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A Catacomb of Syriac Texts: *Codex Arabicus* (Sin. ar. 514) Revisited

SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Margaret Dunlop Gibson, the twin sister of Agnes Smith Lewis, is known to everybody interested in Arabic Christian studies as the author of the catalogue of one of the most important collections of Christian Arabic manuscripts, preserved at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. The cataloguing itself took place in 1893, on the sisters' second visit to the monastery, and took about forty days.[1] The manuscripts had already been inventoried and Gibson carefully followed the available shelf marks. As with the catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts, prepared by Agnes S. Lewis, one finds in Gibson's catalogue a large number of manuscripts missing a description due to the unavailability of the manuscript at the time of cataloguing. Some of these eventually resurfaced, others did not.[2]

A few years later, Gibson herself found in the monastery one of the missing Arabic manuscripts, bearing the shelf mark '514'.[3] A brief note about this fortunate 'rediscovery' in 1902 was published in due course under the title *Four Remarkable Sinai Manuscripts*.[4] Besides indicating the circumstances of the finding of the manuscript, which turned out to be palimpsest, Gibson also provides the following results of her examination, which included the application of a reagent (ammonium hydrogen sulphide) to render the erased text temporarily legible. The overtext was written on parchment in Arabic in the early 10th century and contains the sermons of Jacob of Serugh and martyrs' lives. It is palimpsest throughout its 175 folios, containing in its *scriptio inferior* the Syriac text of the Gospel of John written in Estrangela and arranged in two columns. This Gospel manuscript should be dated to the 6th century at the latest, and may be the oldest copy of the Peshitta in existence. She identified one additional undertext in Syriac as the apocryphal *Transitus Mariae*. Finally, she notes, the Arabic manuscript is 'very much like the upper writing of a MS. which Mrs Lewis possesses, and whose under script she is about to publish as Studia Sinaitica, No. xi'.[5]

In this way, already during her initial study Margaret Gibson was able to detect a number of salient facts with regard to the manuscript that were later confirmed: the manuscript is palimpsest throughout, with erased texts in Syriac; the text of the Gospel of John is one of the most extensive undertexts and can be dated with certainty to the 6th century; and there is one further erased text in Syriac, the *Transitus Mariae* (*Dormition of the Virgin*). Furthermore, Gibson was right in connecting Sin. ar. 514 with another palimpsest, now preserved in Cambridge University Library under the shelf mark Or. 1287, which has gained considerable publicity because of the reused fragments of two very early Qurʾanic manuscripts.

Gibson's identification of the *Dormition of the Virgin* was facilitated by a favourable coincidence: Agnes Smith Lewis was engaged at the same time in the preparation of the edition of this very text, relying for the

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It is my great pleasure to thank Claudia Rapp and Michael Phelps for the invitation to participate in the Sinai Palimpsests Project, as well as to pay a visit to the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine. My gratitude for permission to use the library extends to the Fathers of the Monastery, especially its librarian, Father Justin Sinaites.

1 Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS*, vii–viii. For a vivid account of this trip, see Soskice, *The Sisters of Sinai*, 143–173, and, with regard to the cataloguing, pp. 156–157.

2 Out of 629 manuscripts covered by the catalogue, 53 are indicated as missing (*pace* Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, xxiii). Eighteen of these were reported as found in the course of the American-Egyptian expedition (Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, xxiii).

3 Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS*, 102.

4 Gibson, Four Remarkable Sinai Manuscripts, and later summarized in Lewis and Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, xvii–xviii.

5 Gibson, Four Remarkable Sinai Manuscripts, 509–510. Gibson specifies that she has managed to identify the undertext on ff. 41v, 86r, 89v, 162v and 173v.

most part on a palimpsest that she had purchased in Cairo (now Cambridge University Library, Or. 1287). Lewis examined the newly found Sinai palimpsest, but judged it not to be useful for the edition.[6] Nonetheless, later on, Lewis and Gibson showcased a page of Sin. ar. 514 as the frontispiece of their album *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts* in order, as they write, 'to make its existence better known'.[7]

To the best of my knowledge, no further research was devoted to the manuscript before the joint 1949–1950 American-Egyptian expedition, during which a large number of manuscripts preserved in the monastery were photographed, including Sin. ar. 514.[8] Aziz S. Atiya, an American scholar of Egyptian origin, participated in this mission and was entrusted with the task of cataloguing the Arabic manuscripts. The resulting hand-list appeared in 1955 but left much to be desired as the description was rather imprecise and sketchy.[9]

Already in the hand-list Atiya extolled the significance of Sin. ar. 514, calling it '[a] [u]nique Quintuple Palimpsest in three languages—Syriac, Greek and Arabic. Discovered on Tuesday 12 June 1950, towards the close of the Mt. Sinai Expedition, this has been christened by its discoverer and author of this Hand-list, as "Codex Arabicus"'.[10] Apparently, Atiya was intent on singling out an Arabic manuscript in order to place it alongside the *Codex Sinaiticus* and the *Syrus Sinaiticus*, the two best known of the Sinai manuscripts.[11] He also dealt with the manuscript in a number of other articles, each time limiting his remarks to some general observations.[12]

According to Atiya, the same ancient Syriac manuscript was reused four times, once for the production of another Syriac manuscript, once for a Greek manuscript, and twice more for two Arabic manuscripts. In the words of the author: '[…] the Arabicus is established as having on its archaic parchment five layers of writing—two in Syriac, one in Greek and two in Arabic. This is a record unmatched in palimpsest history. […] The top layer, which is in very good condition, was written in what may be described as early Kufic or perhaps pre-Kufic archaic Naskh […] in the late eighth or early ninth century. […] The next layer, again in Arabic, is written in even more archaic and sharply angular pre-Kufic Naskh and may safely be placed in the first Hejira century […]. Although it is difficult to determine the subject of the contents of this layer […] it would appear that this must have been a Gospel or Gospel Lectionary; in this case it could be the most ancient attempt at an Arabic rendering of any section of the Christian Scripture. The third layer is a Greek Lectionary of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians in uncials of what may be the late sixth or early seventh century. […] Beyond those three layers, two more, in Syriac, may be discerned—one relatively late and another early. It is this latter which appears to be, not only the oldest, but also the most important. It comprises portions of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. John and especially St. Mark which has a considerable number of significant variants from the Peshitta text […] one may wonder whether the Arabicus palimpsest predates the Peshitta'.[13]

As we can see, Atiya did his best to promote the importance of the *Codex Arabicus*. In particular with regard to the Syriac undertexts, he proposed to see in the Gospel text the so-called Old Syriac version of the Gospels. The Old Syriac translation is the earliest Syriac translation of the Gospels, predating the Peshitta version and usually dated to the third century. However, as was demonstrated by Sebastian Brock (based on a single black and white reproduction of f. 42r included in Atiya's catalogue[14]), as a matter of fact the text of the Gospel of

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[6] Lewis acknowledges that she consulted the undertext of Sin. ar. 514, but decided not to include its evidence due to the fact that 'the variants are too slight to be worth recording' (Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, v).

[7] Lewis and Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, xvii.

[8] Notwithstanding Atiya's statement ('[t]he two [*i.e*. Sin. ar. 514 and Sin. ar. 588] have been vaguely known to a very narrow circle of people', in Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, xxvi), I am not aware of any mention of Sin. ar. 514 in any publications besides those by Gibson and Lewis.

[9] Another limitation of the catalogue was that it covered only those manuscripts that were photographed. Atiya also prepared a more detailed description of the entire collection of Arabic manuscripts, but only half of this was published in Arabic translation, covering only the first 300 manuscripts (ʿAṭiya, *Al-Fahāris*).

[10] Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, 19. The description is accompanied by four plates (II B, III, IV and V).

[11] Here explicitly: Atiya, Codex Arabicus, 75. The discovery of the ancient palimpsest made headlines in major newspapers worldwide (see, for instance, the article entitled 'Ancient Biblical Texts Found in Mount Sinai Monastery', The Washington Post, January 21, 1951, featuring a photograph of Atiya perusing a microfilm copy of the *Codex Arabicus* and reporting that '[i]f the manuscript justifies the hopes of Dr. Atiya, it will be the archeological find of the century').

[12] Atiya, The Monastery of St. Catherine; Atiya, The Arabic Treasures; Atiya, The Codex Arabicus of Mt. Sinai; Atiya, The Arabic Palimpsests; Atiya, Codex Arabicus.

[13] Atiya, Codex Arabicus, 76, 78.

[14] Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, plate iii.

Matthew follows the Peshitta version.[15] Moreover, Atiya appears to have attached particular significance to the portions from the Gospel of Mark that markedly disagreed with the Peshitta, but as it turns out the undertext was simply wrongly identified, and in reality it contains the Gospel of Matthew according to the Peshitta version.[16]

Because there was no reliable description of either its *scriptio superior* or *scriptiones inferiores* apart from Atiya's rather brief and unsystematic notes, his assessment was accepted and repeated by the scholarly community. Since then, nearly every mention of the palimpsest has reiterated Atiya's captivating words about 'the unique quintuple palimpsest in three languages'.[17]

For the sake of fairness, it is worth mentioning that Julius Assfalg found one *membrum disiectum* of the *Codex Arabicus* in which he identified not only the Arabic overtexts of the fragment, but also the Syriac undertext as containing the *Dormition of the Virgin*.[18] At the time of Assfalg's cataloguing, the four-folio fragment belonged to the private collection of consul D.W. Adam in Goslar; it now forms part of the Schøyen collection in Oslo (MS 579).[19] Its Syriac undertext was later edited by Stephen Shoemaker, who highlighted the significance of the manuscript as a testimony to the text's wide circulation in Late Antiquity.[20]

Finally and most recently, Peter Tarras has published an online blog post devoted to the *Codex Arabicus*.[21] There Tarras provides a revised reading of the note containing the scribe's name—Thomas of Fusṭaṭ (Ṭōmā al-Fusṭāṭī)[22]—and presents two other manuscripts, both of monastic content, produced by the same scribe: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, MS 4225[23], and Bryn Mawr College Library, BV 69.[24]

Gibson's study of the *scriptio inferior* was largely dependent on the application of a chemical reagent which was able to enhance the erased ink, but at the same time caused serious damage to the parchment.[25] In the course of the 20th century such a disadvantageous approach was superseded by various non-invasive methods, the most efficient being multispectral imaging.[26] Today, thanks to the collaboration between the Monastery of St. Catherine and the Sinai Palimpsests Project, we are in possession of high-resolution multispectral images which greatly facilitate the study of the palimpsest and are thereby able to assess the judgment of Atiya. Cataloguing of Sin. ar. 514 for the project was assigned to me, and the multispectral images accompanied by my

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[15] Brock, A Palimpsest Folio. Brock also identified the Syriac undertext of f. 47r (plate IV in Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*) as containing Col. 3:22.

[16] The mistaken identification of the Old Syriac version of the Gospel of Mark was communicated to Atiya by a renowned Biblical scholar, Paul Kahle. The archive of the Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Arabes Chrétiennes (CEDRAC) at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut has preserved a copy of Kahle's report relating to the Gospel undertexts dated December 26, 1950. Kahle provides the correct identification of three pages (ff. 19v, 39r, 130v) as containing the text of the Gospels of Matthew and John, but errs in his identification of f. 83r as containing the Old Syriac version of Mark 14:1–9. As a matter of fact, Kahle's mistaken identification was rectified already early on by the eminent Biblical scholar Matthew Black (who was a student of Kahle) in a letter to Aziz Atiya dated January 9, 1951 (a digital copy is available at: https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6nz91ct/779532, accessed 01.07.2023).

[17] A few random examples should suffice as illustration: Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra*, 269; Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, 27; Griffith, Monks of Palestine, 19; Griffith, From Aramaic to Arabic, 26; Hilali, *The Sanaa Palimpsest*, 5. Some doubts, however, have been raised in Tuerlinckx, Les palimpsestes, 193.

[18] Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften*, 215–220.

[19] https://www.schoyencollection.com/apocryphal-literature/codex-arabicus-ms-579 (accessed 01.07.2023). The fragment formerly belonged to F. Grote (on whom see Kessel, Membra disjecta sinaitica I, 487–488 and Kessel, Membra disjecta sinaitica II, 50–51).

[20] Shoemaker, New Syriac Dormition Fragments. The remaining part of this text, as preserved in Sin. ar. 514, was edited in Brock and Kessel, "Departure of Mary".

[21] Tarras, Thomas of Fustat.

[22] Tarras claims that Atiya overlooked the scribal note, notwithstanding the fact that Atiya did in fact mention it, although not in his *Handlist* but in a later article (Atiya, Arabic Palimpsests of Mount Sinai, 118–119). Atiya's reading of the scribe's name is nevertheless incorrect: 'Ṭōmā al-Dolamāṭī' ('Thomas the Dalmatian').

[23] The only elaborate study of the manuscript is still unpublished, Mansour, *Homélies et légendes religieuses*, but see also Zaborowski, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. A digital copy of the manuscript is available online at: https://www.numistral.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10224668j (accessed 01.07.2023).

[24] Earlier, Michael Van Esbroeck identified the following *membra disiecta* of Bryn Mawr College, BV 69: Leiden Or. 14238, Mingana Christ. Arab. 94, Add. Arab. 130, Add. Arab. 148 and Add. Arab. 149 (van Esbroeck, Remembrement d'un manuscrit). A digital copy is available online at: http://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0003/html/bv_069.html (accessed 01.07.2023).

[25] One can find illustrations of the damage caused by different reagent in Albrecht, Between Boon and Bane.

[26] Albrecht, Methods.

identifications are now available at the *Sinai Palimpsests Research Site*.[27] In the course of my work on this article I have refined my description and, most importantly, identified a good number of additional texts that remained unidentified during the initial study which was undertaken in the years 2015–2016.

SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR

Manuscript Sin. ar. 514 is a collection comprised of homiletic and hagiographic works and the book of Job, most probably all translated from Greek and Syriac.[28] It consists of 176 folios: folios 1–12 measure ca. 190 × 125 mm, the remainder 230 × 150 mm.[29] The ductus varies considerably,[30] and the same is true in general for the layout: ruling is absent, the lines are not justified, and the number of lines differs from page to page.

The manuscript in its present form demonstrates various types of physical damage, including the loss of many of its leaves. As mentioned earlier, four leaves are preserved today in the Schøyen collection (MS 579). The original location of that fragment, at the end of the manuscript, is easy to discern: it starts with the martyrdom of Barsamyā, and that is where Sin. ar. 514 breaks off. As far as the *scriptio inferior* is concerned, all four folios of the fragment contain the apocryphal *Dormition of the Virgin*.

It is probable that another seven missing leaves of the *Codex Arabicus* today form Cod. arab. 1066 at the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.[31] While the texts in the *scriptio superior* were described by Georg Graf,[32] only the content of f. 2 of the *scriptio inferior* has been identified so far, as belonging to 2 Samuel 3:2–11.[33] My examination of the images, made in natural light, allowed for a number of other identifications: on f. 3v one may recognize Daniel 2:31, and the same undertext seems to be present on ff. 5 and 7; f. 6r contains 2 Samuel 3: 25–39; ff. 1 and 4 apparently have *scriptio inferior* in Arabic. The fragments from 2 Samuel and Daniel belong to the same two original Syriac manuscripts, parts of which we can find in the *Codex Arabicus* (nos. 2 and 4).[34] It is probable that a systematic examination of the fragments of Sinai manuscripts scattered around the world will bring to light additional missing leaves.[35]

Particularly regrettable is the loss of the colophon which could have informed us about the historical circumstances of the manuscript's production. Nevertheless, a scribal note appended to the book of Job contains the scribe's name, Thomas of Fustat. A number of this scribe's manuscripts have survived, and one of these is of particular importance because it has preserved information about its date of completion and place of copying. According to the colophon of Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, MS 4225, this manuscript was produced by Thomas of Fustat at Sinai in the year 288 AH, which corresponds to the period between December 900 and November 901 CE. It is thus highly likely that Thomas of Fustat also copied the *Codex Arabicus* at Sinai.

There is one more manuscript that, despite the loss of its colophon, may be attributed to the same scribe. This is the palimpsest Cambridge University Library, Or. 1287, an Arabic homiletic and hagiographic miscellany which was mentioned earlier as the manuscript purchased by Agnes Smith Lewis in Cairo.[36] Besides the very similar layout, handwriting and ductus, the two manuscripts also feature the same interlaced decorative bar, and both have an identical—albeit used by other scribes alike—formula introducing the text ('Christ is my

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[27] https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/ (accessed 01.07.2023).

[28] As of today, there is no detailed description of the manuscript, but see Atiya, *Arabic Palimpsests of Mount Sinai*, 115–119 and Atiya, Codex Arabicus. The catalogue description of Kamil is based on Atiya's study (Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts*, 42). For the book of Job see Tarras, Thomas of Fustat. A complete catalogue of the collection of Arabic manuscripts was undertaken in the years 2001–2004 under the supervision of Samir Khalil Samir, but never completed.

[29] All the catalogue descriptions indicate that the manuscript consists of 175 folios. This, however, is not correct, and arises from the fact that the second folio was erroneously foliated as '1'.

[30] This is most probably why Georg Graf distinguished three different manuscripts among the seven folios of Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1066 (Graf, Christlich-arabische Handschriftenfragmente, 125) on which see below.

[31] A digital copy is available at: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0013/bsb00130949/images/ (accessed 01.07.2023).

[32] Graf, Christlich-arabische Handschriftenfragmente, 125–127. See also Assfalg, Der christliche Orient, 94–95.

[33] Peshiṭta Institute Communications, 127. The undertext received a siglum 7pk15 in the Leiden edition of the Peshitta Old Testament.

[34] Henceforth the references are made to the description of Syriac undertexts that can be found in the Appendix.

[35] As has been done, for example, in Binggeli, Les trois David.

[36] On this manuscript see: Fedeli, Mingana and the Manuscript of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis; Fedeli, The Digitization Project; George, Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana.

God and my aid, Mārtmaryam is my mistress and my intercession'), as well as exhibiting several other shared scribal practices. Furthermore—as will be shown below—folios from at least two identical codices were used for the production of both Sin. ar. 514 and Cambridge, Or. 1287. The similarity of these two manuscripts was recognized earlier, but a more thorough analysis is still pending.[37]

SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES[38]

A quick glance through the list of the undertexts of the *Codex Arabicus* would suffice to recognize that this palimpsest is of an extraordinary nature. Not only is it palimpsest throughout, but many of its leaves bear three layers of writing. In total, it has been possible to identify twenty-nine different texts, of various genres—Biblical, apocryphal, hagiographical, poetic, theological, liturgical, and medicinal—present in the middle and the lowest layers. At present, it is my considered view that folios removed from nineteen independent manuscripts—eighteen in Syriac and one Greek-Arabic—were reused for the production of the *Codex Arabicus*. What is more, seven of these were already palimpsests, and are thus *bis rescripti*.

Limiting ourselves to the nineteen *codices antiquiores* that were used for the production of the *Codex Arabicus*, it is possible to determine that they range in date between the 5th/6th and the 9th centuries. Curiously, the largest number of reused manuscripts are datable to the 6th century, and the second largest group come from the 9th century. In the case of the latter group, there is a very short time span between time of production and reuse at the turn of the 10th century, constituting a period of only 50 to 100 years.[39]

The reasons that lie behind the reuse of all these manuscripts cannot be easily ascertained.[40] What can be ruled out straightaway is the incomprehensibility of a foreign language. Although we know nothing about the Arabic-speaking scribe's command of Syriac, he was clearly working in a multilingual environment in which Syriac played a prominent role. So even if he was unable to read Syriac, Syriac manuscripts must have been used and read by others in the same community. In the case of the Monastery of St. Catherine, multilingualism is well-documented.[41] Leaving this aside, we face a couple of more probable options. First of all, some manuscripts and the texts they contained could naturally have been considered obsolete and antiquated. For example, this applies to the text of Daniel in a recension that is not otherwise attested (no. 4) and that must have attracted little attention of its potential readers; the 6th-century Gospel books might not have been easy to use in the 9th century because of the development of the Gospel text itself, as well as changes in liturgical practice which resulted in complete copies of the Gospels being replaced by lectionaries (nos. 6, 7, 9); the two apocryphal texts, the *Infancy Gospel of James* and the *Dormition of the Virgin*, changed substantially in the course of these centuries (nos. 16 and 17);[42] the works of Ephrem of Nisibis were no longer appealing to readers, and were not copied in full beyond the 6th century (no. 25);[43] finally, the old copy of a herbal (no. 29) must have similarly been considered outmoded in comparison with contemporary pharmacopoeas.[44]

Secondly, manuscripts that were damaged and thereby excluded from usual circulation were especially liable to be reused. Here one further observation on the nature of the writing material can be made. Some reused manuscript parts are not bifolios, but singletons (see nos. 2, 15, 19, 21).[45] The reuse of single folios does not necessarily imply that there was a desperate lack of writing material. A reasonable assumption would be that the scribe was availing himself of a significant stockpile of parchment deriving from dismantled Syriac manu-

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37 George, Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana, 406–416.

38 In what follows, I limit myself to the material preserved in the actual manuscript Sin. ar. 514, and hence do not take into consideration its *membra disiecta* and their *scriptiones inferiores*.

39 Schmidt in her study of the palimpsests held at the British Library observes a similar pattern (that the largest number of *codices antiquiores* belong to the 5th-7th centuries, and the shortest life span of a manuscript before its recycling is 100 to 150 years) (Schmidt, Syriac palimpsests, 166–167).

40 For some observations with regard to the Syriac palimpsests, see Schmidt, Syriac Palimpsests, 169–171. For a broader survey see Kohlbacher, Palimpseste als Geschichtsquelle.

41 For its reflection in the Arabic palimpsests, see Tuerlinckx, Les palimpsestes. See also the contribution of Claudia Rapp in this volume.

42 Desreumaux, Les apocryphes syriaques.

43 Butts, Manuscript Transmission as Reception History, 291–292.

44 For a survey of botanical and pharmaceutical literature in Syriac, see Bhayro and Hawley, La littérature botanique.

45 This is different from the widespread pattern of reuse where a bifolio of large format was intentionally cut in two and then turned by 90 or 270 degrees to form from each half a bifolio for a new manuscript.

scripts, without regard to their format, condition, or quality.

In what follows I would like to offer some provisional remarks about a few of the more prominent texts. A complete list of the texts—whether identified or not—can be found in the Appendix below.

Ephrem, *Against the Jews* (?)

The longest text (48 folios in total, no. 25) preserved in the underwriting escapes immediate identification. It is a polemic against the Jews, and deals extensively with Old Testament prophecies about Christ. Although we can be fairly sure that this text is not otherwise known, it is nevertheless possible to suggest an identification. A passage that occurs on f. 147r was quoted by the Syrian Orthodox theologian Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523). This quotation appears in the patristic florilegium compiled by Philoxenos as an appendix to his polemical treatise against Ḥabbib, whom he considered a Nestorian.[46] Most of the Ephremian quotations present in Philoxenos' florilegium have been identified by scholars as belonging to Ephrem's extant works.[47] A few remain unidentified, most likely because of the loss of a part of Ephrem's literary corpus.[48] Unfortunately, Philoxenos introduces the quotation under consideration without mentioning the title of his source text. Elsewhere in the florilegium, however, he quotes from an otherwise lost work of Ephrem entitled *Against the Jews*. It is known that there existed a collection of 66 *madrāšē* (hymns) with this title, of which nothing seems to have survived.[49] Whereas the attribution to Ephrem is secure, and it is tempting to go a step further and see in this extensive undertext the lost work *Against the Jews*. A more detailed analysis will be required to verify this hypothesis.[50]

Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistles to the Magnesians and the Trallians*

Two folios contain portions of the *Epistles* of Ignatius of Antioch to the Magnesians and Trallians (no. 23). The *Epistles* of Ignatius attested in the Syriac tradition belong to two recensions. The first recension, comprising three *Epistles—to Polycarp*, *to the Ephesians*, and *to the Romans*—survives in a group of three manuscripts, and since their publication by William Cureton it has been regarded as representing a short recension unknown in any other version.[51] The second recension, also known as the 'middle' recension, is the most widespread and is preserved in different versions, but is attested in Syriac only in the form of quotations and extracts.[52] Joseph B. Lightfoot (*pace* Cureton, who considered the short recension to be genuine) argues that 'we have in these fragments portions of the lost Syriac version', which he called the 'unabridged Syriac version'.[53] Comparison of the text of the *Epistles* preserved in the palimpsest allows to identify it as belonging to the middle recension, the continuous Syriac version of which has not been hitherto known.

Indeed, one of the extant Syriac extracts belonging to the middle recension corresponds exactly to the text preserved in our palimpsest: a canonical collection attested by manuscript Paris, BnF, syr. 62 as well as a number of other manuscripts[54] include an extract containing *Trall.* 2, 3.[55] On the basis of the new evidence one may now argue that the fragment found in the canonical collection was not an *ad hoc* translation, but derived from a complete translation of Ignatius' corpus, which is now attested in this palimpsest. One wonders whether the other extracts may likewise be considered as originating from this complete translation.

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[46] Edition: Brière and Graffin, *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem*, here p. 114, lines 10–11 (§ 227).

[47] Van Rompay, Mallpânâ dilan Suryâyâ.

[48] Graffin, Le florilège patristique.

[49] Brock, In Search of St Ephrem, 69. It is worth noting that there are a further two manuscript witnesses which may prove to contain the same text: Dayr al-Suryān, Syriac Fragment 50, and the *scriptio inferior* of the manuscript British Library, Add. 14,512.

[50] Anti-Jewish polemics occupies a prominent place in the works of Ephrem. See, for instance, the study of Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy*.

[51] Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, and republished later by Wright in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,3, 75–85.

[52] Brought together by Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, 197–225, and later revised by Wright in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,3, 93–124.

[53] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,1, 104. For a current state of the art regarding the corpus of Ignatius' writings, see Vinzent, Ignatian Recensions.

[54] For the new manuscript witnesses see Batovici, Four New Syriac Witnesses.

[55] First edited in Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, 198, and then later by Wright in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,3, 94–95.

Interestingly, whereas in the Greek manuscripts of the middle recension the *Epistles to the Magnesians* and *to the Trallians* occupy the fourth and sixth positions respectively, the Syriac text attested by the palimpsest provides a different ordering. Here, the *Epistle to the Magnesians* precedes the *Epistle to the Trallians*, and the latter is explicitly marked in the heading as the 'fifth epistle'. Precisely the same order, however, is attested by the Armenian translation produced on the basis of the Syriac *Vorlage*.[56]

An Unknown Version of Daniel

Five leaves contain a fragment from the book of Daniel (no. 4) that does not correspond completely to any of the three known Syriac versions (Peshitta, Syro-Hexapla, and the revision of Jacob of Edessa),[57] but represents an attempt to revise the standard Peshitta version against the Septuagint. Given the ample size of the extant fragment, one can rule out the possibility that it is either an *ad hoc* translation of a quotation embedded in another work or belongs to a liturgical book.

Herbal

Six folios contain an early specimen of a medicinal herbal in Syriac (no. 29). This fragment appears to belong to the earliest stage of the Syriac pharmacological tradition, and shows some similarities with other extant collections of recipes, including those preserved within the *Syriac Book of Medicines*. Moreover, the presence of Greek plant names and their Syriac equivalents offers unique evidence for the formation of Syriac botanical nomenclature.

Dated Palimpsest Fragment

Finally, it is extremely rare to find a dated colophon in a palimpsest.[58] Two, or maybe three, leaves (no. 15) contain the end of the Epistle to Hebrews (12:12–13:25), which is followed by a colophon. By its testimony, the manuscript was completed in the year 863 according to the Seleucid ('Greek') era, which corresponds to 551/2 of the Common Era. This precise date makes the palimpsest fragment the second oldest dated copy of Pauline Epistles in Syriac translation. The most ancient manuscript copy, from Dair al-Suryān and preserved today in the British Library (Add. 14,479), was copied in the year 533/4 in Edessa, and contains the corpus of Pauline Epistles. It is highly plausible that the manuscript that was reused for the *Codex Arabicus* had the same content and was perhaps even of the same origin.[59]

There are also a number of other texts witnessed to by *Codex Arabicus*. For some—such as the *Life of Sergius and Bacchus*[60] and Jacob of Serugh's *Ninth Homily on Joseph*—somewhat older manuscript copies are available,[61] but the new evidence provided by the *Codex Arabicus* may offer additional insights with regard to their transmission and what eventually led to the reuse of the manuscript copies.

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[56] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,1 86–91.

[57] For a survey, see Jenner, Syriac Daniel.

[58] See, for example, manuscript British Library, Add. 14,512, which contains as *scriptio inferior* the book of Isaiah copied in 459/460 CE. Cf. Tisserant, Le plus ancien manuscrit biblique daté.

[59] For a detailed study of the fragment, see Kessel, A Syriac Palimpsest Fragment.

[60] The Syriac version of the life was edited by Paul Bedjan, relying on the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 222 (copied in 1881 CE) as the main witness (Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 3, 283–322). Given the very recent date of this manuscript, a new edition seems to be a desideratum, particularly because there are a good number of old manuscripts (the oldest, British Library, Add. 17,205 dates back, according to Wright's assessment, to the 6th century), to which we can now also add the fragment preserved in our palimpsest.

[61] Heal, Note on Jacob of Sarug's Memre on Joseph. Among the oldest manuscripts are British Library, Add. 14,584, Add. 14,604 and Vat. sir. 252, all datable to the 6th or 7th century.

CODEX ARABICUS AND THE MINGANA-LEWIS PALIMPSEST: SHARED REUSED MANUSCRIPTS

It goes without saying that in resorting to the dismantled manuscripts the ancient scribes must have reused writing material procured from the same *codices antiquiores* for a variety of new books. The extant manuscripts, few as they may be, that contain parts of the same reused *codices antiquiores* are just another indication of the high ratio of manuscript loss. That is why it is all the more remarkable to be able to establish connection between two important manuscripts, the *Codex Arabicus* and the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest (Cambridge University Library, Or. 1287). The reuse of the same codices in these two palimpsests suggests that they are likely to have been produced by the same scribe, Thomas of Fustat.[62]

The Mingana-Lewis palimpsest, just like the *Codex Arabicus*, is palimpsest throughout, produced from a large number of different manuscripts. According to the preliminary analysis carried out by Lewis, parts of roughly ten manuscripts were reused.[63]

It contains as one of its undertexts the *Infancy Gospel of James*, which was identified by Agnes Smith Lewis. In total, there are eleven folios which present the text arranged in two columns. The extant text begins at the end of chapter 9. The *Codex Arabicus* contains three leaves bearing the *Infancy Gospel of James* with identical layout and script. The beginning of the extant section in the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest (f. 92r) seamlessly matches the end of the same text in the *Codex Arabicus* (f. 49v)[64]: *ʾeṯā ʾenā <lwāṯēḵ(y)> || māryā hū nehwē lēḵ(y) mnaṭrānā*.

One further manuscript was used for the production of both the *Codex Arabicus* and the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest. As was noticed by Lewis, two folios of the latter (ff. 134 and 137) are double palimpsest: the lowest layer contains the text of Isaiah, whereas on the middle layer there is a text consisting of multiple verses from the Bible, which Lewis suggested was a homily.[65] It is highly likely that the same palimpsested manuscript was used for the production of the *Codex Arabicus*. There, f. 101 likewise carries text with verses from the Bible (no. 28), written in the same distinctive type of handwriting, with the text of Zechariah as the lowest layer (no. 5).

A proper comparison of the two manuscripts will help to ascertain if parts of other *codices antiquiores* made their way into both.[66] A joint study of these two manuscripts may also shed light on how the reused manuscripts reached the scribe. In particular, one wonders whether the dismantling took place in the same place where the new manuscripts were produced, or at another location, where the writing material arrived already prepared for reuse.[67]

THE MAKING OF THE *CODEX ARABICUS*

On the basis of analysis of the undertexts, it is possible to posit that parts of nineteen different—eighteen Syriac and one Greek-Arabic—manuscripts were reused for the production of the *Codex Arabicus*. The amount of reused writing material from each independent codex ranges from one folio to forty-eight folios. Given the variety of formats among the originals, each reused manuscript was subjected to a specific treatment which can roughly be categorized in two ways: a) a bifolio from the original manuscript was cut in two, and the resulting folio folded and turned by 90 (←) or 270 (→) degrees to become a bifolio in the new manuscript; b) the original bifolio was employed as a bifolio in the new manuscript, either turned by 180 (↑) or running in parallel (↓) with the overtext, which renders its reading very difficult. In both cases the resulting bifolio could have been additionally trimmed. In just a few cases we observe more idiosyncratic patterns of reuse: the use of a folio as a singleton (e.g. nos. 2, 15, 19 and 21) and, even more rarely, the use of a bifolio as a folio (e.g. nos. 8, 26 and 28).

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[62] My analysis of the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest relies on black and white reproductions (Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*) as well as on digital images made in natural light, which are available at: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01287 (accessed 01.07.2023).

[63] Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, ix–xxxiv.

[64] The palimpsest was used by Lewis for the edition in Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 2*–23*. Corroborating evidence is provided by manuscript Sin. syr. NF M26N, in which the passage under consideration can be found on f. 3v.

[65] Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, xxv–xxvi.

[66] At the time of writing, multispectral images are only available for the fragments of two Qurʾans (https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01287-small/ and https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01287-LARGE/, accessed 01.07.2023).

[67] It has been argued that the palimpsestation took place at Sinai (Tuerlinckx, Les palimpsestes, 199–200).

There is a remarkable lack of consistency in the orientation of the reused folios, as different folios deriving from the same *codices antiquiores* often appear in random orientation. At the same time, palimpsest folios from the same original codex tend to be positioned close to each other in the process of reuse.

The large number of reused manuscripts, coupled with the occasional use of singletons and bifolios as a folio, strongly suggests that while working on the production of this manuscript the scribe had at his disposal a significant stockpile of parchment already prepared for reuse. We can go a step further and posit that, despite the quantity of reused writing material, each and every leaf had been deemed appropriate for reuse. This is further confirmed by the reuse of folios that carried palimpsest which had already been erased—the scribe must have been conscious of the difficulty that three layers create for the reader!

CONCLUSIONS

The manuscript Sin. ar. 514 has attracted a remarkable degree of scholarly interest but nevertheless has not ever been properly studied. Discovered by Margaret Dunlop Gibson at the Monastery of St. Catherine at the beginning of the 20th century, both its *scriptio superior* and *inferior* received very limited attention from scholars. Notwithstanding the lack of a proper study, this manuscript was elevated by Aziz Atiya to the ranks of the most important Sinai manuscripts, on a par with the Greek *Codex Sinaiticus* and the Syriac *Codex Syriacus*. According to Atiya's arguments, one and the same Syriac manuscript was reused four times in total, once for the production of another Syriac manuscript, once for a Greek manuscript, and twice more for two Arabic manuscripts; hence the codex carries five layers of writing. The fame of 'the unique quintuple palimpsest in three languages' was subsequently retained by scholarship.

The first in-depth examination of the *scriptiones inferiores* undertaken here—carried out thanks to the availability of the high-quality multispectral images produced in the context of the Sinai Palimpsests Project—allows us to give a more precise evaluation of the codex, one which in no way diminishes its value, but rather adds further facets which increase its significance.

On the one hand, it is now possible to dismiss the interpretation of the *Codex Arabicus* as being a manuscript bearing five layers of writing. Atiya treated the codex as a unity, and he attributed the traces of reuse noticeable in different parts of the manuscript cumulatively to the entire manuscript, and therefore erroneously reached the conclusion that the same manuscript had been reused four times.

On the other hand, this palimpsest is one of a kind and can undoubtedly be considered as belonging to the most important Sinai manuscripts, albeit for very different reasons to those adduced by Atiya. Among its 176 folios one can distinguish parts from nineteen originally independent manuscripts, seven of which were already palimpsests.[68] It is possible to distinguish twenty-nine different Syriac texts, one Greek, and one Arabic. Most of the texts are Biblical, but there are also fragments of apocryphal, liturgical, hagiographic, patristic, and pharmacological literature.[69] A Latin manuscript Vat. Palat. lat. 24, was once called 'a veritable mausoleum', because it contains parts from nine important Latin manuscripts.[70] In the same vein, the *Codex Arabicus* can be metaphorically compared to a catacomb with a maze of paths and bends.

The *Codex Arabicus* is not the only example of a manuscript that was produced from parts of a large number of originally independent codices. What is particularly worthy of note in this respect is that rather often such manuscripts were made at Sinai (such as the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest).[71]

The textual value of the texts identified in the underwritings of the *Codex Arabicus* that are also known in complete form still remains to be assessed, but there are four texts for which the *Codex Arabicus* is now the only extant witness. The first is a very extensive portion from the lost work of Ephrem of Nisibis, which I have tentatively proposed identifying with his work *Against the Jews*. The second is a fragment from the Syriac

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[68] Among the known Syriac palimpsests, British Library, Add. 17,136 contains parts of five reused codices (cf. Schmidt, Syriac Palimpsests, 162). This manuscript is also the only known specimen of a double palimpsest among some 68 palimpsests preserved at the British Library (Schmidt, Syriac Palimpsests, 163 with an illustration on p. 167).

[69] For the genres of the reused Syriac manuscripts, see Schmidt, Syriac Palimpsests, 170–171.

[70] Lowe, Codices rescripti, 486. On the manuscript itself see also Fohlen, Recherches.

[71] One can also mention the Arabic manuscript Ambrosian Library, L 120 sup. which is made from parts of at least 20 different manuscripts (Sirat *et al.*, Vingt manuscrits). See also a useful survey of Arabic palimpsests in Tuerlinckx, Les palimpsestes.

version of the middle recension of the *Epistles* of Ignatius of Antioch, known otherwise only in the form of excerpts. The third is a fragment from the unknown Syriac version of the Book of Daniel, which represents an attempt to revise the standard Peshitta version against the Septuagint. The fourth is a fragment from a herbal in Syriac, which appears to represent the earliest stage in the history of Syriac medicine, and documents the formation of the Syriac botanical nomenclature. Also worth mentioning is a fragment from the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contains a colophon dated 551/2 CE, making it the second oldest dated copy of the Pauline Epistles and a rare example of a reused manuscript that has preserved a date.

Besides showing the grouping of the leaves as pertaining to the same reused *codices antiquiores* and identifying a large number of the undertexts, it has been possible to point to another manuscript, the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest in Cambridge, which—as argued—was produced by the same scribe, Thomas of Fustat, making use of parts of at least two *codices antiquiores* that were also used for the production of the *Codex Arabicus*. The availability of multispectral images for the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest will enable a more thorough comparison.

This study constitutes only a first step in the exploration of the treasure trove stored within the *Codex Arabicus*. Much remains to be done. First, we need to track down its *membra disiecta*, which may be held, as is the case with other manuscript fragments of Sinaitic provenance, in various libraries and collections around the world. Second, a number of texts still await identification, and this can unquestionably be assisted by the application of more advanced methods of image processing. Third, the undertexts need to be transcribed, studied, and their textual evidence evaluated. Fourth, comparative examination of the undertexts of both the *Codex Arabicus* and the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest may help to recover additional portions of the same reused manuscripts and shed light on the origin of the Mingana-Lewis palimpsest. As a further step, one could venture into the history of the reused manuscripts, and into how and in what form they reached the scribe working at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai. Last but not least, the study of the *scriptio superior* has the potential to contribute to our understanding of the manuscript output of the scribe Thomas of Fustat. Eventually, on the basis of the results of this complex research, we will have a greater understanding of the culture of palimpsests, particularly in the Middle East, but also more globally.

APPENDIX

Codices Antiquiores:

19 reused manuscripts, 7 of which are double palimpsests
(arranged in decreasing order of number of extant folios containing the erased text)

1.	Ephrem of Nisibis, *Against the Jews*	(48 ff., no. 25)
2.	Gospel of John + Gospel of Matthew	(44 ff., no. 9) + (2 ff., no. 7)
3.	Gospel of Matthew	(23 ff., no. 6)
4.	Syriac Orthodox liturgical hymns	(9 ff., no. 18)
5.	Patristic florilegium [*codex bis rescriptus*: Numbers (no. 1) and Judith (no. 3)]	(9 ff., no. 24)
6.	*Dormition of the Virgin*	(7 ff., no. 17)
7.	Herbal [*codex bis rescriptus*: Ephesians (no. 11) + 2 Thessalonians (no. 13) + 1 Timothy (no. 14)]	(6 ff., no. 29)
8.	Daniel	(5 ff., no. 4)
9.	Acts	(4 ff., no. 10)
10.	Jacob of Serugh, *Homilies on Joseph*	(3 ff., no. 26)
11.	Hebrews	(3 ff., no. 15)
12.	*Infancy Gospel of James*	(3 ff., no. 16)
13.	*Life of Sergius and Bacchus*	(2 ff., no. 22)
14.	Greek (liturgical), Arabic (unidentified) [*codex bis rescriptus*: Colossians (no. 12)]	(2 ff.)

15. Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistles* (2 ff., no. 23)
    [*codex bis rescriptus*: theological (no. 27)]
16. 1 Samuel (1 f., no. 2)
17. Rum Orthodox (Melkite) Euchologion (1 f., no. 21)
    [*codex bis rescriptus*: liturgical (no. 20)]
18. Ritual for Easter (1 f., no. 19)
    [*codex bis rescriptus*: Gospel of John (no. 8)]
19. Homily with verses from the Old Testament (1 f., no. 28)
    [*codex bis rescriptus*: Zechariah (no. 5)]

Syriac Undertexts of the *Codex Arabicus* (Arranged by Subject)[72]

Biblical

1. Numbers (Peshitta), ch. 4
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 16 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio and trimmed
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 24)

ff. 2, 6, 13–14

f. 6r: Num 4:16–17
f. 2v: Num 4:18–21
f. 2r: illegible
f. 6v: illegible
ff. 13–14: the identification is provisional because the text is almost completely illegible

2. 1 Samuel (Peshitta), ch. 31
Estrangela, 6th c.
1 column, 21 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: folios employed as singletons (format preserved)

f. 33r: 1 Sam 31:4–8
f. 33v: 1 Sam 31:8–13

3. Judith (Peshitta), chs. 4, 7, 8, 14, 16 (Fig. 2)
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, 23 lines
orientation: ↓
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio and trimmed
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 24)

ff. 5, 9–12

f. 11r: Jdt 4:6–15
f. 10v: Jdt 7:11–18
f. 10r: Jdt 7:18–20

[72] For reasons of space, I do not provide the Syriac text.

f. 5r: Jdt 8:5–11
f. 5v: Jdt 8:11–16
f. 12v: Jdt 14:10–?
f. 9r: Jdt 16:15–23
f. 11v: illegible
f. 12r: illegible
f. 9v: illegible

4. Daniel (unknown revision of Peshitta version based on septuagint), chs. 2–3 (Fig. 6)
Estrangela, 7th c.
1 column, 27 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio

ff. 95, 97, 100, 102, 105

f. 97r: Dn 2:9–15
f. 97v: Dn 2:16–24
f. 102v: Dn 2:37–44
f. 102r: Dn 2:44–49
f. 105r: Dn 3:12–17
f. 105v: Dn 3:18–23
f. 95v: Dn 3:23–32
f. 95r: Dn 3:32–40
f. 100r: Dn 3:56–71
f. 100v: Dn 3:72–82

5. Zechariah (Peshitta), chs. 2–3 (Fig. 7)
Estrangela, 5th/6th c.
4 columns, max. 18 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: trimmed bifolio employed as folio
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 28)

f. 101 (the full extent of the passages cannot be identified)

f. 101v: Zec 2:16–3:2
f. 101r: Zec 3:2–5

6. Gospel of Matthew (Peshitta), chs. 15–27
Estrangela, 5th/6th c.
2 columns, 21 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio and trimmed

ff. 18–19, 39–44, 46, 48, 50–51, 53–54, 56–59, 61, 80–83[73]

[73] F. 42v was skipped in the course of digitization.

f. 41r: Mt 15:33–16:3
f. 41v: Mt 16:3–12
f. 44r: Mt 16:13–21
f. 44v: Mt 16:21–27
f. 43v: Mt 16:28–17:8
f. 43r: Mt 17:9–17
f. 53v: Mt 17:17–25
f. 53r: Mt 17:25–18:6
f. 18r: Mt 18:6–12
f. 18v: Mt 18:13–20
f. 19r: Mt 18:21–29
f. 19v: Mt 18:30–19:4
f. 46v: Mt 19:5–12
f. 46r: Mt 19:14–21
f. 40v: Mt 19:21–28
f. 40r: Mt 19:28–20:7
f. 39v: Mt 20:7–16
f. 39r: Mt 20:16–23
f. 42r: Mt 20:23–31
f. 82v: Mt 21:6–14
f. 82r: Mt 21:15–21
f. 54r: Mt 21:22–27
f. 54v: Mt 21:28–34
f. 59v: Mt 21:34–43
f. 59r: Mt 21:44–22:7
f. 56v: Mt 23:34–24:1
f. 56r: Mt 24:2–8
f. 61r: Mt 24:9–19
f. 61v: Mt 24:20–29
f. 81v: Mt 24:29–37
f. 81r: Mt 24:37–46
f. 50r: Mt 24:51–25:9
f. 50v: Mt 25:10–20
f. 58v: Mt 25:20–28
f. 58r: Mt 25:28–38
f. 83v: Mt 25:38–26:2
f. 83r: Mt 26:2–13
f. 51v: Mt 26:32–41
f. 51r: Mt 26:41–51
f. 48v: Mt 26:51–59
f. 48r: Mt 26:59–68
f. 80v: Mt 27:13–21
f. 80r: Mt 27:24–32
f. 57v: Mt 27:32–44
f. 57r: Mt 27:46–54

7. Gospel of Matthew (Peshitta), chs. 3–4
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 13 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio

ff. 55 and 60

f. 55v: Mt 3:14–16 (col. a), 4:3–5 (col. b)
f. 60r: Mt 3:16–4:2 (col. a), 4:5–7 (col. b)
f. 55r: Mt 4:7–10 (col. a), 4:13–16 (col. b)
f. 60v: Mt 4:10–13 (col. a), 4:16–18 (col. b)

8. Gospel of John (Peshitta), chs. 5–6
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 13 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio cut in two and employed as bifolio
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 19)

f. 16 (the full extent of the passages cannot be identified)

f. 16r: Jn 5:47–6:7
f. 16v: Jn 6:20

9. Gospel of John (Peshitta), chs. 1–8, 12, 17–21 (Fig. 5)
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, 13 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio

ff. 86–94, 114–115, 120–122, 127–130, 135–146, 151–162, 167–168

f. 140r, col. a: Jn 1:25–27
f. 141v, col. a: Jn 1:27–29
f. 140r, col. b: Jn 1:29–32
f. 141v, col. b: Jn 1:32–33
f. 140v, col. a: Jn 1:33–37
f. 141r, col. a: Jn 1:37–39
f. 140v, col. b: Jn 1:39–42
f. 141r, col. b: Jn 1:42–44
f. 154r, col. a: Jn 1:44–46
f. 159v, col. a: Jn 1:46–48
f. 154r, col. b: Jn 1:48–50
f. 159v, col. b: Jn 1:51–2:1
f. 154v, col. a: Jn 2:1–5
f. 159r, col. a: Jn 2:5–8
f. 154v, col. b: Jn 2:8–10
f. 159r, col. b: Jn 2:10–11
f. 130r, col. a: Jn 2:12–14
f. 135v, col. a: Jn 2:14–16
f. 130r, col. b: Jn 2:17–19
f. 130v, col. a: Jn 2:22–24
f. 135r, col. a: Jn 2:25–3:2
f. 130v, col. b: Jn 3:2–3
f. 135r, col. b: Jn 3:3–5
f. 129r, col. a: Jn 3:5–8
f. 136v, col. a: Jn 3:8–11
f. 129r, col. b: Jn 3:11–12
f. 136v, col. b: Jn 3:13–16
f. 129v, col. a: Jn 3:16–17
f. 136r, col. a: Jn 3:18–19
f. 129v, col. b: Jn 3:19–22
f. 136r, col. b: Jn 3:22–24
f. 153r, col. a: Jn 3:25–27
f. 160v, col. a: Jn 3:27–29
f. 153r, col. b: Jn 3:29–31
f. 160v, col. b: Jn 3:31–33
f. 153v, col. a: Jn 3:33–36
f. 160r, col. a: Jn 3:36–4:2
f. 153v, col. b: Jn 4:3–5
f. 160r, col. b: Jn 4:5–7
f. 139r, col. a: Jn 4:7–9
f. 142v, col. a: Jn 4:9–10
f. 139r, col. b: Jn 4:10–12
f. 142v, col. b: Jn 4:13–14
f. 139v, col. a: Jn 4:14–16
f. 142r, col. a: Jn 4:17–20
f. 139v, col. b: Jn 4:20–22
f. 142r, col. b: Jn 4:22–23
f. 158r, col. a: Jn 5:7–10
f. 155v, col. a: Jn 5:10–12
f. 158r, col. b: Jn 5:13–14
f. 155v, col. b: Jn 5:14–17
f. 158v, col. a: Jn 5:17–18
f. 155r, col. a: Jn 5:18–19
f. 158v, col. b: Jn 5:20–22
f. 155r, col. b: Jn 5:22–24
f. 122r, col. a: Jn 5:24–26
f. 127v, col. a: Jn 5:26–29
f. 122r, col. b: Jn 5:29–30
f. 127v, col. b: Jn 5:31–34
f. 122v, col. a: Jn 5:34–36
f. 127r, col. a: Jn 5:36–39
f. 122v, col. b: Jn 5:39–43
f. 127r, col. b: Jn 5:43–45
f. 146r, col. a: Jn 5:45–6:1
f. 151v, col. a: Jn 6:1–4
f. 146r, col. b: Jn 6:5–7
f. 151v, col. b: Jn 6:7–9
f. 146v, col. a: Jn 6:9–11
f. 151r, col. a: Jn 6:11–14
f. 146v, col. b: Jn 6:14–17
f. 151r, col. b: Jn 6:17–19
f. 168r, col. a: Jn 6:19–21
f. 161v, col. a: Jn 6:22–23
f. 168r, col. b: Jn 6:23–25
f. 161v, col. b: Jn 6:26–27
f. 168v, col. a: Jn 6:27–29
f. 161r, col. a: Jn 6:30–32
f. 168v, col. b: Jn 6:32–34
f. 161r, col. b: Jn 6:35–37
f. 144r, col. a: Jn 6:37–40
f. 137v, col. a: Jn 6:40–42
f. 144r, col. b: Jn 6:42–44
f. 137v, col. b: Jn 6:45–46
f. 144v, col. a: Jn 6:47–50
f. 137r, col. a: Jn 6:51–52
f. 144v, col. b: Jn 6:52–54
f. 137r, col. b: Jn 6:54–57
f. 143r, col. a: Jn 6:57–60
f. 138v, col. a: Jn 6:60–62
f. 143r, col. b: Jn 6:62–64
f. 138v, col. b: Jn 6:65–66
f. 143v, col. a: Jn 6:66–69
f. 138r, col. a: Jn 6:70–7:1
f. 143v, col. b: Jn 7:1–4
f. 138r, col. b: Jn 7:4–7
f. 167r, col. a: Jn 7:7–10
f. 162v, col. a: Jn 7:10–12
f. 167r, col. b: Jn 7:12–15
f. 162v, col. b: Jn 7:16–17
f. 167v, col. a: Jn 7:18–20
f. 162r, col. a: Jn 7:20–22
f. 167v, col. b: Jn 7:22–25
f. 162r, col. b: Jn 7:25–27
f. 145r, col. a: Jn 7:27–28
f. 152v, col. a: Jn 7:28–31
f. 145r, col. b: Jn 7:31–33
f. 152v, col. b: Jn 7:34–35
f. 145v, col. a: Jn 7:35–37
f. 152r, col. a: Jn 7:37–39
f. 145v, col. b: Jn 7:39–41
f. 152r, col. b: Jn 7:41–44
f. 128v, col. a: Jn 7:46–50
f. 128v, col. b: Jn 8:12–13
f. 128r, col. a: Jn 8:15–17
f. 128r, col. b: Jn 8:20–21
f. 157r, col. a: Jn 8:21–23
f. 156v, col. a: Jn 8:23–26
f. 157r, col. b: Jn 8:26–28
f. 156v, col. b: Jn 8:28–30
f. 157v, col. a: Jn 8:30–33
f. 156r, col. a: Jn 8:33–35
f. 157v, col. b: Jn 8:36–38
f. 156r, col. b: Jn 8:38–40
f. 120r, col. a: Jn 12:29–31
f. 115v, col. a: Jn 12:32–34
f. 120r, col. b: Jn 12:34–36
f. 115v, col. b: Jn 12:36–38
f. 120v, col. a: Jn 12:38–41
f. 115r, col. a: Jn 12:41–44
f. 120v, col. b: Jn 12:44–47
f. 115r, col. b: Jn 12:48–50
f. 121r, col. a: Jn 17:20–22

f. 114v, col. a: Jn 17:22–24
f. 121r, col. b: Jn 17:24–26
f. 114v, col. b: Jn 18:1–2
f. 121v, col. a: Jn 18:2–4
f. 114r, col. a: Jn 18:4–6
f. 121v, col. b: Jn 18:6–9
f. 114r, col. b: Jn 18:9–11
f. 90r, col. a: Jn 19:18–20
f. 89v, col. a: Jn 19:20–22
f. 90r, col. b: Jn 19:22–24
f. 89v, col. b: Jn 19:24–25
f. 90v, col. a: Jn 19:25–28
f. 89r, col. a: Jn 19:28–30
f. 90v, col. b: Jn 19:30–31
f. 89r, col. b: Jn 19:32–34
f. 86r, col. a: Jn 19:34–37
f. 93v, col. a: Jn 19:38
f. 86r, col. b: Jn 19:38–40
f. 93v, col. b: Jn 19:41–42
f. 86v, col. a: Jn 20:1–2
f. 93r, col. a: Jn 20:2–5
f. 86v, col. b: Jn 20:5–8
f. 93r, col. b: Jn 20:8–11
f. 87r, col. a: Jn 20:12–14
f. 92v, col. a: Jn 20:14–15
f. 87r, col. b: Jn 20:15–17
f. 92v, col. b: Jn 20:17–19
f. 87v, col. a: Jn 20:19–21
f. 92r, col. a: Jn 20:21–24
f. 87v, col. b: Jn 20:24–25
f. 92r, col. b: Jn 20:26–27
f. 91r, col. a: Jn 20:27–30
f. 88v, col. a: Jn 20:30–21:1
f. 91r, col. b: Jn 21:1–3
f. 88v, col. b: Jn 21:3–5
f. 91v, col. a: Jn 21:5–7
f. 88r, col. a: Jn 21:7
f. 91v, col. b: Jn 21:8–10
f. 88r, col. b: Jn 21:10–11
f. 94r, col. a: Jn 21:11–14
f. 94r, col. b: Jn 21:16–17
f. 94v, col. a: Jn 21:18–19
f. 94v, col. b: Jn 21:21–23
f. 135v, col. b: Jn 22:20–22

10. Acts (Peshitta), chs. 7, 9 and 10
Estrangela, 6th c.
1 column, 23–24 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio

ff. 32, 34–36

f. 35v: Acts 7:25–32
f. 35r: Acts 7:32–37
f. 32r: Acts 7:50–56
f. 32v: Acts 7:56–8:2
f. 36r: Acts 9:14–21
f. 36v: Acts 9:21–26
f. 34v: Acts 9:39–10:1
f. 34r: Acts 10:1–7

11. Ephesians (Peshitta), chs. 2 and 3
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 15 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio and trimmed
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 29)

ff. 1a and 8 (the full extent of the passages cannot be identified)

f. 1av: Eph 2:10–12 (col. a), 2:15–19 (col. b)
f. 8r: Eph 2:12
f. 8v: Eph 3:5–6
f. 1ar: Eph 3:10–11

12. Colossians (Peshitta), chs. 3 and 4
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 14 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (the middle layer bears Greek script on one side and Arabic on the other)

ff. 47 and 52 (the full extent of the passages cannot be identified)
f. 47v: contains Col 3:8
f. 52r: contains Col 3:9–10
f. 47r: contains Col 3:22
f. 52v: contains Col 4:6

13. 2 Thessalonians (Peshitta), ch. 3
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 15 lines
orientation: ←
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio and trimmed
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 29)

ff. 1br and 7v (the full extent of the passages cannot be identified)

f. 7v: 2 Thes 3:7–8
f. 1br: 2 Thes 3:17

14. 1 Timothy (Peshitta), chs. 1, 4–5 (Fig. 1)
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 15 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio and trimmed
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 29)

ff. 1bv, 3–4, 7r

f. 7r: 1 Tim 1:1–3 (col. a), 1:7–9 (col. b)
f. 1bv: 1 Tim 1:3–6 (col. a), 1:9–12 (col. b)
f. 3r: 1 Tim 4:14–5:2
f. 3v: 1 Tim 5:17–19
f. 4v: 1 Tim 5:2–5 (col. a), 5:8–11 (col. b)
f. 4r: 1 Tim 5:23; the full extent of the passage cannot be identified.

15. Hebrews (Peshitta), chs. 12–13[74]
Estrangela, dated Anno Graecorum 863 [= 551/2 CE]
2 columns, 33 lines
orientation: ↓
pattern of reuse: folio employed as singleton

ff. 37–38 and 45

[74] For a study of the fragment, see Kessel, A Syriac Palimpsest Fragment.

f. 38r: Heb 12:12–27
f. 38v: Heb 12:27–13:15
f. 45r: Heb 13:16–25
f. 45v: colophon
f. 37: almost completely illegible

Apocrypha

16. Infancy Gospel of James (Protoevangelium Iacobi), chs. 1–9
CANT 50
Estrangela, 5th/6th c.
2 columns, 24 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio and trimmed

ff. 15, 22, 49

f. 22v: chs. 1–3 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 3*, line 3 – 4*, line 3)
f. 22r: chs. 3–4 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 4*, lines 3–10)
f. 15v: ch. 4 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 4*, line 10 – 5*, line 3)
f. 15r: chs. 4–6 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 5*, lines 3–18)[75]
f. 49r: chs. 8–9 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 7*, lines 3–ult.)
f. 49v: ch. 9 (~ ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 7* ult. – 8*, line 12)

17. Dormition of the Virgin (Libri VI de dormitione B. V. Mariae), Book 2[76] (Fig. 8)
CANT 123–124
Estrangela, 6th c.
2 columns, max. 15 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio

ff. 169–175

f. 174r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 39*, col. 2, line 25 – 40*, col. 1, line 6 (col. a); 40*, col. 1, line 23 – col. 2, line 8 (col. b)
f. 171v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 40*, col. 1, lines 6–18 (col. a); 40*, col. 2, lines 9–20 (col. b)
f. 174v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 40*, col. 2, line 21 – 41*, col. 1, line 6 (col. a); 41*, col. 1, lines 9–23 (col. b)
f. 171r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 41*, col. 1, lines 6–9 (col. a); 41*, col. 1, line 23 – col. 2, line 12 (col. b)
f. 169v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 42*, col. 1 l. 1–17 (col. a); 42* col. 2 l. 9–22 (col. b)
f. 169r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 43*, l. 4–12 (col. a); 43* l. 17 – 44* l. 1 (col. b)
f. 175r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 44*, lines 2–5 (col. a); 44*, lines 12–18 (col. b)
f. 170v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 44*, lines 6–12 (col. a); 44*, lines 18 – 45*, col. 1, line 8 (col. b)
f. 175v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 45*, col. 1, line 9 – col. 2, line 1 (col. a); 45*, col. 2, line 19 – 46*, col. 1, line 11 (col. b)
f. 170r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 45*, col. 2, lines 2–19 (col. a); 46*, col. 1, line 11 – col. 2, line 3 (col. b)
f. 173r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 46*, col. 2, lines 3–19 (col. a); 47*, col. 1, lines 8–24 (col. b)

[75] Lewis' edition is eclectic and the text missing in the palimpsest was supplied based on a much later manuscript that attests to a different text form. Hence the impossibility of establishing the precise relationship between the manuscript and edition.

[76] There is no critical edition of the text. For an identification and edition of the palimpsest fragment see Brock and Kessel, "Departure of Mary".

f. 172v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 46*, col. 2, line 19 – 47*, col. 1, line 8 (col. a); 47*, col. 2, lines 1–17 (col. b)
f. 173v: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 47*, col. 2, line 18 – 48*, col. 1, line 11 (col. a); 48*, col. 1, line 21 – col. 2, line 13 (col. b)
f. 172r: ed. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, 48*, col. 1, lines 12–21 + 49*, col. 1, lines 2–7 (col. a); 48*, col. 2, line 13 – 49*, col. 1, line 2 (col. b)

Liturgical

18. Syriac Orthodox liturgical hymns (maʿnīthā)

Estrangela, 8th c.
1 column, 25 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio
The index contains the commemoration of Pentecost, locusts (?), St. George, and for the deceased.

ff. 23–31

f. 29v: index, with numbers 20 to 28 (some items appear to be omitted)
f. 29r: index with numbers 33 to 53 (a few items seem to be omitted)
f. 28v: end of the index, with numbers 56 to 63

19. Ritual for Easter (?)

Medial Estrangela, 8th/9th c.
1 column, 25 lines
orientation: ↑
pattern of reuse: folio employed as singleton (trimmed)
the middle text layer in a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see no. 8)

f. 16

20. (Unidentified) Liturgical text

Estrangela, 7th/8th c.
1 column, the number of lines is impossible to discern as only a few lines are visible
orientation: ↓
pattern of reuse: trimmed folio
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 21)

f. 21

21. Rum Orthodox (Melkite) Euchologion (?)

Late Estrangela (Melkite), 9th c.
1 column, 24 lines
orientation: ↑
pattern of reuse: folio employed as singleton (trimmed)
the middle text layer in a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see no. 20)

f. 21

Hagiography

22. Life of Sergius and Bacchus (*BHO* 1052)
Estrangela, 5th c.
1 column, 21 lines
orientation: ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio

ff. 103 and 104

f. 104v: ed. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 3, 294, line 16 – 295, line 10
f. 104r: ed. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 3, 295, line 10 – 296, line 3
f. 103r: ed. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 3, 300, line 14 – 301, line 7
f. 103v: ed. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 3, 300, line 3 – 300, line 14

Patristic

23. Ignatius of Antioch, Epistles to the Magnesians, chs. 12–15, Epistle to the Trallians, chs. 1–3 (*CPG* 1025) (Fig. 3)
Serto, 9th c.
1 column, 23 lines
orientation: ↓
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio
the middle text layer in a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see no. 27)

ff. 17 and 20

f. 17r: *Ig.Magn.* 12–14 (ed. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,2, 136, line 5 – 139, line 4)
f. 17v: *Ig.Magn.* 14–15 (ed. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,2, 139, line 4 – 140, line 5)
Ig.Trall. (ed. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,2, 150, line 1 – 152, line 3), entitled 'fifth epistle'
f. 20r: *Ig.Trall.* 1–2 (ed. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,2, 152, line 3 – 155, line 7)
f. 20v: *Ig.Trall.* 2–3 (ed. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* II,2, 155, line 7 ~ 160, line 4)

24. Patristic florilegium (Fig. 2)
Estrangela, 9th c.
1 column, 23–25 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio
the middle text layer of a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see nos. 1 and 3)

ff. 2, 5–6, 9–14

f. 5r: the extract is attributed in the heading to John Chrysostom and deals with John the Baptist (? *CPG* 4424)
f. 5v: the first extract is preceded by a heading containing the name of Epiphanius of Cyprus; the second extract, attributed to Mar Aba, disciple of Mar Ephrem, begins with the words 'chapter that demonstrates' and indicates that it deals with John the Baptist
f. 9r: the extract is attributed in the heading to John Chrysostom and deals with the parable of the prodigal son (*CPG* 4577)
f. 9v: heading: 'of the same <John Chrysostom>, from the second homily on the same subject' (*CPG* 4577)
f. 10v: the extract is attributed to Methodius <of Olympus> and is preceded by a heading that begins with the words 'chapter that demonstrates' and indicates that it deals with Moses and Elijah who appeared to Christ (*CPG* 1812)
f. 12v: the extract is attributed to Athanasius <of Alexandria> and is preceded by a heading that begins with

the words ‘chapter that demonstrates’ and indicates that it deals with the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (*CPG* 1812)

25. Ephrem of Nisibis, Against the Jews (?) (Fig. 4)
Estrangela, 6th/7th c.
2 columns, max. 15 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: folio employed as bifolio

ff. 62–79, 84–85, 106–113, 116–119, 123–126, 131–134, 147–150, 163–166

26. Jacob of Serugh, Ninth Homily on Joseph
Estrangela, 8th/9th c.
1 column, max. 24 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as folio

ff. 96, 98–99

f. 96r, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 555, lines 103–?
f. 96v, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 555, line 111 – 556, line 119
f. 98r, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 556, lines 121–129
f. 98v, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 556, lines 131–140
f. 99v, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 557, line 162 – 558, line 173
f. 99r, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 558, lines 175–186
f. 99r, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 560, lines 233–241
f. 99v, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 560, lines 243–251
f. 98v, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 561, lines 272–280
f. 98r, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 561, line 282 – 562, line 291
f. 96v, recto: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 562, lines 291–299
f. 96r, verso: ed. Akhrass and Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies* 1, 562, lines 300–308

27. (Unidentified) theological text (Fig. 3)
Estrangela, 5th c.
1 column, the number of lines is impossible to discern as only a few lines are visible
orientation: ↓
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio
the lowest text layer in a double palimpsest (for the middle layer see no. 23)

ff. 17 and 20

28. Homily with verses from the Old Testament (Fig. 7)
Estrangela and Serto, 9th c.
1 column, max. 16 lines
orientation: ← →
pattern of reuse: trimmed bifolio employed as folio
the middle text layer of a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see no. 5)

f. 101

f. 101r: Jer 50:23, Is 41:14
f. 101v: Gen 1:1–2,3

Medicinal recipes

29. Herbal (Fig. 1)
Medial Estrangela, 8th/9th c.
1 column, 22–26 lines
orientation: ↓ ↑
pattern of reuse: bifolio employed as bifolio
the middle text layer of a double palimpsest (for the lowest layer see nos. 11, 13 and 14)

ff. 1a–1b, 3–4, 7–8

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Fig. 1: Sin. ar. 514, f. 3r, double palimpsest. Middle layer (parallel to overtext): Herbal. Lowest layer (at 270° to overtext): 1 Tim. 4:14 – 5:2 (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

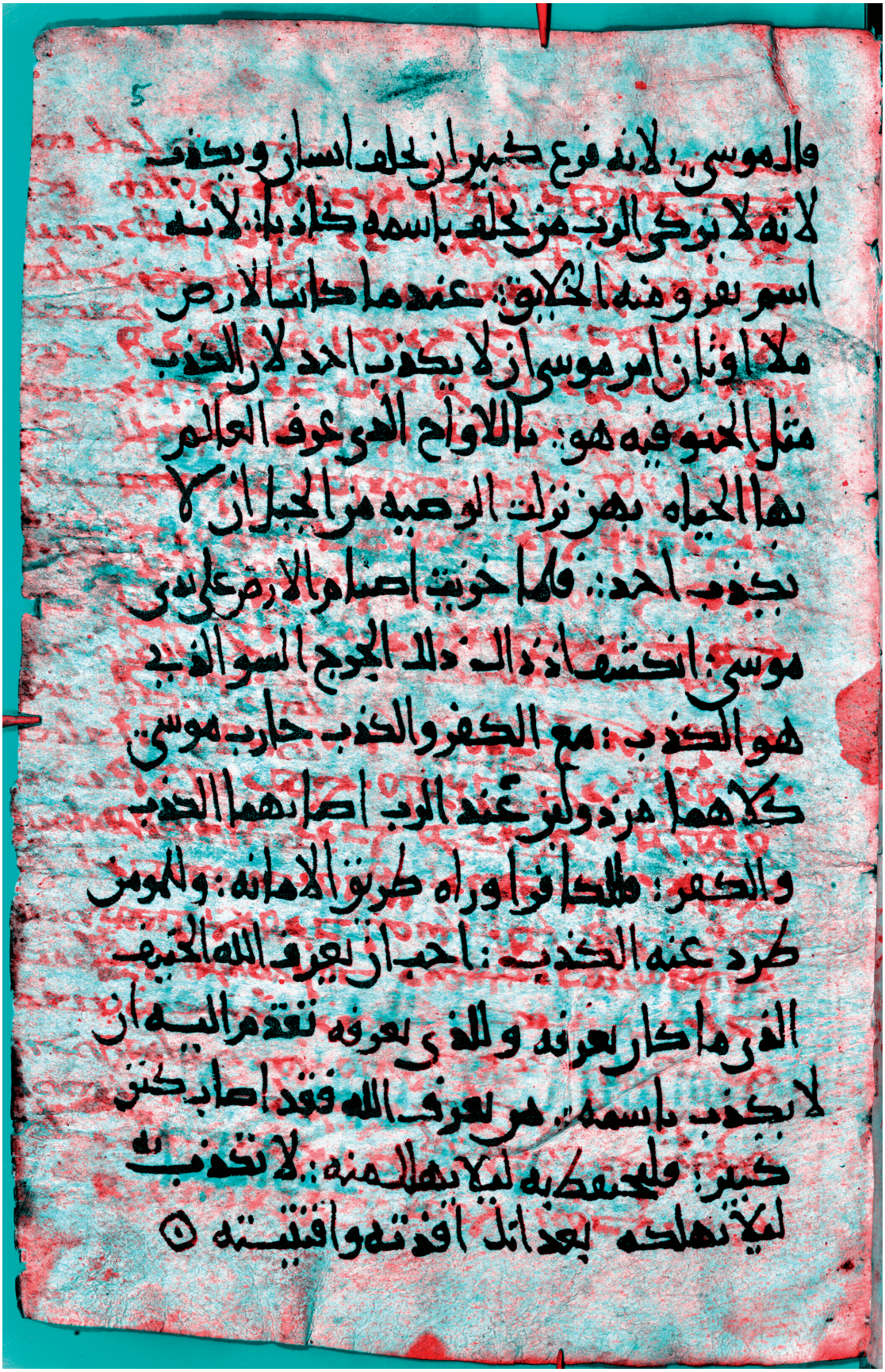


Fig. 2: Sin. ar. 514, f. 5r, double palimpsest. Middle layer (at 180° to overtext): patristic florilegium (features an extract attributed in the heading to John Chrysostom). Lowest layer (parallel to overtext): Judith 8:5–11 (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 3: Sin. ar. 514, f. 17v, double palimpsest. Middle layer (parallel to overtext): Ignatius of Antioch, *Ig.Magn.* 14–15, and beginning of *Ig.Trall.*, entitled ‘fifth epistle’. Lowest layer (parallel to overtext): unidentified theological text (© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 4: Sin. ar. 514, f. 64r, Ephrem of Nisibis, *Against the Jews* (?) (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 5: Sin. ar. 514, f. 86r, col. a: John 19:34–37, col. b: John 19:38–40 (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 6: Sin. ar. 514, f. 95v, Daniel 3:23–32 (unknown revision based on Septuagint)
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

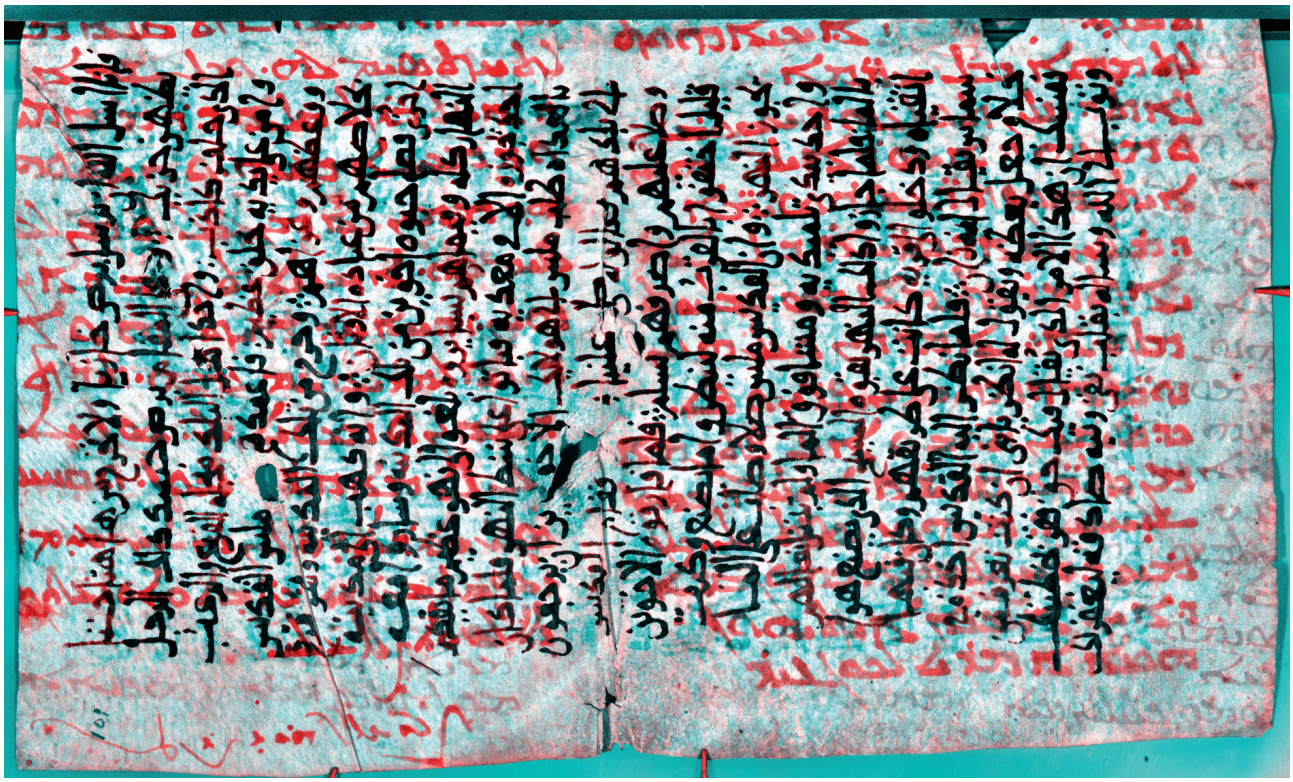


Fig. 7: Sin. ar. 514, f. 101r, double palimpsest. Middle layer (at 90° to overtext): Homily with verses from the Old Testament (contains Jer. 50:23, Isa. 41:14). Lowest layer (at 90° to overtext): Zechariah 3:2–5 (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

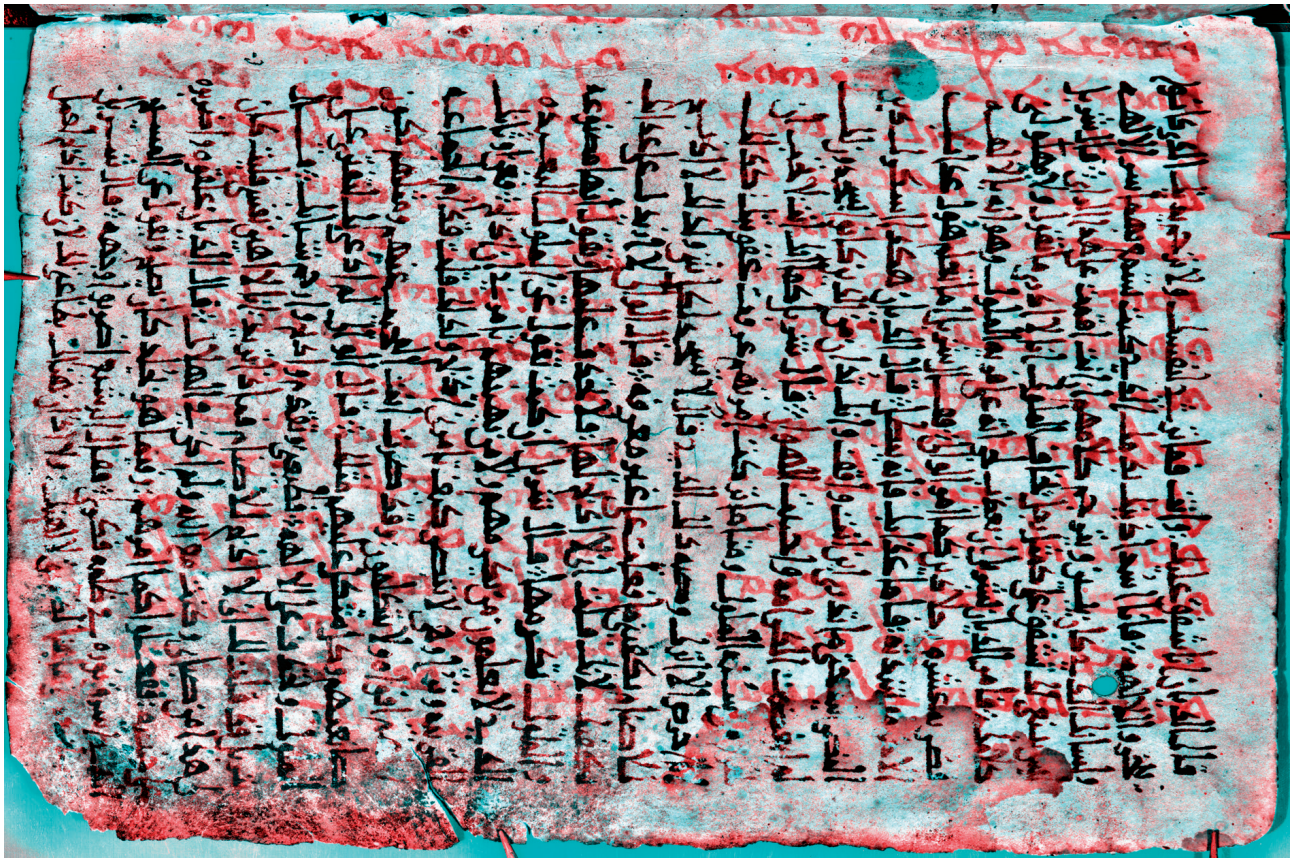


Fig. 8: Sin. ar. 514, f. 170v, *Dormition of the Virgin* (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)