

STUDIA PATRISTICA

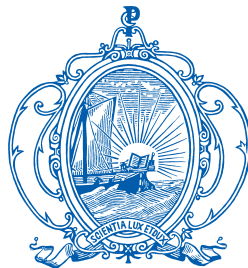
VOL. CVIII

Papers presented at the Eighteenth International Conference
on Patristic Studies held
in Oxford 2019

Edited by
MARKUS VINZENT

Volume 5:
Euchologia

Edited by
CLAUDIA RAPP



PEETERS
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2021

STUDIA PATRISTICA

VOL. CVIII

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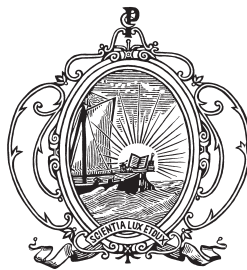
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Abbreviations

AA.SS	see ASS.
AAWG.PH	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen.
AB	Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.
AC	Antike und Christentum, ed. F.J. Dölger, Münster.
ACL	Antiquité classique, Louvain.
ACO	Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin.
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten and J.C. Plumpe, Westminster (Md.)/London.
AHDLMA	Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, Paris.
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History, Cambridge, Mass.
AJP	American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.
AKK	Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht, Mainz.
AKPAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ALMA	Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin du Cange), Paris/Brussels.
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, Regensburg.
AnalBoll	Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.
ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Edinburgh.
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers, Buffalo/New York.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed H. Temporini <i>et al.</i> , Berlin.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies, London.
AnThA	Année théologique augustinienne, Paris.
APOT	Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, ed. R.E. Charles, Oxford.
AR	Archivum Romanicum, Florence.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Berlin/Leipzig.
ASS	Acta Sanctorum, ed. the Bollandists, Brussels.
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Zürich.
Aug	Augustinianum, Rome.
AugSt	Augustinian Studies, Villanova (USA).
AW	Athanasius Werke, ed. H.-G. Opitz <i>et al.</i> , Berlin.
AZ	Archäologische Zeitung, Berlin.
BA	Bibliothèque augustinienne, Paris.
BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.
BDAG	A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 3rd edn F.W. Danker, Chicago.
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, Louvain.
BGL	Benediktinisches Geistesleben, St. Ottilien.
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Brussels.
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, Brussels.

BHO	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis, Brussels.
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, Tübingen.
BJ	Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Leipzig.
BJRULM	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. F.X. Reithmayr and V. Thalhofer, Kempten.
BKV2	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, ed. O. Bardenhewer, Th. Schermann, and C. Weyman, Kempten/Munich.
BKV3	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Zweite Reihe, ed. O. Bardenhewer, J. Zellingner, and J. Martin, Munich.
BLE	Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique, Toulouse.
BoJ	Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn.
BS	Bibliotheca sacra, London.
BSL	Bolletino di studi latini, Naples.
BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, Leipzig/Stuttgart.
Byz	Byzantion, Leuven.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig.
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
CAR	Cahiers Archéologique, Paris.
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington.
CChr.CM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SA	Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, Turnhout/Paris.
CChr.SL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout/Paris.
CH	Church History, Chicago.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CP(h)	Classical Philology, Chicago.
CPL	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. Geerard, vols. I-VI, Turnhout.
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum (SE 3), ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, Turnhout.
CQ	Classical Quarterly, London/Oxford.
CR	The Classical Review, London/Oxford.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain. Aeth = Scriptorum Aethiopicum Ar = Scriptorum Arabicum Arm = Scriptorum Armeniacum Copt = Scriptorum Copticum Iber = Scriptorum Ibericum Syr = Scriptorum Syriacum Subs = Subsidia
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna.
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn.
CTh	Collectanea Theologica, Lvov.
CUF	Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris.
CW	Catholic World, New York.
DAC	Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburgh.

DAcL	see DAL
DAL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Paris.
DB	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Paris.
DBS	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, Paris.
DCB	Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols, London.
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, ed. A. Baudrillart, Paris.
Did	Didaskalia, Lisbon.
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Cambridge, Mass., subsequently Washington, D.C.
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Cambridge, Mass., subsequently Washington, D.C.
DR	Downside Review, Stratton on the Fosse, Bath.
DS	H.J. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, ed., Enchiridion Symbolorum, Barcelona/Freiburg i.B./Rome.
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, ed. M. Viller, S.J., and others, Paris.
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, Paris.
EA	Études augustinienes, Paris.
ECatt	Enciclopedia Cattolica, Rome.
ECQ	Eastern Churches Quarterly, Ramsgate.
EE	Estudios eclesiasticos, Madrid.
EECh	Encyclopedia of the Early Church, ed. A. Di Berardino, Cambridge.
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
EH	Enchiridion Fontium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Antiquae, ed. Ueding-Kirch, 6th ed., Barcelona.
EO	Échos d'Orient, Paris.
EtByz	Études Byzantines, Paris.
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain.
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum NT, ed. H.R. Balz <i>et al.</i> , Stuttgart.
ExpT	The Expository Times, Edinburgh.
FC	The Fathers of the Church, New York.
FGH	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin.
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Göttingen.
FRL	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen.
FS	Festschrift.
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien, Freiburg i.B.
FTS	Frankfurter theologische Studien, Frankfurt a.M.
FZThPh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Theologie und Philosophie, Freiburg/Switzerland.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig/Berlin.
GDV	Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, Stuttgart.
GLNT	Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento, Genoa.
GNO	Gregorii Nysseni Opera, Leiden.
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, Mass.

GWV	Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, Offenburg.
HbNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen.
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion, Missoula.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, successively Munich, Cologne and Munich/Freiburg i.B.
HKG	Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Tübingen.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen.
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden.
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge, Mass.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, Mass.
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift, Munich/Berlin.
ICC	The International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, Edinburgh.
ILCV	Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres, ed. E. Diehl, Berlin.
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin.
J(b)AC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Münster.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia, Pa., then various places.
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.
J ECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies, Baltimore.
JEH	The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, London.
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies, London.
JLH	Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, Kassel.
JPTTh	Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie, Leipzig/Freiburg i.B.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London.
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period, Leiden.
JSOR	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Chicago.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern, Göttingen.
KēTh	Kerk en Theologie, 's Gravenhage.
KJ(b)	Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Gütersloh.
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge, Mass.
LNPF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, Buffalo/New York.
L(O)F	Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Oxford.
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, new (9th) edn H.S. Jones, Oxford.
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Freiburg i.B.
LXX	Septuagint.
MA	Moyen-Âge, Brussels.
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, London.
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, Florence, 1759-1798. Reprint and continuation: Paris/Leipzig, 1901-1927.
MBTh	Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, Münster.

MCom	Miscelanea Comillas, Comillas/Santander.
MGH	Monumenta germaniae historica. Hanover/Berlin.
ML	Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Louvain.
MPG	See PG.
MSR	Mélanges de science religieuse, Lille.
MThZ	Münchener theologische Zeitschrift, Munich.
Mus	Le Muséon, Louvain.
NA28	Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, 28th edition, Stuttgart.
NGWG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NH(M)S	Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies, Leiden.
NIV	New International Version.
NKJV	New King James Version.
NovTest	Novum Testamentum, Leiden.
NPNF	See LNPF.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version.
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Tournai/Louvain/Paris.
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Münster.
NT.S	Novum Testamentum Supplements, Leiden.
NTS	New Testament Studies, Cambridge/Washington.
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents, Leiden/Boston.
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis, Freiburg, Switz., then Louvain.
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Rome.
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome.
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Louvain.
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Louvain.
Or	Orientalia. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome.
OrChr	Oriens Christianus, Leipzig, then Wiesbaden.
OrSyr	L'Orient Syrien, Paris.
PG	Migne, Patrologia, series graeca.
PGL	A Patristic Greek Lexicon, ed. G.L. Lampe, Oxford.
PL	Migne, Patrologia, series latina.
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A.H.M. Jones <i>et al.</i> , Cambridge.
PLS	Migne, Patrologia, series latina. Supplementum ed. A. Hamman.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris.
PRE	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, Paris.
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Bonn.
PTHr	Princeton Theological Review, Princeton.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin.
PW	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart.
QLP	Questions liturgiques et paroissiales, Louvain.
QuLi	Questions liturgiques, Louvain.
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome.
RACH	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart.

RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, Paris.
RAug	Recherches Augustiniennes, Paris.
RBen	Revue Bénédictine, Maredsous.
RB(ibl)	Revue biblique, Paris.
RE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, founded by J.J. Herzog, 3e ed. A. Hauck, Leipzig.
REA(ug)	Revue des études Augustiniennes, Paris.
REB	Revue des études byzantines, Paris.
RED	Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Rome.
RÉL	Revue des études latines, Paris.
REG	Revue des études grecques, Paris.
RevSR	Revue des sciences religieuses, Strasbourg.
RevThom	Revue thomiste, Toulouse.
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica, Turin.
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Gunkel-Zscharnack, Tübingen
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.
RhMus	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris.
RHT	Revue d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.
RMAL	Revue du Moyen-Âge Latin, Paris.
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris.
RPh	Revue de philologie, Paris.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift, Freiburg i.B.
RQH	Revue des questions historiques, Paris.
RSLR	Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa, Florence.
RSPT, RSPH	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques, Paris.
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse, Paris.
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Louvain.
RthL	Revue théologique de Louvain, Louvain.
RTM	Rivista di teologia morale, Bologna.
Sal	Salesianum, Roma.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Basel.
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, Stuttgart.
ScEc	Sciences ecclésiastiques, Bruges.
SCh, SC	Sources chrétiennes, Paris.
SD	Studies and Documents, ed. K. Lake and S. Lake. London/Philadelphia.
SE	Sacris Erudiri, Bruges.
SDHI	Studia et documenta historiae et iuris, Roma.
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica, Brussels.
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae.
SJMS	Speculum. Journal of Mediaeval Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
SM	Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige, Munich.
SO	Symbolae Osloenses, Oslo.
SP	Studia Patristica, successively Berlin, Kalamazoo, Leuven.
SPM	Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia, ed. C. Mohrmann and J. Quasten, Utrecht.

SQ	Sammlung ausgewählter Quellschriften zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Tübingen.
SQAW	Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt, Berlin.
SSL	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Louvain.
StudMed	Studi Medievali, Turin.
SVigChr	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, Leiden.
SVF	Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ed. J. von Arnim, Leipzig.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Grand Rapids, Mich.
TE	Teologia espiritual, Valencia.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube, Paderborn.
ThJ	Theologische Jahrbücher, Leipzig.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
ThPh	Theologie und Philosophie, Freiburg i.B.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen.
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Stuttgart.
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.
TP	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Lancaster, Pa.
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Berlin.
TS	Theological Studies, New York and various places; now Washington, DC.
TThZ	Trierer theologische Zeitschrift, Trier.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen, Leipzig/Berlin.
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review, New York.
VC	Vigiliae Christianae, Amsterdam.
VetChr	Vetera Christianorum, Bari (Italy).
VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary, Waco.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Tübingen.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.
YUP	Yale University Press, New Haven.
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum, Berlin.
ZAM	Zeitschrift für Asese und Mystik, Innsbruck, then Würzburg.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, then Berlin.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Leipzig.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Gotha, then Stuttgart.
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Vienna.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, Giessen, then Berlin.
ZRG	Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Weimar.
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.

Practice, Performance, Liturgy: Prayers before the Prayer Book

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What can our sources tell us about lived religion? One answer to this question comes from the study of the *Euchologion*, i.e. the Greek prayer book for the use of priests, which combines eucharistic and sacramental rites with a large number of prayers for specific occasions of everyday life ('occasional prayers'). It is first attested in manuscript form in the late eighth century in the Vatican manuscript Barberinus graecus 336. In Patristic studies, scholars often cite the Barberini *Euchologion* (ed. Parenti-Velkovska), or similarly the Typicon of the Great Church (ed. Mateos), as reflecting the prayer traditions and liturgical practices of earlier periods. The 'occasional prayers' that were performed by the priest address multiple concrete concerns in the lives of children, women and men, and in rural and urban communities, and thus constitute potentially rich, and previously under-studied, material for the study of daily life and social history. Since 2015, the Vienna Euchologia Project (<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project>) has been working towards a systematic study of this rich material that is preserved in thousands of manuscripts from the Byzantine period.

To elucidate the period preceding this pivotal moment in the late eighth century from the angles of prayer practice, literary production, and material textuality, two workshops held at the International Congress of Patristic Studies in 2019 brought together an international group of scholars – team members of the Vienna Euchologia Project (Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Claudia Rapp, Giulia Rossetto, Elisabeth Schiffer) and invited guests (Harald Buchinger, Theodore de Bruyn), as well as two speakers whose papers are not included here, Brouria Bitton Ashkelony ('Isaac of Nineveh and the Syriac Mystical School on the Tension between "Hidden Worship" in Prayer and Liturgical Performance') and Agnes Michalyko Tothne ('The Earliest *Euchologia* on Papyrus: Bishops, Orthodoxy, and the Regulation of Liturgical Prayer').

A first line of inquiry is the relation between liturgical texts and other texts, and what this can tell us about the actual use of prayers and other liturgical texts that we now encounter in written form on the pages of medieval manuscripts. Claudia Rapp, 'Liturgical Manuscripts and the Performance of Prayer:

Historical Lessons from Other Sources' asks about the actual performance of the prayers in the *Euchologia* manuscripts, by drawing comparisons with other textual traditions. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* represent the manuscript transmission of a 'living text' that originated in oral communication. The *Codex Theodosianus* preserves legal texts that are transmitted not as a record of valid law, but for antiquarian reasons. The *Book of Ceremonies* of the Byzantine court contains protocols of imperial ceremonies that are recorded to document prior practice and to inspire future use. This offers a helpful analogy for the occasional prayers in the *Euchologia*. The performative aspect of the liturgy as much as of individual prayers means that the words we encounter in manuscripts and on printed pages should not be regarded as accurate records of historical events. They only achieve their real being when they come alive in the interaction between the liturgist, the faithful and the Divine.

There is a narrowing of individual expressions of religious exuberance as rituals develop, become entrenched and are captured in writing. Several papers presented here suggest that the eighth century represents the period when this process came to a preliminary conclusion. In a set of complementary studies, Harald Buchinger and Daniel Galadza demonstrate that rituals acquire new nuances with each performance and repetition with regard to the development of the liturgy for Palm Sunday. Harald Buchinger, 'Text – Matter – Ritual: A Historical and Comparative Perspective on Select Occasional Prayers for Holy Week and Easter' traces the increased use of 'matter', such as palm branches, in the celebration of Palm Sunday. In the course of the fourth to the eighth centuries, the liturgical celebrations that lead up to Easter thus change in character from anamnestic expression to mimetic performance, allowing the faithful to experience and view themselves as active participants in the making of salvation history. Daniel Galadza, 'Prayers and Blessings for Holy Week in the "Occasional Prayers" of the Byzantine *Euchologion*' continues this investigation to show that over time, the character of Holy Week as a period of preparation for baptism was crowded out by the increasing use of liturgical acts revolving around objects, such as palm branches or the blessing of meat, eggs and cheese, the latter being typical for the liturgical traditions of Southern Italy.

The emphasis on Southern Italy as a remarkably prolific region for the study of the Greek liturgical tradition continues with Giulia Rossetto, 'Building the *Euchologion*: Evidence from the Earliest Manuscripts'. She offers a thorough investigation of the ten earliest manuscripts to contain *Euchologia*, from the late 8th to the early 11th century, although it can be shown that manuscripts of this content existed earlier. Most of them were produced in Southern Italy. Earlier codices tended to be of smaller size than later ones. Although they were created and used for the same purpose, there is a remarkable lack of uniformity in the content of these manuscripts, especially with regard to the selection and sequence of 'occasional prayers' and the location where they appear in each manuscript.

Elisabeth Schiffer, ‘A Note on Liturgical Prayer Texts and Byzantine Hagiography’, takes a different approach to the question of whether prayers were actually performed in the way that we encounter them in written form in the *Euchologion*. She draws attention to late antique hagiographical narratives where the protagonists are quoted as praying with phrases or entire prayers that are also recorded in the *Euchologia*. This need not necessarily indicate that the prayers in the *Euchologia* manuscripts had become the established points of reference, but rather confirms that there was a shared religious language and a common way to structure prayer texts that permeated texts created for liturgical use as much as biographical narratives of holy men. The degree to which the language of the liturgy, including the language of *Euchologion* prayers, was present in Late Antique and Byzantine writing is only beginning to be explored. Such work has been greatly facilitated with the recent inclusion of liturgical texts in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, where word searches now point the user not just to works by known authors, but also to the texts of the Greek liturgy.¹

The investigation of the language of prayer in comparisons to other forms of language use is continued by Ilias Nesseris, ‘First-Person Prayers Attributed to the Church Fathers’, as they are recorded among the occasional prayers in the *Euchologia*. While the liturgist usually speaks prayers on behalf of the congregation or, in specific situations, on behalf of one or several individuals, the *Euchologia* also contain short prayers where the speaker prays in the first person, either as ‘I’ or as ‘we’. Their attribution to famous Church Fathers of the patristic period, most notably John Chrysostom, probably ensured their continued transmission, although they often were created by authors of the (late) Byzantine period – vivid testimony to the continued appeal of the Church Fathers. The concerns addressed in these prayers range widely, from penitential prayers and prayers said before reading or hearing the Scriptures to exorcisms.

From the personal adjuration of demonic powers by the ritualist in the prayers of exorcism it is only a short step to what is often labeled as ‘magic’.

Despite a high degree of variation in presentation and content, even the earliest surviving manuscripts containing *Euchologia* can be regarded as efforts by the institutional church at the end of Late Antiquity to draw a sharp line between legitimate prayer practices (*i.e.* those endorsed by the church and her representatives, the clergy) and non-legitimate practices which were stigmatized as ‘magic’ and prohibited.

Eirini Afentoulidou, ‘Between Incantation and Prayer: Guardian Angels in Amulets, *Euchologia*, and Canonical Texts’, demonstrates this process with regard to the invocation of angels in different prayers that relate to health concerns of

¹ The inclusion of Goar, *Euchologion*, was achieved in collaboration with the Vienna *Euchologia* Project. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska have facilitated the inclusion of the Barberini *Euchologion*. Further additions are being planned.

women. It is striking that the emphasis on church-approved and clergy-performed ritual resulted in the suppression of the religious experience and voice of women.

How the spontaneous personal prayers of men and women of all walks of life may have looked in Late Antiquity is explored by Theodore de Bruyn, 'Occasional Prayers Written by Monks and Visitors at the Monastery of Apa Apollo'. He analyzes the short prayers or invocations painted on or scratched into the walls of a particular room at this Egyptian monastery, starting with the fourth century. In few and simple words, and in formulaic language, the writers request divine assistance for themselves, their families or their colleagues. These are a far cry from the high-style first-person prayers attributed to Church Fathers studied by Ilias Nesseris, or the carefully structured prayer texts analyzed by Elizabeth Schiffer. But they take us to the religious sentiments and utterances of the countless men and women whose voices tend to get lost over time. And they serve as a reminder that even the occasional prayers in the *Euchologia*, colorful and detailed though they may be, are texts constructed to be performed by privileged experts, the priests, within settings controlled by the church.

Liturgical Manuscripts and the Performance of Prayer: Historical Lessons from Other Sources

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ABSTRACT

Byzantine *euchologia* (prayer books) contain a large number of short prayers for everyday situations in family and community life. These offer potentially rich insights into daily life and social history across all levels of Byzantine society. But does the mere fact of the preservation of a prayer over the centuries in the manuscript tradition also indicate that it was still relevant? After an introduction to the work of the Vienna Euchologia Project, this question is addressed with recourse to lessons learned about oral transmission from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, about normativity from the *Codex Theodosianus*, and about performance from the *Byzantine Book of Ceremonies*.

Background

At the 2019 International Congress of Patristic Studies, this paper inaugurated a sequence of two workshops on ‘Practice, Performance, Liturgy: Prayers before the Prayer Book’ that explored the practice and performance of prayer in various contexts in Late Antiquity and beyond, on the one hand, and the place of prayer within the liturgy, on the other.

The impetus for the exploration of these issues came from the Vienna Euchologia Project, a team of six scholars in (or affiliated with) Vienna who have made it their goal to explore the rich tradition of Byzantine prayer books used by priests for the performance of liturgical rites (*euchologia*).¹ The main focus are ‘occasional’ or ‘small’ prayers for everyday occasions contained in these

¹ Members of the Vienna Euchologia Project are: Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza (affiliate), Ilias Nesseris, Claudia Rapp, Giulia Rossetto, Elisabeth Schiffer. The Austrian National Science Fund (FWF) provided funding for the project ‘Daily Life and Religion: Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History’ (FWF P28219-G25, 01.10.2015-30.09.2018). The FWF also funded the work of Eirini Afentoulidou through the Hertha-Firnberg-Project ‘Female Identities at a Liminal State: An Analysis of Childbed Prayers in Byzantine Prayerbooks’ (FWF T884-G25, 01.01.2018-31.12.2020). From 01.03.2020-28.02.2022, Agnès Mihailyko Tothne will be a project affiliate, funded by the Research Council of Norway. More information at: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project/> (last consulted: 09.01.2020).

manuscripts as these constitute a hitherto largely unexplored source for daily life and social history and allow a fresh look at the religious discourse that governed Byzantium across all levels of society, not merely the Constantinopolitan elite.

There is no uniform nomenclature for the *euchologia*: some manuscripts declare themselves as ‘*euchologia*’, others do not. In one definition by Elena Velkovska, the *euchologion* is a book for the use of priests or bishop that contains ‘the presidential prayers for the Eucharist, for the sacraments and for the blessings or consecrations of persons and things reserved to the bishop and/or priest’.² These latter can include prayers for the blessing of a bee hive, for the repair of fishing nets, for the purification of a woman after childbirth, for a child’s first day at school, for the readmission of apostates, or for ritual brotherhood between two men. Studies of the liturgies for the eucharist, for marriage etc. contained in the manuscripts have identified two major recensions, one before and one after iconoclasm, and three distinct regional traditions: Italian (subdivided into three regions Calabria-Campania, Calabria-Sicily, Salento) and Eastern (Sinai, Palestine, Greece), both influenced by the rite of Jerusalem.³

By the same token, there is no stable nomenclature in Greek for the occasional prayers. In the earliest extant manuscripts, they are called ‘various prayers’ (*euchai diaphorai*), and there is great variation in their position within a manuscript relative to other liturgical texts, as Giulia Rossetto explains in her contribution to this volume.⁴

The team collaborates to generate two major end results: (1) a census of all *euchologia* manuscripts, based on printed materials, complemented by on-site visits to a number of libraries. The census covers manuscripts copied from the late eighth to the mid-seventeenth century, beginning with the earliest extant liturgical manuscript in Greek, Vatican Library, ms. Barberinus graecus 336, copied in Southern Italy, and ending in *ca.* 1650 when printed editions of the *euchologion* became widely available. The number of manuscripts to be considered is, according to current estimates, well above 1,000.

The second goal of the Vienna Euchologia Project is to create a database of occasional prayers contained within these manuscripts. Each prayer is defined by the prayer title as given in a manuscript and by the prayer *incipit*. In addition, a prayer concern is assigned to each particular prayer text as it appears in a particular manuscript. This can be a challenge, since the same prayer text was often re-cycled for a different purpose. Inversely, there may be many different prayer texts that address the same purpose. Eventually, the database of prayers

² Elena V. Velkovska, ‘Byzantine Liturgical Books’, in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. I, ed. Ansgar Chupungco (Collegeville, MN, 1997), 228.

³ *Ibid.* 227-8.

⁴ Giulia Rossetto, ‘Building the *Euchologia*: Evidence from the Earliest Manuscripts’, in this volume, p. 65-75.

will link each prayer text to the manuscript or manuscripts in which it appears. In the process of this research, transcriptions of previously unknown prayers are created. Although the Project's interest lies mainly in the 'occasional prayers' for specific occasions in the life of a person, a family, or the annual agricultural cycle of a village community, the work is presented in such a way that it can also be of use to scholars interested in other aspects of the liturgy.

The Performance of Occasional Prayers

One of the most vexing questions is what the liturgical manuscripts and the texts they contain can actually tell us about the performance of prayer.⁵ What is the relation between the spoken and the written prayer text? Did the liturgist perform the prayer exactly as it was written or did he adapt the written text to each particular occasion? If prayers were created for the performance on a specific occasion at a particular moment in time, were they subsequently written down for the author's own use? Were they circulated more widely? It is only through a comparison between Byzantine narratives that relate the verbatim recital of a prayer, on the one hand, and prayer texts preserved in the *euchologia* manuscripts, on the other, that these questions may be answered. Some of the rare evidence of this kind is studied by Elisabeth Schiffer in this volume.⁶

The manuscript evidence for occasional prayers, however, is varied and extensive, as has been noted above, and this fact requires comment and interpretation. What does the preservation of the same prayer text in multiple manuscripts across a long period of time reveal? Does it indicate continued and repeated use by the priests of a specific prayer for a specific issue? Or is it simply the result of the copyist's faithful transmission of the material found in his *Vorlage*?

What if the priests who performed the prayers and the copyists who created the manuscripts were one and the same person? Quite a number of *euchologia* manuscripts were indeed copied by priests. Would this mean that the copyist-priest made a selection from existing prayer texts to create a custom-made *euchologia* for his own future use? And how many *Vorlagen* did he have at hand that would have presented him with multiple versions of prayers for the same purpose? How would he select which version to copy, or, if he copied multiple versions, in what sequence to present them?

⁵ For more details on some of the following observations, see Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Elisabeth Schiffer and Giulia Rossetto, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211, especially Claudia Rapp, 'Methodological Observations and First Results', 173-82.

⁶ Elisabeth Schiffer, 'A Note on Liturgical Prayer Texts and Byzantine Hagiography', in this volume, p. 55-64.

One clue in answer to that question is the presence of a ‘second prayer’ or ‘other prayer’, in Greek *euchê allê*, in the liturgical manuscripts. This usually follows the most common, standard prayer and represents a different text for the same purpose. Take the case of *adelphopoiêsis*, ritual brotherhood, that unites two men in a spiritual bond.⁷ Prayers for *adelphopoiêsis* are transmitted in 77 manuscripts from the late eighth to the mid-16th century. There are a total of 17 different prayer texts for this purpose. There are two basic and common prayers that often appear in the same manuscripts: Prayer A, first attested in the eighth century, and preserved in 35 manuscripts, and Prayer B, first attested in the ninth century, and preserved in 45 manuscripts. These basic prayers are often followed in the manuscripts by one, two or three further prayer texts that deviate in language and expression from the standard repertoire. But these additional prayers occur much more rarely, often only once. Was the additional prayer a creation of the priest-copyist of the manuscript? Was this done for a particular occasion? Once written down, how often was it used on later occasions?

Since narrative or prescriptive sources about the performance of the liturgy are exceedingly rare, our best evidence are the manuscripts themselves. Of great importance are the ‘traces of use’ in the manuscripts, as these indicate the popularity of particular prayers and rites.⁸ Well-thumbed pages with lower outer edges darkened by use or wax drops from lit candles indicate that certain passages in a manuscript enjoyed frequent use. In one instance, there is a dark-coloured stain in the text of the wedding ritual that must have resulted from spilling red wine just at the passage where the couple share the common cup.

However, we should not assume that each *euchologia* manuscript that has come down to us was in continuous use. *Euchogia* traveled with monks, pilgrims and other pious people and were left as gifts or as a bequest after their death. As a result, medieval monasteries owned many more *euchologia* than they actually needed. The monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai, for example, is home to 80 *euchologia* manuscripts, most of which were brought there from outside.⁹

To make matters more complex, historians of the liturgy have recently begun to question the nexus between liturgical manuscripts and liturgical practice.¹⁰

⁷ Claudia Rapp, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* (New York, Oxford, 2016), 76-82. More recent research has resulted in an increased number of manuscript attestations.

⁸ The traces of use are meticulously noted in the manuscript descriptions based on autopsy and, where possible, also in those based on reproductions.

⁹ G. Rossetto, *Three Euchologia Written on Reused Parchment (Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962 and Sin. gr. 966 and their Membra Disiecta): A Contribution to the History of the Library of Saint Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 2019 (unpublished), *passim*.

¹⁰ This was most recently discussed at the International Workshop ‘The History of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours and the Horologion’, 18.07.-20.07.2019, University of Regensburg.

The fact that a prayer or a ritual is preserved in a liturgical manuscript may not mean that it was performed in that way, either in the location of production of the manuscript, or in the location where the manuscript was later kept. There is always the possibility that manuscripts were produced not for liturgical use, but for study. This is especially true for liturgical manuscripts copied in the 15th century, when learned theologians in East and West developed an interest in the study of liturgical traditions, their similarities and differences, especially in the context of the hopes for a union of the churches of Rome and Constantinople that was debated at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1445).

Orality, Normativity and Performance in the Written Tradition

The relation between performance, oral transmission (and memorization), and written text is complex, multi-directional and multi-layered. Let us assume that a priest performed a new prayer for a particular occasion. The prayer text he used was either improvised, or existed in written form. In the first case, the priest may have memorized his improvised prayer text so that he could use it on a future occasion. This oral tradition could have gone on for a long time until finally the text was written down in a manuscript. In the second case, the written prayer text would have been the basis of the liturgical action. In the course of repeated liturgical performance, however, new words or phrases could be added to an existing prayer over time, so that the cycle of improvisation, memorization and textual fixation would repeat itself.

The problems posed by oral transmission, normative texts, and ritual performance, both in their textual history and in their interpretation by historians, is not unique to *euchologia*. Analogous issues have puzzled scholars of other sources as well and it may be helpful to consider these. In the following, I will consider the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* as an example of oral communication, the Theodosian Code as an example of written norms and the *Book of Ceremonies* as an example of ritual performance.

Oral Tradition: The *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Verba Seniorum* are short aphorisms of famous ascetics who lived in Egypt and Palestine from *ca.* 330 to *ca.* 460, that have over time served as an inspiration and guide for generations of ascetics. They survive in hundreds of manuscripts in multiple languages. The great spiritual ‘fathers’ of desert monasticism communicated their wisdom through their ascetic practice and through their teaching, often providing spiritual guidance in one-on-one conversations. Their disciples treasured the words of their teachers, shared them with one another in conversation, and told them to the next

generation. Eventually, these words of wisdom were written down, with the aim to inspire future generations towards the imitation of the same ascetic and spiritual goal. They were collected and written down in the late fifth century – *i.e.* at least one generation, and perhaps as many as six generations after their time of origin – and arranged either alphabetically, by name of the speaker, or systematically, by topic. Already by the sixth century, the *Sayings* were popular reading material among the monks in Palestine.

What is tangible to us now from this rich tradition is a vast, fragmented and disordered landscape of a large number of *Sayings*, transmitted in an enormous number of manuscripts not only in Greek, but also in many other languages.¹¹ There is great fluidity between these traditions: the exact text of the *Sayings* varies from manuscript to manuscript in the Greek, and between the different languages (Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Syriac, etc.). There is also variation in the number and sequence of *Sayings* in the manuscript tradition. As a result, the same *Saying* may appear in several different thematic contexts or under a different title, thus giving it a different meaning for the reader. Or the same *Saying* may be attributed to more than one speaker. There is further fluidity in the process of transmission over time. The same *Saying* may be found in a collection of *Apophthegmata*, but also appear in a hagiographical *Vita*, or be integrated in a text for the spiritual edification of monks. The opposite process of recycling is also possible: Select passages from other texts of related nature may be culled, ‘apophthegmatized’, and added to the collections of *Sayings*.

This fluid tradition resulting in multiple versions addressing the same content was a vexation already in Byzantine times. This is illustrated by the prefaces to the Alphabetic and the Systematic Collections. John, a monk and *geron* at the Monastery of Mar Saba, copied his manuscript in 1071/2 (Paris gr. 1598, fol. 303r): He explained that the *Paterikon* of Mar Saba (collection of sayings by the Fathers in this monastery) had suffered from age, so that – at the behest of the ‘despotes’ and monk Ioannikios – he undertook the effort (*kopos*) to gather additional *Paterika* from ‘the other monasteries’ and then combined their content into a newly arranged collection in two volumes, arranged in alphabetical order of the speakers.¹² John was thus much more than a copyist. He acted as an editor, collecting and rearranging the material that he found in several sources.

¹¹ Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels, 1962) used the following number of manuscripts: for the Alphabetic Collection: 8 manuscripts, plus 4 of the abbreviated version; for the Systematic Collection: 9 manuscripts. The Lund *Monastica* project bases its study of the tradition of the *Apophthegmata* on relevant manuscripts in the following languages: 32 in Greek, 27 in Slavonic, 21 in Latin, 6 in Arabic, 4 in Syriac, 3 in Georgian, and 1 in Armenian. These are just the manuscripts that are necessary for the establishment of the text. The actual number of manuscripts that preserve *Apophthegmata* is, of course, much larger, <http://monastica.ht.lu.se> (accessed 31.07.2019).

¹² J.-C. Guy, *Recherches* (1962), 8.

The preface to the Systematic Collection survives in two versions that give different reasons for its compilation. The author of the preface edited by Cotelier (probably based on a Paris manuscript, and reproduced in PG 65, col. 72-6) explains that he created the Systematic Collection as an appendix to the Alphabetical Collection, after research ‘in many books’, in order to accommodate additional sayings that were not attributed to a particular speaker. The author of the preface of the Athos manuscript (Athos, Lavra B 37, fol. 173-4), by contrast, explains that he was driven by the desire to group together sayings that addressed the same issue (he speaks of *logoi isodynamenoi*), which he hopes will be useful for the reader.¹³ A surfeit of material and quest for completeness in one instance, and a need for a thematic arrangement on the other, led to the same result: a systematization of what had begun as a living, spontaneous dialogue.

Samuel Rubenson, who with his research team in Lund has done pioneering work in forging pathways through this jungle of transmission, thus argues that it is not only futile to attempt to reconstruct an *Urtext*, but that such an undertaking would go against the original intention of those who spoke as well as those who wrote down those words. He points out the great freedom that each scribe exercised, as an editor and redactor. As a consequence, each manuscript must be studied in its own right as it was created to serve a specific purpose for a specific community at a specific time.

Rubenson offers three explanations why this is so: first, ‘the lack of an identifiable author and thus also the interest of an author, or his disciples, in preserving it [the text] intact’; second, ‘changing needs and circumstances’ over time; and third, the fact that

textual transmission in early eastern monasticism does not seem to have been dependent on large scriptoria where texts were copied under control and for organized distribution. The manuscripts were rather written individually either on a specific request by someone, or for use in the local monastery or by the individual himself.¹⁴

The *Apophthegmata* thus represent valuable comparative material for how the written dissemination of text in the manuscripts is shaped by its origin in a specific one-time event and its later oral tradition. There is much to be learned here for the study of *euchologia* manuscripts. Like the *Apophthegmata* manuscripts, they are also distinctly non-elite, utilitarian objects, distinguished by their modest size, their humble writing material (a relative high percentage of them were copied on palimpsested, *i.e.* recycled, parchment), and their untrained scribal hands. In the Vienna Euchologia Project, we have only recently, and after dialoguing with colleagues in the Tübingen Project ‘What did priests

¹³ *Ibid.* 193-4.

¹⁴ Samuel Rubenson, ‘Textual Fluidity in Early Monasticism: Sayings, Sermons and Stories’, in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin, 2017), 178-200, 197.

know?’ (who explore Carolingian manuscripts in Latin), begun to look more closely into the *euchologia* manuscripts that were copied by priests. Such manuscripts could be assumed to have been put together by the owner for his own specific purposes, as has been suggested above. This would go a long way to explain why the observation of Karl Krumbacher, the founder of Byzantine studies in Germany, with regard to hagiographical texts also appears to apply to *euchologia: quot codices, tot recensiones* (‘There are as many versions of text as there are manuscripts’).¹⁵

Written Norms: *The Theodosian Code*

Once written down, the small prayers assumed something of a normative character, acting as either as guidelines and inspiration for improvised prayers, or as a script that had to be followed to the letter. Here, it is useful to draw comparisons with the normative text of late antiquity par excellence, the *Theodosian Code*. Historians in search of evidence for the social, economic, religious and administrative history of the Later Roman Empire tend to turn to the laws preserved in the *Theodosian Code* as if they presented a faithful representation of reality at the time of the codification itself. But a closer look at the genesis of the *Code* advises caution. Three points deserve particular attention.

1. legal antiquarianism. In 429, Emperor Theodosius II gave the initial order to compile existing imperial laws, beginning with those of Emperor Constantine. A second commission was appointed in 435. They created the version that was approved by the senate in Rome in a ceremony on 25 December 438 and then disseminated, at imperial order, to officials throughout the empire. The initial remit for the compilers in 429 was to include earlier laws even if they had been superseded by later legislation.¹⁶ This observation has consequences for our understanding of the purpose of the *Code* itself. Was it really a codification of currently valid law to be used by judges in their decisions? Or was it rather a compilation of legal precedent across the preceding century to offer guidance to scholars and practitioners of jurisprudence as they deliberated and argued their cases? Most legal scholars argue in favour of the latter, while historians still find it convenient to assume the former. But caution is advised: the mere fact of the inclusion of an earlier law in the *Theodosian Code* does

¹⁵ Stephanos Efthymiadis, ‘Introduction’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, vol. 1 (Farnham a.o., 2011), 1-14, 4.

¹⁶ Jill Harries, ‘Introduction: The Background to the Code’, in *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, ed. Jill Harries and John Matthews (London, 1993), 3; John Matthews, ‘The Making of the Text’, in *ibid.* 23; but see Boudewijn Sirks, ‘The Sources of the Code’, in *ibid.* 57-8. See also William Turpin, ‘The Purpose of the Roman Law Codes’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 104 (1987), 620-30.

not necessarily mean that the original situation in which it was created still continued to exist. In many instances, this was manifestly not so, as comparison with other sources reveals.

The process of compilation of the laws offers further insights, as it involved de-contextualization and re-contextualization.

2. the removal of original context: Most of the laws that are now contained in the *Theodosian Code*, and thus assumed by scholars to have had universal validity in their current form, are in fact pared-down versions of specific instructions by the emperors issued in particular historical circumstances. The compilers of the *Theodosian Code* removed the preambles and other situation-specific instructions. The team that put together the first version of the *Code* was instructed in 429 that ‘... the very words themselves of the constitutions, in so far as they pertain to the essential matter, shall be preserved, but those words which were added not from the very necessity of sanctioning the law shall be omitted.’¹⁷ It is only with recourse to complete imperial pronouncements that are transmitted outside the *Theodosian Code* that the full context of imperial legislative practice and its original dissemination can be appreciated.¹⁸ As Caroline Humfress observes:

... if we wish to understand the evolution of Roman law, the study of how late imperial legislation was applied in practice is at least as important as the study of that legislation itself. We need constantly to go beyond the imperial texts, for they were (more often than not) prompted by specific cases, which are lost in the process of compilation. We need to be aware that late Roman imperial constitutions had such origins, and equally that they had a future, in that they were taken up, used, (mis)interpreted, even manipulated on the ground and in the courtrooms.¹⁹

3. the creation of new contexts: One way of such manipulation was recontextualization. In the process of assembling the legal material for the *Code*, the compilers re-arranged the imperial pronouncements in 16 Books under different thematic headings. Removed from their original context, selected passages are placed in a new context and, through this new association, are given different meaning.²⁰ This process is typical for the creation of compilations and their subsequent textual transmission, as we have seen already with regard to the *Apophthegmata*.

What would be the analogy of these three observations from the creation of the *Theodosian Code* for the study of *euchologia*?

First, the presence of a prayer text in an *euchologion* manuscript does not necessarily indicate that it was actually still in use at the time of copying. It may

¹⁷ *CTh* 1.1.5, translation Caroline Humfress, ‘Cracking the *Codex*: Late Roman Legal Practice in Context’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 49 (2006), 241-54, 249.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 247-50.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 254.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 243-7.

simply have been included intentionally for antiquarian purposes, to preserve an older tradition, or been copied from an older *Vorlage* accidentally, without much further thought.

Second, we must be aware that the prayer texts as they are now recorded in the manuscripts usually appear decontextualized, offering only the mere words of the prayer itself. But each time a prayer was performed, this was done in a specific setting, with further additions which, in the eyes of the liturgists and the participants, added significance and meaning that was specific to the situation. A good example would be the inclusion of the personal name(s) of the beneficiaries of prayers pronounced in the third person, and these are often indicated as NN in the manuscripts (Greek: *o deina*, or *hê deina*). It is only very rarely that the small prayers include rubrics with liturgical prescriptions for the addition of psalms, further prayers, liturgical gestures, the use of liturgical objects, or the presence of other clergy.²¹

Third, recontextualization, *i.e.* the positioning of a text in a new context that results in a new interpretation of its significance: An example from modern scholarship can be found in the prayers for *adelphopoiesis*, affirming a spiritual bond of brotherhood between two men. In one manuscript, the prayers are placed in immediate proximity to the ritual for betrothal and marriage. One scholar has used this observation as an argument that the ritual constitutes a precursor of a gay marriage rite. But it can be shown that the *adelphopoiêsis* prayers most commonly appear in the manuscripts either in a random location or in proximity to the prayers for baptism, thus suggesting that the ritual of brother-making has to be seen in the larger context of individuals making a strong commitment within the context of Christian initiation.²²

These observations from the textual transmission of oral tradition in the *Apophthegmata* and the preservation of written norms in the *Theodosian Code* may seem somewhat sobering with regard to the possibility of gaining insight from the small prayers in *euchologia* manuscripts about their actual use at any given moment in time. A more encouraging approach is offered by the written transmission of ceremonial performance.

Performance: The *Book of Ceremonies*

The *Book of Ceremonies* was compiled at the behest of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in the tenth century and received its current form in the decade after his death in 959.²³ Despite its enormous significance as the most detailed source about Byzantine court ceremonial, its

²¹ For examples in the prayers for *adelphopoiêsis*, see C. Rapp, *Brother-Making* (2016), 72-6.

²² *Ibid.* 62-3.

²³ Ann Moffatt, 'The Master of Ceremonies' Bottom Drawer: The Unfinished State of the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos', *Byzantinoslavica* 66 (1995), 377-88. Jeffrey

manuscript preservation is minimal: there is one complete manuscript (now in Leipzig) copied in the generation after its initial compilation, and two palimpsest fragments (Istanbul, Mount Athos) where the original tenth-century text is erased and replaced with a later text. It is based on protocols of actual ceremonies, as preserved in the office of the Master of Ceremonies. Some, but not all of these ceremonies are precisely identified by name and date. These include protocols that had been collected in the fifth or sixth century by Peter the Patrician, and more recent ones from the tenth century. The challenge for the historian consists in deciding whether these protocols are prescriptive or descriptive, whether they were written as guidelines before the actual ceremony or jotted down as an *aide-mémoire* after the event.²⁴ Most importantly, the historian should be weary of assuming that the *Book of Ceremonies* preserves snapshots of rituals as they were actually enacted at one specific moment in time or that the ritual in question was regularly repeated in just the same way as it is described. This is because, above all, rituals are performative. Just like the oral tradition of the *Apophthegmata*, it is in the nature of performance to resist fixation in writing. As Ruth Macrides observes, ‘A protocol may be based on one performance of a ceremony or on an amalgamation of several performances. Once it is written down, it is frozen in time. Yet, no two performances of a ceremony are alike and no single performance is likely to have been the same as the version preserved in the protocol.’²⁵

The preface to the first book of *De ceremoniis* explains the intention of its compilation. The Emperor Constantine VII wishes the good and harmonious order (*taxis*) of the empire to shine forth through its ceremonies, to be noted by his subjects and admired by foreign visitors. For this reason, he says,

we believed it was necessary to collect with unremitting effort from many sources those things which were devised by earlier generations and were made known by those who had seen them, and were seen by us ourselves and practised in our times, and to set them out in the present arrangement and to record for those who come after us, in the form of an easily comprehended account, the tradition of our ancestral customs which have been neglected.²⁶

Earlier written sources, eyewitness accounts and personal memory were thus all gathered together in order to preserve the memory of ceremonial performances.²⁷

M. Featherstone, ‘*De ceremoniis* and the Great Palace’, in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London, New York, 2010), 162-74.

²⁴ Christine Angelidi, ‘Designing Receptions in the Palace’, in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Early Modern Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer (Leiden, 2013), 465-77, 477.

²⁵ Ruth Macrides, J.A. Munitiz and Dimiter Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Farnham, 2013), 361.

²⁶ *De ceremoniis* I, Preface (Reiske 3, Vogt 1, 1), trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, *The Book of Ceremonies, with the Greek Edition of the Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1829; Cranberra, 2012), vol. 1, 4.

²⁷ See also *De ceremoniis* II, Preface (Reiske 516), *ibid.* vol. 2, 516.

Preservation from oblivion is of course a common justification for historical writing, but here the topos is applied to descriptions of ceremonies from the distant and the recent past with the intention that these should serve as prescriptive guidelines that could be adapted for future occasions. In fact, many individual ceremonies have later additions, such as 'it must be known that', or 'take note that', thus giving stage instructions (as it were) for a new performance. The *Book of Ceremonies* may thus be said to be a 'living text' as it contains a tradition that is kept alive through repeated re-enactment, even if the directions given in the text are not followed to the letter. In the *euchologia*, such additions with instructions for or by later users can be found, but they are rare and tend to occur only in manuscripts of relatively late date.²⁸

The analogy with the *Book of Ceremonies* may offer a helpful way out of the dilemma between living oral tradition and normative intent, as exemplified by the *Apophthegmata* and the *Theodosian Code*, respectively. What if we regard each individual *euchologion* manuscript, in analogy to the *Book of Ceremonies*, as a descriptive record of an actual ceremonial performance that was compiled with a prescriptive intent? This kind of approach may go a long way to address the peculiarities of the manuscript tradition as a whole, on the one hand, while preserving, with all due caution, the value of the occasional prayers as a historical source, both in the living context of their original performance and in their textual manifestation in a specific manuscript.

²⁸ C. Rapp, 'Methodological Observations' (2017).

Text – Matter – Ritual: A Historical and Comparative Perspective on Select Occasional Prayers for Holy Week and Easter

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ABSTRACT

The development of the liturgical year in Late Antiquity was the effect of profound change: mimetic celebrations of particular events of the biblical history first appeared as a categorical innovation of the later fourth century and led to the introduction of unprecedented rites commemorating certain moments, stations, and actions of the biblical narrative; but also after their institution, the shifting character of these liturgical rituals and their texts mirrors changing theological, cultural, and historical attitudes, spiritualities, and conditions.

This paper examines prayers for special celebrations of the liturgical year, notably Holy Week and Easter, and investigates the dynamic and variegated relation between text, matter, and ritual: how was the re-presentation of the biblical history effected in the symbolic interaction of the participants; which role was ascribed to the material elements within and beyond the festal rituals; which use and potential abuse can be discerned, and how does the development of the liturgies relate to changing historical and cultural circumstances? In the first part, phases of liturgical development, ritual use of matter, and characteristic genres of prayers are distinguished; the second and third parts examine those two kinds of ‘occasional’ prayers which are first attested: Palm Sunday blessings and the benediction of the Easter lamb.

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Prayers and Blessings for Holy Week in the 'Occasional Prayers' of the Byzantine *Euchologion*

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ABSTRACT

From the fourth century onward, biblical events from Christ's life were celebrated and remembered in liturgical rites that came to form the highpoint of the Christian liturgical year – Holy Week and Pascha. By the eighth century, prayers and rites for processions with palm branches on Palm Sunday, for preparing chrism and washing feet on Holy Thursday, and exorcisms for those preparing for baptism on Holy Saturday, are known in the earliest *euchologion* manuscript, Vatican Barberini Gr. 336. Within the following centuries, additional rites are also known in later *euchologia*.

This article surveys the corpus of prayers for Holy Week and Pascha found in *euchologia* manuscripts in the context of their biblical and patristic background, focusing on prayers for Palm Sunday and Easter. A preliminary examination reveals that prayers for Palm Sunday are more common in *euchologia* from Palestine and South Italy and initially emphasized preparation for Easter rather than the blessing of palms; prayers for Easter are focused on the blessing of meat, eggs, and cheese, and are found exclusively in *euchologia* from South Italy. Overall, the earliest manuscripts omit many of these prayers, focusing instead on prayers and rites associated with preparation for and the rites of baptism during Holy Week and Easter, while later manuscripts tend to transmit prayers for blessing objects, such as palm branches or food, revealing a tendency toward materializing the liturgical celebration in the transition from Late Antique to Medieval *euchologia*.

1. Introduction

Despite the formation of the Gospels within a century of Jesus' death and the Christian community's celebration of the Eucharist soon after, it was not until the fourth century that we know of a developed, annual commemoration of the biblical events from Christ's raising of Lazarus and his entry into Jerusalem until his passion, death, and resurrection in liturgical rites that formed the culmination of the Christian liturgical year – Holy Week and Pascha. One of the highpoints integrated into this celebration was the baptism of catechumens on the eve of Pascha, preceded by an intense preparatory period during Lent and followed by mystagogical catechesis.¹ In this article, I would like to

¹ Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, Alcuin Club Collections 86 (Collegeville, MN, 2011), 75-86.

investigate the various prayers for these commemorations of Holy Week, as they are preserved among the ‘occasional prayers’ in Byzantine *euchologia* extant from the eighth century onward, and examine what can be gleaned of their pre-history in the patristic period by attempting to fill in the gap between the detailed witnesses to these celebrations from the fourth century and the extant prayer texts from the eighth century onward. Unlike other ‘occasional prayers’ in the *euchologia* that focus on lifecycle rituals or events in the daily lives of individuals, the ‘occasional prayers’ for Holy Week fall at the juncture between common, ‘official’ liturgical prayer and popular piety, and have a firm foundation in biblical narratives that served as the basis for anamnetic expression and mimetic performance. At the same time, and as I hope will become apparent by the conclusion of this article, many of these ‘occasional prayers’ for Holy Week that were originally of a secondary nature in the commemoration of events in the life of Jesus Christ came to dominate the contents related to Holy Week in later Byzantine *euchologia*. This also meant that the main focus on baptism and Christian initiation at the Easter vigil, a highpoint of Holy Week, came to be lost. Apart from literary and theological insights, an examination of the prayers for Holy Week can also provide information about the formation of the *euchologion* as a Greek Medieval liturgical book composed of prayers and rites with diverse regional origins among the ancient patriarchates of the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of Late Antiquity.

2. Praying During Holy Week: An Overview

The main grid onto which the events of Holy Week were mapped as anamnetic liturgical celebrations was provided by each of the four the Gospel narratives which recounted the events themselves and gave cues for their timing. For example, Lazarus Saturday was commemorated ‘six days before Passover’ according to *John* 12:1; the chronology of Matthean pericopes from *Matthew* 21-5 for the first days of Holy Week were positioned before Christ’s announcement that in ‘two days the Passover is coming’ in *Matthew* 26:2; and the cues for the commemoration of the Last Supper (*John* 13:1), the specific hours of the crucifixion (*John* 19:14, *Matthew* 27:45), and the day of the resurrection (*Matthew* 28:1) all have their basis in the Gospel narrative. These are just a few examples of the biblical events of the passion and resurrection that were celebrated liturgically.

Such an outline of the Gospel events of Holy Week was closely adopted by the Holy Week Liturgy of the Hours and its hymnography, known in an already well-developed form from the fourth century onward through eyewitness accounts.²

² See the table in Anne McGowan and Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria. A New Translation of the Itinerarium Egeriae with Introduction and Commentary*, Alcuin Club Collections 93 (Collegeville, MN, 2018), 93

Egeria's pilgrim account from 381 to 384 already notes not only readings, hymns, and antiphons appropriate to the place and the day on every day of Holy Week,³ but also prayers appropriate to the day.⁴ If such a large corpus of Holy Week prayers did exist, it has not survived in any of the extant manuscript sources. The closest such example that we know of today is a twelfth-century manuscript of Holy Week services copied and used at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but even that manuscript does not contain as many specific prayers as Egeria leads one to believe existed; instead, the manuscript preserves much more specific hymnography.⁵

It is not until the eighth century that we have the first extant copies of any prayers for the rites that Egeria describes. The earliest *euchologion* manuscript, Barberini Gr. 336, includes prayers for the procession with palms and branches on Palm Sunday, as well as prayers and rites for preparing chrism and washing feet on Holy Thursday, and exorcisms on Holy Friday for those preparing for baptism on Holy Saturday.⁶

During subsequent centuries, additional rites, such as the washing of the altar on Holy Thursday or the blessing of Easter foods on the Sunday of Pascha, are attested in later *euchologia*, established and consolidated by the end of the fourteenth century, an approximate *terminus ad quem* for this investigation. The current Byzantine Rite has an elaborate liturgical schedule for Holy Week, based on the extant prayers in *euchologia*.⁷

³ *Semper ymni et antiphonae dicuntur; lectiones etiam aptae diei et loco leguntur; interpositae semper orationes.* Egeria, *Itinerarium*, 32:1; Égérie, *Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)*, ed. and trans. by Pierre Maraval, SC 296 (Paris, 1982), 276. For additional background on Egeria, see McGowan and Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria* (2018), 2-27.

⁴ *Quae orationes et ipsae apte diei sunt.* Egeria, *Itinerarium*, 37:7.

⁵ Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122); Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'I. Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας', *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1894), 1-254.

⁶ Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.): Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶια τῇ βαϊφόρῳ, α' and Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ βᾶια β', fol. 210v-212r; Εὐχὴ ἡγουν ποιήσις μύρου γινομένη τῇ ἀγία πέμπτη τῆς μεγάλης ἑβδομάδος ὑπὸ μόνου ἐπισκόπου, fol. 123v-128r, as well as instructions for making *myron*; Διακονικὰ τοῦ νιπτῆρος, Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸν ἐξερχόμενον νίψασθαι, Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀγιάσαι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ νιπτῆρος, Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸν νιπτῆρα καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον καὶ τὸ Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου διαφυλαχθῶμεν, fol. 212r-215r; and Ἀπόταξις καὶ σύνταξις γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῇ ἀγία παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα, fol. 128r-137r. Although not explicitly mentioned in connection with Pascha, the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφέρουσιν ἄμνόν, fol. 229r, was likely used in connection with the Easter celebrations. See *Εὐχολογιὴν Βαρβερινι γρ. 336. Ἰздание текста, предисловие и примечания*, ed. by Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, trans. by S. Golovanov (Omsk, 2011), 354-63 (par. 140-5), 417-21 (par. 220-5), and 431 (par. 239).

⁷ The number of *euchologia* after the fourteenth century is quite extensive and the prayers begin to find their way into liturgical books connected with the season, namely the Triodion and Pentekostarion. For the current liturgical texts and rites, see, for example, *Τριώδιον κατανυκτικόν* (Rome, 1879), 590-761; *Πεντηκοστάριον χαρμόσυνον* (Rome, 1883), 5-57; *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. by Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London, 1978), 476-661.

3. The Corpus of Prayers for Holy Week and Easter in *Euchologia*

The known corpus of prayers for Holy Week and Pascha found in *euchologia* manuscripts is quite extensive and, in order to better navigate this material, can be classified into three categories:

- i. prayers and rites connected to baptism,
- ii. prayers and rites connected to the Eucharist, and
- iii. ‘occasional prayers’

The first category includes (1) preparation and blessing of *myron* on Holy Thursday necessary for chrismation, and the (2) final renunciation and acceptance (or *apotaxis* and *syntaxis*) by the *photizomenoi* on Holy Friday, in anticipation of their baptism at the vigil of Holy Saturday. The second category includes the (3) numerous variable *opisthambonos* prayers for the Eucharistic liturgies thematically composed and assigned to almost every day of Holy Week,⁸ and the (4) rite of foot washing on Holy Thursday, either directly or indirectly connected to the Eucharist. The prayers of the third category – ‘occasional prayers’ – are those that remain: (5) occasional prayers for Palm Sunday, usually in the context of a paraliturgical procession or, more recently, within the Liturgy of the Hours, at *orthros*, and the (6) blessing of foods on Pascha. This last category – ‘occasional prayers’ for Palm Sunday and the blessing of food on Pascha – will be the focus of this paper.⁹

3.1. *Palm Sunday*

The prayers for Holy Week begin with Palm Sunday, for which we have six known unique prayers, the two most common being the ones found in the oldest *euchologion*, Vatican Barberini Gr. 336, from the eighth century. The two prayers from the Barberini *euchologion* are numbered sequentially as α' and β' , the first ‘for the distribution of palms on Palm Sunday’ (εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶϊα τῇ βαϊφόρῳ),¹⁰ while the second is just ‘for palms’ (εἰς τὰ βᾶϊα):¹¹

⁸ Robert Taft has identified fifteen unique dismissal prayers for the Eucharistic liturgy used during Holy Week and Bright Week. Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 6: *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, OCA 281 (Rome, 2008), 654.

⁹ For further typologies and classifications of prayers and rites for Holy Week, including an analysis of their relation to material objects and symbolism, see Harald Buchinger, ‘Materielle Repräsentation im liturgische Vollzug und die Medialität der mittelalterlichen Osterfeier. Ein Versuch zur Typologie materialer Symbolik christlicher Liturgie’, in Alexander Zerfuß (ed.), *Medialität und Materialität „großer Narrative“: Religiöse (Re-)Formationen* (Heidelberg, 2020), forthcoming.

¹⁰ ‘Palm Sunday’ is known as ἡ βαϊφόρος (*i.e.* ἡμέρα) in the *Life of Stephen the Sabaite*, in a homily by Sabas, and in a work of Theodore Balsamon. See *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (A-K), ed. Erich Trapp *et al.* (Vienna, 2001), 259.

¹¹ Barberini Gr. 336, fol. 210v-211r (numbered in the manuscript as ρπς' [186]) and fol. 211v-212r (numbered in the manuscript as ρπςζ' [187]). The second is a prayer of inclination (κεφαλοκλήσια), *i.e.* the faithful are to bow their heads while the presider says the prayer.

Εὐχή εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶϊα τῇ βαΐφόρῳ, α' First prayer for distributing palms to palm-bearers

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, ὃς ἐξήγειρας τὴν δυναστείαν σου, καὶ ἀπέστειλας τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἵνα σώσει τὸν κόσμον διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς Ταφῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ· οὗ καὶ παραγενομένου εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον πάθος, ὁ λαός, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, λαβόντες τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα, τοὺς κλάδους τῶν δένδρων καὶ βᾶϊα τῶν φοινίκων, τὴν ἀνάστασιν προεμήνυσαν· αὐτὸς, Δέσποτα, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς κατὰ μίμησιν ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν προεορτίῳ ταύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ βᾶϊα καὶ κλάδους δένδρων ἐν χερσὶν φέροντας, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὸ Ὡσαννὰ σοὶ προσφέροντες, διαφύλαξον, ὅπως ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠσμασιν καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς καταξιωθῶμεν τῆς ζωοποιοῦ τριημέρου Ἀναστάσεως. Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ.¹²

O Lord our God, seated on the cherubim (*Ps.* 79:2c, 98:1): you exalted your power (*Ps.* 79:3b) and sent your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to save the world (*Jn.* 3:16, *1Jn.* 4:9) by his cross, burial, and resurrection. As he goes to his voluntary passion to Jerusalem, the people who sat in darkness and the shadow of death (*Ps.* 106:10, *Lk.* 1:79) go out to meet him. And taking up the emblems of resurrection – boughs of trees and branches of palms – they signify his resurrection. O Master, preserve us as we imitate them – holding branches and palms in our hands (*Matt.* 21:8) on this pre-festive day, and like the crowds and the children who offered you cries of ‘Hosanna’, grant that we too, through hymns and songs and spiritual odes (*Eph.* 5:19, *Col.* 3:16), may be worthy of the life-giving resurrection on the third day. In Christ Jesus our Lord (*Rom.* 8:39), together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always...

The first prayer, found in at least eight other *euchologia* manuscripts before the fourteenth century,¹³ speaks of pre-festively imitating the crowds and children who cried ‘Hosanna’ by holding palms and branches in their hands as preparation for the celebration of the resurrection. Nowhere is prayer mentioned

¹² Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.), fol. 210v-211r; *Εὐχολογίῳ Βαρβερίνι γρ. 336.*, ed. by Parenti and Velkovska, 417-8 (par. 220); cf. Jacobus Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730), 589-90.

¹³ Moscow RGB Gr. 27 (10th cent.), 92r-92v (no. 118): Εὐχή εἰς τὰ βᾶϊα; Grottaferrata Γ.β. X (10th-11th cent.), fol. 85v-86r: Ἐτέρα εἰς βᾶϊα; Vatican Gr. 1554 (11th cent.), fol. 98v-99r: Εὐχή εἰς τὸ εὐλογεῖν τὰ βᾶϊα (only one prayer); Vatican Barberini Gr. 345 (12th cent.), fol. 64v-65r: Εὐχή εἰς τὰ βᾶϊα (first prayer, followed immediately by second prayer); Bodleian Auctor E.5.13 (12th cent.), fol. 173r-174r: Εὐχή τῶν βαΐων; Vatican Barberini Gr. 443 (12th-13th cent.), fol. 70v-71r: Εὐχή εἰς τὸ εὐλογεῖν τὰ βᾶϊα (J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον* [1730], 589); Sinai Gr. 966 (13th cent.), fol. 102r-102v: Εὐχή εἰς τὸ εὐλογεῖν τὰ βᾶϊα (see Alexei A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, xranяnιmιxся βῆ διβλιотеκαx̄ pravoslavnaγo vostoka*, vol. 2: *Εὐχολόγια* [Kiev, 1901], 219); Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 8r-8v: Καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν εὐχὴν (the second of five prayers); Grottaferrata Γ.β. III (14th cent.), fol. 152v: Ἐτέρα εὐχὴ; Sinai Gr. 971 (13th-14th cent.), fol. 88r-89v: Εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον τῆς βαΐοφόρου, ὅτε μέλλῃ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶϊα τῷ λαῷ (A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901], 250). A variant of this prayer, with interpolations such as references to the ‘tears of Martha and Mary’ (Μάρθας καὶ Μαρίας τὰ δάκρυα) at the end of the prayer, is found in St. Petersburg 226 (10th cent.), fol. 142r-142v: Εὐχή εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶϊα.

as a method of preparation – the way to prepare for the resurrection is ‘through hymns and songs and spiritual odes’ – and the focus is not on the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, but on his coming to save the world through his ‘cross, burial, and resurrection’ (ἵνα σώσει τὸν κόσμον διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς Ταφῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ).

Neither is there any blessing of palm branches mentioned or implied. Patristic exegesis viewed the palm branches as ‘emblems of the victory of the resurrection’ (τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως νίκης σύμβολα), as the first prayer from the Barberini *euchologion* calls them, and further allegorized the branches. In a homily for Palm Sunday previously attributed to either Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. ca. 451?) or Titus Bostra (d. ca. 378), the author engages in a dualistic allegorising exegesis of the palm branches, according to Michel Aubineau, making a distinction between exterior and interior activity: the multitudes that went before Christ praised him with olive branches (κλάδων ἐλαιῶν), a sign of practical activity of the outward person (τὴν πρακτικὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ ἕξω ἀνθρώπου), and palm branches (βαΐων φοινίκων), an indication of spiritual, contemplative, and pure activity of the interior person (τὴν πνευματικὴν καὶ γνωστικὴν καὶ καθαρὰν τοῦ ἕσω ἀνθρώπου ἐργασίαν).¹⁴ Dorotheus of Gaza (d. ca. 560-580) also gives a spiritual meaning to the palm branches. At the end of his *Didaskalia* 18 on Great Lent where he describes fasting from food as well as from images and unnecessary words, he mentions the branches as a sign of victory and mercy: we greet Christ with palms, symbols of victory in his war against the enemy – death, and with olive branches, signs of mercy to ask mercy to be counted partakers in his victory over death.¹⁵ Similar imagery is presented in a sermon on palms formerly attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 2 May 373).¹⁶

Although nowhere in the Gospel accounts are olive branches explicitly mentioned as the object carried by the multitudes (*Matt.* 21:8: ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων; *Mk.* 11:8: στοιβάδας ἔκοπτον ἐκ τῶν δένδρων; *Jn.* 12:13: ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων), this patristic tradition enters the liturgical tradition as well, as we see in the second prayer from the Barberini *euchologion*:¹⁷

¹⁴ Hom 18, 10.1-5; *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, ed. Michel Aubineau, vol. 2: *Les homélies xvi-xxi*, Subsidia hagiographica 59 (Brussels, 1980), 748-776, here 768. On the symbolism of palms, see Christian Frevel and Hans-Walter Stork, ‘Palme’, *LThK3*, vol. 7:1301-3.

¹⁵ Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπαντῶμεν τῷ Δεσπότη ἡμῶν Χριστῷ μετὰ βαΐων μὲν ὡς νικητῆ· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνίκησε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· μετὰ κλάδων δὲ ἐλαιῶν, αἰτοῦντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος, ἵνα ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐνίκησεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν δι’ αὐτοῦ αἰτοῦντες καὶ εὐρεθῶμεν βαστάζοντες αὐτοῦ τὰ νικητήρια, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἧς ἐνίκησεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἧς ἐνίκησαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ εὐχαῖς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν. *Didaskalia* 15, 164-5; Dorothee de Gaza, *Œuvres spirituelles*, ed. and trans. L. Regnault and J. de Préville, SC 92 (Paris, 1963), 146-486, here 454-6.

¹⁶ *Sermo in ramos palmarum*, PG 26, 1309-13, 1313, CPG 2236; H. Nordberg, *Athanasiana* I, Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 30, 2 (Helsinki, 1962), 42-5.

¹⁷ This second prayer of the Barberini *euchologion* is also found in the following manuscripts: Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (10th cent.), fol. 102r-102v: Εὐχὴ εἰς το εὐλογῆσαι τὰ βαῖα; Grottaferrata

Εὐχή εἰς τὰ βαῖα β’

Ὁ διάκονος· Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ διὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑποδείξας ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ θεράποντός σου Νῶε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος παρουσίαν διὰ τῆς περιστερᾶς καταμηνύσας, τὸ κάρφος τῆς ἐλαίας φέρουσαν, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Ἑβραίων παῖδες ἐπλήρωσαν καὶ μετὰ κλάδων ἐλαίων καὶ βαΐων ὑπήντησαν κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. Ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοί σου κράζομεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ὡσαννὰ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος κρῖναι δικαιοσύνην, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· νῦν.¹⁸

Second prayer for palms

Deacon: [Let us bow] our heads [to the Lord].

The priest prays:

O Lord our God, ruler of all, you revealed the type of your Church through the ark of your righteous servant Noah (1Pet. 3:20), proclaiming the coming of the Holy Spirit through a dove that brought the olive branch (Gen. 8:11). The Hebrew children who encounter you with branches of olives and palms complete this, crying out and saying: ‘Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!’ (Jn. 12:13, Mk. 11:10) With this same voice we your servants cry out and say: ‘Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes and will come again to judge righteousness, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now...

Here the olive branches are presented in the anamnesis of the prayer as signs of God’s mercy toward the Church in the type of Noah’s ark. The anamnestic part of the prayer then recounts the Gospel events of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem and quote the cry of the Hebrew children, before passing to the epicletic section where the cry of the children is repeated by the Church, but with an eschatological twist: ‘Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes and will come again to judge righteousness, with the Father and the Holy Spirit’ (Ὡσαννὰ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος κρῖναι δικαιοσύνην, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι).¹⁹

This eschatological gloss, namely the phrase εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος or εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, is an addition to *Matthew* 21:9²⁰ currently unknown in Greek New Testament manuscripts or

Γ.β. X (10th-11th cent.), fol. 85r-85v: Εὐχή λεγομένη εἰς τὰ βαῖα (without Hagiopolite Benedictus at the end); Grottaferrata Γ.β. XV (11th-13th cent.; various hands), fol. 40r: Εὐχή εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὰ βαῖα; Vatican Barberini Gr. 345 (12th cent.), fol. 65r-65v; Bodleian Auctor E.5.13 (12th cent.), fol. 174r-174v: Εὐχή ἑτέρα εἰς τὰ βαῖα; Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 9r (third of five prayers); Vatican Gr. 1811 (AD 1147), fol. 66r: Εὐχή εἰς βαῖα (J. Goar, *Ἐξολόγιον* [1730], 590); Vatican Barberini Gr. 431 (12th cent.), fol. 114v-115r: Εὐχή εἰς βαῖα (J. Goar, *Ἐξολόγιον* [1730], 590); Sinai Gr. 982 (13th cent.), fol. 82r: Εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βαῖα (A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901], 242); Grottaferrata Γ.β. III (14th cent.), fol. 152r-152v: Εὐχή εἰς τὰ βαῖα (but without Hagiopolite Benedictus at the end).

¹⁸ Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.), fol. 211v-212r; *Εὐχολογίῳ Βαρβερῖνου γρ. 336.*, ed. Parenti and Velkovska, 418 (no. 221).

¹⁹ Both ἐλθὼν (aorist active participle masc. nom. sg.) and ἐρχόμενος (present middle participle masc. nom. sg.) are forms of the verb ἐρχομαι, to come.

²⁰ See *Mk.* 11:9-10, *Lk.* 19:38, and *Jn.* 12:13 for other Gospel versions of ‘Hosanna’. See also *Ps.* 117:25 [LXX].

Gospel lectionaries,²¹ but present in Greek patristic and liturgical texts, as well as Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic Eucharistic prayers. This addition's presence in the Sanctus of the Liturgy of St James, the Anaphora with roots in Jerusalem, has earned it the title 'Hagiopolite Benedictus'.²² Bryan Spinks has speculated that the text of the Benedictus may have been modified 'in the interests of Christology' and under the influence of *Revelation* 4:8b ('Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come'; ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος) to identify the 'one who is coming' with Jesus.²³ This is clearly the case in this second prayer for palm branches, which, unlike the first prayer, is directed to Christ.

The 'Hagiopolite Benedictus' addition also appears in patristic texts. Two spurious homilies previously attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403)²⁴ and one homily previously attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373)²⁵ contain the addition. For a more certain attribution, we must turn to a homily for Palm Sunday by a certain 'presbyter Theognios of Jerusalem' (d. ca. 522), who was

²¹ In anticipation of the relevant publications of the *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior* by the International Greek New Testament Project and the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, cf. Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28. revidierte Auflage (Münster, 2013), 68 (*Matt.* 21:9), 149-50 (*Mk.* 11:9-10), 265 (*Lk.* 19:38), 342 (*Jn.* 12:13); *Novum Testamentum Graece: ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum. Editio octava critica maior*, ed. Constantinus Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1869), vol. 1, 131 (*Matt.* 21:9), 336 (*Mk.* 11:9-10), 658-9 (*Lk.* 19:38), 881-2 (*Jn.* 12:13); David C. Pellett, *The Holy Week Lectons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Chicago, 1954), 34-6 and 177.

²² The phrase is found in the Anaphora of the Liturgy of St James in Greek. See Vatican Gr. 1970 (13th cent.); *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques*, ed. and trans. Basile-Charles Mercier, PO 26.2 (Paris, 1946), 200 (lines 5-6); R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (Collegeville, MN, 1990), 91. This part of the Sanctus/Benedictus is absent from the liturgical scroll Vatican Gr. 2282 (9th cent.), which only gives the incipit of the Sanctus response of the faithful. The phrase is also found in the Syriac version of the Liturgy of St James. See Frank E. Brightman (ed.), *Liturgies Eastern and Western: Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, vol. 1: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), 86 (line 16). The phrase is not found in Greek Sinai 'new finds' of the Liturgy of St James, nor in Georgian translations. See Alkiviades K. Kazamias, *Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοφθοῦ καὶ τὰ νέα σιναϊτικὰ χειρόγραφα* (Thessalonike, 2006), 190; L. Khevsuriani, M. Shanidze, M. Kavtaria and T. Tseradze (eds), *Liturgia ibero-graeca sancti Iacobi: Editio, translatio, retroversio, commentarii*, part I: *The Old Georgian Version of the Liturgy of Saint James*; part II: S. Verhelst, *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques: Rétroversion grecque et commentaires*, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 17 (Münster, 2011), 76 and 210. For the presence or absence of this phrase in other liturgical traditions, among them Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic liturgies, see Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991), 116-21, especially 121.

²³ B. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (1991), 121.

²⁴ *Homilia in festo palmarum*, PG 43, 428-37, 433; CPG 3767; *Homilia in festo palmarum* (fragmentum), PG 43, 501-5, 505; CPG 3772. See J.-M. Saugey, 'Un homélaire melkite bipartite: Le manuscrit Beyrouth, Bibliothèque orientale 510', *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), 231-90, 265 n. 19.

²⁵ *Sermo in ramos palmarum*, PG 26, 1309-13, 1313, CPG 2236; H. Nordberg, *Athanasiana* I (1962), 42-5.

a monk at the monastery of Flavia at Gethsemane in Jerusalem, later becoming bishop of Bitylion (Βιτύλιον) near Gaza.²⁶ In the homily, which Jacques Noret speculates he wrote around 460 while a presbyter at Gethsemane, Theognios states:

... τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς πάλιν ἀνακαινίσαντος διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας ἄδοντες αὐτῷ εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους μετὰ πασῶν τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων λέγοντες· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν οἰκονομικῶς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος φιλανθρώπως ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, ᾧ πάντα πρέπει δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια ἅμα τῷ ἀχράντῳ, ἀγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.²⁷

... the Lord who created us again, renewing [us] through the bath of regeneration, praising him with thankful hymns together with all the heavenly powers, saying: 'Blessed is he who came according to the dispensation of the Incarnation (οἰκονομικῶς) and comes again because of love for mankind (φιλανθρώπως) in the name of God the Father, to whom belong all glory, honour, power, majesty and magnificence, as well as to the immaculate, holy, and life-creating Spirit unto eternity of ages of ages. Amen.

Juliette Day has assembled the material on the Benedictus and shown the widespread presence of this phrase in Syriac sources, from Old Syriac and Peshitta versions of *Matthew* 21:9, to Syriac liturgical texts, and even commentaries on the Liturgy of St James by the Syrian Orthodox bishop Mushe bar Kipho (d. 903).²⁸ The virtual absence of this phrase from sources connected to Constantinople is noteworthy.²⁹ She concludes that the Benedictus first entered liturgical practice through hymns at Palm Sunday liturgies in fourth-century Jerusalem before it became part of the Anaphora.³⁰ The importance of this statement for the *euchologion* and its 'occasional prayers' should be underlined, since it means that the Palm Sunday prayer in the Southern Italian *euchologion* Barberini Gr. 336 is among the earliest extant textual witness of the Benedictus in Byzantine liturgy – and with interpolations from Jerusalem.³¹

²⁶ CPG 7378; Jacques Noret, 'Une homélie inédite sur les Rameaux par Théognios, prêtre de Jérusalem (vers 460?)', *Analecta Bollandiana* 89 (1971), 136-42, 128-34.

²⁷ J. Noret, 'Une homélie inédite sur les Rameaux par Théognios' (1971), 126.

²⁸ R.H. Connolly and H.W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, Text and Translation Society (Oxford, London, 1913), 51; J.F. Coakley, 'Mushe bar Kipho', in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron M. Butts, George A. Kiraz and Lucas Van Rompay (Piscataway, NJ, 2011), 300.

²⁹ Juliette Day, 'The Origins of the Anaphoral Benedictus', *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 60 (2009), 193-211, 205-7.

³⁰ J. Day, 'The Origins of the Anaphoral Benedictus' (2009), 200-1 and 211.

³¹ Other prayers include: Grottaferrata Γ.β. XV (11th-13th cent., various hands), fol. 40r-40v: Εὐχὴ ἄλλη εἰς τὰ βαῖα. Δόξα σοι, ἄγιε καὶ σωτῆρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐν οἰκτιμοῖς... edited in Valerio Polidori, 'L'eucologio criptense Γ.β.XV', BBGG III s. 6 (2009), 215-39, 236-7, and also found in Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (10th cent.), fol. 102v-103r: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν λεγομένη ἐν μυστηρίῳ; Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 7v: Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐπάνω τῶν βαῖων καὶ κλάδων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου. Συνανάρχε Λόγε τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου

3.2. *Holy Saturday and Pascha*

Liturgical provenance, whether Jerusalem, Constantinople, Palestine, Southern Italy, or elsewhere, is an important factor to consider when examining the next category of ‘occasional prayers’ for Holy Week in *euchologia* manuscripts, namely prayers for blessing food on Easter, specifically meat, eggs, and cheese. These prayers are almost exclusively found in *euchologia* manuscripts known to originate, both in terms of palaeography and liturgical content, in Southern Italy. The most common prayer for blessing meat is found in at least eight manuscripts before the fourteenth century:³²

Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέας τοῦ Πάσχα Prayer for blessing meat on Pascha

Ἐπίσκεψαι Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, εἰς τὰ ἐδέσματα τῶν κρεῶν, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτὰ καθὼς εὐλόγησας τὸν ἀμνόν, ὃν σοι προσήγαγον ὁ πιστὸς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τὸν ἀρνόν, ὄνπερ Ἄβελ σοι προσήνεγκον εἰς ὄλοκάρπωσιν· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, ὃν θύσαι ἐκέλευσας τῷ Υἱῷ σου τῷ πεπλανημένῳ καὶ πάλιν ἐπανελθόντι πρὸς σέ, ἵνα καθὼς αὐτὸς ἠξιώθη τῆς σῆς χάριτος ἀπολαῦσαι. Οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁγιασθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ εὐλογηθέντων ἀπολαύσωμεν εἰς τροφὴν πάντων ἡμῶν· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἀληθινὴ τροφή, καὶ ὁ δοτὴρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ σοὶ

O Lord Jesus Christ, look upon these meats, and bless them as you blessed the ram, which Abraham, the faithful one, brought to you (*Gen.* 22:13), and the lamb which was offered to you by Abel as a whole burnt-offering (*Gen.* 4:4). Bless them also as you sanctified the fatted calf, which you ordered to be slain for your prodigal son when he returned to you (*Lk.* 15:23), so that just as he was made worthy to enjoy your grace, we too might delight in these foods that you have sanctified and blessed to nourish us all. For you are the true nourishment and the bestower of

σου Πατρός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν σοὶ ἀχωρίστως, παρ' οὗ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξεφάνη... ; Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 9v: Εὐχὴ τρίτη λεγομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου Χερουβὶμ ἐποχούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφίμ καὶ πασῶν τῶν νοερῶν δυνάμεων ἀνυμνούμενος... ; Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 11r-12r: ... ὁ πατριάρχης τὴν εὐχὴν. Δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξολογοῦμέν σου τὴν ἄφατον συγκατάβασιν... ; Sinai Gr. 984 (15th cent.), fol. 212r: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ βαῖα. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν πάντων... (A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901], 601); Athos Vatorpaidi 134 (745) (AD 1538), fol. 454: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ βαῖα (A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901], 784); Athens 94 (AD 1542), fol. 59v: Εὐχὴ τῆ κυριακῆ εἰς τὰ βαῖα (A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901], 789); Vatican Gr. 2032 (AD 1549), fol. 197v col. 1-197v col. 2: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὰ Βαῖα.

³² Grottaferrata Z.β. II (11th cent.), fol. 120r-121v: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέας τοῦ Πάσχα, cf. Valerio Polidori, ‘L’eucologio criptense Z.δ.II’, *BBGG* III s. 7 (2010), 173-206, 204; Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (10th-11th cent.), fol. 104v: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέα τοῦ Πάσχα [but with τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν μόσχων ad.]; Grottaferrata Γ.β. X (10th-11th cent.), cf. F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (1905), 412; Vatican Gr. 1554 (11th cent.), fol. 99r-99v: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέα [τοῦ Πάσχα]; Grottaferrata Γ.β. XV (11th-13th cent., various hands.), fol. 41r: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέας τῷ Πάσχα; Vatican Ottoboni Gr. 344 (AD 1177), fol. 131r-131v from Otranto; Vatican Barberini Gr. 443 (12th-13th cent.), fol. 71v; Grottaferrata Γ.β. III (14th cent.), fol. 153r-153v: Εὐχὴ εἰς εὐλογῆσαι ἄμνον καὶ μόσχον καὶ κρέα τὸ Πάσχα.

τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ
 Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ,
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.³³ good things, and we send up glory to you,
 to the Father, and to the Son, and the Holy
 Spirit, now and always, and unto the ages of
 ages. Amen.

The prayer asks Christ to look down on the meat and to sanctify it so that those who partake may delight in it, just as God sanctified the sacrifices of Abraham and Abel, and the fatted calf for the prodigal son – standard biblical examples of sacrifice and feasting.

Prayers for blessing cheese and eggs are more varied, with a common, generic prayer attested by the eleventh century:

Εὐχὴ τοῦ εὐλογεῖσαι τυρὸν καὶ ᾠόν

Prayer for blessing cheese and eggs

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακα-
 λούμεν τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα, εὐλόγησον
 τὸν τυρὸν καὶ τὰ ᾠὰ ταῦτα τὰ παρὰ τὸν
 δοῦλον σου προσκομισθέντα εἰς δόξαν καὶ
 ἔπαινον τοῦ ἁγίου σου ὀνόματος καὶ ἀμεί-
 ψαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς πλουσίοις σου οἰκτιμοῖς
 καὶ ἐπουρανίοις δωρήμασιν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκα-
 τακρίτως μεταλαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν καταξίωσον
 δοξάζοντες καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὸν ὄνομά σου,
 τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος.³⁴

Lord our God, we pray and beseech your
 goodness, bless the cheese and these eggs
 that are offered by your servant to the glory
 and praise of your holy name; repay them
 with your great mercy and heavenly gifts;
 and grant us to partake of them uncondemned,
 glorifying and praising your name, of the
 Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

The prayer simply thanks God and asks for a blessing to partake of the food, without any biblical allusions or specific references.

However, peculiar variants that recycle and adapt prayers for other purposes are also known. For example, the most common prayer for blessing meat presented above is reworked in one manuscript from the tenth or eleventh century to be prayed to bless cheese and eggs the day before Pascha:

Εὐχὴ εἰς τυρὸν καὶ ᾠὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ σαββάτῳ

Prayer for cheese and eggs on Holy Saturday

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐπίσκεψαι εἰς ταῦτα
 ἐδέσματα τυρῶν καὶ ᾠῶν καὶ ἁγιάσον αὐτὰ
 καθὼς ἁγίασαι κατηξίωσας τὸν ὄπερ Ἄβελ
 προσήγαγεν εἰς ὄλοκάρπωσιν καὶ ἄλιν
 μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν σου ἐφανισθῆναι τοῦ
 Κλεῶπα εἰς Ἑμμαούς, εὐλογίαν ἄρτου σου

O Lord Jesus Christ, look upon these food-
 stuffs of cheese and eggs, and bless them as
 you blessed that which was offered to you
 by Abel as a whole burnt-offering (*Gen.* 4:4)
 and again after your rising, when you
 appeared to Cleopas at Emmaus and gave

³³ The text presented here is from J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον* (1730), 566. For an English translation, see *Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship*, ed. Peter Galadza et al. (Ottawa, 2004), 1114.

³⁴ Grottaferrata Γ.β. XV (11th–13th cent., various hands), fol. 40v. Valerio Polidori, ‘L’euclologio criptense Γ.β. XV’, *BBGG* III s. 6 (2009), 215–39, 236–7. Grottaferrata Γ.β. X (10th–11th cent.). See F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (1905), 412.

δοθῆναι αὐτόν· ἵνα καθὼς αὐτοὶ ἤξιώ[fol. 104v]θησαν τῆς χάριτος σου ἀπολαῦσαι· οὗτος καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ἁγιασθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ εὐλογησθέντα ἀπολαύσωμεν εἰς τροφήν πάντων ἡμῶν. ὅτι σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ τροφή ἡ ἀληθινή καὶ δοτὴρ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σὺ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.³⁵

him the blessing of your bread (*Lk.* 24:13-35), so that just as they were made worthy to enjoy your grace, we too might delight in these [foods] that you have sanctified and blessed to nourish us all. For You are the true nourishment and the bestower of good things, and we send up glory to you.

This unique example eliminates all references to lamb or meat, and instead adds a reference to Christ's post-resurrectional appearance to Cleopas (and the other disciple) on the road to Emmaus.³⁶ More common is the recycling of a prayer from the Southern Italian rite of *καμπανισμός*, or the 'rite of weighing', in which a person offered a quantity of food equal to their own body weight as a propitiatory offering in order to request healing. André Jacob has concluded that the rite is uniquely of Southern Italian origin, dating from after the tenth century, and its prayers are almost exclusively borrowed or recycled from other rites and slightly modified to fit their new purpose:³⁷

Εὐχὴ [τοῦ] εἰς τὸ εὐλογήσαι ᾧα καὶ τυρὸν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα

Prayer for the blessing of eggs and cheese on the holy and great Sunday of Pascha

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς γεννημάτων, ὁ τὰ ὑπὸ σου κτισθέντα εὐλόγησας εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ τροφήν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων δωρούμενος, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα Κύριε, παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ ἱκετεύομεν τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα· ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, εὐλόγησον τὸν τυρὸν καὶ τὰ ᾧα ταῦτα ὅπως οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν σῶσι τε καὶ ἄτρωτοι διαμένουσιν

Lord our God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, creator and fashioner of all produce upon the earth, you bless all that you established and granted to the salvation and nourishment of the human race, now also, Master Lord, we call upon you and beseech your goodness. Look down from your holy dwelling place (*Ps.* 32:14), bless this cheese and these eggs in order that those who partake of them be saved and remain unharmed in soul and body, by the prayers of the holy Theotokos and

³⁵ Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (10th-11th cent.), fol. 104r-104v. My thanks to Ilias Nesseris for his assistance in transcribing this prayer. I know this peculiar title only from this manuscript and one sixteenth-century Slavonic manuscript, Sluzhebnik and Trebnik, Sof. bibl. no. 875, fol. 108. See A.I. Almazov, *Къ исторіи молитвъ на разные случаи (Замѣтки и памятники)* (Odessa, 1896), 33.

³⁶ See *Luke* 11:12 for a unique reference to an egg in the New Testament, which in some manuscripts is given as bread instead.

³⁷ André Jacob, 'Le rite du *καμπανισμός* dans les euchologes italo-grecs', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R. P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B. de l'Abbaye du Mont César* (Louvain, 1972), 223-44, 241; Elena Velkovska, 'Un eucologio del monastero di Grottaferrata. Il Vaticano gr. 2111 (XII sec. ex.)', in Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (eds), *Mille anni di rito greco alle porte di Roma: raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata*, Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης 4 (Grottaferrata, 2004), 73-104, here 80-82; Valerio Polidori, 'L'eucologio criptense Z.δ.Π', *BBGG* III s. 7 (2010), 173-206, here 190.

ψυχῆ καὶ σώματι, πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὅτι ἠδλόγηται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.³⁸ all your saints, so that your all-honoured and majestic name may be praised and glorified, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Again, the prayer praises and thanks God for his good works and asks for a blessing to partake of the cheese and eggs, without any biblical allusions or specific references, except for a request to the Theotokos and all the saints for intercession.

Both cases are examples of liturgical substitution, whereby local prayers replace those of the common euchological tradition, and of ‘orational atrophy’, a term coined by Stefano Parenti for the phenomenon whereby new prayers are composed by recycling phrases from other texts.³⁹ In all these cases, the prayers for blessing Easter foods are extant in Southern Italian manuscripts, where we also have examples of anticipating the blessing of Easter food on Pascha by blessing eggs and cheese already on Holy Saturday, an attested, ninth-century Studite monastic practice.⁴⁰ Whether there is any connection to the early Christian practice of cheese, and even olives, as part of the Eucharist, as mentioned in the *Traditio apostolica*, is doubtful.⁴¹

The oldest extant prayer for Easter food blessings in Greek *euchologia* is, however, not found in the Barberini *euchologion*, but in a near contemporary *euchologion*, Sinai Gr. N.E. ΜΓ 53 (8th-9th cent.), bearing the title ‘prayer for sacrifices especially on Holy Saturday’ (Εὐχὴ τῶν θυμάτων ἐξαιρέτως τῷ ἁγίῳ σαββάτῳ). This Greek title is confirmed by an Arabic marginal note that repeats this same occasion for the recitation of the prayer and expands upon the rubric: ‘A prayer for the slaughtered animals that are eaten. Special for the Saturday of Pascha’.⁴²

³⁸ Grottaferrata Z.β. II (11th cent.), fol. 119r-120r; Valerio Polidori, ‘L’eucologio criptense Z.δ.Π’, *BBGG* III s. 7 (2010), 173-206, 204.

³⁹ Stefano Parenti, ‘Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments’, *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010), 109-121, 113-6. For another example of the recycling of prayers in other contexts, see Gabriel Radle, ‘When Infants Begin to Toddler’, *BBGG* III s. 11 (2014), 159-68.

⁴⁰ Eating eggs on Holy Saturday after the Vespertine Liturgy is known in certain Stoudite *Typika*, such as the ninth or tenth century copy found in Vatican Gr. 2029 (9th-10th cent.), fol. 179-85; John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (eds), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 35 (Washington, DC, 2000), vol. 1, 111 (Stoudios, version B:30). Timothy Miller speculates that the copy did not originate in Stoudios itself, but is from a region with a colder climate that did not include olives in its diet.

⁴¹ See Paul. W. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Minneapolis, MN, 2002), 52-4 (6.1); Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford, 1999), 95-107.

⁴² My sincere thanks to Ramez Mikhail for transcribing and translating the Arabic text.

Εὐχὴ τῶν θυμάτων ἐξαιρέτως τῷ ἁγίῳ
σαββάτῳ

صلاة على الماكول من الدبايح الحيوانيه خاصيه ليوم
سبت الفصح

Prayer for sacrifices especially on Holy
Saturday

[Arabic marginal note:] A prayer for the
slaughtered animals that are eaten. Special
for the Saturday of Pascha.

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πάσης κτίσεως δημιουργός καὶ
πάσης ἀγαθωσύνης πάροχος, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα
σὴν δημιουργήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ
πάντα ὑποτάξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ,
πρόβατα καὶ βόας καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη τοῦ
πεδίου, τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ [46v]
τοὺς ἰχθῦας τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτῷ
πάντα ὡς λάχανα ἐσθίειν, ὁ καὶ τῷ κορυ-
φαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρῳ διὰ τῆς καθη-
μένης θθόνης ὑποδείξας πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ
καὶ τὰ τετράποδα, καὶ χρηματίσας αὐτῷ,
ἀναστάς, θύσον καὶ φάγε καὶ αἰθίς διὰ τοῦ
ἁγίου σου ἀποστόλου Παύλου διδάξας
ἡμᾶς [47r] μηδὲν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον
λογίζεσθαι πάντα δὲ μετ' εὐχαριστίας λαμ-
βανόμενα ἐσθίειν. ἁγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου
σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντέξεως. Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν
φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε ἔφιδε ἐπὶ τὰ προκει-
μενα θύματα, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγί-
ασον χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τῇ δυνά-
μει τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος [47v] καὶ δὸς
τοῖς δούλοις σου τὴν τούτων βρωσιν μετ'
εὐχαριστίας λαμβάνειν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν
αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν
δοξαζώμεν σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν
ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ
Πνεῦμα σου τὸ πανάγιον.⁴³

O God, fashioner of all creation and bestower
of all goodness, you fashioned the human
according to your image and subdued all
things under his feet (*Gen.* 1:28) – sheep and
oxen and all animals, the birds of heaven and
the fish of the sea – and saying to him to eat
all as vegetables, and to Peter, the chief of
the apostles, through the sheet you showed all
the birds and four-legged animals upon it to
be acceptable, and called upon him: ‘arise,
slaughter and eat’ (*Acts* 10:9-16), and again
through your holy apostle Paul taught us
never to call common or unclean all that
which is received with thanksgiving to eat, for
it is blessed through your word of God and
entreaty (*Rom.* 14:20). Do yourself now, O
Lord, lover of mankind, look down upon the
present sacrifices and bless and sanctify them
by the grace of your Christ and by the power
of the all-holy Spirit, and grant your servants
to receive this food with thanksgiving, so that
always having moderation in everything, for
every good work (*2Cor.* 9:8) they may glorify
you, our only true God and your only-begotten
Son and your all-holy Spirit.

Although the anticipation of Easter food blessing on Holy Saturday and the slaughter of animals may initially be surprising, Kateryna Kovalchuk and Vitaly Permiakov have pointed out the persistence of animal sacrifices in Byzantium, showing that prayers for animal sacrifices were quite common.⁴⁴ This is confirmed by hagiographic accounts. Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) mentions

⁴³ Sinai Gr. N.E. MG 53 (8th-9th cent.), fol. 46r-47v.

⁴⁴ Ekaterina Kovalchuk, ‘The Encaenia of St Sophia: Animal Sacrifices in a Christian Context’, *Scrinium* 4 (2008), 158-200; Vitalijs Permjakovs [Vitaly Permiakov], ‘Make this the place where your glory dwells’: *Origins and Evolution of the Byzantine Rite for the Consecration of a Church*, Unpublished doctoral diss. (Notre Dame, IN, 2012), as well as Permiakov’s unpublished paper on the topic of animal sacrifices at the Oxford Patristics Conference in 2015.

animal sacrifice as a requirement for fulfilling vows.⁴⁵ *The Life of St Nicholas of Sion* (d. 564) mentions sacrifices of oxen followed by a great feast to which the whole local population was invited.⁴⁶ Both in these and in other hagiographical accounts, the ‘Christianized sacrifices’ that were offered were of a ‘charitable character’ – rather than an ‘expiatory character’ – because the slaughtered meat was to be given to the poor as food.⁴⁷ The connection between the offering and the poor, or a ‘preferential option for the poor’, is found in the patriarchal catecheses of Holy Friday.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, animal sacrifices were gradually eliminated and marginalized in official ecclesiastical culture in Constantinople. Due to similarities with Armenian practices, these animal sacrifices were severely and explicitly outlawed. Canon 99 of the Council of Trullo (691-692) deals with Armenians who bring pieces of cooked meat into the holy sanctuary:

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρα γίνεσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ὡς τινες ἐνδον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς θυσιαστηρίοις μέλη κρεῶν ἔσποντες προσάγουσιν, ἀφαιρέματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰουδαϊκῶς ἀπονέμοντες. ὅθεν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φυλάττοντες ἀκηλίδωτον ὀρίζομεν μὴ ἐξεῖναι τι τῶν ἱερέων ἀφορισμένα κρεῶν μέλη παρὰ τῶν προσαγόντων λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἀρεσθῆ ὁ προσάγων, τούτοις ἀρκείσθωσαν, ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς τοιαύτης γινομένης προσαγωγῆς. εἰ δὲ τις μὴ τοῦτο οὕτω ποιῆ, ἀφοριζέσθω.⁴⁹

We have learnt that also this is done in the land of the Armenians: that certain persons bring pieces of meat as an offering inside the holy sanctuaries, assigning a portion to the priests after the manner of the Jews. Wherefore, preserving the pureness of the Church, we decree that no priest should be allowed to accept assigned portions of meat from those who offer them, but should content themselves with whatever the other sees fit to give, the offering being made outside the church. If anyone does not do so, he shall be excommunicated.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Paulinus of Nola, Poem 20 (ca. 406); E. Kovalchuk, ‘The Encaenia of St Sophia’ (2008), 169-70.

⁴⁶ *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, trans. Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko (Brookline, MA, 1984), 87; E. Kovalchuk, ‘The Encaenia of St Sophia’ (2008), 190. Although he does not discuss these specific prayers, see also the helpful analysis of Vincenzo Ruggieri, ‘Vita Nicolai Sionitae: Tracce eucologiche e ambiguità teologiche’, *BZ* 104/2 (2011), 705-18.

⁴⁷ E. Kovalchuk, ‘The Encaenia of St Sophia’ (2008), 177 and 190.

⁴⁸ Barberini Gr. 336, fol. 128r-137r: Ἀπόταξις καὶ σύνταξις γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα. See Sebastia Janeras, *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices*, *Studia Anselmiana* 99/*Analecta Liturgica* 13 (Rome, 1988), 311-5.

⁴⁹ *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum)*, ed. by Heinz Ohme, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* ser. II 2,4 (Berlin, 2013), 59.

⁵⁰ See can. 99, in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. by George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, *Kanonika* 6 (Rome, 1995), 179-80. The Armenian rite is called *mata*, rendered in Greek as *Ματάλια*. F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (1905), 76; *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. Trapp (2001), 979. This term is not found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

Although the practice was forbidden and prayers for these rites slowly disappeared from the *euchologia* as prayers for sacrifices, they nevertheless often remained as simple blessings and offerings of meat at Easter in Southern Italian *euchologia*.⁵¹ It should be noted, however, that can. 99 of Trullo forbade offering sacrificed meat ‘as the Armenians do’; nevertheless, the Council did not regulate alternatives to replace it, which may explain why the practice of blessing meat at Easter continued and grew in popularity, specifically in Southern Italy, where contact with, and exposure to, Latin customs has been revealed in other contexts.⁵² In comparing similar prayers in various *euchologia*, André Jacob has concluded that there was never any exchange between Constantinople and Southern Italy with regard to prayers for animals, and the point of contact with Southern Italy in this regard was Palestine and the Middle East.⁵³ With regard to prayers for blessing meat or cheese specifically on Pascha, there are no such prayers from Constantinople. Constantinopolitan *euchologia*, such as Paris BnF Coislin 213 (AD 1027), contain prayers for offering meat but indicate that the prayer is ‘for the memory of saints’ and not Pascha:

⁵¹ E. Kovalchuk, ‘The Encaenia of St Sophia’ (2008), 179-86; Vitaly Permiakov, unpublished paper presented at the Oxford Patristics Conference 2015. See Vatican Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.), fol. 222v-223v: Εὐχὴ εἰς θυσίαν βόων, where the name of the one offering and the saint in whose honour the offering is made are to be indicated; A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 (1901), 6 (Sinai Gr. 957), 113 (Sinai Gr. 973), and 1012 (Paris BnF Coislin 213); F.C. Conybeare and A.J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (1905), 54-7 (sacrifice prayers, with mention of Abel, Noah, and Abraham), 65 (Paschal Lamb), 412 (Easter food prayers from Grottaferrata Γ.β. X), 413-4 (sacrifices in Vatican Barberini Gr. 336), and 436-8 (prayers from A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie*, vol. 2 [1901]). See also Fred C. Conybeare, ‘The Survival of Animal Sacrifices inside the Christian Church’, *American Journal of Theology* 7 (1903), 62-90.

⁵² Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vol. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909; reprint Graz, 1960), vol. 1, 575-80; Anselm Strittmatter, ‘Liturgical Latinisms in a Twelfth-Century Greek Euchology (Ottob. gr. 344)’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III: Letteratura e storia bizantina* (Vatican City, 1946), 41-64, 45-54; Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto and Elisabeth Schiffer, ‘Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211, especially 193-5.

⁵³ ‘[I]l n’y a jamais eu de contact ni d’échange quelconque entre Constantinople et l’Italie méridionale, ni dans un sens ni dans l’autre, en ce qui concerne les bénédictions d’animaux ou de troupeaux. C’est donc à la Palestine et à l’Italie qu’il convient de restreindre nos recherches sur l’origine de la prière que nous avons analysée tout au long de ces pages’. André Jacob, ‘La prière pour les troupeaux de l’Euchologe Barberini: quelques remarques sur le texte et son histoire’, *OCP* 77 (2011), 471-86, 483. See also Gabriel Radle, ‘The Liturgical Ties between Egypt and Southern Italy: A Preliminary Investigation’, in Diliana Atanassova and Tinatin Chronz (eds), *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ: Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2014), vol. 2, 617-31.

Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μνήμης ἁγίων γινομένης διὰ δόσεως κρεῶν, οἴνου, ἄρτον καὶ κολλύβων

Prayer for the memory of saints which takes place through the offering of meat, wine, bread, and *kollyba*⁵⁴

Ὁ εὐλόγησας τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ προσδεξάμενος Ἥλιου τὰς ὀλοκαρπώσεις, ὁ τῇ προθέσει ἡμῶν ἀντιμετρῶν τὰς εὐεργεσίας σου, μᾶλλον δὲ πλείους τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν εὐτελῶν ἡμῶν ἀγαθοεργιῶν παρεχόμενος, εὐλόγησον ταῦτα τὰ εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἁγίων σου προσαχθέντα καὶ εἰς πενήτων διανομήν, καὶ προσηκάμενος ταῦτα ὡς τὴν τοῦ Ἄβελ θυσίαν, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα τῶν προσενεγκάντων, τὰ ποίμνια αὐτῶν καὶ βουκόλια πολυτόκα καὶ τοὺς βόας παχεῖς ἐν τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι ποιήσον, καὶ αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀνθ' ὧν μέμνηται τῶν πτωχῶν τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ σου δώρησαι, ἵνα πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοὶ εὐάρεστον περισσεύωσι, δοξάζοντες τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.⁵⁵

You, who blessed the sacrifice of Abraham, O Christ our God (*Gen.* 22:17), and accepted the whole burnt-offering of Elias (*1Kgs.* 18:38), measuring out your goodness by our offering and supplying a more abundant reward for our paltry good deeds, bless these offerings in honour of your saints and for the distribution to the poor, and accept them as the sacrifice of Abel (*Gen.* 4:4), multiply the offered food, make their flocks and cattle fertile, make oxen stout in your goodness, and grant to them salvation of soul in return for remembrance of the poor of your people in your righteous judgement, so that all may have moderation in every good work and abundance well-pleasing to you, glorifying your all-holy name, of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ages of ages.

Another prayer for sacrifices immediately precedes the one above in Paris BnF Coislin 213, but the rubrics do not specify when the sacrifice of animals would have taken place:

Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θυσίας κτηνῶν

Prayer for the sacrifice of flocks and herds

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου τὸ ἅγιον, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ εὐλόγησας τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐν τῇ δρυϊ τῇ Μαμβρῆ, καὶ τὸν μόσχον τὸν ἀπαλόν, καὶ τὸν κριδὸν τὸν κατεχόμενον τῶν κεράτων ἐν φυτῷ σαβέκ, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὁ προσδεξάμενος Ζαχαρίου τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ

Blessed are you, Lord God of our fathers, and blessed is the name of the glory of your holy name. Blessed are you, Lord God, who blessed the sacrifice of Abraham at the oak in Mamre (*Gen.* 18:1), and the young bull, and the ram caught by his horns in a thicket (*Gen.* 22:13). Blessed are you, Lord God of our fathers, who received the incense of Zacharias (*Lk.* 1:11) and the whole-burnt

⁵⁴ See 'Kollyba', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan et al. (Oxford, 1991), 1137-8.

⁵⁵ Paris BnF Coislin 213 (AD 1027), fol. 97r-97v. See J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον* (1730), 526; Miguel Arranz, *L'Euclologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)* (Rome, 1996), 53 and 318.

Ἡλιοῦ τὰς ὀλοκαρπώσεις. Αὐτός, Δέσποτα, πρόσδεξαι καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῶν δούλων σου τῶνδε εἰς ἐσμὴν εὐωδίας, τοὺς βόας αὐτῶν παχεῖς ποιήσον, τὴν σιτοποιίαν αὐτῶν πλήθυνον, τὰ ποιμνία αὐτῶν πολυτόκα ποιήσον, εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξόδους ἀγγελικῆ σου δυνάμει κατασφάλισαι, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύωσιν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοὶ εὐάρεστον, δοξάζοντές σου τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.⁵⁶

offering of Elias (1Kgs. 18:36-8). Yourself, Master, receive also this sacrifice of your servants N. as a sweet-smelling fragrance, make their oxen stout, multiply their bread, make their flocks fertile, secure their comings and goings by your angelic powers, so that always all having moderation to every good work and abundance well-pleasing to you, glorifying your all-holy name, of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ages of ages.

When compared with the above mentioned prayers for blessing meat at Easter, these two prayers for animal sacrifices from a Constantinopolitan *euchologion* reveal no major thematic differences in terms of the standard biblical examples of sacrifice and feasting common to all the occasional prayers of offering food. It is highly likely that the prayers from South Italy assigned to Pascha by their titles, but making no particular reference to the celebration of the resurrection, were once simply occasional prayers for offering animals but ‘recycled’ and saved for the more solemn occasion of Easter, avoiding suspicion or canonical penalties.

4. Concluding Remarks: A Patristic Transformation

This brief overview of two examples of ‘occasional prayers’ for Holy Week in Byzantine *euchologia* suggest three concluding statements about the provenance of the prayers, the origins of the texts of the prayers, and the developing liturgical context of these prayers in Holy Week.

First, a simple survey of the manuscripts in which these prayers are found clearly shows that occasional prayers for Holy Week are more widely extant in manuscripts originating from Palestine and Southern Italy. This does not mean that processions with palms were not held or meat was not blessed on Easter in Constantinople. On the contrary, we have important witnesses describing such events, such as the *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (d. 959), which mentions hymns⁵⁷ and petitions during the

⁵⁶ Paris BnF Coislin 213 (AD 1027), fol. 97r. See A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Отисание*, vol. 2 (1901), 46 and 1014. This prayer is absent from the edition of Paris BnF Coislin 213 in Arranz, *L'Eucologio costantinopolitano* (1996).

⁵⁷ τὸ τροπάρην τῆς λιτῆς: Τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν. Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, tome 1, livre 1, ed. and trans. Albert Vogt (Paris, 1967), 162 (lines 21-2). See also Enrica Follieri, *Intitia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae*, ST 211-215bis (Vatican City, 1960-6), here vol. 4 (1963), 75.

processions,⁵⁸ but does not mention prayers nor transmit their texts.⁵⁹ Neither have any traces been left in the *euchologia*.⁶⁰ In homily 9 on the palms attributed to Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446), the author initially mentions palms only in a spiritualizing way – ‘Let us praise in song the palm of righteousness’ (τὸν φοινίκα τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὑμνήσωμεν)⁶¹ – but in conclusion, after emphasizing that the Greeks had been converted by recognizing that Christ had been glorified through the power of the cross, he states:

Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες τῶν φοινίκων τὰ θαλλία, ἐξέλθωμεν εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς λέγοντες· Οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός· Θεὸς ἐστι κραταῖός, ἰσχυρός. Δράμετε, σπεύσατε· μετὰ πάντων βοήσατε τῷ ἐγείραντι τὸν Λάζαρον· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.⁶²

Let us also gather branches of palm trees, and go out to meet our Lord, saying to the priests: Surely you are the ones who said: ‘Is not this the carpenter’s son?’ God is strong and mighty. Run, make haste! Call out together with all to him who raised Lazarus: ‘Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord’.⁶³

Despite these references and allusions, no prayers from Constantinople are known. Thus, for the developing regional history of Greek liturgical prayers, the presence or absence of prayers for Palm Sunday and for blessing food on Pascha can be an important factor to consider when attempting to understand the provenance of an *euchologion*.

Second, a textual analysis does not clearly reveal any particular authorship or origins of the prayers themselves. Robert Taft attempted to use the presence or absence of certain phrases to assign attribution to liturgical prayers, for example the Anaphora of St John Chrysostom,⁶⁴ but this is not a fail-safe method. Jacques Noret has pointed out how homilies and hymnography often quote scripture freely, at times adding their own glosses. With the case of the

⁵⁸ The common phrases are τελεῖ ἐκεῖσε τὴν ἐκτενὴν (Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 162, line 29) or καὶ γίνεται ἡ συνήθης ἐκτενὴ (Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 163, line 24-5).

⁵⁹ For meat, see Paris BnF Coislin 213 prayer for sacrifices.

⁶⁰ See *De ceremoniis*, book 1, chapter 40-1 (31-2); Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 160-4.

⁶¹ Proclus, *Hom 9.1 In ramos Palmarum*, PG 65, 772; CPG 5808.

⁶² Proclus, *Hom 9.4*, PG 65, 777.

⁶³ Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, *Homilies on the Life of Christ*, trans. Jan Harm Barkhuizen, *Early Christian Studies 1* (Brisbane, 2001), 149-53, 153.

⁶⁴ Robert Taft and Maxwell Johnson have already attempted to use the TLG to attribute authorship to prayers. See Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5: *The Precommunion Rites*, OCA 261 (Rome, 2000), 39; *id.*, ‘The Authenticity of the Chrysostom Anaphora Revisited. Determining the Authorship of Liturgical Texts by Computer’, *OCP* 56 (1990), 5-51; *id.*, ‘John Chrysostom and the Byzantine Anaphora that Bears his Name’, in P.F. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (Collegeville, MN, 1997), 195-226; Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Rome, 1995), 20.

homily of Theognios for Palm Sunday, he quotes *Zechariah* 9:9 according to variants unknown in any manuscripts of the Septuagint, but consistently used in Byzantine hymnography.⁶⁵ This leads to three possibilities: (1) the hymnography existed before the homily of Theognios and inspired it; (2) the homily of Theognios inspired the hymnography; or (3) common ‘liturgical formulas’ inspired both the hymns and the homilies that then codified these expressions.⁶⁶ Christian Hannick has shown that Byzantine hymnography has, in a few cases, also been the source of textual variants that made their way from hymnography into biblical texts, citing a sticheron of an otherwise-unknown Byzantine hymnographer expounding on the theme of the Paralytic in *John* 5.⁶⁷ Slutskii’s suggestion, that the *opisthambonos* prayers were based on the texts of homilies preached at the end of the liturgy,⁶⁸ has been rejected by Taft, but without much elaboration.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, similarities between some of the festal *opisthambonos* prayers and patristic homilies, for example the *opisthambonos* prayer for Pascha from various *euchologia* beginning with Πάσχα, πάσχα, καὶ πάλιν ἐροῦμεν πάσχα and *Festal Oration* 45 by Gregory Nazianzenus (CPG 3010.45), do exist. Frances Young has noted the same phenomenon with prayers in the works of first or second century Christian authors, where it is difficult to know which biblical texts were known to the author, since the prayers were ‘built out of flexible liturgical conventions and phrases culled from the largely scriptural “in-language” of the community’, meaning one hears ‘echoes’ of the New

⁶⁵ *Zechariah* 9:9: ‘Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on an ass, on a colt the foal of an ass’. See J. Noret, ‘Une homélie inédite sur les Rameaux par Théognios’ (1971), 136-7, for the variant texts, which also match another homily of spurious attribution. The two hymns are Δεῦτε καὶ ἡμεῖς (E. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, vol. 1 [1960], 287) and Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου (E. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, vol. 5.1 [1966], 57), known in the manuscript Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122).

⁶⁶ ‘Faut-il en conclure que les deux tropaires en question existaient déjà à l’époque où fut prononcée l’homélie, c’est-à-dire probablement vers 460? Ou devons-nous plutôt conjecturer que Théognios s’inspire de formules liturgiques qui se sont perpétuées dans des hymnes postérieures? C’est là une question à laquelle il est sans doute impossible de répondre aujourd’hui : l’histoire de la liturgie byzantine, sur de tels points, n’est pas encore suffisamment connue’. Jacques Noret, ‘Une homélie inédite sur les Rameaux par Théognios’ (1971), 136-9, 137.

⁶⁷ Ἐπὶ τῇ Προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρῃ (Tone 1 Plagal, composition of Koumoulas). See E. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, vol. 1 (1960), 518. Hannick notes that the variant readings of the phrase from *John* 5:2-7 in two New Testament manuscripts (Washington DC, The Museum of the Bible MOTB.MS.000474.1-2 [12th cent.], fol. 350r-350v [Pinakes 74405, Aland minuscule 64] and Leicestershire Record Office 6 D 32.1 [15th cent.], fol. 77r [Pinakes 37622, Aland minuscule 69]) are most likely due to the sticheron by Koumoulas, rather than the other way around. See Christian Hannick, ‘Exégèse, typologie et rhétorique dans l’hymnographie byzantine’, *DOP* 53 (1999), 207-18, 211-3.

⁶⁸ A.S. Slutskii, ‘Заамвонные молитвы в рукописных славянских служебниках’, *Византиноведение* 3 (2005), 184-211, 185.

⁶⁹ R.F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 6 (2008), 667.

Testament, but cannot be certain if they are a direct quotation.⁷⁰ Without any clear attributions for the prayers examined here and only haphazard connections with patristic texts, as well as manuscript sources of equal antiquity, the question of attribution and authorship remains open – but the importance of liturgical texts as preservers and transmitters of theological phrases and expressions that were ‘in the air’, for example through ‘orational atrophy’, is clear.⁷¹

Third, the prayers witness to a developing liturgical context of Holy Week, from an emphasis on baptism at Easter before the eighth century to a decline of the catechumenate and baptisms at Easter, making way for the rise of other prayers that ‘materialize’ certain moments of Holy Week in later *euchologia*. According to Taft, the Council in Trullo was the tipping point for baptism at Easter and is the last time that new and original references to catechumens are found in canonical legislation, since the presence of liturgical texts with references to catechumens ‘proves nothing’ regarding the antiquity of a text, because ‘liturgies tend to be notoriously conservative, continuing to go through the motions of a ritual long after it had lost any relevance to reality’.⁷² Nevertheless, a variety of liturgical and court ceremonial sources from Constantinople as late as the tenth century suggest that baptism of children could still take place on Holy Saturday.⁷³ By this time, however, these rites of initiation into the Church were already quite privatized, favouring baptism on the fortieth day after birth.⁷⁴ Accordingly, the paschal homily attributed to pseudo-Chrysostom with manuscript sources from the 10th to 14th centuries drawing parallels between carrying palm branches and bringing the newly-baptized to the church would make little sense:

« Αὕτη ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ. » Διὰ τί ; ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁ ἥλιος σκοτιζέται ἀλλὰ πάντα φωτίζεται, οὐκέτι τὸ καταπέτασμα ῥήγνυται ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐκκλησία γνωρίζεται, οὐκέτι βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων βαστάζομεν ἀλλὰ τοὺς νεοφωτιστοὺς περιφέρομεν.⁷⁵

‘This is the day which the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.’ (*Ps.* 117:24) Why? Because the sun is no longer darkened, but all is illumined. The curtain veil [of the Temple] is no longer rent asunder, but the Church is known. We no longer carry branches of palms, but we bring the newly-baptized.

⁷⁰ Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), 228.

⁷¹ ‘En attendant que ces questions soient résolues, il est important de remarquer l’influence que peut avoir eue la liturgie sur les textes littéraires qui nous parviennent’. J. Noret, ‘Une homélie inédite sur les Rameaux par Théognios’ (1971), 138; S. Parenti, ‘Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments’ (2010), 114-6.

⁷² Robert F. Taft, SJ, ‘When Did the Catechumenate Die Out in Constantinople?’, in Joseph D. Alcherms with Helen C. Evans and Thelma K. Thomas (eds), *ANAΘHMATA EOPTIKA. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews* (Mainz am Rhein, 2009), 288-95, 288.

⁷³ R.F. Taft, ‘When Did the Catechumenate Die Out in Constantinople?’ (2009), 289-91.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 295.

⁷⁵ Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In resurrectionem Domini*, CPG 4740; *Homélie pascales (cinq homélie inédites)*, ed. and trans. Michel Aubineau, SC 187 (Paris, 1972), 318-24, 320; J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965), № 237; Sever J. Voicu, ‘La tradizione manoscritta

With no newly-baptized, the focus shifts from prayers associated with baptism and the Eucharist to prayers and blessings of things, like palms and food. In fact, one can observe the change in prayer titles for Palm Sunday: the earliest prayers are for ‘distributing palms’, according to their titles, but from the tenth century onward they are for blessing them – even though the texts of the prayers make no mention of blessing anything except those preparing for the celebration of the resurrection of Christ.⁷⁶

In a way, this development away from baptism at Pascha mirrors the opposite tendency in the ante-Nicene period, where the understanding of Pascha as passage (*diabasis, transitus*) changed from ‘the slaying of the lamb and the marking of the doors with its blood’ to the ‘exodus from Egypt, the passage from slavery to freedom’.⁷⁷ In the age of *euchologia*, the decline in baptism – a passage from death to new life – is replaced by a focus on objects and foods, including lamb, blessed and sanctified by God. With a decline of baptism at Easter, the ‘occasional prayers’ for Holy Week become witnesses to a post-patristic transformation of the *euchologion* from a Late Antique source of prayer texts to an early Medieval liturgical book.⁷⁸

dell’omelia pseudocrisostomica In resurrectionem Domini (CPG 4740)’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 18 (1988), 219-28; P. Allen and C. Datema, ‘Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople – a Compiler?’, *JÖB* 29 (1980), 9-20.

⁷⁶ Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.), fol. 210v-211r; *Ευχολογιῦν Βαρβερινῶν* gr. 336, ed. E. Velkovska and S. Parenti (2011), 417-8; cf. J. Goar, *Ευχολόγιον* (1730), 589-90: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βᾶϊα τῇ βαΐφόρῳ, α΄. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ... Also found in: Moscow RGB Gr. 27 (10th cent.), 92r-92v (no. 118): Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ βᾶϊα; Grottaferrata Γ.β. X (10th-11th cent.), fol. 85v-86r; Ἐτέρα εἰς βᾶϊα; Vatican Gr. 1554 (11th cent.), fol. 98v-99r: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὰ βᾶϊα (only prayer); Vatican Barberini Gr. 345 (12th cent.), fol. 64v-65r: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ βᾶϊα (first prayer, followed immediately by second prayer); Bodleian Auctor E.5.13 (12th cent.), fol. 173r-174r: Εὐχὴ τῶν βᾶϊῶν; Vatican Barberini Gr. 443 (12th-13th cent.), fol. 70v-71r, one prayer (Goar, *Ευχολόγιον*, 589); Sinai Gr. 966 (13th cent.), Southern Italy, fol. 102r-102v: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὰ βᾶϊα; Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (AD 1122), fol. 8r-8v: Καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆν εὐχὴν [second of five prayers]; Grottaferrata Γ.β. III (14th cent.), fol. 152v: Ἐτέρα εὐχὴ.

⁷⁷ See Thomas Talley, ‘History and Eschatology in the Primitive Pascha’, *Worship* 47 (1973), 212-21, especially 220, where the work of Christine Mohrmann is influential.

⁷⁸ See H. Buchinger, ‘Materielle Repräsentation im liturgische Vollzug und die Medialität der mittelalterlichen Osterfeier’ (2020).

A Note on Liturgical Prayer Texts and Byzantine Hagiography*

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ABSTRACT

It is a standard element in the repertoire of saints' *Lives* that someone in need for spiritual support or someone afflicted by health issues approaches a holy man to ask for advice, intercession or healing. In many instances, such a plea evokes a more or less spontaneous prayer said by the saint. Especially if the respective saint is a member of the clergy, there is the possibility that the words that are put into the saint's mouth by the hagiographer show similarities with prayer texts that are also known from Byzantine liturgical prayer books (*euchologia*). This article aims at tracing prayers spoken by protagonists of hagiographical texts on behalf of someone else in Byzantine hagiographical texts. Attention is directed to the common structure of the prayers in narrative and in liturgical texts and also to the figurative Biblical language of both, the narrative as well as the liturgical texts. Finally, also some references to attestations of the *euchologion* in non-liturgical Byzantine texts are provided.

The primary way of transmission of Greek prayer texts is their collective transmission in liturgical manuscripts for the use in various services and in Eucharistic liturgies. These manuscripts are intended for the use of the clergy, they are referred to as *Euchologia*, and in many instances also entitled as such.¹ Only occasionally, liturgical prayer texts also appear in narrative texts. Such

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¹ For a definition of the *Euchologion*, see most recently Elena Velkovska, 'The Liturgical Books of the Byzantine Rite: History and Culture', in Hanns Peter Neuheuser (ed.), *Liturgische Bücher in der Kulturgeschichte Europas*, Bibliothek und Wissenschaft 51 (Wiesbaden, 2018), 137-54, 150-1.

passages are rarely found, especially when it comes to sections that show close textual correspondence between liturgical and narrative text.² However, references and allusions may also provide valuable information for the text transmission and may shed some light on the setting of prayers in everyday life. This article seeks to draw attention to the way in which prayers appear in Greek hagiographical texts, mainly in texts of the early Byzantine period. The initial textual basis consists of a selection of *Vitae* of holy men, most of them priests or bishops, since it is particularly in texts concerning members of the clergy, that we expect reminiscences of liturgical language and echoes of *Euchologion* prayers.³ Starting from these assumptions, passages will be presented in which prayer texts are pronounced by the saintly protagonist for the benefit of someone else. *The ability of holy men to pray for others is ... a recurring theme* in this literary genre, as Claudia Rapp has put it,⁴ and it is exactly the intercessory function of saints that hagiographical authors aim to stress by drawing on and by borrowing from liturgical texts. Consequently, all the prayer texts in focus are, from a formal point of view, prayers for a third person, as is the majority of the occasional prayers⁵ included in *Euchologion* manuscripts.⁶

Traces and allusions

Progress on tracing references or quotations of prayers in non-liturgical texts has already been made in earlier scholarship. Among the texts discussed, a prayer for the blessing of water at Theophany is the most prominent. It is attested as early as the so-called *Apostolic constitutions* and it is found also in

² A differentiation is needed here, for the sake of clarity: In the following the expression 'liturgical text' is used for texts that are part of the *ordo*. The fact that narrative texts, in particular hagiographical texts, are also used *e.g.* as readings in the morning service and that they are transmitted in liturgical manuscripts, does not make them 'liturgical texts' in the narrow sense that has been adopted here.

³ Naturally, further reading will multiply the samples and enrich the collection of relevant passages. The consultation of the *Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database* (CSLA <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/>) would have to be the starting point for a thorough analysis. The present contribution, however, should be understood as an initial assessment of what is already known and of the possibilities for further research.

⁴ Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 37 (Berkeley, 2005), 82.

⁵ For a definition of occasional prayers in the context of the Vienna Euchologia Project see Claudia Rapp, 'Byzantinische Gebetbücher (Euchologien) als Quelle zur Normativität und Praxis des Gebets im griechischen Mittelalter', in C. Rapp *et al.*, 'Das Wiener Euchologien-Projekt' (2019), 340-1. On the structure of *Euchologion* prayers see Eirini Afentoulidou, 'Zwischen Liturgie und Magie: Die byzantinischen Gebete zum Wochenbett', *ibid.* 361-2, as well as further bibliography quoted there.

⁶ Ilias Nesseris focuses on a structurally different group of prayers, see his contribution in the present volume 'First-Person Prayers Attributed to the Church Fathers', p. 89-101.

Southern-Italian *Euchologion* manuscripts from the tenth century onwards.⁷ Furthermore, Vincenzo Ruggieri brought a passage from the sixth century-*Vita* of Nicholas of Sion (BHG 1347) to our attention: In this text not only a book is given as a gift to the young Nicholas, that is in all probability an *Euchologion* in codex-form, but also an *Euchologion*-prayer is quoted that concerns monastic initiation.⁸ Moreover, it has been noted that the early seventh-century *Vita* of St Auxibios, the bishop of Soli on Cyprus, transmits a lengthy prayer on the occasion of the dedication of a church building. This prayer-text borrows not only from the text of the liturgy of St Basil but echoes in addition an *Euchologion* prayer on this very occasion, as has been indicated by Jacques Noret in his edition of this text.⁹ Another significant seventh century example of a non-liturgical text that provides early evidence for the *Euchologion* is Anastasios Sinaïtes' collection of *Questions and Answers: Answer 103* mentions not only explicitly the '*Euchologion*'¹⁰ but also refers to an *Euchologion* prayer that gives a priest the possibility to *set free anyone who has bound themselves* through an oath.¹¹ The actual prayer text is not quoted here.

Similarly, exorcisms are referred to in hagiographical texts by simple mention of "the prayer against demons", as Claudia Rapp has shown recently based on passages in the *Vita* B of St Theodore the Studite and in the *Vita* of Neilos of Rossano.¹² The reference to 'the prayer against demons' implies that such a prayer must have been a matter of common knowledge in the targeted audience. More common, however, is a general reference to the saint's interactions with demons, and in most instances when this issue is addressed, it remains open, whether an exorcism was pronounced or not. An exception to this allusive way of treating exorcism is *e.g.* an episode in the *Vita* of St Aberkios (BHG 2) dating from the end of the fourth or the fifth century: Three young men possessed by

⁷ Vincenzo Ruggieri, 'The Water in the Basin (*embatês, loutron*) and Byzantine Euchology', *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 21 (2017), 304-21, esp. 304-7.

⁸ For the edition with translation see *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* (ed. I. Ševčenko and N. Patterson Ševčenko, 1984), cap. 6; and see also Vincenzo Ruggieri, 'Vita Nicolai Sionitae: tracce eucologiche e ambiguità teologiche', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 104 (2011), 705-18.

⁹ Jacques Noret, 'Vita sancti Auxibii', in Peter Van Deun and Jacques Noret (eds), *Hagiographica Cypria*, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 26 (Turnhout, Leuven, 1993), 137-202, see esp. 161-2. The passages in the *Vita* of Nicholas of Sion and in the *Vita* of St Auxibios are discussed in C. Rapp, 'Byzantinische Gebetbücher' (2019), 344-5.

¹⁰ Based on current knowledge this is the earliest attestation of the term εὐχολόγιον, see *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961), *s.v.*; checked against the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, University of California, Irvine in January 2020 (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>).

¹¹ Ἔστιν εὐχή εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ εὐχολογίῳ λύουσα διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τὸν δεσμῆσαντα ἑαυτὸν, ed. in *Anastasii Sinaïtae quaestiones et responsiones*, Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 59, ed. Marcel Richard and Joseph A. Munitiz (Turnhout, 2006), resp. 103. See also, Joseph A. Munitiz, *Anastasios of Sinai. Questions and Answers*, Corpus Christianorum in Translation 7 (Turnhout, 2011), 233-5.

¹² C. Rapp, 'Byzantinische Gebetbücher' (2019), 345-8.

a demon, are beaten by the saint with rods, while in his mouth the following words are laid (c. 11):¹³

Ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ τῶν νεανίσκων τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντα καὶ εἰς ἄγριον ὄρος ἀπέλθατε.

In the name of Jesus Christ, the living God, come out, impure spirits, from the young men without doing them wrong and depart into the wilderness of the mountain.

There are also well known incidents or motives in hagiographical literature that are not reflected in *Euchologia* manuscripts, like e.g. the *topos* of involuntary childlessness that is turned through the future mother's or through the parents' prayers into pregnancy and parenthood. Surprisingly, there are no *Euchologion* prayers known for this concern.¹⁴

Composition of prayer in narrative texts

In its most simple form, a prayer text passes after a short invocation directly to the prayer's intention. There are plenty of examples of such prayers to be found in the texts under consideration here, as is well known.¹⁵ The following episode is part of the sixth century-collection of Barsanuphios' and Ioannes' *Questions and Answers*: a brother asks what he should do in case he would hear that someone says a bad word about him. Ioannes responds laconically that *he should stand up immediately and pray at first for his brother and then for himself with these words*:¹⁶

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησον τόνδε τὸν ἀδελφόν, κάμει τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλόν σου, καὶ σκέπασον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου. Ἀμήν.

Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon this brother and upon me, your humble servant, and protect us from evil through the prayers of your saints. Amen.

¹³ Vita S. Abercii (BHG 2), ed. Theodor Nissen (Leipzig, 1912), c. 11 (10.8-11). This *Vita* includes several passages referring to demons and mentioning exorcisms, see esp. the chapters 41-3; 60-6; 74-5. I thank Ilias Nesseris for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁴ For the *topos* of childlessness, see Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit*, Millennium Studien 6 (Berlin, New York, 2005), 72-4. Regarding the *Euchologia*, E. Afentoulidou stated that they 'omit from their scope concerns such as conception, a safe delivery or infant mortality', see *ead.*, 'The Childbed Prayers in the Byzantine Euchologia', in C. Rapp *et al.*, 'Byzantine Prayer Books' (2017), 200.

¹⁵ For further examples e.g. in the the sixth century *Life* of Euthymius the Great by Cyrillus of Scythopolis see the passages mentioned by C. Rapp, *Holy bishops* (2005), 268.

¹⁶ Barsanuphios and John of Gaza, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, Sources Chrétiennes 426-7, 450-1, 468, ed. François Neyet and Paula de Angelis-Noah (Paris, 1997-2002), *Qu.* 559: Ἀδελφὸς ἠρώτησε τὸν αὐτὸν γέροντα· Ἐὰν ἀκούσω περὶ τινος ὅτι κακῶς με λέγει, τί ποιήσω; Ἀποκρίσις Ἰωάννου· Εὐθέως ἀνάστα καὶ ποίησον εὐχὴν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων·

This simple and seemingly improvised prayer shows apart from the usual invocation the typical anonymised form τόνδε τὸν ἀδελφόν that we encounter regularly also in *Euchologion* prayers.¹⁷

Another form of prayer composition can be seen in the following examples: Prayers that consist of a patchwork of Biblical quotations are preceded by an invocation and expanded by the shift to the present time, which is often indicated by αὐτός or αὐτός και νῦν, and completed then by a final construction. See e.g. an episode of the *Vita* of Nicholas of Myra (BHG 1349a) in which water is to be found with the help of St Nicholas' prayer:¹⁸

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ περιπατήσας ἐπὶ θαλάσσης (*Matthew* 14:25 *et al.*) και πόδας μὴ μωρήνας· ὁ τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίαν κελεύσας λῦσαι τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ἕτεοῦ (LXX *3Kingdoms* 17-8)· ὁ τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας ἐπὶ ὕδατος πολλῆς (LXX *Psalms* 23:1)· ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς (*Amos* 5:8)· αὐτός και νῦν, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου, και φανέρωσον ἡμῖν τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὕδωρ τοῦτο... ἵνα ἐν πᾶσι και διὰ πάντων δοξάζεται τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς και τοῦ υἱοῦ...

Nicholas' prayer-text starts from several allusions to Biblical themes, *i.e.* to Christ walking upon waters and to the prophet Elijah whose prayer for rain ended a drought of several years, further two other Biblical passages concerning water are quoted (LXX *Psalms* 23:1 and *Amos* 5:8). After these references the text continues by bringing forth the prayer concern: 'Now also, Lord Jesus Christ, our God, hear my voice and show the hidden water ... so that in all things and through all things the all-holy name of the father and the son will be glorified'. In this prayer laid in St Nicholas' mouth we come across Biblical references that we also encounter in two *Euchologion* prayers against drought. They are included in the earliest *Euchologion* manuscript that has come down to us, the *Euchologion* Barb. gr. 336 (Diktyon 64879; *Euchol.* Barb. no. 194, Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίας and no. 195, Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίας ἄλλη).¹⁹ Each of these *Euchologion* prayers refers to only one Biblical episode (*Euchol.* Barb. no. 194 to LXX *3Kingdoms* 17-8 and *Euchol.* Barb. 195 to *Amos* 5:8), whereas in the prayer in the hagiographical text they are combined and enriched by addition of further Biblical references.

Coincidence in the wording and common use of quotations are known also from many other prayers but this does not necessarily mean that we encounter

¹⁷ Female forms are usually not included in prayer texts, see for an exception the 12th-cent. *Euchologion* Ottobon. gr. 344 (Diktyon 65587) in which female forms were written by the main hand in the margins in the section of the baptismal prayers, the texts are edited by Valerio Polidori, *L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto, Cod. Ottoboni gr. 344 (AD 1177)*, Studi sul Cristianesimo Primitivo 3 (s.l., 2018), 132-44.

¹⁸ Hagios Nikolaos, *Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, vol. 1-, ed. Gustav Anrich (Leipzig, 1913), *Vita Lycio-Alexandrina* (BHG 1349a) c. 13, vol. 1, 307-8.

¹⁹ The text transmitted in this manuscript should now be used in the following edition: *Euchologij Barberini Gr. 336*, ed. Elena Velkovska and Stefano Parenti (Omsk, 2011).

quotations here. There is probably a common stock of Biblical references and wording that is used in liturgical texts as well as in hagiography. It should be mentioned that the prayers quoted above have slightly different concerns: Nicholas' prayer is pronounced in the hagiographical text with the intention to locate water (φανέρωσον ἡμῖν τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὕδωρ), but in the *Euchologion* prayers the Biblical allusions are applied in prayers in case of drought, when rain is awaited. This is comparable to other prayers that have different titles for different concerns, whereas the prayer-text remains the same, as it is e.g. the case when the same prayer text is used for the construction of a ship and of a church building, or when the text of a prayer for infants' first steps appears also as a blessing of the first day at school,²⁰ nevertheless an internal causal relationship can be seen in both these occasions.

Furthermore we come across an accumulation of Biblical references in prayer texts in a great number of prayers for the sick. They occur in hagiographical texts regularly in the context of healing miracles. However, like other prayers they are in many instances not quoted literally, but only referred to, e.g. in a minimalistic form like 'many sick people were brought to the saint and he cured them praying for them in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ'.²¹ Two examples of healing prayers in context may suffice to show the method that is applied to accumulate the Biblical references and to form a prayer text. The first example is a prayer text for the healing of a deaf-and-dumb person transmitted in the seventh century *Vita* of Gregory of Agrigent, written by Leontios of Rome. The second concerns the healing of a paralysed person and is taken from the early eighth century *Life* of John Chrysostom by a certain, otherwise unknown George of Alexandria. Both these examples follow, of course, well-known New Testament episodes.

The prayer text for the healing of a deaf-and-dumb person in the *Vita* of Gregory of Agrigent reads as follows:²²

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (*Acts* 4:24 *et al.*), ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ σου τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἰασάμενος τοὺς λεπροὺς (*Mark* 1:40-5 *et al.*) καὶ ὅσα κωφῶν διανοίξας καὶ δεσμοὺς γλώσσης ἐπιλύσας (*Mark* 7:31-7), αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον ἴασαι τῇ δυνάμει σου τῇ ἀοράτῳ, ἵνα δοξάζηται σου αἰεὶ τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα...

²⁰ For a list of further examples of multiple use of a prayer text, see Ilias Nesseris, 'Schooling prayers: Some Preliminary Observations', in C. Rapp *et al.*, 'Byzantine Prayer Books' (2017), 206-10.

²¹ See e.g. the end of c. 59 in George of Alexandria's *Vita* of St John Chrysostom (BHG 873): Καὶ πολλοὺς δὲ συνεχομένους ποικίλαις νόσοις ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντας ἰώμενος ἀπέλυεν, ed. Francois Halkin, *Douze récits Byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome*, Subsidia Hagiographica 60 (Brussels, 1977), 238.

²² Leontios of Rome, *Life of Gregorios of Agrigent* (BHG 707), ed. Albrecht Berger, *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom, Das Leben des Heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent*, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 60 (Berlin, 1994), 49.7-11.

Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who created heaven and earth, you, who healed the lepers with your holy presence, and opened the ears and loosened the tongue of the deaf-and-dumb, now also heal your servant with your invisible power, so that your all-holy name will be glorified...

We recognise that also in this text the shift to the present time is indicated, as expected, by αὐτός / αὐτός και νῦν, and completed then by a final construction. Another example, a prayer for the healing of a paralysed man in the *Vita* of John Chrysostom by George of Alexandria, follows the same pattern:²³

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ ἰασάμενος τὸν παραλυτικὸν ἐκεῖνον ὃν καθῆκαν πρὸς σέ διὰ τοῦ δοματίου βεβλημένον ἐν τῷ κλινιδίῳ (*Luke* 5:17-20), αὐτὸς και νῦν ἴασαι τοῦτον, ἵνα πάντες θεωροῦντες ἐπιγνώσωνταί σε τὸν σωτήρα θεὸν και πιστεύσωσιν τῷ ὀνόματί σου.

Lord, Jesus Christ, who healed the paralysed man who was lowered to you through the roof tiles, now also, heal this person, so that everyone who sees this will recognise you, God as the Saviour and will entrust in your name.

Prayers for the sick are the largest group of prayers pronounced for the benefit of someone else and they are, of course, regularly included in *Euchologia* manuscripts.²⁴ Generally, in *Euchologia* there is a wide range of special health issues that are addressed, mostly in the prayer titles, like fever, breast pain, or migraine. Already from the earliest *Euchologion* manuscript that has come down to us, *i.e.* the above mentioned Barb. gr. 336, three prayers relating to sickness are known (no. 196-8), further, two prayers for the healing oil (no. 199-200), and in addition one prayer for sick ascetics (no. 271). The first prayer for a sick person (no. 196) reads as follows:

Εὐχή ἐπὶ ἀρρώστου

Πάτερ ἅγιε, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν και σωμάτων, ὁ πέμψας τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν και θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσαν νόσον ἰώμενον και ἐκ θανάτου λυτρούμενον, ἴασαι και τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε ἐκ τῆς περιεχούσης αὐτὸν σωματικῆς ἀσθενείας διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, και ζωοποίησον αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ σοὶ εὐάρεστον τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι εὐχαριστείαν ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ ἀποπληροῦντα. Ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος, και σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία...

Prayer for a sick person

Holy father, physician of souls and bodies, who sent your only begotten son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who heals every sickness and saves from death, heal also your

²³ George of Alexandria, *Vita Joannis Chrysostomi* (BHG 873), c. 59.

²⁴ On the sacrament of the unction of the sick see Stefano Parenti, 'Care and Anointing of the Sick in the East', in Ansgar J. Chupungco (ed.), *Handbook of Liturgical Studies*. Vol. IV: *Sacraments and Saramentals* (Collegeville, 2000), 161-9 with further bibliography. Moreover, see a volume recently dedicated to this issue: Brigitte Pitarakis and Gülru Tanman (eds), *Life Is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium. New Perspectives*, Istanbul Research Institute Publications 38 (Istanbul, 2018), and esp. the contribution by Derek Krueger, 'Healing and Salvation in Byzantium', *ibid.* 15-30.

servant NN from his spiritual and bodily sickness, through the grace of your Christ, and restore his life as it pleases you, so that through good works he may render the thanksgiving and worship due to you. For yours is the power and the kingdom...

Another early *Euchologion* manuscript, the Southern-Italian, monastic *Euchologion* Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (Diktyon 17896), dating from the late 10th century, lists twenty prayers relating to sickness, numbered from the second up to twentieth, which reveals a certain order that we mostly miss in *Euchologion* manuscripts.²⁵ The prayers are transmitted in this manuscript without titles and the prayer texts do not mention specific deficiencies or illnesses. The purpose of twenty general prayers in case of sickness remains open.

Finally, a prayer text should be mentioned that occurs remarkably enough not only as an *Euchologion* prayer and in a hagiographical text, but also in a Monastic *Typikon*. It is in the sixth century *Vita* of Symeon the Wonderworker (CPG 7369, BHG 1689), who was the abbot of the Monastery of the Wondrous Mountain, that this text occurs as a prayer for the multiplication of grain:²⁶

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ διὰ σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμῶν σου εὐλόγησας τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ χορτάσας πεντακισχιλίους, εὐλόγησον καὶ πλήθυνον τὸν σίτον τοῦτον εἰς δόξαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ δνομάτός σου.

We learn that after this prayer has been said, the granary is miraculously filled with grain. The miracle leads Symeon the Wonderworker to initiate that such a benediction of grains should take place weekly in his monastery, and that is why it has been included in the *Typikon* of the monastery of Phoberos, which was compiled in the first half of the twelfth century:²⁷

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εὐλόγησας τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους χορτάσας, αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον τὸν σίτον τοῦτον καὶ πλήθυνον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγία σου ταύτῃ μονῇ καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον σου ἅπαντα.²⁸

Searching for this prayer text in *Euchologia* we come across a prayer printed in Goar's *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* among the prayers of the λυχνικόν (vespers) that show parallels to the texts we know from the non-liturgical sources.²⁹

²⁵ Stefano Parenti, *L'eucologio manoscritto Γ.β. IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata*. Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum (Rome, 1994), nos. 250-69.

²⁶ *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)* (BHG 1689), *Subsidia Hagiographica* 32, vol. I. ed. Paul Van Den Ven (Brussels, 1962), c. 122, 46-56.

²⁷ The connection between the Phoberos *Typikon* and the *Life* of Symeon the Wonderworker was pointed out by Dirk Krausmüller, 'John of Phoberos, a 12th-Century Monastic Founder, and his Saints: Luke of Mesembria and Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain', *Analecta Bollandiana* 134 (2016), 83-94, esp. 89-90. I thank Dirk Krausmüller for bringing this passage to my attention.

²⁸ Phoberos *Typikon* c. 57, in *Noctes Petropolitanae*, ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Peterburg, 1913), 1-87, 76.29-77.10.

²⁹ Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordine Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum ... editio secunda expurgata et accuratior* (Venice, 1730; reprint Graz, 1960), 34. Further research has to be carried out to determine the earliest witness for this prayer in the Euchological tradition.

The text in Goar, which includes in addition to the grain also wine and oil, reads as follows:

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εὐλογήσας τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους χορτάσας,³⁰ αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους, τὸν σῖτον, τὸν οἶνον, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ πλήθυνον αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μονῇ ταύτῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον σου ἅπαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας πιστοὺς ἀγίασον. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἀγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα, ...

Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who blessed the five loaves and fed the five thousand, bless also these loaves, the corn, the wine and the oil, and increase them in this holy monastery and in your whole world and sanctify the faithful partakers of these.

The occurrence of this prayer text in three different genres is, as far as I see, a rare case of multiple use of a prayer text, but it can show us the way on how to search for further occurrences of prayer texts. The direction of the dependency of these occurrences will in most instances be difficult to determine.

Since there are only a few attestations of the term εὐχολόγιον in Byzantine texts it is finally noteworthy (even if it is beyond the period under consideration here), that, as a result of the long awaited critical edition of the *Taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain,³¹ we are in the position to add two further attestations for the use of the term εὐχολόγιον, dating from the end of the eleventh century: In Nikon's *Taktikon*, *logos* 5, 4 we learn that it is advisable for a monk to consult the *Euchologion* for the texts relating to monastic initiation – either by reading himself or, in case of illiteracy, by having the text read out to him. By doing so, he will be reminded of the vows he had taken. Likewise, a layman is encouraged to consult the *Euchologion* for the texts concerning baptism.³² Furthermore, in Nikon's *Taktikon* *logos* 14, 46, we come across a mention that there is 'a prayer in the *Euchologion* for the purpose of solving an oath'. This reference is connected to the case of a monk who had bound himself in his youth by an oath to a woman.³³ Again, like in the above mentioned hagiographical

³⁰ This allusion to the first miracle of multiplication of loaves (and fishes) is also present in a prayer for the remnants of meal, transmitted e.g. in the 10th-century *Euchologion* Crypt. Γ.β. VII (ed. by G. Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)*, *Analekta Blatadon* 36 [Thessalonica, 1982], no. 176) and further in a prayer for the fishing nets (Goar, *Euchologion* 557, see the third prayer on this page).

³¹ *Das Taktikon des Nikon vom Schwarzen Berge. Griechischer Text und kirchenslavische Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Christian Hannick, Peter Plank, Carolina Lutzka and Tat'jana I. Afanas'eva, *Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris. Fontes et Dissertationes* 62 (Freiburg i.Br., 2014). The particular importance of Nikon's writings as a source for liturgical studies has already been stressed by Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Der Gottesdienst der östlichen Kirchen', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 57 (2015), 117-285, esp. 159-62.

³² Nikon, *Taktikon* 5, 4, ed. Ch. Hannick et al. 242.15-25.

³³ Nikon, *Taktikon* 14, 46, *ibid.* 398.28-30. The monk was finally dissolved from his oath only through confession before an ordained priest. For the discussion of whether it is required to make confession before ordained priests see Dirk Krausmüller, "'Monks who are not priests do not have the power to bind and to loose': the debate about confession in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 109 (2016), 739-68.

texts above, the prayer text is not quoted verbatim, the existence of a prayer for this concern is simply assumed.

At the end of these initial notes on a broad topic that would repay further detailed study, we may state that there are actually prayers spoken by protagonists of hagiographical texts that echo *Euchologion* prayer texts. We have seen that there are similarities regarding the structure of the prayer text, while other similarities concern Biblical references and wording. This may, however, be due to a shared figurative language and to a common religious/liturgical register.

Building the *Euchologion*: Evidence from the Earliest Manuscripts

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ABSTRACT

The earliest extant Byzantine prayer books in codex form date back to the late 8th century. However, they are the result of the collection of older material, whose traces we find scattered on different kinds of material supports such as pieces of papyrus and parchment. What has survived and what has gone lost?

By considering from a codicological point of view the ten earliest Byzantine Greek *Euchologia* in codex form, this article lays the ground to start exploring the open question of continuity in the use of liturgical material. It also helps to shed some light on the ways the *Euchologion* was assembled.

The earliest complete Byzantine prayer books written in Greek language which have survived until the present day were not copied before the late 8th century. However, they do not appear *ex nihilo*. They are the result of the collection of older material, whose traces we find scattered among different kinds of material supports, such as pieces of papyrus and parchment.

The goal of this article is that of surveying, from a codicological point of view, the ten oldest and complete (or almost complete) Byzantine *Euchologia*. I will start by defining the criteria I adopted for selecting the sample of *Euchologia* I consider and by briefly describing the selected manuscripts. In a second step, I will compare their codicological features and the structure of their content (with particular reference to the occasional prayers in the *Euchologia* copied in Salento). Finally, I will offer a few preliminary conclusions.¹

My sample consists of ten *Euchologia* in codex format, which were copied between the late 8th and the early 11th century and contain, in addition to liturgies and rites, occasional prayers. I have decided to leave aside those manuscripts which – although they correspond to the criteria I just mentioned – are too fragmentary in order to allow to carry out a complete codicological and structural

¹ This work will be followed by a jointly-authored article, currently in preparation by Daniel Galadza and Giulia Rossetto, in which the authors will combine the analysis of codicological and liturgical features in order to gain a better understanding of how the earliest *Euchologia* were assembled.

investigation. For instance, I have excluded – despite their importance – the twenty-five surviving folia of manuscript Sin. gr. NF MG 22 (*Diktyon* 61060) + Sin. gr. NF MG 67 (*Diktyon* 61105), namely one of only three prayer books written in majuscule letters which have come down to us.²

The other two extant *Euchologia* written in majuscule letters are part of my sample. They are Barb. gr. 336 (*Diktyon* 64879) and Sin. gr. NF MG 53 (*Diktyon* 61091). The first is a codex of 280 folia written in *maiuscola biblica*. Its writing suggests that it was copied in the late 8th century, probably in northern Calabria.³ The second is an incomplete codex of 92 folia, which represent only a small portion of the original manuscript (since f. 5 is marked with quire mark λδ´ [34]). It is written in the other kind of majuscule largely used for copying liturgical manuscripts (namely the *maiuscola ogivale inclinata*) and – again – its paleographical features seem to indicate that it was copied at the end of the 8th or at the beginning of the 9th century, probably in Palestine. The presence of Arabic marginal notes at almost every Greek title confirms that the manuscript was used in in this geographic area.⁴

The remaining eight manuscripts are written in minuscule script. Sin. gr. 957 (*Diktyon* 59332) and its two diaspora folia that are now in St. Petersburg (Petropol. O. 151 [*olim* Granstrem 106]) (*Diktyon* 57941) were copied at the beginning of the 10th century, probably in Palestine.⁵ Manuscripts Petropol. gr.

² Archbishop Damianos, Archimandrite Sophronios, Basilios J. Peltikoglou and Panagiotis G. Nikolopoulos, *Ta véa evrh̄mata tou Sinai* (Athens, 1998). English translation by Athanasios Hatzopoulos, *The New Finds of Sinai* (Athens, 1999), 145 pl. 59 (Sin. gr. NF MG 22); 153 pl. 83 (Sin. gr. NF MG 67); Paul Géhin and Stig Frøyskov, 'Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 58 (2000), 167-84, 177; Robert F. Taft and Stefano Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Volume II. Il Grande Ingresso* (Grottaferrata, 2014), 703 n. 12; Gabriel Radle, 'Sinai Greek NE / MF 22: Late 9th / Early 10th Century Euchology Testimony of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in the Byzantine Tradition', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 8 (3rd s.) (2011) 169-221; *id.*, 'The Nuptial Rites in Two Rediscovered First - Millennium Sinai Euchologies', in Bert Groen, Daniel Galadza, Nina Glibetic and Gabriel Radle (eds), *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (Lebanon, 10-15 July 2012)* (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA, 2014), 303-15.

³ André Jacob, *Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Rome, 1974), 154-7; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 703 n. 5. The manuscript was edited by E. Velkovska and S. Parenti, originally in 1995. The most recent, updated edition is that by Elena Velkovska and Stefano Parenti, *Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336* (Omsk, 2011). The manuscript is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.336.

⁴ Archb. Damianos, Archim. Sophronios, B.J. Peltikoglou and P.G. Nikolopoulos, *New Finds of Sinai* (Athens, 1999), 150, pl. 75; P. Géhin and S. Frøyskov, 'Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques' (2000), 177. This manuscript was the object of the unpublished doctoral thesis of Christos Kanavas, *L'eucologio MG 53 (sec. IX) del monastero di S. Caterina del Sinai* (Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2013).

⁵ Aleksej Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach Pravoslavnago Vostoka, vol. II: Eðxología* (Hildesheim, 1965 [Kiev, 1901]), II 1-12; Victor

226 [olim Granstrem 112] (*Diktyon* 57298),⁶ Crypt. Γ.β. 4 (*Diktyon* 17896)⁷ and Crypt. Γ.β. 7 (*Diktyon* 17899)⁸ are generally attributed to the 10th century. The first was copied in Northern Calabria by a certain Nicholas and later brought to the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai. In 1850 it left the Monastery in the bags of archimandrite Porfiri Uspenskij and reached its current location in St. Petersburg.⁹ The two *Cryptenses* were both copied in southern Italy (Campania), in a peculiar kind of minuscule which is called *minuscola a*

E. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), 204; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 110 (nr. 1286); R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 703 n. 16; Gabriel Radle, 'The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites as Evidenced by Sin. Gr. 957', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 78 (2012), 133-48. Sin. gr. 957 is available online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074888-ms/>.

⁶ Vladimir Nicolaevič Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur* (Hildesheim, 1965 [Saint Petersburg, 1911]), I 607; E.E. Granstrem, *Katalog grečeskich rukopisej leningraadskih chramilišč, I. Rukopisi IV-IX vekov. Vizantijskij Vremennik* 16, 216-43 (nr. 1-112) (Moscow, 1959), 243 (nr. 112); R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 19; André Jacob, 'L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski Cod. Lenin. gr. 226 (X^e siècle)', *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 173-214; Santo Lucà, 'Le diocesi di Gerace e Squillace: tra manoscritti e marginalia', in *Calabria bizantina. Civiltà bizantina nei territori di Gerace e Stilo (Locri-Stilo-Gerace, 6-9 maggio 1993)* (Soveria Mannelli, 1998), 245-343; Pavlos Koumarios, 'Η Θεία Λειτουργία του Μεγ. Βασιλείου κατά το Πορφυριανό Ευχολόγιο', *Θεολογία* 82.3 (2011), 93-121. The manuscript was edited by Pavlos Koumarios, *Il Codice 226 della Biblioteca di San Pietroburgo. L'Eucologio Bizantino di Porfirio Uspensky*. Doctoral Thesis (Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1996).

⁷ Antonio Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati* (Tusculani, 1883), 251-3; Elena Velkovska, 'La liturgia italo-bizantina negli eucologi e lezionari del Nuovo Testamento della "Scuola Niliana"', in *Il monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Grottaferrata, 23-25 settembre 2004)* (Grottaferrata, 2009), 213-55, 222-34; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 20; Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto and Elisabeth Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211, 187. The manuscript was edited by Stefano Parenti, *L'eucologio manoscritto Γ.β. IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata*. Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum (Rome, 1994).

⁸ A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses* (1883), 257-9; Santo Lucà, 'Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B.β.VI (ff. 1-9). Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata', in Lidia Perria (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Rome, 2003), 145-224, 192, 198; E. Velkovska, 'La liturgia italo-bizantina' (2009), 222-38; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 22; C. Rapp, E. Afentoulidou, D. Galadza, I. Nesseris, G. Rossetto and E. Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books' (2017), 187. The manuscript was edited by Gaetano Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)* (Thessaloniki, 1982). See also André Jacob, 'Quelques observations sur l'euchologe Γ.β. VII de Grottaferrata. À propos d'une édition récente', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 53-4 (1983-4), 65-98.

⁹ See about him Aleksej Dmitrievskij, *Episkop Porfirij Uspenskij kak iniciator i organizator pervoj russkoj duhovnoj missii v Ierusalimě, i ego zaslugi na polzu pravoslavija i v dělē izučeniija christianskogo vostoka* (Po povodu stolětija so dnja ego roždenija) (Soobščeniij Imperatorskago

zampette. They are connected to the monastic activity and the itinerant scriptorium of St. Nilus, who in the year 1004 founded the Monastery of Grottaferrata, where both *Euchologia* are still kept.

Finally, three codices date to the late 10th century: they are Vat. gr. 1833 (*Diktyon* 68462), Crypt. Γ.β. 10 (*Diktyon* 17902) and Mosq. RGB gr. 27 [Sevastianov 474] (*Diktyon* 44295). Vat. gr. 1833 – as the two *Cryptenses* I previously mentioned (Crypt. Γ.β. 4 and Crypt. Γ.β. 7) – was originally part of the Grottaferrata manuscript collection (with the shelfmark Crypt. no. 92) and, like the other two, was copied in Campania and is connected to St. Nilus' scriptorium.¹⁰ Crypt. Γ.β. 10 was copied in southern Italy (Carbone),¹¹ while Mosq. RGB gr. 27 [Sevastianov 474] is the most debated of the manuscripts of the sample for its origin. According to Koster – who wrote his dissertation on this codex – it was copied by a middle-eastern scribe; on the other hand, Fonkič and the scholars after him suggested that the scribe was based in Constantinople.¹²

The last manuscript I consider as part of my sample is the Parisian manuscript Coislin 213 (*Diktyon* 49354), written in “*Perlschrift*”, which is the oldest extant *Euchologion* known to have been copied and used in Constantinople. Its colophon indicates that it was copied by Strategios, a priest of the Great Church and the patriarchal oratories (τῶν πατριαρχικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν), in the year 1027.¹³

In the table below it is possible to observe these manuscripts all together.

Pravoslavnago Palestinskago Obščestva za 1905 g., Vol. 16) (Saint Petersburg, 2006 [Moscow, 1906]).

¹⁰ Paul Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745-1962* (Vatican City, 1970), 272-8; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 23. Vat. gr. 1833 is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1833.

¹¹ A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses* (1883), 262-3; E. Velkovska, ‘Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources’, *DOP* 55 (2001), 21-51, 30-1; S. Lucà, ‘Su origine e datazione’ (2003), 192; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 24; C. Rapp, E. Afentoulidou, D. Galadza, I. Nesseris, G. Rossetto and E. Schiffer, ‘Byzantine Prayer Books’ (2017), 187.

¹² Stephan Josef Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevastianov 474 (X. Jhdt.) der Staatsbibliothek in Moskau*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis (Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1996); I. Mokretsova, M. Naumova, V. Kireeva, E. Dobrynina and B. Fonkič, *Материалы и техника византийской рукописной книги [Materials and techniques of Byzantine manuscripts]* (Moskva, Indrik, 2003), 107-9, 262-3; R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 704 n. 18.

¹³ A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* (1965²), II 993-1052; Robert Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II: Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), 194-5; James Duncan, *Coislin 213. Euchologe de la Grande Eglise* (Rome, 1983); Józef M. Maj, *Coislin 213. Euchologio della Grande Chiesa. Manoscritto greco della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (ff. 101-211)*. Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum (Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995); R.F. Taft and S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (2014), 705 n. 32.

The earliest complete (or almost complete) <i>Euchologia</i> in codex form			
Barb. gr. 336	<i>Diktyon</i> 64879	Late 8 th c.	Northern Calabria
Sin. gr. NF MG 53	<i>Diktyon</i> 61091	8 th -9 th c.	Palestine
Sin. gr. 957 + Petropol. O 151	<i>Diktyon</i> 59332 + 57941	Early 10 th c.	Palestine
Petropol. gr. 226	<i>Diktyon</i> 57298	10 th c.	Northern Calabria
Crypt. Γ.β. IV	<i>Diktyon</i> 17896	10 th c.	Campania
Crypt. Γ.β. VII	<i>Diktyon</i> 17899	10 th c.	Campania
Vat. gr. 1833	<i>Diktyon</i> 68462	Late 10 th c.	Campania
Crypt. Γ.β. X	<i>Diktyon</i> 17902	Late 10 th c.	Carbone (Basilicata)
Mosq. RGB gr. 27 (Sevastianov 474)	<i>Diktyon</i> 44295	Late 10 th c.	Levant
Coisl. 213	<i>Diktyon</i> 49354	1027	Constantinople

As the table shows, the ten oldest complete or almost complete Byzantine prayer books are mostly kept at Grottaferrata (three plus one Vatican manuscript originally from Grottaferrata) or at the Library of Saint Catherine in the Sinai peninsula (two plus one manuscript now at St. Petersburg but originally from the Sinai).

As for their place of origin, six were copied in southern Italy (one in Basilicata, two in northern Calabria, three in Campania). The three which were copied in Campania were all copied in the context of St. Nilus' scriptorium and were part of the Monastery of Grottaferrata's collection from its foundation in the year 1004. However, one of them is currently kept at the Vatican Library. Two manuscripts were probably copied in Palestine, one in Constantinople, and one – as we have seen – has a debated origin.

What do they look like? Do they display common or distinctive codicological features? As far as their dimensions are concerned, an overall quantitative study on the size of *Euchologia* manuscripts does not exist so far. However, André Jacob's study of southern Italian manuscripts identifies four sizes of *Euchologia* manuscripts: 1) large: *ca.* 250 × 200 mm; 2) medium: *ca.* 190 × 135 mm; 3) small: *ca.* 170 × 140 mm and 4) oblong in height (with a deviation of more than 70 mm between height and width): *e.g. ca.* 225 × 150 mm.¹⁴ I will use these four categories as a frame of reference in order to group the manuscripts of my sample. As a result, we can classify them as one large manuscript (the Constantinopolitan Coislin 213) and three medium codices (Vat. gr. 1833,

¹⁴ André Jacob, 'La mise en forme de l'euchologe dans l'Italie méridionale. Quelques observations', *Estudios bizantinos* 3 (2015), 29-43.

Crypt Γ.β. 10, Barb. gr. 336, all Italo-Greek), while the remaining six, namely the great part, can be categorized as small manuscripts. None of them has oblong format. This is relevant if we compare the dimensions of our sample with those of entire *Euchologia* collections as I have done in the Vienna *Euchologia* team joint article published in 2017.¹⁵ There, I had classified the entire collections of *Euchologia* kept at Patmos and Grottaferrata on the same basis, *i.e.* following Jacob's scheme. In that case, most of the codices resulted being of medium size. It would therefore seem that the oldest surviving manuscripts are smaller than the younger ones.

Large (ca. 250×200 mm)	Medium (ca. 190×135 mm)	Small (ca. 170×140 mm)	Oblong in height (e.g.: 225×150 mm)
Coislin 213 (255×200 mm)	Vat. gr. 1833 (190×155 mm)	Crypt. Γ.β. VII (170×135 mm)	
	Crypt. Γ.β. X (190×140 mm)	Sin. gr. NF MG 53 (150×115 mm)	
	Barb. gr. 336 (190×132 mm)	Sin. gr. 957 (123×87 mm)	
		Crypt. Γ.β. IV (122×90 mm)	
		Petropol. gr. 226 (115×110 mm)	
		Mosq. RGB gr. 27 (119×101 mm)	

Moreover, the analysis of the quire structure has shown that, apart from a few exceptions, all manuscripts of the sample are made up of regular *quaterniones*, namely the most common way quires were assembled. The second mostly used typology of quire used for making up early prayer books was the *ternio*. Furthermore, I wanted to investigate whether the ten *Euchologia* were made up of separate codicological units. Therefore, I verified if in one or more cases the end of a liturgy, or of a rite, corresponded to the end of a quire. If regularly attested, this could help to prove that individual sections of the *Euchologion* used to be transmitted individually, as separate booklets. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The results indicate that the text of the liturgies and of the rites in the *Euchologion* were copied in almost all cases continuously, without leaving breaks or without starting a new quire. It is not clear

¹⁵ Giulia Rossetto, 'Codicological Pathways in Search of Euchologia Palimpsest Manuscripts', in Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto and Elisabeth Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211, 183-91.

whether this might be due to the fact that the scribes did not want to waste ‘precious’ space even though they were copying from several individual booklets or because the models from which they were copying also contained texts arranged without interruption. It is quite hard, if not impossible, to establish what the *antigrapha* from which the ten prayer books were copied looked like. However, in the case of Petropol. gr. 226 it is possible to infer some information: in fact – as already noted by André Jacob –, because of the peculiar kind of mistakes present in the codex, it is possible to affirm that this manuscript, which is written in minuscule, was very probably copied from a model in majuscule.¹⁶

Similarly to the liturgies and the rites, also the occasional prayers do not constitute an individual and homogeneous unit in the ten manuscripts. They do not start or end at the beginning or at the conclusion of a quire, but they are rather spread among different parts of the manuscripts and form small clusters. For instance, in Coislin 213 they can be found in seven sections of the manuscript, in Barb. gr. 336 in five.¹⁷ However, they are always located after the three main eucharistic liturgies.

It is interesting to notice that none of these early prayer books includes a title which defines the ‘occasional prayers’. This is something we find in later manuscripts, and that apparently appears starting with the second half of the 11th century. In fact, the oldest known manuscript which I am aware of containing such indication is Sin. gr. 962 (*Diktyon* 59337) of the second half of the 11th century. In this codex the occasional prayers are grouped under a precise name: εὐχαὶ διάφοραι (f. 121v). The title (εὐχαὶ διάφοραι) is written in brown ink, the same used by the scribe to write the text of the prayers. Similar expressions that have been encountered to date are: εὐχαὶ διάφοραι εἰς πάντα ὄφελα (e.g. in Crypt. Γ.β. XI, f. 5r [*Diktyon* 17903]) of the 11th-12th century or εὐχαὶ διάφοραι ἀναγκαῖαι (e.g. in Vat. gr. 2032, f. 197r [*Diktyon* 68661]) dated 1549.¹⁸

Since there are no traces of such titles in papyri or parchment fragments which pre-date our oldest complete *Euchologia*, it would seem that this is a new feature or rather something which was first introduced in the late 11th century. If so, it would seem that from the late 11th century the occasional prayers started to be – at least in some instances – aggregated and located all together in the manuscript.

Their beginning and end could be marked not only by a title, but also by decorative elements. This is the case, for instance, of Sin. gr. 960 (*Diktyon* 59335) + Sin. gr. NF M 11 (*Diktyon* 60838) + Sin. gr. NF M 22 (*Diktyon* 60849) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (*Diktyon* 60906) or Sin. gr. 966 (*Diktyon* 59341) + Sin. gr. NF M

¹⁶ André Jacob, ‘Les prières de l’ambon du Leningr. gr. 226’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 42 (1972) 109-39, 111.

¹⁷ Coislin 213 (211 folia): 41r-42v, 79r-84v, 87r-91v, 96r-100v, 104r-107v, 110r-115v, 198r-211v. Barb. gr. 336 (280 folia): 184v-185v, 191r-195v, 202r-210v, 222r-230v, 251r-252v.

¹⁸ C. Rapp, E. Afentoulidou, D. Galadza, I. Nesseris, G. Rossetto and E. Schiffer, ‘Byzantine Prayer Books’ (2017), 175 n. 3.

21 (*Diktyon* 60848) + Sin. gr. NF M 68 (*Diktyon* 60895), with which I am familiar since they (and Sin. gr. 962) were the basis of my doctoral research.¹⁹ In both manuscripts the occasional prayers are not listed under a specific heading. In the former, the manuscript's copyist used simple decorative elements to lend a clearer structure to the text. A closer look at the folia shows that decorative lines serve to identify the prayers written between f. 36r and f. 43v, all of which I believe may be considered occasional prayers. Moreover, it is interesting to observe how the scribe uses shorter decorative half-lines to create subgroups: for instance, the occasional prayers relating to the foundation of a house or church are written on ff. 37v-38v, separated from their counterparts by an ornamental half-line. In Sin. gr. 966, the title of the prayer for the foundation of a house (Ἐὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας) on f. 99r is preceded by a cross and followed by a decoration in the margin. These two peculiarities (cross and decoration) are not repeated for the prayers that follow. It seems to me distinctly plausible, therefore, that the copyist intended the occasional prayers' section to begin at this point and to continue as far as f. 202v, *i.e.* the last folio of the codex.

Regarding the internal organization of the occasional prayers in the manuscripts, I will focus more specifically on later prayer books (*i.e.* those copied in the area of southern Italy which is called Terra d'Otranto or Salento), since their tradition is more easily traceable and recognizable. Let us take manuscript Sin. gr. 966 (late 12th century), which we have already mentioned earlier. The surviving section of occasional prayers occupies four folia, or eight sides of the manuscript (f. 99r to f. 102v), and includes a total of eleven prayers. They are located after the ordo for the purification of oil and wine (Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῆ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀγγεῖον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου).

Most of these prayers deal with agriculture. No unknown or unedited prayer occurs in Sin. gr. 966. However, it is worth underlining a couple of peculiarities. Eight of the eleven prayers also appear with an identical text in the Salentine manuscript Vat. Ottob. gr. 344 (*Diktyon* 65587).²⁰ This manuscript was written for the Cathedral of Otranto in 1177, and is thus the codex that is most closely related in date and geographical origin to offer a comparison with Sin. gr. 966. As the table below makes clear, the first four occasional prayers of Sin. gr. 966 (two for the house and two for agriculture, more specifically for the beginning of sowing and for the harvest) occur in the same sequence (as prayers 10-13) in Vat. Ottob. gr. 344. The same happens for the next prayers for agriculture

¹⁹ Giulia Rossetto, *Three Euchologia Written on Reused Parchment (Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966 and their Membra Disiecta): A Contribution to the History of the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, PhD Dissertation (Vienna, 2019). This work is in preparation for publication.

²⁰ This *Euchologion* was edited by Valerio Polidori, *L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto: Cod. Ottoboni gr. 344 (AD 1177)* (Wrocklaw, 2018).

(namely numbers 5-10 in Sin. gr. 966, *i.e.* for the wine, for new fruit, and for the *καμπανισμός*²¹): they feature in the *Ottobonianus* in the same order, but this time at the beginning of the occasional prayers section (numbers 1-5). It is noteworthy that prayer 6 and 7 of the *Sinaiticus* (for gathering grapes and for blessing the same) are missing from the Vatican codex. In substitution, the *Ottobonianus* has another version of the prayer for blessing grapes (*inc.*: Εὐλόγησον Κύριε τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον τὸν νέον τῆς ἀμπέλου) which is also found in Coislin 213.²² Finally, the last occasional prayer in Sin. gr. 966 – namely for the blessing of palms – is not extant in this version in the Vatican manuscript. In fact, while the *Sinaiticus* transmits the Hagiopolite version of the prayer, the two prayers for the blessing of palms in Vat. Ottob. gr. 344 (ff. 164v-165v) are, as Strittmatter has demonstrated, Greek versions of Latin prayers known from manuscripts of the 11th to the 14th century.²³ It seems therefore, that prayers appear and are repeated and copied in thematic clusters, rather than in one long sequence.

Occasional Prayers in Sin. gr. 966	Position in Sin. gr. 966	Position in Vat. Ottob. gr. 344
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ εὐλόγησας τὴν σκηνὴν Ἀβραάμ.	1 (99 ^r)	10 (f. 131 ^v)
Εὐχὴ ἐν εἰσόδῳ οἴκου νέου: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν Ζαχαρίου.	2 (99 ^{rv})	11 (f. 132 ^r)
Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀπαρχὴν σπόρου: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλούμεν σε τὸν σπῆρον.	3 (99 ^v -100 ^r)	12 (f. 132 ^{rv})

²¹ The word *kampanismos* comes from the verb *καμπανίζω*, which is well attested in Byzantine Greek with the meaning of ‘to weigh’. The verb seems to come from *καμπανός* or *καμπανόν* (balance), namely the Greek form of the Latin *campana*. The rite of *kampanismos* is found in prayer books written in Calabria and in Salento. It involved an offering to the church of the equivalent weight of a child (or later of a man or of an animal), in victuals. However, the purpose of the rite was different in the two regions. In Calabria the rite had the goal of healing a serious illness, while in Salento an offering of gifts corresponding to the weight of the bidder was done for the purpose of fulfilling an unspecified penance (*ὁμολογία*). On this rite see André Jacob, ‘Le rite du *καμπανισμός* dans les *euchologes* italo-grecs’, in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B. de l’Abbaye du Mont César* (Leuven, 1972), 223-44, 230; Linda Safran, *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia, 2014), 148-50; V. Polidori, *L’Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto* (2018), 25.

²² Miguel Arranz, *L’eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l’aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)* (Rome, 1996), 393.

²³ Anselm Strittmatter, ‘Liturgical Latinisms in a Twelfth-Century Greek Euchology (Ottob. gr. 344)’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III: Letteratura e storia bizantina* (Vatican City, 1946), 41-64, 45-54.

Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θέρους: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διὰ πολλήν σου εὐσπλαχνίαν ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς.	4 (100 ^r)	13 (f. 132 ^v -145 ^r)
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου φυτευομένης: Σὺ εἶ, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή καὶ ὁ Πατήρ σου ὁ γεωργὸς ἐστίν.	5 (100 ^v -101 ^r)	1 (f. 128 ^{rv})
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τρύγης: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ζωηφόρος ἄμπελος. (Dmitrievskij II, p. 219)	6 (101 ^r)	Missing in this version
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι σταφύλην: Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκίας ἄμπελον κληθῆναι. (Velkovska-Parenti 177 with the title Εὐχὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήθη ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρύγην ὁ βασιλεὺς)	7 (101 ^{rv})	Missing in this version
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλόγησιν οἶνον νέον: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν.	8 (101 ^v)	3 (f. 129 ^r)
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν προσφερόντων ἀπαρχὰς καρπῶν νέων: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαρχῇ καρπῶν νέων τῶν προσφερόντων.	9 (101 ^v -102 ^r)	4 (f. 129 ^{rv})
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καρποφορούντων καὶ καμπανισμάτων: Πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν Δέσποτα βασιλεῦ καὶ εὐεργέτα τῶν σῶν ποιημάτων.	10 (102 ^r)	5 (f. 129 ^v -130 ^r)
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι βαιᾶ: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβὶμ ὁ ἐξεγείρας τὴν δυναστείαν σου. (Goar, p. 589)	11 (102 ^{rv})	Missing in this version

Conclusions

In this article I have taken into account the ten oldest complete Byzantine prayer books dating from the late 8th century to the year 1027. Six of them are small in size (*i.e.* smaller than 170 × 140 mm). Since the average dimension of a prayer book was approximately 190 × 135 mm, it seems that the old prayer books of our sample are smaller than those copied in the following centuries in the same areas, namely in Constantinople, Palestine, but mostly in southern Italy. In fact, the bulk of the earliest surviving prayers books (at least six) are Italo-Greek and represent the southern Italian liturgical tradition, with all the great diversity this implies (the rite in northern Calabria, for instance, did not correspond to the rite in Salento). This must be recognized and taken into account, since we should be aware that this represents local characteristics and should not be interpreted as a general paradigm. However, it is also true that southern Italy is highly important for the study of the *Euchologia* manuscript

tradition, since prayer books copied in this region are extant in a considerable number (and not only from the 8th to the 10th century) and they are often ‘easily recognizable’ – even without the presence of a colophon – from the writing, and peculiarities in the content.

Back to our manuscripts sample, all ten *Euchologia* are made up of *quaterniones*. Their text is displayed continuously; it is not possible to identify blocks of text (liturgies, rites, prayers) which were with certainty transmitted individually before the late 8th century. On the contrary, the opposite seems to be more plausible, and one example is given by the occasional prayers: in the ten manuscripts they are always scattered across different places. The presence of occasional prayers in a single, distinct block in a manuscript, delimited by a title or by decorative elements, seems to appear for the first time in the late 11th century. It is more feasible to study the arrangement and disposition of the occasional prayers when they become more stable and acquire a more defined pattern, as we have seen with the Salentine prayer books, which date to the late 12th century. This might indicate that in the earliest *Euchologia* the material was still quite ‘unorganized’, and was given a more organic shape only after some centuries.

Between Incantation and Prayer: Guardian Angels in Amulets, *Euchologia*, and Canonical Texts

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ABSTRACT

The limited role attributed to angels is a striking feature of early *Euchologion* prayers. In the relatively few instances they are mentioned, angels are not guardians and protectors of humans, but ministering spirits attending to the celestial liturgy at the throne of God. This comes to sharp contrast with other Late Antique and Medieval devotional practices, such as amulets and incantations, in which angels are ubiquitous. In the present article I examine the absence of guardian angels in the early *Euchologia* and argue that the latter are part of broader efforts from church authorities in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Ages to regulate worship and devotion and draw a line between what was seen as rational, orthodox liturgical practice on the one side, and idolatry or magic or superstition on the other side.

Sometime in the 16th century, an anonymous scribe wrote the codex now preserved at Saint John the Theologian's monastery, Patmos, under the shelf-mark 689. It is an *Euchologion*, that is, a liturgical book containing prayers to be used by the priest.¹ Among the liturgy and other services and prayers, this Patmos codex includes the following text, titled 'prayer for breast pain': 'Michael Gabriel Uriel Sabaoth Adonai, stop the pain of the breasts of the servant of God NN, through the Cherubim and Seraphim and the underlying charaktères in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.² The

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¹ For a general introduction on the *Euchologia* and their social function see Claudia Rapp's contribution to the present volume (p. 5-16), and *ead.*, 'Methodological Observations and First Results', in Claudia Rapp *et al.*, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211, 173-82.

² Codex Patm. 689, f. 114v: Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ Οὐριήλ Σαβαώθ Ἄδωναέ (lege Ἄδωνάϊ)· παύσατε τὸν πόνον τῶν μασθῶν τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ δεῖνα· διὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ Σεραφὶμ καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων χαρακτήρων εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

diction sounds familiar to anyone acquainted with Late Antique amulets such as the following, which is dated to the 6th century: ‘Holy God, Gabriel, Michael, give me, Megas, satisfaction’.³

In the *Euchologia*, however, such prayers are the exception. Although texts that share common features with incantations are sometimes transmitted in *Euchologia*, either forming part of the original manuscript or, more often, added by a later hand, the typical *Euchologion* prayer has a standardized structure: the priest speaking in the first-person plural addresses God in the name of the community. The prayer begins by addressing God, continues by the recollection of a biblical event (anamnesis), the supplication for the concern of the present prayer (epiklesis), and the doxology. This structure goes back to Jewish communal prayers.⁴ As in Jewish communal prayers, angels are rare in the *Euchologion* prayers. When angels do get mentioned in the *Euchologion*, they are ministering spirits and celestial hosts. For example, we may have some prayers addressing God as ‘God of the hosts’, ‘Lord Sabaoth’, ‘God, who sits upon the cherubim and is given glory by the seraphim’ or similar, particularly in prayers for the daily circle, baptism or the Eucharist.⁵ However, it is rare – and never in the occasional prayers – that protection through angels is sought: in the pre-baptismal ‘prayer to make a catechumen’, God is asked to ‘attach to his (*sc.* the catechumen’s) life a bright angel who saves him from every plot of the opponent’.⁶ In one prayer of the hours the priest prays ‘order your holy angels to guard us in all our ways’.⁷ In one prayer of Genuflexion on Pentecost the priest asks God to ‘introduce everyone to your holy abodes through your bright angels’.⁸ In a formula found in the prayer for the blessing of the baptismal water and the water of Theophany, the priest asks God to make the water ‘full

³ Robert Walter Daniel and Franco Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum I-II* (Opladen, 1991-1992), II 61. See Theodore de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian. Artefacts, Scribes and Contexts* (Oxford, 2017), 126-7. See also de Bruyn’s contribution in the present volume, p. 103-14.

⁴ Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (Berlin, New York, 1977). On structure and function of the *Euchologion*-prayers see Eirini Afentoulidou, ‘Zwischen Liturgie und Magie: Die byzantinischen Gebete zum Wochenbett’, in Claudia Rapp, Elisabeth Schiffer and Eirini Afentoulidou, ‘Das Wiener Euchologien-Projekt: Anlassgebete als Quelle zur Sozial- und Alltagsgeschichte. Drei Fallbeispiele’, *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 24/2 (2019) (<https://doi.org/10.1515/mial-2019-0038>, open access).

⁵ Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων (in a Prayer of the Hours). *L’eucologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, ed. Miguel Arranz (Rome, 1996), 103, prayer pri:6, l.1 *et passim*; Κύριε Σαβαώθ (in a baptismal exorcism). *Id.*, *L’eucologio* (1996), 177, prayer B2:4, l. 1 *et passim*; Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καθεζόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφὶμ δοξαζόμενος (in a prayer of the Hours). *Id.*, *L’eucologio* (1996), 57, prayer tri:1, l. 1-2, and 100, pri:1, l. 1-2.

⁶ σύζευξον τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον φωτεινὸν ῥυόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου. M. Arranz, *L’eucologio* (1996), 178, prayer B3, l. 14-5.

⁷ ἔντειλαι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἀγγέλοις τοῦ διαφυλάξαι ἡμᾶς ἐν πᾶσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἡμῶν. M. Arranz, *L’eucologio* (1996), 59, prayer tri:4, l. 20-1.

⁸ διὰ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἀγγέλων σου εἰσάγων ἅπαντας εἰς τὰς ἁγίας σου μονὰς. M. Arranz, *L’eucologio* (1996), 125, prayer gon:4, l. 38-9.

of angelic power'.⁹ And this is all one can find about angels as protecting spirits in early *Euchologia*, as edited by Miguel Arranz (I use mostly Arranz' edition of the early Constantinopolitan *Euchologion*, despite reservations regarding the ecdotics,¹⁰ because he attempted to reconstruct texts close to the time and milieu relevant for this article). In these prayers the addressee is still God, not the angels: it is God, who is asked to send an angel. Moreover, we never encounter names of individual angels.

This distinct angelology of the *Euchologion*, which comes in sharp contrast to the invocation of angels in other traditions of seeking divine protection in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, is the starting point of this article. A search for texts discussing the place of angels in worship is not very yielding. The most explicit texts are Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea and a comment thereon by Theodoret of Cyrus, and a homily by Severus of Antioch. In the following I will discuss these texts in conjunction with the presence of angels in early *Euchologia* and in amulets, and I will argue that the *Euchologion* is part of a conscious attempt from the part of the institutional Church to draw a line between Orthodoxy and what was deemed as magic/superstition/idolatry in addressing everyday issues.

The Council of Laodicea

The belief in the existence of angels, in its many nuances and manifestations, was one of the elements that Early Christianity took from Judaism. As is the case with many Jewish beliefs and practices, the canonical books of the Hebrew Bible were only one of many vehicles, through which various ideas about angels were transferred to Christianity. Angels as protective powers were absent from Jewish and Christian communal prayers, as already mentioned, but they were particularly popular in amulets and incantations that used, at least in part, Judaeo-Christian terminology – even if the religious affiliation of those who commissioned, created or used them is far from sure.¹¹

There are indications that Church authorities in Late Antiquity saw some devotional practices involving angels as being close to idolatry.¹² In the second

⁹ ποιήσον αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ ὕδωρ) ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον. M. Arranz, *L'eucologio* (1996), 183, prayer B5:2-3, l. 13 and p. 202, prayer T4a:3, l. 13.

¹⁰ See Valerio Polidori, 'L'edizione delle fonti liturgiche greche: una questione di metodo', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 10 (2014), 173-97.

¹¹ See Th. de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian* (2017), 115-6 *et passim*.

¹² Rangar Cline, *Ancient Angels. Conceptualising Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (Leiden, Boston, 2011), esp. chapter 5, 'Angels of The Spring: Variations on Local Angelos Veneration and Christian Reaction', 105-36, and chapter 6, 'Angels of a Christian God: Christian Angelos Veneration in Late Roman Anatolia', 137-66.

half of the fourth century a council convened in Laodicea to regulate issues pertaining mainly to worship issued Canon 35 which reads:

It is forbidden for Christians to abandon the church of God and to depart, invoke angels, and hold gatherings. Therefore, if someone should be discovered taking part in this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he has abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and entered into idolatry.¹³

It is not clear what exactly the cult condemned in Canon 35 was, but apparently the bishops who convened in Laodicea regarded aspects of the devotion to angels as being close to idolatry. The Greek term here translated as ‘invoke’ is *ὀνομάζειν*, literally ‘to name’: the names of individual angels were a feature that distinguished the angelology of amulets and incantations throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Theodoret of Cyrus, writing some decades later than the Council of Laodicea, treats Canon 35 as an attempt to address a local problem that arose by excesses regarding the cult of angels: ‘This disease remained for a long time in Phrygia and Pisidia. Indeed, because of this, a synod convened in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by law praying to angels; and even now shrines dedicated to St. Michael are to be seen among them and those near them’.¹⁴ Again, the details of the cult of angels Theodoret refers to are not clear. Yet, he mentions ‘praying to angels’, *i.e.* saying prayers in which the addressee is not God but the angels. Moreover, he mentions an angel by name, notably Michael, whose commemoration entered the mainstream in later Byzantine Christianity. Both these features, the addressee of the prayer and naming individual angels, distinguish incantations from the usual *Euchologion* prayers. Therefore, even if the immediate cause for Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea was a local cult, the invocation of angels as protecting powers was a much broader phenomenon, as innumerable amulets testify. The immediately following canon of Laodicea provides precisely this context:

Canon 36: Priests and clerics shall not be magicians or enchanters, nor fortune-tellers nor astrologers, neither shall they make so-called ‘phylacteries’, which are prisons for their souls. We command that those wearing them be cast out of the Church.¹⁵

¹³ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανούς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν, ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴ τις οὖν εὐρεθῆι ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεία σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεία προσῆλθεν. Périklès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline générale antique IX, T. 1/2: Les canons des synodes particuliers (IV^e-IX^e s.)* (Grottaferata, 1962), 144-5. English translation by R. Cline, *Ancient Angels* (2011), 143. See also Émil Amann, ‘Laodicée (Concile de)’, in Alfred Vacant, Eugène Mangenot and Émil Amann (eds), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 8/2 (Paris, 1925), 2611-5.

¹⁴ Ἐμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ. Οὗ δὲ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας, νόμῳ κεκόλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ’ ἐκείνους καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκείνων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, PG 82, 613. English translation by R. Cline, *Ancient Angels* (2011), 137.

¹⁵ Περὶ τῶν ἐπιφωδῶν ἢ φυλακτηρίων χρωμένων. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικοῦς ἢ κληρικοῦς μάγους ἢ ἐπαιδοῦς εἶναι ἢ μαθηματικοῦς ἢ ἀστρολόγους, ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια,

The canons of Laodicea leave many questions open, which exceed the scope of this article, but they testify to the fact that their authors associated some devotional practices related to angels with idolatry. And this was put into the context of the common condemnation of magic, incantations, and use of amulets by priests.

Besides the prohibition of practices related to the devotion of angels, the Council attempted to regulate issues pertaining to the performance of rites that are also found in the contents of the earliest *Euchologia*, such as baptism, the Eucharist, ordinations and admission of ‘heretics’ into the Orthodox church:

Canon 5. Ordinations are not to be performed in the presence of hearers.¹⁶

Canon 7. Novatians and Photinians, and Quartodecimans, unless they anathematize their own and other heresies, are not to be received. When they have been anointed, after their abjuration, let them communicate.¹⁷

Canon 48. They who are baptized must after Baptism be anointed with the heavenly chrism, and be partakers of the Kingdom of Christ.¹⁸

Canon 49. During Lent the Bread must not be offered except on the Sabbath Day and on the Lord’s Day only.¹⁹

Moreover, the Council of Laodicea was concerned with the books to be used in communal worship:

Canon 15. No others shall sing in the Church, save only the canonical singers, who go up into the ambo and sing from a book.²⁰

ἄτινά ἐστι δεσμοτήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς δὲ φοροῦντας ρίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 145. English translation by R. Cline, *Ancient Angels* (2011), 143.

¹⁶ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 132.

¹⁷ Περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αἰρέσεων, τοῦτέστι ναυατιακῶν ἤτοι φωτεινιανῶν ἢ τεσσαρεισκαϊδεκατιτῶν, ἐπιστρεφόμενους εἴτ’ οὖν κατηχουμένους εἴτε πιστοὺς μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, πρὶν ἀναθεματίσαι πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν, ἐξαίρετως δὲ ἐν ἧ κατείχοντο· καὶ τότε λοιπὸν τοὺς λεγομένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς πιστοὺς ἐκμαθάνοντας τὰ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολα, χρισθέντας τε τῷ ἁγίῳ χρίσματι, οὕτω κοινωνεῖν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 133. The rite for converts coming from ‘heresies’ that includes anathematization of the old faith and anointment is edited in M. Arranz, *L’eucologio* (1996), 262-5. See also Elisabeth Schiffer, ‘Returning to the Fold: Observations on Prayers for Muslim Apostates in Byzantine Euchologia’, in Claudia Rapp *et al.*, ‘Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life’ (2017), 173-211, 196-200.

¹⁸ Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα χρίεσθαι χρίσματι ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ μετόχους εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 150.

¹⁹ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 150.

²⁰ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πλὴν τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἐτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 136.

Canon 59. Psalms of private origin, or books uncanonical are not to be sung in temples; but the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments.²¹

It is not clear what exactly the psalms of private origin or the uncanonical books are. In any case what we have here is an early attempt to regulate what type of texts and books are suitable for worship, and make sure that only they are used.

Excuse: The Council in Trullo

Three centuries after the Council of Laodicea, the Council *in trullo* was called in the year 692. The Council did not touch the issue of angels, but pertained to questions of clerical ordinations, worship, and order. Several canons of the Council *in trullo* correspond to content found in the *Euchologion*. Canon 95 on the admission of heretics, for example, which expands the aforementioned canon 7 of Laodicea, is quoted quite faithfully, albeit unacknowledgedly, in the *Euchologia*, accompanying the rites for the admission of heretics.²² Moreover, canon 28 concerns the offering of first grapes at harvest time in church: ‘With regard to the offering of grapes as first fruits, the priests may bless them apart [from the offering of the oblation] and distribute them to such as seek them as an act of thanksgiving to him who is the giver of the fruits by which our bodies are increased and fed according to his divine decree’.²³ It is not specified how this separate blessing should look like, but a blessing of grapes and/or first fruit in general is included in most *Euchologia*.²⁴

The councils of Laodicea and *in trullo* have been discussed extensively as attempts to regulate religious life and worship.²⁵ What I suggest here is that *also* the liturgical book of *Euchologion*, the earliest extant copy of which dates about a century after the council *in trullo* (codex Vat. Barb. gr. 336, late

²¹ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. P.-P. Joannou, *Canons des synodes particuliers* (1962), 154.

²² Text and English translation: George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, *The Council in Trullo Revisited* (Rome, 1995), 174-7.

²³ Canon 28: Ἐπειδὴ ἐν διαφόροις ἐκκλησίαις μεμαθήκαμεν, σταφυλῆς ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφερομένης κατὰ τι κρατήσαν ἔθος τοὺς λειτουργοὺς ταύτην τῇ ἀναμάκτῳ τῆς προσφορᾶς θυσίᾳ συνάπτοντας οὕτω ἅμα τῷ λαῷ διανέμειν ἀμφοτέρα, συνείδομεν ὥστε μηκέτι τοῦτο τινα τῶν ἱερωμένων ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ζωοποίησιν καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ τῆς προσφορᾶς μόνης μεταδιδόναι, ὡς ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὴν τῆς σταφυλῆς λογιζομένους προσένεξιν ἰδικῶς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐδλογοῦντας τοῖς αἰτοῦσι ταύτης μεταδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δοτῆρος τῶν καρπῶν εὐχαριστίαν, δι’ ᾧν τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ὅρον αὔξει τε καὶ ἐκτρέφεται. G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone, *Council in Trullo Revisited* (1995), 35-6.

²⁴ See M. Arranz, *L'eucologio* (1996), 361 and 393.

²⁵ See for example Judith Herrin, “Femina Byzantina”: The Council in Trullo on Women’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 97-105.

8th century), is part of this effort. In particular the occasional prayers can be seen in this light: the *Euchologion* contains what Orthodox Christians, who worship rationally and refrain from magic, should do when a child is born (initiation prayers for the 8th and 40th day, from the 15th century also prayers for the day of birth),²⁶ when they want to bless their house (prayers for a house, for building a house, for a haunted house),²⁷ when they offer first fruits (prayer for those who offer fruit),²⁸ when they sacrifice animals,²⁹ when they pray for rain and good weather³⁰ – in other words, on occasions, for which there was already a rich tradition of customary ritual practices.

Severus of Antioch

The uneasiness with aspects of the cult of angels on the part of church authorities, and their association with idolatry, is expressed by Severus, the anti-chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, in a Homily delivered in 514 or 515. The homily is titled ‘On the deposition of the holy bodies of the saints and martyrs Procopius and Phocas in the Church called after Michael’.³¹

Severus begins by attacking the cult of angels practiced, in his words, by Jews and Pagans, and some Christians. He claims that Pagans honour angels as gods. To this he juxtaposes what he praises as the true Christian position, supported by several scriptural passages, that angels do not have power of their own, but are God’s creation and his ministering spirits. He continues by arguing that saints are equals to angels, and this brings him to his main point: it is proper to translate the relics of the martyrs Procopius and Phocas to the Church, where the archangel Michael is worshiped, and thus mix old custom with orthodox faith, as a means to christianise the former. He finds a parallel to this in the Old Testament:

God acted also in this way towards the Israelites who were prone to *idolatry*, since he permitted them to offer sacrifice, but to none other than himself alone; and he mingled with the sacrifices the symbols of *rational and evangelic ministry*, and left behind some small element of *ancient custom* to draw them towards the truth, and to rob those to

²⁶ M. Arranz, *L'eucologio* (1996), 169-71.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 362-5.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 361.

²⁹ Elena Velkovska and Stefano Parenti, *Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336* (Omsk, 32011), 426 and 431. See also Béatrice Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance* (Paris, 2015), 158-60; Vitaly Permiakov, ‘“Thine Own of Thine Own”: Prayers for Animal Sacrifice in Byzantine and Non-Byzantine Euchologia’. Paper presented at the 17th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 2015.

³⁰ M. Arranz, *L'eucologio* (1996), 140-1.

³¹ PO 12, 71-89. English translation: Pauline Allen and Robert C.T. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch. The Early Church Fathers* (London, New York, 2004), 126-35.

whom some of this custom had been left and in some way to equip himself with this custom.³²

Again, it is difficult to reconstruct what the angel-related practices were, against which Severus polemicized, but it is clear that he juxtaposed rational ministry to idolatry and ancient custom, comparing the latter with certain practices of his time that assigned independent agency to angels. Severus' angelology is the angelology of the *Euchologion*, with the angels attending to the Celestial Liturgy at God's throne. It is tempting to relate the angelology he attacks with the angelology of amulets and incantations quoted at the beginning of this article.

Guardian Angels in the *Euchologion*

Although the dissemination of the *Euchologion* was decentralised – *Euchologia* were copied all over Byzantine Christianity without any official instance controlling the contents, its discourse remained remarkably constant. This is not to say that the content and the wording of the *Euchologion* was fixed and unchanged. On the contrary, hardly any *Euchologion* is identical to another. The services and prayers included, their order, as well as the text and the accompanying notes vary from manuscript to manuscript – although the degree of textual variation itself depends highly on the kind of text: what we (anachronistically) call 'sacramental services' have a fairly homogeneous textual tradition, whereas the text of the occasional prayers testifies to a certain degree of liberty to improvise. But still, the *Euchologion* prayers typically share the formal features briefly exposed at the beginning of this article. This indicates that by all variation, there was a high degree of consensus through the centuries as to how an *Euchologion* prayer had to look like, and this was based on experience and internalisation of implicit rules.

Thus, the *Euchologia* were very reluctant to adopt elements ascribing protecting power rather than ministry to angels, although the prohibition of Laodicea was soon forgotten (it was not repeated in the Council *in trullo* and not commented in later centuries) and although from the 6th century onwards the role of angels as protectors in the private sphere consolidated in Byzantine Orthodox Christianity.³³ Prayers invoking angels, mostly unnamed, appear only sporadically, and rather in later *Euchologia*. These prayers pertain to issues often addressed in customary practices: fever, migraine, gynaecological concerns, animal diseases, bugs attacking the crops, etc. In the course of the research carried

³² P. Allen and R.C.T. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (2003), 133. The emphasis is mine.

³³ Allen, Pauline, 'Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End of the Beginning?', in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?*, Byzantina Australiensia 10 (Brisbane, 1996), 163-75.

at the Vienna *Euchologia* project, we have found so far three 16th-century *Euchologia* with prayers against migraine concluding with the formula: ‘Let us stand aright, let us stand in awe’ (στῶμεν καλῶς· στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου).³⁴ This phrase, attributed to the Archangel Michael, is common in protective amulets and incantations. However, it also refers to the ministering role of the angels, and has a prominent place in the Eucharist, as it is pronounced aloud announcing the anaphora prayer.³⁵ This is an indication that for the authors and beneficiaries of these incantations the demarcation line between angels as ministering spirits and angels as protecting powers with an agency of their own was not so sharp, as it was for Severus of Antioch. Moreover, there is the one 16th-century *Euchologion* containing the prayer against breast pain quoted at the beginning of this article and another prayer for a woman having a difficult birth, both mentioning angels.³⁶ A 15th-century *Euchologion* has a fly-leaf with a prayer for a child with learning difficulties, which includes a list of named angels. Tellingly, a later hand commented in the margins: “Lord, burn whoever first wrote these lies; for we have the names of only four angels conveyed by the Holy Scripture”.³⁷ Five further *Euchologia* contain versions of the so-called Saint Tryphon’s prayer, in which Saint Tryphon threatens the bugs attacking the crops that an angel will come and exterminate them.³⁸ One *Euchologion* contains a version of the so-called Saint Mamas’ prayer, in which angels drive the illness away from the herds.³⁹ Incidentally, the Saint Tryphon and Saint Mamas prayers introduce a further element absent in most *Euchologion* prayers, viz. the protection through the power of saints – which is not the same as ascribing a prayer to a revered saintly author.⁴⁰ The absence of the saints’ or Mary’s intercession in the *Euchologion* prayers exceeds the scope of this article, but it is a question worth pursuing.

All these prayers have features, besides the mention of angels, which are not typical of *Euchologion* prayers but rather belong to the realm of amulets and incantations: the voice is not that of the priest in the name of the community, but of another persona (e.g. St. Tryphon); this voice does not ask God to do something, but addresses and commands the evil directly; they do not conclude with a doxology; they can be concrete and detailed in the concerns they address,

³⁴ Patm. 690, f. 179r; Vat. gr. 2032 (a. 1549), f. 199r, col. 2 – 199v, col. 1; Vat. gr. 2052 (a. 1551), f. 140r.

³⁵ E. Velkovska and S. Parenti, *Evchologij Barberini* (2011), 274.

³⁶ Patm. 689, both prayers on f. 114v.

³⁷ Codex Dresdensis SLUB A.151 (16th century), f. 1v.

³⁸ Patm. 811; Patm. 763; Athen. Benaki Museum 64; Athen. Benaki Museum 72; Paris. gr. 1152. See also Margaret Dimitrova, ‘Молитвите на св. Трифон в требник № 167 от Хилендарския манастир’, in *Светци и свети места на Балканите*, vol. 2 (Sofia, 2013), 328-51.

³⁹ Patm. 689, f. 120r-120v.

⁴⁰ See Ilias Nesseris’ contribution to the present volume, p. 89-101.

in contrast to the vague wording of the *Euchologion* (e.g. fever or migraine vs. illness in general; lists of bugs vs. prayer for a field).

It is in the 15th century that an occasional prayer asking God to send a guardian angel gains popularity, as it is transmitted in many manuscripts and is even included in printed *Euchologia* currently in use by the Orthodox Church. It is a prayer for the day of birth – again an issue, for which people often asked for divine help through various religious practices.⁴¹ The prayer has all the typical elements of an *Euchologion* prayer. And yet, it introduces elements rare or absent in the older *Euchologion* prayers: the (unnamed!) guardian angel, and protection from demonic influence, which may take the concrete form of sorcery and the evil eye. The text reads as follows:

Lord, our God, who was born from the holy Theotokos, the ever-virgin Mary, and was laid on the manger as a child, and appeared as an infant, have mercy upon this (female) servant of yours NN, who gave birth today. Forgive her deliberate and non-deliberate sins and guard her from every contrivance of the devil. Preserve the child born from her from every sorcery, from every hardship, from every distress coming from the opponent, from evil spirits of the day and the night. Preserve her under your mighty hand and grant her quick recovery. Purify her pollution; heal the pains; grant, Lover of humans, strength to her body and soul; *guard her by your bright angels* and preserve her from every attack of the invisible opponents. Yes, Lord, (guard her) from illness and weakness, from envy and the evil eye; and have mercy upon her and the child, according to your great mercy. Purify her from the bodily pollution and from the various internal troubles; lead her out (of danger) by your quick mercy (demonstrated) in her humble body and raise her. And make the child gestated by her worthy to worship you in the church, which you prepared so that your name is praised. For to you is due all glory etc.⁴²

⁴¹ See Eirini Afentoulidou, 'The childbed prayers in the Byzantine Euchologia: Preliminary notes', in Claudia Rapp *et al.*, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life' (2017), 173-211, 200-4.

⁴² Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τεχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς παναχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· καὶ ὡς νήπιον ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακληθεὶς, καὶ ὡς βρέφος ἀναδειχθεὶς· αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν παρούσαν δούλην σου τὴν σήμερον τέξασαν τὸ παρὸν παιδίον, ἐλέησον, καὶ συγχώρησον τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια αὐτῆς πταίσματα, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτήν, ἀπὸ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννίδος, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς κηθὲν νήπιον διατήρησον, ἀπὸ πάσης φαρμακίας, ἀπὸ πάσης χαλεπότητος, ἀπὸ πάσης ζάλης τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ἀπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν, ἡμερινῶν τε καὶ νυκτερινῶν. ταύτην δὲ διατήρησον ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτὴν ταχεῖαν ἐξανάστασιν καὶ τοῦ ῥύπου κάθαρρον, καὶ τοὺς πόνους θεράπευσον, καὶ ῥῶσιν καὶ εὐρωστίαν, ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι δώρησαι, καὶ δι' ἀγγέλων σου φαιδρῶν καὶ φωτεινῶν, ταύτην περιθάλῃον, καὶ περιφροῦρησον, ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπελεύσεως τῶν ἀοράτων πονηρῶν. Ναὶ Κύριε· ἀπὸ νόσου καὶ μαλακίας, ἀπὸ ζήλου, καὶ φθόνου, καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν βασκανίας· καὶ ἐλέησον αὐτήν καὶ τὸ βρέφος κατὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος. καὶ καθάρισον αὐτήν ἀπὸ σωματικοῦ ῥύπου, καὶ τῶν ποικίλων αὐτῇ ἐπερχομένων σπλαγχνικῶν ἐνοχλήσεων καὶ ἔξασον αὐτήν διὰ τῆς ταχινῆς σου ἐλεημοσύνης, ἐν τῷ ταπεινῷ αὐτῆς σώματι εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς κηθὲν νήπιον ἀξίωσον προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἐπίγειον ναὸν, ὃν ἠτοίμασας ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν. *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, ed. Jacques Goar (Venice, ²1730, repr. Graz, 1960), 261.

Concluding Remarks

In this article I attempted to shed light into the function of the early *Euchologion* in the lives of Christian communities by concentrating on angels in Christian devotion. Already the earliest *Euchologia*, dating from the late 8th century, have a distinct angelology, which differentiates them from other Christian devotional practices. Very few other texts explicitly comment on the cult of angels, implicitly endorsing the same angelology as practiced in the *Euchologion*. These date from the late 4th to the early 6th century and represent efforts from ecclesiastical authorities to draw a line between what was seen as rational, orthodox liturgical practice on the one side, and idolatry or magic or superstition on the other side. The right practice would be liturgical devotion directed exclusively to God, mediated by ordained priests, and codified in the canonical books of the Orthodox Church. There is hardly any place for protecting powers with an agency of their own. The efforts to regulate religious practice culminated in the Council *in trullo*. The Council *in trullo*, while reinforcing and expanding some of the Canons of Laodicea, did not touch the issue of the cult of angels. Yet, I included it in the present article, as there are parallels in the contents and even verbatim quotations between the Canons in Trullo and the *Euchologion*. I suggest, therefore, that the development of the *Euchologion* is part of the Church's efforts in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Ages to regulate worship.⁴³

The discourse of the *Euchologion* is one of many voices that shaped Byzantine Christianity.⁴⁴ Not everyone who identified themselves as Christians would share the view of the *Euchologion* prayers, or the Canons of Laodicea and *in trullo*, or of Severus of Antioch, as to what idolatry and magic is, and this is particularly true regarding the role of angels. In the course of time the angels' role as protectors in the private/personal realm became generally accepted in Byzantine Christianity, although the uneasiness with naming specific angels besides Michael and Gabriel remained. Moreover, the *Euchologion* evolved in the course of the centuries, with a tendency to expand its scope to include more concerns from the private sphere. This led to the sporadic adoption of references to the angels as guardians in later *Euchologia*. Yet, these changes notwithstanding, the liturgical discourse of the *Euchologion* largely remained distinct and recognisable, as it had crystallised in the centuries leading to the Council of *trullo*.

⁴³ See Ágnes Michálykó-Tothné's paper presented at the 18th International Conference on Patristic Studies ('The Earliest *Euchologia* on Papyrus: Bishops, Orthodoxy, and the Regulation of Liturgical Prayer').

⁴⁴ On the liturgical discourse regarding afterlife and judgement, as opposed to non-liturgical traditions within Byzantine Orthodoxy, see Vasileios Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium. The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy and Art* (New York, 2017).

First-Person Prayers Attributed to the Church Fathers

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ABSTRACT

The numerous Byzantine and Post-Byzantine *euchologia* may some times transmit along with the Eucharistic liturgies other sacramental rites and the ‘occasional’ prayers – that were primarily concerned with a large array of different necessities and instances in the everyday life of the communities in which they were used – a small number of prayers that are commonly attributed to various Church Fathers, especially to Basil the Great and John Chrysostom. In stark contrast to the ‘occasional’ prayers the latter, usually penitential in character, do not address a communal need, but a strictly personal one. This is denoted not only by the obvious use of the first person singular throughout their text, but also by the lack of any mediation, which in the case of ‘occasional’ prayers is performed by the local priest or bishop.

The aim of the present paper is firstly to give a brief overview of the state of research in this field and consequently address the issue of authorship for a number of these first-person prayers, mainly exorcisms, while also tackling the matter of their function, interpretation and contextualization within a liturgical as much as a literary framework.

1. Introduction

The distinction between the genuine and the spurious works of some of the great Church Fathers has long been a thorny subject and one that has tantalized generations of scholars ever since the Renaissance (for example, the names of Erasmus, Henry Savile and Bernard de Montfaucon come easily to mind here).¹

¹ For Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) and his working method see Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983), 112-93. Very useful are also the contributions in the volume edited by Erica Rummel, *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden, Boston, 2008). Henry Savile (1549-1622) in his monumental edition of the works of St John Chrysostom (*Τῶν ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὶς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου τῶν ἐβρισκομένων*, vol. I-VIII [Eton, 1612]) made the distinction between what he thought at the time were the Father’s genuine and spurious works; see the heading in vol. VII, p. 221: ‘Χρυσσοστόμῳ ἐπιγραφόμενα. Νοθευόμενα δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐπίμειξ ὡς ἔτυχε τεθέντα (= Attributed to Chrysostom. They are falsified, as I think, and are placed in a random order)’. Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) was able to identify even more spurious

It appears that the Byzantines themselves were also aware about this issue on some level. For instance, Sylvester Syropoulos, the *Grand Ecclesiarch* of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, during the Council of Florence made an explicit reference to the difficulty many of his fellow Greek scholars had in deciding whether a work of John Chrysostom was genuine or not despite their familiarity with his writings, as he records in his *Memoirs* (IX, § 7).² Even before that, at the turn of the 13th century, Constantine Stilbes,³ the bishop of Cyzicus and a former teacher at the so-called ‘Patriarchal School’, composed a rather brief, but clear and ingenious treatise on how to tell apart genuine orations of John the Chrysostom from spurious ones,⁴ yet this work has so far attracted much less attention than it merits. Stilbes warned that the antiquity of a manuscript containing works attributed to the Chrysostom might not always be a safe guide concerning the authenticity of the said works and then he described some of the possible motives for falsification.⁵ From there he went on to expound on the way that the careful and knowledgeable reader can diagnose the authenticity of the orations in question. That can be achieved, he wrote, by examining whether the concepts, the style and the vocabulary used by the author, the rhetorical schemata employed and the rhythm are similar to those of Chrysostom or not; besides, Stilbes clarified that all suspicious works should be measured against some of the more well-known genuine works of the Church Father, such as his

works attributed to Chrysostom, see his erudite edition entitled *Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Opera quae exstant, vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur*, vol. I (Paris, 1718). Before that, de Montfaucon undertook the herculean task of distinguishing between the genuine and dubious/spurious works of another early Church Father, St Athanasius; he printed the latter in a separate volume, the 2nd of his edition entitled *Sancti Athanasii archiep. Alexandrini Opera omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur* (Paris, 1698). For the philological method he employed in his editions see Brigitte Mondrain, ‘Bernard de Montfaucon et l’étude des manuscrits grecs’, *Scriptorium* 66 (2012), 281-316, esp. 288-93.

² V. Laurent, *Les ‘Mémoires’ du grand ecclésiarque de l’Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, Concilium Florentinum/Documenta et Scriptores 9 (Rome, 1971), 440.16-26. For Syropoulos see now Fotini Kondyli, Vera Andriopoulou, Eirini Panou and Mary B. Cunningham (eds), *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 16 (Farnham, Burlington, 2014).

³ For the teaching career of Stilbes and a complete list of the works he composed see Ilias Nesseris, *Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Ioannina, 2014), vol. I, 212-7; vol. II, 503-7 (no. 194).

⁴ Wolfram Lackner, ‘Eine Abhandlung des Konstantinos Stilbes zum Problem der Pseudo-Chrysostomica’, *JÖB* 34 (1984), 107-21.

⁵ Stilbes tried to give some sensible explanations as to why the works of Chrysostom would be falsified; he attributed the falsifications to three factors: firstly, that already from the time of the Saint’s repose arrogant people started using his name on their works in order to gain more credibility; secondly, his enemies would put his name on other works on purpose, or even inserted foreign parts in his genuine works, trying to discredit his memory; and finally, some naive, not educated people misattributed various works to him on the basis of feeble arguments, see W. Lackner, ‘Eine Abhandlung’ (1984), 118.6-119.13.

homilies on the statues, his many exegetical works on the NT etc. Although the arguments of Stilbes are sound and reasonable, it is self-explanatory that today, more than seven centuries later, we have many more tools at our disposal than the Byzantines had in order to help us navigate the meanders of patristic literature.⁶ And while modern scholarship has certainly picked up momentum over the course of the last decades, not all aspects of the phenomenon have been satisfactorily examined. This is nowhere more evident perhaps than in the case of the prayers attributed to various Church Fathers, and especially to Saints Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom. In fact within the framework of the Vienna Euchologia Project⁷ we have been able to collect a sufficient number of them, albeit only as a by-product of our examination of printed sources or manuscript evidence, since this kind of material does not fall within the category of the occasional prayers, which is the Project's main focus. The present article aims first to give a brief overview of the state of research and then to shed light on matters such as what exactly was the nature of these prayers where the first person is predominantly used, what function they were supposed to fulfil and also whether it is possible to comment on the issue of their authenticity.

2. Exorcisms

A significant portion of these prayers, in which the first-person singular or plural is used, fall within the category of exorcisms. Although there are a few that are transmitted anonymously,⁸ those that occur most frequently and in

⁶ Some of the most obvious *instrumenta studiorum* are naturally the following: P. Chrysostomus Baur, *Initia Patrum Graecorum*, vol. I-II (Vatican, 1955); J.A. de Aldama, S.I., *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 10 (Paris, 1965); *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Corpus Christianorum, vol. I-VI (Turnhout, 1983-2018); Paul Jonathan Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis*, Corpus Christianorum, vol. I-V (Turnhout, 1993-2004). Regarding the works of St Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom immensely useful are also the following manuscript catalogues: J. Mossay, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*, vol. I-VI (Padeborn, Munich, Vienna, Zurich, 1981-1998) and M. Aubineau *et al.*, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, vol. I-VIII (Paris, 1968-2018). One could also mention here the important book of Panagiotis G. Nikolopoulos, *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί* (Athens, 1973).

⁷ The Project's methodology and some preliminary results are presented in Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto and Elisabeth Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life', *JÖB* 66 (2017), 173-211. See also Eirini Afentoulidou, 'Daily Life and Religion: The Vienna Euchologia Project', *Scripta & E-Scripta* 18 (2018), 211-21 and more recently Claudia Rapp, Elisabeth Schiffer and Eirini Afentoulidou, 'Das Wiener Euchologien-Projekt: Anlassgebete als Quelle zur Sozial- und Alltagsgeschichte. Drei Fallbeispiele', *Das Mittelalter* 24.2 (2019), 337-69.

⁸ One such exorcism can be found in cod. Athen. 825 [*Diktyon* 3121], ff. 4v-6r, entitled simply: 'Ἐτέρα εὐχή, inc. Ὁρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, κατὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, ed. Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, tome 1: *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*,

multiple – albeit usually late – manuscripts, are the exorcisms attributed mainly to St John the Chrysostom and Basil the Great; in a few, seldom occasions we do come across other eponymous exorcisms that supposedly came from the pen of Gregory of Nazianzus and a number of other Church Fathers. In the table below I give all the known exorcisms that are hitherto published to the best of my knowledge.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM	<p>1. <i>Εὐχὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὰ αὐτά</i> [= Prayer of the Chrysostom on the same, <i>i.e.</i> on those vexed by unclean spirits], inc.: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ λυτρωσάμενος τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου... [CPG 4710; J.A. de Aldama, <i>Repertorium</i> (1965), 266] – ed. PG 64, 1061 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον sive rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines</i> (Venice, 2nd ed., 1730; repr. Graz, 1960), 581-2 – transmitted by cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 336, ff. 201r-v (§ 206) anonymously under the heading: <i>Εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ χειμαζομένων ὑπ<ὸ> πνευμά<των> ἀκαθάρτων</i>, ed. Elena Velkovska and Stefano Parenti, <i>Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336</i> (Omsk, 32011), 410.</p> <p>2. <i>Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of the same], inc.: Ὁ πᾶσιν ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν ἐπιτιμήσας καὶ δυνάμει ρήματος ἐκδιώξας τὴν λεγεῶνα... [CPG 4711; J.A. de Aldama, <i>Repertorium</i> (1965), 279] – ed. PG 64, 1061-4 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον</i> (1730), 582.</p> <p>3. <i>Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of the same], inc.: Ἐπικαλοῦμεθά σε, Δέσποτα Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, ὕψιστε, ἀπειράτε, εἰρηνικὲ βασιλεῦ... [CPG 4712; J.A. de Aldama, <i>Repertorium</i> (1965), 134] – ed. PG 64, 1064 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον</i> (1730), 582.</p> <p>4. <i>Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of the same], inc.: Τὴν θείαν τε καὶ ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ ἄστεκτον ὀνομασίαν καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν ποιοῦμεν... [CPG 4713; J.A. de Aldama, <i>Repertorium</i> (1965), 481] – ed. PG 64, 1064-8 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον</i> (1730), 582-4.</p>
BASIL OF CAESAREA	<p>1. <i>Εὐχαὶ ἦτοι ἐξορκισμοὶ τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας ὑπὸ δαιμόνων καὶ ἐκάστην ἀσθένειαν</i> [= Prayers of Basil the Great for those afflicted by demons and any kind of sickness], inc.: Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυρίων, ὁ τῶν πυρίνων ταγμάτων δημιουργός... [CPG 2931.1] – ed. PG 31, 1677-80 = J. Goar (1730), 578-9.</p>

Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 36 (Liège, Paris, 1927), 228-30. A similar text is preserved untitled in cod. Vat. gr. 1554 [*Diktyon* 68185], twelfth century, ff. 143r-144r, inc. Ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἀντικείμενον, see Cyrus Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1485-1683* (Vatican, 1951), 141, ed. Fritz Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (Giessen, 1907), 261.6-24. Another prayer is transmitted also without a title in cod. Vat. gr. 1572 [*Diktyon* 68203], 74r-v, inc. Ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι σου, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπιτίθημι τὴν χειρὰ μου ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλον σου ὁ δεῖνα, ed. A. Jacob, 'Un exorcism inédit du Vat. gr. 1572', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37.1 (1971), 244-9, 245-7.

	<p>2. <i>Εὐχή ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of the same], inc.: Ἐξορκίζω σὲ τὸν ἀρχέκακον τῆς βλασφημίας... [CPG 2931.2] – ed. PG 31, 1680-1 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον</i> (1730), 579-80.</p> <p>3. <i>Εὐχή ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of the same], inc.: Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν φώτων... [CPG 2931.3] – ed. PG 31, 1681-4 = J. Goar, <i>Εὐχολόγιον</i> (1730), 580-1.</p>
GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS	<p>1. <i>Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου</i> [= Prayer of St Gregory the Theologian], inc.: Ἐπικαλούμεθά σε, Δέσποτα Θεὲ καὶ πάτερ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... [CPG 3088] – ed. PG 36, cols 733-4.</p> <p>2. <i>Εὐχή ἑτέρα: Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου</i> [= Another prayer of Gregory the Theologian], inc.: Ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, τὰ πονηρά, τὰ γεώδη... [not listed in CPG] – ed. A. Delatte, <i>Anecdota Atheniensia</i> I, 238-42.⁹</p> <p>3. <i>Εὐχή ἑτέρα: Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου</i> [= Another prayer of Gregory the Theologian], inc.: Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ... [not listed in CPG] – ed. A. Delatte, <i>Anecdota Atheniensia</i> I, 242-50.</p>
GREGORY THE MIRACLE-WORKER OF NEOCAESAREA ¹⁰	<p>1. <i>Προσευχή τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ: Ἐξορκισμὸς</i> [= Prayer of St Gregory Thaumaturgos; exorcism], inc.: Ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα... [CPG 1779] – ed. Anselm Strittmatter, 'Ein griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein, MS. Car. C 143b der Zentralbibliothek in Zürich', <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> 26.2 (1932), 127-44, at 129-37.¹¹</p>

⁹ The prayer also appears in Sin. gr. 988 [*Diktyon* 59363], fifteenth century, ff. 234r-240r. Exactly after, ff. 240r-246r, comes the prayer entitled *Εὐχή τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ εἰς ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα* [= Prayer of St Gregory on sick persons and unclean spirits], inc. Ἐπικαλούμεθά σε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ πεσόνα.

¹⁰ There is an interesting exorcism attributed to the saint in Vat. gr. 1538 [*Diktyon* 68169], fifteenth/sixteenth century, ff. 7r-10r = Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 162r-164r: *Εὐχή [...] τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ = Προσευχή τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου* [= Prayer of St Gregory], inc. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀποκάλυψόν μοι ἀγγελικὴν βοήθειαν, see C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 101 and 141 respectively.

¹¹ It has to be stated here that, apart from the Zurich manuscript, the same exorcism can be found in two South-Italian manuscripts as well, namely Grottaferrata Γ.β. XIV (gr. 154) [*Diktyon* 17906], first half of the thirteenth century, ff. 50r-54r = Grottaferrata Γ.β. VI (gr. 152) [*Diktyon* 17898], ff. 79r-83v, bearing a somewhat different title: *Προσευχή τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ πρὸς φυγὴν τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ φυλακτήριον οἴκων* [= Prayer of our Holy Father Gregory Thaumaturgos for the eviction of evil spirits and for safe-guarding houses]; for the first manuscript, which is entirely palimpsested, see Giulia Rossetto, 'Codicological Pathways in Search of Euchologia Palimpsest Manuscripts', in C. Rapp, E. Afentoulidou, D. Galadza, I. Nesseris, G. Rossetto and E. Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books' (2017), 183-91, 188 and n. 73; for the second, *ibid.* 187 and n. 58. See also Theodor Schermann, 'Die griechischen Kyprianosgebete', *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), 303-23, 307. It is also preserved in another five manuscripts: i. Escur. X.IV.6 (gr. 401) [*Diktyon* 15017], of the sixteenth century, ff. 1r-5v, see Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. II: *Códices 179-420* (Madrid, 1965), 329; ii. Athous Vatop. 549 [*Diktyon* 18693], a nomocanon of the eighteenth century, ff. 34r-37r, see Sophronios Eustratiades and monk Arkadios Vatopedinus, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*,

	2. <i>Προσευχή ἄλλη τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ</i> [= Another prayer of St Gregory Thaumaturgos], inc.: Ἐπικαλούμεθά σε, Κύριε, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... [CPG 1780] – ed. A. Strittmatter, ‘Exorzismusbüchlein’ (1932), 141-3. ¹²
ERIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS ¹³	<i>Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου</i> [= <Prayer> of St Eriphanios], inc.: Ἐπικαλούμεθά σε, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ οὐράνιε βασιλεῦ· ἐπικαλούμεθά σε τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν... [CPG 3796] – see PG 43, 537-538.
ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA	<i>Ἐτέρα, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦ μεγάλου</i> [= Another prayer, of St Athanasius the Great of Alexandria], inc.: Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων σου οὐρανῶν... [not listed in CPG; P. Chrysostomus Baur, <i>Initia Patrum Graecorum</i> , I: A-A, Studi e Testi 180 (Vatican City, 1955), 145] – ed. A. Delatte, <i>Anecdota Atheniensia</i> I, 230-38.
EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN	<i>Ἐσχὴ ἑτέρα· τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου</i> [= Another prayer; of our holy Father Ephraim the Syrian], inc.: Ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου Τριάδος... [not listed in CPG; C. Baur, <i>Initia</i> I, 108] – ed. A. Delatte, <i>Anecdota Atheniensia</i> I, 250-62.

Harvard Theological Studies 11 (Paris, London, 1924), 111; iii. Matrit. BNE 4644 (gr. 101) [*Diktyon* 40124], late fifteenth century, ff. 73r-77r, see Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1986), 185; iv. Vat. gr. 1538, ff. 37v-49v, see C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 101; v. Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 148v-155r, see C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 141. For other works of dubious authenticity attributed to St Gregory see Victor Ryssel, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1880), 34-43.

¹² The prayer is transmitted in three more manuscripts: i. Grottaferrata B.a. 23 (gr. 098) [*Diktyon* 17568], item 5, see Antonio Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati* (Tusculani, 1883), 114; ii. *Matritensis BNE 4644*, ff. 71v-73r, see G. de Andrés, *Catálogo* (1986), 185; iii. Vat. gr. 1538, f. 33v, see C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 101.

¹³ Cod. Matrit. BNE 4644 (gr. 101), ff. 78v-79v and Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 158v-160v contain an unpublished so far exorcism of St Epiphanius entitled: *Προσευχή τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων* [= Prayer of St Epiphanius against unclean spirits], inc. Ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε Κύριε ἐπικαλοῦμαι· Θεὲ παντοκράτορ ὕψιστε, see G. de Andrés, *Catálogo* (1986), 185 and C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 141 respectively. Furthermore, in Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV (gr. 308) [*Diktyon* 17896], f. 122r, we find another first-person prayer attributed to the same: *Ἐσχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου, ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅταν ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ κοιμηθῆναι* [= Prayer of St Epiphanius, which is recited by the priest before going to sleep], inc. Δὸς ἡμῖν, Δέσποτα, εἰς ὕπνον ἀπιούσιν, ἀνάπαυσιν σώματος..., but this is only the *Prayer to Jesus Christ* of Antiochus the Monk from the Compline Service, see PG 89, 1489A-C (*Pandectes Scripturae*, Hom. 19). A truncated version is transmitted anonymously in Grottaferrata Γ.β. VII (gr. 16) [*Diktyon* 17899], f. 103r, bearing the title: *Ἐσχὴ ἐπὶ κοιτίης* [= Prayer (recited) before going to sleep], inc. Δὸς ἡμῖν, Δέσποτα ὁ Θεός, τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων ὕπνον ἀναπαύσεως, ed. Gaetano Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)*, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 36 (Thessaloniki, 1982), 143, while the following first-person prayer in the same folio entitled *Ἐσχὴ ἐν τῷ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου* [= Prayer (recited) after rising from sleep], inc. Δόξα σοι, Βασιλεῦ, Θεὲ καὶ κτίστα παντοκράτορ, ὅτι ἠξιώσας με ἐξ ὕπνου ἀναστῆναι, is only one of the prayers from the Midnight Office.

Apart from the exorcisms presented above, one could also mention here those numerous texts that sit on the fence between prayers and apocryphal narrations. For example, such are the exorcisms attributed to various Old Testament figures, such as saint Zachariah or the prophet-king Solomon. Understandably the attribution of a text of this kind to the latter is not at all unexpected due to his association in the Jewish and Christian traditions with magic and more than that, because of his fame as an exorcist.¹⁴ Another person whose association with an exorcism can also be considered quite reasonable is St Cyprian of Antioch, the allegedly former sorcerer converted to Christianity by St Justina [BHG 452-459].¹⁵ These exorcisms can be found in a variety of manuscripts, but one of the most illustrative examples is perhaps the late fifteenth-century Vat. gr. 1538 [*Diktyon* 68169] and 1554 [*Diktyon* 68185] from the twelfth,¹⁶ where they are transmitted along with the other prayers more commonly attributed to the Church Fathers in *euchologia* and other manuscripts, making up thus a corpus of exorcisms and other relevant material.¹⁷

¹⁴ The literature on this topic is enormous, see for example Dennis C. Duling, 'Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David', *The Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975), 235-52; also Jesse Rainbow, 'The Song of Songs and the Testament of Solomon: Solomon's Love Poetry and Christian Magic', *The Harvard Theological Review* 100 (2007), 249-74.

¹⁵ For the fictional story of Cyprian, which has been considered one of the most important forerunners of the legend of Faust, see Theodor Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage* (Erlangen, 1882); Edgar J. Goodspeed, 'The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 19 (1903), 65-82; Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage', *Analecta Bollandiana* 39 (1921), 314-32; Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York, 1965), 41-58.

¹⁶ For the manuscripts see C. Giannelli, *Codices* (1951), 100-9, 135-44; also Ilias Nesseris, 'Schooling Prayers: Some Preliminary Observations', in C. Rapp, E. Afentoulidou, D. Galadza, I. Nesseris, G. Rossetto and E. Schiffer, 'Byzantine Prayer Books' (2017), 204-10, 208 and n. 214.

¹⁷ See for instance the prayer of St Zachariah in Vat. gr. 1538 [*Diktyon* 68169], ff. 49v-55r, inc. Οἱ τριακόσιοι ἄγγελοι οἱ κινουῦντες, while the exorcism of Solomon can be found in ff. 85r-87v, inc. Ὁρκίζω ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα. The latter text has been edited by Athanasius Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina, Pars prior* (Mosquae, 1893), 332-3. Two prayers of St Cyprian have been included in the same manuscript, the one in ff. 94v-98v, entitled: Ἐξορκισμὸς καὶ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Κυπριανοῦ [= Exorcism of the holy martyr Cyprian], inc. Τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Κυριακῇ; the second is a much longer text covering the span of twenty seven folia (116r-142r), entitled simply *Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ* [= Prayer of St Cyprian]. Another exorcism has been edited by T. Schermann, 'Die griechischen Kyprianosgebete' (1903), 311-23. For these and other prayers/exorcisms attributed to St Cyprian of Antioch see BHG 460-461c. It is important to note here that the aforementioned exorcisms should not be confused with the one of the twelfth-century Italo-Greek St Cyprian of Calamizzi (BHG 2089), whose prayer for the sick and those who are vexed by unclean spirits is transmitted in the very same manuscript (ff. 217r-229r), entitled: *Εὐχὴ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυπριανοῦ τοῦ Καλαμιτζίου λεγομένη ἐπὶ ἀρρώστου καὶ εἰς πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα*, ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (1893), 323-7. For the saint see Stephanos Efthymiadis, 'Les saints d'Italie méridionale (IX^e-XII^e s.) et leur rôle dans la société locale', in Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher and Stratis Papaioannou (eds), *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, The Medieval Mediterranean 92 (Leiden, Boston, 2012), 347-72, 363-4.

Regarding the authenticity of the exorcisms attributed to the Church Fathers in particular, they almost certainly constitute pseudepigrapha. The fact that they are not transmitted by the older and most important textual witnesses – with the notable exception of only the first prayer of Chrysostom (see the table above) which is transmitted by Vat. Barb. gr. 336 anonymously – can probably be considered a very strong indication that attests both to their false paternity and perhaps their later development over the course of time. Perhaps the decisive factor for their attribution to these specific Church Fathers, apart of course from the very obvious liturgical connotations in the cases of Basil and John Chrysostom, would be that they were all prolific writers and important theologians, whose work laid the foundations for Byzantine theological thinking and liturgical praxis. Additionally, in the case of St Athanasius of Alexandria perhaps it was his association with Egyptian monasticism, which had a deep-rooted connection with the practice of exorcism, that instigated the attribution of such a prayer to him.¹⁸

The presence of the first-person singular in these prayers carries understandably a certain weight and its purpose is two-fold: on the one hand, the first-person adds considerable authority to the performativity and the ritualistic utterance of these kinds of prayers; on the other, more importantly, it signifies that the divine word, Logos, flows through the person of the priest, who only acts as the mediator, to an afflicted third person.¹⁹ The authority of the first-person can become considerably weaker though, if it is expressed in the objective case – usually when the person uttering the prayer, namely the priest, presents a supplication to God, as for example in the following phrase from an exorcism attributed to Saint Basil: ‘... εἰσάκουσόν μου πόθῳ καὶ φόβῳ κεκραγότες πρὸς σέ...’ (= ... please listen to me (scil. o Lord), who I am crying to you out of desire and fear...).²⁰

As far as their function is concerned, it does not constitute a surprise that the theme of continuity can be detected here, since these prayers do fall in line with the known, customary practices of the ancient world; for instance the abjuration of an unclean or evil spirit with the use of the phrase ὀρκίζω or ἐξορκίζω σε to do or not to do something (in this case stop inflicting harm on a person and exit his/her body) naturally brings to mind all these relevant occurrences in dozens of magical papyri and amulets.²¹ But the similarities extend beyond the use of

¹⁸ Mélanie Houle, ‘The Practice of Exorcism in Egyptian Monasticism: A Popular Panacea? On the Reconciliation of Hagiographical and Magical Texts’, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 7 (2015), 49-60.

¹⁹ See for instance the observations of Patrick D. Miller on intercessory prayers in his monograph *They Cried to the Lord. The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis, 1994), 262-80.

²⁰ PG 31, 1684.

²¹ See Roy Kotansky, ‘Greek exorcistic amulets’, in Marvin Meyr and Paul Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Boston, Leiden, 2001), 242-77; also Theodore de Bruyn,

the verb ὀρκίζω/ἔξορκίζω to other stock phrases and literary constructions. One interesting such example can be seen here in conjunction with a magical text (*imprecatio planetarum*) preserved in Oxon. Holkham 290, an astrological miscellany dating to the fifteenth century.²² Although it is perfectly possible that this manuscript was copied from a much older exemplar, as it was natural and it would in fact very often happen, the late dating of the Oxonian manuscript may give rise to some suspicions as to whether these astrological/magical texts were actually going all the way back to their late antique roots or they were also influenced somewhere along the way by Christian prayers. This could simply be a coincidence and a quirk of the manuscript tradition, but it serves to show that the nature of these texts is after all inextricably intertwined.

Imprecationes planetarum (e cod. Oxon. Holkham. 290, fol. 12r), ed. Stephanus Weinstock, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. IX.2: *Codices Londinenses, Cantabrigienses, bibliothecarum minorum* (Brussels, 1953), 164.3-6

Prayers of Basil the Great for those afflicted by demons and any kind of sickness, ed. PG 31, 1677 = J. Goar, *Ἐξολόγιον* (1730), 578

Προσευχὴ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐν ἣ κυριεύει ἡγουν τῇ παρασκευῇ, <ὥρα α΄>· κύριε καὶ θεὲ τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ πάσης κτίσεως **δημιουργός**, ὁ τῶν **οὐρανίων** καὶ ὑπερουρανίων δημιουργός καὶ **τεχνίτης**...

Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυρίων, ὁ τῶν πυρίνων ταγμάτων **δημιουργός** καὶ τῶν αὐλῶν δυνάμεων τεχνουργός, ὁ τῶν **ἐπουρανίων** καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων **τεχνίτης**...

3. Other first-person prayers

Apart from the exorcisms, there are other prayers to be found in *Euchologia* or other manuscripts containing liturgical material. The most interesting is perhaps the case of the two prayers spoken before the reading or the hearing a recitation of excerpts from the Holy Scriptures. The first of them, considerably shorter in length than the second, is transmitted by more than half a dozen of manuscripts.²³

Ἐσχὴ {Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου} λεγομένη ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἀναγινώσκειν <τινά>, ἢ ἀναγινώσκοντος ἐτέρου ἀκροᾶσθαι.

Prayer of John the Chrysostom uttered when someone is about to read [i.e. the Holy Scripture], or when he is about to hear someone else reading.

Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts (Oxford, 2017) with rich further bibliography.

²² For the manuscript see S. Weinstock, *Catalogus IX.2* (1953), 57-65.

²³ J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium* (1965), 85 (No. 232); ed. PG 63, 923-4.

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἄνοιξον τὰ ὄτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας μου, τοῦ ἀκούειν με τοὺς λόγους σου, καὶ συνιέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, Κύριε, ὅτι Πάροικος ἐγὼ εἶμι ἐν τῇ γῆ. Μὴ ἀποκρύψῃς ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς σου, ἀλλ’ ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, καὶ κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσια ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου. Ἐπὶ σοὶ γὰρ ἐλπίζω, ὁ Θεός μου, ἵνα σὺ μου φωτίσῃς τὴν καρδίαν. O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, open the ears and the eyes of my heart, so that I can heed your words, and perceive and do your bidding, Lord, for I am a resident alien in the land; do not hide your commandments from me (Ps. 118:19), but uncover my eyes and I will put my mind to the wondrous things out of your law (Ps. 118:18).²⁴ I put my trust in you, my God, so that you will enlighten my heart.

When transmitted in liturgical manuscripts it is always assigned to John the Chrysostom, yet it has been shown by Father De Aldama that this prayer is actually an excerpt from a homily of what we conventionally call today “Ephraem Graecus” (*De patientia et de consumatione huius saeculi* etc., CPG 4007);²⁵ it also constitutes part of another pseudo-chrysostomic homily (*De patientia et de consumatione huius saeculi* CPG 4693),²⁶ which in turn largely derives from, or rather faithfully reproduces huge pieces of Ephraem’s homily, as it is evident already from the title itself. It is not certain whether this prayer can be attributed to Saint Ephraem after all, or to be more precise to whomever was behind the Greek translation of his corpus; I would tentatively suggest that what we have here is the case of a prayer that probably circulated anonymously in the early Christian communities and was then incorporated in the homily; this could perhaps explain then why there is no attribution to an author in the homily of ‘Ephraem Graecus’. The appropriation of huge parts of this work by Pseudo-Chrysostomus at a slightly later age, but still during the early byzantine period, probably suffices to explain its widespread attribution to Saint John Chrysostom henceforth.

The second prayer, which deals with the same subject and is quite kindred in spirit with the first, is significantly larger.²⁷ The author, and through his words also the person reciting the prayer, tries to express the lament over his

²⁴ The English translation derives from Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (eds), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York, Oxford, 2007), 607.

²⁵ See also J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium* (1965), 86 (No. 238). The text of Ephraim reads as follows: Ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃς καθεσθῆναι καὶ ἀναγνῶναι, ἢ ἀναγινώσκοντος ἀκούσαι, δεήθητι πρῶτον τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγων· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἄνοιξον τὰ ὄτα ... ἵνα σὺ μου φωτίσῃς τὴν καρδίαν’. Ναί, ἀδελφέ μου, παρακαλῶ, οὔτω πάντοτε εὐχου τῷ Θεῷ, ὅπως φωτίσῃ σου τὸν νοῦν καὶ δηλώσῃ σοὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ (= When you are about to sit and read, or hear someone else reading, pray to God first saying, ‘Lord Jesus Christ, open the ears ... so that you will always enlighten my heart’. Yes my brother, always pray thus to God, so that he will enlighten your mind and declare to you the strength of his words), ed. K.G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιον Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, vol. 4 (Thessalonica, 1992), 155-79, 173.12-174.5.

²⁶ Ed. PG 63, 937-42, 940.57-68.

²⁷ J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium* (1965), 85 (No. 233); ed. PG 63, 923-8.

distress for his faults and short-comings by getting back to the rich well of the *Psalms*; he is not only incorporating entire passages from the *Psalms*, but he is also commemorating the biblical examples of Manasses and David who achieved salvation through repentance.²⁸ Most probably this is also not a genuine work of Saint John the Chrysostom, despite being a skilfully written text, with an elaborate vocabulary, laden with rhetorical schemata and biblical references, and images that recall to mind the style of the Church Father. More than that, notable is also the reference to the concept of God's paternal love for humankind (φιλανθρωπία), a beloved and recurring theme in the chrysostomic corpus, which can make even the impossible happen, namely create a pearl from mud (τοσαύτη τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἢ δύναμις, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ βορβόρου μαργαρίτην ποιεῖν). Bringing back to mind the criteria mentioned in the treatise of Constantine Stilbes, it would initially seem that this prayer fits them all and qualifies for a genuine work of the Church Father; but Savile in his edition already expressed doubts about its authenticity and De Aldama brought to light the evidence of Ambros. H 103 sup. (gr. 444) [*Diktyon* 42878], a manuscript of the twelfth century containing homilies of Basil of Caesarea, where the work is simply entitled *Προσευχὴ Εὐθυμίου*.²⁹ There is indeed a strong intrinsic probability that the prayer could be a work of Euthymios Zigabenus, a renowned theologian and close friend of the emperor Alexios I Comnenus and his daughter Anna, who praised him for his education and his literary skills, while pseudo-Skoutariotes (the text is also known as *Synopsis Sathas*) writing in the next century focused on his sanctity.³⁰ His enormous exegetical activity and profound and intimate knowledge of both the Bible and patristic literature make him indeed a suitable candidate for the authorship of the prayer, plus there is another point that is worth noticing here. Zigabenus was a monk residing in the Monastery of the Virgin Mary in the vicinity of Constantinople, and there is evidence in the text itself suggesting that it was probably used in a monastic environment, since the tone is quite self-deprecatory in accordance with the continuous effort to achieve humility, one of the core monastic values.

These two prayers can be used as showcases to illustrate the example that a meticulous exploration of the textual witnesses as well as a close reading of

²⁸ PG 63, 926: "Ἡμαρτε καὶ Μανασσῆς ἐκεῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόλετο μετανοήσας· ἦμαρτε καὶ Δαυὶδ πρὸ ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν προκλαυσάμενος ἐλεήθη (= And that king, Manasses, sinned, but he was not lost because he repented; David also sinned before him, but lamenting openly about his sin he was shown mercy). For the accusation of one's own self in Byzantine liturgical poetry with almost identical motifs and tropes, see Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects. Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia, 2014), 134-8, 158-63, 164-8.

²⁹ Emidiano Martini and Domenico Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 2 vol. (Milan, 1906; repr. Hildesheim, New York, 1978 [2 vol. in 1]), 536.

³⁰ See Basile Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantines de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), 91-3. For a detailed list of the works of Zigabenus with all the relevant bibliography, see I. Nesseris, *Παίδεια* (2014), vol. II, 196-9 (no. 71).

many prayers attributed to the Church Fathers could bring forth interesting results, and not only for the sole purpose of investigating the authenticity of these texts, but also because it is worth examining in which way the Byzantines could reappropriate them or obversely attribute them to a famous author. There is an interesting example from Ivron 400 [*Diktyon* 23997], a monastic anthology of the year 1439, where right after Thekaras we find a prayer *εἰς ψυχορραγοῦντα*, that is *Prayer for a Soul Being Judged*.³¹ It does not have anything to do with the prayer from the well-known *akolouthia* on the same topic, whose earliest attestation is in Vat. Barb. gr. 336, where it is transmitted anonymously,³² but it is remarkable that in the athonitic manuscript it is attributed to saint Niphon [BHG]. It is logical to assume that here the attribution refers to the saint who lived in the fourth century during the reign of the emperor Constantine I and not to the fourteenth century patriarch of Constantinople, who anyhow never acquired a saintly status.³³ The prayer is not included among the preserved works of the saint, but it seems reasonable that whoever associated the prayer with saint Niphon in the athonitic manuscript certainly did so on account of his knowledge of the *Vision of the Last Judgement* that holds a central role in his *Vita*.³⁴ Admittedly some other cases are somewhat less ingenious, and thus less troublesome. For instance, the attribution of a prayer on the construction of a boat to Chrysostom in cod. Vat. gr. 1811 [*Diktyon* 68440], a South-Italian *euchologion* of the year 1147,³⁵ f. 49r, is imaginative, nevertheless hardly convincing.

There are still many more prayers attributed to a number of Church Fathers in various post-Byzantine manuscripts: they are pre- or post communion prayers, others are intended to be recited after the conclusion of a meal, or they are addressed to a monk with a turbulent sleep, while a sufficient number of them are penitential in character. They are therefore quite introvert prayers and

³¹ See Spyridon Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1900), 142. It must be stated here that my knowledge of the prayer comes from the catalogue. It is reasonable to assume that it can be identified to the one preserved in Vat. gr. 1746 [*Diktyon* 68375], f. 250r, bearing the interesting title: *Προσευχή καὶ ὄδυρος τοῦ ἁγίου Νήφωνος* [= Prayer and mourning of saint Niphon], inc. Οὐαί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, τί περιμένει τῇ ἀθλίᾳ μου ψυχῇ, see Paul Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745-1962* (Vatican City, 1970), 14.

³² Vasileios Marinis, *Death and Afterlife in Byzantium. The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy and Art* (Cambridge, 2017), 108.

³³ For the patriarch see Demetrios Agoritsas, ‘Ὁ οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης Νίφων Α΄ (1310-14)’, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 53 (2007-2009) (= Κατάθεσις εἰς μνήμην τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ Δημητρίου Ζ. Σοφianoῦ), 233-64.

³⁴ See Vasileios Marinis, ‘The Vision of the Last Judgement in the Vita of St. Niphon (BHG 1371z)’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 71 (2017), 193-227. A new critical edition of the *vita* is being prepared by Albrecht Berger *et al.*, according to his (unpubl.) paper at the *Arbeitstagung der deutschen Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Förderung Byzantinischer Studien* (Hamburg, 14.-16. Februar 2019): ‘Bemerkungen zum Bios des heiligen Nephon von Konstantianai’.

³⁵ P. Canart, *Codices* (1970), 186.

petitionary in nature, as the individual reciting or reading them is explicitly referring to a deeply felt personal need to atone for one's sins and achieve forgiveness, thus he/she directly addresses God this time not as a mediator for the salvation of a third person, but him/herself; this understandably accounts for the intense dramatic tone and multitude of the personal overtures. Furthermore, the penitential prayers are apparently conceived within a predominantly monastic framework under the influence perhaps of the great Neptic authors of the late Byzantine period. If this tentative, but plausible hypothesis holds any water, then this might account for the fact that during this era in many a monastic environment anthologies of first-person penitential prayers were compiled.³⁶ This will nevertheless require a meticulous cross-examination of the material contained in all available manuscripts, which in the older catalogues of the nineteenth century were invariably labelled as *Εὐχολόγια*, even by noted palaeographers such as Spyridon Lambros, despite the fact that the term is employed then only in the broadest possible sense, since it does not have anything to do with the liturgical book of the Church.

³⁶ One such manuscript is Ivron 862 [*Diktyon* 24457], which contains a multitude of first-person penitential prayers attributed to a variety of saints, although S. Lambros, *Catalogue* (1900), II, 232, labels it plainly as an *euchologion*.

Occasional Prayers Written by Monks and Visitors at the Monastery of Apa Apollo

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ABSTRACT

While numerous Christian liturgical prayers have survived from the late antique period in Egypt, occasional prayers are less frequently attested. One source of occasional prayers, albeit minimalist in form, are prayers that monks and visitors scratched (graffiti) or painted (*dipinti*) in monastic spaces imbued with the presence of a saint or other intermediaries. This article reviews prayers left in such a space at the Monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit. It describes the typical structure and phraseology of the prayers, and it discusses information gleaned from the prayers about patterns of pilgrimage to the site, the roles and occupations of people named in the room, and the gendered perception of familial and social relations.

The initial impetus for this article came from the *euchologia* project currently under way at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.¹ A team of scholars led by Claudia Rapp is examining all extant manuscripts of Byzantine prayer books prior to 1650 in order to document and investigate the numerous prayers for everyday occasions – ‘occasional’ or ‘small’ prayers – preserved in those manuscripts. These prayers, and the manner in which they are presented in individual manuscripts, could potentially contribute significantly to our understanding of social practices and daily life. But they have been underused as a source for social history because of the expertise required to examine the manuscripts and the difficulties posed by their location in disparate libraries. The *euchologia* project aims to make the prayers more accessible to scholars.

A different problem obtains in the period of Late Antiquity (*circa* 300 to 800 CE), prior to the production of Byzantine prayer books. While the material record from this earlier period, concentrated in Egypt, preserves numerous liturgical prayers,² occasional prayers are infrequently attested. It could be that they were not thought to be sufficiently important to be written down. It could also

¹ For an introduction to the project, see Claudia Rapp, Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, Giulia Rossetto and Elisabeth Schiffer, ‘Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 67 (2017), 173-211.

² See now Ágnes T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 114 (Tübingen, 2019).

be that they were not used as systematically as liturgical prayers. Whatever the reason, their relative scarcity leads one to look elsewhere for evidence of prayers Christians offered in response to recurring concerns or events in their lives. In this article I turn to prayers that Christians etched or painted on surfaces in shrines and monasteries that they visited or inhabited. While these graffiti and *dipinti*, as they are technically termed, only record the prayers (and other writings) that people customarily left at such sites, and not prayers for other occasions, they nevertheless afford a glimpse of how people routinely formulated their prayers. Moreover, since the prayers were written for or by a large number of individuals, they can be mined for evidence of social habits or daily activities, which is one of the objectives of the *euchologia* project. In short, these sources seem to hold some promise, given the relative scarcity of occasional prayers from late antique Egypt.

Christian monastic sites from late antique Egypt are a rich source of both formal and informal inscriptions.³ A review of all informal prayers left by inhabitants or visitors at these sites is beyond the scope of this article. For a sample of prayers people wrote at such sites, I turn to graffiti and *dipinti* found at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, a large monastic settlement comprised mainly of hermitages,⁴ located in the Hermopolite nome at the foot of cliffs about fifteen kilometres west of the Nile.⁵ The veneration of Apollo, a fourth-century ascetic, his companion Phib, and a third figure Anoup,⁶ is attested by inscriptions found throughout Egypt.⁷ The monastery at Bawit was an important centre for their cult, attracting both monks and visitors. It flourished from the sixth to the tenth century.⁸

³ For an overview, see Jacques van der Vliet, 'The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia', in Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla (eds), *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 2: *Nag Hammadi – Esna* (Cairo, 2010), 147-55.

⁴ On the monastery, see Ewa Wipszycka, *The Second Gift of the Nile: Monks and Monasteries in Late Antique Egypt*, trans. Damian Jasiński, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements* 33 (Warsaw, 2018), 322-8; Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt: An Archaeological Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 2017), 200-21; Alain Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît conservés aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 2004), 45-54.

⁵ TM Geo 10454 (www.trismegistos.org/place/10454); on this database of places in the ancient world (mainly Egypt), see Herbert Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Version 2.0, Trismegistos Online Publications 2 (Leuven, 2013), and www.trismegistos.org/geo/about.php. For a map with the location of Bawit, see Roger S. Bagnall and Dominic W. Rathbone (eds), *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (Los Angeles, 2004), 156.

⁶ On the legends and cult of Apollo, Phib, and Anoup, see D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 165-70; A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 36-41; René-Georges Coquin and Maurice Martin, 'Bawit: History', in Aziz S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), II 362-3.

⁷ Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001), 51-2, 53-6, 388, 400.

⁸ D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 202-3; A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 54-8.

The site was the subject of several French archaeological campaigns at the beginning of the twentieth century, a few Egyptian campaigns in the last quarter of that century, and a new series of campaigns under the aegis of the Institut français de l'archéologie orientale and the Musée du Louvre in the first decade of this century.⁹ The buildings uncovered in the early campaigns, long since buried in sand, have now been precisely located by means of magnetic prospection.¹⁰ For the purposes of this article, I focus on graffiti and *dipinti* written on the walls of Room 6 in a complex of rooms that Jean Maspero designated by the letter 'B'.¹¹

This long rectangular room, measuring almost twenty-nine metres long and seven metres wide, was, in its final state, lined with benches on the south, east, and west sides.¹² The north wall originally had a bench as well, but a second wall was built without a bench in front of the original wall. The walls were decorated with elaborate and complex geometric panels, with a decorative band running along the top. At some point, a niche was built into the east wall and painted in two registers: above, Christ enthroned, surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists and by the archangels Michael and Gabriel; below, Mary enthroned with the child Jesus on her lap, surrounded by the twelve apostles and two other figures, 'saint' Paul of Psilikous (possibly Psilichis?)¹³ and 'our father' Nabhero.¹⁴ The room appears to have served as a refectory.¹⁵ Numerous graffiti and *dipinti* – 380 edited by Maspero and Drioton – were etched or painted on the walls,¹⁶ suggesting that the room was also used to

⁹ D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 201-3; A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 30-1; Dominique Bénazeth, 'Histoire des fouilles de Baouit', in Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl (ed.), *Études coptes IV: quatrième journée d'études, Strasbourg, 26-27 mai 1988*, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 8 (Louvain, 1995), 53-62. On the recent excavations, see Gisèle Hadji-Minaglou, 'Découvertes récentes à Baouït', in Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani and Federico Contardi (eds), *Coptic Society. Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, 2 vol., Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 247 (Leuven, 2016), I 639-50.

¹⁰ Tomasz Herbich and Dominique Bénazeth, 'Le kôm de Baouït: étapes d'une cartographie', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 108 (2008), 165-204. For a simplified map, see E. Wipszycka, *The Second Gift* (2018), 323 (fig. 17).

¹¹ Jean Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouït par Jean Maspero*, ed. Étienne Drioton, Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 59.1-2 (Cairo, 1932 and 1943), 1 (fig. 1); T. Herbich and D. Bénazeth, 'Le kôm' (2008), 179-80, 200 (fig. 17).

¹² For a description of the room and its decoration, see J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), vi-vii, 20-2, with (1943), plates XV-XXV; D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 209-10.

¹³ TM Geo 8197 (<https://www.trismegistos.org/place/8197>).

¹⁴ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1943), plates XXI-XXIV. The niche is now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

¹⁵ A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 50; Colin C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Westminster, 1974), 109. Peter Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One, The Near and Middle East 62 (Leiden, 2002), 281, includes the room in his discussion of community prayer halls.

¹⁶ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 58-398, 511-49. Here and in what follows, inscriptions are identified by number (preceded by 'no.' or 'nos.', to distinguish from page references), for ease of reference. The papyrological abbreviation, used in other literature but not here, is *MIFAO* 59.

receive pilgrims.¹⁷ Such a concentration of informal inscriptions in a space frequented by visitors is not uncommon among monastic sites; one observes the same phenomenon, for example, in oratories or martyria, along with their adjoining rooms, in hermitages at Kellia.¹⁸ Although few of the graffiti and *dipinti* can be dated with precision, most were probably written in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the archaeological report included photos of only a few graffiti and *dipinti*; it is not possible, therefore, to examine the writing of each of the inscriptions in order to verify the transcription or take scribal features into consideration.

Many visitors wrote only their names. Others wrote requests for prayer (ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΝ-, ΤΩΒΖ ΕΧΝ-).²⁰ Still others wrote requests for help (βοήθει, βοήθησον),²¹ protection (ΡΟΕΙC Ε-), mercy (ΑΡΙ ΟΥΝΑ ΜΝ-, etc.), or remembrance (ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ).²² Requests for prayer are usually simple in their formulation. They typically consist of the name or names of the persons to be prayed for, followed by the request 'Pray for me/us/them'. (The request may be phrased in the singular – 'pray for me' – even when more than one person is named.) Occasionally, the purpose of the prayer is specified: to receive forgiveness,²³ instruction,²⁴ a good end, or a long life.²⁵ Requests for help, protection, remembrance, and the like have a different structure. The request is usually preceded by an invocation. The invocation may be as brief as 'Lord', 'God', or 'Jesus Christ' (the latter usually abbreviated as a *nomen sacrum*); it may include the trinitarian formula 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'; or it may appeal to the 'Angel of this vault' or the 'Angel of this place', the saints of the monastery (chiefly Apollo, but also Anoup and Phib), or other saints, with or without one or more of the preceding ways of invoking God (The prayers addressed to the 'Angel of this vault'²⁶ or the 'Angel of this place'²⁷ reveal that people were drawn not simply to the monastery but to this room in particular and to its mediatory presences²⁸). A few prayers begin with the common

¹⁷ *Ibid.* vii-viii; A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 40.

¹⁸ See, e.g., the concentration of informal inscriptions in Room 29 in Hermitage Q1z 45, discussed at Philippe Bridel *et al.*, *EK 8184*, Tome III: *Explorations aux Qouçoûr El-Izeila lors des campagnes 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989 et 1990* (Leuven, 2001), 191-5, 223-4, 225-30; and in Room 12 in Hermitage QH 39-40, discussed at Philippe Bridel *et al.*, *EK 8184*, Tome IV: *Explorations aux Qouçoûr Hégeila et Éreima lors des campagnes 1987, 1988 et 1989* (Leuven, 2003), 153-80.

¹⁹ A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 35.

²⁰ See these entries in the indices at J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), 176-7.

²¹ The Coptic equivalent, ΑΡΙ ΒΟΗΘΙΝ, is not used.

²² See these entries in the indices at J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), 174, 176, and 179.

²³ *Ibid.* nos. 127, 281, 300.

²⁴ *Ibid.* no. 387.

²⁵ *Ibid.* no. 207.

²⁶ *Ibid.* nos. 145, 203, 296.

²⁷ *Ibid.* nos. 73, 195, 345.

²⁸ See D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 210-11.

acclamations ‘Jesus Christ conquers’ or ‘one God’.²⁹ The ensuing request always names, and sometimes describes, the persons or persons who are its object. Sometimes the prayer concludes with one, two, or three amens.

The prayers left in this room were neither original nor, for the most part, elaborate. One finds similar prayers at other monastic sites.³⁰ Evidently, prayers left in such spaces – spaces associated with mediatory figures and set apart in a monastic complex – followed certain conventions. While the prayers remain the expressions of individuals, they are generic in form. They do not reveal much that is personal beyond a person’s name, affiliation, and occupation, if even that much is mentioned. In this regard, it is appropriate to consider them occasional prayers, simple as they may be. They are prayers that befit an occasion that is common to many, not specific to one, and their formulation will be recognizable to many, not determined by one. Moreover, like other occasional prayers, the prayers left at the monastery were not wholly private; they were visible for others to see and read. This, in fact, is what distinguished them from comparable prayers that people may have spoken in the course of a day or a year: the prayers left in the room are perpetual, rather than momentary, requests, rendered so by writing.³¹ They appeal continually to both heavenly and human intermediaries. Thus, the space, the inhabitants (heavenly and earthly) of the space, and the way in which people viewed and approached the space – the occasion in all its dimensions – generated an enduring inscription.³²

Although people followed conventions in recording their presence or their prayers in this room, their inscriptions are nevertheless a resource for social history, since, in addition to referring to individuals by name, they also identify them by familial or monastic affiliation or by position or occupation in the community or the monastery. These data complement those gathered from other finds, such as documents or letters, as sources of information about the life and activities of people in the monastery and its environs.³³

Several broad groups of people can be identified from among those who are named, with or without an explicit prayer or request for prayer. The ecclesiastical offices of priest, deacon, reader, and chanter occur frequently,³⁴ not

²⁹ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 300, 398.

³⁰ See, e.g., the more than forty prayers left in ‘Cell B’ at the Monastery of Epiphanius, in Herbert E. Winlock and Walter E. Crum (eds), *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 2 vol. (New York, 1926), II, nos. 660-75, 683-702, with discussion at I 43.

³¹ See Lara Weiss, ‘Perpetuated Action’, in Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World* (Chichester, 2015), 60-70, 63.

³² David Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt: Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 2017), well describes how devotional practices are shaped by cultural habits associated with a place: by what the place signifies, by what devotees expect, and by what experts offer.

³³ For an overview of occupations and functions in the monastery and its environs, see A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 65-93.

³⁴ See the indices at J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), 170-2, s.v. ΟΥΗΒΒ, πρεσβύτερος; διάκονος; ρερωϞ, ἀναγνώστης; ψάμφοδος, ψάλτης; cf. A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 72-4.

surprisingly, given that persons in these offices would most likely have been able to read and write. Specific monastic offices are occasionally mentioned: the ‘father of the little ones’³⁵ and the ‘father of the cell’.³⁶ A few professions appear: doctor,³⁷ lawyer,³⁸ notary,³⁹ scribe,⁴⁰ school master,⁴¹ and surveyor.⁴² Three soldiers request prayers,⁴³ one identifying himself as the commander of the garrison at Koussai (modern El-Qusiya),⁴⁴ approximately nineteen kilometres south-east of Bawit. Artisans, vendors, and labourers appear throughout: several carpenters,⁴⁵ two masons,⁴⁶ one painter⁴⁷ – trades employed in construction or decoration at the monastery; a certain Victor who worked the olive press;⁴⁸ sellers of oil,⁴⁹ honey,⁵⁰ white bread,⁵¹ and jars;⁵² several boatmen,⁵³ a shepherd,⁵⁴ a gardener,⁵⁵ a potter,⁵⁶ two sack-makers,⁵⁷ a vellum-maker,⁵⁸ and, possibly, a water-carrier.⁵⁹ Two men are identified, in several inscriptions, as βουκινάτωρ (*sic*); we shall return to them below.⁶⁰

The inscriptions also permit us to identify some of the towns or villages from which individuals originated. Approximately thirty places are named in the graffiti and *dipinti* in the room.⁶¹ About half of these can be identified with

³⁵ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 249, 376; cf. A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 69.

³⁶ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 80; cf. A. Delattre, *Papyrus* (2004), 68-9.

³⁷ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 278, possibly also no. 330.

³⁸ *Ibid.* nos. 149, 291.

³⁹ *Ibid.* no. 124.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* nos. 149, 225, 354.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* no. 390.

⁴² *Ibid.* no. 198.

⁴³ *Ibid.* nos. 85, 144, 338.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* no. 85; for Koussai, see TM Geo 1176 (www.trismegistos.org/place/1176).

⁴⁵ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 96, 108, 124, 149, 203.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* nos. 100, 348.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* no. 81.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* nos. 339, 346.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* no. 326, with n. 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* no. 268.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* no. 277, with n. 1; for the term, see Hans Förster (ed.), *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 148 (Berlin, 2002), 359.

⁵² J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 81, with n. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.* nos. 149, 210.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* nos. 149, 150, 151, all naming a certain Jeremiah, the shepherd of Temdjir, discussed below.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* no. 285.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* no. 211.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* nos. 205, 268.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* no. 253.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* no. 348, with n. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* nos. 147, 257, 284, 300.

⁶¹ See *ibid.* 169-70 (indices B and C). A few of the place names are not found at the reference given.

attested places in late antique Egypt. Half of these in turn – eight out of the thirty – can be located on the map of Egypt in the Roman period, allowing us to measure their approximate distance from Bawit. Some individuals came from nearby villages, such as Paploou (modern Beblaou),⁶² about ten kilometres to the west of Bawit, and Somou (modern Ismu el-Arus),⁶³ about fifteen kilometres to the north. Some originated in villages or towns further afield: Deir Abu Hennes and Thmoresis,⁶⁴ about forty kilometres north of Bawit; Temsiris (modern Damsir),⁶⁵ about seventy-three kilometres to the north; and Aphrodito (modern Kom Ishgau),⁶⁶ about one hundred and sixteen kilometres to the south. It is possible that one person originated over four hundred kilometres away, from the village of Bouto (modern Tell el-Fara'un) in the northwestern Delta of the Nile.⁶⁷

We cannot assume in all these cases that people were visiting the monastery from the places they named. It is possible they named their place of origin, but in fact lived elsewhere or even in the monastic settlement. One graffito, for instance, names men from three different villages, Mena from Pne, Victor from Somou, and Paul from Mares (possibly Tamares).⁶⁸

The village of Temsiris – identified by its Coptic name, Temdjir (ΤΕΜΧΙΡ) – stands out among places mentioned in the inscriptions. It appears that this village had a particular devotion to the saints of the monastery: sixteen graffiti or *dipinti* in the room are written by or for people from the village. Several of the prayers invite further discussion.

On the reconstructed north wall of the room there are two long prayers written one beside the other.⁶⁹ Both are written by a scribe from the village, named Mena. The prayers are similar, but not identical. The invocations vary, one calling on ‘the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, our father Apa Apollo and Apa Anoup, Mena, Phib’, the other calling on ‘the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, [Jesus, son of (?)] Holy Mary,⁷⁰ our father Apa Apollo, our father Apa Phib’. Both prayers seek protection for all the inhabitants of Temdjir ‘from the smallest to the greatest’, but they differ in the offices, persons, and occupations they name. One prayer refers specifically to ‘the leaders of the village, and ... the priests, and the deacons, readers, and chanters’ (149.12-4), before going on

⁶² *Ibid.* no. 349; cf. TM Geo 2951 (www.trismegistos.org/place/2951).

⁶³ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 252; cf. TM Geo 7220 (www.trismegistos.org/place/7220).

⁶⁴ Deir Abu Hennes: J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 110; cf. TM Geo 3506 (www.trismegistos.org/place/3506). Thmoresis: J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 89, 112, 117; cf. TM Geo 9470 (www.trismegistos.org/place/9470).

⁶⁵ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), 76 n. 1; cf. TM Geo 7516 (www.trismegistos.org/place/7516); see discussion below.

⁶⁶ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 128; cf. TM Geo 237 (www.trismegistos.org/place/237).

⁶⁷ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 156; cf. TM Geo 3685 (www.trismegistos.org/place/3685).

⁶⁸ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 252; cf. TM Geo 6788, 7220, and 10156.

⁶⁹ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 149, 150.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 77 n. 4; compare no. 240.2, quoted below at n. 85.

to name numerous individuals. The other prayer begins by naming several individuals and their relatives, before interceding on behalf of ‘all the rest of the village: the farmers, the poor, the labourers, the abandoned, the unfortunate, and the needy’ (150.13-5), if this is the correct rendering of these terms. Each prayer thus preserves what appears to be a standard set of intercessions, one for office holders in the village, the other for its more vulnerable inhabitants. But the scribe nevertheless improvises in each of the prayers, seemingly naming individuals as they come to mind. In the first prayer, after naming the office holders, Mena asks for protection for two series of individuals. He concludes the initial group by referring to ‘our entire village, from the greatest to the smallest’ (149.17-8), but then continues with another group, eventually concluding the prayer with ‘and the rest of the village’ (149.26). Likewise, the second prayer, after interceding for the village’s unfortunates, adds a further invocation and petition (150.15-9).

The way in which individuals are named in these two prayers also differs. The first prayer mentions twenty-three individuals (including Mena, the writer of the prayer) by name and occasionally by occupation. The second prayer mentions only nine individuals by name (again, including Mena), but refers in addition to members of his extended family, revealing the relationship Mena has with several of those named. Victor the village headman, whom he names first, could be Mena’s brother, if the word is not used in an extended sense, as it often was in Egyptian communication and correspondence (150.8-9).⁷¹ Apollo and Isaac are Mena’s sons (150.10-1). Victor’s wife, children (literally, ‘sons’, $\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$), and brothers are mentioned but not named (150.6-7), as are Isaac’s children (150.11). Anoup, a grandson Mena names in the first prayer (149.5-6), is not mentioned in the second prayer (Was this an oversight, or had Anoup died, indicating that the second prayer was in fact written later than the first prayer?). The familial connections mentioned in the second prayer reveal that the writing of these prayers had more than one motivation. A primary motivation, no doubt, was to secure the welfare of the village and to establish its connection with the monastic sanctuary. But embedded in the welfare of the village is the welfare of its leading inhabitants, including the scribe and his relations.

Interestingly, both prayers mention Jeremiah the shepherd (149.15-6, 150.12-3). Jeremiah is also the sole object of a further short prayer written next to the second prayer: ‘O God of Apa Apollo, help Jeremiah, the shepherd of Temdjir, wherever he goes. Amen’.⁷² The phrase ‘wherever he goes’ appears to allude to the practice of shepherding, which took the shepherd into terrain outside the

⁷¹ See, in general, Eleanor Dickey, ‘Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri’, *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004), 131-76. See also Terry G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 2002), 70-2.

⁷² J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 151.

village and was not without danger.⁷³ One cannot help but ask why this additional prayer was written. Was it because Jeremiah asked for it to be written, or because his role as shepherd was important to the village,⁷⁴ or because his work as shepherd entailed some risk? While the prayer does not offer an answer, it does prompt further inquiry.

Two people from the village who also appear in several prayers are Phoibammon and Castor, together referred to as βουκινάτωρ.⁷⁵ In military parlance, the word, derived from the Latin *buccinator*, referred to a trumpeter or bugler;⁷⁶ a receipt from Oxyrhynchus for supplies provided to escort troops (*buccellarii*) in 561 CE names a certain Theodoros βουκινάτωρ.⁷⁷ In one of the prayers, Phoibammon and Castor are called ‘the βουκινάτωρ of the Archangel Michael of Temdjir’,⁷⁸ possibly referring to a church dedicated to the archangel.⁷⁹ If this supposition is correct, then the term refers to some role in the service of the church.⁸⁰ Incidentally, Castor’s name is spelt differently in each of the three prayers that mention him, and there are also variations in the spelling of βουκινάτωρ. We may infer, therefore, that the prayers were written at different times and probably also by different writers.

Several prayers were written on behalf of a group of workers, indicating that labourers and artisans identified with their *métier* and *confrères*, as it were. One inscription records the prayer of seven boatmen who worked a boat of Apa Victor of Temdjir.⁸¹ Another records the prayer of five fisherman employed by

⁷³ See James G. Keenan, ‘Village Shepherds and Social Tension in Byzantine Egypt’, *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. 28: *Papyrology* (Cambridge, 1985), 245-59, 257 n. 36.

⁷⁴ Shepherds also served as field guards, driving off livestock from other villages and protecting against thieves; see *ibid.* 254-6.

⁷⁵ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), nos. 147, 284, 300; Phoibammon alone is named βουκινάτωρ at *ibid.* no. 257.

⁷⁶ Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott and Henry Stuart Jones (eds), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., with a revised supplement (Oxford, 1996), s.v. βουκινίζω. There is no entry for the word in Friedrich Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 3 vol. (Berlin, 1926-1931); Emil Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, vol. 4: *Supplement* (Amsterdam, 1969-1971); or Förster, *Wörterbuch* (2002).

⁷⁷ Benard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt and Harold I. Bell (eds), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 16 (London, 1924), no. 1903.8; see also Robert P. Salomons (ed.), *Papyri Bodleianae I*, *Studia Amstelodamensia* 34 (Amsterdam, 1996), no. 145.5, assigned to the first half of the seventh century.

⁷⁸ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 147.

⁷⁹ A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints* (2001), 154-6, lists documentary evidence for sites named after the archangel (rubric III/1); the village does not figure in the evidence. As it happens, recent excavations at Bawit have revealed that the North Church in the Monastery of Apa Apollo was dedicated to the Archangel Michael; see Florence Calament, ‘L’apport des nouvelles découvertes épigraphiques à Baouït (2006-2012)’, in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contardi (eds), *Coptic Society* (2016), I 659-68, 662.

⁸⁰ No such role is discussed, however, in Georg Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, Beiheft 13 (Munich, 2002), 38-9.

⁸¹ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 210.

Apa Victor of Temdjir, presumably the same person, here named village headman.⁸² An unnamed carpenter, one assumes, left the following prayer: ‘Merciful God. Angel of this vault. Remember me, my brother Psha, the carpenter, and all the brother carpenters according to their names. Amen’.⁸³

While most prayers ask for help or mercy or protection without specifying a particular need, a few prayers offer more details. One relatively elaborate prayer, reconstructed with some reservation by Drioton,⁸⁴ reveals the importance of daily subsistence: ‘The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. Apa Phib, Apa Apollo, remember Apa Hor, the reader. Jesus, son of Mary, help him in everything he undertakes. Amen. God Almighty (*Pantocrator*), remember his father, and his mother, and all his brothers, and assure them of their bread, their oils, their beans, by their daily work, as much as they will need. Bless the bread and all that belongs to them, forever. Amen’.⁸⁵ But not all needs were basic, as another prayer reveals: ‘I am Heraklammon. My father is Isak, my mother is Euphemia, my brothers, Apa Ol (a variant of Horus), Ourania, Phania.⁸⁶ Pray for them, Apa Apollo. Amen. Jesus Christ, God, Lord, Emmanuel, grant success to Romane at the hippodrome. Amen’.⁸⁷ This reference to a pastime is rare among the inscriptions. It supplements other evidence of the continuing existence of the hippodrome in late antique Egypt.⁸⁸

It is telling that neither prayer mentions sisters. In fact, no prayer in the room refers to the sister of a man, although one prayer refers to the brother of a woman.⁸⁹ One prayer, by a certain Kyriakos, mentions ‘the sister of my mother ... Ioulia’ – in other words, an aunt, if the term is not used in an extended sense – but not a sister of Kyriakos himself.⁹⁰ Prayers that most likely refer to immediate family members often intercede for fathers, brothers, and sons.⁹¹ When prayers list family members in a series, they typically refer to father, mother, and brothers.⁹² A few prayers refer to a daughter by name.⁹³ We can be sure that in the villages from which visitors to the monastery came there were sisters and daughters. Are they absent from the inscriptions because they were less

⁸² *Ibid.* no. 292; the plate to which the edition refers is too indistinct in my electronic copy to be of use.

⁸³ *Ibid.* no. 203.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 94 n. 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* no. 240; my translation is based on Drioton’s French translation.

⁸⁶ The feminine forms of the latter two names are unusual; Drioton renders them ‘Ouranie’ and ‘Phanie’.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* no. 142.

⁸⁸ Jean Gascou, ‘Les institutions de l’hippodrome en Égypte byzantine’, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 76 (1976), 185-212.

⁸⁹ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 145.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* no. 157.

⁹¹ E.g., *ibid.* nos. 195, 207, 218, 225, 244, 255, 257, 260, 279, 295.

⁹² *Ibid.* nos. 240, 327; see also no. 132.

⁹³ See n. 100 below.

free to travel outside of their villages to the monastery, or because they were subsumed under their fathers and brothers in the public presentation of family? We know from letters and documents that women in this period were active in domestic, economic, and religious life,⁹⁴ although they had less access to public status and office than men,⁹⁵ and gained social status primarily as mothers and wives.⁹⁶

Women are nevertheless named in the inscriptions,⁹⁷ although far less frequently than men. Most of the women appear in lists of names without any indication of a relational status. In a few prayers, women are named as the mother,⁹⁸ wife,⁹⁹ or daughter¹⁰⁰ of a man. One prayer, unusually, intercedes for a woman and her brother: 'Helen and her brother Palau'.¹⁰¹ Occasionally a prayer is written for only a woman. One such prayer reads: 'Abla, daughter of Ptolemy, a man from Temdjir: remember her. Amen'.¹⁰² It is likely that this prayer was written by Ptolemy for his daughter, perhaps because she was ill or had passed away. At least one prayer may have been written by a woman. It reads: 'Phib. God. Pray for him. Anna. Sara'.¹⁰³ I take this to be a prayer offered by two women for an unnamed male relative. It need not have been written for them by a man, since graffiti written by women are preserved in a few domestic rooms elsewhere in the settlement,¹⁰⁴ probably evidence that there was a women's monastery within the settlement.¹⁰⁵ Similar in form is a prayer written for a woman and a man: 'Phib. God. Pray for me. Aseph. Kasia'.¹⁰⁶ Who wrote this prayer or asked for it to be written: Aseph (a man's name) or Kasia (a woman's name)? We cannot know, although the probability is in favour of the man.

⁹⁴ T.G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme* (2002), 87-88, 110-12.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 89-92.

⁹⁶ For a recent overview of the social status of women over their lifetime in Ptolemaic and Greco-Roman Egypt, see Ada Nifosi, *Becoming a Woman and Mother in Greco-Roman Egypt: Women's Bodies, Society and Domestic Space* (Abingdon, New York, 2019), 13-48. For prior literature, see Terry G. Wilfong, 'Gender and Society in Byzantine Egypt', in Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007), 309-27, 310-2.

⁹⁷ See the index of proper names at J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), 159-69; women's names are indicated by 'f'.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* nos. 142, 157, 300.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* no. 300.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* nos. 231, 268, 300.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* no. 145.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* no. 231.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* no. 316.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* nos. 498-501, 504-9.

¹⁰⁵ See E. Wipszycka, *The Second Gift* (2018), 414-15, along with *ead.*, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e-VIII^e siècles)*, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements* 11 (Warsaw, 2009), 583-6; D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *Monastic Landscape* (2017), 219-20, with 68-70.

¹⁰⁶ J. Maspero, *Fouilles* (1932), no. 309.

Conclusion

The informal inscriptions left in this room at the Monastery of Apa Apollo may be regarded as ‘occasional prayers’ inasmuch as they are generated by a particular type of occasion – entry into a space that collective practice had rendered a place of mediatory efficacy – and a generic type of need – the need for heavenly assistance or assurance with regard to one’s earthly welfare or one’s eternal future. The prayers are not original or wide-ranging in their formulation; they employ a recognizable repertoire in their invocations, and they follow common phrasing in making their requests. Nevertheless, the prayers are a valuable resource for the study of devotional practice and social organization. They attest to the value that a space within a monastic site could acquire as a place of mediatory agency. The repetitiveness of their formulation suggests they preserve language that people used when they prayed informally in domestic or occupational settings. Although the prayers are repetitive in structure and requests, they remain the expressions of individuals or of distinct groups of individuals. Apart from the varied ways in which they appeal to heavenly intermediaries or the vagaries of vocabulary and spelling, the prayers record details of the persons they name – where they lived or came from, how they were related to one another, what their status was or what they did. The prosopographical information gleaned from the names and prayers left in the room may be less valuable than those offered by letters and documents, since the latter typically offer more contextual information. But people mentioned in these graffiti and *dipinti* may never figure in a letter or document; their inscriptions supplement data from these other sources. Moreover, because people identified with their occupations and their villages when leaving their name or request, we are able to map the connexions that people had with one another and with this particular shrine. While not all occasional markings at holy sites may be equally fruitful, this brief review suggests that a systematic study of prayers and other writings left by Christians in (disused) temples, churches, and monasteries in Late Antiquity could yield valuable insights.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ For a comparable study of graffiti written by Jews, see Karen B. Stern, *Writing on the Wall: Graffiti and the Forgotten Jews of Antiquity* (Princeton, 2018), esp. ch. 2.