

ACCADEMIA ANGELICO COSTANTINIANA
DI LETTERE ARTI E SCIENZE
Associazione Angelo-Comneno onlus

COOPACAI PHOENIX SCARL

**Studi
sull'Oriente Cristiano**

**Diretta da
GAETANO PASSARELLI**

25₂

Roma 2021

Rivista voluta e fondata da

S. A. I. la Principessa *Stefania Angelo-Comneno di Tessaglia* nel 1997

Sommario

MARIA GABRIELLA MECOZZI , <i>Pestilentia. Excursus sulle misure adottate dalla società romana in caso di epidemia</i>	5
MARIANO AGUSTÍN SPLENDIDO , <i>“Is not this the τέκτων?”: Jesus’s trade in the first christian Literature</i>	21
STEFANO PARENTI , <i>A Prayer from the Liturgy of St. James in the Liber Asceticus of Maximus the Confessor</i>	39
CARLA DEL ZOTTO , <i>Influenze bizantine in Scandinavia: dai santi militari a sant’Óláfr</i>	47
SERGIO FERDINANDI , <i>I Vichinghi nel Mediterraneo: 860 d.C., Costantinopoli e Luni. A Furore Normannorum Libera nos Domine!</i>	83
ALESSIA BROMBIN , <i>Note a margine alla Μέθοδος dello pseudo-Simeone</i>	113
ROBERTO LIBERA , <i>Il mistero dello scudo della battaglia di Lepanto. Nuove informazioni alla luce di recenti studi storici e degli ultimi restauri</i>	129
MATTEO MANDALÀ , <i>Tommaso Stanislao Velasti tra filellenismo partenopeo e ideologia “albanista”</i>	153
ATTILIO VACCARO , <i>Processi migratori, territorialità e pluralità di apporti nell’area del Pollino (secc. X-XVI)</i>	225



A PRAYER FROM THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES IN THE *LIBER ASCETICUS* OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR*

STEFANO PARENTI

The *Liber asceticus* (Λόγος ἀσκητικός) by Maximus the Confessor (ca. 580-662) [CPG 7692], available since 2000 in the critical edition by Peter van Deun and Steven Gysens¹, is a text of spiritual formation with a flat and accessible language, in the form of a dialogue between a γέρων and one of his disciples. The very simplicity of the expressions, if compared to the complexity of Maximus' language in the theological treatises, has led some authors to deny its authenticity, which is instead confirmed – for example – by patriarch Photius. In his *Bibliotheca* he considers it a useful book for all Christians and especially for monks². The dating is disputed: some authors fix it around 626 and others consider it a work from his later years, almost a spiritual testament, but to date there are no elements able to solve the question³.

Before dealing with the subject of this note, I would like to clarify a secondary aspect that concerns the liturgical sources possibly used in the *Liber asceticus*. In the *Index aliorum fontium* the editors have pointed out the occurrence in the same passage of an indirect quotation from the *pre-Sanctus* of the Greek anaphoras of Basil [BAS] and James [JAS]⁴:

... τούτου χάριν, ὁ μονογενῆς τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ προαιώνιος λόγος, ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ θεός, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ...⁵

* Paper read at on-line Pre-Conference *The Liturgy of St James*, University of Regensburg, May 26-28, 2021.

¹ *Maximi Confessoris Liber Asceticus*, editus a Peter VAN DEUN adiectis tribus interpretationibus latinis sat antiquis editis a Steven GYSENS (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 40), Leuven, Brepols, 2000; previous edition: *PG* 90, 912-956.

² *Liber asceticus*, XVII.

³ *Ivi*, XVII-XX.

⁴ *Ivi*, [247]; cfr. also D. GALADZA, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford, University Press, 2018, 215: "The text has quotations from JAS".

⁵ *Liber asceticus*, 5 rr. 13-14 e 14-15 and *apparatus*.

As Robert Taft has written, throughout his troubled life Maximus had experienced multiple liturgical traditions⁶, so it is not impossible that he had merged together some of the passages in which BAS and JAS have some coincidence⁷. But the reference to anaphoras does not seem convincing here. Indeed, the passage in question, which the editors did not identify, derives from Gregory of Nazianzus' homily 38 *In Theophania* [CPG 3010 (38)]:

Τὸ δὲ ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ προαιώνιος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀπερίληπτος, ὁ ἀσώματος, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχῇ, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς, ἢ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας⁸.

The same Homily 38 is used by Maximus in the *Liber Asceticus* a second time⁹. In any case we can exclude that in the *Liber asceticus* he quoted *ad modum unius* the *pre-Sanctus* of BAS and JAS. It happened, however, that our author did indeed take up part of a prayer of JAS that the editors did not identify and which I reproduce here:

... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρήψῃς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀναξιοσύνην, ἀλλ' ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου παράγαγε τὰ ἀνομήματα ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθόντες κατενώπιον τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης, ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς σκέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὡς δούλοι ἁμαρτίας ἀποδόκιμοι γενώμεθα. Naί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμη Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐκτὸς σοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν βοήθειαν¹⁰.

The text comes from the more extensive prayer τῆς προσκομιδῆς *inc.* Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς known to the oldest witness in Greek, the scroll *Vatican gr.* 2282 from Damascus, where it was copied in the 9th-10th century¹¹. The prayer

⁶ R. F. TAFT, *Is the Liturgy Described in the Mystagogia of Maximus Confessor Byzantine, Palestinian or Neither?*, in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* III s. 8 (2011), 223-270: 229.

⁷ J. R. K. FENWICK, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James. An Investigation into their Common Origin* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 240), Roma, Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 1992, but see the recension by G. WINKLER in *Oriens Christianus* 78 (1994), 269-277.

⁸ GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE, *Discours 38-41*, ed. C. MORESCHINI, trad. P. GALLAY (Sources Chrétiennes; 358), Paris, Cerf, 1990, 132; cfr. also homily 45 *In sanctum Pascha* [CPG 3010 (45)], PG 36, 633 r. 38.

⁹ Cfr. *Liber asceticus*, 25 r. 188-189; GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE, *Discours 38-41*, 45, 46-47.

¹⁰ *Liber asceticus*, 93-95.

¹¹ B.-Ch. MERCIER, *La Liturgie de saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (Patrologia Orientalis; 26/2), Paris, Turnhout, 1946, 76/78 (sigle H). F. D'AIUTO, "La 'scrittura mista' maiuscolo-minuscola d'area mediorientale" in *Griechisch-byzantinische Hand-*

is also found in the Georgian version of JAS [JASgeorg], in the hagiopolite Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in Georgian [PREShag] and in the Melkite Liturgy of Gregory the Theologian¹². In the Byzantine rite it has been widely reused since the 11th century in peripheral manuscripts, especially in the formulary of the Presanctified Liturgy [PRES]¹³. The few studies on the prayer are by Stéphane Verhelst who has been interested in the prayer on several occasions¹⁴.

In order to evaluate the text transmitted by the *Liber asceticus* [L], it is necessary to carry out a comparative evaluation, comparing it with *Messina gr. 160* [M], an Italo-Greek euchologion of the 11th century, where the prayer serves as an apology at the beginning of the formulary of BAS¹⁵, with JASgeorg [G] through the recently published Greek retroversion¹⁶, and with the already mentioned scroll of Greek JAS *Vatican gr. 2282* of the 9th-10th century [V]. The comparison does not take into account the concluding doxologies.

schriftenforschung. Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege, edd. Ch. BROCKMANN, D. DECKERS, D. HARLFINGER and S. VALENTE, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2020, 160, 162-163 note 4.

¹² *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi. Editio - translatio - retroversio - commentarii*. The Old Georgian Version of the Liturgy of Saint James published by Lili KHEVSURIANI - Mzekala SHANIDZE - Michael KAVTARIA and Tinatin TSERADZE. La Liturgie de Saint Jacques. Rétroversion grecque et commentaires par S. VERHELST (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 17), Münster, Aschendorff, 2011, 64-67; M. TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae antiquiores: I: Textus* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 122), II: *Versio* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 123), Louvain, L. Durbecq, 1950, 72-73; E. RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*. Editio secunda correctior I, Frankfurt, J. Baer, 1847², 85-86.

¹³ S. ALEXOPOULOS, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components* (Liturgia Condenda, 21), Leuven - Paris - Walpole MA, Peeters, 2009, 233; R. F. TAFT, S. PARENTI, *Storia della Liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo*. Volume II: *Il Grande Ingresso*. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata (Ανάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 10), Grottaferrata, Edizioni del Monastero Esarchico, 2014, 279, 294, 295, 598.

¹⁴ S. VERHELST, *Les traditions judéo-chrétiennes dans la Liturgie de Jérusalem, spécialement la Liturgie de saint Jacques frère de Dieu* (Textes et Études Liturgiques, 18), Leuven, Peeters, 2003, 88; ID., "Une prière de Saint-Jacques et deux prières de Saint-Basile (Ο επισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς - Ο κτίσας ἡμᾶς - Οὐδείς ἄξιος)" in *Θυσία αἰνέσεως. Mélanges liturgiques offerts à la mémoire de l'archevêque Georges Wagner (1930-1993)*, édd. J. GETCHA et A. LOSSKY (Analecta Sergiana, 2), Paris, Presses Saint-Serge, 2005, 411-429: 414-417.

¹⁵ *Messina gr. 160*, ff. 43^v-44^r, cfr. A. JACOB, *L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini in Calabria e in Sicilia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riguardo ai riti eucaristici*, in *Calabria Bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative*. Atti del primo e secondo incontro di Studi Bizantini, Reggio Calabria, Edizioni Parallelo 38, 1974, 47-69: 60; ID., *Le cahier préliminaire du codex Ettenheim-Münster 6 de la Badische Landesbibliothek de Karlsruhe*, in *Σύναξις καθολική. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von D. ATANASSOVA und T. CHRONZ (Orientalia - Patristica-Oecumenica, 6.1) I, Wien, LIT Verlage, 2014, 301-316: 316.

¹⁶ *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, 205-206.

<i>Liber asceticus</i> [L]	<i>Messina gr. 160</i> [M]	<i>JASgeorg</i> [G]	<i>Vaticano gr. 2282</i> [V]
<p>... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου,</p> <p>μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀναξιοῦτητα, ἀλλ' ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου παράγαγε τὰ ἀνομήματά ἡμῶν ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθῶντες κατενώπιον τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς σκέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ,</p> <p>καὶ μὴ ὡς δοῦλοι ἁμαρτίας ἀποδόκιμοι γενώμεθα.</p> <p>Ναί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμη Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐκτὸς σοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν βοήθειαν.</p>	<p>... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου,</p> <p>μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναξιοῦτητα, ἀλλὰ ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου παρένεγκε τὰ ἀνομήματά μου, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθῶν κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης σου ἀξιωθῶ τῆς [σ]κέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ</p> <p>καὶ μὴ ὡς δοῦλος ἁμαρτίας ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι,</p> <p>Ναί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμη Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου·</p> <p>σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργῶν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν βοήθειαν.</p>	<p>... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε,</p> <p>μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναξιοῦτητα, ἀλλ' ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου παρένεγκε ἀφ' ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀνομήματά μου, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθῶν κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης σου καταξιωθῶ τῆς σκέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ</p> <p>καὶ μὴ, ὡς δοῦλος ἁμαρτίας, ἀποδόκιμος γένωμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλος σὸς εὐρω ἔλεος</p> <p>διὰ τὴν ἄμετρον σου φιλοφροσύνην.</p> <p>Ναί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμη Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου·</p> <p>σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργῶν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν βοήθειαν.</p>	<p>... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου,</p> <p>μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναξιοῦτητα, ἀλλ' ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου παρένεγκε τὰ ἀνομήματά μου, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθῶν κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης σου καταξιωθῶ τῆς σκέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐλλάμψεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος καὶ μὴ, ὡς δοῦλος ἁμαρτίας, ἀποδόκιμος γένωμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλος σὸς εὐρω χάριν καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι.</p> <p>Ναί, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, παντοδύναμη Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου·</p> <p>σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργῶν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν ἐπὶ πᾶσι βοήθειάν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν</p>

In **L** the prayer, conceived as a formula that the minister recites for himself and therefore in the first person for internal needs, is changed to the plural. The three texts largely agree. Compared to the other witnesses, only **L** presents the peculiarity of interpolating ὅτι ἐκτὸς σοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν which corresponds to Is 26:13. Several more interpolations in **V** are:

1. καὶ τῆς ἐλλάμψεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος with the purpose of ensuring a trinitarian development to the sentence;
2. εὖρω χάριν καὶ ἔλεος depends on Heb 4:16 and occasionally can be combined with ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν¹⁷;
3. ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι an euchological *Formelgut* taken from Mt 10:31. The expression is found almost in its entirety in the *Oratio de dormitione Deiparae* of John I archbishop of Thessalonica (7th century)¹⁸.

G contains a version prior to **V** and is also the bearer of an interpolation that the *retroversion grecque* by Verhelst – μὴ ὡς δούλος ἁμαρτίας ἀποδόκιμος γένωμαι ἀλλ’ ὡς δούλος σὸς εὖρω ἔλεος διὰ τὴν ἄμετρόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν – does not render with due accuracy¹⁹, as indeed the *Commentaire du texte* warns:

καὶ (BLF, om. al.) ἀλλ’ ὡς δούλος σὸς εὖρω ἔλεος διὰ τὴν ἄμετρόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν : littéralement « (et) que je ne promette pas la liberté à d’autres et que je la transmette par ton incommensurable amour pour les hommes et que moi-même je sois trouvé réprouvé esclave du peché », c’est-à-dire que « je ne communique pas la liberté alors que moi-moi je reste esclave »²⁰.

According to the *Commentaire* by Verhelst, the Georgian translator constructed a paraphrase around the idea of *esclavage* and freedom, with reference to the concept of *παρρησία* expressed at the beginning of the prayer. So the Greek retroversion does not faithfully correspond to the Georgian text, unlike what Tarchnišvili had done by translating our prayer into Latin from the PRE-Shag of the *Graz georg. 4*:

... ne aliis libertatem promittens eamque largiens prae tua infinita philanthropia, ipse vero inutilis inveniamur uti servus peccati²¹.

¹⁷ Cfr. S. PARENTI, *Un euclologio poco noto del Salento. El Escorial X.IV.13*, in *Studi sull’Oriente Cristiano* 15/2 (2011), 157-197.

¹⁸ M. JUGIE, *Homélies mariales byzantines* II (Patrologia Orientalis, 19/3), Paris, Turnhout, 1926, 375-405: 402: ... ἵνα τελούντες μυστικῶς τῆς θείας αὐτῆς κοιμήσεως τὴν ἑορτὴν, εὖρωμεν ἔλεος καὶ χάριν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

¹⁹ *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, 206, ll. 10-11.

²⁰ *Ivi*, 248.

²¹ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae antiquiores* I, 73.

The passage is almost identical in the apology Ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων θεός that in the Byzantine rite of baptism precedes the prayer of blessing of water Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε

ἵνα μὴ ἐλευθερίαν ἄλλοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος^a, καὶ ταύτην παρέχων πίσται τῇ ἡρτημένη τῆς σῆς ἀφάρτου φιλανθρωπίας, αὐτὸς ὡς δούλος ἁμαρτίας^b ἄδόκιμος γίνωμαι^{c22}:

^a2 Pet 2:19 ^bJn 8:34; Rom 6:17 ^c1 Cor 9:27

The first thought is that of a Byzantinisation. However, we do not find this passage in **V**, a witness particularly influenced by Byzantine BAS and PRES. Moreover, the period in question seems rather early. In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to remember that some prayers of the baptismal rites are common *ab antiquo* to more than one Eastern liturgical tradition. Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε is perhaps the best known example of this but the same is true of the apology Ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων θεός, which we find in the Hagiopolite rites, in Greek and Georgian, as recently reported by Tinatin Chronz²³.

The Greek text with the incipit Ποίω προσώπω ἀτενίσω σου, Δέσποτα is preserved in the rites of Christian initiation of the 9th century scroll *Sinai gr. NE MG 93* published by Michail Zheltov²⁴. This is the passage that interests us and which corresponds almost *verbatim* to the interpolation in **G**:

*Sinai gr. NE MG 93*²⁵

... ἵνα μὴ ἄλλοις
ἐλευθερίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενος,
καὶ ταύτην παρέχων
διὰ τὴν σὴν

φιλανθρωπίαν,
αὐτὸς
ὡς δούλος ἁμαρτίας
ἄδόκιμος γίνωμαι.

*JASgeorg*²⁶

... que je ne promette
pas la liberté à d'autres
et que je la transmette
par ton
incommensurable
amour pour les hommes
et que moi-même
je sois trouvé réprouvé
esclave du péché.

²² *Евхологий Барберини гр. 336*, edd. E. VELKOVSKA - S. PARENTI, Omsk 2011, § 121.3.

²³ T. CHRONZ, *Initiatio Christiana nach den Georgischen Quellen der Alt-Jerusalemener Tradition*, in "Neugeboren aus Wasser und Heiligem Geist": *Kölner Kolloquium zur Initiatio Christiana*, edd. Heinzgerd BRAKMANN, Tinatin CHRONZ, Claudia SODE (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 37), Münster, Aschendorff, 2020, 245.

²⁴ M. ZHELTOV, *Сирийский (или палестинский?) чин Крещения в греческой рукописи Sinai. NE MG 93*, in *Вестник церковной истории* 33-34 (2014), 116-126.

²⁵ *Ivi*, 125.

²⁶ *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, 248 = *Rajta ara sxuata aznaurebasa ayutkumide da amas miscemde šenita dausrulebelita k'actmoq' uarebita; da me twot, vitarca monaj gamoucdeli cod-visaj uqmar vip'oo (ivi, 66)*. I am grateful to my doctoral student Fr. Leonide Ebraldize for his invaluable help and assistance with the Georgian text.

The Georgian text adds *incommensurable* which corresponds to the Greek ἀμετρον or ἀμέτρητον to be considered one of the recurring phrases in Greek-language euchology²⁷. A further hitherto unreported witness with the “Byzantine” incipit is found in the ritual of monastic profession in another ninth-century Palestinian euchologion, *Sinai gr. NE MG 53*:

... μήπως ἐλευθερίαν ἄλλοις ἐπαγγ[ελ]λόμενος, καὶ τα[ύτην] παρέχων διὰ σὴν φιλανθρωπι[αν], αὐτὸς ὡς δοῦ[λ]ος ἁμαρτίας ἀποδόκιμος γένωμαι²⁸.

The reuse in the monastic rites of Palestine of prayers of Christian Initiation should not be surprising because the phenomenon is already evident in *Barberini gr. 336 (post 787)*²⁹.

Once the origin of the interpolation in **G** is clarified, the role of the translator is much reduced. He did not build a paraphrase around the idea of *esclavage* and freedom – as Verhelst argues – and we do not even know if the interpolation is due to his initiative or if it was already present in the Greek text. In any case, the freedom spoken of here is the freedom from sin obtained through baptism, an idea that matches very well in a prayer of the Initiation rites but works less in an apology of the Eucharistic formulary. Probably the person responsible for the interpolation wanted to further strengthen the apologetic character of the prayer by drawing on the apology of the baptismal rites.

That said, I propose a new Greek retroversion of **G** highlighting the interpolations in bold:

... καὶ μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς ἐμέ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε, μὴ δὲ βδελύξῃ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναξιοτήτα, ἀλλ' ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρισμῶν σου παρένεγκε **ἀφ' ἐμοῦ** τὰ ἀνομήματά μου, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως προσελθὼν κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης σου καταξιωθῶ τῆς σκέπης τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ ἵνα μὴ **ἄλλοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ ταύτην παρέχων διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀμετρον φιλανθρωπιαν, αὐτὸς ὡς δούλος ἁμαρτίας ἀδόκιμος γίνωμαι.** Ναί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμε Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργῶν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ πάντες ἐπιζητούμεν βοήθειαν.

I close here the *excursus* on JASgeorg to return to the *Liber Asceticus*. If we extrapolate from the text of Maximus Confessor the literal quotation of

²⁷ See, for example, the schift from ἀμετρον to ἀμέτρητον in the *Nemo dignus* prayer: TAFT - PARENTI, *Il Grande Ingresso*, 300.

²⁸ *Sinai gr. NE MG 53*, f. 4^v. The prayer begins on f. 3^r introduced by the following rubric: καὶ εὐχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς πρῶτον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων· Ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων θεός, ὁ ἐτάζων κ[αρ]δίας καὶ νεφρ[οῦς] ...

²⁹ Cfr. *Ευχολογιὴ Βαρβερিনি*, §§ 245 and 252; cfr. S. PARENTI, *Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments*, in *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010), 109-121: 115.

Is 26:13, of no weight for the constitution of the text, we will see that **L** is identical with **M** while the tradition of **G** “plagiarizes” a prayer of Christian initiation and **V** introduces secondary variants.

The near-identity of **L** with **M** offers mutual confirmation as to the status and dating of the text in the seventh century. Indeed, we know that JAS prayers arrived in Southern Italy during the seventh century because of the exodus to those regions of laymen and clergymen fleeing the Monothelite heresy³⁰. The inclusion of the prayers in the formularies of BAS, CHR and PRES preserved the status they had at the time of their arrival in Italy, while in the formularies of JAS they followed a further independent evolution.

To conclude:

1. The portion of the text of the apology Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς of JAS transmitted in the *Liber asceticus* of Maximus Confessor († 662) reflects the state of the text at the author’s lifetime; it passed into Southern Italy in the same era.
2. JASgeorg exhibits a fairly common form of euchological “plagiarism”, a phenomenon that is far from minor in the techniques of composing Greek-language euchology in the Chalcedonian Patriarchates.
3. The oldest Greek witness to JAS, the 9th-10th century scroll *Vatican gr.* 2282, is useful insofar as it witnesses the textual development of the formulary only two centuries after Maximus Confessor.
4. The divergences between JAS and JASgeorg must be examined on a case-by-case basis in light of possible textual contaminations with other euchological texts, Hagiopolite, and/or Byzantine.

In light of what has been set forth, some questions well known to historians of Christian worship become even more pressing:

1. Which Eucharistic formulary – or formularies – did Maximus comment on in the *Mystagogia*, and
2. What role did Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς apology play in the editing of the so-called “prayers of the faithful” of Byzantine BAS³¹.

These topics will be addressed in a future study.

³⁰ G. RADLE, *The Liturgical Ties Between Egypt and Southern Italy: A Preliminary Investigation*, in *Σύναξις καθολική* II, 617-632.

³¹ Cf. TAFT - PARENTI, *Il Grande Ingresso*, 595, 598-599; S. PARENTI, *L'anafora di Crisostomo. Testo e contesti*, (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 36), Münster, Aschendorff, 2020, 256.