 1-3a	15 lines of Greek	}
Sim. II, 3b-7a	37 lines of Greek	Leaf 3, pp 66-67
Sim. II, 7b-III, 3	36 lines of Greek	Leaf 4, pp 68-69
Sim. IV, 1-8a	37 lines of Greek	} One missing leaf
Sim. IV, 8b-V, ii, 2a	28 lines of Greek	Leaf 5, pp 72-73
Sim. V, ii, 2b-iii, 7a	86 lines of Greek	} 2 missing leaves
Sim. V, iii, 7b-iv, 1	19 lines of Greek	Leaf 6 unpaginate
	(only one column)	
Sim. V, iv, 2-end	108 lines of Greek	} 125 ll, 3 leaves
Sim. VI, 1, 1-4a	17 lines of Greek	
Sim. VI, 1, 4b-6a	14 lines of Greek	
	(only one column)	Leaf 7 unpaginate
Sim. VI, 1, 6b-ii, 1a	7 lines of Greek	
Sim. VI, ii, 1b-7	40 lines of Greek	Leaf 8, pp 88-89

With a couple of erratic variations caused by the preservation of only one column in the unpaginated leaves, the pattern is clear. Equally clear is the fact that the two leaves preceding the second preserved leaf could have contained the beginning of Mandate XII.

As the twelfth Mandate comprises	165 Loeb lines of Greek,
and Similitudes I to V comprise	423 Loeb lines of Greek,
and Similitude VI: i-ii comprise	77 Loeb lines of Greek,
the Coptic contains equivalent of	665 lines of Greek in 19

leaves (pages 52 to 89), or an average of the equivalent of 35 Loeb lines of Greek per Coptic leaf, 17,5 Loeb lines of Greek per Coptic page.

The preceding 26 leaves (pages 0-51) must have contained the Coptic equivalent of $(51 \times 17,5 =) 892,5$ Loeb lines of Greek. This of course presupposes that the verso of the first leaf, which was left unnumbered, was blank. Accounting for this total (892,5 lines) presents problems. Vision V to Mandate XI comprise only 763 Loeb lines of Greek. Visions I to IV are a further 805 Loeb lines of Greek. This fact reveals the error of Lefort's conclusion that "le Pasteur de notre codex commençait avec les Mandata précédés probablement d'un très court texte en guise d'introduction, le 5^e Vision sans doute"³. If this had been the case, there would have been space left over at the beginning of the codex for

³*Le Muséeon*, 51, 1938, p. 244.

(892,5 - 763 =) 129,5 Loeb lines of Greek, which at 17,5 lines per page would have meant 7,4 blank pages, Vis. V starting halfway down page 8. It is clearly impossible to believe that this codex contained either the whole of our current text of the *Shepherd* up to the preserved section, or even a substantial part of it. The only part of our text of the *Shepherd* remotely equivalent to this blank space is Vis. I, which at 134 Loeb lines of Greek would have fitted nicely before Vis. V and the Mandates, or Vis. II or IV, both measuring 106 Loeb lines. But was there ever a text of the *Shepherd* made up of Vis. I or II or IV followed by Vis. V, the Mandates, and the Similitudes? Such an amalgam of sections I find difficult to accept.

On the other hand, it is perhaps equally difficult to believe that a codex given over in such large measure to the *Shepherd* as is our codex, could have contained other matter not derived from the *Shepherd*. It is apparent, moreover, that our codex could not have begun with the Similitudes at Mand. XII: iii, 4, which is just a line or two before the preserved first leaf. It would surely have been ludicrous to begin an extract from a new work three lines from the bottom of a page, which is what must be believed if one is to accept that our codex contained from the *Shepherd* only the Similitudes in that Egyptian numeration that counted the Similitudes from Mand. XII: iii, 4.

For it is significant that the Similitudes are numbered differently in this codex from their numeration in the printed editions, although (as is clear from the line calculations given above) the text is substantially the same at least in compass and extent. Thus on page 68, at the end of our Sim. II, is the subscript "Παραβολη δ'", exactly as in P. Oxy. 1172. This might be held to refer to Sim. III, which begins on the following page, rather than to Sim. II, which precedes the subscript. Sim. III is followed in turn by the subscript "Παραβολη ε'", which might be held to refer to our Sim. IV, the beginning of which is no longer preserved in these leaves, but plainly began on the lost leaf following our Leaf 4. On page 72, at the end of our Sim. IV, is the note "Παραβολη φ'" just preceding our Sim. V. Then on page 73, between what in the printed editions is called chapters i and ii of our Sim. V, is the note "Παραβολη ζ'". The "parable concerning fasting" in Sim. V. ii is regarded in this codex at least as a parable separate from Sim. V, i (which strictly speaking contains no parable at all!) We have preserved to us, therefore, a Sahidic numbering of the Parables 4 to 7, as follows:-

δ', 4 = Sim. III
 ε', 5 = Sim. IV
 ζ', 6 = Sim. V, i
 ζ', 7 = Sim. V, ii (et seqq)

Pap. Oxyrhynchus IX. 1172 numbers Sim. III as the 4th Parable, as our Sahidic codex does; and the Hamburg 24

fragment numbers Sim. V as the 6th, like our Sahidic codex (it should be noted in passing that there is no evidence that the Hamburg fragment is Egyptian in provenance, apart from this similarity in numbering with our Sahidic version). The Ethiopic version numbers Simm. VII and VIII as the 8th and 9th respectively (numeration of the other Similitudes is apparently lacking in the Ethiopic) - this of course is a system of numeration which differs both from our Sahidic codex and from the printed editions. What must have been numbered Parables 1 to 3 in our codex is not hard to establish:-

α', 1 = Mand. XII (at least in part)
 β', 2 = Sim. I
 γ', 3 = Sim. II.

In their "Egyptian" form the Similitudes apparently were regarded as beginning with Mand. XII: iii, 4. The sixth-century Ethiopic version has the following rubric before Mand. XII: iii, 4: "Initium. Finita sunt mandata duodecim. Initium similitudinum. Similitudo Prima." In the same place the 15th-century Greek Athous MS has the single word "Αρχη". The two Latin versions - the only other witnesses to the text at this point - have no such rubric, following as they do the "western" numeration which is familiar to us from the printed editions.

It is suggested, therefore, that Lefort was quite right in seeing at least these seven leaves as being from a single

codex, but that he was wrong in believing that only Vis. V to Mand. XI preceded the extant Mand. XII to Sim. VI (which would leave some four leaves or seven and a half pages or the equivalent of 129,5 Loeb lines of Greek unaccounted for).

Quite what this codex contained is a complete puzzle;

possible combinations of parts of the *Shepherd* that would fill the available space preceding Mand. XII (i.e. 892,5 Loeb lines) include:-

Viss. I; V to Mand. XI =	897 Loeb lines of Greek.
Viss. I to IV; Mand. X =	889 Loeb lines of Greek.
Vis. I to Mand. II =	882 Loeb lines of Greek.
Vis. IV to Mand. XI =	869 Loeb lines of Greek.
Vis. I to Mand. III =	918 Loeb lines of Greek.
Viss. I to IV; Mand. XI =	921 Loeb lines of Greek.

These are of course all arbitrary speculations, without a shred of evidence to support them. Each of them requires that a natural section of the *Shepherd* (i.e. Visions I to IV; Mandates I to XIIa) be broken up in unnatural ways to accommodate the space available in the codex.

As a final counsel of desperation one might have recourse to a codex paginated after damage (i.e. after some leaves or even whole quires had been lost); but such an argument comes to grief on the fact that the extant pagination fits so neatly into quaternion quires, whereas an additional 38 pages (not possible with quaternions!) would have had to precede the extant pages in order to have accommodated the entire text of the *Shepherd* known to us.

The contents of this codex remain a puzzle; but the puzzle comes closer to solution by a consideration of an additional leaf, clearly from this same codex, numbered p. 36 on the recto and p. 37 on the verso and containing Mand. VIII, 7-12. This pagination, with evenly-numbered page before odd-numbered page, fits our codex as reconstructed above, being the third leaf of the third quaternion. This leaf was published as recently as 1981⁴. The leaf, substantially complete, contains text equivalent to 33 Loeb lines of Greek. A similar compass for the 35 preceding pages would yield a total of $(33/2 \times 35 =) 577,5$ Loeb lines. The earlier part of Mand. VIII covers 36 Loeb lines and Vis. V to Mand. VII 436 lines, which leaves 106 lines unaccounted for. As the first four Visions occupy 805 Loeb lines, the codex from which this leaf derived is 699 Loeb lines too short to accommodate the first four Visions - sufficiently close to the 675 lines too short of the codex recreated by Lefort to indicate that they are the same codex.

It has already been pointed out that Vis. II and Vis. IV each covers exactly 106 lines of Loeb text. Is it possible that the first codex of the first Sahidic version originally comprised Vis. II or Vis. IV followed by Vis. V, the Mandates, and (at least the earlier) Similitudes?

⁴Lucchesi, E. "Compléments aux Pères apostoliques en Copte", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 99, 1981, p. 395-408, at p. 400-404.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(3) THE COPTIC VERSIONS :

(3) THE FIRST SAHIDIC VERSION :

(B) THE SECOND CODEX .

THE LAST SIX LEAVES

Lefort asserts that the final half dozen fragmentary leaves of the first Sahidic version belong to the same codex as the first seven. The leaves in question are:-

- 9) Hair-Skin, top 2/3rds of a leaf, with gathering signature H', paginated 119-120, containing Sim. VIII, x, 3-xi, 5.
- 10) Skin-Hair, lower 2/3rds of a leaf, unpaginated, containing Sim. IX: ii, 7-iv, 2.
- 11) Hair-skin, with only one column preserved, paginated [1]27-[128], containing Sim. IX: v, 1-vi, 1.
- 12) Skin-Hair, leaf in three sections, unpaginated, containing Sim. IX: v, 1-vi, 1.
- 13) Hair-Skin, leaf in two sections, unpaginated, containing Sim. IX: xi, 7-xii, 5.
- 14) Hair-Skin, unpaginated fragment, containing Sim. IX: xiii, 5-8.

The first anomaly that springs immediately to notice is the fact that this, eighth, gathering is preceded by 118 (or, more likely, 119 or 120 - the first one or two pages having been left unnumbered as a cover) pages. Seven quaternions would account for only (7 x 16 =) 112 pages; so clearly one of the precedings gatherings was not a quaternion (i.e. 4 sheets) but a gathering of six sheets. This would give the following picture (presupposing for the sake of the argument that the first was the six-sheet gathering, and that the first two pages were unnumbered):-

Gathering α' , 6 sheets, pp. 0-22
 Gathering β' , 4 sheets, pp. 23-38

Gathering γ' , 4 sheets, pp. 39-54
 Gathering δ' , 4 sheets, pp. 55-70
 Gathering ϵ' , 4 sheets, pp. 71-86
 Gathering ζ' , 4 sheets, pp. 87-102
 Gathering ξ' , 4 sheets, pp. 103-118

Using once again the Loeb Greek as a basis, the following is a picture of the correspondences of the extant leaves and the missing pages between:-

Sim. VIII: x, 3-xi, 5. 33 lines of Greek. Leaf 9.

After this appears the word APXH, presumably marking the beginning of Sim. IX. The bottom of the leaf is missing.

Sim. IX: i, 1-ii, 6	79 lines of Greek.	2 missing leaves
Sim. IX: ii, 7-iv, 2	42 lines of Greek.	Leaf 10
Sim. IX: iv, 3-6	25 lines of Greek.	Leaf 11
Sim. IX: iv, 6-8	12 lines of Greek.	
Sim. IX: v, 1-vi, 1	44 lines of Greek.	Leaf 12
Sim. IX: vi, 2-xi, 6	215 lines of Greek.	5 or 6 leaves
Sim. IX: xi, 7-xiii, 5a	44 lines of Greek.	Leaf 13
Sim. IX: xii, 5b-xiii, 4	41 lines of Greek.	one missing leaf
Subtotal	(502 lines of Greek).	
Sim. IX: xiii, 5-8	25 lines of Greek.	Leaf 14
Sim. IX: xiii, 9	4 lines of Greek.	
Sim. IX: xiv-xxxiii	543 lines of Greek	13 or 14 leaves and Latin. missing

The extent of Sim. IX, from its beginning (i.e. immediately after the preserved Leaf 9) to xiii, 4 (i.e. immediately before the preserved Leaf 14) is 502 lines, which must have comprised 12 Coptic leaves, for an average of 41,8 lines of Greek per Coptic leaf, or 13 Coptic leaves, for an average of 38,6 lines of Greek per leaf of Coptic.

(There is a slight difference here from the average equivalence per leaf in the first seven leaves, viz. 35 Loeb

lines of Greek per Coptic leaf. This difference, together with the different make-up of the codex, must tell against these leaves belonging to the same codex as the first seven.)

If, on the basis of this equivalence, one tries to calculate whether this codex as a whole could have contained the entire *Shepherd*, the following emerges:-

Sim. IX must have been preceded by 120 numbered pages.

On average each leaf contained Coptic text equivalent to 502/12 or 502/13 lines of Greek.

Hence 2510 or 2317 Loeb lines of Greek are the equivalent of the 60 leaves preceding Sim. IX.

But in the Loeb edition there are 2773 lines of Greek preceding Sim. IX - so clearly our codex did not have the capacity to include the entire *Shepherd*. It is 6,2 leaves (i.e. the equivalent of 263 lines of Greek at 41,8 lines of Greek per leaf) or 11,8 leaves (i.e. the equivalent of 456 lines of Greek at 38,6 lines of Greek per leaf) too short. If it excluded Viss. I to IV (805 lines of Greek) the codex would have excess capacity of the equivalent of 349 lines of Greek, i.e. 9 leaves of Coptic at 38,6 lines of Greek per leaf, or 542 lines of Greek, i.e. 13 leaves of Coptic at 41,8 lines of Greek per leaf. Thus it is clear that (whether or not these latter six leaves belong to the same codex as the first seven) this/these Sahidic codex/codices contain the *Shepherd* only in part - and not only from Vis. V to the end, for that would leave unaccounted for

some 9 to 13 leaves at the beginning of the codex.

It is difficult to believe that a codex in which *Simm.* I to X would have occupied between 110 and 120 pages (I presuppose that the existence of *Sim.* VIII indicates also the presence of all the earlier *Similitudes*, and that with *Sim.* IX one would expect also *Sim.* X) would have included any material not from the *Shepherd* within its compass. Yet it is plain that *Sim.* I would have started some 50 pages before the leaf containing the end of *Sim.* VIII and numbered 119-120, as these figures demonstrate:-

Similitudes I to VIII = 1040 Loeb lines of Greek.
 @ 41,8 lines per leaf = 24,86 leaves or 50 pages.
 @ 38,6 lines per leaf = 26,93 leaves or 54 pages.

What preceded *Sim.* I is unclear; but it could not have been the full *Visions* and *Mandates*. Our printed text exceeds the capacity of the codex by some 263 (calculating at 41,8 lines per leaf) or 456 (at 38,6 lines per leaf) lines of Greek. This former figure bears some relationship to the length of the first two *Visions* (240 lines) or the first four *Mandates* (236 lines); while the latter figure coheres remarkably with the length of *Vision* III (459 Loeb lines; *Vis.* V - *Mand.* VII, 436 lines; *Mand.* I - VIII, 471 lines), and also with the calculated number of lines short in P. Oxy. 1599. It is probably not too outlandish to speculate that the second codex of Lefort's first Sahidic version, like the Greek P. Oxy. 1599, omitted *Vis.* III, but contained everything else

that we know of the *Shepherd*.

Once again with calculations based on hair side facing hair side, skin side facing skin side, and gatherings (apart from the exception already dealt with) of four sheets (i.e. eight leaves, sixteen pages), the following picture emerges:-

Quire A:

S-H H-S S-H H-S S-H H-S S-H H-S S-H H-S S-H H-S
0,0 1,2 3,4 5,6 7,8 9,10 11,12 13,14 15,16 17,18 19,20 21,22

Quire	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S	S-H	H-S
B	23,24	25,26	27,28	29,30	31,32	33,34	35,36	37,38
Γ	39,40	41,42	43,44	45,46	47,48	49,50	51,52	53,54
Δ	55,56	57,58	59,60	61,62	63,64	65,66	67,68	69,70
E	71,72	73,74	75,76	77,78	79,80	81,82	83,84	85,86
Ζ	87,88	89,90	91,92	93,94	95,96	97,98	99,100	101,102
H	103,104	105,106	107,108	109,110	111,112	113,114	115,116	117,118
Θ	119,120	121,122	123,124	125,126	127,128	129,130	131,132	133,134
I	135,136	137,138	139,140	141,142	143,144	145,146	147,148	149,150
K	151,152	153,154	155,156	157,158	159,160	161,162	163,164	165,166
	167,168	169,170	171,172	173,174	175,176	177,178	179,180	181,182

The leaves preserved are the first, fourth, fifth and sixth of Gathering H', and the fourth and sixth (or fifth and seventh) of Gathering Θ'. Significant is the fact that a further two gatherings (as illustrated above) would just accommodate the last sections of the *Shepherd*, as these figures indicate:-

- Sim. IX and X = 1200 lines of Greek in the Loeb edition.
- @ 41,8 lines per leaf = 28,69 leaves, i.e. 58 pages.
- @ 38,6 lines per leaf = 31,07 leaves, i.e. 62 pages.

Given that Sim. IX begins on page 121 (just after the preserved leaf containing the end of Sim. VIII), 62 pages

(i.e. to page 182) would bring us to the end of Sim. X.

As already mentioned, Lefort asserts that these six leaves derive from the same codex as the first seven. Against this theory are:-

a) the fact that the numeration of the two sets is different: page 119 of the codex which contained the first seven leaves should have been written on the skin side of the parchment, not the hair side, and on the verso of a leaf, not the recto (see the table in the above section on the first codex of the first Sahidic version).

b) the different equivalences of the two sets against a common standard, viz. the Loeb Greek text. The first set yields an equivalence of 35 lines of Greek per leaf of Coptic, the second set 38,6 or 41,8 lines of Greek per leaf of Coptic - a difference of 10% or 20% respectively.

c) the different capacities of the codices from which the two sets are derived (this difference can to some measure be explained by the difference in (b) above, since the calculations are based largely on the difference in equivalence to the Greek). The first codex is 675 Greek lines or 38,6 pages of Coptic too short to accommodate the whole *Shepherd*, and it is 130 Greek lines or 3,7 pages of Coptic too long to accommodate just Vis. V, the Mandates and the Similitudes. The second codex is 456 Greek lines or 23,6

pages of Coptic too short to accommodate the whole *Shepherd*, (or alternatively 12,6 pages or 263 lines of Greek) and 349 lines or 18 pages of Coptic too long (or 542 lines of Greek or 26 pages) to accommodate just Vis. V, the Mandates and the Similitudes.

To the first objection Lefort offers the suggestion simply that a page number was dropped inadvertently somewhere between page 89 and page 119. The different capacities of the two sets of leaves, and hence of the codices from which they derive, he does not recognize and accordingly does not address.

It is possible to explain away these stumbling-blocks, and to accept with Lefort that all thirteen leaves derive from one codex. Certainly such a conclusion has no bearing on the argument here being advanced that the codex/codices from which these leaves derive could not have contained the *Shepherd* from Vis. V to the preserved sections or from the beginning to the preserved sections.

I believe that these thirteen pages should be ascribed to two different codices, the one containing *inter alia* the (former?) Similitudes, possibly with Vis. II or IV and the Mandates preceded by Vis. V, and the latter, like P. Oxy. 1599 in Greek, containing the whole *Shepherd* except for Vis. III (the only rational omission in view of the presence of Sim. IX).

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(4) THE ETHIOPIC VERSION .

Apart from the three Coptic versions and the dozen Greek fragments which certainly came from Egypt, there is a third textual witness to the Egyptian tradition of the text of the *Shepherd*. This is the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) version, our sole knowledge of which rests upon the editing by Dillmann and translation by d'Abbadie of a copy which d'Abbadie had made by the monks of Gunda-Gundi (in the province of Agame in Tigre) of a MS. in their possession, the copy subsequently being collated by one Assagahan¹. This monastery was founded in the fifteenth century by Abba Yeshaq, one of the followers of the ecclesiastical reformer Stephanos². The significance of this fact will emerge in our discussion of the dating of the MS.

D'Abbadie first got to know of this MS. of the *Shepherd* in September 1847³ through the good offices of the archbishop of Guala, within whose diocese the monastery of Gunda-Gundi lay. In 1859 he made mention of it in his published catalogue of Ethiopic MSS⁴, and opined that it derived from an Arabic prototype, an opinion he soon

¹*Hermae Pastor*: aethiopice, primum edidit et aethiopica latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1860, p. vi. [*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 11, Teil 1].

²Tamrat, T. "Some notes on the fifteenth century Stephanite "heresy" in the Ethiopian church", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 22, 1966, p. 103-115, at p. 113.

³*Op. cit.*, p. v.

⁴Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie. Paris, 1859, no. 174.

abandoned⁵: "Quod ibidem dixeram, aethiopicam istam Pastoris Hermae interpretationem ex prototypo arabico factam videri, nunc, toto opere accuratius perlecto, retractandam esse intellexi."

Dillmann made a strong statement favouring the derivation of the Ethiopic translation from a Greek original⁶:

"Interpretationem Hermae Aethiopicam e Graeco exemplari confectam eamque antiquioribus literarum Aethiopicarum monumentis adnumerandam esse, cum ex ipsa versionis indole tum ex orationis genere et ex verborum copia facile probandum videtur." He reinforced these arguments in a subsequent article⁷: the Greek participle and infinitive are faithfully reflected in the Ethiopic; there are a number of mistranslations which can be explained by postulating a Greek exemplar; the Ethiopic translation was made at a time when the vowel transcription had not yet been standardised, which explains the numerous erroneous readings; and the vocabulary indicates a time when Ge'ez was still a living language.

In short, Dillmann can find nothing in the Ethiopic that points to a Syriac, Coptic or Arabic underlying text. If the translation was made from the Greek, it must have been done

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. vii.

⁶*Idem*, p. 183.

⁷Dillmann, A. "Bemerkungen zu dem aethiopischen Pastor Hermae", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen-Gesellschaft*, 15, 1861, p. 111-125.

at a time before the spread of Arabic had made knowledge of Greek increasingly rare in Egypt; and the marked traits the Ethiopic *Shepherd* has in common with the Ethiopic Bible lead him to think of the translations as more or less contemporaneous.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that the only Greek copy of the text of the *Shepherd* which Dillmann had available to him was the text of Simonides published by Anger, as amended by Tischendorf in Dressel's edition. None of the major Greek witnesses - the Athous, the Sinaiticus, the Michigan, or the papyrus fragments - had yet been published. Despite this handicap, however, it seems that Dillmann's conclusions on the antecedents of the Ethiopic version stand.

Whether the Ethiopic version derives from a Greek or a Coptic or an Arabic prototype is immaterial insofar as either the Greek or the Arabic would have come, almost certainly, from Egypt. There are those who place much emphasis upon the links between Ethiopia and the Syriac church; but as the evidence of dissemination of the *Shepherd* within the Syriac world is tenuous in the extreme, Egypt seems the obvious source for the importation of this work into Ethiopia.

The date of the translation is fixed by Whittaker⁸, after

⁸*Die apostolischen Väter: I, Der Hirte des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. xvii.

Dillmann, as the sixth century: "Die Übersetzung entstand, als die äthiopische Vokalisierung noch nicht geregelt und die Sprache noch in voller Blüte, also noch nicht zur Schriftsprache herabgesunken war. Stilistische Eigenheiten und die Ähnlichkeit des Wortschatzes mit dem des äthiopischen Neuen Testaments führten Dillmann zu der Vermutung, der Hermas könnte zur gleichen Zeit wie die biblischen Bücher, d. h. wahrscheinlich im 6. Jahrhundert, übersetzt worden sein." This would cohere with the generally accepted picture of early translation activity into Ethiopic⁹: "The Church started its work by translating some of the scriptures; probably the gospels were among the first books to be translated. Most of the remaining books of the Bible were translated in the sixth century by the Byzantine missionaries, the nine Saints in particular. The last work of translation was completed in the seventh century when *The Wisdom of Sirak* was finished in 678. Most of the translations were made from Greek and Syriac".

Whittaker then calls upon an alleged 7th-century quotation as a certain witness to an early date¹⁰: "Ein sicherer Terminus ante quem ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass eine äthiopische Hymnensammlung im 7. Jahrhundert Hermas erwähnt." D'Abbadie was much more circumspect¹¹:

⁹Bairu Tafla, "The establishment of the Ethiopian Church", *Tarikh*, 2, 1967, p. 28-42, at p. 37.

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

¹²*Op. cit.*, p. 39: "the Digua of Yared written in musical script he invented in the 6th Century".

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 113-114.

similitudines Hermae prophetae, qui est Paulus, anno CXCI misericordiae, mensis nocte XXIII, die XXII. Et scriptorem ejus Christus sub praesidio habeat cum animo et corpore ejus! Amen." The rest of page 109 is devoted to a diatribe (plainly by a different author) against those who question this identification; the *coup de grace* is the fact that Acts states that Silas was called Zeus, and Paul, Hermes! The last page ends with a statement (presumably by yet another scribe) that whoever reads this book needs to be wise in order to read it properly "in the proper liturgical series".

The date given in the colophon is misinterpreted by Dillmann, who explains it as follows¹⁴: "Jahr 191 der dritten Dionysianischen Periode der Märtyrerära o.h. 1539". He is of course using the Era of the Martyrs commonly used in the Coptic Church of Egypt, which began in A.D. 284; numbering begins again at 1 after each completed "Dionysian era", i.e. after each period of 532 years. Hence Dillmann's computation: 284 + 532 + 532 + 191 = 1539. The problem with this is twofold: the colophon explicitly states that this date is "anno CXCI MISERICORDIAE", and it appears¹⁵ that the Era of the Martyrs was not, and is not, used in Ethiopia. Instead two extensive eras are used, namely the Era of the

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁵Murad Kamil, "The Ethiopian calendar", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Fouad I University*, 12, 1950, p. 91-106 + tables, at p. 94: "The Eras used in Ethiopia are:-

1. The Era of the creation of the world.
2. The Era of Mercy."

Creation of the World, and the Era of Mercy (equivalent, with a difference of nine years due to faulty computation, to our Christian Era). It is clearly the latter which is here involved; and (again allowing for numbering beginning at 1 after every 532 years) there are four possible dates to which the colophon can refer: A.D. 200 (9 + 191); A.D. 732 (9 + 532 + 191); A.D. 1264 (9 + 532 + 532 + 191); or A.D. 1796 (9 + 532 + 532 + 532 + 191). Dillmann is surely correct¹⁶ in saying that the date in the colophon "sich weder auf die Abfassung des gr. Buches [to which the date of A.D. 200 might be taken as referring], noch auf die Übersetzung desselben in das Geez [for which the date of A.D. 732 might be appropriate], sondern nur auf die Verfertigung der äthiopischen Abschrift des Textes bezieht". This is obvious if one takes into account the benedictions that precede the colophon.

One is left, then, with two possible dates for the writing of either the manuscript which d'Abbadie's copyist used, or its exemplar: A.D. 1264 or A.D. 1796. As has already been pointed out above, the monastery of Gunda-Gundi was not in existence at the first of these dates; it was in fact founded only two centuries later. To me this seems quite conclusive proof that the date in question is A.D. 1796, given the propensity of hand-written manuscripts to remain where they were first made. On the other hand, there is matter which

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 113 note 2.

was plainly added after the dated colophon:

- i) the justification of the identification of Hermas and Paul in the dating colophon (which by its very nature could not have been written by the copyist who originally asserted "qui est Paulus", since it presupposes a period during which that assertion was questioned);
- ii) the concluding verse.

Hence, if we accept that the date which appears in the colophon refers to the date at which the exemplar of D'Abbadie's copy was written (i.e. A.D. 1796), we must also accept that the scribe of 1796 changed the date which appeared in the MS. from which he was copying (the date of which is thus unknown) to the date at which he was writing, while leaving the other matter undisturbed.

On the other hand, the former of these two possible dates, A.D. 1264, coheres rather well with the supposed date of the reform movement associated with the name of St Takla Haymanot and the end of the Zagwe dynasty and restoration of the Solomonic kings. This (contentious) reading of 13th-century Ethiopian history is well represented by the following passage¹⁷: "In the second half of the 13th century a number of Egyptian monks went to Ethiopia where they devoted

¹⁷Meinardus, O. "A brief history of the Abunate of Ethiopia", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 58, 1962, p. 39-65, at p. 49.

themselves to the restoration of the decayed Church of Ethiopia. They brought with them liturgical and doctrinal books, both in Arabic and in Coptic from which translations into Ge'ez were made. They translated the Books of the New Testament, and compiled the liturgy." Another specimen of the same school of Ethiopian history writing reads¹⁸, "Girded by their now canonically strengthened position, the Coptic Abunas saw to it that the Emperors of the New Dynasty, with whom occasional clashes did not cease to occur, allowed the people to absorb as much as possible the beliefs and the practices of the Coptic Church. This they achieved especially by causing a mass translation of their books of miracle-stories, canon laws and legends into the vernacular. It is even possible that the then extant Ethiopic Bible was replaced by a new translation from the Coptic or Arabic."

What is plain, though, is that the Ethiopic *Shepherd* was translated from neither Coptic nor Arabic, but from Greek; and that the colophon date, as already maintained, refers not to the date of translation but to the date of copying. A MS. written in the 13th century would be a rare survivor indeed in Ethiopia.

It is just conceivable that an ancestral exemplar of d'Abbadie's MS. was indeed copied at the time of the reform movement of St Takla Haymanot; but it remains difficult to

¹⁸Isaac, E. "An obscure component in Ethiopian church history", *Le Muséon*, 85, 1972, p. 225-258, at p. 252.

explain how its sole known descendant was found not in a monastery associated with St Takla and his followers, but in one founded by a follower of Stephanos, who traditionally is associated with the opposing monastic movement.

The picture is complicated somewhat by the discovery shortly after the Second World War of another copy of the *Shepherd* in the monastery of Gunda-Gundi. This find, by Antonio Mordini, of a 16th-century MS., was announced to the world by van Lantschoot¹⁹ in 1962. The first reaction was to see it as the exemplar from which d'Abbadie had his copy taken; but the fact that it lacks the colophon identifying Hermas and Paul, and of course the subsequent diatribe against those who would dispute this identification, makes this position untenable. The second reaction is to regard it as the exemplar from which the MS. of "anno 191 Misericordiae" was copied. Van Lantschoot points out numerous orthographic differences which make such a theory difficult, but not impossible. The third reaction is to regard Mordini's MS. as a copy of the MS. of "anno 191 Misericordiae", in which case of course that latter MS. would have to be dated to A.D. 1264, not A.D. 1796. The same differences which militate against the reverse relationship count against this theory. It is possible, therefore, that the 16th-century MS. and that of "anno 191 Misericordiae" are

¹⁹Van Lantschoot, A. "Un second témoin éthiopien du "Pasteur" d'Herma", *Byzantion*, 32, 1962, p. 93-95.

two independent descendants of an ancestral exemplar. Until a critical comparison of the two texts is undertaken, certainty will be impossible.

Naturally the late-18th century MS. from which d'Abbadie's copy was taken must in turn have been copied from an exemplar. If it was not Mordini's MS., possibly (as the *Shepherd* apparently does not enjoy much favour in the Ethiopian church) the exemplar was copied precisely because it was in the last stages of decay, in order to preserve the contents of a book which was about to perish. Alternatively the exemplar might still be in the monastery of Gunda-Gundi (if it has not been disturbed in the interim by the wars of the 19th century and the Tigre liberation movement of this century), like so many other postulated treasures of Ethiopic literature which need only to be rediscovered.

It remains to explain the other component of the colophon, the reference to "mensis nocte XXIII, die XXII". First, it must be noted that the reading "XXIII" is not that of the MS., the reading of which has been altered by the editor. (So, at least, d'Abbadie confesses in footnote 3 on page 181). Second, this apparently meaningless note of time is once again explained by Murad Kamil²⁰:

"In addition to a date in an Ethiopian Ms. four complementary definitions are usually given:-

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 96-97.

Section	<i>incipit</i>	<i>explicit</i>
Vis. I	Hermae prophetae	explicit visio
Vis. II	Visio secunda	explicit visio secunda
Vis. III	Visio tertia	explicit visio tertia
Vis. IV	Visio quarta	explicit visio quarta
Vis. V	Visio quinta	
Mand. I	Mandatum primum	
Mand. II	Mandatum secundum	
Mand. III	Mandatum tertium	
Mand. IV	Mandatum quartum	
Mand. V	Mandatum quintum	
Mand. VI	Mandatum sextum	
Mand. VII	Mandatum septimum	
Mand. VIII	Mandatum octavum	
Mand. IX	Mandatum nonum	
Mand. X	Mandatum decimum	
Mand. XI	Mandatum undecimum	
Mand. XIIa	Mandatum duodecimum	Finita sunt mandata duodecim (after Mand. XII: iii, 3).
	Initium similitudinum	(before Mand. XII: iii, 4)
Mand. XIIb	Similitudo prima	
Sim. II	Initium	
Sim. VII	Similitudo octava	
Sim. VIII	Similitudo nona	
Sim. IX	Initium similitudinis	
Sim. X		in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The Visions I to IV are consistently provided with neat *incipits* and *explicitis*. Equally consistently, the Mandates (and their introduction, Vis. V) are provided with *incipits*, but no *explicitis*, save at the very end, where there is an *explicit* for the whole section (not for the last individual Mandate).

The situation in the first eight Similitudes is confused in the extreme. They are provided, before our Mand. XII: iii, 4, with an overall heading; then the first parable (our Mand.

XII: iii, 4-vi, 5) is carefully numbered. There is, in short, a double heading (to the entire section and to the first parable). Yet this system of numbering each parable, which one would expect to be maintained throughout, collapses almost immediately. Our Sim. I should have been numbered "Similitudo secunda", but no heading survives. Our Sim. II, which should have been numbered "Similitudo tertia", bears the puzzling note "Initium". (The extreme significance of this note will become plain towards the end of this study, when the information gleaned from the witness of the manuscript marks will be married with the internal notes of the text of the *Shepherd*). Our Sim. III (which on every showing should have been "Similitudo quarta"), our Sim. IV ("Similitudo quinta"), our Sim. V ("Similitudo sexta") and our Sim. VI ("Similitudo septima") bear no traces of numbering or division from each other at all. Our Sim. VII and Sim. VIII are numbered as one would expect of the system that starts its numbering at our Mand. XII: iii, 4. There is, finally, no formal *explicit* to end this section.

Moreover Dillmann²¹ noted that the Ethiopic text of our fourth, fifth and sixth Similitudes is much abbreviated in comparison with the other witnesses to the text, whereas our eighth and ninth Similitudes are very literally translated. This probably points to differing lines of transmission of these sections of the text - not necessarily in Ethiopic, but

²¹*Op. cit.*, p. 119.

more probably in the Greek exemplar from which this section was translated into Ethiopic.

Our ninth Similitude clearly starts a new section: witness its heading "Initium similitudinis". It runs straight into our tenth Similitude, which ends in suitably liturgical fashion. The numeration for our ninth Similitude is different in form from the extant *incipits* of all the other Similitudes. It comes closest in form to the *incipit* to our second Similitude.

In short, there is formal evidence (even within so apparently conformist a text as the Ethiopic version) of four separate and different strands which have been patched together (presumably in the Greek prototype) to produce a text of the *Shepherd* which, according to Whittaker²², stands closest to that other text which patches together all the sections, the Athos MS.: "*E ist oft sehr frei und scheint unter den Übersetzungen dem Athostyp am nächsten zu stehen.*"

²²*Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

(5) THE PAHLAVI VERSION

(MANICHAEAN MIDDLE PERSIAN) .

In 1905 there was published¹ a fragmentary leaf in Manichaean Middle Persian script (Berlin M. 97) containing fragments of Sim. IX. Each page contains two preserved columns; the bottom margin is well preserved, but the upper part of the page has been lost. Of the recto, part of the left-hand column is missing; and of course the corresponding part of the right-hand column of the verso is also missing. Nonetheless the bottom part of the leaf can be fairly accurately reconstructed. I give below in the first column the German translation of the Manichaean text as published by Müller, and in the second column the German translation by Dibelius² of the corresponding parts of the Greek text of the *Shepherd*.

PAHLAVI TEXT

GERMAN *Shepherd*

Recto, Column 1

(ix, 5) Dann wurden zwölf Weiber herbeigerufen, die schön aussahen, in schwarzer Kleidung, gegürtet und mit entblösster Schulter und aufgelöstem Haar; wild kamen mir diese Weiber vor. Denen befahl der Hirt, die aus dem Bau entfernten Steine aufzuheben und sie

1 ... der Bau?³

2 ... Der von ihnen

3 ... jene Weiber

¹Müller, F.W.K. "Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Klasse, Sitzung vom 14. Dezember 1905*, p. 1077-1083 and *Cafel III*. In the Table the Verso is labelled "Vorderseite" and the Recto "Rückseite".

²Dibelius, M. *Die apostolischen Väter IV: Der Hirt des Hermas*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1923 [Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Ergänzungs-Band].

³or ... das Fundament.

4 ... wegnehmen
5 ... zum dunklen Berge.

wieder in die Berge zu tragen, woher sie gebracht worden waren.

(iii, 1) Da sah ich, dass sechs Männer gekommen waren, gross, herrlich und von gleichem Aussehen. Sie riefen eine Menge anderer Männer herbei, und auch jene, die nun kamen, waren gross, schön und stark. Und die sechs Männer befahlen ihnen, einen Turm über dem Felsen und über dem Tor zu erbauen.

6 ... Und er
7 ... Die sechs

(vi, 2) Und die sechs Männer, die Leiter des Baus ...

8 ... Werk Befehl.
9 ... eine andere Schar
10 ... Männern, welche
11 ... Bau³ zeigen

(vi, 1) Und siehe, nach einer Weile sah ich eine Schar von vielen Männern herannahen.

(iv, 4-5) Wiederum befahlen die sechs Männer den Leuten, Steine von den Bergen zum Turmbau zu bringen. Es wurden nun von allen Bergen Steine herbeigebracht und zwar von den verschiedensten Farben, die wurden von den Männern behauen und den Jungfrauen gegeben; die Jungfrauen aber trugen sie durch das Tor und lieferten sie zum Turmbau ab

12 und alle
13 Steine, welche durch das Tor
14 hineingekommen, sind im Bau
15 niedergelegt.
16 und die durch das Tor
17 nicht hineingekommen sind,
wurden vernichtet
18 und wieder zu dem
19 Platz trugen sie sie, wo-
20 her sie gebracht waren.
21 ... und die Erklärung
22 ... so zeigt er:
23 ... gesamt ... alles

(xii, 4) Hast du die Steine gesehen, fuhr er fort, die durch das Tor kamen und zum Turmbau verwendet wurden, während die anderen, die nicht durch das Tor gekommen, wieder an ihren alten Platz geschafft wurden? Ja, Herr, sagte ich. Darauf er: So wird niemand in das Reich Gottes eingehen der nicht den Namen seines Sohnes empfängt.

(xviii, 5) Und ich bat: Offenbare mir noch, Herr, von jedem der

Recto, Column 2

1 ist. ...
 2 auf dem Berge ...
 3 nicht war. Und der Berg
 4 der zweite, der leere:
 5 sie sind es
 6 die Scheinheiligen und
 7 Lehrer der
 8 Falschheit, in welchen eine
 Frucht
 9 der Gerechtigkeit
 10 nicht war. Wie an
 11 Saaten (?) auf dem Berge
 12 nichts war,
 13 aber sie
 14 ?????????
 15 werden. und ...
 16 ?????????
 17 dann wird ihnen sie Sünde
 18 erlassen werden. Der Berg,

Berge, welche Kraft und
 welches Tun ihm eignet,
 damit jede Seele, die auf
 den Herrn vertraut, wenn sie
 es hört, seinen grossen,
 wunderbaren und herrlichen
 Namen preise. So höre,
 sprach er, wie die Berge und
 die zwölf Völker sich
 (xix) unterscheiden. Von dem
 ersten, dem schwarzen Berge
 stammen die Gläubigen
 solcher Art: Abtrünnige,
 Lasterer des Herrn und
 Verräter der Knechte
 Gottes. Ihr Los ist nicht
 Busse, sondern Tod. Und
 darum sind sie auch schwarz;
 denn ihre Art ist ruchlos.
 Von dem zweiten, dem kahlen
 Berge, kommen solche
 Gläubige: Heuchler und
 böse Lehrer. Und diese
 sind den vorigen ähnlich,
 da sie keine Frucht der
 Gerechtigkeit bringen. Denn
 wie ihr Berg ohne Frucht ist
 so haben auch diese Menschen
 zwar den Namen, aber an
 Glauben sind sie arm, und
 keine Frucht der Wahrheit
 gedeiht bei ihnen. Diesen
 steht die Busse offen, wenn
 sie eilig Busse tun; wenn
 sie aber säumen, wird der
 Tod auch ihr Los sein, wie
 er das der ersten ist. Herr,
 fragte ich, warum steht
 diesen die Busse offen, den
 andern aber nicht? Ihre
 Taten sind doch nahezu die
 gleichen. Er antwortete:
 Darum steht ihnen die Busse
 offen, weil sie ihren Herrn
 nicht gelästert und die
 Knechte Gottes nicht
 verraten haben, sondern sich
 aus Gewinnsucht zu Heuchelei
 treiben liessen und ihre
 Lehre den Wünschen
 sündiger Menschen
 anpassten. Aber sie werden

eine Strafe erhalten, doch steht ihnen die Busse offen, weil sie nicht Lasterer sind noch Verräter.

19 der dritte, der voll
20 von Dornen und Disteln war,
21 sind die ?, welche durch
22 die Reichtümer und
Begehrlichkeiten

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- (5)
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- (9)
- (10)
- (11)
- (12)
- (13)
- (14)
- (15)
- (16)
- (17)
- (18)
- (19)
- (20)
- (21)
- (22)
- (23)
- (24)
- (25)
- (26)
- (27)
- (28)
- (29)
- (30)
- (31)
- (32)
- (33)
- (34)
- (35)
- (36)
- (37)
- (38)
- (39)
- (40)
- (41)
- (42)

(xx) Vom dritten Berg mit seinen Dornen und Disteln kommen solche Gläubige: die einen von ihnen sind reich, die andern in viele Geschäfte verwickelt. Die Disteln sind die Reichen, die Dornen die in allerlei Geschäfte verwickelten. Und diese, die in viele und mannigfaltige Geschäfte verwickelten halten mit den Knechten Gottes keine Gemeinschaft, sondern gehen erstickt von ihren Geschäften in die Irre. Die Reichen aber halten schwerlich mit den Knechten Gottes Gemeinschaft aus Furcht von ihnen angebettelt zu werden; und solche Leute werden schwerlich in das Reich Gottes eingehen. Denn wie es schwer ist, mit nackten Füßen auf Disteln zu treten, so ist es auch schwer für solche Leute, in das Reich Gottes einzugehen. Aber allen diesen steht die Busse offen, allerdings eine eilige Busse, damit sie das in früheren Zeiten Versäumte nun nachholen und etwas Gutes ausrichten. Wenn sie nun Busse tun und etwas Gutes ausrichten, dann werden sie Leben haben bei Gott; wenn sie aber bei ihren Taten beharren, so werden sie jenen Weibern überliefert werden, und die werden ihnen den Tod bringen.

(xxi) Vom vierten Berg mit seinen vielen Gewächsen, die zum Teil oben grün und an den

(43)
 (44)
 (45)
 (46)
 (47)
 (48)
 (49)
 (50)

Verso, Column 1.

1 ... und ihnen
 2 ... nicht ist,
 3 und ihr Wort
 4 ist lebendig, und in
 5 den Werken tot
 6 sind sie, und in den beiden
 7 Besinnungen (?) stehen sie.

8 Der Berg,
 9 der fünfte, der
 10 hoch war, wo Bäume
 11 saftige viel
 12 darauf, diejenigen
 13 sind es, welche Wissen
 14 und Weisheit nicht
 15 annehmen und im
 16 eigenen Geist
 17 streitsüchtig und
 18 starrsinnig sind
 19 und wollen alles
 20 wissen
 21 und erklären, und

Wurzeln verdorrt waren, zum
 Teil aber auch ganz von der
 Sonne verdorrt, kommen
 solche Gläubige: sie sind
 teils Zweifler, teils tragen
 sie den Herrn auf den
 Lippen, aber nicht im
 Herzen. Darum sind ihre
 Wurzeln verdorrt und haben
 keine Kraft, und nur ihre
 Worte haben Leben, ihre
 Werke aber sind tot. Solche
 Leute können weder leben
 noch sterben. Sie gleichen
 also den Zweiflern; denn
 auch die Zweifler sind weder
 grün noch verdorrt,
 können weder leben noch
 sterben. Denn wie ihre
 Gewächse verdorrt, als
 sie die Sonne sahen, so
 pflegen auch die Zweifler,
 wenn sie von Drangsal
 hören, aus Feigheit den
 Götzen zu opfern und
 schämen sich des Namens
 ihres Herrn. Solche Leute
 können also weder leben
 noch sterben. Aber auch sie
 vermögen zum Leben zu
 kommen, wenn sie eilig Busse
 tun; wenn sie aber nicht
 Busse tun, so sind damit
 schon den Weibern verfallen,
 die ihnen das Leben rauben.

(xxii) Vom fünften Berg, der
 grüne Pflanzen trug, aber
 steinig war, kommen solche
 Gläubige: sie haben
 Glauben, sind aber
 unbelehrbar, anmassend und
 selbstgefällig, wollen
 alles wissen und wissen doch
 gar nichts. Infolge diese
 Anmassung ist die Einsicht
 von ihnen gewichen und
 törichter Unverstand bei
 ihnen eingezogen. Sie
 rühmen sich selbst als
 Weise und spielen sich aus
 eigener Kraft als Lehrer auf

- die Coren! Vor lauter Hochmut sind viele von ihnen, die sich rühmten, zunichte geworden; denn ein mächtiger Dämon ist die Anmassung und das eitle Selbstvertrauen. Viele von ihnen sind also verworfen, aber manche haben Busse getan, sich zum Glauben bekehrt und den wahren Weisen unterworfen, da sie ihre Torheit eingesehen hatten. Und auch den übrigen steht die Busse offen, denn sie waren weniger schlecht als törricht und unverständig. Wenn sie also Busse tun, werden sie Leben haben bei Gott; wenn sie aber nicht Busse tun, werden sie bei den Weibern, die sie zum Bösen trieben, wohnen müssen.

(xxiii) Vom sechsten Berg, der grosse und kleine Spalten und in den Spalten verwelkte Pflanzen hatte, kommen solche Gläubige: die mit den kleinen Spalten, das sind die, welche etwas gegen einander haben und infolge ihrer Verleumdungen im Glauben welk geworden sind. Aber viele von ihnen haben Busse getan, und auch die übrigen werden noch Busse tun, wenn sie meine Gebote hören, denn geringfügig sind ihre Verleumdungen; und eilig sollen sie Busse tun. Die aber mit den grossen Spalten, das sind die hartnäckigen Verleumder und die einander hasserfüllt das Böse nachtragen. Sie wurden also weggeworfen von Turm, und für unwürdig der Verwendung im Bau befunden. Solche werden

Verso, Column 2.

1 ... ??? ...
 2 ... Diejenigen ...
 3 sind es, welche Sünde ...
 4 und Lügengerede ...
 5 und Geschwätz ...
 6 sprich, sprich, ich sage ..
 7 einer über den andern ...
 8 schwatzte. Der Berg,

9 der siebente, wo ...
 10 und grüne (frische) ...
 11 viele darauf ...
 12 und Vögel und
 13 Vierfüßler viele
 14 darauf weiden, also
 15 diejenigen sind es, welche
 16 zu allen Zeiten
 17 gut und schön,
 18 freigebig und fromm
 19 sind, und in ihnen
 20 Habsucht jemals
 21 nicht war, und
 22 über die Gotteskinder
 23 erfreut und ...
 24 sind sie. - Der Berg

schwerlich zum Leben
 gelangen. Wenn unser Gott
 und Herr, der alle
 beherrscht und Macht hat
 über seine ganze
 Schöpfung, denen ihre
 Sünden nicht nachträgt,
 die sie bekennen, sondern
 ihnen gnädig ist, darf
 dann ein Mensch,
 vergänglich und voll
 Sünde, einem
 Mitmenschen Böses
 nachtragen, als wäre er's,
 der ihn verdammen oder
 retten könnte? So sage
 ich euch denn, ich, der
 Engel der Busse: alle, die
 ihr solches Sinnes seid,
 entschlagt euch seiner und
 tut Busse, dann wird der
 Herr eure früheren
 Sünden heilen; wenn ihr
 euch von diesem Dämon
 reinigt; tut ihr's aber
 nicht, so werdet ihr ihm
 übergeben werden zum Tode.

(xxiv) Vom siebenten Berg - auf
 dem fröhlich grünende
 Pflanzen wuchsen, der ganz
 in gutem Zustand war und auf
 dem alle Arten Tiere und die
 Vögel des Himmels seine
 Pflanzen abweideten, und die
 Pflanzen, von denen sie
 frassen, gediehen um so mehr
 - kommen solche Gläubige:
 allezeit lauter, unschuldig
 und selig waren sie, nichts
 hatten sie gegeneinander,
 sondern freuten sich immer
 an den Knechten Gottes, sie
 waren angetan mit dem
 heiligen Geist dieser
 Jungfrauen, immer hatten sie
 Erbarmen mit jedem Menschen
 und gaben jedem vom Ertrag
 ihrer Arbeit ab, ohne zu
 schmälern und ohne zu
 zaudern. Da der Herr nun
 ihre Güte und lautere

Unschuld sah, mehrte er den
 Ertrag von ihrer Hände
 Arbeit und segnete sie bei
 all ihrem Tun. Euch, die
 ihr so seid, sage ich, der
 Engel der Busse: bleibet so,
 dann wird euer Same in
 Ewigkeit nicht vertilgt
 werden; denn der Herr hat
 euch geprüft und unter
 unsere Zahl eingeschrieben,
 und all eure Nachkommen
 werden bei dem Sohne Gottes
 wohnen, denn von seinem
 Geist habt ihr empfangen.

(xxv) Vom achten Berg ...

That the Pahlavi leaf comprises merely extracts from the ninth Similitude, and not the whole, is evident from the above comparison. Within the description of the second mountain (Recto column 2) the German translation of the whole work is 21 lines longer than the German translation of the Pahlavi; within the description of the fourth mountain (Verso column 1) the whole of xxi is 18 lines longer than the Pahlavi; within the description of the seventh mountain (verso column 2) the whole of xxiv is 22 lines longer than the Pahlavi (this of course presupposes that the preserved leaf stops just short of the beginning of the description of the eighth mountain). As the Pahlavi description of the second mountain comprises 16 lines, and that of the seventh mountain also 16 lines, it appears that the Pahlavi is approximately 42,5% of the whole (16 out of 37 or 38 lines). Applying this measure as a guide, we may guess that the description of the third mountain comprised 16 Pahlavi lines

(of which 5 are preserved); that of the fourth mountain 16 Pahlavi lines (of which 7 are preserved); that of the fifth mountain 17 Pahlavi lines (of which 14 are preserved); and that of the sixth 20 Pahlavi lines (of which 8 are preserved). Hence what is missing between the end of the Recto and the beginning of the Verso would have accommodated 13 lines from the description of the third mountain (begun in the extant second column of the Recto) and 9 lines from the description of the fourth mountain (concluded in the first 7 lines of the extant column 1 of the Verso). There is only one possible way of reconstructing the page in order to allow for 22 lines between Recto and Verso, and that is by allocating the missing lines to the missing top part of the leaf. If it were suggested that there had originally been a further column on the Recto after the preserved right-hand column (and a corresponding further column on the Verso before the preserved left-hand column), an allowance of at least 50 lines (2 columns of 25 lines each) between Recto and Verso would have to be made; and that in turn would suggest that the preserved columns contain very nearly the entire height of each column. As it is, there are in the German translation of the complete *Shepherd* just 50 lines (numbered above between brackets) between the point at which the Recto finishes and the Verso begins; and it has already been shown conclusively that the German is at least twice the length of the Pahlavi. Accordingly it seems to me that

visualising the preserved second column as the last column of the Recto (and the preserved third column as the corresponding first column of the Verso) is the only possible solution. There is of course nothing to suggest that each page contained no more than two columns; indeed, the suggested height of the columns would almost demand three or four columns per page. But those additional columns preceded the extant Recto and followed the extant Verso, rather than being interposed between them.

These missing 22 lines between Recto and Verso, added to the preserved 21 lines of the first column of the Verso, suggest that the entire column would have comprised 43 lines. The missing first part of the second column of the Verso would have accommodated the last 3 lines of the description of the fifth mountain (most of which is found at the preserved end of the first column) and 12 lines of the description of the sixth mountain (concluded in the extant lower part of the second column). These missing 15 lines, added to the preserved 24 lines, suggest that the entire second column of the Verso would have comprised 39 lines - near enough to the 43 lines suggested for the first column to inspire confidence. Apparently therefore each column would originally have comprised about 40 lines - so that the extant fragment preserves a little more than half of the original leaf.

The verso thus is fairly easy to reconstruct; and an English approximation of its contents (in the Loeb translation⁴) is offered below on page 278. What is more puzzling are the contents of the recto. The extant part of the second column of the recto contains the explanation of the second mountain and the beginning of the explanation of the third. Naturally an explanation of the first mountain must have preceded. However, this solution is complicated by the fact that there appears to be a reference to the first mountain in the fifth preserved line of the FIRST column of the recto ("zum dunklen Berge"). Accordingly it appears that a description of the mountains preceded the entire leaf of which we have the lower part, and that between the description of the mountains and the explanation there intervened an account of the building of the tower such as appears in the preserved first column of the recto.

It will not have escaped notice, moreover, that the account of the building of the tower appears to have been culled from a number of (non-consecutive) sections of Sim. IX: first ix,

⁴*The apostolic fathers, with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake, in two volumes. Volume II. London: Heinemann, 1913, repr. 1970 [Loeb Classical Library 25].*

⁵Thus Müller, *Op. cit.*, p. 1078: ("eine Schar von vielen Männern (welche dem Herrn des Turms den Bau zeigen)"); also *Die apostolischen Väter I: Der Hirt des Hermas, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. xviii: "Reste eine mittelpersischen Übersetzung sind herausgegeben von F.W.K. Müller ...; sie enthält Worte aus 83,1. 86,5. 89,4. 95,5. 96,2-101,2 in fragmentarischem Zustand und paraphrasierender Form."*

5, then iii, 1 or iv, 4-5 (some maintain that vi, 1-2 is quoted here⁵), then xii, 4. It is possible to read these references in this order within the context of a coherent account; the English version offered below is such a reconstruction.

THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER
(Column prior to the extant
first column of the Recto).

I saw six men who came, tall
and glorious, and alike in
appearance, and they summoned
a multitude of men, and they
too who came were tall men and
beautiful and strong, and the
six men commanded them to
build a certain tower above
the rock. And there was a
great throng of those men who
had come to build the tower,
running here and there round
the gate.

And the maidens stood round
the gate, and told the men to
make speed with building the
tower. And the maidens held
out their hands as if they
were going to take something
from the men.

And all the stones which they
carried in through the door
became bright.

But some stones were given by
the men for the building,
which did not become bright
but proved to remain as they
were when they were put in.
For they had not been given
by the maidens, and had not
been brought in through the

(Recto, Column 1)

door. Therefore these stones were unseemly in the building of the tower. And when the six men saw the unseemly stones in the building they commanded them to be taken away and to be brought down to their own place, whence they had been taken.

And there were called twelve women, very beautiful to look at, clothed in black, girded, and their shoulders bare, and their hair loose. And these women looked to me to be cruel.

And they [the Women] were commanded to take the stones which were rejected from the building, and take them back to the mountains, from which also they had been brought.

And again the six men commanded the mass of the multitude to bring stones for the building of the tower from the mountains.

The stones which entered through the gate were put into the building of the tower, but those which did not enter through it were put back again into their own place.

[The explanation is this:] no man shall enter into the kingdom of God, except he take his [Son's] holy name.

1 ... der Bau?³
 2 ... Der von ihnen
 3 ... jene Weiber
 4 ... wegnehmen
 5 ... zum dunklen Berge.
 6 ... Und er
 7 ... Die sechs
 8 ... Werk Befehl.
 9 ... eine andere Schar
 10 ... Männern, welche
 11 ... Bau³ zeigen
 12 und alle
 13 Steine, welche
 durch das Tor
 14 hineingekommen,
 sind im Bau
 15 niedergelegt
 16 und die durch das Tor
 17 nicht hineingekommen sind,
 wurden vernichtet
 18 und wieder zu dem
 19 Platz, trugen sie sie, wo-
 20 her sie gebracht waren.
 21 ... und die Erklärung
 22 ... so zeigt er:
 23 ... gesamt ... alles

THE TWELVE MOUNTAINS

Recto, Column 2

And the shepherd took me away to Arcadia, to a breast-shaped mountain, and set me on top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain and round the plain twelve mountains, and each mountain had a different appearance.

But tell me, Sir, said I, why the appearance of the mountains differs one from another and is various.

Listen, said he, to the variety of the mountains. From the first mountain, the black one, are apostates and blasphemers against the Lord and betrayers of the servants of God.

And from the second mountain the bare one, are hypocrites and teachers of wickedness, having no fruit of righteousness, for just as their mountain is unfruitful so also such men have the name, but are devoid of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. For these then repentance is ready.

And from the third mountain, which has thorns and thistles, are those who are rich and are mixed up with many affairs of business.

1 ist. ...
 2 auf dem Berge ...
 3 nicht war. Und der Berg
 4 der zweite, der leere:
 5 sie sind es
 6 die Scheinheiligen und
 7 Lehrer der
 8 Falschheit, in welchen
 eine Frucht
 9 der Gerechtigkeit
 10 nicht war. Wie an
 11 Saaten (?) auf dem Berge
 12 nichts war,
 13 aber sie
 14 ?????????
 15 werden. und ...
 16 ?????????
 17 dann wird ihnen sie
 Sünde
 18 erlassen werden. Der
 Berg,
 19 der dritte, der voll
 20 von Dornen und Disteln
 war,
 21 sind die ?, welche durch
 22 die Reichtümer und
 Begehrlichkeiten

(Verso, Column 1)

They do not cleave to the servants of God, but are choked by their work and go astray. Such then will enter with difficulty the Kingdom of God.

And from the fourth mountain which has many herbs, with the tops of the herbs green but the parts by the roots dry, are the double-minded. For this cause their foundations are dry and have no power, and only their words are alive but their deeds are dead. Such are neither alive nor dead.

And from the fifth mountain, which has green herbage and is rough, are those who are slow to learn but presumptuous and pleasing themselves, wishing to know everything, and yet

1 ... und ihnen
2 ... nicht ist,
3 und ihr Wort
4 ist lebendig, und in
5 den Werken tot
6 sind sie, und in den
7 beiden
8 Gesinnungen (?) stehen
9 sie.

8 Der Berg,
9 der fünfte, der
10 hoch war, wo Bäume
11 saftige viel
12 darauf, diejenigen
13 sind es, welche Wissen
14 und Weisheit nicht
15 annehmen und im
16 eigenen Geist
17 streitsüchtig und
18 starrsinnig sind
19 und wollen alles
20 wissen
21 und erklären, und

(Verso, column 2)

they know nothing at all. Because of this presumption of theirs understanding has departed from them, and senseless folly has entered into them.

And those of the sixth mountain which has cracks, great and small, and withered plants in the cracks, are those who have quarrels with one another, and are withered in the faith from their evil speaking. But those who have great cracks are those who are persistent in their evil-speaking, and are become malicious in their rage against one another.

And from the seventh mountain, on which were green and joyful herbs and every kind of cattle and the birds of heaven were feeding on the herbs, are those who were ever simple and guileless and blessed and had nothing against one another, but ever rejoiced in the servants of God.

1 ... ??? ...
 2 ... Diejenigen ...
 3 sind es, welche
 Sünde ...
 4 und Lügengerede ...
 5 und Geschwätz ...
 6 sprich, sprich,
 ich sage ..
 7 einer über den
 andern ...
 8 schwatzte. Der Berg,
 9 der siebente, wo ...
 10 und grüne (frische) ...
 11 viele darauf ...
 12 und Vögel und
 13 Vierfüßler viele
 14 darauf weiden, also
 15 diejenigen sind es, welche
 16 zu allen Zeiten
 17 gut und schön,
 18 freigebig und fromm
 19 sind, und in ihnen
 20 Habsucht niemals
 21 nicht war, und
 22 über die Gotteskinder
 23 erfreut und ...
 24 sind sie. - Der Berg

Even a cursory comparison of the above attempt at a reconstruction with the original will reveal that the Pahlavi leaf in no way represents a "version" of the *Shepherd*, but rather simply a reworking of an abbreviated extract from the Ninth Similitude. The author/editor of this reworking shows a singular gift, particularly in his retelling of the account of the building of the tower (as represented in the first column of the verso), where he has taken pieces from widely-scattered sections of Sim. IX and woven them into a coherent narrative (very much more coherent than the patchwork English version offered above, which relies wholly on the words of the Loeb edition. The author/editor did not scruple to insert his own words and phrases, and even ideas, as is shown by the returning of the stones to the "dark mountain" and by the "explanation" of the necessity of the stones' entering through the door).

The leaf is written in Pahlavi (Middle Persian), which is normally considered as having undergone the change into Modern Persian during and after the course of the Arab conquest of the seventh century. It is written in the Manichaean script derived from an Aramaic script current in Mesopotamia and used for Parthian and Soghdian as well as Pahlavi. This script is known also from Manichaean texts discovered at the beginning of this century in Turfan, now in the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region⁶.

The normal route by which Greek works found their way into the languages of the East such as Pahlavi was via Syriac. Yet of a Syriac version of the *Shepherd* of Hermas there is not the slightest trace. Accordingly it is necessary to posit a different explanation - translation of a Greek original directly into Pahlavi.

There are two possible scenarios to account for the existence of our Pahlavi "florilegium". The more economical (but to my mind the more unlikely) theory suggests that the translator was simultaneously the abbreviator. If he worked in the area today covered by Iran and the Soviet Central Asian republics, the area in which Pahlavi was used before the 9th century (by which time Pahlavi was changing into Modern Persian), we have to posit the existence of a Greek manuscript of at least Sim. IX in that area at that date.

The more likely theory suggests that the Greek original from which the translation was made comprised not the whole Ninth Similitude but rather the extracts which we meet with in the

⁶See e.g. Müller, F.W.K. "Handschriften-Reste aus Turfan", *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904; *Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904; Le Coq, A. "Khustuanift", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911; Le Coq, A. "Manichaia", *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1922; Bang, W. "Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel", *Le Muséon*, 36, 1923; Andreas, F.C. "Mitteliranische Manichaia", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1932-33; Henning, W. "Ein manichaeisches Bet- und Beichtbuch", *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1936.

preserved leaf. In other words, the editorial activity to which our leaf witnesses took place not in Pahlavi but in Greek. The natural place of origin of this Greek extract is Egypt, where, as we have seen, the *Shepherd* was widespread in both Greek and Coptic. Manichaeism had some strongholds in Egypt during the fourth century, as has been shown by the discovery of the *Kephalaia*, Mani's autobiography, and the *Psalm-Book* in Egypt during the 1930s⁷. It is possible that a Manichaean found the extract in Egypt (or perhaps himself made the extract), and that it then found its way across the Tigris into the Iranian language area, where Manichaeism had been invented. There the extract was translated into Pahlavi, and presumably was copied and recopied until it found its way into the work from which our extant fragment derives. In short, I regard the Pahlavi leaf as a witness to the Egyptian tradition rather than to any independent transmission-history of the *Shepherd* in the Iranian language area. As such it probably points us to the existence in Greek and in Egypt of an edited version of (at least) the Ninth Similitude.

⁷The list of Manichaean works in Coptic can be extended: cf. Lieu, S.N.C. *Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and in medieval China*. Manchester, 1985, especially p. 7.

THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION :

CONCLUSION .

If at this stage one casts a glance back at the path which has been travelled thus far, one espies a number of significant beacons along the way. These are the evidences which point to the extent of the *Shepherd* as it existed originally in its "complete" state. Such "complete" states can be arrived at only by reconstruction, for no "complete" text of the *Shepherd* from the Egyptian tradition, with the single exception of the Ethiopic version, is extant.

P. Bodmer 38 (of the 4th-5th century) seems to bear witness to a text which consisted of only one section of the *Shepherd* - the Visions. Athanasius (4th century) similarly knew only the Mandates, beginning with Mand. I. The codex from which P. Rendel Harris 128 (5th century) derives appears to have had a similar compass, but this time with Vis. V as introduction. In addition there are several scraps which contain texts of the Mandates, but which cannot be placed within the context of a complete codex, as there is insufficient evidence for reconstruction. There are also liturgical quotations from the Mandates, and the quotation in John Cassian, which likewise cannot tell us anything about what sort of *Shepherd* their compilers knew.

The codex from which P. Berol. 6789 (6th century) survives also contained only one section of the *Shepherd* - this time the earlier Similitudes. Again there are scraps which contain parts of the earlier Similitudes, but the extent of

the codices from which they survive cannot be ascertained.

There are also indications of a text of the *Shepherd* which comprised two sections. Thus Origen (3rd century) while he was in Egypt knew a text which contained the first four Visions and the Mandates. It seems unlikely (as will be argued below) that his text could have contained Vis. V, and there is no evidence from that part of his life which was spent in Egypt that he knew any of the Similitudes.

A combination of the Mandates and the last Similitudes is evidenced from the 4th century by Didymus the Blind and by the surviving fragments of the Akhmimic version. It is conceivable that Vis. V in some form introduced this compilation, and probable that Sim. X concluded it.

Another witness to a *Shepherd* of two sections (or possibly three) is P. Oxy. 3527 (3rd century). The original codex apparently contained only the first four Visions and the Similitudes. As the extant fragment ends with Sim. VIII: v, it is difficult to say whether the codex also contained the last Similitudes. As the Visions and earlier Similitudes would have occupied only three gatherings, it is not unlikely that an additional gathering would have accommodated the remainder of the work.

Just such a combination of three sections - that of the first four Visions with the Similitudes, earlier and latter - is

revealed by P. Mich. 129 (3rd century). It is difficult to see how Vis. V could have been incorporated into this collection, in view of its repeated mention of the commandments which were to be given. A similar case could be made for the exclusion of Sim. X, although there the references to the commandments read more generally than in Vis. V.

Another three-section combination, that of the first four Visions with the Mandates and the last Similitudes, has a long history, being evidenced first in Clement of Alexandria (early 3rd century), and reappearing in the Amherst Papyri 190 (6th century). If Vis. V were present in this collection, it would obviously have to have omitted its reference to the parables.

Yet a third combination of three sections - that of the first four Visions, the Mandates, and the earlier Similitudes - is witnessed to by P. Wessely 516 (4th century) and the 5th-century remains of the second Sahidic version. Vis. V might have occupied its traditional place in this compilation, although of course it could not have contained its current reference to the repetition of Vis. III in Sim. IX (unless these two witnesses in fact survive from codices which did contain the last two Similitudes. If our theory about the preserved leaf of the second Sahidic version is correct - i.e. that it was discarded because of an error of pagination

- the termination of writing on the second page of the leaf does not tell against the inclusion of the last two Similitudes in this codex). It is possible, therefore, that in these two witnesses (or at least in the second Sahidic version) we have witnesses to a complete text of the *Shepherd* as we know it from the printed editions.

A variant on this grouping of the Visions, the Mandates and the earlier Similitudes is revealed by P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526 (4th century) which, like P. Berol. 5104 (5th century), appears to omit Viss. I and V, and by the first codex (6th-7th century) of the first Sahidic version, which appears to comprise only Visions IV (or II) and V, followed by the other two sections.

The second codex (6th-7th century) of the first Sahidic version seems to have comprised representatives of all four sections - Visions, Mandates, earlier and latter Similitudes - of the *Shepherd*, but was the equivalent of some 456 Loeb lines too short to accommodate the whole. It seems (based on the closeness of this figure to the length of Vis. III - 459 Loeb lines) that this codex omitted that Vision, probably on the grounds that it was to be recapitulated in Sim. IX. A similar situation seems to prevail with regard to P. Oxy. 1599 (4th century), which comes from a codex which was the equivalent of 434 Loeb lines too short to accommodate the whole *Shepherd*. Although we have evidence in P. Oxy.

1599 for the presence only of (some of) the first four Visions, the Mandates (introduced as usual no doubt by Vis. V), and the earlier Similitudes, it is more than likely that this codex was similar in extent to the Sahidic, and that it concluded with the last two Similitudes.

Finally, in the 2nd/3rd-century codex (as reconstructed) from which P. Oxy. 3528 survives and in the 6th-century Ethiopic version (available only in a 19th-century copy of an 18th-century manuscript, but nonetheless by certain evidence) we see the entire *Shepherd* as we know it from the printed editions, with all four sections present in toto. Yet even here there is an indication that the four sections - the first four Visions, the Mandates (with Vis. V as their introduction), the earlier Similitudes (with Mand. XIIb and Sim. I as their introduction) and the latter Similitudes - had separate histories of transmission before being united in one codex.

In short, the Egyptian tradition knew of what we call the *Shepherd* in a variety of guises and sizes. In the third century it meant

- (i) two sections (the Visions and the Mandates) for Origen;
- (ii) perhaps two sections (the Visions and the earlier Similitudes), perhaps three, in P. Oxy. 3527;

(iii) certainly three sections (the Visions and the earlier and latter Similitudes) in P. Mich. 129, possibly in P. Oxy. 3527;

(iv) three sections (the Visions, the Mandates and the latter Similitudes) for Clement of Alexandria;

(v) all four sections for P. Oxy. 3528.

Both these last combinations recur in the 6th century.

In the fourth century "the *Shepherd*" appears to have meant

(i) one section (the Mandates alone) for Athanasius; or

(ii) two sections (the Mandates preceded by Vis. V plus the last Similitudes) for Didymus the Blind and the Akhmimic version; or

(iii) three sections (the Visions, Mandates and earlier Similitudes) for P. Wessely 516. A variation on this pattern is shown by P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526, where the first and fifth Visions are omitted; or

(iv) all four sections as in P. Oxy. 1599, but again with an aberration - the omission of Vis. III.

In the fifth century the *Shepherd* could comprise

- (i) one section (the Mandates preceded by Vis. V) for P. Harr. 128, as in the previous century for Athanasius; or the Visions (for the compiler of P. Bodmer 38); or
- (ii) three sections (the Visions, the Mandates and the earlier Similitudes) for the second Sahidic version, as in the previous century for P. Wessely 516. Once again, as for the 4th-century P. Oxy. 1172 & 3526, there is a variation on this pattern (by the omission of Viss. I and V) in P. Berol. 5104.

In the sixth century the *Shepherd* consisted of

- (i) one section (the earlier Similitudes) in the codex from which P. Berol. 6789 derived; or
- (ii) three sections (the Visions, the Mandates and the latter Similitudes) for the Amherst codex, as three centuries earlier it had for Clement of Alexandria. A variation on this pattern is offered by one of the codices of the first Sahidic version, which, like the fourth-century P. Oxy. 1599, omits Vis. III; or
- (iii) all four sections, in the Ethiopic version. This century (or the following one) also sees another aberration in the first Sahidic version, where the second preserved codex omits not only Vis. III but Viss. I and II as well, beginning the text of the *Shepherd* probably with Vis. IV.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

INTRODUCTION .

As will be demonstrated below, the history of transmission of the *Shepherd* of Hermas in Latin is comparatively straight-forward. There are two versions. The first, the *Versio Vulgata*, first surfaces in the pseudo-Cyprianic work *De aleatoribus*. It is possible that the *Vita Cypriani per Pontium* also knew and used the *Shepherd*; and traces of the *Shepherd* have been alleged also in another pseudo-Cyprianic work, namely *De singularitate clericorum*.

All three of these works are associated with Cyprian, and therefore almost certainly have their origin in North Africa. Although the dates of composition of each are disputed, a time towards the end of the third century or beginning of the fourth seems most likely.

At the beginning of the third century Tertullian, Perpetua and Saturus had known and quoted from the *Shepherd*. We have chosen to disregard for the purposes of our history of the transmission of the *Shepherd* in Latin, these very clear evidences from Carthage of knowledge of that work, for it seems overwhelmingly unlikely that a translation into Latin had been made at so early a date. Tertullian, Perpetua and Saturus probably knew the *Shepherd* in Greek rather than in Latin - although it is not unlikely that the foundations of a written translation were being laid in oral translations of the Greek text read in public assemblies.

The prominence of North Africa in the early history of the Latin *Shepherd* is probably confirmed by Commodian, who seems to have known the work. About Commodian's date and his place of writing there is much dispute; but if he knew the Latin *Shepherd*, North Africa in the first half of the fourth century seems most likely.

During the fourth and fifth centuries notices of the *Shepherd* become more frequent in Latin authors; but first-hand knowledge of the work is by no means assured. The Chronographer of A.D. 354 can speak of the "angelus in habitu pastoris" - a phrase clearly borrowed from the *Passio Perpetuae*, not directly from the *Shepherd*. He also betrays himself by speaking of the work as containing "mandatum" - presumably a reference to Mand. I, 1, which he would have known from Irenaeus or Origen. John Cassian knew an extract from Mand. VI: ii, but this was probably in Greek and from Egypt. (He has accordingly already been noted as a witness to the Egyptian tradition). Prosper's knowledge of the *Shepherd* was dependent upon his opponent, Cassian, and is thus at least at two removes from a first-hand knowledge. Rufinus derived his knowledge of the *Shepherd* wholly from Eusebius.

Less certain is the case of Ambrose. It is certainly possible that by the last decade of the fourth century the Vulgate translation of the *Shepherd* had reached Milan,

and was used by Ambrose; the problem arises in that the allusions are so unclear, and supporting evidence for the *Shepherd's* having reached Italy by the end of the fourth century so nebulous.

However, a copy of the *Shepherd* in the Vulgate version (together with a Greek manuscript of the *Shepherd*¹) was certainly to be found somewhere along the northern shore of the Mediterranean prior to the eighth century, where it gave rise to the Palatine version, which is first attested in the *Vita Sanctae Genovefae*, almost certainly written in Paris or its environs during the sixth or seventh century. In the seventh century the version was used in a source document of the Irish Canon Collection. A fragment of this same version from the eighth century survives in the Rhineland.

During the course of the seventh century it is possible that St Maximus the Confessor made acquaintance with the Latin (Vulgate) *Shepherd* during his period of banishment in

¹This Greek manuscript is probably easier to pin down than the corresponding Vulgate manuscript. It is possible that P. Berol. 5513 (a Greek fragment) was copied in Ravenna or surroundings during the seventh century by the same scribe who copied the Bobbio Mathematical Fragment. P. Berol. 5513 subsequently went to Egypt; what happened to its exemplar is unknown. At some earlier date (mid-fifth to mid-sixth century) a Greek MS of the *Shepherd* was known to the author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. This might have been in northern Italy; it might equally well have been in southern Gaul. At about the same time a Greek MS of the *Shepherd* was used in the preparation of the Palatine version - perhaps in southern Gaul. Whether the same Greek MS played a role in all three instances is uncertain, but not unlikely.

North Africa.

During the Carolingian Renaissance a single MS of the Vulgate version in which there was some confusion in the text of Mandates X, XI and XII gave rise to the entire extant MS tradition of the Vulgate. A 9th-century MS (Sangermanensis) and a copy of a 9th/10th-century MS (Anvers Codex) survive from France; from southern Germany we can trace an entire family of Vulgate MSS from the 10th century onwards. Notker Balbulus might well have known the ancestral exemplar of this family, or a member of it.

At the same time the indirect transmission derived from Cassian or from Origen continued. Bede in his *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* referred to the *Shepherd*, basing his knowledge on Cassian's *Collationes*. In the next century Walafrid Strabo made reference to the same passage of the *Shepherd* as Bede, basing his reference on both Bede and Cassian, or on the one or the other; and Sedulius Scotus borrowed from Origen the identification of the author of the *Shepherd* with one of the persons mentioned in Romans 16:14.

Probably during the course of the eleventh century another indirect line of transmission was created through the incorporation of part of Mand. IV into a collection of canons. Given the rate at which codifications of canon law continued for the next two hundred years, this extract became

widespread in, *inter alia*, the collections of Ivo of Chartres, Peter Lombard and Gratian.

During the course of the 12th century the focus of direct transmission changes to the British Isles. In Glasgow or its environs the *Shepherd* (or, less likely, Commodian) was quoted from memory by the anonymous author of the *Vita Sancti Kentigerni*. At the same time the Lambeth MS was being copied from an unknown exemplar. During the next century a closely-related text appears in the Trinity College Cambridge MS, and in the 14th century the same text-type reappears in the St Omer MS and the Vaticanus.

Probably during the 13th century an ancestral exemplar of two of the English MSS, the Vatican and the York, had its numeration of the Similitudes corrected against what was presumably a Greek codex with a system of numeration similar to (but not identical with) that found in fifth- and sixth-century Egyptian witnesses. As both Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon knew Greek (and were almost unique in 13th-century England in that accomplishment), it is not unlikely that one of them had a hand in this correction. Certainly Robert Grosseteste had a hand in the transmission of the Ignatian epistles in Greek, and was thus familiar with at least one of the "apostolic fathers".

The Palatine version, having surfaced briefly in France during the sixth or seventh century and in the British Isles

during the seventh, and been copied in the eighth (the Dusseldorf fragment), went underground until the 14th, when the codex from which the version derives its name was copied. Presumably it had been copied at least once in the interval, since it seems that the exemplar from which the Palatine MS was copied was still legible enough in the 15th century to have given birth to Codex Vaticanus Urbinas 486. No doubt the Seine valley or the upper Rhine area was its home throughout this period.

The history of the Latin version of the *Shepherd* thus is not an unduly complex one. The Latin *Shepherd*, although translated (and later corrected in the Palatine version) by three or four different minds, was throughout its history treated as a unity, from its origins in third-century North Africa to its first printed publication in the sixteenth century; and it is from that treatment that modern scholarship derives its almost unbending commitment to the unity of the *Shepherd*. The Greek transmission of the *Shepherd* in the west is, as will be shown below, far less patient of that work's being regarded as a unity.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(1) THE LATIN VERSIONS :

(A) VERSIO VULGATA .

There exist two apparently independent Latin translations of the *Shepherd*. By far the more widespread - in fact the version by which the *Shepherd* was known in most of the West throughout the middle ages (with the possible exception of a Greek version in Ravenna during the seventh century) - is the so-called "Versio Vulgata" (henceforth the "Vulgate" version; so called not by reason of any connection with St Jerome, but simply on account of its ubiquity).

The Vulgate exists more or less complete in nearly a score of MSS, several of which are Biblical¹ (from the earliest - 9th century - MS to the latest - 15th century). It will be shown below that the texts of the *Shepherd* in these Bible MSS belong to different families within the Vulgate tradition. As is shown by its presence in Bible manuscripts, apparently the *Shepherd* enjoyed near-canonical status in more than one area of Europe during the middle ages, the *Muratorianum* and *Decretum Gelasii* notwithstanding!

The MSS in question are as follows:-

1) Codex St Germanensis, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,

¹The MSS which are definitely stated in the secondary sources to be Bible MSS are the following:-

- i) Sangermanensis, 9th century, with the *Shepherd* at the end.
- ii) Bodleianus, 12th century South German, with the *Shepherd* among the "apocrypha", between Tobit and I Maccabees.
- iii) Dresdensis, 15th century, with the *Shepherd* among the Wisdom books.
- iv) Vindobonensis, 15th century, with the *Shepherd* between the Wisdom books and the major prophets.

11553, Bible MS of the 9th century, containing right at the end, on the last extant three leaves, the *Shepherd* up to Vis. III: viii, 3². This MS was used by Cotelier for his edition of the *Shepherd*³.

2) Codex Parisiensis 11543, 9th century, first noted by A. Siegmund⁴. Its affinities (if any) with other MSS of the Vulgata are unknown.

3) Codex Augiensis CLXXXIII, Karlsruhe, MS of 54 leaves of the 10th century written at the island monastery of Reichenau near Constance⁵, containing the *Shepherd* only. Its text shows affinities with that of the Sangallensis 151⁶. According to Gebhardt & Harnack they derive from a common hyparchetype.

4) Codex Sangallensis 151, MS of the 10th and 12th century, three codices bound together, the third (10th century) comprising the *Shepherd* (p. 195-316)⁷. According to Gebhardt & Harnack its text of the *Shepherd* shows affinities with that of the Codex Augiensis CLXXXIII, as does its orthography.

5) Codex St Victoris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 14656, MS of the 12th century, containing the *Shepherd* on fol.

²So *Hermae Pastor graece, addita versione Latina recentiore e Codice Palatino, recensuerunt et illustraverunt Oscar de Gebhardt/Adolfus Harnack*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877 [Patrum Apostolicorum Opera Fasciculus III], p. xiv. Much of what follows in the way of descriptions of the MSS is derived from the introduction to this edition.

³*SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera*. Tomus I. Paris, 1672.

⁴*Die Überlieferung der griechisch-christlichen Literatur in der lateinische Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*. Munich: Pasing, 1949, p. 86f.

⁵So Turner, C.H. "The *Shepherd* of Hermas and the problem of its text", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 21, 1919-1920, p. 193-209, at p. 205.

⁶So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xvi.

⁷So *Ibid.*

103 to 150⁸. This MS was used by Cotelier for his edition of the *Shepherd*. The affinities of its text are not described by any of the editors.

6) Codex de Musée Plantin d'Anvers 128, MS of the 12th century copied from an exemplar of the 9th-10th century (as is shown by the scribe's reproduction of some of the calligraphy of his exemplar on leaves 30v and 31r), comprising 58 parchment leaves devoted entirely to the *Shepherd*⁹. The affinities of its text are not described by its editor.

7) Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 821 (Theol. 705), MS of the 12th century with a 13th-century supplement on a further 30 leaves. The original contains a portion of the *Shepherd* (omitting Vis. V, 2 to Mand. VIII, 9) on leaves 1a to 62b. Gebhardt & Harnack suggest that the *Shepherd* text appears to have been copied from the Sangallensis 151¹⁰.

8) Codex Bodleianus Oxoniensis, Bible MS (MS Laud. miscell. 488), of the second quarter of the 12th century, written in south Germany¹¹, in which the *Shepherd* appears between Tobit and I Maccabees¹². This MS formed the basis of the edition by Bishop John Fell of Oxford¹³. The affinities of its text are not described by any of the editors.

9) Codex Lambethanus Londiniensis 73, of the late 12th or

⁸So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205.

⁹Notice of this MS was first given by Delehaye, H. "Un manuscrit de l'ancienne version latine du Pasteur d'Hermas", *Bulletin Critique*, 15, 1894, p. 14-16. This was of course nearly two decades after the edition of Gebhardt & Harnack; accordingly notice of this MS does not appear in their introduction.

¹⁰So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xvii.

¹¹So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205.

¹²So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xv.

¹³*S. Barnabae apostoli epistola catholica, accessit S. Hermae viri apostolici Pastor*. Oxford, 1685.

¹⁴So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205.

early 13th century, probably written in England¹⁴. This MS was used by Bishop Fell, by Archbishop Wake for his translation of the *Shepherd*¹⁵, and was also collated by Wake for Clericus's reissue of Cotelier's edition of the *Shepherd*¹⁶. Its text shows affinities with those of the Trinity College MS¹⁷, the Vaticanus¹⁸ and the Audomaropolitanus¹⁹.

10) Codex Colleg. Trinitat. Cantabrig. (Gale Collection O.2.29), MS of the 13th century²⁰. Among various writings are extracts (Vis. I: i-ii; Mand. I-X) from the *Shepherd*. Its text shows affinities with those of Lambeth, the Vaticanus and the Audomaropolitanus²¹.

11) Codex Cantabrigensis Dd. IV. 11, in the University Library, MS of the 13th or 14th century²², containing two works followed on leaves 68a to 90a by the *Shepherd*.²³ The affinities of its text are not described by any of the editors.

¹⁵*The genuine epistles of the apostolical fathers S. Barnabas, S. Clement, S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, The Shepherd of Hermas, and the martyrdoms of S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp ... translated and publish'd, with a large preliminary discourse ... by W. Wake. London, 1693.*

¹⁶*Sanctorum patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt recensuit et notulas aliquot suas et aliorum adpersit Joannes Clericus. Antwerp, 1698.*

¹⁷So Lightfoot *apud* Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xix.

¹⁸So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xv.

¹⁹Gebhardt & Harnack do not state this in so many words, but it can be deduced: "Propinquus est codex Vaticano magis quam ulli eorum quos ipse contuli", *Idem*, p. xviii.

²⁰A description by Lightfoot appears in Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xix.

²¹Lightfoot mentions only its affinities with the Vaticanus; the other affinities can be deduced from what is said by Gebhardt and Harnack *ad loc.*

²²So Lightfoot *apud* Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xix.

²³So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xix, note 2.

12) Codex Audomaropolitanus (St Omer) 234, MS of the 14th century, containing between two ecclesiastical works the *Shepherd* (up to Sim. IX: xxiii, 3, followed by a blank space)²⁴. It shows affinities with the Lambeth²⁵, Trinity College²⁶ and Vaticanus 3848²⁷ texts.

13) Codex Vaticanus 3848, MS of the 14th century, containing the *Shepherd* in the first 40 folios²⁸, used by Dressel for his edition²⁹. Its text shows affinities with those of Lambeth, Trinity College and the Audomaropolitanus³⁰. Like the York MS to be described below, it has a strange system of numbering the Similitudes, similar to the systems met with in Egypt³¹. In this MS Simm. I, II, III and IV are numbered as is usual in the Latin tradition. Sim. V: i is numbered as the fifth, Sim. V: ii, 1-8 as the sixth, Sim. V: ii, 9-vii, 3 as the seventh, Simm. VI and VII as the eighth, Sim. VIII as the ninth, Simm. IX and X as the tenth. Within this last there is a further division between Sim. IX: xii and xiii. The implications of this system of numeration are discussed below.

14) Codex Carmelitarum Excalceatorum suburbii Parisiensis, MS of the 15th century (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 337 MS A), containing the text of the *Shepherd* on fol. 167 to 216 and apparently written in Italy³². This MS was used

²⁴So *Idem*, p. xviii.

²⁵So *Idem*, p. xv (asserting its relation to the Vaticanus).

²⁶So Lightfoot *apud* Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xix (also asserting the affinity of its text to that of the Vaticanus).

²⁷So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xviii.

²⁸So *Idem*, p. xv.

²⁹*Patrum apostolicorum opera. Textum ad fidem codd. et graecorum et latinorum . . . instruxit Alb. Rud. Max. Dressel. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857.*

³⁰See notes^{25, 26, 27} supra.

³¹See Dressel *apud* Gebhardt & Harnack, *Idem*, p. xxii.

³²So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205 note 2.

by Cotelier for his edition of the *Shepherd*³³. The affinities of its text are not described by any of the editors.

15) Codex Cusanus (Cues on the Moselle³⁴) 30, MS of the 15th century containing various patristic and ecclesiastical works including the *Shepherd* on leaves 150a to 181a.³⁵ According to Gebhardt & Harnack the text of the *Shepherd* was copied from the Codex Augiensis CLXXXIII.

16) Codex Dresdensis A 47, a Bible MS of the 15th century, containing the *Shepherd* on folios 247 to 266 between Psalms and Proverbs³⁶, collated by Hilgenfeld for his edition³⁷. Its text of the *Shepherd* shows affinities with those of the Sangallensis 151³⁸, Augensis CLXXXIII³⁹, and very close affinities with the Vindobonensis Lat. 1217⁴⁰.

17) Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 1217 (Theol. 51), a Bible MS of the 15th century containing on leaves 178a to 192b the *Shepherd*, just after the Wisdom books and before Isaiah⁴¹. According to Gebhardt & Harnack, the *Shepherd* text appears to be derived from the Dresden codex or from its exemplar.

³³So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xiv.

³⁴So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205 note 2.

³⁵So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xvi-xvii.

³⁶So *Idem*, p. xv.

³⁷*Hermae Pastor. Graece e codicibus Sinaitico et Lipsiensi scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum excerptis collatis versionibus Latina utraque et Aethiopica, libri clausula Latine addita, restituit, commentario critico et adnotationibus instruxit, Elxai libri fragmenta adiecit Adolphus Hilgenfeld. Leipzig, 1866.*

³⁸By reason of its affinities with the Augensis: see Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xvi.

³⁹So *Ibid.*

⁴⁰So *Idem*, p. xviii.

⁴¹So *Ibid.*

18) Codex Eborac. XVI. I. 1, in York Cathedral Library, MS of the 15th century, containing the *Shepherd* as the first of various ecclesiastical writings⁴².

This MS appears singular among Western witnesses in that it numbers the Similitudes as follows: Sim. I = 1, Sim. II = 2, Sim. III = 3, Sim. IV = 4, Sim. V: i = 5, Sim. V: ii-vii = 6, Sim. VI = 7, Sim. VII = 8, Sim. VIII = 9, Sim. IX = 10⁴³.

In so doing it bears witness to a contamination of the Western tradition by a codex (presumably a Greek codex, although the only extant text that marks a division at Sim. V: ii is the Second Sahidic version!) that contained the strange numeration systems which we have found in Egyptian codices. The affinities of its text are not described by any of the editors. Its system of numbering the Similitudes is similar, though not identical, to that of the Vaticanus; probably both trace their lineage to some Latin ancestor that was corrected against a Greek text which numbered the earlier Similitudes in the Egyptian fashion (although neither the York system nor that of the Vaticanus is identical with any extant Egyptian witness). Despite their differences one from the other, the York and Vaticanus MSS stand together against what we know of the numeration systems found in the Egyptian tradition, as the following table will make clear:

⁴²So Lightfoot *apud* Gebhardt & Harnack, *Ibid*.

⁴³So *Idem*, p. xix.

Printed	Vaticanus	York	Second Sahidic	Ethiopic	Papyri
Mand XIIa			(1)		
Mand XIIb			(2)	1	
Sim I	1	1	(3)		
Sim II	2	2	4	Initium	4 ⁴⁴
Sim III	3	3	5	(2)	
Sim IV	4	4	6	(3)	
Sim V:i	5	5	7	(4)	6 ⁴⁵
Sim V:ii	6	6		(5)	
Sim V:iib	7			(6)	
Sim VI	8	7		(7)	
Sim VII		8		8	
Sim VIII	9	9		9	
Sim IX:i	10	10		Initium	
Sim IX:xiii	X				
Sim X					

A study of the textual affinities of the York and Vaticanus MSS should be a rewarding and perhaps a revealing exercise, particularly if possible textual connections with Egyptian witnesses which share some of their peculiarities of numeration are examined. The Vaticanus is accessible in Dressel's edition, but the readings of the York MS will have to await publication of a critical edition of the Vulgate. It is interesting to speculate (while retaining clearly the fact that this is pure speculation) on the source of this Egyptian numeration system. It is well-established that during the 13th century England boasted at least two Greek scholars in Robert Grosseteste and his pupil Roger Bacon.⁴⁶

⁴⁴p. Oxy 1172.

⁴⁵p. Hamb. 24.

⁴⁶See, e.g. Callus, D.A. "The contribution to the study of the Fathers made by the thirteenth-century Oxford schools", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 5, 1954, p. 139-148.

It is not inconceivable that someone in their circle could have obtained a Greek MS of the *Shepherd* embodying an "Egyptian" numeration of the Similitudes (after all, for the greater part of the century Constantinople was in Latin hands), and used it to "correct" the numeration in the exemplar from which the Vatican and York MSS were copied.

Clearly an affinity must be discerned between the York and Vatican texts of the *Shepherd*. Affinity must also be discerned in codices which contain the *Shepherd* in a similar context. On this basis (as well as on textual grounds) the Dresden and Vindobonensis Lat. 1217 (both of which count the *Shepherd* among the Wisdom books) clearly belong together. By the reverse argument the St Germanensis (where the *Shepherd* comes right at the end of the Bible, as in the Greek Sinaiticus) does not belong in this group; nor does the Bodleianus, where the *Shepherd* finds its place among the Apocrypha.

That partial texts cannot be regarded as significant here, as they can in Egypt, is shown by the case of Vind. Lat. 821, which omits the greater part of the Mandates and of Vis. V, even though these sections are present in its apparent exemplar, the Sangallensis. It is conceivable that Vind. Lat. 821 was originally a complete text, some leaves of which have disappeared. Similarly in the case of the Trinity College text (where most of the Mandates are present,

preceded by part of Vis. I) it is clear that the exemplar of this abbreviation must have contained at least the Visions and the Mandates, and (if Lightfoot was correct in seeing an affinity between this text and that of the Vaticanus) it probably contained the whole text. The same argument applies to the Audomaropolitanus, where the loss of what follows Sim. IX: xxiii, 3 can be explained by the loss of the final leaves of the exemplar, given the affinities of that text to the Vaticanus and Lambeth texts. In the case of the St Germanensis, where only the first three leaves of the *Shepherd* have been preserved, the remainder has clearly been lost.

It would appear⁴⁷ that the Vulgate version can be identified by an intermingling of the texts of Mandd. X, XI and XII. Gebhardt and Harnack⁴⁸ ascribe this to an archetype the leaves of which became disarranged, presumably within the history of the Latin tradition, i.e. they were Latin (not Greek) leaves which became disarranged. The point within the Latin tradition in which this took place is impossible to determine, other than the obvious fact that it must have been before the earliest extant MS, i.e. before the

⁴⁷So Gebhardt & Harnack, *Op.cit.*, p. xii.

⁴⁸*Ibid.* "Apparet igitur, in exemplo quodam antiquo ordinem foliorum neglegenter permutatum fuisse neque librariorum posteriores id sensisse, sed fideliter transscripsisse quae ante oculos habebant, nisi quod, ne legentes nimis offenderentur, alius alia addidit vel mutavit, quo nexus sententiarum servari videretur."

9th century.

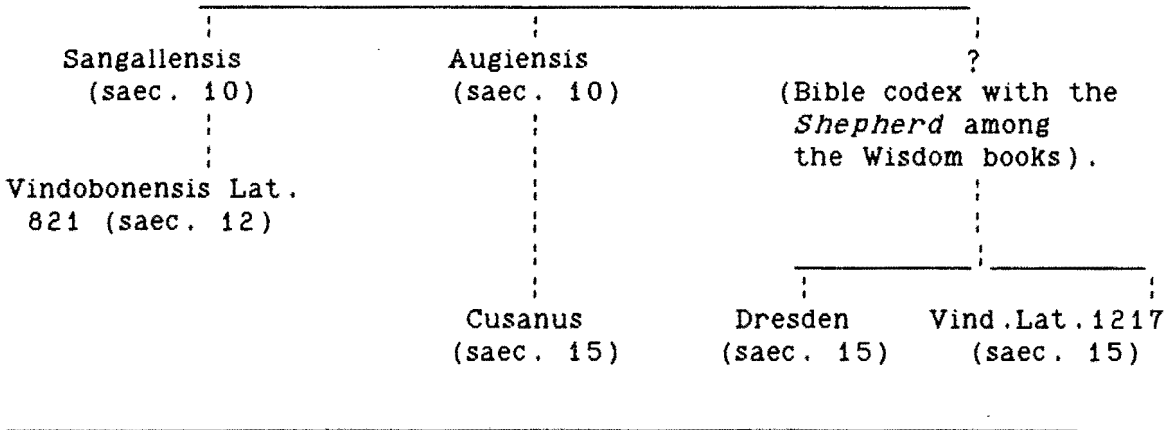
Any exhaustive study of the interrelationships between the MSS of the Vulgate must await the appearance of the critical edition of the Latin versions of the *Shepherd* which was being prepared by Sir Roger Mynors before his death in the latter part of 1989⁴⁹. The edition of the Vulgate available to me is that of Richard Russel⁵⁰, which incorporates the readings of Cotelier's three Paris MSS and Fell's two English MSS, together with Le Clerc's amendments of Cotelier's text. Although Russel does give variant readings in an apparatus of a sort, any scientific work based on so small a range of MSS will inevitably be incomplete. At present only the three French MSS and two of the English are available through Russel's edition; the Vaticanus is accessible in Dressel's work and the Dresden MS through Hilgenfeld.

Hence any attempt to draw up a stemma of the Vulgate MSS at this stage of publication of the MSS would at best be partial, if not positively misleading. Yet it seems clear from the facts presented above that at least two separate groups can be discerned, the component MSS of which stand in some sort of familial relationship to one another. The first

⁴⁹In February 1989 still in typescript - pers. comm.

⁵⁰*Ss. Patrum apostolicorum (Barnabae, Hermae, Clementis, Ignatii, Polycarpi) opera genuina, una cum Ignatii et Polycarpi martyriis ... cura Richardi Russel. 2 vols. London: William Russel, 1746, Volumen Primum.*

of these families comprises:-



The fact that one of the sibling MSS in this stemma, that of Karlsruhe, was written at Reichenau in the 10th century⁵¹ and that all of them belong to the south German region, enables a geographical handle to be attached to this family. As the Bodleian MS was also written in south Germany⁵² (during the 12th century), and as it also includes the *Shepherd* in a Bible MS (although not in the same context as the Dresden and Vienna MSS), it might well be a cousin of the MSS of this family. The south German family, therefore, probably boasts seven of the eighteen representatives of the Vulgate.

The second family, a stemma for which is impossible to construct, comprises the Lambeth, Vaticanus and Audomaropolitanus texts, together with the exemplar of the complete work from which the extracts found in the Trinity

⁵¹So Turner, *Op.cit.*, p. 205.

⁵²So *Ibid.*

College MS were made. The oldest of these MSS, the Lambeth, was probably written in England during the twelfth century⁵³; so this may be regarded as an "insular" family. The St Omer MS did not migrate far from its birthplace; only its 14th-century contemporary, the Vaticanus, appears to have done much travelling. Almost certainly to be included in this group (on account of its numeration affinities with the Vaticanus) is the 15th-century York MS. The two of them, as has already been noted, form a distinct sub-group within the insular family. Also probably to be included here (more on account of its present locale than for any other reason) is the 13th/14th century Cambridge University Library MS. The insular family, accordingly, probably can claim six of the eighteen MSS of the Vulgate.

All five of the remaining MSS are presently in France. These are the 9th-century Sangermanensis 15 and Parisiensis 11543, the 12th-century MS of Anvers copied from a 9th/10th century exemplar, the 12th-century St Victor MS, and the 15th-century Discalced Carmelite MS, this last written in Italy⁵⁴.

Whether these (or the first three of them) can be regarded as a separate "family" will depend on their mutual textual affinities, something at present unknown.

⁵³So *Ibid.*

⁵⁴So *Idem*, p. 205 note 2.

⁵⁵*Idem*, p. 206.

Turner suggested⁵⁵ that all extant Vulgate MSS (he knew of sixteen of the eighteen listed above) derive from a common hyparchetype: "The date and geographical distribution of these manuscripts seem to make it tolerably certain that they descend from some common archetype of the time of Charles the Great. . . . We may conjecture that a single manuscript of *Hermas* had turned up, that copies of it were made and circulated, and that all known exemplars descend from this solitary archetype. . . . Very likely it was not older than the sixth century." Confirmation or disproof of this hypothesis will have to await closer study of the texts of each MS; but, allowing contamination as is witnessed to by the numeration of the York and Vatican MSS, and allowing the development of sub-families within the tradition, the hypothesis advanced by Turner seems to be not unlikely.

The integrity of the version is the next question that needs to be addressed. Perhaps not surprisingly (an individual effort at translation would have been a mammoth effort!), recent studies⁵⁶ have shown that the *Visions*, *Mandates* and *Similitudes* were translated by people with different translation-vocabularies. However, there is nothing to show that these three translators were not contemporaries; they all belonged to the earlier of the two bursts of translation

⁵⁶I. Mazzini & E. Lorenzini, "Il Pastore di Erma: due versioni Latine o due antologie di versioni?". *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana*, 2, 1981, p. 45-86; especially "IV. Fatti linguistici divergenti", p. 58-63.

from Greek into Latin of the Christian deposit⁵⁷, that which took place at the end of the second and first half of the third centuries.

This (largely intuitive) conclusion by Mazzini regarding the date of translation of the Vulgate is supported by the obvious dependence of the citations of Mand. IV: 1, 9 and Sim. IX: xxxi, 5-6 in the pseudo-Cyprianic work *De Aleatoribus* (to be discussed below) upon the Vulgate (or a tradition very closely allied to it). Here two (Mandates and Similitudes) of Mazzini's three translations are present during the course of the latter third century; and the contemporary *Vita Cypriani per Pontium* (on which see below), which alludes to Vis. III: 1, 4, probably supplies proof of the existence in Latin of the Visions also.

Both of these witnesses to the earliest Vulgate translation are connected (through Cyprian) with North Africa; nor will the observant reader have failed to notice that these witnesses in fact bear witness to the existence in Latin not of the entire *Shepherd*, but to only three-quarters of it - viz., the Visions, the Mandates, and the last Similitudes. Had Mazzini and Lorenzini applied their method slightly differently, by recognizing not three divisions but four, they would more than likely have discovered that there were in fact four translators of the Vulgate, not three⁵⁸.

⁵⁷*Idem*, especially "V. Collocazione cronologica delle versioni raccolte nella Vulgata", p. 63-69.

For the three divisions represented in the two witnesses

⁵⁸Here are some examples derived solely from Mazzini's table on page 59, with references on pages 60 and 61:-

For "τύπος" the translator of the Visions regularly uses "figura" (four times), that of the earlier Similitudes "exemplum" (twice), that of the latter Similitudes "forma" (twice).

For "λύπη" and "λυπέω" the translator of the earlier Similitudes uses "dolere" once (uniquely) and "tristia" once (this is the term favoured by the translator of the Mandates, who uses it 22 times; it also appears in the Visions); that of the latter Similitudes uses "sollicitudo" once (uniquely) and "tristia" once.

For "κόσμος" the translator of the earlier Similitudes uses "orbis terrarum" twice (uniquely), while the translator of the latter Similitudes uses "orbis", the term used also (once) by the translator of the Mandates.

For "θεσπότης" the translator of the latter Similitudes twice uses the unique term "paterfamilias" and thrice "dominus". This latter term is used to the exclusion of others by the translator of the earlier Similitudes (12 times) and that of the Mandates (twice). The translator of the Visions by contrast uses "dominator" twice and "deus" once.

The word "ἄγγελος" is used once in the latter Similitudes and five times in the Visions. Its translation, "nuncius", appears twice in the Visions (both in Vis. V, which thus clearly belongs with the Mandates), twelve times in the latter Similitudes; but "angelus" is used to the exclusion of "nuntius" by the translators of the Mandates (15 times) and the earlier Similitudes (32 times).

The word "προεῖω" is translated by a variety of terms. In the Visions it appears as "ingredior" (four times), "ambulo" (once) and "proficiscor" (twice). In the Mandates "ambulo" and "eo" are both used thrice. In the latter Similitudes "ambulo" is used exclusively (thrice), while in the former Similitudes "ambulo" is used ten times, "eo" twice and "ingredior" once. The cleavage here is less clear than in the earlier examples, given the variety of terms available.

The construction "ὅτι" is rendered by the accusative and infinitive in the latter Similitudes (twice); similarly in the former Similitudes (17 times), as well as by "quia" or "quod" and the indicative (four times). [Contd. on next page

mentioned above are precisely the three divisions (in Greek) that we know were the common property of the North African church during the time of Perpetua, Saturus and Tertullian (See below on the Western Greek evidence). Yet too much should not be made of the absence from the third-century North African tradition of the earlier Similitudes in Latin; for it is conceivable (but by no means certain) that the *Vita Cypriani* also alludes to Sim. I. If it does in fact witness to the existence in Latin of the earlier Similitudes as well as the rest of the *Shepherd*, it would seem that that part of the *Shepherd* which had not been known (in Greek) to the North African church at the beginning of the third century had been imported (presumably from Egypt) prior to the translation of the work into Latin during the latter part of that century.

It is suggested, therefore, that the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* was translated during the mid- or latter third century in North Africa. Three hands at least are discernible in the translation - one for the Visions, one for the Mandates, and one for the Similitudes. Whether this last translated all the Similitudes, or merely the last two, is unclear. Certainly there is at best meagre evidence from the third century that the earlier Similitudes were known in

This latter construction is used exclusively in the Mandates (25 times). In the Visions "quoniam" and the indicative is used eight times, the accusative and infinitive thrice. Again the lines of division are not as clear as in the examples given above.

North Africa; yet a Vulgate translation of them certainly exists. Egypt must be the source of the archetype, since we know that the earlier Similitudes were known there at this date.

With this dating Turner⁵⁹ is substantially in agreement, but on linguistic grounds. His argument is as follows: "Its [*scil.* the Vulgate's] language is primitive... It may not be quite so primitive as the Gospels and Pauline Epistles of St Cyprian's Bible: for though it shares with them the original rendering of μακάριος by *felix* rather than *beatus*, it shews no trace of their use of *clarifico* for δοξάζω. ... It does not yet know *blasphemia* but finds Latin equivalents, nor *paeniteri* for μετανοεῖν. ... Instead of *presbyteri* and *diaconi* it uses *seniores* and *ministri*. For ἄγγελος it employs *nuntius*, and is almost the only witness to any other rendering than the transliteration *angelus*. We are still in a very early stage of the creation of Christian Latin."

⁵⁹*Op.cit.*, p. 206-207.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(1) THE LATIN VERSIONS :

(B) VERSIO PALATINA .

Apart from the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* there exists in two MSS and a fragment and quotations what appears to be (at least in parts) a separate and distinct version. This is the Palatine version, so called from the first-discovered MS in which it is found, the Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 150, first published by Dressel in the same edition as contained Simonides' copy of the Athos MS¹. The text is available to me in the edition by Gebhardt and Harnack². The MS is dated "saec. XIV" by Musurillo³, after Dressel, but is said by Whittaker⁴ to have been copied in the 15th century. Folios 94 to 180 contain the *Shepherd*.

After the Second World War the work on the Latin versions of the *Shepherd* which had occupied the last decade of C.H. Turner's life was taken over by Prof. R.A.B. Mynors, then of Pembroke College, Cambridge⁵. His first major discovery

¹*Patrum apostolicorum opera*. Textum ad fidem codd. et graecorum et latinorum ... instruxit Alb. Rud. Max. Dressel. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857; second edition 1863.

²*Hermae Pastor graece; addita versione latina recentiore e codice Palatino*. Recensuerunt et illustraverunt Oscar de Gebhardt/Adolfus Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877.

³Musurillo, H.A. "The need of a new edition of Hermas", *Theological Studies*, 12, 1951, p. 382-387, at p. 385.

⁴*Die apostolischen Väter 7: Der Hirt des Hermas*, herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Akademie, 1967, p. xvii: "L2 ist nur in einem einzigen (jetzt offenbar verlorenen) Exemplar ins 15. Jahrhundert gekommen".

⁵Now (January 1990) deceased.

was a second codex of the Palatine version, copied in the 15th century from the same exemplar as the Codex Palatinus (so Whittaker), or from the Codex Palatinus itself (so Carlini⁶). This second text is Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Lat. 486. Its full collation with its sibling text must await the promised appearance of Mynors' edition of the Latin versions⁷. Some variants are listed by Mazzini⁸, who also lists the five other works which appear with the *Shepherd* in this codex. Leaves 69v to 130r contain the *Shepherd*.

Then in 1956 a leaf of the Palatine version was found in the Dusseldorf University Library and Archives (originally from the monastery of Beyenburg near Werden), and is dated to the middle of the 8th century⁹. This is the earliest direct attestation of the Palatine version thus far found. It is part of a codex, written in Anglo-Saxon characters, of which ten leaves have been recovered. Eight of these are from the *De reparatione lapsi* of St John Chrysostom, one from a

⁶Carlini, A. "Due estratti del *Pastore* di Erma nella versione Palatina in *Par. Lat.* 3182", *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 35, 1985, p. 311-312.

⁷Which will not be available before the completion of this thesis (personal communication from Sir Roger).

⁸Mazzini, I. "Il Codice Urbinato 486 e la versione Palatina del *Pastore* di Erma", *Prometheus*, 6, 1980, p. 181-188.

⁹Lowe, E.A. *Codices Latini antiquiores*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956, no. 1187; see A. Carlini, "La tradizione testuale del *Pastore* di Erma e i nuovi papyri", in G. Cavallo, ed., *Le stadi del testo*. Bari, 1985, p. 23ff.

Passio Iusti martyris, and one from the Mandates of the *Shepherd*.

The fact that the codex was written in an Anglo-Saxon hand does not necessarily imply that it was written in England¹⁰. Coens conjectures¹¹ that the Benedictine abbey of Werden on the Ruhr (the burial-place of St Liudger, the Anglo-Saxon apostle of Westphalia and founder of Münster) was the place where this codex was copied; it was an English foundation and had a substantial scriptorium and library during the Middle Ages.

The relationship between the two Latin versions has been a matter of dispute since the publication of the Palatine MS. On the surface it appears that the two translations of the Visions are entirely independent (this superficial appearance will be questioned below); but within the rest of the work similarities (pointing to dependence one way or the other) have been detected. This raises questions both about the direction of dependence and about the integrity of both the dependent version and the prior version.

¹⁰Although Lowe, *Op. cit.*, states, "Written in England, and apparently in the North, to judge from the script."

¹¹Coens, M. "Un fragment retrouve d'une ancienne passion de S. Just, martyr de Beauvais", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 74, 1956, p. 86-114, at p. 90.

¹²Hausleiter, J. "De versionibus Pastoris Hermae latinis", *Acta Seminarium Philologici Erlangensis*, 3, 1884, p. 399-477. Also published separately, Erlangen: Deichert, 1884.

Haussleiter¹² suggested that the stages of composition of the Greek and translation into Latin were closely interrelated. Shortly after the Greek Mandates and Similitudes were completed (ca. A.D. 150, according to him) the "African" (by which he meant the Palatine) Latin translation of these sections was made. This was followed by the composition of the first four Visions, the Vulgate translation of the whole work (in Italy), and finally the Palatine translation of the Visions in Africa ca. A.D. 230.

While, as we have already seen in our examination of the Vulgate version, Haussleiter's conception of that version as the product of a single hand is almost certainly defective, there are compelling reasons to regard the sequence of his dating as wrong also. As will be shown below, the first four Visions in Greek antedate some of the secondary sections in the rest of the work (including the last two Similitudes). The Vulgate version (of at least the Visions, Mandates and last Similitudes) is attested during the latter third century in North Africa; the first probable attestation of the Palatine version is in Gaul no earlier than the sixth century. Accordingly the direction of dependence is more likely to be the Palatine on the Vulgate than vice versa. Haussleiter appears to have got not only his relative dating wrong, but also his locales. If either version is the African, it must surely be the Vulgate, not the Palatine.

Haussleiter's case for an early dating of the Palatine rests on his study of the language of that version, particularly its morphology¹³: "Das Casusgefühl ist im Absterben; die Accusativendung dringt überwuchernd in den Ablativ ein." It could equally well be argued that such morphological corruption points to a later date than the end of the second or beginning of the third century, the period favoured by Haussleiter.

Haussleiter's thesis has not found favour. The more general dating of the Palatine version is that given by Turner¹⁴: "Though in date the revision [i.e. the Palatine version] is, as I suppose, some centuries later than the Vulgate, it must presumably have been carried through when Greek MSS were still available in the West, that is hardly after about the year A.D. 550". This is, of course, precisely the time that Cassiodorus and his school were making the last large-scale translations from Greek to Latin in antiquity¹⁵. The mid-sixth century, therefore, must be the *terminus ante quem*. Gebhardt and Harnack¹⁶ date the version "non

¹³See also Haussleiter, J. "Textkritische Bemerkungen zur palatinischen Übersetzung des "Hirten des Hermas"", *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 26, 1883, p. 345-356. The quotation is from p. 352.

¹⁴Turner, C.H. "The *Shepherd* of Hermas and the problem of its text", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 21, 1919-1920, p. 192-209, at p. 204.

¹⁵See Brunhölz, F. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Erster Band: von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der Karolingischen Erneuerung. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975, p. 41.

ante quintum saeculum". Mazzini and Lorenzini¹⁷ prefer a date at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century, at a time when the second great wave of translation of Christian works into Latin took place (cf. the Vulgate version of the Bible). The fifth century seems a not unreasonable compromise.

If the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* shows a close connection during the third century with North Africa, the Palatine version shows an equally close connection during the sixth and subsequent centuries with Gaul. The sixth-century (?) life of St Genevieve, patroness of Paris, cites the Palatine version. This hagiography was almost certainly produced in that part of northern France in which its heroine lived. Clearly during the sixth century there existed within the basin of the Seine a copy of the Palatine version. During the seventh century the version was used somewhere in the British Isles. From the eighth century we have a leaf of the Palatine version found in the Rhineland and probably copied at Werden. All of this would seem to point to the transmission of, and thus an origin for, the Palatine version in western Europe.

The other matter which needs attention is the fact that the

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

¹⁷Mazzini, I. & Lorenzini, E. "Il Pastore di Erma: due versione Latine o due antologie di versioni?", *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana*, 2, 1981, p, 45-86, at p. 49.

Palatine translation of the Visions appears to be independent of the Vulgate translation of the same section. It has already been shown that the Vulgate reveals the hands of four different translators, one for the Visions, one for the Mandates, one for the earlier Similitudes, one for the latter Similitudes.

On the basis of translation vocabulary, Mazzini and Lorenzini have shown that a three-fold division can be discerned within the Palatine version¹⁸. As in the case of the Vulgate, it is not surprising that more than one hand should have been

¹⁸*Idem*, table on p. 78-79. The following figures are derived from the table and related references.

Particularly interesting is the treatment of "δίψυχος" and related words. It is translated regularly in the Visions (twice) and the former and latter Similitudes (seven times) by "dubius"; in the Mandates the word is transliterated four times, and replaced by different phrases on another four occasions.

"Διψυχία" is translated in the Visions by "dubietas" (four times); in the Mandates it is transliterated six times, translated by "haesitatio" twice, and by different phrases on another three occasions.

The verb "δίψυχέω" is translated in the Visions by "dubius esse" (seven times). In the Mandates "haesito" is used once, "fatigor" (sic) once, "fictum cogitare" once and "inconstanti et duplici animo esse" once. In the former Similitudes (it does not occur in the latter Similitudes) "dubito" is used twice, "dubitare" once, "dubius fieri" once, and four different phrases once each.

The other example cited by Lorenzini is the different translations of "μέλλω" and the infinitive. The general rule is that it is translated by the active periphrastic conjugation (i.e. the active future participle plus "sum") (7 times in the Mandates, 24 times in the Similitudes); the only exception is the sole occurrence of this construction in the Visions, where it is translated by "incipio" and the infinitive.

involved in a massive translation project such as the text of the *Shepherd* would have been. Mazzini and Lorenzini discern divisions within the translation after the fifth Vision and the twelfth Mandate. They characterise the three parts as follows: The translation of the Visions is painfully literal, that of the Mandates is much freer, while the Palatine Similitudes are little more than a revision of those of the Vulgate. In fact, as we shall show, the relationship which they postulate for the Similitudes holds also for the Visions and the Mandates.

A comparison between the translations used for just two terms by the translators of the Vulgate and Palatine versions reveals the true degree of dependence of the one upon the other. Once again the figures are derived from those supplied by Mazzini and Lorenzini.

In the Palatina "ἄγγελος" is regularly transliterated in Visions I to IV (five times), twice in Vis. V, twice in the Mandates, and five times in the Similitudes. It is translated by "nuncius" not at all in the Visions, fourteen times in the Mandates, and thirty-six times in the Similitudes. A comparison with the Vulgate usage is instructive:-

	Visions I-IV	Vision V & Mandates	Similitudes
Vulgata	angelus 5 nuncius 0	angelus 0 nuncius 17	angelus 1 nuncius 44
Greek lines	805	928	2233

	Visions I-V	Mandates	Similitudes
Palatina	angelus 7 nuncius 0	angelus 2 nuncius 14	angelus 5 nuncius 36
Greek lines	842	891	2233

It cannot be coincidence that the translator of Viss. I to IV in the Vulgate used "angelus" 100% of the time and the translator of the Visions in the Palatina used "angelus" 100% of the time; that the translator of the Mandates used "nuncius" 100% of the time, while the translator of the same section in the Palatina used the same word 88% of the time; and that the translators of the Similitudes in the Vulgate used "nuncius" 98% of the time, and the translator of the same section in the Palatina used the same word 88% of the time.

The coherence of both versions in Visions I to IV on the one hand (in using only "angelus") and the Mandates and Similitudes on the other (in using mainly "nuncius") suggests that there is a closer relationship between the two versions than might at first appear. The one is really nothing more than a "revision" of the other rather than an independent translation.

This impression is reinforced by a consideration of the different terms used to translate "ὅτι" after a verb of knowing in the Palatina. In the Visions "quoniam" and the indicative is favoured (five times); there are also two

instances of the accusative and infinitive, two instances of "quia" and the indicative, and two instances of "quod"¹⁹.

In the Mandates the favoured form (8 times) is the accusative and infinitive, with "quod" and the indicative used five times, "quia" and the indicative once¹⁹, and "quomodo" and the indicative once. In the former Similitudes the accusative and infinitive is used 15 times (16 according to Lorenzini), "quod" and the indicative thrice, "quoniam" and the indicative twice (once according to Lorenzini), and "quomodo" and the indicative once. In the latter Similitudes the construction occurs twice only, both times in the accusative and infinitive construction according to Lorenzini (in reality once accusative and infinitive, once with "quia"). A comparison of the Vulgate and Palatine translations of this construction yields the following picture:-

Visions		Mandates		Simm. I-VIII		Simm. IX-X		
Vul	acc & inf	3	acc & inf	0	acc & inf	17	acc & inf	2
	quia }	0	quia }	25	quia }	4	quia }	0
	quod }		quod }		quod }		quod }	
	quoniam	8	quoniam	0	quoniam	0	quoniam	0
Ll	805		928		1040		1193	
<hr/>								
Pai	acc & inf	2	acc & inf	8	acc & inf	15	acc & inf	1
	quia	2	quia	2	quia	0	quia	1
	quod	2	quod	5	quod	3	quod	0
	quoniam	5	quoniam	0	quoniam	2	quoniam	0
	quomodo	0	quomodo	1	quomodo	1	quomodo	0
Ll	842		891		1040		1193	
=====								

¹⁹This differs from the tabulation offered by Lorenzini, but is based on his data.

Once again it cannot be coincidence that while the Vulgate translator of Viss. I to IV used "quoniam" and the indicative to translate this construction 73% of the time, and the Palatine translator of the Visions used it 45% of the time, it is used less than 10% of the time by the Palatine translator of the Similitudes, and not at all by the others.

Similarly, "quia" or "quod" is used 100% of the time by the Vulgate translator of the Mandates and 44% of the time by his counterpart for the Palatina. The nearest approach to these figures is the 36% of the Palatine translator of the Visions, (more correctly 27%, since one of the "quod" constructions included in the table is not "quod" plus indicative), the 19% of the Vulgate translator of the earlier Similitudes, and the 17% of the Palatine translator of the Similitudes.

Finally, the overwhelming preference by the Vulgate translator of the latter Similitudes for the accusative and infinitive construction (100%) and of his colleague the translator of the former Similitudes for the same construction (81%) is reflected in a similar preference by the Palatine translator of the Similitudes (70% or 78%, depending on whose figures are followed). Other translators show a much less marked preference for this construction - the translator of the Palatine Mandates 50% of the time, the Vulgate translator of Viss. I to IV only 27% of the time, his counterpart of the Palatina 18%, and the translator of the

Vulgate Mandates not at all.

In summary the four possible constructions are used as follows by the four translators who contributed to the Vulgate (VViss., VMandd., VSimm. I to VII, VSimm. IX-X) and the three who contributed to the Palatina (PVis., PMandd. and PSimm.): -

	Acc & Inf	quia, quod	quoniam	quomodo
VVis	27%	00%	<u>73%</u>	00%
VMan	00%	<u>100%</u>	00%	00%
VSim	<u>81%</u>	19%	00%	00%
VSIX	<u>100%</u>	00%	00%	00%
PVis	18%	36%	<u>45%</u>	00%
PMan	50%	<u>44%</u>	00%	06%
PSim	<u>70%</u>	17%	10%	04%

I cannot doubt that the underlined figures speak for themselves of the relationship between the Visions of the Vulgate and the Visions of the Palatina, the Mandates of the Vulgate and the Mandates of the Palatina, the Similitudes of the Vulgate and the Similitudes of the Palatina.

A final proof of the dependence of the Palatina upon the Vulgate is offered by a perusal of the twelve pairs (Good Woman/Bad Woman) in Sim. IX: xv already dealt with in the Introduction above. In the following table the first column contains the possible Latin equivalents of the Greek names, the second column the actual names given in order by the Vulgate, and the third column the actual names given in order by the Palatina.

LATIN EQUIVALENTS	VULGATE PAIRS	PALATINE PAIRS
Fides-Perfidia	Fides-Perfidia	Fides-Perfidia
Abstinencia- Intemperantia	Abstinencia- Intemperantia	Abstinencia- Intemperantia
Potestas-Stupor/ Lentitudo	Potestas- Incredulitas	Patientia- Incredulitas
Patientia-Voluptas Magnanimitas-Dulcedo	Patientia- Voluptas	Magnanimitas- Dulcedo
Simplicitas- Tristitia/Maestitia	Simplicitas- Tristitia	Simplicitas- Maestitia
Innocentia- Malitia/Nequitia	Innocentia- Malitia	Innocentia- Nequitia
Castitas-Libido	Castitas-Libido	Concordia-Libido
Hilaritas- Iracundia	Hilaritas- Iracundia	Caritas- Iracundia
Veritas-Mendacium	Veritas-Mendacium	Castitas-Mendacium
Intelligentia/ Prudentia-Stultitia	Intelligentia- Stultitia	Hilaritas- Stultitia
Concordia- Inflatio/Detractio	Concordia- Inflatio	Veritas- Detractio
Caritas-Odium	Caritas-Odium	Prudentia-Odium

The order in the Palatina can be explained in only one way - a confusion of the Greek or Vulgate order, whereby the first member of pairs number 11 and 12 have been intruded after number 6 and before numbers 7ff. But the disruption of order cannot prove dependence of the Palatina upon the Vulgate, although it does rule out dependence of the Vulgate upon the Palatina. What is crucial is the presence in both Latin versions of "Incredulitas" as the second member of the third pair, while the Greek has "Ἀπειθεία". If the Vulgate

cannot depend upon the Palatine here, clearly the Palatine must depend upon the Vulgate.

The conclusion must be that at some time during the fifth century (or perhaps a few decades after it) a trio of translators somewhere in western Europe (perhaps in north-east Italy, perhaps in southern France¹⁹) had accessible both a copy of the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* and a Greek text of the same work. Using the latter they revised the Vulgate text, in the same way as the Biblical text of the *Itala* had recently been "revised" by St Jerome - radically in the case of the revisor of the Visions, who brought the Latin text into closer conformity with the Greek; less radically in the case of the revisor of the Mandates, who amended the translation to read more freely; and not radically at all in the case of the revisor of the Similitudes - who perhaps was daunted by the magnitude of his task in comparison with those of his co-revisors!

¹⁹On the use of Greek in south Gaul during the fifth and sixth centuries see Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*. Christiana, 1875, p. 220 note 373.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS :

(1) PSEUDO-CYPRIAN ,

ADVERSUS ALEATORES

OR DE ALEATORIBUS .

The quotations from the *Shepherd* (Sim. IX: xxxi and Mand. IV: i) in the anonymous work *Adversus aleatores* (also called *De aleatoribus* or *Contra aleatores*) show the influence of the Vulgate translation, and hence witness to the transmission of that version of the *Shepherd*. The following table contains the material upon which this assertion is based:

PALATINA	ADV. ALEAT. 2 ¹	VULGATA ²
Si enim aut aliqua pecora a pastoribus dissipata, aut ipsos pastores corruptos invenerit Dominus, quid ei respondebitur?	Vae erit pastoribus. Quod si ipsi pastores negligentes reperti fuerint, quid respondebunt Domino pro pecoribus? Quid [de Domino pecora] dicent?	Vae erit pastoribus. Quod si ipsi pastores dissipati fuerint; quid respondebunt etiam ei pro pecoribus?
Numquid pastores dicturi sunt a pecoribus se vexatos? Quod nec creditur illis, quia incredibile est, pastorem aliquid pati posse a pecore; magis autem punietur propter mendacium.	A pecoribus se esse vexatos? non credetur illis: incredibilis res est pastores pati posse aliquid a pecore, magis punientur propter mendacium suum.	Numquid dicent, a pecore se vexatos? non credetur illis. Incredibilis enim res est, pastorem pati posse a pecore, et magis punitur propter mendacium suum.

¹This from Migne, J.P. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina. Tomus IV, cols. 827-856, at cols. 828-829. In line 10 Migne includes the bracketed words, which are omitted by Hartel's MSS D (Sangermanensis 841, now Parisinus 13047, saec. IX), M (Monacensis 208, saec. IX), Q (Trecensis 581, saec. VIII-IX) and T (Reginensis 118, saec. X).

²The edition used is that of Russel, *Ss. Patrum apostolicorum (Barnabae, Hermae, Clementis, Ignatii, Polycarpi) opera genuina, una cum Ignatii et Polycarpi martyriis ... cura Richardi Russel*. 2 vols. London: William Russel, 1746, Volumen Primum.

A consideration of the above three versions of substantially the same Greek original, should convince anyone that there is a relationship of dependence between the second and third columns which is not, for the most part, shared by the first column. Columns 1 and 2 start moving together only at that point at which all three columns converge; they share three items not found in column 3, namely "pecoribus" for the third column's singular; "esse", and "aliquid", omitted in the third column. None of these is significant in itself. On the other hand, the similarities between the second and third columns are highly significant. It would be difficult to assert that they represent two independent translations of the same original, in the way that columns 1 and 3 clearly do. For columns 1 and 3 have in common only a single word that does not appear in the version in the second column, namely "numquid". They also share (although in different forms) the word "dissipata/dissipati", against the second column's "negligentes".

The conclusion of the above examination must be that by the time the second column was composed, the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* was already in existence, and that the second column is dependent upon it. (It is in the nature of things highly unlikely that the Version borrowed a section that had previously been translated independently in some separate work).

The impression created by the above quotation from Sim. IX: xxxi, 5-6 in *De aleatoribus* 2 is reinforced by another quotation (attributed to "Apostolus idem Paulus ... alio loco") in *De aleatoribus* 4, a free citation of Mand. IV: i, 9. The impression here is not as overwhelming as in the case of the earlier quotation, since here it is not so much a quotation as an allusion; but nonetheless the pattern is the same. Once again the three versions of the same passage are given:-

PALATINA	ADV. ALEAT. 4 ³	VULGATA
Ille qui similia hominibus huius seculi, quos et ethnicos vocamus, facit, et ipse adulter est. Ideo si quis in eiusmodi actibus permanebit et poenitentiam non egerit, abstinebis a conversatione eius. Sin autem, et ipse in consortium delictorum eius venies.	Quicumque frater more alienigarum vivit et admittit res similes factis eorum, desine in convictu eius esse; quod nisi tu faceris, et tu particeps eius eris.	Is, qui simulacrum facit, moechatur. Quod si in his factis perseverat, et poenitentiam non agit; recede ab illa, et noli convivere cum illa: alioquin et tu particeps eris peccati eius.

With the Vulgate the *De aleatoribus* passage shares a common vocabulary in "convivere/convivium" (if this emendation is accepted) and "particeps". With the Palatina,

³Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 830. In line 13 "convictu" ("convictum" in Hartel's MS T and in the original hands of his MSS M and Q) is surely a copyist's error for "convivium", which Hartel prints in his text without manuscript authority.

on the other hand, its only common verbal factor (apart from the "et" and "eius" at the end shared by all three versions - neither of which is significant) is the "similia/similes", which certainly cannot outweigh the verbal similarities between the *De aleatoribus* and the Vulgate.

On the other hand there are certain similarities of thought (without any similarity of expression) between the Palatina and the *De aleatoribus* passage which are tantalizing.

The tradition at this point is evenly divided between those witnesses which presuppose the reading "τὰ ὁμοιώματα" (the Codex Sinaiticus, the Ethiopic and the Vulgate) and those which read "τὰ ὅμοια" (the Athous Codex, the Palatina and the *De aleatoribus*). Certainly the words "τοῖς ἔθενεσιν" fit better with the latter reading than with the former, where their exact significance is unclear. In the Codex Sinaiticus these words appear despite their apparent lack of significance. The Vulgate alone omits them.

In short, there are three types of reading at this point in the tradition:

(1) that which presupposes "τὰ ὁμοιώματα" but omits "τοῖς ἔθενεσιν" (the Vulgate);

(2) that which reads "τὰ ὁμοιώματα" but includes "τοῖς ἔθενεσιν" (the Sinaiticus);

(3) that which reads or presupposes "τὰ ὅμοια" and includes "τοῖς ἔθενεσιν" (the Athous and the Palatina).

Fortunately it is not my responsibility to suggest which of these is original. It is enough that the readings of both the Vulgate and the Palatina depend upon the Greek tradition.

The Palatina in its verbose fashion makes much of "τοῖς ἔθνεσιν", preceded by "ille qui similia", translating it in two different ways: (1) by "hominibus huius seculi" and (2) by "hominibus ... quos et ethnicos vocamus". The *De aleatoribus* is also guilty of redundancy, by stamping the erring brother (1) as one who "more alienigarum vivit" and (2) as one who "admittit res similes factis eorum" (*scil.* alienigarum). Is this double redundancy a mere coincidence of style of the two writers, or does it reflect something in the underlying tradition of the text of Mand. IV: 1? Certainty is impossible; yet what is clear is that the *De aleatoribus* presupposes "τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ἔθνεσιν" and in that respect is closer to the Palatina than to the Vulgate. The verbal similarities between the *De aleatoribus* and the Vulgate make it unlikely that the latter preserves an echo of a Greek text; more likely is it that it preserves a tradition close to our Vulgate text but embodying a different underlying Greek reading.

The problem arises in trying to determine the date and place at which the Vulgate tradition was so used. Pamelius, the first editor of the text, in 1568 suggested that the author of *De aleatoribus* might have been a bishop of Rome: "ex

hoc loco apparet alicuius pontificis Romani scriptum esse".

What coloured his thinking were expressions such as the following: "magna nobis ob universam fraternitatem cura est" and "Et quoniam in nobis divina et paterna pietas apostolatus ducatum contulit et vicariam Domini sedem caelesti dignatione ordinavit et originem authentici apostolatus, super quem Christus fundavit ecclesiam, in superiore nostro [or nostra] portamus, accepta simul potestate solvendi ac ligandi et cum ratione [or curatione] peccata dimittendi". As Funk⁴ comments, it is not surprising that in the sixteenth century these words were ascribed to a Roman bishop. Koch⁵ is one who has demonstrated the falsity of such a conclusion. Ullmann⁶ states emphatically, "The one thing which I think is certain is that this is not papal language, which also seems to be the consensus of opinion." Today, of course, it is possible to think of any bishop as the originator of such expressions. Admittedly, the place of origin must have been the home of a large and wealthy church, since its members (or the church itself) are said to own

⁴Funk, F.X. "*Die Schrift De aleatoribus*", *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 10, 1889, p. 1-22. See also the article "*Die Schrift Adversus aleatores*" in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, Vol. 2. Paderborn, 1899, p. 209ff.

⁵Koch, H. "*Zur Schrift Adversus aleatores*", *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden Karl Müller zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1922, p. 58-67.

⁶Ullmann, W. "Leo I and the theme of papal primacy", *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series 11, 1960, p. 25-51, at p. 30 note 2.

"fundi et villae"⁷. Within the Latin-speaking West only Rome and Carthage could be contenders⁸. Southern Gaul has also been suggested, but it hardly seems likely on the available evidence that the church in that area could boast members with possessions on such a scale during the third century.

It had from the beginning of critical scholarship been recognised that Cyprian was not the author of the *De aleatoribus*, largely on the basis of style, and on the citation of the *Shepherd* as "scriptura divina" and the use of the *Doctrina Apostolorum* as authoritative. Cyprian's canon of scripture was more restricted⁹. In other respects the vocabulary and ideas of the *De aleatoribus* are decidedly Cyprianic. Wölfflin¹⁰ demonstrated on linguistic grounds its dependence upon Cyprian. Haussleiter showed its affinities with the Cyprianic epistle *De virginibus* to Pomponius¹¹.

While Cyprian's works were almost certainly known in Rome, it

⁷Ch. 11. Hartel, W., ed. *S. Thasci Caecilii Cypriani opera omnia*. Pars 3, p. 103 [C.S.E.L., 3/3].

⁸So Funk, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁹So Haussleiter, J. "Berührungen zwischen der Schrift Cyprians *Ad virgines* und das Anonymous *Adversus aleatores*", in *Commentationes Woelfflinianaë*: Eduardo Woelfflino natalicia sexagesima gratulantur qui colligendo thesauro linguee latinae eo auctore per septem annos operam dederunt. Leipzig: Teubner, 1891, p. 387.

¹⁰Wölfflin, E. "Pseudo-Cyprianus (Victor) *De aleatoribus*", *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 5 (Heft 3/4), 1888, p. 487-499.

seems more likely that the *De aleatoribus* was the product of someone within his circle, one of his immediate disciples. Koch¹² enumerated the indications of Africa as the place of origin, and concluded that the work is a pre-Donatist sermon of the mid-3rd century.

Nonetheless Harnack, in his seminal work on the *De aleatoribus*¹³, ascribed the work to Rome largely on the basis of such expressions as were listed above. He went further, and on the basis of some notices about Bishop Victor I of Rome in the works of Jerome¹⁴, who implied that Victor and Apollonius were the first Christian Latin writers, ascribed the *De aleatoribus* to that bishop. This assertion elicited a well-merited flood of disagreement.¹⁵

¹¹*Op. cit.* The numeration of the epistles of Cyprian differs widely. In the edition of Erasmus this epistle is No. 11 of Book I, in that of Pamellius No. 62, while it is No. 4 in the Oxford edition by Pearson and Fell, and also in the Leipzig edition: Th. C. Cypriani opera genuina: ad optimorum librorum fidem expressa, brevique adnotatione instructa curante D.I.H. Goldhorn. Pars I: Epistolae. Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz, 1838.

¹²*Op. cit.*

¹³Harnack, A. *Der pseudo-Cyprianische Tractat De aleatoribus: die älteste lateinische christliche Schrift, ein Werk des römischen Bischofs Victor I (saec. III)*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1888 [Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, V/1].

¹⁴*De viris illustribus* 34: 59, "super quaestione paschae et alia quaedam opuscula"; Chronicle, anno 193: "Victor cuius mediocria de religione extant volumina".

¹⁵e.g. Haussleiter, J. "Ist Victor I. von Rom der Verfasser der Schrift Adversus aleatores?", *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 9, 1889, cols. 41-43 and 49-51.

It seems evident to me that a work ascribed to someone must post-date the person to whom it is ascribed, except in the most unusual circumstances. A work (even an anonymous work) that had been known for some decades before Cyprian would not readily have attracted Cyprian's name to itself. After all, there would have been readers or hearers who would have remembered knowing of it before Cyprian's time. Victor lived at the end of the second century, Cyprian in the middle of the third - a lapse of half a century or more that would have made the attribution of the *De aleatoribus* to Cyprian well-nigh impossible. Harnack later had reservations: "Ist sie nicht von Viktor, so ist sie von einem novatianischen römischen Bischof aus den Jahren 260-300"¹⁶.

McGiffert¹⁷, while expressing reservations about the details of Harnack's theory, held that he had proved "conclusively ... that the work in question cannot have been written later than the third century"; and that is today the accepted wisdom. Thus Funk¹⁸ dates it to the second half of the third century, and Altaner¹⁹ says that "the author

¹⁶*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th edition, 1909, Vol. I, p. 483, note 4.

¹⁷McGiffert, A.C. *Presbyterian Review*, 1889, p. 143-146.

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 22. In his later article he extends this to the fourth century.

¹⁹Altaner, B. *Patrology*, translated by Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder/Edinburgh & London: Nelson, 1960, p. 200.

is perhaps a Catholic bishop in Africa, writing about 300." Hilgenfeld²⁰ proposed a Novatianist bishop at the time of Constantine; and although Funk was prepared to go as late as the fourth century, and Ullmann advanced even the fifth century as a possibility, the closeness of thought in the *De aleatoribus* to that of Cyprian makes such a distance in time between him and its anonymous author unlikely.

Although in such matters certainty is not to be aimed at, it seems to me almost sure that a post-Cyprianic date, possibly within the latter third century, is the time of origin of the *De aleatoribus*; and that Carthage rather than Rome is the place at which it was written. This would make *De aleatoribus* the earliest (with the *Vita Cypriani*) witness to the existence of the Vulgate version of the *Shepherd*.

²⁰Hilgenfeld, A. *Libellum De aleatoribus*. Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1890.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(2) PONTIUS : *VITA CYPRIANI* .

It has already been stated, in the section on the Vulgate version, that the *Vita Cypriani per Pontium* bears testimony to the existence of a Latin translation of the *Shepherd* in North Africa during the latter third century. It remains to justify that assertion¹.

Firstly there is the apparent dependence of chapter 16 (in the *Acta Sanctorum* chapter 33) of the *Vita* on Vis.

III: i, 4. The texts are as follows:-

VERSIO PALATINA	VITA CYPRIANI	VERSIO VULGATA
Vidi scamnum positum eburneum, et supra scamnum cervical lineum, et supra scamnum sparsum carbasinum.	Sedile autem erat fortuito linleo tectum, ut et sub ictu passionis episcopatus honore frueretur.	Et video subsellium positum; erat cervical lineum; et super linleo expansum carbasinum.

It will be seen that the similarity is in ideas, not in words; although the two versions (which share the words "positum", "cervical lineum" and "carbasinum") are plainly closer to each other than either is to the account in the *Vita*. Significantly, perhaps, the *Vita* has (apart from the verb "erat") the substantive "linleo" in common with the Vulgate; it has no verbal similarities at all with the Palatina. Of course this is a mere allusion at best, not a direct citation.

¹The text of the *Vita Cypriani* in both cases is from the *Acta Sanctorum*. Septembris tomus quartus. Paris/Rome: Victor Palme, 1868, cols. 325-332, respectively pages 331 and 329.

The thesis of a relationship between the *Vita* and the Latin *Shepherd* is reinforced by the possibility that chapter 11 (chapters 20 and 21 in the *Acta Sanctorum*) of the *Vita* is dependent upon Sim I. The texts are as follows:-

VERSIO PALATINA	<i>VITA CYPRIANI</i>	VERSIO VULGATA
Scitis quod peregre habitatis vos omnes servi Dei. Civitas enim vestra longe ab hac civitate posita est... Haec enim qui comparat in hac urbe, non cogitat in urbem suam redire...	Illis patria nimis cara et commune nomen est cum parentibus: nos parentes ipsos, si contra Dominum suaserint, abhorremus. Illis extra civitatem suam vivere gravis poena est; Christiano, totus hic mundus, una domus est. Unde licet in abditum et abstrusum locum fuerit relegatus, admixtus Dei sui rebus, exilium non potest computare. Adde, quod Deo integre serviens, etiam propria in civitate peregrinus est.	Scitis vos, Domini servos in peregrinatione morari? Civitas enim vestra longe est ab hac civitate ... Haec enim qui comparat in hac civitate, non cogitat poena in suam civitatem redire...
Nolite igitur exterarum gentium iucunditates adpetere; inconveniens autem est vobis servis Domini; sed magis propriam abundantiam exercete in his ex quibus possitis consequi gaudium.		Divitias ergo gentium nolite cupere; perniciosae sunt enim servis Dei; de propriis autem quas habetis, ea agite, quibus possitis consequi gaudium.

Once again the similarity (if the similarity be admitted) is in ideas rather than words, in the notion of the Christian as a "peregrinus" (But once again it is worth noting that the verbal affinities of the *Vita* are with the Vulgate, not the Palatina). If Pontius knew Sim. I he would be the first

witness in North Africa to its existence there, for the (Greek) text of the *Shepherd* known to Perpetua, Saturus and Tertullian comprised only the Visions, Mandates and latter Similitudes. We postulated that the former Similitudes must have been known in Africa at the time that they were translated for the Vulgate version, presumably contemporaneously with the translation of the other sections of that version - so during the course of the third century. Since there is no indication that Pontius could read or understand Greek, he must have known Sim. I (if indeed he knew it at all) in Latin; so by the time he wrote the entire *Shepherd* had been translated.

This is admittedly a considerable weight to place upon two allusions (at best) which might be merely fortuitous echoes of the *Shepherd*; but the picture produced is consistent with what we know from other, more clearly defined, sources.

The *Vita Cypriani per Pontium* was, the work itself proclaims, written by an attendant upon Cyprian in his banishment, A.D. 258. According to Jerome², this attendant was the deacon Pontius. This identification seems unlikely; Altaner³ dismisses the work as "historically

²*De viris illustribus*, 68: "Pontius, diaconus Cypriani, usque ad diem passionis eius cum ipso exilium sustinens egregium volumen vitae et passionis Cypriani reliquit."

³Altaner, B. *Patrology*, translated by Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder/Edinburgh & London: Nelson, 1960, p. 193.

very unreliable". This fact casts doubt upon the contemporaneity of the author with the events he describes. Some⁴ want to date the work to as late as the middle of the 4th century, and to see Rome as its birthplace. Harnack, however, suggested⁵ that the fact that the author of the *Vita* knew of the existence of the official *Acta* but did not use them, points to a period not long after the death of Cyprian. Certainty is impossible. A date at the end of the 3rd century or beginning of the 4th seems a likely compromise, since a closer determination is not required for our purposes.

It has already been noted that Rome was claimed by von Soden as the birthplace of the *Vita*. It is of course true that Cyprian was a hero to certain circles in Rome, as well as to almost all in North Africa; but on the grounds of subject-matter an African provenance seems more likely. In favour of Rome there might also be claimed the dependence detected by Corssen⁶ upon the Octavius of Minucius Felix; but that work has as one of its principal characters a Numidian (Caecilius), another probably an African (Octavius), and

⁴So von Soden, quoted in Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, Vol. III, p. 367, note 2.

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 367.

⁶Corssen, P. "Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 18, 1917, p. 118-139, 202-216, at p. 135ff.

Knowledge of the work (if Corssen is correct in detecting dependence of the *Vita* upon it) in North Africa at the end of the third century is not unlikely. That this is so is emphasized by Sage⁷, who saw the Octavius as directed to an audience in Cirta. "Of what importance was Caecilius or Octavius at Rome, or even at Carthage? What direct impact would his conversion have had on an elite pagan audience? ... The evocation of the dead Octavius would be especially telling in a milieu in which he was well-known. Cirta, rather than Rome or Carthage, is the likely candidate". It is in fact not unlikely that Cyprian himself had used the Octavius in his *Ad Donatum*⁸.

Everything else points to North Africa as the place of origin of the *Vita*. First there is the fact that Cyprian is the matter. Second, as Koch⁹ pointed out, it is apparent that the author of the *Vita* knew, and was influenced by, the *Passio Montani et Lucii* and the *Passio Mariani et Iacobi*, as well as that of Perpetua and Felicity. All of these were African martyrs; the first four were contemporaries of Cyprian. So marked are the affinities

⁷Sage, M.M. *Cyprian*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1975. The quotation is from p. 71.

⁸*Idem*, p. 57-60.

⁹Koch, H. *Cyprianische Untersuchungen*. Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1926, p. 75.

¹⁰D'Ales, A. "Le diacre Pontius", *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1918, p. 319-378.

between these works and the *Vita* that d'Ales¹⁰ claimed Pontius as the author of the *Passiones Mariani et Iacobi* and *Montani et Lucii*, as well as of the pseudo-Cyprianic works *Quod idola non dii sunt* and *De laude martyrii*.

Accordingly the writing of the *Vita* is probably to be placed in North Africa in the latter half of the third century. For our purposes it supplements the witness of the *De aleatoribus* to the existence of a Latin version of the *Shepherd* in that place at that date.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(3) ANONYMOUS (PSEUDO - CYPRIAN)

DE SINGULARITATE CLERICORUM .

Zahn¹ makes the following comment:

"Die mit Cyprians Werken verbundene Schrift *De singularitate clericorum* zählt jedenfalls viel weiter hergeholte Schriftgründe für diese Bitte auf, als es eine Berufung auf sim. 13, 11 sein würde. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass c. 28 gegen eine solche gerichtet, also die Schrift zu einer Zeit geschrieben ist, als man den Hirten im Abendlande noch kannte. Es will ohne diese Annahme nicht recht einleuchten, wie der Verfasser von dem Beispiel des ehelosen Lebens der Engel, worauf sich die Gegner beriefen, zu dem Satz kommt: Sed nos nullum angelum audimus contra Paulum apostolum. Etsi, inquit, ego aut angelus Dei aliter evangelizaverit etc. Die Lehrautorität eines Engels war also benutzt worden; warum nicht die des Pastor angelicus?"

Chapter 28 of *De singularitate clericorum* reads as

follows²:

"Post hoc edictum utinam confidant sibi Angelorum exempla conducere. Nos jam non valent flectere, qui novimus et Angelos cum feminis cecidisse. Ab ipsis equidem bene patrocinia mutantur, sed nos nullum Angelum audimus contra Paulum apostolum: Etsi, inquit, ego aut Angelus Dei aliter evangelizaverit vobis, praeterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit. Insaniunt prorsus, ardent desiderio feminarum, quotquot huic interdictioni non cedunt; et obscoenitatibus inhiantes, malunt mori, quam contenti sint a lateribus mulierum aliqua disjunctione divelli: ut ad explendam suae aviditatis ingluviem etiam puncto temporis non sint sine feminae voluptate: et hunc habent in mulieribus fructum, ut in illis semper defixa intentione, desideria satient oculorum, ne vel momentum aliquod transeat, quando indigeant quod affectant. Sic inter eos integritas emoritur; ubi omnis commoratio, sive convivendo, sive commanendo corruptis affectionibus inquinatur. Quos sanctus Petrus apostolus designavit, dicens: In conviviis suis luxuriantes, oculos habentes plenos moecharionibus, et incessabilibus delictis, capientes animas infirmas. Hos etiam ita Salomon

¹Zahn, T. *Der Hirt des Hermas untersucht*.
Gotha: Berthes, 1868, p. 181 note 2.

²Text from J.P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series prima. Tomus IV, cols. 855-870, at 857-858.

denotat: Abominatio est, inquit, coram Domino defigens oculum. Plane contra, purum oculum testatur se habere Job, qui ait: Et si oculis consensit cor meum. Verum enimvero ille potest suis oculis obnoxius non teneri; cui nolenti repentinus occursum mulieris scandalum moverit, quod protinus mens quod nolebat expellit. Ille autem commotionem sui visus non meretur evadere, qui apud se scandali materiam tenet, qui vult intentionis suae affectibus frui, qui affectat habere quod oculis offensionem ingerat, quorum aviditas inexplicabilis inter offendicula continua nullo modo potest omnino compesci; quod Salomon approbat, dicens: Infernus et interitus non satiantur, similiter oculi hominum insatiabiles sunt. Et in alio loco: Non satiatur oculus videndo. Et iterum: Nequius oculo quid creatum est?

There is admittedly little here (apart from "no angel whom we have heard") that brings to mind immediately any part of the *Shepherd*; but it is certainly worth bearing in mind Zahn's feeling (apparently against his better judgement - note the concessive "also die Schrift zu einer Zeit geschrieben ist, als man den Hirten im Abendlande noch kannte") that there is some connection, however vague the allusion might be.

What is strange, though, is that, if the author of *De singularitate clericorum* had known the *Shepherd*, he did not make greater use of it. Sim. IX: xi, mentioned by Zahn, would surely have been useful ammunition for his cause: the human interlocutor of the *Shepherd* spending the night among the twelve maidens in prayer. On the other hand, he might have neglected to use this passage precisely because there is no indication that the human interlocutor was a cleric. Certainty is impossible; only Zahn's subjective

feeling against his own better judgement is in favour of regarding the *De singularitate clericorum* as a witness to the *Shepherd*.

De singularitate clericorum has survived not only among the works of Cyprian (Paris 13331, olim Sangermanensis 839, 9th century; Paris 1654 and 1659, both 12th/13th century), but also in MSS where it is attributed to Origen (in Vindobonensis 1064, 13th century), to Augustine, and even to Bede³. This of course makes dating it and identifying its place of origin on the basis of its transmission history doubly difficult. A date on the basis of internal evidence alone has to be arrived at. Of such internal evidence there is only one piece that can bear close examination: the statements at the end of chapter 4 and in chapter 5 which imply state persecution, and the mention of martyrs in chapters 34 and 35. If this state persecution had been directed against the whole church, the period before the Constantinian Peace is indicated; hence the third century or very early in the fourth century.

On the other hand it has been suggested that *De singularitate clericorum* derives from a schismatic group, which could have been subjected to state persecution even after the Peace of the Church. G. Morin⁴ suggested a

³Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweiter, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 389, 691, 720.

Donatist bishop in Rome as the author; F. von Blacha⁵ preferred Novatian. H. Koch⁶ reviewed all alleged evidence for a schismatic author, and I find overwhelmingly persuasive his rejection of such an hypothesis. So if the work proceeds from the Great Church, it must date from a time before the Constantinian Peace.

Legislation in the West regarding clerical celibacy can be traced back to canon 33 of the Council of Elvira (at the beginning of the fourth century?). In 386 Bishop Siricius of Rome required celibacy for "priests and levites"; his successor Innocent I (402-417) repeated the requirement. The fourth century was clearly a time at which this issue was receiving much attention from the ecclesiastical authorities.

Altaner⁷, following Koch, states emphatically that our work "was written by a Catholic bishop not later than the third century." With such a date (provided that it is held to be towards the end of the third century) I cannot disagree. The pseudo-Cyprianic *Adversus Aleatores*, a probable contemporary, makes clear that the *Shepherd* in

⁴*Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, p. 236f.

⁵Von Sdralek, ed. *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*. 1904, Band II, p. 193-256.

⁶Koch, H. *Cyprianische Untersuchungen*. Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1926, p. 426-472, at p. 428-443.

⁷Altaner, B. *Patrology*: translated by Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder/London & Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960, p.200.

Latin was well-known in Africa at that date.

Africa seems the most likely place of origin, given not only the suggested knowledge of the *Shepherd* but also the attribution to Cyprian and Augustine, and the demonstrated dependence upon the works of Cyprian and Tertullian⁸.

The fact that Africa seems to have had the most extreme ecclesiastical legislation on clerical celibacy during the fourth and fifth centuries may be regarded as corroboration. In Africa at this time celibacy was required of all clergy down to the rank of subdeacon, whereas in Rome it appears to have been required only of the higher clergy (bishops and presbyters)⁹.

In short, it may be that in *De singularitate clericorum* we have yet another witness to the existence of the *Shepherd*, probably in North Africa, and almost certainly in Latin, by the end of the third century. Although the evidence that the author of that anonymous work knew the *Shepherd* is weak, such knowledge would cohere with what we already know from the *De aleatoribus* and the *Vita Cypriani*.

⁸See Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 454-465, for a review of the evidence.

⁹So Cross, F.L., ed. *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*. Corrected edition. London: O.U.P., 1958, s.v. "Celibacy of the Clergy".

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(4) COMMODIAN : *INSTRUCTIONES
ADVERSUS GENTIUM DEOS .*

Transmitted under the name of one Comodian in a 9th-century Frankish MS (Berolinensis lat. 167; olim Mediomontanus 1825; olim Cheltenhamensis; olim bibliotheca Meermanniana cod. 708) is a poetic work in two books entitled "*Instructiones adversus gentium deos pro Christiana disciplina*"¹.

Poem 30 of Book I contains the following lines (13-16)²:

"Exuite, diuites, tantis malis Deo perversos,
Subueniat utique tibi, qui nunc operati si forte.
Estote communes minimis, dum tempus habetis;
Sicut ulmus amat uitem, sic ipsi pusillos."

Of itself the image of the elm loving the vine hardly proves dependence upon Sim. II of the *Shepherd*; as Grobel³ proved and as has already been mentioned above in that section dealing with Clement of Alexandria, the method of viticulture here implied was a commonplace in the ancient world and hence in classical literature. Grobel cites

¹A second mediaeval MS, "ex musaeo Laurentii Pignorii Patavini", mentioned by Montfaucon at the end of the 17th century as containing the "*Instructiones*", has since disappeared. At the beginning of the 17th century Jacques Sirmond had made a copy of this same work from a MS that he called "Andegavensis"; this seems to be the same MS as the one which has survived. From Sirmond's copy two descendants, Paris lat. 8304 and Leidensis (Vossianus lat. 49), were written during the course of the 17th century, and the editio princeps was printed (ed. Nicholas Rigaltius. Toul, 1649).

²*Comodiani Carmina*: ed. J. Martin. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960 [Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 128].

³Grobel, K. "*Shepherd of Hermas, Parable II*", *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, 1, 1951, p. 50-55.

⁴*Naturalis historia* XVII, 23: "nobilis vina non nisi in arbustis gigni et in his quoque laudatiora summis sicut uberiora imis. adeo excelsitate proficitur. Hac ratione et arbores eliguntur. prima omnium ulmus, excepta propter nimiam frondem atinia," etc.

examples from Pliny⁴, Virgil⁵, Horace⁶, Juvenal⁷, Seneca⁸, Ovid⁹, Columella¹⁰ and Polybius¹¹ of the elm being used as support for vines.

What does imply dependence upon the *Shepherd*, though, is the fact that this image is applied to the relationship between rich and poor, just as it is in Sim. II.

Another possible allusion to the *Shepherd* (Mand. X) is found in poem 13 (or 17) of Book II of the *Instructiones*. The relevant passage reads as follows (ll. 15-16):

"Esto ergo talis, qualem uult esse te Christus:
Mitis et in illo hilaris, nam saeculo tristis."

Compare with this Mand. X: iii, 1 in the Vulgate version:

⁵*Georgics* I, 2: "ulmisque adjungere vites".

⁶*Carmina* IV: v, 30: "et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores".

⁷*Satire* VIII, 78 (Grobet cites this as "8, 18"): "stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos"; cf. *Satire* VI, 150: "ulmosque Falernas".

⁸*Epistle* LXXXVI, 20: "Illud etiam nunc vidi, vitem ex arbusto suo annosam transferri . . . tenent et complexae sunt non suas ulmos".

⁹*Metamorphoses* XIV, 661-666: "ulmus erat contra speciosa nitentibus uvis:/ quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit,/ "at si staret" ait "caelebs sine palmite truncus,/ nil praeter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet;/ haec quoque, quae iuncta est, vitis requiescit in ulmo:/ si non nupta foret, terrae acclinata iaceret".

¹⁰*De re rustica* III, 4.

¹¹*De Italia*, (*Historia* XXXIV: ii, 1) preserved in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes* I, 57: "Πολύβιος δὲ διάφορον οἶνον ἐν Καπύῃ φησὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀναδενδρίτην καλούμενον, ᾧ μηδένα συγκρίνεσθαι."

"Indue te ergo hilaritate, quae semper habet gratiam apud Dominum, et laetaberis in ea. Omnis enim hilaris vir bene operatur, et bona sapit, et contemnit injustitiam."

and in the Palatine version:

"Indue te itaque hilaritatem, quae semper Deo grata est, et est illi probabilis, et in illa gloriare. Omnis autem hilaris homo operatur bene, et semper quae bona sunt cogitat, et contempnit tristiam."

Indeed, the whole of the tenth Mandate could be adduced as a parallel to line 16.

A third allusion might be found in poem 21 (or 25) of Book II, which reads (line 4):

"Aut facite legem ciuitatis aut exite de illa".

The same expression is put into the mouth of the "lord of this city" in Sim. I, 3, which reads in the Vulgate version,

"Aut legibus utere meis, aut recede de civitate mea."

and in the Palatine version,

"In urbe mea nolo ut consistes, sed exi de ea, quia non pares legibus nostris."

Individually these allusions might appear weak, but cumulatively they have force. Harnack¹² had no doubt that Commodian knew the *Shepherd*. To him the reference to the elm and the vine was decisive; the echo of Mand. X was simply confirmation. The application of the elm-and-vine image to the relationship between rich and poor in both

¹²Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Teil 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 53: "Commodian hat in den *Instruct.* I, 30, 16 den Hermas benutzt".

Instructiones and Sim. II, combined with the other possible allusions, makes it probable in my opinion that there is a relationship of dependence between the two works.

An entire literature has built up disputing the date at which and place in which Commodian wrote¹³, 14, 15, 16, 17.

The poet himself seems to indicate that Christianity had been in existence for some two centuries (or two "saecula", i.e. 2 x 117 = 234 years) when he wrote (Book I poem 6); but this has certainly not decided the matter of date.

Gennadius¹⁸, in the later fifth century, knew the name:

"Commodianus, while he was engaged in secular literature read also our writings and, finding opportunity, accepted the faith. Having become a Christian thus and wishing to offer the fruit of his studies to Christ the author of his salvation, he wrote, in barely tolerable semi-versified language, *Against the pagans*, and because he was very little acquainted with our literature he was better able to overthrow their

¹³Heer, J.M. "Zur Frage nach der Heimat des Dichters Commodian", *Römische Quartalschrift*, 19, 1896, p. 64-93.

¹⁴Ramundo, G.S. "Quando visse Commodiano?", *Archivio della Reale Societa Romana di Storia Patria*, 24, 1901, p. 373-391; 25, 1902, p. 137-168.

¹⁵Brewer, H. *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians*. Paderborn, 1910.

¹⁶Martin, J. *Studien und Beiträge zur Erklärung und Zeitbestimmung Commodians*. Berlin, 1913 [T.U. xxxix/4].

¹⁷Martin, J. *Traditio*, 13, 1957, p. 1-71.

¹⁸*De viris illustribus* 15. The translation is from P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds. *A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1979, Vol. III, p. 388-389.

[doctrine] than to establish ours. Whence also, contending against them concerning the divine counterpromises, he discoursed in a sufficiently wretched and, so to speak, gross fashion, to their stupefaction and our despair. Following Tertullian, Lactantius and Papias as authorities he adopted and inculcated in his students good ethical principles and especially a voluntary love of poverty."

It is not easy to identify the work "Against the pagans" with the *Instructiones* on the basis of this description. Both works admittedly are semi-versified (in that the metrical system of the latter is based on stress rather than quantity) and written in "barely tolerable" language and in a "gross fashion"; but their contents do not at first sight seem to match.

However, the authorship of the *Instructiones* is put beyond doubt by the fact that its authorship is revealed in the last poem of Book II (35 or 39). The entire work is written in acrostic poems; the acrostic of the last (which bears the name "Nomen Gasei" (or "Gazei" or "Gazaei") is
 ITSIRHC SVCIDNEM SVNAIDOMMOC, which read backwards yields
 COMMODIANUS MENDICUS CHRISTI. That this is significant is shown by the last line of the work:

"Curiositas docti inueniet nomen in isto."

The meaning of "Gasei" cannot possibly be related to Gaza. Why would a native of Gaza write in Latin? (unless, of course, he were an Ammianus Marcellinus). Instead Harnack¹⁹ convincingly suggested that "Nomen Gasei" be

¹⁹*Op. cit.*, Buch III, p. 436.

interpreted as equivalent in meaning to "Commodianus mendicus Christi", that he bore also the name "Gasei", a Semitic name, and was hence "ein latinisierter Punier" from Africa.

Certainly if he knew the *Shepherd* Africa was the likeliest place to find that work in Latin; and the latter third or early fourth century would be the time at which it appears to have been circulating (as we have seen from the *De aleatoribus*, the *Vita Cypriani*, and the *De singularitate clericorum*). Not everyone would agree with this determination of date and place, as the titles of Ramundo's books²⁰, of Brewer's earlier work on the subject²¹, and of Courcelle's article²², make clear. But internal evidence seems to point in that direction. As Gennadius discerned, Commodian has affinities with Lactantius; had they been contemporaries, Commodian would have lived in the first decades of the fourth century. Commodian was writing at a time when "martyrdom" no longer necessarily meant the shedding of blood: he could spiritualise the concept, as he does in Book II poem 17 (or 21) and elsewhere²³. On the other hand, the martyrdom of

²⁰Ramundo, G.S. *Commodiano e la reazione pagana di Giuliano Apostata*. Rome, 1901; *Commodiano e Giuliano Apostata*. Rome, 1901.

²¹Brewer, H. *Kommodian von Gaza: ein Arelatenischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts*. Paderborn, 1906.

²²Courcelle, P. "Commodien et les invasions du V^e siècle", *Revue des Etudes Latines*, 24, 1946, p. 227-246.

blood is not so far behind as to allow some still alive to boast,

"With our blood we have overcome the wicked one"²⁴.

Poem 2 (or 6) of Book II says that

"Hatreds are accounted impious by martyrs for the flame.
The martyr is destroyed whose confession is of such a kind".

The continuation of the passage from poem 13 (or 17) of Book II already quoted is as follows:

"If thou wishest to be refreshed, give help and encouragement to the martyr".

Lastly, poem 16 (or 20) of the second book reads,

"The brother labours in arms with a world opposed to him".

The reality of martyrdom is within the memory of the author and his readers. All of this points to a time early in the fourth century when the Peace of the Church had been established, perhaps for some time, but the memory of the persecutions was still vivid.

External evidence is not of much help in determining date and place of composition of the *Institutiones*. Gennadius's comments are clearly derived from a knowledge of the work,

²³Cf. Book I poem 42, where martyrdom is wholly future, at the end of the age; Book II poem 3 (or 7), where "Many are the martyrdoms which are made without shedding of blood"; and Book II poem 21 (or 25), where "there is peace in the world".

²⁴Book II poem 17 (or 21). The translation (like other translations from the *Instructiones* herein) is from Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J., eds. *The ante-Nicene fathers*. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1979, p. 215.

not from other sources. The *Decretum Gelasianum* is the only other source in antiquity which betrays a knowledge of Comodian and his work, and, as that cannot be exactly dated, it does not help much.

We cannot go far wrong (at least as far as the tracing of the transmission of the *Shepherd* is concerned) if we postulate that the copy of that work known to Comodian was in Latin, was being circulated in Africa, and was seen by him during the first half of the fourth century. This coheres with what we already know of the existence of a Latin translation of the *Shepherd* from the other sources we have already examined.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(5) THE CHONOGRAPHER OF A . D . 354 :

CATALOGUS LIBERIANUS .

The *Catalogus Liberianus*¹ is a list (with brief annotations against each name) of the bishops of Rome until Liberius (352-366). It is natural to assume with Mommsen² that it was compiled by a contemporary of Liberius, a contemporary whom Mommsen called the Chronographer of A.D. 354. Mommsen ascribed to this same hand *inter alia* a list of consuls to A.D. 354³; an Easter table from A.D. 312 to 411, but with errors after A.D. 354⁴; a list of the city prefects of Rome for the century up to A.D. 354⁵; a list of the death-dates and burial-places of the Roman bishops from Lucius (A.D. 255) to Julius (A.D. 352)⁶; a Roman martyrology⁷ including some names from the early fourth century; and a secular chronicle⁸ down

¹I use the *Laterculus episcoporum Romanorum* as printed on p. 73-76 of *Chronica minora saec. IV.V.VI.VII* edidit Theodorus Mommsen. Vol. 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892 [Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi ix/1].

²Mommsen, T. "Über den Chronographen vom Jahre 354", *Abhandlungen der Königlich-sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historischen Classe*, 1, 1850, p. 547-693.

³Fasti consulares a regibus exactis ad a. 354, *Chronica minora*, p. 50-61.

⁴Cyclus paschalis ab a. 312 in annos centum, *Idem*, p. 62-64.

⁵Laterculus praefectorum urbis Romae ab a.p. Chr. 254 ad a. 354, *Idem*, p. 65-69.

⁶Depositiones episcoporum Romanorum ab a. 255 ad a. 352, *Idem*, p. 70.

⁷Feriale ecclesiae Romanae, *Idem*, p. 71-72

⁸Chronica urbis Romae, *Idem*, p. 141-148.

to the death of the emperor Licinius in A.D. 325.

There seem to be several chronological divides within this collection. The Easter tables, for example, start with the year A.D. 312 - just within living memory for someone writing 42 years later, and perhaps even more significantly the date at which Constantine became senior ruler of the Empire after the Battle of Milvian Bridge. An uninterrupted recording each year of the date of Easter from that event onwards was clearly available to the Chronographer. Confusions in the dates after A.D. 354 are obviously explicable as incorrect calculations of future occurrences of Easter.

Another chronological divide occurs a century before the date of writing in both the listing of the City Prefects and of the death-dates and burial-places of the bishops of Rome. The Decian persecution seems to have marked the divide here (that is, if the Chronographer of 354 was not simply looking for a nice round figure); presumably since that event the Roman church had kept a detailed list in its archives of bishops and their contemporary city-prefects, a list which was available to the Chronographer.

For the period prior to A.D. 254 the Chronographer could apparently rely on no such official records of the Roman church. There have been attempts to lend authority to statements for this earlier period by ascribing them to the lost-Chronicle of Hippolytus; but the value which can be

placed upon such statements can best be gauged by an assessment of what is said of the *Shepherd* (with the Vulgate and Palatine versions of *Vis. V*, 1-2 for comparison):

PALATINA	LIBERIAN CATALOGUE	VULGATA
	Sub huius [Pii] episcopatu frater eius Hermes ⁹ librum scripsit, in quo mandatum continetur, quae ¹⁰ ei praecepit angelus, cum venit ad illum in habitu pastoris.	
Cum orassem domi et consedissem supra lectum, intravit vir quidam facie dignitosa, habitu pastorali, amictus pelle alba, peram gestans in humero et virgam in manu. et salutavit me, et ego resalutavi eum, protinusque consedit iuxta me et ait mihi: Missus sum ab illo venerabili nuntio, ut habitem tecum reliquos dies vitae tuae.		Cum orassem domi, et consedissem supra lectum, intravit vir quidam reverenda facie, habitu pastorali, pallio albo amictus, peram in humeris, et virgam in manu gestans, et salutavit me. Et ego resalutavi eum. Protinusque consedit juxta me; et ait mihi: Missus sum ab eo venerabili nuntio, nuntio, ut habitem tecum reliquos dies vitae tuae.

Harnack says of this¹¹: "In dem auf das *Chronicon*

Hippolyts zurückgehenden Catalog. Liberian. . . heisst

⁹Hermes, Bruxellensis 7524-7555, saec. XVI, against Sangallensis 878, saec. IX; Argentoratensis iam Bernensis 108, saec. X; Vindobonensis 3416, saec. XV; Ambianensis 407, saec. XVI.

¹⁰mandatur contineturque quod, Bruxellensis 7524-7555.

¹¹Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, Band I, p. 52.

es: "Sub huius [Pii] episcopatu frater eius Hermas librum scripsit, in quo mandatum continetur, quod ei praecepit angelus, cum venit ad illum in habitu pastoris." **Diese Angabe findet sich in verschiedenen Abwandlungen in den Recensionen des Liber Pontif. und in römischen Heiligenverzeichnissen."**

It will be noticed firstly that the source of this notice did have some knowledge, direct or indirect, at least of Vis. V. Less likely is that Vis. V was known in a Latin version (common to the account in the Liberian Catalogue and the Versions are the words "cum ... habitu pastor[is]"). But the truly determining indication that the author of the notice in the Liberian Catalogue did not know the *Shepherd* at first hand is the statement that "mandatum [singular] continetur" in it. No-one with a first-hand knowledge of the work could have made such a statement.

It remains then to determine the source from which this author derived his knowledge of the *Shepherd*. The selfsame words as are here quoted from the *Shepherd* - "in habitu Pastoris" appear in I, 3 *ad finem* of Perpetua's vision (which was almost certainly known to the Chronographer or his sources, since the Calendar lists "depositio martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae" on the nones of March). The mention of the Mandate [sic] might be derived from Irenaeus's use of Mand. I, 1 twice in his *Adversus*

Haereses, or from Origen's use of the same passage twice in *De Principiis*, or even from the quotations in Athanasius's works. At least Irenaeus and Origen had been translated into Latin by the mid-fourth century.

In short, it is difficult to believe that the Chronographer of A.D. 354, or his source (if any), had first-hand knowledge of the *Shepherd* whether in Greek or in Latin. Much more likely is that he derived his knowledge at second-hand from the *Passio Perpetuae* and the writings of fathers such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(6) AMBROSE :

HEXAEMERON BOOK III .

Chapter 12 paragraph 50 of book III of the *Hexaemeron* by St Ambrose (ca. 339-397) reads as follows¹:

Hujus est similis plebs Ecclesiae, quae velut quadam fidei radice plantatur, et reprimitur humilitatis propagine, de qua pulchra ait Propheta: "*Vineam ex Aegypto transtulisti, et plantasti radices ejus, et replesti terram: operuit montes umbra ejus, et arbusta ejus cedros Dei: extendisti palmites ejus usque ad mare, et usque ad flumen propagines ejus*". Et per Esaiam ipse Dominus locutus est dicens: "*Vinea facta est dilecto in cornu, in loco uberi: et maceriam circumdedi, et circumfodi vineam Sorech, et aedificavi turrin in medio ejus*". Circumdedit enim eam velut vallo quodam coelestium praeceptorum, et angelorum custodia. Immittet enim angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum. Posuit in Ecclesia velut turrin apostolorum et prophetarum atque doctorum, qui solent pro Ecclesiae pace praetendere. Circumfodit eam, quando exoneravit terrenarum mole curarum. Nihil enim magis mentem onerat, quam istius mundi sollicitudo et cupiditas vel pecuniae vel potentiae. Quod tibi demonstratur in Evangelio cum legis, quia illa mulier quae habebat spiritum infirmitatis, inclinata erat ut sursum respicere non posset. Curvata enim erat anima ejus, quae inclinabatur ad terrena compendia, et coelestem gratiam non videbat. Respexit eam Jesus, et vocavit, et statim mulier onera terrena deposuit. His cupiditatibus etiam illos oneratos fuisse demonstrat, quibus ait: "*Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam*". Ergo illa anima mulieris quasi circumfossa respiravit, et erecta est.

Harnack² appears to claim that this passage contains an echo of Sim. V: ii, 5 of the *Shepherd*. The passage in question (in the two Latin versions) is juxtaposed with its alleged echo in the *Hexaemeron*:

¹Migne, J.P., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series prima. Tomus xiv. Paris: Migne, 1845, cols. 176-177.

²Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 56. He simply states: "*Ambrosius ... schreibt: "Circumdedit enim vineam [sic] velut vallo quodam caelestium praeceptorum et angelorum custodia" (cf. Sim. V, 2,5).*"

PALATINA

Et cum vineae
palos iunxisset
et animadvertet
eam herbis
repletam, coepit
secum cogitare
dicens: Haec
quidem peregi
quae dominus meus
mihi praeceperat;
fodiam et nunc
vineam hanc, ut
sit formosior,
extractisque
herbis majorem
fructum dabit,
non suffocata
ab illis.

Coepit deinde et
effodit omnes
herbas quae in ea
erant. Quibus
extractis coepit
ita vinea illa
esse speciosissima
ac laeta, nec
suffocata
ab herbis.
Verum cum post
aliquantum
temporis dominus
eiusdem rediens in
vineam intrasset
et vidisset
decenter eam
depalatam ac
defossam,
extractisque
herbis laetas esse
vites, coepit
propter servi
factum gaudere.

HEXAEMERON

Huius est similis
plebs Ecclesiae,
quae velut quadam
fidei radice
plantatur, et
reprimitur
humilitatis
propagine.
Circumdedit enim
eam velut vallo
quodam coelestium
praeceptorum,
et angelorum
custodia. Immittet
enim angelus
Domini in circuitu
timentium eum.
Posuit in Ecclesia
velut turrim
apostolorum et
prophetarum atque
doctorum, qui
solent pro
Ecclesiae pace
praetendere.
Circumfodit eam,
quando exoneravit
terrenarum mole
curarum. Nihil
enim magis mentem
onerat, quam
istius mundi
sollicitudo et
cupiditas vel
pecuniae vel
potentiae.
His cupiditatibus
etiam illos
oneratos fuisse
demonstrat.
Ergo illa anima
mulieris quasi
circumfossa
respiravit, et
erecta est.

VULGATA

Cumque depalasset
vineam illam, et
animadvertisset eam
herbis repletam,
coepit secum ita
cogitare, dicens:

Peregi quod mihi
praeceperat
dominus; fodiam
nunc vineam hanc,
et erit formosior
cum fuerit fossa;
et extractis
herbis, majorem
dabit fructum,
et non suffocabitur
ab herbis.

Adgressus deinde
fodit, et omnes
herbas quae in ea
erant, extraxit;
atque ita evasit
vinea speciosissima
ac laeta non
suffocata ab herbis.

Post aliquantum vero
temporis venit
dominus ejus, et
ingressus est vineam;

quam cum depalatam
vidisset decenter, ac
circumfossam, et
extractas herbas ab
ea, et laetas esse
vites; ex facto hoc
servi sui gaudium
cepit.

It is impossible to find in the *Hexaemeron* passage either verbal echoes of this Sim. V extract or evidence of ideas common to the two writings, apart from the vineyard setting (in itself certainly not enough to prove dependence) and the coincidence (it can surely be no more) that the only two words that the passages have in common (fodit and circumfossa) occur in the same order.

On the other hand, there are ideas in the *Hexaemeron* passage which might be thought to allude to the *Shepherd* as a whole. The idea of heavenly precepts and a guard of angels certainly brings the Mandates to mind; while the tower set within the Church might recall Vis. III and Sim. IX (but in Ambrose the tower is not the Church itself, as in Vis. III, or the Heavenly Man, as in Sim. IX, but the apostles and prophets and teachers). However, the possibility that "caelestia praecepta" and "angelorum custodia" might have derived from the Mandates is too remote to affirm with any degree of certainty the dependence of St Ambrose upon the *Shepherd*.

The *Hexaemeron*, says Altaner³, was written some time during the last decade of St Ambrose's life, after 388. There is no evidence from any other source that the *Shepherd* in either Latin or Greek was known in Italy at

³Altaner, B. *Patrology*: translated by Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder/Edinburgh & London: Nelson, 1960, p. 447.

the end of the fourth century; and the affinities between the *Hexaemeron* and (a part of) the *Shepherd* are so vague as to be quite incapable of proving such knowledge, although the possibility must be entertained that Ambrose had such knowledge.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(7) RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA :

EXPOSITIO SYMBOLI .

The *Shepherd* of Hermas is mentioned, of course, in the translations from Greek to Latin of the works of Origen and of Eusebius made by Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia (ca. 345-410). In addition there is a mention of the *Shepherd* in one of Rufinus's original works, the *Expositio Symboli*. Chapter 36 (*al.* 38) of that work reads as follows¹:-

"Sciendum tamen est quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt, ut est: Sapientia, quae dicitur Solomonis, et alia Sapientia, quae dicitur filii Sirach: qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali uocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo uocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturae qualitas cognominata est. Eiusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae et Iudith, et Machabeorum [sic] libri. In nouo uero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris siue Hermae, et is qui appellatur Duae uiae, uel Iudicium secundum Petrum. Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis uoluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ceteras uero scripturas apochryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesia legi noluerunt. Haec nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita opportunum uisum est hoc in loco designare ad instructionem eorum, qui prima fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant ex quibus sibi fontibus uerbi Dei haurienda sint pocula."

"But it should be known that there are also other books which our fathers call not "Canonical" but "Ecclesiastical": that is to say, Wisdom, called the Wisdom of Solomon, and another Wisdom, called the Wisdom of the Son of Syrach, which last-mentioned the Latins called by the general title Ecclesiasticus, designating not the author of the book, but the character of the writing. To the same class belong the Book of Tobit, and the Book of Judith, and the Books of the Maccabees. In the New Testament the little book which is called the Book of the Pastor of Hermas, [and that] which is called The Two Ways, or the Judgement of Peter; all of which they would have read in the Churches, but not appealed to for the confirmation of doctrine. The other writings they have named "Apocrypha". These they would not have read in the Churches.

¹*Tyrannii Rufini opera*, recognouit Manlius Simonetti. Turnhout: Brepols, 1961, p. 171 [Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 20].

"These are the traditions which the Fathers have handed down to us, which, as I said, I have thought it opportune to set forth in this place, for the instruction of those who are being taught the first elements of the Church and of the Faith, that they may know from what fountains of the Word of God their draughts must be taken"².

Thus Rufinus assigns the *Shepherd* to an intermediate class of literature, one neither canonical nor apocryphal but "ecclesiastical". The question of where he got this three-fold division of Christian writings from needs to be addressed. Eusebius is the obvious answer.

The first point in the *Ecclesiastical History* at which Eusebius specifically addressed the question of canonicity for Christian writings was Book III Chapter 3, "On the letters of the apostles". His terminology, while not yet technical, is sufficiently clear in its implications. He groups the letters as follows³:-

- 1) The first epistle of Peter is "admitted" (ἀνωμολόγηται), and was used by the ancient presbyters as "unquestioned" (ἀναμφιλέκτος). "I recognize only one as genuine and admitted by the presbyters of old" (μόνην μίαν γνησίαν ἔγνω ἐπιστολήν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὁμολογουμένην).
The fourteen letters of Paul (Romans, I & II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philipians,

²Translation from *A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1979, Volume III, p. 558.

³Translations are from the Loeb edition: *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History*: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. London: Heinemann, 1926, repr. 1965.

Colossians, I & II Thessalonians, I & II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews) "are obvious and plain" (πρόδηλοι και σαφείς) (this is immediately qualified as regards Hebrews, though).

- 2) The so-called second epistle of Peter "we have not received as canonical (οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον), but nevertheless it has appeared useful to many, and has been studied with other Scriptures".
 "Some dispute (ἤθετήκασι) the Epistle to the Hebrews".
 "Nor have I received his [Paul's] so-called Acts among undisputed books (ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις)".
 The Shepherd "is rejected (ἀντιλέκεται) by some, and for their sake should not be placed among accepted books (ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις), but by others it has been judged most valuable, especially to those who need elementary instruction. For this reason we know that it has been used in public in churches, and I have found it quoted by some of the most ancient writers".
- 3) Of the Acts of Peter, the Gospel according to Peter, the Preaching of Peter and the Revelation of Peter "we have no knowledge at all in Catholic tradition".

The first group has attached to it expressions such as "undisputed", "unquestioned", "obvious". I Peter and thirteen of the Pauline epistles belong in this group.

The third group is equally clear: it comprises those writings which are not known by orthodox fathers.

The second group is an amorphous one: to it belong works which have been quoted by orthodox fathers, but which are not universally received, to which the epithets of the first group cannot honestly be applied. II Peter, Hebrews, the *Acts of Paul* and the *Shepherd* belong here. Of these

four writings Eusebius clearly favoured the second, but was too honest an historian to admit it without further ado into the first category (where he would have liked it to be).

In chapter 24 Eusebius deals with the Johannine writings:

- 1) "The first of his epistles has been accepted without controversy (ἀναμφίλεκτος ὡμολόγηται) by ancients and moderns alike",
- 2) "but the other two [epistles] are disputed (ἀντιλέγονται)" [i.e. they belong in the second category], "and as to the Revelation there have been many advocates of either opinion up to the present" [i.e. it too belongs in the second category].

Chapter 25 of Book III presents a useful summary of Eusebius's categories. That these are his personal constructs, and not merely borrowed from the common mind of the Church, is shown by the frequent occurrence of the first person in every place where canonicity is discussed.

- 1) The Recognized Books (ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις) are the four gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline epistles (the number is carefully not stated), I John and I Peter.
"In addition to these should be put, if it seem desirable, the Revelation of John".
- 2) "The Disputed Books (ἀντιλεγόμενοι) which are nevertheless known to most" are James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John.
"Among the books which are not genuine (ἐν τοῖς νόθοις)" are the *Acts of Paul*, the *Shepherd*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*⁴, *Barnabas*, the

⁴This is the same work as in chapter 3 of Book III was classed in the third category; here it has migrated into the second. It appears that Eusebius's consistency leaves something to be desired.

Didachai, and Revelation and Hebrews (if they are not included in the first category). "These would all belong to the disputed (τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων) books . . . yet nevertheless are known to most of the writers of the Church". A distinction has been drawn within the second category between those disputed books "known to most" and those disputed books which are "not genuine". Nonetheless they are still within one category.

- 3) The third category comprises "the writings which are put forward by heretics" such as the *Gospels* of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, and the *Acts* of Andrew and of John. "To none of these has any who belonged to the succession of the orthodox ever thought it right to refer in his writings . . . They ought, therefore, to be reckoned not even among the spurious books (ἐν νόθοις) but shunned as altogether wicked and impious".

The terms which Eusebius applies to the various categories have already been mentioned. The first category is "recognized", "undisputed", "unquestioned"; the third category is "unknown to ancient writers". Within the second category are works "disputed", "spurious", "not genuine" which are nonetheless known to at least some of the ancient orthodox writers. The *Shepherd* belongs very clearly to this category.

In Book III chapter 16 Eusebius appears to add another work to the first category:

- 1) "There is one recognized (ὁμολογουμένη) epistle of Clement . . . We have ascertained that this letter was publicly read in the common assembly in many churches both in the days of old and in our own time". The first sentence of chapter 39 reinforces this judgement: "Thus the recognized (ὁμολογουμένη) writing of Clement is well known"; and in Book IV chapter 23 he quotes the words of Dionysius of Corinth regarding the public reading of this epistle.

- 3) In chapter 38 Eusebius deals with other writings ascribed to Clement, which appear to belong to the third category: "It must be known that there is also a second letter ascribed to Clement, but we have not the same knowledge of its recognition as we have to the former, for we do not even know if the primitive writers used it. Some have also quite recently put forward other verbose and long treatises, purporting to be Clement's, containing dialogues with Peter and Apion, but there is absolutely no mention of them among the ancient writers nor do they preserve the pure type of apostolic orthodoxy".

Yet not one of these works appears in Eusebius's summary in chapter 25. It is difficult to see why Eusebius should have included the *Shepherd* in his list of Recognized and Disputed books but omitted *I Clement*. Apparently perfect consistency is not to be looked for at this stage in the development of the canon. If apostolic or semiapostolic authorship was essential, the *Shepherd* qualified: for, as Eusebius explains in Book III chapter 3, the "Apostle in the salutations at the end of Romans has mentioned among others Hermas, whose, they say, is the Book of the Shepherd". So did *I Clement*: for in *H.E.* III: iv, 9 Eusebius affirms that of Clement "who was himself made the third bishop of the church of Rome, it is testified by Paul that he worked and strove in company with him." In ch. 15 of Book III the association of Clement with Paul is reaffirmed: "The apostle states that he [Clement] had been his fellow-worker in his epistle to the Philippians saying, "With Clement and my other fellow-workers whose names are written in the book of Life"." Finally in Book V chapter 5 he writes of Clement

that "He had seen the blessed apostles and conversed with them and the teaching of the apostles still rang in his ears, their tradition was held before his eyes." If anything, Clement was even more qualified to be counted as semiapostolic than Hermas was; yet nothing is said of his epistle in the consideration of the canon.

Rufinus retains exactly the same three categories as Eusebius, although he gives them different names: the Recognized Books now become those "quae patres intra canonem concluderunt et ex quibus fidei nostrae adsertiones constare uoluerunt"⁵. The number has increased considerably from Eusebius's list, as one would expect given the century which separates them: those books about which Eusebius himself had had doubts (such as Hebrews and Revelation), and which he had known as Disputed (such as James, Jude, II Peter and II and III John) are now clearly canonical. Eusebius's Disputed Books now become "libri . . . qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt". The books which Eusebius had listed here (other than those which subsequently became canonical) were the *Acts of Paul*, the *Shepherd*, *Barnabas*, and the *Didachai*. Perhaps the *Apocalypse of Peter* (the one about which Eusebius appears to have changed his mind) would also have fallen into this category rather than into the third. In Rufinus this category is represented by "libellus qui dicitur Pastoris

⁵*Expositio Symboli* 35 al. 37, ad finem.

siue Hermae" and "is qui appellatur Duae uiae, uel Iudicium secundum Petrum". This latter could represent our *Didache*, or our *Epistle of Barnabas*, or both, since both have an extensive section devoted to the "Two Ways". The only work which Eusebius definitely included in his second category, and which Rufinus excludes from his, is the *Acts of Paul*. Perhaps by the beginning of the fifth century pseudonymity was in itself suspect; this would explain the exclusion from Rufinus's list of not only the *Acts of Paul* but also of *Barnabas* and of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Finally, Eusebius's third category of books unknown to the orthodox fathers becomes in Rufinus "Ceteras uero scripturas apochryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesia legi noluerunt". Rufinus does not list these books; but it would not be impossible to guess that the New Testament section would include the *Gospels of Peter, Thomas and Matthias*, the *Acts of Andrew, John and Peter*, the *Preaching of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (as in Eusebius), with the addition of the *Acts of Paul*.

It seems to me impossible to doubt the dependence of Rufinus upon Eusebius in the matter of these lists, as well as in the grouping of them into canonical, semi-canonical and non-canonical categories. Given this dependence, it is also impossible without supporting evidence to regard Rufinus as an independent witness to the transmission of the *Shepherd*, whether in Greek or in Latin. As Harnack put

it, "Zu den selbständigen Zeugen kann auch Rufin nicht gerechnet werden, der sein Wissen dem Origenes, Eusebius und Athanasius verdankt"⁶.

⁶Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 57.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(8) PROSPER AQUITANUS :

CONTRA COLLATIONES .

John Cassian, resident during the last two decades of his life in Marseilles, while there wrote the *Collationes*, his account of conversations with monks in the Egyptian desert. In *Collationes* XIII, 12 he had had the temerity to use a quotation from the *Shepherd* to prove that "adiacere homini in quamlibet partem arbitrii libertatem".

As this was directed, consciously or otherwise, against the doctrines of St Augustine, Cassian was immediately dismissed by his contemporaries as a semi-Pelagian, and became the butt of the defenders of orthodoxy. The fact was that he had laid himself open to such an attack by his use of the *Shepherd* to bolster his position. Every theologically educated person in the West knew (since Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*¹) that the *Shepherd* was not a canonical book; and so the author of *Contra Collationes* 13, 30 pointed out in no uncertain terms:

"Post illud autem nullius auctoritatis testimonium, quod disputationi suae de libello Pastoris inseruit, ex quo ostendere voluit" etc.

Gennadius² attributed the *Contra Collationes* to Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390-463):

"I regard as his also an anonymous book against certain works of Cassianus, which the church of God finds

¹See on this Oulton, J.E.L. "Rufinus's translation of the Church History of Eusebius", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 30, 1929, p. 150-174.

²*De viris illustribus*, 85.

salutary, but which he brands as injurious, and in fact, some of the opinions of Cassian and Prosper on the grace of God and on free will are at variance with one another"³.

Subsequent ages have accepted Gennadius's opinion on the authorship of the *Contra Collationes*; but precision is not important for our purposes. What is clear is that the author is simply repeating a judgement on the *Shepherd* made by other authorities, not by himself. There is no indication whatever that he had any first-hand knowledge of the text of the *Shepherd*. It is a reasonable guess that Eusebius in Latin translation was his source.

Of Hermas and the *Shepherd* Eusebius had had this to say:

"It should be known that this also is rejected by some, and for their sake should not be placed among accepted books" (*H.E.* III: iii, 6)⁴;

and,

"Among the books which are not genuine must be reckoned the Acts of Paul, the work entitled the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to them the letter called of Barnabas and the so-called Teaching of the Apostles" (*H.E.* III: xxv, 4).

In short, it would be futile to call upon Prosper as witness to the existence in Gaul during the mid-fifth century of a text of the *Shepherd*, whether in Greek or in Latin.

³Translation from *A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1979, Volume III, p. 399.

⁴Translation from the Loeb edition: *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History*: with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake. London: Heinemann, 1929, repr. 1965.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(9)

ANITICUS MANLIUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS :

DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE .

In two (substantially identical) recent articles^{1,2} Theodore Bogdanos drew parallels between the literary function of the Lady (the Church) in the Visions of the *Shepherd* of Hermas and that of Philosophy in the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius (ca. 480-524). He carefully refrained from postulating any direct literary dependence of the one upon the other; but such dependence is presupposed by his argument.

Boethius spent the last decade of his life in prison at Pavia, in north-western Italy, not far from Milan. It was while there that he wrote the *Consolation of Philosophy*. If in principle there is no convincing argument that can be advanced against St Ambrose's having had access to a Vulgate translation of the *Shepherd* in that area at the end of the fourth century, there is equally in principle no convincing argument that can be advanced against Boethius's having had access to the same translation in the same area a century and a quarter later. A copy of the Vulgate translation must have been circulating somewhere along the northern shores of the Mediterranean during the fifth century (or the early decades of the sixth) to have given rise to the Palatine translation.

¹"The *Shepherd of Hermas* and the development of medieval visionary allegory", *Orpheus*, 22, 1975, p. 57-75.

²"The *Shepherd of Hermas*" and the development of medieval visionary allegory", *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8, 1977, p. 33-46.

There is an alternative route by which Boethius could have gained a knowledge of the *Shepherd*, viz *via* Greek.

Much of his literary life was devoted to the dissemination of Greek works in the Italy of his day. It will be shown below (in our discussion of P. Berol. 5513) that there was probably a Greek exemplar of the *Shepherd* in northern Italy during the seventh century, and that this was copied at Ravenna by the same scribe who copied the Bobbio Mathematical Fragment. A Greek exemplar of the *Shepherd* must have been available to the translators of the Palatine version during the fifth century or just after. It is not inconceivable that the same Greek copy of the *Shepherd* was known to Boethius at the beginning of the sixth century.

In short, although Bogdanos does not insist upon Boethius's knowing the *Shepherd* at first hand, there is no reason to preclude such knowledge on his part.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(10) *VITA SANCTAE GENOVEFAE .*

If the earliest indirect attestation of the Latin Vulgate version of the *Shepherd* is afforded by the *De aleatoribus*, probably the earliest indirect attestation of the Palatine version is the *Life* of St Genevieve, Patroness of Paris, who traditionally lived at the time of the invasion of Gaul by the Huns in the middle of the fifth century. This *Life* claims to be contemporary; but, as Donald Attwater remarks¹, "its authenticity and value are the subject of much discussion". David Hugh Farmer² is more emphatic: "the *Life* which purports to be contemporary was written some centuries after her death ... Some scholars maintain the traditional date and value of the *Life*, see G. Kurth, 'Étude critique sur la Vie de sainte Geneviève' in *Études Françaises*, ii (1919), 1-96". If Farmer is right in maintaining that the *Vita* postdates its heroine by "some centuries" it cannot possibly be a 6th-century product, as Harnack³ suggests in passing ("c. 530").

¹*The Penguin dictionary of saints*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965, p. 147.

²*The Oxford dictionary of saints*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978, repr. 1979, p. 165. Critical editions of the *Life* have been edited by B. Krusch in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, iii, 1896, p. 204-238 (Text A); by C. Kohler, *Étude critique sur le texte de la vie latine de Saint Geneviève*, 1881 [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, xlvi] (Text B); and by C. Künstle, *Vita Sanctae Genovevae*. Teubner edition, 1910 (Text C); see also *Lives* by C.H. Lesetre, *Les Saints*. 1900; by A.D. Sertillanges (Paris, 1917) and by Mme Reynès-Monlaur (Paris, 1924); also N. Jacquin, *Sainte Geneviève, ses images et son culte*. 1952.

The matter of date is of some importance for our purposes, as the *Life* contains the first certain quotation from the Palatine version of the *Shepherd* (Sim. IX: xv). The similarities in content (these two sources have two names lacking in the Greek and the Vulgate) and order (the fact that they agree against the Vulgate as to the relative position of Concordia and Caritas) makes this dependence all but certain.

For comparison, the original Greek order (found without variation in the Athous and the Ethiopic) is as follows: Faith (Πίστις), Abstinence (Ἐγκράτεια), Power (Δύναμις - the Vulgate here follows the Greek), Patience (Μακροθυμία), Simplicity (Ἀπλότης), Innocence (Ἀκακία), Chastity (Ἀγνεία), Cheerfulness (Ἰλαρότης), Verity (Ἀλήθεια), Intelligence or Prudence (Σύνεσις), Concord (Ὁμόνοια), and Charity (Ἀγάπη). The Vulgate accurately reflects both the content and the order of the Greek list. This fact, of course, makes any agreements between the Palatine version and the *Vita* all the more significant.

The matter is complicated by the presence of two somewhat variant orders within different texts of the *Vita*⁴.

³Harnack, A. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958, p. 57.

One order transposes "Patientia" and "Magnanimitas" in the third and fourth positions respectively. This transposition is not significant, since (as was shown above in the Introductory section on the two Tower Visions) these two terms are doublets of the original Μακροθυμία. There is also disagreement on the relative positions of "Prudentia" and "Disciplina"; but since the former is the Palatine term (the Vulgate uses "Intelligentia" to translate Σύνεσις) and the latter is unique to the *Vita*, neither variation in order is significant for our purposes.

The passage⁵ (with the Vulgate translation for comparison in the third column) is as follows:-

PALATINA	VITA GENOVEFAE	VULGATA
Et dixi ei: Monstra mihi, domine, nomina virginum harum, vel illarum mulierum quae nigra veste vestitae sunt. et dixi mihi: Audi nomina harum	Duodecim enim virgines spirituales, quas Hermas qui et Pastor nuncupatus est in libro suo descripsit, ei individuae comites exstitere, quae ita nominatur:	Et dixi: Demonstra mihi, Domine, nomina virginum harum, et mulierum illarum, quae nigra veste sunt indutae. Audi, inquit,

⁴"Alia vita ex veteribus MSS", *Acta Sanctorum . . . quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Johannes Bollandus*. Januarii tomus primus. Paris: Victor Palme, 1863, p. 143-147 at caput iv. 13, p. 144, reads as follows: "Fuerunt ei hae virgines comites spiritales, his vocabulorum nominibus nuncupatae: Fides, Abstinencia, Magnanimitas, Patientia, Simplicitas, Innocentia, Concordia, Prudentia, Caritas, Veritas, Disciplina; omni illi vitae suae tempore cohaerentes."

⁵The text is taken from *Idem*, "Vita ex veteribus MSS", p. 138-143 at caput iv. 15, p. 139.

virginum quae
sunt potentiores,
quaeque stant in
angulis portae.
haec sunt nomina
earum:

prima Fides,
secunda
Abstinencia,
tertia Patientia,
quarta
Magnanimitas.

illae autem aliae,
quae iuxta ipsas
sunt, his nominibus
vocantur:

Simplicitas,
Innocentia,
Concordia,
Caritas,

Castitas,
Hilaritas,
Veritas et
Prudentia.

Fides,
Abstinencia,
Patientia,
Magnanimitas,

Simplicitas,
Innocentia,
Concordia,
Caritas,
Disciplina,
Castitas,

Veritas et
Prudentia.
Hae fuerunt
indissociabiles
et indivisae
Genovefae.

nomina virginum
quae potentiores
sunt, quae
obtinuerunt
angulos portae.
Haec sunt: Prima
vocatur Fides;
secunda Abstinencia;
tertia Potestas;
quarta Patientia;

caeterae autem quae
infra has consistunt,
his nominibus
vocantur:

Simplicitas;
Innocentia;

Castitas;
Hilaritas;
Veritas;

Intelligentia;
Concordia;
Caritas.

It will be seen immediately that the lists in all three
sources have the following names in common in the same order:

Fides, Abstinencia, Patientia, Simplicitas, Innocentia,

Castitas (missing in the second version of the *Vita*),

Veritas. The names Concordia and Caritas also occur in all

three, but in different relative positions: after Innocentia

in the Palatine version and the *Vita* (with the intrusion

of Prudentia between Concordia and Caritas in the second

version), but after Veritas in the Vulgate. Two names are

common to the Palatine version and the *Vita*, Magnanimitas

and Prudentia. One name is found in both translations but not in the *Vita*: Hilaritas. The *Vita* has a name (Disciplina) not found in the other two sources, while the Vulgate has two names (Potestas and Intelligentia) not found in the other two sources.

It would be difficult to place any interpretation upon these facts other than that the *Vita* is quoting the Palatine version of the *Shepherd* (or some proto-Palatine version). We know from the leaf found in 1956 in the Dusseldorf University Library and Archives, which was dated on palaeographic grounds to the eighth century, that the Palatine version was in existence by that date (i.e. before the Carolingian renaissance). That was the earliest direct attestation of the Palatine version thus far found. The *Vita Sanctae Genovefae* is probably the earliest indirect attestation thus far found; but all that can be said on the basis of the *Vita* is that the Palatine version was in existence before the *Vita* was written. Scholars of the subject seem unable to agree whether that was in the sixth century (as Harnack and Kurth would maintain), or in the seventh, or even in the eighth (as Farmer appears to suggest).

It is clear, though, that the Palatine version was produced some time before the eighth century, and thence spread to the Rhineland (the Dusseldorf fragment), the Seine valley (where

no doubt the *Vita Sanctae Genovefae* was written), and the British Isles (where the document used by the compilers of the Irish Canon Collections was probably indited). As time must be allowed for such a spread to have taken place (the source of the Irish Canon Collection must have been written during the seventh century at the latest), it is more likely that the Palatine version was a sixth-century product than that it is a seventh-century product. The earlier one dates the *Vita*, the earlier one would have to date the Palatine version. If the *Vita* was written during the seventh century, the balance of probability would place the Palatine version in the sixth century (presupposing some time for the spread of the new version); while if the *Vita* is a sixth-century product, one would have to push the Palatine version back towards (or into) the fifth century. We are clearly dealing here with two unknowns, and it is in the present state of knowledge impossible to eliminate either of them. All that can be asserted with assurance is that the Palatine version must antedate the eighth century. The *terminus a quo* of the *Vita* is the end of the fifth century (the death of St Genevieve); if it was written almost contemporaneously with the events it describes, the Palatine version must have been in existence by that date. Greater precision is impossible.

The *Vita* may be (as I believe it is) the earliest witness to the existence of the Palatine version, or that place may

instead belong to the Irish Canon Collection or the
Dusseldorf fragment.

THE WESTERN TRADITION :

(2) THE LATIN FATHERS .

(11) RUBEN OF DAIR-INIS
AND CÚ-CHUIMNE OF IONA :

COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS

Preserved in a Breton manuscript¹ dated to either the eighth² or the tenth-eleventh³ century is a collection of canons attributed as follows:⁴ "Hucusque Ruben et cv cui miniae et durinis". Brunhölzl⁵ has no hesitation in making of this attribution "Rubin von Dairinis ("Eicheninsel", +725) und Cú-cuimne von Iona (+747), der Dichter des Marienhymnus *Cantemus in omni die*", regarding these two men as the authors or compilers of the collection. If he is correct, the attribution gives us a valuable determination of date of the collection in the form in which it appears in the manuscript in question.

Collections of canons were by their very nature subject to change almost every time they were copied. The copyists were pragmatists, not antiquarians; they were concerned to collect and preserve what was relevant and authoritative for their church. It is therefore not surprising that the Irish canon collection published by Wasserschleben appears in at least four substantially different forms:-

¹Paris. B.N. lat. 12021, *olim* Sangermanensis 121. It has a colophon containing two Breton names, as well as a couple of glosses in Breton.

²By Knust, according to Wasserschleben.

³By Maassen, according to Wasserschleben.

⁴Wasserschleben, H. *Die irische Kanonensammlung*. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1885, repr. 1966, p. xxxi.

⁵Brunhölzl, F. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Erster Band. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975, p. 191.

- 1) the "ordinary version" as printed from MS. Sangallensis 243, a collection in 67 books.
 - 2) a Frankish version which ends at Book 38. 18.
 - a) This form exists in two MSS (Cameracensis 619, saec. VIII, and Coloniensis 2178, *olim* Darmstadt 127, saec. VIII).
 - b) There is also an abbreviated version of this form in two MSS: one (saec. XI) from Tours which contains Books 1, 12-22 and 24-38 and Carnotensis 127 (saec. XI) which contains Books 1, 12, 14-22, 24-34, 36 and 38.
- 3) an "expanded version" as found in Valicellanus A. 18
 - a) (saec. X),
 - b) and also in somewhat differing forms in Monacensis cod. lat. 4592 (saec. IX) and Vindobonensis 522;
 - c) in Paris cod. lat. 12444 (*olim* Sangermanensis 938, saec. IX) and Monacensis cod. lat. 14508 (saec. IX aut X);
 - d) in Bodleianus Hatton. 42 (*Liber Sancti Dunstanti*, Irish canons saec. X) and in Cottonianus Otho E. XIII (saec. X aut XI);
 - e) and in Vaticanus 1349.
- 4) substantial extracts, as found in the Reichenau MS Carlsruhensis XVII (saec. X ad init.), which contains Books 17.16 to 42.13; in Monacensis cod. lat. 14468 (saec. IX) and Vindobonensis 2232 (saec. X), which contain Books 38, 40, 27, 29, 28, 66, 17 and 64; and in Matritensis A. 151 (saec. XI), which contains Books 8, 1, 2, 37, 1, 42, 17, 59, 47 and 2.

What concerns us are the "ordinary version" and the "expanded version(s)", both of which contain extracts from the *Shepherd* (Mand. IV: i, 4-8) in the following form⁶:-

⁶Book 46 c 15. MS Valicellanus A. 18 omits this chapter.

⁷A confusion between "domo" and "Domino" is easy to conceive, given the contractions commonly used by copyists.

IRISH CANON COLLECTION.

Hieremias dicit ad pastorem angelum: Permite mihi, Domine, ut te pauca interrogem. Dic, inquit. Si uxorem quis habeat, Domine, in domo⁷ fidelem et eam postea deprehenderit adulteram, quaero an peccet vir, si cum ea vivet? Et dicit mihi: Quamdiu delictum illius non cognoverit, non peccat, si autem peccatum illius cognoverit, et mulier penitentiam delicti sui non egerit, sed in sua nequitia perseveraverit, delinquet vir, si cum ea vivet et particeps conscientiae illius fiet. Quid, inquam, faciet maritus, si uxor ejus in eodem vitio permanserit? Dimittat, inquit, eam, et ipse contineat. Quodsi dimissa illa aliam duxerit uxorem, et ipse adulterium committit. Si autem, inquam, Domine, posteaquam ab eo dimissa est mulier, penitentiam agat, et ad maritum suum reverti voluerit, non recipiatur? Et dixit mihi: si recepta non fuerit, peccat maritus, et grande in se delictam admittit. Omnis enim, qui penitentiam delictorum suorum agit, recipit veniam.

Servis enim Domini una penitentia venia indulgetur. Igitur maritus post divortium uxoris aliam non debet recipere, nec penitentiae occasionem mulieri auferat, haec res tam viro quam mulieri communis est.

VERSIO PALATINA.

Dico illi: Permite mihi, Domine, ut te pauca interrogem. Dic, inquit. Domine, si uxorem quis, inquam, habeat in domino fidelem et eam postea adulteram deprehendat, quaero an peccet vir, si cum illa vivat. et dixit mihi: Quamdiu delicta illius ignoraverit, non peccat; si autem illius peccatum cognoverit, et mulier poenitentiam sui non egerit, sed in eadem nequitia perseveraverit, delinquet vir si cum ea vivat, et particeps conscientiae ejus fiet. Quid ergo, inquam, faciat maritus, si uxor in eodem vitio perseveraverit? Dimittat, inquit, illam, et ipse [se] contineat. quodsi dimissa illa aliam uxorem duxerit, et ipse adulterium committit. Si autem, inquam, domine, posteaquam ab eodem dimissa est mulier, et gerit poenitentiam et ad maritum suum reverti voluerit, non recipietur? et dixit mihi: Si recepta non fuerit, peccabit maritus et grande in se delictam admittet. omnis quae poenitentiam delictorum agit, recipi quidem cum venia debet, sed non ad singula; servo enim dei una poenitentia venia indulgetur. ideo ergo maritus post divortium uxoris aliam non debet ducere, ne poenitentiae occasionem mulieri auferat. haec res tam viro quam mulieri communis est.

Two chapters before the above extract occurs another⁸,
this time from Mand. IV: iv, 1-2:-

IRISH CANON COLLECTION.

Hieremias: Interrogavi
denique eum et dixi: Domine,

mulier vel vir, si
dormitationem acciperit unus
ex illis, et alter post
mortem alterius nuptias
cognoverit, si eum hoc
fecerit, peccavit an non?
Et ait: mihi non peccat, sed
si continuerit se et sic
permanserit, magnam gloriam
adquiret apud Deum, et si
nuptias fecerit, non peccat.

VERSIO PALATINA.

Interrogavi deinde illum et
dixi: Domine, quaternus per
patientiam tuam mihi
indulgere coepisti, etiam hoc
mihi explana. et dixit mihi:
Dic. et dixi illi: Mulier,
domine, vel vir, dormitionem
si acceperit unus ex illis et
alter post mortem alterius
nuptias cognoverit, quaero
si, cum hoc fecerit, peccat
aut non. et ait mihi: Non
peccat. sed si continuerit
se et sic manserit, magnam
sibi gloriam acquirit apud
deum; nam si nuptias fecerit,
non peccat.

That these extracts are derived, directly or indirectly, from
the Palatine version of the *Shepherd* seems to me to
require no further demonstration. The questions now to be
determined are when and where an exemplar of that version was
so used.

Wasserschleben⁹ states, "*Die Abfassung der Sammlung
ist wohl in das Ende des 7. oder den Anfang des 8.
Jahrhunderts zu setzen.*" Manitius¹⁰ dates the

⁸Book 46 c 13b. This is preceded by c 13a: "Agustinus:
Secundas nuptias propter incontinentias jubet apostolus
dicens: Melius est viro nubere, quam explenda libidine cum
pluribus fornicari; sepius enim nubendi licentia non est
religionis, sed criminis."

⁹*Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

Collection "um 700" and its author "s. VII-VIII in."

Brunhölzl¹¹ also dates the collection "um 700".

Given the fact that "Der jüngste in den Zusätzen citirte Autor ist ... der Erzbischof Theodor von *Canterbury* (+690)"¹², the collection in its

"ordinary form" cannot be any younger than A.D. 700. This "ordinary form", in addition to the basis of Wasserschleben's edition (the 254 small folio pages of the MS written at St Gall by Eadberct in the ninth century), occurs in the following MSS:-

- 1) on p. 33-127 (95 small folio pages) of the Breton MS Paris. lat. 12021 already mentioned (dated to the eighth or tenth-eleventh centuries);
- 2) an Orleans MS of the tenth century (not further described by Wasserschleben; his knowledge of it was derived at second hand from Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge);
- 3) on p. 19-160 (142 large folio pages) of the Irish¹³ MS Paris. lat. 3182 (Bigot. 89), dated by different authorities to the ninth-tenth¹⁴, tenth-eleventh (Maassen) or eleventh-twelfth (Knust) centuries;
- 4) on 28 leaves (56 pages) of the (Anglo-Saxon?) MS Br. Mus. Cottonianus Otho E. XIII of the tenth or eleventh century,

¹⁰Manitius, M. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Erster Teil*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1911, p. 127 and p. 210.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, p. 191.

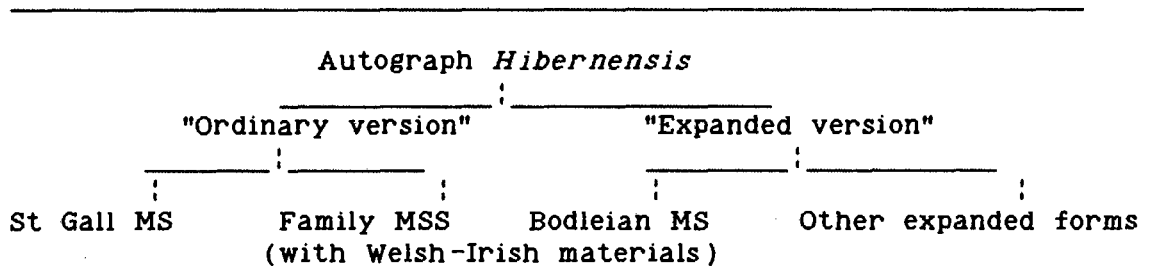
¹²Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

¹³So Wasserschleben; Carlini, A. "Due estratti del Pastore di Erma nella versione Palatina in *Par. lat.* 3182", *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 35, 1985, p. 311-312, is adamant that it is a Breton MS, "proveniente dall'Abbazia della S. Trinità di Fécamp".

¹⁴*Idem*, p. 311.

formerly a possession of the monastery of St Augustine, Canterbury.

Each of the above MSS (I am not sure of the contents of the Orleans MS) also contains the collection of Welsh and Irish statutes and conciliar acts found in the ninth- or tenth-century MS Cameracensis 576. This fact points to their being a family. But the picture is complicated by two further facts. The first is that the Cotton MS which contains the "ordinary version" also contains, in a different hand, extracts from the "expanded version" of the *Hibernensis* in 69 books which is also found on p. 1-130 of MS Bodleianus Hatton. 42 (the *Liber Sancti Dunstani* written by "Wulfric cild" in the tenth century). The second is that this Hatton MS also contains the Welsh and Irish statutes found in the MSS which contain the "ordinary version". The conclusion forced upon one is that the above "family" is at best at two removes from the autograph of the *Hibernensis*, as the following diagram will make clear:-



It is a fair bet that the place of origin of the Collection was somewhere within the Irish sphere of influence. This of course included (at least in the seventh century) western

Scotland and northern England. Loofs¹⁵ guessed at Northumbria as the place of origin of the *Hibernensis*; if Brunhölzl's identification of the compilers is correct, south-west Scotland or north-east Ireland seems more likely.

But our trail has not yet come to an end; for the passage from the *Shepherd* which appears in the Irish Canon Collection occurs also in a collection of canons from the Old Testament, the New Testament and the fathers (not from synods or councils) on pages 11 to 109 of MS Cantabrigiensis, Corpus Christi Coll. 279 (*olim* O.20), which Wasserschleben¹⁶ dates to the ninth century, but Manitius¹⁷ to the ninth or tenth century. Of this Wasserschleben¹⁸ says, "p. 21.22. steht ein Kapitel aus dem Pastor des Hermas mit der Inscription: Hieremias dixit as Pastorem, aus welchem XLVI. 15 ein Theil mit derselben irrigen Inscription aufgenommen ist."

Pages 159 to 192 of the same codex (made up, probably, of twelve quaternion gatherings, and so written at a single session, as it were) contains extracts from the *Poenitentiale Theodori*, with a large number of extracts

¹⁵*De antiqua Britonum Scotorumque ecclesia*. Leipzig, 1882, p. 76 note 1, quoted by Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

¹⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

from the *Hibernensis* included. There are thus two works in the same codex which show affinities with the Irish Canon Collection.

Wasserschleben¹⁹ sees the first of these works as "eine Kopie oder ein Auszug einer älteren Sammlung ist, welche der Verfasser der *Hibernensis* benutzt hat. . . . Es ist übrigens sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Handschrift selbst nur eine Abschrift einer älteren grösseren Sammlung ist, welche in der *Hibernensis* theilweise benutzt worden ist".

The trouble is that this theory does not explain the presence in the *Hibernensis* of the extract in 46.13b from Mand. IV: iv. Wasserschleben's *apparatus* does not show this passage as being present in the *Cantabrigiensis*; so if his theory is correct, we have to postulate that the compilers of the *Hibernensis* derived 46.15 from the collection represented in the *Cantabrigiensis* (which in turn had taken the passage from the Palatine version of the *Shepherd*), but derived 46.13b directly from a copy of the Palatine version which they happened to have at hand. Surely a happier solution would be to posit an original which had both Mand. IV: i (as reproduced in full in the *Cantabrigiensis* and partially in the *Hibernensis*) and Mand. IV: iv (as reproduced only in the *Hibernensis*). The compiler of this original would have been the one who had access to the Palatine version, and subsequent compilers

¹⁹Ibid.

would have derived their citations from his extracts.

Manitius²⁰ appears to suggest that Gildas was the author of this original compilation: "Ausser seinem Hauptwerk schrieb Gildas noch einen Traktat De paenitentia, erhalten im Paris. 3182 s. X-XI, hrsg. von Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen S. 105 und Mommsen S. 89f. Ausserdem hat sich ein grosses Collectanaeum kirchlichen Inhalts von ihm in einen Cantabrig. coll. corp. Chr. s. IX-X erhalten, s. Wasserschleben, Frische Kanonsammlung (1885) p. XXXI". I find this position impossible to accept without considerable supporting evidence, which Manitius fails to provide. It is indeed possible that Gildas had a copy of the Palatine version available in the mid-sixth century; but it is far more likely, given the other traces which the Palatine version has left in the *Vita Sanctae Genovefae* and the Dusseldorf fragment, that a later date is preferable. Accordingly I would place the compiler who used the Palatine version of the *Shepherd* in the seventh century rather than the sixth.

As to the place at which this compilation was made, the place where a copy of the Palatine version of the *Shepherd* was available, my instinct suggests "north Britain" (i.e. northern England and southern Scotland, from the Solway-Tyne line to the Clyde-Forth line), rather than Ireland. This was

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 210.

an area intermediate between the Anglo-Saxon world of Northumbria and the Irish world of Ulster and Dalriada. It was also an area that traditionally had links with northern France, through the connection between St Ninian and St Martin's foundation at Tours (if one believes that story). If the Palatine version was available in the Seine valley during the seventh century (as its use in the *Vita Sanctae Genovefae* suggests), it is not inconceivable that it could also have been available in Strathclyde or Galloway at the same date. Thomas²¹ suggests that "we may regard North British Christianity of the fifth, sixth and initial seventh centuries as essentially a sub-Roman movement." As such it provides a link with the sub-Roman culture of the Continent which produced the Palatine version.

²¹Thomas, A.C. "The evidence from North Britain", in Barley, M.W. & Hanson, R.P.C., eds. *Christianity in Britain 300-700*. Leicester University Press, 1968, p. 93-121, at p. 93.



