

Hebrews as "Pauline"

Response to Hermas

*A Theory of Clementine Authorship and
Roman Socio-Soteriological Discord*



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An Elusive Author

Selected Opinions for Hebrews

Scholar / Church Father	Proposed Author
Rothschild	Luke
Jewett	Epaphras
Anderson	
Hewitt	Sil(v)a(nu)s
Manson	Apollos
Harnack	Priscilla
Luther	Apollos
Tertullian	Barnabas
<i>Jeopardy!</i>	Paul

PAUL'S LETTER TO
THEM IS
THE NEW TESTAMENT
EPISTLE
WITH THE MOST
OLD TESTAMENT
QUOTATIONS

*Final Jeopardy clue,
Nov. 2022 Tournament
of Champions*

An Elusive Author

Heaton Hypothesis

- The Roman author behind *1 Clement* also wrote the treatise we now know as *Hebrews* in part as a response to the crisis presented by the potential dissemination/spread of Hermas's views, to provide a bulwark against Hermas's disregard for continuities of salvation history, of church order, and of apostolic sanction for official actions, **and especially to answer Hermas's disinterest in Jesus as the agent of salvation.**

1. *Preliminary Concerns/Quagmires*
2. *Affinities Between Hebrews & 1 Clement*
3. *Hermas and Clement/Hebrews*
4. *Implications, etc.*

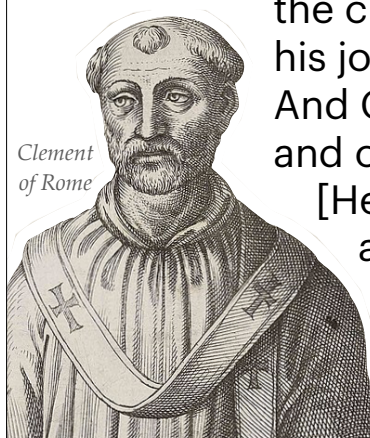


Melchizedek

Preliminary Concerns

Authorship of *The Shepherd* and *1 Clement*

- Despite these challenges, I have found it reasonable to interpret each as the product of an individual author.
- **Woman Church** speaking to Hermas: "...you will write two little books (δύο βιβλαρίδια), and you will send one to **Clement** and one to Grapte. Then **Clement** will send it to the cities abroad, because that is his job (ἐκεῖνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται). And Grapte will instruct the widows and orphans. But you yourself [Hermas] will read it to this city, along with the elders who preside over the church."



Clement
of Rome



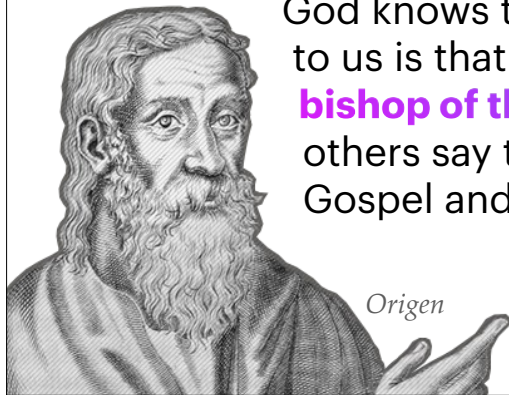
— Vis. 2.4.3 [8.3]

Holmes translation (2007)

Hebrews and 1 Clement

Affinities and Observations

- “To state my own opinion, I would say that the concepts are of the Apostle, but the phrasing and the arrangement are those of someone who recollected the Apostle’s [concepts], like someone who had taken notes on what his teacher said. If, then, any church has this letter as Paul’s, let said church be approved in this. For it was not at random that ancient men handed it down as Paul’s. But who wrote the letter, God knows the truth, but the account that came to us is that **some say that Clement, who was bishop of the Romans, wrote the letter**, while others say that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts” (*Hist. eccl.* 6.25.13–14).



Origen

- Schott translation (2019)

Recurring Scriptures & More

Direct Scriptural Quotations

	Hebrews	1 Clement
Numbers 12.7	3.2	17.5, 43.1
Psalms 104.4 (103.4 LXX)	1.7	36.3
Psalms 2.7-8	1.5	36.4
Psalms 110.1 (109.1 LXX)	1.13	36.5
Proverbs 3.12	12.6	56.3-4

Common Expressions of Faith

prophets in skins of sheep/goats	11.37	17.1
impossible for God to lie	6.18	27.2
Jesus as “high priest”	3.1, 4.14, 5.10 (etc.)	36.1, 61.3, 64.1
superiority to angels (<i>Wis.</i> 7.25)	1.3-4	36.2

Recurring Scriptural Formulae

Unique to NT and 1 Clement

- **(Someone) somewhere...**

Hebrews 2.6 διημαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων

Hebrews 4.4 εἶρηκεν γὰρ που περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης οὕτως

1 Clem. 15.2, 21.2, 26.2 λέγει γάρ που

- **And in a different (place) it says...**

1 Clem. 4.4 καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει οὕτως: Isaiah 1:16-20

1 Clem. 29.3 καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει: Unknown as direct citation; possible paraphrase/mashup

1 Clem. 46.3 καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει: Psalm 18:25-26

Hebrews 5.6 καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει*: Psalm 110:4

Recurring Scriptural Models

HB/LXX Figures Common to Hebrews & 1 Clement

	Hebrews	1 Clement (διὰ ζήλος)	1 Clement (διὰ πίστιν)
Cain/Abel	11.4	4.1	
Enoch	11.5		9.3
Noah	11.7	(7.6)	9.4
Abraham	11.8		10.1
Lot	✗		11.1
Isaac	11.20	(31.3)	
Jacob	11.21	4.8	
Joseph	11.22	4.9	
Moses	11.23	4.10	
Aaron/Miriam/etc.	✗	4.11-12	
Rahab	11.31		12.1
Judges/Prophets	11.32ff.	(17.1)	
David (& Sam./Saul)		4.13	

Hermas and Clement/Hebrews

Common Ground

	<i>The Shepherd</i>	<i>1 Clement</i>	Hebrews
muted future eschatology	Vis. 3.8.9 (16.9)	24.1	2.5, 6.5, 10.25
rigorist tendencies	Vis. 2.2.4-5 (6.4-5)	7.4-5, 51-52	6.4-12
<i>Eldad & Modad</i>	Vis. 2.3.4 (7.4)	23.3-4*	?
rampant διψυχία	<i>too numerous to list</i>	11.2, 23.1-2	3-4, 10.25 (?)



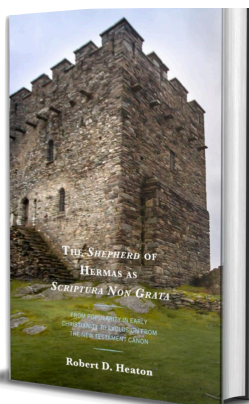
* Dale C. Allison, Jr., "Eldad and Modad," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 21.2 (2011): 108, 112.



Hermas and Clement/Hebrews

Uncommon Ground

- The mechanics of **salvation** at the consummation.
 - "If even this sin is recorded against me, **how can I be saved?**" (Vis. 1.2.1 [2.1])
 - The Church-Tower under construction (Vis. 3; recapitulated at significant length in Sim. 9)



- Seven feminine personified virtues attending/constructing the tower: Trust/Faith, Self-control, Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love
- "...whoever serves these and has the strength to master their works will have a dwelling in the tower..." (Vis. 3.8.7-8 [16.7-8]).

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