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Yet Again on the Liturgy Described
in the *Mystagogia* of Maximus Confessor

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Abstract

In 2008, Robert Taft published an article trying to prove the Constantinopolitan provenance of the *Mystagogy* of Maximus the Confessor which countered the skepticism of the academic community. The discovery in the *Liber asceticus* (contemporaneous with the *Mystagogy*) of three quotations of prayers from the Liturgy known as the Liturgy of St. James weakens the arguments brought by Taft. This article further analyses several passages in the *Mystagogy* that point toward attributing Maximus' Commentary to the liturgical tradition of the Jerusalem Patriarchate.

Keywords

Maximus Confessor – *Mystagogy* | Liturgical Commentaries | Hagiopolite Liturgy

Yet Again on the Liturgy Described in the *Mystagogia* of Maximus Confessor*

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1 *Status quaestionis*

After the pioneering work of René Bornert and Hans-Joachim Schulz,¹ in recent years the *Mystagogia* of Maximus Confessor [CPG 7704] has repeatedly returned to the fore. It all started with the 1973 publication by Sebastian Brock of the Syriac Life of Maximus written after 680.² The text is far more reliable than the hagiographical dossier in Greek³ and places

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¹ Cf. René BORNERT, Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 9), Paris 1966; Hans-Joachim SCHULZ, Die byzantinische Liturgie. Vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt (Sophia 5), Freiburg i. B. 1964. The English edition, *id.*, The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression, New York 1986, translates the second German edition: *id.*, Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt (Sophia 5), Trier ²1980. The latest German edition bears the title *id.*, Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt (Sophia 5a), Trier ³2000.

² Cf. Sebastian BROCK, An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor, in: AB 91 (1973) 299–346 = *id.*, Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity (Series Variorum Collected Studies 199), London 1984, ch. 12.

³ Cf. Robert DEVREESE, La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions, in: AB 46 (1928) 18–23.

Maximus' birthplace not in Constantinople but in Palestine.⁴ Such an acquisition, taken for granted today, has led to the revision of the chronology of Maximus' lifetime (580–662) and his works⁵ and to the question of the identity of the Eucharistic liturgy he comments on in the *Mystagogia*.

In the face of the once-prevailing opinion inclined to identify the rite with the rite of Constantinople, as early as 2006 Joseph Patrich had argued for the Hagiopolite rite,⁶ without, however, eliciting any reaction in Liturgical Studies. Only later, almost simultaneously with the publication of the critical edition of the *Mystagogia* edited by Christian Boudignon,⁷ did an article by Robert Taft claim the place of the commentary in the Capital,⁸ but it remained ignored in subsequent studies.⁹

⁴ Cf. Christian BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur était-il constantinopolitain?*, in: Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques NORET for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday/Études de patristique grecque et textes byzantines offerts à Jacques NORET à l'occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans, ed. by Bart JANSSENS et al. (OLA 137), Louvain et al. 2004, 11–43, here: 43.

⁵ Cf. Pauline ALLEN, *Life and Times of Maximus the Confessor*, in: The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor, ed. by Pauline ALLEN – Neil BRONWEN, Oxford 2015, 3–18; Marek JANKOWIAK – Phil BOOTH, *A new date-list of the works of Maximus the Confessor*, in: *ibid.*, 19–83.

⁶ Cf. Joseph PATRICH, *The Transfer of Gifts in the Early Christian Churches of Palestine: Archaeological and Literary Evidence for the Evolution of the "Great Entrance"*, in: *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre MARAVAL*, ed. by Béatrice CASEAU et al. (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 23), Paris 2006, 341–393, here: 347–350.

⁷ Cf. *Maximi Confessoris Mystagogia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii*, ed. by Christian BOUDIGNON (CCSG 69), Turnhout 2011.

⁸ Cf. Robert F. TAFT, *Is the Liturgy described in the Mystagogia of Maximus Confessor Byzantine, Palestinian, or Neither?*, in: *BBGG* 8 (2011) 223–270.

⁹ Cf., for example, *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor* (2015); Christian BOUDIGNON, *From Taboo to Icon. The Entrance to and the Exit from the Church in the First Three Greek Liturgical Commentaries (ca 500–730 CE)*, in: *Sacred Thresholds. The Door to the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Emilie M. VAN OPSTALL (RGRW 185), Leiden – Boston 2018, 91–109; cf. also Paul M. BLOWERS, *Maximus the Confessor. Jesus Christ and the Transfiguration of the World* (Christian Theology in Context), Oxford 2016, 196, n. 24.

2 *Purpose and dating*

With respect to Polycarp Sherwood's dating of the *Mystagogy* to 628–630,¹⁰ more recent proposals range from 626 to before 636,¹¹ the decade in which Maximus moved from Asia Minor to Africa and then to Palestine from late 634. It is therefore possible that the author experienced as many as three liturgical traditions, but this does not mean that the *Mystagogy* reflects one in particular, as Maximus himself seems to admit. In the long prologue to the work he states that he only considers what [Pseudo-] Dionysius the Areopagite neglected to comment on in the *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*.¹² After all, liturgical commentaries are very selective, privileging those aspects that are functional to the author's expository purposes. Add to this that the extremely concise style of the *Mystagogia* almost makes one think of shorthand notes during a lecture.¹³ The extreme conciseness makes it difficult to identify the liturgy of reference so much that Boudignon thinks Maximus is describing an ideal celebration,¹⁴ and for Bryan Spinks "the commentary is so vague that it could be any [Eastern] rite"¹⁵.

3 *Liturgical data in the works of Maximus: nova et vetera*

According to René Bornert the few elements of the liturgical ordo clearly deducible from the *Mystagogia* should be integrated with the Chronicon Paschale, with some "liturgical" canons (19, 23, 26, 32, 33, 69, 81, 101) of

¹⁰ Cf. Polycarp SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-list of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (StA 30), Rome 1952, 32.

¹¹ Cf. JANKOWIAK – BOOTH, *A new date-list*, 30; BOUDIGNON, *From Taboo to Icon*, 91. 96.

¹² Cf. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Myst. [0]* (CCSG 69, 7–8; BOUDIGNON).

¹³ Cf. Peter VAN DEUN, *Maximus the Confessor's Use of Literary Genres*, in: ALLEN – BRONWEN, *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, 274–286, here: 282.

¹⁴ Cf. BOUDIGNON, *From Taboo to Icon*, 92: "if he ever deals with a specific Mass".

¹⁵ Bryan D. SPINKS, *Do This in Remembrance of Me. The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day*, London 2013, 124 f.

the Council in Trullo and with other works of Maximus.¹⁶ In the period we are interested in, the Chronicon reports only the introduction in 615 of the hymn for the Entrance with the Gifts of PRES¹⁷ and in 624 of the troparion Repleatur that concludes the communion psalmody of BAS/CHR.¹⁸ The Trullan “liturgical” canons are either too general in tenor or relate more or less directly to the Armenians (canons 32 and 81),¹⁹ while the liturgical information obtainable from Maximus’ other works should be treated with caution. Bornert points to the greeting of peace before the readings witnessed in the edition of the *Quaestiones et dubia* [CPG 7689] according to the *Patrologia Graeca*,²⁰ but which the subsequent critical edition has shown to belong to the epistolary of Isidore of Pelusium.²¹ Relevant, on the other hand, is the citation of the Constantinopolitan diptychs of the dead reported in the *Relatio motionis* [BHG 1231/CPG 7736] of the year 655, when indeed Maximus was in the Capital on trial.²² Bornert also

¹⁶ Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, 105.

¹⁷ Cf. Stefanos ALEXOPOULOS, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components* (LiCo 21), Leuven et al. 2009, 225–227; see also Robert F. TAFT – Stefano PARENTI, *Storia della Liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, vol. 2: *Il Grande Ingresso*. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata (AK 10), Grottaferrata 2014, 190 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Robert F. TAFT, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5: *The Precommunion Rites* (OCA 261), Rome 2000, 296–298.

¹⁹ Cf. Alkiviadis C. CALIVAS, *The Penthekte Synod and Liturgical Reform*, in: *GOTR* 40 (1995) 125–147 and Stephanie FORREST, *A Quest for Uniformity? The Armenian Canons of the Quinisext Council (c. 691/692)*, in: *Dissidence and Persecution in Byzantium from Constantine to Michael Psellos*, ed. by Danijel DŽINO – Ryan W. STRICKLER (*Byzantina Australiensia* 26), Leiden – Boston 2021, 138–160.

²⁰ Cf. *Quaestiones et dubia* 41. 68 (PG 90, 841D–844A); *Maximi confessoris opera: Quaestiones et dubia*, ed. by José H. DECLERCK (CCSG 10), Turnhout 1982, 158, ll. 1–9 (*Quaestio* I, 69).

²¹ Cf. ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM, ep. 1, 122 (PG 78, 264C).

²² Cf. *Relatio motionis* 4–5 (CCSG 39, 27; ALLEN – NEIL); cf. Stefano PARENTI, *The Liturgical τόποι of Ecclesiastical Communion. Diptychs, Commemorations, and Acclamations*, in: *Autocephaly. Coming Age in Communion. Historical, Canonical, Liturgical, and Theological Studies*, vol. 2, ed. by Edward G. FARRUGIA – Želiko PAŠA (OCA 315), Rome 2023, 865–901, here: 867 f.

catches some textual coincidence of the Mystagogia with CHR's introit prayer in *Barberini gr.* 336 (post 787) to which I will return later in § 6.²³

4 *The euchology of JAS in the Liber asceticus*

In an article published in 2021 I was able to add one more item to Maximus' liturgical dossier. This is a conspicuous excerpt from the apologia 'Ο ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς of JAS²⁴ found in the Liber asceticus, which he wrote in Africa in 633–634.²⁵ The text of the quoted prayer presents a more archaic recension than the oldest Greek witness of JAS, the Antiochene scroll *Vatican gr.* 2282 of the 9th–10th c.,²⁶ and also than JASgeorg,²⁷ and agrees with the recension of the prayer transmitted by some Italo-Greek euchologies of the 11th and 12th c.²⁸ As is well known, at the very time of Maximus, at the height of the Monothelite crisis, members of the Melkite intelligentsia of the Jerusalem Patriarchate reached southern Italy, planting Hagiopolite prayers into the Constantinopolitan euchology.²⁹

²³ BORNERT, Commentaires, 108 f.

²⁴ Cf. Basile-Ch. MERCIER, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (PO 26/2), Paris 1946, 190. 192; Alkiviadis KAZAMIAS, *Ἡ θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου καὶ τὰ νέα Συναϊτικά χειρόγραφα*, Thessaloniki 2006, 182–184.

²⁵ Cf. Stefano PARENTI, *A Prayer from the Liturgy of St. James in the Liber Asceticus of Maximus the Confessor*, in: SOC 25/2 (2021) 39–46. The text is published critically in *Maximi Confessoris Liber Asceticus*, ed. by PETER VAN DEUN *adiectis tribus interpretationibus latinis sat antiquis editis a Steven GYSENS* (CCSG 40), Leuven 2000, 93–95.

²⁶ Gabriel RADLE, *The Liturgy of St James in Medieval Damascus. The Dating and Historico-Liturgical Context of Vatican Gr. 2282*, in: OCP 87 (2021) 341–352.

²⁷ Cf. *The Old Georgian Version of the Liturgy of Saint James* published by Lili KHEVSURIANI et al., in: *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi. Editio – translatio – retroversio – commentarii* (JThF 17), Münster 2011, 64/ 67 (Georgian text with English retroversion).

²⁸ Cf. PARENTI, *A Prayer from the Liturgy of St. James*, 41. Now I can also add the euchologion *Grottaferrata Γ.β. VIII* (12th c.), fols. 1^r–3^v (CHR).

²⁹ Cf. Gabriel RADLE, *The Liturgical Ties Between Egypt and Southern Italy. A Preliminary Investigation*, in: *Σύναξις καθολική. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst*

In the introductory volume accompanying the recent edition of JAS edited by the monastery of Vatopedi on Athos, other passages from the Liber Asceticus are pointed out where Maximus uses prayers from the Hagiopolite Eucharistic formulary.³⁰ The first comes from the prayer ‘Ο θεός, ὁ διὰ πολλήν καὶ ἄφατόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν to which Mercier has given the conventional title of *Oratio pro populo*:³¹

[...] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς δικαιουσύναις ἡμῶν πεποιθότες ἐσμέν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει τῷ σῶ, δι’ οὗ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν περιποιῆ. Ἰκετεύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα, ἵνα μὴ γένηται εἰς κρῖμα ἡμῖν τὸ οἰκονομηθὲν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν μυστήριον [...].³²

[...] For it is not on our justifications that we have relied, but on Thy mercy, by which Thou dost preserve our race. We beseech and entreat Thy goodness that the mystery, which Thy only-begotten Son effected for our salvation, may not be for our judgment [...].³³

The comparison conducted in the Vatopedi edition with the JAS Greek and Georgian manuscripts did not reveal any major variants.³⁴ The scroll *Messina gr. 177* (post 1005) attributes the prayer to “Dionysius”, that is, the Pseudo-Areopagite.³⁵ To him the JAS manuscripts also attribute the apologia Τὸ φρικτόν σου, Κύριε, καταλαβόντες δάπενον [...],³⁶ but not the anonymous “prayer of the veil” in the same formulary, which bears a con-

und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. by Diliiana ATANASSOVA – Tinatin CHRONZ (OPOe 6/1), Vienna 2014, 617–632.

³⁰ Cf. Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ πρώτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἱερουσαλήμ. Ἑρμηνευτικόν, Ἱερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου, Ἄγιον Ὄρος 2023, 30 and note 18.

³¹ Cf. PO 26/2, 182; MERCIER; KAZAMIAS, *Λειτουργία Ἰακώβου*, 184.

³² MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, Lib. asc. (CCSG 40, 93 ll. 785-789; VAN DEUN – GYSENS).

³³ English translation taken from ST. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *The Ascetic Life. The Four Centuries on Charity*, translated and annotated by Polycarp SHERWOOD, Westminster/MA – London 1955, 128.

³⁴ Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου, 189.

³⁵ PO 26/2, 192; MERCIER (apparatus).

³⁶ Ibid., 178; KAZAMIAS, *Λειτουργία Ἰακώβου*, 173.

sistent quotation from *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*.³⁷ The example confirms, without the need, how unreliable the proposed attributions in the liturgical books are.

A second passage from JAS taken up in the *Liber asceticus* comes from the so-called “trisagion prayer”.

[...] καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν τὰ ἀντιπίπτοντα, σὺ δὲ δυνατὸς εἶ εἰς τὸ σώζειν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων. Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητά σου, ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει τὸ πέλαγος τοῦ βίου διαπεράσαντες, ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ φρικτῷ σου βήματι παραστάντες.³⁸

[...] Turn not Thy help away from us, for we are not sufficiently strong, to overcome opposition, but Thou art powerful to save from every adversity. Save us, O Lord, from the difficulties of this world according to Thy kindness, that we may pass over the sea of life with a pure conscience and take our stand untainted and incorrupt before Thy dreadful judgment seat [...].³⁹

This time the comparison proposed in Vatopedi’s edition of Maximus the Confessor’s text with the Greek and Georgian manuscripts of JAS proves interesting [table 1]. Assuming that this is not the place for an exhaustive analysis, I merely point out that the *Liber asceticus* confirms the absence in the Georgian version of the interpolation relating to the trisagion hymn that we find in the Vatican scroll. As Hieronymus Engberding showed, the prayer was originally yet another of the *apologiae pro clero* congesting the JAS formulary and was later adapted, with very little originality, to introduce the trisagion hymn.⁴⁰

³⁷ PO 26/2, 196, MERCIER; KAZAMIAS, *Λειτουργία Ἰακώβου*, 186 f.: “τὰ περιεκείμενά σοι συμβολικῶς ἀμφιέσματα τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα τῆλαυγῶς ἡμῖν ἀναδείχθητι καὶ τὰς νοεράς ἡμῶν ὄψεις ἐνιαίου καὶ ἀπερικαλύπτου φωτὸς ἀποπλήρωσον”; cf. PS.-DIONSYIUS AREOPAGITA, *Eccl. hier.* 3 (PTS 36, 82; HEIL – RITTER).

³⁸ *Lib. asc.* (CCSG 40, 99 ll. 844-851; VAN DEUN – GYSENS).

³⁹ ST. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *The Ascetic Life*, 129.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hieronymus ENGBERDING, *Die Gebete zum Trisagion der Vormesse der ostchristlichen Liturgien*, in: OKS 15 (1966) 130–142.

Liber asceticus ^a	Georgian Version ^b	Vatican gr. 2282 ^c
... καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν,	... καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν,	... καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν, μὴδὲ βαρυτέρας τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμενος παιδείας ἐπάγης ἡμῖν,
ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν	ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ [ἐσμεν]	ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ
πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν τὰ ἀντιπίπτοντα, σὺ δὲ δυνατὸς εἶ εἰς τὸ σώζειν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων.	πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν τὰ ἀντιπίπτοντα, σὺ δὲ δυνατὸς εἶ εἰς τὸ σώζειν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐναντιωμάτων.	πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν τὰ ἀντιπίπτοντα, σὺ δὲ δυνατὸς εἶμ Κύριε, εἰς τὸ σώζειν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐναντιωμάτων.
Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε,	Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,	Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός,
ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητά σου, ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει	ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητά σου, ὅπως εἰσελθόντες ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου	ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητά σου, ὅπως εἰσελθόντες ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει πρὸς τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον
τὸ πέλαγος τοῦ βίου διαπεράσαντες, ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ φρικτῷ σου βήματι παραστάντες.	καὶ θείαν ἐπιτελέσαντες λειτουργίαν, [κατ]ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς.	τὸν μακάριον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον σὺν ταῖς ἐπουρανίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀκατακρίτως ἀναπέμφωμέν σοι καὶ θείαν ἐπιτελέσαντες λειτουργίαν,
		καταξιωθῶμεν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς.

^a Lib. asc. (CCSG 40, 99 ll. 844–851).

Table 1

^b Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi, 64 /67.

^c MERCIER, Liturgie de saint Jacques, 168; KAZAMIAS, Λειτουργία Ἰακώβου, 161 f.

The quotation in the *Liber asceticus* of no less than three JAS prayers cannot be dismissed as coincidence and invites the reopening the dossier on which celebration Maximus the Confessor was commenting on in the *Mystagogy*.

5 *Structure and identification of celebration according to Robert Taft*

Putting together all the data found, the Eucharistic synaxis described in the *Mystagogy* consists of the following elements, warning that in the absence of a direct text cited by Maximus, some [11–13] are irrelevant to the analysis:

1. Entrance into church of the bishop, clergy, and people [ch. 8–9, 23–24]
2. Ascent of the bishop to the cathedra [ch. 1]
3. Scripture lessons and chants [ch. 10–11]
4. Greeting of peace before each reading [ch. 10–13, 23–24]
5. Descent of the bishop from the cathedra [ch. 14]
6. Dismissal of catechumens and others after Gospel [ch. 14]
7. Closing of the doors [ch. 13, 15]
8. Entrance of the mysteries [ch. 13, 16]
9. Kiss of peace [ch. 13, 17, 24]
10. Creed [ch. 13, 18, 24]
11. Sanctus [ch. 13, 20]
12. Our Father [ch. 21]
13. Sancta sanctis [ch. 21]

The conclusions of Robert Taft's article identify the Eucharistic *ordo* commented in the *Mystagogy* with the Constantinopolitan *ordo* since Maximus:

1. describes a Eucharistic liturgy with an Introit of the bishop and clergy together with the people [1], as was customary in the early Byzantine rite but foreign to Hagiopolite JAS and, as far as one can determine, to the Latin Mass of Roman North Africa;

2. fails to comment on or refer to certain particularities of JAS such as the *βηματίκιον* chant;
3. refers repeatedly to the preanaphoral prayers [6], Pax, Creed [9–10] in the order in which they are found in BAS/CHR, but not as they are found in JAS or the African Latin Mass.⁴¹

Let us address the three points one by one.

6 *The entrance prayer of JAS*

In his volume on liturgical commentaries, René Bornert noted that Maximus the Confessor's *Mystagogia* (§ 8) attributes a double meaning to the first entry.⁴² On the typological level it recalls the redemptive incarnation and on the moral and mystical level it represents the conversion from sin to virtue and the return to the grace of the Kingdom.⁴³ Without excluding the possibility that this is a simple coincidence, he points out that the same ideas are expressed in the entrance prayer of the CHR formulary in *Barberini gr. 336*:

Εὐεργέτα καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης δημιουργέ, πρόσδεξαι προσιοῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐκάστου τὸ συμφέρον ἐκπλήρωσον, καὶ ἄγαγε πάντας εἰς τελειότητα, καὶ ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀπέργασαι τῆς βασιλείας σου. Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ.⁴⁴

Benefactor and artisan of all creation receive the entering Church, and bring to completion all that is for the good of each, and guide all to perfection, and make us worthy of your Kingdom. By the grace and mercies and love for humankind of your Only-Begotten Son, with whom you are blessed.⁴⁵

The advancing church (*προσιοῦσαν*) and God's welcoming (*πρόσδεξαι*) actually refer back to the bishop's entrance procession with the people (*τὴν*

⁴¹ Cf. TAFT, Maximus, 269.

⁴² Cf. BORNERT, Commentaires, 108.

⁴³ Cf. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Myst.*, 8 (CCSG 69, 36–37; BOUDIGNON).

⁴⁴ Barb. gr. 336, 24.2 (BEL.S 80, 71-72; PARENTI – VELKOVSKA).

⁴⁵ I take the English translation from TAFT, Maximus, 246.

δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ σὺν τῷ ἱεράρχῃ γινομένην εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἴσοδον), as Maximus points out in § 9 below.⁴⁶

According to Bornert, the expression τῆς βασιλείας χάριν of the *Mystagogy* would exhibit a literary kinship with τῆς βασιλείας σου χάριτι of the prayer.⁴⁷ While a certain convergence on the level of ideas is not far-fetched, the parallel between the two texts is not so stringent because the dative χάριτι marks the beginning of the concluding doxology and thus does not belong to the entrance prayer. In any case, CHR's prayer converges much more with Maximus' thought than BAS's prayer influenced by the sanctuary theology of Dionysius the Areopagite.⁴⁸

When Bornert was writing, the idea predominated that the CHR entrance prayer of *Barberini gr. 336* was proper to the Constantinopolitan formulary, later falling into disuse and replaced with the BAS prayer. Unfortunately, Nikolai Krasnosel'cev's writing, which as early as 1885 suggested a Hagiopolite origin for the prayer,⁴⁹ had remained largely ignored. It had also escaped the attention of André Jacob, who in 1964 dedicated a note to the prayer definitively confirming its Hagiopolite origin.⁵⁰

In his article on the *Mystagogy* Robert Taft dismissed the possibility that Maximus was commenting on the Hagiopolite Liturgy. In his view, the description of the rite of entry into the church performed simultaneously by the bishop with the people would correspond more to the Constantinopolitan ordo than to the Hagiopolite one. He argues that while the Byzantine sources of the Patriarchal Liturgy still in the 10th c. present the introit procession as a true entrance into the church of the clergy and people, in the 9th c. the Hagiopolite formulary of JAS begins with a προέλευσις. According to Robert Taft it would be "an 'exit' or 'coming out' of the clergy,

⁴⁶ Cf. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Myst.*, 9 (CCSG 69, 38; BOUDIGNON).

⁴⁷ Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, 108 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. Juan MATEOS, *La célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (OCA 191), Rome 1971, 80.

⁴⁹ Cf. Nikolaj F. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Сведения о некоторых литургических рукописях Ватиканской библиотеки с замечаниями о составе и особенностях богослужбных чинопоследований, в них содержащихся, и с приложениями*, Kazan 1885, 197 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. André JACOB, *Zum Eisodosgebet der byzantinischen Chrysostomusliturgie des Vat. Barb. gr. 336*, in: OKS 15 (1966) 35–38.

doubtless from the auxiliary chamber serving as a sacristy or diakonikon”⁵¹. However, the term *προέλευσις* does not mean “an ‘exit’ or ‘coming out’” but “advancement,” “procession,” “following” – *Gefolge* in the Vienna Lexikon⁵² – “going forth,” “proceeding.” In a ceremonial or liturgical context, it simply means “procession,” and in Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ *De cerimoniis προέλευσις* is the technical term for the imperial procession.⁵³

In support of his thesis Taft cites a document well known in Eastern liturgical studies, namely the description of an episcopal *adventus* datable to the 7th c.⁵⁴ The Syriac original has been lost but the text has been preserved thanks to a 19th-century transcription recently republished by Sebastian Brock and accompanied by an English translation.⁵⁵ In the *ordo* of the *adventus* the bishop is welcomed at the city gates and then escorted in procession to the episcopal residence. The entrance procession of the liturgy is accomplished by the clergy alone and moves from the diakonikon. Evidently the people were already gathered in the church where they awaited the arrival of the introductory procession. Chronologically the *adventus* is contemporary with the *Mystagogia*, but it can be located in Edessa in Mesopotamia,⁵⁶ present-day Urfa in Turkey, a “liturgical prov-

⁵¹ Cf. TAFT, *Maximus*, 245 f.

⁵² *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2/1, ed. by Erich TRAPP (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse), Wien 1994–2011, 1389.

⁵³ Cf. CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, vol. 5: *Glossaire* par Gilbert DAGRON (†) revu par Michel STAVROU, *Index* par Michel STAVROU, *notes sur la langue* par Bernard FLUSIN (CFHP. Series Parisiensis 52/5), Paris 2020, 40 f. s.v. “cortège”, 342 s.v. “*προέλευσις*”.

⁵⁴ TAFT, *Maximus*, 238–243; Ignace E. RAHMANI, *Ritus receptionis episcopi et celebrationis liturgiae catechumenorum*, in: *Studia Syriaca*, vol. 3: *Vetusta documenta liturgica*, Sharfeh 1908, 1–22, here: 1–4; French translation with commentary in Gabriel KHOURI-SARKIS, *Réception d’un évêque syrien au VI^e siècle*, in: *OrSyr* 2 (1957) 159–162, here: 137–148.

⁵⁵ Sebastian BROCK, *An episcopal adventus in Syriac*, in: *A Journey along the Christian Way. Festschrift for the Right Rev. Kallistos WARE on His 85th anniversary*, ed. by Elena Ene D-VASILESCU, Beau Bassin 2018, 53–56 (English translation)/59–61 (Syriac text).

⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 57 f.

ince” of the Patriarchate of Antioch. Thus, we do not know whether at that time the entrance procession was reserved only to the clergy also in Jerusalem, where Maximus Confessor had stayed.

7 *The “missing” commentary on the βηματίκιον*

For the *Festschrift* in honor of Gabriele Winkler in 2000 Robert Taft published an article on the βηματίκιον,⁵⁷ an hapax in Greek-language liturgical terminology reported from the Narration of Abbots John and Sophronius. The narrative can be dated between the 6th and 7th c. and has come down to us through Nikon’s of the Black Mountain Ἐρμηνεΐαι.⁵⁸ Taft proposed to identify the βηματίκιον with the chant that later Hagiopolite sources indicate as στιχηρόν εἰς σύναξιν, στιχηρόν, στιχηρόν εἰς λειτουργίαν, εἰς τὰ ἅγια or, in Georgian *Sanctificatorum* (*cantus*), or even *Manuum loctionis* (*cantus*).⁵⁹ Now, for Taft the Mystagogia’s silence on the βηματίκιον would be a clue, if not proof, that Maximus was not commenting on the Jerusalem Liturgy but on the Constantinople one. The argumentum e silentio, against which Robert Taft has so many times warned, is really weak. For Maximus pays no attention whatsoever to the chants, beginning with the trisagion, which in his day was a stable element of the Eucharistic ordo in both Constantinople and Jerusalem.

⁵⁷ Cf. Robert F. TAFT, The βηματίκιον in the 6/7th c. Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius (BHGNA 1438w). An Exercise in Comparative Liturgy, in: *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele WINKLER*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen FEULNER et al. (OCA 260), Rome 2000, 675–692.

⁵⁸ Cf. Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO, Il testo integrale della “Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio” attraverso le Ἐρμηνεΐαι di Nicone, in: *RSBN 2/3* (1965/1966) 251–267, here: 254 l. 53, 261 l. 93, 266 l. 304.

⁵⁹ Cf. TAFT, Maximus, 234–238.

8 *The sequence of pre-anaphoric rites*

The third argument, which according to Robert Taft supports the commonly held view, is offered by the sequence of pre-anaphoral rites that the *Mystagogia* reports according to the Constantinopolitan *ordo communis*: “the preanaphoral prayers [6], Pax, Creed [9–10]”, but omitting mention of the closing of the doors [7] and the transfer of gifts [8].⁶⁰ A reading of the treatise seems to give the perspective of something else. First, there is no reference to “preanaphoral prayers” but only to the dismissal of catechumens and other classes of people not admitted to the Eucharistic part of the celebration. Of course, one can assume that Maximus took prayers for such categories for granted, but an alternative explanation is also possible. For unlike the Constantinopolitan formularies (BAS / CHR) which have nowadays a litany and presidential prayer for catechumens (and in PRES also for those preparing for illumination) followed by the corresponding dismissal,⁶¹ JAS has only the cumulative dismissal of the categories.⁶² As for the prayers for catechumens given in the PRES^{hag} in the Typikon of the Anastasis, these are only two flagrant influences of the Constantinopolitan tradition.⁶³

The closing of the doors [7] also comes in the *Mystagogy* in the sequence of JAS and not BAS /CHR:

⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 269.

⁶¹ According to fifteen Greek manuscripts from the 12th–14th centuries, the liturgical unity for the *Illuminandi* was also present in BAS, cf. Stefano PARENTI, *A History of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, vol. 1: *The First Entrance* [forthcoming].

⁶² PO 26/2, 176; MERCIER; KAZAMIAS, *Λειτουργία Ἰακώβου*, 169.

⁶³ Cf. Athanasios PAPAPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg 1894 [reprint: Bruxelles 1963], 48: inc. *Εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν, Κύριε, τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχομένους οὓς προσεκαλέσω κλήσει ἁγία* = Prayer for the catechumens of the “ecclesiastical” *orthros* (Barb. gr. 336, 80.3; BEL.S 80, 103; PARENTI – VELKOVSKA) and inc. *Κύριε ἅγιε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τῷ παντεφόρῳ σου ὄμματι* = *kephalokisia* prayer of the same celebration (Barb. gr. 336, 84; BEL.S 80, 105; PARENTI – VELKOVSKA). The Constantinopolitan euchological loan escaped Stephane VERHELST, *Les Présanctifiés de saint Jacques*, in: OCP 61 (1995) 381–405.

Maximus	JAS	BAS / Chr
1. Dismissal	1. =	1. Litany, prayer and dismissal
2. Closing of the doors	2. =	3. Transfer of the gifts
3. Transfer of the gifts	3. =	4. Kiss of peace
4. Kiss of peace	5. Creed	2. Closing of the doors
5. Creed	4. Kiss of peace	5. Creed

In Maximus the closing of the doors [2] precedes rather than follows the pre-anaphoric procession [3], like in JAS. Thus, the first three elements [1–3] appear in the same order in Maximus and JAS. The only elements that seem to point to the Constantinopolitan *ordo* are the kiss of peace-Creed sequence [4–5].

The order in which the kiss of peace and the symbol of faith follow one another is indeed distinctive of the two traditions because in Jerusalem the kiss followed the Symbol while in Constantinople it preceded it.⁶⁴ Even this, however, is not a decisive argument. Bornert's survey of the manuscript tradition of the *Historia mystica* attributed to Germanus of Constantinople showed how much the commentary was adapted from time to time to concrete local situations, distributing the order of the chapters differently.⁶⁵ Something like this may have happened with the *Mystagogia*, which was designed for the Jerusalem Eucharistic *ordo* and was then partially adapted to the Constantinopolitan *ordo*.

⁶⁴ Cf. TAFT – PARENTI, *Il Grande Ingresso*, 604–674.

⁶⁵ Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, 168.

9 *A lexical clue: προσφώνησις*

In ch. 12 Maximus explains the meaning of the bishop's peace greetings to the readers after each pericope:

Τί σημαίνουν αἱ τῆς εἰρήνης προσφωνήσεις.
Διὰ δὲ τῶν γινομένων ἔνδοθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱερατείου κελεύσει τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ἀναγνώσματι τῆς εἰρήνης ὑποφωνήσεων τὰς διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων διακομιζόμενας θείας ἀποδοχὰς δηλοῦσθαι ὁ σοφὸς διωρίζετο [...].⁶⁶

What the salutations of peace signify.

The wise man declared that by the salutations of peace, which are issued from within the sanctuary on the signal of the bishop at each reading, the divine favors imparted by the holy angels are indicated [...].⁶⁷

Maximus employs in the plural the technical term *προσφώνησις* by which, in the Antioch district around 380, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ca. 380) denote the proclamation *Sancta sanctis* pronounced by the bishop at the beginning of the communion rites.⁶⁸ Also in the Constitutions the term denotes litanies and diaconal monitions, according to a usage we see in force in Palestine still in the 7th c. in the testimony of Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai.⁶⁹ Maximus' terminology also seems, therefore, to refer back to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

10 *Excursus: The dismissal of catechumens*

Like other documents, liturgical commentaries also pose the question of how realistic the liturgical celebration was that the author illustrates in his

⁶⁶ MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Myst.*, 12 (CCSG 69, 40; BOUDIGNON).

⁶⁷ English translation taken from MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Selected Writings*. Translation and Notes by George C. BERTHOLD, Introduction by Jaroslav PELIKAN, Preface by Irénée-Henri DALMAIS (*The Classics of Western Spirituality*), New York et al. 1985, 199.

⁶⁸ Cf. ApCon 8,13,12: "Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσφωνησάτω τῷ λαῷ οὕτως· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις." (SChr 336, 208; METZGER).

⁶⁹ Cf. Stefan HEID, *Die C-Reihe erbaulicher Erzählungen des Anastasios vom Sinai im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 2592*, in: OCP 74 (2008) 78–114, here: 112; François NAU, *Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)*, in: OrChr 3/1 (1903) 61–88, here: 62.

work. In the case of the *Mystagogy* the question becomes very relevant in reference to the dismissal of the catechumens. In chapters 14 and 15 Maximus speaks of it, at least it seems, in realistic terms:

14. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν θείαν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου ἀνάγνωσιν, ὃ τε ἀρχιερεὺς κάτεισι τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἡ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀναξίων τῆς θείας τῶν δειχθησομένων μυστηρίων θεωρίας ἀπόλυσίς τε καὶ ἐκβολή διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν γίγνεται.⁷⁰

After the divine reading of the holy Gospel the bishop descends from his throne and takes place the dismissal and sending away by the ministers of the catechumens and of the others unworthy of the divine vision of the mysteries⁷¹.

15. Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν κατηχομένων γινομένη κλείσις τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας [...].⁷²

The closing of the doors of the holy church of God which takes place after the sacred reading of the holy Gospel and the dismissal of the catechumens [...].⁷³

According to Maximus, catechumens are turned away not because they lack the capacity for communal prayer conferred by baptism but because they are not worthy to see/contemplate the celebration of the mysteries. On this point Maximus depends on *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, where the Ps-Dionysius Areopagite wrote:

Καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἔξω γίνονται τῆς ἱερᾶς περιοχῆς οἱ κατηχούμενοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες, μένουσι δὲ οἱ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐποψίας καὶ κοινωνίας ἄξιοι.⁷⁴

After this [= the readings] the catechumens leave the sacred precinct followed by the energumens and penitents. Only those who are worthy of contemplation and participation in the divine mysteries remain.

Τοὺς δὲ κατηχομένους ἐνεργουμένους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντας ὁ τῆς ἁγίας ἱεραρχίας θεσμὸς ἐφήσι μὲν ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς ψαλμικῆς ἱερολογίας καὶ

⁷⁰ MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Myst.*, 14 (CCSG 69, 43; BOUDIGNON).

⁷¹ Id., *Selected Writings*, 200.

⁷² Id., *Myst.*, 15 (CCSG 69, 44; BOUDIGNON).

⁷³ Id., *Selected Writings*, 201.

⁷⁴ PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *Eccl. hier.*, 3 (PTS 36, 80; HEIL – RITTER).

τῆς ἐνθέου τῶν πανιέρων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσεως, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐξῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ θεωρίας οὐ συγκαλεῖται τούτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελείους τῶν τελεσιουργῶν ὀφθαλμούς.⁷⁵

Concerning the catechumens, energumens, and those who are penitents, the law of the holy hierarchy allows them to hear the sacred psalmody and the divine reading of the most holy writings, but it does not summon them to the sacred operations and contemplations that follow, for here it calls the perfect eyes of those who are perfect.

According to Robert Taft, contradicting what he wrote in the *Mystagogia*, in the Scholia to the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* [CPG 7708] Maximus would admit that by now the dismissal was “a dead letter”⁷⁶, but this is not the case. Pseudo-Dionysius, in fact, counted among the possessed (ἐνεργούμενοι) de facto also those living in sin according to 1 Cor. 5:11. In this regard, Maximus notes such an “expansion and enlargement” (διαστολή καὶ διάστασις) of the category of the possessed, and not the dismissal of the catechumens, which by his time was no longer in force (οὐ γίνεταί).⁷⁷

11 Conclusion

The prevailing orientation among scholars today is not to consider Maximus Confessor’s *Mystagogia* a commentary on the Constantinopolitan Divine Liturgy. As we have seen, some consider it so generic as to fit any Eastern liturgical tradition, while others refer it to the Eucharistic Synaxis of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Robert Taft, on the other hand, sought to defend the Constantinopolitan origins of Maximus’s work, and as is well understood, for the history of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy the stakes are quite high.

The recent discovery of as many as three prayers from the JAS for-mulary in the *Liber asceticus*, which Maximus wrote in the same years he

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3,6 (PTS 36, 84; HEIL – RITTER).

⁷⁶ Robert F. TAFT, When Did the Catechumenate Die Out in Constantinople?, in: Ἀνθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. MATHEWS, ed. by Joseph D. ALCHERMES et al., Mainz 2009, 288–295, here: 289.

⁷⁷ MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, Commentaria in De ecclesiastica hierarchia (PG 4, 141C).

was working on the *Mystagogia*, is by itself an argument that weakens the argumentative arsenal put together by Robert Taft. As Bornert had already guessed, the description of the “first entrance” as an introductory procession of the bishop and the faithful is consistent with the JAS entrance prayer, of which CHR of *Barberini gr. 336* remains the earliest witness. In this regard, it should not be forgotten that such Middle Eastern prayers were imported to Southern Italy during the seventh century, and thus the prayers reflect the stage of their evolution at the time of Maximus. Add to this the use of *προσφώνησις*, a technical term foreign to the Constantinopolitan tradition but well known in the Middle East from the fourth to the seventh century. The only weighty argument linking the *Mystagogia* to the Constantinopolitan Eucharistic ordo is the Kiss of Peace–Creed sequence, which in the Eastern traditions turns out to be reversed. As I have suggested, liturgical commentaries had a degree of flexibility and were adapted to concrete circumstances, and it is not inconceivable that originally ch. 18 came before ch. 17.

At the end of this note, I believe the words written by Robert Taft in 2011 accurately describe the path taken by us both, although the conclusions are diametrically opposed:

Does this prove that Maximus’ *Mystagogy* is commenting on the Hagiopolite liturgy and not on the Constantinopolitan? [...] All I have tried to do in this study is show that Maximus Confessor certainly knew well the Hagiopolite eucharistic liturgy, and that from what he writes in his *Mystagogy* one can make a fair and objective case for claiming he was commenting on it [...] *Judicetur non verbo, sed re* [Cicero, *Philippica III contra Marcum Antonium*]⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ Cf. TAFT, Maximus, 269.

Abbreviations

AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AK	Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης
BAS	Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BEL.S	Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CHR	Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom
GOTR	The Greek Orthodox Theological Review
JThF	Jerusalem Theologisches Forum
LiCo	Liturgia Condenda
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OPOe	Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OrSyr	Orient Syrien
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
StA	Studia Anselmiana
SChr	Sources Chrétiennes
SOC	Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano

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