

THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION  
OF HIPPOLYTUS

TRANSLATION

LAT 1 WE have duly completed what needed to be said  
1 about "Gifts", describing those gifts which God by His  
own counsel has bestowed on men, in offering to Himself His image which had gone astray. But now, moved 2  
by His love to all His saints, we pass on to our most im-  
portant theme, "The Tradition", our teacher. And we 3  
address the churches, so that they who have been well  
trained, may, by our instruction, hold fast that tradition  
which has continued up to now and, knowing it well,  
may be strengthened. This is needful, because of that 4  
lapse or error which recently occurred through ignor-  
ance, and because of ignorant men. And [the] Holy 5  
Spirit will supply perfect grace to those who believe  
aright, that they may know how all things should be  
transmitted and kept by them who rule the church.

PART I

2. Let the bishop be ordained after he has been 1  
chosen by all the people. When he has been named and 2  
shall please all, let him, with the presbytery and such  
bishops as may be present, assemble with the people on a  
Sunday. While all give their consent, the bishops shall 3  
lay their hands upon him, and the presbytery shall  
stand by in silence. All indeed shall keep silent, praying 4  
in their heart for the descent of the Spirit. Then one of 5  
the bishops who are present shall, at the request of all,  
lay his hand on him who is ordained bishop, and shall  
pray as follows, saying:

EH

3

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**G**RE<sup>1</sup> 3 OD and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father 1 of mercies and God of all comfort, who dwellest on high yet hast respect to the lowly, who knowest all things before they come to pass. Thou hast appointed 2 the borders of thy church by the word of thy grace, predestinating from the beginning the righteous race of Abraham. And making them princes and priests, and 3 leaving not thy sanctuary without a ministry, thou hast from the beginning of the world been well pleased to be glorified among those<sup>2</sup> whom thou hast chosen. Pour 4 forth now that power, which is thine, of thy royal Spirit, which

LAT<sup>3</sup> thou gavest to thy beloved Servant<sup>4</sup> Jesus Christ, which he bestowed on his holy apostles,

GRE who established the church in every place, the church which thou hast sanctified unto unceasing glory and praise of thy name. Thou who knowest the hearts of 5 all,<sup>5</sup> grant to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to be bishop, [to feed thy holy flock]<sup>6</sup> and to serve as thy high priest without blame, ministering night and day, to propitiate thy countenance without ceasing and to offer thee the gifts of thy holy church. And by the 6 Spirit of high-priesthood to have authority to remit sins according to thy commandment, to assign the lots according to thy precept, to loose every bond according to the authority which thou gavest to thy apostles, and to please thee in meekness and purity of heart, offering to thee an odour of sweet savour. Through thy Servant 7

<sup>1</sup> Epitome 4.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly "in those places"; so Horner interprets the Ethiopic.

<sup>3</sup> And Ethiopic. The Greek has "through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ thou gavest to thy holy apostles".

<sup>4</sup> So the Greek, not the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Latin and Ethiopic (MSS), "Father, who knowest the heart"; perhaps better.

<sup>6</sup> Not in the Epitome but in the Latin, Ethiopic, Constitutions, Testament and Canons.

Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, might, honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in [the] holy church, both now and always and world without end.<sup>1</sup> Amen.

LAT 4. And when he is made bishop, all shall offer him 1 the kiss of peace, for he has been made worthy. To him 2 then the deacons shall bring the offering, and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery, shall say as the thanksgiving:

The Lord be with you.

3

And all shall say

*And with thy spirit.*

*Lift up your hearts.*

*We lift them up unto the Lord.*

*Let us give thanks to the Lord.*

*It is meet and right.*

And then he shall proceed immediately:

WE give thee thanks, O God, through thy beloved 4 Servant Jesus Christ, whom at the end of time thou didst send to us a Saviour and Redeemer and the Messenger of thy counsel. Who is thy Word, 5 inseparable from thee; through whom thou didst make all things and in whom thou art well pleased. Whom 6 thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who, dwelling within her, was made flesh, and was manifested as thy Son, being born of [the] Holy Spirit and the Virgin. Who, fulfilling thy will, and winning for himself a holy people, spread out his hands when he came to suffer, that by his death he might set free them who believed on thee. Who, when he was be- 8

<sup>1</sup> The doxologies suffer probably more than any other phrases by transmission. The translation given follows no text precisely but represents what seems to be the most likely original form.

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trayed to his willing death, that he might bring to nought death, and break the bonds of the devil, and tread hell under foot, and give light to the righteous, and set up a boundary post, and manifest his resurrection, taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: Take, 9 eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you. As often as ye perform this, perform<sup>1</sup> my 10 memorial.

Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup, yielding thee thanks, because thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee.

And we pray thee that thou wouldest send thy Holy 12 Spirit upon the offerings of thy holy church; that thou, gathering them into one, wouldest grant to all thy saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit, that their faith may be confirmed in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee. Through thy Servant Jesus 13 Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end.<sup>2</sup> Amen.

5. If anyone offers oil, he shall give thanks as at the 1 offering of the bread and wine, though not with the same words but in the same general manner,<sup>3</sup> saying:

THAT sanctifying this oil, O God, wherewith thou 2 didst anoint kings, priests and prophets, thou wouldest grant health to them who use it and partake

<sup>1</sup> The indicative, "ye perform", of the Latin is a misrendering of the (ambiguous) original Greek.

<sup>2</sup> On the doxology compare note on 3. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin might also be rendered "Not with ordinary words but with similar power". But the Ethiopic confirms the above translation.

of it, so that it may bestow comfort on all who taste it and health on all who use it.

6. Likewise, if anyone offers cheese and olives, let 1 him say thus:

SANCTIFY this milk that has been united into one 2 mass, and unite us to thy love. Let thy loving 3 kindness ever rest upon this fruit of the olive,<sup>1</sup> which is a type of thy bounty, which thou didst cause to flow from the tree unto life for them who hope on thee.

But at every blessing shall be said:

4

Glory be to thee, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. [Amen.]

8.<sup>2</sup> But when a presbyter is ordained, the bishop 1 shall lay his hand upon his head, while the presbyters touch him, and he shall say according to those things that were said above, as we have prescribed above concerning the bishop, praying and saying:

**G**OD and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look 2 upon this thy servant, and grant to him the Spirit of grace and counsel of a presbyter,<sup>3</sup> that he may sustain and govern thy people with a pure heart; as thou didst look upon thy chosen people and 3 didst command Moses that he should choose presbyters, whom thou didst fill with thy Spirit, which thou gavest to thy servant. And now, O Lord, grant that there may 4 be unfailingly preserved amongst us the Spirit of thy

<sup>1</sup> Literally "Cause that from thy sweetness there may not recede this fruit of the olive".

<sup>2</sup> An Ethiopic section (Statute 5) generally printed here (7) is not by Hippolytus; compare pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Reading "presbyteri" for "presbyteris".

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grace, and make us worthy that, believing, we may minister to thee in simplicity of heart, praising thee. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee 5 glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.

9. But the deacon, when he is ordained, is chosen 1 according to those things that were said above, the bishop alone in like manner laying his hands upon him, as we have prescribed. When the deacon is ordained, 2 this is the reason why the bishop alone shall lay his hands upon him: he is not ordained to the priesthood but to serve the bishop and to carry out the bishop's commands. He does not take part in the council of the 3 clergy; he is to attend to his own duties and to make known to the bishop such things as are needful. He 4 does not receive that Spirit that is possessed by the presbytery, in which the presbyters share; he receives only what is confided in him under the bishop's authority.

For this cause the bishop alone shall make a deacon. 5 But on a presbyter, however, the presbyters shall lay 6 their hands because of the common and like Spirit of the clergy. Yet the presbyter has only the power to receive; 7 but he has no power to give. For this reason a 8 presbyter does not ordain the clergy; but at the ordination of a presbyter he seals while the bishop ordains.

Over a deacon, then, he shall say as follows:

9

**O** GOD, who hast created all things and hast ordered them by thy Word, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou didst send to minister thy will and to manifest to us thy desire; grant [the] 10 Holy Spirit of grace and care and diligence to this

thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to serve the church  
and to offer

TEST in thy holy sanctuary<sup>1</sup> the gifts that are offered to thee  
ETH by thine appointed high priests,<sup>2</sup>  
TEST so that serving without blame<sup>3</sup> and with a pure heart he  
may be counted worthy of this exalted office,<sup>4</sup> by thy  
goodwill, praising thee continually. Through thy Ser- 12  
vant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and  
honour, with [the] Holy Spirit, in the holy church, both  
now and always and world without end. Amen.<sup>5</sup>

SAH 10. On a confessor, if he has been in bonds for the 1  
name of the Lord, hands shall not be laid for the dia-  
conate or the presbyterate, for he has the honour of the  
presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be or-  
dained bishop, hands shall be laid upon him.

But if he is a confessor who was not brought before the 2  
authorities nor was punished with bonds nor was shut up  
in prison, but was insulted (?) casually or privately for  
the name of the Lord, even though he confessed, hands  
are to be laid upon him for every office of which he is  
worthy.<sup>6</sup>

The bishop shall give thanks [in all ordinations]<sup>7</sup> as 3

<sup>1</sup> Testament "in holiness to thy holy place"; Ethiopic "in thy  
holy of holies".

<sup>2</sup> Testament "from the inheritance of thy high-priesthood".

<sup>3</sup> Testament adds "and purely and holily".

<sup>4</sup> Testament "high and exalted office". The Ethiopic manuscripts  
differ considerably in their renderings of "he may...office";  
Horner's *a* reads "having served the degrees of ordination he may  
obtain the exalted priesthood". But only *a* reads "priesthood".  
<sup>5</sup> Doxology conformed to preceding; that in the Testament is  
rather different.

<sup>6</sup> With the Sahidic agree almost exactly the Arabic, the Testament  
and the Canons. The Ethiopic has been edited from a different  
view point.

<sup>7</sup> These words seem clearly implied by the context; Hippolytus  
has now concluded the discussion of ordinations proper.

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we have prescribed. It is not,<sup>1</sup> to be sure, necessary for 4. anyone to recite the exact words that we have prescribed, by learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving to God; but let each one pray according to his ability. If, indeed, he is able to pray competently with 5 an elevated prayer, it is well. But even if he is only 6 moderately able to pray and give praise, no one may forbid him;<sup>2</sup> only let him pray sound in the faith.

11.3 When a widow is appointed, she shall not be 1 ordained but she shall be appointed by the name. If 2 her husband has been long dead, she may be appointed [without delay]. But if her husband has died recently, 3 she shall not be trusted; even if she is aged she must be tested by time, for often the passions grow old in those who yield to them.

The widow shall be appointed by the word alone, and 4 [so] she shall be associated with the other widows; hands shall not be laid upon her because she does not offer the oblation nor has she a sacred ministry.<sup>4</sup> Ordination is 5 for the clergy on account of their ministry,<sup>5</sup> but the widow is appointed for prayer, and prayer is the duty of all.

GRE<sup>6</sup> 12. The reader is appointed by the bishop's giving him the book, for he is not ordained.

SAH 13. Hands shall not be laid upon a virgin, for it is her purpose alone that makes her a virgin.

<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic and Arabic omit this "not", making the passage senseless.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic makes the sense of the original clear.

<sup>3</sup> In the Sahidic the readers and subdeacons precede the widows.

<sup>4</sup> So the Ethiopic and Arabic. Sahidic reads "nor does she conduct *liturgia*".

<sup>5</sup> Compare last note.

<sup>6</sup> Epitome 13.

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14. Hands shall not be laid upon a subdeacon, but his name shall be mentioned that he may serve the deacon.

15. If anyone says, "I have received the gift of healing", hands shall not be laid upon him: the deed shall make manifest if he speaks the truth.

## PART II

16. New<sup>1</sup> converts to the faith, who are to be admitted as hearers of the word, shall first be brought to the teachers before the people assemble. And they shall be examined as to their reason for embracing the faith, and they who bring them shall testify that they are competent to hear the word. Inquiry shall then be made as to the nature of their life; whether a man has a wife<sup>2</sup> or is a slave.<sup>3</sup> If he is the slave of a believer and he has his master's permission, then let him be received; but if his master does not give him a good character, let him be rejected. If his master is a heathen, let the slave be taught to please his master,<sup>4</sup> that the word be not blasphemed.<sup>5</sup> If a man has a wife or a woman a husband, let the man be instructed to content himself with his wife and the woman to content herself with her husband. But if a man is unmarried, let him be instructed to abstain from impurity, either by lawfully marrying a wife or else by remaining as he is.<sup>6</sup> But if any man is

<sup>1</sup> The Sahidic misjoins "new" with "faith".

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic adds "or if a woman has a husband".

<sup>3</sup> Following the variant Sahidic reading in Homer, p. 436.

<sup>4</sup> The Constitutions show that the Sahidic is right against the other evidence ("let his master's permission be gained").

<sup>5</sup> The Constitutions (32. 3) have preserved the original here, which the Sahidic renders freely.

<sup>6</sup> The Sahidic, against the other evidence, adds "according to the law".

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possessed with demons, he shall not be admitted as a hearer until he is cleansed.

Inquiry shall likewise be made about the professions 9 and trades of those who are brought to be admitted to the faith. If a man is a pander,<sup>1</sup> he must desist or be 10 rejected. If a man is a sculptor or painter, he must be 11 charged not to make idols; if he does not desist he must be rejected. If a man is an actor or pantomimist, he must 12 desist or be rejected. A teacher of young children had 13 best desist, but if he has no other occupation, he may be permitted to continue. A charioteer, likewise, who races 14 or frequents races, must desist or be rejected. A gladiator 15 or a trainer of gladiators, or a huntsman [in the wild-beast shows],<sup>2</sup> or anyone connected with these shows, or a public official in charge of gladiatorial exhibitions must desist or be rejected. A heathen priest or anyone 16 who tends idols must desist or be rejected. A soldier of 17 the civil authority<sup>3</sup> must be taught not to kill men and to refuse to do so if he is commanded, and to refuse to take an oath;<sup>4</sup> if he is unwilling to comply, he must be rejected. A military commander or civic magistrate 18 that wears the purple must resign or be rejected. If a 19 catechumen or a believer seeks to become a soldier, they must be rejected, for they have despised God. A 20 harlot or licentious man<sup>5</sup> or one who has castrated himself, or any other who does things not to be named, must be rejected, for they are defiled. A magician must not 21 [even] be brought for examination. An enchanter, an 22 astrologer, a diviner, a soothsayer, a user of magic

<sup>1</sup> The Sahidic amplifies.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied to give the obvious sense.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic shows that this is the sense; the Sahidic has misunderstood the use of "authority".

<sup>4</sup> Literally "nor cause him to swear".

<sup>5</sup> "Male harlot"?

verses, a juggler, a mountebank, an amulet-maker<sup>1</sup> must desist or be rejected. A concubine, who is a slave 23 and has reared her children and has been faithful to her master alone, may become a hearer; but if she has failed in these matters she must be rejected. If a man has a 24 concubine, he must desist and marry legally; if he is unwilling, he must be rejected.

If, now, we have omitted anything (any trade?), the 25 facts [as they occur] will instruct your mind; for we all have the Spirit of God.

17. Let catechumens spend three years as hearers of 1 the word. But if a man is zealous and perseveres well in 2 the work, it is not the time but his character that is decisive.

18. When the teacher finishes his instruction, the 1 catechumens shall pray by themselves, apart from the believers. And [all] women, whether believers or cate- 2 chumens, shall stand for their prayers by themselves in a separate part of the church.

And when [the catechumens] finish their prayers, 3 they must not give the kiss of peace, for their kiss is not yet pure. Only believers shall salute one another, but 4 men with men and women with women; a man shall not salute a woman.

And let all the women have their heads covered with 5 an opaque cloth, not with a veil of thin linen, for this is not a true covering.

19. At the close of their prayer, when their instructor 1 lays his hand upon the catechumens, he shall pray and dismiss them; whoever gives the instruction is to do this, whether a cleric or a layman.

<sup>1</sup> This Sahidic list has been interpreted from the list in Constitutions 32. 11.

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If a catechumen should be arrested for the name of a the Lord, let him not hesitate about bearing his testimony; for if it should happen that they treat him shamefully and kill him, he will be justified, for he has been baptized in his own blood.

20. They who are to be set apart for baptism shall be 1 chosen after their lives have been examined: whether they have lived soberly, whether they have honoured the widows, whether they have visited the sick, whether they have been active in well-doing. When their spon- 2 sors have testified that they have done these things, then let them hear the Gospel. Then from the time that they 3 are separated from the other catechumens, hands shall be laid upon them daily in exorcism and, as the day of their baptism draws near, the bishop himself shall exorcise<sup>1</sup> each one of them that he may be personally assured of their purity. Then, if there is any of them who 4 is not good or pure, he shall be put aside as not having heard the word in faith; for it is never possible for the alien to be concealed.<sup>2</sup>

Then those who are set apart for baptism shall be in- 5 structed to bathe and free themselves from impurity and wash themselves on Thursday. If a woman is men- 6 struous, she shall be set aside and baptized on some other day.

They who are to be baptized shall fast on Friday, and 7 on Saturday the bishop shall assemble them and command them to kneel in prayer. And, laying his hand 8 upon them, he shall exorcise all evil spirits to flee away and never to return; when he has done this he shall

<sup>1</sup> So the Sahidic and the Testament. The Ethiopic and Arabic have "shall exact an oath from each one of them". <sup>2</sup> Obscure, but apparently original. The Ethiopic and Arabic have "for it is not possible for an alien to be baptized"; the Testament "for the vile and alien spirit abides in him".

breathe in their faces, seal their foreheads, ears and noses, and then raise them up. They shall spend all that 9 night in vigil, listening to reading and instruction.

They who are to be baptized shall bring with them no 10 other vessels than the one each will bring for the eucharist; for it is fitting that he who is counted worthy of baptism should bring his offering at that time.

21. At cockcrow prayer shall be made over the water. 1  
The stream shall flow through the baptismal tank or 2  
pour into it from above when there is no scarcity of  
water; but if there is a scarcity, whether constant or<sup>1</sup>  
sudden, then use whatever water you can find.

They shall remove their clothing. And first baptize 3,4  
the little ones; if they can speak for themselves, they  
shall do so; if not, their parents or other relatives shall  
speak for them. Then baptize the men, and last of all 5  
the women; they must first loosen their hair and put  
aside any gold or silver ornaments that they were wear-  
ing : let no one take any alien thing down to the water  
with them.

At the hour set for the baptism the bishop shall give 6  
thanks over oil and put it into a vessel: this is called the  
"oil of thanksgiving". And he shall take other oil and 7  
exorcise it: this is called "the oil of exorcism". [The  
anointing is performed by a presbyter.]<sup>2</sup> A deacon shall 8  
bring the oil of exorcism, and shall stand at the pres-  
byter's left hand; and another deacon shall take the oil of  
thanksgiving, and shall stand at the presbyter's right  
hand. Then the presbyter, taking hold of each of those 9  
about to be baptized, shall command him to renounce,  
saying:

I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy servants and all  
thy works.

1 Sahidic "and".

2 Supplied for clarity.

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And when he has renounced all these, the presbyter 10  
shall anoint him with the oil of exorcism, saying: Let all  
spirits depart far from thee.

TEST Then, after these things, let him give him over to the 11  
presbyter<sup>1</sup> who baptizes, and let the candidates stand in  
the water, naked, a deacon going with them likewise.<sup>2</sup> And  
when he who is being baptized goes down into the 12  
water, he who baptizes him, putting his hand on him,  
shall say thus:

Dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty? 3

And he who is being baptized shall say: 13  
I believe.

Then 14

LAT holding his hand placed on his head, he shall baptize  
him once. And then he shall say: 15

Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God,  
who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,  
and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was dead  
and buried, and rose again the third day, alive from the  
dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right

<sup>1</sup> The Sahidic and Ethiopic have "to the bishop or presbyter";  
the Arabic has "to the bishop".

<sup>2</sup> Or the sense may be that the presbyter, the candidate and the  
deacon all stand naked in the water; in the above translation "the  
candidates" was supplied for "them" and the following "them"  
was substituted for "him".

In the Sahidic, Ethiopic and Arabic the deacon causes the can-  
didate to repeat a rather elaborate creed: the Sahidic form is:  
"I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and His only-  
begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, and in [the] Holy  
Ghost, the life-giver to the universe, the Trinity in one substance,  
one Godhead, one Lordship, one Kingdom, one faith, one baptism  
in the Catholic apostolic holy church. Amen".

The Canons agree practically with the Testament.<sup>3</sup> This question  
is omitted in the Sahidic, Ethiopic and Arabic, but it is found in the  
Canons.

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hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick  
and the dead? And when he says: 16

I believe,

he is baptized again. And again he shall say: 17

Dost thou believe in [the] Holy Ghost, and the holy  
church, and the resurrection of the flesh?

He who is being baptized shall say accordingly: 18

I believe, and so he is baptized a  
third time.<sup>1</sup>

And afterward, when he has come up [out of the 19  
water], he is anointed by the presbyter with the oil of  
thanksgiving, the presbyter saying:

I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of Jesus Christ.  
And so each one, after drying himself, is immediately 20  
clothed, and then is brought into the church.

22.<sup>2</sup> Then the bishop, laying his hand upon them, 1  
shall pray, saying:

**O**LORD GOD, who hast made them worthy to  
obtain remission of sins through the laver of re-  
generation of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy  
grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will;  
for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, with  
[the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world  
without end. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

Then, pouring the oil of thanksgiving from his hand and 2  
putting it on his forehead, he shall say:

<sup>1</sup> The Canons add at this point: "Every time he says at the baptism: " I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of [the] Holy Ghost, the Trinity in unity". None of the other sources have anything corresponding.

<sup>2</sup> Jungklaus includes this paragraph in the preceding chapter. <sup>3</sup> Here the doxology is given as it stands in the Latin. But compare the earlier doxologies.

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I anoint thee with holy oil in the Lord, the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and [the] Holy Ghost.

And signing them on the forehead he shall say:

3

The Lord be with thee; and he who is signed shall say:

And with thy spirit.

And so he shall do to each one.

4

And immediately thereafter they shall join in prayer 5 with all the people, but they shall not pray with the faithful until all these things are completed. And at the 6 close of their prayer they shall give the kiss of peace.

23. And then the offering is immediately brought by 1 the deacons to the bishop, and by thanksgiving he shall make the bread into an image<sup>1</sup> of the body of Christ, and the cup of wine mixed with water according to the likeness<sup>2</sup> of the blood, which is shed for all who believe in him. And milk and honey mixed together for the 2 fulfilment of the promise to the fathers, which spoke of a land flowing with milk and honey; namely, Christ's flesh which he gave, by which they who believe are nourished like babes, he making sweet the bitter things of the heart by the gentleness of his word. And the 3 water into an offering in a token of the laver, in order that the inner part of man, which is a living soul, may receive the same as the body.

The bishop shall explain the reason of all these 4 things to those who partake. And when he breaks the 5 bread and distributes the fragments he shall say:

The heavenly bread in Christ Jesus.

And the recipient shall say, Amen.

6

<sup>1</sup> The Latin adds "In Greek *antitypum*". 2 The Latin adds "In Greek *similitudinem*".

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And the presbyters—or if there are not enough pres- 7  
 byters, the deacons—shall hold the cups, and shall  
 stand by with reverence and modesty; first he who holds  
 the water, then the milk, thirdly the wine. And the 8  
 recipients shall taste of each three times, he who gives  
 the cup saying:

In God the Father Almighty;  
 and the recipient shall say, Amen. Then: 9

In the Lord Jesus Christ;  
 [and he shall say, Amen. Then: 10

In]<sup>1</sup> [the] Holy Ghost and the holy church;  
 and he shall say, Amen. So it shall be done to each. 11  
 And when these things are completed, let each one 12  
 hasten to do good works,  
 SAH and to please God and to live aright, devoting himself  
 to the church, practising the things he has learned,  
 advancing in the service of God.

Now we have briefly delivered to you these things 13  
 concerning the holy baptism and the holy oblation, for  
 you have already been instructed concerning the resur-  
 rection of the flesh and all other things as taught in  
 Scripture. Yet if there is any other thing that ought to 14  
 be told [to converts], let the bishop impart it to them  
 privately after their baptism; let not unbelievers know  
 it, until they are baptized: this is the white stone of  
 which John said: "There is upon it a new name written,  
 which no one knoweth but he that receiveth the stone".

<sup>1</sup> Evidently omitted by accident.

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PART III

GRE<sup>1</sup> 25.<sup>2</sup> Widows and virgins shall fast frequently and 1  
shall pray for the church; presbyters, if they wish, and  
laymen may fast likewise. But the bishop may fast only 2  
when all the people fast.

26. For it constantly happens that some one wishes 1  
to make an offering—and such a one must not be  
denied—and then the bishop, after breaking the bread,  
must in every case taste  
SAH and eat it with the other believers. [At such an offering] 2  
each shall take from the bishop's hand a piece of [this]  
bread before breaking his own bread. [This service has a  
special ceremonial]<sup>3</sup> for it is "a Blessing", not "a  
Thanksgiving", as is [the service of] the Body of the 3  
Lord.<sup>4</sup> But before drinking, each one,  
LAT as many of you as are present,  
SAH must take a cup and give thanks over it,  
LAT and so go to your meal.

But to the catechumens is given exorcised bread, and 4  
each of them must offer the cup. No catechumen shall 5  
sit at the Lord's Supper.

But at each act of offering, the offerer must remember 6  
his host, for he was invited to the latter's home for that  
very purpose. But when you eat and drink, do so in an 7  
orderly manner and not so that anyone may mock, or  
your host be saddened by your unruliness, but behave

<sup>1</sup> Vienna fragment.

<sup>2</sup> An Ethiopic section generally printed here (24) is not in the  
other versions and is irrelevant to the context; it will be found on  
p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> The apparent sense.

<sup>4</sup> Or, "this bread is 'blessed bread'; it is not 'the bread of the  
thanksgiving', as is the Body of the Lord". The Sahidic translator  
probably did not understand the original Greek exactly.

so that he may pray to be made worthy that the saints may enter his dwelling: "for ye", it is said, "are the salt of the earth".

If the offering should be one made to all the guests 8 jointly,<sup>1</sup> take your portion from your host [and depart]. But if all are to eat then and there, do not eat to excess, 9 so that your host may likewise send some of what the saints leave to whomsoever he will and [so] may rejoice in the faith.

But while the guests are eating, let them eat silently, 10 not arguing, [attending to]<sup>2</sup> such things as the bishop may teach, but if he should ask any question, let an answer be given him; and when he says anything, everyone in modest praise shall keep silence until he asks again.

And even if the bishop should be absent when the 11 faithful meet at a supper, if a presbyter or a deacon is present they shall eat in a similar orderly fashion, and each shall be careful<sup>3</sup> to take the blessed bread from the presbyter's or deacon's hand; and in the same way the catechumens shall take the same exorcised bread.

But if [only] laymen meet, let them not act presumptuously, for a layman cannot bless the blessed bread.<sup>4</sup>

Let each one eat in the name of the Lord; for this is 13 pleasing to the Lord that we should be jealous [of our good name] even among the heathen, all sober alike.<sup>5</sup>

27. If anyone wishes to give a meal to widows of 1 mature years, let him dismiss them before evening. But 2

<sup>1</sup> The Latin adds, "What in Greek is called an *apoforetum*".

<sup>2</sup> The apparent sense.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "make haste".

<sup>4</sup> Literally "make the blessing".

<sup>5</sup> Sahidic "that we all should be sober and that the heathen may envy us". The Ethiopic adds a long section that has no parallel in other sources; see p. 58.

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if, on account of existing conditions,<sup>1</sup> he cannot [feed them in his house], let him send them away, and they may eat of his food at their homes in any way they please.

28. As soon as first-fruits appear, all shall hasten to 1 offer them to the bishop. And he shall offer them, shall 2 give thanks and shall name him who offered them, saying:

**W**E give thee thanks, O God, and we offer thee the 3 first-fruits; which thou hast given us to enjoy, nourishing them through thy word, commanding the earth to bring forth her fruits for the gladness and the food of men and all beasts. For all these things 4 we praise thee, O God, and for all things wherewith thou hast blessed us, who for us adornest every creature with divers fruits. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, 5 our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, world without end. Amen.

Only certain fruits may be blessed, namely grapes, 6 the fig, the pomegranate, the olive, the pear, the apple, the mulberry, the peach, the cherry, the almond, the plum. Not the pumpkin, nor the melon, nor the cucumber, 7 nor the onion nor garlic nor anything else having an odour.

But sometimes flowers too are offered; here the rose 8 and the lily may be offered, but no other.

But for everything that is eaten shall they [who eat it] 9 give thanks to the Holy God, eating unto His glory.

29. Let no one at the paschal season<sup>2</sup> eat before the 1 offering is made,<sup>3</sup> otherwise he shall not be credited with

<sup>1</sup> Literally, " on account of the lot that falls ". Perhaps: " because of his (their?) duties"?

<sup>2</sup> Friday, Saturday and Sunday after midnight.

<sup>3</sup> So the Latin and the Testament. The Sahidic, Ethiopic and Arabic have "before the proper time to eat".

the fast. But if any woman is with child, or if anyone is 2 sick and cannot fast for two days, let such a one, on account of his need, [at least] fast on Saturday, contenting himself with bread and water. But if anyone on 3 a voyage or for any other necessary cause should not know the day, when he has learned the truth he shall postpone his fast until after Pentecost. For the ancient 4 type has passed away, and so the [postponed] fast [of Numbers 9. 11] in the second month has ceased, and each one ought to fast in accord with his knowledge of the truth.<sup>1</sup>

30. Each of the deacons, with the subdeacons, shall be alert on the bishop's behalf, for the bishop must be informed if any are sick so that, if he pleases, he may visit them; for a sick man is greatly comforted when the high priest is mindful of him.

SAH 33.2 Let the deacons and the presbyters assemble 1 daily at the place which the bishop may appoint; let the deacons [in particular] never fail to assemble unless prevented by sickness. When all have met they shall in- 2 struct those who are in the church, and then, after prayer, each shall go to his appointed duties.

34. No exorbitant charge shall be made for burial in 1 the cemetery, for it belongs to all the poor; only the hire of the grave-digger and the cost of the tile [for closing the niche in the catacombs] shall be asked. The 2 wages of the caretakers are to be paid by the bishop, lest any of those who go to that place be burdened [with a charge].

<sup>1</sup> The texts have "when he has learned the truth"; the above, however, seems to be the meaning.

<sup>2</sup> 31-32 are omitted here; they will be found on p. 60.

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## PART IV

35. Let all the faithful, whether men or women, 1 when early in the morning they rise from their sleep and before they undertake any tasks, wash their hands and pray to God; and so they may go to their duties. But if a any instruction in God's word is held [that day], everyone ought to attend it willingly,<sup>1</sup> recollecting that he will hear God speaking through the instructor and<sup>2</sup> that prayer in the church enables him to avoid the day's evil; any godly man ought to count it a great loss if he does not attend the place of instruction, especially if he can read.

If a [specially gifted]<sup>3</sup> teacher should come, let none 3 of you delay<sup>4</sup> to attend the place where the instruction is given, for grace will be given to the speaker to utter things profitable to all, and thou wilt hear new things,<sup>5</sup> and thou wilt be profited by what the Holy Spirit will give thee through the instructor; so thy faith will be strengthened by what thou hearest, and in that place thou wilt learn thy duties at home; therefore let everyone be zealous to go to the church, the place where the Holy Spirit abounds.<sup>6</sup>

36. But if on any day there is no instruction, let 1 everyone at home take the Bible and read sufficiently in passages that he finds profitable.

If at the third hour thou art at home, pray then and 2 give thanks to God; but if thou chance to be abroad at that hour, make thy prayer to God in thy heart. For at 3

<sup>1</sup> Literally "let everyone choose for himself to go to that place".

<sup>2</sup> Sahidic "for".

<sup>3</sup> The apparent sense.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "be the last".

<sup>5</sup> Literally "things thou thinkest not".

<sup>6</sup> Literally "breaks forth"; the Latin (31. 3) has "blooms".

that hour Christ was nailed to the tree; therefore in the old [covenant] the law commanded the showbread to be offered continually for a type of the body and blood of Christ, and commanded the sacrifice of the dumb lamb, which was a type of the perfect Lamb; for Christ is the Shepherd, and he is also the Bread that came down from heaven.

At the sixth hour likewise pray also, for, after Christ 4 was nailed to the wood of the cross, the day was divided and there was a great darkness; wherefore let [the faithful] pray at that hour with an effectual prayer, likening themselves to the voice of him who prayed [and] caused all creation to become dark for the unbelieving Jews.

And at the ninth hour let a great prayer and a great 5 thanksgiving be made, such as made<sup>1</sup> the souls of the righteous ones, blessing the Lord,

LAT the God who does not lie, who was mindful of his saints and sent forth his Word to enlighten them. At that 6 hour, therefore, Christ poured forth from his pierced side water and blood, and brought the rest of the time of that day with light to evening; so, when he fell asleep, by making the beginning of another day he completed the pattern of his resurrection.

Pray again before thy body rests on thy bed.

7

At midnight arise, wash thy hands with water and 8 pray. And if thy wife is with thee, pray ye both together; 9 but if she is not yet a believer, go into another room and pray, and again return to thy bed; be not slothful in prayer.

He who has used the marriage bed is not defiled; for 10 they who are bathed have no need to wash again, for they are clean. By signing thyself with thy moist 11

<sup>1</sup> Interpreting the Sahidic (" that thou mayest know how ") by the Testament ("that is like to").

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breath, and so spreading spittle<sup>1</sup> on thy body with thy hand, thou art sanctified to thy feet; for the gift of the Spirit and the sprinkling with water, when it is brought with a believing heart as it were from a fountain, sanctifies him who believes.

It is needful to pray at this hour; for those very elders 12 who gave us the tradition taught us that at this hour all creation rests for a certain moment, that all creatures may praise the Lord: stars and trees and waters stand still with one accord, and all the angelic host does service to God by praising Him, together with the souls of the righteous. For this cause believers should be zealous 13 to pray at this hour; for the Lord, testifying to this, says: "Behold at midnight is a cry, Behold the Bridegroom cometh! Rise up to meet him!"; and he adds insistently: "Watch ye therefore, for ye know not at what hour he cometh".

And at cockcrow rise up and pray likewise, for at that 14 hour of cockcrow the children of Israel denied Christ, whom we have known by faith; by which faith, in the hope of eternal life at the resurrection of the dead, we look for his Day.

And so, all ye faithful, if ye thus act, and are mindful 15 of these things, and teach them to one another, and cause the catechumens to be zealous, ye can neither be tempted nor can ye perish, since ye have Christ always in your minds.

37.<sup>2</sup> But imitate him always, by signing thy forehead 1 sincerely; for this is the sign of his Passion, manifest and

<sup>1</sup> Interpreting the ambiguous Latin with the Sahidic. 2 Latin B, which is followed by the Oriental versions, is translated above. Latin A (compare p. 60) reads: "But seek always modestly to sign thy forehead; for this sign of his Passion is manifested against the devil if it be made from faith; not as pleasing men, but knowingly offering it as a breastplate. For the adversary, see-

approved against the devil if so thou makest it from faith; not that thou mayest appear to men, but knowingly offering it as a shield. For the adversary, seeing a its power coming from the heart, that a man displays the publicly formed image of baptism,<sup>1</sup> is put to flight; not because thou spittest, but because the Spirit in thee breathes him away. When Moses formed it by putting 3 the blood of the Paschal lamb that was slain on the lintel and anointing the side-posts, he signified the faith which now we have in the perfect Lamb.

38.2 And so, if these things are accepted with thanks- 1 giving and right faith, they give edification in the church and eternal life to believers. I counsel that these things 2 be kept by all who know aright; for over all who hear the apostolic tra[dition]

SAH and keep it, no heretics or any other man will prevail to lead them astray. For the many heresies have in- 3 creased because their leaders would not learn the purpose of the apostles but acted according to their own wills, following their lusts and not what was right.

Now, beloved, if we have omitted anything, God will 4 reveal it to those who are worthy, guiding the holy church to its mooring in [God's] quiet haven.

ing the power of the spirit coming from the heart in the publicly formed image of baptism, is put to flight, thou not yielding, but breathing at him. And this was that [sign formed] when Moses, as a type, put the blood of the lamb slain at the Passover on the lintel and anointed the two side-posts, signifying the faith which now we have in the perfect Lamb".

<sup>1</sup> Latin B and the Oriental versions have "the Word". But "baptism" is needed for the sense.

2 In chapter 38 the two Latin texts are in virtual agreement.

