

THE COMMUNALITY CHARACTER OF DAWN PRAYER: A LITURGICAL HERMENEUTIC STUDY OF APOSTOLIC TRADITION 41:1-4

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ABSTRACT

This article interprets a text of The Apostolic Tradition, a 3rd century Church Order containing rules for ordination, communion, catechism and baptism, as well as daily prayers. Studies of this ancient text were still very few in Indonesia, and mostly concerned with the part of the communion. In this article, the author will examine daily prayer, specifically the text of Apostolic Tradition 41:1-4 on the dawn prayer. The passage instructed that the congregation must gather every morning to listen to the teachings and perform communal prayer. This research started from fact that there were few daily prayer celebrations in Indonesian churches, especially communal morning prayer. This study employed qualitative study design through literature studies and hermeneutics. The author argues that the communal dawn prayer in the Apostolic Tradition is relevant to be developed in Indonesian context.

Keywords: Dawn Prayer, Congregation, Apostolic Tradition

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini akan mengulas tentang The Apostolic Tradition atau Tradisi Apostolik, sebuah Tata Gereja Kuno abad ketiga yang berisi aturan tentang penahbisan, perjamuan, katekisasi dan baptisan, serta ibadah harian. Studi tentang teks kuno ini masih sangat minim di Indonesia, dan kajian-kajian seputar Tradisi Apostolik lebih banyak membahas tentang perjamuan. Dalam artikel ini, penulis akan membahas tentang ibadah harian, secara khusus teks Tradisi Apostolik 41:1-4 tentang doa fajar. Di dalam teks tersebut diinstruksikan agar umat setiap subuh bersekutu untuk mendengarkan pengajaran dan melaksanakan doa berje-

maah. Studi ini berangkat dari fenomena minimnya ibadah harian di Indonesia, apalagi doa pagi berjamaah. Metode penulisan artikel ini menggunakan kaidah kualitatif, melalui studi literatur dan hermeneutika. Penulis berargumen bahwa keberjamaah doa fajar dalam Tradisi Apostolik relevan untuk dikembangkan dalam ibadah harian di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Doa Fajar, Keberjamaah, Tradisi Apostolik

INTRODUCTION

The Apostolic Tradition (hereinafter abbreviated as AT) is generally believed to be the work of Hippolytus of Rome (170-235 ZB) ¹. Indeed, AT is an anonymous manuscript, but its association with Hippolytus is based on two reasons. First, the name Hippolytus is written in several other ancient manuscripts which are derivatives of AT. Second, the discovery of a statue in 1551 claimed to be the figure of Hippolytus is also considered a clue. Beneath the statue is an inscription bearing a list of written works, one of which is entitled Apostolic Tradition. Nevertheless, the historicity and authorship of AT are still being debated in Christian liturgical studies until now². Some liturgiologists think that the association of AT to Hippolytus is incorrect. The reason is that literary criticism implies that there are layers of editing in the AT manuscript, so that AT is more accurately called “living literature,” ie documents that have been edited by several editors across generations³.

Despite these debates, AT is a valuable source of information on the liturgy and ordinances of the ancient church. In fact, AT is often cited as the most important third-century liturgical

¹ Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press “Popular Patristics” Series (Crestwood, N.Y: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), 14.

² Nathan Chase, “Another Look at the ‘Daily Office’ in the Apostolic Tradition,” *Studia Liturgica* 49, no. 1 (Maret 2019): 5, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0039320718808930>.

³ Gregory W. Woolfenden, *Daily Liturgical Prayer: Origins and Theology*, Liturgy, Worship, and Society (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 25.

resource⁴. Therefore, many experts are struggling to reconstruct AT texts to be closer to the original manuscript, which is said to have been lost. Some of the reconstructions and translations of AT into modern languages were done by Dom Gregory Dix⁵, B. S. Easton⁶, Bernard Botte⁷, Alistair Stewart-Sykes, Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Philips. The three last mentioned names co-authored a book called “The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary”⁸. The book is the main reference for interpreting AT in this paper.

As far as the author observes, the contents of AT studied by experts so far have revolved around ‘initiation’ (chapters 15) and the ‘eucharist’ (chapters 4 and 36)⁹. In fact, another topic is similarly interesting, such as daily worship¹⁰ (articles 35 and 41). In addition to weekly and annual worship, daily worship has been an important part of Christian ritual since the founding of the Church. This paper will examine daily worship according to AT chapter 41, especially verses 1-4¹¹. According to the text, the daily worship is celebrated seven times a day, consisting of the dawn prayer (vv. 1-4); the third hour of prayer (vv. 5-6); the sixth hour prayer (v. 7); the ninth hour prayer (vv. 8-9); prayer

⁴ Alfred C. Anazodo, “Liturgy of The Hours and Islamic Salat: A Comparative study of Public-Liturgical Worship of Christians and Muslims” (Dissertation, Bamberg, Faculty of Catholic Theology at the Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg, 2001), 40.

⁵ Gregory Dix dan Henry Chadwick, *Apostolikē Paradosis, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr* (London : Ridgefield, Conn: Alban Press ; Morehouse Pub, 1992).

⁶ Burton Scott Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2014).

⁷ B. Botte, *La Tradition Apostolique* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1946).

⁸ Paul F. Bradshaw dkk., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002).

⁹ Bnd. Chase, “Another Look at the ‘Daily Office’ in the Apostolic Tradition,” 5.

¹⁰ Ibadah harian juga dikenal dengan aneka istilah, antara lain *liturgia horarum*, *opus dei*, doa umum harian, ibadat harian, *the liturgy of the hours*, *divine office*, *the canonical hours*, *daily prayer*, doa breviri, doa ofisi, dan lain-lain.

¹¹ Bradshaw et.al, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 194–203.

before bed (v. 10); midnight prayer (vv. 11-16); and prayer at the time when rooster crows (vv. 17-18).

Of the seven prayer times, it seems that only the dawn prayer is celebrated in congregation, carried out shortly after waking up. AT 41:1-4 writes, "Every believer, both male and female, must wash their hands immediately after getting up and pray to God. But if there is a teaching of the Word [in the church], they must go there, remembering that it is God they hear in the teaching. Hearing the Word and praying in the morning can help the believer to avoid all the evils of the day. If the believer does not go to a place where there is a teaching of the Word, that is a big mistake. Unless on that day there is no teaching of the Word, everyone can read the Bible in their own homes as much as possible. Only then can they go to work¹²." It can be assumed that the morning prayer unites the elders, deacons and all members of the congregation in communal worship.

According to the basic principles of the liturgy, communality is the essential and distinctive character of the liturgy¹³. Frank C. Senn, an American liturgical theologian, emphasized that "liturgy is a kind of vehicle or vehicle for carrying out public worship of God¹⁴." So, the liturgy is a collective action.

James F. White, professor of liturgy at the University of Notre Dame, distinguishes public worship from private worship. According to him, private worship is more accurately called devotion, while "public worship is worship offered by members of the congregation who gather together."¹⁵ White emphasized that gathering activities are not merely a technical act, but an important part of public worship. By gathering, people can take action together to meet God and others¹⁶.

In AT 41:1-4, there are three phrases that reflect the dimension of communality, namely "everyone" (v. 1,2); "male

¹² Bradshaw et.al, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 94-96.

¹³ Frank C. Senn, *Introduction to Christian Liturgy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 5.

¹⁴ Senn, *Introduction to Christian Liturgy*, 5.

¹⁵ James F White, *Pengantar Ibadah Kristen*, trans. by Liem Sem Kie. Jakarta: BPK-Gunung Mulia, 2009, 17.

¹⁶ White, *Pengantar Ibadah Kristen*, 17.

and female” (v. 1); and “all hearers” (v. 3). These three phrases give the impression that the dawn prayer is a melting pot of liturgical practitioners into one (Gal. 3:28). Such unity is known intimately as “the people,” or “ekklesia” in the understanding of the early church¹⁷. In the early days of Christianity, ekklesia was the main focus of the congregation, namely the fellowship between them and their fellowship with God. Physical things such as liturgical clothing and church buildings were not the focus of attention at that time¹⁸. Given that AT is an ancient church system, it can be assumed that the rites that are celebrated in congregation are very essential for them.

Of the seven daily prayer times according to AT, only the dawn prayer is celebrated in congregation. The time of celebration is just after waking up, before doing any activity. It can be said that the first activity of a believer each day is fellowship in prayer. This raises the assumption that the compilers of the AT really privilege dawn compared to other times and uphold the congregation of worship. However, this assumption needs to be investigated further because the instructions for implementing the dawn prayer in AT 41:1-4 only mention the importance of teaching the Bible to the dawn prayer. Because AT is an ancient text, hermeneutic studies are needed to understand the text more deeply.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Context of Apostolic Tradition

1.1 Historicity

AT is literature that belongs to the ancient church family. Generally, church order in ancient times was conceived as authoritative guidelines governing moral conduct, liturgical practice,

¹⁷ White, 17.

¹⁸ W.D. Killen, *The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution* (London: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 183; Andrew Brian McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, a division of Baker Publishing Group, 2014), 53.

organization, and ecclesiastical discipline¹⁹. Basil Studer (1925-2008), a Swiss Patristic theologian, revealed that the early church immediately felt the need for some kind of management of life with community members, a way of receiving guests or strangers, as well as assistance to the poor and needy. sick. In addition, they also need worship guidelines. Although Jesus' teachings were divine rules for the early church, they still needed technical guidance, because Jesus did not regulate such matters²⁰. Therefore, the teachings of their Jesus serve as the basis and general provisions, while technical instructions and special regulations are developed by each congregation²¹. These special regulations were contained in the ancient church system²².

Most of the ancient church orders were anonymous, but all of them were published under apostolic authority. It aims to emphasize to the reader that the basic principles of the code are in accordance with the teachings of the apostles²³. In ancient times, all writings related to the apostles were highly respected. It was this apostolic value that prompted the editors in Syria and Egypt to collect and compile manuscripts of the ancient church systems of the third and fourth centuries²⁴. However, over time, these manuscripts were lost for a very long time.

Because it is very helpful in understanding theological thinking and ecclesiastical practice in the past²⁵, scholars attempted to find and reconstruct the church order. The first church order discovered was the *Apostolic Constitution* in 1563. In 1691, Job Leutholf attached to his book an ancient Ethiopian

¹⁹ Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73.

²⁰ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 2.

²¹ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 2.

²² Basil Studer, "Liturgical Documents of the First Four Centuries," dalam *Handbook For Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the Liturgy*, vol. I (Collegeville Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 200–201.

²³ Studer, "Liturgical Documents of the First Four Centuries," 201.

²⁴ Studer, "Liturgical Documents of the First Four Centuries," 201.

²⁵ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 73; Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 31.

ecclesiastical document, which he named the *Statuta Apostolorum*.²⁶ For a century after that, no more discoveries of ancient church order. However, since the 19th century, experts have made new discoveries. In 1843, J. W. Bickell published a short treatise in Greek which he called *The Apostolic Church Order*. In 1848, Henry Tattam (1788-1868), an Anglican priest and expert on the Coptic Christian tradition, published a compound document in Bohairic Coptic. The document consisted of the Apostolic Order of the Church, the 'unknown document' (in a German publication in 1891, Hans Achelis named this document *Die gyptische Kirchenordnung*²⁷ or Egyptian Church Order), and the VIII Apostolic Constitution. This Tattam collection is commonly called *Clementine Heptateuch* or *Alexandrine Sinodos*²⁸

In 1854, Paul de Lagarde published a Syriac translation of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*²⁹. In 1856, he also published a Syriac translation of *the Apostolic Order of the Church* and the *Epitome of the VIII Apostolic Constitution*³⁰. In 1870, Daniel von Hannberg published the Arabic Canon of Hippolytus. In 1875, Philotheus Brenius discovered the Greek text *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* or *Didache*, and published it in 1883. In the same year, Lagarde translated the Tattam collection into Sahidic dialect. In 1899, Ignatius Rahmani published *Testamentum Domini* in Syriac³¹. In 1900 Edmund Hauler edited the fifth-century *Verona Palimpsest* manuscript, containing the Latin translations of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the *Apostolic Order of*

²⁶ Bradshaw et.al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 1; Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 27.

²⁷ Hans Achelis, *Die Canones Hippolyti*, *Die Alttesten Quellen des Orientalischen Kirchenrechtes* 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1891), 26.

²⁸ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 73.

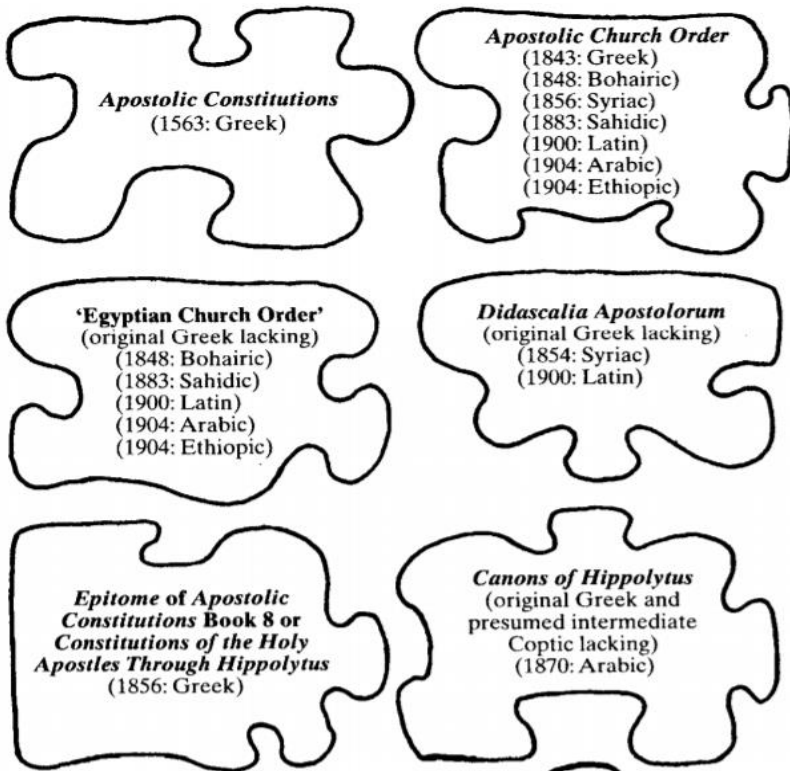
²⁹ Margareth Dunlop Gibson, trans., *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English*, *Horae Semiticae*, II (London: C. J. Clay And Sons, 1903), v.

³⁰ In some manuscripts it was mentioned as "The Constitution of Holy Apostle by Hippolytus."

³¹ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 75.

the Church, and the *Egyptian Order of the Church*.³² Finally, in 1904 George Horner published the Arabic and Ethiopian *Alexandrine Sinodos*, complementing the Bohairik and Sahidic versions previously published by Tattam and Lagarde. After that, there are no new discoveries of ancient church order³³.

Among the various ancient church systems that have been found, many of the subjects are the same. This indicates a direct literary relationship. Bradshaw describes the conundrum of the relationship as follows:



³² Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 27.

³³ However, some new manuscripts and small fragments from original Greek manuscripts that are lost, are found. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 75.

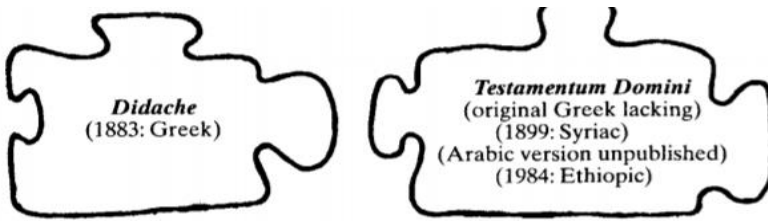


Figure 1

Various ancient church orders looking like puzzles³⁴

Various theories have developed to explain it. In 1891, Achelis proposed that the oldest document was the *Canon of Hippolytus*, followed by the *Egyptian Order of the Church*, the *Epitome*, and the *VIII Apostolic Constitution*. That same year, F. X. Funk (1840-1907), a German Catholic theologian, suggested the opposite order. Funk suggests that the *VIII Apostolic Constitution* is the oldest source, and it is from there that the *Epitome*, the *Egyptian Church Order*, and the *Canon of Hippolytus* were derived³⁵. When Rahmani published *Testamentum Domini* in 1899, he claimed that it was from the second century and was at the root of the *VIII Apostolic Constitution*, the *Egyptian Order of the Church*, and the *Canon of Hippolytus*. In 1901, John Wordsworth hypothesized that there was a missing church order. According to Wordsworth, the lost church structure consisted of three parts. First, the rules regarding the election of bishops, explanations about the implementation of the Eucharist presided over by the bishop, rules regarding other ministers such as elders, deacons, and lectors. Second, the rules regarding the acceptance of new church members start from catechism, baptism, confirmation, and communion. Third, the rules of fasting, giving alms, caring for the elderly, agape ban-

³⁴ Sumber gambar: Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 74.

³⁵ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 76.

quets, fasting and Easter celebrations, public worship and personal worship³⁶.

The theory of the lost church order was elaborated by Edward von der Goltz. He suggested that the missing document was the work of Hippolytus of Rome, entitled *Apostolike Paradosis* (Apostolic Tradition)³⁷. Goltz also stated that the text that has been known as the 'Egyptian Church Order' is actually the Apostolic Tradition. Goltz's ideas were later developed by Eduard Schwartz (1858-1940), a German philologist, in his 1910 tract³⁸, and by R.H. Connolly (1873-1948), an English monk and Syrian Christian scholar. In his book published in 1916, Connolly wrote his conclusion thus:

*If this be a sound conclusion, then the previous work 'de donationibus' (i.e. περί χαρισμάτων), referred to in the preface of Eg. C. O., can only have been the Περὶ Χαρισμάτων of Hippolytus. On the other hand, the very fact that Eg. C. O. professes to be the sequel to a work with that title would seem to give us assurance that we were right in concluding (on independent grounds) that Eg. C. O. was itself ascribed in its title to Hippolytus. What work of Hippolytus would be more likely to form a sequel to his Περὶ Χαρισμάτων than his Αποστολική παράδοσις, which immediately follows it in the ancient catalogue of his works?*³⁹

Since then, the AT has been universally accepted as a Roman liturgy dating back to the third century, and is the main source of other ancient ecclesiastical orders besides the

³⁶ Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace, Studies in Early Church History With Reference to Present Problems*, 18.

³⁷ Bradshaw et.al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 2.

³⁸ The Abbot of Downside, "The 'Apostolic Tradition' of Hippolytus," *The Downside Review* 35, no. 3 (Desember 1916): 119, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001258061603500302>.

³⁹ Eg. C. O. adalah singkatan dari Egyptian Church Order atau Tata Gereja Mesir. R. H. Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, ed. oleh Robinson, J.A, vol. VIII, Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature (Cambridge: University Press, 1916), 144.

*Didache*⁴⁰. The literary relationship of the ancient church order is summarized by Bradshaw in the image below:

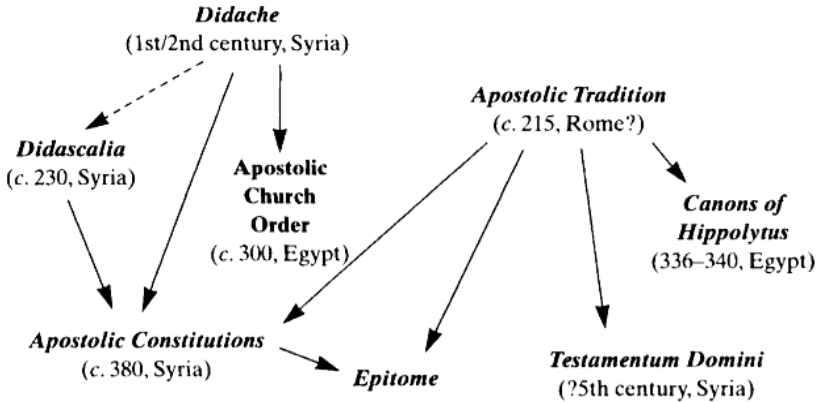


Figure 2.
The relationship among ancient church⁴¹

1.2 Hippolytus of Rome

Hippolytus is a unique figure in church history. In some literature, he is referred to as the schismatic bishop of the Roman church, but the Roman Catholic Church (GKR) honors him as both a saint and a martyr. Not much information is written about his life, but many of his works were studied and translated, especially into ancient Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Slavic. Eusebius described him as simply the bishop "of a church somewhere." Of the place, Jerome wrote, "the name of a city I have yet to learn." According to Easton, both writers knew that Hippolytus was from Rome, but they were displeased with the diocese's simultaneity and divisiveness. Meanwhile, Western writers generally write Hippolytus as "an elder." The only general agreement on the history of Hippolytus is the year of his

⁴⁰ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 76.

⁴¹ Sumber gambar: Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 76.

death, which is 235⁴². Not surprisingly, the emergence of Hippolytus' name as the sole author of AT sparked debate.

Goltz and his supporters' attribution of AT to Hippolytus is based on two main arguments. First, the AT does not find the title and author's name, but the Canon of Hippolytus and the Epitome of the VIII Apostolic Constitution—which is considered to be a derivative of the AT—inscribes Hippolytus' name clearly. At the opening of the Epitome is written, "Constitution of the Holy Apostles on Ordination by Hippolytus."⁴³ Second, in the prologue and epilogue of AT there is the phrase "apostolic tradition."⁴⁴ The phrase is linked to a list of written works inscribed under a statue found in Rome in 1551. The statue was found in ruins by Pirro Ligorio, a Renaissance archaeologist, somewhere between Via Nomentana and Via Tiburtina⁴⁵. Upon completion of the reconstruction, Ligorio announced that the figure in the statue was Hippolytus of Rome, and the list of inscriptions on the stone below was that of Hippolytus⁴⁶. Among the titles in the catalog are the words [ΑΠ]ΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΣ (apostolic tradition) and [Π]ΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ (about gifts)⁴⁷. This title fits the phrase "apostolic tradition" in the prologue and epilogue sections of AT.

According to Bradshaw, two arguments above are not strong. He said that the tendency to associate a document with an apostolic figure—in order to increase authority—was common in

⁴² Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 16.

⁴³ Paul F. Bradshaw, "Hippolytus Revisited: The Identity of the So-Called 'Apostolic Tradition,'" *Liturgy* 16, no. 1 (Juni 2000): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0458063X.2000.10392489>; Josef Andreas Jungmann dan Balthasar Fischer, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, trans. oleh A. Peeler (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), 14.

⁴⁴ TA 43:2. Bradshaw, "Hippolytus Revisited," 8.

⁴⁵ The status is being restored in the Museum of Lateran. Botte, *La Tradition Apostolique*, 6.

⁴⁶ John F. Baldwin, "Hippolytus and the *Apostolic Tradition* : Recent Research and Commentary," *Theological Studies* 64, no. 3 (September 2003): 522, <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056390306400303>.

⁴⁷ hence Stewart emphasizes, TA should be mentioned as "Apostolic tradition about miracles" See. Stewart-Sykes, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, 21..

ancient Christianity⁴⁸. Therefore, Bradshaw suggested that the appearance of the name Hippolytus in the Epitome should not be taken for granted. Bradshaw also doubts the list of written works on the inscription under the statue as belonging to Hippolytus. The reason is that the most famous works of Hippolytus are not written there, such as the *Commentary on the book of Daniel*⁴⁹. Bradshaw concludes that AT is a “living literature,” that is, writing that has been edited several times, and the editors live in a different era⁵⁰.

John F. Baldovin agrees with Bradshaw. Baldovin suggested that the original figure of the statue in Rome was not a bishop, but a woman, so he pointed out that the basis for linking AT to Hippolytus based on the catalog under the statue was very weak⁵¹. Allen Brent said the writing under the statue was written by at least three different people. While Brent confirms that the figure on the statue is female, he also explains that the figure had been used as a symbol of wisdom (Sophia) in an ecclesiastical school of Hippolytus in the third century⁵². Brent therefore concludes that one of the three authors of the work on the inscription was Hippolytus⁵³.

Alistair Stewart-Sykes disagrees with Bradshaw. He admits that linking the Hippolytus name in the Epitome to the catalog under the statue does seem like a guesswork⁵⁴. However, due to the many similarities between AT and other works in the "Hippolytean Corpus," and the abundance of evidence to suggest that AT was truly a Roman liturgy and dates back to the third century⁵⁵, he maintained the traditional view that AT was the work

⁴⁸ Bradshaw, “Hippolytus Revisited,” 8.

⁴⁹ Bradshaw, “Hippolytus Revisited,” 9.

⁵⁰ Bradshaw, “Hippolytus Revisited,” 9.

⁵¹ Baldovin, “Hippolytus and the *Apostolic Tradition*,” 522.

⁵² Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, v. 31 (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 365–66.

⁵³ Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century*, 353.

⁵⁴ Stewart-Sykes, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, 17.

⁵⁵ Stewart-Sykes, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, 20.

of Hippolytus of Rome⁵⁶. However, the Hippolytus referred to is not one person, but two different writers, the elder and the bishop⁵⁷.

1.3 Text

Maxwell E. Johnson, a lecturer in liturgical studies at the University of Notre Dame, points out that the AT was first written in Greek, but that the original text has been lost. The oldest surviving manuscripts are the fifth-century Latin translation (*the Verona Palimpsest*), the eleventh-century Sahidic Coptic manuscript, the fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript, the fifteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript, and the nineteenth-century Bohairic Coptic manuscript. In addition, several parts of the AT also appear in the *VIII Apostolic Constitution*, *the Epitome*, *the Canon of Hippolytus*, and *the Testamentum Domini*⁵⁸. Bradshaw, Johnson, and Philips in *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* published AT English translations based on these secondary texts. As far as the author observes, so far no AT text has been translated into Indonesian, so for the convenience of reading this paper, the author presents a 'free translation' based on the English translation provided by Bradshaw, Johnson, and Philips.

2. Comparison of TR 41:1-4 translations

Given that the original AT manuscripts in Greek have been lost, the sources used by some experts to reconstruct the AT depend on translated manuscripts (secondary sources). The manuscripts include a Latin codex called *Verona Palimpsest*, dating from the sixth century, and the translation of which was done in the fourth century. The codex consists of the *Didascalia*, *the Order of the Apostolic Church*, and the AT. The parts of the AT that are written in it include articles 1:1-9; 11a; 21:14-24:12a;

⁵⁶ Stewart-Sykes, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, 19.

⁵⁷ Both of these authors are discussed in Chapter 2 Section Critics of Literature.

⁵⁸ Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Apostolic Tradition," dalam *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. oleh Geoffrey Wainwright dan Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2006), 74.

and 26:3b-38:2a⁵⁹. Next are the manuscripts of the Oriental Church Order. First, the Sahidic, also known as the Egyptian Heptateuch, contains the Apostolic Order, the AT, the VIII Apostolic Constitution, and the Apostolic Canon. It does not contain article 1; 3; 4:4-13; 5-6; 8:2-5; and the order of chapters 11-14 becomes 12, 14, 11, 13⁶⁰. The second, the Bohairic translation, was made in the 19th century based on a simple Sahidic text. Third, the Arabic script is based on the Sahidic text, but chapters 11-14 are well structured⁶¹. Fourth, the Ethiopic text, which is a tertiary translation based on the Arabic translation, consists of Apostolic Church Order, AT, Apostolic Constitution VIII, Didache, and Didascalía.

In the *The Apostolic Tradition*, Bradshaw et al. translated AT 41:1-4 from the Sahidic (Shd.), Arabic (Arb.), and Ethiopic (Eth.) manuscript. Latin manuscript, on the other hand, did not contain this verse. Assuming that Bradshaw's version has through studies on three secondary texts, their English version of this manuscript is used as a reference to contextualise AT 41:1 to Bahasa Indonesia.⁶²

⁵⁹ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 29.

⁶⁰ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 29.

⁶¹ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 29.

⁶² Although this method is speculative and unscientific, but 'it has been a common fact that there is no translated manuscript that perfectly transfer the original values from the primary source' Katharina Reiss, *Translation Criticism, the Potentials and Limitations: Categories and Criteria for Translation Quality Assessment*, trans. by Erroll F. Rhodes (Manchester, U.K.: New York: St. Jerome Pub.; American Bible Society, 2000), 107. Therefore, the present study aims at proposing Indonesian version of translation that is easy to comprehend.

Verse 1⁶³

Shd.	<i>And^(a) every^(b) faithful man and woman when they arise early^(c) from sleeping, before they touch any work, let them^(d) wash their hands and pray to God, and in this way let them proceed^(e) to their work.</i>	Dan setiap laki-laki maupun perempuan yang beriman, ketika mereka bangun dari tidur pagi-pagi benar, sebelum mereka menyentuh pekerjaan apa pun, hendaklah mereka mencuci tangan dan berdoa kepada Tuhan, dan setelah itu mereka melanjutkan pekerjaannya.
Arb.	<i>Every^(b) believer, male and female, when they get up in the morning,^(c) before they do anything, should^(d) wash their hands and pray to God and then turn^(e) to their work.</i>	Setiap orang percaya, laki-laki dan perempuan, ketika mereka bangun di pagi hari, sebelum mereka melakukan sesuatu apa-pun, harus mencuci tangan mereka dan berdoa kepada Tuhan, setelah itu [barulah mereka] melakukan pekerjaannya.
Eth.	<i>All^(b) believing men and women, when they rise early in the morning,^(c) before they do anything, it is necessary^(d) that they wash their hands and</i>	Semua laki-laki dan perempuan yang percaya, ketika mereka bangun pagi-pagi benar, sebelum mereka melakukan apa pun, penting agar mereka mencuci tangan dan berdoa kepada

⁶³ Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 194. Comparative note: (a) The connecting word “and” (dan) in Shd. is not found in Arb. and Eth. Indication: the description in this verse is related to the previous verse; (b) Adjective “every” (setiap) in Shd., written as “all” (semua) in Arb. dan Eth. Indication: this particular instruction is addressed to every single Christian without exception; (c) The adverb of time: “early” (pagi-pagi benar] in Shd; written “in the morning” [pada pagi hari] in Arb, and “early in the morning” [pagi-pagi benar] in Eth. Indication: At that time, people (or at least Christians) commonly got up in the dawn time; (d) The suggestion of handwashing starts with the phrase “let them” (hendaklah mereka) in Shd., written “[they] should” (mereka harus) di Arb., and “it is necessary that they” (penting sekali agar mereka) in Eth. Indication: handwashing is a compulsory ritual to do after waking up from sleep; (e) The verb “proceed” in Arb., written “turn to” in Arb. dan Eth. Indication: prayers are a portal for entering other works/deeds.

	<i>pray to God. Then they are to <u>turn</u>^(e) to their work.</i>	Tuhan. Setelah itu baru mereka mulai bekerja.
<p>Suggested translation in Bahasa Indonesia: Semua orang percaya, [baik] laki-laki maupun perempuan, ketika mereka bangun pada waktu fajar,⁶⁴ mesti mencuci tangan mereka lalu berdoa kepada Tuhan. Setelah itu [barulah] mereka melakukan pekerjaannya.</p>		

Verse 2⁶⁵

⁶⁴ or “subuh”, “pagi-pagi benar.”

⁶⁵ Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 194. Comparative note: (a) The noun “catechesis” (pengajaran) in Shd., written as “sermon” (khotbah) in Arb.; and “the word of teaching” (Firman pengajaran) in Eth. Indication: There is teaching sourced from the Bible performed in dawn time; (b) Imperative phrase “let each one choose to go to” (hendaklah setiap orang memilih pergi ke) in Shd, written as “every one should choose to go to” (setiap orang harus memilih pergi ke) in Arb., and “every one is to hurry to go there, to” (setiap orang harus bergegas pergi ke sana, ke) in Eth. Indication: First, the instruction to go the teaching site (in note a) is addressed to every Christians without exception. Second, the instruction is highly important; (c) Demonstrative pronoun “that place” (tempat tersebut) in Shd., written as “the place where the teaching take place” in Arb, ; and “the place of instruction” in Eth. Indication: the teaching (as in note a) occur in a certain place known by the congregation; (d) Idiom “considering this in his heart” (mempertimbangkan dalam hatinya) in Shd., written as “take into his heart” (memikirkan dengan serius; memperhatikan) in Arb., and “to know this in his heart and examine closely” (mengetahui dalam hatinya dan memeriksa dengan seksama) in Eth. Indication: it requires a careful decision prior to going ot noy going to the teaching site (as in note a); (e) Preposition “in the one who instructs” (di dalam sang pengajar) in Shd., written as “through the mouth of the teacher,” and “from the mouth of the one who teaches” (dari mulut sang pengajar) in Eth. Indication: the one who deliver the teaching as in note a is God’s servant, thus his words are the words of God; (f) The word “to escape” ([subject] mengusir) in Shd., written as “dispels” ([subject] mengusir) in Arb., and “passes away” ([objek] pergi atau mati). Ones who pray diligently in church have the ability to expel devils; (g) The word “the pious one” (orang saleh) in Sdh., written as “the God-fearing man” (orang yang takut akan Tuhan) and “the one who fears God” (orang yang takut akan Tuhan) in Eth. Indication: Christians identify themselves as pious or someone who fears of God.

<p>Shd.</p>	<p><i>But if it happens that there is <u>catechesis</u>^(a) of the Word of God, <u>let each one choose to go to</u>^(b) <u>that place</u>,^(c) <u>considering this in his heart</u>^(d) that God is the one whom he hears speaking <u>in the</u>^(e) one who instructs; for having prayed in the church, he will be able <u>to escape</u>^(f) the evil of the day. Let <u>the pious one</u>^(g) consider it a great loss when he does not go to the place where one is instructed, especially if he can read or if the teacher comes.</i></p>	<p>Tetapi jika ada katekese dari Firman Tuhan, biarlah masing-masing memilih pergi ke tempat itu, [sembari] mengingat dalam hatinya, bahwa Tuhanlah yang dia dengar berfirman di dalam orang yang mengajar itu; [dan bahwa] oleh karena telah berdoa di gereja, ia akan dapat melepaskan diri dari kejahatan pada hari itu. Hendaklah orang saleh menganggap rugi besar jika dia tidak pergi ke tempat di mana seseorang diajari, terutama jika dia bisa membaca atau jika guru (pengajar) datang.</p>
<p>Arb.</p>	<p><i>If there is a <u>sermon</u>,^(a) <u>every one should choose to go to</u>^(b) <u>the place where the teaching takes place</u>^(c) and <u>take into his heart</u>^(d) that the one he hears, it is God who is speaking <u>through the mouth of</u>^(e) the teacher, for he lives in the church and <u>dispels</u>^(f) the evil of every day. Let the <u>God-fearing man</u>^(g) consider it a great loss if he does not go to the place where teaching is given, especially if he can read.</i></p>	<p>Jika ada khotbah, setiap orang harus memilih pergi ke tempat di mana pengajaran tersebut berlangsung, dan memikirkan dalam hatinya, bahwa Tuhanlah dia berfirman melalui mulut sang pengajar, karena dia tinggal di gereja dan mengusir kejahatan setiap hari. Hendaklah orang yang takut akan Tuhan merasa kehilangan besar apabila dia tidak pergi ke tempat di mana pengajaran disampaikan, terutama jika dia bisa membaca.</p>
<p>Eth.</p>	<p><i>And if they tell them where <u>the word of teaching</u>^(a) is, <u>every one</u></i></p>	<p>Dan jika mereka (mungkin penatua atau uskup) memberi tahu mereka (jemaat) di mana</p>

<p><i>is to hurry to go there, to^(b) the place of instruction.^(c) And he is to know this in his heart and examine closely^(d) that what he heard is God who speaks from the mouth of^(e) the one who teaches, and the evil of every day passes away^(f) from the one who dwells in the church. And it will be reckoned a great loss to the one who fears God^(g) if he does not go to the place where there is teaching, especially for one who is able to read.</i></p>	<p>firman pengajaran dilaksanakan, setiap orang harus bergegas pergi ke sana, ke tempat pengajaran itu. Dan dia harus mengetahui dan memperhatikan hal ini secara saksama di dalam hatinya, bahwa yang dia dengar [di sana] adalah Allah yang berbicara dari mulut orang yang mengajar, dan [bahwa] kejahatan setiap hari berlalu dari orang yang bersemayam di gereja. Dan harus dianggap sebagai kerugian besar bagi orang yang takut akan Tuhan, jika dia tidak pergi ke tempat di mana ada pengajaran, terutama bagi orang yang mampu membaca.</p>
<p>Suggested translation in Bahasa Indonesia: Tetapi jika ada pengajaran⁶⁶ Firman Tuhan [di Gereja], hendaklah semua orang pergi ke tempat tersebut. Mereka harus memikirkan dengan saksama, bahwa Tuhanlah yang berbicara melalui mulut sang pengajar, dan bahwa siapapun yang rajin berdoa di gereja akan mampu mengusir kejahatan pada hari itu. Hendaklah orang percaya menganggap rugi besar jika dia tidak pergi ke tempat di mana ada pengajaran, terutama jika dia bisa membaca.</p>	

⁶⁶ or “khotbah” (sermon)

Verse 3⁶⁷

<p>Shd. <i>Let <u>none of you</u>^(a) be late for the church, the place in which they teach. Then the one who speaks will be enjoined to proclaim those things that are profitable to everyone, and you will listen to things you <u>do not think about</u>,^(b) and you will benefit from things that the Holy Spirit will give to you from the one who teaches. By this your faith will be strengthened by the things you have heard. And you will be told also in that place <u>the things that it is proper for you to do in your house</u>.^(c) Because of this, let each one <u>hasten</u> to go to the church, the place in which the Holy Spirit springs forth.</i></p>	<p>Janganlah ada di antara kamu yang terlambat ke gereja, tempat mereka mengajar. Kemudian, orang yang mengajar akan dipersilahkan untuk memberitakan hal-hal yang menguntungkan semua orang, dan kamu akan mendengarkan hal-hal yang tidak kamu pikirkan, dan kamu akan mendapat manfaat dari hal-hal yang akan diberikan oleh Roh Kudus kepadamu melalui orang yang mengajar itu. Dengan demikian imanmu akan diteguhkan oleh hal-hal yang telah kamu dengar. Dan kamu akan diberi tahu juga di tempat itu hal-hal yang pantas untuk kamu perbuat di rumahmu. Karena itu, biarlah masing-masing lekas-lekas pergi ke gereja, tempat di mana Roh Kudus <i>terbit</i>.</p>
<p>Arb. <i>If the teacher is present, let <u>him</u>^(a) not be late for church, the place in which the teaching is given.</i></p>	<p>Jika guru hadir, jangan sampai dia terlambat ke gereja, tempat di mana pengajaran disampaikan. Kemudian pem-</p>

⁶⁷ Bradshaw et al., in the *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 194. Comparative note: (a) Phrase “none of you” in Shd., written as “him” in Arb., and Eth. Indication: Considering that in one verse, the instruction is addressed to all without exception, the masculinity in Arb. and Eth. version is questionable; as if only men who need to go to church; (b) Phrase “do not think about” ([yang] tidak kamu pikirkan) in Shd., twritten as “do not expect” ([yang] tidak kamu duga) in Arb., and “had not thought” ([yang] tidak pernah kamu pikirkan); (c) Phrase “the things that it is proper for you to do in your house” in Shd., written as “what you should do at home” in Arb., and “what is proper for you to do in your house;” (d) The word “hasten” in Shd. and Arb., written as “to hurry” in Sth. Indication: Do not delay going to the church.

	<p><i>Then the speaker will be given to say what is profitable to everyone. You will hear what you <u>do not expect</u>^(b) and profit from what the Holy Spirit gives you through the one who is teaching. So your faith will be established on what you hear. You will also be told in that place <u>what you should do at home</u>.^(c) For this reason, let everyone hasten to the church, the place in which the Spirit shines.</i></p>	<p>bicara akan dipersilahkan untuk mengatakan apa yang menguntungkan bagi semua orang. Kamu akan mendengar apa yang tidak kamu duga, dan mendapat manfaat dari apa yang diberikan Roh Kudus kepadamu melalui orang yang sedang mengajar. Jadi imanmu akan diteguhkan oleh apa yang kamu dengar. Kamu juga akan diberitahu di tempat itu tentang hal-hal yang harus kamu lakukan di rumah. Atas dasar ini, hendaklah semua orang bergegas ke gereja, tempat di mana Roh bersinar.</p>
<p>Eth.</p>	<p><i>If there is one who teaches, <u>he</u>^(a) is not to hold back from the church, the place where the teaching is. It should immediately be permitted to the one who speaks that he should speak what is profitable for everyone. And you will hear what you <u>had not thought</u>,^(b) and you will profit through what the Holy Spirit will give you from the one who teaches. And in this way your faith will become strong because of what you will hear. And further, they will say to you in that place <u>what is proper for you to do in your house</u>.^(c) And for this reason each person is to</i></p>	<p>Jika ada orang yang mengajar, dia tidak boleh menunda pergi ke gereja, tempat di mana pengajaran itu dilaksanakan. Orang yang berbicara (pengajar) itu harus segera diizinkan untuk memperkatakan apa yang menguntungkan bagi semua orang. Dan kamu akan mendengar apa yang tidak pernah kamu pikirkan, dan kamu akan mendapat keuntungan melalui apa yang akan diberikan Roh Kudus kepadamu melalui orang yang mengajar itu. Dan dengan demikian imanmu akan menjadi kuat oleh karena apa yang akan kamu dengar. Dan selanjutnya, mereka akan mengatakan kepadamu di tempat itu hal-hal yang pantas untuk kamu lakukan di</p>

	<i>hurry to go to the church, to the place where the Spirit shines.</i>	rumahmu. Atas dasar ini, setiap orang harus bergegas pergi ke gereja, ke tempat di mana Roh bersinar.
<p>Suggested translation in Bahasa Indonesia: Janganlah ada di antara kamu yang terlambat ke gereja, tempat dilangsungkannya pengajaran. Di tempat itu, pengajar akan memberitakan hal-hal yang menguntungkan bagi semua orang. Darinya, kamu akan mendengarkan hal-hal yang tidak pernah kamu pikirkan sebelumnya. Kamu juga akan mendapat manfaat dari pengajaran tersebut, yang disampaikan oleh Roh Kudus kepadamu melalui sang pengajar. Imanmu akan semakin teguh oleh apa yang kamu dengar. Kamu juga akan diberitahu tentang apa yang pantas kamu lakukan di rumahmu. Oleh karena itu, hendaklah setiap kamu masing-masing lekas-lekas pergi ke gereja, tempat Roh Kudus bercahaya.</p>		

Verse 4⁶⁸

Shd.	<i>If there is a day when there is no <u>catechesis</u>, <u>when</u> each one is at his house, let him take a holy book and read in it <u>sufficiently as it seems to him that it is profitable</u>.</i>	Jika ada hari tanpa katekese, ketika masing-masing berada di rumahnya, hendaklah dia mengambil sebuah kitab suci dan membacanya [ayat-ayat kitab itu] secukupnya, yang menurutnya bermanfaat baginya.
Arb.	<i>If it is a day on which there is no <u>teaching</u>, <u>let</u> everyone be in his house and take a holy book and read <u>enough for</u> what he knows is <u>good</u>.</i>	Jika pada hari itu tidak ada pengajaran, hendaklah semua orang berada di rumahnya dan mengambil sebuah kitab suci dan membaca [ayat-ayat] sebanyak yang dia anggap baik [untuk dibaca].
Eth.	<i>And if it is a day on which there is no <u>teaching</u>, everyone is to <u>be</u> in his house and is to take the holy book and read <u>as long as he can</u>,</i>	Dan jika pada hari itu tidak ada pengajaran, setiap orang harus berada di rumahnya dan mengambil kitab suci dan membaca [ayat-ayat] sepanjang yang dia mampu, karena itu

⁶⁸ Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 194.

	<i>because it is a good thing.</i>	adalah hal yang baik.
<p>Suggested translation in bahasa Indonesia: Jika ada hari tanpa pengajaran, hendaklah setiap orang berada di rumah dan mengambil sebuah kitab suci, dan membacanya secukupnya, sebanyak yang dia anggap berguna⁶⁹ [untuk dibaca pada hari itu].</p>		

3. Interpretation of TR 41:1-4

3.1 Verse 1

Here there is a pleonasm between the two phrases, namely, “everyone believes” and “[both] male and female.” In general, pleonasm is used to clarify a statement. In this verse, what I want to make clear is that the rules for performing the morning prayer apply to all Christians, without exception. Washing hands before praying symbolizes the need for purity of heart before engaging with God⁷⁰. This rite is also performed at midnight prayer (AT 41:11). It seems that this tradition was adapted from Judaism. In Exodus 30:17-21 we find the decree that Moses make a vessel for washing, which was placed between the Tent of Meeting and the altar. Before entering that place, Aaron and his sons must first wash their hands and feet. Later, Judaism enforced it not only for priests, but also for all people. In John 13:9-10 we also find that not only the hands and feet, the head is also washed⁷¹.

3.2 Verse 2

The appearance of the word "but" in verse 2 raises two assumptions of interpretation. First, it may indicate that the morning prayer is performed in the church if there is a teaching. Second, it can also mean that someone does not go straight to work after praying as described in verse 1, but to fellowship in church listening to teachings. Johnson says:

But it should be noted here that this horarium in Apostolic Tradition 41 refers to “morning prayer” as both a time for

⁶⁹ or “sebanyak yang dia butuhkan.”

⁷⁰ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 103–4.

⁷¹ Victor Z. Khalil, *The Byzantine Jesus: A Mosaic of Culture and Context* (Dorrance Publishing, 2018), 144.

*private prayer and a communal assembly for “instruction” (or catechesis), with the added rubric that those unable to attend the public assembly should read the scriptures (a “holy book”) privately, and it refers to evening prayer as an assembly for the communal agape, rather than to communal “morning” and “evening” prayer properly speaking.*⁷²

Based on Johnson's explanation above, the dawn prayer consists of two parts, namely personal devotions and congregational meetings, but both are one unity. It shows that the word "but" in this verse is intended for people not go to work immediately after praying when they wake up, but go to a communal teaching place. However, Bradshaw, et al. emphasizes that private prayer at home is performed only when there is no teaching in the church⁷³. That is, fellowship in the church is more important, and there dawn prayer and teaching are carried out together. Bradshaw, et al. proposes that the teaching referred to in this article is the same as AT Article 18⁷⁴. Referring to Article 18, the teaching is carried out first, then the prayers are conducted, ending with a holy kiss. The teaching is attended by the both catechumens and the congregation, while the prayer is divided into the prayers of the people (who had been baptized) and the prayers of the catechumens, with separate places for men and women (AT 18:1-3). Therefore, it is now clear that the dawn prayer is a communal prayer.

The Greco-Roman world was filled with philosophical teachings as well as false teachings, so that people could be confused about what was best for them. Therefore, the emphasis in this text that teaching (catechesis) comes from God, seems to show its uniqueness from philosophy and other teachings that developed at that time. Because it is special, the person who receives it benefits, on the contrary, the person who does not receive it is described as having suffered a big loss. “Especially if he can read,” this phrase shows that not everyone was literate

⁷² Johnson, “The Apostolic Tradition,” 117.

⁷³ Bradshaw dkk., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 206.

⁷⁴ Bradshaw dkk., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 136.

at that time. Most likely, people who are able to read are empowered as lectors⁷⁵.

3.3 Verse 3

In this verse, church is understood as the place where teaching takes place and where the Holy Spirit shines (springs forth). While the previous verse mentions that teachings are coming from God, in this verse it is referred to as the gift of the Holy Spirit through the teacher. In *Contra Noetus* it is written: “As far as regards the power, therefore, God is one. But as far as regards the economy there is a threefold manifestation (CN 8); and we cannot otherwise think of one God, but by believing in truth in Father and Son and Holy Spirit (CN 14).”⁷⁶ Although the creed on the Triune God was just completed at the Council of Nicaea, it appears from the CN text above that RCN, who is also the editor of the AT, is a follower of the Trinity teaching. Therefore, the “holy spirit” in this verse is the third manifestation of God's essence.

In the Eucharistic Prayer in FY 4:12-13, the bishop asked for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to gather believers into one in the holy Church, and strengthen the believers' faith in the truth. Since the dawn prayer is an ecclesial assembly, pneumatologically it is understood as the work of the Holy Spirit.

The phrase “So that your faith may become firmer by what you hear” parallels Paul's letter to the Romans, “So then faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ” (Rom. 10:17). Since this morning's teaching is also attended by catechumens (cf. AT 18), the content must be dogmatic. But because they are also taught what is proper while at home (when separated from the community)⁷⁷, that teaching is also ethical. Easton described the teaching as the “sanhedrin” of the Christian,

⁷⁵ Bradshaw dkk., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 206.

⁷⁶ “Church Fathers: Against Noetus (Hippolytus),” para. 14, diakses 5 Mei 2020, <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0521.htm>.

⁷⁷ Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 207.

where believers took their problems with them for advice and solutions from the council of elders⁷⁸.

3.4 Verse 4

According to this verse, it is possible that the teaching is not carried out. Compared to AT 39:1-2⁷⁹, the day without teaching could never be caused by the absence of the teacher. There it is written, "Let every deacon and elder gather daily in the place which the bishop has commanded. Deacons are not worthy to refuse to gather every day, unless sick. And when they are all gathered together, let them teach the people in the church. After they finished praying, each one returned to his work." From chapter 39 it appears that there are several deacons and elders who can teach the people in turn. In addition, the text expressly forbids them to be absent from teaching. The only possible cause of this non-teaching day in verse 4 is the incessant pursuit and persecution of other entities, especially the Roman empire. And if there is no communal teaching, each one reads his own scripture. Of course at that time not many people were able to have a Holy Book.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion above, the author presents two conclusions. *First*, according to the division of AT's canonical hours of daily worship, there are seven times of prayer each day. The earliest prayer time is the dawn prayer, performed shortly after waking up. If there is teaching, the morning prayer is carried out in congregation in the church. Therefore, the congregation of the dawn prayer is first of all closely related to teaching, which educates people to behave in accordance with Christian ethics. In the ancient Christian world, morning and evening services were often held communally because they symbolized the death and resurrection of Christ. Second, the dawn prayer is not only concerned with the importance of teaching. The results of the interpretation of the text of AT 41:1-4 show

⁷⁸ Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 103.

⁷⁹ Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, 206.

that the dawn prayer is at the same time a teaching space and a space for togetherness. In the morning prayer there is an ecclesiastical encounter, consisting of the elders, deacons, and members of the congregation. The dawn prayer is a place for them to merge into one believer entity in communicating with God, as well as a space for them to meet each other as fellow Christians. Theologically, communality is the work of the Holy Spirit. According to AT 41:3, every believer is encouraged to be diligent in going to church, because there the Holy Spirit shines. This paper adds to the conversation about the importance of daily communal worship in Indonesian churches. In the urban context, for example, many church members live in Depok, Bogor, Bekasi but work in Jakarta. To avoid traffic jams, they leave at dawn from home. When they arrived in Jakarta, they often fell asleep again because it was still dawn. Churches that are close to the office center can accommodate them to celebrate the morning service communally. In the liturgical room they gain new strength before working, through hearing the Word and interacting with fellow community members. However, not many churches are open every day, let alone at dawn. The echo of the meaning of the dawn prayer of the Apostolic Tradition becomes a small voice inviting the churches in Indonesia to carry out the dawn worship in congregation.

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