LITANIES OR PRAYERS FOR TRAVELLERS

INTRODUCTION

Travelling in ancient times was very risky. This fact is attested by the collection of miracles associated with travel; such as the miracle of Saint Menas,¹ the Arabic version of the miracle of Saint Philotheus ascribed to Severus of Antioch,² the miracle mentioned in the book of the *Forty Biographies*,³ and a miracle performed by Cosma and Damian.⁴ It is recorded that Nestorius had complained about having to travel, saying that he was too old (he must have been over sixty at this time), unwell, had suffered from the **hazards of travel**, and that his hand and side had been mangled.⁵

The litanies⁶ for the travellers occur in the Euchologion for the matins. Except on Saturdays, Sundays and the feasts of the Lord, the Litany for the Travellers is said after the Litany for the Sick, during the offering of the Morning Incense.⁷ It is also said during the consecration of altars,⁸ during Baptism,⁹ during the consecration of the

(1) J. DRESCHER, *Apa Mena, a selection of Coptic Texts relating to Saint Menas* (Textes et documents), Cairo, 1946, pp. 116–117.

(2) Youhanna NESSIM YOUSSEF, "The Encomium of St. Philotheus ascribed to Severus of Antioch," *Coptica*, 1 (2002), pp. 169–221, and especially pp. 189–198.

(3) Bishop SAMUEL, كتاب الاربعين خير [The book of the forty biographies], Cairo, 1999, p. 46.

(4) Information kindly provided by the late R. F. M. Van Esbroeck in 2000.

(5) D. JOHNSON, "Nestorius," *CE*, 6, pp. 1786–1787.

(6) Emile Maher ISHAQ, "Awshiyah," *CE*, 1, p. 311.

(7) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Gloria in Excelsis," *CE*, 4, p. 1147.

(8) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Altar, consecration of," *CE*, 1, pp. 108–109.

(9) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Baptism, Liturgy of," *CE*, 2, pp. 339–342.

water in the baptismal font,¹⁰ and during the liturgy of the Epiphany:¹¹

Priest

ΤΕΝΤΖΟ ΟΥΟΖ ΤΕΝΤΩΒΖ
 ἸΤΕΚΗΝΕΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΗΛΑΡΩΝΗ
 ΑΡΙΦΗΕΥΙΠΟΙΣ ἸΗΝΕΝΙΟΤ ΝΕΝ
 ΝΕΝΣΗΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΨΕ ΕΠΨΕΜΜΟ

We ask and entreat Your *goodness*, O lover of mankind, remember O Lord our fathers and our brethren who are travelling.

Deacon

ΤΩΒΖ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΕΝΙΟΤ ΝΕΝ
 ΝΕΝΣΗΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΨΕ ΕΠΨΕΜΜΟ
 ΙΕ ΝΗΕΘΗΕΥ᾽Ι ΕΨΕ ΞΕΝΗΔΙ
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΟΥΜΩΙΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΙΤΕ ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΕΝ ΦΙΟΝ ΙΕ ΠΗΛΑΡΩΟΥ
 ΙΕ ΠΗΛΥΗΝΗ ΙΕ ΝΗΜΩΙΤ ἸΗΜΩΙ ΙΕ
 ΕΥ᾽ΙΡΙ ἸΠΠΟΥΧΙΝΗΜΩΙ ἸΠΡΗΤ
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΖΗΔΑ ἸΤΕ ΠΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ
 ΠΕΝΗΟΥΤ ΤΑΣΘΩΟΥ
 ΕΝΗΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ ἸΗΔΗΨΩΠΙ ΞΕΝ
 ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ἸΤΕΡΧΑ ΝΕΝΗΟΒΙ ΝΑΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ

Pray for our fathers and our brethren who are travelling, and those who intend to travel anywhere. Make straight all their ways *whether* by sea, rivers, lakes, roads, or those who are travelling by any other means, that *Christ* our God may bring them back to their own homes in *peace*, and forgive us our sins.

People

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ

Lord have mercy

Priest

ΙΕ ΝΗΕΘΗΕΙ ΕΨΕ ΞΕΝΗΔΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ
 ΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΟΥΜΩΙΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΙΤΕ
 ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΕΝ ΦΙΟΝ ΙΕ ΠΗΛΑΡΩΟΥ ΙΕ
 ΠΗΛΥΗΝΗ ΙΕ ΝΗΜΩΙΤ ἸΗΜΩΙ ΙΕ
 ΕΥ᾽ΙΡΙ ἸΠΠΟΥΧΙΝΗΜΩΙ ἸΠΡΗΤ
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΞΕΝ ΗΔΙ
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΜΑΤΦΩΟΥ ΕΞΟΥΗ
 ΕΟΥΛΥΗΝΗ ἸΧΣΑΝΗ ΕΟΥΛΥΗΝΗ
 ἸΤΕ ΠΙΟΥΧΔΙ

And those who intend to travel anywhere, make straight all their ways, *whether* by sea, rivers, lakes, roads or those who are travelling by any other means, everyone, anywhere. Lead them into a *harbour* of calm, a harbour of salvation.

(10) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Baptistery, consecration of," CE, 2, pp. 342–343.

(11) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Epiphany, Liturgy of," CE, 3, pp. 967–968.

ΑΡΙΚΑΤΑΞΙΟΝ ΑΡΙΩΦΗΡ
 ἠΨΩΔΗΡ ΝΕΝ ΨΦΗΡ ἠΗΩΨΙ
 ΝΕΝΩΟΥ
 ΜΗΙΤΟΥΕ ΜΗΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΞΕΝ
 ΟΥΡΑΨΙ ΕΥΡΑΨΙ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΤΟΥΧΟ
 ΕΥΤΟΥΧΗΟΥΤ
 ΑΡΙΩΦΗΡ ἠΕΡΨΩΒ ΝΕΝ ΗΕΚΕΒΙΑΙΚ
 ΞΕΝ ΨΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ἠΑΓΑΘΟΝ
 ΑΗΟΝ ΔΕ ΨΩΝ ΠΔΟΙC
 ΤΕΝΜΕΤΡΕΜ ἠΧΩΙΑΙ ΕΤΞΕΝ
 ΠΑΙΒΙΟC ΦΔΙ ΔΡΕΖΕΡΟC
 ἠΑΤΕΒΛΑΒΗ ἠΑΤΧΙΝΩΝ
 ἠΑΤΨΘΕΡΤΕΡ ΨΔΕΒΟΛ

People

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ

Graciously accompany them in
 their departure and be their
 companion in their travel.
 Bring them back to their own,
 joyfully rejoicing and safe being
 secure.
 Be a fellow worker with Your
 servants in every *good* deed.
 As for us too, O Lord, keep our
 sojourn in this *life* without harm,
 without storm, and *undisturbed*
 to the end.

Lord have mercy

Priest

ΞΕΝ ΠΙΖΗΟΤ ΝΕΝ ΜΗ ΕΤΨΕΝΖΗΤ
 ΝΕΝ ΨΗΕΤΗΑΙΡΩΝΙ ἠΤΕ
 ΠΕΚΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ἠΨΗΡΙ ΠΕΝΔΟΙC
 ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΝΗΟΥΨ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ
 ΗΝCΟΥC ΠΙΧΡΙCΤΟC ΦΔΙ ΕΤΕ
 ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΟΤΨ ΕΡΕ ΠΩΟΥ

By the grace, compassion and
 love for mankind of Your *Only*
begotten Son, our Lord, God and
Saviour Jesus Christ.

Through whom is the glory.

The Morning Litany of the Holy Week:¹²

ΤΩΡΨ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΕΝΙΟΨ ΝΕΝ
 ΝΕΝCΗΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΨΨΕ ΕΨΨΕΝΗΟ ΙΕ
 ΜΗΕΘΗΕΥΙ ΕΨΞ ΞΕΝ ΗΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ
 CΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΟΥΜΩΙΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΙΤΕ
 ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΕΝ ΦΙΟΝ ΙΕ ΗΙΑΡΨΟΥ ΙΕ
 ΗΙΑΥΜΗΗ ΙΕ ΗΙΜΩΙΤ ἠΗΩΨΙ ΙΕ
 ΕΥΨΡΙ ἠΜΠΟΥΧΙΗΝΩΨΙ ἠΗΡΗΨ ΝΙΒΕΝ
 ΨΗΑ ἠΤΕ ΠΞ

Pray for our fathers and breth-
 ren who are travelling anywhere
 or who intend to travel, that
 God may facilitate all their
 ways, *whether* by sea or river, or
lake, or tracks or those travelling
 by all means. *That Christ* our
 Lord may bring them back to

(12) Attallah Arsenius AL-MUHARRAQI, كتاب دلال أسبوع الآلام المشتمل على ترتيب [The order of the Passion Week which includes the order of the Passion Week from Saturday of Lazarus to Šam al-Nasîm], Cairo, 1970, p. 128.

ΠΕΝΝΟΥ†ΤΑCΘΩΟΥ ΕΙΗΘΕΤΕ their homes in *safety* and forgive
 ΝΟΥΟΥ ΗΑΝΘΩΠΙ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ our sins.
 ⲛⲧⲉⲩ

The Evening Litany of the Holy Week:

وايضاً الضالين والمسافرين ردهم والأرامل والأيتام عليهم والجيايع والعطاش
 والذين عليهم دين أوف عنهم وسامحهم والمحوسين والذين في الشدائد
 افرج عنهم والمرضى والراقدين أشفهم والأموات نيحهم نسألك¹³

And also those who are led astray, and the travellers allow them to return back, support the widows and the orphans and give plenty to those in poverty. Those who are in debt, pay their debts. Forgive them and those who are in distress, give them comfort. Heal the sick and repose the departed, we ask You O Lord...

THE MANUSCRIPT

The description according to W. E. Crum:¹⁴

"Or 435 — Paper; a bound volume, containing parts of two MSS.; (a) fol. 1 paged 1 — 14; (b) 15 paged RI, — 46. The fol. of (a) are not consecutive. Both fragments were also paged consecutively with Syriac letters from the backward, fol. 43 being. *also, what is "fol. 43 being."* The text of (a) in 15 (*cf.* Hyvernāt, pl. iii.e for the type of both). Arabic version is given for the rubrics only. The usual initials, titles and the letters ϕ, ς, are in red.

(a) Services for the Consecration of a Subdeacon (fol. 1) Hegumen (fol. 2 sic.); a font, the altar-vessels, paten (δίσκος) chalice, spoon (μυστήρ), an icon, martyrs' relics, reconsacration altar (fol. 5ff.).

(b) Services for the Consecration of a baptismal font (the end only), the text being quite different from the ordinary (fol. 15 *cf.* Tuki, Euch. li ⲉⲗⲁⲗ); of the paten, chalice, spoon, icon, the ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲓ (fol. 22b), other vessels (σκεῦος) κυμῆλλον a censer, martyr's relics at the translation of the same (fol. 30), prayers for those about to journey by land and by sea, prayers before and after food (34b — Tuki,), at the offering of the first fruit (36b) at lay-

(13) AL-MUHARRAQI, كتاب دلال أسبوع الآلام, p. 126.

(14) W. E. CRUM, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, p. 357–358, Number 849.

ing the foundations of a house, on beginning to live in a new house (40) at sowing (41) at the grape-harvest (incomplete 42).

ΟΥΕΥΧΗ ΕΧΕΝ ΗΝΕΘΟΥΩΩ

ΕΩΘΕΠΩΕΜΜΟ

صلاة على من يريد يسافر الى الغربية يقولها
الاسقف في البر

A *prayer* for those who wish to travel¹⁵

[by land, the bishop says]:¹⁶

(Fol. $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{z}}$ v.) $\text{p}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{c}}$ $\text{f}\overline{\text{t}}$ $\text{i}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{c}}$ $\text{p}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{c}}$

ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤ ΠΙΝΩΙΤ ἸΤΑΦΗΝΙ ΕΤΔΙ
ΩΑ ΦΙΩΤ

Lord God Jesus *Christ* the True
Way that leads to the Father

ἸΘΟΚ ΠΕΤΑΚΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΠΙΚΑΖΙ

ΤΗΡΩ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΚΤΑΖΟΩ ΕΡΑΤΩ

ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΚΧΙΝΜΩΙ ΖΙΧΩΩ ΝΕΝ

ΝΕΚΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ

You, who purified the whole
earth and You established [it]
through Your walking on it with
Your holy *Apostles*

ἸΘΟΚ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ ΟΥΩΡΠ

ἸΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC ἸΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ

ΣΑΧΩΟΥ ἸΝΕΚΕΒΙΑΚ

ΕΩCΩΟΥΤΕΝ ἸΠΟΥΜΩΙΤ ΟΥΟΖ

CΟΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛΖΑ ΔΙΚΑΖ ΝΙΒΕΝ

ἸΝΤΕ ΤΧΟΝ* (fol. $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{z}}$ r.)

ἸΑΝΤΙΚΙΝΕΝΟC ΝΕΝ ΟΥΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΗ

ἸΝΤΕ ΖΑΝΡΩΝΙ ΕΥΖΩΟΥ

You, our Lord, send a *peaceful*
angel in front of Your servants,
by straightening their way and
rescuing them from all passions
of the power of the *hostility* and
the *plot* of evil men.

ΟΥΟΖ ΔΙΜΩΙΤ ΗΩΟΥ ΣΕΝ ΗΩΙΤ

ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΜΩΙ ΖΙΩΤΩ ΣΕΝ

ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΜΑΡΕ ΗΟΥΖΒΗΟΥΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ

ΩΩΠΙ ΕΥΩΟΥ ἸΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ

ΝΕΝ ΟΥΧΑΙ ἸΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΤΥΧΗ ΝΕΝ

ΟΥΚΩΤ ἸΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΕΝ

ΠΕΚΛΑΟC

And guide them in all the ways
that they walk in Your holy
name. Let all their works be as a
glorification to Your holy name
and a salvation of our souls and
edification of the *Church* and
Your *people*

ΣΕ ἸΘΟΚ ΠΕΤΕΝΖΕΛΠΙC ΝΕΝ

ΠΕΝΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΕΝ ΠΕΝΝΑΝΦΩΤ*

(fol. $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{z}}$ v.)

For You are our *hope*, our
strength and our refuge.

(15) Lit. go to expatriation.

(16) Only in Arabic.

ΟΥΟΖ`ΗΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΝΧΑΛ
 `ΗΗΕΝΤΥΧΗ ΕΡΟΚ ΟΥΟΖ
 ΕΝΟΥΩΡΠ ΝΑΚ ΕΠΩΩΙ
 `ΗΠΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΕΝ
 ΖΩΡΝΗΕΝ

And You are that we guide our
souls and we send You thanks-
 giving for all things.

ΧΕ`ΗΘΟΚΠΕΠΕΝΗΟΥ† ΕΡΕ
 ΠΙΩΟΥΕΡΠΡΕΠΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΕΝ ΠΕΚΙΩΤ
 `ΗΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΕΝ ΠΙΠ̄Α ΕΘΟΥΑΒ
 †ΗΟΥ

For You are our God, You are
worthy of glory with Your Good
 Father and the Holy *Spirit*,
 now...

ΟΥΕΥΧΗ ΕΘΒΕ
 ΗΗΕΘΗΔΗΩΠΙ
 ΣΕΝ ΦΙΟΝ ΛΕΓΙ

صلاة على
 المسافرين في البحر
 يقولها الاسقف

A *prayer* for those who travel by
 sea. He [the bishop]¹⁷ says:

ΦΗΗΒ Π̄Δ̄C Π̄Η̄C Π̄Χ̄C ΠΕΗΗΟΥ
 †ΦΗΕΤ† `ΗΟΥΗΩΤ* (fol. ̄P̄K̄H r.)
 ΣΕΝ ΦΙΟΝ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΝΔΗΩΠΙ
 ΕΨΤΑΧΡΗΟΥΤ ΣΕΝ ΖΑΝΗΩΟΥ
 ΕΥΧΟΡ ΦΗΕΤΕΡΖΕΝΙ ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΕΝ
 ΝΟΥΨΕ ΕΨΕΒΟΚ ΗΗΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΘΗΗΟΥ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΦΙΟΝ ΝΕΝ
 ΗΙΑΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΨΔΗΡ
 `ΗΣΗΤΟΥ.

Lord, Master Jesus *Christ* who
 guides on the sea and estab-
 lished dwelling upon the mighty
 waters, [You] who steer through
 simple wood [that is, a ship] for
 all those who goby sea and the
 rivers and those who sail upon
 in it.

`ΗΘΟΚ Π̄Δ̄C ΑΡΙΨΦΗΡ ΝΕΝ
 ΝΕΚΕΒΙΑΚ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΡΙΖΕΜΙ `ΗΗΩΟΥ
 ΣΕΝ ΟΥΝΔΙ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΝΕΤΗΔΙΡΩΗ
 ΑΡΙΕΠΙΤΥΝΑ[] `ΗΖΩΒ ΗΙΒΕΝ ΝΕΝ
 ΤΑΡΑΧΗ ΗΙΒΕΝ * (fol. ̄P̄K̄H v.) ΝΕΝ
 ΧΟΣΕΝ ΗΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΗΑΤΩΟΥΗ
 ΕΠΩΩΙ `ΗΠΟΥΜΘΟ: ΦΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ
 ΦΙΟΝ: ΝΕΝ ΗΙΑΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ `ΗΘΟΚ
 ΑΚΘΑΝΙΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΨΑΡΕ †ΚΤΗΣΙC
 ΤΗΡC CΩΤΕΝ `ΗCΑ ΠΕΤΕΖΗΑΚ

You, Lord, accompany Your
 servants during sailing and steer
 them in mercy and love for all
 humankind. *Disperse* all thing-
 severy *trouble* and every storms
 which may rise before them. *For*
to You belongs the sea and the
 rivers and You Yourself created
 them and the whole *creation*
 obeys Your will.

(17) Only in Arabic.

ΤΕΝΤΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΔΕ ΑΡΙΣΜΟΤ
 ΉΗΕΚΕΒΙΑΙΚ ΉΝΟΥΧΙΝΩΔΗΡ
 ΕΣΕΡΩΔΥ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΘΗΟΥ ΕΝΑΝΕΔ
 ΣΕΝ ΠΟΥΝΑΝΗΟΥ ΕΔΣΟΥΤΩΗ
 ΝΕΝ ΟΥΛΥΜΗΝ ΉΝΟΥΧΔΑΙ ΣΕΝ
 ΟΥΖΕΛΠΙΣ ΉΝΤΕ ΟΥΝΑΖΤ*
 (fol. ῤῤῤ r.)

We ask You Lord, grant Your
 servants a journey that is worthy
 and a good winds, straight paths
 [so that they arrive at] a *harbour*
 of salvation in *hope* of faith.

ΟΥΟΖΙΝΩΙΤ ΣΑΧΩΟΥ ΖΙΤΕΝ
 ΠΗΗΗΗ ΉΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΝΕΝ
 ΤΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΉΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΖΗΟΤ ΕΞΟΥΗ
 ΕΠΙΛΥΗΗΗ ΉΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΥ

And guide them through signs
 of Your *Cross* and the *sign* of
 Your grace to a *harbour* of Your
 will.

ΖΩΒ ΗΙΒΕΝ ΣΟΥΤΩΟΥΗΟΥ
 ΕΠΕΤΕΡΗΟΔΡΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΣΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΉΝΤΕΝΕΥΧΗ ΝΕΝ ΝΕΝΤΩ
 ΕΥΑΓΓΑΘΟΗ ΣΕΝ ΠΤΗΑΤ ΉΦΤ
 ΠΕΚΙΩΤ ΉΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ

Make straight all things as it is
 pleasing [to You] and fulfil our
prayers and our petitions as a
good [thing] in accordance with
 Your *good* Father

ΦΑΙΕΤΕ

To whom is...

COMMENTARY

- While the Litanies for the Travellers occur in many manuscripts,¹⁸ the last two prayers are not included in any printed books, and as far I know they are very rare even in manuscripts.
- It is worth mentioning that these last two prayers are said by the **bishop** and are included in a "Pontifical"¹⁹ while the other prayers are said by priests and deacons.
- These prayers are not included in a complete rite; such as the first two prayers which are part of the matins and vespers, and litanies said in the service of the Holy Week.

(18) To give examples from the collection of Saint Macarius preserved in Hamburg cf. L. STÖRK, *Koptische Handschriften 4* (Die Handschriften der Staatbibliothek zu Hamburg, Teil 1, Liturgische Handschriften — Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Band XXI,2), Stuttgart, 1996, p. 212, 228, 242–243, 247, 260.

(19) I. e. prayers to be performed by a Bishop cf. U. ZANETTI, "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts," *OCP*, 60 (1995), pp. 65–94.

- Nothing is connected to the last two prayers. They are not accompanied by other actions such as anointing with oil or water, or the sign of the cross.
- The Greek loan words used in the texts are very common in liturgical texts, and therefore, do not help with dating the texts.
- The rarity of the last two prayers in the manuscript could mean that they have very limited use, such as the chant for welcoming the visitors in Scetis.²⁰

The texts published above shed new light on the Coptic liturgy.

SUMMARY

Travelling was very risky in ancient times; hence there was a need to pray for the safe return of the travellers. In this paper will give an overview of the prayers for the travellers in the Coptic liturgy and we will publish for the first an edited prayer which is not attested elsewhere.

(20) U. ZANETTI, "Deux chants de bienvenue à Scété," in: *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ. Studies in honor of Robert TAFT S. J.* (Studia Anselmiana, 110), Roma 1993, pp. 593–611.

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