

THE ORDINATION PRAYER FOR A PRESBYTER IN THE CHURCH ORDER OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE admirable paper which Dr Frere contributed to the April number of the JOURNAL has strengthened the reasons for referring to Hippolytus the authorship of the earliest Ordinal known to us—a brief tract which has come down to us in the original Greek only in the altered and barely recognizable form into which the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions worked up his ancient material, but in other languages has been preserved with a good deal more fidelity. For the purpose of the present note, however, it is indifferent whether the document is really, as I myself now believe, traceable to Hippolytus, or whether the true author is unknown. It is enough to say that the treatise was certainly written in Greek, and certainly written at some time within the third century.

Of the texts which have preserved the document in translations, the most valuable is undoubtedly the Latin palimpsest, no. LV among the MSS of the great Chapter Library at Verona, the under writing of which, attributed to the beginning of the sixth century, was deciphered by E. Hauler and published by him in 1900.¹ Next in importance appears to be the Ethiopic, published in Mr Horner's *Statutes of the Apostles* (London 1904) pp. 138-147: and this has the advantage of completeness, whereas the Latin unfortunately breaks off near the end of the ordination of deacons, so that the sections on confessors, widows, and the minor orders are entirely absent. But this defect again is of no moment for my immediate purpose, which is concerned only with the ordination prayers for bishop and presbyter.

Those who attribute any great authority to the so-called Canons of Hippolytus are naturally much impressed with the statement made in them that 'the bishop's prayer shall be said over him² entire, except the name "bishop" only. The bishop is in all respects the equivalent of the presbyter except in regard to the throne and ordination, because [the presbyter] was not given authority to ordain'. But these Canons are a very secondary authority, a version of a version, not only late in their present Arabic dress but also certainly not earlier than the fourth century in their substance. They represent Hippolytus at one stage at least further from the original than the Latin and Ethiopic, which are

¹ *Didascalie Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia Latina: accedunt canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquia.* Primum edidit E. Hauler. (Lipsiae 1900.) Our tract commences on p. 101.

² That is, over the candidate for ordination to the presbyterate.

independent renderings of the same third-century original. And if we turn to their evidence, we shall see at once that what they say is something quite different from the 'Canons of Hippolytus', but yet something which might easily be misunderstood as the compiler of the Canons has misunderstood it.

Latin (Hauler, p. 108)

et dicat secundum ea quae
praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus
super episcopum, orans et dicens
Deus et pater domini nostri
Iesu Christi respice super
servum tuum istum . . .

Ethiopic (Horner, p. 143)

and [they] shall pray over him ;
in the form which we said before
he shall pray, saying
My God, the Father of our
Lord and our Saviour Jesus
Christ, look down upon this
thy servant . . .

Now both these authorities agree in representing an original Greek which gave two, on the surface, contradictory directions—namely to do as before directed in the case of a bishop, and also to say a prayer which is not the prayer directed to be said for a bishop at all. Little wonder that the Canons of Hippolytus selected out of two apparently inconsistent directions the first and simpler, and dropped the other entirely. But if we look a little closer, we shall perhaps find reason to think that the two directions are not as inconsistent as they seem.

The true solution of the problem had presented itself to me before I lit upon the parallel which I am now going to adduce : but it seems to me quite illuminating, and I think therefore that it will smoothe the way for my argument if I put it before my readers at once. In the Gregorian Sacramentary, as just re-edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by my colleague Mr H. A. Wilson, there is a long prayer for the consecration of a bishop at the outset of the collection (p. 5), and at the end of the original collection (as sent to Charles the Great by Pope Hadrian) there is a prayer for the ordination of a pope (p. 143). But the latter consists of only half a dozen lines, because *the greater part of the earlier prayer is to be repeated without alteration*, and only at certain points in the second half of the prayer does a change in the language become necessary : and it is only for these few clauses that additional or alternative forms are given when the ordinand is being consecrated to the see of Rome. The rubric in fact runs 'Oratio ad pontificem ordinandum : quae addi debeat in consecratione cuius initium est **Deus honorum omnium**, ad locum et **idcirco huic famulo tuo**'. I print the two prayers in such way as to shew both the part that is common and the parts that are separate.

Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quae
gloriae tuae sacratis famulantur ordinibus ; Deus qui Moysen . . .

famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, inter cetera caelestis documenta culturae, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotalis instituens electum Aaron mystico amictu vestiri inter sacra iussisti, ut intelligentiae sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura posteritas, ne eruditio doctrinae tuae ulli deesset aetati, cum et apud veteres reverentiam ipsa significationum species obtineret et apud nos certiora essent experimenta rerum quam aenigmata figurarum. illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostrae mentis ornatus est, et pontificalem gloriam non iam nobis honor commendat vestium sed splendor animarum; quia et illa quae tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quae in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. **et ideo huc**

famulo tuo quem ad summi

famulo tuo quem apostolicae sedis praesulem et primum omnium qui in orbe terrarum sunt sacerdotum ac universalis ecclesiae tuae doctorem dedisti et ad summi

sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc quaesumus Domine gratiam largiaris, ut quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in eius moribus actibusque clarescat. comple in sacerdote tuo mysterii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum caelestis unguenti flore sanctifica. hoc Domine copiose in eius caput influat, hoc in oris subiecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora eius repleat et exteriora circumtegat. abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. tribuas ei cathedram episcopalem **ei cathedram pontificalem** ad regendam ecclesiam tuam et plebem universam. sis ei auctoritas, sis ei firmitas, sis potestas. multiplices super eum benedictionem et gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam misericordiam tuam tuo munere semper idoneus, tua gratia possit esse devotus. Per Dominum.

The explanation of the rubric in the *Liber* of Hippolytus is substantially the same as the explanation of the rubric in the *Liber* of Gregory: in both the second prayer is on the model of the first, and the earlier portion is identical. Since, however, pope and bishop are more nearly one in character than bishop and presbyter, there is naturally more variation between the two prayers of Hippolytus than between the two prayers of Gregory. But there is this in common between the two cases that the whole of the opening is left unchanged, and that

change begins at the mention of 'this thy servant'. I now print the prayers in Hippolytus after the same method that I have just followed for the prayers of St Gregory.

Ὁ θεὸς¹ καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ὁ γινώσκων τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν σὺ, ὁ δοὺς ὄρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ λόγου χάριτός σου, ὁ προορίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γένος δικαίων² ἐξ Ἀβραάμ, ἀρχοντάς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καταστήσας τό τε ἀγίασμά σου μὴ καταλιπὼν ἀλειτούργητον, ὁ ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εὐδοκήσας ἐν οἷς ἡρετίσω δοξασθῆναι [αὐτὸς καὶ]³ νῦν ἐπίχειε τὴν παρά σου δύναμιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ [ἔδωκας] τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ σου παιδί Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,⁴ ὅπερ ἔδωρήσατο⁵ τοῖς ἀγίοις [σου]⁶ ἀποστόλοις οἱ καθίδρυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἀγιάσματός σου εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον ἀδιάλειπτον τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.

δός, καρδιογνώστα [πάτερ],⁷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον καὶ δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον⁸ ὃν ἐξέλεξω εἰς ἔμπλησον αὐτὸν πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ

¹ The opening words of the prayer, 'The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ', repeated by Lat. Eth. in the rubric before the ordination prayer of a priest, are the cue for the starting-point of the common matter, just as the next words, 'Look down upon this thy servant', are the cue for the beginning of the separate matter. The Greek text of this prayer, here printed, has been restored from the parallel passages in the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*—which are perhaps a preliminary draft by the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions, see Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I xx—printed by Dr Frere in the right-hand column, pp. 337, 339, 347 *supra*. But I have modified this text both by reference to the Latin version and to the Apostolic Constitutions themselves, which occasionally keep nearer than the *Const. per Hipp.* to the original. All such modifications are enumerated in the following notes.

² δικαίων Lat. Eth. : *δικαιον Const. per H.*

³ αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν. So *Ap. Const.* viii 5 (Funk, 474. 21), and αὐτὸς seems almost required by the balance of the clauses : καὶ νῦν *Const. per H.* : νῦν Lat. Eth. The alternative is νῦν simply : καὶ νῦν is impossible.

⁴ The dative τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ σου παιδί I. X. is guaranteed by the agreement of Lat. Eth. and *Ap. Const.* (474. 23) : this is one of the places where *Const. per H.* has wandered further from the original. The verb ἔδωκας is not represented by either Greek authority : *Const. per H.* omits, *Ap. Const.* changes to διακορεῖται. But the consensus of Lat. and Eth. justifies the reading adopted.

⁵ ἔδωρήσατο *Ap. Const.* (474. 24) with Lat. : *δεδώρησαι Const. per H.* and Eth.

⁶ τοῖς ἀγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις *Const. per H.* : τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις σου *Ap. Const.* : Lat. omits σου altogether, perhaps rightly.

⁷ καρδιογνώστα πατέρ from Lat. 'cordis cognitor pater' : *καρδιογνώστα θεέ Ap. Const.* (476. 1) : *καρδιογνώστα πάντων Const. per H.* : *καρδιογνώστα* alone Eth., which may perhaps be right. All other authorities agree against *Const. per H.* in putting δός at the beginning of the sentence.

⁸ τοῦτον *Const. per H.* with the prayer for a presbyter both in *Const. per H.* and

ἐπισκοπήν, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου
ποιμῆν⁹· καὶ ἀρχιερατεύει σοι ἀμέμ-
πτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας,
ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἰλάσκεσθαι τὸ πρόσω-
πόν σου¹¹· καὶ προσφέρειν σοὶ τὰ
δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας, καὶ
τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ ἔχειν
ἐξουσίαν ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν
ἐντολήν σου, διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ
τὸ πρόσταγμά σου, λύειν τε πάντα
σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν
ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, εὐαρεστεῖν
τέ σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ
προσφέροντά σοι ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας

διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ κράτος
[καὶ τιμῆ], πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι [ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ]

Ap. Const. (viii 16 : 522. 13) and also with cod. Vat. gr. 1506, the MS whose value I have done my best to emphasize, in *Ap. Const.* here (476. 1) : the other MSS of *Ap. Const.* here give τόνδε.

⁹ ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποιμῆν *Ap. Const.* (476. 2) with Lat. and Eth. (which latter, however, omits ἁγίαν) : εἰς ἐπισκοπήν σου τὴν ἁγίαν, omitting ποιμαίνειν and ποιμῆν, *Const. per H.*

¹⁰ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάεσθαι. ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι is no doubt the right Greek (Latin 'adiuvet') ; for it is not only supported by both *Const. per H.* and *Ap. Const.*, but together with the following verb κυβερνᾶν it is unmistakably intended as an echo of 1 Cor. xii 28 ἀντιλήμψεις κυβερνήσεις. I have doubtfully inserted τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου before it, on the strength of the Latin, where Hauler gives 'presbyteris' with the two last letters doubtful ; I should prefer 'presbyterii' and take it with the preceding συμβουλίας, as Eth. has two nouns there, though quite different ones ('the gift of holiness'), and the Greek authorities have εἰς πρεσβυτέριον in the immediate neighbourhood.

¹¹ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου with Lat. 'vultum tuum' and *Ap. Const.* (476. 4) σοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον : *Const. per H.* less correctly the dative, τῷ προσώπῳ σου.

¹² αἰρήσασθαι with *Ap. Const.* (522. 18) : αἰετίσασθαι *Const. per H.*

¹³ ὅπερ ἐδωρήσω τῷ θεράποντί σου I have inserted with Lat. and Eth. (Eth. adds Μωσεί, but ὁ θεράπων by itself was a well understood expression for Moses ; see Lightfoot on 1 Clem. 4, and add Origen *Philocalia* 14 [68. 26] παρὰ τῷ θεράποντι = 'in Moses', i.e. in the Pentateuch, *Ap. Const.* vii 35 [432. 5] τοῦ θεράποντός σου λόγιόν ἐστιν φάσκοντος κτλ.) : the Greek authorities omit, but the original prayers appear to have emphasized the Biblical precedents in each ordination, and the phrase I have inserted has its exact parallel earlier in the prayer, in respect of the New Testament Gift of the Spirit ὅπερ ἐδωρήσατο τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις.

¹⁴ This clause καὶ νῦν Κύριε down to χάριτός σου has disappeared in *Const. per H.* : but *Ap. Const.* has gone back to it and preserved it unaltered (522. 18-20). There is just a doubt between the forms ἀνεκλιπές (so cod. Vat. 1506), which has LXX authority, and ἀελλιπές, which is a commoner word.

¹⁵ I have here made a rough attempt to restore the Greek original with the sole help of the Latin 'et dignos effice ut credentes tibi ministremus in simplicitate

συμβουλίας [τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου], τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάεσθαι¹⁰ καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ· ὃν τρόπον ἐπέιδες ἐπὶ λαὸν ἐκλογῆς σου καὶ προσέταξας Μωσεί αἰρήσασθαι¹² πρεσβυτέρους, οὓς ἐπλησας πνεύματος [ὅπερ ἐδωρήσω τῷ θεράποντί σου],¹³ καὶ νῦν Κύριε παράσχου, ἀνεκλιπές τηρῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου¹⁴ [καὶ ἀξίωσον ὅπως πιστευόντές σοι ὑπηρετῶμεν ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ, αἰνοῦντές σε]¹⁵

καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.¹⁶
 Ἀμήν.

I am not without hopes that I may have succeeded in this paper in clearing up for good one small obstacle that has helped to bar the way to successful research in the early history of the Christian Ministry. The solution I propose has at least the merit of simplicity: it accounts, so far as I can see, for all the known elements of the problem: the parallel I have been able to cite from the Gregorian Sacramentary shews that the method applied in the case of Hippolytus is not one invented for the occasion, but one that can actually be seen in use elsewhere. The alternative view requires us to believe that the prayer of ordination for a presbyter asked for him the gifts of shepherding the flock, of high-priesthood and propitiation and official representation of the Church, of remission of sins in the high-priestly Spirit, of distribution of offices, of loosing of all bonds after the authority given to the Apostles. Does any one really think that at any time in the third century, in any part of the Church, it is conceivable that such language could have been applied to a presbyter?

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cordis laudantes te'. I cannot hope to have been successful with regard to more than the general outline of the prayer: but I am at least quite sure that *Const. per H.* and *Ap. Const.*, which agree in putting here references to ἐνεργήματα λαϊκά, to λόγοι διδακτικοί, to παιδευσις τοῦ λαοῦ, and to αἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίαι, as functions of the presbyter, have got quite off the lines, partly because they have meant to be archaic and to introduce the ideas of the first century (1 Cor. xii 10, 28 suggests the ἐνεργήματα ἱαμάτων), and partly because without meaning it they have betrayed themselves by introducing the sacerdotal ideas (ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίαι) which did not attach to the presbyterate, apart from the episcopate, before the fourth century.

¹⁶ In the doxology the two forms unite again. About the opening words of it there is no doubt: all our authorities agree. It is also fairly clear that the prayer for the bishop contained δόξα κράτος τιμὴ (so *Lat. Eth. Const. per H.*), while that for the presbyter omitted τιμὴ. It is less certain what form the doxology proper took: but δι' οὗ σοί . . ., πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι seems to me most likely to be right [cf. *Eph.* iii 21, and see doxology of Anaphora (*Hauer*, p. 107) and Hippolytus *contra Noëtum* 18]. The reference to 'holy Church' has the authority of *Eth.* on both occasions and *Lat.* on the second: it is characteristic of the style of the whole prayer.